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WOMEN IN BARBADOS: SOME DEMOGRAPHIC ASPECTS
OF THEIR EMPLOYMENT

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INTRODUCTION

The current widespread interest in the status of women in the Caribbean makes it important to collect and collate information which will provide indicators of that status as well as to analyse the patterns and processes of social mobility for women as compared with men. It is no less true in the Caribbean than it is in the United States that in this area of study "mythology flourishes in the absence of information" (47, p. 1747). As in the United States and no doubt elsewhere unfounded assumptions and untested assertions litter such writings and pronouncements as have appeared in public. Among the myths surrounding the status of women include that which says that women are systematically discriminated against in their attempts to achieve status in spheres traditionally regarded as male. There can be no denying that very few women in Barbados are to be found in the highest echelons of the work force and that once they gain entry, advancement appears to be extremely difficult. The point is that they are there and their number is increasing, however, the absence of systematic documentation and analyses makes it difficult to assess whether, and to what extent such occupational status differentials between males and females do exist in Barbados.

It has been claimed elsewhere that the status of women in a society cannot be conceptualised independently of societal and individual modernization neither of which can be assessed without historical

analysis /30, p.37. However, one of the severe disadvantages in attempting to write about women in Barbados, or for that matter, women anywhere in the Caribbean, is the dearth of historical studies on women. Thus while it is possible to accept intuitively the fact of female discrimination from the earliest days of our history, this has not been adequately documented. One female politician has argued that the Caribbean woman has the weight of two streams of history to oppress her.

"The common history of the Caribbean which robbed all black people, slaves and indenture worker, male and female, of their dignity and relegated them to certain specific roles where they carried out the instructions given from above, as well as the history of the mother countries, who certainly by the time the Caribbean claimed notice from the European nations, had already been firmly placed in the kitchen and in the house to care the children - at least that seemed to be the theory" /15, p.997.

It is evident however, that women even as far back as slave days were expected to be actively involved in community life. Thus, although they were regarded as the primary socializing agents in their children's education, they were also expected to be the primary food producers and distributors. Further, as has been documented by Lucille Mathurin for Jamaica and Angela Davis for the southern United States, slave women were instrumental in developing strategies for survival, subversion, escape and even rebellion. In other words, the Caribbean woman historically has played an active role at both the domestic and the social and economic levels in their community.

It is the purpose of the present paper to explore the extent to which Barbadian women have been involved in the economic life of the society and, to assess the extent to which such involvement differs from males. The data used are from the Population Censuses of 1946, 1960 and

1970, but heaviest concentration is on the latter census. The analysis focuses on women aged 15-64 who, at the time of the census, were actually employed, whether full time or part time, or who had a job but were temporarily not at work due to illness or vacation at the time of the census. The greater portion of the paper is devoted to an analysis of the several factors which appear related to the employment of women. These include age, residence, education, fertility and mating, occupation and industry, which are regarded as important indicators of women's employment status on the Island.¹ It is hoped that the material presented here will provide an appropriate foundation on which more detailed studies can build in order to achieve a fuller understanding of how Barbadian women are rated in this community and what is their concept of themselves.

PART I

THE DEMOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND

Population Growth

From the time of recorded census taking in Barbados, the population has been increasing except for the period between 1881 and 1921 when large scale emigration affected the island, as indeed it did the entire region. In post war years, the most rapid rate of growth ever recorded in the island's history was observed during the period 1946 to 1960 when rates of 1.34 per annum obtained, despite a heavy outward movement which became significant in the decade of the fifties. Since 1960 however rates of growth have reduced to one quarter of one per cent largely due to emigration. However, despite this low rate of growth the rates of natural increase indicate a relatively high potential for continued rapid increase of population growth, so that the importance of emigration as an agent of containment in population growth of the island cannot be over emphasised.² At the level of natural increase prevailing during the intercensal period 1960-1970 and assuming no migration, it has been estimated that the Barbadian population can increase to a size of 266,300 by 1985. If fertility can be controlled and migration outlets remain open, then the population can increase to 254,200 by the same date.³

Much of the high growth rates recorded for the island can be attributed to the dramatic declines in the death rate occurring particularly after 1921, combined with continuing high birth rates. Even though birth rates in Barbados are lower than elsewhere in the region, the ensuing rates of natural increase still contain potential for considerable rates of growth.

2.

Thus between 1960 and 1970 with an average recorded birth rate of 27.0 per thousand and a death rate of 8.9 per thousand the rate of natural increase stood at 18.1 per thousand. The implied level of growth suggests a doubling of the population in just 42 years.

The combination of high birth rates, low death rates and heavy age-selective emigration has produced a broad-based age pyramid indicating a high proportion of children under 15 years of age and a low proportion of old persons 65 years and over. This means a relatively low proportion of the population within the working ages thus resulting in high rates of dependency. In Barbados, while this ratio has been declining somewhat and is in fact more favourable than that prevailing in many developing countries, it is nevertheless high when compared with more industrialized countries.

It is virtually impossible to isolate the effect of trends in population growth from other factors affecting the status of women, for the various social, economic and political processes are closely interlinked with each other, with population growth and with the status of women. Further unless the historical conditions which generated the present pattern of population growth and fertility are known, then the position of women can hardly be understood. One United Nations report puts it this way

"demographic pressures such as rapid population growth and heavy rural urban migration, will likely exacerbate the problems of inequality and marginality of major population sub-groups, but there was no proof that those problems would be dealt with effectively if population grows at a slower pace" 148, p.697.

According to that report much depended upon the priorities set by governments

"If governments regarded economic growth primarily as a means of achieving social progress, including the full social, economic and political participation of every member on an equal cooperative basis, then the status of women would improve regardless of demographic conditions. Their improved status in turn should result in the voluntary adoption of family planning and a family size based on freedom of choice. But where governments attach priority to economic growth with little regard for the distribution of income or the promotion of equality between groups (including men and women), then the competition for scarce resources was likely to strengthen the traditional division of labour based on sex, thereby increasing women's social isolation and decreasing their control over material resources" [48, p.697].

Some Characteristics of Women in the Population

Except for the historical period associated with slavery, women in Barbados have always outnumbered men. In 1844, the date of the first census there were 66,200 women and 56,000 men. One hundred years later in 1946 there were 107,100 women and 85,700 men. By 1970 this had increased to 124,800 women and 110,500 men. In effect, an imbalance between the sexes which favoured the females has been an integral feature of the Barbadian demographic structure for the entire period for which census data are available (see Table 1). In 1844 the sex ratio stood at 846 males to every 1,000 females. This rose to 864 in 1861 after which declines set in which were associated with periods of emigration during which losses to the male section of the population far exceeded those incurred by females. Thus by 1921 the sex ratio had plummeted to 679, the lowest ever recorded in the island and indeed in the region. After 1921 a redress in the imbalance between the sexes set in so that by 1970 the sex ratio of 886 is a level never before experienced. It is useful to consider sex ratios for

five broad age groups. In the youngest age group, that aged 0-4, the sex ratio is close to unity for virtually the entire period of our history. Minor fluctuations may have been the result of under-enumeration at these ages. Again at ages 5-14, the minor fluctuations may be attributable to enumeration defects. However, it is clear again that the ratios recorded for these ages are high and close to or just exceeding unity. From age 15 clear cut evidence begins to appear of the effect of heavily sex selective emigration. From a low 715 in 1891 the sex ratio declined sharply to 526 in 1921, the date marking the cessation of that period of large scale emigration. Between 1921 and 1946, the male deficit is considerably reduced and the sex ratio rises to 845, however a resurgence of emigration during the decade of the 1950's produces declines in the sex ratio which in 1960 stands at 809. After 1960 the trend was once again reversed and a rise in the sex ratio of these age groups to 903 results by 1970.

This feature is an interesting one for the decade of the 1960's was also marked by substantial emigration. However, this recent movement involved a considerably larger proportion of females than was previously experienced and consequently the traditional balance of the sex ratio in favour of the females was reduced 7267.

In the age group 45-64 further evidence is to be found of the way in which emigration has affected the sex structure of the population. For while the trend is similar to that of the 15-44 age group, the levels are lower and also the lowest point 552 occurs in 1946 when the age range most seriously affected by emigration in 1921 (15-44) had aged 25 years. After 1946 the sex ratio increased steadily. The old age population repeats the same pattern, but here we find the lowest level 379 occurring

5.

In 1960 again shown by the cohort most seriously affected by the emigration of 1921.

A comparison between the sex ratio of the life table population and that of the actual population at appropriate census dates highlights effectively the influence of sex selective emigration from the island.

Males per 1,000 Females in Stationary and Actual Population at 4 Census Dates.

