A SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

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OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND PROBLEM

During the summer of 1974, the author secured a summer job as key-punch operator in San Antonio, Texas. She observed an interesting phenomenon which influenced her selection of the subject matter with which this study is concerned.

In this computer service bureau, there were twelve women workers. Besides one secretary and one receptionist, eight of them were key-punch operators (which made up an all-female team), including two in supervisory positions, and two were programmers (they worked among eight male programmers).

During the three months that the author worked as a key-punch operator, she observed that the work morale among her work-group was generally high. Every key-punch operator worked hard and showed a spirit of cooperation and job satisfaction, particularly the two supervisors. On the other hand, the work morale of the two female programmmers was very low. They often complained about their jobs and were not satisfied with their pay, chance of promotion and so on. However, these two programmers were earning twice as much as the key-punch operators and they also had more

flexible work-hours and a better working environment. Despite these better conditions, they were not satisfied with their jobs.

Common sense suggests that those with higher rank, higher salary and better working conditions would have higher job satisfaction than those with the lower rank, pay, etc. However, this may not always be the case. Objective improvement does not necessarily bring with it higher satisfaction.

This phenomenon stimulated the author's interest in the concepts of relative deprivation and reference group. The central idea of these concepts is that evaluation of one's well-being and feeling of success or failure is not made in absolute terms, but relative to the possessions, privileges and positions of others. These concepts shed light on the situation of the happy key-punch operators and unhappy programmers. The key-punch operators who did not get as much pay as the programmers compared themselves with the other key-punch operators who were also paid about the same salary. While the two who had been promoted to supervisors were likely to appear to themselves to have done relatively better. On the other hand, the two programmers, although getting a higher salary than the other female employees, tended to compare themselves with the male programmers who received a still higher salary and were given more responsible jobs. Although the female programmers were objectively successful, they appeared to themselves to have

done less well and felt unhappy because they compared themselves with their male co-workers rather than their female co-workers.

It is the author's belief that the situation of the unhappy programmers is analogous to that of many women in the equal rights movement. The review of literature seems to indicate that, although women's objective position has improved, women are feeling more deprived today than women of the past generations due to a change in their reference group.

The women's movement is an ongoing, growing social movement. It has been simmering for over a century. The recent developments of the movement reflect that the emerging mood and attitude of feminist have reached such a state of exasperation that what women want and rightly claim is no longer just getting any old job, or some education or even a good position in life handed down by the established power structure. Like anyone else, they want their full participation in and control over their own destinies. The study of the women's movement requires both a societal and psychological perspectives. The analysis of the pattern of the movement requires a perspective larger than that of putting responsibility in the laps of a few leaders. The pattern of the movement includes the rank-and-file as well as the leadership who formulates and articulates gripes, creates morale in the movement and charts its course of action.

This paper is an attempt to explore the social-psychological roots of the women's movement. The basic premise is that the motivational base of the movement is relative deprivation, defined as the actor's perception of discrepancy between his value expectations and his environment's apparent value capabilities. The central idea is that human evaluation of one's well-being and one's success or failure is not made in absolute terms, but relative to the possessions, privileges and positions of significant others. The study of the motivation base of the women's movement has to be traced through its history for it has a temporal pattern. In order to analyze the ups and downs of the movement, it has to be traced through its background conditions, that it, the motivations that instigated it or quiesced it.

It is an accepted generalization that social movements are the most effective vehicles of change in attitudes, in self-pictures, and in the designs of man, therefore, it is important to view a social movement from its inception through its impact. The far-reaching changes produced by social movements are not self-generated, rather, they have springs in serious human concerns and in the conditions that given rise to those concerns.

This paper examined the women's movement from the social-psychological perspective. Based on the theories of relative deprivation and reference group and the broad historical data, a model is developed to illustrate the ups

and downs of the movement. A general review of the historical literature and statistical data in the area reveals that the model seems to fit. The purpose of this study is to analyze more extensive data in an attempt to give systematic support to the model developed.

CHAPTER II

THEORIES AND CONCEPTS

Alexis de Tocqueville pointed out more than a century ago the occurrence of societal upheavel at the time when objective improvement was being made, because the improvement did not satisfy the rising tide of expectations.[1] Implied in his assertion is the motivational force which derived from the discrepancy between people's objective improvement and subjective satisfaction. The review of literature in women's history and statistics indicates Tocqueville's statement reflects the sentiments underlying the women's movement. In analyzing the motivational base of the women's movement, the concepts of relative deprivation and reference group are helpful.

Relative Deprivation: A Motivational Base

The motivational base is the arousal produced by conditions that affect a large number of people simultaneously or within a specifiable span of time. As pointed out by

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[1]Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America, tr. George Lawrence (Garden City, 1969), Vol. II.

Sherif, the motivational base could be mass deprivation of food or in living conditions. It also could be mass frustration of living under oppression, injustice, discrimination, or denial of what people or a class of people feel are their right.[2]

The central idea of the relative deprivation concept is that human evaluation of one's well-being and one's success or failure is not made in absolute terms, but relative to the possessions, privileges, and positions of others. Gurr maintains that the point is the perception of deprivation. People may be subjectively deprived with reference to their expectations even though an objective observer might not judge them to be in want. Similarly, the existence of what the observer judges to be poverty or "absolute deprivation" is not necessarily thought to be unjust by those who experience it.[3] Aberle's definition of relative deprivation is "a negative discrepancy between legitimate expectations and actuality," viewing expectations as standards, not mere prophecies or hopes.[4] As Runciman puts it, "If people have no reason to expect or hope for more than they can achieve, they will be less discontented

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[2]Muzafer Sherif and Carolyn Sherif, Social Psychology (New York, 1969), pp. 563-568.

[3]Ted Robert Gurr, Why Men Rebel (Princeton, 1970), pp. 24-25.

[4]David F. Aberle, "A Note on Relative Deprivation Theory," in Sylvia L. Thrupp (ed.), Millennial Dreams in Action: Essays in Comparative Study (The Hague, 1962), pp. 209-214.

with what they have, or even grateful simply to be able to hold on to it."[5]

Stouffer: The Concept of Relative Deprivation

The concept of relative deprivation was first introduced by the authors of The American Soldier.[6] It was a large scale social-psychological study of the United States Army which was carried out during the Second World War. The authors did not present a formal definition of relative deprivation, instead, they brought out the nature of the theoretical utility of the concept and its relationship to other established concepts:

> The idea (of relative deprivation) is simple, almost obvious, but its utility comes in reconciling data, ...where its applicability is not at first too apparent. The idea would seem to have a kinship to and, in part, include such well-known sociological concepts as 'social frame of reference,' 'patterns of expectation' or 'definitions of the situation.'[7]

Its general sense has been summarized by Runciman:

> If A, who does not have something but wants it, compares himself to B, who does have it, then A is 'relatively deprived' with reference to B. Similarly, if A's expectations are higher than B's, or if he was better off than B in the past, he may when similarly placed to B feel relatively deprived by comparison with him.[8]

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[5]W.G. Runciman, Relative Deprivation and Social Justice (Berkeley, 1966), p. 9.

[6]Samuel A. Stouffer et al., The American Solider, Vol. 1, Adjustments During Army Life (Princeton, 1949).

[7]Stouffer, p. 125.

[8]Runciman, p. 10.

One of Stouffer, et al., findings brought out the general relation between relative deprivation in terms of the reference group choices. They found that in the Military Police, where opportunities for promotion were very poor, satisfaction with opportunities for promotion was higher than in the Air Corps, where opportunities for promotion were conspicuously good. The authors do not use the term reference group in their interpretation, but they comment that what is needed is "the theory that such opinions by soldiers represent a relationship between their expectations and their achievements relative to others in the same boat with them."[9]

The implications of their finding are more fully brought out by Merton and Rossi. Those who were not promoted in the Military Police tended to compare themselves with the large number of their fellows who were also not promoted, while those few who had been promoted were likely to appear to themselves to have done relatively better. In the Air Corps, by contrast, the man who was not promoted would be likely to compare himself with the large number of his fellows who had been promoted, while these, though successful, would appear to themselves to have done relatively less well.[10]

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[9]Stouffer, p. 251.

[10]Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, 1957), pp. 236-239.

Runciman: Relative Deprivation and Reference Group

Runciman discusses the related notions of "relative deprivation" and "reference group". He asserts that both concepts derive from a familiar truism: That people's attitudes, aspirations and grievances largely depend on the frame of reference within which they are conceived. The frame of reference can work in either of two ways. On the one hand, a man who has been led to expect a promotion in his job will be more aggrieved if he fails to achieve it than a man whose ambitions have not been similarly heightened. On the other hand, a man taken to the hospital after some minor mishap will feel a good deal less sorry for himself if he is put in a bed next to the victim of a serious accident who has been permanently maimed. He points out that people's attitudes toward social inequalities seldom correlate strictly with the facts of their own position. Dissatisfaction with the privileges and rewards in a society is never felt in an even proportion to the degree of inequality to which its various members are subject. Many people at the bottom of society are less resentful of the system, and many nearer to the top are more so, than their actual position appears to warrant.[11]

Runciman states that relative deprivation may vary in magnitude, frequency or degree. The magnitude of a relative

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[11]Runciman, p. 9.

deprivation is the extent of the difference between the desired situation and that of the person desiring it. The frequency is the proportion of a group who feel it. The degree is the intensity with which it is felt. He further asserts that the three need not coincide. The proportion of a group feeling relatively deprived may be quite independent of either the magnitude or the intensity of the relative deprivation, and the feeling may be just as keenly felt when its magnitude is small as when it is large.[12]

He points out that relative deprivation is the sense of deprivation which involves a comparison with the imagined situation of some other person or group. This other person or group is the "comparative reference group". The "membership reference group" is the starting line for the inequality with the comparative reference group by which a feeling of relative deprivation is engendered.[13]

The comparative group is in one sense a membership group, since without some common attributes there could be no comparison. The common attributes are the point of reference which promotes the choice of a particular group as ones membership reference group, which justifies their claims for the rights and privileges which the comparative reference group is entitled.[14]

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[12]Ibid., p. 10.

[13]Ibid., pp. 11-13.

[14]Ibid., p. 14.

Runciman proposed two ways of looking at the problem of, how far a person's reference group should be seen as the cause or the effect of his aspirations and attitudes. On the one hand, a person who sees his opportunities as limited will choose a comparative reference group not too far from his present situation, so that his magnitude of relative deprivation is accordingly kept low.[15]

He goes on to discuss those external influences of reference group. War is a major impetus behind social change. The dislocation of familiar standards of reference is part of the process likely to occur. Expectations are heightened by the feeling that some tangible rewards will result from victory. New comparisons are generated in two different ways. On one hand, the under-priveleged strata who have shared the exertions and sufferings of war in equal measure with their social superiors for a joint share in a better world. On the other hand, the purely physical disturbances of war bring the members of different classes into more immediate contact with each other than is ever likely to occur in peacetime.

Disturbances can often be brought about simply by the receipt of information. For people to be told that their economic or social situation is bad may be enough to convince them that it is, even if they had not been thinking so before. The proverbial stirring-up of discontent performed by revolutionaries and agitators depends precisely on

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[15]Ibid., p. 15.

their persuading people to judge their situation in terms of comparisons which it had not previously occurred to them to make.

Runciman points out that education can upset traditional reference groups and heighten the general level of aspiration. He quoted Ernest Bevin who said in 1920, "....better close the schools than create aspirations and then deny them." Conversely, religion restricts aspirations if it teaches that the existing order is just, it can inhibit those comparisons between one stratum and the next which might lead to the system's overthrow.

Finally, economic change is a disrupter of reference groups. Prosperity can break the vicious cycle between poverty and conservatism by making people aware of the possibility of higher standards than it would previously have occurred to them to hope for. Conversely, a decline in prosperity, if not too violent, can restrict the sense of relative deprivation by inhibiting comparisons with more fortunate groups.[16]

Gurr: Three Patterns of Relative Deprivation

Ted Robert Gurr further develops the concept of relative deprivation and related terms by relating the concept of relative deprivation to the motivational base of civil

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[16]Ibid., pp. 24-25.

violence.[17] He defines the concept as the tension that develops from a discrepancy between the "ought" and the "is" of collective value satisfaction and that disposes men to violence. These deprived feelings are derived from the actors' perception of discrepancy between their value expectations and their capabilities. Value expectations are the goods and conditions of life to which people believe they are rightfully entitled. Value capabilities are the goods and conditions they think they are capable of getting and keeping.

He points out that in sociological research this concept assumes for operational purposes, that value standards are set by reference to some group or status with which an individual does, or is thought to, identify. However, value standards can have other sources. For instance, an individual's point of reference may be his own past condition, an abstract ideal, or the standard articulated by a leader, as well as, a "reference group".

The value expectations of a collectivity are the average value position to which its members believe they are justifiably entitled. Value position is the amount or level of a value actually attained. Value capabilities of a collectivity are the average value positions its members perceive themselves capable of attaining or maintaining.

Value capabilities also have both present and future connotations. In the present, value capabilities are

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[17]Gurr, pp. 24-30.

what men believe their skills, their fellows, and their rules will, in the course of time, permit them to keep or attain: their value potential.

There are differences between perceived and actual value potential: men's capacities for attaining their value expectations may be substantially greater or less than they believe them to be. However, it is the perceived value potential that determines present behavior.

The attained value positions of a group may be quite low with respect to value expectations, but perceived deprivation and manifestations of discontent will tend to be low to the extent that potential is perceived to be high. Contrarily, discontent will tend to be high when attained value positions appeared relatively high with respect to value expectations but the potential for increasing or even maintaining value positions is perceived to be declining.

Value opportunities are the courses of action people have available to them for attaining or maintaining their desired value positions. There are three types which can be distinguished: personal, societal and political. Personal opportunities are individual's inherited and acquired capacities for value-enhancing action, including technical skills and education. Societal opportunities are the normal courses of action available to members of a collectivity for direct value-enhancing action, which include the range and number of remunerative occupations, and the ease of access to those occupations. Political opportunities are

the normal courses of action available to members of a collectivity for collective bargaining procedures by which workers can demand greater welfare benefits from their employers, and associational activity by subcultural groups designed to increase their members' status in dealing with members of other groups.

Gurr classifies three patterns of relative deprivation.[18] The first of these is "decremental deprivation." This pattern is shown diagramatically in Figure 1. This is a situation in which a group's value expectations remains relatively constant but value capabilities are perceived to decline.

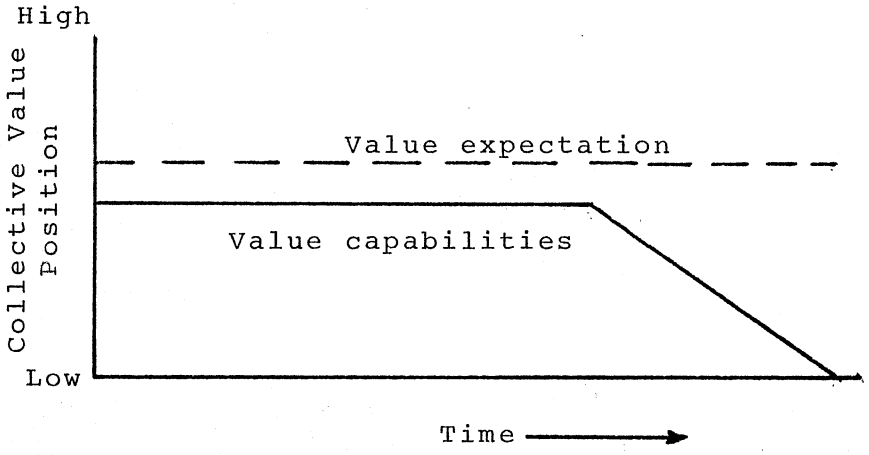

Figure 1. Decremental Deprivation

[18] Ibid., pp. 46-56.

The value position of an entire society may fall because of declining production of material goods, declining capabilities of the political elite to provide order or resolve crisis or lose faith in the society's integrating structure of beliefs and attendant norms of action. Value capabilities also may fall among one or more segments of society because its members lose in absolute terms in conflict with other groups over scarce value (e.g. the decline in status and influence felt by middle class groups as the status of working class groups increase; or the decline in status and influence felt by men as the status of women increases).

Figure 2 presents a diagramatical picture of "aspirational deprivation." Aspirational deprivation is characterized by an increase in value expectations without a concomitant change in value position or potential.

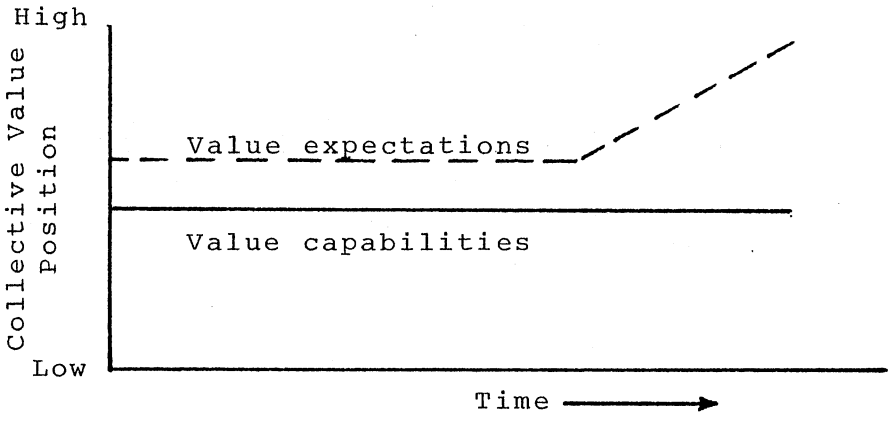

Figure 2. Aspirational Deprivation

Those who experience aspirational deprivation do not anticipate or experience significant loss of what they have; they are angered because they feel they have no means for attaining new or intensified expectations. An increase in value expectation may reflect the demand for a greater amount of value already held in some degree or it may be a demand for new values never previously held.

The third pattern "progressive deprivation" was proposed by James C. Davies and is shown in Figure 3. He refers to it as the "J-curve" hypothesis.[19]

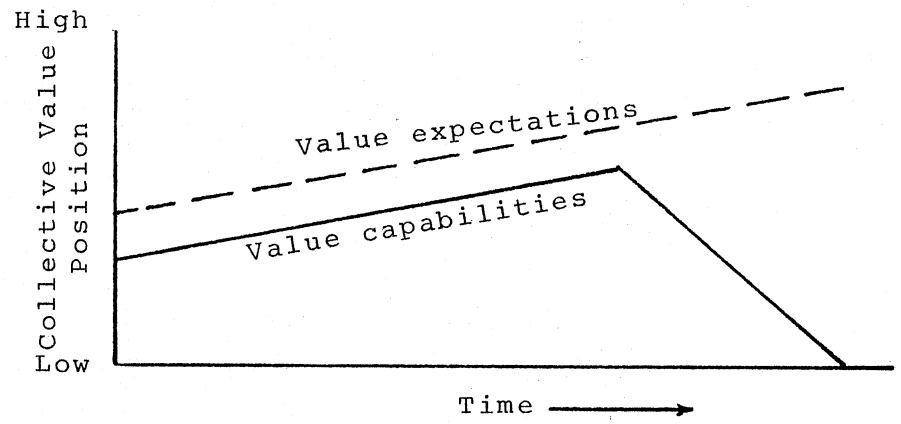

Figure 3. Progressive Deprivation

Davies maintains that, "revolutions are most likely to occur when a prolonged period of objective economic and social development is followed by a short period of sharp

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[19]James C. Davies, "Toward a Theory of Revolution," American Sociological Review, XXVII (February, 1963), pp. 5-19.

reversal." It is a special case of aspirational deprivation, one in which long run, more-or-less steady improvement in people's value position generates expectations about continued improvement. If value capabilities stabilize or decline after such a period of improvement, progressive deprivation is the result.

The Chapman-Volkmann Experiment

There are a number of studies in which the person is presented a fictitious level of performance attributed to some group. By considering the person's reference group as the main anchor, the effects of experimentally introduced comparisons upon the aspiration level are readily predictable.

An early study along these lines was conducted by Chapman and Volkmann, who regarded the conditions affecting the setting of an aspiration level "as a special case of the effect upon a judgment of the frame of reference within which it is executed."[20] College students were presented a test of literary information with 50 multiple-choice items. As they had never taken the test before, they had few objective criteria on which to base estimates of their performance. The results show that the control group (no special instructions) set their performance estimates at about 26.9 on the average, showing that the task was seen

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[20]D.W. Chapman and J. Volkmann, "A Social Determinant of the Level of Aspiration," Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology, 34 (1939), pp. 225-238.

as difficult. One experimental group was told prior to their estimates that the average score obtained by a sample of laborers (WPA Workers) was 37.2. The second experimental group was told that a sample of literary critics obtained a score of 37.2. The results reveal that, the subjects whose comparison group was lower than their membership group (college students) gave higher estimates, while those whose comparison group was higher gave lower estimates. Although no mention was made of college students, this membership reference group was spontaneously used as the major anchor by the subjects who appraised its level as higher in literary knowledge than that of WPA workers and lower than that of literary critics. A further indication of the correctness of this analysis is that on a second task which subjects had performed before and, therefore, knew their own level, the comparison standards from other groups had no effect.

A series of studies substantiated Chapman and Volkmann's findings using different reference groups and different comparisons. Hansche and Gilchrist became interested in why the comparison standards did not exert a greater effect than they did. None of the subject samples had estimated their performance as high as the fictitious score. Accordingly, they varied the level of the comparison score, as well as the comparison group and the difficulty of the task. The task was a test of general knowledge of psychology with a maximum score of 100. Comparison groups

were high-school students, college sophomores, and first-year graduate students.[21]

Their results were similar to the overall findings of Chapman and Volkmann: aspiration level was lower relative to graduate students and higher relative to high-school students than when one's reference group coincided with the comparison standard (college sophomores).

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[21]J. Hansche and J.C. Gilchrist, "Three Determinants of the Level of Aspiration," Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology, 53 (1956) , p. 137.

CHAPTER III

A SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT AND THE RELATIVE POSITION OF WOMEN***

During the period when the women's movement was simmering, almost every part of the national life in the United States was experiencing great changes. Prison reforms, educational reforms, moral reforms of every kind agitated the American conscience. Eventually anti-slavery became the most important issue.

The first women's movement is generally referred to as the suffrage movement. The first women's-rights meeting in American history took place in a Methodist church in Seneca Falls, New York, on July 19 and 20, 1848. While the fighting to win the vote was the key issue, American women also participated in the struggle to free women and men from slavery and from oppressive working conditions. Most early leaders of the nineteenth century struggled for women's suffrage - Elizabeth Stanton, Susan Anthony, Lucretia Mott, Sarah and Angelina Grimke participated in

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***For reference of the major events and activities of the women's movement, please refer to Appendix A and B.

the anti-slavery movement before they ignited the struggle for women's rights.

From 1890 to 1929, the suffrage movement was almost exclusively a single-issue struggle, dominated by the interests of middle class, professional women and directed by either middle class or upper class women.

