THE MARRIED WOMAN IN EMPLOYMENT

An Exploratory Study of how her Employment Affects the Woman, and her Relationship with her Family, and the Community

by

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ABSTRACT

The proportion of women in the Canadian labour force has grown steadily in recent decades. Many of these, however, are younger women who retire from gainful employment after marriage. Married women who work are a special section of the population; they have been the subject of social studies in several countries, but not so far in Canada.

This thesis is a supplementary study, influenced by the national survey of married women who are gainfully employed now being undertaken (1956) by the Women's Bureau of the Canadian Department of Labour. The facts reviewed in this present report are obtained from only fifty of the women interviewed in one of the sample cities (Vancouver); but the opportunity has been taken to make them the basis of all the pros and cons of the situation, including the reasons for working, the types of work, and the effects on family life.

The schedule used for the interviews is a standardized, comprehensive one worked out with the assistance of a national advisory committee including the research directors of the Schools of Social Work in Canada. Only a minimum of statistical tabulation is undertaken for this limited sample; a few other schedules obtained from university students were added, and there is no intention to present the information as statistically representative. A systematic review of the qualitative material is attempted, however, to illustrate the differentials which must be considered in a definitive assessment.

After experiment with other classifications, it was found most effective to distinguish three main groups: (a) families composed of husband and wife without children (or younger dependents); (b) "complete" families with husband and wife and children in the home, and (c) "broken" families, in which the working mother was a widow, separated or divorced, or with dependent or partially dependent husband. The significance of these differences is readily apparent from the views recorded.

It was also apparent that the socio-economic differences associated with different levels of income and grade of work (e.g., professional, clerical, service, factory) are of direct importance in modifying the consequences for the family; but these could only be indicated illustratively. In a final section, an endeavour is made to bring together all provisional findings, distinguishing broadly the implications (a) for the woman as a person and as a marital partner, (b) for the children, and parental aspects of family life, and (c) for the community as a whole.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We wish to express our thanks to all those whose interest and active help have made this study possible. We particularly acknowledge the help of the Women's Bureau for the preparation of the Questionnaire and sampling; to the women who participated so warmly in the interviews; and to the following persons for direction, criticism and counsel, Dr. Leonard Marsh, and Mr. Michael Wheeler.
THE MARRIED WOMAN IN EMPLOYMENT
"The family as a social institution is not only universal now, but it has been a universal feature of all human societies".¹ This is a widespread view confirmed by anthropologists. One measure of the different cultural changes to which it is subjected may be found in the personal and social relations between the two sexes, and especially in the changing concepts of the role and status of the woman. The historical developments that have most clearly affected the role of the woman are the Industrial Revolution, the enormous expansion of wage-paid work and later of service occupations, increasing urbanization, and the two world-wars. It is against this background that the social phenomenon of the married woman working for pay needs to be considered.

North American society includes a great variety of family patterns, but on the whole the pattern has been a continuation from the dominant English culture known as Victorianism. One of the strongest influences in this tradition represented a blend of puritan and chivalrous ideology — the power of the individual husband exalted at the expense of the freedom and personalities of other members of the family, with compensatory satisfaction for the woman found in the cult of idealized feminine purity.

Prior to World War I, the majority of married women accepted the fact that "woman's place was in the home". Early Christian teaching influenced this thinking. The Book of Proverbs (31:27) contains a description of what was then considered the ideal wife, "She looketh well to the ways of her household, and eateth not the bread of idleness". The many and varied tasks in the home kept body and mind occupied and at the same time gave her status.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century such beliefs were challenged as new and radical ideas were presented in the realm of science and politics, and as new opportunities for employment opened up for women. The great moving force behind these changes was the Industrial Revolution and the rapid spread of the factory system. This gave women opportunities for employment outside the home; tasks such as spinning, weaving, and garment making were gradually shifted from the home to factory. As women became more independent financially, marriage was less economically necessary. The increased freedom and leisure of women in the upper classes encouraged the activist-woman-movement, concerned not only with the status of women but with humanitarian ideals; at the same time, in the working classes the new industrial structure led to impersonal exploitation of women through low wages and long hours of work, and it is noteworthy that these two streams of development have persisted, in modified forms, throughout the course of women's social and economic emancipation.

As a result of these social and economic changes, Western society has seen a major shift in the nature and function of the family:
"The large kinship family has given place to the small conjugal family. The family is no longer a producing unit, or a major educational one. The main trend is in the direction of individualism".1

What forces have operated in Canada to produce changes in the family patterns leading to the employment of women outside the home? The main forces may be summarized as those of economics, technology, and education.

Fifty years ago, Canada's economy was essentially agricultural. Today, it is a highly industrialized economy as a result of mechanization, facility of communication and transportation, concentration of population in cities rather than rural areas - all of which has been accelerated by two world wars. What has happened in this transition is largely the response of family structure to industrial urban civilization. With the change in the family structure, the individual has been freed from the economic and social control of the kinship family and has the privilege of setting his or her own goals.

Mechanization on a large scale has influenced the activities of the home as well as industry. New electrically operated appliances and processing of foods and clothing materials facilitating household tasks, meant a reduction in the amount of energy required for performance of these tasks. Production of synthetic materials, such as plastics, nylon, and dacron, at first necessary in war, later speeded the introduction of these products into peacetime use; these have played a significant part in lightening the daily household routine.

Technological developments are increasing; also transportation and communications; and, together with the increased production of goods and multiplicity of services, jobs and more jobs have opened up for women. Our expanding economy calls for an increasing number of women in office employment to operate comptometers, telephone switchboards, dictaphones, typewriters, etc.

Prior to the beginning of the twentieth century, since woman's place was considered to be in the home, education was primarily for men. With the emancipation of women, development of roles outside the home necessitated more specific education and training. Before the 1914-18 War, slight changes were noticeable; women had entered the teaching and nursing professions, were employed in offices and libraries, as well as domestic service. Before they obtained the right to vote (1919), in principle, women had equal opportunities with men in education and employment, but in reality it was seldom recognized until after World War II. Women's struggle for recognition is illustrated by the case of Clara Brett Martin, first woman barrister in The British Empire, who was called to the Bar of Ontario in 1897. Miss Martin had first to fight to get the legislature to pass an act to allow her to become enrolled as a student solicitor and ultimately to practice as a solicitor. It was necessary for Miss Martin to convince not only men lawyers practicing then, but also legislators, all of whom were men, that women should be allowed to choose and practise a profession, but that it was fair and just that women who came before the courts should be able to be represented by women, if they so desired.¹

It is due to the persistent efforts of such women as Miss Martin and organized groups of women that recognition has been obtained for women in labour forces. The most recent developments are clerical and sales occupations; equal pay for equal work; opening of the professions (law, architecture); women's services in the armed forces, etc. One of the earliest pieces of legislation passed on behalf of women were Minimum Wage Acts; this legislation was based on the recognition that women workers were more obviously exploited and their wages were lowest and its passage was facilitated by the fact that sentiment was more easily aroused to protect women.

In Canada "over a period of years the women's organizations of Canada, speaking for large numbers of women, urged that a Women's Bureau be set up in the Department of Labour. Recognizing that the problems raised by these women's organizations deserved attention, the Department of Labour established, in September 1954, a Bureau which was to concern itself with the particular problems of women workers."¹

The national census figures for the period 1941 to 1951 (i.e. both wartime and post-war years) show an increase of 308 per cent in the number of married women working. Accordingly, one of the first subjects to receive consideration by the Women's Bureau was that of married women in employment. The national survey has been launched in eight Canadian cities. The present study (which utilizes only a small proportion of the hundreds of schedules to be collected) does not aim at being as statistically definitive as the Women's Bureau tabulation will be. It is more a review of the pros and cons of married

¹. Facts and Figures a leaflet published by the Department of Labour, Ottawa, Canada.
women's employment for married life and the family in general, but one which, it is hoped, may be of value in suggesting some of the many points of interpretation which will be involved in a full appreciation of the statistical facts.

Another study, undertaken at the same time as the present one, by a Master of Social Work candidate at the University of British Columbia, is The Strathcona Nursery School; Its Contributions for Working Mothers. This confines itself to the circumstances of family and employment for a representative group of mothers whose children attend a well known Nursery School sponsored by the Community Chest in Vancouver; but uses a modified form of the Women's Bureau schedule.

From the historical review it is obvious that woman's role in society has changed greatly; but, as so often happens, changes in attitude have not kept up with technological changes. One still encounters people who have grave misgivings about women in employment; for example, while the present survey was being conducted in Vancouver, the Market Research Associates were asking 500 Vancouverites, chosen at random, "Do you think married women with husbands who are employed should work, or not?" The comments amongst the 59 per cent who approved of childless wives working included "some women weren't meant to be housewives", and, "in most cases both husband and wife have to work to keep the home going". Of the 37 per cent who disapproved, some made the comment "too many single people need jobs", and "it's the main cause of broken homes". A smaller proportion, 19 per cent, approved of the

married woman with children working; but the 76 per cent who disapproved said "the family's interests shouldn't be sacrificed", and "a mother should be looking after her children", or "only if the husband is sick and can't work". As usual, a small percentage in each case gave no opinion.

Another lag which occurs many times is in institutions. Technological changes take place, and sometimes even the attitudes change slightly, e.g. many people believe that a woman may work if her husband's salary is so small, or so irregular, that they cannot maintain a standard of living that will ensure reasonable standards of health, but a period of time elapses before the institutions change to meet the needs. Such lags can be seen in the adjustment of hours of work, and in facilities for child care, for instance.

It is all too obvious that the general public — and not least married women themselves — have confused, and conflicting ideas, about the whole matter. There are those who feel that a professional woman may work after marriage but a domestic may not. It is interesting to note that when a dishwasher won a sweepstake lately she received a number of letters from strangers stating that now she had money she had no right to return to her job. She was a recent immigrant, and in a newspaper interview she commented that in her country the decision as to whether or not she worked would be up to her, but in this country it seemed to depend on the type of work one was engaged in. Others feel that the decision revolves around the husband's income. If he is "well-paid" the wife has no business in the labour force. Still others can only accept the idea of the wife working if she can prove that she must do so in order to support dependents. The whole matter,
then, is of general interest and importance.

One has only to look at the caseloads of social agencies to realize that the whole matter is of real concern to social workers. Family agency files reveal many cases where the woman's decision to work, or not to work, may be the clue to the family breakdown. Social assistance and child-caring agencies are constantly faced with instances where the same dilemma needs to be considered in making proper treatment plans. Social assistance agencies find that a large proportion of their families are those where, because of emotional or physical inadequacy; desertion; or death of the husband, the wife must either work or seek assistance. Family courts are daily faced with the question as to whether it is better for a particular woman to seek employment rather than face years of dragging her husband through one court hearing after another. It is obvious, then, that social workers are concerned with this problem both for their own caseloads, and for that great majority who never seek agency help.

Here, too, one is faced with the conflict between attitudes and institutions. Social workers accept, as one of their basic beliefs, the fact that the individual has the right to plan his own life within the limits set by his own capacity and those imposed by society. In spite of this, many instances exist where a mother is (a) discouraged, or actually prevented, from taking employment by refusal of the agency to make available to her any form of day care, or (b) placed in the position where she must find substitute care for her children, and find employment because she has been refused social assistance. It
is particularly fitting, then, that social workers should undertake this study into the implications of the employment of married women.

Social workers, along with many others, view the family as the basic unit in society, and all-important; but it is equally true that most social workers believe that if the family unit is to be a strength to every member of it, it must have certain assets. One of these is financial security. There should be sufficient income to provide for adequate food, shelter and clothing; to provide, and maintain physical health, and to provide medical care in case of illness. Can the husband's salary provide this? Are families with children penalized in the housing market? Is it necessary for young couples to delay child-bearing until they can afford a home of their own?

Leisure and recreation are also necessary to the adequate functioning of any marriage. Is it possible for the married woman who works and carries the dual role of homemaker and employee to enjoy leisure for the pursuit of her own interests and hobbies, and time to spend with her husband and children? Do firms which employ married women make any concessions in the way of suitable hours of employment? Is the dual role so frustrating that both the woman's physical and mental health suffers?

