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Bulletin of the Women's Bureau No. 236

women

IN HIGHER-LEVEL POSITIONS

A survey of women in positions of responsibility in selected fields of business and industry and in specified areas

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Maurice J. Tobin, Secretary

WOMEN'S BUREAU

Frieda S. Miller, Director



Letter of Transmittal

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
WOMEN'S BUREAU,
Washington, March 28, 1950.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit a report on women in the higher-level positions in selected fields of business and industry. The Women's Bureau has received many requests for information about women in positions of responsibility, and many inquiries concerning obstacles to their advancement. The American Association of University Women, the Business and Professional Women's Clubs, colleges, and trade unions have expressed an interest in having such a report.

Within the business and industrial fields little has been known about the extent to which women have risen above the ranks of subordinates. In these areas of endeavor we have had to rely upon scattered reports and individual opinion. There has been, in fact, little analysis of women's status in business and industry, the extent to which they are holding higher-level jobs, and the factors which contribute to success and failure.

The study deals with the attitudes both of management and of the women who have advanced to responsible positions and with the bearing of both on achievement. It has sought to throw some light on the extent to which training and the ambition of women themselves are determining factors.

Of particular interest to the career-minded woman, the study is also of general interest, since if women's abilities are not being fully developed or used, the Nation is deprived of an important part of its labor resources. On the other hand, evidence that women are increasingly being judged on merit may inspire more young women to prepare themselves for positions of high responsibility, and so increase their opportunities and their usefulness.

The report was written by Frances Van Schaick under the general direction of Mary N. Hilton, Chief of the Research Division. The field work was supervised by Ethel Erickson, and all statistical compilations were under the direction of Isadora Spring.

Respectfully submitted.

FRIEDA S. MILLER, *Director.*

HON. MAURICE J. TOBIN,
Secretary of Labor.

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INTRODUCTION

Women's present status provides freedom to participate in a broad range of activities almost unknown to the woman of 50 years ago. The import of this freedom can be fully understood only by realizing that its foundations rest not alone in the vast achievements of the movement for women's rights, but in the complexities of a changing social and economic order with its revolutionizing effects upon home and work life. Not only have women achieved a position of self-confident participation in social and community relationships; in their whole mode of living they have also been presented with a variety of choices not known to their forebears. They have indeed been both "pushed" and "pulled" out of an area of activity once circumscribed by the household—"pushed" by the lesser requirements upon their time and interest by the withdrawal from the home of many productive activities, and "pulled" by expanding opportunities and the demands for income in an economy of ever-increasing living standards.

This is not to say that in the workaday world, which is the field of our immediate concern, opportunities for women are commensurate with those of men, nor that the pattern of living for women may not differ in many ways from that of men. Nor should the inference be drawn that long-standing obstacles to achievement have now been banished. Traditional attitudes and institutionalized practices which are discriminatory of women still exist. These may be expected in so new and changing a social and economic structure as ours.

It seems no longer appropriate, however, to assume that obstacles to women's achievement rest chiefly in the "tyranny of men." Both men and women are the victims of tradition and prejudice. Both are affected by the continuance of a "mode of thinking which has not caught up with the actual conditions of our times."¹ A more objective view of

¹ This conception of women's problems of opportunity and achievement has been clearly stated by C. Mildred Thompson, until recently Dean of Vassar College:

the problem of women's opportunities and achievements will take into consideration not only the attitudes of management and workers but a complex of other factors in the social and economic situation which affects the opportunities of women, and their actual accomplishments on the job.

It is within this broad framework that the present report of effort and accomplishment of women in a particular field was conceived. A matter of growing interest is the extent to which women are using their greater freedom to achieve success in the higher levels of employment. That women today are holding positions of heavy responsibility is common knowledge. In politics, in public service, in the professions, women are successfully assuming responsibilities once accepted as appropriate for men alone. How widespread is this participation, what obstacles must be overcome, what are the positive factors which lead to success: these are less well-known. Of achievements in the business and industrial world even less is known. The casual observer might well find it difficult to name offhand an industrial magnate or a corporation executive who is a woman. Not long ago an article in the Survey Graphic characterized the average business office as a "beehive filled with women, ruled by a few men."² In a speech given at a Women's Bureau Conference (1948), a prominent economist and social philosopher said, "In all honesty, the posts for women in many organizations are mostly confined to the lower echelons. * * * Progress has of course been made, but business and industry are in all the crucially determining factors still a *man's world*."³

There has been, in fact, little analysis of women's status within industry and business—the extent to which women are holding higher-level jobs, the factors which influence attainment, and those which are obstacles to achievement. This study has been designed in response to the need for more such information. It deals with the extent to which higher-level jobs are open to women, the qualifications demanded, the relative success of men and women in obtaining such jobs, and the background and experience of the women who are holding higher-level positions.

The Women's Bureau publication of three years ago, "Women's Occupations Through Seven Decades," gives background and perspective for the present study. While questions of job level were touched on only

"Social pressures change and ideologies of society cause shifts in acceptable standards. The development of women's powers, the conception of their rights, and the measure of their contributions cannot be wisely evaluated apart from the whole of society and the forces which control it. These forces are not immutable, but are constantly changing." U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. *Women's Bureau Conference, 1948*. Bulletin 224. Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1948. Pp. 50-51.

² Smith, Harrison. *Women are a fantasy*. Survey Graphic, December 1948, p. 509.

³ U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. *Women's Bureau Conference, 1948*. Bulletin 224. Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1948. P. 74.

indirectly, that report showed women increasingly participating as “proprietors, managers, and officials”—the census classification most closely comparable to the “higher-level” job classification used in the present study. Within the fields to be considered in this report, merchandising was the only exception. In 1910 women proprietors, managers, and officials in general merchandise, apparel and accessories, shoe stores, and milliners (not in factory) were almost 40 percent of the workers in this occupational group; by 1940 they were only slightly over 25 percent.⁴ On the other hand, in 1940 the proportion of women among insurance officials was about 7 percent, in contrast to somewhat over 1 percent in 1910. By 1940 women were about 4.5 percent of the proprietors, managers, and officials in banking and other finance, in contrast to about 2.5 percent in 1910.⁵

As for women in industry, “Women’s Occupations Through Seven Decades” reported as follows:

As increasing numbers of women have entered paid work and have taken up various occupations in the world of business and industry, they have also had growing, though still limited, opportunities to enter those positions that carry great prestige in our business-dominated economy. Major increases seem to be reported beginning about the turn of the century. Nearly 27,000 women were proprietors, managers, and officials in industry in 1940, over 100 times as many as were reported in the 1870 census. They were 3.5 percent of the total in 1940, a proportion nearly 10 times as great as in 1870.

In 1910, women constituted about 1.5 percent of all workers in this group, in contrast to 3.5 percent in 1940.⁶ More recent census figures show that since 1940 the number of women “proprietors, managers, and officials” has more than doubled.

Despite the steady gain through the years in women’s participation as “proprietors, managers, and officials,” statistics on income give evidence that women are still far from having achieved the same success as men in reaching the better-paid positions in business and industry. In 1948 with the exception of those under 20 years, women’s incomes averaged considerably less than men’s in every age group, occupation group, and major industry. Median annual earnings for all employed women were \$1,522, more than \$1,000 less than median annual earnings for employed men. Over eight times as many men as women earned more than \$3,500.⁷

Supplementary evidence that women have lagged far behind men in achieving the higher-paid jobs is offered by a survey of women college graduates of the class of 1934, conducted in 1949 for the New York

⁴ U. S. Department of Labor. Women’s Bureau. *Women’s occupations through seven decades*. By Janet M. Hooks. Bulletin 218. Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1947. P. 184.

⁵ *Ibid.* Pp. 188–9.

⁶ *Ibid.* P. 185.

⁷ U. S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. *Current Population Reports, Consumer Income, 1948*. P–60, No. 6, table 15, p. 26.

Times. The graduates of Barnard, Bryn Mawr, Mount Holyoke, Radcliffe, Smith, Vassar, and Wellesley who had been working 15 years since graduation, were earning an average of \$3,790 a year. Their husbands, 83 percent of whom were college graduates, were receiving an average annual salary of somewhat more than \$9,800. Even granted that the men were some years older than the women, the differential is startling, although, to the reporter who made the survey, the average wage of the career women seemed "impressive."⁸

Information on management attitudes relating to the appointment or promotion of women to the higher-level jobs has been very limited.⁹ However, a study made by two associates of the Yale Labor and Management Center contributes useful background material for appraising attitudes. The authors sought information on hiring practices in respect to "executive and administrative assistants" otherwise defined as "middle management"—the group composed of all management above first-line supervisors, except the president, vice presidents, secretary, and treasurer. The survey showed that in these two communities:

Not only is this area of middle management dominated by men at the present time, but there is no indication of a desire on the part of employers for a change. Only about 8 percent of the people in this category now employed in the two cities are women, and they are chiefly in jobs like a president's secretary who has quasi-executive duties, or assistant in the personnel department with particular relations with women workers. Seventy-five percent of the employers in New Haven and 83 percent in Charlotte preferred men.¹⁰

That industry during the war trained women in higher job skills and used women in jobs previously held only by men is a matter of record. But it is also a matter of record that even during the war "opportunities for upgrading and supervisory jobs for women were very limited."¹¹ A Women's Bureau report in 1944 stated:

Unfortunately there are many cases where women still have been given far too little chance to be upgraded to their highest skills * * *. Moreover, numerous instances are reported of the placement of women in jobs that are not in the usual line for the job progression; in such blind-alley jobs neither proficiency nor length of service can bring these women beyond a limited early stage of the work. If this situation continues, it will be a great disadvantage to women after the war, and in fact Government agencies are finding promotional discrimination against them as one of the

⁸ Willig, John. *Class of '34 (Female) fifteen years later*. New York Times Magazine, June 12, 1949. P. 10.

⁹ A recent study made for the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc., entitled "Opportunities for Careers for Women," gives useful information on the progress of women in insurance, cosmetics, and department stores and examines the reasons for women's failure to make further progress.

¹⁰ Noland, E. William, and Bakke, E. Wight. *Workers wanted*. A study of employers' hiring policies, preferences, and practices in New Haven and Charlotte. Yale Labor and Management Center Series, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1949. P. 79.

¹¹ U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. *Women's Bureau Conference, 1948*. Bulletin 224. Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1948. P. 15.

major reasons why women quit jobs in war plants. Whether or not this continues * * * will depend to some extent on how proficient women show themselves to be.¹²

In a community survey which was made by the Women's Bureau during reconversion, it was discovered that, with the end of World War II, many of the jobs assigned to women during the war were again becoming men's work.¹³

The present study is necessarily limited in scope. It contains facts about women holding higher-level positions in four fields of work—department stores, home offices of insurance companies, banks, and manufacturing—in the Boston-Hartford area, Philadelphia, and Chicago.¹⁴ It also contains the views and attitudes of management and of women holding positions of responsibility. Such evidence must be clearly distinguished from "factual" evidence. But however conflicting and inconsistent they may sometimes appear to be, attitudes themselves are an important part of the occupational climate in which women work and properly evaluated they provide useful supplementary background for an appraisal of women in the higher-level positions. Conclusions from such a study can only be suggestive of the general situation. Yet here, for the first time, systematic coverage replaces scattered individual reports. Women about to enter the business world will find enlightenment from the observations and recommendations of the men and women who were interviewed. Executives in business and industry will find thought-provoking material for evaluating current attitudes and policies.

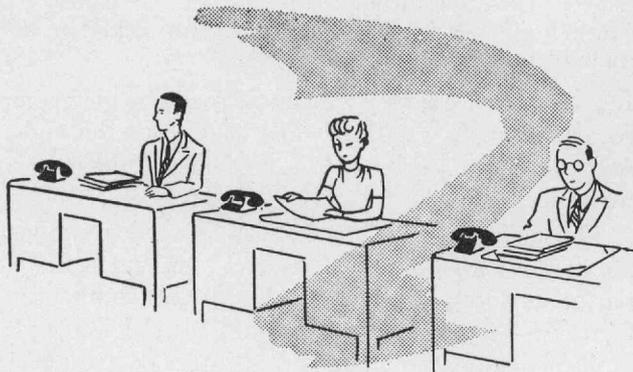
Of particular interest to the career-minded woman, this study is also of general interest. If women's abilities are not being fully developed or used, it deprives the Nation of the full use of an important part of its labor resources. On the other hand evidence that women are increasingly being judged on merit may inspire more young women to prepare themselves for positions of responsibility, and so increase their usefulness to society.

Since tangible and intangible factors combine to produce the very real situation faced by the career-minded woman as she looks to the future, this report has placed on the record, along with the statistics, many factors which defy scientific measurement but without which the statistics alone would lose much of their meaning. Together they present a picture of great interest, and one which it is believed marks a real advance in our knowledge of women's status in business and industry.

¹² U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. *A preview as to women workers in transition from war to peace.* By Mary Elizabeth Pidgeon. Special Bulletin 18. Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1944. Pp. 7-8.

¹³ U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. *Women workers after VJ-day in one community—Bridgeport, Conn.* Bulletin 216. Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1947. P. 12.

¹⁴ For complete coverage data and tables, see appendixes A and C, respectively.



SUMMARY

In all fields of work covered by the survey, many positions formerly considered "men's jobs" are today being held by women. While the status of women in many fields of department store work has long been assured, the acceptance of women in positions of responsibility in the other business and industrial fields has been of more recent origin.

There is evidence that the attitudes or limitations of women themselves may be no less an obstacle to advancement than traditional attitudes of management. The survey reveals that women themselves did not always have the necessary requisites for further advancement, nor did they always take advantage of the opportunities for special training offered them. The study also indicates that women of ambition and ability who had performed outstanding service were often advanced in the face of a general company policy unfavorable to women.

As women are successful in securing training, and demonstrating ability in job performance and a desire to advance, their accomplishments and work attitudes are encouraging a changing attitude on the part of management. The survey shows a trend towards an increasing recognition that women should be judged on merit, and receive the promotions and titles for which they qualify.

Significant numbers of women were found in higher-level positions in all of the fields covered by the survey, but only in department stores was there an even distribution of such jobs among men and women. In the home offices of the insurance companies, women held one-fifth of the higher-level positions; in the banks and manufacturing firms no more than 15 percent of the higher-level positions were held by women.

In no category of business and industry was the ratio of women to men in higher-level positions comparable to the ratio of women to men in total employment. In department stores and in insurance companies, women constituted roughly two-thirds of all employees, and in banks and manufacturing nearly one-half of all employees were women.

In department stores, more than half of these women were in the merchandising division, usually as buyers or assistant buyers. The rest

held a variety of jobs in other departments—as section heads, floor managers, personnel directors, advertising managers, artists or copy-writers—to name but a few.

In insurance companies, over half of the women in the higher-level jobs were clerical supervisors, work which is more traditionally “women’s work.” However, a few occupied positions in specialized fields of insurance requiring a high degree of skill.

In banks, two-thirds of the women in higher-level jobs were tellers or clerical supervisors—a third held a variety of positions, some at a fairly high level of responsibility, including credit and security analysts, tax experts, accountants, administrative or executive assistants.

In manufacturing, about half of the women in higher-level positions were in production. The remaining half were in various departments, chiefly personnel or office and finance—a few with positions of considerable responsibility.

The classification “higher level jobs” as used in the survey covers a wide range of responsibility levels, which must be taken into consideration in measuring the achievement of women in business and industry. In general, the women in higher-level jobs in the fields surveyed were in the middle brackets. Only in insurance companies were the majority of the women at the lowest level of responsibility covered by the classification higher-level jobs. But, with the possible exception of department stores, neither were they found to any large extent in the highest levels of responsibility. In the firms covered by the survey, not more than 4 percent of the officers in any of the industries covered were women; in banks the proportion of positions with officer status held by women was almost negligible (in spite of the fact that nearly one-third of all higher-level positions in the banks surveyed carried with them officer status). In the production operations of manufacturing, very few women were found above the forelady level. Only three women were actuaries in insurance companies, and in banks comparatively few of the women were engaged in technical or administrative positions of a very high order. Only in stores were women holding highly responsible positions in substantial proportions, but even here few held positions at the top level.

It was apparent that women who held the responsible jobs had taken a marked interest in their work and had made unusual efforts to be successful at it. The vast majority of the women interviewed believed that they owed their promotion to having done well on the job. When asked what other women should do to get ahead, a preponderance of women said “better work performance and attitudes.” Also stressed were “ambition or desire to succeed,” “education and training,” “better human relations and social attitudes.”

The belief that certain jobs are “suitable” favored women in certain fields. A business whose clients were women was considered a “woman’s

field." Sometimes a generalization about women's abilities, such as the belief that women are better on detail work, encouraged promotion in certain fields.

In some cases, most notably engineering, World War II had opened new opportunities for women through providing them with the special training which they might not otherwise have received. The fact that even a small percent of the women so trained have remained in industry and have been successful has meant a growing acceptance of women in these new fields.

Many women who were interviewed felt that traditional attitudes were an obstacle to women's advancement. With the exception of women in department stores, this factor was mentioned by a large proportion of the women interviewed. These women felt that the assumption that certain jobs were "men's jobs" would prevent them from advancing to better positions. Management itself, particularly in banks and insurance companies, also recognized this as a factor.

However, management representatives also expressed the belief that women are handicapped by their lack of permanency and the distractions of family responsibility. Many firms in finance and manufacturing reported giving women training in specialized fields, only to have a large percentage leave within a year or so. Interviews with the women themselves indicated that there was perhaps little foundation for this concern about lack of permanency among the group employed in positions of responsibility. When asked, "What do you want to be doing 5 years from now?" very few said "retire." The vast majority wanted to continue in their present job or hold a better position.

Both management and the women in higher-level positions also indicated some limitations in women's job qualifications. Women's lack of education, training, or work experience necessary for certain higher-level jobs was given by some firms as a reason why women had not been placed in such positions. Women themselves often felt that lack of adequate preparation disqualified them for further advancement. In some instances opportunities for in-training were less for women than for men; but often, where training courses were open to both men and women, experience indicated that women were less likely to take advanced courses, although interest was widespread in the beginning courses.

That there may be some merit to this point of view is indicated by the general level of education found among women in the higher-level positions. In department stores nearly half and in the other industries considerably more than half had had no more than a high school education; about one-fourth had had a college education, with the exception of those in manufacturing where even fewer were college trained. Nearly all of the women in banks and about half of the women in the other industries had had other special training, chiefly business or other technical training.

A marked characteristic of most of the women interviewed in the higher-level positions was a genuine enthusiasm for their work. Most of them expressed a keen interest in the job and accepted as a challenge the duties and responsibilities which accompanied their positions.

Taken as a group they were somewhat older than were women in the general labor market. Three-fourths were 35 years of age or over, in contrast to half for the labor force as a whole (April 1948). Also larger proportions were single than in the general labor force.

Work histories of women in the higher-level positions indicated that most of them had had many years experience. In every field of business and industry covered by the survey, nearly two-thirds of them had been working for more than 15 years. Substantial numbers had had all or most of this work experience with the same firm. This long experience is evidence that women at these levels of responsibility at least, are not lacking in qualities of permanence and stability.