<u>Census Year</u>	<u>Sex Ratio in Stationary Population</u>	<u>Sex Ratio in Actual Population</u>
1921	931	675
1946	946	804
1960	954	832
1970	948	886

In 1921, at a time when emigration was markedly high, there is a substantial difference between the sex ratio in the stationary population which stood at 931 and that of the actual population which only amounted to 675. Between 1921 and 1946, when emigration was virtually non-existent, the gap narrowed considerably. The decade of the 1950's witnessed not only a renewed emigration movement but extremely high birth rates as well, thus although the imbalance between the sexes continued to be reduced, the divergence between the two sex ratios - 954 in the stationary and 832 in the actual, still remains noteworthy. The tendency towards closure of the gap continued during the 1960's. The female outward movement contributed to an increase in the sex ratio to 886 in the actual population, still less

than the value estimated for the stationary population, but much closer to that value than previously experienced.

An important aspect of the consideration of sex ratios is the pattern prevailing between geographical areas within the island. If the Bridgetown/St. Michael area is treated separately from the rest of the island it is clear that there is a heavy concentration of females in the urban areas and that this has prevailed over a relatively long period of time. There has been a continual rise in the sex ratios of all areas, the rate for Bridgetown/St. Michael and to a lesser extent, Christ Church remaining consistently well below that obtaining in the rural parishes.

Fertility

An examination of fertility trends over a fifty-year period indicates that important movements in fertility are evident in terms of absolute numbers of births and in terms of both period and cohort measures of fertility. Births in Barbados rose from 5,400 in 1921-25 to a high point of 7,300 in the period 1951-55 after which there have been steady declines 167. Thus by 1965-70, the average number of births was the same as that prevailing fifty years earlier. The pattern of movement in crude birth rates parallels that depicted by the absolute number of births. From a high 35.0 per thousand in 1921-25, rates have fluctuated between 30.5 and 33.8 per thousand until 1960 after which striking declines are evident. By 1970 the crude birth rate stood at 20.9 per thousand. Other fertility measures such as the joint gross reproduction rate, age specific fertility rate, the age at first birth all provide additional evidence of fertility decline. Differentials in terms of type of union, education of the woman, education and socio-economic status of her partner point to further indications of decline. Finally, the growing spread in the use of contraception in the

population in recent years has been widely acclaimed as an important factor accounting for fertility decline, since it appears that contraceptive use had been spreading long before the introduction of the official programme of fertility control in 1955 [39, 137].

Mortality

Improvements in mortality have affected females no less than males. Indeed it may be argued that females have benefitted to an even greater extent than males from such improvements as have occurred in overall levels of mortality. For example, whereas in 1921 the average female could expect to live for 31.9 years, by 1970 this had increased to 70.9 years indicating a gain of 39.0 years in the fifty year period. On the other hand, the corresponding increase for males was from 28.5 to 65.9 years amounting to a gain of 37.4 years over the same period. Table 2 illustrates the average life expectancy of Barbadian males and females over the past half century. Much of the tremendous gains in longevity has resulted from improvement in infant and child mortality. While in 1921 the life table cohort is reduced by one quarter at age 0.9 years for both male and female this index had increased to 59.2 years for males and 64.9 years for females in 1965. Further the median age increased for females from 27.6 years in 1921 to 76.7 years in 1955, while for males the increase was from 23.2 to 70.9 years. Finally, the number of females in the original cohort who survived age 65 increased from 20,221 in 1921 to 74,908 in 1965. For males the increase was from 15,038 to 65,575. As a result of these improvements Barbadian women survive a longer number of years outside the childbearing age span than previously. Further the mortality differential between the sexes which continuously had favoured females

over males, particularly at the higher ages, suggests that to an increasing extent, Barbadian women will survive their menfolk. This implies that they will therefore be expected to perform the roles of men in the economic and domestic spheres at the higher ages.

Migration

It appears that the shifts in mortality and fertility rates may have contributed to increasing rates of migration, in particular migration out of the island, although internal rural urban shifts are of importance as well. The combination of falling birth rates and low death rates meant an increasing proportion of the population surviving to older ages. Without appropriate employment creating strategies and with a growing awareness of opportunities existing in other countries both the so-called push and pull factors can be argued to exist in the island. Further with increasing knowledge and use of contraception and the ensuing smaller family size, females have become increasingly involved in the outward movement. Estimates of emigration from the Island in recent times indicate losses of virtually 58,000 since the end of World War II. Of these 28,000 were females. Most of this loss was experienced during the 1960-1970 inter-censal period when 39,000 persons left the island, of which 21,000 or 54.5 per cent were females $\frac{21}{39}$. Most of these, 12,100 or 56.8 per cent, are concentrated in the age range 20-34 but sizeable numbers approximately one-fifth are involved at ages below 20 and indeed, over age 45 when approximately 2,000 females or ten per cent of the total female movement were involved. Parish estimates also suggest that the most recent emigration movement was dominated by females, every parish recording higher female losses than male. They further indicate that greatest losses were experienced by St. Michael and

Christ Church, the two most urban-like parishes which together account for 54.6 per cent of the emigration losses experienced by the female population.

Of the several implications which migration has on a society, the most relevant in the present context appear to be in two areas. The prolonged absence of males during the earlier movement, notably those of 1891 to 1921 and 1946-60 meant that large numbers of women were required to shoulder the traditional economic role of the men in addition to conducting the household and childcare tasks associated with their sex. There thus developed a certain amount of independence of thought and action which pattern of behaviour was passed on to their daughters. This together with the increasing availability of education and the increasing use of contraception may have contributed in the 1960's to the phenomenon of young women electing emigration as a mode of self-development and self-fulfilment. Whether this was done as an alternative to, or as an intermediate phase until, or even alongside entry into childbearing has yet to be discovered.

Implications of Demographic Trends for Women

The changes in the demographic variables noted above may affect women in Barbados in several ways. The reductions in fertility with the corollary, reductions in family size, could presumably relieve the women of their previously heavy domestic burdens. This would free them for entry into the work force and provide them with the time for job training, which would allow them to enter the work force at higher levels than previously and provide them with the time to achieve the social recognition and esteem required to raise their status in their own eyes, those of their menfolk and of the rest of the country. The gains in mortality presumably mean that more women thus become available to involve themselves in this self-development

process. While emigration, even though a negative force in that it tends to decrease the population of large numbers of the skilled section of the labour force, also had a delayed positive effect in that new ideas tend to be remitted so that even those persons staying behind eventually become exposed to ideas regarding new roles for men and women.

Clearly trends in population growth will continue to have an effect on the role and status of women as indeed they have had in the past. It is difficult however to assess that impact and its possible significance for the status of women in Barbados without attempting to elucidate what that status is. The rest of this Paper will be devoted to an examination of such indicators of the position of women as are available from recent census data. The discussion is confined to the relation between employment and a variety of factors notably age, residence, education, fertility and mating, occupation, industry. It is recognised that the status of women retains multi-dimensional aspects which cannot be solely explained either in legalistic or in socio-economic terms. In this regard, the Paper is not intended to be prescriptive but rather to provide material which will help to elucidate at least one aspect of the position of women in Barbados.

WOMEN AND WORKSECTION I - EMPLOYMENT AND AGE

Data on the gainfully occupied or the economically active population have been compiled for the population 10 years old and over in 1946 and 1960 and for the population 14 years of age and over in 1970. The rationale has been that many children under 15 were actually employed. In recent times with the great stress on education and the resultant longer period spent in school, and also with the introduction of a minimum age for the employment of children, the number of employed children has declined considerably. Thus, whereas in 1946 about 970 young girls could be described as in employment by 1970 that number stood at a mere 40 all of whom were aged 14.

If the concern is with the population aged ten years and over then between 1946 and 1970 the female working population declined from 41,300 to 32,900, a decline of 8,400 or 20.3%. This is in contrast to the general population aged 10 years old and over which increased from 84,550 in 1946 to 96,580 in 1970, an increase of 12,030 or 14.2%. In order to conform more closely to current conditions, the discussion will be confined to the population aged 15-64 when it is seen that the female working population decreased from 38,500 to 31,480, a decline of 7,000 or 22.3% over the entire period.⁴ By contrast, the total female population within that age range moved from 66,090 to 68,990, an increase of a mere 2,900 or 4.4%. These overall changes mask important movements both within the period and between females and males. This is illustrated in Table 1.1.

In the population aged 15-64, the female sector increased by 8.1% between 1946 and 1960, but declined by 3.4% between 1960 and 1970. Males on the other hand increased by 12.9% and 4.7% during the same two periods. Shifts in the size of the work force of the two sexes also reflect important differences. Among females, the work force declined by 14.0% from 38,500 to 33,130 between 1946 and 1960 then by 5.0% to 31,480 in 1970. By contrast the male work force increased from 46,560 in 1943 to 48,270 in 1960 and to 48,290 in 1970.