Concepts held by the social work profession in regard to the care of children have been well summed up by Dr. Irene Josselyn in the following: During the first six years of life, the child requires a mother (or a mother substitute) who meets his physical needs with affection and gives him security as his emotional dependence increases.
Later, as he transfers some of his emotional ties to his own age-group, and to other adults, he has less intense need for his parents unless faced with an unfamiliar problem with which he cannot cope, at which time the parental role involves giving him security as he needs it, but permitting him freedom to move into a wider world gaining confidence through his successes, and through his parent's confidence in his ability to face, and tackle new problems. In this process also, one of the major contributions made by the parents is that of being a pattern of stable adulthood. "The most stable philosophy of life and social living has its roots in the inter-relationship between the child and the parent-figures and the experience the child has with their philosophy."

Dr. Josselyn goes on to say that one of the great mistakes which is commonly made is in believing that, since all children need mothers, all women can fulfill that function. This ignores the fact that every mother is an individual with needs, fears, and potentialities arising from her own upbringing and life experiences. Not all mother-child relationships will meet the child's needs by any means, and it is, therefore "imperative that in each individual case plans be formulated that guarantee a maximum utilization of what the relationship can offer, and a minimum opportunity for the expression of the destructive aspects. To demand more of the mother than she is able to give will arouse resentment in her which will be detrimental to the child. To expect too little of her will make her frustrated and unhappy and distract her from serving her child." She must also be assisted to find satisfactions outside the mother-role so that she can free the child

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as the child develops. "Otherwise she may, unconsciously, attempt to
arrest the child's development so as to continue to meet her own
emotional needs. Finally she should be given an opportunity, and en-
couragement, to find a pattern of life gratifying to herself, and
acceptable to the community. Otherwise the child may have greater diffi-
culty in developing an attitude toward life and social living that will
constructively serve, rather than destructively attack, the social
world".¹

Another real concern centers around what the changing role
of the woman in the employment field means to the marital relationship.
As woman has achieved greater status in the field of employment there
has been a corresponding change in the role of the man, he is no longer
the sole support; his sense of independence is shaken; and he is re-
quired to share the household duties which he would formerly have viewed
as "women's work". Social workers believe that both man, and wife are
individuals with individual needs to growth and expression but that, in
any marriage, there must be a careful meshing of these needs if there
is to be a harmonious marriage. How do the husbands feel about the
employment of the wife? How is the family life affected by it?

Method

Plans for a Canadian survey of married women who work origin-
ated with the establishment of the Women's Bureau of the Department of
Labour in Ottawa. Surveys made in 1954 showed that, amongst the large
group of women in employment, there were over 400,000 married women working.
Over a ten-year period, from 1941 to 1951, the percentage of married women
working increased 308 per cent. Recognizing that work must have a special

meaning to these women in relation to the problems of family life, the
Women's Bureau proceeded with plans for a survey to be carried out in eight
cities across Canada, including Vancouver.

In those cities where there were Schools of Social Work, the
Women's Bureau obtained permission for students to participate in the
survey. It was considered that special skills developed in professional social
work could be used to advantage in the brief contact with each married woman
interviewed.

The specific aims of the survey as outlined by the Women's Bureau
were:

1) To estimate the occupational status of the married women, in
terms of the jobs they were doing as compared to their previous training and
experience.

2) To determine the work patterns of married women.

3) To relate patterns of work to family and household responsibil-
ities.

4) To find out as much as possible about the reasons for working.

5) To estimate the extent of occupational mobility among married
women.

Each schedule was completed as part of this larger survey, with
an added goal, in the interests of social work research, of determining how
family life is affected by married women working. More specifically, the
aims of the social workers who participated in the survey were to determine
what motivates the married woman to go to work, what satisfactions does she
get from her employment in relation to her household responsibilities, and
how does her working affect her relationship to other members of the
immediate family.

The survey, as set up by the Women's Bureau, specifically applied to:

1) Currently married women, who as married women have worked for pay or profit in Canada for the equivalent of three months within the twelve months preceding the interview.

2) Women who are widowed, divorced or separated, who have worked for pay or profit in Canada for the equivalent of three months within the twelve months preceding the interview, who have dependent children.

The selection of women to be interviewed was done by the Women's Bureau by means of a sampling procedure. Throughout Greater Vancouver samples of blocks were selected, and within each chosen block, there was a selection of dwellings. The survey required that a visit be made to each selected dwelling; here, every working woman who fitted into the above category was to be approached for an interview. In cases where there was no response, two call-backs were made.

As there were approximately eighteen hundred addresses selected, it was not possible for three Master of Social Work students to complete the survey during the school year. Visits were discontinued after 875 calls had been made and 50 interviews had been obtained. Those 50 cases provided a basis for the research study as they represented a variety of family situations.

The interview with each woman followed the pattern of the schedule prepared by the Women's Bureau.¹ The information asked in each case covered three areas 1) her work history, 2) objective data on her current situation,

¹. See Appendix A.
and 3) motives and attitudes.

1) The work history included information about the woman's labour force activities, starting with her first job and following through job changes, periods devoted to housework and like activities, and extended periods of job-seeking up until the time of the interview. The changes of status were related to such events as marriage and birth of children.

2) Current "objective" information covered such matters as occupation and industry, hours and patterns of work (full-time or part-time, regular, seasonal or casual), income, education and training, number and age of dependent children and child care arrangements, housework routine, recreation and type of housing.

3) The section on "motives and attitudes" explored reasons for the woman working and the satisfactions or dissatisfactions with her job, hours, child-care arrangements, and special problems created by the job, how others in her family felt about her working, and the good and bad effects of her working as it related to her home and family.

This last section was particularly important in evaluating the effect on family life.

In the door-to-door visiting, the interviewers, upon learning that the woman in the dwelling was eligible for an interview, produced an identification card as representatives of the Women's Bureau, Department of Labour, and explained the purpose of the survey. To permit the woman to decide for herself whether she wished to be interviewed, she was given, 1) a brochure describing the Women's Bureau and its functions and 2) a letter from the Director of the Women's Bureau soliciting the woman's cooperation in discussing the problems
of her dual role as worker and homemaker. It was stressed that her help was of value and that her participation in the survey was entirely voluntary.

Refusal was met in some cases because of the woman's lack of time or interest. This reaction might also have been due to the fact that the interviewers were representing a government department. Frequently women would ask whether they would be identified in any way and they were assured that names were not used.

Although the survey was focussed primarily on the married woman, other members of the family were encouraged to participate if they showed interest. Frequently the woman was in the midst of baking, ironing or sometimes scrubbing floors and in such circumstances she was encouraged to continue as she was interviewed. Occasionally she would suggest that the interviewer return later and this was arranged. The time factor was important as these women frequently had heavy home responsibilities upon their arrival home from work. In some cases the husband welcomed the interviewer into the home but his wife reacted unfavourably. Such situations were easily recognized and care was taken to allow the woman to refuse an interview if she really did not wish it. Repeated experiences of meeting these women made the interviewers more and more aware of the fact that these women were tired, frequently under pressure to complete household chores while they were home, and were not immediately receptive to an unexpected caller. Once an interview was agreed to, however, the woman seemed to enjoy the experience and seemed to appreciate an opportunity to talk about her problems. Interviews lasted from thirty minutes to two hours, generally averaging one hour.

In the evaluation of the findings of the survey, fairly distinct patterns were recognized in three different situations:
1) where both the woman and her husband were employed and there were dependent children to support.

2) where both the woman and her husband were employed and there were no dependent children.

3) where the woman was the sole breadwinner (and had dependent children).

In the first instance, the woman has several considerations to make when she decides to go to work. She becomes concerned about the effect her working might have upon the children, upon her husband and upon herself when this added strain is placed upon her. When she is working, the problems that arise in the family are more likely to be due to the fact that she does work outside the home. She is concerned too about the community's attitude toward her working when she has these home responsibilities and must make arrangements for substitute care for her children. Her relationship with her husband and her children, and her feeling about community attitudes all affect her in this new role.

The second group of women do not have dependent children to plan for while they are absent from the home, but strive to maintain a happy marital relationship in spite of the strains resulting when both she and her husband work. On the whole this group of women are younger than those who have children to consider, and are either planning for a family or are delaying childbirth until they can afford to have children. In some cases, they are women who have returned to the labour force since their children have grown up and left home.

The third group of women are working because of necessity and the pressures they face are likely to detract from the satisfaction they might ordinarily find in employment. Some are widowed, some divorced or separated, while others have husbands who are unable to work. The sole responsibility for supporting the family in most of these cases rests with the woman, and added to
this is her wish to provide adequate care and good family life for her children. For this reason, her problems are also considered separately.

These three situations are dealt with in Chapters II, III and IV.
CHAPTER II

THE MARRIED WOMAN WITH DEPENDENT CHILDREN

Eighteen of the women interviewed in the survey were married women whose husbands were employed and who had dependent children to consider. In a way, this is the more normal kind of family that comprises a community. When the woman decides to go to work, her decision must be evaluated with full recognition of the need to maintain and protect the husband-wife relationship and parent-child relationship, as well as the mother-child relationship. Because of her role as a wife and a mother, there is greater possibility that there will be some loss to the family when she has to take the added responsibility of outside employment. When problems arise in these families, they are more likely to be due to the fact that she is working and that this added pressure is felt by the family. These women have taken jobs with the hope of improving family life, and, on the whole, are conscientious in this desire.

Table I  Family Constellation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Group</th>
<th>Age of Woman</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Under 25</td>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>35-44</td>
<td>45-54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married Couples, one child</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married Couples, two children</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married Couples, three children</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
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</table>

Table 2  Dependent Children

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Families</th>
<th>Pre-School</th>
<th>Grades 1-8</th>
<th>Grades 9-13</th>
<th>Univ.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married Couples, one child</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married Couples, two children</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married Couples, three children</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of children</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Among these eighteen families, the ages of the women range from twenty years to fifty-four years, the median age being thirty five, while the ages of their dependent children range from seven months to twenty-four years. Seven of the eighteen families have children of pre-school age (one of these families also has children in school). The remaining eleven families have children in school or university. Of the thirty-two children in these eighteen families, sixteen children (fifty per cent) are attending elementary school. The average size of the household (including the parents, dependent children, and in some cases, non-dependent children and relatives, living in the home) is 4.11 persons. The majority of the families (ten of them) have two dependent children, two families have three dependent children, and six families have only one dependent child. All but one of the families lived in houses which they are renting or buying. One family with an only child, eight months old, occupied a three-roomed apartment. None of the women complained about inadequate housing. Home responsibilities were shared by the family members in the majority of cases. Very little was spent for outside services such as laundry and housecleaning. Three sent some of their laundry out, and one woman paid a neighbor a day's wage to come in once a week to do the housecleaning and ironing for her.

**Occupations and Earnings**

Table 3  **Occupations of Women**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Professional</th>
<th>Business</th>
<th>Clerical</th>
<th>Service</th>
<th>Factory</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-44</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-54</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The occupations of the women varied from weighing cheese in a factory to operating a kindergarten at home. Although one woman had only grade four education and one had a university degree and post-graduate training, the majority had
some high school education and vocational training. Of the eighteen women, half of them were employed in service occupations, four in clerical work, two in factory work, two in professional occupations and one operated a business of her own. Ten women work full time, five part-time and three are in casual employment. Only four have worked for the full year prior to the interview, eleven have worked from six to twelve months and three have worked from three to six months. In six cases the woman expected to continue working indefinitely, one of these has a child of pre-school age. In the remaining twelve families, the women planned to work only a short time.

Of the ten women employed full-time, eight have day hours, one works night shifts and one has an evening shift. Of the five women employed part-time, three work during the children's school hours, one works from one to five in the afternoon, and one works different shifts of eight hours each. The three in casual employment go to work when called, sometimes on a part-time basis and sometimes for a full day.

Information about income was obtained from seventeen of the women. One woman declined to give this information as she felt it did not enter into her reasons for working. Of the seventeen, the women's earnings varied from $300 to approximately $3,000, the majority (six of them) earning from $1,000 to $1,499. The husband's income varied from $1,600 to $4,250, the average income approximately $3,000. In most of the cases the husband had worked during the full twelve-month period prior to the interview. Five had worked for only part of the year, between six and twelve months and none had worked for less than that period. The average total income for seventeen of the eighteen families was $4,172.

Reasons for Working

While the majority of the women gave their reasons for working as
"financial", many of these spoke of the psychological satisfactions of working. A few went to work primarily for psychological reasons.

Fourteen of these eighteen women have gone to work primarily for financial reasons. Eight of them are still paying for their homes or planning on buying, while others are making improvements to their homes, buying new furnishings and making replacements. In some of the cases there are debts to pay off and in two instances the women are working to ensure future financial security and higher education for the children. Of this group of fourteen, eleven enjoyed their work, partly because of the extra income and higher standard of living afforded the family and partly because of the social outlet her job provided for her. Some working full-time admitted they had little time for leisure activities but still preferred to work. Typical responses given were that outside employment gives a "broader outlook", a "zest for living", "easier living". Some described their work as "interesting activity", said they enjoyed the "atmosphere of the office", they like the people they meet and work with, the companionship at work compared with the loneliness at home (when children are in school).