That there were seldom rigid patterns of progression to the higher-level positions was apparent from an examination of the background and experience of women who had achieved such positions. Education and experience as well as personal qualifications often varied among women holding similar positions.

Personnel work held possibilities for women of many different backgrounds. Training jobs might require teaching experience or aptitudes in this direction. In counselling jobs emphasis was sometimes given to personal qualities—ability to get along with people, and sympathetic understanding. Job testing and certain social service activities in the larger personnel departments might call for college work in psychology. Women with nurses' training sometimes had been promoted to executive positions in personnel departments, especially in the manufacturing firms.

Some buyers and merchandise managers had college work or training in schools of retailing, but many had grammar school or high school education, supplemented by in-store training courses in retailing and store operations.

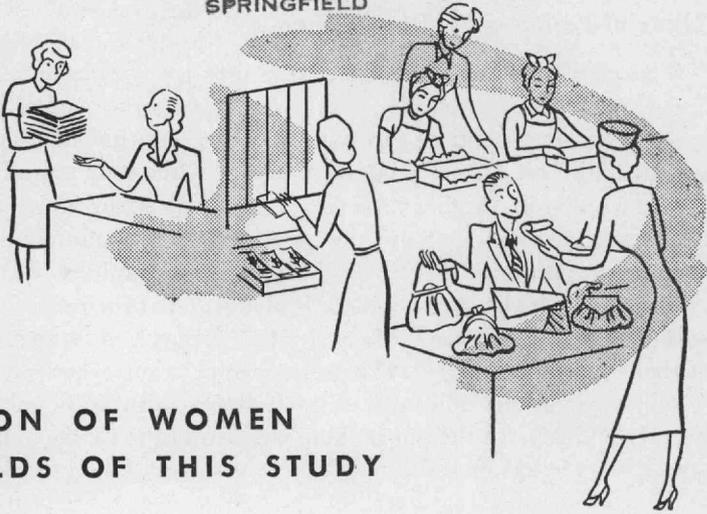
Women in factory-supervisory jobs were on the whole persons with a grammar school or high school education only. Advancement had come because of satisfactory job performance and proven ability to work with people. While a few women had moved from factory-supervisory work into personnel work, advancement possibilities were exceedingly limited.

For the better positions in engineering, chemical and bacteriological research and testing, college or postgraduate work were prerequisites. Interesting laboratory-technician jobs in these fields had been obtained by women without such training, but possibilities for further advancement were rare.

Women holding higher-level positions in printing and publishing usually had a college background, but occasionally women with less

formal education were found, typically in technical jobs of publishing. Women in editorial work generally had college training and sometimes experience in writing or teaching.

In insurance and banking, women holding specialized positions as investment and security analysts, statisticians, etc., were usually college women with training in mathematics. The most highly specialized job in insurance is that of "actuary," a position requiring a number of years of special training. Few women have spent the many years of training necessary for such jobs, but there was in each city one, at least, in the firms covered by the survey who had done so.



POSITION OF WOMEN IN FIELDS OF THIS STUDY

Success in Attaining Higher-Level Positions

Women were holding a wide variety of higher-level positions in the department stores, banks, insurance companies, and manufacturing establishments covered by this survey, giving vivid proof that ability to perform supervisory, administrative, and specialized jobs of all kinds is not purely a masculine attribute. In the fields studied, many positions formerly believed to be "men's jobs" were being held by women, indicating that women are preparing themselves for advancement, and that management is discovering that the person best qualified for promotion may very well turn out to be a woman.

A broad picture of women's success in attaining higher-level positions is provided by figures indicating the ratio of women to men in total employment in the industries covered, and the ratio of women to men in the higher-level positions in these same industries. That women have made greater progress in some industries than in others is apparent. In the department stores, where slightly more than two-thirds of the employees were women, the higher-level positions were equally divided between women and men. In the other industries covered, women had not yet made such striking inroads into the higher brackets. In insurance, where almost two-thirds of the employees were women, and in banks and manufacturing, where somewhat less than half of the employees were women, men were holding four to six times as many of the higher-level positions as were women.

There were women officers in all of the fields covered by the survey, but it was still the exceptional woman who had reached officer status. In the department stores and manufacturing firms, 4 percent of the officers were women; in the insurance companies only 2 percent; in banks only 1 percent.

Types of Positions Held by Women

The classification "executive, administrative, professional, technical, and supervisory,"¹ includes within each category a broad range of responsibility levels and of job requirements. Within this wide range of responsibilities it is interesting to note that while only a small proportion of the women in "higher level jobs" were officers or active in top management, on the other hand they were not predominately at the lowest levels of responsibility. Only in insurance companies were the majority of women in higher-level jobs occupying posts of a routine nature and with restricted responsibilities. In the department stores, 80 percent of the women in higher-level jobs were in positions which would seem to require specialized knowledge of the business, or professional competence in a given field. In the banks there were almost as many women holding positions as tellers or assistant tellers as were holding clerical-supervisory jobs. In the factories covered by the survey, over twice as many women were foreladies² as were holding positions at the lowest levels of responsibility.

Status of Women in Department Stores

Standing as a symbol of women's advancement in the merchandising field is the woman president of one of the large department stores covered by the survey. The movement which began before the Civil War to release men for more manly pursuits than "cramping their genius over chintzes and delaines" has carried women far beyond the sales clerk jobs which were then their highest ambition.³ Even in the small sample of the Nation-wide situation which the present survey represents, women might be found in almost any position in the store. Some of the women's specialty shops were largely staffed by women, and in some cases anticipated having a completely feminine staff in the future.

The higher-level jobs in the department stores covered by the survey were evenly divided between men and women. Among the various departments there was considerable variation in the proportions of the higher-level jobs held by men and women. Almost all of the specialized shopping-service positions were held by women, as were 85 percent of

¹ See appendix A for definitions of higher-level positions and levels of responsibility.

² Interviewers found that the position of "forelady" was often not at the same level of responsibility as that of "foreman." A few women said they were foremen, meaning that their jobs involved broader responsibilities than those of forelady.

³ A boycott of those shops which did not employ women was advocated by the New York Daily Tribune of March 7, 1845, which said: "All our stores mainly visited by women should be attended by women. It is a shame that fine, hearty lads, who might clear their 50 acres each of western forest * * * should be hived up in hot salesrooms, handing down tapes and ribbons, and cramping their genius over chintzes and delaines." Quoted in *Report on condition of woman and child wage-earners in the United States*. S. Doc. 645. Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1910-12. Vol. IX. P. 235.

the higher-level jobs in personnel and employee welfare. Nearly two-thirds of the higher-level jobs in the publicity departments and slightly over half of those in the merchandising departments were held by women. Somewhat less than half of the higher-level positions in departments having to do with store operations and with general office, finance, and control were held by women. Relatively few women in proportion to men held jobs in top management.

The merchandising division has been called the "hub" of the store's activities and over half of the higher-level jobs in the stores covered were in this division. This is the division which is responsible for the buying of merchandise and its sale and distribution to customers. Over half of the women in higher-level jobs in the stores covered were in this division. The preponderance of women holding responsible jobs in merchandising (1,500 out of 1,600) were buyers or assistant buyers. However, 12 women in 7 of the 29 stores were merchandise managers, 10 were assistant merchandise managers, 12 held jobs as fashion coordinators or stylists. Thirty women in the merchandising divisions of these stores served as heads or assistant heads of receiving, wrapping, and packaging departments; about half as many were clerical supervisors.

Over-all, there were approximately as many women as men in head buyer positions, and there were one and one-half times as many women as men in assistant-buyer jobs. There appeared to be a disposition to assign men to certain departments, women to others. In none of the stores covered did a man hold the position of buyer or assistant buyer in infants' wear. On the other hand, buyers of men's and boys' clothing were almost always men, although one woman buyer and three women assistant buyers were in this field. Housewares and blankets, rather surprisingly, seemed to be considered more suitable for men. Yet a woman buyer in hardware and paint was said by the personnel director to "know more than any man about the houseware department," and a woman had been promoted to the position of buyer in a furniture and bedding department.

Over one-tenth of the women in the higher-level positions in the stores covered were active in store operations. This division is responsible for purchasing supplies and equipment for the store as well as for the handling of merchandise. Store superintendents and floor and section managers are in this department. Of some 350 women active in responsible jobs in store operations, over 200 were acting as section heads, and nearly 100 were working as floor managers or assistant floor managers.

While only 4 percent of the employees holding higher-level jobs in the stores covered were in the personnel and employee welfare department, 7 percent of the women holding responsible jobs were in this field.⁴ Most

⁴ Including 42 nurses and 1 doctor.

of the women in personnel were serving as assistants to personnel directors, employment managers, and training directors. However, 8 women had become personnel directors; 18 were employment managers; and 23 were training directors. Some women in personnel work reported that with the unionization of the department stores, management's attitude toward women in top-personnel jobs had changed. And while men were not replacing women in these positions, in at least one store, a newly created job of "industrial relations director" had been given to a man on the grounds that men negotiate with union representatives more acceptably than women.

Over 200 women held positions of responsibility in the publicity and sales-promotion departments in all but 3 of the department stores covered by the survey. Eleven women were advertising managers, three were promotion managers. Twenty women held jobs as assistant advertising managers. Most of the women in advertising and promotion worked as artists or copywriters. One store reported that the best display manager the store had ever had—"a genius"—was a woman who had replaced a man during the war.

Mail-order selling, telephone service, and personal customer services are included among the responsibilities of the shopping service. There seemed to be widespread assignment of women to handle special customer services: customers' shopping chief, comparison shoppers, and heads of special shops and services. Fifty-three of the 57 jobs in this classification in the stores covered were held by women.

The general office, sometimes called the finance division or accounting division, has the responsibility for the store's money transactions. In this department payrolls and purchasing orders are prepared; all financial records are kept and audited; and departmental statistics are compiled. The credit section deals with customers' credit, records of purchases, and billing. Women held almost half of the higher-level positions in the finance and control division of the stores covered. The larger number were section supervisors of bookkeeping and accounting, cashiering, or payroll. However, women were also found holding a wide variety of general office positions including those of office manager, assistant office manager, credit manager, assistant credit manager, and statistician.

Six percent of the women in higher-level positions in the department stores performed a variety of other services. Many had become restaurant managers or assistants. Others were in charge of alterations and workrooms. In almost every store there was a woman as chief telephone operator. Quite a few women were holding executive positions in beauty shops. In one of the largest stores visited, a woman was head of store protection, which includes protecting the stock and the customers against fire, theft, loss, accidents, or damage.

Higher-level positions held by women in department stores

Officers.	Market-research specialists.
Branch store managers and assistants.	Merchandise managers and assistants.
Administrative assistants.	Nurses (registered).
Consultants to management.	Office managers and assistants.
Executive secretaries.	Personnel employees such as—
Adjustment managers and assistants.	Employee counsellors
Advertising managers and assistants.	Employment managers and assistants.
Artists.	Interviewers and testers.
Buyers and assistants.	Job and wage analysts.
Clerical supervisors in—	Personnel directors and assistants.
Merchandising.	Supervisors of personnel records.
Office.	Training directors and assistants.
Personnel.	Pharmacists.
Comparison-shopping supervisors and assistants.	Physicians.
Consumer-relations specialists.	Public relations directors.
Copywriters.	Publicity directors.
Credit managers and assistants.	Purchasing agents and assistants.
Customer-shopping-service supervisors and assistants.	Radio and television program directors.
Display managers (assistants).	Receiving- and packing-department supervisors and assistants.
Editors of company paper.	Research workers.
Editors of sales publications or leaflets.	Sales-budget-control analysts.
Elevator operator supervisors.	Sales-promotion managers and assistants.
Fashion coordinators.	Section heads.
Fashion promotion supervisors.	Service managers.
Floor managers and assistants.	Sign-shop supervisors.
Interior decorators.	Special department consultants in—
Librarians.	Brides bureaus.
Mail-order shopping service.	Church bureaus.
Managers and assistant managers of—	Home-planning centers.
Alterations and workrooms.	Maternity bureaus.
Beauty shops.	Travel and ticket bureaus.
Fur storage and repair.	Statisticians.
General repair desk.	Store-protection chiefs.
Restaurants.	Stylists.
Sewing and art needlework schools.	Telephone operators (chief).

Status of Women in Insurance Companies

The business of insurance is many-faceted and calls for a great variety of skills not readily classified into categories based on levels of responsibility or along lines of departmental organization. Among the more skilled specialists occupying positions of responsibility in insurance companies are the following: the actuaries, who determine how insurance policies are to be written, highly skilled work requiring a careful balancing

of risks against company income and operating costs; ⁵ underwriters who decide whether an application for insurance should be accepted; claim experts who decide which claims should be paid and which are untenable; investment analysts and other specialists who are responsible for the investment of company funds. Acting as advisors, and supplementing the functions of these specialists in the insurance business are medical men, nurses, lawyers, to name only a few. The administration of so specialized a business requires many skills since there must be persons responsible for personnel, purchasing, printing, filing, financial records and transactions. Some of the larger companies have their own libraries and restaurants.

For purposes of analysis they have been divided roughly into the following categories: Officers or other executives representing top-management positions; positions requiring specialized knowledge of insurance or closely related fields; clerical-supervisory positions; executive secretaries and administrative assistants.

Almost two-thirds of the employees in the 30 home offices of insurance companies covered by the survey were women, but they held only one-fifth of the higher-level jobs in these firms. While many were holding positions requiring specialized knowledge of insurance, over half were clerical supervisors, a position traditionally belonging to women, and one involving somewhat limited responsibilities in relation to the business as a whole.

There were no women officers in the 4 property and casualty companies in Philadelphia, but in 14 of the 26 life-insurance companies covered in the study there were 1 or more women officers, usually in small companies. The 21 women officers were holding responsible positions in many different departments. One was an associate actuary, one of three women actuaries in this study and one of four actuarial officers in her firm. Another handled public relations for her company, as well as representing the president of the company at many meetings. Several women officers were personnel directors or assistants. Two were in the legal departments of their companies. Women officers were also managers of other departments including the ordinary-life-claims division and the industrial-insurance division. In another instance a woman officer was general office manager. One junior officer was assistant division sales manager. Another was doing similar work, although her title was assistant secretary. One woman officer was acting treasurer, supervising all financial activities and making all company disbursements and payments. Still another, as statistician and assistant secretary, was responsible for all reports of the firm's financial standing.

⁵ The actuary is the most highly skilled person in insurance, and it has been said that the actuary "is to life insurance what the civil engineer is to bridge-building." See: Thal, Helen M. *Careers for youth in life insurance*. Institute of Life Insurance, New York, 1947. Pp. 8, 19.

Almost one-tenth of the women in higher-level jobs in life-insurance home offices, and a somewhat smaller proportion in casualty and property insurance, were holding positions as executive secretaries or administrative assistants. All had administrative duties involving responsibility for carrying out the routine work of the office, and acting in many matters for the officials when they were away. An administrative assistant to the president-treasurer of a small company had taken over the job of the secretary of the company when he had died some 8 years before, but she had never received the title. The company executive who was interviewed stated that it was his personal belief that she should be given the official title but he doubted that a woman would be elected in spite of the fact that she had served in that capacity for so long.

Several women in the insurance home offices covered by the survey were mortgage and investment security analysts. Over 30 women were underwriters. Almost as many were in actuarial or statistical work. Only one woman in each of the three cities was an actuary but several were junior actuaries. Two women in actuarial work had become officers and each was receiving the highest salary for women in her company. Five others in actuarial or statistical positions were among the highest-paid women in their firms. Only two women in underwriting were found among the top-salaried women in their companies, and one woman in underwriting had become an officer. There were women attorneys in four of the companies covered, in addition to the two women attorneys who had been made officers.

Higher-level positions held by women in insurance home offices

Officers.	Personnel employees such as—
Administrative assistants.	Employment managers and assistants.
Executive secretaries.	Interviewers and testers.
Accountants and auditors.	Job and wage analysts.
Actuarial and statistical technicians.	Personnel directors and assistants.
Actuaries.	Supervisors of personnel clerks.
Attorneys.	Training consultants.
Bond traders.	Policy-holders service bureau heads.
Cashiers and assistants.	Policy-title, option, and settlement department heads.
Claims examiners and adjusters.	Prospect bureau (managers and assistants).
Clerical supervisors.	Publicity writers.
Controllers (assistants).	Purchasing agents (assistants).
Custodians of security cage and vault.	Research workers.
Directors of Visiting Nurse Service.	Sales-promotion department heads.
Librarians.	Telephone operators (chief).
Medical technicians and registered nurses.	Underwriters.
Mortgage, security, and investment specialists.	Dieticians.
Museum heads.	Maintenance supervisors.
	Restaurant managers.

Many of the supervisory jobs and a great many of the specialized jobs were reported as new jobs for women in the past 10 years. While the majority of firms could name positions which had been held by women only during the war period, most of the insurance companies mentioned other jobs now held by women which they had not held 10 years ago. Most of the officerships for women had come in recent years, many since the war. While some companies still believed that women were good only for the clerical jobs, there were many management representatives who agreed with the personnel man who said "there is no job in the company which a qualified woman cannot hold."

Status of Women in Banks

The findings with respect to the position of women in banks gain added significance if viewed in the light of the rapid changes which have taken place in the past 10 years in the position of bank women throughout the country. The Association of Bank Women has pointed out that "before the war no individual bank had more than 40 percent women employees in relation to the total personnel—the average was nearer to between 15 percent and 25 percent. At the peak of the war period the percentage rose to an average of not less than 50 percent." In some regions the changes had been even greater. From Maine a woman banker reported that a published survey covering a representative group of banks showed that in her State women employees in the larger banks had increased from 35 percent in 1939 to 85 percent in 1945.⁶

That this increase in the employment of women has been accompanied by changes of great significance in the status of bank women may be seen from a comparison of reports at 2-year intervals of the Association of Bank Women. The report of 1942 said:

Prior to the present war women were employed in banks principally as stenographers, secretaries to officers, general clerks and a few special tellers. The attitude toward advancement has not changed much during the last 15 years. This was due, in part, to the women employed, many of whom did not * * * prepare themselves for new types of work or for a variety of positions. * * * In many cases they had the idea that their opportunities were so limited they would never be able to use their knowledge after they took the time to study.⁷

By 1946 the Association of Bank Women could report that during the war period and the time immediately after, "there were advances all along the line based upon merit and long overdue recognition * * * particularly true in the case of official appointments at certain banks."⁸ And elsewhere William Powers, Deputy Manager of the American-Bankers Association, was quoted as saying: "The impressive fact today

⁶ *Women in Banking*. Twenty-fifth Anniversary Edition. Association of Bank Women, 1946. P. 6.

⁷ *Ibid.* P. 42.

⁸ *Ibid.* P. 8.

is that where once stenography was the only assured shoehorn to a job in a bank, now women are filling every possible job. That is an indication that traditional thinking is being scrapped.”⁹

Interviews with bank representatives in Chicago and Philadelphia would tend to substantiate the foregoing views. Over half of these banks reported that the trend is definitely toward the use of more women in supervisory and administrative positions. One bank representative felt that women could do some of the jobs better than men. Of the banks reporting “little possibility” for increasing the number of women in the higher-level jobs, one already had three women as officers—one of the few banks where women had achieved this distinction. Another said that it would use more women in the higher-level jobs if they prove their ability and indicate that they intend to stay. The management of another bank felt that while the time had not yet come for women to be made officers, in another 10 years there might be quite a number in this same bank, since several women now on responsible jobs were admittedly good officer material.

