

Some Demographic and Sociological Factors Relating  
to the Workforce Participation of Married Women in Australia

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Thesis submitted as  
part of the requirements  
for the Degree of  
Master of Arts  
(Sociology) in the  
Australian National  
University, 1967.

## PREFACE

I would like to acknowledge my grateful thanks to Dr. F. L. Jones, of the Department of Sociology, Institute of Advanced Studies, Australian National University, who supervised this research and assisted in obtaining access to unpublished census data; to Mrs. Thelma Hunter, of the Department of Political Science, School of General Studies, Australian National University, for her help in the initial stages of this thesis; to Professor Jean Martin, of La Trobe University, for her criticism of the draft; to Dr. Norma McArthur, Miss Daphne Phillips, and Mr. Michael Keating for their helpful comments; to the staff of the Bureau of Census and Statistics for co-operation in making available unpublished tabulations; to Miss Sheila Smith, who typed this thesis quickly and efficiently; and finally to my husband, who helped considerably with advice and correction of the manuscript.

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INTRODUCTION

The rapid increase in the number and proportion of working wives, not only in Australia, but in all highly industrialised countries, is a phenomenon which has important economic, social, and probably political, consequences. The future growth of the Australian economy depends largely on the availability of manpower, and at a time when migrants - particularly skilled migrants - are becoming increasingly hard to attract to Australia, and to hold here, the importance of married women to the growth of the workforce has been widely recognized.<sup>1</sup>

Inevitably, this new pattern of economic activity among married women - working not only immediately after marriage, but now in greater proportions in the middle years of their lives as well - will also have important consequences for family life. So far, most of the studies of working wives in the context of their family situations have concentrated on the effects of

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1. See the Department of the Treasury, Projections of the Workforce and the Vernon Report (Committee of Economic Enquiry, 1965). The former states that 'it may well be that the potential rate of growth of the work-force, and, hence, the rate of growth of the economy, is dependent to a significant extent on the future increase in the proportion of married women obtaining employment.' (p.40)

working motherhood, and here effort has been centred on proving that working motherhood is not related to delinquency among children.<sup>1</sup> More positive effects of the employment of married women on their family life have been little explored.

But study of the consequences of the employment of married women is a little premature in Australia when so little is known about the pattern of workforce behaviour of Australian wives and the variables associated with their workforce participation. There has only been one full-scale study of

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1. See L. Bryson, et al., Working Mothers and Family Life: an Exploratory Study (unpublished paper, Melbourne, 1960); S. Yudkin and A. Holme, Working Mothers and Their Children (London, 1963); F.I. Nye and L.W. Hoffman, The Employed Mother in America (Chicago, 1963). Only the last named looks more widely at the consequences of working mothers. There are, in addition, several short studies of the effect of a married woman's employment on her relationship with her husband. See, for example, the section on working wives in R.A. Blood and D.M. Wolfe, Husbands and Wives (Glencoe, 1960) and H.J. Locke and M. Mackeprang, 'Marital Adjustments and the Employed Wife', American Journal of Sociology, 54, 1949, pp. 536-8. There has been almost no research into the nature of a working wife's political views, her voluntary association membership and so on, though the interesting tabulations in M. Dawson, Graduate and Married (Sydney, 1965) could well form the basis of such a study.

women in Australia - that by Norman McKenzie<sup>1</sup> - and because his was the first work in the field, he concentrated on bringing together all that was known about the cultural, political and working life of women, rather than on initiating research into selected areas. McKenzie said that his brief was 'to inquire into the role of women in professional and public life', and even though he widened his study to ask 'whether special influences have affected the position of women in Australia, and how they may have operated' he admitted that he was unable to study women in industry, commerce and retail trade, or to undertake any detailed inquiry into the employment of married women.<sup>2</sup> However, despite the fact that a specific discussion of working wives occupies less than a dozen pages of his book, it would be unfair to suggest that his book was not relevant to the general problems of the employment of women in Australia. In particular, his outline of the social and more purely historical circumstances responsible for the restrictions on the working life of women in Australia has considerable importance. Most valuable of all is his study of the inferior education which

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1. N. McKenzie, Women in Australia (Melbourne, 1962)

2. ibid, p. xi

Australian women receive, apparently by choice.

There have been very few empirical studies relating directly or indirectly to working women in Australia, only one of them flowing directly from McKenzie's stimulating, if general, work. This is Madge Dawson's study of Sydney married women graduates, but, though a very important piece of research, it does not contribute as much as it might have to an investigation of the factors relating to the workforce participation of married women in Australia. This is due, in the first place, to the fact that the working life of women graduates was only one of several subjects touched on in the book. More importantly, however, there are good reasons to doubt that the sample of graduates was a representative one.<sup>1</sup> The sample was taken from the University of Sydney's register of married women graduates, but only 3138 names were on this register, whereas up to 1959, 8908 women had graduated from the university.<sup>2</sup> There is no information about what proportion of these women subsequently married, but it is likely that the number far exceeded the 3138 names on the register. Though

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1. See T. Hunter's review of Dawson, Australian Quarterly, 37, 1965, p. 116.

2. Dawson does not give information - if there is any - of the numbers who graduated before and after the second World War.

graduates may not marry in the same proportions as women with less education - since the attractions of a career are presumably greater - the proportion of women who fail to marry has declined since the war, and so has the age at marriage. One would imagine, then, in view of the expansion of universities after the war, that the majority of women on the University of Sydney graduate register would have been post-war graduates, and of those who graduated up to about 1955, it would not be unreasonable to assume that a large proportion had married by 1959 when Dawson's sample was taken. Yet, contrary to expectation, the sample of Sydney graduates has a median age of 42, and only about 35 percent are under 35 years of age. This, and some of Dawson's conclusions,<sup>1</sup> suggest that the married women graduates listed on the University register were a special group, older than the average Sydney graduate wife of 1959, and probably prouder of their University graduate status and more anxious to keep on the University's mailing list. Despite the probably unrepresentative nature of the sample, however, Dawson's study is valuable in the thoroughness with which it explores factors relating to the workforce participation of graduates.

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1. Dawson's conclusion (p. 6) that the proportion of university women drawn from upper status groups has increased, and the proportion from lower status has decreased, is surprising, but somewhat more explicable if it is true that her sample was biased towards women graduating before the 1940s.



Of the two studies of working mothers in Australia, the Melbourne study conducted by Bryson, Kelso, Sharp and Turner is the most recent and the most readily available, although both are unpublished.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, it shares with Dawson's study a lack of a representative sample. Its sample was of 1700 families with pre-school children in four Melbourne suburbs, three predominantly working class and one middle class suburb. But as a recent study of Melbourne's social areas has shown,<sup>2</sup> though there is a relationship between the socio-economic status of the population of a suburb and the level of female work participation in that suburb, the proportion of women at work is even more closely related to its demographic composition. In other words, had Bryson et al. wished to find a representative, and adequate, number of working mothers of pre-school children, they might have chosen some suburbs with predominantly young married populations. Thus their choice of Caulfield as their only middle class suburb was

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1. The other is a Ph.D. thesis by P. Scott from the University of Queensland (title not given), 1960, referred to by Bryson.
  2. F.L. Jones, 'Social Area Analysis' (paper to be published).

an unfortunate one, as it is a well-established suburb of middle aged people.<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, suburbs vary in the proportion of married women working because they vary in the availability of work. Again, Caulfield was probably an unfortunate choice. Thus the conclusion of Bryson et al. that 'as the working class saturation of localities declines, so does the extent to which both groups of women [middle class and working class] work' is unlikely to be valid.<sup>2</sup> In addition to the unrepresentative nature of the sample, the Melbourne study of working mothers deliberately chose to limit its attention to Australian-born women. In view of the numerical importance of migrant working mothers, and their probably very different patterns of family life and child care, this decision limits the generality of their findings.<sup>3</sup>

These two studies, by Dawson and by Bryson et al., are

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1. The rationale behind the choice of suburbs, apparently intended for a ninth Appendix, is not given.
  2. Bryson (1960, p. 21)
  3. The study presents its data very poorly. Details of the ages of the mothers are not given, nor the ages of their children. The occupational classification is unconventional to say the least. Nor are the data analysed to their fullest extent.

the only two studies completed in Australia which directly relate to working wives. Of the two which refer more briefly to working wives,<sup>1</sup> Scott and U'ren's study of a Melbourne housing commission area concentrated on how people spend their leisure, but included two or three pages on the incidence of working wives according to the ages of their children and their husbands' incomes. A more important piece of research, because of its well-based sample of the Sydney metropolitan area, is Edwards and Gates' Survey of Consumer Finances, a section of which analyses the incidence of working wives according to the occupation of husband and the stage in the family life cycle, and relates the effect of working wives on the income and level of savings of families.<sup>2</sup>

Some small empirical studies have concerned the conditions under which married women work, their reasons for working, and the attitude of employers to them, but the context of these studies was manufacturing, and this limits the usefulness of their findings.<sup>3</sup> So far there has been no research at all

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1. Professor J. Martin's recent study of families in three Adelaide suburbs (part of which has been published as 'Extended Kinship Ties: An Adelaide Study', The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology, 3, i, 1967) has incidental reference to working mothers.
  2. The sample slightly over-represents married women, but this is not important in the context of working wives.
  3. These are the studies by Gepp (1962), Mountain (1963) and Harris (1959).

into the workforce patterns of women in rural or extra-metropolitan urban areas.

In all, then, the empirical research into working wives in Australia is meagre in the extreme. There is nothing to equal Nye and Hoffman's thorough and wide-ranging study of working mothers in America, nor Yudkin and Holmes' equally valuable study of working mothers in England. Nor is there anything equivalent to Jephcott's study of married women in Bermondsey and the women who work in Peek Frean's factory, Gavron's study of 'housebound' and working mothers in a London suburb, nor Viola Klein's several studies. Almost all we know about the factors affecting the workforce participation of married women comes from England and America. None of the conclusions of these overseas studies has been tested in Australia (except in Dawson's study of women graduates), yet there is no reason to suppose that results would be the same, in view of the considerable prejudice against working women in Australia and other unusual facets of Australian society. Nor, of course, have overseas studies completed their explanations of why women work. Gavron's study was the first to compare women of two different class backgrounds, and yet she omitted many other important variables,

such as age at marriage and work history of the woman's mother.

At the moment, research into factors relating to the workforce participation of married women in Australia cannot proceed very far. To date there have been only short, general studies of the female workforce, most of them analysing the trend of workforce participation of married women in relation to the future development of the Australian economy or detailing the restrictions on their employment.<sup>1</sup> Though these studies have described the general picture of the occupational distribution of women, none have looked closely at the occupations held by married women, nor have they studied the demographic and sociological variables relevant to their workforce participation, apart from age and birthplace. In view of the paucity of information, census data should be the first to be explored, but appropriate data have only been available from the 1961 census. However, census data clearly have limitations, and the present study is conceived only as the initial stage of what is hoped will be a full-scale survey of working wives in Australia.

Census data are limited in the first place by the fact

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1. These include Blandy (1963), Hunter (1961 and 1962), Smyth and Petredis (1965), Thornton (1966) and 'Womanpower in Australia', Trends, 6, 1964.

that there is an element of subjectivity involved in determining membership in the workforce, in that it is left to the respondents themselves to nominate on census schedules whether they are 'seeking work' or 'not in the workforce'. Since the great majority of the workforce works continuously, this self-definition causes an error only to people at the margins of the workforce, most importantly, in the case of married women. For example, a married woman looking for work and expecting to obtain it may describe herself on the census schedule as 'seeking work' and thus she will be counted in the unemployed category of the workforce. At a time when there is less demand for labour, a married woman may become resigned to the likelihood that she will not be able to obtain work, and in those circumstances may not describe herself as 'seeking work' but as occupied with home duties.<sup>1</sup>

This element of subjectivity in the definition of the workforce may not have been so relevant had the census following the 1954 census been taken in 1962 instead of 1961. In fact, however, the 1961 was taken near the trough of a recession, and

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1. The same argument applies to school leavers, who might stay on at school while at the same time looking for work, and to pensioners who might retain their pension applications until they find a job. See Department of the Treasury, Projections of the Workforce, pp. 22-24.

it is quite likely that a proportion of married women seeking work did not describe themselves as doing so on the census schedules.

The effect of the 1961 recession is demonstrated by the very marked decline in the numbers employed in manufacturing in 1961 compared with 1960 and 1962, a decline which caused the numbers in the female workforce as a whole to drop, though the numbers had risen steadily in previous years, and after 1961, continued to rise sharply each year thereafter.<sup>1</sup> As there is some evidence to suggest that there is more part-time work available for married women in manufacturing than in any other industry,<sup>2</sup> this decline in the number of women in manufacturing in 1961 does suggest that many married women might have been unable to get part-time jobs in this industry on account of the recession.

Thus the 1961 Census may understate some trends in the female workforce, since some married women who might in normal times have been working part-time, particularly in manufacturing,

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1. Labour Report, 1964, p. 194.

2. Quarterly Workforce Survey of metropolitan areas, February 1966 and 1967, unpublished data.

may have classified themselves as not at work.

Not only are census data somewhat limited by the possibility of subjectivity in the definition of who is in the workforce, and by its timing in relation to short-term trends in the economy - they are also restricted to what can be collected on census schedules. Compared with the United States census, the Australian Bureau of Census and Statistics collects a much smaller range of material, and provides minimal analyses. The Australian census does not include questions on income or hours of work, or, until 1966, education. Many possible and useful cross-tabulations are not carried out - in particular, information is not available on the occupation of husband classified by the occupation of wife, nor are data available on the composition of households, though family relationships between members of a household is a question asked on the census schedule.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, census schedules, by their very nature, are limited for the most part to collecting what one might call 'objective data'. Census data cannot illuminate the motives of married women for working, their husbands'

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1. Some analysis of household composition is planned for the results of the 1966 Census.



attitudes, nor more complex subjects such as their work histories.

Despite the restrictions in the nature and scope of census data, the variables which are available from the 1961 census for analysis in relation to working wives are central ones, and since so little is known about them it seemed appropriate to start with this raw data.

Where possible in this study census material will be compared with, and extended by, reference to other pieces of research carried out in Australia. One of the major themes of this study will be the importance of social class in explaining workforce participation and differentials by age, issue and duration of marriage. Unfortunately, however, McKenzie's complaint about the lack of data on social class in Australia has yet to be rectified. Though in the interval since his book changing patterns of fertility (age at marriage, spacing of children, age at completion of childbearing, and differentials by religion, residence and birthplace) have received some attention by demographers,<sup>1</sup> these patterns have not been related to social class variables except in the context of two recent social

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1. See Appleyard (1965a), Day (1965a and b), McArthur (1967) and the unpublished Ph.D. thesis by Basavarajappa (1964).

mobility studies,<sup>1</sup> one of which was extremely limited in its scope. Thus hypotheses about social class and fertility of working wives can be tested only to a limited degree.

Similar limits apply to hypotheses about migrant working wives. Despite the number and extent of sociological studies of migrants in Australia, no study so far published<sup>2</sup> has considered migrant working wives, nor has much attention been paid to patterns of migrant marriage and childbearing.

In the following pages, the participation of married women in the workforce is analysed in terms of their ages, occupations, industries and occupational statuses, durations of marriage, issue, ages of their youngest children,<sup>3</sup> residence and birthplace. Information about the ages of married working women

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1. See the unpublished Ph.D. thesis by Allingham (1965) and T'ien (1960 and 1965).
  2. The next volume of Appleyard's study of British migrants will contain some analysis of British migrant working wives.
  3. Census data on the age of the youngest child of working wives have certain limitations and analysis will be restricted to comparisons between three birthplace groups. See Chapter IV.

is available for each of the three post-war census years - 1947, 1954 and 1961 - as well as 1933; data on occupations of ever married women (though not strictly comparable) are available for 1947 and 1961; the industries of married women and occupational statuses of ever married women can be compared for 1954 and 1961. For married women there is evidence about duration of marriage for the same two censuses, and in both years these data are cross-tabulated with birthplace, issue and age of youngest child. For 1961, additional cross-tabulations are available for residence. Finally, the distribution of married women in occupational groups is available by the number of issue, and these data are given for each residential group (metropolitan, urban and rural).<sup>1</sup>

In the first chapter, the trend to increased participation of married women in the workforce will be discussed, and reasons for the increase will be suggested. A series of hypotheses will be elaborated relating to the factors which affect the workforce

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1. Data referring to married women were collected by a 20 percent sample of census schedules in 1954 and 1961. In urban and rural areas, numbers of women aged under 20 and over 50 for some birthplace and occupational groups are very small.

participation of married women, especially of mothers of children under sixteen, and data to support some of these hypotheses will be presented in succeeding chapters. In chapter II the occupational distribution of ever married women will be analysed and compared with that of never married women and some distinctions will be made between the occupational concentration of married women and women 'with husbands absent'. Chapter III will concern the workforce participation rates of married women, and the fertility of working married women compared with all married women in the population. The chapter will also discuss the fertility of working women in different occupational groups. Chapter IV will outline the picture of migrant wives in the workforce, their age, duration of marriage, occupational and industrial distribution and participation rates.

#### A Note on Terminology

Some census data categorize women in five marital statuses: never married, married, separated, widowed and divorced. This is the case with the data about the age of working women. In the case of data about occupational group by age, three categories are used: never married, married, and women 'with husbands absent'.<sup>1</sup>

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1. In fact information about women 'with husbands absent' is calculated not given.

With detailed occupational data, giving the ages of women in each of the 340 odd census occupational categories, reference is only to never married and 'ever married' women. In effect, this means that the data on detailed occupations are a little distorted by the combination of women 'with husbands absent' with married women. Finally, for the rest of the data, our only information is of married women. Except, then, in the case of the detailed data about occupation and age, all our information refers specifically to married women only. Thus, in the present study the terms 'married working women' and 'working wives' are synonymous, and the term 'ever married working women' will refer to married women, widows, divorcees and separated women.

CHAPTER I. THE MARRIED FEMALE WORKFORCE, 1947-1961: TRENDS  
AND MAJOR DETERMINANTS

A. Trends

In highly industrialised countries such as Great Britain and the United States, as well as in the slightly less industrialised countries like Canada and Sweden, the participation of married women in the workforce has reached notable proportions in the last two or three decades. However, this important social and economic change has been slower to develop in Australia. In 1933 there were only 66,000 married women in the Australian workforce, a mere 5 percent of all married women, and although by 1947 the number of married women in the workforce had more than doubled, the participation rate had increased to only 8.6 percent.<sup>1</sup> By contrast, the comparable rates in the United States and Great Britain at about the same

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1. See Table 1:1, columns 5 & 9. Figures prior to 1954 do not distinguish married and separated women, and for the sake of comparison 1954 and 1961 figures are given with separated women included. In the context of this discussion of trends, then, 'married women' refers also to separated women.

Table 1:1 Females in the Workforce, Numbers and Percentages, 1901-1961.

Census	<u>Population</u> Females Aged 15-64		<u>Workforce</u>			(6) (4) as a % of (1)	(7) (4) as a % of (3)	(8) (5) as a % of (4)	(9) (5) as a % of (2)
	(1) Total	(2) Married	(3) Total	(4) Females	(5) Married Females				
	('000)	('000)	('000)	('000)	('000)				
1901	1074	(c) 546	1615	330	*	30.7	20.5	*	*
1911	1035	(c) 702	1922	386	*	28.5	20.1	*	*
1921	1706	(c) 958	2237	455	*	26.7	20.3	*	*
1933	2153	(c) 1220	2744	599	(c) 66	27.8	21.8	11.0	5.4
1947	2523	(c) 1646	3196	717	(c) 142	28.4	22.4	19.8	8.6
1954	2776	(a) 1904) (c) 1963)	3702	845	(a) 258) (c) 290)	30.5	22.8	(a) 30.5 (c) 34.3	(a) 13.6 (c) 14.8
1961	3135	(a) 2166) (c) 2235)	4225	1059	(a) 406) (c) 445)	33.8	24.8	(a) 38.3 (c) 42.0	(a) 18.7 (c) 19.9

(a) Excludes females married but permanently separated.

(c) Includes females married but permanently separated.

(6) Female workforce participation rate

(7) Female workforce as percentage of total workforce

(8) Married female workforce as percentage of female workforce

(9) Married female workforce participation rate

\* not available

Sources: Statistician's Report, 1954 Census, 1961 Census Bulletins.

time were both 22 percent.<sup>1</sup>

More recent changes in the married female workforce in Australia have been considerably more dramatic, especially in the

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1. The U.S. figure is for 1948, Nye and Hoffman, (1963) p. 8. The U.K. figure is for 1951, C.E.V. Leser, 'Trends in Women's Work Participation', Population Studies, 12, 1958, p. 104. The rates for other countries at about the same time were Canada, 11.2 percent (1951), Sweden, 14.5 percent (1950) and New Zealand, 10.4 percent (1951). However, comparisons of Australian workforce participation rates with those of other countries should be interpreted cautiously. Participation rates of married women are affected by a variety of demographic and social factors, including the percentage of men and women at educational institutions, the workforce participation rates of single women and women 'with husbands absent' (that is, widows, divorcees and separated women), the ethnic composition of the population, community attitudes, and, perhaps crucially, marriage and childbearing patterns. The high American rate may be explained not only in terms of America's more developed economy, but also in terms of differences in the age at marriage, the timing of childbearing and so on. American women, though they marry earlier than Australian women, delay childbearing longer, and it may be conjectured that this delay might allow a higher workforce participation rate for young wives than in Australia. (See L.H. Day, 'Patterns of Divorce in Australia and the United States', American Sociological Review, 29, 1964, p. 513.) Factors retarding the growth of the workforce participation of married women in Australia might include the unequal development of industrialisation in the states of Australia, the generally low level of education of Australian women compared with American women (a factor which would perhaps restrict the range of jobs available to Australian women when they return to work in middle age), trade union and government restrictions on female employment in certain fields, the high proportion of Roman Catholics in the Australian population, and the general absence of child-minding facilities for working wives. See R. Appleyard, 'Population and Workforce', Economic Record, 42, 1966, p. 53, R.L. Smyth and A. Petredis, 'The Restricted Employment Opportunities for Women in Australia', Australian Quarterly, 37, 1965, and N. McKenzie (1962).



period 1954 to 1961. During these years the total workforce grew at a rate of 1.9 percent per annum, the male workforce at 1.5 percent per annum, and 'not married females' (including women with husbands absent) at about the same rate. However, married women in the workforce increased at a rate of 6.7 percent per annum, and this growth accounts for well over a quarter of the total increase in the workforce in this period.<sup>1</sup> By 1961, the total number of married women at work had increased to 406,000,<sup>2</sup> partly because of an increase in the relative proportion of married women in the population, but mainly because of a far higher workforce participation rate, which by 1961 had risen to 20 percent. While in 1960 American wives were in the workforce in a ratio of three in ten, the Australian workforce participation rate of married women does not now lag as far behind the American as it did just after the second world war.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Department of the Treasury, Projections of the Workforce, 26 These rates refer to married women only, but the percentage increase rates for married and separated women together would not differ appreciably.
  2. When separated women are included, the figure is 445,000.
  3. Nye and Hoffman, (1963), p. 8. See footnote 1. on page 21.