In the period from 1920 to 1960 many of the daughters of suffragists seem to have retreated into private consolidation of the gains made by their mothers. During this perod when feminism was supposedly dead, women advanced in higher education and economic opportunities. The proportion of women in the labor force continued to climb dramatically throughout the 1940's and 1950's. Both World War I and II had transformed the economic outlook of women.

Betty Friedan's, The Feminine Mystique, published in 1963, gave voice to the frustrations of many women and caused others to question some of their accepted values and roles. With the formation in 1966 of the National Organization for Women (NOW) the modern liberation movement officially began. NOW represented a reformist approach to equality and acted on the assumption that social structure could be changed from within through legislation and persuasion. It has a definite reform program involving changes in legislation, employment practices, educational discrimination, repeal of abortion laws, organization of child-care centers, and combating other existing discriminatory practices. Since the establishment of NOW, which has become

the backbone of the movement, many other national women's rights organizations have sprung up. Some of these include Women's Radical Action Project, New York Radical Woman, Redstocking and Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy from Hell.

One comprehensive analysis of radical feminism is Shulamith Firestone's The Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution. She agrees with the class analysis of history but finds a purely "economist" interpretation limited. She asserts that the natural reproduction difference between the sexes led directly to the first division of labor based on sex, which is at the origins of all further division into economic and cultural classes.

Today's women's liberation movement differs from the nineteenth century struggle primarily in that, militant women who can only envision the liberation within revolutionary context are the norm rather than the exception. The dominant ideology of the past movement was one that sought legal reforms to improve the existing social structure for women. Today, most of them are asking what kind of social revolution they want, not if they need one.

Some groups call for a complete restructuring of the society, alleging that women can never achieve equality until marriage and all the supporting property and legal foundations of sexual exploitation are abolished. Others are pressing for more moderate demands, such as the lifting of quotas in professional schools and the abolition of

derogatory and demeaning images of women in the popular media.

Their Past Condition: The Relative Nature of Women's Position

The central idea of this paper is that human evaluation of one's well-being and one's success or failure is not made in absolute terms, but relative to the possessions, privileges, and positions of others. It is true that women's position has been rising in the United States, and that some segments of the female population have enjoyed substantial achievements. However, a closer look at census data reveals that the gap between the positions of men and women has not closed. This section illustrates the gap.

Employment and Income Statistics[1]

The data in Table I suggest that a woman has little difficulty getting a job as a clerk (10,337 thousands females vs. 3,497 thousand males), or as a maid (1,559 thousand females vs. 26 thoudand males), but that if she hopes to be a craftsman (craftswoman?) (290 thousand females vs. 9,737 thousand males), a manager, official or proprietor (1,301 thousand females vs. 6,896 thousand males), or a professional and technical worker (4,431 thousand females

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[1]Statistical information in this section is from the U.S. Bureau of Census.

vs. 6,890 males), she had better be prepared for a long hard battle.

TABLE 1

EMPLOYED PERSONS BY MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUPS AND SEX, 1970

Occupation Groups	Male	Female
	(Figure in thousands)	
Professional and technical workers	6,890	4,431
Managers, officials and proprietors	6,896	1,301
Clerical workers	3,497	10,337
Salesworkers	2,724	1,990
Craftsmen and foremen	9,737	290
Private household workers	26	1,559

Source: Marie B. Hecht et al., The Women, Yes! (New York, 1973), p. 18.

Add to the above information these further facts: in 1960, of the college presidents, professors, and instructors, 140,000 were male, 39,000 female; of the lawyers and judges, 206,000 were male, 8,000 female; of the physicians and surgeons, 214,000 were male, 16,000 female.

The median income for male employed civilians in 1968 was $7,080; the median income for female employed civilians in the same year was $3,380. One reason, undoubtedly, is women work in lower-paying jobs. What, then, about men and women who work in the same jobs? In 1968, in professional and technical fields, males earned $9,960; females $5,598; in sales, males earned $7,367, females $2,248; in clerical work, males earned $7,034, females $4,002.

Women in Public Office[2]

In 1969, in the legislative branch of the Federal Government, one woman was in the Senate and 10 women were in the House of Representatives, compared to 2 women Senators and 11 women Representatives in 1962. In federal judicial office, no women were on the Supreme court of the courts of appeals as of early 1969. One woman judge served on the United States Customs Court; 2 on the Tax Court; and 5 on the district courts of the United States. In addition, three women were serving in District of Columbia courts by Presidental appointment.

Of the 659,403 women who were working for the Federal Government in 1967 in white-collar positions, more than 7 out of 10 were GS-5 or the equivalent or less. The majority were employed as clerks, typists, secretaries, or

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[2]U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau Bulletin 294, 1969 Handbook on Women Workers (Washington, 1969), pp. 118-126.

stenographers. Only 2 percent of all women were in grades GS-12 and above as compared with 21 percent of men.

In state legislatures, the number of women declined from 370 in 1965 to 318 in 1967; 45 in upper houses, 270 in lower houses, and three in Nebraska's unicameral legislature. In most states, appointments of women to public office have clustered in certain fields regarded as "women's areas": those dealing with juveniles, school affairs, health, welfare and libraries.

This section reveals that the gap between men's and women's positions has not closed and in some cases appears to be widening.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION OF MODEL

Based on Gurr's and Runcimen's theories on relative deprivation and reference group, a model (refer to Figure 4) was developed to illustrate the different phases of the women's movement. Part A of the model is characterized by Gurr's Aspiration Deprivation Model which is defined as the deprivation resulting from an increase in value expectations without a concomitant change in value position or potentials.

During the period when the Suffrage Movement was moving on and women's aspirational level was rising, "men" gradually emerged as women's normative reference group. They demanded the equal right to vote. However, due to the distinct sex role as defined by the society at that period of history "men" were not women's "comparative reference groups" in other areas, mainly because there were not enough common attributes for them to claim all the rights and privileges that men had.

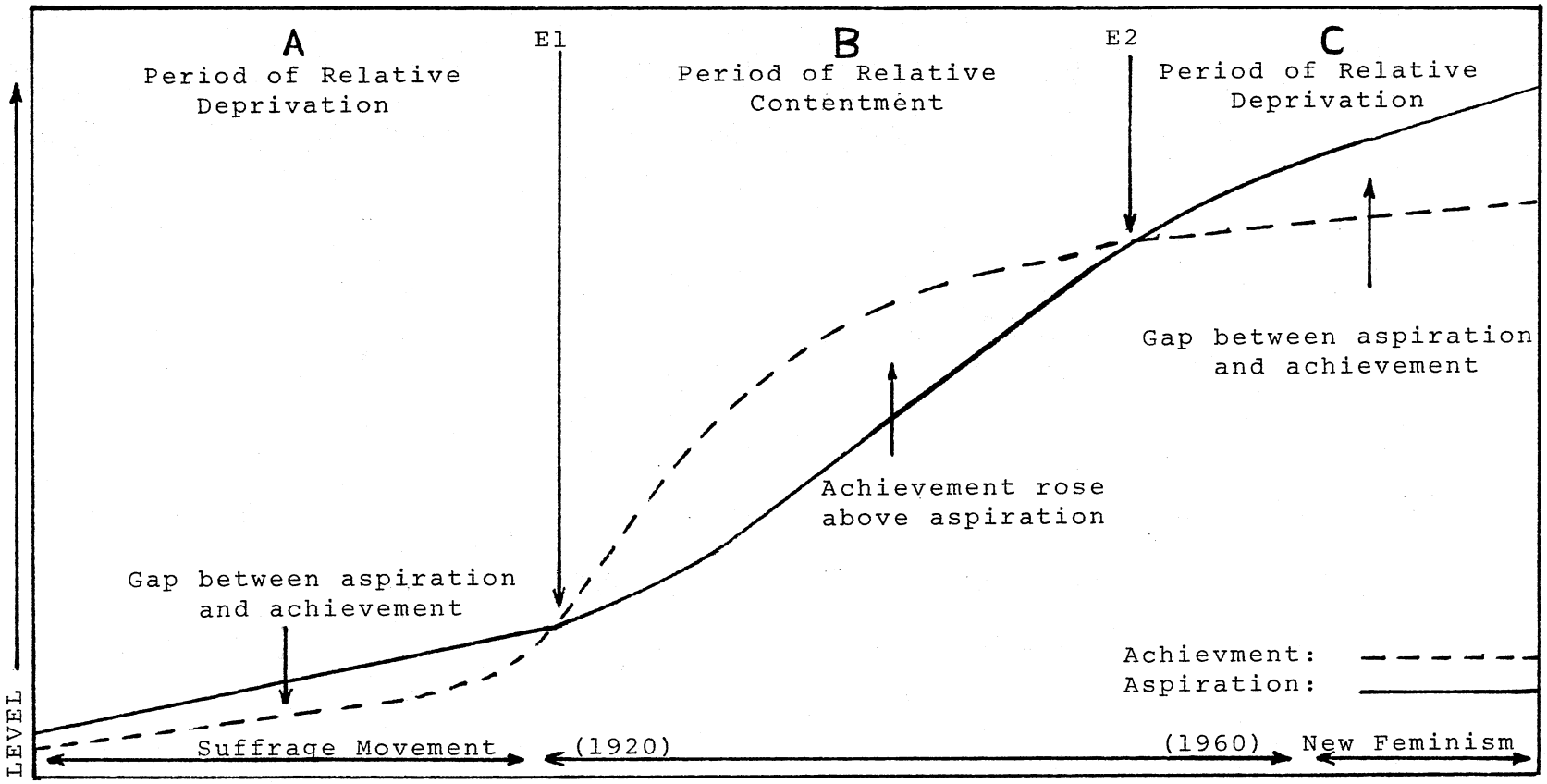
Runciman points out that the comparative group is in one sense a membership group, since without some common attributes there could be no comparison. He stresses that

common attributes are the point of reference which promotes the choice of a particular group as one's membership reference group, which justifies their claims for the rights and privileges to which the comparative reference group is entitled.

Shortly after they got the vote, the whole scene was changed (E-1 in model). The two World Wars had brought thousands of women out of their homes, and radically transformed the economic outlook of women. Women responded to the manpower crisis with an unprecedented display of skill and ingenuity. In the flash of optimism generated by wartime enthusiasm, leaders of the women's movement were convinced that it was a new era of feminine equality.

This period is illustrated by Part B of the model. This is a period of Relative Contentment. This is the period when achievement level rises above the aspirational level or at least matches it.

Women were optimistic about their economic improvement, while they had begun to expect an equality of status beyond the simple equality of franchise. As predicted by Runciman, the wartime experience generated new comparisons between men and women. The standards of comparisons were disrupted by the economic activities of women. They began to find common attributes between themselves and men when they were given the opportunity to join the male working group (which became women's membership reference group) and they had begun to expect an equality of status (men became



E1: Shortly after women got the right to vote, the two world wars and the economic prosperity thereafter created unprecedented economic opportunities for them. At this point, the achievement line intersects the line of aspiration, hence this is the point of social satisfaction. This is the period that women were pushed into the job market when they were not even ready for it.

E2: Here achievement does not keep pace with soaring, newly awakened aspiration, a gap occurs comparable to that in Gurr's Progressive Deprivation Model.

Figure 4: The Rise and Fall of the Women's Movement

their comparative reference group). (Refer to Figure 5). Such attitudes were revealed in speeches made by some of the more outspoken women like Mary Van Kleeck, Minnie Maffett, and Mary Anderson.

The awareness of the actual situation of others was enormously heightened by the physical movements and broader social contacts among men and women. Women's reference groups were altered by the wars. The slogan "work for maintenance" was displaced by the slogan "fair shares for all". The war had changed the society's image of women, and more important, women's image of themselves.

The arousal of under-privileged group to a awareness of the benefits and privileges that men have brings with it a desire to emulate and achieve the same high level of satisfaction. The rapidly rising aspirations accompanied by rising opportunities is symbolized by the inversed u-shaped curves which begin in Part B (and extend to Part C) of the model.

However, despite the rising aspiration among women since the war time, and the frequent claims of equality of status for women and men, U.S. Census data indicates that there is a gap between the status of men and women. With the greater increase in women's aspirations without concomitant change in value position or potential, a high level of relative deprivation resulted. E-2 of the model illustrates, when women's achievement falls behind their rising aspirations, a gap occurs comparable to that in

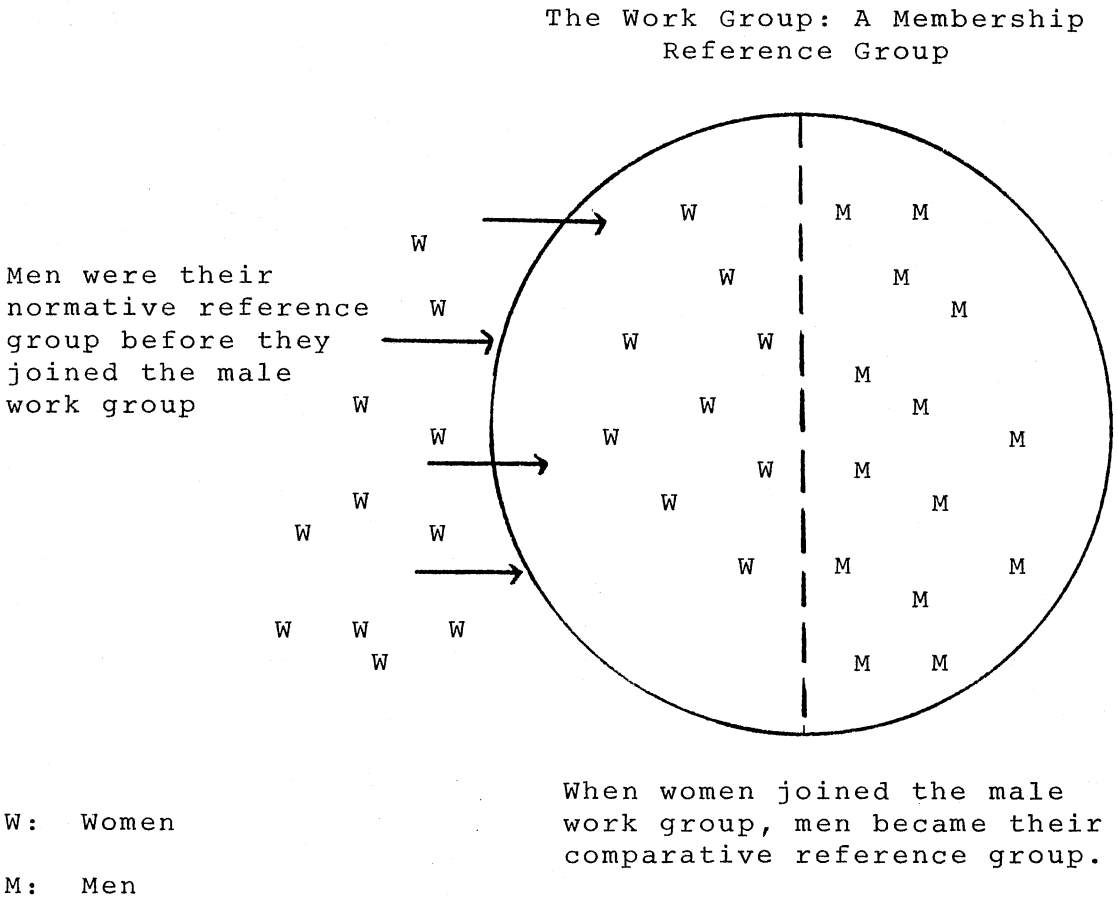


Figure 5. Women Join the Men's Working Group

Gurr's Progressive Deprivation model (proposed by James C. Davies as the "J-curve" hypothesis). Gurr describes Progressive Deprivation (Part C) as a special case of aspirational deprivation, one in which long run, more-or-less steady improvement in people's value position generates expectations about continued improvement. If value capabilities stabilize or decline after such a period of improvement, progressive deprivation is the result. This model coincides with women's situation, when after a period of unexpected economic advancement their position stabilized and could not keep pace with their continued rising aspirations.

Gurr's theory asserts the feeling of relative deprivation derived from the discrepancy between aspiration and achievement which coincides with the women's situation. Runciman's theory relates the change of reference groups to the change of aspirational level, and discusses the impact of war and economic change in the dislocation of familiar standards of reference. The model developed incorporates both theories. It was developed to illustrate the different phases, the rise and fall of the women's movement.

CHAPTER V

HYPOTHESIS

Based on the model which illustrates the rise and fall of the women's movement, the following are expected:

1. Women's position has been rising steadily since the turn of the century, particularly after World War II.

2. In relation to men their position is almost the same as before.

According to the model, the logical assumption is that along with women's improved economic opportunities and advances in higher education, their aspirations have been also rising. Women's rising aspiration without concomitant change in their achievement brought with it a rising awareness of their relative position and hence grievances.

CHAPTER VI

METHODOLOGY

Existing data were used to bring together evidence of trends in the objective improvement in women's position to test Hypothesis 1. Trends in women's relative improvement compared to men was utilized to test Hypothesis 2. Indicators used in evaluating trends in women's objective and relative improvement focused on changes in the economic roles of women and their achievement in the education system as compared to those of men. Also further historical data were gathered concerning the women's movement.

More than any other variable, the issue of earning a living has been central to the definition of male and female responsibilities. The division of labor into breadwinning and homemaking in most cases, has led to a division of authority as well. Through the allocation of different spheres of responsibility to men and women, sexual inequality is rooted within the social structure itself. Therefore, any changes in women's economic role may indicate significant change in the polarity of male and female spheres and shifts in the social status of men and women.

Inherent in education, in all periods of history, is the stimulus to creative thinking and action which

accounts in part for cultural change; cultural change itself being a powerful stimulus to further innovation. In an open-class society, education has become the main route of upward social mobility, the achievement of higher occupational position, higher income and higher status. Therefore, changes in women's educational level are also primary indicators of their changes in social status.

Indicators used in evaluating trends in women's objective position focused on: (1) the female labor force participation rates, (2) major changes in women's occupations, (3) marital status, (4) the age of working women, and (5) education level. These data were examined over time in order to evaluate the pattern and the degree of women's labor force participation in relation to the family life cycles, as well as the trends in employers' preference in hiring women workers. In addition, women's labor force participation rates in relation to their socioeconomic background were examined.

Evidence of changes in labor force participation rates, occupations, income and education for both males and females were used as indicators in evaluation of the trends in the position of women relative to those of men.

The main sources of data used to test the two hypotheses were obtained from: (1) United States Census reports, (2) Women's Bureau publications, (3) Bureau of Labor Statistics reports, (4) Monthly Labor Review, and (5) monographs and other publications that focus on changes in the

labor force participation rates, occupations, income and education of males and females.

Events and achievements of women were traced through history to further investigate the ups and downs of the women's movement, beginning in 1833, when the first co-educational college was established in the United States and through the resurgence of the second women's movement in the 1960s. Important events and activities were drawn from monographs and publications which deal with women's condition and history. Findings were listed chronologically. The second indicator used in the survey of women activities was the number of "Unusual Activities of American Women" recorded by the New York Times Index from 1945 to 1970, the period in which major changes in women's labor force participation occurred. These data are presented in Appendix A and B.

CHAPTER VII

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

In this section, broad changes in women's economic and educational status were examined and compared to those of men. Over the past 70 years, the extent to which women have contributed to the economy outside their homes has changed considerably. The change has been particularly great since 1940, when an accelerated growth in women's labor force participation began. Besides the results of the industrial revolution and economic development, education has been the strongest influence which increased the restlessness of women and led them to seek broad interests outside the boundaries of their homes. Changes in attitude toward women's education and their objective as well as relative advances in the educational system were examined in this section. Part 1 of this section presents the data which concern the objective changes in women's position; and Part 2 presents the data which concern the relative changes in women's position.

Part 1: Objective Changes in Women's Position

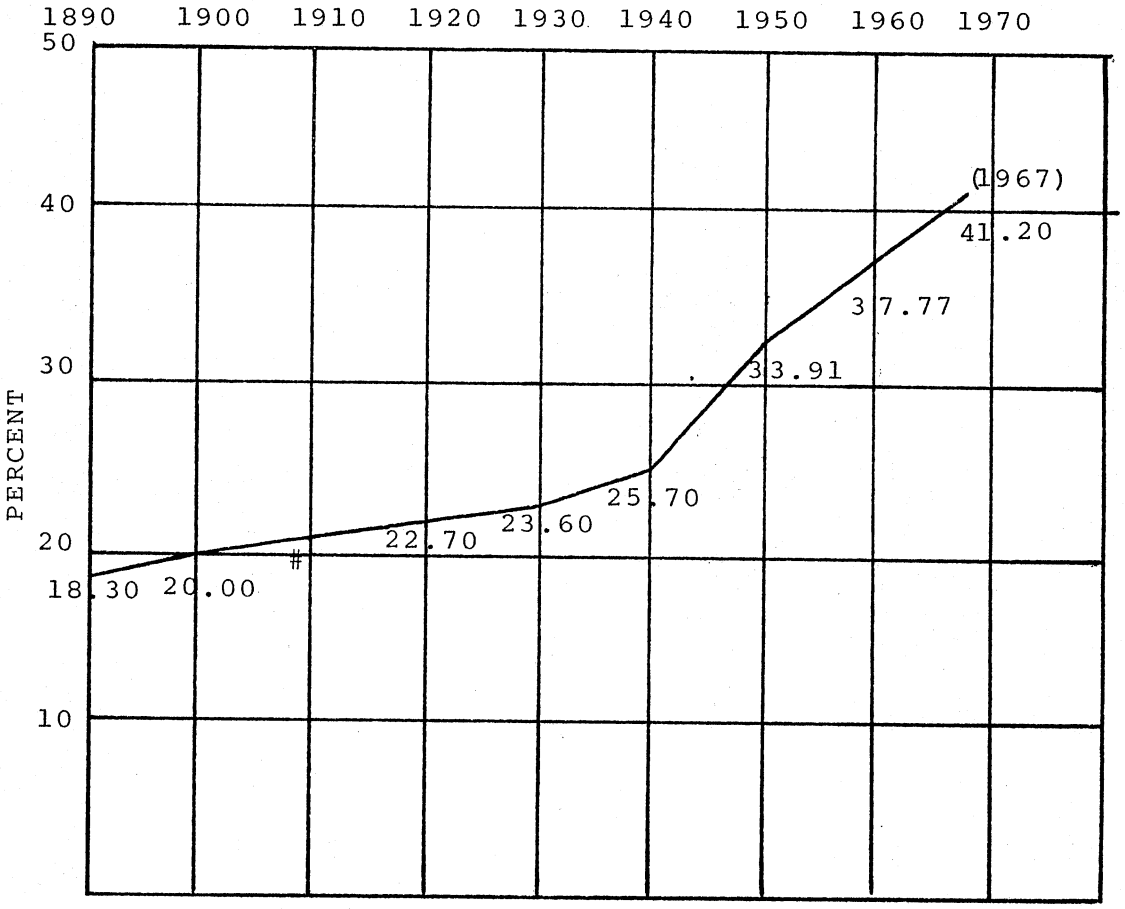
Women's Labor Force Participation Rates

The number of women in the United States labor force has markedly increased since they joined the job market. In 1890, only 18.3 percent of the women fourteen years old and over were in the labor force. By 1967, the proportion had increased to 41.2 percent. Beginning in 1940, it is noticed that women's labor force participation began to increase at a faster rate. It is illustrated by the steeper angle in the curve after 1940. (Refer to Figure 6).