Despite these apparent differences, the age composition of the two segments of the work force exhibit marked similarities. Both sexes record the highest number of workers in the age group 20-24 after which the numbers decline gradually (Table 1.2). Further Table 1.3 illustrates that the difference between the proportion of workers of each sex in each age group exceeds two percentage points in only one instance - age 55-59 in 1946 - and is well below one percentage point in several instances. Over time, the proportional changes have moved in the same direction for the two sexes. Thus both sexes show declines in the proportion of workers which is comprised of teenagers and increases in the proportion of young adults aged 20-24, particularly in the decade of the sixties. At the other end of the age range rises in the proportion in the ages between 55 and 64 are evident for both sexes. In the central age range, 25-44, again both sexes record declines while between ages 45 and 54 initial increases observed between 1946 and 1960 give way to declines thereafter. The age composition and associated patterns of change of the male and female segments of the work force so closely resemble that indexes of dissimilarity remain relatively low. From 6.9 in 1946 the index moves to 4.2 in 1960 then rises slightly to 4.8 in 1970.

By contrast sex ratios, that is, the number of males per thousand females of the work force show considerable variation. Table 1.4 shows sex ratios by age for the total population and for the work force. Within the age span under consideration, sex ratios in the work force increased from 1,209 in 1946 to 1,456 in 1960 and to 1,574 in 1970. This pattern follows closely that prevailing in the general population, although in the latter case the ratios recorded are well below those observed for the working population.

In terms of age groups, the most striking feature is the increase in the proportion of male to female entrants to the work force at age 15-19. Between 1946 and 1960, the sex ratio moves from 1,230 to 1,881 males per thousand females, after which there is a slight decline to 1,846 in 1972. The pattern in the general population by contrast is one of continuing rise throughout the period. Differential rates of growth of the two sexes in the general population combined with differential rates of decline in the working population have doubtless contributed to the differing sex ratio patterns.

At age 20-24, increases in the sex ratio of both the working population and the total population are observed. In the age interval 25-39, there occurs an adjustment of the imbalance between the sexes occasioned by the sex selective emigration from the island discussed earlier. Within this age range, sex ratios decline appreciably between 1946 and 1960 then rise again by 1970. However, the level of the ratio ranges between 1,323 and 1,485, with only one interval, age 25-29 in 1970, exhibiting a ratio in excess of 1,400. Again this pattern follows closely that prevailing in the general population.

At ages 40-49, the pattern is one of increases between 1946 and 1960, followed by declines to 1970. Again, the level of the ratio suggests some redress of the imbalance between the sexes in the work force.

At ages over 50, the trend is one of rapid increases over time, indicating perhaps a tendency for females to retire from the work force at earlier ages than previously, but this would require analysis of female working life tables, not currently available, for substantiation. What is important, however, is that in 1946, male cohorts in the age groups 50 years and over were severely affected by earlier emigration from the island and this would be reflected in low sex ratios at these ages. Thus, whereas in 1946 the sex ratio of the work force aged 50-54 stood at 895, by 1970, this had increased to 1,568, almost twice the former size. Increases of even greater magnitude are evident at higher ages. Recent data for Jamaica indicate similar features, although the ratios are considerably higher than those recorded for Barbados [2, p.657].

Expressing the working population aged 15-64 as a proportion of the general population in the same age range, the resulting general worker rate for females is seen to decline from 58.3% in 1946 to 46.4% in 1960 then to 45.6% in 1970. This is in marked contrast to the rate for males in the same age range which moved from 92.0% in 1946 to 84.5% in 1960 and 80.7% in 1970.

Table 1.5 presents worker rates for individual age groups. These are graphically depicted in Figure 1.1. Among women aged 15-19 rates were reduced by more than half between 1946 and 1960 declining from 57.3 to 26.5. Declines since then have been more gradual, the rate for 1970 being 24.2 a mere two percentage points less than that for 1960. Between

ages 20 and 49 rates have generally remained in the fifties although there has been some fluctuation over time. Between 1946 and 1960 declines in worker rates are evident for all ages between 20 and 44 but after 1960 rises begin to be experienced. Thus by 1970 worker rates in this age span ranged from 53.1 to 58.7. At ages 45 and over rates have been declining steadily over the period, highest declines being recorded in the earlier inter-censal period and at the higher ages. Indeed percentage declines in the level of the rates over the period of these ages average approximately one quarter.

A simple average of the worker rate for each single year of age - the total worker rate - illustrates the significance of changes in age specific worker rates.⁵ The total worker rates for females increased from 47.0 in 1960 to 47.2 in 1970, an increase of 0.2, a slightly different picture from the decline of 0.7 observed for the general worker rate. This variation in direction of the two indices of female worker participation emphasises the variation in the pattern of worker rates over the life span. Since 1960 age specific worker rates have declined at the younger ages, that is, those under age 20 and also at the older ages, those over age 40. However they have increased in the middle age groups between ages 20 and 39. At the same time the contribution which these middle age groups have made to total worker participation has increased by percentages ranging from 6% at age 35-39 to 14% at age 20-24 [see Table 1.67]. On the other hand, younger age groups, which record a decline of approximately three-fifths in their level of worker participation, are, in 1970, contributing almost ten per cent less to total worker participation than they were in 1960. At higher ages, where age specific participation rates have declined by about one quarter, the contribution to total worker participation amounts to 15%

less in 1970 than it was in 1960.

It is evident that it is at the younger ages, those under age 20, that the most significant declines can be discerned. Much of the recorded decline can be directly attributed to an increase in school attendance particularly at secondary schools. Thus whereas 14,500 girls aged 10 years and over were attending school in 1960, this had increased to 20,450 by 1970. Of these about 18.8% consisted of girls aged 15-19 in 1960 compared with 27.8% in 1970. If one considers school enrolment rates the increase is even more noticeable. In 1960 the proportion of girls attending school aged 15-19 was 21.2%. By 1970 this had increased to 30.4%. In fact, if one considers these young persons as being not available for work, and estimates of general worker rates are made on this basis then, the general available worker rate for the female population 15-64 is seen to move from 48.2 to 50.4, an increase of two percentage points as compared with declines from 46.4 to 45.6% of general worker rates noted earlier. In effect the marked decline in worker participation of young persons can be said to account primarily for the overall decline in the crude worker rate.

When a comparison is made between age specific worker rates of males and of females, it is apparent that although rates for females are generally less than males, the pattern of female participation has been approaching that of male. This prevails for ages under 50 after which there appears to be divergence between the sexes. Table 1.7 shows that in 1970 at ages below 50, the ratio of female to male worker rates moved from 0.54 at age 15-19 to 0.66 at age 20-24 after which it declines steadily to 0.53 at age 45-49. Beyond age 50 the ratio falls below one half and continues to fall right to the end of the age span being considered. Considered over

a period of time ratios are shown to have increased between ages 15 and 39, to have remained relatively stable at age 40-44 and to have declined thereafter.

SECTION II - EMPLOYMENT AND RESIDENCE

In attempting to analyse residential differentials in levels of worker participation, attention must be drawn to the definitional problems associated with devising urban and rural categories in Barbados.⁶ The approach in the past two censuses undertakings has been to present certain information in special areal groupings -

1. Main Town - Bridgetown - the capital city
2. Small Town - Speightstown - the second town in the island
3. Special Areas - identified by particular urban-like characteristics associated with the development of tourist industry.
4. Large Village - identified by similar characteristics as above but with a smaller geographical area.

In some enquiries it is possible to group relevant data for these four categories which are then identified as urban while the rest of the island is categorised as rural. Table II.1 shows that on this basis only 22.8% of the island can be regarded as urban in character in 1970. This is considerably below the urbanization levels obtaining in Trinidad and Tobago and in Jamaica where the percentage of the population residing in the main towns, small towns and special areas amounts to 38.2% and 40.6% respectively. An alternative, though overly simplistic, approach is to identify Bridgetown and the surrounding parish of St. Michael as the prime urban centre. On this basis, 41.5% of the island may be classified as urban in 1970. However, this obscures the fact that considerable portions of the parish of St. Michael

are essentially rural in character. Whichever approach is adopted it is to be noted that much of the total urban population growth is to be accounted for by suburban development in St. Michael and the contiguous parishes of Christ Church and St. James and not through the growth of the primate city. In fact the population of Bridgetown itself which has been on the decline for over a century accounts for only 3.8% of the total population in 1970.

In discussing variations in levels of female worker participation across the geographical subdivisions of a country much emphasis has been placed on the hypothesis that there is an inverse relationship between levels of urbanization as depicted by female worker participation rates and levels of fertility. Increasing evidence from developing countries however has demonstrated that this relationship is not as clear-cut as is usually implied. Using data from three Asian countries Mercedes Concepción has argued that

"outside the primate city, the pattern of urban/rural fertility differentials is largely determined by the standard of living in the rural areas. Here economic development has hitherto been slow, the improvement of living standards in these areas, unless accompanied by changes in the traditional rural institutions, may lead to further increase in fertility. Higher living standards could also result in the maintenance of high fertility levels in rural areas where substantial improvements in living standards have already been achieved" ibid, p.5717.