There is evidence, moreover, that this increase is continuing apace. According to figures from the quarterly workforce survey (these relate only to the six capital cities and not to the total population, and include separated women) 26.9 percent of married women were at work in metropolitan areas in November, 1961: in 1966 the figure was 32.3 percent.<sup>1</sup>

Obviously, increased employment among married women has been associated with changes in the composition of the female workforce as a whole. Whereas married women formed only 11 percent of the female workforce in 1933, by 1961 they contributed 42 percent.<sup>2</sup> (The United States figure in 1960 was 54 percent.)<sup>3</sup> Married women now form 9.6 percent of the total Australian workforce, a figure still well below those for America and Britain where in 1963 one in five of all workers was a married woman.<sup>4</sup>

Despite the marked increase in the proportion of married women working, the female workforce as a whole has grown much less

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1. Labour Report, 1964. Employment and Unemployment, 1965-66.
  2. Table 1:1, column 8.
  3. Calculated from figures in Nye and Hoffman (1963), p. 8. The comparative figure for Great Britain in 1957 was 49.3 percent, V. Klein, Britain's Married Women Workers, (London, 1965), p. 26.
  4. R. Appleyard, 'Problems and Implications' in Labour Shortages - Problems, Implications, Solutions, Adelaide, 1965.

rapidly. Women were 20.5 percent of the workforce in 1901 and only 24.8 percent in 1961.<sup>1</sup> The reason for this very slow rate of change in the sex composition of the workforce is to be found in the fact that, although married women have been increasingly drawn into employment, there has been a marked decline in the proportion of unmarried females over the age of fourteen in the population, and hence the pool of single women is less predominant as a source of female labour. In 1901 single females over the age of fourteen accounted for 41 percent of all women in that age group: the 1961 figure was 21 percent. In fact, from 1947 to 1961, the number of unmarried women at work increased by only 16,000. Clearly, figures related solely to the total number of women at work in Australia in the present century mask more than they reveal. They reveal no evidence of two important social changes: one, the increased workforce participation of married women, and the other, the decline in the proportion of women who remain single.

The change in the workforce participation rates of married women has been most spectacular in two age groups - the 20-25 age group, and the 35-49 age group (Table 1:2). The first

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1. Table 1:1, column 7. Comparative figures for other countries are United Kingdom, 35.3 percent (1960) [Klein, 1965, p. 93]; Canada, 24.1 percent (1958) [Women at Work in Canada, p. 9]; United States of America, 31.8 percent (1956) [National Manpower Council, Womanpower, 1957, p. 112]

group consists of young married women who work for one, two or three years after marriage until the birth of their first child. In the second age group are those married women who are returning to work after their children start school. However, the workforce participation rates of married women in these two age groups have always been relatively high; the trend since 1947 has merely accentuated the differences between the rates for these two age groups and the substantially lower rates in the other age groups (under 20, 25-34, and over 50).<sup>1</sup>

When we turn our attention away from participation rates to percentage increases in each age group between 1947-1954 and

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1. Evidence of the Quarterly Workforce Surveys in the six capital cities shows that the participation rate of married women in the age group 20-44 is still rising at a faster rate than that of the age group 45-64. Whereas the participation rate for the younger married women in November 1961 was 31.4 percent, that of the older women was 24.2 percent. By November 1966 the former rate had risen to 38.5 percent yet that of the older married women had risen only to 27 percent. In the same period, participation rates of 'not married women' (which includes women 'with husbands absent' as well as single women) fluctuated around the same point. Labour Report, 1964. Employment and Unemployment, 1965-66. The workforce participation of women 'with husbands absent' has always been considerably higher than that of married women, particularly among younger women. In the period 1947-1961, the participation of widows, divorcees and separated women under the age of 30 did not increase much, but there was a substantial increase in the participation of those aged 30-59. Most of this increase was, however, in the first intercensal period. At all ages the participation of widows in the workforce is very much lower than that of divorcees, probably reflecting the fact that divorcees are less likely to have children than other married women of the same age. The workforce participation of women 'with husbands absent' does not show a decline for women aged 25-34 characteristic of the workforce of married women with husbands, but rather a steady participation rate of 60 percent for those aged 20-44.

Table 1:2 Workforce Participation Rates of Married Females<sup>1</sup> in specified age groups, 1947, 1954, and 1961.

<u>Age</u>	<u>1947</u>	<u>Year</u> <u>1954</u>	<u>1961</u>
15	)	23.3	18.0
16	)	13.1	15.1
17	9.8)	12.4	14.1
18	)	16.0	18.6
19	)	19.1	22.2
20	)	21.3	26.2
21	)	22.1	27.6
22	9.9)	21.3	25.9
23	)	19.6	23.9
24	)	18.3	21.2
25-29	6.6	14.5	17.2
30-34	5.9	13.2	17.4
35-39	7.0	13.5	21.0
40-44	7.7	14.7	21.5
45-49	7.6	14.3	20.3
50-54	6.3	11.7	17.4
55-59	5.2	8.2	12.6
60-64	3.3	4.7	6.5
65-69	1.6	2.0	1.3
70+	*	1.3	1.3
All Ages	6.4	12.6	17.3

\* Not available

1. Married excluding separated.

Source: Department of the Treasury, Projections of the Workforce, Appendix B.

1954-1961, we discover that during the first period all age groups more than doubled (the increases being slightly more marked in the 25-29, 30-34 and 40-44 age groups - Table 1:3). Between 1954 and 1961, however, the increases were much lower and the variation between age groups was more marked. The age group 25-29 increased only marginally, but increases at ages 35 and over were much higher.

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Table 1:3 Percentage Increase in the Number of Married and Separated Women in the Workforce, 1947-1954 and 1954-1961 for Selected Age Groups.<sup>1</sup>

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Percentage Increase</u>	
	<u>1947-1954</u>	<u>1954-1961</u>
20-24	110	44
25-29	131	13
30-34	131	36
35-39	110	82
40-44	137	60
45-49	101	78

1. The figures for married women only are not available for 1947. However, the use of figures for married and separated women together does not substantially alter the percentage changes.

Source: 1947 and 1954 Censuses, and 1961 Census Bulletin, 33.

### B. Demographic Factors

The changes discussed above reflect three important developments: first, the increased availability of work for women in general and married women in particular; second, the increasing availability of married women for employment because of earlier age at marriage, smaller families and earlier age at completion of childbearing; and third, more favourable community attitudes towards working wives (though these attitudes are more favourable to women working after marriage but before childbearing than to working mothers).

Economic growth since the war has seen an expansion in the tertiary sector of the economy (Table 1:4). With higher standards of living and greater demand for community services, fields such as education and health have enlarged enormously and these have long been the traditional employers of women.

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Table 1:4 Changes in the Industrial Composition of the Australian Economy, 1911-1961.

<u>Census</u>	<u>Primary Industry</u>	<u>Secondary Industry</u>	<u>Tertiary Industry</u>	<u>Total</u>
1911	30.2	28.8	41.0	100.0
1921	25.8	31.4	42.8	100.0
1933	24.3	32.1	43.6	100.0
1947	17.6	37.1	45.3	100.0
1954	15.1	38.9	46.0	100.0
1961	12.3	38.9	48.8	100.0

Source: 1954 Census and 1961 Census Bulletin, 34.

Manufacturing employment has also grown in scale and complexity, encouraging, on the one hand, the growth of administrative and clerical staff at the expense of operatives, and on the other, the breakdown of skilled work into repetitive semi-skilled or unskilled work, opening up new possibilities of employment for women.<sup>1</sup>

More work has become available for married women in particular, because employers have been faced with a shortage of manpower. With both young men and women showing a tendency to stay at educational institutions longer, the reduction in the pool of single women available for work - caused by the increase in the number of women marrying, and the increasingly early age at marriage<sup>2</sup> - has forced employers to make concessions in terms of pay and part-time work in order to encourage married women to

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1. However, office work itself is becoming increasingly mechanized and already in America there is a trend to the reduction in the numbers employed in offices, a reduction especially of women. R.B.Helfgott, 'EDP and the Office Work Force', Industrial and Labor Relations Review, 19, 1966, p. 516.

2. See Table 1:5.



return to work.<sup>1</sup>

At the same time married women have become increasingly more ready to work. Though this is partly a matter of changed community attitudes, community attitudes are themselves a reflection of actual changes in behaviour. Public opinion is now more favourable to married women working (at least married women who have no children) partly because a greater proportion of married women work now than formerly. Thus, the community's experiences of married women in employment during the second world war is undoubtedly connected with the present more favourable attitude.

More important, however, than changes in public opinion in increasing the readiness with which married women enter the workforce are a number of demographic changes. Women now marry earlier, have fewer children and at shorter intervals, and are thus free of childbearing if not of child-minding, about

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1. However, these concessions are often minimal in extent. Many employers (particularly in manufacturing) have failed to modify the hours of part-time work to suit the particular needs of working mothers, and retraining programmes for married women returning to work are rare, so that many older married women are restricted to unskilled occupations. Moreover, creches are only infrequently provided for working mothers. See M. Harris, 'Conditions of Employment of Married Women in Industry', Personnel Practice Bulletin, 15, 1959, p. 41, and A.D. Mountain, 'Employment of Married Women in 40 Australian Undertakings', Personnel Practice Bulletin, 21, 1965, p. 23.

ten or fifteen years earlier than their grandmothers. Table 1:5 demonstrates the increasing proportion of 15-19 year old women who are married, and the over-all increase in the proportion of women

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Table 1:5 Ever Married Females as a Percentage of All Females in Selected Age Groups, 1901-1961.

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>1901</u>	<u>1921</u>	<u>Census</u> <u>1947</u>	<u>1954</u>	<u>1961</u>
15-19	2.9	3.7	5.6	6.9	7.0
20-24	28.0	33.6	48.6	59.0	60.5
25-34	65.3	69.7	82.6	87.7	90.1
35-44	85.4	81.7	87.2	91.1	93.5
Total 15+	59.5	64.2	73.6	78.5	78.9

Source: Vernon Report, II, p. 499.

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who marry. Whereas the average age at marriage in 1891 was 25.1, by 1961 it was 22.7.<sup>1</sup> With the declining age at marriage it is not surprising that women are having children at an earlier age. In fact, however, there is evidence that the whole pattern of childbearing has changed. The increasingly high birth rates

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1. Census, New South Wales, 1891. Demography Bulletin, 1964.

for married women of less than 30 years of age suggest not only an earlier commencement of childbearing but also a shorter interval between births and probably a reduction in the size of families, since at the same time the birth rates of older women have declined (Table 1:6)<sup>1</sup>.

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Table 1:6 Age Specific Birth Rates, 1921-1961.

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>1921</u>	<u>Census</u>		<u>1961</u>
		<u>1947</u>	<u>1954</u>	
15-19	26.6	31.8	39.2	47.2
20-24	135.1	166.2	197.7	225.2
25-29	169.1	186.4	193.5	220.2
30-34	141.6	131.1	122.2	131.3
35-39	101.4	74.1	64.2	63.2
40-44	43.7	23.4	20.1	19.2

Source: W.D. Borrie and R.M. Rodgers, 'The Next Fifteen Years' (unpublished MSS, Melbourne, 1960), p. 13 and Department of the Treasury, Projections of the Workforce, p. 13.

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1. More direct evidence of decline in the size of families is more difficult to interpret because the average size of families at a particular census year reflects the age structure of the population at that time as well as its fertility.

As one demographer has aptly expressed it:

For many, childbearing within marriage has become an episode in life, not an end in itself, and exactly when children are born is increasingly a rational decision likely to be determined by immediate social and economic circumstances.<sup>1</sup>

In other words, the relationship between changed marriage and childbearing patterns and the increased employment of married women is a dynamic one. The anticipation of employment after marriage is partly a corollary of a lower age at marriage.

Instead of working until they have saved up enough money to get married, in these days of controlled fertility women now keep on working after marriage to meet the initial cost of founding a home.<sup>2</sup> In addition, the likelihood of the wife's working after childbearing no doubt enters into a couple's calculations about when they will have their children and how many children they will have.

Not only have patterns of marriage and childbearing changed, but women can now look forward to a far longer life. In 1891 in New South Wales the life expectancy of a woman at birth

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1. 'Australia's Birth Rate', Current Affairs Bulletin, 39, ii, 1966, p. 27

2. Leser, (1958), p. 105.

was 52.9 years.<sup>1</sup> Today it is 74.2 years.<sup>2</sup> In addition, housework has become less arduous and time consuming with modern labour saving devices and with the development of an extensive range of personal services in the community. Perhaps as a result of this, the role of housewife has largely lost its status. The major complaint of some lonely London housewives was that 'their role had no importance either to themselves or to the outside world'.<sup>3</sup> The feeling that housework is a waste of time may be reinforced by the absence of cash rewards for it in a society in which the value of work is generally measured in monetary terms.<sup>4</sup>

Thus, on the one hand the increasing effectiveness of contraceptive devices has allowed couples to plan their childbearing so that a much greater part of a woman's life is free of child-minding now than was the case at the beginning of the century; on the other hand, the expansion of the economy and the reduction in the alternative sources of labour has created a greater opportunity of employment for married women.

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1. T.A. Coghlan, Report on the Census, New South Wales, 1891, p. 151
  2. Demography Bulletin, 1964
  3. H. Gavron, The Captive Wife, (London, 1966), p. 111
  4. V. Klein, 'Industrialisation and the Changing Role of Women', Current Sociology, 12, 1963-4, p. 32

But not all married women avail themselves of the opportunities for work. Thus it is necessary to consider the determinants of the workforce participation of married women in terms other than these general changes.

### C. Major Determinants

In discussing the factors which determine whether a wife will work or not after marriage, it is clear that the case of young wives with no children is less complex than the case of mothers. This is so simply because a large number of married women without children do work after marriage, implying that deterrents must be less. Hence, it is probably more sensible to talk in terms of factors which restrain newly married women from working rather than to discuss more positive aspects of their workforce behaviour. 1961 Census figures show that 48 percent of all childless women married for less than five years were at work. If figures for single years of marriage were available, they would certainly show that a much higher proportion of women worked at least for the first six or twelve months of their marriage. Gavron's study of London housewives, for example, showed that only 15 percent did not work at some time before the birth of their first child. These

included women who had never worked (one had 'led an upper middle class adolescence of finishing schools and coming out dances', one was in ill health, and the others married immediately after leaving school), women whose jobs before marriage could not be easily continued after marriage (in this case, nursing), women who faced opposition from their husbands, and a more numerous group who became pregnant 'too quickly'. In the last case, religious principles may well have been a relevant factor in accounting for early pregnancy.<sup>1</sup>

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1. H. Gavron (1966) pp. 109, 111. L.H. Day, 'Differentials in the Age of Women at Completion of Childbearing in Australia', Population Studies, 18, 1965, shows that for Australia, Catholic women start their childbearing earlier than non-Catholic women, and, because they generally have more children, they tend to finish their childbearing later. These facts are very likely to reduce the workforce participation rate of Catholic women, both before childbearing and after, particularly in view of the Catholic ideology of 'a woman's place is in the home'. (On the importance of this ideology, see McKenzie, 1962, pp. 86f.) The only study to correlate the incidence of employment among married women with religion (apart from J.I. Martin's study of Adelaide families, the relevant section of which is not yet published) is Dawson's survey of Sydney graduate wives. This showed that more of the Catholic wives than wives of any other religion had never worked after marriage and fewer Catholic mothers of pre-school children worked compared with other mothers of pre-school children. However, perhaps Catholic mothers of young children had more children than other mothers of young children. In any case Catholic graduate wives are, because of the low proportion of Catholic women to graduate from Australian universities, hardly typical of Catholic wives in general. Because of the unrepresentative nature of Dawson's survey, and because no other study has correlated religion with married women's employment, further discussion of the importance of religion in determining workforce participation of married women has been omitted from the present analysis, though 'wife's religion' and 'husband's religion' are included on Figure 1.

Though this group of young childless wives will be mentioned in connection with factors such as standard of education attained or occupation of husband, the following discussion of the determinants of the workforce participation of married women will be more concerned with mothers.

Availability of suitable work is, of course, crucial above all else in determining whether or not a woman will work after marriage, but what is considered suitable varies according to the woman's personal characteristics and those of her family, as well as community characteristics such as attitudes to working wives, the availability of domestic help, creches and adequate public transport. Some of the most important of these interrelationships have been conceptualised on Figure 1.

Among the most relevant personal characteristics affecting workforce behaviour after marriage is her father's occupation - in other words her social class background - and all that follows from it, including the education and vocational training she receives, the age she finishes her education to start work, and the age that she marries. Although other factors in her personal history are relevant to the probability of a woman's employment after marriage - factors such as ethnic origin,



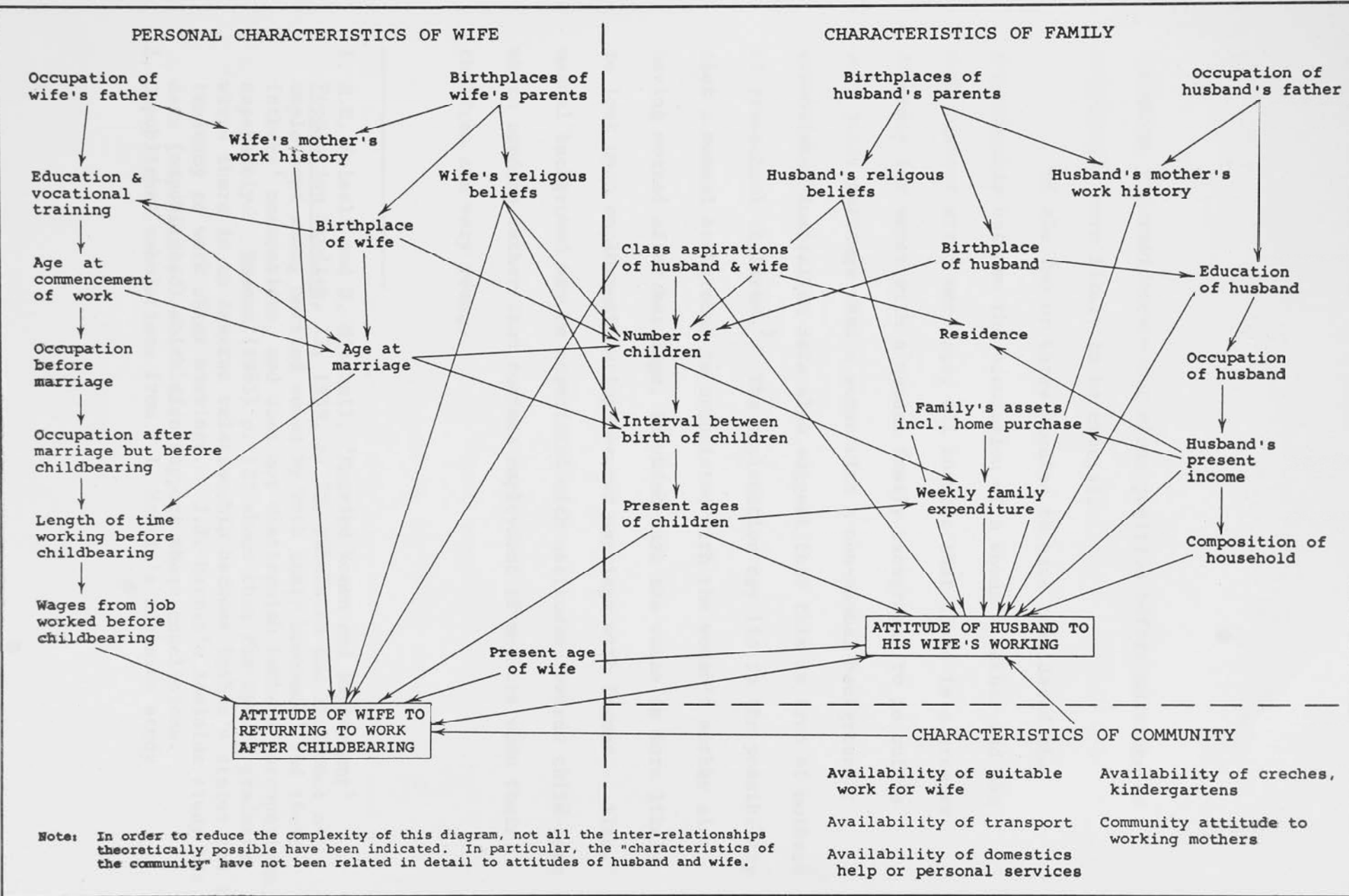


FIGURE I: Major determinants of workforce participation of married women with children

religion, and residence - her class position before marriage is undoubtedly more likely to be crucial.

Of the two or three studies to have considered the relationship between the occupation of a woman's father and her work history after marriage, all suggest that there is a greater tendency for women with a manual family background to go out to work after marriage than a woman with a non-manual background<sup>1</sup>; unpublished Australian data also suggest that this is true of mothers of pre-school children.<sup>2</sup> The explanation may lie in the possibility that a manual background is associated with the woman's mother also having worked after marriage, in which case the woman is more likely to look upon employment during her own marriage with favour. Also, manual background may be associated with attitudes towards child-care which condone rather than condemn employment of mothers when their children are very young.

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1. R.K. Kelsall and S. Mitchell, 'Married Women and Employment' Population Studies, 13, 1959, p. 25, tabulated the incidence of employment among married women by both their husbands' and their fathers' occupations, and does not distinguish fathers' occupations separately. Dawson (1965) p. 122 shows that for Sydney graduate wives there is an inverse relationship between father's status and the tendency to work after marriage. J.I. Martin's Adelaide study has data (unpublished) which also support these conclusions.
  2. Unpublished tabulations from J.I. Martin's Adelaide study.

Apart from this direct relationship, there is undoubtedly an important indirect connection between occupation of father and a woman's employment after marriage, in that social origin determines the type of education a girl receives, which in turn sets the possibilities of her working life: what jobs she can get when she finishes her education, and what jobs she can seek if she wants to work during her married life.<sup>1</sup>

McKenzie has shown that in Australia, parents of higher status are more likely to keep their children on longer at school than parents of lower status, and further, that girls who have a parent with a university or professional qualification are more likely than others of the same school background to go to the university.<sup>2</sup>

Not surprisingly perhaps, education is itself related to whether or not a woman works after she is married. On overseas evidence, women with a higher education are more likely to work in each of the four stages of the family cycle: after marriage but before childbearing (the 'pre-family' stage); when

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1. Kelsall and Mitchell (1959), pp. 31-33, found a significant relationship between the occupation of a man and the occupation held by his daughter after her marriage.