The survey showed that of the women holding higher-level positions in the banks covered by the survey, one-third were clerical supervisors, one-third were tellers or assistant tellers, and the rest held a variety of positions, some involving specialized knowledge of banking, and some involving considerable administrative responsibility. There were few women officers in relation to the total number of officers, a significant index of women’s general status in the higher-level positions, since banks give officer titles to a much greater extent than do the other industries covered.¹⁰ Eight of the twelve banks covered by the survey had no women officers. The other 4 had among them a total of 15 women officers, 1 large bank alone accounting for 8 of these officers.

The 15 women officers were performing a variety of functions. One was an auditor, responsible for all auditing and tax returns for her bank. An assistant trust officer handled and managed living trusts. Another woman was administrative assistant to the president with responsibility for keeping confidential records and minutes of board meetings. One was an officer with responsibility for passing on collateral and legal documents left in escrow. She was one of four escrow officers in the bank. Another woman officer handled all types of insurances related to trust transactions for the bank’s clients; another was personnel assistant for women. Several women officers were “signing officers,” with various non-policy-making functions which included signing legal papers for their companies.

In addition to these women with officer status, there were 37 women

⁹ Campbell, Dorcas E. *Careers for women in banking and finance*. E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., New York, 1944. P. 31.

¹⁰ Thirty percent of the higher-level jobs in the banks covered were held by officers in contrast to 3 percent in department stores.

in 6 of the 12 banks who held responsible positions as administrative assistants or executive secretaries. Several of them were among the highest-paid women in the banks. In addition to their administrative and supervisory duties, many acted for officers in their absence or represented them in other ways. Personal interviews with some of these women led interviewers to conclude that women were carrying responsibilities which would have made them junior officers had they been men.

A number of the women holding responsible positions in banks were doing statistical work in various departments and at different levels of responsibility. Among them were credit and security analysts, auditors and accountants. Some women were tax experts; others were specialists in insurance. In the title departments, a few women did title searching. Although women had been used in this capacity during the war, they were generally being replaced by men since this work involved handling heavy books and was considered too much of a strain for women. However, other jobs in title work did not have this disadvantage. One woman held a position as assistant head of judgments, getting clearance on titles or judgments held against property. A woman attorney answered letters involving legal matters relating to titles.

In banks offering special services for women, there were special customer-service jobs assigned to women such as helping women customers make out checks and deposit slips, or open accounts. A few banks had women in customer-relations jobs not limited to dealing with women. In other banks such positions were closed to women on the ground that customers prefer men.

While almost one-third of the women in responsible positions in the banks covered were tellers, there were only about 150 women in this position in contrast to nearly 600 men. In all but 2 of the 12 banks, women were holding teller or assistant teller positions. In some of the banks which had women tellers, women had first been assigned to such positions during the war. A few banks reported replacing women tellers with men after the war. In one bank, when the men returned from the service, "some women became assistant tellers although they had given satisfactory performance." Other banks indicated that women were being kept on as tellers. One personnel officer said he personally favored larger numbers of women tellers since the top salary was insufficient to hold men, and he felt that women would be more content than men to remain at such jobs.

Personnel work was being done by almost one-tenth of the women in higher-level positions in the banks covered, and about half of the personnel jobs in these banks were held by women. They had been more successful in this department than in any other. In the personnel departments, as in other departments, men generally held the officer-level jobs. Of the 19 officers assigned to personnel work, only 1 was a woman. Fourteen of the 33 women in personnel were nurses. Six

held training jobs of various kinds. The others did hiring or interviewing, often as assistant to the personnel director. Usually women in such jobs were assigned to work with women employees.

Several of the women holding higher-level jobs in banks were librarians. Others were dietitians, managers, or assistant managers of bank restaurants. Women translators were found in two banks. Another specialized job in the foreign department was held by a woman who issued letters of credit and handled travelers checks and correspondence with "out of the country" customers.

Higher-level positions held by women in banks

Officers.	Purchasing agents.
Administrative assistants.	Senior clerks—miscellaneous customers' services.
Executive secretaries.	Senior clerks with specialized duties in—
Accountants and auditors.	Foreign departments.
Advertising assistants.	Insurance departments.
Analysts—credit, investment, loan, and security departments.	Trust departments.
Attorneys.	Statisticians.
Bond traders.	Tax specialists.
Clerical supervisors.	Telephone and telegraph operators (chief).
Librarians.	Tellers and assistant tellers.
New accounts clerks.	Title searchers.
Personnel employees such as—	Translators (code).
Assistant personnel directors.	Translators (languages).
Interviewers and testers.	Vault, assistant managers.
Job analysts.	
Nurses.	Dietitians.
Training directors and assistants.	Restaurant managers and assistants.

Status of Women in Manufacturing

The manufacturing enterprises covered by the study were chiefly in "light" industries, which, by virtue of their operations or the type of product manufactured, usually employ important numbers of women. These included among others such industries as confectionery, paper products, radio and electrical products, pharmaceutical products, and publishing houses.¹¹

In manufacturing establishments covered by the study, employment in the higher-level positions was concentrated in production, with comparatively few in any other one division. In all of the companies covered, 80 percent of the men and about 50 percent of the women in higher-level positions were in production. Only one-tenth of these positions were held by women, whereas in other departments, particularly personnel and employee welfare, women held much larger proportions of the higher-level jobs.

¹¹ See appendix A for complete coverage.

The extent to which men occupied the supervisory positions in production varied considerably from industry to industry, but in none did women occupy as many as one-third of such positions. In others considerably less than 10 percent of the positions were held by women. There seemed to be a general feeling among manufacturing representatives that there are many jobs "which require a man," both because of the physical strength needed for many factory operations, and because many supervisory positions in production require training in techniques and engineering which few women have. The findings indicated some relationship between the nature of the operations involved, and the extent to which women had acquired supervisory positions in production. In radio and electrical manufacturing, an industry in which supervisory positions may require technical knowledge, women occupied only 3 percent of the supervisory positions and usually with limited responsibilities, although they constituted 39 percent of total employment. On the other hand, in confectionery establishments, where technical requirements are less important, women occupied one-fourth of the supervisory positions and accounted for 57 percent of all employment. Those in confectionery firms were usually foreladies or assistant foreladies in dipping, enrobing, and packaging departments. However, even in those departments in which women predominated as operatives, it was more usual to find men in supervisory positions.

Within the same industry there were often differences in the extent to which women occupied supervisory positions. In one plant manufacturing radio parts, no women held jobs above the lowest supervisory level. It was the contention of management in this concern that "the type of company and its product are of such a nature that relatively few women could be given advanced positions because they would then be required to supervise men." In another company manufacturing radio parts one woman interviewed was forelady of a department making resistors. Aided by an assistant foreman, she supervised 135 men and women, 2 women instructors, and a night-shift supervisor. In this same company a woman engineer had recently been chosen to succeed a man. In some plants where it was company policy to give foremen's jobs to men, women had taken over foremen's responsibilities successfully in their absence.

While most of the higher-level positions in manufacturing were in production, there were other departments which provided important numbers of higher-level positions for women. Almost 500 women, or 16 percent of all women in higher-level positions in manufacturing were in the personnel departments. These constituted half of the higher-level personnel jobs available. Nineteen women in the 166 companies covered by the survey were serving as personnel directors. Others held positions as assistant personnel directors, employment managers, or assistant employment managers, or had other jobs involving interviewing and testing. Very few held training jobs. Over 20 women were

engaged in time-study and job-analysis work. More than half of the women holding higher-level jobs in personnel in the manufacturing companies covered were industrial nurses. In some cases administrative as well as professional responsibilities were being carried by these nurses. In a few cases former nurses who had given up all nursing duties were holding executive and administrative jobs in personnel.

Other women were holding positions of responsibility in office and financial control divisions as department heads or clerical supervisors. Several women had been made office managers, and others were controllers or credit managers. Very often in small companies office-management jobs would include multiple functions. One woman, an assistant secretary-treasurer of her company, was also credit manager and office manager, dealt with the union, and handled proxies for stockholders' meetings. Another woman, who was office manager and treasurer of her company, reported: "I run the office and the financial matters, keep the private ledgers, approve the payroll, hire all office help, supervise the office clerical staff, and have charge of the pension plan." In a manufacturing firm the secretary of the company reported a variety of duties which included handling most of the sales credit, handling all complaints, taking care of personnel problems, and supervising the office manager. The secretary of another corporation stated that she supervised about 130 salaried employees, was responsible for complicated accounts, stocks issued, monthly statements to stockholders, hiring and training of office help. She also had charge of office procedures, finances and budgets, did all the purchasing of office supplies and equipment, was responsible for office decoration, and was at present supervising the planning of a new building.

Eight percent of the women holding higher-level jobs in manufacturing were active in sales, advertising, and purchasing activities. Seventeen percent of the 1,400 higher-level jobs in this category were held by women. Their jobs were varied and interesting. One woman held a position in the sales department of her firm in which she answered all correspondence from field representatives. She issued instructions to field men concerning procedures, kept account of their salaries and expenses and handled sales figures. In addition, she planned medical conferences held by her company.

Another woman was head of a home economics department with responsibility for all sales promotion directed toward the housewife. Her job included preparing radio, television, and advertising copy, and training and supervising demonstrators. She had full charge of a staff of some 30 home economists, and also had veto power over designs. In another radio-phonograph corporation, a woman edited and prepared a catalog on educational records for schools and answered all correspondence from schools.

A woman purchasing agent in a rubber company did most of the buying for the company. In another rubber company a woman held the title of secretary to the purchasing agent, but was in fact an assistant purchasing agent. During the depression the assistant purchasing agent was dismissed and this woman took over his work but was never given a new title.

Higher-level positions held by women in manufacturing firms

- | | |
|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Officers. Administrative assistants. Executive secretaries. Advertising managers and assistants. Accountants, auditors, and assistants. Adjustment managers. Artists and art department supervisors. Branch store supervisors. Business-research workers. Buyers for employees' store. Cartographers. Cashiers. Chemists and bacteriologists. Chief clerks. Clerical supervisors in— <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Manufacturing process. Office and financial control. Sales and purchasing. Controllers and assistants. Copywriters. Cost analysts. Credit managers and assistants. Customer-service-bureau directors. Department or division heads. Designers and assistants. Draftsmen. Editorial consultants. Editors and associate editors. Editors of house organs. Engineers. Export-sales supervisors. Factory counsellors. Factory-maintenance supervisors. Foreladies and assistant foreladies. Home economics department directors. Illustrators. Industrial psychologists. Insurance managers and assistants. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Laboratory technicians and assistants. Liaison agents. Librarians. Map analysts. Market-research specialists. Medical technicians and registered nurses. Office managers and assistants. Order-department directors. Personnel employees such as— <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Employee counsellors. Employment managers and assistants. Interviewers and testers. Personnel directors and assistants. Personnel research workers. Supervisors of employee facilities. Supervisors of personnel records. Time-study and job analysts. Training directors and assistants. Physicians. Production managers and assistants. Production methods, planning, and control technicians. Public relations directors. Purchasing agents and assistants. Research workers and consultants. Safety cartoonists. Sales and market-research workers. Sales managers and assistants. Sales-promotion managers and assistants. Statisticians. Stock-control supervisors. Stylists. Telephone operators (chief). Traffic-manager assistants. Translators. Welfare and social workers. Cafeteria and restaurant managers. Dietitians. |
|---|--|

Generally speaking, manufacturing seems to be providing a variety of opportunities for women in office positions and in production when technical and professional qualifications permit. The postwar years have seen some shifting of women to their prewar status in production supervision. During the war many women in the companies covered by the survey had carried foreman-level responsibilities which they had had to relinquish when the men returned. However, over one-third of the firms covered by the survey indicated that prospects were good for increasing the proportion of women in higher-level jobs, and in all areas they were holding positions not held by women 10 years ago.



FACTORS FAVORING AND DETERRING ADVANCEMENT

In all of the industries covered in the three areas, women were holding positions which had formerly been considered "men's jobs." Almost without exception, the women who were making good at such jobs were responsible for a change in company attitude toward women, a breaking down of prejudice, and a growing recognition that women as well as men should be considered for any type of work for which they were qualified. An insurance company executive said: "The company has had good experience with women officers, and is planning further promotions." A bank executive said that since some women had given excellent service the trend is to give increasing recognition to women. A department store executive told the interviewer: "Since the one woman floor manager has worked out very successfully, we may replace some of the older men with women." The personnel director of a manufacturing plant spoke of the excellent work being done by a woman in training for the position of engineer. He added, "Probably other women will be taken on now that the ice is broken."

On the other hand, many executives in each of the industries studied expressed the belief that women were generally less interested than men in advancement to positions of responsibility, either because they planned to stop working when they married, or because further business responsibilities would be too burdensome if added to home responsibilities. This means that the woman of ambition must prove to management that she is exceptional in desiring the special training, the responsibilities, and the opportunities for advancement so often assumed to be the prerogatives of men. Even in department store work, where it was usually management policy to seek qualified women for positions of responsibility, the survey revealed that there was still a prevalent assumption, particularly in the larger stores, that top-management jobs are "men's jobs."

Management's Views on Factors Favoring Advancement

The opinion of management was sought in the hope of gaining some insight into the positive factors contributing to women's success. Management's views may also be indicative of attitudes which have a bearing upon women's advancement. In answer to the question "What factors favor the advancement of women in your type of business?", a plurality of answers pointed to the high proportion of women employed in the business as a whole. This was felt to give women a competitive advantage. Among department stores, the largest number of answers emphasized the fact that most of the clientele are women, so it is plausible that women should play an important part in the management of the business. Management's belief that women are particularly suited to certain types of work was considered by many representatives to favor women's advancement. This answer was given prominence by department store managers, manufacturers, and insurance representatives. A more favorable attitude by management toward women's advancement, and satisfactory job performance by women, were mentioned less frequently, but it is interesting to note that in banks, where prejudice and tradition have limited opportunities for women, both factors are significant in relation to other factors mentioned by bank representatives.

Management's Views on Factors Deterring Advancement

In considering handicaps to women's advancement, management representatives showed a marked tendency to stress the traditional attitudes of employers toward women as a major factor hindering advancement. But even more often the answers indicated that management believed that lack of permanency and the distractions of family responsibilities influenced management's attitude toward women. Among department store representatives this view was given considerably more prominence than any other factor. How often such answers rested on assumptions rather than actual experience it was impossible to determine. Among the other views given there was a greater variety by industry. Women's lack of technical knowledge was mentioned by manufacturing representatives almost as often as were traditional attitudes and shortcomings in job performance, but this was not given prominence by representatives of other industries. Almost one-half of the bank and insurance representatives, and one-fourth of the factory and store representatives said they thought women's lack of interest in advancement was a deterrent. Personality traits were mentioned somewhat less frequently than other factors, but a substantial number of representatives, especially in department stores and insurance companies, mentioned this factor. Women's lack of physical strength was considered an obstacle by many manufacturing representatives.

It would thus appear that management is inclined to place consider-

able emphasis upon those factors which relate to the limitations women themselves have displayed: qualities of instability, lack of ambition, personality traits, lack of technical knowledge. At the same time management recognized that women face a formidable handicap in the traditional promotion policies and discriminatory attitudes of management. The relationship between these two factors was perhaps not so clearly recognized. While management can hardly take responsibility for the married woman's problems of family responsibility, the traditional attitudes of management might have some bearing upon women's work attitudes, lack of technical training, impermanence, and even personality traits as demonstrated on the job.

Women's Views on Obstacles to Advancement

The extent to which women reported obstacles to advancement varied with the industry in which they were employed. Nearly one-fourth of the women in department stores felt there were no real obstacles to advancement. In banks, however, only 4 percent so expressed themselves. Among those reporting obstacles, the traditional attitudes of management toward women was the most frequently reported deterrent, although the emphasis given to this factor differed greatly among the industries. Sixty-one percent of the women in banks expected management attitudes to hinder them, as did 35 percent of the women in manufacturing and 40 percent of the women in insurance. In department stores only 15 percent of the women believed that prejudice would keep them from gaining the jobs they desired.

One-third of the women interviewed in insurance companies, in contrast to a much smaller proportion in banks, department stores, and manufacturing, felt that their own limitations in education, training, and experience would prevent them from receiving further promotion. One-third of the women in manufacturing and about one-tenth of the women in stores, insurance, and banks, felt that they had reached the top in their own field or department, thus eliminating any possibility of advancement.

Some expressed the belief that the size of the firm and the small turnover in top jobs would keep them from getting promotions. Some women did not expect to be in a higher job in the next 5 years because of retirement. Others believed they would still be too young to receive promotion. A few did not seek additional promotion because of family responsibilities. About one-tenth of the women indicated no interest in advancement, saying that they were content with their present jobs.

The Importance of Traditional Attitudes

In all fields there was widespread recognition by management that prejudice and tradition existed and that they were obstacles to women's

advancement. It is interesting to note that these answers were usually mentioned along with other factors. Often to "prejudice and tradition" was added the view that women's lack of qualifications was also an obstacle to their advancement with an implication or assertion that women who could measure up to the requirements and responsibilities of the higher-level jobs might change traditional attitudes. Some firms giving prejudice or tradition as a deterrent to women's advancement added: "* * * and women's lack of permanency"; "* * * and women's lack of the right kinds of experience—engineering problems not usually a women's field"; "* * * and few women have enough knowledge of real estate and trust management."

There was evidence that attitudes may be changing even where discrimination still exists. An example was the manufacturing firm in which a well-qualified woman was denied promotion to purchasing agent, and a factory supervisor said that she "would like to be an assistant or full foreman but these are men's jobs." The employment manager of this firm said that in his company the managers and officers were "steeped in tradition," and that it had been the policy of the company until very recently to regard women chiefly as operatives in the factory and occasionally as secretaries to officers. Until World War II women had rarely held supervisory positions. During the war, however, several women were given positions of responsibility which they still occupied at the time of the survey.

The employment manager went on to say that the company organization was revamped in the spring of 1948, and that the new set-up would give greater recognition to ability. He himself believed that "women have done good work in all departments and have been as good supervisors as the men." He added: "The woman who is assistant purchasing agent could head the division as well as any man, and the woman assistant to the controller also may receive an appointment to a higher-level position if a vacancy occurs."

As with management, women who were interviewed often mentioned prejudice and tradition in conjunction with some other obstacle. For instance the answer might be: "lack of legal training plus tradition and prejudice against women," or "own lack of ability and experience in finance and traditional attitude toward women." For many women, however, the company attitude toward women in higher-level positions seemed the only obstacle. That women may sometimes have assumed management prejudice against the promotion of women, rather than experienced its effects is illustrated by the following case: A research chemist who was interviewed thought she was in a "dead end" job because she felt sure the concern which employed her would choose only men for advancement. The interview with the personnel manager of the company indicated that this woman was considered one of their

most brilliant chemists, and there seemed to be no doubt about her promotion at the first opportunity. The remark of many women that "I never expected to get as far along as I have," is further indication that perhaps women too often expect a discriminatory attitude from management which experience on the job does not warrant.