Women's Occupational Distribution, 1890-1940

Stimulating the women-to-work movement has been the change in types of paid work, which in turn has affected the social-economic status of the women who work. In the late nineteenth century, most of the jobs for women were in unskilled or semi-skilled factory employment, of which the textile mills offered the most opportunities. Census data indicates that the leading occupations of women before 1900 were tailoress, dressmaker, agricultural worker, cotton and woolen mill operative and laundress. In the following decades such occupations were replaced by clerical and sales occupations, operative in apparel industry and house-keeping in private families. (See Table II)

Major Shifts in Women's Work from 1910 to 1940. Up through 1930 the Census had followed a procedure of grouping the occupations under a few major industrial groups on the basis of the industry in which the occupation was usually followed. Therefore, only approximate comparisons can be



Source: John D. Durand, U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1950 Census of Population. Labor Force in the United States 1890-1960 (New York, 1948).

U.S. Department of Labor. Employment and Earnings and Monthly Report on the Labor Force (Washington, 1968), pp. 23-24.

#: Comparable labor force data not available

Figure 6. Women's Labor Force Participation Rate, 1890-1967.

made between 1940 and earlier years of certain individual occupations. Nevertheless, indications of broad changes over the years did appear fairly clear from comparisons of data for social-economic groups for 1910 to 1940. Moreover,

TABLE II

THE LEADING 10 OCCUPATIONS OF WOMEN WORKERS, 1890-1940

Rank	1890	1900	1910
1	Servants	Servants	Other servants
2	Agricultural laborers	Farm laborers (members of family)	Farm laborers (home farm)
3	Dressmakers	Dressmakers	Laundresses
4	Teachers	Teachers	Teachers (school)
5	Farmers, planters & overseers	Laundry work (hand)	Dressmakers & seamstresses
6	Laundresses	Farmers & planters	Farm laborers (working out)
7	Seamstresses	Farm & plantation laborers	Cooks
8	Cotton-mill operatives	Saleswomen	Stenographers & typists
9	Housekeepers & stewards	Housekeepers & stewards	Farmers
10	Clerks & copyists	Seamstresses	Saleswomen

TABLE II (Continued)

1920	1930	1940
Other servants	Other servants other domestic & personal service	Servants, Private family
Teachers (school)	Teachers (school)	Stenographers typist & secretaries
Farm laborers (home farm)	Stenographers & typists	Teachers
Stenographers & typists	Other clerks	Clerical & kindred workers
Other clerks	Saleswomen	Saleswomen
Laundresses	Farm laborers (unpaid family workers)	Operatives & kindred workers apparel & accessories
Saleswomen	Bookkeepers & cashiers	Bookkeepers accountants, & cashiers
Bookeepers & cashiers	Laundresses	Waitresses, except private family
Cooks	Trained nurses	Housekeepers, private family
Farmers, general farms	Other cooks	Trained nurses & student nurses

Source: Janet M. Hooks, Decennial Census, 1890-1940, Women's Occupations Through Seven Decades, Women's Bureau Bulletin No. 218 (Washington, 1947), p. 52.

each of these groups is:

> A large population group with a somewhat distinct standard of life, economically, and, to a considerable extent, intellectually and socially. In some measure, also, each group has characteristic interests and convictions as to numerous public questions--social, economic and political...[1]

Due to the fact that the social-economic status of women workers in a particular occupation were taken into account, the groups differ in composition from that of the major occupation groups used in other sections of this study, which are determined by the nature of the work performed.

For women, the primary change from 1920 to 1940, on the basis of 10 broad social-economic groups, is the fact that the white collar group emerged to take a leading position. (See Table III). Women clerks and kindred workers, the fourth largest group in 1920 with 13.9 percent of all women workers, became the largest group in 1940, with 29.1 percent of all women workers. Those who were semi-skilled formed about the same proportion of all women workers in 1910 as in 1940, but they dropped from first to second place. There was a drop in the proportion who were among the servant classes, from 24.9 percent to 21.4 percent. The lessened importance of the servant groups among women workers doubtless reflects the tendency for women to seek jobs other than as servants. The proportion of

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[1]Alba M. Edwards, U.S. Bureau of Census, 16th Census of the U.S.: 1940, Population, Comparative Occupation Statistic for the U.S., 1879 to 1940 (Washington, 1943), p. 179.

women who were professional persons, a smaller group, showed a significant increase from 1910 to 1940. The declining importance of farm work among women is evidenced by the fact that smaller proportions of women were farmers and farm laborers in 1940 than in 1910.

TABLE III

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF WOMEN WORKERS, BY SOCIAL-ECONOMIC GROUP, 1910 AND 1940

	Percent distribution of women workers 14 years old and over in	
All social-economic groups	1910	1940
Clerks and kindred workers	13.9	29.1
Semi-skilled workers	27.9	28.5
Servant classes	24.9	21.4
Professional persons	9.2	12.2
Farm laborers	16.4	2.7
Other proprietors, managers & officials	0.7	1.6
Wholesale and retail dealers	0.9	1.4
Farmers (owners and tenants)	3.5	1.2
Laborers, except farm	1.4	1.0
Skilled workers and foremen	1.2	0.8
	100.0	100.0

Source: Alba M. Edwards, U.S. Bureau of Census, 16th Census of the U.S.: 1940, Population, Comparative Occupation Statistic for the U.S. 1890 to 1940 (Washington, 1943.)

Women's Occupational Distribution, 1940-1967

The scene after 1940 followed somewhat the same pattern. Women worked primarily in white-collar occupations. The trend in their employment as white-collar workers has continued to increase steadily, 1947-1967. (Refer to Figure 7 and Table IV). The most notable change in this period of time has been the increase in the number of women in the clerical field. In 1940, one out of every five employed women (21.2%) was a clerical worker; by 1967, one out of every three women was in this field (33.2%). (Refer to Figure 8). Although more women entered the professional and technical field since 1945, the proportion of women workers in this field in 1967 only reached the pre-war level. (Refer to Figure 9). Little change has occurred in the proportion of employed women engaged in sales work. (Refer to Figure 10). The proportion of employed females in managerial positions has declined slightly during the period. (Refer to Figure 11).

The percentage of employed women who worked as service workers has remained relatively stationary over the period since 1947. (Refer to Table IV & Figure 7). The most important change which has occurred in the occupational pattern of employed women in the service field has been the decline in the proportion of women workers in private household work. (Refer to Figure 12). Before the war, there was about 18 percent of employed women in this field, it was reduced to 10 percent in 1950, and 6.5 percent in 1967.

TABLE IV

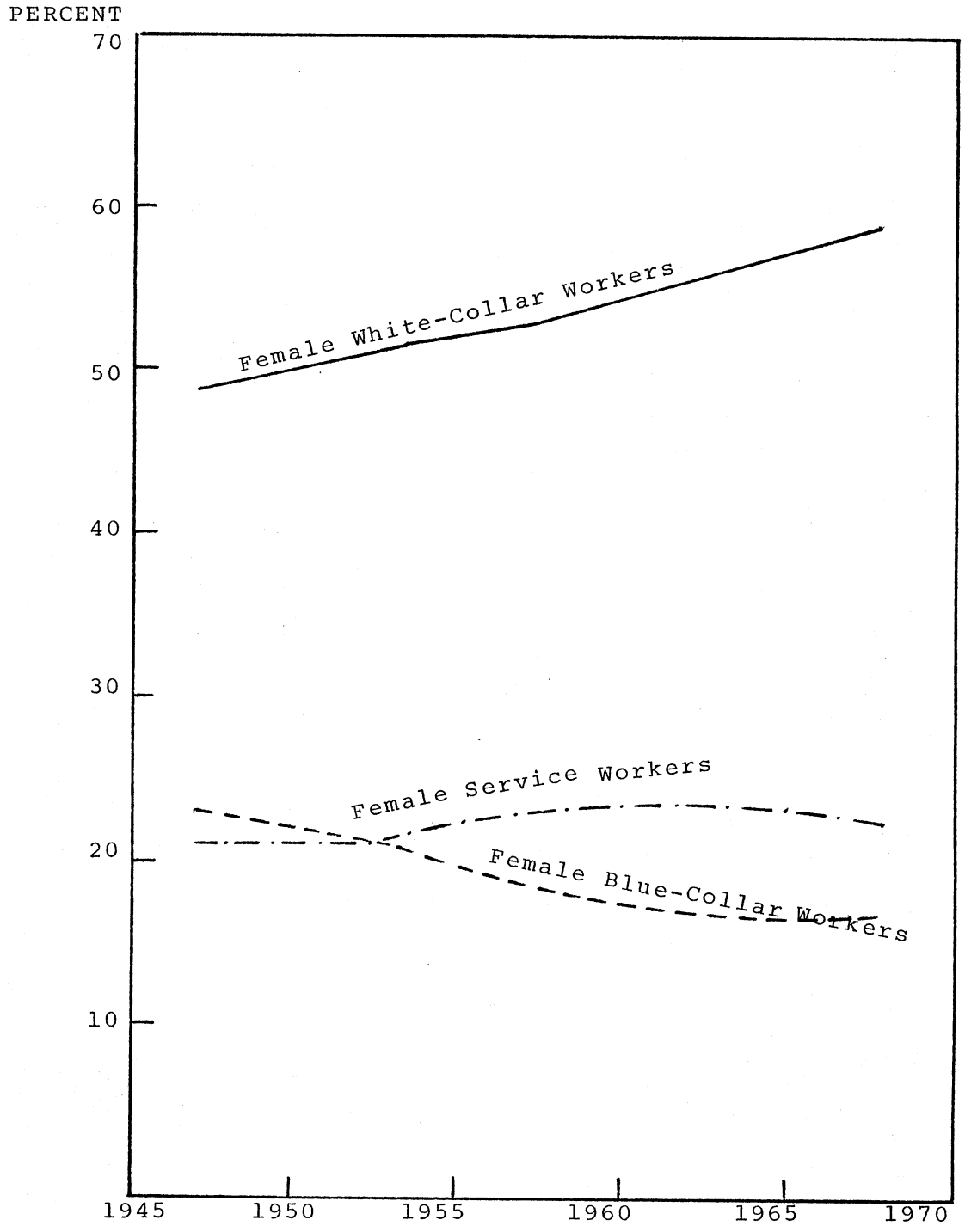
PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED FEMALES BY MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP, 1947-1967

	1947	1952	1957	1962	1967
White-collar	48.4	51.6	53.3	56.0	58.4
Blue-collar	22.5	21.4	18.2	16.3	16.9
Service	21.2	21.1	22.9	24.0	22.3

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Report of the President, 1967 (Washington, 1967).

In 1940, out of a total 12 million employed women, there were 2 million private household workers. In 1945, with the World War II in process, there were only about 1½ million private household workers, out of a total of more than 19 million employed women. Although more women were working in these low-paying jobs following the war, neither the number nor the proportion of women so employed has risen to the pre-war level. In 1940, the number of women household workers was about the same as the number of women operatives. In 1967, there were almost two and one-half times more women operatives as private household workers.[2] The

[2]Martin P. Durkin and Frieda S. Miller, Women's Bureau, Women as Workers: A Statistical Guide (Washington, 1953).



Source: Table IV

Figure 7. Trend in Women's Employment, 1947-1967

proportion of other service workers besides those worked as private household workers has increased slightly since 1945. In 1967, 15.8 percent of employed women worked in the service field (except private household), which was 4.5 percent over the 1940 figure. (Refer to Figure 13).

As a percent of all employed women, blue-collar workers have declined. (Refer to Table IV and Figure 7). The proportion of women in the field of operatives had fluctuated in accordance with the expanded manpower needs of defense industries since 1940. During the war, in 1945, the proportion reached almost one out of five (23.9%). The proportion of employed women operatives has declined to 19.1 percent in 1950 and 15.3 in 1967. (Refer to Figure 14).

Married Women in the Labor Force

Beginning in the 1950's, there has been an increased labor force participation of younger married women, including women with preschool children. The 1950's work rates for married women in the 20 to 34 age group (husbands present) indicated that work in this period was a rather rare occurrence; only 26 percent of women at age 20 to 24 were in the labor force. However, by 1970, work rates ranged from 38 percent for women 25 to 29 years of age to 47 percent for women 20 to 24 years of age.[3]

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[3]Valerie Kincade Oppenheimer, Demographic Influence on Female Employment and the Status of Women (Paper presented at the 1970 meetings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in Chicago, Illinois).

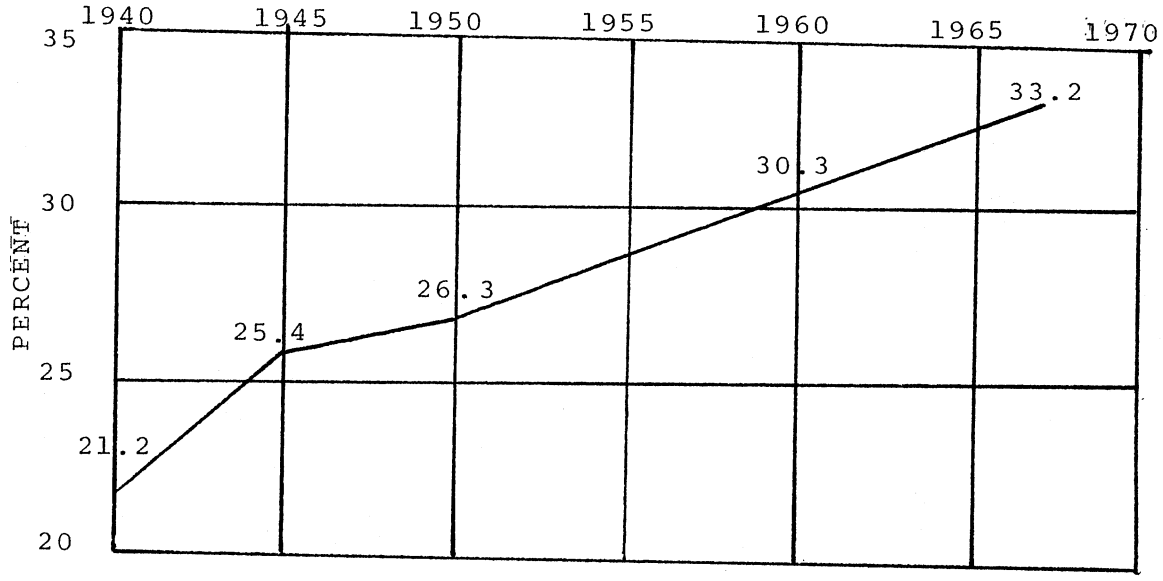
TABLE V

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED WOMEN
BY OCCUPATIONS, 1940-1967

Occupation	1940	1945	1950	1960	1967
Clerical	21.2	25.4	26.3	30.3	33.2
Private Household	17.6	8.6	10.0	8.9	6.5
Professional & Technical	13.3	7.8	10.3	12.4	13.7
Operatives	18.4	23.9	19.1	15.2	15.3
Service	11.3	10.3	12.0	14.8	15.8
Sales	7.0	7.5	8.2	7.7	7.1
Manager, Official & Proprietor	3.8	4.1	5.7	5.0	4.4

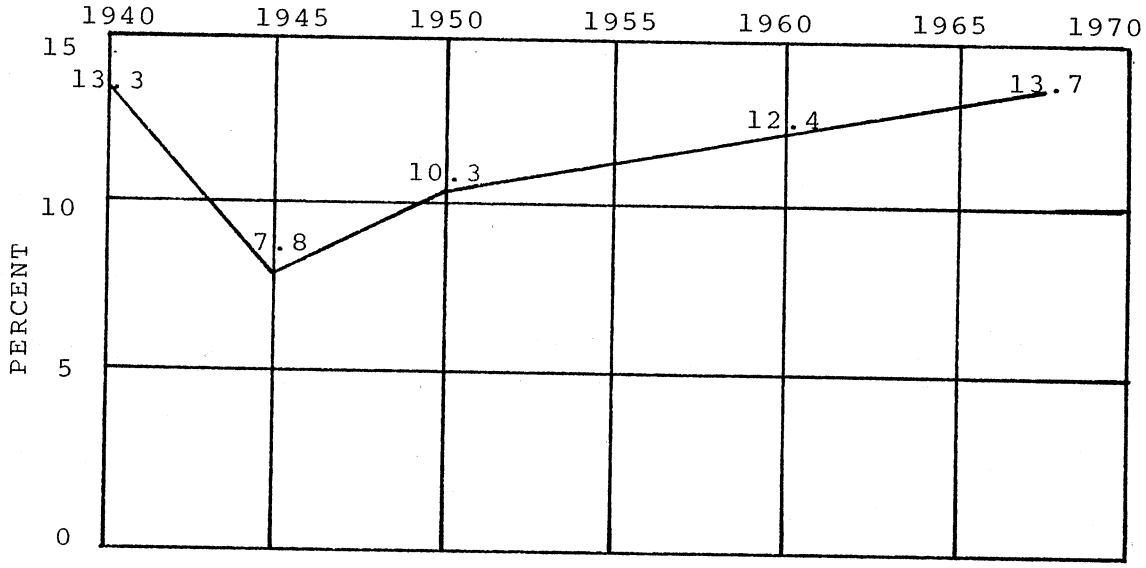
Source: Martin P. Durkin and Frieda S. Miller, Women's Bureau, Women as Workers: A Statistical Guide (Washington, 1953), pp. 15-17.

U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Report of the President, (Washington, 1967), pp. 211-212.



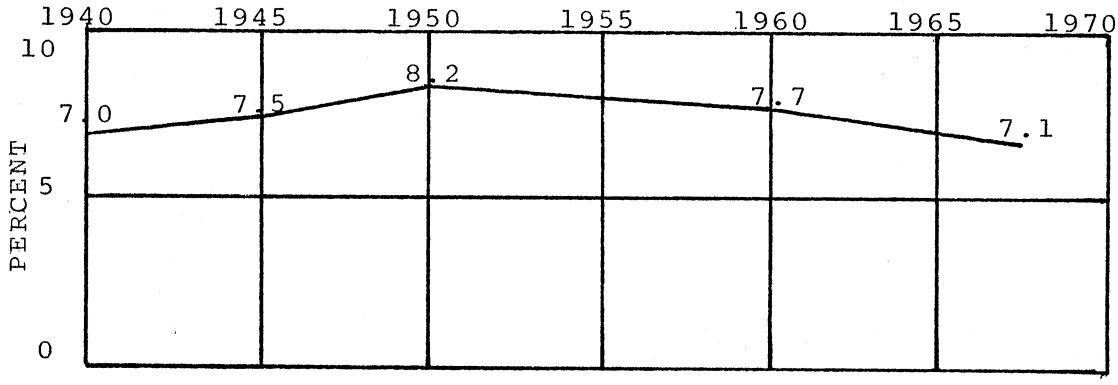
Source: Table V

Figure 8. Clerical Workers: by Percent of Employed Women, 1940-1967



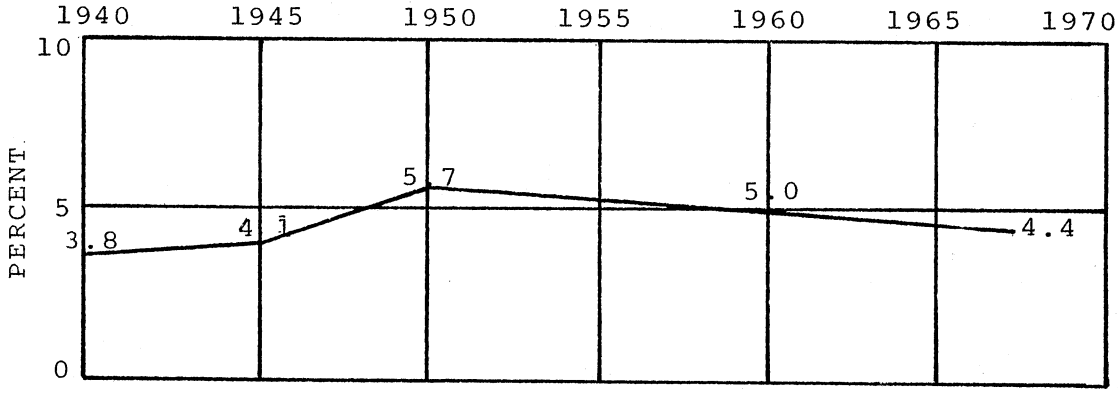
Source: Table V

Figure 9. Professional & Technical Workers: by Percent of Employed Women, 1940-1967.



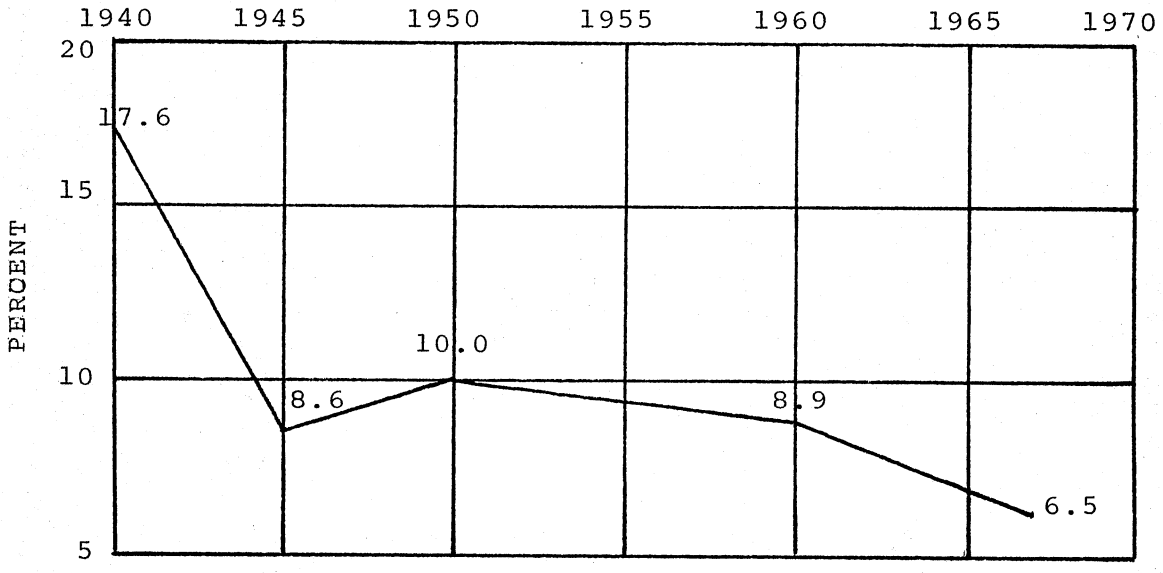
Source: Table V

Figure 10. Sales Workers: by Percent of Employed Women, 1940-1967.