2. McKenzie (1962), pp. 102-3, 122.

the youngest child is of pre-school age (the 'young family' stage); when all the children are of school age (the 'school age family' stage) and when all the children have left school (the 'grown family' stage).<sup>1</sup>

In the 'pre-family' stage, American evidence suggests that the better educated women are more likely to work after marriage and to remain at work longer than less educated women.<sup>2</sup> Possible reasons for this pattern might be that better educated women have more control over their childbearing<sup>3</sup> (they might be better educated about contraceptive devices); they might have a

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1. Women who never become mothers, i.e., who are childless after childbearing age, have been ignored in this analysis, firstly because there are not very many of them, and secondly because, like women in the 'pre-family' stage, determinants of their work behaviour are not very complex. They apparently leave the workforce very early, perhaps out of ill-health, or boredom, or because their husbands have reached the peak of their incomes. In any case it is not possible to separate the actually childless from the apparently childless in census figures, since census figures refer to 'presence of children of existing marriage', and a considerable number of women marry for a second time - though it is difficult to determine their numbers exactly.
  2. U.S.A., Department of Commerce, Family Characteristics of Working Wives, 1958, p. 5. P.C. Glick and H. Carter, 'Marriage Patterns and Educational Level', American Sociological Review, 23, 1958, p. 298 (1957 data).
  3. J. Allingham, 'Occupational Mobility in Australia' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, A.N.U., 1965) suggests that this pattern of 'deferred gratification' (later marriage, long interval before birth of first child, and so on) is associated with upward mobility. H.Y. T'ien, Social Mobility and Controlled Fertility (New Haven, 1965) p. 150, comes to the same conclusion in relation to university teachers; where there is a pattern of delayed birth of the first child after marriage, it is associated with the wife's working, and with the husband's upward mobility.

greater desire to postpone their childbearing (higher education may be associated with attempts to be financially secure early in married life); or they might be working in rewarding and stimulating jobs, perhaps having only just begun to work after completing tertiary education, in contrast to less educated women who may well have become bored by the time they marry with a tedious badly-paid job which they have held since leaving school at the age of fourteen.

With women in the 'young family' stage of the family cycle, however, the incidence of working mothers of young children is not much higher for those with tertiary education than for those who have not completed their secondary education.<sup>1</sup> Clearly, the presence of young children is such a deterrent to work that the education of the mother (and hence the number of suitable job opportunities open to her) is a less relevant factor.

With the last two stages of the family cycle the relationship between education and the incidence of post-marriage

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1. U.S.A., Department of Commerce, Family Characteristics of Working Wives, p. 5.

employment again holds strongly (at least in America).<sup>1</sup> Again, wider and more attractive job opportunities is likely to be the most valid explanation.

However, this positive relationship between education and employment after marriage has no necessary bearing on a relationship between social class (in terms of occupation of husband) and the incidence of a working wife. It is possible - and perhaps likely - that there is an inverse relationship between occupation of husband and the likelihood of his wife's working, and yet, at the same time, a direct relationship between the wife's education and the probabilities of her working. In other words, though working class women may be more likely to work than middle class women,<sup>2</sup> nevertheless within these social classes, women with

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1. U.S.A., Department of Commerce, Family Characteristics of Working Wives, Dawson (1965), p. 117, found that 39 percent of a sample of Sydney graduate wives were working, compared with the 1961 Australian workforce participation rate of married women of 19 percent, but her sample was probably biased towards middle-aged, rather than young, wives, and the former are more likely to be in the workforce because their children are more likely to be school-age or older. cf. C. Craig, The Employment of Cambridge Graduates (Cambridge, 1963).
  2. In this context, middle class and working class are terms used to refer to non-manual and manual workers and their families.

more education might be more likely to work than women with less.

Evidence, however, about which way the relationship runs between social class and incidence of working wives is conflicting. As one might expect, all the evidence suggests that there is an inverse relationship between husband's income and the likelihood of his wife's working<sup>1</sup> (and this is true of the only two Australian studies which correlate husband's income and working wife<sup>2</sup>) but the relationship between occupation of husband and the incidence of a working wife is not so consistent.

Kelsall and Mitchell's English sample shows lowest incidence of working wives among women whose husbands and fathers were non-manual workers,<sup>3</sup> but Bancroft's more detailed occupational breakdown for the United States in 1956 showed the

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1. Bancroft, The American Labor Force (New York, 1958), p. 123; U.S.A. Department of Commerce, Family Characteristics of Working Wives, p.2; Blood and Wolfe (1960) p. 98; T.A. Mahoney, 'Factors Determining the Labor Force Participation of Married Women', Industrial and Labor Relations Review, 14, 1961, p. 566.
  2. Dawson (1965) p. 125; D. Scott and R. U'ren, Leisure: A Social Enquiry into Activities and Needs in an Australian Housing Estate (Melbourne, 1962) p. 18.
  3. Kelsall and Mitchell (1959) p. 24. This conclusion is also supported by unpublished data from J.I. Martin's Adelaide study.



relationship between occupation and incidence of working wife to be an inverse one only at the extremes of the class scale. Women whose husbands were self-employed professional workers were least likely to be in the labour force, and wives of service workers were most likely to be working. In between these two extremes there was a good deal of similarity among occupations of different kinds, though women whose husbands were skilled craftsmen had a labour force rate as low as that of the wives of salaried professional workers, despite the lower income of the former.<sup>1</sup>

The only Australian survey<sup>2</sup> to cross-tabulate occupation of husband with incidence of working wife - Edwards and Gates' Survey of Consumer Finances - gives an exactly opposite result.<sup>3</sup> According to this survey of Sydney in 1961, 29 percent of the wives of professional and executive men work, 26 percent of sales and clerical workers' wives, only 19 percent of skilled tradesmen's

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1. Bancroft (1958) p. 123. Cf. G. Mackenzie, 'The Economic Dimensions of Embourgeoisement', British Journal of Sociology, 18, 1967, p. 34. Using American census data for 1960, he obtained a similar picture for the middle (low white collar, skilled blue collar) range of occupations, though the incidence of working wives among craftsmen was not quite as low.
  2. The Australian census does not cross-tabulate this data.
  3. H.R. Edwards and R.C. Gates, Survey of Consumer Finances (Sydney, 1963) vol. 1, p. 87.



wives and 21 percent of other blue-collar workers' wives.

The only point of similarity between the American and Australian data is the low incidence of working wives among skilled tradesmen. Possibly the fact that Edwards and Gates' data are from a metropolis affects the results, but the only other explanations seem to be that, with regard to the generally low level of female education in Australia, professional men's wives might be more likely to work because they are more likely to have had higher education<sup>1</sup>, or possibly that opposition to working wives is very high among manual workers in Australia, preventing their wives from working in proportions which might otherwise be expected.

However, the whole question of the relationship between social class and the incidence of working wives must be further explored. When mothers of young children only are considered, Australian data again conflict with overseas data, but in the opposite direction. Bryson et al. showed that the incidence of working mothers with pre-school children was highest among unskilled men's wives and foremen, and lowest among the professional

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1. There is considerable American and English evidence to suggest that where the husband is a white collar worker, so, generally, is his wife. U.S.A., Department of Commerce, Family Characteristics of Working Wives, p. 5. Kelsall and Mitchell (1959) p. 31.

groups.<sup>1</sup> Gavron, in her study of a London suburb, maintains, by contrast, that 29 percent of the working class women continued working after the birth of their first child compared with 37 percent of the middle class women.<sup>2</sup> But perhaps Bryson's data cannot be compared directly with the London study, since the Australian study looked for women with pre-school children to sample, whereas the London study investigated married women aged 19 to 31 - a younger group with fewer children.<sup>3</sup> Certainly, from a commonsense point of view, it would seem that women who work with pre-school children mostly do so out of economic necessity, a pressure more likely to occur among wives of blue-collar workers. Again, the high incidence of employment among working class mothers of young children found by Bryson may be related to closer kinship ties in working class families, allowing mothers in these families the opportunity to leave their children with relatives living close by while they go out to work. On the other hand, in some areas the opportunities for suitable and well-paid part-time work may be greater for white collar workers than blue collar.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Bryson, et al. (1960) Appendix 2. J.I. Martin's Adelaide study (relevant section unpublished) tends to support Bryson's conclusions.
  2. Gavron (1966) p. 116.
  3. Bryson, et al. (1960) p. 14. Gavron (1966) p. 39
  4. Australian data are lacking on this point, and English and American evidence is conflicting. See Mackenzie (1967) p. 32 and Klein (1965) p. 32.

Thus it is possible that whatever the general relationship between social class (viewed in terms of occupation of husband) and the incidence of working wives in Australia, the relationship in particular stages of the family cycle may well be different.<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps one of the reasons for the lack of a clear relationship between occupation of husband and incidence of working wife is that economic necessity is not the only reason women have for working, nor lack of economic necessity the only reason for not working.<sup>2</sup> Some women work for personal reasons, such as loneliness or boredom, or interest in a particular job - and it has been found that these women are more likely to be married to men with high incomes.<sup>3</sup> Others work not so much from economic necessity as from a desire to own certain consumer

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1. With reference to other stages of the family cycle, Gavron (1966) pp. 109, 116, found that slightly fewer middle class wives worked after marriage in the 'pre-family' stage than working class wives. Kelsall and Mitchell (1959) found no significant difference in the social class of women with children over the age of fifteen in the workforce.
  2. This is apart from the problem that some women say they work for reasons of economic pressure, but in fact some other motive is more important. See Bryson, et al. (1960) p. 48.
  3. Bryson, et al. (1960) p. 44; Klein (1965) p. 37; Gavron (1966) p. 12.

goods, such as cars, washing machines and television sets.

In relation to these women, there is considerable evidence to suggest that a working wife is a device which enables a family to be upwardly socially mobile. T'ien has argued that in the case of Australian university teachers, a wife's working in the 'pre-family' stage is related to the husband's social mobility.<sup>1</sup> And, using American data, Mackenzie considers that there is evidence that 'one of the mechanisms by which manual workers are able to approximate white collar earnings is the working wife'.<sup>2</sup> Of the 58 working mothers of young children interviewed by Bryson, et al. in Melbourne, ten were working to buy a house and fourteen for consumer needs. Only sixteen worked for subsistence or because of an accident or illness in the family. All of those working for subsistence planned to continue work for a long time, but, surprisingly, so did the majority of those women working to satisfy consumer needs.<sup>3</sup> But perhaps this bears out Veblen's point that 'status seeking'

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1. T'ien (1965) p. 150.

2. Mackenzie (1967) p. 32.

3. Bryson, et al. (1960) pp. 38-48. H. Gepp, 'A Note on Working Wives', Personnel Practice Bulletin, 18, 1962, p. 47, in her survey of a food processing factory in Australia, found about the same proportion of motives.

is a never ending pursuit. Finally, there is other evidence that

in every income class, families in which the wife is an additional worker have the greater frequency of new or used car purchase, use auto credit to a greater extent, and have no mortgage debt more often<sup>1</sup> than families in which there is only one wage earner.

Women who work for subsistence may be likely to do so at every stage of the family cycle - though even such apparently random pressures as ill health may be more probable among older men - but urgent economic need is most likely to arise when the children are of school age and family expenditure is at its peak. The desire for consumer goods, though it too could motivate a wife to work at any stage of the family cycle, may be most pressing in the 'pre-family' stage, when a house has to be furnished (if not purchased). Not surprisingly, then, these two stages of the family cycle are those where the incidence of working wives is greatest. English evidence shows that whereas 37 percent of wives with no children worked, and 26 percent of wives with children 5-14 worked, only 15 percent of wives with children over fifteen worked and 12 percent of wives with children under 5.<sup>2</sup> Evidence from America shows a similar pattern though even

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1. quoted by Bancroft (1958) p. 132, from a survey by the U.S.A. Bureau of Census in 1956.

2. Kelsall and Mitchell (1959) p. 25.

more women with school-age children work than those with no children.<sup>1</sup> Australian evidence supports only partially these overseas conclusions. However, of the three studies which show the workforce participation rates of wives according to the ages of their children, one is of a housing commission area, the second is restricted to graduates, and the third is a survey of a metropolitan area and does not distinguish between infertile couples and those with grown children. Nevertheless all three demonstrate a high workforce participation rate among women with no children and a low rate among women with pre-school children.<sup>2</sup>

Though urgent economic need or the desire to buy consumer goods may cause wives to work at one period of the family cycle rather than another, deterrents to working at particular points of the family cycle must also be considered. The deterrent effect of having a pre-school child has already been mentioned. Young children create additional problems for would-be working mothers because of the need to consider suitable<sup>3</sup>

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1. Nye and Hoffman (1963) p. 8. U.S.A., Department of Commerce, Family Characteristics of Working Wives, p. 5.
  2. Scott and U'ren (1962) p. 17. Dawson (1965) p. 177. Edwards and Gates (1963) vol. 1, p. 89.
  3. The question of what is considered suitable childcare by different social classes has not been explored, at least in the context of working mothers.

substitute child-care in addition to the problem of finding suitable work (suitable in terms of hours, income, distance from home, and so on). Because of these problems, then, families whose household includes a relative, particularly the mother of the husband or wife, are more likely to have a working wife than those families whose households do not. There is no research (in Australia) into which families are most likely to have grandparents or other relatives living with them, but the pattern is probably common among some migrant groups, particularly the Italians and Greeks. On the other hand, households which include boarders are perhaps less likely to have a working wife, because having boarders may well be an alternative to the wife's working.

Furthermore, problems of child-minding are so considerable that where a mother of a pre-school age child is working, her job - compared with those of mothers of older children - is likely to be part-time or to be associated with her husband's occupation, for example, in helping to run a small business, where such

problems are lessened.<sup>1</sup> Again, where a woman has skills which can be used at home - for example, dressmaking, and sometimes typing - she is likely to be in the workforce regardless of the ages of her children.<sup>2</sup> A large number of children is also likely to be a deterrent factor in relation to a married woman's workforce participation, but evidence to date is inconclusive.<sup>3</sup>

Age is also an important deterrent. American and English data show that whether or not a woman with children of a given age works is largely dependent on her own age. For example, in America in 1957, women between the ages of 25 and 44 were more likely to work when they had school age children than women who were over 45.<sup>4</sup> This pattern may, however, have a number of explanations. It may not simply be that older women

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1. Overseas evidence shows that part-time jobs are more common among working mothers of pre-school age children than full-time jobs. See U.S.A., Department of Commerce, Family Characteristics of Working Wives, p. 5; Gavron (1966) pp. 111, 119. Dawson (1965) p. 180 argues that this is also true of Australian graduate wives with pre-school age children, but Bryson, et al., p. 33, shows a high percentage of working mothers in full-time jobs. However, without information about working mothers with children of all ages, Bryson's data are hard to interpret.
  2. Kelsall and Mitchell (1959) p. 29.
  3. Bryson, et al., (1960) p. 22.
  4. U.S.A., Department of Commerce, Family Characteristics of Working Wives, p. 5. Bryson et al.'s study does not cross-tabulate incidence of employment among mothers of pre-school age children by the mother's age, a strange omission.



are less physically able to work than younger women. Older women are more likely to have larger families than younger women, and they are also less likely to have worked before or immediately after marriage, and to have had as good an education as younger women.

Finally, husband's disapproval of his wife's working is important. Klein has shown that more husbands of non-working wives disapprove of the employment of married women than do husbands of already employed women, the implication being that if the husband does not approve of his wife's working, then she is less likely to be in the workforce than a woman whose husband does approve.<sup>1</sup> However, an alternative explanation of this pattern is that regardless of the husband's initial attitude to his wife's working, husbands who experience the situation of having a working wife are more likely to approve of it than those who do not.<sup>2</sup> Gavron, in her survey of a London suburb, found that disapproving husbands tended to be working class rather than middle class, but here disapproval

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1. Klein (1965) p. 54

2. This is implicit in the findings of Bryson *et al.* (1960) p. 50, that 'in a few cases wives first took jobs and then dealt with their husbands' reactions'.

related only to the wife's intention to work, not to her actual employment.<sup>1</sup> If, however, it is true that working class men are more likely to disapprove of their wives' working than middle class men, then it may be explicable by the probability that a working wife is a greater threat to the self-image and prestige of a man whose income and occupational status is low than to a man whose status is high (and whose income is likely to be considerably higher than that of his wife)<sup>2</sup>.

Loss of status, however, is conditional upon community attitudes to working wives. In some areas of England it is traditional for wives to work regardless of financial necessity. In some areas it is traditional not to.<sup>3</sup> Clearly community attitudes are more likely to be favourable if wives in a particular area, or wives in a particular stage of the family

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1. Gavron (1966) p.122. The study of Bryson et al. does not cross-tabulate husband's disapproval by his occupation.
  2. Parsons and R.F. Bales, Family: Socialization and Interacting Process (Glencoe, 1955) p. 14 says 'It is quite clear that in general the woman's job tends to be of a qualitatively different type and not of a status which seriously competes with that of her husband as the primary status-giver or income-earner.' But this statement applies only to some wives (those with unskilled manual jobs) and some husbands (those with skilled manual or white collar jobs).
  3. Kelsall and Mitchell (1959) p. 24.

cycle, have been accustomed to working. Thus a husband is more likely to approve of his wife's working in the 'pre-family' stage of the family cycle, than when the couple have had children simply because working in the former stage is more common. Community attitudes probably exert an important indirect effect on the incidence of working wives, in the control public opinion has in perpetuating the government and trade union restrictions on the sorts of jobs a woman may hold, the hours she may work, the training she may receive, and the income she can obtain.<sup>1</sup> However, in general, community attitudes are probably less relevant than the attitudes of the reference group of the husband and wife - whether it is a social class or an ethnic group.

Birthplace is probably an important determinant of workforce participation of married women because migrant families have greater economic pressures than Australian families. It is possible too, that working mothers are less condemned by many migrant communities than by Australians, and this may well be

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1. T. Hunter, 'Some Factors Which Determine the Distribution of the Female Workforce', Journal of Industrial Relations, 4, 1961; R. Blandy, 'Equal Pay in Australia', Journal of Industrial Relations, 5, 1963; R.L. Smyth and A. Petridis, 'The Restricted Employment Opportunities for Women', Australian Quarterly, 37, 1965.

related to the ease with which many migrant women can solve their child-minding problems by leaving their children with relatives living in the same household or close by. Migrant wives are also more likely to work than Australian-born wives because generally they live in areas (in the inner city suburbs and in industrial areas) where work for women is plentiful.

This discussion (summarised in Figure 1) has emphasised the variety of factors which determine the workforce participation of married women, particularly of women with children. The key factors are her birthplace, her occupation before marriage (which is related to her class of origin, her education, the age she leaves school, her age at marriage, and her occupation after marriage), the numbers and ages of her children (which influences the levels of her family expenditure and the presence or absence of problems of child-minding), the occupation of her husband (reflecting his class of origin, his education, the likelihood of his approving his wife's employment after marriage, the family's income, assets and debts, and residence), and the characteristics

of the community in which she lives (including the availability of work for women, of transport and of creches, and community attitudes to working wives).

Few of these factors are, or indeed can easily be, investigated in a national census. Some information is available, however, on the relationships between birthplace, the number and ages of issue, residence, age and duration of marriage and occupations of married women. However, in the absence of information about occupation of husband, hypotheses relating these variables to social class will be suggested rather than demonstrated.

CHAPTER II. OCCUPATIONS OF  
MARRIED WOMEN

A. Occupations of Married Women in the Workforce, 1947 and 1961.

As has been noted in the last chapter, the number of married women in employment has grown from under 142,000 in 1947 to 406,000 in 1961.<sup>1</sup> The greatest part of this increase was among middle-aged women - only about one in five married women entering the workforce in this period was under thirty - and this had the effect of increasing the median age of married women in employment from 36.8 to 38.6 years.<sup>2</sup> One interesting question is, did the pattern of employment of married women change in this period, or was this new influx of married women absorbed into the same range of occupations as before? The answer to this question has significance not only from the point of view of establishing whether married women are being attracted to, or allowed to occupy, jobs of a higher status than before, but also in the context of attempting to identify the social class origin of these older women.

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1. The 1947 Census does not give separate figures for married women excluding permanently separated women. See Table 1:1.
  2. Table 2:3.

Unfortunately, it is not very easy to give a precise answer to the question. Occupational data are available from the 1947 Census, but the 1947 occupational classification differs in important respects from that used in the 1961 Census. For this reason precise comparison over the full range of occupations is impossible. Moreover, the 1947 occupational data refer only to the total female workforce, and do not distinguish different marital statuses. The 1954 Census does provide specific tabulations for working wives, but only by industrial groups. Occupational data were not coded. Though this information on married women by industry can be compared with data for 1961, comparable data are not available for 1947. In any case, the distribution of married women in industrial groups tells a somewhat different story from that by occupational groups. Though some industrial groups can be approximately equated with some occupational categories - for example primary industry and the rural occupational group - most of them cannot. Manufacturing industry contains not only labourers, operatives and craftsmen, but clerical and administrative workers as well (not to mention chemists, engineers and other professional workers). Thus,

information about the industrial concentration of married women in 1954 and 1961 cannot give evidence of possible changes from blue collar to white collar work with as much precision as an occupational analysis.

Despite these limitations, the 1947 and 1961 occupational data for the female workforce as a whole, and the 1954 and 1961 data about industries employing married women provide interesting comparisons which at least suggest in outline changes in occupational structure.

To overcome difficulties of comparability between occupations as classified in the 1947 and 1961 Censuses a short list of broadly similar occupational groups has been constructed.<sup>1</sup> The use of this broader classification minimises problems of comparison between the two dates. Even so, at some points the comparison is necessarily imprecise, partly because of occasional imprecision in the original 1947 occupational classification (for example, with 'managers' and 'shop proprietors'). For this

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1. See Appendix 1 for details of this twenty occupational code and the method used in obtaining it.



reason these two categories will be ignored in the following discussion, though data referring to them have been included in Table 2:1.

One notable finding revealed by this comparison is that the proportion of the female workforce in clerical jobs had increased by 1961 and the proportion in factory work had decreased. (Table 2:1). Clerks increased from 23 percent of the female workforce in 1947 to nearly 29 percent by 1961, whereas those in factory jobs declined from 22 percent to only 17 percent over the same period. Other changes were less marked: there was a slightly greater concentration of women in lower professional jobs (such as teaching and nursing) in 1961, and a slight proportional decrease in those employed as shop assistants and in cleaning and personal service occupations.<sup>1</sup> Five occupational categories - in order of numerical importance, clerical work, factory work, cleaning and personal service, lower professional work and shop assistants - in 1961 employed 81 percent of the female workforce.