Three of this group who are working for financial reasons felt a real economic need to work and achieved material gains only. All three worked because the family was in debt and the husband's income was only three thousand or less. All three women worked full-time. One of these, having a couple of children of school-age, is continuing to work but hopes to find part-time employment, while the other two, each with three children, stopped work. One had been working in a factory and was pressured by home responsibilities, and the other, a new Canadian, had a nervous breakdown. She had been a dishwasher and elevator operator in a hotel and accomplished two of her goals of working,
the repayment of the $900 fare that brought the family from Germany and they were able to move from a "nasty old rooming house" into a home of their own. They want to continue to improve their living standards.

Four women did not feel financially pressed to seek employment but had other reasons of a psychological nature. One was a new Canadian interested in learning the English language and making new friends. She worked during noon hours as a waitress in a men's club and learned to speak English better but was nervous about her language handicap. She has not found friends in her job as the other waitresses "did not share the same interests". Another simply wanted "independence" and "pocket money" but stopped working when the job she had enjoyed before marriage (as a cook in a club) lost its appeal. In both of these cases the husbands disapproved of the women working. Another was having marital difficulties - her husband would "forget to come home" in the evening. She took casual employment as a counter-girl in a dairy and her husband had to come home directly from work to stay with the children. The most satisfied of this group of women was a kindergarten teacher who operated the kindergarten in her own home each morning. She felt the work she did gave her a feeling of status and independence and was contributing to the mental health of the community.

**Satisfactions in Employment**

In terms of the satisfactions gained from working, those women employed in professional occupations, the woman with a business of her own, and those in clerical jobs expressed positive feelings about their work. Of those in service occupations, only the telephone operators and salesclerks found some satisfaction in the job, whereas the waitresses, the cook and the dishwasher-elevator-operator were not happy. One employed in factory work has discontinued her job. Other than the material gain, she spoke of no satisfaction from her work (weighing cheese). Pressures of her home responsibilities would probably
detract from the satisfaction of any outside employment she would undertake.

The other woman employed in factory work did not describe her job as satisfying but expressed no negative feeling about it. Having a job did not seem important to her but it enabled her to purchase a few extras for the family, e.g. a new bed for her daughter. The family had lived in the same neighborhood for sixteen years and when a new factory opened up in that part of town she and another neighbor applied for work. As she said, being forty years old, she did not expect to be accepted for employment. Both she and her neighbor were hired to package dates. She was not disappointed, eight months later, to be laid off during a slack period. This woman managed her household routine efficiently, had two children of school age, and by paying a neighbor seven dollars weekly to do her housecleaning and ironing, she did not feel pressured. When asked whether she would be interested in job-training, she replied jokingly that she supposed she might train for a job where she could "use her brains". She referred to her eight months employment as "easy living" and being laid off meant that she could catch up on some of her home responsibilities such as sewing, etc.

Those women with the heaviest home responsibilities were too much under pressure to find satisfaction in their jobs, especially full-time employment. In both the families where there are three dependent children, the woman has given up her job. Both feel a financial need to go back if they can find part-time work. One of these, as already mentioned, suffered a nervous breakdown. Satisfactions of working were less for those who were pressed into employment because of the financial need. The job was not a social outlet for them, as in other cases, but a matter of dire necessity.

In some cases the husband's disapproval of the woman working affected the enjoyment she received from employment outside the home. In one case, however, despite the husband's disapproval (as she said "this is a forbidden
subject") she has continued her work as a switchboard operator. She works from
nine to six and her husband is employed from 7 p.m. to 7 a.m. The woman's
mother looks after the children. Most husbands were reconciled to the woman
working but, as three women stated, he would prefer to be "sole supporter" of
the family. When the husband expressed acceptance it was due to his recogni­
tion that the woman was happier or because he had a part in the decision that
her employment would raise the family's standard of living. The husband's
acceptance of her employment meant greater sharing of home responsibilities and
less pressure on the woman. In such cases she was happier in her dual role.

Arrangements for Child Care

Arrangements for child care were not required in three of the
eighteen families. In one case the only "dependent child" is a university
student. In another situation where the woman operated a kindergarten in her
own home, she was occupied only during the hours when her children were at
school or university. In the third case the woman worked part-time during the
noon hour and her children, who were attending school, were able to manage on
their own. Of the fifteen families where child care was needed, one woman with
three children in school did not provide for their supervision. Her working
hours were eight to four-thirty. Of the remaining fourteen families, eleven
women arranged for the children to be cared for by family members (the husband,
the woman's mother or an older child in the family), and three had baby-sitters
or neighbors to watch over their children.

In the eleven instances where the family members stayed with the
children, the husband took complete charge in four of the families, and in four
others he took partial responsibility. The woman's mother took complete charge
in three of the families and partial responsibility in the fourth instance. In
one case the older child (of high school age) took responsibility for the younger one and in another family the woman's sister stayed with the children until the husband came home.

Where the children were cared for by an outside person, babysitters were hired in two cases (where children were of pre-school age) and neighbors watched over the children in another family (where the children were attending school).

Dissatisfaction about the child-care arrangements was expressed by four of the women, (three of them worked full-time). In the situation where the school children were left to themselves the woman worried about their lack of supervision after school, particularly because their home was located near a correction institution for girls. She also felt that girls were overburdened with home responsibilities. Where an older child was left in charge of a younger brother, the woman worried about emergencies arising, such as fire. In the other two situations the children were of pre-school age. One, where a babysitter needed to be hired until the husband came home, was an unsatisfactory arrangement as the family were unable to get a regular, reliable sitter and the woman worried about the kind of care her baby was getting. In the other situation in which the husband and the woman's sister took turns caring for the children, there was too much strain on the husband; while the woman worked days he worked nights and could not get adequate sleep with this added responsibility. The woman did feel, however, that the arrangement was better than having the children with strangers.

In the remainder of the families, the women felt that the child care was adequate. Four with children of pre-school age had assistance from family members. The fifth took her eight-month old baby over to a neighbor, an elderly
man, who cared for the child while the woman worked four hours each afternoon. She described this arrangement as "very satisfactory". The other six families in this group, who found child-care arrangements adequate were less burdened because their children were of school age.

Generally the feeling of all the women who worked was that the children were best cared for in their own homes and by a member of the family. The most satisfactory arrangement was in cases where the woman's mother was free to take this responsibility. In such cases the woman's mother also took on added responsibilities such as preparing the evening meal.

**Attitudes of the Children**

In most cases where the children were of pre-school age the woman did not describe any negative effects on the child but said he was "too young" to show any reaction. One woman who has her mother caring for her child said "she has learned to go to someone besides me". "She is not too dependent on me".

Another woman whose child is cared for sometimes by her husband, sometimes by the woman's mother and sometimes by a girl who lives next door, said that she felt the children were better off because the family had no financial worries and the children also received extra attention from their father.

There was some difference in attitudes expressed by children attending elementary school and those attending high school. Those in high school did not mind having their mother work, whereas some of the reactions from elementary school children were negative. One ten-year old girl "doesn't mind too much, but would much prefer to come home for lunch". Another twelve-year old boy would like to have his mother home when he comes from school. An eleven-year old child complained "when are you going to be through working so you can fix my clothes?" As one woman said, her two children "do not complain or make comments", "they appreciate the extras I can purchase for them". Two other children in
elementary school "much prefer to have her at home"; they feel over-worked when she is employed. The children who had their grandmothers with them seemed more accepting but the mother described them in one case as "not as happy and relaxed" because their mother was constantly rushed and unable to devote leisure time to the family.

Those children in high school reacted more positively to having their mother work. One fourteen-year old boy's reaction to his mother's decision to work was "Oh boy, mom, more money", as his allowance would be increased. In other situations the older child showed pride in his mother's working. The women felt in these cases that the children were better off as they learned to assume responsibility.

**Effect on the Total Family Situation**

One of the questions asked of these eighteen women was in regard to family recreation and the extent of time available for this. All of those with children of pre-school age described their social life as limited, except for one woman whose mother also lived in the home. In one case where the couple have an eight-month old baby, there is sometimes as much as two weeks when the husband and wife scarcely see one another. She works in shifts as a nurse, alternating with his shifts as a fireman. In most cases the women had to do their chores in the evening which limited social activities. Lack of recreation was often due to fatigue or because of the financial strain including the expense of getting a baby-sitter for younger children. The women with children of school-age did not feel as deprived in this respect.

There was an added strain on the husband in most cases when the woman was employed. He helped with household chores in all the cases where there were children on pre-school age in the family. Husbands took on such responsib-
ilities as preparing the evening meal (six of them relieved their wives in this way), helping with the dishes and assisting with heavier housecleaning and the weekly laundry.

Although it was difficult to evaluate family relationships, in most cases they seemed basically good. In five situations there seemed to be some question. In one, the woman was looking for satisfactions outside of the home by returning to the job she had held before marriage. In another, while the husband worked from 7 p.m. to 7 a.m., a telephone operator chose to work from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m. when it seemed that many positions were open to her at more convenient hours. In two situations, the woman's working increased her husband's feelings of inadequacy. In one of these cases the woman recognized this but financial pressures forced her to work as her husband had only recently recovered from a long illness. In the other case family relationships were obviously affected by the husband's feelings of inadequacy. A family argument occurred during the interview in regard to the household help given the woman while she worked. The husband's comment about her working was "it's her business, as long as nothing else is neglected". His employment as a maintenance man was unstable and the woman had worked for thirteen years of their twenty-six years of marriage. Although she worked only part-time, her contribution to the family income during the year prior to the interview was 43 per cent. She stated as her reason for working that she was helping her son through university. As her husband said, "mother" handles the money in the family and pays all the bills. There was some indication of a close bond between the woman and her student son.

One woman felt that her working improved family relations as her husband no longer "forgot to come home". She went to work evenings and her husband was required to come home to stay with the children.

In the other thirteen cases, good family relationships seemed to
exist despite the stresses placed on the family by both parents working. In some cases this may have been due to the material gains and in some cases due to the psychological satisfactions the woman gained from outside employment. Another significant factor may be that the majority of these women, fourteen out of the eighteen, have been working for less than a year.
CHAPTER III

THE MARRIED WOMAN WITHOUT DEPENDENT CHILDREN

Needs, problems, and satisfactions in working, are all different for the working mother as compared with the woman who is without dependents. If nothing else, the woman without dependents has less complicated problems in that she does not have the care, or the need to provide substitute care, for her children. For this reason the nineteen women interviewed who had no dependent children (three of them had grown-up children no longer in the home) are being treated separately in this chapter. As a preliminary examination reveals some difference between attitudes or situations of younger and older women, the information is being grouped (a) wives from 20-34 years of age, and (b) those aged 35-54 years of age. These will be referred to, for convenience, as the younger and older groups, respectively. The median age of the younger group is 25-34 years, and that of the older group is 35-44 years.

Table 4  Family Constellation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Group</th>
<th>Age of Wife</th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married couples, with no dependent children</td>
<td>Under 25</td>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>35-44</td>
<td>45-54</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Employment - Past and Present

Of the eleven women in the younger group, five were employed in clerical positions. The remaining six were employed as, a factory worker, a telephone operator, a private duty nurse, an x-ray technician, a home economist,

1. Three families, two in 35-44 age group, and one in the 45-54 year old age-group, have grown-up children now out of the home.
and an owner-operator of a small confectionery. In the older group the categories are broadly the same. In that group four of the eight women are employed in clerical capacities, and the remainder were a factory worker, two salesclerks, and a doctor's assistant.