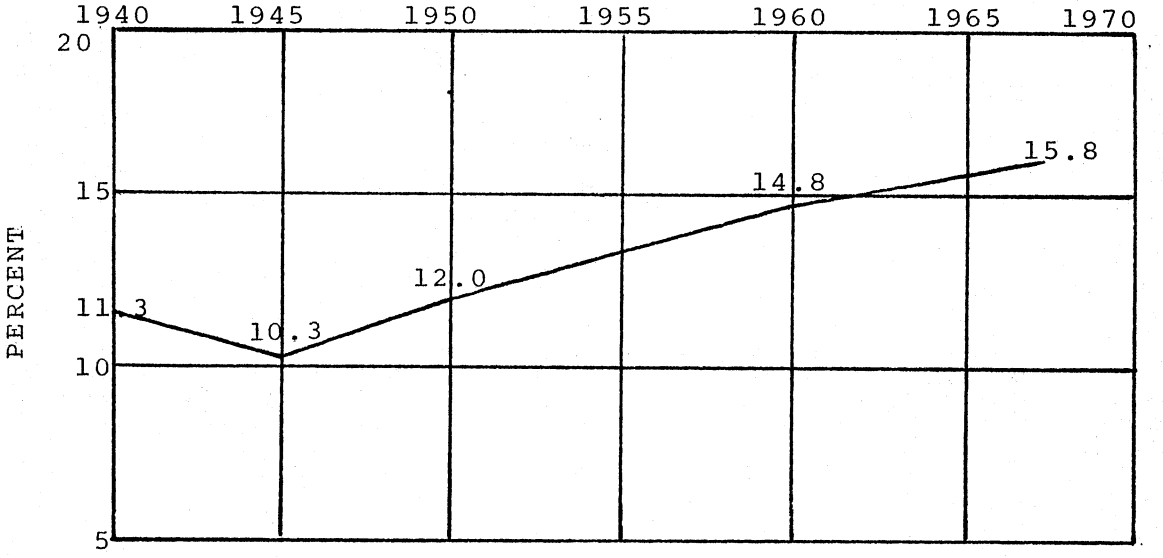
Source: Table V

Figure 11. Manager, Official & Proproprietor: by Percent of Employed Women, 1940-1967.



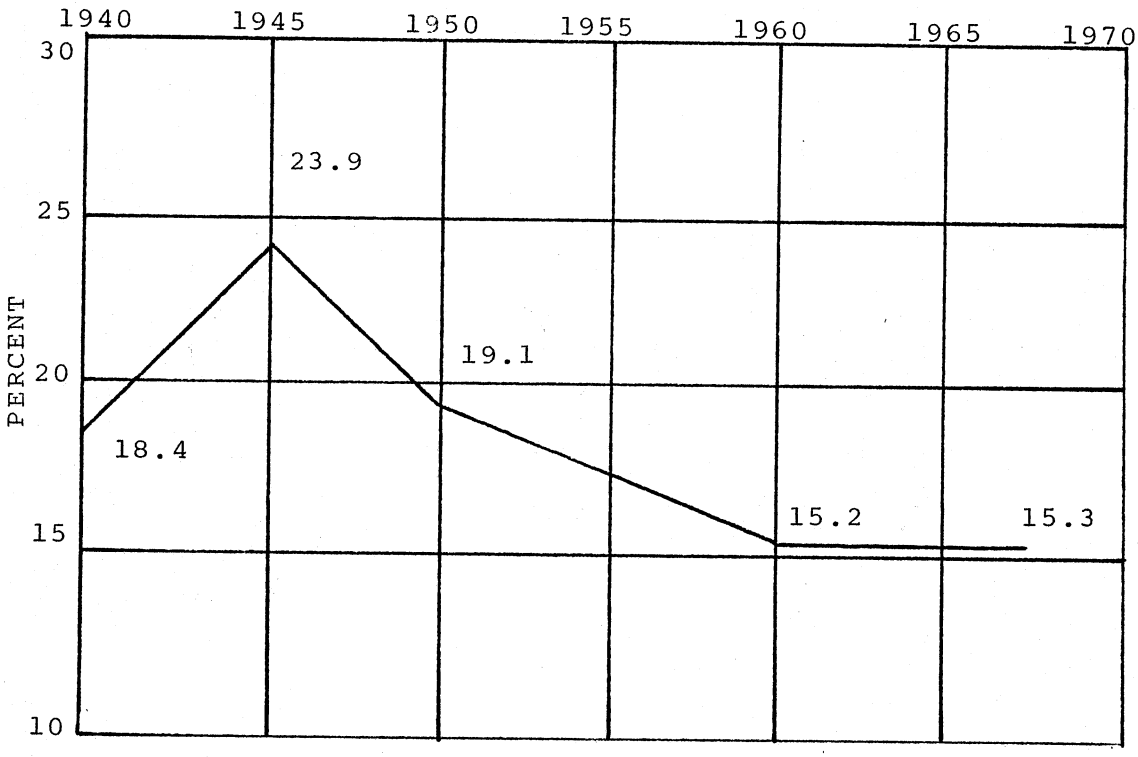
Source: Table V

Figure 12. Private Household Workers: by Percent of Employed Women, 1940-1967



Source: Table V

Figure 13. Service Workers (except Private Household): by Percent of Employed Women, 1940-1967.



Source: Table V

Figure 14. Operatives: by Percent of Employed Women, 1940-1967

If this trend continues, then work is becoming an important and continuing part of women's lives, not just before they marry and start raising children. The proportion of working married women 20 to 24 years of age (husband present) with preschool children increased from 13 percent in 1951 to 33 percent in 1970.[4]

Thus, the dramatic change in work rate among women is seen among those who are married rather than single women. Married women in the labor force as a percent of the female population increased from 16.7 percent in 1940 to 36.5 percent in 1966; a rate increase of 119 percent. On the other hand, single women in the labor force declined from 48.1 percent in 1940 to 40.8 percent in 1966. (See Figure 15)

The growth rate for married women with husband present was about the same as all married women, with 14.7 percent in 1940 and 35.4 percent in 1966. (See Figure 15)

Married women as a percent of the female labor force increased from 36.4 percent in 1940 to 62.2 percent in 1966. In the same period, the percent of single women in the labor force decreased from 48.5 percent to 22.7 percent; a rate decline of 114 percent. (See Figure 16)

Married Women Have Children. Malcolm Cohen's study on the labor force participation rates of married women reveals that the ages and number of children are the factors most highly associated with whether or not married women are in

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[4]Ibid.

the labor force. When all married women with the same number of children are considered, those who have completed college are more likely to be in the labor force than those with fewer years of education.[5]

Figures compiled by Abbott Ferriss indicates an overall increase of labor force participation rates among all married women having children. (See Table VI) The most substantial increase in the labor force participation rates among women was in Group 3 (Only children under 6 years of age), which increased from 9.2 percent in 1948 to 27.8 percent in 1968. The rate rose by almost 300 percent. The rate of increase for women in Group 4 (Children under 6 years and children 6-17 years) is 116 percent, increasing from 12.7 percent in 1948 to 27.4 percent in 1968. The rate of increase for women with no children under 18 years of age (Group 1) is less than the rate of increase of the other groups.

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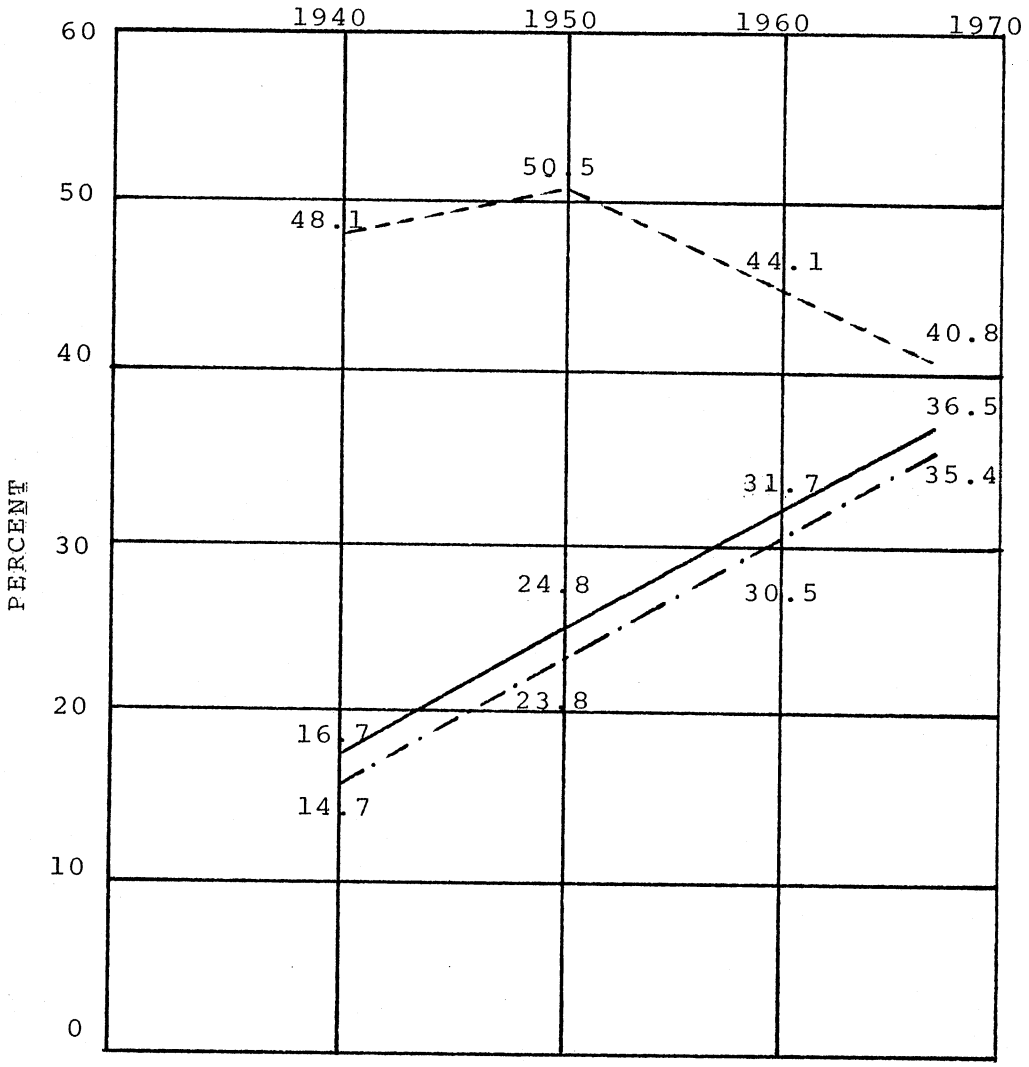
[5]Malcolm S. Cohen, "Married Women in the Labor Force: An Analysis of Participation Rates," Monthly Labor Review, 92 (Oct., 1969), pp. 31-35.

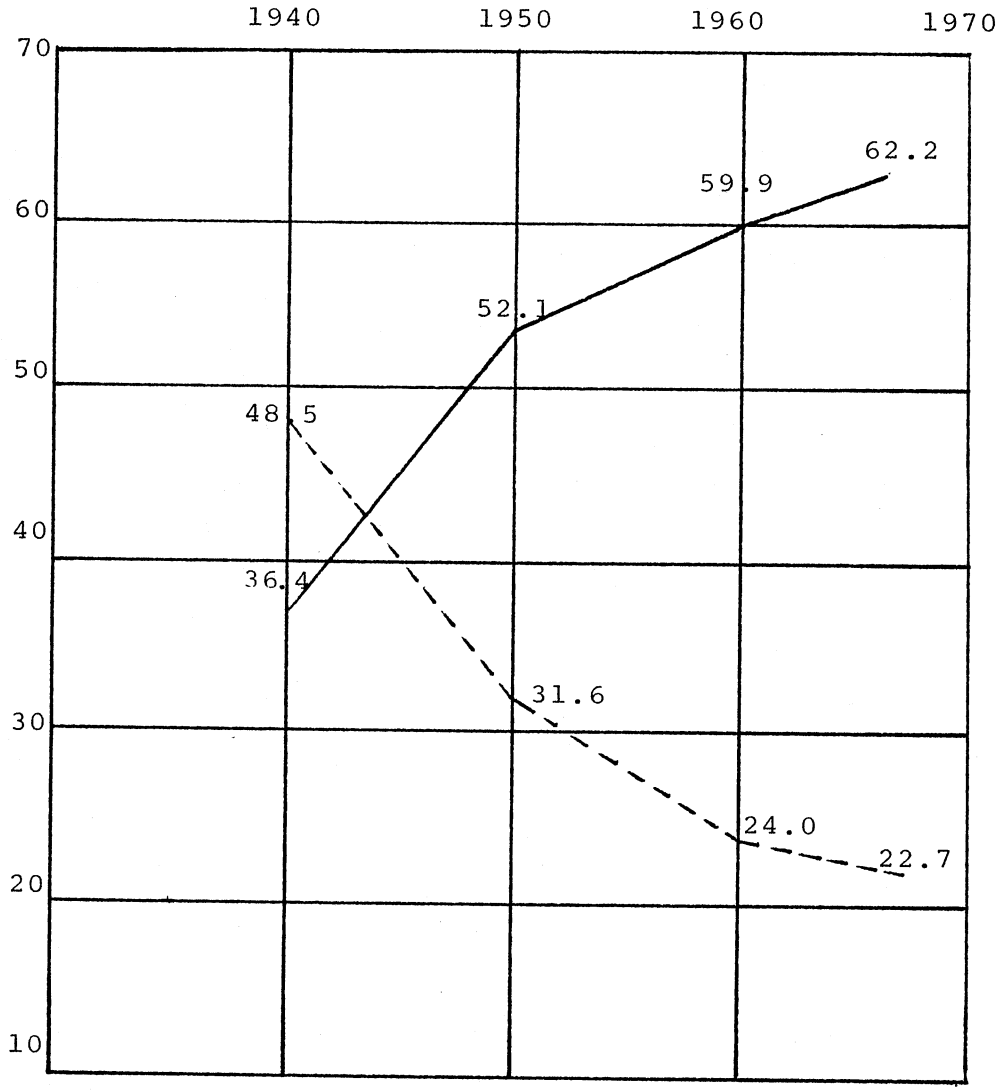


Single: _ _ _ _ _ _
Married: _____
Married with Husband Present: __ . __ . __ .

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, Current Population Report, Series P-50, 1940-1950.

Bureau of Labor Statistics, Special Labor Force Report, 1960-1966.

Figure 15. Female Labor Force as Percent of Female Population, 14 and over, Single, Married and Married with Husband Present: 1940 to 1966.



Source: Bureau of the Census, Current Population Report, Series P-50, 1940-1950.

Bureau of Labor Statistics, Special Labor Force Report, 1960-1966.

Figure 16. Percent Distribution of Female Labor Force, Single and Married, 1940 to 1966.

TABLE VI

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATE OF MARRIED WOMEN HAVE CHILDREN, 1948 TO 1968

Group 1	1948	1958	1968
No children under 18 years of age	28.4	35.4	40.1
Group 2			
Children 6-17 years of age, but no children under 6 years	26.0	37.6	46.9
Group 3			
Children under 6 years only	9.2	18.4	27.8
Group 4			
Children under 6 years and children 6-17 years	12.7	18.1	27.4

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Report of the President, (Washington, 1970).

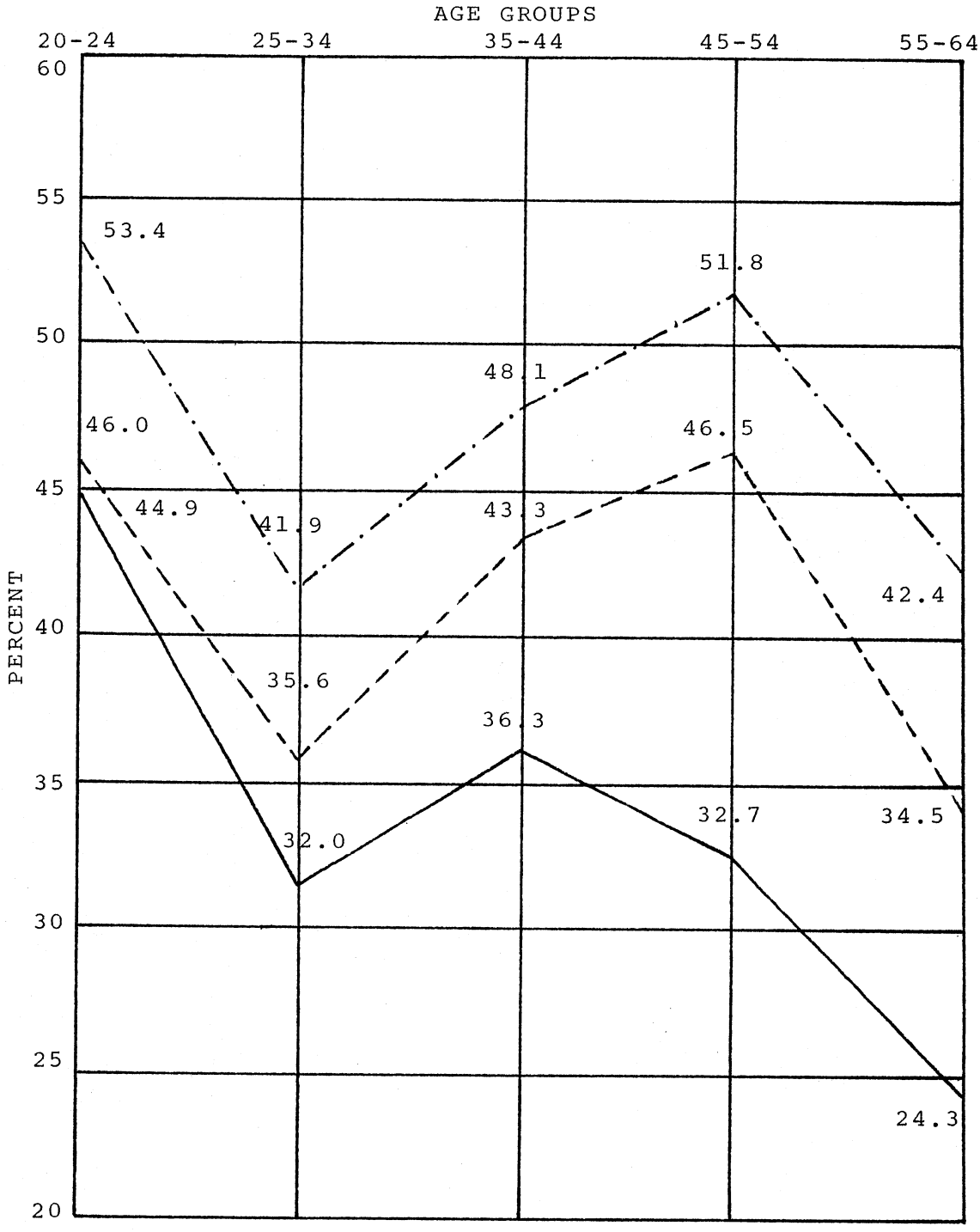
Abbott L. Ferriss, Indicators of Trends in the Status of American Women, (New York, 1971), pp. 103-105, 373.

Labor Force Participation Rates of Women, by Age, 1947-1967

A trend, starting in the 1940s and picking up momentum since then, has been the increased labor force participation of older women. (Refer to Figure 17). This trend indicates that the traditional practice of hiring only young and single women is changing and thus there is a change in the female role. The first departure was the entry or reentry of women past 35 years old into the labor force. This pattern of higher work rates among women over 35 has persisted. The 1967 data shows a sharp increase over both the 1947 and 1957 data in the work rates of women over 35.

In 1947 between 24.3 percent and 36.3 percent of women in the 35-64 age groups were in the labor force, compared to between 34.5 percent and 46.5 percent in 1957; and by 1967 there were between 42.4 percent and 51.8 percent of women in this age groups were in the labor force. The largest gain is found among women in the 45-54 age group. They gained almost 20 percent over the period. In 1947, one out of every three women (32.7%) in this age group worked, by 1967 one out of two women (51.8%) worked in the labor force. (Refer to Figure 17).

Women from Higher Social-Economic Strata in the Labor Force



Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Report of the President, (Washington, 1970), pp. 216-217.

Figure 17. Labor Force Participation Rates of Women, by Age, 1947 to 1967.

One of the most unique trends is the influex into the labor market of those women from higher social-economic strata. A survey reported in the New York Times indicates an increasing interest in job-holding among women of higher income groups. Interviews with two hundred college-trained housewives in the distinctly upper-income area of Westchester County, New York, revealed that more than 50 percent of these women in the twenty-five to thirty-five year old bracket wanted paid employment at the time of the survey or within the next five to fifteen years. Only 32 percent were sure they would not work again. This was true in spite of the fact that 62 percent were already doing volunteer work. Either experiencing or anticipating the beginning of a new freedom from family obligation, their problem was what to do with it. Seventy-five percent of those interviewed thought their education was inadequate and 80 percent planned to return to school. It is shown clearly that many of these women desire full-time or part-time jobs.[6]

Evidence indicates that at any point in time, the higher the husband's income, the less likely is the wife to work outside the home. Through time, however, husbands' incomes have risen and wives' labor force participation rates have also increased. A survey by Louis Harris indicates that today's working women are more apt to be young, city dwellers, better educated, from homes with a

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[6]New York Times (April 3, 1960), p. 81.

professional or white collar person in the family and in the higher income brackets. For example, relatively affluent women with a professional in the family are far more likely to work than are the wives and daughters of business executives in much the same income bracket. On the other hand, women in blue collar families are less likely to be employed than are women in white collar families with the same income. These patterns indicate that the economic status of the family is not the main reason why some women work and others do not. The findings also reveals that the percentage of employed women who say they are working to support themselves has gone up from 23 to 37 percent since 1970. This drive toward financial independence implies that women want to be less dependent on men than before.[7]

In 1951, for all wives fourteen years old and over with husband present, the participation rate fell as husbands' income rose (the one exception being a lower rate for the $7,000-$9,000 income than for the $10,000 and above). (See Table VII and Figure 18). In 1960, the participation rate for all wives rose as compared to the rates in 1951, especially those whose husbands' were in the higher income levels. The participation rate for wives whose husbands' income is at the $5,000-$6,999 level rose by almost 100 percent, from 16 percent to 30 percent. For wives whose

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[7]Louis Harris, "Number of Younger Females Growing in Job Market," Tulsa Daily World (December 8, 1975), p. 6, Section B.

husbands' income is at the $7,000-$9,999 level, the participation rate rose by more than 250 percent, from 7 percent to 25 percent. (See Table VII and Figure 18)

Another study by Herman Miller in 1969 indicates that the rates have increased further. (See Table VIII and Figure 18) As husbands' earnings continued to rise in the decade of the 1960's, wives' participation rates also rose. Figures for 1969 show higher labor force rates for wives of husbands of all income levels.