In some instances management believed that a deterrent to women's advancement was the fact that women themselves preferred men as supervisors. On this question, the survey sought the opinions of the women interviewed. It would appear from the survey that the preponderance of women were not prejudiced in this direction. Of 646 women interviewed, two-thirds stated that they had no preference. However, of those who expressed a preference, 206 women said they preferred men, while only 36 women indicated that they preferred women. Among those who expressed a preference it was evident that women as well as men are prone to generalize. One woman believed that men are less afraid of competition from subordinates who show promise. Conversely, another woman said: "Women supervisors are less afraid of women working under them, while men fear competent underlings." One woman held that "men are fussy and like to act superior;" another, that "women are too fussy," and "women are too domineering." One woman had found women supervisors "less petty and gossipy than men supervisors;" another, that "men are less inclined to jealousy and petty attitudes." However the vast majority, who expressed no preference, believed that "it depends on the individual."

Occasionally representatives of management believed that customers preferred to deal with men. This view was confined chiefly to department stores and banks, where there were many customer-relation jobs. In department stores this generalization was not applied to sales clerks but was often applied to employees dealing with adjustments. In banks it might or might not apply to tellers, and more often it was applied to employees dealing with applications for loans.

It was not easy to discover the extent to which such generalizations about attitudes reflected actual experience or to what extent they were assumed. However, the study did show that there were seldom any such generalizations which could not be modified by favorable experience with women. Thus, one bank official noted that in recent years, when women have been used more and more in customer-relation and supervisory work, the attitude of customers and fellow employees towards women has changed, and women are being increasingly accepted. In another bank, one of the women interviewed was an assistant to the vice president in the department of new accounts. This department gives individual service to clients (about half of them elderly women with money for investments), assists them with wills and income-tax returns, as well as guiding them in making investments. The woman

interviewed reported that when the vice president died, many of his customers came to her, preferring to deal with someone of maturity and someone with whom they were familiar.

Belief That Certain Jobs are "Suitable"

Management's belief that women are suited to certain types of work favors women's advancement in some fields, just as management's attitude that certain types of jobs are "men's jobs" hinders them in others. When representatives of the department stores were asked what favored women's advancement in their business, the answer came almost without exception, "this is a woman's field," or as one man put it, a "woman's game." It was pointed out that department stores depend largely on women customers and most of their employees are women. In further defining women's suitability for department store work, some pointed to women's ability to buy and sell and choose what women like. One store felt that women could "get a better bargain" than men, and others pointed to the amount of detail work involved for which they believed women were better than men. Many store executives pointed out that it is the "type of business women like."

In the other fields also, it was felt that where women were to be the ultimate customers it was "suitable" for women to be employed. Several women's clothing manufacturers said, "this is a woman's industry," and a manufacturer of food products said, "Food is a woman's field." One confectionery manufacturer believed this to be a woman's field because "consumers of candy are women." If a publishing house published women's magazines, the fact that women were the readers was considered a factor favoring women's advancement in the firm. Similarly, some insurance company representatives mentioned that insurance affects women more than men so far as benefits are concerned, and "therefore they should be interested."

The assumption that women are better than men on detail, was a factor favoring women in printing and publishing. In banks and insurance companies the belief that women are better than men on detail work was mentioned a number of times as a factor favoring women's advancement. However, one or two spoke of the fact that there was not a job in the company which women could not do if they had the training and education. One bank representative felt that "women's intuition is helpful—particularly in customer contacts."

For most of the supervisory jobs in factory production the suitability of women for certain jobs was defined in terms of physical requirements. In the manufacture of candy for instance, management emphasized the belief that women were not able to handle the lifting of kettles, and hence it was considered reasonable that men trained in the preparation of the candy, should supervise such work. Women were generally considered better than men at delicate operations requiring finger dexterity such as

the dipping and packaging of candy, assembling small parts of electrical appliances, and similar operations. However, even in such departments it was more usual to find men in the supervisory positions.

The Importance of Specialized Training and Experience

Representatives of manufacturing firms and insurance companies—more often than those of other industries—said that lack of specialized training and technical knowledge handicapped women in advancing to more responsible positions, particularly at the top-management level. Conversely, it was often pointed out that the woman of ability, who had obtained specialized training of the kind needed for top-level jobs, would be hard to keep down. Some managers indicated that the need for persons with specialized skills would result in increasing opportunities for women's advancement. A manufacturer of industrial instruments reported that although opportunities in production were limited, in office and research work women were being given increasing opportunities to compete.

One banker felt that "women haven't had enough experience in finance to inspire confidence in their ability." Another said: "Women have not developed or shown any marked interest in banking techniques and problems." An insurance company reported that women "do not have the training for jobs such as actuary, investment specialist, security analyst." Another pointed to women's "lack of basic background in insurance," still another to the fact that "women lawyers, doctors, actuarial trainees rarely apply."

One insurance company believed it offered unlimited opportunities to women since it was company policy to promote the best qualified person for the job. But the representative of this company went on to say: "Actually few women complete courses leading to actuary or other technical jobs and are therefore not considered for placement in top jobs. * * * As women with college training, ambition, and stick-to-itiveness enter the company in increasing numbers they will force a recognition of women's ability to hold top jobs, and they will be given them. This will take some time but it is bound to happen."

In manufacturing there were many to agree with the management representative who held that "women do not have enough 'know how' for productive engineering development or sales promotion on a general or over-all basis." One company which manufactured electrical measuring instruments reported that all vacant positions which are technical, professional, or administrative in the nonproduction departments are posted on the bulletin board, and any employee who is qualified may apply. No woman had ever applied for any of the positions posted, and the company representative felt that this was because the positions usually required technical skills the women did not possess. However, another company reported that it was recruiting women engineers and technicians.

Recruitment and Training Programs and Women's Participation

An attempt was made to discover to what extent women and men had equal opportunities to gain the experience and training considered necessary to achieve top-level jobs, and the extent to which women took advantage of such opportunities when offered them.

Because the recruitment of college graduates is usually associated with bringing into a firm promotional material for top-level jobs, the college recruitment programs offer some clue to possible opportunities for women to reach higher-level jobs in the fields covered. Also, opportunities for women to participate in in-plant training courses offer further evidence of management's interest in seeing women achieve the preparation necessary for promotion.

College graduates were recruited, and then given special junior executive training by all but one of the large department stores and by two out of five of the smaller department stores. Most of the very small stores felt that opportunities for advancement were too limited to appeal to most college graduates, although one small store recruited women but not men.¹ With this one exception stores having recruitment programs recruited both men and women. Likewise, training courses which followed recruitment were open to women as well as men. In only one department store covered were training opportunities less for women than for men. This store gave a year's training to the men college recruits, only 4 months' training to women.

In sharp contrast to department store practice, 7 of the 12 banks covered by the survey recruited college men, but not one recruited college women. One-third of these banks sponsored training courses for which women were not eligible. Seven of the insurance companies recruited college women; twice as many recruited college men. Eight of the 30 insurance companies conducted training courses for which women were not eligible. In some insurance companies special junior-executive training was given only to college recruits, and in such companies the opportunities for women were dependent upon inclusion in the recruitment program. In many of the insurance companies the Life Office Management Association (LOMA) courses were offered to provide basic training in the insurance field. Sometimes such courses were given by the company on company time; sometimes the company itself did not offer the course but gave credit for the completion of such courses elsewhere. These courses were usually open to both men and women.

College men were recruited by half of the manufacturing firms scheduled. Less than one-fourth of these firms recruited college women. Recruitment of college women was limited chiefly to positions in research in pharmaceutical, drug, and radio companies; to editorial positions in

¹ Large stores were defined as those employing over 3,000 persons; smaller stores, those employing 1,000-3,000 persons; very small stores, those employing less than 1,000 persons.

publishing companies; and to stenographic and other office positions in other firms. One or two firms indicated that they would employ qualified women if they applied or were recommended to them by a college.

Somewhat over one-third of the manufacturing firms had training courses, and in almost two-thirds of these firms such courses were not open to women. Several firms reported that union regulations closed certain apprentice courses to women. In manufacturing, training for executive jobs often began with over-all plant experience. Since almost one-fourth of the plants covered conducted operations deemed too heavy for women, their opportunities to secure such experience were limited. There was indeed a general lack of interest in training women for supervisory jobs in production, and in factories where all positions above the forelady level are closed to women they have little incentive to acquire experience or training which would qualify them for better positions.

Management had differing experiences in the extent to which women participated in training courses. All but one of the department stores which offered training courses reported that women participated in such courses at least to the same extent as men, and in most cases it was felt that they were more interested. Many of the women interviewed indicated a genuine interest in the training programs and believed that such programs contributed to their advancement.

In the field of insurance, most of the firms reported that more men than women take the LOMA (Life Office Management Association Institute) courses given for insurance company personnel. All agreed that relatively few women finish the advance training. One management representative gave the following as his company's experience: 50 percent of the employees completing the beginning course were women, 10 percent of those finishing the intermediate course were women, and 5 percent of those in the advanced course were women. Another insurance company offered the LOMA courses to all its employees, urging the more promising employees to take the courses. Of 25 persons signing up in 1948-49 for the courses, 18 dropped out before completion, 13 of whom were women. Among the latter were 5 who had been promised promotion if they would take the courses.

Of the banks reporting on women's participation in courses of the American Institute of Banking, 7 said women's participation was less than men's, and 4 reported that women's participation was equal to or greater than men's. All bank representatives agreed that most women take only the beginning courses, and "few women show interest in the more advanced work." Only one woman in the banks covered was reported to have completed the courses required for a Prestandard Certificate (four examinations). Experience had led one bank official to conclude that "women do not have a sustained interest in developing better work background in finance."

Lack of Permanency as a Hindering Factor

Almost without exception the companies which gave special training and opportunity for advancement to men pointed to women's lack of permanency or lack of interest in the training needed for top jobs as a reason for their discrimination. It was considered a better investment of the company's time and money to train men, since a larger percentage of men than women could be expected to stay with the company long enough to make the training worth while. One life-insurance company gave as evidence of women's relative impermanency the fact that there were four or five times as many men as women in the company who had had 25 years or more of service, although over half of the employees were women (an answer which overlooks the fact that undoubtedly 25 years ago the proportion of women employees was decidedly smaller). Several manufacturing firms reported that during the war women were employed in laboratory and engineering positions, but due to turn-over they were replaced by men.

A bank reported that in 1942-43 about 50 college women were recruited to be trained and assigned to responsible jobs as credit analysts, cost analysts, investment analysts, auditors, and assistants in personnel. By 1949 only 6 or 7 of these women remained. Of those who left, only one reported leaving to get other work. Most of them left because of marriage or change of residence. While the company representative was aware that unusual conditions of wartime were partially responsible for the high turn-over, the experience had caused this bank to resume its former policy of hiring men when openings occur.

One medium-sized department store reported that in 1947 it had recruited 12 women and 8 men for special junior-executive training. A year later only 4 of these women were still with the store, although all of the men had remained. This store had decided to recruit 7 women and 8 men in 1948.²

On the other hand, several company representatives in the different fields held that while lack of permanency is in general a deterrent to women's advancement, it is not important as far as the higher-level positions are concerned. One large department store had in fact found that there was less turn-over among young promotional women than men. A bank representative pointed out that women who were eligible for administrative and supervisory positions in his company had usually been there for 10 years or more. Even when these women marry, the bank's experience had been that most of them remained on the job.

This conclusion received substantial support from the women who were interviewed in the survey. When asked what position they would

² This store reported that the firm feels lucky if women who are given special consideration and training for supervisory and other responsible positions remain 2 or 3 years. If they remain 4 years or more the company feels compensated for the effort and expense of development.

like to hold 5 years from now, relatively few of the women planned to withdraw from the labor market because of marriage or retirement. In all industries except manufacturing, from 40 to 50 percent of the women interviewed hoped for promotion. Approximately a third wished to retain the jobs they were then holding. One-tenth of these women hoped that within 5 years they would have their own business or be in a new field of employment.

Company Merit Rating and Promotion Policies

Three-fourths of the banks, one-half of the insurance home offices and department stores, and one-third of the manufacturing firms covered by the survey used a formal merit rating in advancing employees to supervisory positions. There seemed to be a growing use of merit rating, and firms which had just introduced such systems or were planning to do so shortly, considered it a policy change which would be helpful to women seeking advancement. All of the companies surveyed made it a policy to fill supervisory positions through promotion from within the company. Exceptions usually involved positions requiring professional or technical competence for which existing personnel could not qualify.

For promotions from within, seniority might be a consideration but it was less important than ability to do the job, except in a few cases where a union contract made seniority a major factor. When asked what were the chief factors considered in selecting women for supervisory jobs, "ability to get along with people" was mentioned even more often than "knowledge of job and work performance," although both were mentioned by a large majority of the firms. "Demonstrated leadership traits" and "background experience, education, and training" were mentioned less often but were also important considerations.

Views of Women on What Leads to Advancement

The woman who said "hard work and willingness to give more than full measure on the job," when asked what helped her to advance, spoke for the majority of the women who, by their answers to this question and their job records, testified to the importance of competence and initiative in getting ahead. It was clear that these women had discovered that taking an interest in the job, as well as hard work, provided the formula for achieving success. Many gave credit to their ability to get along with people, or to their own ambition. In addition, these women credited experience and training as major factors in their advancement. For others there were events beyond their control which had helped them up the ladder—the war, the growth of the business, or chance circumstances.

When asked what they thought women should do to further their advancement, most of them emphasized the importance of better work performance. Also frequently mentioned were "more education and

training," "ambition or desire to succeed," and "better human relations and social attitudes."

Although the comments of women varied in emphasis, the same factors appeared repeatedly in the interviews, as the following examples illustrate:

Be willing to work; be interested in any sort of a job; pick up all of the background experience you can lay your hands on. Take the time to listen. Learn to work with men in such a way that they will respect your ability and judgment. (Head of the customers' service department in a pharmaceutical firm.)

Find something you like and then work toward a goal. Be enthusiastic about your work—you must like it. Learn to work *with* people and realize that there are all kinds and that you can get along with them. Take specialized training. (Publicity director in a publishing house.)

Try to acquire a broadness of thinking rather than being petty or detailed. Worry less about the progress other people are making and more about your own. (Head of new products department in a pharmaceutical firm.)

Get training in a specialized field. Consider career possibilities while still in college. If you go into business, be prepared for a long and slow plan of upgrading. (Statistician in a bank.)

Become well prepared for a job. Watch for advancement possibilities and be quietly aggressive in going after advancement. Be regular in attendance and accept the "gripes" from supervisors and co-workers without emotion. (Personnel assistant in a bank.)

Have a goal of what you want to do. Don't mark time—too many women work only for the 15th and 30th and pay as little attention as possible to their jobs. Learn to memorize useful information and have it ready when needed. (Statistician in an insurance company.)

Get best education for the job. Be cooperative. Don't brag as much as the men do but show what you can do and do it quickly. (Assistant to actuary in an insurance company.)

Strive for recognition as individuals. Do not ask for any favors as a woman or on a feminist basis. Show more interest in the "fringe" aspects of your job and be willing to take on additional duties and show you can carry them. (Personnel manager in an insurance company.)

Be more gracious and cooperative. Learn to "live and let live." Forget your importance—too many women believe they are all important and can't be replaced. Learn to delegate responsibility. (Buyer in department store.)

Be ambitious. Few women want to make their job a career—not interested beyond the day's work. Put more effort into your job—regard it as your own business. Overcome emotional and personal approach to problems. (Buyer in a large department store.)



THE WOMEN IN HIGHER-LEVEL POSITIONS

The present chapter is concerned with the women themselves who hold higher-level positions—their personal characteristics, general work background, education, and training. It also considers the various avenues through which women have achieved their present positions. Such an inquiry may prove a useful guide to an understanding of the qualities in women which have led to success, and of the requirements in education, work experience, and special training which women have met in certain occupations in order to reach positions of responsibility in the fields covered.

Any attempt at generalization is difficult since individual achievement is the result of so many factors not easily defined. Women holding higher-level positions presented a great variety of personalities and backgrounds as disclosed by the personnel records and interviews. These showed how many were the roads that led to success, how individual the women who had traveled these roads. Only one thing was common to most of them—a love of their jobs. The woman who said she could “never get used to the hurly-burly and dirt of the city” and who longed for a farm in Georgia was an exception, as was the senior executive officer of a department store who felt that her store job was all right but the job she had really loved was cashier in a bank. When asked what they liked about their jobs, some of the women interviewed answered “everything,” and conversely, when asked what they disliked, considerably more answered “nothing.” Repeatedly women spoke of their satisfaction in holding a challenging and responsible job which gave recognition to their capabilities. Many spoke particularly about enjoying contacts with people.

Particular job requirements as well as possibilities for advancement differed considerably with the kind of work being done. Special types of work in which women were holding positions of responsibility have therefore been examined, and the experiences of particular women in these fields have been used as illustrative material. A general picture

of age levels, educational background, and work experience provides descriptive background for measuring the achievements of women in particular types of work.

Characteristics, Education, and Work History

As might be expected, the women in all industries who had reached higher-level jobs were an older group than women workers in general, and there was little variation among industries in the age distribution of the women in higher-level jobs. Only 3 percent of the women in such positions for whom records were obtained were under 25 years of age, whereas 27 percent of all women in the labor force were under 25. Three-fourths of the women on whom data were obtained were 35 years or over, in contrast to about half of all women in the labor force.

	Women in labor force, April 1948 ¹	Women in higher-level positions ²
Number -----	17, 155, 000	860
	Percent distribution	
Percent -----	100	100
Under 25 years -----	27	3
25 to 34 years -----	22	22
35 to 44 years -----	22	37
45 to 54 years -----	17	27
55 years and over -----	12	11

¹ U. S. Dept. of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. Current Population Reports, Labor Force. *Marital and family characteristics of the labor force in the United States, April 1948.* Series P-50, No. 11, Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, December 23, 1948.

² For data by industry, see appendix table 17.

More than half of the women surveyed were single, in contrast to not quite one-third for the general labor force. Proportions were higher in some industries than in others.

	Women in labor force, April 1948 ¹	Women in higher-level positions ²
Number -----	17, 155, 000	860
	Percent distribution	
Percent -----	100	100
Single -----	35	55
Married, husband present -----	44	31
Married, husband absent -----	4	2
Widowed and divorced -----	17	12

¹ U. S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. Current Population Reports, Labor Force. *Marital and family characteristics of the labor force in the United States, April 1948.* Series P-50, No. 11, Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, December 23, 1948.

² For data by industry, see appendix table 18.

Women in the higher-level positions covered by the survey were not predominantly college-educated. In department stores nearly half of the women, and in the other industries considerably more than half,

had had not more than a high school education. In manufacturing, 16 percent of the women had gone no further than the eighth grade, and only 12 percent were college graduates. About one-fourth of the women in the other fields studied had completed 4-year college courses. Others had had some college work, and in both department stores and manufacturing, nearly one-tenth had done some graduate work. In banks only 3 percent had taken advanced work, but 85 percent of the women in banks had received business or other special schooling. In other industries about half of the women had taken business or other special courses. With the exception of women in banks, substantial proportions had attended in-plant training courses. It would appear from the foregoing summary that specialized training plays an important role in fulfilling requirements for higher-level positions and is undoubtedly useful in supplementing a limited general education.