Table 5  Education and Employment Training

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education and Training</th>
<th>Age of Wife</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Under 25</td>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>35-44</td>
<td>45-54</td>
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<td>Education Level</td>
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<tr>
<td>Grades IX-XI</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grades XII and higher</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>19</td>
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<tr>
<td>Training</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-graduate</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A study of the educational backgrounds shows that almost all are employed full-time, are working during the daytime, and are working a five-day week. The exceptions are the two women who are operating their own small confectionery-grocery stores who work long hours, seven days per week; and a telephone operator who works shifts six days per week. With the majority of the group there was a definite plan to work in those jobs where they would have a five day week so that they might have time for their housework, and yet have time for relaxation, and time with their husbands. There was a marked preference for having Saturday, rather than any other day, free.
Table 6  **Entry into the Labour Force**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of Entering Labour Force</th>
<th>Present Age of Wife</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Under 25</td>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>35-44</td>
<td>45-54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trained:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-1930</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931-1940</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Since 1940</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Untrained:</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-1930</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931-1940</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Since 1940</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In reviewing the woman's period in the labour force the difference in the two groups shows quite clearly. In the younger group one woman married at 16, five between the ages of 20-24, and five between the ages of 25-34. All except the two university graduates (who did not enter the labour force until they were 23) were employed by the time they were 20, and all but four of that younger group have worked right through without a break, in spite of their marriage. The other four have been out of the labour force less than five years since their marriage.

In the older group the age of marriage is quite different. Three of them married under 20 years of age, four between 30-35, and one over 35. Without exception they were employed by the time they were 20, and their period of employment prior to marriage varied from the women who married and took employment simultaneously, to the woman who had 21 years experience before marriage. Three of that group have worked continuously, and, of the remaining five, one was a housewife for less than five years since marriage, one was five to nine years, two were nine to fourteen years, and one was sixteen years out of the labour force.
It is interesting to note that of the three women in the older group who have had children, all were out of the labour force for considerable periods while their children were small. One was out for 16 years and only re-entered the labour force when she secured a divorce at the time her youngest child was 13 years of age. The other two remained in their homes until their children were ten and twelve years old, and then recommenced work with part-time jobs until the children were no longer dependent on them.

The great majority of the women in both groups are in the same type of employment as before marriage. In the younger group there are just two exceptions. One is a woman who owns a grocery store but who previously worked in a factory, as a chambermaid, and as a salesclerk. The other is now a telephone operator but was, before marriage, a student nurse who gave up her training because it interfered with her plans to marry.

In the older group there are four who have changed their type of employment. The woman who is presently operating a power-machine was, previously a domestic. Another woman commenced her employment as a receptionist, then became a jeweller's clerk and buyer, until the long hours and heavy responsibilities broke her health, and she is now a doctor's assistant. The third woman has been a telephone operator, a salesclerk, and more recently, a psychiatric nurse. She gave up the latter position because she found it too nervously wearing, and she satisfied a long-felt desire to have her own business by purchasing a small, rundown confectionery store. The other woman, once in the needleworking trade, is now a clerk in a retail store.

**Reasons for Working**

In most of the interviews it was obvious that there were both financial and psychological reasons involved in the decision of the married woman to
take employment. It is difficult in some cases to decide which was the most im-
portant reason. It can be evaluated, partly, by considering the reasons in the
light of their realism, and in the light of the woman's statement concerning her
"future plans".

In many cases, of course, the woman had more than one financial goal
in working. In two of the younger group of women she stated she was working to
supplement her husband's wages for day-to-day living expenses. In one of these
two cases the husband is a salesman earning $2,000. per year, and it is reasonable
that his wife may find this a very meagre income for daily expenses. The other
woman has a husband who is earning $4,000. per year as a commercial artist, and
it would seem very likely that, in this case, the psychological reasons are more
important than the financial ones. Two women in the older group give day-to-day
living expenses as one of their financial reasons for working. One is the wife
of a labourer making $2,000. per year, but the other husband is a draughtsman
earning $4,000. per year. Her reasons for working, originally, were certainly
to meet minimum living expenses for her husband had just been discharged from
TB sanitarium, and it was impossible for him to work for a year, but, as time has
passed, and he is now working full time, her reasons for working have shifted to
provision of a home, and to psychological reasons.

Five women in the younger group, and three in the older group, are
working to buy furniture. With the younger couples this has been the first stage
in preparing for a home of their own.

Amongst those who are working to purchase a home there is consider-
able difference between the two groups. In the younger group nine are bending
all their efforts toward this end, while in the older group only three are so
occupied. There is a further difference, also, in the present housing situation
which throws light on this plan. Amongst the younger group all but two are living in inadequate, but expensive apartments, while in the older group one owns an apartment, three are buying houses at this moment, and only one is renting. Particularly among the younger women the plan is that they will earn and save sufficient for a down payment of such proportions that the husband will be able to carry the mortgage payments on his salary without undue strain. 'As the salaries of the husbands vary from $2,500. to $4,200. with a medium income of $3,500. the plan looks fairly realistic. The only woman in the older group who has not yet purchased the home for which she is working, is the wife of a shipper who earns $3,200.00. The others have already purchased their homes and are working to keep up the payments.

Those who are living in apartments stressed the cost, and the fact that they cannot hope to have a family until such time as they can move into a house.

The fact that most apartment owners will not permit children in their quarters is commented upon frequently. Unfortunately the schedule did not include any questions about the family's plans for having children; but repeatedly the interviewer was told "we want to get into a house as soon as possible so we can have a baby." Another version was, "I wouldn't want to work after my babies come, but this way I can have babies sooner." One got the definite impression that most of the younger women were delaying childbearing. With them one felt that they had the urge to have children, and the fairly careful budgetting they had done, meant they would be able to carry out their plans to leave their jobs. In ten out of the eleven cases the period mentioned was anything from six months to three years. The one exception was a woman who, while she wants children, has some reason to doubt whether she will be able to bear a child.
In the older age group the situation is understandably different. In that group one woman is planning short-term employment, but the other seven talk in terms of "five or six years", "may be another ten years", "indefinitely or as long as the employer will have me".

One woman in the younger group, and two in the older group, were working to provide better savings for their retirement period. And one woman was working to provide for her aged parents who live in the home. She pointed out that it was one thing to expect her husband to share his living quarters with her parents, and quite another for her to expect him to support them, also. She had, therefore, gone to work to supply the financial support.

Psychological reasons for working showed in eight of the eleven younger cases, and in six of the eight older cases. A number of women stated that there was insufficient to keep them occupied in their apartments, and that working was better than "sitting moping", or "letting things get on my nerves". Many had obviously enjoyed their pre-marriage employment, and felt that housework was less constructive than employment in the business world. One, the wife of the commercial artist mentioned above, had come recently to Canada, and found employment an excellent way of making friends, and learning Canadian ways. Several women spoke of the joy of feeling independent, and of having status. In this connection one writer has said "Home life is a matter of fact experience; it is just taken for granted. This can be done by every woman, but to work in industry is to prove oneself equal to a man. A woman worker acquires a higher status. She can earn her living and stand on her own feet. She can feel independent and have a security altogether different from a housewife. She can bargain with men on equal terms. . . . . 'She justifies her existence fully' — this phrase expresses typically a woman's attitude. A man would not think that he needs to justify his existence."1 Another woman said, and several implied, "once you have worked

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you hate to be dependent on anyone, even your husband". One woman stated that she felt working had a value to the marital relationship in that the working wife understood better those pressures and strains of business which so many husbands have to endure alone. Some voiced the idea that "for me work is a habit -- and I love it".

Effect on the Marital Relationship

One of the questions in the mind of a social worker is what this employment means to the marital relationship. In the great majority of the cases -- nine out of eleven in the younger group, and six out of eight in the older group -- the working hours are very similar although they may vary an hour or two. In two instances, one in each group, the woman works days while the husband works graveyard shift. In both cases the families are trying to establish themselves and view this as a necessary sacrifice which they will make for a limited time. In two other instances, again one in each group, the man works days, while the wife works shifts. In one case this is necessary because the woman is a special duty nurse who does not work continuously. In the other case the young woman is a druggist clerk who deliberately chose shift work as it gives her better time for her housework and for her husband.

Another question arises as to the husband's attitude to his wife working. It is recognized that the schedule elicited the wife's understanding of her husband's views, and did not get his directly in most cases. Nevertheless those, taken in conjunction with the help which the husband does, or does not give in the home, is indicative of his attitude. The answers to this question ranged from the woman who said "he'd be offended if I quit", through those where the husband had been unhappy about the plan to start with but had become reconciled to it provided that it was for a brief period; to those where he was merely "reconciled" to it; and those where he was pleased about her employment
because of the improvement it had created in her mental health.

Out of the entire group only three husbands are not sharing the housework. In one of the three cases there is no necessity for him to assist because the mother-in-law is in the home and responsible for the housekeeping. In the other two instances the marital relationship appeared strained, and the man took no part in the home responsibilities. In the other cases the men did considerable, ranging all the way from doing the dishes, or the floors, to "helping on a 50-50 basis - I'd never be able to manage if he didn't". In the great majority of cases the wife had the housekeeping well organized; doing certain portions of it at night, or before she left in the morning, and leaving the heavy cleaning and washing until Saturday. All this group felt that having Saturday off was essential. One of the two women who had a grocery store found her household routines extremely difficult because of her long hours, constant interruptions, and the fact that her husband gave practically no assistance with the housework. Three others, who were not too fond of homemaking, had no set routines. It was noticeable that routine was necessary if the situation was to be satisfactory for both partners. Paid services were considered too expensive to be practicable.

Although the schedule made no mention of health, the interviewers were well aware that over-tiredness was a constant drain on the health of these women. Time after time the husband, or wife, mentioned this. This will, inevitably, make for short tempers, general irritability, and unwillingness for joint recreation, all of which are a strain on the marital relationship.

The area of recreation is a large, and important one. It is difficult to be sure, in many cases, whether the limited recreation, which is
typical of this sampling, is the result of the woman working, or whether it has always been neglected in a particular family. There were instances, such as the older couple, where the woman works four hours a day to keep herself occupied, and provide for their old age, where recreation is adequate and well planned, e.g. their garden and horse-racing are their summer interests, and in winter they enjoy Television, their lodge meetings, and night school courses which they attend with a group of their neighbours. At the other extreme is one of the grocery owners who works such long hours, seven days a week, that they have absolutely no shared recreation except for two weeks in the summer when she gets someone in to tend the store, and she and her husband go away on a trip together. One of the younger couples spend a good deal of time together golfing, and in a sports car club, but admitted that, when they move into their own home next month, they know this will have to give way to gardening — which to them is not recreation. Seven of the families have little recreation of any kind, but this was explained, in part, by such remarks as "my husband isn't very sociable", "not much, but all we want".

**Gains and Losses**

Each woman interviewed was asked to evaluate what she felt she had gained, or lost, by working. It is interesting to examine the thinking of these two age groups in this regard.

In the younger group six women (of whom two were working half time, only) felt that they had lost nothing, while in the older group six out of the smaller group of eight, agreed with them. Amongst the younger women four felt that their social life had suffered from the fact that they were employed. One, a very young wife who was working toward a home, felt that while this was a fact, it was not too serious for "it won't hurt us to
wait for that". Two wives (one works shifts as a drug clerk, and one operates her own grocery) felt that their social life was seriously affected and were deeply regretful of it. Amongst the older women only one complained of the curtailment of her social activities because of her job. Injury to health through overwork was specifically listed as one of the losses by the grocery owner, and by a woman who is an office clerk. The interviewers were conscious of it in other cases, also. One woman commented that her house was neglected, but, as work seemed to be for her an escape from housework, it is doubtful whether this can rightfully be charged against her job. No one commented that this meant delaying childbirth, but one could not help but be aware that this was a loss to them.

All the women felt that there had been real material gains. These included bank accounts toward home purchase which were sufficiently large that the woman knew it was only a matter of a very short time until her dreams would be reality (one couple had bought a home the day before our visit, and another was expecting to move into her new home within three months when her husband would be far enough on with the actual construction to make it liveable, if not complete). Several listed such material gains as being able to provide for aged parents; sending a daughter to university; making it possible to marry a fiancé just released from TB sanitorium, and in subsequent years, ease the pressures on him; establishing funds to supplement husband's retirement provisions; and providing luxuries such as a car, membership in a golf club, extra clothing, and gifts to children of a previous marriage. It is interesting that only one, viz., the grocery owner, saw material gains as the only achievement.
In the younger group there was much more interest in the companion-
ship gained from the job, than among the older group. Five listed this as
a gain in the younger group while only one listed is among the older women.
The proportion was reversed when it came to the feeling that work gave
them a broader outlook. In that case 50% of the older group listed it as
a gain, while only 22 per cent of the younger women saw it in that light.
The younger group saw work as a means of learning, i.e. learning interest-
ing occupations, learning to get along with people, learning efficiency
which could later be applied to housekeeping methods, learning Canadian ways,
and learning to enter more fully into their husband's worries, and strains.
The older women were, naturally, less interested in learning, and more in-
terested in being kept mentally alert in their work, and three of them cited
this as one of their gains. Women in both groups spoke of the satisfactions
they got from feeling not only that they were independent, but of feeling
that they were part of the community, and were making a worthwhile contri-
bution to it. And several commented that they got real enjoyment — "as
much as I do out of curling" — from the actual job itself.
CHAPTER IV

THE HANDICAPPED FAMILY

What may be called 'handicapped families' are of many kinds. In all of them (for the purposes of this survey) the husband is either absent or unable to continue as the chief breadwinner. More particularly, this group includes widows who have dependent children; women who are separated or divorced and have children to support partially or wholly. The families where the husband is incapacitated by either illness or injury, is in very irregular employment or retired, because of handicap or age, are rare, but still important. All these families are faced with the high cost of housing and the increase in the cost of living which has characterized the post-war years. To meet the daily living needs, the woman has found it necessary to return to the labour force in order to contribute to the family budget. This also means greater responsibilities, as the woman has no choice but to go to work. The different situations show complications, especially in cases where the husband is incapacitated. The widow, divorcee, or the woman separated from her husband must take over the role of both parents, and further, she is faced with loneliness in the home from the lack of adult companionship. On the other hand, having a job to do and getting "out of the house" daily has certain compensations.