Trends in Women's Education

Changes in Attitude toward Women's Education. Recalling the widespread indifference and frequent opposition to the higher education of women that prevailed into the latter part of the nineteenth century, one can better realize the progress that has been made.

A little more than a century and a half ago, the usual conception of women's social role and education were much like that defined by Rousseau in Emile in 1792.

> Thus the whole education of women ought to be relative to men. To please them, to be useful to them, to make themselves loved and honored by them, to educate them when young, to care for them when grown, to counsel them, to console them, and to make life agreeable and sweet to them - these are the duties of women at all times and what be taught to them from infancy.[8]

This philosophy contrasts drastically with that of today as shown by the fact that according to the United

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[8]Jean Jacques Rousseau, Emile, Trans. Willeam H. Payne (New York, 1896), p. 263.

TABLE VII

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES OF MARRIED WOMEN BY INCOME OF HUSBANDS, 1951 and 1960

Income of Husband in Previous Year	All Wives Aged 14 Years and Over	
	April, 1951	March, 1960
Average for all wives	25%	30%
Under $2,000	29%	30%
$2,000 to $2,999	28%	32%
$3,000 to $4,999	25%	36%
$5,000 to $6,999	16%	30%
$7,000 to $9,999	7%	25%
$10,000 and over	12%	16%

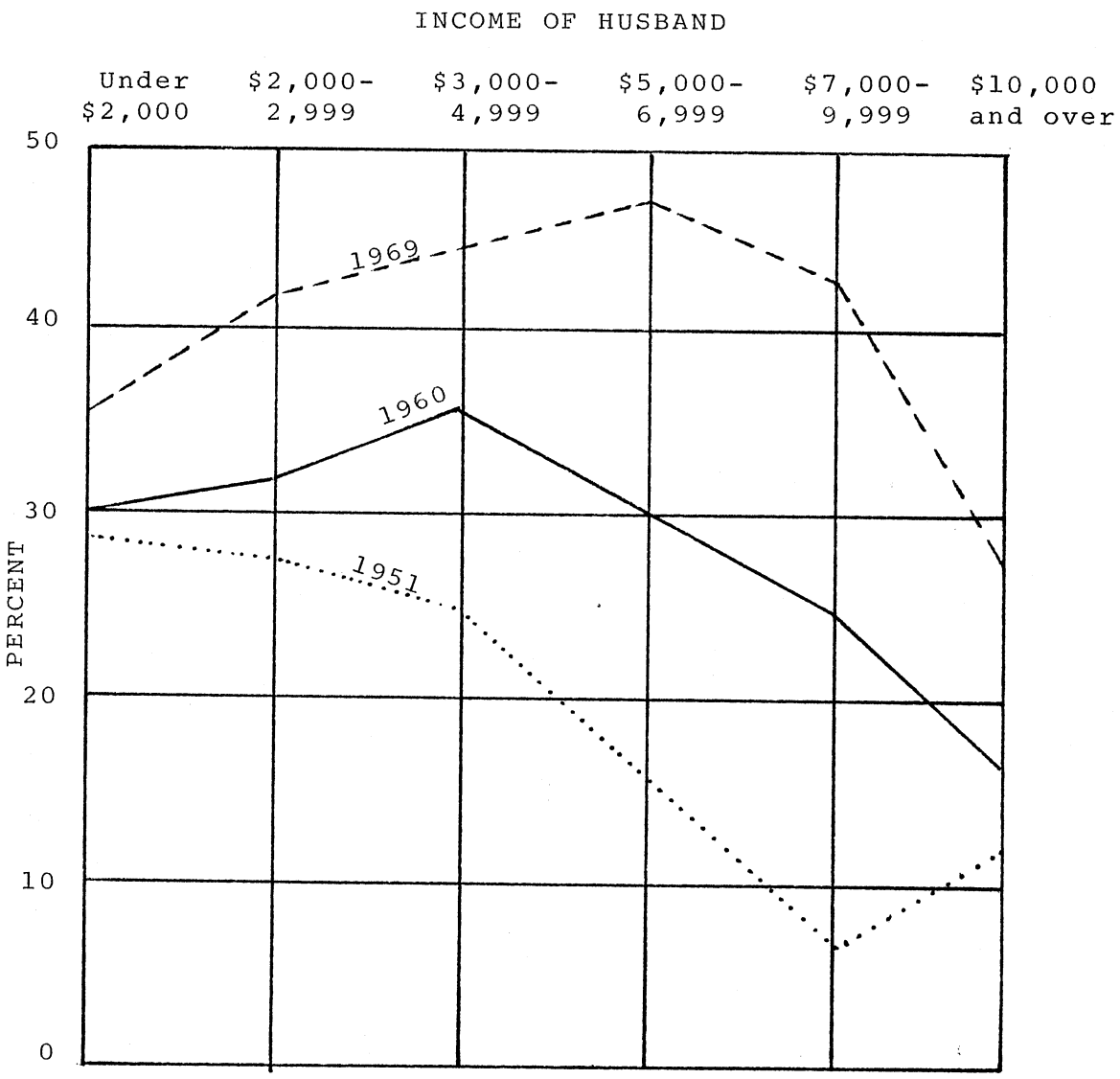
Source: Jacob Schiffman, "Marital and Family Characteristics of Workers," Monthly Labor Review, Vol. 84 (April, 1961), p. 263.

TABLE VIII

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES OF WIVES IN MARCH, 1969, BY EARNING OF HUSBANDS IN 1968

Earnings of Husbands	Percent of All Wives in Labor Force
$ 0 - $ 999 (or less)	33
1,000 - 1,999	38
2,000 - 2,999	42
3,000 - 3,999	44
4,000 - 4,999	45
5,000 - 5,999	47
6,000 - 6,999	47
7,000 - 7,999	45
8,000 - 9,999	41
10,000 - 14,999	35
15,000 - 24,999	26
25,000 and over	18

Source: Herman P. Miller, "Profile of The Blue-Collar American," in Sar Levitan (ed.), Blue Collar Worker (New York, 1971), p. 70.



Source: Table VII and VIII

Figure 18. Labor Force Participation of Wives, 1951, 1960 and 1969, by Income of Husbands.

States Office of Education, there were over two million women enrolled in American college and universities in the fall of 1964.[9] With our present almost complete acceptance of women's right to higher education, women can now study in more than nine hundred colleges and universities offering a four year course leading toward the bachelor's degree, as well as pursue advanced training for practically any profession.

Some forty five years ago, Thomas Woody in his authoritative history of women's education in the United States had this to say:

> The education of women on a grand scale, in the United States, is of recent date; their higher education is a development of the past seventy-five years. From the days of our primitive ancestors women have generally occupied a sheltered place and have not, therefore, received a higher cultural and professional training such as would enable them to deal with large affairs, remote from the fireside.[10]

Woody points out that the new name, "female college," applied to Wellesley, Smith, and Mt. Holyoke, caused consternation with some and outright ridicule from others. Many thought that though college education may be excellent for men, for women it can only be hardening and deforming. Many were certain that college training would expose the physical and mental weaknesses of young women.

At the time when many were moving from farms to cities, the rights campaigns were opening for greater educational

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[9] U.S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. 1965 Handbook on Women Workers, (Washington D.C., 1965), p. 180.

[10] Thomas Woody, A History of Women's Education in the United States (New York, 1929), I, 92.

opportunities for women. Many of the most illustrious women's colleges trace their origins to the latter part of the nineteenth century. In the same period, colleges and universities that had provided education only for men began opening their doors to women.

Women's Progress in the Educational System. When women's progress in the educational system is examined, the strengths and weaknesses in women's status became apparent, as shown in Table IX and Figure 19.

Women made better progress at the high school level and in their first time degree-credit college enrollments. In 1945, 49.9 percent of the 17.5 years old females were high school graduates. By 1969, this percentage had increased to 79.6 Data for first time degree credit college enrollment per 100 female high school graduates indicate an upward trend in the female college enrollment since 1950. It has increased from 31.3 percent in 1950 to 51.9 percent in 1969. The proportion of women who completed their 4-year bachelor's degrees per 100 first time degree credit college enrollments four years earlier has remained constant since 1950. The rate at which females continued from the baccalaureate degree to the master's remained a relatively constant 20 percent up to 1965 and then began to increase. In 1969, the figure was 29 percent.

There have been very slight changes in the proportion of females continuing their education beyond the Master's degree.

TABLE IX

RATE OF PROGRESSION THROUGH THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM, FEMALE

High School Graduate per 100 Total Population Aged 17.5 Years						
1940	1945	1950	1955	1960	1965	1969
51.9	59.9	59.6	64.6	70.6	72.7	79.6

First Time Degree Credit College Enrollment per 100 High School Graduates					
1948	1950	1955	1960	1965	1969
31.7	31.3	36.6	40.1	45.2	51.9

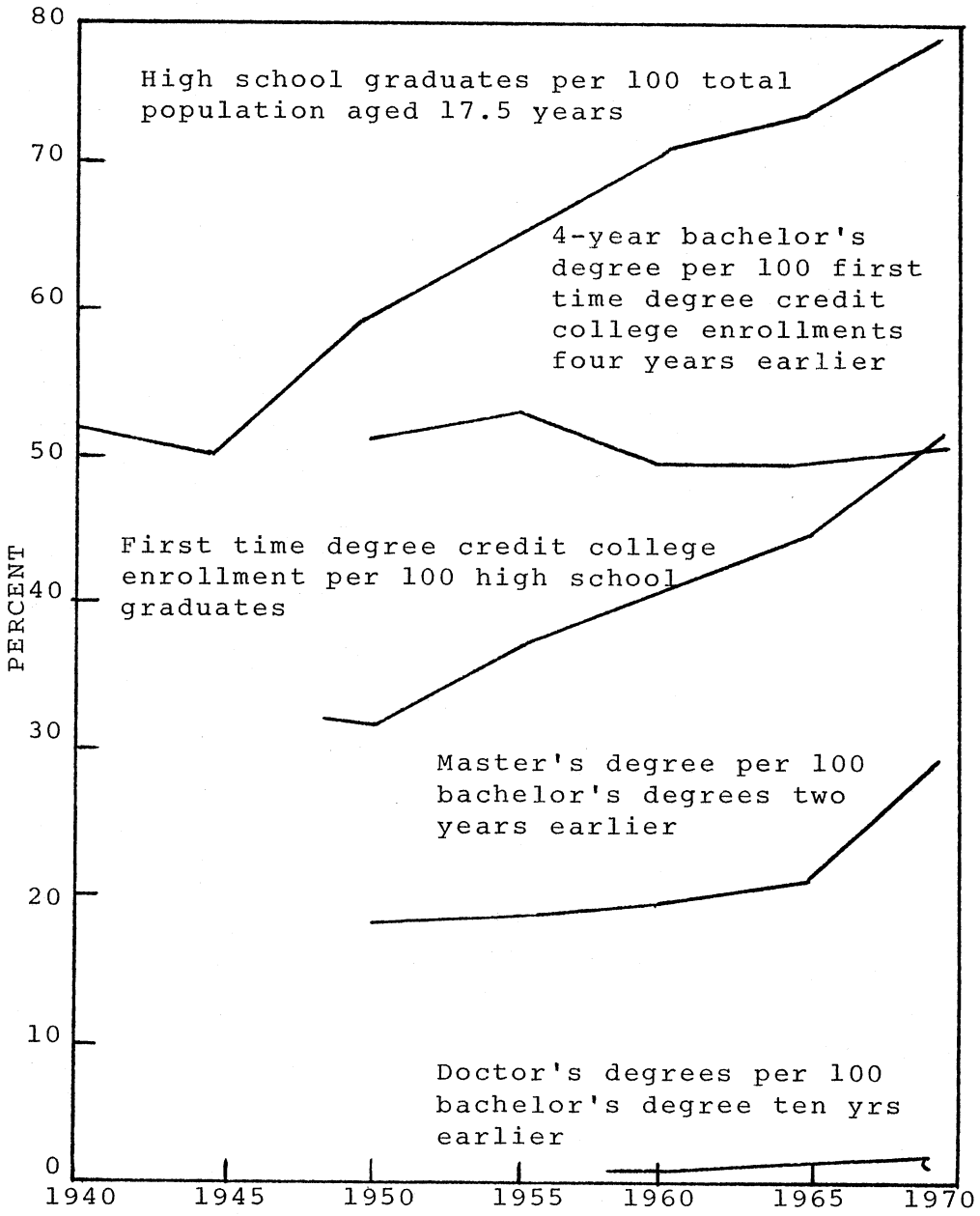
4-Year Bachelor's Degrees per 100 First Time Degree Credit College Enrollments Four Years Earlier				
1950	1955	1960	1965	1969
51.0	52.4	48.9	49.6	51.4

Master's Degree per 100 Bachelor's Degrees Two Years Earlier				
1950	1955	1960	1965	1969
18.3	19.4	19.8	21.0	29.0

TABLE IX (Continued)

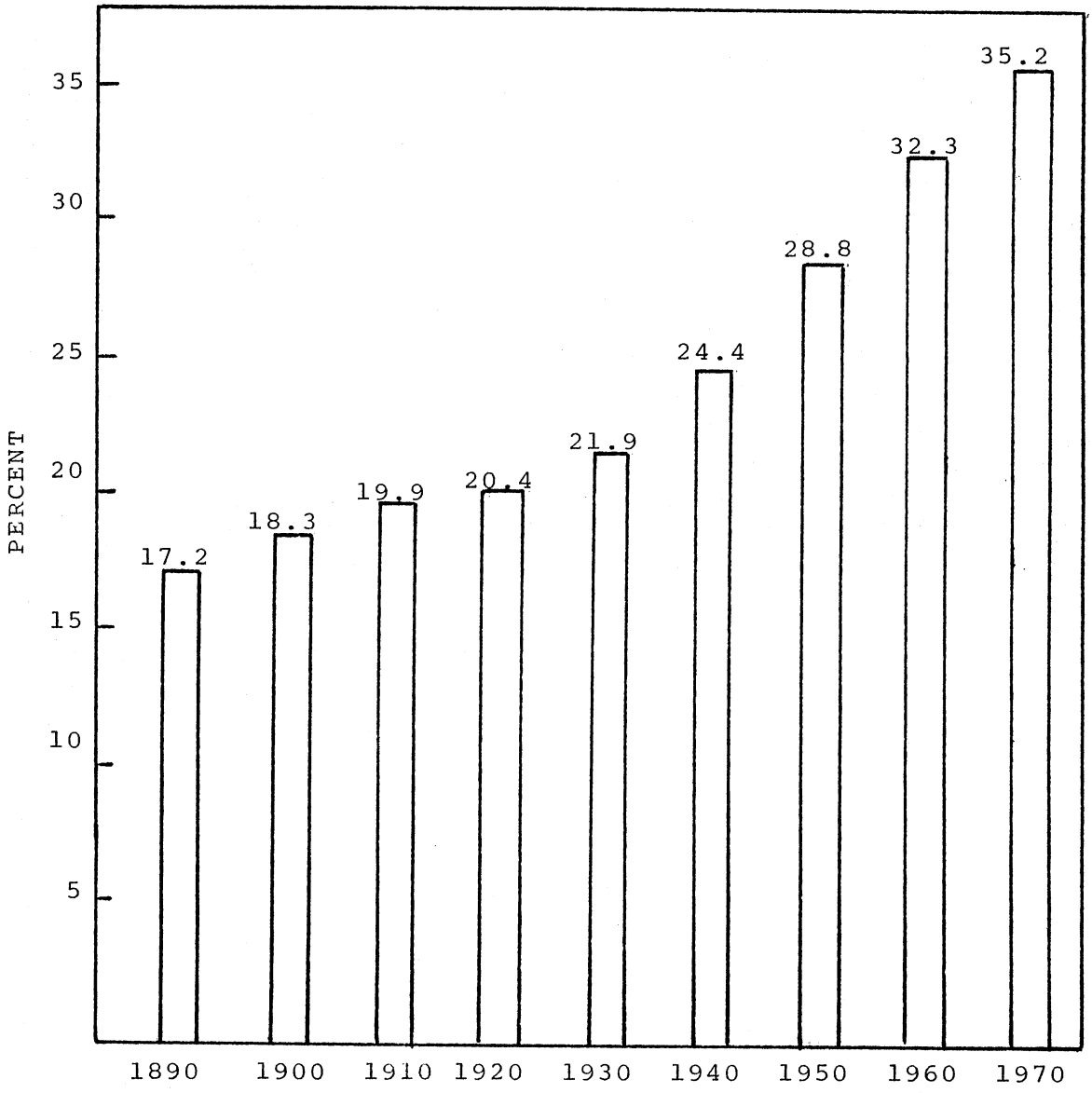
Doctor's Degrees per 100 Bachelor's Degree Ten Years Earlier			
1958	1960	1965	1969
1.0	1.0	1.8	2.3

Source: Abbott L. Ferriss, Indicators of Trends in the Status of American Women (New York, 1971), pp. 322-323.



Source: Table IX

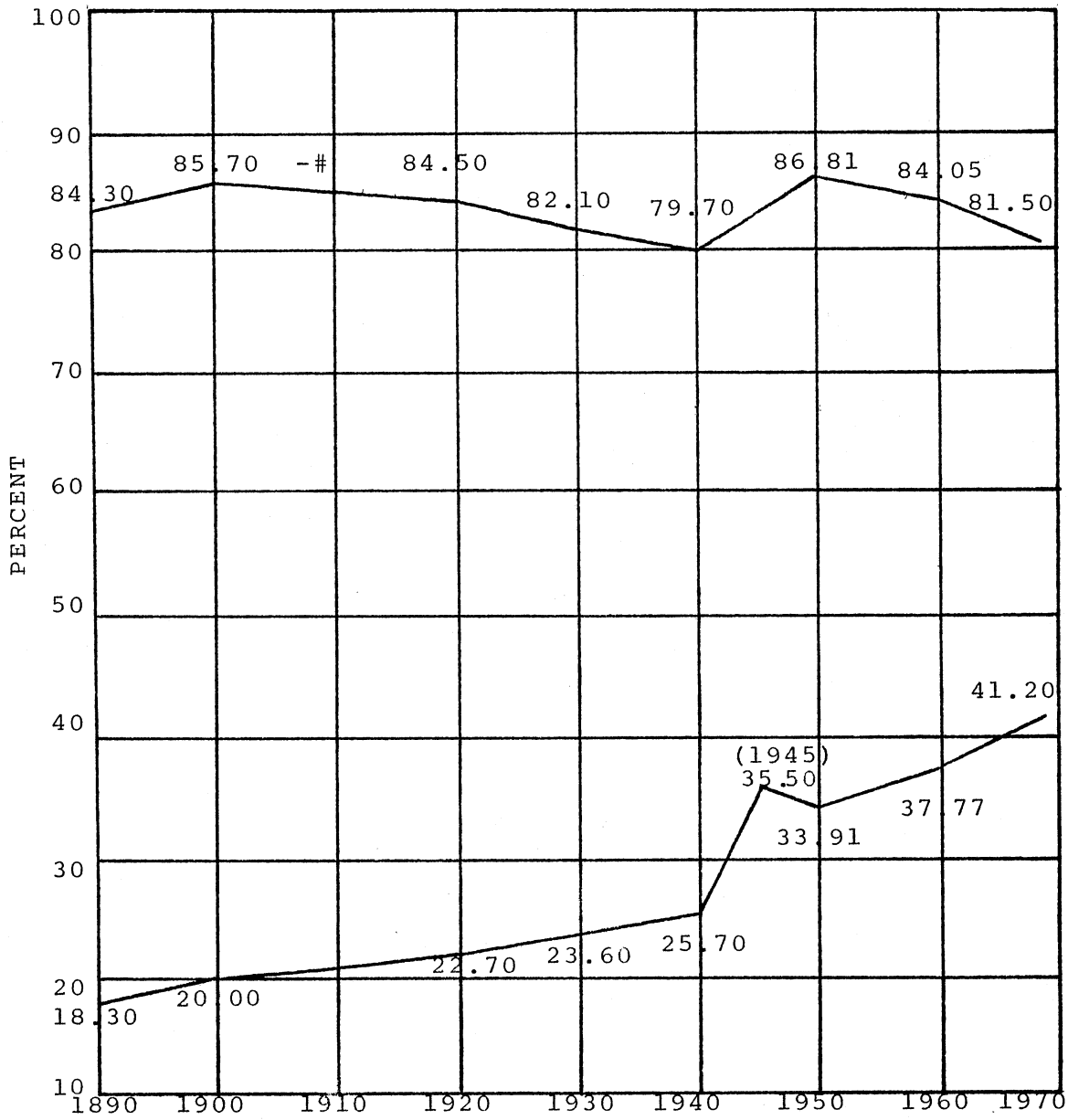
Figure 19. Rate of Progression through the Education System, Female



Source: Alba M. Edwards, U.S. Bureau of Census. 16th Census of the U.S.: 1940. Population, Comparative Occupation Statistic for the U.S., 1870 to 1940 (Washington, 1943).

U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Employment and Earnings and Monthly Report on the Labor Force (Washington, 1968), pp. 23-24.

Figure 20. Proportion of All Workers who were Women, 1890-1967



Source: Alba M. Edwards, U.S. Bureau of Census. 16th Census of the U.S.: 1940. Population, Comparative Occupation Statistic for the U.S., 1879 to 1940 (Washington, 1943).

U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Employment and Earnings and Monthly Report on the Labor Force, (Washington, 1968), pp. 23-24.

-#: Comparable labor force data not available.