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1. The Vernon Report (vol II, p. 520) describes these changes in terms of the broader categories of white collar, blue collar, service and farm workers, and comes to substantially the same conclusions.

Table 2:1 Occupational Composition of the Male and Female Workforce, 1947 and 1961.

<u>Occupational Category</u>	<u>Male Workforce</u>		<u>Female Workforce</u>					
	<u>1947</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1947</u>		<u>1961</u>			
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No. ('000)</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%WF</u>	<u>No. ('000)</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%WF</u>
Upper Professional	0.9	2.3	1	0.1	3.8	4	0.3	4.7
Lower Professional	1.5	2.5	74	10.3	67.0	126	11.9	61.3
Religious Workers	0.3	0.4	2	0.2	16.9	3	0.3	22.2
Artists	0.4	0.5	6	0.8	37.5	7	0.7	30.9
Technicians	0.5	1.1	2	0.3	16.2	7	0.7	15.9
Managers	3.1	8.0	6	0.9	7.7	43	4.1	14.6
Clerks	7.1	7.6	167	23.2	48.6	307	29.0	56.0
Shop Assistants	6.5	4.9	84	11.6	34.2	116	11.0	42.7
Shop Proprietors	3.7	1.0	30	4.1	24.5	19	1.7	16.8
Farmers	18.6)	8.2	22)	3.1)	4.6)	29	2.7	10.0
Outdoor Workers	)	6.6	)	)	)	8	0.8	3.8
Tram Conductors	4.4	6.5	*	0.1	0.7	3	0.3	1.3
Railway & Postal Officers	0.2	0.3	2	0.2	24.6	2	0.2	19.2
Telephonists	0.4	0.8	13	1.8	56.7	21	2.0	46.6
Factory Workers	43.5	42.9	157	21.9	12.7	175	16.5	11.4
Cleaners	2.2	1.8	104	14.5	65.9	129	12.2	69.2
Hairdressers	0.4	0.3	9	1.2	48.4	13	1.3	59.0
Launderers	0.0	0.2	4	0.5	77.7	11	1.1	61.8
Hospital Attendants	0.1	0.3	2	0.3	39.0	10	0.9	54.2
Other Service Workers	3.1	2.9	8	1.1	9.1	5	0.5	5.7
Inadequately Described	3.3	1.0	27	3.7	24.7	21	2.0	39.0
Total	100.0	100.0	717	100.0	22.4	1059	100.0	25.1
	(2,479,000)	(3,166,000)						

\* less than 1,000

Source: Census 1947 and unpublished 1961 Census data.

This concentration of most of the female workforce in a few groups of occupations is not, however, a recent development. It was apparent sixty years ago. What has changed is the distribution of women between these five groups. Since the turn of the century the proportion of the female workforce engaged in cleaning and personal service has decreased dramatically, from approximately 46 percent in 1901 to 12 percent in 1961, while the proportion of women in white collar jobs (the public service, upper and lower professional and commercial occupations) has correspondingly increased (the proportion in 1901 was about 20 percent, in 1961, about 50 percent).<sup>1</sup> At the same time clerical jobs have increasingly become the preserve of women. In the period from 1947 to 1961 the number of female clerks grew at a much faster rate than the number of male clerks, and by 1961 female clerks were 56 percent of the total, whereas they had been less than half in 1947. This trend to the increasing 'femininity' of clerical occupations has been quite marked since 1901. Thus the increase in the proportion of clerical workers in the female workforce after 1947 can be seen as part of a long term trend.

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1. The evidence is based on industrial rather than on occupational data.

The other significant change in the female workforce from 1947 to 1961 was the decline in the proportion engaged in factory work. This, too, seems part of a long term trend, though a slow one. The proportion of the female workforce engaged in manufacturing and construction was 23 percent in 1901, yet only 25 percent in 1961 (with some fluctuations in the years between these two dates). Since the manufacturing industry included by 1961 a considerably increased proportion of white collar workers, it may be inferred that the proportion of factory workers in the female workforce has declined since 1901, though the decline is probably not marked. By contrast, the percentage of the male workforce in manufacturing industry has increased quite rapidly, at least until about 1954, when there is some evidence that this upward trend ended. Table 1:4 shows that the proportion of the total workforce engaged in secondary industry (manufacturing, construction and electricity) remained at 38.9 percent from 1954 to 1961. Even when the effects of the 1961 recession are allowed for, it would still appear that the upward trend had ceased.<sup>1</sup>

This pattern of change of female employment is not confined to Australia. Evidence from other industrialised

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1. The proportion of the female workforce engaged in manufacturing though it declined from the 1960 figure in the 1961 recession, has increased only marginally since then (to 1965). Labour Report, 1964 p. 194.

countries, including the United Kingdom, the United States of America and Canada, shows similar developments. For example, in the United States in 1900, clerical workers were only 4 percent of the female workforce, but by 1950 they accounted for 27 percent.<sup>1</sup> In the United Kingdom, clerical workers were only 1 percent of the female workforce in 1901, but 20 percent in 1951, and the pattern of change in Canada is similar.<sup>2</sup> There is evidence, too, that in the United Kingdom and Canada the proportion of the female workforce engaged in factory work stagnated or declined in the sixty years since the beginning of the century (the same trend is not apparent in America). In general employment has grown at a much faster rate in white collar than in blue collar occupations.<sup>3</sup>

These changes, and especially the increase in the proportion of the female workforce engaged in clerical work, might reasonable be related to the entry of increasing numbers of married women into the workforce after 1947, in the sense that the increasing availability of white collar jobs might have attracted

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1. Bancroft (1958) p. 209.

2. E. James, 'Women at Work in Twentieth Century Britain', Manchester School of Economic and Social Studies, 30, 1962, p. 291. Canada, Department of Labor, Women at Work in Canada (1959) p. 25.

3. Bancroft (1958) p. 209; James (1962) p. 291; Women at Work in Canada p. 25. See also A.M. Farrag, 'The Occupational Structure of the Labour Force', Population Studies, 18, 1964, for a general analysis of occupational trends in these countries.

them into the workforce in greater numbers than before. Of the total increase in the female workforce from 1947 to 1961, four-fifths is accounted for by the increase in the number of married women, and since married women make up such a large proportion of the increase, it might be reasonable to assume that they took jobs in the same ratio as the total, in other words, that 41 percent went to clerical work, 15 percent to lower professional work, 10 percent to shop assistants, 7 percent to cleaning and personal service, 5 percent to factory work and the remainder to other occupations. This implies, then, that married women entering the workforce between 1947 and 1961 were more likely than before to be white collar rather than blue collar workers.

The above argument ignores the possibility that single women (and the less significant, in numerical terms, group of women 'with husbands absent'<sup>1</sup>) changed their occupational distribution in the same period. There is some evidence that single women were more concentrated in white collar jobs by 1961 than they had been in 1947, and that married women, although

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1. See Table 2:5 for the proportion of women 'with husbands absent' in various occupational groups.

entering white collar jobs in considerable numbers, were also attracted to the jobs in manufacturing and personal service formerly occupied by single women.

This is demonstrated, in the first place, by a comparison of the median ages of women in each of the twenty occupational categories in 1947 and 1961 (Table 2:2).<sup>1</sup> The median, being the value which divides the distribution exactly in half, in contrast to the mean which is the centre of gravity of the distribution, is more useful than the mean in cases where the distribution is skewed (as is the distribution of ages of single women in most occupations). Whereas the mean is affected by the value of every item under consideration, the median is affected only by the order of the items. As a result the median is virtually unaffected by extreme values, whereas the mean is. Thus the median is not distorted by the presence of a number of women in the 65 and over age category in occupations such as managers and farmers, and in this context is a more useful measure of the central value than the mean. In any case, the mean could only have been used in the present instance if some arbitrary cut-off

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1. Median age of farmers and outdoor workers have not been calculated for 1947 as the two categories were combined and a median age would mean little. The median ages of managers and shop proprietors are only rough approximations because of the ambiguities of the 1947 classification.

point were assumed for the final age group of 65 years and over. The median, on the other hand, can be used in cases where the distribution has open ended classes.<sup>1</sup>

Table 2:2 reveals that the median age of women in employment rose from 25.8 to 30.8 years in the period 1947 to 1961. If middle-aged married women entered white collar jobs in large numbers, one could expect the median age of women in white collar occupations to rise, but columns 1 and 2 in Table 2:2 demonstrate that the median age of women in upper and lower professional jobs declined in this period, and the median age of clerks rose only very slightly. When the two major occupations within the category of lower professional jobs are examined, we find that whereas the median age of nurses declined only slightly, from 25.9 to 24.5 years, that of teachers declined markedly, from 36.2 to 30.4 years. Nursing has probably never attracted many married women. In 1961 only a quarter of all nurses were married, and these were probably working in government positions as baby health centre sisters and so on, or with doctors in their surgeries, rather than in hospitals which are

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1. Bancroft (1958) pp. 78ff. uses the median age of women in various occupations for an estimation of the changes in the occupational structure of the American female workforce between 1940 and 1950.



Table 2:2 Median Ages of All Females in 1947, and Never Married and Ever Married Females in 1961 in Twenty Occupational Categories.

<u>Occupational Category</u>	1947 All Females	<u>Median Age</u>		Percent Ever Married 1961	
		All Females	Never Married		Ever Married
Upper Professional	37.3	35.0	31.6	37.5	53.3
Lower Professional	29.4	25.3	23.5	40.9	30.4
Religious Workers	47.4	41.6	40.9	43.4	19.1
Artists	35.1	33.9	24.9	40.8	44.0
Technicians	22.0	22.5	19.7	35.5	30.6
Managers	39.1	44.7	46.4	44.6	88.5
Clerks	22.6	23.2	19.6	36.1	35.1
Shop Assistants	24.0	25.5	18.7	41.0	47.3
Shop Proprietors	51.1	44.5	50.4	44.4	91.0
Farmers	*	48.2	51.7	47.8	87.9
Outdoor Workers	*	23.8	19.6	41.0	34.5
Tram Conductresses	30.0	37.2	24.1	38.7	78.2
Railway & Postal Officers	47.9	49.1	54.1	48.4	87.4
Telephonists	21.9	22.7	19.9	39.5	28.9
Factory Workers	24.3	32.8	19.9	38.4	62.5
Cleaners	33.6	42.5	24.7	48.2	69.9
Hairdressers	21.5	21.6	18.5	35.6	38.9
Laundresses	34.5	33.9	20.7	42.3	72.3
Hospital Attendants	22.6	26.2	22.5	40.2	35.3
Other Service Workers	26.2	25.8	20.2	40.7	41.7
Total (All Occupations)	25.8	30.8	20.4	40.7	49.9

Note The 1947 median ages for managers and shop proprietors are probably only roughly accurate.

\* Median ages of farmers and outdoor workers have not been calculated for 1947 because they were not distinguished in that census.

Source: 1947 Census and unpublished 1961 Census data.

staffed mostly by young single women. Hence the lower median age of nurses in 1961 probably reflects the enormous increase in hospital nursing staff in the post-war period rather than any change in the number of nursing positions sought by married women. Similarly, the decline in the median age of teachers from 36.2 to 30.4 probably reflects the influx of a large number of trainee teachers consequent upon the large increase in the number of schools in the latter part of the 1950s, rather than a decline in the tendency of middle-aged married women to seek teaching jobs.

The fact that the median age of clerks (and also shop assistants) rose only very slightly suggests that though these occupations almost certainly received an additional proportion of married women in the period from 1947 to 1961 they were probably young newly-married women working until the birth of their first child rather than middle-aged women with school-age children.

On the other hand, the median age of women in blue collar occupations rose substantially, particularly in the case of factory workers and cleaners, suggesting in the case of the former that factory workers are no longer predominantly young girls but married women returning to work after rearing a family. The median age of telephonists and other communications workers rose

only slightly, suggesting that, as was the case with clerks and shop assistants, the influx of married women into this occupation was of women working before childbearing rather than after it. Thus it is reasonable to argue that, on this evidence of median ages, where married women entered white collar jobs in the period after 1947 they were more likely to be young women than middle-aged women. The latter tended to be employed in factory work and cleaning.

Evidence of the changing industrial concentration of single and married women in the second half of the post-war period (1954 to 1961) tends to confirm these conclusions. Whereas the number of single women (including women 'with husbands absent') engaged in manufacturing industry declined by 10,000 in this period, the number of married women rose by 34,000.<sup>1</sup>

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1. It is interesting to note that the changes in the occupational structure of the American female workforce from 1940 to 1950 bear some resemblance to the Australian pattern only in the general trend to the ageing of women in almost every occupational group. But where the median age of professional workers in Australia fell, that of American female professional workers rose considerably, to be 38.3 years in 1950. There was the same slight increase in the median age of clerical workers, but in America the increase was from 29.4 to 30.6 years. The median ages of sales workers and factory operatives both changed from about 31 to about 37 years. As in Australia, cleaners and personal service workers were the oldest group (apart from managers and farmers and the like) at the second date, and clerical workers among the youngest. Bancroft (1958) p. 79.

Though it has been concluded that the pattern of employment of married women changed in the post war period, it is impossible to categorise the social origin of the married women entering the workforce after 1947 as being predominantly working class simply on the basis of the occupations they held. There are notable differences between the never married and ever married female workforces in occupational concentration, and, as the next section will demonstrate, there is some evidence to suggest that women, when they return to work after marriage, particularly when they are middle-aged, are not always able to resume jobs similar to those they had before they were married.

B. Occupations of Married Women Compared with those of Single Women and Women 'With Husbands Absent'.

As already indicated, the female workforce is highly concentrated into a narrow range of occupations. In the lower professional group of occupations, teachers and nurses make up a very large proportion of the total. Women are also concentrated within certain sections of manufacturing, most particularly as textile machinists, but also in leather goods manufacturing, metal processing, bookbinding and unskilled printing occupations, food processing and paper-making. On the other hand, women are under represented in professional occupations, particularly in scientific fields, in law, dentistry and accountancy. There are only about 250 female administrators in government service, compared with over 11,000 men. Even within managerial positions women are prominent only in commercial and 'personal service' enterprises. Although there are thousands of female shop assistants, women are outnumbered ten to one by men in insurance and real estate sales jobs. And while almost all telephonists are female, there are no female telegraphists, and very few female postal officers.

This concentration is not unique to Australia, but can be observed in other industrialised countries. Nevertheless, there is evidence, at least as far as the United States is concerned, that

women are not quite so concentrated in so few occupations as in Australia. In 1950, women amounted to 15 percent of accountants and auditors in America, but in Australia, women were only 3 percent of this group. Similarly, women in America were more prominent, in 1950, in occupations such as journalism, government administrative positions, and managers of commercial enterprises. Even in operative positions, American women worked in a wider range of industries, for example, in glass making where they were 30 percent of the workforce compared with the Australian figure of 10 percent, and printing, where they accounted for almost half the workforce, compared with less than a quarter in Australia.<sup>1</sup>

Single and married women tend to be equally concentrated in a narrow range of occupations in Australia, but they differ to some extent in their relative concentration in these occupations, as demonstrated in Table 2:3. Single women are most heavily concentrated in clerical jobs, whereas 'ever married' women are equally concentrated in two occupations, clerical and factory work. Cleaning and other personal service jobs are held more frequently by married than by single women, but in the case of lower professional jobs (teaching and nursing mainly) the reverse is the

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1. American figures are given in Bancroft (1958) Appendix D6.

Table 2:3 Numbers and Percentages of Never Married and Ever Married Women in Ten Occupational Categories, 1961.

<u>Occupational Category</u>	<u>Never Married</u>		<u>Ever Married</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	
Clerks	199114	37.5	107706	20.4	29.0
Factory Workers	65632	12.4	109482	20.7	16.5
Cleaners	33839	7.3	90229	17.1	12.1
Lower Professionals	87988	16.6	38364	7.3	11.9
Shop Assistants	61258	11.5	55017	10.4	11.0
Managers	4982	0.9	38356	7.3	4.1
Farmers	3474	0.7	25125	4.8	2.7
Shop Proprietors	1655	0.3	16745	3.2	1.7
Telephonists	14952	2.8	6072	1.2	2.0
Other <sup>1</sup>	53145	10.0	41034	7.6	9.0
Total (All Occupations)	531039	100.0	528130	100.0	100.0

1. includes Upper Professional, Religious Workers, Railway and Postal Officers, Artists, Technicians, Outdoor Workers, Tram Conductresses, Hairdressers, Laundresses and Other Service Workers, and Hospital Attendants.

Source: unpublished 1961 Census data.

case. Managerial positions, farming and shop proprietorships are much more likely to be held by married women than single, and only in the case of shop assistants is the ratio between the two about equal.

This picture is made slightly more complicated when 'ever married' women are divided into two groups, married women and women 'with husbands absent' (namely, separated, widowed and divorced women). Table 2:4 shows that this latter group of women is under-represented in professional, clerical and communications work, but very prominent in domestic and personal service work, and in rural and managerial occupations.

Part of the explanation for these differences is age-structured. Women 'with husbands absent' in the workforce are likely to be middle-aged or elderly (their median age is 48.7 years). Married women in the workforce are in their late thirties, whereas the median age of single women in the workforce is 20.4 years. (Table 2:2). These three groups of women are, accordingly, attracted to occupations which are more suited to different age groups. Older women, going back to work after many years' absence, and possibly lacking a basic training in any occupation, can often find only unskilled low status jobs, often part-time, such as domestic cleaning. On the other hand, some of



Table 2:4 Percentages of Single and Married Women and Women 'With Husbands Absent' in Eight Occupational Groups, 1961.

<u>Occupational Group</u>	<u>Marital Status</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Never Married</u>	<u>Married</u>	<u>Women 'With Husbands Absent'</u>	
Professional	68.7	24.4	6.9	100.0
Managerial	11.5	70.2	18.3	100.0
Clerical	64.9	28.0	7.1	100.0
Shop Assistants & Proprietors	46.7	43.3	10.0	100.0
Farmers	24.5	56.3	19.2	100.0
Communications Workers	60.9	31.2	7.9	100.0
Factory Operatives	37.5	51.8	10.7	100.0
Domestic and Personal Service Workers	34.5	42.3	23.2	100.0
Total (All Occupations)	50.6	37.7	11.7	100.0

Source: unpublished 1961 Census data.

the lower professional occupations, such as nursing, are hard to continue after marriage (at least without deliberate changes in policy by hospital administrations to suit the needs of married women) and thus these occupations attract fewer married women. Those married women who are nurses probably work in government departments and doctors' surgeries rather than in hospitals. Other occupations, such as teaching, attract a slightly greater proportion of married women, because of good pay, shorter hours and long holidays.<sup>1</sup>

Clerical work tends to be inconvenient to married women, probably not so much because of the hours of work - there is evidence that some part-time clerical work is available<sup>2</sup> - but in terms of pay and status. Much of the work is repetitive, and rates of pay are kept low because of the large numbers of young girls attracted to it. In the years 1964 to 1966 about 40 percent of all young women aged 14 to 24 on leaving school or some other educational institution were entering clerical jobs.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, it might be argued that there are fewer married women

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1. A quarter of nurses are married, and one third of all female teachers.
  2. Evidence from the Quarterly Workforce Survey, February 1966 and 1967.
  3. Bureau of Census and Statistics, Survey of Leavers from Schools... 1964, 1965 and 1966. Table 5.

in clerical jobs because women who have such jobs before and immediately after marriage are less likely to return to work in middle-age than women who have done manual work before and immediately after marriage. There is no evidence to prove or disprove this, as few studies analyse data of the work histories of married women.

Factory work probably attracts married women because of the suitability of its hours (the usual shift finishes at 4 p.m.). In addition, the fact that factory work is generally unskilled, and the ability to speak English is not required, attracts a large number of immigrant wives (see chapter 4).

Finally, married women and women 'with husbands absent' are likely to predominate in farming, managerial positions, and shop proprietorships not only because of their greater age and hence greater experience, but also because of the availability of their husband's capital in establishing a business enterprise. Married women constitute more than three-quarters of all female employers, and widows account for another 15 percent. In the case of each of these three typically 'employer' industries, the average age of the 'ever married' women is well over forty, but surprisingly, married women are younger than single women in

each case (see Table 2:2). This presumably reflects the importance of the ready availability of capital. In addition, however, it is likely that a certain number of married women managers, shop proprietors and farmers, share these positions with their husbands, and a considerable proportion of them may in fact do no real work at all in these occupations, their names being attached to the business or farm for the purposes of evading taxation or death duties. The same observations probably apply to widows, who presumably inherit businesses from their husbands, and may also apply in some cases to elderly unmarried female farmers and managers, who may have inherited farms or businesses from their fathers or other relatives.<sup>1</sup>

This analysis of differences in median age by occupation suggests that among the married women who return to work, those who are hairdressers, clerks and technicians are young women. Factory and upper professional workers are slightly older, while women in their early forties are more likely to be attracted to blue collar jobs such as cleaning and personal service

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1. In 1961 there were 400 single female managers over the age of 65, 200 shop proprietors, and 650 farmers. The evidence of the age distribution in these occupations suggests that at least half of these elderly spinsters were over 70.

work, shop assisting and so on, though a small percentage of the older women are employers in fields such as farming and commercial and personal service enterprises.

CHAPTER III. FERTILITY OF MARRIED WOMEN IN THE WORKFORCE

A. Workforce Participation Rates of Married Women.

Though the workforce participation rates of Australian married women are lower than those of American and English wives, the pattern of participation is quite similar in all three countries. In Australia more than a quarter of women who have been married for less than five years are in the workforce (Table 3:1). This proportion drops sharply for those married for five to nine years, reflecting the impact of fertility at these durations, but rises again to reach a second peak of 21 percent for women married between 15 and 19 years. The participation rate is still high for women married 20-24 years, but thereafter declines again.

It is interesting to compare the 1961 participation rates of married women with those of 1954 (Table 3:1). Whereas in 1954 participation was lowest in the 10-14 duration of marriage group, the lowest point in 1961 was with women married 5-9 years, suggesting that married women tended to return to work earlier in their marriages in 1961 than they had in 1954. Though the increase in the proportion of women married for 10-14 years returning to work was considerable, the greatest increase

Table 3:1 Workforce Participation of Married Women by Duration of Marriage, 1954 and 1961.