The women holding higher-level positions were in large part women with extensive work experience. In all fields about two-thirds of the women in higher-level positions had been working for more than 15 years. In the banks nearly two-thirds had been working for over 20 years, while in department stores less than one-third had been working that long.

With the exception of women in insurance, over half of the women holding higher-level jobs had been on their present job for less than 5 years. About one-fourth of the women holding higher-level jobs in each field had been on their present job from 5 to 10 years. In department stores and manufacturing 28 percent of the women holding higher-level jobs for whom records were obtained, had been with the same firm for their entire working life. In banks 32 percent of the women in such jobs had had all of their work experience with the same firm, and in insurance companies 42 percent were in the same company in which they had started work.

Women in Personnel Work

Many very challenging and responsible positions in the personnel field were being held by women in all of the industries covered. In some cases the job of personnel director had brought with it officer status. Almost all of the women holding top jobs in personnel spoke of the challenge of their work, its variety, and their pleasure in having been given the opportunity to plan and carry out a program of importance.

Needless to say, "personnel work" in a small company, where an office manager does the hiring and firing along with his other work, differs from "personnel work" in a company with thousands of employees. In large stores and companies the personnel director or industrial relations director may be head of a department whose functions include, not only interviewing and hiring personnel and maintaining personnel records, but also elaborate training programs, employee welfare and medical serv-

ices, counselling, and testing. In some companies, as in one of the life-insurance companies, a staff of job analysts was maintained to work on improved job descriptions and classifications.¹

Advancement to the general administrative jobs in personnel could come in any of a number of ways, as revealed in the work histories of those interviewed. For the college graduate advancement might come very quickly, as in the case of the employment manager of a department store who had spent 1 year in an advertising agency after college, then had come into the store as a salesgirl and after 4 months had been transferred to the personnel department as an interviewer. In less than a year after that she had been made employment manager.

In some companies formal training was less important than a broad knowledge of the operations of the business. One of the most interesting illustrations of how a woman achieved recognition and advancement through knowledge of her company concerns the woman personnel director of a manufacturing firm with plants throughout the country. This woman, whose schooling ended with high school, hired the technical and salaried personnel for the company; set personnel policies and standards; contacted colleges throughout the country to recruit men for technical jobs; set up training programs and followed through on trainees. Personnel managers in all of the plants were responsible to her. And she did the job with one assistant, a secretary, and two stenographers. This is her story:

About 15 years ago it became necessary for Mrs. X to earn a livelihood for herself and her three children. She asked the company where she had worked one summer while in high school for a reference, and the president of the company suggested that she take a job with them as receptionist. Eight months later the company asked her to be assistant office manager in charge of women in addition to her duties as receptionist. While serving in this dual capacity, she also took on the secretarial work of the director of research and chief engineer whose office opened off the reception room. While these added responsibilities meant overtime, they also expanded her opportunities. She learned about equipment, chemicals, turbines; how to set up a plant and what was required to run it efficiently and productively. This experience proved an excellent background for her later responsibilities in personnel work.

Two years after she came with the company a personnel department was established, and Mrs. X shortly became assistant director of per-

¹ In this insurance company the chief job analyst, a woman, headed a department of five women and one man. She herself was college trained, with a year of graduate study at Radcliffe in management training, and all in her department were college graduates. She felt her analytical ability as well as her ability to write simply, had been of value in her work. She said that her job was not only giving her an opportunity to make the most of her training and capabilities but was giving her valuable experience in "a new management technique."

sonnel in charge of preliminary interviewing of women. Due to business conditions the personnel department was temporarily discontinued, but when it was reestablished Mrs. X was made personnel director, and a year later her responsibilities were enlarged to include the direction of personnel departments for subsidiary plants of the company throughout the United States.

Mrs. X liked everything about her job but believed that her greatest interest was selecting and placing young people in positions where ability was utilized and both the employee and the company benefited. Mrs. X felt that she had reached the peak and did not aspire to officer status since that would require a knowledge of operations and costs which she did not have.

For other women who had come in on the "ground floor" when a personnel department was set up for the first time, the progression had come through the job of payroll supervisor. One personnel director who was interviewed had come to the company about 15 years before when the weekly payroll was \$3,500, and the factory operated only 3 days a week. At the time of the interview the weekly payroll had become \$70,000, and the factory was operating three shifts.

In her first job as payroll clerk, this woman had interested the company in establishing personnel files. At the time these were established, the company employed a man as personnel manager but he was not successful in the work, and within a year the woman was given the position. In this capacity she interviewed all job applicants, checked their references, hired for the mill, and assigned jobs. She also had charge of the payroll, group insurance and hospitalization, and was working on a pension plan. She had one assistant and eight girls under her, and she said there was not one phase of the job that she disliked. She believed that she could not advance further in this company, but since the later was growing, she felt that her job would grow with it.

Occasionally experience in a factory, first as a bench operator and then as a supervisor, led to promotion to personnel work—in fact this progression was one of the few exceptions to the general experience that factory supervisory jobs are "dead end."

A woman, who was personnel manager in a manufacturing plant, began work with the company 12 years earlier as a bench operator, having been a machine operator in another factory for 13 years. After 3 years in the plant she was transferred to another department where she worked as a checker and soon became assistant to the supervisor. When the supervisor was called into military service, this woman took over the department and ran it until he returned. Then she was put in charge of the plant training program until the regular employee on this job returned from war. A little later she became personnel man-

ager. Her work included interviewing, pre-employment testing, and giving orientation courses. She also handled grievances and did employee counselling, as well as hiring, firing, and transferring.

In many manufacturing companies and in at least one bank covered by the survey, persons with nursing training had progressed to administrative jobs in personnel. This was particularly true where medical records and accident reports were an important part of the personnel department records, as they are likely to be in factories. One former nurse, assistant to the personnel director at the time of the study, had charge of the nurses, ordered all the medical supplies, prepared all accident reports, handled employee insurance, prepared insurance and safety reports, and interviewed applicants for jobs when the director was out of the office. Another nurse, who had become employment manager in a factory, did the interviewing and hiring for the factory, kept personnel and employment records, gave first-aid, made employment reports for the State Department of Labor and other Government agencies, drew up accident reports, handled insurance, hospitalization, and various other employee services. Another nurse, who had become personnel supervisor serving as employment manager and industrial relations representative of one of the plants in a manufacturing company, represented the firm in union-contract negotiations and all union and personnel conferences of the company.²

Sometimes experience as a teacher furnished useful background for personnel work especially when training programs were involved. One department store advertised for a training director with teaching experience.

A woman was hired who had taught school before her marriage, and who had taken a job during the war with a railroad as chief clerk. When she was employed in the department store she was given a year's training in store operations, during which time she did everything from running errands and working in the stockroom to going on buying trips with the buyers of various departments. At the end of a year she took over the position of training director for which she was hired, and in this capacity she trained store employees in sales techniques, courtesy, company policy, and store system. At the time of the interview she spent over half of her time on the floor in order to determine training needs. She also assisted the personnel director in interviewing.

An interesting and important training job in manufacturing was being done by a woman under 35 years of age with college background.

This young woman came into a manufacturing company as an instructor. She soon became training supervisor in one plant, and

² A labor-relations director, who represented her company in all negotiations with the union, received her experience as a union organizer. Added to this, she had college training in business administration and took graduate work in production methods and engineering.

having done an outstanding training job in the company, she was transferred to the main plant and put in charge of setting up a company-wide training program. She was in charge of planning the courses, establishing the general objectives, setting standards for performance, and planning for follow-up training from the main office, in each of the following areas: (1) General induction and orientation; (2) job training for specific occupational groups in plant; (3) office procedures (the company never having had training in the field); (4) technical and engineering supplementary training; (5) sales records and sales promotion; (6) general education—after-hour courses to be sponsored by the company in fields where interest had been expressed, even though not strictly related to the job; (7) special training on a cooperative basis with schools and other educational institutions.

This woman had 4 years of college, with work in psychology and sociology. She felt that she had earned her advancement through her job performance, and said she had learned operations and something of the philosophy and practices of management. She felt that the war had given women an opportunity which they would not otherwise have had, and saw as an obstacle to her own advancement management's "negative attitude towards women." In contrast, the management representative who was interviewed gave this woman's promotion as an example of the company's policy to make appointments on merit regardless of sex.

Another interesting training job was being done by a woman in insurance who planned and directed training courses for life-insurance agents in the field. She liked her work because it had offered her freedom to develop her own ideas, and there was always an opportunity to work out new projects. She had sold insurance and done promotional work in insurance for 25 years. Active in the Society of Chartered Life Underwriters, she was proud of being one of the few women to achieve such standing. She felt that in the field of selling insurance there was no prejudice against women, and that it took years of hard work and willingness to face discouragement.

Sometimes the women in personnel would have as their main function that of employee counsellor,³ and for such positions experience in social work had proved useful to many of the women interviewed. But the wide divergence of backgrounds which may lead to a job of employee counselling is illustrated by two examples:

One woman, about 35 years of age, was employee counselor in a very large department store. She had graduate degrees in educa-

³ One publishing company divided its personnel work into three divisions: employment, medical, and employees' service. The woman who headed the employees' service division said that she supervised 16 employees, 4 of whom were home visitors who assisted families of employees in times of trouble such as illness or death. Her division was also responsible for hospitalization, insurance, pensions, and all employee welfare.

tion and in psychology, and a year of nurse's training as well. She had been dean of girls in a high school, a probation officer, a school principal, and for 2 years served as counselor and employment personnel chief for women in a war plant. Employees in the store came to this woman with their personal and job problems. She contacted social agencies and directed workers to organizations and individuals from whom they might receive help. She made morale surveys where there were indications of dissatisfaction in a department, supervised and had charge of aptitude and other tests. She had three professional women assistants, all college graduates, as well as clerical help.

The other woman, over 50 years old, had been married more than 20 years and had never worked outside of her home until the war. After her three oldest children had entered the service she obtained a factory job, first as operator, then as assembler, and later as a supervisor. She fully planned to stop work when the war ended but when she was about to leave, the personnel manager told her that he was leaving, and that he had recommended her for his job. Mrs. X felt convinced that she could not undertake it because she had only a grammar-school education, and no special training for the job. However, she was asked to give the job a 3-months' trial. At the time of the interview she had been on the job 3 years.

Women in Buying and Merchandising

A buyer, who had been a merchandise manager but who preferred the buyer's job, summed up the feeling of most of the women buyers when she said that there was a fascination in buying new clothes, watching the trends, and seeing one's selection justified by sales. She spoke also of the variety in the job, "There is always something new and different." Many of the buyers interviewed spoke of the pressure and tension involved in their work but felt that these were not serious disadvantages.

It was as buyers or merchandise managers that women had been the most successful in reaching top salaries in the department store field. Nineteen of the best-paid women in stores were buyers or department managers, as were 22 receiving the second highest salary for women, and 20 receiving the third highest women's salary in their respective stores. While the position of merchandise manager outranks that of buyer, it sometimes happens that a buyer, getting a commission as well as salary, will earn more than her superior in the store. Two of the thirty-three head buyers who were interviewed gave this as their reason for not seeking advancement to the position of merchandise manager.

The background of women holding positions in the merchandising field indicated that in-job training was at least as important as a college education. Two of the four merchandise managers interviewed had had 4 years or more of college, but of the 33 buyers interviewed, only 7

had had 4 years or more of college, and 8 others had had some college work. The majority of the buyers, whatever their formal education, had taken in-store courses of some kind. Nor was education necessarily an important factor in determining rapidity of advancement. One buyer, who had just a ninth-grade education, went to work as a bundle examiner when she was 14. After 6 months she became a sales girl and 1 year later was promoted to assistant buyer. Just 1½ years after that she was made a buyer for three departments, a job she had held for 22 years. She hoped to be a merchandise manager within the next 5 years. In contrast another buyer, who had had 4 years of college with a major in history, had been in sales work for 5 years before becoming an assistant buyer and then had spent 1 year in that position before being promoted to buyer.

Some of the women advanced by specializing in one field, others by going from department to department. One woman who had begun her work life as a cosmetics demonstrator was a buyer of books, and she hoped to be a fashion buyer within the next 5 years, either in ready-to-wear or accessories. Another buyer decided while a saleswoman that she would like to make handbags her specialty. She asked to be given a handbag-sales job and when, after 2 years at a first-floor counter, she heard of an opening in the shoe department selling better bags, she asked to be transferred. Three years later she was made an assistant buyer for the department. Sometime later she became buyer of handbags for a small store. At the time of the interview she was keeping her eyes open for a handbag-buyer's position in a larger store.

Women with varying types of experience had acquired positions as merchandise managers. Two of the merchandise managers interviewed worked in the largest stores. One was in a medium-sized store and another was in a store employing fewer than 1,000 people. One of these women began her work life as a society reporter. After 2 years she came to the store in the comparison-shopping office where she worked for 1 year. She was then made an assistant buyer, and after 1½ years, a buyer. For 9 years she was a buyer for 2 divisions, and had been a merchandise manager for the past 3 years—a job in which she was directly responsible for 11 departments.

Another woman who had become merchandise manager began work as secretary to the general merchandise manager. A year and a half later she was made a buyer, and 13 years later she was promoted to merchandise manager, a position she had held for 3 years at the time of the interview. She was hoping for a top-management job within the next 5 years, although she believed she was probably too young, since the men holding these positions were older. The record of one merchandise manager demonstrated that store training for an executive position may not be wasted even though a woman may leave to be with her family while the children are young. This woman was in sales work

before her marriage, and took in-plant training at that time. She left after her marriage, but returned to the store some 10 years later as a buyer. After 3 years she was made merchandise manager.

Women in Factory-Supervisory Positions

Many factory-supervisory jobs carry with them responsibilities usually associated with "personnel work." In a general way, all factory supervisors are responsible for training and placing the employees in their sections, supervising the work, and seeing that the production operations move smoothly. At the higher levels of responsibility, usually associated with foreman or forelady jobs, there are often added to the above functions responsibilities for production planning, record keeping, and seeing that the machines are in good condition. In some plants instructors, rather than supervisors or foremen, do the training.

One supervisor described her job as "supervising, planning schedules, placing the girls on the particular job for the day, making special assignments, checking the work done." One of the foreladies interviewed said that she supervised over 200 persons with 4 assistant foreladies under her. This forelady said that she tried the workers out on the various machines so that they could make the rate. She also figured out the work involved in every new garment, and learned the cost of production on each. In another factory, a head forelady with only 1 assistant was in charge of about 500 women employees. She was responsible for production, figured costs, handled various problems which arose, was responsible for promotions, and also interviewed applicants for factory jobs after the personnel office had screened them.

In another plant a line supervisor had received her promotion to that job because of her ability to maintain good morale among the employees. While she was a machine operator the personnel department asked her to sponsor the new girls and, subsequently, she was promoted to line supervisor. The representative of the personnel department who was interviewed said that this woman is "marvelous with people," that her department had less friction than any of the others, and that the girls who worked for her refused to be transferred. In the hope of eventually obtaining a position in the personnel department she was taking courses at the university in vocation counseling and basic psychology, her previous schooling having stopped at the ninth grade. She said that the company was growing and there were "chances of going places," and she believed that with the work she was doing at the university, her ambition might be realized.

Another woman who was planning to go into personnel work was the only college graduate interviewed among the 100 or so women in factory-supervisory jobs. This woman was forelady in the packing

department of a candy manufacturing plant. She supervised 75 to 100 girls in the packing room. She also acted as a counsellor for complaints, kept a record of production, ordered supplies, saw that the flow of work was constant, and reported machinery break-downs. She had her master of arts degree in chemistry and had done some work toward a doctor of philosophy degree. She had also taken war-time courses given by Radcliffe College for college women training for supervisory positions, as well as J. I. T. (job-instruction training), J. R. T. (job-relations training), and other in-plant courses. For 11 years prior to the war she had been engaged in laboratory work and teaching. She decided she was tired of academic work, and with the opening up of defense jobs, she took the Radcliffe course which led to a job as supervisor on war work in radio and communication. When the factory in which she was working was reconverted to candy manufacture after the war, she decided to stay on.

Over two-thirds of the women in factory-supervisory jobs who were interviewed had less than a high school education. One woman had only gone as far as the fifth grade, a large number had grammar school education only. A number of the women interviewed spoke of not having enough education to go further, and other women in factory jobs spoke wistfully of the careers they might have had if they had had the training. One said she "still likes to dream of the nursing career she wanted." Her parents refused to let her become a nurse and insisted she work in a factory. Later, she had taken numerous correspondence courses in English, mathematics, and management. She was a forelady in a hosiery mill where she had complete control of the mending department and supervised over 200 women on 2 shifts. Another woman had always wanted to be window trimmer for a store but had never done anything about it.

Most of the women in the factory-supervisory jobs had no hope or no desire for further advancement. When asked: "Five years from now what position would you like to hold?", the majority of them replied, "the same job," or "retire," or "marriage and home." Many who said "the same job," followed it by saying: "can't go any further here; higher jobs are always filled by men." Many, who indicated that this barrier existed, added that they would not want to have a job with more responsibility. One woman thought that it was right for men to be given the better jobs because "men usually have more family responsibilities." She herself was supporting her widowed mother and keeping up their house. She wanted to hold her present job because she had enough responsibility to make it interesting but not enough to "drag her down."

In contrast to women who spoke of having all the responsibility they wanted were those who had worked actively to secure advancement:

A supervisor in a radio plant, had first come with the company in an office job. After a week she realized she was tremendously inter-

ested in radio and wanted to work directly with it. She approached her supervisor about the matter, and it was arranged with the personnel department that she be given a job in the factory on the assembly line. She was also permitted to take the company's course in radio. When this course was completed, she was promoted to testing and was advised to take some technical courses in radio. She attended night classes at the Illinois Institute of Technology while working as a tester during the day. From testing she was promoted to engineer's assistant in the laboratory, where her work consisted mainly of blue-print reading. She finally became a line supervisor in the communications department, and that is as far as she can get because the company policy gives foremen's jobs only to men. She herself felt that a number of women working in the plant could handle the foremen's jobs.

Hoping to attain a job with more responsibility, a forelady in a pharmaceutical company was working toward that end by taking a course in pharmacy offered by the company. She believed that her advancement to the position of forelady was due largely to the courses she had taken since working there. She had the J. I. T. (job-instruction training), J. M. T. (job-methods training), and J. R. T. (job-relations training) supervisory courses as well as college courses in leadership and time study.

A woman who was a division manager in a candy company indicated that, for the woman of initiative and ambition, the job itself may furnish the opportunity to prepare for advancement. The training program, which she had initiated and put into effect some time ago in her own department, was considered so good that the company had decided to adopt it for all of its departments. This was one of the reasons given for her promotion to a job never before held by a woman. In spite of her achievements, she expected to be holding the same job 5 years from now because the next step would be to the position of superintendent, and she doubted whether a woman would ever be given that job.