Family and Household Constellation

Of the fifty married women working for pay, who were interviewed, thirteen came within the categories mentioned above.
Table 7. Family Constellation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Group</th>
<th>Age of Wife</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25-34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Group A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married Couples with</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Children</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One Dependent Child</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two or more Dependent Children</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-Total</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>** Group B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother with</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One Dependent Child</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two or more Dependent Children</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* In Group A, three of the husbands were retired or incapacitated, the other a marginal case in which the man had only irregular (seasonal) work.

** In Group B, three of the women were widows, three separated, and three divorced.

Table 8. Children in the Families

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Families</th>
<th>Pre-School</th>
<th>Grades 1-8</th>
<th>Grades 9-13</th>
<th>Higher</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married Couples with</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One child</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two or more children</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widows with</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent children</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated or Divorced with</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent children</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Children</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15(a)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) One of these children in institution for Mentally Retarded Children.

Only one of the thirteen homes was childless. In the other twelve homes there are twenty three children, 17 or 74 percent of the children are in school, Grades 1-13; four children are pre-schoolers; and two are taking higher education.
It is interesting to learn from the schedules that ten out of the thirteen families are living in a house. Four families own their home; five families are purchasing their homes; but only one rented the house. Five of the houses were large (eight rooms), two are six-roomed dwellings, two are five-roomed and one is a four-roomed dwelling. This latter is being purchased by the childless couple. The three families living in suites and renting are not as fortunate, since their homes are not as spacious, having only two to four rooms.

Care of the Children

From the schedules, it is interesting to note that all the children are cared for in their own homes, with the exception of the one mentally retarded child. There is only, (a) one child in five of the homes; (b) two children in three homes; and, (c) three children in four of the homes.

Where the woman has given thought to her dual role of mother-housewife and wage-earner, hours of employment are important. The woman objects strenuously to employment which calls for working hours on Saturday and/or Sunday. The objections arise around the care of the children. The job with the greatest appeal is the one with the working hours corresponding to the hours the children are in school. The location of the employment is also given consideration for the same reason. The woman will take work with less income if it means more time at home. If the location of employment means an hour or two travel time, of necessity she may accept the job, but will be constantly looking for a change.

The hours she likes best are 9:00 a.m. to not later than 5:00 p.m., this gives her time to see the children prepared for school; and at the end
of the day, the children are not without supervision for too long a period.

Four of the women interviewed commenced work at 8:00 or 8:30 in the morning working until 4:00, 4:30 or 5:00 in the afternoon. One woman worked from 9:00 to 5:00, another from 9:00 to 3:00.

A mother working from 10:00 to 3:00, three days a week, could benefit financially from full time employment, but has not been able to obtain a job with hours to fit in with what she considers necessary care for her children. Another mother worked 9:00 to 6:00, three days a week, and 12:00 noon to 9:00 p.m. two days a week. This working arrangement suited her situation because it allowed her four mornings out of seven to be with her pre-school children. The nurse on the 3:00 to 11:30 p.m. shift, with one adult son, whose husband is retired, felt the late shift dovetailed best into their way of life.

One woman whose husband is incapacitated by a progressive crippling condition, accepted temporary jobs as a cook in logging camps. She had been a saleslady prior to her marriage. The woman planned according to her situation. They are a childless couple and the husband is still able to care for himself. Accepting temporary employment for a period of two or three months means to this woman a satisfactory income, low expenses (such as clothing and transportation) and, most important, she is able to spend about half the year at home (full-time housewife) with her husband.

Another family which is handicapped due to the father's injury, manages because the father is in the home and able to look after the children. The mother has many anxious moments when she contemplates the future and any disruption to this plan, such as, the father being re-admitted to hospital.
The family in which the mother is working because of the father's seasonal employment, arrange the care of the three children between them. Their plan is such that the children are seldom left without parental supervision for more than an hour or two at a time.

These mothers are conscientious and understand the needs of children. They believe the children should be cared for in their own homes; and, as their limited budget will not allow for paid help, the care of the children is of great concern to them.

Employment

The women who have become wage-earners due to the unfortunate circumstances in the home, were full-time homemakers in the majority of cases, until faced with the necessity of contributing financially to the family's need.

Table 9. Education and Employment Training

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education and Training</th>
<th>25-34</th>
<th>35-44</th>
<th>45 and Over</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Educational Level</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grades IX - XI</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grades XII and higher</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Training</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-graduate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 shows the education and employment training of these women. From the figures, the majority in the older age group have a higher educational standing and are trained for employment.

Of the thirteen women interviewed, nine are in the same or similar job classifications as prior to their marriage; two have obtained and been
able to hold jobs of a higher classification than previously; and two are in employment which may be considered a lower classification.

The circumstances in each case are sufficiently varied as to preclude general comparison. Invariably, the woman has chosen work to suit her own situation or is seeking employment that will fit in with the needs of her family and their budget.

Table 10 Period of Entry into Labour Force

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date Entering Labour Force</th>
<th>Present Age</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>35-44</td>
<td>45 and Over</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trained: 1911-1920</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-1930</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931-1940</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Since 1941</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Untrained: 1911-1920</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-1930</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931-1940</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Since 1941</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The employment history of the woman separated from her husband shows a little different pattern. One, who had always worked, was out of the labour force only long enough to have her children; a second was in and out of the labour force two-thirds of her married life; the situation of the third one resembled the problem of the divorcee, in as much as a Court Order from the Family Court was not honoured by the husband, and employment for the woman became necessary to supplement the irregular income from the husband.

The sampling from the survey is too small to be significant, but it is interesting to note that the number of trained and untrained employees are about equal. The greater number of the older women in employment are trained or have had some training previous to their application for employment.
Income

Among the anxieties and responsibilities accompanying the woman's dual role, the attempt to meet the present cost-of-living, and higher living standards generally, poses a real problem, since this demands a higher family income.

Table 11 Income and Occupational Grade

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Group</th>
<th>Professional</th>
<th>Business</th>
<th>Clerical</th>
<th>Service</th>
<th>Factory</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$500 - $999</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$1,000 - $1,499</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$1,500 - $1,999</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$2,000 - $2,499</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$2,500 - $2,999</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$3,000 and over</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The interviews revealed it is the woman with training who earns the higher wage and who is in a position to make a choice of employment, location of work to home, and hours of labour. Her situation is noticeably different in that education and training have made planning less difficult. These women are able to move towards promotion or may change their positions as opportunities arise, for better working conditions and a higher wage.

Only one of the thirteen women interviewed is attending night school, moving towards better and more remunerative employment. Another hoped to be able to plan to take a refresher course, for three reasons: namely, to qualify herself for more skillful occupation of the kind she enjoyed prior to marriage, viz: clerical work as opposed to her present occupation in industry, the regular hours of work which this would involve as well as an increase in wages.
Table 12 Ways and Means of Supplementing Income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Woman's Income Bracket</th>
<th>Income Supplemented by</th>
<th>TOTAL No. with Supplementary Income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$500-$999</td>
<td>Roomers and/or Boarders</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>W.C.(a) Allowance</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Husband's Pension</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Husband's Income</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Relatives</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Janitor Services</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Family Court Order</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$1,000-$1,499</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$1,500-$1,999</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$2,000-$2,499</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$2,500-$2,999</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$3,000 &amp; Over</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total No. of Women</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Workmen's Compensation Allowance.

Nine of the thirteen women interviewed were supplementing their income by:- 1. Renting rooms. 2. Opening their homes to one or two boarders. 3. Helping with janitor service in the apartment block where they were residing. 4. Sharing home with maternal grandparents. 5. Irregular support from Family Court Order. 6. The husband incapacitated by illness was in receipt of a small pension. 7. The husband incapacitated by injury was in receipt of a Workmen's Compensation Allowance. 8. The seasonal worker (husband) contributed thirty eight per cent of the total family income. The contribution by the husband who has retired is "not stated".

One of the questions presented in the schedule is, "would the woman interviewed be interested in job training?" Seven of the women gave "no" as their answer; one is presently taking post-graduate work at a university; five made suggestions, such as, typing, shorthand, nurse's aid, post-graduate work in nursing, and a course in the selection of personnel. Several comments were, "there is no money for this".

Among the questions asked was whether the woman had ever contributed to a pension fund in connection with a job. One woman, in the 45-54 age group,
is presently contributing to a pension fund and also stated she had changed her employment to gain this security; one woman, in the 55-64 age group, said she had contributed prior to her marriage; and the other eleven women answered "no" to this question.

The schedule did not ask for information on Trade Union membership and for the most part the woman interviewed did not mention this aspect of employment. One woman, however, did volunteer an interesting item of information, her employer was about to reduce her wages when the Union intervened and the reduction was stopped. The woman had commented in the interview that she was "not too popular at the store now".

Reasons for Woman Working

Of the thirteen women interviewed, nine were faced with the necessity of earning a living for themselves and their children. In four other cases, two were working for their children and incapacitated husbands, one husband was on seasonal work only, and one husband was retired from employment.

They had little choice of work in most cases and plans had to be formulated, without too much delay, to meet their needs. One woman did live on her capital for two years, but found her income so depleted in this short period that she re-entered the labour force after having had time to plan for it.

What is the attitude to work in this group? The answer in most cases is "good". The one woman who did complain bitterly, is one who might be referred to as a "professional widow" in the sense of the term as used by F. Zweig in his book *Women's Life and Labour*. This woman feels "the community should support her and the child". She was on shift work - complained about the hours of work, also single girls and New Canadians getting a preference; but she did not seem to realize that her indifferent attitude and frequent absenteeism created problems for her employer. This woman was not presently working but
claimed to be looking for work.

Twelve of the women interviewed planned to work for a long-term period and one said an "indefinite period". The young woman, whose husband is incapacitated by injury, realizes that if they are going to be able to move out of a small apartment into a house, she must continue working. She hopes to continue working for a number of years, providing she is able to plan child-care that is satisfactory.

The women who have been out of the labour force for some years feel "housework gets me down" and working as a wage-earner is a "morale builder". Whereas, those who have been in the labour force during most of their married life prefer "homemaking" and quite frankly say that even though they are earning a living they have lost "the very real pleasure in carrying out in a more complete and more leisurely way the job of housewife and mother".

Although the schedule did not enquire about the health of the woman and her family, it was a source of worry to most of them. They expressed some concern on this subject, such as, being satisfied with their present plan. BUT if the children are sick, complications arise. In almost every interview the woman indirectly brought up the element of fatigue resulting from long hours of work and home-life. Fatigue was a complaint, but not classified as such. Energy and time for household responsibilities, personal interests, family activities seemed to be the pressure points, and there were indications that the psychological load was greater than the physical one.

Being a member of the labour force is only one facet of the woman's life, and with the other duties of housewife and parent, in many instances, the woman had forgotten to think of herself as a person. The majority of the women were pleased to take part in the survey, some had heard or read about it and seemed thrilled to learn they had been chosen. They had not considered them-
selves and their problems important; their every-day life seemed to be concerned only with getting through the necessary jobs and having enough energy to go around. The interview seemed to help some of the women to think and to put into words the situations they are facing — planned household duties, family responsibilities, personal and family gains and losses in their dual role, personal and family activities.

For the most part, they liked their jobs, but there are three facets to consider — work, home-life, and leisure. It is the leisure time to be with her family and time for her own personal interests that she considers her greatest loss. The woman wage-earner in the handicapped family goes to work out of necessity and duty, as she is responsible for the present and future plans of the family. It is with great admiration that you listen to the story these women pour out and with amazement realize how they have adapted their lives to the new situation.