<u>Duration of Marriage</u>	1954	1961
0-4	21.3	25.2
5-9	12.4	15.4
10-14	11.8	18.2
15-19	13.1	21.1
20-24	13.0	19.6
25-29	10.9	16.2
30-34	7.9	12.5
35-39	5.3	7.8
40-44	3.2	3.6
45+	1.6	1.6
Total	12.6	17.2

Sources: 1954 Census and unpublished data from 1961 Census

was with women married for 15-19 years; thus it seems likely that popularity of employment remained greatest among women with school age children. Only small increases occurred in the workforce participation of women married for less than nine years, and for more than 35 years. The slight increase in the participation of women married for less than five years is notable, suggesting that the peak of participation may soon be reached for these women.

Participation in this early stage of marriage depends on the timing of the beginning of childbearing, and a trend to earlier childbearing would reduce the numbers of young married women likely to participate in the workforce. The direction of such trends seems to be related at least in part to short term trends in the economy.<sup>1</sup> Whereas in the late 1950s there was a tendency for women to have their first child earlier in their marriages than had women who married about ten years earlier, this trend was reversed about the time of the 1961 economic recession.

Among childless women, the peak of workforce participation occurs in the first five years of marriage. Doubtless, if figures were available for single years of duration, they would reveal that a very high proportion of childless women work in the first twelve months of their marriage. Participation among childless wives declines only slightly in the next ten years of married life, but thereafter falls quickly. (Table 3:2)

Eight percent of mothers (i.e., married women with issue) who have been married for less than five years are at work,

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1. 'Australia's Birth Rate', Current Affairs Bulletin, 39, ii, 1966, p. 24.



Table 3:2 Workforce Participation Rates of Married Women by Duration of Marriage, Residence, and Issue, 1961

<u>Duration of Marriage</u> (years)	<u>Married Women Without Issue</u>				<u>Married Women With Issue</u>				<u>Total Married Women<sup>a</sup></u>			
	Metrop.	Urban <sup>b</sup>	Rural	Total	Metrop.	Urban	Rural	Total	Metrop.	Urban	Rural	Total
0-4	56.3	39.1	18.5	47.5	10.8	5.6	5.5	8.3	32.4	18.7	9.8	25.2
5-9	47.7	33.1	23.4	42.0	12.7	7.8	7.2	10.3	19.5	11.0	8.8	15.4
10-14	41.5	29.1	18.2	36.1	18.6	12.4	10.3	15.5	22.1	14.1	11.0	18.2
15-19	31.6	22.8	19.3	28.2	24.1	16.6	12.7	20.3	25.1	17.1	13.2	21.1
20-24	25.3	16.2	16.9	22.1	22.9	15.4	13.3	19.3	23.2	15.4	13.6	19.6
25-29	19.6	10.7	12.3	16.6	18.7	12.7	13.0	16.1	18.8	12.5	13.0	16.2
30-34	11.8	9.8	7.5	10.8	14.5	10.1	10.9	12.7	14.1	10.1	10.6	12.5
35-39	7.4	3.6	6.8	6.4	8.7	5.8	8.5	7.9	8.5	5.6	8.4	7.8
40+	2.8	1.1	3.0	2.4	2.5	1.9	4.2	2.6	2.5	1.9	4.1	2.6
Total	41.7	28.9	17.6	35.9	16.3	10.5	9.7	13.6	21.0	13.1	10.6	17.2

a. Including those with issue unstated

b. extra-metropolitan urban.

Source: unpublished data from 1961 Census.

suggesting that at least these eight percent have children under five years of age (assuming that such children were born in wedlock). The workforce participation of mothers increases with increasing duration of marriage, reaching a peak among those married 15-19 years. This suggests that the mothers whose children are at school are more likely to be in the workforce than mothers with younger or older children. Participation is almost as high for mothers who have been married for 20-24 years, but thereafter declines.

A similar pattern of workforce participation is demonstrated when age rather than duration of marriage of the married woman is used. The greatest participation is among wives aged 20-24, and there is a second, lower, peak for women aged 35-44 (Table 3:3). The pattern is similar to that shown by American wives, though the second peak of their participation is as high as the first, because more married women with children return to work in the later years of their marriage in America than in Australia.<sup>1</sup> Participation is substantially reduced among wives aged 25-34, suggesting that most women bear their children in these years.

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1. U.S.A., Department of Labor, Tables of Working Life for Women, 1950, p. 18.

Table 3:3 Workforce Participation Rates of Married Women by Age, Residence, and Issue, 1961.

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Married Women Without Issue</u>				<u>Married Women With Issue</u>				<u>Total Married Women<sup>a</sup></u>			
	<u>Metrop.</u>	<u>Urban<sup>b</sup></u>	<u>Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Metrop.</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Metrop.</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>
15-19	45.0	28.4	11.7	34.1	7.8	2.8	3.7	5.4	27.2	14.8	7.8	19.6
20-24	65.1	47.0	19.8	54.5	11.8	5.7	4.7	8.5	33.2	18.4	8.7	24.5
25-29	63.9	45.7	23.0	55.9	13.3	7.2	7.1	10.4	22.7	11.9	8.4	17.2
30-34	59.3	44.9	24.4	52.8	16.8	10.8	9.0	13.8	21.7	13.3	9.7	17.5
35-39	55.5	39.2	22.8	48.7	21.8	15.2	11.3	18.3	25.4	16.9	11.9	21.0
40-44	47.5	34.4	22.8	41.9	22.5	15.3	13.1	19.0	25.8	17.2	13.8	21.7
45-49	36.9	23.3	22.3	32.3	21.0	14.6	13.0	18.0	23.8	15.7	14.0	20.1
50-54	29.4	19.6	17.3	25.7	17.8	12.1	13.2	15.6	20.1	13.4	13.8	17.5
55-59	19.6	10.8	13.3	16.9	12.6	8.6	10.2	11.2	14.4	9.1	10.7	12.5
60-64	9.9	5.6	9.7	8.9	6.1	4.0	7.1	5.7	7.0	4.3	7.5	6.4
65+												
Total	41.7	28.9	17.6	35.9	16.3	10.5	9.7	13.6	21.1	13.2	10.6	17.3

a. Including those with issue not stated

b. extra-metropolitan urban.

Source: unpublished data from 1961 Census.

Among childless wives, participation is at its peak at ages 20-29. Married women under twenty years of age participate less in the workforce even when they do not have children, probably because many of them become pregnant soon after marriage. After the age of thirty, the participation of childless women declines, especially for women over 45. The reason for this is unclear, but lack of economic incentive to continue work may be important. It is likely that their husbands are by this time at the peak of their earnings. In addition, they may be bored with work, or perhaps they find that they have reached the ceiling of their careers and can go no further.

Table 3:3 demonstrates that younger mothers participate very little in the workforce, no doubt because most of them have one or two very young children. However, participation of mothers gradually increases with their age, and a peak is reached for mothers aged 40-44.

This pattern of workforce participation suggests that women stay on in the workforce immediately after marriage but after a few years, leave work to have children, returning to the workforce ten, fifteen or twenty years later, when their children are at school. The impact of fertility on workforce participation

is illustrated by the fact that working wives tend to have fewer children than married women in general. However, the difference between the fertility of working and non-working women is particularly noticeable among women less than 45 years of age, and among women in the earlier years of their marriage. The greatest difference is to be found with women aged 30-39 and with women married for 10-14 years, suggesting that the impact of fertility is most crucial when married women have a number of children under the age of about twelve. The gap is somewhat reduced among women over 50 and those married more than 25 years; clearly, once the children are older the mother is more free to work, regardless of how many children she has. (Tables 3:4 and 3:5).

However, the data for rural wives suggest that availability of work may be as important a factor in determining workforce participation as the number and ages of their children.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Rural areas include what remain after metropolitan (the six capital cities and their adjacent municipalities) and extra-metropolitan urban areas (towns of 1,000 or more [750 in Tasmania]) are excluded. Thus rural areas do include small villages.

Table 3:4 Average Issue of Married Women with Non-Zero Issue, Working and Total, by Age and Residence, 1961.

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Residence</u>							
	<u>Metropolitan</u>		<u>Urban</u>		<u>Rural</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	Total	Working	Total	Working	Total	Working	Total	Working
15-19	1.16	1.10	1.19	1.04	1.24	1.04	1.19	1.08
20-24	1.57	1.30	1.72	1.42	1.78	1.66	1.66	1.36
25-29	2.10	1.69	2.42	2.05	2.57	2.26	2.28	1.83
30-34	2.55	2.14	2.87	2.38	3.17	2.76	2.75	2.26
35-39	2.71	2.32	3.06	2.60	3.46	3.01	2.93	2.45
40-44	2.75	2.36	3.12	2.64	3.52	3.15	2.98	2.51
45-49	2.68	2.34	3.09	2.74	3.52	3.19	2.93	2.53
50-54	2.65	2.39	3.17	2.80	3.51	3.23	2.94	2.60
55-59	2.73	2.40	3.28	3.11	3.56	3.19	3.00	2.67
60+	3.07	2.53	3.73	3.02	4.03	3.55	3.40	2.87
Total	2.59	2.22	2.95	2.55	3.24	2.97	2.80	2.38

Source: unpublished data from 1961 Census.

Table 3:5 Average Issue of Married Women with Non-Zero Issue, Working and Total, by Duration of Marriage and Residence, 1961.

<u>Duration of Marriage Group</u>	<u>Residence</u>							
	<u>Metropolitan</u>		<u>Urban</u>		<u>Rural</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Working</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Working</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Working</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Working</u>
0-4	1.41	1.21	1.51	1.33	1.55	1.46	1.46	1.27
5-9	2.24	1.73	2.50	2.09	2.69	2.44	2.39	1.90
10-14	2.64	2.15	2.97	2.40	3.29	2.79	2.84	2.28
15-19	2.75	2.36	3.08	2.58	3.49	3.04	2.96	2.47
20-24	2.74	2.43	3.12	2.75	3.58	3.13	2.98	2.58
25-29	2.76	2.47	3.24	2.95	3.64	3.33	3.05	2.70
30-34	2.79	2.58	3.37	3.13	3.78	3.51	3.11	2.83
35-39	2.87	2.71	3.54	3.52	3.83	3.77	3.21	3.06
40+	3.46	3.03	4.18	3.63	4.59	4.38	3.84	3.49
Total	2.59	2.22	2.95	2.56	3.24	2.98	2.80	2.39

Source: unpublished data from 1961 Census.

The proportion of mothers is higher among rural working wives than among wives living in metropolitan and other urban areas, in every age group and in all but one duration of marriage group. (Tables 3:6 and 3:7). Despite this, rural wives participate less in the workforce than married women in metropolitan and urban areas, and this is true even when age, duration of marriage, and the presence or absence of children is held constant (Tables 3:2 and 3:3). The only exceptions to this generalization are women married for more than forty years or over sixty years of age. These elderly rural women have a better workforce participation rate than metropolitan wives. The explanation for this probably lies in the nature of much rural work, and the fact that place of residence and place of work are not separated physically, as in most urban occupations.

Moreover, compared with working mothers in metropolitan and urban areas, rural mothers have more children at every age and in every duration of marriage group.<sup>1</sup> (Tables 3:4 and 3:5). Further, when the average issue of all women with issue and working women is compared, among women aged 20-29 and among those married for less than ten years the difference is less in rural areas than

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1. The one exception to this is in the case of rural working mothers aged less than 20, but the numbers are very small.



Table 3:6 Percentage of Childless Married Women in Selected Age Groups, Working and Total, by Residence, 1961.

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Residence</u>							
	<u>Metropolitan</u>		<u>Urban</u>		<u>Rural</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	Total	Working	Total	Working	Total	Working	Total	Working
15-24	41	79	32	79	27	60	36	78
25-29	18	52	12	46	8	22	15	48
30-34	11	31	7	24	5	13	9	28
35-39	10	23	7	17	8	11	9	20
Total (All Ages)	19	37	14	31	12	19	16	34

Table 3:7 Percentage of Childless Married Women in Selected Duration of Marriage Groups, Working and Total, by Residence, 1961.

<u>Duration of Marriage Group</u>	<u>Residence</u>							
	<u>Metropolitan</u>		<u>Urban</u>		<u>Rural</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	Total	Working	Total	Working	Total	Working	Total	Working
0-4	47	83	39	82	32	62	43	81
5-9	19	47	12	37	10	26	16	43
10-14	15	28	10	21	9	14	12	25
15-19	12	15	9	12	8	12	11	14
20-24	12	13	9	10	8	11	11	12
25-29	12	12	9	8	7	7	10	11
Total (all Duration of Marriage groups)	19	37	14	31	19	19	16	34

Source: unpublished data from 1961 Census.

metropolitan and urban areas. Thus it is evident that the presence of young children, even several young children, does not deter rural women from working to the same extent as it does metropolitan and urban women (though it does deter them to some extent). Clearly, then, availability of work is an important factor in determining the workforce participation of rural wives.

However, rural women have slightly different patterns of workforce participation than metropolitan women. In the first place, it is apparent that childless wives in rural areas do not reach the peak of their workforce participation until they have been married for 5-9 years, compared with metropolitan and urban childless wives, whose peak participation is reached in the first five years of their marriages (Table 3:2). Similarly, rural childless women do not reach the peak of their workforce participation until ages 30-34, whereas among metropolitan and urban childless wives peak participation is reached at ages 20-24. (Table 3:3). The explanation of this pattern of participation among rural wives is perhaps that they expect to bear children very early in their married life, and it is only when their infertility becomes apparent that they tend to work.

Not only do childless rural wives participate in the workforce less in the first few years of marriage than metropolitan

and urban wives, but rural mothers seem to enter the workforce later in their marriages and at an older average age than metropolitan and urban mothers. Whereas the peak participation of metropolitan and urban mothers occurs when they have been married for 15-19 years, or when they are 40-44 years of age, the peak participation of rural mothers does not come until they have been married for 20-24 years, or are aged 50-54 years (Tables 3:2 and 3:3). The difference between rural women and metropolitan and urban wives in this respect may be related to the former's longer childbearing period. (Rural women marry earlier, and have their children earlier in their marriages, but because they have more children, with slightly longer intervals between children, they are likely on the average to finish their childbearing later than women living in cities<sup>1</sup>). However, in view of the previous argument that the presence of children, even young children, does not deter rural women from working to nearly the same extent as it does metropolitan and urban women, the timing of completion of childbearing is not likely to be a relevant factor in explaining the late peak of workforce participation of

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1. Evidence for this is suggested in Tables 3:2 to 3:7, and is supported by 1954 data discussed by Day (1965b).

rural mothers.

Availability of work, as well as explaining differences in the participation rates of rural and metropolitan women, may also explain the differences in pattern noted above. It may be true, for example, that specifically rural work (which accounts for 42 percent of the occupations held by married women in rural areas) may be more readily available to older women and to women with a number of children (since, as mentioned before, in rural work place of residence and place of work are not separated) than professional or clerical work. However, mothers under 40 years of age working in rural areas are only slightly less likely to be working in specifically rural occupations than mothers over 40, and they are only slightly more likely to be in professional and clerical occupations if they are under rather than over 40 years of age.<sup>1</sup>

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1. The following table shows the percentage distribution of mothers under and over 40 years of age in six occupational groups. It should be noted, however, that the 1961 Census figures referring to married women in the workforce by age and occupational group are based on a 20 percent sample, and some of the numbers in rural areas are very small.

	Mothers aged 15-39	Mothers aged 40+
Professional	6.1	5.3
Managerial	10.5	10.1
Clerical	5.0	3.5
Shop Assistants	10.0	10.1
Rural	44.8	48.5
Service	13.5	13.9
Other Occupations	10.1	8.6
Total	100.0	100.0
	(14505)	(18555)

One of the difficulties of explaining patterns in the workforce behaviour of rural wives is the subjectivity in the definition of being 'in the workforce' among farmers' wives, because of the nature of rural work, its less specialised division of labour, joint ownership of property and so on. Moreover, being 'in the workforce' probably has very different implications in rural and urban areas. Similar problems exist with managerial and entrepreneurial occupations, and this subjectivity of definition no doubt affects comparative levels of fertility in rural and urban areas, and in some types of occupation.

Though, clearly, availability of work is a major factor in determining the rates of workforce participation of rural married women, the subjectivity in the definition of being 'in the workforce' could well be responsible for some of the peculiarities of the patterns of workforce behaviour of rural wives.

B. Fertility of Married Women in Seven Occupational Categories.

Though there are some differences in the participation rates of married women in each of the three areas - metropolitan, urban and rural - on the whole, the pattern of participation is fairly similar - a peak of participation among young childless wives, a decline in participation for five, ten or fifteen years of marriage, while these married women are bearing children, and a return to work when they are in their thirties and forties and their children are school age.

In spite of the fact that the peak of workforce participation occurs among young childless married women, more than two-thirds of the married female workforce are mothers. (Table 3:11). If the children of women who have remarried are included, the proportion is even

higher.<sup>1</sup> Mothers account for a substantial proportion of working women even at relatively young ages: 52 percent among those aged 25-29 and 72 percent among those aged 30-34 (Table 3:6). Do women with children have a distinctive occupational pattern, and if so, why?

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1. 1961 Census data on married working women and their issue, their age and their occupational distribution refer only to issue of existing marriage. This produces an error for women over the age of forty, and for data on the occupational distribution, age, and issue, the result is to exaggerate the number of childless women in age groups over 40. For this reason, data on the proportion of childless women by residence or occupation analysed here will generally refer to women under the age of 40. Fertility is also likely to be understated, but, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, it will be assumed that remarried women with children in the workforce are distributed in occupations in the same proportions as all married women with children. The extent of the error is unknown, as there are no census data on number of re-marriages of women in Australia. However, there is indirect evidence which shows that of all marriages each year, about 10 percent are re-marriages of widows and divorcees. The average age of divorcees who remarry is about 37, and that of widows is 49. About 70 percent of divorcees have children, and, because of their age, it can be assumed that a higher proportion of widows have children. Thus it can be assumed that the large majority of remarrying women have children. How many of these re-married women enter the workforce is unknown, but in view of the probability that many of them will have worked while they were widowed and divorced and that many of them will be past childbearing age by the time of their second marriage, it might be reasonable to assume that their workforce participation will be as high, if not higher, than once married women of the same age. This supposition is supported to some extent by the fact that there is a substantially higher proportion of apparently childless women over the age of 50 in the workforce than in the total population (27.8 as against 20.2 percent).

The answer is yes. The pattern of occupational concentration of married women with children differs from that of childless women, particularly in the case of clerical and service occupations. Of the 260,000 mothers among married women at work, factory work attracts the highest proportion (22.5 percent), service work another 19.5 percent, and 15.5 percent are to be found in both clerical and sales work.<sup>1</sup> (Table 3:8). While communications work attracts only two

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1. The data on fertility of married women provided by the Bureau of Census and Statistics from the 1961 Census are presented in terms of the 12 Group Census Occupational Code. One or two of the groups contain rather different occupations - for example, the group of Professional Workers contains upper professional workers (doctors, lawyers, etc.) lower professional workers (nurses, teachers) artists, technicians and religious workers, whose median ages (in the case of married women) vary from 35.5 to 43.4 years. (See Table 2:2). On the other hand, the Census Groups of Factory Workers, Clerks, and Managers are identical with the categories in the 21 group occupational code used in chapter II. Full details of the Census code and the smaller code are given in the Appendix. This information about the occupational groups of married women with zero issue, or one, two, three or more than three children refers also to the three residential areas, metropolitan, urban and rural. However, the data are based on a 20 percent sample of the Census schedules, and the numbers in some occupational groups in urban and rural areas are very small.



percent, professional, managerial and farming occupations each take a little under ten percent of working mothers. In comparison with the distribution of married women with children, childless wives are very heavily concentrated in clerical work (32 percent), and considerably under-represented in service, managerial and farming occupations. On the other hand, childless wives are only slightly over-represented in professional and sales work, and in factory work the proportion of childless wives and mothers is in the same ratio as in the total number of married women.

If we compare the distribution of wives with one, two, three and more than three children in these occupational groups, it is immediately apparent that personal service workers are a much larger proportion of wives with more than three children than they are of wives with one child (26.5 percent as compared with 17.2 percent). The case of married women in farming occupations is similar: whereas they are only 3.5 percent of all working wives with one child, they are more than 14 percent of those with more than three children. (The trend in the case of the numerically unimportant group of wives in communications occupations is similar). However, for factory and

Table 3:8 Occupational Distribution of Ever Married Women in the Workforce, 1961.

<u>Occupational Group</u>	Ever Married Women	Women 'with Husbands Absent'	Married Women						
			Total	Childless	With Issue	1 Child	2 Children	3 Children	3+ Children
Professional	8.7	8.3	8.9	10.1	8.3	7.5	8.7	8.8	8.0
Managerial	7.3	6.4	7.6	4.8	9.1	7.9	9.2	10.4	9.2
Clerical	20.4	17.7	21.4	32.7	15.5	18.3	16.7	14.7	9.5
Sales Workers	13.6	10.9	14.5	12.5	15.5	15.4	16.9	15.3	13.0
Farming	5.3	5.8	5.2	1.8	7.0	3.5	5.4	8.6	14.2
Communications	1.9	1.7	2.0	2.3	1.8	1.5	1.6	2.0	2.4
Factory	20.7	15.3	22.3	21.8	22.5	27.6	22.6	20.1	16.3
Personal Service	20.7	31.5	17.3	12.9	19.5	17.2	18.1	19.4	26.5
Other <sup>1</sup>	1.4	2.4	2.8	1.1	0.8	1.1	0.8	0.7	0.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

1. includes Miners, Members of the Armed Services, and occupations 'inadequately described' or not stated.

Source: unpublished data from 1961 Census.

clerical workers, the picture is reversed. In both cases, they are a much larger proportion of women with one child than they are of women with more than three. With the remaining occupations, professional, managerial and sales work, the trend is not clear.

However, a more exact picture of the fertility of women in these occupational groups is obtained by calculating the proportions of mothers with three or more children. And, since residence has an effect on fertility, these proportions have also been calculated for women in metropolitan, urban and rural areas. It is clear from Table 3:9 that in all occupational groups, working mothers in rural areas are more likely to have three or more children than wives in the same groups in urban and metropolitan areas. For example, whereas only 27 percent of working mothers in clerical occupations in metropolitan areas had more than two children, the figure was 40 percent for clerical workers in rural areas.

On the other hand, though the higher fertility of rural women had the effect of increasing the proportion of women with three or more children in every occupational group, occupations which were less likely to attract wives with three or more children in metropolitan areas were also less likely to

Table 3:9 Proportion of Working Mothers with Three or More Children in Seven Occupational Groups in Metropolitan, Urban and Rural Areas, 1961.