Movements in the size of the work force of the eleven parishes are shown in Table 11.2 for 1960 and 1970. Comparative data are not available for 1946. During the decade of the sixties, the population scenario of the island was dominated by the effects of external migration.

Estimates suggest that overall population losses suffered by the female population ranged from 8,010 in St. Michael to 720 in St. Andrew. Among males losses ranged from 6,370 in St. Michael to 700 in St. Lucy. The effects of these losses are evident in the growth pattern of the work force of both sexes. The most striking feature is the sharp reductions observed for both sexes in Bridgetown, the capital city. From 2,480 in 1960 the number of working males declined to 1,880, a decline of approximately one quarter, while the number of working females declined by 30% from 1,880 to 1,320. Another interesting feature is the small rises recorded for St. Michael amounting to 7% for males and 4% for females. In Christ Church males record increases of 7% while females record a small decline. Among the remaining parishes, only St. Thomas (0.1%) and St. Peter (3.8%) record increases in the size of the work force, all other parishes recording declines in the range 0.5% (St. Lucy) to 13.0% (St. Joseph). By contrast the female work force contracted in all the rural parishes by amounts ranging from 4% (St. Philip) to 33.5% (St. Joseph).

Apart from the similarity in growth patterns of the two segments of the parochial work force, the other outstanding feature is the concentration in the Bridgetown/St. Michael area. This may be illustrated by examining the proportion of the work force located there. In 1960, the male work force recorded 39.5% of its number in this main urban area, which proportion moved to 40.6% in 1970. For females the corresponding proportions were 40.3% and 42.9% respectively, suggesting that differences in the degree of urban concentration of male and female workers are minimal.

Despite these similarities, however, sex ratios clearly indicate a preponderance of males in the total work force. In every parish sex ratios

heavily favour the male. In 1950 the overall sex ratio stood at 1,456 which increased to 1,574 by 1970. This increase has been repeated in every parish except St. Philip suggesting an intensification in the pattern. Further although the sex ratio of the urban parishes is less than that of the rural parishes it still remains high at 1,494 for St. Michael and 1,470 for Christ Church in 1970. Whether these ratios imply increases in the number of males entering the work force or declines in the number of females entering the work force is yet to be determined.

Data presented in Table 11.3 and graphically depicted in Figure 11.1 indicate a fairly even distribution in female worker participation by parish. Further, this evenness has been maintained for some time. In 1960, the level of female general worker rates ranged from the high 55.0 in St. Thomas in the north of the island to 43.1 of St. Philip in the south, a range of just 11.9. By 1970 the range had contracted varying from 49.5 in Christ Church to 39.3 in St. Joseph a difference of 10.2 points. It is of interest that this general evenness is maintained in each of the age groupings below age 55. Thus in 1960, the disparity between the parish showing the highest and the parish showing the lowest rates ranged from 8.7 points at age 25-29 to 15.2 points at age 45-54. In 1970 the disparity ranged from 10.1 points at age 30-34 to 19.0 points at age 20-24. Over time only one parish, St. Michael has recorded increases in the level of female worker participation and even here the level of increase was a mere 2%. Largest declines are noted for the northern parishes where declines of the order of 13% are evident. In one parish St. Joseph the rate declined by almost one quarter. The seven parishes record declines of 4%, highest among these being St. John where the rate declined by approximately 13%.

An interesting phenomenon is that whether the parishes are regarded as single entities or grouped according to geographical areas, the metropolitan parish fails to record the highest rates of participation, as would normally be expected, and that this tendency has existed for some time. In 1960, it was the Northern parishes i.e., those most rural in character which manifested the highest levels of activity, the average being 50.2. This was followed by the four Southern parishes with an average of 47.3 after which came the metropolitan parish of St. Michael with 43.5. A slight alteration in the pattern in 1970 revealed the highest rates (45.6) recorded by the Southern parishes, with there being virtually no difference between the Central parish of St. Michael (44.3) and the Northern group of parishes (43.9). This type of pattern is quite dissimilar to findings documented for territories elsewhere in the region. For Jamaica, for example, it has been shown that it is the metropolitan areas and the parishes immediately contiguous which tend to have highest rates and that the level of participation tends to be reduced the further one departs from those parishes. What accounts for the different situation in Barbados is difficult to ascertain.

Looking at the geographical spread of working women according to parish of residence, it is clear that although highest rates of participation are recorded in the rural parishes, yet the highest concentration of working women, about two-fifths, are to be found in St. Michael (see Table 11.4). Approximately one-third are to be found in the Southern parishes where the greatest concentration is found in Christ Church, the parish in that area most associated with the tourist industry and the employment opportunities generated thereby. Similarly in the North, where approximately one quarter of working women are to be found, it is the parish of St. James, again a

tourist centre, which has the highest concentration of working women. However, among non-working women the proportionate distribution follows exactly the same pattern as that for working women and both groups of women exhibit a similar pattern to that prevailing for the proportionate distribution of all females. In other words, the factor of urban residence does not appear in the case of Barbados to be a significant factor in determining female worker status.

Age specific worker rates by parish of residence for 1970 presented in Figure 11.2 indicate that the pattern of rates in the urban type parishes, St. Michael and Christ Church, follows that of the island as a whole in that highest rates occur in the age group 20-24. Beyond that any similarity ceases. In St. Michael the rates decline gradually after the high 59.3 recorded at age 20-24. Christ Church on the other hand exhibits the type of bi-modal distribution which has come to be associated with female worker rates. From 63.9 at age 20-24 the rates decline to a shallow trough between ages 25 and 35, then rise to a secondary peak of 58.8 at age 40-44, after which they decline to the end of the age span.

The effect of combining the St. Michael and Christ Church curves is to eliminate the slight trough occurring in both curves which yields a curve similar to those found for several Eastern European countries. In the latter case, the shape of the curve between ages 20 and 44 has been explained by the ready availability of child care institutions which permits mothers to work [10, p.540]. It is not yet clear, in the case of Barbados, whether this explanation is fully applicable or the extent to which other cultural factors are relevant. This, however, represents an important area requiring further investigation.

Among the rural parishes there is some variation in respect of the age at which maximum female worker rates are to be found. In general however peak rates occur at 30 and over and range from 50.3 in St. Joseph to 58.6 in St. James. The parishes of St. Philip and St. Lucy are the exceptions since their maximum rate occurs at ages 25-29 and 20-24 respectively. All of the rural parishes with the exception of St. Philip exhibit a bi-modal pattern but it is only St. Lucy in which the pattern is typical, that is, a primary peak at the young ages and a secondary peak in the central ages, in this instance 35-39. In the other parishes the pattern is reversed in that the secondary peak occurs at the younger ages and the maximum peak at a higher age. Further the differential between the two peaks in no case exceeds six percentage points. When the rates are combined, by averaging the rates in each age group for all rural type parishes, the shape and level of the curve does not differ markedly from that obtaining for St. Michael and Christ Church, as Figure 11.2 illustrates. In addition, the pattern of rural worker rates, characterised by low levels at the younger ages, relatively high levels between ages 25 and 44, and a gradual decrease with increasing age, resembles closely the patterns depicted for rural areas in the U.S.A. and Canada [10, p.543].

The combined effect of these patterns is to eliminate from the overall pattern the bi-modal shape of the curve so that the curve for the whole island assumes a plateau-like shape rising to a peak of 58.7 at age 20-24, levelling out to 56.4 by age 35-39, then declining to the end of the age span. A discussion on the implications of this shape will be taken up later.

While undoubtedly such inter-parish variations as exist may be attributable to differences in the age sex structure, to differences in

fertility levels, and, perhaps, to differences in classificatory procedures, It is also evident that differences in the industrial structure and employment opportunities must also be considered contributory factors. In order to examine this we may compare the general worker rate of females engaged in agricultural and non-agricultural occupations with those of males between 1960 and 1970. These are presented in Table 11.5. It is immediately evident that there has been considerable movement out of agriculture in all the rural parishes. Indeed, some parishes record declines of more than one-half in the level of these rates. Further, the extent of these declines is very similar to those recorded by males. In the case of non-agricultural activities, St Michael and Christ Church recorded rates of over 40, increasing slightly during the decade. The rural parishes also record slight increases in these rates, but while the magnitude of these increases does not compensate for the decline in agriculture, worker rates in non-agricultural activities are still twice, and in some instances, three times as high as those obtaining for agricultural activity. Again, this pattern strikingly resembles that obtaining for males.

One final observation in respect of residential differences in employment between the sexes centres on the proportion of workers in agricultural and non-agricultural occupations who are female. For the island as a whole this proportion declines from 42.8 in 1960 to 37.2 in 1970 for agricultural activity and from 40.1 to 39.1 for non-agricultural activity (see Table 11.6). In other words, the difference in the proportion of female participation in agriculture and non-agriculture is minimal and has been so for some time. Further, this holds good for all parishes, all of which record declines in the proportion of female workers in

agriculture and little or no change in the proportion of females engaged in non-agricultural activity. This would seem to suggest that little or no progress has been made in terms of improving the level of female work force participation in the decade of the 1960's.