Women in Industrial Research and Engineering

Top positions as chemists, bacteriologists, or engineers require college and postgraduate training, although women without a college degree had found places for themselves as technicians in laboratories. Most of the women chemists and bacteriologists interviewed were working in the pharmaceutical firms, although some were found in other industries. The majority of women interviewed who were in engineering jobs were with companies manufacturing machine tools and instruments or electrical products.

Several women chemists said that in the field of chemistry a doctor of philosophy degree was necessary in order to get anywhere. A woman

chemist said: "In chemist's jobs a woman should have a doctor of philosophy degree to compete with a man with a bachelor of arts degree." However, another said: "It is just as hard for the men in the control laboratory to get anywhere." One of the women interviewed said that her advancement would depend on the number of products she could get patented, and the number of papers she could have published. One woman doing control chemistry and testing found her work too routine and would have preferred a research job, but found that a higher degree in chemistry was usually a requirement. A girl who was doing bacteriological testing for a pharmaceutical firm had had only a high school education, though she was taking some night courses at the university. This girl had become interested in chemistry in high school and had stayed on a year after graduation as a laboratory assistant. When she went with the pharmaceutical firm the head of the laboratory recognized her interest, mapped out a course of study for her, and took time to teach her.

Several of the women chemists felt that it was a "man's world." One woman said that there was very little opportunity for women beyond a certain point in any company; that most firms were willing to use women but refuse to recognize outstanding ability among them when promotions are made. She herself believed that women make better chemists than men because of an innate liking for careful detail work and a willingness to be precise and painstaking. Her own experience had been that other chemists in the company doing independent work did not have to supervise routine workers and were given the more interesting tests, simply because they were men. It was her conclusion that "in laboratory work of a professional nature, women must have twice as good an education as men, and even then advancement is difficult." She felt that women could help themselves by specializing and becoming experts in one field. Another woman said that the men with whom she worked recognized her as a good routine chemist but not on a level with them—they seemed to want her to be an "errand girl." In another firm, where the woman chemist had found general prejudice against women regardless of their capabilities, men were paid a higher rate than women, and opportunities for advancement were much greater for men than for women.⁴ However, in one pharmaceutical company a laboratory chemist reported that "women, as well as men, are given every opportunity here," though women had to work harder for advancement than men.

All of the women in engineering positions who were interviewed were under 35 years of age, and all had begun their engineering experience

⁴ This woman, a senior organic research chemist, the only woman organic research chemist the company has ever had, reported that she had one man and one woman assisting her, both with master's degrees, but she had quite a battle to have the woman paid the same salary as the man.

during or since the war. They represented various levels of professional competence, including one woman who held a highly responsible position as production engineer for a concern manufacturing radio parts. This woman was not only doing continuous research and experimentation in the electrical and metallurgical fields, but was also instructing tool and diemakers in the use of certain materials. According to the employment manager, she had been chosen to succeed a man in this job and was selected in preference to several men because of her superior qualifications.

This young woman started her career with a college degree in business administration and following a decision to go into the engineering field, took a degree in mechanical engineering. She told how she took a labor job in a smelting and refining plant after finding that she did not like office management. She won a promotion to a supervisory position and eventually became the plant superintendent. Later when the plant was sold, the new owners were aghast at finding a woman managing the plant, and they gave her instead an office position which she soon gave up. After some experience in metallurgy with a research institution she secured her position as production engineer with the firm covered by the survey.

When asked what factors had helped her to advance she said: "I made up my mind to be an engineer and to work with metals. After training, I found it difficult to get a job or rather an interview for a job. When I got the job it was easy to show my ability." She said that if women wanted to get ahead they should be ambitious, and if they liked to do a thing, they should get the training and let no one keep them from achieving the job they want. She herself believed that "there is a field for women in engineering."

In a radio manufacturing company a woman engineer was working in the engineering division which develops special equipment. She prepared the drawings and specifications for models, and reduced the designs and drawings for the shop. She followed a project from the engineering laboratory into the shop and made adjustments in drawings when necessary. She said that she was doing the same type of work as the men engineers in the department and that they accepted her on the same basis as any junior engineer.

This woman, under 35 years of age, had been a mathematics major in college. She had started her work life in a clerical job in banking and had gone from that into a statistical research job in a publishing house. When she switched to engineering, she found that she had a natural bent for mechanical work and experienced much more satisfaction in handling mechanical problems than she had in doing office work. Lacking an engineering degree, she was considering the advisability of taking time off to complete her training for it, work she had already started by taking night courses at the university.

Another young woman in a radio manufacturing firm had had 2 years of college work plus night courses in engineering which were roughly equivalent to 2 years of college work. She was employed by the company in 1942 as an engineering laboratory assistant, having previously been in clerical work. She found that she had a flair for scientific analysis and an interest in the job, and she worked with a man who made her a partner in his experimental work. She felt that she had made slower progress and received less recognition because of her sex, and that men supervisors in engineering think in terms of men when a new job or chance for promotion develops. Another woman in the same company agreed that women were not considered on the same basis as men but pointed out that of those classed as engineers 60 percent of the men but none of the women were graduate engineers. She felt that a woman going into engineering should seek full engineering training if she wanted to obtain the same recognition as men.

Women Specialists in Printing and Publishing

Women in editorial jobs in the publishing houses covered by the survey were responsible for the content of the books or magazines, or in some instances for the technical work concerned with publication. Of a dozen women with editorial titles who were interviewed, all but three had been in the publishing field for over 15 years. A college education was usual, but one woman with only 1 year of college was associate editor of a widely read weekly magazine with responsibility for cutting and editing, as well as for the make-up of the entire magazine. She was also responsible for editing stories from the viewpoint of possible "feminine reaction." Prior to her present position she had worked nearly 15 years—as clerk, secretary, manuscript reader, and humor editor. After about 4 years at home with her family, she returned to work and was chosen as associate editor, a vacancy created when a man left for the war.

In one publishing house a woman held the position of managing editor. Her responsibilities included deciding what manuscripts were to be read and selected, making manuscript assignments, and dealing with the authors. She enjoyed the opportunity to meet interesting people and to help worthy authors get their books published but found that her job took up a great deal of her time outside of working hours. Advancement came rapidly to this woman of 35. Her first job as a reader was with the same publishing firm. After 2 years, she was made an editor, and 2 years later, managing editor.

Another woman, who was managing editor of a woman's magazine, had general supervision over the editorial department; was responsible for the entire content and make-up of the magazine; and spent most of her time on final editing or reading of articles and fiction. She began working about 25 years ago after getting her college degree with majors

in history, political science, and journalism. She held various writing jobs and did free-lance writing about 15 years before coming with the magazine as an editorial assistant. After 1 year in that capacity she became an associate editor and 6 years later was made managing editor.

For a woman who was editor of elementary publications in a textbook publishing firm, teaching experience as well as education opened the way to advancement. Added to this she felt that she had a "lucky break" in that the previous editor retired, and with 10 years' experience as his assistant she had gained the confidence of the board of directors. She liked the combination of working with people and with books, and she said that there was satisfaction in seeing her ideas take form in textbooks. However, she found difficulty in combining a satisfactory personal life with a job which demanded so much time and energy.

A woman who was associate editor in charge of production for a magazine said that she enjoyed the mechanical details involved. She felt that her advancement had been due to hard work and the experience she had gained, first on a high school paper, then on a college paper, and later on several magazines. Also, she had increased her knowledge of printing by taking special courses. She had been working for 15 years and was happy in her job. She felt that further advancement would come only if she moved to another city where opportunities might be greater.

Among women holding technical jobs in publishing was the head of the specifications and photostat department of a firm publishing textbooks. It was her job to estimate the number of pages for each proposed publication, make up a blank dummy showing the style form of the finished book, figure out the sheet size of the paper necessary for running the particular press forms involved, and plan special layouts for books. This woman had 2 years of college and had since taken various courses given by the Boston Bookbinders' Association. She said that she had always known what she wanted to do. She had become interested in publishing when she was in college, and most of her work experience had been in this field.

Research jobs were held by women in a firm which published an encyclopedia. A director of research supervised a staff of 29 which was maintained to answer requests for information. Her job also included hiring and training college graduates for special work in libraries. The woman who held this job was under 35, and all of her work experience was with this firm, where she had come as a research specialist after graduation from college. She found her job stimulating and said she was learning all the time. Another woman was a geographic analyst for the same firm. She compiled data for the revision of the world atlas and other maps, including information on climate, products, population—a specialized job which entailed much research. She had

had special training for her job, since she had majored in geography in college and during the war had worked in this same field for one of the Federal war agencies.

Women Specialists in Insurance and Banking

From the personal history records acquired in the survey, it was apparent that women who had been promoted to good positions in the underwriting departments of insurance companies owed their success to the knowledge and skills they had acquired while working for the companies, rather than to extensive formal education.

One of the women with a high school education said that her job required "much general knowledge, and the ability to make decisions." She was first employed by the company as secretary to the chief actuary. After 8 years in this position she was transferred to the underwriting department as an underwriting secretary. Two years later she became a lay underwriter. At the time of the interview she had responsibility for all insurance applications up to \$5,000—getting the history of the applicant, examining each feature of the application, checking the application with the medical director, and evaluating the total risk.

A woman underwriter in accident and health insurance with a high-school education and 6 months' business training felt that it was her ability to handle detail which had helped her to advance. Also, the war had been a contributing factor. In spite of a good record as junior underwriter, she was not made an underwriter until the war. The women underwriters who were interviewed spoke of enjoying the "human interest angle" and the variety—as one woman pointed out, "Every case is different."

For actuarial work advancement above a certain level depends upon years of specialized training. One woman actuary with officer status was a college graduate with 6 or 7 years' special study in the actuarial field, and at the time of the study, was the only woman actuary in her city. She said that the woman who wants to be an actuary should begin by majoring in mathematics at college, and then realize that it will take years of preparation for the series of difficult examinations which must be taken. She also felt that the woman who aspires to be an actuary should be a person who welcomes responsibility.

For women who had majored in mathematics in college or otherwise acquired a good background in mathematics, there were possibilities for advancement to important statistical jobs in the actuarial departments of insurance companies. Several women interviewed held very responsible positions of this kind. The personnel representative of one of the largest life-insurance companies said that one such woman was "doing the most outstanding job done by anyone in the company," although she could not be made an officer because she was not an actuary.

Miss X came to the company 30 years ago, having been recommended by her high school principal for a substitute secretarial job. She felt that her opportunity to advance came during the First World War when she obtained a "man's job" and held on to it after the war. Some years later she became the assistant supervisor in the actuarial department when the man who held the job was promoted to the position of statistician. This man would normally have held the position for many years, but he died shortly after his promotion. Miss X was the only one who knew the work and was therefore given the job. Miss X believed that upon her retirement a man would succeed her, although two women who were her unit supervisors were promotional material and in her judgment could handle the work. The personnel representative who was interviewed also said that Miss X was holding a man's job and would be replaced by a man.

Another woman who was holding a position as actuarial statistician began her work with the company 5 years before as assistant to the bookkeeper but was soon given the job of statistician since she had had mathematical training in college. This woman was over 50 years old, and she had come to the company after more than 20 years as a housewife.

In other departments responsible for reviewing policy forms, there were also interesting positions being held by women. One woman was doing an outstanding job as supervisor in group underwriting for one of the largest companies.

She was in charge of over 500 persons who reviewed all contracts and initiated new policy forms when changes in State laws and regulations made policy revision necessary. It was formerly company policy for a vice president to visit those States where new contracts and policy procedures had become necessary because of changes in the State laws. A few years ago the vice president was unable to make a required trip, and Miss X was selected to take over the work. She spent 3 months in the field and did so well that she was chosen to make all future trips when group insurance changes needed to be made. A representative of the personnel department said that Miss X stood the best chance of any woman in the organization for promotion to an executive position since her record had been outstanding.

Women attorneys in insurance companies were found working on various assignments. One, who had reached officer status in her company, dealt with legal questions connected with the handling and distribution of trust funds. Another was executive secretary to the general counsel, assisting him on cases and acting for him in his absence.

In two companies, women without legal training were in policy-title

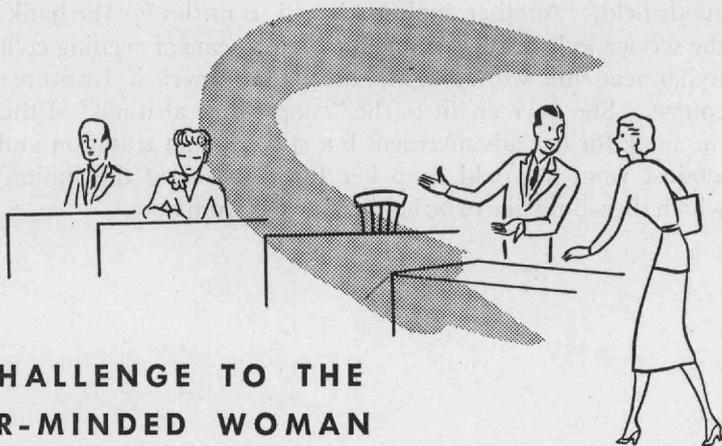
divisions doing work which required some knowledge of insurance law. One of these women, the chief of the policy-title division, said that her work was concerned with changes in beneficiaries, setting up procedures, and drawing papers for settlement-assignment options. She felt that she owed her advancement to the fact that she had had experience in a field that was becoming increasingly important—that of developing optional methods of settlement in creating trusts, life incomes, etc. Another woman had held the title of supervisor in the settlement division for 26 years and said this department was about five times as large now as when she started. She advised agents in the agency offices on special settlements and had written a manual on optional methods of settlement for their use. As with the other women doing this type of work, she saw her lack of legal training as an obstacle to further advancement.

A very impressive job involving service to clients was being done by a woman trust officer in a large bank. This woman had a law degree and had also taken graduate work in business administration and trust problems.

She had had experience in estate management before coming to the bank some 13 years ago, and in her job as assistant trust officer handled trusts which go into effect during the lifetime of the donor. In addition to executing the provisions of the trusts and the investment of funds, this trust officer performed a wide range of services for the beneficiaries. Miss X mentioned, for instance, that she had made investigations of schools for boys who were the beneficiaries of a trust. She said that clients often came to her with problems other than those of their "estate" business, and she felt that helping them was a definite part of the "good will" function of her job. She pointed out that one needed to have a sincere interest in the needs of each client to do a job of this sort really well, and she felt that women were perhaps more sympathetic than men with such personal problems.

In both insurance companies and banks, women holding responsible positions as security and investment analysts usually had college training. Most of them got their start in this work during the war. Their work might include investing and loaning the company's funds, investing trust funds for clients, or analyzing securities which the bank was selling. One young woman who was investment analyst for an insurance company had been employed after majoring in economics in college and later taking night school courses at the university in corporation finance. She was in charge of the company's public-utility investments, work which included obtaining financial and engineering reports on all public utilities, analyzing the reports, and making comparative studies within the utility field and with other industries. A senior analyst in one of the banks had responsibility for her company's securities in the nondurable

goods field. Another analyst selected securities for the bank's clients in the service industries. She had added 6 years of evening college courses to her academic work and had taken one American Institute of Banking course. She gave credit to the "cooperative attitude" of the officers of the bank for her advancement but still felt that tradition and prejudice against women would keep her from obtaining the junior officership which she would like to be holding 5 years from now.



THE CHALLENGE TO THE CAREER-MINDED WOMAN

In every field covered by the study, women holding positions of responsibility were doing "a type of work that presents a challenge and is not routine." Yet a study of the histories of these women has shown that they were usually those who had seen a challenge also in the routine jobs they held at the start of their work life. In most cases it was apparent that they had proved their interest and ability through unusual effort or unusual personal qualifications, regardless of the character of work they were doing. These women said that "hard work and willingness to give more than full measure on the job," accounted for their advancement. A review of their work histories as well as the comments of personnel managers confirmed their views.

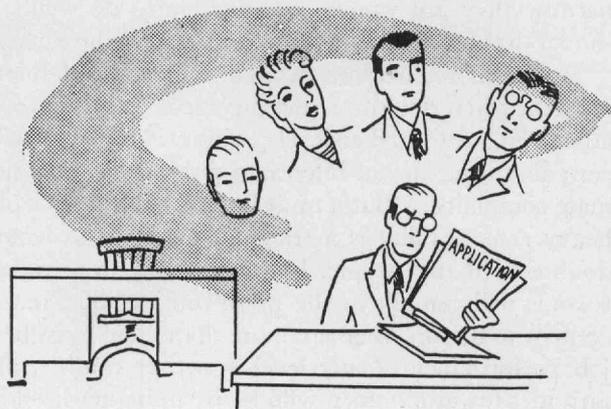
It was evident that women who had succeeded in serving competently in positions never before held by women, were blazing trails which other women might follow. In many cases management had come to realize that such recognition of ability had improved morale and spurred the interest of women in their work all along the line. An insurance company reported that the appointment of a woman officer had been an inspiration to other women in the company. A manufacturer of cigars who had appointed a woman as head foreman of the night shift—the first time in the company's history that a woman had been given such a responsible job—reported: "The effect on employee morale is marvelous. It has acted as a stimulant to the women workers who now feel that there is no limit as to how far a woman can go; that the opportunities for advancement are limitless."

For women in higher-level positions formerly held by men, the challenge is twofold: not only must they prove themselves capable of holding a "man's job," but because of the tendency of management to generalize about women, their performance on the job will be an important influence in changing management's attitudes toward women. The study has indicated that there are few types of jobs which women, simply

because they are women, are unable to do well. The study has also shown that there remain many employers who have still to be convinced.

Furthermore, working women who are not themselves interested in a career often determine management attitudes toward those who seek advancement to higher-level positions. Supervisors who expressed concern about the lack of interest of girls under them no doubt had a legitimate complaint. But it must be realized that lack of interest in assuming heavy responsibility is a trait not confined to women. There are undoubtedly many people, both men and women, who for a variety of reasons will remain in the more routine jobs, many of whom may be content to do so. Women, more than men, must bear in mind that their job performance at any level, however routine, affects management's attitudes toward women who aspire to higher-level jobs.

The survey has shown that in each field, though not in every plant, management is increasingly seeking the best person for the job without excluding women from consideration simply because they are women. The survey also indicates that in many cases the tradition that certain jobs are men's jobs only reflects the fact that often there are few women qualified for positions which carry heavy responsibilities. When qualified women are available for such positions, the traditional patterns are often abandoned. The women in positions of responsibility covered by this survey have themselves brought changes in traditional attitudes and by their own achievement have shown what other women can do.



THE CHALLENGE TO BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

It may be true, as the insurance representative said, that "as women with college training, ambition, and stick-to-itiveness enter the company in increasing numbers they will force a recognition of women's ability to hold top jobs, and they will be given them," but it may also be true that women with such attributes would enter the competition in greater numbers if recognition could be taken for granted and did not need to be forced.

Often a firm which believes it offers every opportunity for women maintains discriminations. A bank, for instance, which hires college men for junior-executive training and college women for secretarial jobs, should not find it surprising that more women in the firm do not spend long years taking American Bankers' Association courses. Likewise the manufacturing firm, which reported that all openings in the higher-level jobs are posted and anyone can apply but no woman ever had, might ask itself whether its hiring practices do not exclude the promotional type of woman right from the start. In many manufacturing firms women are hired only for the dead-end jobs, and the possibility of using women in some of the jobs requiring higher qualifications has never been explored.