<u>Occupational Group</u>	<u>Residence</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Metropolitan</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Rural</u>	
Professional	35.3	39.6	43.9	37.2
Managerial	34.4	44.2	48.7	39.5
Clerical	27.0	35.2	40.0	28.8
Sales	30.9	36.2	49.1	33.4
Farmers	*	*	58.7	58.1
Factory	28.5	35.6	46.4	29.7
Personal Service	38.9	47.3	50.3	42.2
Total (All Occupations)	31.7	41.3	53.1	36.4

\* Numbers are small

Source: unpublished data from 1961 Census.

attract those women in rural areas. Mothers with clerical jobs were least likely to have three or more children than mothers with other jobs in all three areas, and the proportion of mothers of three children was also low among factory workers regardless of residence. On the other hand, service workers were the most likely to have three or more children of all working mothers in metropolitan and urban areas, though mothers with farm occupations had, on the average, the most children in rural areas. This picture, then, supports the inferences derived from Table 3:8, that the fertility of wives with service and farm jobs is high, and that of wives in clerical and factory occupations low.

In the case of wives in the remaining occupational groups, Table 3:9 establishes that the fertility of married women in sales jobs is not much higher than that of women with factory jobs, that the fertility of professional women is about average, and the fertility of wives with managerial positions is almost as high as that of service workers. However, there are some differences in the fertility of women in these groups in the three areas. Where sales workers in metropolitan and urban areas are likely to have as few children as clerical and factory workers, in

rural areas they are likely to have almost as many as service workers. The reverse is true of professional workers. Where their average fertility is likely to be high in metropolitan areas, compared with other married women, and almost as high in urban areas, in rural areas professional women are likely to have not many more children, on the average, than clerical workers. This may reflect a possibility that of all married women working in rural areas, wives with professional jobs are most likely to have come from metropolitan areas, and thus are more likely to follow the fertility patterns of urban rather than rural women.

Thus, though fertility is clearly affected by residence, working mothers with one or two children are more likely to be attracted to clerical and factory occupations than to other occupations, and mothers with three or four children are more likely to be working in rural or service occupations.

However, it could be argued that this fertility pattern is related to the ages of women in these occupational groups. For example, the fact that childless wives are over-represented in clerical occupations, and under-represented in service, managerial and farm occupations may mean that wives who are clerical workers

are, on the whole, young women, and that wives in service, managerial and farm occupations are mainly older women. Similarly, it could be argued that the relatively low fertility of clerical and factory workers, and the high fertility of service and farm workers, is related to the ages of mothers in these occupations.

To some extent this seems to be true. Table 3:10 shows that of all married women in the workforce women in clerical jobs are among the youngest. (Chapter II, using a more detailed occupational code, showed technicians and launderers were the youngest 'ever married' women, but the figure in Table 2:2 for 'ever married' clerical workers is slightly higher than the figure given in Table 3:10 because among the 'ever married' group are included seven percent of widows, whose average age in clerical jobs is 45.7 years). And, on the other hand, managerial, service and farm workers in the married female workforce are mainly older women. The figures for the median ages of mothers (rather than all wives) in the workforce give a similar picture. Thus, the lower fertility of clerical women and the higher fertility of service, farm and managerial workers might be related to their ages.

Table 3:10 Median Age of Married Females in Seven Occupational Groups, 1961.

<u>Occupational Group</u>	Women 'with Husbands Absent'	Married Women						
		Total	Childless	With Children	1 Child	2 Children	3 Children	3+ Children
Professional	44.0	38.3	28.7	41.7	38.9	40.9	42.4	44.4
Managerial	52.1	43.0	45.0	42.5	43.3	42.3	41.5	43.1
Clerical	45.7	33.8	27.3	38.8	36.8	39.0	39.6	41.5
Sales Workers	47.7	40.4	35.3	41.6	40.6	41.4	41.7	43.2
Farming	60.1	43.1	43.0	42.6	41.7	41.5	41.9	44.0
Factory	46.0	37.1	32.1	38.5	35.7	38.7	39.8	41.4
Personal Service	50.0	41.6	40.9	41.7	40.0	40.4	41.9	44.4
Total (All Occupations)	48.7	38.6	31.8	40.4	38.3	40.1	41.0	43.3

Source: unpublished data from 1961 Census.



However, other pieces of evidence suggest that this is an over-simple explanation of the fertility pattern which we have observed among married women in these occupational groups.

Table 3:11 Percentage of Childless Married Women in Seven Occupational Groups, in Metropolitan, Other Urban and Rural Areas, 1961.

<u>Occupational Group</u>	<u>Metrop.</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>
Professional	41	34	30	38
Managerial	25	17	14	21
Clerical	52	50	50	52
Sales Workers	29	32	22	29
Farmers	21	13	11	12
Factory Workers	33	33	30	33
Service Workers	27	22	25	25
Total (All Occupations)	37	31	19	34

Source: unpublished data from 1961 Census.

To take the group of childless wives first, even when age and residence is controlled, clerical women are more likely to be childless than wives in any other occupation. Whereas 52 percent of wives in clerical jobs in metropolitan areas are childless, an almost identical proportion are childless in rural

areas. (Table 3:11). And the median ages of women in all seven occupational groups differ only very slightly between metropolitan and rural areas (the tendency seems to be that metropolitan wives are slightly older than rural wives). Moreover, taking a single age group, wives aged 35-39 with clerical jobs are more likely to be childless than women in any other occupation, and this is true in metropolitan, urban and rural areas. For the same group of women in each of these areas, the proportion childless is also high among wives with sales and factory jobs, and somewhat lower for wives with service, managerial and farm occupations.

Thus, regardless of age and residence, some occupations (namely, clerical, and to a lesser extent, factory and sales occupations) are more attractive to women with no children than occupations such as personal service work.

A similar argument can be made about working mothers. The proportion of clerical workers with three or more children in metropolitan areas remains low and the proportion among service workers is high, even when age is controlled. Thus, it seems that regardless of their age women with more than three children are less likely to work in clerical than in service, managerial and rural occupations. And, from the evidence of median ages of

women with one, two, three and more than three children, it seems that mothers with clerical (and factory) jobs are younger than mothers with managerial, farm, and personal service jobs, regardless of how many children they have.

Combining all these pieces of evidence, it does seem that clerical jobs are unattractive to women with children, and where women with children do have clerical jobs they are likely to be younger women. This suggests that age itself (and not only number of children) is an important determinant of whether or not a woman will hold a clerical job. The hours of clerical work (being 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. in most cases) may be a relevant factor in explaining this pattern, but probably also important is the fact that clerical work is centralised in the city, entailing many hours travelling. In addition, clerical work is probably over-supplied, and because it attracts younger women who have been recently trained in such skills as typing and shorthand, older married women whose initial training was perhaps twenty years earlier, are in a poor bargaining position. Finally, pay in clerical work is poor.

This evidence also suggests that, regardless of how many children they have (though their fertility is on the average higher), women with service, managerial and rural jobs are older women. The determinants of the workforce participation of women

in managerial and rural jobs were discussed earlier. In the case of service workers, it is clear that the jobs available in this field are generally low in status and are poorly paid, but probably the hours of work are much more suited to older women with a number of children.

The determinants of the workforce behaviour of married women who have professional, sales and factory jobs is less clear. On the whole, factory jobs probably attract younger women with fewer children for reasons similar to those given in the case of clerical workers; though factory jobs are also probably over-supplied, they are likely to be less centralised.

Little evidence can be drawn from these data about the relationship between social class and the workforce behaviour of married women. Evidence of median ages of single women (Table 2:2) suggests that clerical, sales, and factory workers all marry at an equally early age, and, as might be expected, women with professional jobs seem to marry somewhat later.<sup>1</sup> If women

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1. Since most women work before marriage, the evidence of the median age of single women gives a rough guide to the rank order of female occupational groups in their average age at marriage. However, there will be an error to the extent that some women do not work after leaving school - but this error is likely to relate more to women of a high social status.

do stay on at work after marriage, it might be reasonably supposed that they remain in the same jobs, or at least the same type of job. However, the evidence of median ages of childless wives does not give a clear picture of the extent to which women from some occupational groups stay on at work before childbearing. The median ages of childless wives range from 27.3 years in the case of wives with clerical jobs, and 28.6 years in the case of professional workers, to 32.1 years for factory workers, and 35.3 years for sales workers. The wide range of median ages for childless women in these occupations suggests not that there is a great variation in the age at commencement of childbearing in these groups but that the data are flawed to the extent that they contain a proportion of women who have no children from their existing marriage but who have children from a previous marriage.<sup>1</sup> Thus class differentials about the age at commencement of childbearing cannot be drawn from these data.

Nor can the data of the occupations and ages of married women with issue provide evidence about the class differentials

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1. See Footnote 1, p. 99.

relating to the timing of returning to work after childbearing. Evidence of the median ages of women with one child suggests that factory and clerical workers with one child are likely to be considerably younger than women with one child in other occupations. (A proportion of these women probably have part-time rather than full-time jobs, but census data do not distinguish hours of work.) But it is not possible to argue from this that women who had clerical and factory jobs before marriage are likely to return to work earlier after commencement or completion of childbearing than women who had other jobs, because there is a high probability that women change jobs after they have children.

Nor is it possible to argue that women with blue collar jobs before marriage are likely to have more children than women with white collar jobs. The fertility of clerical women in the workforce is low, but this is more likely to be a function of the job than of the fertility of the white collar class. The fertility of factory workers is also low. The fertility of personal service workers is high, but the job is probably more attractive to women with a number of children.

CHAPTER IV. MIGRANTS IN THE MARRIED FEMALE WORKFORCE

A. Contribution of Migrant Women to the Growth of the Female Workforce, 1947-1961.

Whereas in 1947 migrant women constituted only seven percent of the female workforce, and in 1954 fifteen percent, by 1961 more than a fifth of the female workforce was born outside Australia. Among married women in the workforce, migrants were even more prominent in 1961, accounting for 29 percent of the total. Thus, since the second World War, migrant wives have become a very important element of the married female workforce, increasing its numbers at a time when, without migration, its growth would probably have been slight.<sup>1</sup> Migrant wives are worth studying separately not only because their workforce participation rates are higher than those of Australian-born wives, but also because they differ in average fertility, average duration of marriage, and occupational and industrial concentration.

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1. H.P. Brown, 'The Australian Male Workforce', Economic Record, 35, 1959, p. 89.

In 1947 migrant women numbered only 52,000 in a female workforce of 717,000. Of these migrant women, the large majority were born in the United Kingdom, and less than a third were born in other parts of Europe. By 1954, the birthplace composition of the female workforce had changed considerably. Now only half of the migrant women in the workforce were British-born, and, among the remainder, Italians, Poles and Germans were equally prominent. Though by 1961 the proportion of British-born women in the female workforce had increased slightly from 7.3 percent to 8.3 percent, they had declined even further as a proportion of all migrant women in the workforce, contributing less than 40 percent. Non-British-born migrant women, at the same time, became a much more significant element in the female workforce, their proportion increasing from 7.8 percent in 1954 to 12.7 percent in 1961. In this group of non-British-born migrant working wives were, by 1961, 25,000 Italians, 16,000 Germans, 14,000 Greeks and 10,000 each from Holland and Poland. Another 40,000 came from other parts of Europe and the remaining 15,000 migrant women from other parts of the world.



The contribution of migrant women to the female workforce in the post war period has thus been considerable. Of the total increase in the female workforce of 342,000 in the period from 1947 to 1961, the increasing numbers of migrant women accounted for nearly half - though the contribution was greater in the first intercensal period (58 percent)<sup>1</sup> than in the second (44 percent).

Part of the increase in the migrant component of the female workforce is due to the influx of migrant women (and their families) into Australia since the war: whereas only 9 percent of all females were born outside Australia in 1947, more than 15 percent were migrants in 1961.<sup>2</sup> In fact a large proportion of female migrants were women of working age. However, the increase in the proportion of migrant women in the female workforce in the post war period was not due simply to their increasing numbers in the population. Migrant women have, on the whole,

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1. C.E.V. Leser, 'Migration and the Australian Workforce', Economic Record, 35, 1959, predicted (before the figures were published) that migrants would have contributed between 60 and 70 percent of the increase in the female workforce between 1947 and 1954. This was in answer to H. Brown (1959), who had predicted that migration had accounted for nearly all the increase.
  2. 1947 figure is from 1947 Census. The 1961 figure is calculated from Year Book, 1964.

substantially higher workforce participation rates than Australian women, at least in 1954 and 1961. The high workforce participation rates for Australian women in 1947 could reflect the continuation of the effects of the war on the economy (and on employment patterns), or it could reflect the high proportion of females of working age in the Australian population in 1947 compared with 1954 and 1961. This latter explanation is suggested by the age pyramids of the population in 1947 and 1954 which show the impact of migration.<sup>1</sup> By 1954 the Australian-born female population aged 15-24 showed some decline as a result of the low birth rate during the 1930s.

Table 4:1 shows that, apart from the decline of the workforce participation rate of Australian-born women from the highest position in 1947 among the selected birthplace groups to lowest position in 1961, the rates of all migrant groups have increased substantially in the post war period. The somewhat dramatic changes in the participation rates of women in some of the birthplace groups probably reflect, in part, changes in the age

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1. J. Zubrzycki, Immigrants in Australia (Melbourne, 1960), pp. 30-31.

Table 4:1 Workforce Participation Rates of Females  
in Selected Birthplaces, 1947-1961.

<u>Birthplace</u>	<u>Participation Rate<sup>1</sup></u>		
	1947	1954	1961
Australia	23.9	18.3	18.9
United Kingdom	14.7	20.3	29.6
Germany	22.6	25.4	31.8
Greece	12.1	20.9	41.2
Italy	12.0	22.3	26.8
Netherlands	14.2	18.2	23.4
Poland	30.3	42.2	44.2
Total (All Birthplaces)	19.0	19.0	20.4

1. Female workforce participation rates given in Table 1:1 relate not to the total female population but to females aged 15-64 years.

Sources: 1947 Census, unpublished data from 1961 Census, and for 1954 figures, Zubrzycki (1960) p. 99.

structures and proportions married of women in each group. For example, whereas the Italian females in the population in 1947 were predominantly middle-aged married women, having migrated to Australia in the 1920s, the Italian population by 1961 probably included a higher proportion of young single women of working age.

Though changing age structures and proportions married in female migrant groups account for some of the increase in participation rates in the post war period, the changes in these rates almost certainly also reflect an increasing tendency among married women from these birthplaces to seek employment. However, it is difficult to substantiate this argument in detail, as the information we have about the female workforce in 1947, though it includes detailed birthplace data, does not differentiate marital statuses, and the 1954 data on the married female workforce refer only to three birthplace groups: Australian-born, British-born and non-British-born migrants.

Comparison of the 1954 and 1961 figures for working wives in these three birthplace groups reveals that increases in the number of migrant wives accounted for nearly a third of the increase in the number of married women in the workforce in this period

(Table 4:2).<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, migration accounted for about 44 percent of the increase in the total female workforce. Thus, in the period 1954 to 1961, migration had a far greater impact on the workforce of single women (and women 'with husbands absent') than on the workforce of married women. It is clear from Table 4:2 that the married female workforce would have increased quite substantially without immigration, though the impact of migrant wives was certainly not negligible.

The greatest percentage increase in the married female workforce occurred among the group of non-British migrant wives, and the increase in the British-born group was, by contrast, not very large. However, in terms of participation rates, the British-born group of wives showed the greatest change in the period 1954 to 1961, and the non-British group of migrant women, whose participation rate in 1954 was already very high, showed little further increase by 1961. (Table 4:3). The participation

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1. There is some evidence to suggest that migrant wives contributed a greater proportion of the increase in the married female workforce in 1947-1954 than they did in the second period, 1954-1961. If one assumes that at least 40,000 of the 70,000 migrant wives in the 1954 married female workforce came to Australia in the post war period, then migrant wives would have contributed at least 35 percent to the increase in the married female workforce, 1947-1954. This assumption is derived from evidence (Zubrzycki, 1960, p. 89) that 88,000 of the migrant females in the 1954 workforce were post war arrivals, and from calculations based on figures of the age structure and proportions married of post war migrant women in 1954.

Table 4:2 Married Women in the Workforce, in Three Birthplace Groups, 1954 and 1961.

<u>Birthplace</u>	<u>Number</u>		<u>Percentage Increase</u>	<u>Percent in Each Birthplace</u>	
	1954	1961		1954	1961
Australia	187030	289060	55	72.8	71.4
U.K.	27355	40095	46	10.6	9.9
Other	42625	75845	78	16.6	18.7
Total	257010	405000	58	100.0	100.0

Table 4:3 Workforce Participation Rates of Married Women in Three Birthplace Groups, 1954 and 1961.

<u>Birthplace</u>	<u>1954</u>	<u>1961</u>
Australia	10.9	15.0
U.K.	15.1	21.9
Other	29.2	31.9

Sources: 1954 Census and unpublished data from 1961 Census.

rate of Australian wives also increased quite substantially.

Again, some of the differences in the rate of change of workforce participation of married women from these three birthplace groups may be a reflection of different degrees of change in the age structure of wives in each group - for example, there may have been increase in the number of elderly married women in the non-British migrant group which would tend to hide any increase in the workforce participation rate of younger wives in this group. On the other hand, other evidence, given in chapter III, showed that the participation rates of married women of all ages increased in the period 1954 to 1961, and it would be surprising if the workforce participation of Australian wives increased whereas that of migrant wives did not, in view of the higher participation of migrant wives in nearly every duration of marriage group.

B. Differentials in the Workforce Participation Rates of Migrant and Australian-born Married Women.

The higher workforce participation rates of migrant wives compared with Australian women in nearly every duration of marriage group, and of childless as well as of women with children, are demonstrated in Table 4:4. Exceptions occur in the cases of the higher participation of Australian childless women, compared with British-born women, in urban areas. Moreover, the participation rates of non-British migrant women in general exceed those of British-born migrants. Again, there is an exception, and this is in rural areas, where the participation of non-British-born migrant married women with children is lower.

In general, patterns of workforce participation of both migrants and Australian wives follow that described in chapter III - the declining participation of childless women after the first few years of marriage and the peak of participation of mothers after 15-19 years of marriage. The one exception is in the case of childless non-British migrant wives, whose greatest participation occurs in the second, not the first, five years of marriage. Their participation remains high, even after 10-14 years of marriage, when the participation of Australian- and British-born childless wives has begun to decline. Evidently the factors



Table 4:4 Workforce Participation Rates of Married Women in the Workforce, by Duration of Marriage, Issue, and Grouped Birthplace, 1961.

<u>Duration of Marriage</u>	<u>Childless Married Women</u>			<u>Married Women With Issue</u>			<u>Total Married Women<sup>1</sup></u>		
	<u>Australia</u>	<u>U.K.<sup>2</sup></u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Australia</u>	<u>U.K.</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Australia</u>	<u>U.K.</u>	<u>Other</u>
0-4	45.6	52.3	55.9	6.3	10.1	20.2	22.8	32.5	36.2
5-9	39.1	45.2	57.8	8.3	16.2	22.9	12.9	24.3	28.8
10-14	32.2	36.6	56.7	12.4	25.6	32.5	14.8	27.8	36.1
15-19	25.2	33.1	50.7	17.1	31.5	38.7	17.9	31.7	39.8
20-24	20.2	18.8	43.1	17.1	29.8	31.6	17.4	29.0	32.7
25-29	14.6	13.7	35.3	14.7	21.8	24.3	14.7	21.4	25.3
30-34	9.4	12.6	23.7	11.7	15.9	20.1	11.4	15.5	20.3
35-39	5.6	6.6	17.1	7.3	9.5	12.7	7.2	9.2	13.1
40+	2.2	1.5	8.4	2.5	2.3	5.5	2.5	2.3	5.8
Total (All Durations of Marriage)	33.4	35.2	52.9	11.5	18.9	26.9	15.0	21.9	32.0

1. including those who did not state their issue.

2. including Republic of Ireland.

Source: unpublished data from 1961 Census.

which account for the departure of middle-aged Australian and British childless wives from the workforce - lack of economic incentive, boredom, or declining career opportunities - do not affect non-British migrant wives to the same extent.

A similarly high participation is apparent among non-British-born migrant wives with children. Even among those married for less than five years, 20 percent are in the workforce, as against an average of 8 percent for women of all birthplaces. This suggests that a much higher proportion of non-British migrant mothers work with young children than do British and Australian mothers of young children.

The higher participation of migrant wives in the workforce is undoubtedly primarily due to the greater economic pressures on migrant families, particularly among those recently arrived in Australia. However, even among migrants aged 35-49 who have been in Australia for more than 16 years, their assets and income are less and their liabilities greater than Australian-born men of the same age.<sup>1</sup> In addition, migrant families probably have higher economic aspirations than Australian

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1. Edwards and Gates (1963) vol I, p. 96.

families, indicated by the fact that they migrated from their country of origin. Moreover, migrant families, particularly Southern Europeans, are centrally located in cities, where jobs are plentiful, and transport problems at a minimum. Finally, there may be less disapproval of working mothers among migrant families than in Australian families.

The lower workforce participation of British wives compared with non-British migrant wives might be explicable partly in terms of the higher average income of British-born men, who are to be found in white collar occupations to a greater extent than other male migrants. Also important, however, is the probability that non-British migrant families have relatives living in the same house or nearby; in this case child-minding problems might be solved more easily in non-British migrant families than in British families, among whom residential concentration is far less.<sup>1</sup>

When we examine the workforce participation rates of Australian and migrant women in metropolitan, urban and rural

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1. F.L. Jones, 'Ethnic Concentration and Assimilation: an Australian Study', Social Forces, 45, 1967, provides evidence of the lack of residential concentration of British migrant families in Melbourne.

areas, several patterns become apparent. (Tables 4:5 and 4:6). As with the general pattern described in chapter III, in most cases participation declines from metropolitan to rural areas. Some exceptions occur in cases where the participation in urban areas falls below that in rural areas.

In all areas, the peak participation of Australian mothers occurs later in marriage than the peak participation of migrant mothers. This suggests that Australian women delay entering the workforce until their children are at school to a greater extent than migrant wives.

When participation rates in each area are examined, it appears that not only non-British migrant wives but also British migrant wives delay the peak of their participation in rural areas until the second ten years of their marriage. More detailed duration of marriage figures show that Australian childless wives participate most heavily in the second five years of their marriage, that is, later than they do in metropolitan areas, but nevertheless earlier than migrant childless wives in rural areas. Different childbearing patterns and lack of suitable work for migrant women may explain this pattern.

Table 4:5 Workforce Participation Rates of Married Women With Issue in Three Birthplace and Three Residential Groups, by Duration of Marriage, 1961.