SECTION III - EMPLOYMENT AND EDUCATION

The level of educational attainment of women in Barbados has been improving considerably over the past two decades or so and is expected to continue. In 1960, only 2% of the total female population over 15 years of age had received no formal schooling while about 80% had received primary training and a further 15% had been exposed to secondary education. By 1970 these proportions had altered considerably. According to the census about 27% of the female population aged 15 years and over had attained only a primary level of education and 71% had achieved a secondary level of education, while less than 1% had been exposed to tertiary education of some kind. This implies that the population which can be regarded as least employable is on the decline while that section of the population with a moderate or high level of education is increasing. That this trend will continue may be imputed from actual school enrolment rates. It appears that over time there has been a general decline in the proportion of the female school population enrolled in primary schools with a corresponding increase in the proportion enrolled in secondary schools. Thus by 1970, among the population actually attending educational institutions 57% of the females were to be found in primary schools and 41% in secondary schools. Age specific rates of school attendance at each age between 5 and 19 are demonstrably higher in 1970 than at any time previously. Further, up to age 12 there are no differences between male and female rates, both of

which approach 100%. From age 13, however, sex differentials in favour of females become evident and remain so until age 17 after which the differentials favour the males. While it is apparent that changes in the rates over time may reflect alterations in the formal education system itself and of the census approach to these, there can hardly be any dispute that significant improvement has occurred and that these have been spread relatively evenly between males and females.⁷ Recent developments in the delivery of educational services in the community such as the increase in the number of schools, the introduction of new approaches to education, notably through the comprehensive (now newer secondary) schools, better academic preparation of teachers, the application of new learning techniques have all contributed to the overall improvements in the system. The intensification of these and other benefits will undoubtedly lead to further improvements which will continue to be shared by male and female alike.

Where sex differences begin to become marked is at the level of vocational training. In the adult population aged 15 years and over in 1970, only 13% of the females as compared with 19% of males claimed to have received vocational training of one sort or the other. Among this group of females 32% were trained in institutions, 15% on the job and another 10% studied privately. Much of this pattern is to be explained by the occupational distribution of trained females. The highest number is to be found in the group stenographers, punch-operators, book-keepers and computer operators, who together account for one-fifth of all trained females. Medical personnel, notably nurses, and teachers together account for another 28%. Thus about half of the trained female population is to be found in these three groups which is approximately the proportion receiving training either in

institutions or on the job.

It is generally accepted that women worker participation rates are positively correlated with their level of education but this has hardly been documented for the Caribbean. Indeed data in the format required have not been tabulated for either of the two most recent censuses. Such data as exist however for 1960 and 1970 would seem to suggest that the level of formal education of female workers has improved as also has their participation according to levels of education.⁸ According to Table III.1, in 1960 approximately one-third of all female workers had received less than five years of elementary education, that is, were functionally illiterate, whereas by 1970 this was reduced to 8%. Again in 1960 of the 14% of female workers claiming secondary education only 6% had a school certificate or a general certificate of education. By 1970 this proportion had almost doubled but represented only one-sixth of those workers claiming a secondary education. Indeed the majority of female workers - 60% in 1960 and over three-quarters in 1970 - had been exposed only to a primary level of education or had received no certification from such secondary education as they may have received. Women workers with higher levels of educational attainment continue to constitute a very small minority amounting to one-third of one per cent in 1960 and two per cent in 1970.

It is instructive to examine worker rates according to the varying levels of education attained. These are presented in Table III.2. Participation rates of women who have received no education or only minimal education, that is to kindergarden level, show little difference in 1960 from those of women with a primary level of education and indeed are the same as those for women with more than five years of primary schooling. By 1970 the rates

of these women had declined to 30%, the lowest rates for any of the educational categories and about 14 percentage points less than those in the primary category. Of course this group of women, those with minimal formal education, are a relatively small group amounting to less than 1% of all women in 1970, thus their participation rate may not be of significant importance. What is important, however, is that the expected progression from lowest rates at lowest levels of educational attainment to highest rates at highest levels is not clearly consistent. Women with only a primary education record only two-fifths of their number in the work force in both 1960 and 1970 while only about one-third of female secondary school graduates with no certification are workers. Women who have satisfactorily completed a secondary education and who have been certificated consistently retain the highest level of worker participation increasing from 60% in 1960 to 67% in 1970. They are followed closely by university graduates whose rate increased from 48% in 1960 to 65% in 1970. The fact that university trained women have lower worker rates than secondary school graduates may be related to differences in the age distribution of these two groups, but the close similarity between the two sets of rates in 1970 serves to minimize the importance of this factor. Unfortunately data by age to elaborate on these trends are not available, but it is evident that the increases in the proportion of women with secondary or higher education have significantly contributed to the increase in overall worker rates of females with these levels of education between 1960 and 1970.

A curious feature relates to the relatively low rates recorded for women who have received some secondary education but no certification. Rates for these women in 1960 amount to half of those recorded for their

certificated secondary counterparts and 18 percentage points less than women with a primary education.⁹ Using data for Argentina and Chile, Elizaga has argued that there appear to be at least two educational "thresholds" beyond which there is a greater probability of participation: a certain amount of secondary education and some university education [14, pp.526-87]. We are without data fine enough to illustrate the latter threshold, however the data for women who have received some secondary education but no certification in Barbados would seem to support the Elizaga argument. Further, a knowledge of Barbadian conditions suggests that this threshold may result from either of two situations. On the one hand, employers may be unwilling to employ women without some evidence of their satisfactory completion of secondary education. On the other, the women themselves because of their "secondary education", however limited that may be, may be unwilling to engage in the type of employment available to, or traditionally requiring, persons with only a primary education. They are "waiting for something suitable" which usually means a white collar job with a level of remuneration considered equitable to the education supposed to have been received.

This raises the question of the relationship between the supply and demand for labour. For, in 1970, by far the largest group of female workers, numerically, is this group of women with an incomplete secondary education. It also raises fundamental questions related to the quality and relevance of the education given to the developmental needs of the society. If improvements in women's education experience are seen as necessary pre-requisites for increasing the employment prospects, then, clearly, compensatory schemes for increasing job availability in occupations likely to

hold appeal for these women must be implemented. On the other hand, development planners have yet to come to grips with the fundamental need for devising suitable and realistic employment strategies for the economy.¹⁰ Until this is successfully achieved the adjustment of supply and demand particularly of these so-called secondary school graduates at their level of expectation will hardly be achieved. The longer it takes for this adjustment to come into effect, the longer will it take females to benefit from the exercise and the lower will be the worker rate of this group of women.

Another important aspect of educational attainment is its relation to occupation. Table III.3 shows the occupational distribution of female workers according to their level of educational attainment for 1960 and 1970. It is evident that women who have received only a primary education are concentrated in the service and agricultural occupations - the so-called blue collar jobs. Further, that this tendency has not changed in recent times. Among women who have received some secondary education there has been some variation. Whereas in 1960 about one-third of their number are found in clerical occupations, in 1970 this majority had shifted to service work and only 10% of these moderately educated women are found in clerical jobs. Among those women who have acquired some form of certification as a result of their secondary education, again there has been some variation over time. In 1960 the heaviest concentration 56% was to be found in professional and technical occupations, with 34% in clerical work. By 1970 the position had reversed itself and only 40% of these women are located in the professional category while 50% are engaged in clerical jobs. For those women who have acquired tertiary education, the most important occupations are those in the

professional and technical category. In 1960 approximately 80% of these higher educated women are engaged in the professions. Though this proportion declined to two-thirds by 1970, it still represents the highest concentration. At the latter date the decline has been compensated for by a rise in the proportion located in the clerical services.

The pattern which seems to be emerging is one in which women with less than a secondary education are concentrated in manual occupations; women with a moderate level of secondary education are moving into service and production related occupations; women who have completed their secondary education are concentrated mainly in clerical occupations, while women who have received some form of tertiary education are heavily concentrated in the professions. In other words, women of different educational attainment are generally operating in different labour markets. This suggests that education may well be one of the most important factors permitting the entry of women into better paying, more rewarding and higher status occupations in the society. While this has been documented for other societies¹¹ the important thing to note in the case of Barbados is that this is not a situation unique to the women but is also shared by the men. Data on the amount of schooling to which the working population has been exposed indicate that working women have received slightly fewer years of schooling than working men but that the differences are rapidly being eroded. Thus in 1960 the median years of schooling received by males in the working population was 4.7 years as compared with 4.3 years for females. By 1970 however, the corresponding median was 7.9 years for males and 7.8 years for females, a difference of only 0.1 years. However, the rising educational level and the implied rising job aspirations may be said to affect both males and females in the society

and this holds important implications for the job creating strategies on which the society may embark.