The young married woman, whose husband is incapacitated by injury, has enjoyed going back to factory work, it has given her a "feeling of independence, greater responsibility, gives her a broader outlook, and has helped her to make friends". She came from Britain and returning to factory work may be a link with her former life.

The separated or divorced woman views her situation differently; she has her worries and anxieties but, on her own, is able to cope with them. "I manage better without my husband" is a phrase repeated. She now knows what her total income is and plans accordingly, which, to her, is an improvement from the days of wondering how much money her husband would bring home for the family. These women were receiving no support from their husbands, with the exception of one who did get some support irregularly. During the interview, they did not complain of non-support; they talked in more positive terms regarding finances. They did not seem to have the bitter tone of voice or the frustrated attitude
of the woman who is continually laying a charge of non-support; their moral standards seemed higher than the "professional widow" who looks to public assistance for support. This was quite noticeable in the interview with the woman who goes to work as a cook to help support her incapacitated husband (illness). She realizes when her husband's condition regresses to the point he cannot help himself, she will be obliged to stay at home and they may have to apply for some type of public assistance. In the meantime, this couple are proud of their plans for "independence".

One divorcee, with two small children, found herself in the difficult situation of being considered a "poor risk" in the financial world when she decided to purchase a home. The mortgage company questioned her ability to plan for such an undertaking. However, she was able to work through this problem with the support of her parents and a few good references. The maternal grandparents also live in the new home on a 50-50 basis and take care of the children during the woman's working hours. Her planning shows ingenuity and resourcefulness. During the past six years, this trained employee has changed her job three times, increasing her salary with each change, and she is now earning two and a half times the salary on the first job. Since her ex-husband complained about her inability to manage, this woman is more than pleased with her achievements.

Women working from necessity had difficulty in looking at their "gains and losses". As chief breadwinner, they had no choice but to return to the labour force to "earn a living" but the fact they are "independent" is a predominant factor in their attitude towards life. Their gains are not as materialistic as those of the married woman working, who is a member of a normal family group. They are working to keep the family together, clothe, feed and educate the children, and this gives them a greater feeling of status. One woman said her children felt insecure when she first accepted employment, but
she feels "they will understand better later on".

**Home-Making**

The care of the children is of great concern to the woman. The Day Nursery hours do not fit into the schedule of the working mother. However, most mothers expressed the belief the children are happier and feel more secure when in their own home and community during her absence. The woman, who must leave the pre-adolescent and the adolescent without parental supervision after school hours, has her worries about their activities and friendships. The possibility that delinquent behaviour might develop was a real fear. The woman's income does not allow her to employ a reliable person to substitute for her. The maternal grandmother who cared for the two children said "I know these children better than their mother".

However, one mother had a more positive attitude towards her planning. Although she preferred home-making to employment, she had an excellent working arrangement with her child. The mother worked a five-day week from 9:00 to 5:00; and, the child attended school Monday through Friday, 9:00 to 4:00. They both concentrated on their respective jobs during week days and play together each week-end. This mother tried having her child in a boarding school Monday through Friday, but she found this separation meant divided loyalties and a poor relationship. She also felt, while she would like to be a full time home-maker, the child probably benefitted from her working, as she did not have time "to fuss too much over the child".

On the other hand, the mother, who could not afford any of the paid services, said "we don't spend too much time together".

Few women were able to buy services to lighten their burden. This was, naturally, noticeable in the lower income group. The small group who had the advantage of higher education and employment training, plus material assets,
such as, being a home-owner, were able to plan for paid services. One woman was able to plan for a cleaning woman one day a week, sent her bed linen to the laundry, and paid a woman to supply the family with home baking. At the other extreme, there is the woman who had to take on the added chore of helping the landlord to take care of the apartment block in order to have the rent cut in half. In between, there are the women who get up early, go to bed late, and use their week-ends for house cleaning, washing, ironing and baking. There is little wonder these women need a five-day week.

The woman wage earner must also concern herself with economical buying. Shopping becomes a time consuming chore, which is sometimes given over to the children. The community in which the big markets stay open one evening a week is a real asset in this woman's life.

Gains and Losses

Each woman's situation is different and she faces the two facets of her life - work and home-life - with reality. However, she has little time and energy left for leisure and her job and the people she meets there are a substitute for social life. Participation in community affairs is not part of her life; the associations she does belong to often pertain to family affairs, such as, The Parent-Teacher Associations or parent groups in connection with scouts or guides. Three women expressed their love of music, and their leisure time was saved for concerts and musical groups. Another woman made a practise of attending a "Y" group once a week. Visiting with other families and return visits to their home were considered the recreation most indulged in and enjoyed. The occasional movie and television also shared top place in their form of recreation. A quiet type of recreation for the woman seemed to be what she desired.

The woman at the head of the handicapped family has a three-fold job-work, home life, and her own development as a person. When the call to duty came,
she adapted and adjusted her life to the situation, and often a new personality
develops. The woman gave willingly her opinions, views, and attitudes. Un-
fortunately, the schedule did not bring out the woman's feelings about the im-
portance of the father figure in the development of the child.

The sampling in this survey is too small to have statistical value, but as this is the first study of its kind in Canada, much will be learned of the reasons, problems, attitudes and implications of the married woman and her family, where the woman has worked in the labour force during the past twelve months.
CHAPTER V

THE MARRIED WOMAN WORKING — PROS AND CONS

It now remains to consider the general pros and cons of the married woman working for pay. These will be considered from three aspects: the effect on her role as a parent, as a wife, and as a member of the community. For the most part, this summary is derived from information secured in the interviews, though on a few points the experience gained from the survey has been brought to bear on some fairly well known points of view.

To help give a review of the total group of women interviewed, some of the most indicative material from the schedules has been gathered in table form:

Table 13 Family Constellation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Group</th>
<th>Age of Woman</th>
<th>Total Families</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Under 25 yrs</td>
<td>25-34 yrs</td>
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<tr>
<td>A. Married Couples with:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Children</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One Dependent Child</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two or more Dependent Children</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Mothers with:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One Dependent Child</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two or More Dependent Children</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Families</td>
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Table 14 Dependent Children

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description of Families</th>
<th>Pre-School</th>
<th>Grades 1-8</th>
<th>Grades 9-13</th>
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<tr>
<td>Married Couples with:</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One Child</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two or more Children</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>31</td>
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<tr>
<td>Widows with Children</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated or Divorced</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women with Children</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Number of Children</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>55</td>
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</table>

Table 15 Income and Occupational Grade

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Income Group</th>
<th>Professional</th>
<th>Business</th>
<th>Clerical</th>
<th>Service</th>
<th>Factory</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tr>
<td>$ 199-$ 499</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>500- 999</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>1,000- 1,499</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,500- 1,999</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,000- 2,499</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,500- 2,999</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,000 or more</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Unknown</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Woman declined to give this information.

The Care of Children

In evaluating the effect on the child of having his mother work, impressions can be based only upon the woman's reactions, since for the most part there was no opportunity to assess the child's reactions directly. Some assessment can be made, however, of the working mothers' statements in regard to the care provided for the children; the gains and losses for the children as they see them, and the reservations they express about leaving children while they work.
Since the child's need for dependency upon the mother decreases as he grows older, it seems advisable to consider separately three groups among the children included in the study:

1) The very young child (pre-school)
2) The child attending elementary school (pre-adolescent)
3) The teen-ager attending high school (adolescent)

The Child of Pre-School Age

Most child welfare authorities agree that the quality of parental care which a child receives in his early years is of vital importance for his future mental health. Dr. Benjamin Spock states: "The important thing for a mother to realize is that the younger the child, the more necessary it is for him to have a steady, loving person taking care of him." In a summary of John Bowlby's report on Child Care and the Growth of Love is the statement, "what is believed to be essential for mental health is that the infant and young child should experience a warm, intimate and continuous relationship with his mother (or permanent mother-substitute - one person who steadily 'mothers' him) in which both find satisfaction and enjoyment."

Many of the women visited in the survey have not found complete satisfaction and enjoyment in their role as mothers and have sought employment for this reason. In regard to the mother's employment, Josselyn and Goldman recognize that "Certainly, in some cases of this type the mother returns from employment stimulated and eager for the short period of companionship and emotional relationship with her child. She has just so much to give a child. She can give it intensely in a few hours, whereas, spread over an entire day it would soon wear thin. Such mothers are actually better mothers because they do work." This very thought seemed evident in a statement of one young nurse

interviewed, "I love the baby, but I'd get bored and frustrated if I was never able to get away from her". It was not true in other cases, however. The survey brought to light those mothers who have tried working but have found the experience exhausting rather than satisfying. Again, as Josselyn and Goldman state, "In many instances the (working) mother is so exhausted by the physical strain she is under that she is unable to give emotionally to the child, in spite of her primary capacity to do so".

Judging from the few examples in the present limited survey, the mother's decision to work has sometimes proved satisfactory, and there are other examples where it has been unsatisfactory, both for herself and the child.

Those mothers who are sole breadwinners of the family have little choice in regard to their dual role. The two families in this category, having pre-school children, recognized that the children were not happy about the mother working. One woman whose husband is on compensation for a fractured spine, is employed in a factory. She enjoys her work and has the assurance that the children are in their father's care, but told the interviewer that the children beg her to stay at home. The other woman who has been separated from her husband for three years also enjoys her work (as a cashier) but has had difficulty keeping a regular and reliable baby-sitter. The children often tell her, "why don't you stay home?"

In homes where both parents are employed, the woman in most cases can choose to stay home with the young child rather than work. The effect on the child as the result of her working depends upon a number of factors, three of which seem of particular importance:

1) Whether the child's physical and emotional needs are being met adequately by a steady substitute during the mother's absence, and that this is not a source of worry for her.

1. Ibid.
2) Whether the mother receives satisfactions from her work, enabling her to give optimum emotional gratification to the child (she must be relatively happy to express her fullest emotional potential) and,

3) Whether she is able to assume a dual role as worker and mother and not feel over-burdened and fatigued by the pressures of her responsibilities.

These factors showed up in the survey to some extent.

Among the seven women with pre-school children, two of them, employed in less-interesting service occupations (cook and dishwasher-elevator operator) did not find their work satisfying and gave up their jobs. The cook was unable to employ a regular baby-sitter and said she always left the house worrying about the child's care. The dishwasher-elevator operator (who also had two children in school), described her work as "very fatiguing" and recognized that her children did not have as much contact with their mother as they should have had. She described herself as "so tired and cross all the time". On the other hand, two women employed in professional occupations, the nurse and the x-ray technician, were both well satisfied in their work and with the arrangements made for child care. Both women limited their hours of work to twenty-four hours a week and neither found their jobs fatiguing. Their babies were under a year old and they did not feel they were deprived in any way. One of them was able to leave the child in her husband's care, and the other had a baby-sitter, an "old family friend". Both were satisfied with the child care arrangements. Since both of these women have been happier working, they engage in only part-time employment that is not fatiguing, and they have made provision for consistent and adequate child-care during their hours of work, it is quite possible that the mother-child relationship, so important in early development, is better than it would be otherwise.
In the other three situations, two of the women are office clerks and one a telephone operator. The telephone operator does not leave for work until 5 p.m. and works until midnight, leaving her two young children with her husband, her mother or a teen-aged girl who lives next door. While care of the children is not consistent, it would be similar to an arrangement made in any home where the mother has social obligations in the evening. This telephone operator does not feel the children are deprived in any way as she is with them all day long. The interviewer describes this woman as "bright and perky". One advantage she expresses about her working is that this brings the children and their father closer together. The children are both over a year old.

The two office clerks worked full-time during the day. One full-time hours too exhausting and felt that her children lacked attention and affection. Since her husband worked night shifts and took care of the children during the day time, neither of the parents were able to provide more than bare physical care for the children. The woman recognized this and, because of the economic need she felt to continue employment, she was looking for part-time employment.

The other office clerk went to work when her child was seven months old and has been working full-time for a year. She is satisfied with the care the child is receiving from the maternal grandmother who lives with them. She feels that the child is better off as "she is not too dependent on me". In this situation, the child's grandmother seems to be taking over the major part of the mother-role. The child's father puts the baby to bed. The child does receive consistent care during the mother's absence from the home, but one would wonder, as Josselyn and Goldman state, whether such a person is "incapable of functioning in a mother-role". The mother sees that the child is benefitting materially.