<u>Duration of Marriage</u>	<u>Metropolitan</u>			<u>Urban</u>			<u>Rural</u>		
	<u>Aust.</u>	<u>U.K.</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Aust.</u>	<u>U.K.</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Aust.</u>	<u>U.K.</u>	<u>Other</u>
0-9	8.6	16.8	25.8	6.3	9.3	12.4	6.3	6.5	8.4
10-19	16.8	33.0	41.4	12.8	21.1	24.3	10.7	19.2	16.2
20-29	18.6	29.6	33.3	13.4	20.6	19.1	12.8	18.3	14.0
30+	7.3	9.0	15.2	5.5	5.3	9.3	7.7	6.8	9.2
Total	13.3	21.7	31.4	9.7	14.0	18.1	9.4	12.6	12.2

Table 4:6 Workforce Participation Rates of Childless Married Women in Three Birthplace and Three Residential Groups, by Duration of Marriage, 1961.

<u>Duration of Marriage</u>	<u>Metropolitan</u>			<u>Urban</u>			<u>Rural</u>		
	<u>Aust.</u>	<u>U.K.</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Aust.</u>	<u>U.K.</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Aust.</u>	<u>U.K.</u>	<u>Other</u>
0-9	51.8	55.2	62.1	37.4	39.3	39.0	19.4	22.7	20.8
10-19	33.3	37.6	58.7	24.5	29.5	43.4	16.9	26.6	47.1
20-29	20.2	25.4	45.2	13.8	15.0	17.4	15.4	11.7	17.5
30+	6.6	7.3	20.1	5.1	4.8	10.7	5.9	4.6	12.2
Total	38.8	39.6	58.0	28.5	26.3	36.9	17.1	18.5	22.6

Source: unpublished data from 1961 Census.

Table 4:7 Proportion of Married Women with Children in the Population and in the Workforce, by Grouped Birthplace and Duration of Marriage, 1961.

<u>Duration of Marriage</u>	<u>Australia</u>		<u>United Kingdom</u>		<u>Other</u>	
	Total	Working	Total	Working	Total	Working
0-4	42	84	53	86	44	69
5-9	15	45	28	52	17	33
10-14	12	25	20	26	15	23
15-19	10	15	13	14	9	12
20+	10	11	10	9	8	11
Total	16	35	18	30	19	32

Source: unpublished data from 1961 Census.

Figures for the proportion of childless women in these birthplace groups suggest that about as many non-British migrant wives have children in the first five years of their marriage as Australian wives, but that British-born wives tend to delay their childbearing until slightly later in marriage. The proportion of childless women among British wives remains high until 15-19 years of marriage. On the other hand, the figures for the proportions without children among working wives suggest that of the women at

work in the first five years of marriage, the large majority of them, in the case of Australian and British wives, are childless. By contrast, of non-British migrant wives in the first five years of their marriage in the workforce, a much greater proportion are mothers (31 percent as compared with 16 and 14 percent in the case of Australian and British wives). The greater readiness of non-British migrant mothers to work is also apparent in the 5-9 duration of marriage group, but thereafter in later durations of marriage, the proportion of mothers from each birthplace group in the workforce is about the same. (Table 4:7)

In general, the average issue of Australian mothers in the workforce is higher than that of both migrant groups, and this higher average issue is also apparent in the general population of Australian-born wives. For each birthplace group, the average issue is greater in rural than in metropolitan areas, and again, this tendency mirrors that of the general population.

This pattern remains when duration of marriage is controlled, except in the case of migrant women married for more than 10 years. (Table 4:8). The figures suggest that non-British migrant women have their first child early in marriage (this is suggested by the smaller proportion childless after 5 years

Table 4:8 Average Issue of Married Women with Non-Zero Issue in the Workforce and in the Total Population, by Duration of Marriage, in Metropolitan and Rural Areas, 1961.

<u>Duration of Marriage</u>	<u>Metropolitan</u>						<u>Rural</u>					
	<u>Australia</u>		<u>United Kingdom</u>		<u>Other</u>		<u>Australia</u>		<u>United Kingdom</u>		<u>Other</u>	
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Working</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Working</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Working</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Working</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Working</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Working</u>
0-4	1.44	1.25	1.40	1.19	1.30	1.17	1.56	1.47	1.47	1.70	1.42	1.26
5-9	2.30	1.84	2.18	1.72	1.94	1.53	2.72	2.25	2.59	1.92	2.34	1.82
10-14	2.70	2.23	2.42	2.15	2.40	1.98	3.32	2.88	2.90	2.22	2.98	2.34
15-19	2.77	2.40	2.61	2.30	2.70	2.25	3.50	3.08	3.38	2.65	3.48	3.00
20+	2.90	2.52	2.77	2.44	3.18	2.51	3.41	3.41	3.41	3.21	3.79	3.51
Total	2.62	2.30	2.58	2.26	2.42	2.00	3.26	3.01	3.11	2.81	2.99	2.68

Source: unpublished data from 1961 Census.



of marriage compared with the two other birthplace groups) but delay the completion of their childbearing until ten or fifteen years of marriage. From this period of their marriage on, however, non-British migrant wives have a higher fertility than British wives.

In general the difference between fertility of working wives and all wives is lower among non-British migrant wives, than among the other two birthplace groups, again suggesting that children are less of a deterrent to employment among these women, than among Australian- and British-born women.

C. Migrant and Australian-born Working Mothers of Pre-School Age Children.

One of the major interests of sociologists who study the effects of working wives on family life is the extent to which children are affected by their mother's employment. Interest is centred on pre-school age children in particular, because it is in the case of these younger children that harmful effects of maternal separation from the child are believed to be most likely to occur. Though, as we have seen, migrant women are more ready to work when they have children than Australian women, evidence as to the ages of their children has been indirect rather than direct.

The 1961 Census provided information on the age of the youngest child of working wives, tabulated by their duration of marriage, birthplace and residence. Similar tabulations were provided from the 1954 Census.

However these data suffer serious limitations: they include only those working mothers who had all their children living at home with them at the time of the Census (the night of 30th June). This restriction was made necessary by the fact

that the age of the youngest child in any particular household can only be calculated when all the issue of a woman are listed on the same census schedule as the mother. Where one or more children are not listed on the schedule, it is not valid to assume, as one might tend to, that these are the older children. For one thing, girls marry earlier than boys, and therefore a younger girl might marry and leave home before the older boy. For another, younger as well as older children may be temporarily absent from the household, in hospital, staying with relatives or at boarding school. Each of these events might well be more common among families with working mothers than among those with non-working mothers.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, despite these possible absences of younger children from their homes on the night of the Census, it is likely that most children who were absent were 15 years of age or more - either married or at tertiary educational

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1. S. Yudkin and A. Holme, Working Mothers and Their Children (London, 1963) suggest that working mothers are more likely to send their children to hospital when they are slightly ill than non-working mothers.

institutions or working away from home. Our interest in working mothers, on the other hand, tends to centre on those with pre-school age children. These women, if the pattern of their childbearing follows the recent pattern of having children within a span of ten or twelve years, will be unlikely to have both children over the age of 15 (and therefore possibly away from home on the night of the census) and a child under 5.<sup>1</sup> Thus, except for those mothers who have a young child temporarily absent at hospital or with relatives, the evidence of working mothers with what we might call 'complete families' (husband and all children at home on the night of the census) will give a reasonably adequate picture of the birthplace, residence and duration of marriage of working mothers of pre-school age children.

This argument, that the omission of families with one or more children not included on the census schedule is more likely to affect those families with no children of pre-school

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1. This is a conservative estimate. The authors of 'Australia's Birth Rate' Current Affairs Bulletin, 39, ii, 1966, p. 27 say the interval between first and last birth in current marriages is eight years.

age, is confirmed by the comparison of the duration of marriage of the two groups of working mothers: those with 'complete' and those with 'incomplete' families on the night of the census.

Table 4:9 Percentage of Working Mothers with 'Complete' and 'Incomplete' Families in each Duration of Marriage Group, 30th June, 1961.

<u>Duration of Marriage</u>	All Working Mothers	Working Mothers With 'Incomplete' Family	Working Mothers With 'Complete' Family
0-4	6	2	9
5-9	12	3	16
10-14	19	6	27
15-19	23	12	28
20+	40	76	20
Total	100 (259440)	100 (87360)	100 (172080)

Source: unpublished data from 1961 Census

Table 4:9 demonstrates that of the working mothers with 'incomplete' families on the night of the census, more than three-quarters are those married for more than 20 years. These figures suggest that 'incomplete' families are incomplete (on the

night of the census) mostly because older children are away from home, probably permanently, because of marriage, work or tertiary education, and that unless the childbearing span of the mother exceeded 15 years it is most unlikely that large numbers of working mothers with young pre-school children have been excluded from this analysis. This argument is further supported by evidence that working mothers in rural areas are more likely than their counterparts in cities to have at least one child absent from home. (Table 4:10). Presumably, rural children are even more likely than city children to leave home in early adolescence to seek employment and higher education.

However, it is necessary to discover the extent to which working mothers with 'incomplete' families on the night of the census are special, not a representative, group of mothers, not only in terms of duration of marriage, but also in terms of birthplace and residence. Such an analysis will be useful not only in the negative sense of providing data about the degree and source of underestimation of the analysis of working mothers with pre-school age children, but also in providing a valuable picture of the household composition (that

is, 'complete' or 'incomplete' on the night of the census) of working mothers of different birthplace groups and residences.

Table 4:10 Percentage of all Working Mothers who had 'Incomplete' Families by Grouped Birthplace, and Residence, 1961.

<u>Residence</u>	<u>Birthplace</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Australia</u>	<u>United Kingdom</u>	<u>Other</u>	
Metropolitan	31	31	21	29
Urban	41	42	27	39
Rural	50	49	37	49
Total	37	34	23	34

Source: unpublished data from 1961 Census.

Table 4:10 demonstrates that the proportion of 'incomplete' families is about the same among Australian and British migrant families, but noticeably less among non-British migrant families. This is partly due to the fact that the group of non-British migrant working mothers have been married for a shorter time than the other two groups of mothers; but even when duration of marriage is controlled, we find that non-British migrant working mothers who have been married for more than 20 years are less likely than their

Australian- and British-born counterparts to have children absent from home on the night of the Census.

One possible explanation for this pattern is that the non-British migrant working mothers have a longer childbearing span than other mothers. The evidence of average issue certainly suggests that this is so, and the argument is also supported by Day's similar inferences from 1954 Census data.<sup>1</sup>

Also important is the possibility that the older children of non-British migrant families might tend to stay at home longer, be less likely to leave home to live elsewhere, or even to stay at home after marriage to a greater extent, in comparison with Australian- and British-born children. Possibly non-British migrant children marry later; more likely a much smaller proportion of them undertake tertiary education, and this would reduce the necessity for their leaving home in middle and late adolescence.

Thus, working mothers with at least one child absent from home on the night of the Census were more likely to have been married for more than 15 years, to have come disproportionately

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1. Day (1965b)



from rural areas, and to be disproportionately Australian- and British-born rather than non-British, as compared with working mothers with all their children at home on the night of the Census. This pattern suggests interesting hypotheses about the motives of these women for working. Absences of some children from home are probably associated with reduced family responsibilities of the mother, and it may be that Australian- and British-born wives are more likely to enter the workforce only when their family commitments are reduced. The pattern also suggests that working mothers with all their children at home on the night of the Census are a special, not a representative, group of working mothers. However, since the distortion occurs in the later duration of marriage categories, and our interest is in mothers of pre-school age children, the data will provide us with a rough estimate of the differentials of duration of marriage, birthplace and residence of this group of mothers.

The only satisfactory way to analyse these differentials is to regard working mothers of pre-school children as a proportion not of all working mothers with 'complete' families on the night of the Census, but as a proportion of all working mothers regardless of whether or not all their children were enumerated on the same schedule as the mother on the night of

the Census. This will involve an error, but the alternative would not have provided a meaningful result, because of the unrepresentative nature of the total group of mothers with 'complete' families.

Table 4:11 Proportion of all Working Mothers with Children Under Five Years, by Residence and Grouped Birthplace, 1961.

<u>Birthplace</u>	<u>Residence</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Metropolitan</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Rural</u>	
Australia	16	19	24	18
United Kingdom	13	12	11	13
Other	26	22	27	26
Total	18	19	23	19

Source: unpublished data from 1961 Census.

There are 259,000 married women with children in the workforce (more, if women who have children from a previous marriage are included) and of these, at least 49,000 have children under five years of age. Two-thirds of these women are Australian-born, another 13,000 are non-British migrant wives, and only a small proportion are British-born.

Table 4:11 shows that non-British migrant working mothers are far more likely to have pre-school children than either British- or Australian-born working mothers. This is related to the fact that non-British migrant mothers in the workforce have, on the whole, been married for a shorter time than other mothers, and thus they are more likely to have pre-school age children. However, evidence of average issue and proportion of childless women among the birthplace groups (discussed in the previous section) suggests that, generally, non-British migrant wives have one child early in marriage (probably in their country of origin) and delay the remainder of their childbearing for several - possibly as many as eight or ten - years. The problems of working with only one child, even if he is not at school, are considerably less than the problems of being in the workforce with several, including a child under five. In addition, this pattern of childbearing is probably related to particularly intense economic difficulties. Evidence of a survey of Italians in an inner-suburb in Melbourne suggests that these factors - commencement of childbearing in country of origin, and subsequent heavy financial responsibilities on arrival in Australia - are related both to a high workforce

participation rate among wives and delay of at least five years in completion of childbearing.<sup>1</sup> Cultural differences, the prevalence of multiple households among migrant families, and residence in industrial areas, are also likely to be important factors.

On the other hand, the smaller proportion of British migrant mothers with pre-school children is probably related to the fact that, generally, they have been married longer than Australian-born and non-British-born married women in the workforce. Again, cultural differences, and a pattern of childbearing more similar to that of Australian-born women, in addition to the lack of residential concentration of British migrant families, are all likely to be important factors in explaining this smaller proportion.

The proportion of working mothers with young children is higher in rural areas than in metropolitan areas, though the pattern is consistent only for Australian-born working mothers. However the numbers of British and non-British migrant mothers with pre-school children in urban and rural areas are very small

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1. Jones (thesis, 1962) p. 309.

(580 and 1370 in urban areas and 235 and 645 in rural areas) so the evidence presented here is unlikely to be very reliable. The fact that Australian women work more readily when they have very young children in rural areas than in metropolitan areas suggests that the work situation of Australian women in rural areas - mainly farming - is more suitable for women with young children than the sorts of jobs they might obtain in metropolitan areas.

Though data similar to these just analysed are also available for 1954, the limitations of the 1954 data (in terms of the extent of their unrepresentativeness) are not known, and detailed comparisons with the 1961 data would be of little use. However, the proportions of working mothers with young children in the three birthplace groups are similar in 1954, and this fact at least suggests that the 1961 data have some validity.

D. Occupational Concentration of Migrant Wives.

It has been shown that the participation of migrant wives in the workforce is higher than that of Australian-born married women in most areas, and at most durations of marriage. In general, the participation of non-British migrant wives is higher than that of British migrant wives, and they are also more likely to be mothers of children under five than other wives. Is this pattern of workforce behaviour of migrant wives associated with concentration in particular occupations?

Unfortunately, details about migrant wives in the workforce are very limited. Though we know the numbers of females in the major birthplace groups in the workforce, we lack similar data for married females. Thus, it is not possible to calculate the participation rates of particular migrant groups in the married female workforce. This means that it is not possible to say, for example, that Italian wives are more or less liable to seek employment than Dutch or German wives, or that Greek wives are more or less liable to work than Polish wives.

Not only do we lack workforce participation figures of migrant wives, but we also lack data about the jobs they hold. However, from the general picture of migrants in the female

workforce as a whole, and from a sampling of metropolitan data concerning the occupational concentration of migrant wives, certain inferences can be made.

There is a clear pattern in the occupational concentration of women from the major birthplace groups, and comparison with 1954 workforce data suggests that the pattern has not changed markedly in the period from 1954 to 1961 despite the increased numbers and proportions of migrant women in the workforce.<sup>1</sup>

Among working women from seven birthplaces, including Australia, there are three fairly distinct groups, the Southern Europeans (Greeks and Italians), the Northern and Eastern Europeans (Germans, Polish and Dutch), and, finally, British and Australian women. The Southern European women follow the pattern of their menfolk, and are concentrated in blue collar work, and under-represented in white collar jobs (Table 4:12).<sup>2</sup> The Northern and Eastern Europeans, on the other hand, are generally closer than the Greeks and the Italians to the British and Australian pattern, though they are still somewhat

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1. Zubrzycki (1960) Ch. 4.

2. F.L. Jones, 'Ethnic Concentration and Assimilation', Social Forces, 45, 1967.

Table 4:12 Percentage of Women from Selected Birthplaces  
in Seven Occupational Groups, 1961.

<u>Birthplace</u>	<u>Prof.</u>	<u>Managerial</u>	<u>Clerical</u>	<u>Occupational Group</u>			<u>Service</u>	<u>Other</u> <sup>1</sup>	<u>Total</u>	<u>(Number)</u>
				<u>Sales</u>	<u>Rural</u>	<u>Factory</u>				
Australia <sup>2</sup>	14.8	4.0	31.3	13.4	3.9	12.9	14.6	5.1	100.0	(836969)
U.K. <sup>3</sup>	14.1	3.9	29.0	12.4	1.6	15.9	19.6	3.5	100.0	(88531)
Germany	8.3	4.2	16.1	9.5	0.5	33.0	24.2	4.2	100.0	(16452)
Greece	0.8	3.6	2.3	9.1	2.0	58.6	14.8	8.8	100.0	(13890)
Italy	1.2	2.4	4.0	8.0	4.4	58.1	16.6	5.3	100.0	(25134)
Netherlands	10.4	3.5	18.0	16.9	2.0	21.9	23.6	3.7	100.0	(10573)
Poland	6.1	9.9	8.1	8.2	0.7	38.3	25.5	3.2	100.0	(10447)
Total (All birthplaces)	13.8	4.1	29.0	12.7	3.5	16.5	15.8	4.6	100.0	(1059169)

1. includes Mining, Transport, Armed Services & 'Inadequately Described'.

2. includes New Zealand

3. includes Republic of Ireland

Source: unpublished 1961 Census data.



over-represented in blue collar jobs, and under-represented in white collar. The third group, the Australian and British women, are, compared with the average, over-represented in white collar jobs and under-represented in blue collar jobs.

This general pattern can probably be explained partly in class terms, partly by the age structures of the six migrant groups, and partly by the apparently greater readiness with which migrant women from some birthplaces learn English (a factor, in itself, partly related to social class background). First, it seems that Southern Europeans have come predominantly from peasant backgrounds<sup>1</sup>, and therefore turn most readily in Australia to unskilled work, and especially to factory work where there is less necessity to communicate in English than in other jobs.<sup>2</sup> Other migrant groups, on the other hand, contain a high proportion of persons from middle class or lower middle class

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1. More than half of the Italian men surveyed by Jones in an inner city area of Melbourne had been agricultural labourers in Italy. F.L. Jones, 'The Italian Population of Carlton: A Demographic and Sociological Survey', (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, A.N.U.), 1962, p. 292.
  2. ibid., p. 320.

backgrounds, and because of their better education are better equipped than Southern Europeans to undertake white collar jobs. This seems to be particularly true of the displaced persons among the Germans and the Polish, as well as the Dutch. The Dutch seem to have the additional advantage of having in some cases learnt English in their home country, where English is generally taught as a second or third language to all schoolchildren. This may explain to some extent the fact that Dutch women are closer to the Australian and British pattern of workforce concentration than other European migrant groups.

The differing age structures of the migrant groups has also probably influenced their occupational distribution. For example, the higher concentration of Dutch, German and Polish women in service occupations may reflect a greater proportion of older women among their numbers.

There are, however, some variations in the basic pattern of female workforce just described. For example, the Dutch are nearer to the British in their near average concentration in professional jobs and sales work, though they are just as concentrated as the Germans and Poles in factory and service occupations. Polish women are very heavily concentrated

in managerial positions, displacing even Australian women.<sup>1</sup>

The Italians are only slightly over-represented, and the Greeks slightly under-represented, in service occupations, which is surprising in view of the concentration of widows and other older married women in this low status occupational group.

In contrast to Greek women, Italians show a marked concentration in rural occupations - an even greater concentration than Australian women - and this is clearly associated with the concentration of Italian men in some rural areas of Queensland, the Riverina, and Victoria, working tobacco, sugar, horticultural and fruit-growing farms.

The British, though they share a similar occupational pattern with Australian women, are in general slightly less concentrated in white collar jobs and slightly more concentrated in blue collar ones, especially in factory and service work, than the Australians. British women are noticeably under-represented in rural occupations, reflecting the concentration of British migrants in metropolitan areas.

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1. Polish men are slightly over-represented in managerial positions in the 1961 Australian workforce.

Evidence of the industrial concentration of women from these same birthplaces shows a similar pattern to the one revealed by the analysis of occupational concentration, at least where the industrial groups can be appropriately compared with the occupational groups. (Table 4:13).

The above discussion has concerned migrant women in general, and not just married women, because, as has been mentioned, we lack comprehensive data about the occupational and industrial concentration of married women according to their birthplace. To what extent is the occupational concentration pattern of migrant wives likely to mirror the pattern of migrant women in general?

Numerically, at least, the female migrant workforce is dominated by married women. Where two-thirds of the group of Australian-born women in the workforce are single women (and women 'with husbands absent'), of the group of British-born women in the workforce 45 percent are married women, and of non-British migrant women in the workforce, 57 percent are married. There are, however, several other considerations which make it likely that migrant wives are concentrated in similar occupations to all migrant women. Migrant wives who have been in Australia for, say, four years, will be at a disadvantage compared with young

Table 4:13 Industrial Distribution of Females  
Selected Birthplaces, Australia 1961.

<u>Birthplace</u>	<u>Industrial Group</u>							Other <sup>1</sup>	Total
	Primary	Manuf.	Finance	Commerce	Public Authority	Community Services	Amusements		
Australia <sup>2</sup>	4.2	20.3	5.8	23.6	3.5	22.4	12.5	7.7	100.0
United Kingdom <sup>3</sup>	1.8	25.7	4.2	21.8	3.0	23.5	13.6	6.4	100.0
Germany	1.2	40.6	2.2	15.0	1.4	15.5	17.7	6.4	100.0
Greece	2.0	59.1	0.5	9.1	0.3	3.2	16.0	9.8	100.0
Italy	4.4	59.8	1.0	10.9	0.4	6.4	10.9	6.2	100.0
Netherlands	2.2	28.2	2.9	22.4	1.8	18.3	18.2	6.0	100.0
Poland	0.7	45.8	1.3	14.4	1.2	17.5	14.3	4.8	100.0
Total (All Birthplaces)	3.7	23.9	5.2	22.2	3.2	21.5	12.8	7.5	100.0

1. includes Mining, Electricity, Building, Transport & Communications.