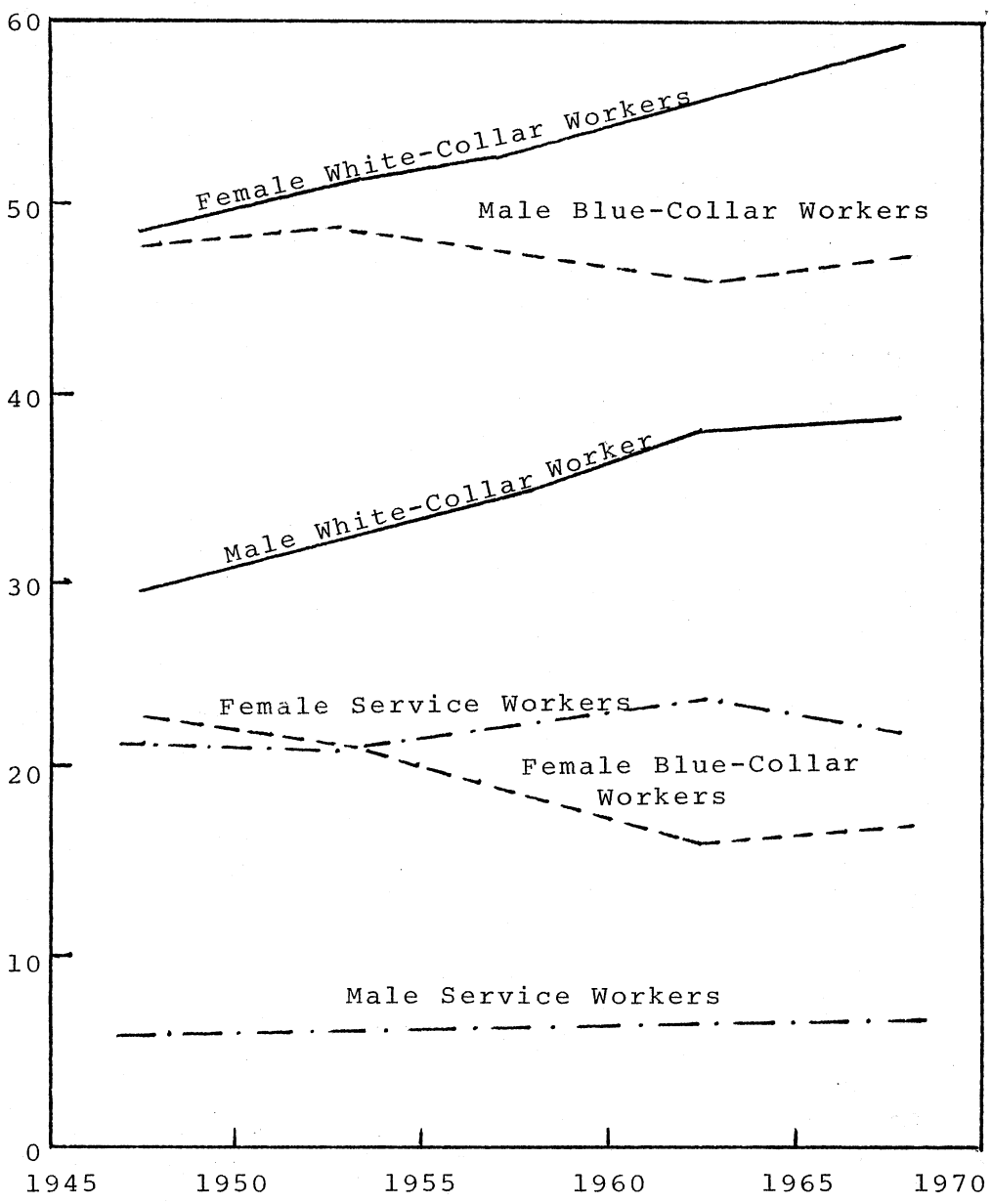
Figure 21. Labor Force Participation Rate of Men and Women, 1890-1967.

TABLE X

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED MALES AND EMPLOYED FEMALES BY MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUPS, 1947-1967

	1947	1952	1957	1962	1967
White-Collar					
Male	29.6	31.8	34.7	38.5	39.0
Female	48.4	51.6	53.3	56.0	58.4
Blue-Collar					
Male	47.9	49.1	47.9	46.1	47.4
Female	22.5	21.4	18.2	16.3	16.9
Service					
Male	6.1	6.0	6.4	6.7	7.0
Female	21.2	21.1	22.9	24.0	22.3

Source: U.S. Department of Labor. Manpower Report of the President, 1967. (Washington, 1967).



Source: Table X

Figure 22. Trend in Employment, Women and Men, 1947-1967

Part 2: Relative Changes in Women's Position

Labor Force Participation Rates for Men and Women, 1890-1967

The proportion of the labor force who are women has markedly expanded. In 1890, 17.2 percent of the labor force were women; it had increased to 24.4 percent in 1940 and 35.15 percent in 1967. (Refer to Figure 20). The overall trend of male and female participation rate in the total force is presented in Figure 21. Since 1890, the female labor force participation rate has increased by almost 23 percent, from 18.3 percent in 1890 to 41.2 percent in 1967. The male participation rate, on the other hand, has declined nearly 3 percent from the 1890 figure, and declined more than 5 percent from the 1950 figure to 81.5 percent in 1967.

Trend of Major Occupational Groups Distribution for Men and Women

The percent distribution of employed males and employed females by major occupational groups is presented in Table X and Figure 22. Women dominate the white-collar occupations. The trend in their employment as white-collar workers has increased steadily, 1947-1967. The percentage of employed women in blue-collar jobs has declined since 1947. Nearly one-half of the employed males worked in blue-collar occupations, while only about one-sixth of women

workers were in this field. More women worked in the service field than men. The percent of employed women who were service workers has remained relatively stationary over the period since 1947. More detailed trends of women's relative occupational distribution is presented in the next section.

Occupational Distribution. The most dramatic change in the period 1940-1967 has been the increase in the proportion of women in the clerical field. (Refer to Table XI and Figure 23). IN 1940, slightly more than half of the clerical workers were women, by 1967 the proportion reached 72.4 percent. In the professional and technical field, women lagged behind men. (Refer to Table XI and Figure 24). In 1967 37.4 percent of all professional and technical workers were women; there were 8 percent more women similarly engaged in 1940 (45.4%). During the war, women formed their highest proportion in the sales occupations. They formed more than half of all salesperson in 1945 (54.1%), compared with slightly more than a quarter of all such workers in 1940(27.9%). In 1967, about two-fifths of all sales workers were women. (Refer to Table XI and Figure 25). Women lost ground to men in the field of management. (Refer to Table XI and Figure 26). During the war, women formed 17.4 percent of all manager, officials and proprietors, an increase of 5 percent over their 1940 figure. The proportion declined after the war and in 1967 the proportion was 15.7 percent.

Despite the drastic decline in proportion of employed women working in the private household field, women still dominate this field. (Refer to Table XI and Figure 27). The field of service workers (except private household) include such persons as waitresses, cooks, hospital attendants, beauticians, elevator operators and so forth. In 1940, two-fifths of the persons employed in the service occupations (except private household)were women . The proportion has increased since 1950 and reached a dominant figure of 57.2 percent in 1967. (Refer to Table XI and Figure 28).

The proportion of women in the field of operatives fluctuated in accord with the expanded manpower needs of defense industries since 1940. (Refer to Table XI and Figure 29). The highest proportion of women working in the operatives field was in 1945, when 38.3 percent were women. After the war, this dropped to 27.5 percent in 1950 but increased to 30.1 percent in 1967.

Trend in Income for Male and Female

Two of the most comprehensive indicators of change in the relative economic status of men and women are changes in per capita median income and in the percent of each sex with income. An increase in income leads to greater discretion and freedom in conducting one's affairs, in making choices, in the use of leisure, and in other refinements of life. The amount of income is associated with the level of

TABLE XI

PERCENT OF ALL EMPLOYED PERSONS IN EACH OCCUPATIONS GROUP, MEN AND WOMEN, 1940-1967

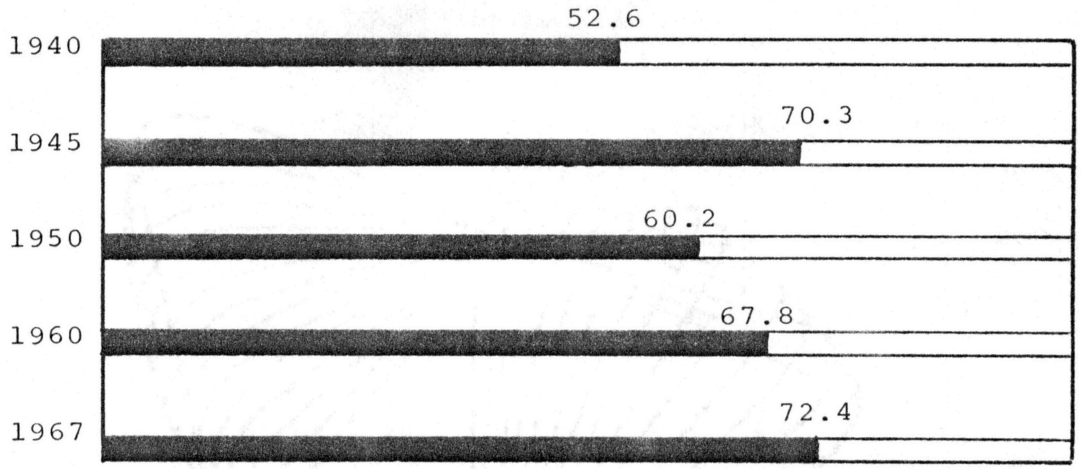
Occupation	1940	1945	1950	1960	1967
Clerical					
Women	52.6	70.3	60.2	67.8	72.4
Men	47.4	29.7	39.8	32.2	27.6
Private Household					
Women	93.8	93.8	93.4	98.3	97.9
Men	6.2	6.2	6.6	1.7	2.1
Professional and Technical					
Women	45.4	46.5	40.4	36.2	37.4
Men	54.6	53.5	60.0	63.8	62.6
Operatives					
Women	25.7	38.3	27.5	27.8	30.1
Men	74.3	61.7	72.5	72.2	69.9
Service					
Women	40.1	47.8	45.0	53.4	57.2
Men	59.9	52.2	55.0	46.6	42.8
Sales					
Women	27.9	54.1	37.8	39.8	42.1
Men	72.1	45.9	62.2	60.2	57.9

TABLE XI (Continued)

Occupation	1940	1945	1950	1960	1967
Manager, Official and Proprietor					
Women	11.7	17.4	15.4	15.6	15.7
Men	88.3	82.6	84.6	84.4	84.2

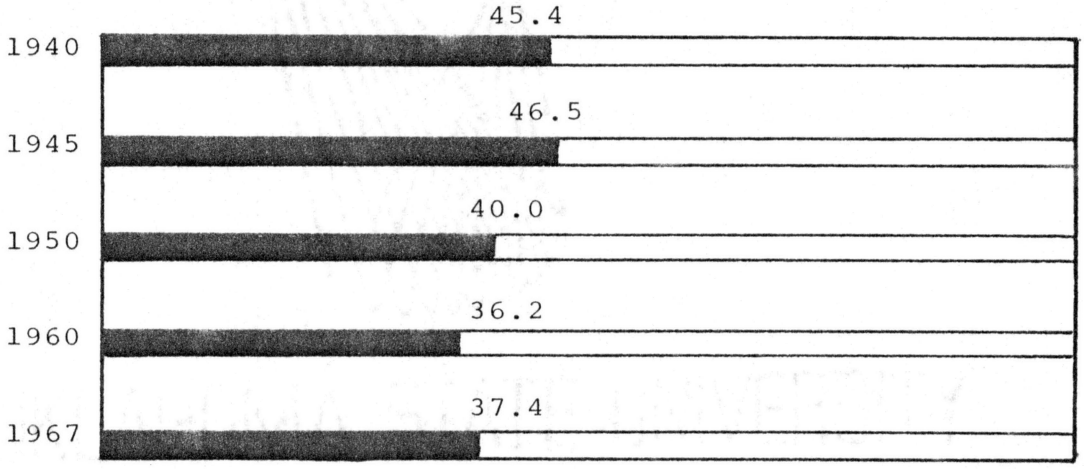
Source: Martin P. Durkin and Frieda S. Miller, Women's Bureau. Women as Workers: A Statistical Guide. (Washington, 1953).

U.S. Department of Labor. Manpower Report of the President: (Washington, 1967), pp. 211-212.



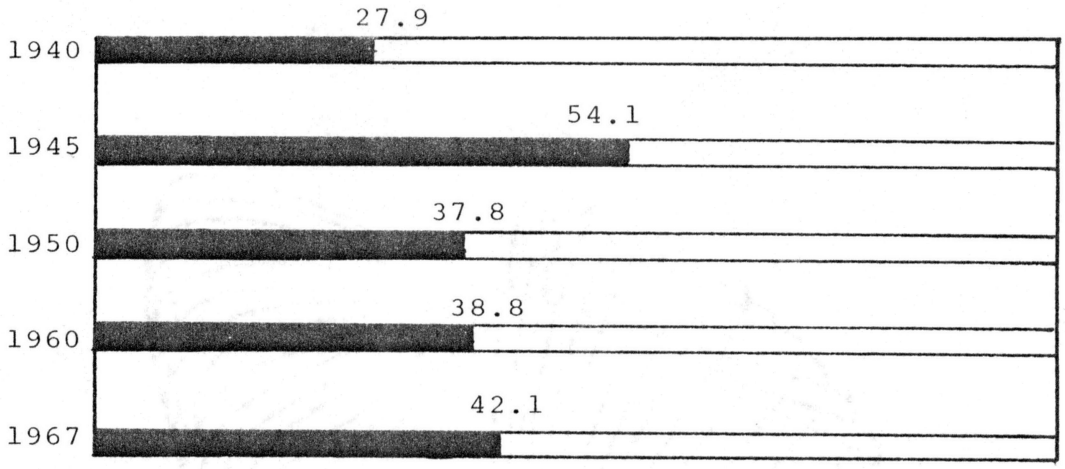
Source: Table XI

Figure 23. Clerical Workers: Percent Women formed of All Employed Persons, 1940-1967



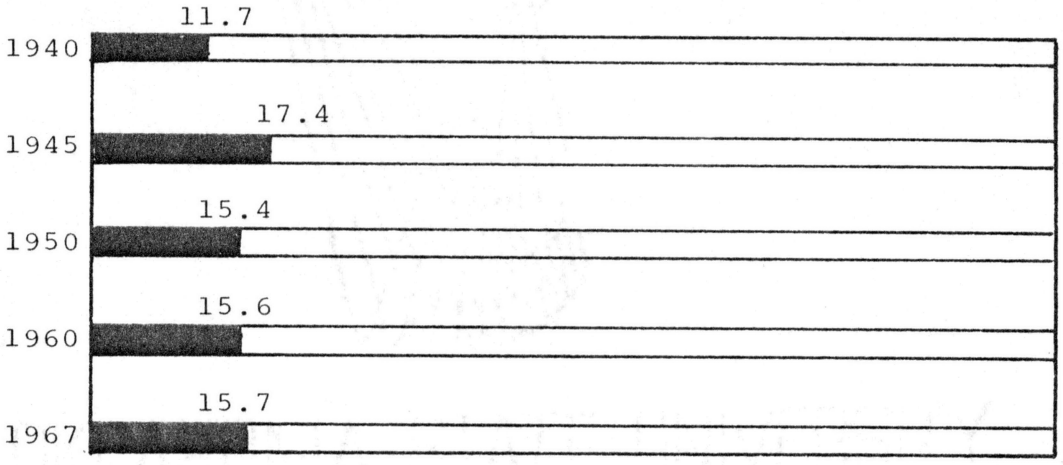
Source: Table XI

Figure 24. Professional and Technical Workers: Percent Women formed of All Employed Persons, 1940-1967



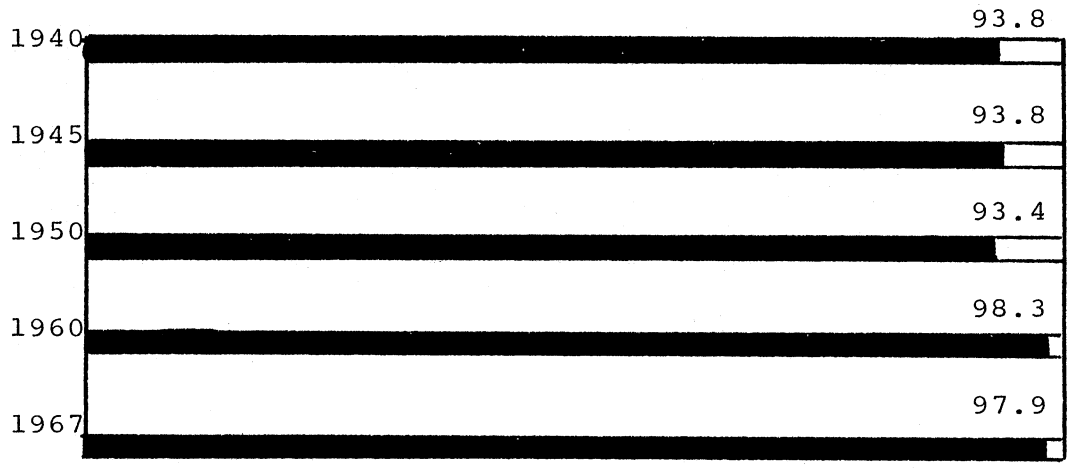
Source: Table XI

Figure 25. Sales Workers: Percent Women formed of All Employed Persons, 1940-1967



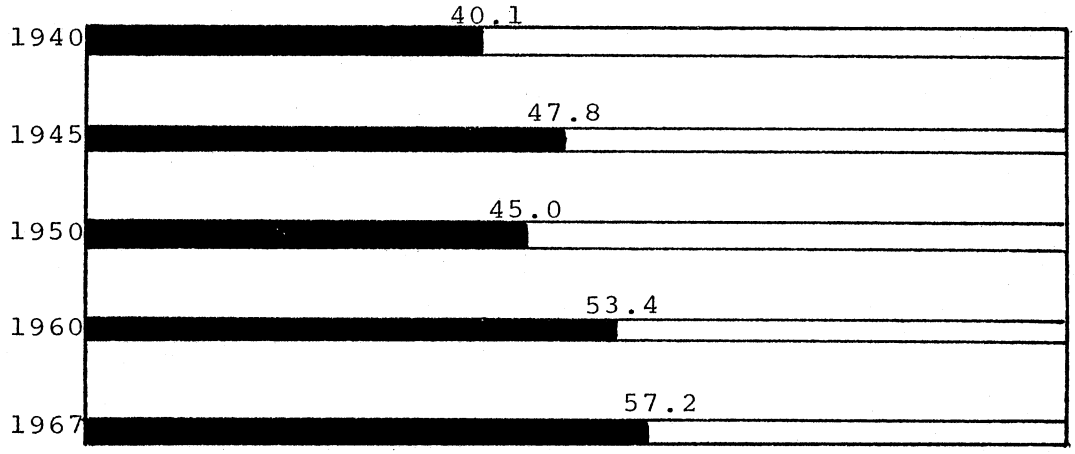
Source: Table XI

Figure 26. Managers, Officials and Proprietors: Percent Women formed of All Employed Persons, 1940-1967.



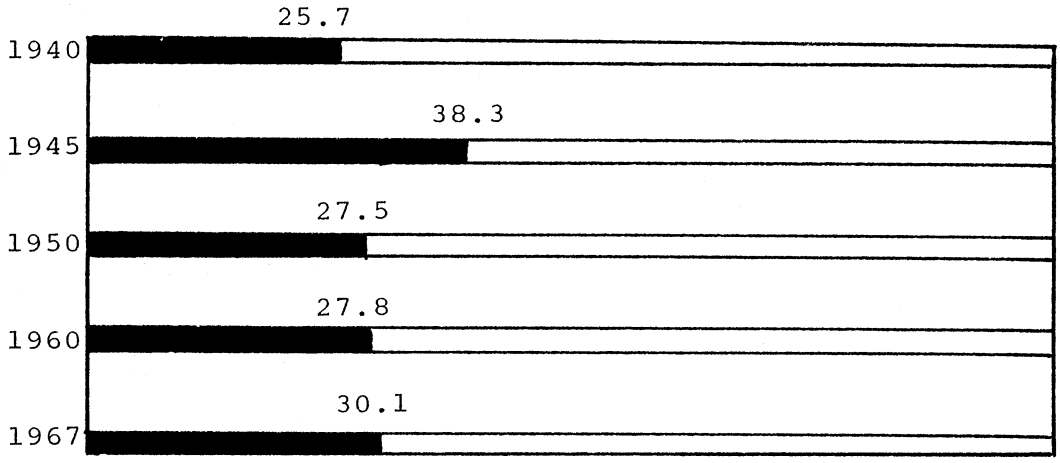
Source: Table XI

Figure 27. Private Household Workers: Percent Women formed of All Employed Persons, 1940-1967



Source: Table XI

Figure 28. Service Workers (except Private Household): Percent Women formed of All Employed Persons, 1940-1967



Source: Table XI

Figure 29. Operatives: Percent Women formed of All Employed Persons, 1940-1967.

education, one's health, one's occupation and industry, the length of work experience, full or part-time employment, and geographic region of residence etc.[11]

Women became more important absolutely and relatively in the labor force in the United States between 1947 and 1966, but they did not achieve a corresponding improvement in economic status relative to men. For various economic and social reasons, women still receive smaller earnings than men employed in the same industry and occupation fields. The percentage increases in incomes of women generally have lagged behind the increases for men.

Between 1947 and 1966, the proportion of females with income increased from 39.2 percent to 61.0 percent. The comparable figures for males showed a much smaller increase of from 88.9 percent in 1947 to 92.0 percent in 1966. (See Table XII).

At the same period while women's median income increased 61.1 percent (from $1,017 to $1,638), the median income for men increased 137.9 percent (from $2,230 to $5,306). The result was that the percent female median income to male median income declined from 45.6 percent in 1947 to 30.9 percent in 1966. (See Table XII).

It should be pointed out that the statistics on per capita median income involves the distorting effect of the greater part-time employment of women than men, the

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[11]Abbott L. Ferriss, Indicators of Trends in the Status of American Women (New York, 1971), p. 137.

TABLE XII

TOTAL MONEY INCOME, MALE AND FEMALE, 1947 AND 1966

Male	1947	1966
Percent with Income	88.9	92.0
Median Income	2,230	5,306
Female		
Percent with Income	39.2	61.0
Median Income	1,017	1,638
Women's Median Income as Percent of Men's	45.6	30.9

Source: "Income in 1966 of Families and Persons in the United States," Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 53.

distorting effect of occasional (not year-round) women workers, and the effect of women being in lower-paying occupational groupings. Nevertheless, there has been an increase in the gap between the median income of males and females.

Average Annual Percent Change in Median Annual Income by Major Occupational Group, Male and Females, 1939 to 1963. Arthur Sackley compiled the average annual percent changes in median annual wage and salary income for nine major occupation groups for the periods of 1939-1950, 1950-1958, and 1958-1963. (See Table XIII). For six of these groups data for both men and women were reported. In three of the six groups during the years 1939-1950, women enjoyed a larger percent change in earnings than men, although for 2 of these occupations the female gains were only 2.1 and 1.4 percent greater, than that of men. Between 1950 and 1958, women experienced their best relative gain in earnings compared to men when women's changes exceeded men's in four out of the six occupations. But from 1958 to 1963, men had the greatest annual percent of change in annual salary income in all six of the occupations covered.