1. Ibid.
by her working, and states "I would rather work when she's small. It does not make so much difference to her". At the same time the mother was concerned that "I can't keep the house just the way I'd like to have it".

In summary, the mother-child relationship may be benefitted if the mother desires to work at a job she enjoys, particularly if she arranges this on a part-time basis. She will gain more satisfaction from her working if she is relieved by the knowledge that her child is in good care. In these cases the mothers have found that the children are best cared for if one person consistently substitutes in her absence, either a relative or a reliable baby-sitter. When the child's father is willing and able to take this responsibility, the child undoubtedly benefits. This allows greater depth in the father-child relationship to help the child grow in a healthy, happy manner.

Apart from the emotional gains seen by these women, there are the physical advantages afforded by the additional income. In many situations, it has bettered the family's standard of living and thus increased the physical well-being of the child.

In those instances where the mother's working did not benefit the mother-child relationship, it was usually due to the mother's working full-time at a job that was uninteresting and exhausting. Added to this was the inadequate care provided for the child. An extreme example of this might well be a case for a child-protection agency. The woman who worked as an elevator-operator and dishwasher on shifts from 4:30 p.m. to 1:00 a.m., 7 p.m. to 3 a.m. and 10 p.m. to 6 a.m. expected to provide daytime care for her four year old child as well as her two children of school age. Fortunately she stopped working.

The Child Attending Elementary School

As Dr. Spock says in regard to the pre-adolescent, "After six years
and particularly after eight, the child's nature seeks and enjoys independence, turns more to outside adults (especially to good teachers) and children, for his ideals and companionship. He can get along comfortably for hours at a time without having to turn to a close adult for support. After school he still ought to have a feeling he belongs somewhere, even if he forgets to go there". 1

Dr. Josselyn and Ruth Schley Goldman add to this: "As the child, through social contacts and through school experiences, gains new confidence in his ability to handle situations that arise, and as he transfers some of his emotional ties to his own age group and to other adults, he manifests less need for an intense tie to his parents or parent substitutes. This shift, however, is possible only when the child is confident of his ability to deal with the demands which the external world places upon him and when he requires only diluted experiences of dependency gratification. Faced with some problem with which he feels completely incapable of dealing, he has again an intense need to turn to someone who will give him the same depth of security that was so essential in his earlier life. He then seeks the security he can consistently find only in parent figures". 2

The brief contact with the women in the survey did not allow for a valid appraisal of the mother-child relationship. An assessment, again, can be based upon only the mother's statements. To determine how the relationship is affected by the mother working, the following factors seemed most important:

1) Whether the mother's hours of work coincide with the child's school hours.

2) Whether satisfactory arrangements can be made for the child if the mother is still at work when he arrives from school or when he is home week-ends and during school vacations.

3) Whether the child accepts his mother's employment.

---


Of the eight homes in which the mother was the sole breadwinner in the family, two of the mothers had worked a comparatively short time and were able to choose employment in which the hours of work coincided with school hours. Both of them could stop working during school vacations. One of them was unable to be free during Christmas and Easter vacations but, since she worked only a few doors away, the children could reach her easily. In each of these families the mothers expressed concern about their children becoming ill and said they would stay home with the child if this happened. These mothers could manage working on a part-time basis since one, an office clerk, had been separated three and a half years and received occasional financial help from her husband, and the other, a church secretary, had been a widow for two years and had some private income.

Six of the women worked full-time, five during day hours and one, a nurses' aide, on eight hour shifts. One of these, a widow with a thirteen-year old boy, operated a rest home which included living quarters and she did not have to worry about child-care arrangements. Another who worked as a legal stenographer, has had the same housekeeper for three years and finds this arrangement satisfactory. Her nine-year old girl goes to camp for part of the summer vacation. A waitress managed to work 8 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. as her husband was temporarily unemployed and could stay home with the children. She had to work occasionally on Saturdays and did not find this too satisfactory. She also took time off from work when one of her children was ill. A divorcée, employed as a secretary, had her parents living with her, which relieved her problem to some extent.

Working full-time caused problems for two of the mothers, one a factory worker, and the other, the nurses' aide, who worked eight-hour shifts. After five years employment, the nurses' aide decided shift work was unsatisfactory and was looking for another job. Her boy who is now eight, was boarded
with her aunt until he started school, then the child's older sister, a divorcée, came to live with the family and assumed responsibility for him. Although the arrangement was better with the child living at home, the mother described him as insecure and unhappy because of her working. The factory worker is divorced from her husband and receives no support from him. One of her boys, aged fifteen and in Grade 6, was placed in an institution for retarded children, and the other boy, aged fourteen and in Grade 7, is unsupervised after school and during vacations. She leaves the home at 7:30 a.m. and he must get his own breakfast and lunch. As she says, she has not had any worries about him yet. They live in a downtown rooming house and he is on his own most of the time, makes use of the facilities at the Y.M.C.A., belongs to the Sea Cadets and has his own group of friends. This woman's brother, living in another city, is willing to take her boy to live with his family and the mother feels this is a good plan, if the boy will agree to it. She intends to try it on his next summer vacation. She feels she has "lost the companionship of the kids" by working, and recognizes that she cannot give adequate supervision and support them too.

The children's reaction to having their mothers work can be assessed only from the views expressed by the mother. Where child-care arrangements were not required due to the mothers' part-time work, the children seemed less affected. One, who worked part-time, was particularly sensitive to the children's feelings about having a mother who worked. She suggested perhaps the children might understand better when they are older, that it was hard to explain this to them now. She seemed relieved that they had "good neighbours". "We have lived here a long time". As in most cases, this woman was conscious of the attitude of the community, both in relation to herself and the effect this had on the children. In another family this was recognized by the interviewer but not by the mother. The mother, who operates a rest home, seemed quite unrealistic in believing her child looked upon her work as "wonderful", since she commented later in the
interview that he had asked her "not to put a name on the outside of the house".

In cases where child-care arrangements had to be made, the children seemed better cared for and happier when they could remain in their own homes. The divorcee who now has her parents living with her and caring for her two girls, learned from experience that boarding her younger child with an aunt for four years had a detrimental effect on her relationship with the child. This arrangement was made to relieve the child's grandmother while the little girl was of preschool age. The older child remained at home. The mother said that her younger child felt "pushed out" and added that she is "trying to make this up to her now". Even when the children are cared for by their grandmother in their own home, the substitute care provided affects the mother-child relationship. In this case, the grandmother told the interviewer, "I know the children better than she does". In spite of the mother's conscientious effort to provide adequately for her children, and her real concern for their physical and emotional well-being, it is sometimes difficult for her to protect her relationship with her children when she is employed full-time.

The legal stenographer who has a housekeeper to relieve her in her absence, did not find this arrangement unsatisfactory. Instead, she saw some advantages for the child, in that she might fuss too much over the child's appetite, clothing and activities if she were not working. This is probably realistic; she may recognize that, if she were not meeting some of her own needs by working in an interesting job, she might easily become absorbed in her only child. Having a housekeeper allows her the freedom to spend time with the child evenings and week-ends. Her child expresses no objections to her working as she knows it is necessary.

In general, the pre-adolescent child in these families is old enough to understand that his mother needs to work, and is accepting of whatever arrangement his mother is able to make for his care while she is absent from the home.
It seemed particularly important for the child's happiness, that he be allowed to remain in his own home where his surroundings were familiar and where it was possible for him to turn to his mother when he needed her.

In families where the father was also in the home and earning the major part of the family income, the woman had not worked for long, in most cases, and had not planned as carefully to provide care for her child while she worked. The burden of her responsibility as a parent was not felt as keenly as in those cases where the woman was not only the chief breadwinner but also missed the emotional support of a husband.

With the exception of a kindergarten teacher who had operated a kindergarten in her own home for ten years, the average length of employment for these married women was less than two years. Of the nine families in this group, five of the mothers had been working full-time. Child-care was adequate when relatives were able to be home with the children in the mother's absence. In three cases where the children were left to fend for themselves until their mothers arrived home from work, the youngsters felt that they were burdened with too much responsibility and preferred to find the mother at home after school. Those mothers whose employment required that they work Saturdays and during vacations, felt that this arrangement was particularly unsatisfactory, especially when the children were left unsupervised. One mother recognized the advantage of having resided in the same community for sixteen years as the neighbors knew the children well and took an interest in them. It is probable that many of the working mothers felt the disapproval of the community, as some tended to defend their need to work and emphasized the material benefits to the family. As one woman said, her girls "do not complain or make comments", but "appreciate the extras" she is able to purchase for them. Another woman said, "you feel kind of guilty" in case home responsibilities might be neglected. Another
mother commented that since she has been working, she "hasn't the same control" over the children. Some saw advantages to being employed; as one woman said about her ten-year old girl, "I spoil her when I'm not working". However, the girl feels it is "nicer when she's home". In most cases, this particular group of mothers felt that if they continued to work, part-time employment during school hours would be satisfactory. Only three planned to continue working full-time, two of these had their mothers staying with the children and the third was able to leave the responsibility of her twelve-year old child to his sixteen-year old sister.

The kindergarten teacher, working only part-time, believed that her work enriched their family life. The children enjoyed sharing in the kindergarten activities, have gained a valuable understanding of children and parents, have profited by the school equipment and library, and, because of her added interest, they have greater freedom to develop emotionally.

The Child Attending High School. It is understandable that when a child reaches adolescence, he has less need for dependency upon his parents. Providing that his earlier years have given him a sense of security in his family relationships, he has a greater capacity, at this stage, "to deal with reality through his own judgment rather than through complete compliance to a parent figure". ¹

In the five homes where there were adolescent children, four also included pre-adolescent children. In such cases the mother seemed more concerned about the reactions from the younger girls and boys as the adolescent did not express objection unless he was overburdened with responsibility. Her employment meant more to the older child in terms of the financial gains to the family, especially when it meant an increase in allowance. In one home where the only

children, two boys, were high school students, their mother's employment had real meaning to them in terms of the extra income being set aside for their university education. One of these boys happened to be present when the interviewer visited the home and seemed obviously proud of his mother. Although she has worked as a telephone operator almost continuously since the boys were small, she appears to have maintained a close relationship with them and is accomplishing her goals in working.

Apart from the consideration of general factors already mentioned pertaining to the mother's employment, her hours of work and arrangements for child care, the determination of which mothers should work and which should not is a determination that must be made on an individual-case basis, involving evaluation of personalities and relationships.

**Other Aspects of Family Life**

Although a married woman may not be a mother, she must be a wife - and the marital relationship can be strengthened or weakened by her employment. If it is to be strengthened there are certain requisites, such as, that both husband and wife are agreed on her need to work; that the job must be satisfying to the wife; that the hours of work must permit them to spend time together in the running of the home, in leisure, and in participation in social activities; and the husband must be willing to share the household duties to lighten the strain of the dual role which the woman bears.

In those situations where the woman is a widow, or separated, or divorced, or has an incapacitated husband, there is little need to discuss her reasons for working — in almost every instance, she had an urgent need to work to provide the essentials for her family. For the woman whose husband is fully employed, however, the situation may be different. A large proportion of the women interviewed gave financial need as a prime reason for taking employment.
As the husband's wages in the past twelve months varied from $1,600 to $5,000, with a median income of $3,300, it is obvious that this was a realistic reason in many cases. Even where the husband's wages did meet the actual day-to-day expenses, few of them were able to provide security. Actual want is much less common in North America today than previously, but lack of security is one of the serious problems. Security means different things to different people. To one family it may take the form of their own home; to another it may be a retirement fund or annuity; to another it may be further education for the children so that they may be more secure in their future. And to another woman it may be that she feels she must seek employment to support her aged parents lest the burden on her husband prove too much, and place undue strain on the marriage. All these pressures are realistic and the wife has the right to seek security.

There are other women for whom the need to work is psychological. The childless woman, in this day of labour-saving devices, may find herself with too little to do to keep herself busy and happy, and social life does not attract her. Then, too, there are women for whom housework is not satisfying. They need the companionship of fellow-workers; the approval that goes with a job well done (not taken for granted, as are so many of the housewife's efforts); and the feeling that they are doing something constructive which gives them status and a sense of independence. This sense of status is listed by Dr. Zweig as one of the three essentials of mental health — the other two being love and security.