In terms of the better educated women, it is clear that the demand for female professionals in Barbados can hardly be expected to expand at the same rate as the supply of relatively highly educated females. This means that pressures for the better educated woman to seek employment opportunities outside of the traditional female professions will increase. Indeed data for 1970 have indicated that this trend has already begun. Among women with a satisfactory level of secondary education, again the demand for their services - notably in the clerical occupations - can only partially accommodate the supply in the near future. Further to an increasing extent it is being demonstrated that the women of Barbados are achieving marked success in controlling their fertility. The long run effect of fertility control will be to reduce the demand for workers in child-oriented occupations such as teaching which these secondary school graduates tend to occupy. This group of women has also shown only a limited tendency to move towards traditional male occupations. Only one per cent of their number is to be found in each of the categories administration, transport and communication, production and related occupations. The alternative to this group of women would therefore seem to be either to revert to the less appealing manual occupations in the services and agriculture or to opt out of the work force altogether.

Women who have not completed their secondary education represent the only group which seems to be adjusting successfully to the changing conditions. Presumably, this group, in addition to marginal levels of education also possesses few specific skills and therefore would find it difficult to obtain non-manual or non-professional employment. They have

therefore, tended to move out of the traditional clerical and sales occupations and into the service occupations, presumably service other than domestic, and into production and related occupations, that is, those occupations involved in the manufacturing sector of the economy. The extent to which these occupations can expand more significantly than at present will clearly determine the extent to which women with this marginal amount of education can continue to be absorbed into the work force.

Among the women with low levels of education the tendency to concentrate in the manual, service and agricultural occupations will no doubt continue. Indeed it is difficult to envisage alternative areas of occupation for these women who have low levels of education and, presumably, no specific skills. Such women will therefore continue to be poorly paid and to have virtually no avenues in the existing occupation structure which would allow improvement in their mobility.

SECTION IV - EMPLOYMENT AND FERTILITY

It has become customary in analyses of female worker participation to attempt to identify the extent to which maternal responsibilities affect the probability of a woman becoming economically active. The argument has tended to be that the more heavily the woman is engaged in family and home care, the less likely is she to join the working force. Recent work on developing countries is demonstrating more and more clearly that it is the culture of the society and the type of economic activity which appear to be available that determines whether or not the woman elects to work outside of her home. This is not to say that fertility differences exert little or no force in the woman's decision. It is simply to assert that additional forces are relevant.¹²

It is evident that where culture and structure are conducive to female employment considerable advantages - social, economic and psychological can be assumed to accrue to women with fewer children. On the other hand, where circumstances do not permit the woman to perceive what economic advantages are to be gained by controlling child-bearing then she cannot be expected to control her own fertility. In other words, it is not only the simple question of to work or not to work. One must consider as well the sector of the economy in which employment opportunities exist, the type of occupation available, the income level, the continuity of employment, the availability of child care facilities and, perhaps, most important, the degree of work commitment of the woman herself.

According to the prevalent role incompatibility theory, where the roles of mother and worker conflict, employed women will tend to remain childless or to produce fewer children than unemployed women. If levels of fertility are to be significantly reduced then female economic activity outside and distant from the home must be increased and fertility regulation techniques must be widely publicised and must be readily available. However, the clarity of the relationship between female employment and fertility which is so evident in industrialised countries does not appear so readily in developing countries whose economies are overwhelmingly agriculturally based. Even in industrialised countries, it is only in urban areas that certain generalisations can be defended, for example, it is the higher educated women in professional and technical occupations who have a high degree of work commitment and who are employed full time, who are more likely to know and practice effectively modern family planning techniques and thus to have smaller families (117). On the other hand, women in manual

occupations which provide little by way of social and economic satisfaction, who work part time or for short portions of their reproductive life, who are not highly educated tend to have larger families and to know less about family planning techniques. In rural areas these apparently straightforward relationships tend to disappear [117].

In many developing countries even if it is possible to distinguish satisfactorily between rural and urban areas, between traditional and modern sectors of the economy, the relationship between fertility and employment in these sub-sectors is not all clear. Further the whole concept of employment needs to be utilized within certain specified constraints. For one thing, the opportunities for paid employment of women in non-agricultural sectors of these economies are extremely limited. Thus, the effect of employment on fertility would tend to be minimal. Alternatively, employment in the agricultural sector may involve the woman in activities in which children can actually be of assistance whether in the home or on the farm. She may easily be able to arrange for their care, if they are very young, by other family members, if not she will simply stay at home. In other words, the work and its rewards must be sufficiently attractive to the woman to compensate for having fewer children and to persuade her to work outside of her home, if any sensible effect is to be had on decisions in respect of fertility.

In those developing countries like Barbados which have advanced beyond the stage of being exclusively agriculturally-based economies, but which cannot be regarded as industrialised, the position becomes even more obscure. This is further complicated by the historical and cultural traditions which determine patterns of mating in the society. Many societies

whether developed or undeveloped, can effectively analyse trends in fertility and its relationship with a variety of parameters solely in terms of married women or married couples. This approach, however, is inadequate in Caribbean conditions since sizeable proportions of women who can be termed to be at risk of childbearing do not carry out their childbearing performance within the context of unions which can be described as formal marriage. The derivation of linkages between childbearing and unions becomes further complex when related to work history. Recent evidence from Jamaica suggests an increasing incidence of female headed households particularly of females involved in visiting unions. Such women prefer to support themselves and their children rather than to depend on a male partner [417].

The census data available to examine the relationship between fertility and employment in Barbados can be considered to be fragmentary not only because of the shift in the conceptual treatment of family building institutions from marital status to union status, but also because of the limited importance apparently attached to this line of enquiry. Available data suggest that the proportion of ever married female workers increased between 1946 and 1960 from 28.5% to 36.7% and has remained relatively unchanged since. But this information alone provides no clues as to the extent to which women actually involved in unions are also engaged in economic activity, nor does it provide clues as to the involvement of these women in child bearing.

Evidently Barbadian women are heavily involved in childbearing activities even though the extent of this involvement appears to have been on the decline. Among all women in the childbearing age span (15-44) 50.1%

were involved in unions of one sort or another in 1970 as compared with 45.4% in 1960. Involvement in unions varies with age and union type, as Table IV.1 illustrates. Among women in visiting unions, the maximum proportion occurs relatively early in the age span - 20-24 in 1960 and 15-19 in 1970. The maximum proportion for women in common law unions occurs slightly later at age 25-29. For women in married unions, however, the proportions rise continually to the end of the reproductive age span, as they do also for women not currently in a union. Women who were never in a union reveal the opposite pattern, i.e. proportions decline rapidly from a maximum occurring at age 15-19.

Data are not available to permit a similar age analysis for working women, however, findings of the 1960 census suggest that among working women in this age group about half have never been in a union, about one-fifth were married, 12% were in common law unions and another 12% were no longer living with husbands or common law partners, while a mere 5% were involved in visiting unions (see Table IV.1). Among older women the pattern changes. Equal proportions of about one-third of women workers are single as also they are in married unions. About one-fifth are separated from their partners and one-tenth are to be found in common law unions. Comparable data for 1970 suggests only slight changes in the actual percentage of workers located in each type of union but no change in the pattern among women aged 15-44. This remains essentially one in which among women in childbearing ages, the great majority of working women are single, while among those in unions, it is married women who record the largest proportion of their number as workers. Among women who have completed their childbearing, it is the married group in 1970 which contributes the highest proportion of workers. They are followed by women

who claim never to have been in a union (25%) and by those separated from their partners (22%) while women in common law unions continue to account for only one-tenth of women workers.

An examination of general worker rates in each union status category reveals a very similar pattern. Table IV.2 reveals that in the age group 15-44, women who are not involved in unions in 1960 record rates of about 60%, while women in common law and visiting unions record rates of about 40% and women in married unions record rates of around 33%. Among older women, those aged 45-64, except for single women the rates for all other groups of women increase over time but the pattern remains the same. Those women not in unions maintain the highest rates, women in common law unions rank second, though with rates of over 50%, while women in married unions record the lowest rate, just over one-third of their number being recorded as workers. Data for 1976 indicate overall increases in worker participation but few changes in the rank positions. Among younger women the only change in the pattern is that women in visiting unions now occupy the bottom of the scale rather than married women. Among older women the major change is that general worker rates of all women decline markedly. In addition the rank position changes and it is women in common law unions who record highest worker rates (40%) followed by women not in unions, with married women being the least involved in the working force at this age.