Women's Median Income as Percent of Men's, by Major Occupation Group, 1956-65. In another study, six selected major occupation groups were analyzed. It was found that between 1956 and 1965 in three of the six groups there was an increase in the percent of women's incomes to men's

TABLE XIII

AVERAGE ANNUAL PERCENT CHANGES IN MEDIAN ANNUAL WAGE OR SALARY INCOME, BY MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP, MALE AND FEMALE, 1939-50, 1950-58, 1958-63

Occupation Group	Average Annual Percent Change 1939-1950	1950-1958	1958-1963
Professional, Technical and Kindred Workers			
Men	7.2	5.5	3.8
Women	7.5	5.6	3.5
Women's Change as % of Men's	104.2	101.8	92.1
Manager, Officials, Proprietors, Except farm			
Men	6.3	4.7	4.2
Women	5.9	4.9	0.3
Women's Change as % of Men's	93.7	125.5	7.1
Clerical and Kindred Workers			
Men	7.0	4.9	3.9
Women	7.1	4.5	2.2
Women's Change as % of Men's	101.4	91.8	56.4
Operatives and Kindred Workers			
Men	9.5	4.6	4.3
Women	9.7	3.2	3.9
Women's Change as % of Men's	102.1	69.6	90.7

TABLE XIII (Continued)

Occupation Group	Average Annual Percent Change 1939-1950	1950-1958	1958-1963
Sales Workers			
Men	8.5	3.9	5.4
Women	5.5	4.3	(-1.1)
Women's Change as % of Men's	64.7	110.3	-20.4
Service Workers, Except Private Household			
Men	9.7	3.8	3.0
Women	5.6	4.3	1.8
Women's Change as % of Men's	57.7	113.2	60.0
Average Changes			
Men	8.03	4.57	4.10
Women	6.88	4.63	1.77
Women's Change as % of Men's	85.68	101.31	43.17

Source: Arthur Sackley, Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Trends in Average Annual Earnings and Income," Monthly Labor Review, Vol. 88, (Nov., 1965), pp. 1302-1306.

The increase for "Professional and technical workers" was significant, showing a relative gain for women of from 62.4 percent in 1956 to 67.7 percent in 1965. However, in the more influential occupation group of "Managers, officials and proprietors," women lost considerable ground, a decline from 59.1 percent to 52.2 percent. The gains for female "Service workers" from 55.4 percent to 57.0 percent, and for "Sales workers" from 41.8 to 42.4 percent were quite small. The data cover year round full-time workers 14 years of age and over. (See Table XIV).

Even though there are more job opportunities for women and more women are working today than before World War II, women's income has increased much slower than men's. Although the trends seems to indicate an improvement in women's income status, when women's earnings are compared with men's, their income status in relation to men, can only be interpreted as declining. Therefore, in absolute dollars, women's status is improving, but not in relation to men's earnings.

Trend in Education for Male and Female

The sex ratio of higher educational degrees by level is a sensitive indicator of the progress of females toward equality with males. This indicator is particularly critical, since higher educational degrees represent credentials for occupational achievement. Table XV and Figure 30 present the ratio of degrees granted to males per 100 degree

TABLE XIV

WOMEN'S MEDIAN WAGE OR SALARY INCOME AS PERCENT OF MEN'S BY SELECTED MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP, 1956 AND 1965

Major Occupation Group	1956	1965
Professional & Technical Workers	62.4	67.7 (+)
Managers, Officials & Proprietors	59.1	52.2 (-)
Clerical Workers	71.7	68.1 (-)
Sales Workers	41.8	42.4 (+)
Operatives	62.1	57.1 (-)
Service Workers (except Private Household)	55.4	57.0 (+)

Note: (+) indicate increases; (-) indicate decreases

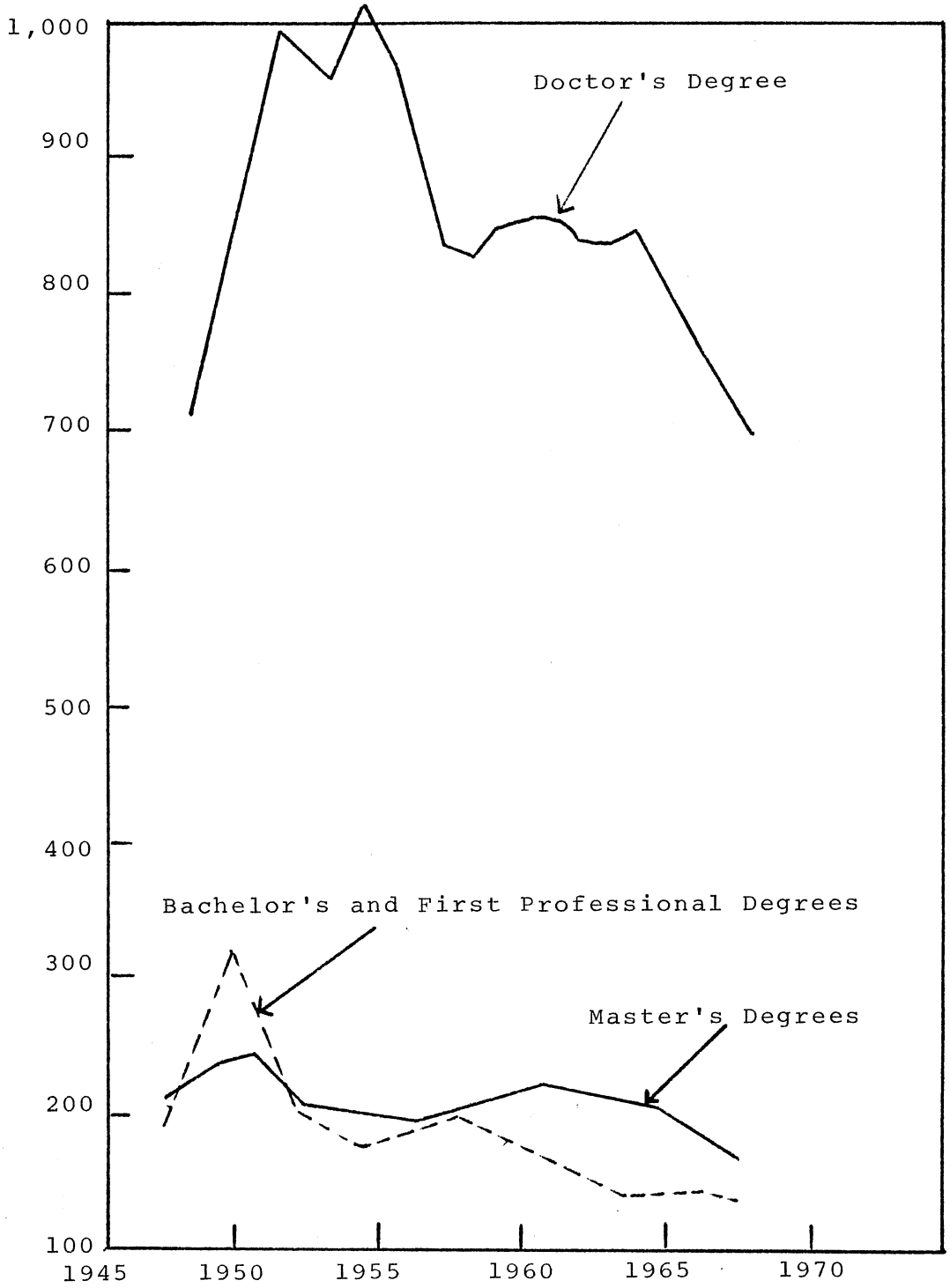
Source: Bureau of Census, Current Population Report, P-60, No. 27, 51.

TABLE XV

RATIO: DEGREES GRANTED TO MALES PER 100 DEGREES GRANTED TO FEMALES, BY LEVEL OF DEGREE, 1948-1968

	First Level: 4-Year Bachelor's & 5-or-More Year First Professional Degrees	Master's Degrees	Doctor's Degrees
1948	183.2	214.1	709.1
1949	257.8	227.2	867.4
1950	317.4	242.4	942.2
1951	266.0	244.4	988.7
1952	216.4	218.0	976.1
1953	193.1	205.0	949.1
1954	177.9	204.3	1,003.8
1955	176.9	198.5	970.2
1956	178.7	198.0	906.0
1957	189.4	200.5	832.5
1958	197.9	206.5	827.6
1959	195.6	213.5	846.4
1960	183.3	215.7	856.1
1961	175.4	224.9	851.0
1962	165.3	224.0	833.5
1963	156.3	220.7	833.2
1964	148.2	215.0	844.0
1965	145.6	211.7	827.7
1966	147.5	195.8	761.1
1967	148.3	188.7	739.3
1968	140.9	179.5	694.6

Source: Abbott L. Ferriss, Indicators of Trends in the Status of American Women (New York, 1971), p. 323.



Source: Table XV

Figure 30. Sex Ratio: Degrees Granted to Males per 100 Degrees Granted to Females, by Level of Degree, 1948-1968.

granted to females, 1948 to 1968. A sex ration of 100 represents an even split between males and females. The value in excess of 100 represents the percent of additional degrees that would have to be granted to females to be equal to the number granted to males. Data show that in each category, the number of males receiving degrees exceeds the number of females.

With this basis for interpretation, it is quite clear that the number of bachelor's and first professional degrees granted to females has increased considerably since 1958, but a 40% increase in degrees granted to females is required to gain equality with males. In 1968, women received 42 percent of bachelor's and first professional degrees granted, compared to 24 percent in 1950.

The status of women in attaining master's degrees had reached 36 percent in 1968, as compared to 29 percent in 1950. Women, however, lagged behind men on the doctoral level. Although the female ratio has gradually increased, it has gained only 3 percent since 1950. In 1968, females received 13 percent of doctor's degrees.

This section analyzes women's relative improvements in the educational system. The trend in education for male and female indicates women made greater progress in their educational status than their occupational and income status. Women have made significant improvements on the bachelor's and first professional levels. They also have made improvements on the master's level.

However, the trend indicates that women is still lagged far behind men on the doctoral level.

CHAPTER VIII

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Data in Chapter VII show the trends in women's objective position and their position in relation to that of men. As predicted by Hypothesis 1, data on objective changes in the women's position indicate there were substantial increase in the social position of females. These changes have led to the narrowing of the polarized male and female roles. The growth of economic and educational opportunities have broadened women's life experience. Women's place is no longer confined to the home. The margin of choice has been extended, allowing women more flexibility in deciding how they will occupy themselves in the successive phases of their lives. The two world wars and the continued economic prosperity of this country contributed to the growth of economic opportunities of American women. The increase in women's objective position has been particularly great since 1940.

Data in Part 1 of Chapter VII show that women's objective improvements in their social position occurred mainly since World War II. This period has been described as "Relative Contentment" in Part B of the model (on page

which illustrates the ups and downs of the women's movement. This is the period when women's achievement level rose above their aspirational level. This roughly began in the 1920's and proceeded into the 1950's. During this period of time, particularly after 1940 women enjoyed unprecedented individual gains in their social position, primarily in the economic and educational spheres of their lives.

The primary changes in women's objectives position have been in six areas. First, the number of women in the labor force has substantially increased. The proportion of women in the female population who work increased from 18.3 percent in 1890 to 25.7 percent in 1940, and to 41.2 percent in 1967.

A second trend has been the increasing demand for female labor in some occupations. Data for 1890 to 1940 show women were shifting from unskilled and semi-skilled factory jobs to clerical and sales occupations, operatives and house-keeping in private families. The scene after 1940 followed somewhat the same pattern. The trend in women's employment as white-collar workers has increased steadily. The most notable change in this period of time was the increase in the number of women in the clerical field. Employed women working as service workers has remained relatively stationary from 1947 to 1967. There has been a decline in the proportion of women in private household work; which was the most important change in the occupational

pattern of employed women in the service field in the period. The proportion of women in blue-collar occupations has also declined since World War II.

Third, a trend starting in the 1940's has been the increased labor force participation of married women, including women with preschool children. The 1948 work rate indicate that married women (husbands present) with preschool children in the labor force was a rather rare occurrence. The work rate ranged from 9.2 percent for women having children under six years of age to 12.7 percent for women having children under six years and six to seventeen years of age. By 1968, the proportion increased to 27.8 percent and 27.4 percent respectively.

The most dramatic change in work rate among women is found among those women who are married rather than single. If this trend continues, work will become increasingly an important and continuing part of women's lives, not just before they marry and start raising children.

Fourth, another major trend, starting in the 1940's and picking up momentum since then, has been the increased labor force participation of older women. The 1967 data show a sharp increase over both the 1947 and 1957 data in the work rates of women over thirty-five years of age. The largest gain is found among women in the 45-54 age group. That gain was almost 20 percent over the period.

Data sections on married women and women's age in the labor force suggest that discrimination against older women and married women has declined considerably.

Fifth, one of the most unique trends starting in the 1950's has been the increased labor force participation of women from the higher social-economic strata. The 1951 data show that most women worked out of economic necessity. Wives' labor force participation rates generally fell as husbands' income rose. Through time, however, husbands' incomes have risen and wives' work rates have also increased. This trend reveals that women are becoming less and less likely to enter the job market out of economic necessity.

Finally, the trend in women's education indicates there has been substantial improvements in their educational status. Just a little more than a century ago, higher education was a male privilege. The opposition to the higher education of women prevailed even at the latter part of the nineteenth century. Since Oberlin became the first co-educational college in the United States in 1833, the number of female college students reached over two million in the mid 1960's. With the present almost complete acceptance of women's right to higher education, women can now study in more than nine hundred colleges and universities offering a four year course leading toward the bachelor's degree, as well as pursue advanced training for practically any profession.

In the educational system, women made significant progress at high school level. There was an increase from 49.9 percent graduating from high school in 1945 to 79.6

percent in 1969. In female's first time degree-credit college enrollments, there was an increase from 31.3 percent in 1950 to 51.9 percent in 1969. The proportion of women who completed 4-year bachelor's degrees has remained constant since 1950. There has been some increase in the rate at which females continued from the bachelor's degree to the master's since 1965. In 1969, the proprotion reached 29 percent. There has been little change in women who seek the doctorate.

Data on Part 2 of Chapter VII reveal the trends of women's position in relation to men. As predicted by Hypothesis 2, data confirmed that in relation to men, women's position is still about the same as before. Findings indicate the gap existing between men's and women's occupational, income and educational status has not been closed.

First, the trend in occupational distribution shows there was no decline in the concentration of women in the traditional female occupation between 1940 and 1967. In some cases, the concentration is greater. For example, the proportion of employed women who were clerical workers rose from 21.2 percent in 1940 to 26.3 percent in 1950, and again to 33.2 percent in 1967. Women as a proportion of all clerical workers went up from 52.6 percent in 1940 to 60.2 percent in 1950, and 72.4 percent in 1967.

Women lost ground to men in higher-status and higher-pay occupations. There has been a decline in the proportion

of women in the professional, technical and management fields. In 1967, 37.4 percent of all professional, technical and management fields. In 1967, 37.4 percent of all professional and technical workers were women, which was an 8 percent decline from the 1940 figure. During World War II, women formed about 17 percent of all managers, officials and proprietors. By 1967, the percentage was about 2 percent below their 1945 level.

The investigation on sex composition of the major occupations from 1940 to 1967 indicates that the distribution of women throughout the occupational system has been far from random. The data confirm the fact pointed out by both Oppenheimer and Hedges that most demand for labor has usually been sex specific and reflect long-standing norms regarding the sex-labeling in jobs.[1] Demand has created a requirement for female labor in particular occupations. This, in turn, has influenced the supply. Women train themselves to go into jobs where there is a demand for their services. Consequently, a demand for men in some occupations does not exist, as is true for women in male-linked occupations.

Second, the trend in income status shows women did not achieve a corresponding improvement in economic status

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[1]Valerie K. Oppenheimer, "The Sex Labeling of Jobs," Industrail Relation, 7 (May, 1968), pp. 219-34.

Janice Neipert Hedges, "Women Workers and Manpower Demands in the 1970's." Monthly Labor Review, 93 (June, 1970), pp. 19-29.

relative to men. For various economic and social reasons, women still receive smaller earnings than men employed in the same industry and occupation groups.

The data for average annual percent changes in median annual wage and salary income by major occupation groupings from 1939 to 1963 reveal that women experienced their greatest relative lost in earnings compared to men between 1958 and 1963. Men had better annual percentage change in annual salary income in all six of the major occupation groups covered. The data for total money income show that the percentage for female median incomes to male's declined from 45.6 percent in 1947 to 30.9 percent in 1966.

The chief factors which lead to the much lower female economic status indicated by median income involved the much greater part-time employment of women than men, the occasional women workers and the concentration of women in low paying jobs.

Third, the trend in education indicates women made greater improvements in their educational status than the other two indicators. Women have made rather rapid strides on the bachelor's and first professional levels since 1958. However, a 40 percent increase in degrees granted to females is still necessary to gain equality with males. In 1958 women received 42 percent of bachelor's and first professional degrees granted. The status of women in attaining master's degrees had reached 36 percent in 1950. Women lagged behind men on the doctoral level. In 1968,

females received 13 percent of doctor's degrees, a gain of only 3 percent since 1950.

The findings of this paper indicate conclusively that there have been significant improvements in women's position, and women have become more important absolutely and relatively in the labor force in America in the past seventy years. However, for various social and economic reasons, their rate of progress still lagged behind those of men in many aspects. These major trends shed light on the objective achievement of women and their achievement in relation to men.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

The objective of this paper is to answer these questions. If there has been substantial improvement in women's position, why are more women feeling deprived today than a century ago? What is the motivational base of the women's movement? What had happened to women between the two feminist movements, a period in which feminism was supposedly dead? To what extent do changes which occurred in this period have to do with the resurgence of the second women's movement?

The basic argument of this paper is that, the economic advances and equalitarian ideology in this country have brought significant changes to women's life-style, their social-economic position and also their point of reference. Along with women's economic freedom is the rising expectation. The standard of comparison was disrupted by the economic activities of women. This rise of expectation without concomitant rise in women's position has brought with it the feeling of relative deprivation.

With World War II as a catalyst, a drastic change has occurred in women's economic role, generating preconditions for the revival of the drive for equality. The economic

experience during the war and there after generated new hopes and new comparisons between men and women. The polarized male and female roles have been narrowed. When women joined the work group, worked side by side with men and holding previously men's jobs (women joined male's membership group; refer to Figure 5 on page 33), they began to find common attributes between women and men and their standard of comparison is no longer just of women themselves. Men had eventually emerged as women's "aspirational reference group". The increasing social contacts among men and women have heightened the awareness of their relative position. As more and more women joined the labor force, they began to realize the disparity between the myth and reality of women's place, and provided an important incentive for closing the gap. The objective improvement in women's position and the relative gap between men and women have been discussed in the previous section of this paper.

The major theme of the feminist philosophy is to close the gap between men and women in their status. They are aimed at filling the gap existing in the political, social and economical position between men and women. They want their full participation in and control over their own destinies. Some groups call for the abolition of derogatory and demeaning images of women in the popular media and equal opportunities in accessing professional jobs and higher education. Other radical groups call for a complete

restructuring of the society, alleging that women can never achieve equality until marriage and all the supporting property and legal foundation of sexual segregation are abolished.

Finally, the amount of changes which have occurred among American females is the most important precondition for the resurgence of the new feminist movement. As the theory of relative deprivation pointed out, rebellions almost never occur among people enslaved in "closed systems." Rather, revolutions begin in response to "rising expectation," after a group has started on the road to improvement and become aware of its relative deprivation. People's evaluation of their well-being always depend on the frame of reference within which they are conceived. When men has eventually emerged as women's "comparative reference group" or "aspirational reference group," the increase in women's aspiration without concomitant change in their position brought about relative deprivation.

If women's present position were the same as a century ago, it is doubtful that the new feminist movement would have reached such a state of exasperation and frustration. What women want and rightly claim is no longer just getting any old job, or some education, or even a good position in life handed down by the established power structure. The narrowed roles between males and females have in many ways justified women's claims for "equal work, equal pay," and "fair share for all."

Furthermore, the transformation of women's economic role has led to other consequences in the relationship between the sexes. At the core of the sociological approach is the belief that personality development is a response to cultural norms which define the female roles and other social circumstances. If the cultural norms have changed, there is reason to believe that the female identity has also changed over time.

At the present time, more and more adolescent girls in the country are growing with examples in their own homes of women who combine outside employment with marriage. Research evidence suggests that many working mothers are already providing a model to their children (especially daughters). Repeated surveys of elementary and high school students showed that children of mothers who held jobs approved of maternal employment and that the girls intended to work after they married and had children.[1]

In the end, of course, conclusions on any subject so complicated and important depend a great deal on the perspective of the observer. Though we may conclude that American women have made objective achievement in the past

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[1]Ruth E. Hartley, "Children's Concept of Male and Female Roles," Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, VI (Jan., 1959-61), pp. 83-91.

Salma M. Matthews, "The Effects of Mother's Out-of-Home Employment Upon Children Ideas and Attitudes," Journal of Applied Psychology, XVIII (Feb., 1954), pp. 116-36.

Elizabeth Douvan, "Employment and the Adolescent," in F. Ivan Nye and Lois Wladis Hoffman, (eds.), The Employed Mother in America (Chicago, 1963), pp. 142-64.

seventy years, it also seems justifiable, from the feminist point of view, to argue that no meaningful change in status has occurred among American women during the period.

This may still be the fact that women are still frequently treated as "sex objects", that those who hold jobs are underpaid and exploited, and women are often expected to place their aspirations behind those of their husbands. On the other hand, we have also observed that important shifts in behavior have taken place and which should have direct impact on the root causes of sexual inequality: the female identity, the definition of male and female roles, and the role models we provide our children.

Nevertheless, employment and education have led to change in the lives of women. Holding a job has involved women in a role of breadwinner, and which by all accounts is the most significant in defining the differences between male and female. If as the feminists claim, one of the principal obstacles to equality is the division of labor between men and women, departing from home to take a job represents at least a step toward closing the gap between male and female spheres, creating a new and different kind of life, and a broadening of female experience.

Limitation

The data for this study are from published materials covering a period of seventy years. It is found that no data source covers the entire period; most data are

published by different sources covering different periods of time. In several instances, comparable data are not available. Therefore, a great effort has been put into gathering, grouping, editing, and especially in comparing these data to make them presentable. The visual aids were developed in an effort to enhance the understanding of the statistical figures.

This study has used a theoretical framework and broad historical data to analyze the social-psychological roots of the women's movement. It only applies to women who experienced relative deprivation as the result of their changed reference group. This study does not apply to others, including a lot of women who enjoy the challenges of a full family life and volunteer work in the community.

Suggestion for Further Studies

Many important areas of research remain, which, when developed will provide further understanding of the women's movement. From this study, several suggestions may be made:

(1) Content analysis of the longitudinal development of women's aspiration.

(2) Study the impact of higher education in women's aspiration.

(3) Comparison of the work morale of women workers in occupations dominated by men (have direct competition with men) and with women working in traditional women's occupations.

(4) Comparison of the development of women's movements in different countries.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

ACHIEVEMENTS AND EVENTS OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS

Date	
1833	Oberlin became first co-educational college.
	Temperance Union founded, women took active roles.
	Lucretia Mott spoke at first convention of American Anti-Slavery Society in Philadelphia.
1834	Prudence Crandall ran school for Negro girls in Connecticut.
1836	Narcissa Prentiss Whitman and Eliza Hart Spaulding became first women to cross North American-in missionary expedition.
1837	Mary Lyon founded the first women's college, Mount Holyoke.
1840	American Anti-Slavery Society sent delegates to London World Anti-Slavery Convention - women barred.
1843-1853	Dorothea Dix traveled the country in drive to reform mental institutions.
1844	Margaret Fuller published Woman in the Nineteenth Century.
1846	Sewing machine invented by Elias Howe.
1847	Catherine Beecher formed National Board of Popular Education.
1848	Mrs. Lucretia Mott and Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton summoned a convention at Seneca Falls, New York which adopted a Declaration of Sentiments and

listed eighteen grievances against male tyranny.