These women seek employment which will fill their needs for security and psychological satisfaction insofar as their education, and the jobs available at the moment, permit. Once again this survey demonstrates that the woman with the best education is the one who can choose between jobs, and can get
most satisfaction from it. It is noticeable that in this sampling those who found least satisfaction in the job were those in the service-type jobs such as waitress, dishwasher, and elevator operator. This may have been coloured by their working conditions and by the type of employer but if so, this was not mentioned by the women. Those who had positive feelings about the job were those who had specific skills which measured up fairly closely with the needs of the particular job.

To be satisfying, and to be a strength to the marriage, the reasons for work must be acceptable to both husband and wife. The small number of wives who stated that their husband disapproved of them working, admitted that this greatly lessened their enjoyment of the job. Most of the wives reported that their husbands had resisted the idea at first because of a desire to be the sole support, but had accepted the idea gradually, on a temporary basis, and as they recognized the improvement in the wife's mental health. The willingness of most of the husbands to undertake a sizeable share of the household duties may be an indication of their willingness to cooperate in the plan. It is hard to be certain of this, however, in view of the fact that there are strong cultural differences which must be taken into account. In the younger age group, however, the idea that the husband shares the household duties seems to be fairly acceptable.

The hours of work can be vital in the strengthening or weakening of the marital relationship. If the wife works a day shift while her husband works at night, as was true of a small minority in the present survey, the situation is intolerable. Some families justify this on the grounds that they have such heavy budget commitments that they must make this sacrifice. Even on a temporary basis, however, it would seem to be a dangerous threat to the marriage. Similar hours, or shorter hours for the wife, but certainly a similar shift to that of the husband; these would seem to hold most for the home life.
Reasonable leisure from the job, and reasonable leisure from home-making itself — these are necessities. There should be time for both quiet relaxation, and for active social life. Too much active social life, of course, can become a continuation of the rush and tension of work, and housework. It may be stated in passing, that television was so frequently one of the "hazards" of interviewing, that one was moved to wonder if all the women were working in order to pay for television sets! Further experience with the interviews indicated that television had something to offer in such homes where the woman was often too overworked to have the time, or the inclination, for outside activity, but could share some of the family's enjoyment even when performing a sedentary task, such as ironing.

It was noticeable that, for so many of the families encountered in this survey, there seemed to be no outside social life. In some instances there were indications that this had been the family's pattern even before the wife took employment. In others, however, a real, unsatisfied desire for social activity was expressed. Finally, it should be noted that paid services such as laundry, housecleaning, diaper service, etc., could have relieved the household pressures to permit more recreation, but, because of the expense it was rarely used.

For the married woman employment does seem possible, without seriously injuring the marital relationship, provided that certain safeguards are observed. In most cases, however, it would seem to be a strain on both man and wife.

With the separated or divorced woman there is another aspect, about which, unfortunately, the schedule did not elicit sufficient material to draw conclusions. The schedule did not reveal the causes of the separation but it did reveal that all the women in this category had been full-time housekeepers
prior to the separation. One wonders, however, whether the knowledge that she
was employable, and able to earn a living, was a factor in her decision to sep­
arate. In several instances the woman was getting a great deal of satisfaction
from her job, and stated that she was actually much better off than before sep­
aration. Her mental health appeared to be much better than that of the major­
ity of women who take court action for support, and are, in so many cases,
ridden by hate, and a desire to punish the erring husband.

Community Implications

In addition to her role as wife and mother, the married woman in
employment plays her part as a citizen. Why do married women work? In the
modern urban household, fewer demands are made on her time in the home and
there are also more opportunities for her services in the labour force. As a
result, far greater numbers of married women have found employment. It is
often stated that married women work from necessity or for psychological reasons,
but these generalizations can be misleading: as shown by this survey, there are
many reasons why married women become wage-earners. In some instances, women
are working for some contribution to economic security, for example, saving to
invest in a home, to help build up a retirement fund, or a fund permitting
higher education for their children.

Is part-time work primarily a married woman's field? This study
does not furnish a complete answer; but, of the fifty married women interviewed
twenty were part-time workers, and about forty per cent of the total number
were without dependent children. One of the advantages of part-time work is
the time factor, since it permits more opportunity for child care by the
mother, better organized household routine, and leisure time which can be spent
with husband and children. The women seemed to consider part-time work
largely in terms of what it meant for hours of school and the husband's hours
of work.
Importance of Hours of Work

The married woman worker feels she can carry on her dual role, under present conditions, only through planned hours of employment. She is more likely to seek a job with minimum responsibility and a shorter day. Some business and community services are already making an analysis of operations and services adaptable to part-time schedules, and through careful recruiting and selection of applicants have gone a long way towards making part-time work mutually profitable and satisfactory to the employees, employers, and the community.

The married woman who works full-time would like special considerations to plan her employment, in regard to hours of work and days off, to coincide with the family schedules. Whether or not these concessions to married women create a problem in administration or for the personnel manager in their overall planning and schedules, can only be left to conjecture as the study did not include interviews with them. Information regarding the reaction of fellow-workers, who do not receive special consideration of this sort, was not available for this study. If other types of interviews had been included, such as, information supplied by personnel managers in business, the findings of this part of the study might have been more factual.

Dr. F. Zweig, in his study of the whole range of sex differentials in industry (in the Lancashire, Cheshire, Staffordshire, Yorkshire and London districts in England) found that,

"Some firms give married women half a day off for shopping, not regarding this as absenteeism, but where the practice is not adopted married women often do this on their own responsibility. It is important for them to have at least one half-day free, if the week-end is not going to be "all work" and husbands neglected at the time when they are free to enjoy life".1

Many of the women interviewed showed little interest in long-term employment, since homemaking was the important aspect of their life. For this reason, they attach little importance to further vocational training as a means to a more responsible position.

Because the community as a whole very often fails to understand the economic problems faced by the married woman and her family, she meets with opposition in the form of prejudice. She may be criticized for neglecting her family or for taking work from a woman who has no other means of support. Generally, the prejudice emanates from a member of the older generation who still believe that "woman's place is in the home". The younger generation enter into marriage expecting to share economic responsibility and home planning.

It is interesting to note that the prejudice against married women working does not extend to certain types of work, for example, when women are giving service to the family, such as, nursing or domestic help. This may be because this woman is meeting a need and giving personal service, or because society considers this type of job exclusive to women and, therefore acceptable.

Another form of prejudice is that frequently entertained by married women themselves who are not in the labour force. Criticism may be directed against the working mother who has no immediately apparent financial need to work. In such cases, the effect on the children of the mother's absence from the home is likely to be questioned. In general, however, this kind of prejudice does not enter into those situations where the family has acquired some standing in the neighborhood and where it is known that conscientious plans have been made for the care of the children.
The woman who contemplates employment outside the home must consider the welfare of her family in the areas of child care, health, and recreation, so that she may feel more secure in her dual role. The woman who lives in a community where health and social services are available to her in the care of the pre-school children, in an emergency such as illness, or providing recreation for the family, is fortunate indeed. There are not many communities that have all these services; but as the need increases the trend is towards an extension of health and welfare services by private and public agencies, so that the mother will be able to remain in the labour force where she is needed.

Nursery schools have not kept pace with the growing need either in numbers or scheduled hours to accommodate the working mother. Some authorities, such as Dr. Benjamin Spock, claim that the nursery school is a cold institution, lacking in individual attention and affection. In some instances, it has been found helpful to have a professional social worker appointed to take charge of intake work. When the parents are familiar with the policy of the school, and the staff have knowledge of the child's background, an attempt can be made to meet the emotional as well as the physical needs of the pre-school child.

Dr. F. Zweig interviewed matrons and sisters in nursery schools: the points frequently made were that the child should be brought to the nursery gradually; that the hours of separation from the mother should be short; that the units of nurseries should be small; and, that the standard of the nurseries should not clash violently with the standard at home.

Varying points of view were brought out during the present survey. The majority of women interviewed expressed the opinion that the children are best cared for in their own home and neighborhood. In the home environment, the children were happier and had a greater feeling of security.

Some married women, who were not eligible to complete the questionnaire as they were not working, said that they wanted to work, full-time or part-time, but child care arrangements in the home were either too expensive or too complicated, and it was frequently mentioned that a nursery school was not available.

In the homes where there are pre-adolescent and adolescent children, another problem arises. There may be a period of two hours between the time school is dismissed and the mother's return to the home. Unless adequate supervision is provided, the mother is anxious about how they may occupy their time; for example, living in a questionable district, a mother of three girls, ages 10 to 14 years, planned that the girls watch television in their home until she returned from work. On her arrival home, they planned outside activities when she was there to give supervision. Another mother, living in a good residential district, carried on supervision by telephone and a fellow-worker told of the anxieties surrounding these telephone calls, especially if there was no answer from the home.

This problem is being partially met in some areas through the community centres, the Y.M.C.A. or Y.W.C.A., various kinds of organized church and service groups. In a few agencies, trained social group-workers are giving leadership. Besides catering to the children, the agencies provide recreational activities for adults, and, if the married women workers can stretch their day to include recreation, these are available to her.
The health of the family is also of great concern. Illness can become a hazard and a source of anxiety for the married women in employment. As the survey was not primarily concerned with the health problem, specific observations on this were not included in the interview schedule. Many of the women interviewed, however, brought up the question both directly and indirectly, and referred to their anxieties when there is illness in the family. Adequate health services are needed and these might include a registry of practical nurses and homemaker services, to allow the married women worker to meet an emergency with the aid of a supervising agency. This would help to eliminate the procession of unreliable baby-sitters, which is their only source of available help.

It is appropriate to conclude with a quotation from an address by Marion V. Royce, Director of the Women's Bureau, which has been the sponsor of this national survey to which the present study is related.

"We are living in a time, as it were, 'between the times' when the old ways are no longer useful though, as yet, the ways of the future are drawn only vaguely. In this context the role and status of women are aligned closely with changes in patterns of family life and the organization of work, especially the division of labour between men and women".1

One conclusion that is relevant to this study is that the married woman will probably be a permanent member of the labour force, both because she is needed by the economy and because of present day cultural and scientific changes which have altered family living in so many ways. The old adage "woman's work is never done" was formerly applied only to the woman with a home to manage and several children to rear; how far it need be true for a middle-class woman with labour-saving domestic appliances is another story to—

1. The Chronicle, 1955-56, Pub. by Canadian Federation of University Women — excerpts from address by Marion V. Royce, Director of the Women's Bureau, Dept. of Labour, Ottawa.
day. But for the married woman who is also working it may have a new meaning for her in her dual role. Scientific methods of homemaking have not released her from the responsibilities and anxieties of wife and mother; being a wage-earner has decreased her time to participate in neighbourliness and in community affairs. Sharing the responsibilities of housekeeping and child care to relieve the pressures is something which will have to come either from the husband or the community or both.
APPENDIX A

This summary of information sought was attached to a letter from the Director, Women's Bureau, Department of Labour, Ottawa, which was given to the woman prior to the interview.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR
Canada

WOMEN'S BUREAU

SURVEY OF MARRIED WOMEN WHO ARE WORKING FOR PAY

Outline of information

Marital status; age group.
Country of birth.
Education and training.
Current or last job; period of work; work experience.
Earnings; pension participation.
Husband's job; period of work; income.
Size of household.
Dependent children; care of children.
Housekeeping duties.
Recreational interests.
Purposes in working.
Ideas about convenient working hours for married women.
Future plans with respect to work.
### APPENDIX B

Table 16 Women's Participation in the Labour Force of Canada, 1931 - 1951

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labour Force</th>
<th>1931</th>
<th>1941</th>
<th>1951</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Labour Force (men and women)</td>
<td>3,921,833</td>
<td>4,510,535</td>
<td>5,286,153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Women</td>
<td>537,657</td>
<td>665,623</td>
<td>723,433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married Women</td>
<td>66,798</td>
<td>85,633</td>
<td>348,961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed and Divorced</td>
<td>61,335</td>
<td>81,546</td>
<td>91,927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Women in Labour Force</td>
<td>665,790</td>
<td>832,802</td>
<td>1,164,321</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

APPENDIX C

Occupational Categories as used in the Study

A. Professional

Nurse
X-ray technician
Agricultural technician
Home economist
Social worker

B. Business

Confectionery-grocery owner
Rest-home owner
Kindergarten owner

C. Clerical

Secretary
Bookkeeper
Doctor's assistant
Stenographer
Legal stenographer
Office clerk
Filing clerk
Comptometer operator

D. Service

Salesclerk
Telephone operator
Switchboard operator
Nurse's aide
Waitress
Cook
Elevator operator

E. Factory

Package hands (cheese, dates, ice-cream, etc.)
Warper (woollen mill)
Power machine operator
APPENDIX D

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