This survey has shown that there are many women in every field who have ambition and a willingness to train for the higher-level jobs. That they are still the exception rather than the rule should not mean that they are to be denied the opportunity to prove their worth. The experience of the firms which have discovered and given recognition to such women has been rewarding, as there were many representatives of management to testify. Such firms have enlarged their own opportunities for finding the best person for the job. At the same time they have given all women in their employ an incentive to take more interest in their work.

The survey revealed that throughout business and industry, management realizes that prejudice and tradition often prevent their making full use of the women's skills, and that women are doing jobs which would entitle them to greater rewards of salary and title if they were men. This awareness, which may lead to a growing modification of attitudes and policies, is in itself a long step forward.

Much remains to be done, however, if business as a whole is to profit from the full development of the capabilities of its women employees. That so many firms have discovered how much can be gained by helping women develop and use their talents, should be a challenge to others to do the same. It may be hoped that this record of achievement by those women who were given a chance, will inspire a further opening of the doors of opportunity and the growing adoption of policies which will allow women to compete on even terms with men for the higher-level positions.

APPENDIX A

COVERAGE OF SURVEY

The present report is based on a survey made in the autumn of 1948 and the early months of 1949. The survey covered women holding higher-level positions in selected department stores, home offices of insurance companies, banks, and a variety of manufacturing plants employing large numbers or a large proportion of women in Boston, Hartford,¹ Philadelphia, and Chicago. The manufacturing plants were selected from "light" industries in which large numbers or proportions of women are usually employed. The following industries were represented: apparel, cigars, dental equipment and supplies, confectionery and certain other food products, footwear industries (except rubber), metal products, paper products, pharmaceutical preparations, printing and publishing, radios and other electrical products, rubber products, hosiery and other textile products. The choice of firms in the 4 industries covered constituted a selection of large firms employing more than 100 women or firms employing a significant proportion of women, and, in a few cases, smaller firms because special conditions, such as the employment of women in certain top jobs or specialized work, seemed to justify their inclusion.

The survey covered 237 firms in the 3 cities as follows: 29 department stores, 30 insurance companies, 12 banks (Philadelphia and Chicago only), and 166 manufacturing plants. These firms represented 345,000 employees, of whom approximately half in each area were women. The proportion of women holding the higher-level jobs varied substantially by industry and establishment. Information was obtained on the total number and proportion of women and men employed, as well as numbers and proportions of those in the higher-level jobs.

"Higher-level" positions as used in this survey include executive, administrative, technical, professional, and supervisory jobs. Within each of these categories there may be a very wide range of responsibility levels. In the production operations of manufacturing, for instance, all positions above the level of "group leader" are included. (To be considered a supervisor, an employee must have a certain degree of line responsibility for operations or production, and control over work assignments.) This includes section chiefs, assistant foremen, foremen, general foremen, assistant superintend-

¹ Boston and Hartford are combined for purposes of this study.

ents, superintendents, works managers. In the business fields covered, including office jobs in manufacturing, the lowest levels of responsibility included were usually "clerical supervisors" proceeding on up through various departmental positions to those which are considered top-management jobs. The latter include company officers, general managers, sometimes division heads, depending upon size and type of firm. Technical and professional jobs at different levels of responsibility are included—nurses, statisticians, security analysts, attorneys, etc., with or without administrative or supervisory responsibilities. Since job classifications vary considerably from industry to industry, and according to size and organization of firms, management's decision was utilized in each case as to which employees belonged in the general classification of "higher-level" jobs.

Information was obtained from management regarding the types of work being done by the women holding the higher-level positions, as well as the jobs in which women had advanced furthest in salary. Management representatives were questioned about the apparent possibilities for increasing the percentage of women in executive and supervisory and other higher-level jobs, and as to what factors favored or retarded the advancement of women in their business. Information on the recruitment and selection of supervisors was also obtained from management, as well as information on the considerations and standards which influence promotion. Data were collected on the training provided or required for advancement in each firm and the opportunities afforded women for receiving such training.

In over three-fourths of the firms covered by the survey additional personal information about the women was obtained. Management records concerning the age, marital status, education, training, and work history of 860 women in the higher-level jobs were supplemented by personal interviews with 646 of these women of whom 335 were in manufacturing, 151 were in department stores, and 160 were in banking and insurance. Through these interviews valuable and interesting facts were gathered on what the women liked and disliked about their jobs; what factors they believed contributed to their advancement; what they believed women should do to get ahead.

It must be emphasized that the criteria used in selecting the firms to be included in the study were primarily those of size of establishment and high proportion of women employed. Accordingly, the findings are not necessarily representative of either industries or areas as a whole and should be considered as suggestive rather than definitive. The report presents combined findings by industries, and variations by areas are shown in the appendix tables.

APPENDIX B

SCHEDULE FORMS

FIRM INTERVIEW
CONFIDENTIAL

Budget Bureau No. 44-4810
Approval Expires 4-30-49

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
WOMEN'S BUREAU
WASHINGTON

I. GENERAL IDENTIFICATION—ALL INDUSTRIES

1. Name of firm
- Address
- (Street) (City) (Zone) (State)
2. Type of business or products
3. Persons interviewed:

Name	Position
Name	Position
Name	Position
4. Numbers employed:

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
Total:			
Executive, Administrative, Supervisory			
All Other			

Agent

Date

1948 and 1949

FIRM INTERVIEW

II. MEN AND WOMEN IN "HIGHER-LEVEL" POSITIONS IN DEPARTMENT STORES

	Number Employed		
	Total	Men	Women
Total			
TOP MANAGEMENT			
Officers (active members)			
Store manager			
Assistant store and branch store manager			
Administrative assistants and executive secretaries			
MERCHANDISING			
Merchandise managers and assistants			
Buyers			
Assistant buyers			
Heads of receiving, wrapping, packing, delivery			
Merchandise clerical supervisors (specify)			
.....			
.....			
STORE OPERATIONS			
Superintendents and assistants			
Floor managers, service or section heads, assistants			
Purchasing agent (store supplies)			
Other (specify)			
.....			
.....			
PERSONNEL AND EMPLOYEE WELFARE			
Personnel, employment and training directors			
Assistants to above and other personnel department supervisors (specify)			
.....			
Nurses			
PUBLICITY			
Advertising managers and assistants			
Display managers and assistants			
Artists			
Copywriters			
Other promotional heads (specify)			
.....			
SHOPPING SERVICE			
Customers' shopping chief and assistants			
Comparison shopping chief			
GENERAL OFFICE, FINANCE AND CONTROL			
Office manager, chief accountant and their assistants			
Credit manager and assistants			
Other office supervisors (specify)			
.....			
.....			
OTHER SERVICES			
Alteration and workroom heads and assistants			
Restaurant managers and assistants			
General research and other technicians			
Chief telephone operators			
Beauty shop manager			
Building maintenance heads			
Other customers' services (specify)			
.....			
.....			

FIRM INTERVIEW

II. MEN AND WOMEN IN "HIGHER-LEVEL" POSITIONS IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES

Total	Number Employed		
	Total	Men	Women
TOP MANAGEMENT			
Officers
Administrative assistant or executive secretary
.....
PRODUCTION			
Plant manager and superintendent
Department and division head
Foreman—forelady
Assistant foreman—assistant forelady
.....
PERSONNEL			
Personnel or industrial relations director
Employment manager
Training director
.....
OFFICE AND FINANCIAL CONTROL			
Controller
Office manager
Department and division head
Supervisor (1st level of supervision)
.....
SALES AND PURCHASING DEPARTMENT			
Purchasing head
Sales manager
.....
OTHER SERVICES AND DEPARTMENTS			
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

FIRM INTERVIEW

III. (SUPPLEMENTARY) DEPARTMENT BUYER AND ASSISTANT BUYER—IN DEPARTMENT STORES

Check sex of buyer (do not enter number)

	Men		Women	
	Buyer	Asst.	Buyer	Asst.
Women's, misses' and girls' dresses, suits, coats				
Women's accessories				
Infants' wear				
Toilet goods and toilet articles				
Notions and trimmings				
Piece goods and fabrics				
Shoes				
Men's and boys' clothing and furnishings				
Housefurnishings such as furniture, floor covering, pictures, mirrors, mattresses, springs, etc				
Housewares, hardware, household appliances, etc				
China, glassware, silverware, etc				
Blankets, bedspreads, draperies, curtains, etc				
Other, list in broad groupings				
.				
.				
.				
.				
.				

FIRM INTERVIEW

IV. COMMENTS ON WOMEN'S STATUS IN SUPERVISORY AND ADMINISTRATIVE JOBS—ALL INDUSTRIES

1. What are the 3 highest paid positions held by women in order of salary?
(1)..... (2).....
(3).....
.....
2. (a) Have women been employed in supervisory positions now filled by men?
Yes..... No..... If yes, give reasons for change.
.....
- (b) What jobs are women holding now not held by women 10 years ago?
.....
3. (a) What are the possibilities of increasing the proportion of women in supervisory and administrative positions?
.....
.....
.....
- (b) What are the possibilities for placement of women in higher levels of positions than women now hold?
.....
.....
.....
4. What factors favor the advancement of women in your type of business?
.....
.....
.....
5. What factors deter the advancement of women in your type of business?
.....
.....
.....

FIRM INTERVIEW

V. RECRUITING AND PROMOTION—ALL INDUSTRIES

1. Is it the general policy to fill supervisory positions by promotion from within the company? If yes, what are typical steps of progression for women?
 - (a) Office
 - (b) Other

2. Who in the organization selects or recommends persons for promotion? Who passes on promotions (i. e., reviews qualifications and eligibility)?

3. (a) What are the chief factors you consider in selecting women in supervisory positions?
- (b) Is there a formal merit rating that is considered in advancing employees to supervisory positions of higher responsibility? Yes No If yes, explain
- (c) Is seniority a major factor in promotion? Yes No Explain.

4. Does the company have a general policy against the hiring or retention of married women? Yes No Note any recent change in this policy.....

5. What positions of this type (E. A. S.) held by women are filled usually from outside the company?

6. Are college graduates recruited? Men Women If yes, explain.

FIRM INTERVIEW

VI. TRAINING PROGRAM—ALL INDUSTRIES

1. Do you have in-plant training courses for non-supervisory employees that have a bearing on opportunities for advancement for men....., for women?
If yes, describe briefly
.....
.....
.....
.....
2. Do you have training courses for supervisory and administrative personnel, for men, ... for women? ... If yes, describe briefly
.....
.....
.....
.....
3. Are trade courses voluntarily taken outside of plant a factor in considering promotion? Comment.....
.....
.....
.....
4. Are there any training courses sponsored by the firm for which women are not eligible? If yes, explain.....
.....
.....
.....
5. Compare the extent to which men and women take advantage of training courses and opportunities offered by the company.
.....
.....
.....
.....

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
WOMEN'S BUREAU
WASHINGTON

INFORMATION TO BE OBTAINED FROM FIRM RECORDS—ALL INDUSTRIES

- 1. Name or identification..... Firm.....
- 2. Position.....
- 3. Age: Under 25...., 25-34...., 35-44...., 45-54...., 55 and over....
- 4. Marital status: Single..., Married..., Widowed..., Separated..., Divorced....
- 5. Education and training:
 - (a) Highest grade completed.... If college, number of years completed....
 - (b) Business school or other specialized schooling.....
 - (c) In-plant courses.....
- 6. Work history—(Date of first job.....)

IN THIS COMPANY (Date beginning).....

	<i>Kind of Work</i>	<i>Duration</i>
First job.....
Intermediate job.....
.....
.....
Present job.....
.....

JOBS HELD BEFORE EMPLOYMENT HERE
(3 last jobs)

Last job.....
Job before that.....
Other jobs.....
.....
.....

If employment in this firm has been broken for more than 6 months, give length of time and reason.....

Agent.....
Date.....

1948 and 1949

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

INFORMATION TO BE OBTAINED BY PERSONAL INTERVIEWS WITH WOMEN IN "HIGHER-LEVEL" POSITIONS—ALL INDUSTRIES

1. Name or identification Firm
2. Briefly describe your job, its responsibilities and the number supervised
.....
.....
.....
3. What factors have helped you advance?
.....
.....
.....
4. What do you like about your job?
.....
.....
.....
5. What do you dislike or find unpleasant about your job?
.....
.....
.....
6. From your experience, what do you think women should do to further their advancement?
.....
.....
.....
7. What obstacles do you see to your further advancement?
.....
.....
.....
8. Five years from now what position would you like to hold?
.....
.....
.....
9. Do you prefer to be supervised by men, by women, no preference?
(Check one)

APPENDIX C TABLES

INTRODUCTION

Table 1.—Major occupation group of all employed persons and of women for the United States, 1949 and 1940

[Thousands of persons 14 years of age and over]

Major occupation group	April 1949			March 1940		
	Total	Women	Percent women	Total	Women	Percent women
Total employed.....	57,819	16,356	28	45,166	11,138	25
Professional and semiprofessional workers.....	4,041	1,477	37	3,345	1,470	44
Farmers and farm managers.....	4,801	236	5	5,144	152	3
Proprietors, managers, and officials, except farm.....	6,265	867	14	3,749	424	11
Clerical, sales, and kindred workers.....	11,100	5,928	53	7,618	3,157	42
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers.....	7,689	165	2	5,056	107	2
Operatives and kindred workers.....	11,631	3,199	28	8,252	2,046	25
Service workers, including domestic.....	6,151	3,577	58	5,570	3,231	58
Laborers, including farm.....	6,142	906	15	6,154	418	7
Occupation not reported.....				379	134	35

Source: U. S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. Population. Vol. III, The Labor Force, 1940, pt. 1, United States Summary. Table 58, pp. 75-80; and Current Population Reports, Labor Force, 1949, P-57, No. 82, table 13, p. 11.

POSITION OF WOMEN IN FIELDS OF THIS STUDY

Table 2.—Position of women in the industries covered by the survey by area

Industry	Number of establishments	All employees			Number of employ-ees in higher-level positions			Number of officers ¹		
		Total	Women	Per-cent wom-en	Total	Wom-en	Per-cent wom-en	Total	Wom-en	Per-cent wom-en
3 AREAS										
Department stores.....	29	57,786	39,426	68	5,724	2,865	50	183	8	4
Insurance.....	30	29,752	19,164	64	4,607	905	20	982	21	2
Banking.....	12	13,565	6,214	46	3,478	508	15	1,047	15	1
Manufacturing.....	166	243,877	109,446	45	21,105	2,973	14	805	35	4
BOSTON-HARTFORD AREA										
Department stores.....	8	12,073	8,793	73	1,398	755	54	42	3	7
Insurance.....	9	18,159	11,760	65	2,486	436	18	536	7	1
Manufacturing.....	48	46,185	24,719	54	3,138	646	21	182	9	5
PHILADELPHIA										
Department stores.....	10	19,776	13,469	68	1,931	942	49	66	3	5
Insurance.....	10	5,878	3,601	61	985	217	22	218	4	2
Banking.....	4	3,849	1,852	48	798	153	19	292	3	1
Manufacturing.....	57	91,683	38,271	42	8,095	902	11	283	8	3
CHICAGO										
Department stores.....	11	25,937	17,164	66	2,395	1,168	49	75	2	3
Insurance.....	11	5,715	3,803	67	1,136	252	22	228	10	4
Banking.....	8	9,716	4,362	45	2,680	355	13	755	12	2
Manufacturing.....	61	106,009	46,456	44	9,872	1,425	14	330	18	5

¹ Included in higher-level positions.

Table 3.—Employment in "higher-level" positions by industry and by area and sex

Industry	Both sexes		Men		Women	
	Number in higher-level positions	Percent of total employment	Number in higher-level positions	Percent of total employment	Number in higher-level positions	Percent of total employment
3 AREAS						
Department stores.....	5,724	10	2,859	16	2,865	7
Insurance.....	4,607	15	3,702	35	905	5
Banking.....	3,478	26	2,970	40	508	8
Manufacturing.....	21,105	9	18,132	13	2,973	3
BOSTON-HARTFORD AREA						
Department stores.....	1,398	12	643	20	755	9
Insurance.....	2,486	14	2,050	32	436	4
Manufacturing.....	3,138	7	2,492	12	646	3
PHILADELPHIA						
Department stores.....	1,931	10	989	16	942	7
Insurance:						
Life.....	555	21	412	44	143	8
Property and Casualty...	430	13	356	27	74	4
Banking.....	798	21	645	32	153	8
Manufacturing.....	8,095	9	7,193	13	902	2
CHICAGO						
Department stores.....	2,395	9	1,227	13	1,168	7
Insurance.....	1,136	20	884	46	252	7
Banking.....	2,680	28	2,325	43	355	8
Manufacturing.....	9,872	9	8,447	14	1,425	3

Table 4.—Employment in "higher-level" positions by organizational classification and by area and sex—Department stores

Organizational classification	Higher-level positions											
	3 areas			Boston-Hartford			Philadelphia			Chicago		
	Total number	Percent men	Percent women	Total number	Percent men	Percent women	Total number	Percent men	Percent women	Total number	Percent men	Percent women
Total.....	5,724	50	50	1,398	46	54	1,931	51	49	2,395	51	49
Officers.....	183	96	4	42	(1)	(1)	66	95	5	75	97	3
Store managers.....	22	(1)		6	(1)		3	(1)		13	(1)	
Assistant store and branch store managers.....	64	78	22	20	(1)	(1)	23	(1)	(1)	21	(1)	(1)
Administrative assistants and executive secretaries.....	43	(1)	(1)	17	(1)	(1)	8		(1)	18	(1)	(1)
Departments or services:												
Merchandising.....	3,173	48	52	777	47	53	1,113	50	50	1,283	48	52
Store operations.....	845	59	41	193	51	49	265	63	37	387	60	40
Personnel and employee welfare.....	228	15	85	68	18	82	65	12	88	95	15	85
Publicity.....	339	39	61	93	31	69	126	37	63	120	48	52
Shopping service.....	57	7	93	18	(1)	(1)	19		(1)	20	(1)	(1)
General office, finance and control.....	395	53	47	87	52	48	136	49	51	172	56	44
Other services.....	375	51	49	77	39	61	107	55	45	191	54	46

¹ Base too small to justify computations.

Table 5.—Distribution of persons employed in "higher-level" positions by organizational classification and by area and sex—Department stores

Organizational classification	Higher-level positions											
	3 areas			Boston-Hartford			Philadelphia			Chicago		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Number.....	5,724	2,859	2,865	1,398	643	755	1,931	989	942	2,395	1,227	1,168
Percent.....	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Officers.....	3	6	(1)	3	6	(1)	4	6	(1)	3	6	(1)
Store managers.....	(1)	1	-----	(1)	1	-----	(1)	(1)	-----	(1)	1	-----
Assistant store and branch store managers.....	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	(1)
Administrative assistants and executive secretaries.....	1	(1)	1	1	1	2	(1)	-----	1	1	(1)	1
Departments or services:												
Merchandising.....	55	54	57	56	57	54	58	56	59	54	50	58
Store operations.....	15	17	12	14	15	13	14	17	10	16	19	13
Personnel and employee welfare.....	4	1	7	5	2	7	3	1	6	4	1	7
Publicity.....	6	5	7	7	5	9	6	5	9	5	5	5
Shopping service.....	1	(1)	2	1	(1)	2	1	-----	2	1	(1)	1
General office, finance and control.....	7	7	7	6	7	6	7	7	7	7	8	7
Other services.....	7	7	6	5	5	6	6	6	5	8	8	8

¹ Less than 0.5 percent.