Data on relationship to head of household reveal some interesting features which may be relevant to an understanding of the prevailing ranking of worker rates. Among women aged 15-44, approximately 7,500 or 18.5% claim to be heads of households. Among these, the largest proportion - about one-third - maintaining their own households are those never in a union, the

group which records the second highest worker rate in 1970. Next come women no longer living with husband or common law partner, who account for 22.3% of all female heads. This corresponds to the group recording the highest worker rates. Women in common law unions and married unions account for 21.4% and 18.9% respectively of all female heads, ranking third and fourth as they do in terms of worker rates, while women in visiting unions account for a mere 6.1% of all female headed households. A Spearman's rank correlation coefficient of +0.9 would seem to substantiate the high level of correlation implied between union type and worker participation.

A previously mentioned study in Jamaica reports remarkably similar findings [37]. Thus the union status data for Barbados indicate that, as elsewhere in the region, women actively involved in unions tend to exhibit lower rates of participation than women not so involved, and that this relationship tends to hold good even at ages beyond the reproductive age span. Further, that among women in unions, it is the married group of women who exhibit the lowest levels of participation, while among women not in unions, it is women who have experienced disrupted unions who exhibit the higher rates.

It is, however, not only the presence of a family nexus which influences female participation. One also has to take into account the presence or absence of children. Figure IV.1 shows the proportion of adult women of various ages who are mothers according to their declared main activity in 1970. Among women classified as worked, 65.8% are mothers as against 82.1% for women whose main activity was "home duties". Other non-workers record 39.1% of their number as being mothers. It is of special interest that among working women, non-mothers comprise just over one-third and that this relationship holds good at all ages over 25. At younger ages

the number of non-mothers more than doubles the number of mothers, indeed under age 20 the number of working non mothers is five times the number of working mothers. This suggests that, as has been documented for many other countries, it is at younger ages that the presence of children operates as a determining factor in decisions to join the work force.

In terms of individual age groups the proportion of mothers among workers is consistently lower than it is for women engaged in home duties. Indeed for the latter group the proportion of mothers is particularly high at early ages. Viewed graphically the curve for both groups rises rapidly between ages 15 and 25, then more gradually to age 35, after which it declines gently. At age 35-39, the peak age group, the group showing the highest rates of motherhood are the housewives who record rates of over 90%. They are followed by women classified as working who record rates of about 85% and by other non-workers whose peak occurs at a much lower level, 71%.

If we look at the pattern of worker rates for mothers, shown in Figure IV.2, there appears to be a departure from the traditional shape of worker rates associated with female activity. Worker rates for mothers rise gradually to age 25-29 then assume a plateau like shape until about age 45-49 before beginning a gradual decline. The pattern of worker rates for non-mothers is strikingly different. The curve rises from 39.6 for women aged 15-19 to a peak of 72.2 at age 25-29 then descends to 48.0 for women at the end of the age span under consideration. The curve representing this pattern also fails to follow the traditional bi-modal shape associated with female worker curves and in fact rises rapidly to a peak at an early age then declines gradually.¹³ When the two groups of women, mothers and non-mothers, are combined it is clear that rates of worker participation for

women in Barbados indicate that, as in most countries, female rates are lower than male at every age. In 1946 and to a lesser extent in 1960 the female curve follows the typical pattern of a rapid rise to age 20-24, a levelling off about 10 years then a rise after age 35 followed by a rapid decline to the end of the working age span. In 1970 however this bi-modality is not evident. Instead the curve gradually declines after age 20-24. It has been usual to associate the trough between age 25 and 39 with a period of withdrawal from the working force for purposes of childbearing and child care and the increase after age 39 with a return to work. However, the 1970 data for Barbados seem to suggest that women are not withdrawing from the work force but appear to be performing their childbearing role as working mothers, in other words, there appears to be no incompatibility between their perceived economic role and that of motherhood.

Evidently, a number of institutional factors facilitate this. A system of maternity protection for women workers does exist and is provided mainly through a national insurance scheme, and collective bargaining agreements combined with labour legislation. Under the National Insurance Scheme employed and self-employed women who meet the qualifying conditions have the right to twelve (12) weeks maternity leave and receive a cash grant related to their normal pay and to their total contribution to the scheme during the relevant year. Trades Unions have successfully bargained for a number of areas of maternity protection including protection against dismissal during pregnancy and after confinement, while employers are required by law to provide paid maternity leave for stipulated periods of time at specified rates. In effect, in Barbados the essentials of maternity protection have been in existence for some time. While the provisions may not be as extensive as those

existing in some European countries, for example, they are nevertheless sufficiently adequate to allow women to temporarily interrupt their work history for childbearing without fear of repercussions or financial loss.¹⁴

On the other side of the coin, the provision of child care services and facilities has not kept pace with developments in the provision of maternity protection. Only a very small proportion of young children are served by public facilities, while an even smaller proportion is handled by private group care arrangements. Thus the majority of working mothers must rely on a relative or neighbour for the care of their young children. The extent to which this is resorted to remains an area requiring investigation.

Let us now attempt a comparison between actual fertility levels between working women and those of their non-working counterparts. This will be attempted by utilising simple child-mother and child-woman ratios. If the female population aged 15-64 is classified according to main activity, fertility measured by the number of children ever born per mother, is highest for women engaged in home duties - 4.4 children - followed closely by working women with an average of 3.9 children and other non-working women with 3.1 children. Viewed graphically in terms of age there appears once again a striking resemblance in the shape and level of the curve relating to working women and women engaged in home duties (see Figure IV.3). For both groups of women family size increases with age, rising from about 1.3 children per mother at ages 15-19 to a peak at age 40-44 of 5.3 for housewives and 5.0 for working women after which it declines gradually. Among other non-workers, the curve peaks at age 35-39, at 4.2 children per mother, after which there appears evidence of a flattened reverse J-shaped curve which peaks at an average of 4.5 children per mother at age 55-59.

Evidence from Jamaica supports this shape of curve for other non workers, specifically those seeking first jobs, though the reverse J shape is much more pronounced in that case 137, 427.

When we attempt to combine aspects of fertility and sterility by using the measure children per woman, once again there is striking evidence of lower levels of fertility prevailing for working women (see Figure IV.4). In this instance a comparison is allowed with a previous date. In 1960 the average number of children ever born per woman in the work force was 2.5 as compared with 2.7 for non-working women. By 1970 both these averages had risen but the relationship remains the same. For women engaged in home duties the average is 3.6 children per woman as compared with 2.6 for working women and 1.2 for other non-working women.

In terms of age, once again there is a striking resemblance between the shape of the curve for working women and those engaged in home duties. For this latter group of women the curve is higher than that for women in the other two categories. It rises gradually from a low average of 0.6 at age 15-19 to a maximum of 4.8 at age 40-44 then declines to the end of the age span under consideration. For working women the peak also occurs at age 40-44 being 4.1 or ~~about~~ 12.8% less than that obtaining for women at home. Among other non-working women, the same average number of children per woman is shown at ages under 25 as that for working women, thereafter there is a divergence with non-working averages being consistently lower and peaking earlier, 2.9 at age 35-39, than averages for working women. After age 35-39 there is a sharp trough to age 45 followed by a rise to a second higher peak of 3.1 at age 55-59.

When women who have completed their fertility are considered separately, the completed family size of working women is seen to move from 3.3 in 1960 to 3.5 in 1970. For non-working women the move is from 3.9 to 4.0. When standardized for age, although the standardized rates are less than the actual rates, the extent of the differential between rates for workers and non-workers contracts slightly with standardized rates being 2.4 for working women and 2.9 for non-working women. It is therefore evident that participation in economic activity does not alone serve to reduce fertility levels.

To summarize, then, among working women the pattern of fertility is one in which younger women show lower levels of fertility than older women. Across time however, the differential between the fertility levels of younger and older women has increased considerably. At ages under 25 significant reductions have occurred in the fertility levels of working women. By contrast small increases are observed for women between ages 25 and 34, while increases of the order of 25% and 16% respectively occur at ages 35-44 and 45-54. Modest declines are observed for women whose family building activity is completed.

Among non-working women fertility rates have consistently exceeded those for working women at ages over 20. Below age 20 however, the prevailing fertility rate for non-working women was less than half that for working women in 1960. By 1970 however, this situation had reversed itself, these younger women showing rates above those for working women as do all other age groups. Despite this differential, non-working women like their working counterparts, also exhibit a tendency for fertility to be lower at younger ages. Over time greatest increases are noted for women under age 20 whose fertility levels increase by almost three-quarters. The position of women

at what are usually described as the peak childbearing ages, that is, between ages 20 and 34 has remained virtually unchanged, while increases at older ages range from 13% at age 35-44 to 3% at ages over 55.

The consistent tendency for higher rates to prevail among older women whether they are working or not, poses the question of whether fertility per se determines economic activity among women. Certainly the high fertility of non-working women - the vast majority of whom claim home duties as their main activity - does not appear to propel them into the work force out of a perceived need to increase family income to satisfy the presumably increased consumption needs arising out of a larger number of children. Alternatively, the fact that the differential between working and non-working women has declined markedly at ages 25-44 would seem to suggest that motherhood and its associated child and home care responsibilities has not significantly deterred Barbadian women from entering the work force.