2. includes New Zealand.

3. includes Republic of Ireland.

Source: unpublished data from 1961 Census.

single migrant women in getting jobs, because they are likely to learn English less quickly, being more isolated in their homes and within their national groups than single women. Further, married women coming to Australia in their late teens or early twenties are likely to be less well educated, than, for example, Dutch girls who have been in Australia since early childhood and have gone to school here.

That these inferences are likely to be substantially correct can be supported by reference to a sample of the occupations held by married women in six birthplaces in Sydney and Melbourne. This was a sample of certain representative occupations, which, it was hoped, would give a general picture of the occupations held by migrant wives since complete tabulations for migrant women in the whole of Australia are unavailable. The sample was a large one, encompassing between a third and a half

of all female migrants in the birthplaces selected for sampling.<sup>1</sup>

The pattern of occupational concentration of ever married women from the United Kingdom, Germany, Greece, Italy, Poland and the Netherlands is not identical in Sydney and

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1. Data of the occupations of never married and ever married women in the 1961 workforce by their birthplaces are available only in the form of coded computer sheets, and refer to a total of about 340 occupations, more than 90 birthplace categories, and more than 20 residential areas (metropolitan, urban, rural and migratory in each state). The effort involved in decoding this data would not be commensurate with the results, and a sample of 37 representative occupations of never married and ever married women from 13 birthplaces (including 6 for the United Kingdom) in the metropolitan areas of Melbourne and Sydney was provided by the Bureau of Census and Statistics. Occupations sampled included nurses, all categories of teachers, clerks, typists, and the like, manufacturers in commerce and personal service enterprises, shop proprietors, shop assistants, telephonists, machinists (textiles), process workers (metal and electrical products), packers, boarding house keepers, cooks, maids, caterers, domestic workers, waitresses, bartenders, cleaners, hairdressers, launderers, hospital attendants. The sample was intended to provide reasonable evidence of the relative concentration of migrant women (married and single) in lower professional, clerical, sales, factory and personal service occupations. As is evident from the list of occupations, the sampling of the first three groups was very extensive (most women in these jobs are probably included) but the sampling of factory occupations was limited to the two or three numerically most important. The sampling of managerial occupations and shop proprietors was intended to show evidence of the extent to which married women among the selected birthplace groups were employers or self-employed. Birthplaces were chosen simply on the criterion of numerical importance in the female workforce. Yugoslavia and Malta were included in the sample, but, because their numbers were small, they have been excluded from analysis of the data. The data include the total number of women in those selected occupations in the Sydney and Melbourne metropolitan areas, but the total number of wives from each birthplace group in the workforce is unknown.

Melbourne, but the trends are clear. A comparison of the total ever married women from these selected birthplaces with the total for all birthplaces reveals that the selected migrant group is under-represented in most white collar jobs (nursing, teaching, clerical and sales work), about average in typically 'employer' or 'self-employed' occupations such as managers of commercial enterprises and shop proprietors, and over-represented in most factory jobs and personal service occupations. (Tables 4:14 and 4:15). This pattern of concentration is very similar to that of the total female workforce (Table 4:12) and confirms the hypothesis that the workforce pattern of migrant wives would not differ markedly from that of single migrant women. (The concentration of single women from the selected birthplace groups in the sampled occupations is very similar to that of married women, with the predictable exceptions of managers and shop proprietors, and other occupations generally held by older married women).

Comparison of the concentration of particular birthplace groups in the selected occupations also reveals a pattern similar to that found for all women in the workforce from these birthplaces. There is the same under-representation of Southern European women in teaching, nursing, clerical and sales jobs



Table 4:14 Percentage of Ever Married Women in Selected Occupations from Selected Birthplaces, Melbourne Metropolitan Area, 1961.

Occupation	Birthplace						Total Selected Birthplaces	Total All Birthplaces
	United Kingdom <sup>1</sup>	Germany	Greece	Italy	Netherlands	Poland		
Nurse	2.4	1.2	0.1	0.1	2.0	0.5	1.4	2.1
Teacher	2.8	1.6	0.1	0.1	1.6	1.3	1.7	3.3
Managers, commerce	2.3	4.0	2.0	2.4	2.2	13.8	3.3	3.6
Managers, personal services	1.3	1.7	1.6	0.8	1.5	4.3	1.5	2.1
Clerks	37.3	24.4	1.8	2.0	25.5	12.3	22.4	31.4
Shop Proprietors	3.6	3.6	4.9	4.3	3.4	13.5	4.5	4.4
Shop Assistants	11.7	8.7	5.8	5.8	9.2	10.1	9.0	12.6
Machinists	5.1	12.1	42.0	51.8	13.2	17.4	19.8	10.5
Process workers, metal, electric	5.2	8.7	5.5	2.9	4.6	4.0	5.2	3.6
Maids	1.9	2.9	0.8	1.3	2.3	1.7	2.0	1.6
Cleaners	3.7	2.3	3.8	2.8	4.8	1.8	3.5	3.6
Launderers	1.5	3.0	6.6	10.1	2.2	2.1	4.0	2.4
Attendants, hospital	1.6	2.2	0.3	0.4	2.2	1.2	1.4	1.0
Total (Selected Occupations)	100.0 (11764)	100.0 (2298)	100.0 (1892)	100.0 (4840)	100.0 (918)	100.0 (2065)	100.0 (25380)	100.0 (92179)

Source: unpublished data from 1961 Census.

1. Includes Republic of Ireland.

Table 4:15 Percentage of Ever Married Women in Selected Occupations from Selected Birthplace, Sydney Metropolitan Area, 1961.

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Birthplace</u>						<u>Total Selected Birthplaces</u>	<u>Total All Birthplaces</u>
	<u>United Kingdom</u> <sup>1</sup>	<u>Germany</u>	<u>Greece</u>	<u>Italy</u>	<u>Netherlands</u>	<u>Poland</u>		
Nurse	2.3	1.5	-	0.1	1.7	0.7	1.6	2.0
Teacher	3.4	0.7	0.7	0.1	1.1	0.7	2.2	3.6
Managers, commerce	2.7	4.8	3.8	4.5	5.2	9.0	3.5	3.5
Managers, personal services	1.4	1.4	5.4	0.8	2.8	1.4	1.7	1.6
Clerks	34.8	23.0	3.6	4.3	23.3	12.4	24.7	33.1
Shop Proprietors	3.5	3.3	6.4	5.5	6.8	5.7	4.1	3.1
Shop Assistants	12.6	8.9	12.9	8.3	9.3	6.1	10.8	12.8
Machinists	4.8	11.9	35.0	41.8	10.8	15.9	13.4	8.0
Process Workers, metal, electric	5.2	12.0	5.3	5.7	3.9	8.7	6.2	4.6
Maids	1.8	2.6	0.7	1.1	1.6	3.2	1.9	1.4
Cleaners	5.7	2.8	4.0	3.4	5.3	6.4	5.7	4.9
Launderers	1.5	3.0	2.8	5.5	2.0	3.1	2.4	1.9
Attendants, hospital	0.9	1.4	0.3	0.3	1.0	2.1	1.0	0.7
Total (Selected Occupations)	100.0 (12260)	100.0 (1737)	100.0 (1564)	100.0 (2314)	100.0 (879)	100.0 (1213)	100.0 (21375)	100.0 (85020)

Source: unpublished data from 1961 Census.

1. Includes Republic of Ireland.

(though in Sydney, Greek wives are over-represented in sales work), and the same heavy concentration in factory jobs - in this case represented by the occupation of machinist - where between a third and a half of Southern European wives at work in the selected occupations are to be found in both cities. In addition, in Sydney, though not in Melbourne, they show some over-representation in managerial positions and as shop proprietors. On the other hand, Greek and Italian wives are rarely to be found in domestic service occupations such as maids or cleaners, or as hospital attendants, but they are heavily concentrated in laundering jobs (the concentration of Greek wives in Sydney in this occupation is less). Possibly this is because the ability to speak English is not required in laundries and dry cleaning works.

Polish wives are very highly concentrated as employers and self-employed in occupations such as managers and shop proprietors. These jobs account for nearly a third of all Polish women in the selected occupations in Melbourne and 16 percent in Sydney, compared with the average of 9.3 percent for all the migrant groups in both cities.

British migrant wives generally follow the pattern of Australian women, and are considerably more prominent in white

collar occupations than wives from other birthplaces. Dutch and German wives tend to fall midway between the pattern of British wives, on the one hand, and Southern European wives on the other. They are somewhat over-represented as hospital attendants, maids, and, in the case of Dutch married women, cleaners, less concentrated in the occupation of machinist than Southern European women, but, on the other hand, less under-represented in clerical, nursing and teaching positions.

Generally, though non-British migrant wives are more concentrated in blue collar jobs than British- and Australian-born wives, nevertheless about the same proportion of them have jobs where they are likely to be self-employed or employers. This fact has some importance in the context of the high proportion of migrant wives (excluding the British-born) in the workforce who have children under five years of age. It is possible - though the data here is of course too limited to give evidence of it - that the migrant working wives with young children are in many cases those women who are working in their husbands' cafes and shops, or managing commercial enterprises with their husbands. As was pointed out previously, in circumstances where married women can work at home, or where they are employers or self-employed rather than employees, the problems of child-minding are considerably lessened.

The second point of interest to emerge from this discussion of the concentration of migrant wives in a group of selected occupations is the extent to which women from one nationality - both married and single - are congregated in the same occupations. This is particularly noticeable with the group of Greek and Italian women in machinists' jobs, but is also noticeable with the concentration of German women in process work in the metal trade. Apart from the fact that work in manufacturing probably does not require the ability to speak English, it suggests that the job choice of migrant women is partly determined by the place of work of women of the same birthplace. More, it suggests that migrant wives might work partly because they can work in the congenial company of women of their own nationality. The location of factories in or near the suburbs where migrant groups are congregated - for example, the location of textiles factories in the Carlton area of Melbourne near the homes of many Italian women - is also likely to be an important factor in explaining this concentration.

### CONCLUSION

The recent increase in the proportion of married women who seek employment in several industrialised countries including Australia is partly the result of demographic and social changes, such as earlier age at marriage, smaller families, earlier age at completion of childbearing, and greater expectation of life, changes which allow women perhaps twenty years of working life after their family responsibilities have lessened. At the same time, with the expansion of the tertiary sector of the economy, there has been an increase in the number of jobs available for women, particularly in clerical work, teaching and nursing.

Parallel with these changes has been the growing contraction of the traditional sources of labour. Both young men and women are staying in educational institutions longer than they used to, though this is more true of men than of women. Moreover, a greater proportion of men and women in their middle-sixties are retiring from the workforce. Most important of all has been the contraction in the supply of single women, the result of the increasing popularity of marriage and the earlier age at marriage. Because of shortages of labour,

employers have made some concessions - especially in extending the availability of part-time work - to attract married women to the workforce. Public opinion itself has been a contributing factor, though the adoption of favourable attitudes towards working wives refers only to women without children, and attitudes themselves change with changes in behaviour.

The two major determining factors of the workforce participation of a married woman are probably her social class and the stage of the family cycle. A woman's social class position - in other words, her husband's occupation - is directly and indirectly related to a **variety of facets** of her life, many of which contribute to the probability of her working after marriage, for example, her own birthplace, and that of her parents, her father's occupation and income, whether or not her mother worked after marriage, her education, her age at completion of her education, her first occupation, the age that she married, and so on. If she does work after marriage, but before childbearing (and here her religion may determine the interval between marriage and the commencement of childbearing) then this in itself increases the probability that she will work later in marriage.

The determinants of the timing of her return to work later in marriage - if she returns - are more complex. Stage in the family cycle is a relevant factor here. Evidence suggests that women who work with young children are either likely to come from families that have heavy financial responsibilities, or to be working in occupations where the separation of mother and child is at a minimum (that is, in shops, cafes, farms and the like). On the other hand, there are probably a number of professionally-trained women who return to work early after childbearing because of their interest in their jobs.

Factors relating to the return to work of women with school-age or older children are less easy to isolate, simply because working at this stage of the family cycle is more common than it used to be. Married women working at this stage include not only those whose families are in financial difficulties, but also those who are bored with housework or the isolation of suburban life. The approval of husbands is probably an important determinant, and this itself is likely to be inversely related to social class. Some women, on the other hand, seek alternatives to employment, in voluntary activity. Others supplement the family finances by taking in boarders. The reason some wives take these alternatives rather than seek



employment is likely to be related not only to their class position and to their husbands' attitudes to working wives, but also to their skills and to the availability of suitable work. It is likely, for example, that lower middle class women, who might have worked briefly before and after marriage as typists, might find themselves unable to get clerical jobs later in their marriages (because of the large supply of young single women for clerical jobs) and might find the alternatives of factory or service work unsuitable.

So far as Australian wives are concerned, the complexities of these interrelationships have not been explored very far. The two empirical studies of working wives are restricted in scope and limited by the lack of representativeness of their samples. Census data, because of the restricted number of variables and cross-tabulations, illuminate the importance of only some of the relevant variables.

Limitations of the census material precluded research into a number of hypotheses. In particular, it was hoped that census data would show the proportions of childless women in the pre-family stage in various occupational groups. But the census data were limited to consideration of women with children of the existing marriage, and this restriction caused a substantial

over-estimation of the number of childless women in the workforce, particularly in some occupations.

Similarly, lack of data about married women in the workforce by birthplace precluded a complete analysis of the migrant wives in the workforce, and a number of hypotheses about childbearing patterns refer only to non-British migrant wives rather than to women from specific birthplaces. This, however, will prove an important area of future research, since clearly the patterns of childbearing among migrant groups, particularly among migrant women who work, differ in important respects from patterns among Australian-born wives.

Thirdly, the element of subjectivity in the definition of 'being in the workforce' is probably a crucial element in explaining some of the peculiarities of workforce participation among women in rural areas, and among women in some entrepreneurial occupations, since we cannot be sure that women who say they are managers, farmers or shop proprietors really work in these occupations, or are, on the other hand, merely business partners, in the financial sense, with their husbands.

Finally, the lack of cross-tabulations available from Australian censuses, in contrast to those of American censuses, is an important restriction on research into the relationship

between social class and the workforce participation of married women. Cross-tabulations of the occupations of both husbands and wives, with data on husbands' occupations, number of children, age and education are all available from the American census. In addition, data on hours of work would illuminate employment patterns, particularly in the case of women aged 25-39 who, it might be supposed, might be more likely to work part-time rather than full-time while caring for young children.

Despite their limitations, census data provided an outline of the major variables which relate to the workforce participation of married women.

Duration of marriage, reflecting the stage of the family cycle of working wives, is one such basic variable. Evidence of the Australian married female workforce shows that the peak of participation occurs among mothers married for 15-19 years, among mothers, that is, who have school-age children. The peak among childless women is in the first five years of marriage.

Comparison with 1954 data suggests that there has been a trend to an earlier return to work after childbearing in the period 1954-1961. This may be related to the influx of migrant women into the workforce, because the peak of their workforce

participation occurs earlier in marriage than that of Australian women. Among mothers who have been married for less than five years, eight percent are in the workforce, but among non-British migrants the figure is 20 percent, among British migrants 10 percent while the Australian figure, by contrast, is 6 percent. Thus it is clear that the workforce behaviour of migrant wives differs substantially from that of Australian-born married women.

The evidence of age suggests a similar picture. The peak of participation occurs among women aged 20-24 and 35-44, suggesting that childbearing is responsible for the lower participation of women aged 25-34. The peak of participation among mothers occurs when they are aged 40-44, and among childless women when they are aged 20-29. The participation of childless women declines after they are thirty years of age, particularly after they are aged 44, suggesting that the motivation of these women to work after this age is low in the face of the declining of career opportunities for women, or because their husbands' incomes have reached their peak.

In general the fertility of working wives is lower than that of all married women in the population, but the difference between working wives and all women in this respect is most

marked among wives aged 30-39 and among those married for 10-14 years suggesting that number of children is an important determinant of workforce participation only when these children are young, perhaps under twelve years of age.

Among the three birthplace groups, the fertility of Australian women is higher than that of the two migrant groups, and this is true in metropolitan as well as in rural areas. The fertility of Australian-born working wives is also higher than that of migrant working wives, a somewhat surprising fact in view of the greater tendency of non-British migrant women to work when they have children. But comparison of the proportions of childless women in the workforce in the three birthplace groups in conjunction with the evidence of average issue suggests that the two migrant groups have quite different patterns of childbearing from the pattern of Australian-born women. The non-British migrant group of wives tend to have their first child early in marriage (perhaps in their country of origin) and to delay the rest of their childbearing for as long as ten years. British migrant women, on the other hand, delay birth of their first child even longer than Australian women, though in general their pattern of childbearing is similar to that of Australian wives. These differences have important implications

for their workforce behaviour, in fact, the patterns of childbearing themselves are probably governed by the greater necessity for some non-British migrant wives to work.

Evidence of the workforce behaviour of married women in the three areas, metropolitan, urban and rural, suggests that lack of work is an important contributing factor to the low participation of rural women in the workforce (the participation of women from all three birthplace groups is lower in rural areas than in metropolitan areas, and, with some exceptions, this is true of women with children as well as childless women). The presence of a number of children, even of young children, among mothers in rural areas does not seem such an important deterrent to their workforce participation as it does among metropolitan wives.

It is clear from the foregoing that birthplace is also an important determinant of workforce participation among married women in Australia. Migrant women, though they have a lower average fertility, are more likely to work than Australian women and this is true of women with children as well as childless women. Moreover, to the extent that childbearing does

prevent migrant women from working, they seem to return to the workforce considerably earlier than Australian women.

Women in the Australian workforce are concentrated in five main occupational groups - clerical, factory, and sales work, lower professional occupations, and personal and domestic service. This pattern of concentration of the female workforce is similar to that in the United States, the United Kingdom and Canada. Even within these occupational groups, women are highly concentrated in particular occupations, for example in nursing, and teaching, among the lower professional jobs, and as machinists & process workers in the leather, metal and paper trades in factory work. However, there is some difference in the degree of concentration of single and married women in these occupations, single women being more concentrated in clerical work, and married women in service work, rural and managerial occupations.

Two thirds of the married women in the workforce are mothers, and even among women aged 25-29 in the workforce, more than half have children. Married women with children are concentrated more in service occupations and less in clerical

occupations than are single women. In general, the fertility of women with clerical jobs is lower than that of women with service jobs, and mothers with clerical jobs are younger, suggesting both that clerical work is unattractive to women with children, and that when mothers do have clerical jobs their age is important.

Migrant wives, particularly non-British migrant wives, are more highly concentrated in blue collar jobs than Australian women, but they are represented about equally in jobs where they are likely to be employers or self-employed.

Finally, there is some evidence to suggest that the middle-aged married women who entered the workforce in the period from 1947 to 1961 were more likely to have taken blue collar rather than white collar jobs.



APPENDIX

In 1961, the Bureau of Census and Statistics used an occupational classification of 348 discrete occupations, which could be combined into 73 minor and 12 major groups. Recently, Broom, Jones and Zubrzycki provided a reallocation of the 348 occupations into a new code of 107 categories.<sup>1</sup> Both the 12 Group Census occupational code and the A.N.U. code have been utilized in the present research. In the case of some of the 1961 data referring to the married female workforce, the 12 group occupational code was all the information provided. For ever married females in the workforce, the Census 348 categories were reallocated into 100 categories according to the A.N.U. code, but because the latter proved unwieldy and somewhat inappropriate to the female workforce, a new code of 21 categories was constructed.

The object of the new code was to gather occupations from the 100 A.N.U. code in which the age distribution of married females in those occupations seemed roughly similar, and, at the

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1. L. Broom, et al., 'An Occupational Classification of the Australian Workforce', Supplement to Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology, 1, ii, 1965.

same time, to subdivide the larger Census 12 Group code so that the married female workforce in dissimilar occupations could be separately studied. In Census Group 1, for example, professional workers have been subdivided into five new occupational categories: Upper and Lower Professional Workers, Religious Workers, Artists and Technicians. The way the new occupational code has been constructed has meant that the variation in the number of married women in these groups is very large. For this reason it is not proposed that the code should be used for any other purpose than the present one.

The following table gives the Census Occupational Group number, the number of the equivalent A.N.U. occupational code, the title of the new occupational category used in the present research, and a brief description of the most important occupations contained within it.

<u>Census Occupational Group Title</u>	<u>A.N.U. Code No.</u>	<u>Title of New Occupational Category</u>	<u>Occupational Composition</u>
Professional Technical and Related Workers	0,1,2,7, 46.	Upper Professional	Architects, engineers, scientists, university teachers, doctors, lawyers, pilots (ship).
	3,4,5, 10,11.	Lower Professional	Nurses, pharmacists, teachers, accountants, social workers, librarians.
	6	Religious Workers	Clergymen, religious workers n.e.c.
	8	Artists	Artists, writers, journalists, musicians, entertainers.
	9	Technicians	Draftsmen, technicians, laboratory assistants.
Administrative Managerial and Executive Workers	12-21	Managers	Administrators, managers.
Clerical Workers	22-24	Clerical Workers	Book-keepers, cashiers, clerical workers, public servants.
Sales Workers	25-26, 28-29	Shop Assistants	Insurance, real estate and other salesmen, shop assistants.
	27	Shop Proprietors	Shop proprietors n.e.c.
Farmers, Fishermen and Related Workers	30-34	Farmers	Wheat, sheep, pig, and poultry farmers, fruit, tobacco, cotton and other growers, dairy farmers, graziers, and other farmers.

<u>Census Occupational Group Title</u>	<u>A.N.U. Code No.</u>	<u>Title of New Occupational Category</u>	<u>Occupational Composition</u>
Farmers	35-45	Outdoor Workers	Wheat, sheep farm workers, station hands, shearers, gardeners, hunters, fishing workers, miners and so on.
Transport and Communications Workers	47	Tram Conductors	Tram and bus conductors, taxi drivers, deliverymen, traffic controllers and transport workers n.e.c.
	48	Railway and Postal Officers (Senior)	Stationmasters, railway and postmasters.
	49	Telephonists	Telephonists, teleprinter operators, postal officers (junior)
Craftsmen, Production Process Workers Labourers n.e.c.	50-86	Factory Workers	Skilled and unskilled factory operatives, packers, storemen.
Service, Sport and Recreation Workers	89-92	Cleaners	Cleaners, domestic service workers, cooks, housekeepers.
	93	Hairdressers	Hairdressers, beauticians.
	94	Launderers	Launderers, pressers.
	97	Hospital Attendants	Hospital medical attendants.
	87,88, 95,96, 98.	Other Service Workers	Policemen, sportsmen, recreation workers, and members of armed services.
Occupation Inadequately Described or Not Stated	99	Other	Inadequately described.

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