New York legislature passed married women's property rights law.

Maria Mitchell became first woman elected to American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

1849 Elizabeth Blackwell became the first fully qualified American woman doctor.

Boston Female Medical School founded; merged in 1874 with Boston University School of Medicine.

1850 Maria Mitchell became first woman elected to the Association for the Advancement of Science.

Women's Medical College of Pennsylvania founded.

1852 Antioch College admitted women.

Harriet Beecher Stowe published Uncle Tom's Cabin.

American Women's Educational Association formed by Catherine Beecher.

1853 Antoinette Brown was ordained as the first woman minister.

Una, feminist journal appeared.

1853-1876 Mrs. Sarah Josepha Hale wrote Woman's Record or Sketches of Distinguished Women...

1855 Horseback riding became fashionable for ladies.

The Woman Advocate, feminist journal, founded by Mrs. Anna McDowell.

1858 University of Iowa became first state university to admit women.

1860 Olympia Brown admitted to St. Lawrence University, first woman studying theology on equal basis with men.

Tenth National Woman's Rights Convention had controversial debate on divorce.

1861 Dorothea Dix became superintentdent of women, nurses, Union Army.

1862 Congress enacted antipolygamy measure.

Jenny Douglass got civil service job in Treasury Department; federal civil service opened to women.

1863 Ebenezer Butterick invented first paper dress pattern sold in U.S.; 6 million sold by 1871.

University of Wisconsin opened normal-school training course for women.

1865 Thirteenth Amendment abolished slavery.

Maria Mitchell became first woman professor of astronomy at Vassar College.

1866 National Teachers' Association admitted women on equal basis with men.

First YWCA opened, in Boston.

1867 National Cigar Makers Union admitted women.

1868 First measure proposing women suffrage amendment introduced in Congress.

Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cade Stanton found The Revolution.

1868-1878 Female workers organized in Women's Typographical Union.

1869 National Woman Suffrage Association founded.

American Woman Suffrage Association founded.

Territory of Wyoming grant woman suffrage.

Sorosis, first woman's club, founded by Jennie C. Croly in New York.

New England Woman's Club founded in Boston.

Daughters of Saint Crispin (women's union) formed.

Augusta Lewis organized women typographers in New York.

National Typographers Union admitted women.

Iowa allowed women to practice law.

Arebella Mansfield became first woman lawyer (Iowa) since Margaret Brent.

Catharine Beecher published The American Woman's Home.

1870 American Woman Suffrage Association published Women's Journal. Its politics: Woman can win the vote only by avoiding issues that are "irrevant" and will alienate the support of influential sectors of the community.

1872 Victoria Woodhull became first U.S. woman presidential candidate.

First Negro woman lawyer Charlotte E. Ray graduated from Howard University Law School.

1873 First public kindergarten established.

Susan B. Anthony put on trial for illegal voting.

1874 Woman's Christian Temperance Union formed. Supreme Court upheld lower courts in deciding against the suit for woman suffrage brought by Mr. and Mrs. Minor.

Henry Ward Beecher (a feminist) was sued for adultery;scandal rocked woman movement.

Sage College founded, women's branch of Cornell University.

1876 Five members of National Woman Suffrage Association, led by Susan B. Anthony, disrupted centennial celebrations in Philadelphia from which women had been barred from active participation.

1878 Senator A.A. Sargent (California) introduced "Anthony Amendment" for woman suffrage.

1879-1898 Frances Willard served as president of Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

1881 National organization of YWCAs founded.

Women admitted on equal basis with men to Knights of Labor.

American Association of University Women formed in Boston.

History of Woman Suffrage, vols. 1 and 2, published, ed. Elizabeth Stanton, Susan Anthony and M.J. Gage.

Clara Barton founded American Association of the Red Cross.

1884 Equal Rights Party founded, ran presidential candidate: Mrs. Belva A. Hockwood.

1885 Bryn Mawr College for Women opened.

1886 History of Woman Suffrage, vol. 3 published, ed. Elizabeth Stanton, Susan Anthony, and M.J. Gage.

1889 Jane Addams founded Hull House.

Ida Wells, born of slave parents, edited Memphis Free Speech, paper that fights for Negro rights.

1890 National American Woman Suffrage Association formed, with Elizabeth Stanton as the first president.

National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution formed.

General Federation of Women's Club formed.

Wyoming became first state allowing woman suffrage, having granted it prior to statehood.

The first Consumers' League was founded by a committee led Josephine Shaw Lowell, she was also its first president.

5% of married women were employed outside the home.

Almost one-half of women in U.S. lived on farms.

Color Women's League founded, Washington, D.C.

1893 Anti-Saloon League formed.

World's Columbian Exposition (Chicago) had women's Building and active World Congress of Women.

1895 Convention of Negro women's clubs held in Boston.

National Federation of Afro-American Women founded.

1895 The Woman's Bible which counteracted the widespread theological assumption that females were the weak and inferior sex was published, ed. Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

New Era Club formed-Boston Negro women's organization.

The Woman's Era, feminist journal of Negro women appeared.

1896 National Association of Colored Women formed.

1897 Charlotte Perkins Gelman published Women and Economics.

1898 The Woman's Bible, part 2, published , ed. Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

1899 National Consumers' League formed, Florence Kelley was hired as its General Secretary. She became a professional reformer.

May Wood Simons published Woman and the Social Question.

1900 Local No. 131 of the United Garment Workers, San Francisco, formed. Later taken over by militant women.

Proportion of women in cotton industry had fallen to 42% from 1820's 90%.

Convention of General Federation of Women's Clubs rejected credentials of an active Negro club women and feminist, Mrs. Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin.

Carry Nation began anti-liquor crusade in Kansas.

U.S. has 432 schools of nursing (in 1973 there had been only 1).

There were some 500 colleges in the U.S. and increase of nearly 100 percent since 1869. Some 70% of them were now coeducational.

1901 U.S. has 128 women's colleges.

1902 History of Woman Suffrage, vol. 4, published, ed. S.B. Anthony and I.H. Harper.

	Women constituted 25% of undergraduates, 26% of graduate students, 3% of professional students.
1903	Women's Trade Union League formed.
1904	International Woman Suffrage Alliance formed.
	First female ushers employed, in New York City.
	First union of Stenographers and typists formed by Elise Diehl.
1905	Pop song, "Everybody Works but Father," referred to increased employment of women.
1906-1917	Emma Goldman edited journal Mother Earth.
1907	First Mother's Day proclaimed.
	U.S. Congress authorized investigation of child and female labor.
1908	Smoking declared illegal for women in public places, New York City.
	"Sheath" became stylish (narrow skirt, worn without petticoats).
1910	Camp Fire Girls founded.
1910-1911	Successful suffrage referenda held in Washington and California.
1910-1920	U.S. reported 103% increase of white women in clerical and sales work; 122% increase of black women in clerical and sales work; 4% increase of white women in industry.
1912	U.S. Children's Bureau established.
	Girl Scouts founded.
1913	Women suffrage granted in Illinois.
1914	Congressional Union for women suffrage formed by women who splite off from the National American Woman Suffrage Association.
	Margaret Sanger edited journal Woman Rebel.
1915	Family Limitation, by Margaret Sanger appeared; author was jailed.

Women's International league for Peace and Freedom formed.

Carrie Chapman Catt headed suffrage movement in decisive period.

1916 Margaret Sanger, Fania Mindell, Ethel Burne opened first birth control clinic, in Brooklyn.

National Woman's Party formed in those states with woman suffrage.

1917 New York State adopted woman suffrage as constitutional amendment.

Women's Party picketed White House with slogan "Democracy Should Begin at Home,"; some were arrested.

Rep. Jeannette Rankin, Republican from Montana, became first woman member in the House; casted sole vote against U.S. war involvement.

1918 President Wilson told Senate woman suffrage is vital to the winning of the war and essential to implementing democracy.

1919 Civil Service opened to women on same basis as men.

1920 The Nineteenth Amendment (Woman Suffrage Amendment) passed.

U.S. Women's Bureau established.

The Census revealed that over 8 million females were employed in 437 different job classifications.

1920-1930 Magazines and novels portrayed the decade as a non-stop revel featuring jazz bands, risque dances, and uninhibited sex. The "new woman" symbolized the era.

1921 American Birth Control League founded by Margaret Sanger

Dr. Marie Stopes arrested for her book Married Love, which discusses contraception.

1922 Mrs. W.H. Felton becomes first woman in U.S. Senate, term lasted one day.

History of Woman Suffrage, vols. 5 and 6, published, ed. I.H. Harper.

Knee-length skirts for women became fashionable.

1926 Sarah Lawrence College for Women founded.

Aimee Seple MacPherson became nationally known revivalist.

Gertrude Ederle of New York became first woman to swim English Channel.

1928 Amelia Earhart became first woman to fly Atlantic.

1930 47% of undergraduates were women; 28% of Ph.D.'s were women.

1931 Depression left 26.2% of men unemployed, 18.9% of women unemployed.

1935 Journal of Contraception published by Margaret Sanger.

General Federation of Women's Clubs reversed earlier stand and endorsed federal law allowing mailing of birth control information.

1938 Pearl S. Buck won Nobel Prize for Literature.

1940 Women's entry into work force accelerates.

15% of married women work.

1940-1945 World War II had transformed the economic outlook of women. The war had generated an unprecedented demand for new workers. In response, over 6 million women took jobs, increasing the size of the female labor force by over 50 percent.

Public attitudes appeared to change. Government and the mass media made an all-out effort to encourage women to enter the labor force.

Within a few months after the U.S. declared war, both industry and government abandoned their reluctance to use females in war industries.

After a brief survey of two hundred war jobs, the U.S. Employment Service concluded that women could fill 89% of the positions with only brief training.

The proportion of women receiving government-sponsored vocational training had leaped from 1% to 13%.

Within seven months, the number of jobs for which employers were willing to consider female applicants had climbed from 29 percent to 55 percent.

Women's Army Auxiliary Corps, Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service, Women's Auxiliary Ferrying Squadron, Women's Reserve of the Coast Guard, Women's Reserve of the U.S. Marines formed.

1942 Lanham Act passed, allotting federal funds for wartime day care.

1945 Scholastic Magazine student opinion pool shows majority favor careers.

Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League urges peace role for women.

1946 Emily Greene Blach won Nobel Peace Prize (founder of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom).

New York State Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs urged appointment of women to political offices.

American Association of University Women States Presidents' Conference held forum on college-trained women's role in solving current problems.

Bishop B. Eustace urged Catholic women to assume more active civic role.

1947 Modern Woman, the Lost Sex, by Ferdinand Lundberg and Marynia F. Farnham, published: popular anti-feminist book.

Labor Department Women's Bureau reported on women's legal status, showed States have erased many discriminatory laws since 1938.

International Federation of University Women urged college graduates to take greater national role.

1949 Harvard Law School planned to admit women students.

Mrs. C. Smallwood elected Wyo County, New York, District Attorney; believed 1st woman to win post in state.

1950 Lt. Commander B.R. Walters became 1st woman ordered by Navy to shipboard duty as medical officer.

Public Health Service reported average life span of white women at new high of 71 years.

Senior Scholastic (public) poll showed 47% of teenage girls and 65% of boys oppose married women working.

L.F. Dunn became 1st woman to be Director of American Public Welfare Association.

1951 Employment of women reached new peak; over 19 million.

State Department reported number in Foreign Service increased tenfold since World War II began.

F.E. Willis became 1st woman nominated for promotion to class 1 in U.S. diplomatic service.

1953 The Second Sex, by Simone de Beauvoir, appeared in American Edition.

Mrs. Luce sworn in as Ambassador to Italy, 1st woman Ambassador to major nation.

F.E. Willis appointed Ambassador to Switzerland; became 3rd woman Ambassador.

1954 American Newspaper Publishers Association Advertisement Bureau report working women largely ignored by advertisers.

1955 Labor Department conference on womanpower; half women were educated and employed for emergency use.

Dr. Bartemeier held most women with small children who work are stimulated by neurotic competition.

Population Reference Bureau found U.S. on way to being controlled by elderly women.

Dr. Cox reported rise in stomach ulcers among career women.

Barnard president McIntosh stressed need to promote intellectuality of women after education and marriage.

At Smith College, A.E. Stevenson urged young women avoid trend toward conformity in future roles as housewives and mothers.

Challenge of Being a Woman, by H. Sherman and M. Coe; discussed reasons for unhappiness of many.

1956 YWCA surveyed 15,000, mostly under 35 years old, on interests and desires; showed general unrest, indicated by desire for travel and new friends.

Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs president M. Rawalt urged women aim for greater influence in politics.

Education Policies Commission-sponsored study of manpower urged services of women by spurred by encouraging them to enter areas new mainly reserved for men.

U.S. Census Bureau reported that females outnumber males by 1,381,000, greatest disparity in 25 and older age groups; decline in male ratio since 1910 linked to higher male mortality rate and drop in male immigration; males outnumber females in under 24 age group.

1957 YWCA National Board survey of about 8,000 women, showed 68% satisfied with present roles.

1958-1960 Labor Union membership among women workers declines from 13.8% to 12.5%.

1959 Business and Professional Women's Foundation established fellowship to spur research in problems relating to professional women.

Lorraine H. Hansberry first Negro to receive New York Drama Critics Circle Award, for A Raisin in the Sun.

E. Flexner book on woman's Rights Movement reviewed.

1960 National Council of Women of U.S. conference (New York City); on women as nation's greatest untapped resource.

National Woman's party sent deputations on behalf of equal rights amendment to all announced candidates for President.

1960-1970 Women held 65.3% of 11.9 million jobs added to work force.

Proportion of jobs held by women increases from 33% to 38%.

Clerical jobs rose by 3.8 million.

Number of maids dropped to 546,000.

Women account for only 3.5% of the job gain in engineering.

Contraceptive pill achieved mass acceptance.

Day care movement began.

The new women's movement emerged.

1961 Elizabeth Gurley Flynn became first woman national chairman of U.S. Communist Party.

President's Commission on the Status of Women established.

1962 American Women: The Changing Image, ed. Beverly Cassara, published.

All-women conference sponsored by National Council of Women, New York City.

1963 President's Commission on the Status of Women made 24 proposals to curb bias against women, reported to President Kennedy based on 22-month study.

President Kennedy created Cabinet Commission headed by Secretary Wirtz and Citizens' Advisory Council to aid in drive to raise status of women.

Equal Pay Act passed, covering women as well as men.

Feminine Mystique, by Betty Friedan, published.

1964 Civil Rights Act baned sex discrimination in employment.

Ruby Doris Robinson raised women's issue within Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee.

Fannie Lou Hamer and Ruby Doris Robinson led Freedom Democratic Party at Democratic National Convention.

Senator Smith nominated for President at Republic National Convention, 1st woman so honored by major party.

Radcliffe Institute for Independent Study offered paperback book, The Next Step, advising women with families on opportunities for part-time study, careers and volunteer work.

1965 Lucy Stone League met to rally support in fight for equal rights, New York City.

Mrs. P.R. Harris named Ambassador to Luxembourg, 1st Negro woman ambassador.

National Council of Jewish Women planned national drive to focus attention on problems of impoverished women, need for child-care programs for working mothers, and many other community services to free women.

One-fifth of children under 14 need day care, under 5% were in licensed centers.

1966 National Organization of Women founded.

1st class of 100 women graduated from George Washington University program,Developing New Horizons, designed to stimulate housewives' interest in vocational fields.

1967 National Welfare Rights Organization founded.

First "Be-In" held, at Golden Gate Park, San Francisco.

Jeannette Rankin Brigade March on Washington to Protest the Vietnam War took place.

Vice President Humphrey stated women as the 'most significant underrealized human resource' in U.S.

National Federation of Business and Professional Women Clubs charged subtle and overt discrimination

against women persists in many fields; cited restrictive labor laws in many states.

National Council of Jewish Women described plight of 14 million impoverished American women, especially Negroes; urged need for economic safeguards against exploitation as well as further social services.

1968 Women's liberation first national conference held, in Chicago.

Women's Equity Action League founded.

Miss America Contest picketed.

Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy from Hell (WITCH) formed.

The Feminists (New York) organized.

Congresswoman Shirly Chisolm elected; lst Negro woman elected.

National Council of Negro Women sponsored conference (New York), as part of a two-year project, aided by Ford Foundation, to train some 6,000 women in 18 states to organize community-improvement projects.

Presidental Advisory Council on Status of Women proposed model law affirming right of married women to hold property and right of all women to establish own domicile.

Voice of the Women's Liberation Movement (Chicago) became first movement journal.

Notes from the First Year published by New York Radical Women.

1969 Redstockings founded.

Gay Liberation Front formed.

Church women organized.

Bread and Roses (Boston) formed.

New York Radical Feminists founded.

Women's caucuses formed in American Sociological Association, American Political Science Assocaition, American Psychological Association, Modern

Language Association.

Show of wedding fashions at Madison Square Garden, New York City, picketed by women protesting oppression.

Congress to Unite Women, new coalition of militant groups, held NE region meeting; issued reform proposals concerning women's rights; sought equal-rights amendment to Constitution.

Presidents's Citizens' Advisory Council on Status of Women held 1st meeting with President Nixon; held women more discriminated against than Negroes.

Presidential Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities presented radical report: A Matter of Simple Justice.

U.S. Women's Bureau-advocated Equal Rights Amendment.

APPENDIX B

WOMEN'S PUBLIC ACTIVITIES RECORDED IN THE NEW YORK TIMES INDEX, 1945-1970

1. Women's conventions, meetings, speeches and publications.
2. Women's achievements achknowledged.
3. Public urges for women's participation in public activities.
4. Public and Government responses to women's various activities.

Table XVI and Figure 31 indicates that women's public activities has been diminishing since 1945. The lowest point has been the period 1960 to 1964. The 1965 to 1969 period was the turning point for women's activities. In the year 1970 alone, 221 activities were recorded by the New York Times Index.

The findings from the New York Times Index coincide with those from other sources as indicated by the previous part of the paper which summarized the major events of the women's movement. Women's activities caught public attention during the war was related to their significant role in replacing men entering the military service.

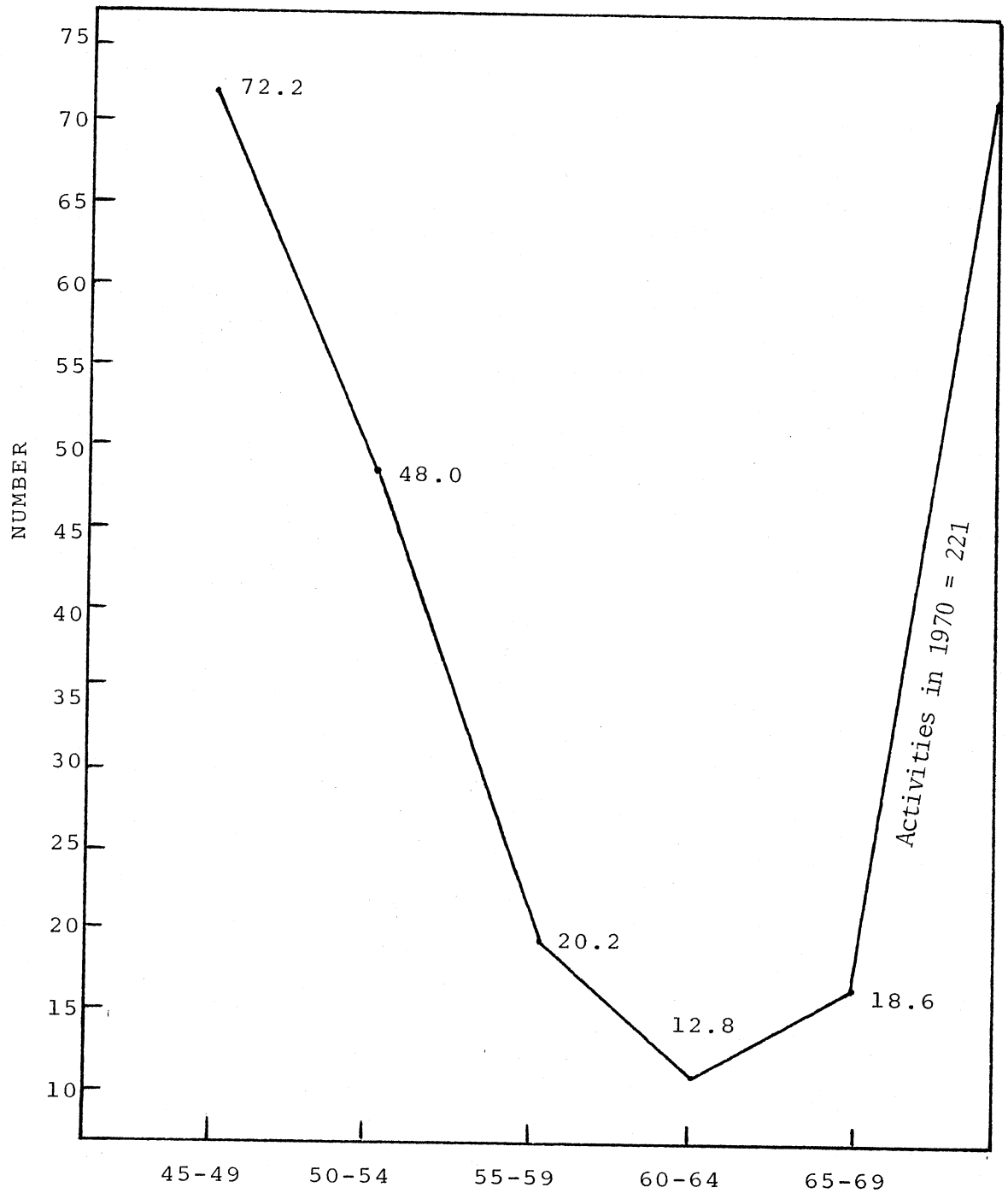
The period after World War II is marked by women's individual advances in economic opportunities and higher education. This section is dedicated to the analysis of the amount of women's activities from 1945 to 1970.

TABLE XVI

NUMBER OF WOMEN'S ACTIVITIES RECORDED IN THE NEW YORK TIMES INDEX, 1945 to 1970

1945- 65	1950- 80	1955- 25
1946- 47	1951- 64	1956- 29
1947- 85	1952- 31	1957- 25
1948- 92	1953- 46	1958- 12
1949- 72	1954- 19	1959- 10
Average- 72.2	Average- 48.0	Average- 20.2
1960- 11	1965- 16	1970- 221
1961- 6	1966- 24	
1962- 17	1967- 16	
1963- 10	1968- 22	
1964- 20	1969- 15	
Average- 12.8	Average- 18.6	

Source: New York Times Index, Section on Women-United States. 1945-1970.



Source: Table, XVI

Figure 31. Women's Activities recorded in the New York Times Index, 1945-1970

VITA

Esther Sui-Ying Ho

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