Table 6.—Employment in "higher-level" positions by organizational classification and by area and sex—All manufacturing and selected industries

Organizational classification	Higher-level positions											
	3 areas			Boston-Hartford			Philadelphia			Chicago		
	Total number	Percent men	Percent women	Total number	Percent men	Percent women	Total number	Percent men	Percent women	Total number	Percent men	Percent women
ALL MANUFACTURING												
Total.....	21,105	86	14	3,138	79	21	8,095	89	11	9,872	86	14
Officers.....	805	96	4	182	95	5	293	97	3	330	95	5
General managers and assistant general managers.....	26	(1)		16			16	(1)		10	(1)	
Administrative assistants and executive secretaries.....	171	22	78	52	15	85	65	22	78	54	28	72
Departments or services:												
Production.....	16,091	90	10	2,405	84	16	5,896	93	7	7,790	89	11
Personnel.....	940	50	50	124	44	56	318	51	49	498	52	48
Office and financial control.....	1,575	74	26	229	56	44	619	78	22	727	76	24
Sales and purchasing department.....	1,404	83	17	142	80	20	863	84	16	399	81	19
Other departments and services.....	93	33	67	4		(1)	25	(1)	(1)	64	34	66
CONFECTIONERY PRODUCTS												
Total.....	1,484	73	27	264	73	27	186	77	23	1,034	72	28
Officers.....	101	91	9	15	(1)	(1)	21	(1)	(1)	65	89	11
Administrative assistants and executive secretaries.....	17	(1)	(1)	3	(1)	(1)	1	(1)		13	(1)	(1)
Departments or services:												
Production.....	1,075	75	25	187	75	25	115	75	25	773	74	26
Personnel.....	69	45	55	13	(1)	(1)	11	(1)	(1)	45	(1)	(1)
Office and financial control.....	125	64	36	25	(1)	(1)	26	(1)	(1)	74	62	38
Sales and purchasing department.....	85	81	19	21	(1)	(1)	12	(1)	(1)	52	77	23
Other departments and services.....	12	(1)	(1)							12	(1)	(1)

PRINTING AND PUBLISHING

Total.....	2,585	72	28	378	56	44	988	74	26	1,219	75	25
Officers.....	111	98	2	24	(1)	(1)	30	(1)	(1)	57	100	(1)
Administrative assistants and executive secretaries.....	41	(1)	(1)	8		(1)	23	(1)	(1)	10	(1)	(1)
Departments or services:												
Production.....	1,524	73	27	263	58	42	448	71	29	813	79	21
Personnel.....	113	47	53	14	(1)	(1)	31	(1)	(1)	68	56	44
Office and financial control.....	254	73	27	35	(1)	(1)	86	83	17	133	73	27
Sales and purchasing department.....	523	75	25	33	(1)	(1)	370	81	19	120	67	33
Other departments and services.....	19	(1)	(1)	1		(1)				18	(1)	(1)

RADIOS AND OTHER ELECTRICAL PRODUCTS

Total.....	8,851	94	6	503	82	18	3,370	95	5	4,978	94	6
Officers.....	103	94	6	28	(1)	(1)	30	(1)	(1)	45	(1)	(1)
Administrative assistants and executive secretaries.....	17		(1)	4		(1)	5		(1)	8		(1)
Departments or services:												
Production.....	7,596	97	3	407	85	15	2,787	99	1	4,402	97	3
Personnel.....	362	54	46	21	(1)	(1)	84	54	46	257	54	46
Office and financial control.....	427	78	22	22	(1)	(1)	196	77	23	209	82	18
Sales and purchasing department.....	321	89	11	20	(1)		266	87	13	35	(1)	(1)
Other departments and services.....	25	(1)	(1)	1		(1)	2	(1)	(1)	22	(1)	(1)

¹ Base too small to justify computations.

Table 7.—Distribution of persons employed in "higher-level" positions by organizational classification and by area and sex—All manufacturing and selected industries

Organizational classification	Higher-level positions											
	3 areas			Boston-Hartford			Philadelphia			Chicago		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
ALL MANUFACTURING												
Number	21,105	18,132	2,973	3,138	2,492	646	8,095	7,193	902	9,872	8,447	1,425
Percent	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Officers	4	4	1	6	7	1	4	4	1	3	4	1
General managers and assistant general managers	(1)	(1)	-----	-----	(1)	-----	(1)	(1)	-----	(1)	(1)	-----
Administrative assistants and executive secretaries	1	(1)	5	1	(1)	7	1	(1)	6	1	(1)	3
Departments or services:												
Production	76	80	54	77	81	60	73	77	43	79	82	59
Personnel	4	2	16	4	2	11	4	2	17	5	3	17
Office and financial control	8	7	14	7	5	16	7	7	15	7	7	12
Sales and purchasing department	7	7	8	5	5	4	11	10	16	4	4	5
Other departments and services	(1)	(1)	2	(1)	-----	1	(1)	(1)	2	1	(1)	3
CONFECTIONERY PRODUCTS												
Number	1,484	1,083	401	264	194	70	186	143	43	1,034	746	288
Percent	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Officers	7	8	2	6	7	3	11	14	(2)	6	8	2
Administrative assistants and executive secretaries	1	1	3	1	1	(1)	1	1	-----	1	1	3
Departments or services:												
Production	72	74	68	71	72	67	62	60	(2)	75	77	69
Personnel	5	3	10	5	3	11	6	4	(2)	5	3	9
Office and financial control	8	8	11	9	7	16	14	14	(2)	7	6	10
Sales and purchasing department	6	6	4	8	10	3	6	7	(2)	5	5	4
Other departments and services	1	(1)	2	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	1	(1)	3

PRINTING AND PUBLISHING

Number.....	2,585	1,862	723	378	213	165	988	732	256	1,219	917	302
Percent.....	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Officers.....	4	6	(¹)	6	11	1	3	4	(¹)	4	6	-----
Administrative assistants and executive secretaries.....	2	(¹)	5	2	-----	5	2	(¹)	8	1	(¹)	3
Departments or services:												
Production.....	59	60	57	70	72	66	45	44	50	67	70	57
Personnel.....	4	3	8	4	2	5	3	1	8	6	4	10
Office and financial control.....	10	10	10	9	8	11	9	10	6	11	11	12
Sales and purchasing department.....	20	21	18	9	7	11	38	41	28	10	9	13
Other departments and services.....	1	(¹)	2	(¹)	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	1	(¹)	5

RADIOS AND OTHER ELECTRICAL PRODUCTS

Number.....	8,851	8,297	554	503	414	89	3,370	3,211	159	4,978	4,672	306
Percent.....	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Officers.....	1	1	1	.6	7	1	1	1	2	1	1	1
Administrative assistants and executive secretaries.....	(¹)	-----	3	1	-----	5	(¹)	-----	3	(¹)	-----	3
Departments or services:												
Production.....	86	89	41	81	83	70	83	86	20	89	91	43
Personnel.....	4	2	30	4	2	13	2	1	25	5	3	38
Office and financial control.....	5	4	17	4	3	10	6	5	28	4	4	12
Sales and purchasing department.....	4	4	6	4	5	-----	8	7	21	1	1	(¹)
Other departments and services.....	(¹)	(¹)	2	(¹)	-----	1	(¹)	(¹)	1	(¹)	(¹)	3

¹ Less than 0.5 percent. ² Base too small to justify computations.

FACTORS FAVORING AND DETERRING ADVANCEMENT

Table 8.—Answers by management to question: "What factors favor the advancement of women in your type of business?"

Answers to question	Department stores		Insurance		Banking		Manufacturing	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Number of firms ¹	29		30		12		93	
Expansion of business or new services.....	1				1		4	
Favorable attitude of management toward women's advancement.....	9		8		5		12	
High percentage of women employed.....	17		23		10		36	
Large proportion of clientele are women.....	23						7	
Satisfactory work of women in responsible jobs.....	5		4		6		17	
Suitability of women for this type of business.....	16		12				28	
Women are better on detail work.....	4		4		3		6	
No answer.....							32	

¹ Details aggregate more than totals because some firms reported more than 1 factor.

² In only 93 of the 166 manufacturing firms covered in the study, was there a sufficient number of women in higher-level positions to justify obtaining management's opinions.

Table 9.—Answers by management to question: "What factors deter the advancement of women in your type of business?"

Answers to question	Department stores		Insurance		Banking		Manufacturing	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Number of firms ¹	29		30		12		93	
Family responsibilities.....	11		3		4		12	
Lack of business and technical knowledge.....	1		8		2		38	
Lack of interest in advancement.....	7		13		5		23	
Lack of permanency.....	8		16		7		20	
Lack of physical strength.....	5				1		21	
Limited job opportunities.....	4		1				15	
Personality traits attributed to women.....	8		9		2		10	
Traditional attitudes of management.....	9		18		10		39	
Traditional attitudes of co-workers.....	1		2		1		5	
Wages too low.....			3					
No answer.....							5	

¹ Details aggregate more than totals because some firms reported more than 1 factor.

Table 10.—Answers of women workers to question: "What obstacles do you see to your advancement?"

Answers to question	Department stores		Insurance		Banking		Manufacturing	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
	Number of women interviewed ¹	151	100	109	100	51	100	335
No obstacles.....	36	24	14	13	2	4	54	16
Age: Too young or too old.....	18	12	14	13	5	10	17	5
Family responsibilities.....	11	7	1	1	4	8	7	2
Lack of interest in further advancement.....	17	11	11	10	6	12	41	12
Limitations in education, training, and experience.....	23	15	35	32	9	18	37	11
Limited job opportunities at higher levels.....	13	9	8	7	3	6	25	7
Reached top in own field or department.....	19	13	13	12	6	12	115	34
Traditional attitudes of management toward women.....	22	15	44	40	31	61	118	35
No answer.....	2	1	1	1			2	1

¹ Details aggregate more than totals because some women gave more than 1 answer.

Table 11.—Answers of women workers to question: "Five years from now what position would you like to hold?"

Answers to question	Department stores		Insurance		Banking		Manufacturing	
	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent
Number of women interviewed..	151	100	109	100	51	100	335	100
Better position.....	42	28	26	24	23	45	55	16
Marriage and home.....	11	8	2	2	—	—	44	13
New field of employment.....	5	3	5	5	4	8	17	5
No specific job preference.....	5	3	9	8	1	2	20	6
Own business.....	11	8	5	5	4	8	10	3
Retire.....	5	3	11	10	2	4	25	8
Same job.....	39	26	35	32	14	27	129	39
Same job with increased responsibilities and earnings.....	32	21	16	14	3	6	34	10
No answer.....	1	(1)	—	—	—	—	1	(1)

¹ Less than 0.5 percent.

Table 12.—Answers by management to question: "What are the chief factors you consider in selecting women for supervisory jobs?"

Answers to question	Department stores	Insurance	Banking	Manufacturing
Number of firms ¹	29	30	12	93
Ability to get along with people.....	21	23	11	65
Background experience, education, and training.....	10	10	3	22
Demonstrated leadership traits.....	12	11	6	25
Health—physical stamina.....	5	1	2	6
Interest and attitude toward work.....	4	5	4	9
Knowledge of job and work performance.....	18	23	9	64
Length of service.....	1	6	2	20
Pleasant personality.....	9	4	1	11
Rating in psychological tests and measuring techniques.....	—	2	—	4
Reasonable certainty that they will remain 4 or 5 years.....	6	4	3	13
Willingness to accept responsibility.....	7	5	3	3

¹ Details aggregate more than totals because some firms reported more than 1 factor.

Table 13.—Answers of women workers to question: "What factors helped you to advance?"

Answers to question	Department stores		Insurance		Banking		Manufacturing	
	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent
Number of women interviewed ¹ ..	151	100	109	100	51	100	335	100
Ability to get along with people.....	38	25	24	22	6	12	68	20
Ambition and economic necessity.....	39	26	13	12	5	10	50	15
Chance circumstances.....	38	25	19	17	12	24	80	24
Education and specialized training.....	51	34	28	26	26	51	96	29
Experience.....	61	40	65	60	37	73	136	41
War and growth of business.....	16	11	35	32	13	25	61	18
Work performance.....	111	74	80	73	32	63	234	70
No answer.....	4	3	—	—	—	—	2	1

¹ Details aggregate more than totals because some women gave more than 1 answer.

Table 14.—Answers of women workers to question: "From your experience what do you think women should do to further their advancement?"

Answers to question	Department stores		Insurance		Banking		Manufacturing	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Number of women interviewed ¹	151	100	109	100	51	100	335	100
Acquire more education and training. Be ambitious and have a desire to succeed.....	60	40	39	36	30	59	114	34
Cultivate better human relations and social attitudes.....	57	38	47	43	25	49	101	30
Improve work performance and attitude.....	65	43	44	40	25	49	91	27
No answer.....	112	74	89	82	30	59	231	69
	2	1					4	1

¹ Details aggregate more than totals because some women gave more than 1 answer.

Table 15.—Answers of women workers to question: "What do you like about your job?"

Answers to question	Department stores		Insurance		Banking		Manufacturing	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Number of women interviewed ¹	151	100	109	100	51	100	335	100
"Everything".....	19	13	11	10	1	2	43	13
Challenge of job.....	37	25	18	17	4	8	38	11
Contact with people—customers, co-workers.....	87	58	46	42	40	78	146	44
Opportunity to use training and abilities.....	3	2	7	6	4	8	2	1
Responsibility and freedom to make decisions.....	22	15	36	33	17	33	63	19
Satisfaction of accomplishment and recognition.....	44	29	35	32	23	45	64	19
Type of work.....	40	26	63	58	27	53	134	40
Variety of work.....	44	29	32	29	20	39	94	28
Working conditions and company policies.....	30	20	10	9	9	18	42	13
No answer.....	1	1					2	1

¹ Details aggregate more than totals because some women gave more than 1 answer.

Table 16.—Answers of women workers to question: "What do you dislike about your job?"

Answers to question	Department stores		Insurance		Banking		Manufacturing	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Number of women interviewed ¹	151	100	109	100	51	100	335	100
"Nothing".....	58	38	44	40	21	41	158	47
Disciplining and firing; training uninterested workers.....	14	9	35	32	10	20	48	14
Environment and working conditions.....	6	4	3	3			9	3
Job insecurity.....	6	4	7	6	2	4	3	1
Lack of recognition and opportunity for women.....	5	3	11	10	7	14	23	7
Low earnings.....	2	1	4	4			7	2
Minor job irritations.....	19	13	8	7	5	10	42	13
Pressure of work.....	16	11	12	11	3	6	12	4
Sacrifice of personal life for job.....	6	4	2	2	1	2	4	1
Unreasonable customers and co-workers.....	27	18	15	14	8	16	15	4
Miscellaneous answers.....	15	10	2	2	6	12	17	5
No answer.....	2	1					2	1

Details aggregate more than totals because some women gave more than 1 answer.

THE WOMEN IN HIGHER-LEVEL POSITIONS

Table 17.—Age of women in "higher-level" positions by industry

[Percent distribution]

Age	Department stores	Insurance	Banking	Manufacturing
Total women—Number.....	188	146	66	460
Percent.....	100	100	100	100
Under 25 years.....	5	1	-----	4
25 to 34 years.....	20	19	23	23
35 to 44 years.....	40	35	33	38
45 to 54 years.....	25	32	35	25
55 years and over.....	10	13	9	10

Table 18.—Marital status of women in "higher-level" positions by industry

[Percent distribution]

Marital status	Department stores	Insurance	Banking	Manufacturing
Total women—Number.....	188	146	66	460
Percent.....	100	100	100	100
Single.....	45	74	68	52
Married.....	36	18	24	34
Widowed.....	7	5	3	6
Divorced.....	9	2	3	6
Separated.....	3	1	2	2

Table 19.—Education and training of women in "higher-level" positions by industry

[Percent distribution]

Education and training	Department stores	Insurance	Banking	Manufacturing
Total women—Number.....	188	146	66	460
Percent.....	100	100	100	100
YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED				
Elementary school:				
Less than 8 years.....	1	-----	-----	3
8 years.....	3	3	3	13
High school:				
1 to 3 years.....	9	8	10	19
4 years.....	34	50	44	32
College:				
1 to 3 years.....	21	11	14	11
4 years.....	23	21	26	12
Graduate work.....	8	6	3	7
Not reported.....	1	1	-----	3
BUSINESS OR OTHER SPECIALIZED SCHOOLING				
Business school.....	16	30	21	20
Other specialized schooling.....	30	15	29	18
Both business and other specialized schooling.....	6	3	35	6
No business or other specialized schooling.....	47	50	15	51
Not reported.....	1	2	-----	5
TRAINING IN IN-PLANT COURSES				
Attended in-plant courses.....	35	39	17	27
Did not attend in-plant courses.....	62	59	83	70
Not reported.....	3	2	-----	3

Table 20.—Work history of women in "higher-level" positions by industry

[Percent distribution]

Work history	Department stores	Insurance	Banking	Manufacturing
Total women—Number.....	188	146	66	460
Percent.....	100	100	100	100
TOTAL TIME WORKED				
Less than 1 year.....	1			(1)
1 to 4 years.....	10	1		4
5 to 9 years.....	9	10	15	14
10 to 14 years.....	16	14	11	13
15 to 19 years.....	31	15	12	19
20 years and over.....	30	57	61	48
Time worked not reported.....	3	3	1	2
TIME WORKED IN PRESENT FIRM				
Less than 1 year.....	6	1		2
1 to 4 years.....	22	7	9	13
5 to 9 years.....	16	16	18	22
10 to 14 years.....	18	14	18	17
15 to 19 years.....	16	15	14	13
20 years and over.....	22	44	41	33
Time worked not reported.....		3		(1)
TIME WORKED IN PRESENT POSITION				
Less than 1 year.....	17	11	9	8
1 to 4 years.....	40	36	45	42
5 to 9 years.....	25	26	26	25
10 to 14 years.....	8	10	6	9
15 to 19 years.....	5	9	9	6
20 years and over.....	4	7	5	9
Time worked not reported.....	1	1		1
TIME WORKED IN PRESENT FIRM BEFORE PRESENT POSITION				
None (started in present position).....	24	11	14	12
Less than 1 year.....	3	1		3
1 to 4 years.....	27	13	19	24
5 to 9 years.....	15	20	18	25
10 to 14 years.....	12	19	11	14
15 to 19 years.....	6	19	18	11
20 years and over.....	12	14	20	10
Time worked not reported.....	1	3		1
WORK EXPERIENCE IN PRESENT FIRM				
All experience in present firm.....	28	42	32	28
Experience in present firm and other firms.....	71	57	68	69
Experience not reported.....	1	1		3

¹ Less than 0.5 percent.