If we consider participation rates of women according to size of family, it is clear that while differences in worker participation do exist between women with no children and women with children, these differences tend to disappear once the children are older or leave home.¹⁵ According to Table IV.3, the general worker rate for childless women stands at 52.9 as compared with 45.8 for women with children. This reflects the fact that the former rate applies to large numbers of very young childless women and that the overall worker rate masks important differentials by age.

The position of childless women is particularly interesting since on the basis of available evidence their participation rates are virtually no different from those for parity one women over age 30 . This finding has been documented for several other countries, for example, Poland and

Czechoslovakia /17 and Chile /147. Below age 30 however their position appears to be more closely comparable with males than with females with children. This is particularly evident at ages 15-19 and 20-24. Figure IV.5 graphically depicts participation rates for males, childless females, one-parity women and women with no children. The striking thing seems to be the absence of the bi-modal peak associated with curves of female participation and the conversion, when parity is taken into account, towards the plateau-like shape usually associated with curves of male participation.

Among women with children the gradient of high to low worker participation proceeds from women with one child who show rates of 49.4 to women with six or more children whose rates stand at 42.2. Unlike some other countries, however, it is not clear that as parity increases so too does the age of peak worker participation. Table IV.3 reveals that the peak age of participation occurs at 35-39 for one-parity women, at age 25-29 for two to three-parity women and at age 30-34 for four to five-parity women. For women with six children and more the peak participation occurs at the age interval 40-44 as it does for other territories in the region, notably Jamaica /377. Evidently, in addition to the presence of children, age plays an important role in determining whether or not the woman decides to enter the work force. Irrespective of parity, women in the age range 30-49 display higher levels of participation than women outside of that range. However, within that broad range - 30-49 - it is the one-parity women who consistently tend to be more actively involved in work outside of the home /167. In this age range differences between two to three-parity and four to five-parity women are not very marked but at higher parities a sizeable differential in the level of participation is evident. In other words, the influence of

family size seems to appear from about the fourth child and to be especially obvious for women at ages under 30. Between ages 30 and 49 the differences in respect of fertility tend to narrow, perhaps as the average age of the younger children increases, while at ages over 50 the rates once more diverge, perhaps as age becomes more of a determining factor.

Evidently the possibility and the availability of techniques for regulating the timing of birth has contributed significantly to the Barbadian woman being able to combine employment and childbearing with virtually no disruption (177). Further, where the age at birth of the last child is relatively low the difficulties of combining home and work responsibilities become diminished, thereby encouraging those who may have stayed at home, either not to opt out of the work force for domestic reasons, or, if they did, to re-enter at an earlier age. It is possible to attempt to delineate the age of commencement and termination of childbearing in Barbados from data collected at the 1970 Census. If the mean age at these two important milestones in the fertility history of the women are computed for those cohorts of women who can be assumed to have completed their fertility, that is, those who are over age 45, then it is possible to estimate the length of the childbearing span for these women. Results of this exercise are presented in Table IV.4. For women in the cohort born between the years 1905 and 1925, the average age at birth of the first child is 20.7 years. When this group is sub-divided into smaller age groups, it appears that the average age at first birth has been declining. For women aged 45-49 the average age at first birth stood at 20.2 years. This average increases steadily with age thus by age 60 the average stands at 21.3 years. The pattern for the average age at last birth however is slightly different. At age 45-49 this average stands at

33.7 years and thereafter declines with age thus by age 60 the average age at last birth is 33.3 years. If we consider the period spent in childbearing taken as the difference between the average age at first and last birth then an estimate of the time span spent in childbearing can be achieved /18/. For the total group of women this interval stands at 12.7 years, but there is striking evidence that the interval has been increasing. Older women, those aged 60-64, reveal an average of 12.0 years spent in childbearing. However, younger women, those aged 45-49, show an average of 13.5 years. If these intervals are expressed as a percentage of the potential biological period of childbearing, that is approximately 30 years, then it is clear that this proportion is increasing, in other words, women seem to be spending more time in actual childbearing. Women born in the decade 1905-15 devoted approximately 12 years or about 40% of their potential reproductive span in childbearing. By contrast women born between 1915 and 1925 spent approximately thirteen and a half years or 45% of their reproductive span in childbearing. This still leaves a considerable portion, indeed the greater portion, of the potential biological period of childbearing for activities other than reproduction. One consequence of this, it may be argued, has been the increased possibility of work force participation.

SECTION V - EMPLOYMENT AND OCCUPATION

Changes in classification over time must limit to some extent the degree of comparability in women's occupations. However, the picture in Barbados, as in many developing countries, remains essentially one in which women continue to be employed in the so-called women's occupations centred mainly on service, clerical and sales jobs. There are indications, however, that changes are imminent (see Table V.1). According to the 1970 Census

approximately one-third of women workers, equivalent to 10,500 were concentrated in the service sector of the economy. Another 27%, or about 8,800 were engaged in clerical and sales activity. Among the 3,100 or 9% of women classified in professional and technical occupations, the majority were teachers and nurses. Together these three major occupational groups - service, clerical and sales, professional and technical - account for approximately two-thirds of all female workers. Among the remaining one-third, the number of females engaged in agricultural labour stood at 4,800 or about 14% of the total number of females employed, while another 4,100 or 12% of Barbadian female workers were engaged in production and related work.

When compared with census data for previous years, the 1970 position suggests the following pattern of change: an intensification in commercial type occupations; a significant increase in the professional and technical fields; small increases in production and related occupations largely as a result of the availability of new types of jobs following the introduction of light manufacturing industries during the 1960's; virtual stability in the position of female service workers and also in the position of managerial and administrative workers; substantial recession in agricultural-based activities. In effect, a time series analysis of female occupations suggests a move out of agriculture into professional, clerical and sales type occupations. To put it another way, there appears to be a shift in the balance between the traditional and modern sector of the economy as far as female occupations are concerned. This shift is paralleled by a shift in the occupational pattern of males which essentially reflects a move out of agriculture into professional, production and related types of occupation. The shift of emphasis in female occupations may be more readily documented by a

detailed examination of the unit occupations within the major categories.

In the group Clerical Workers, there has been a five-fold increase in post-war years among clerks of various descriptions who number 1,560 in 1970. These are followed by stenographers and typists which group increased from 180 in 1946 to 1,420 in 1970. Another major increase is noted among book-keepers, cashiers and related workers, who increased from 140 in 1946 to 1,100 in 1970, an almost eight-fold increase.

In the group Sales Workers, the most important single group in 1970 was the "sales persons, shop assistants and demonstrators" which numbered 1,470 or about one-third of all sales workers. This is in marked contrast to the position in the immediate post-war years when the highest number of sales workers were to be found in the sub-group "hawkers, peddlars, street vendors" which accounted for 70% of female sales workers. Even as recently as 1960 virtually half of the female sales workers were to be found in this group, but by 1970, this proportion had been whittled down to 30%. In effect there is a contraction away from the informal, self-employed type of occupation associated with street vendors to more formal employment in commercial business houses.

The occupation group Service Workers comprises sub-groups relating to personal service, protective service and a miscellaneous group. Of these the overwhelming majority of female workers are to be found in the personal service sector and there they are heavily concentrated in domestic service. In 1970, of the 10,500 female workers in personal service, 7,700 or over 70% are involved in domestic service. Further these domestic service workers comprise virtually one-quarter of the total female work force. This

is not a new phenomenon. In the immediate post-war years domestic service workers numbered 11,600. This represented 85% of all service workers and 28% of the total female work force. So that although the proportions have declined somewhat over a period of a quarter of a century, the picture remains essentially the same. What appears to be changing is that to an increasing extent the numbers involved in service occupations associated with the hotel industry are on the rise. Thus, for example, the number of waitresses increased from 90 to 850 between 1960 and 1970, almost a ten-fold increase in as many years. This is to be expected given developments in the tourist industry in recent times.

In the Professional and Technical categories, which covers several unit groups, the major female occupations are primary and secondary school teachers who in 1970 numbered 1,500 and nurses who totalled 1,100. Together, these two groups account for about 85% of all female professionals. This reflects virtually the same position prevailing at the two previous censuses when approximately 90% of all female professionals were located in these two sub-groups.

In the category Production and Related Workers, the largest sub-group consists of dressmakers.¹⁹ These numbered 2,700 in 1970 as compared with 6,700 in 1946, a decline of about two-thirds. Despite this numerical decline, the importance of the sub-group is to be recognised. In 1946 they amounted to 95% of all female production workers. By 1960 this had declined to three-quarters and by 1970 the proportion stood at 66%. The relative decline has been compensated for, to some extent, by increases in some occupations and the arrival of new occupations on the Barbadian production scene. Thus, for example, we find in the 1970 listings such occupations as packers, electronic

equipment assemblers, to mention only two, which were not to be found listed in previous censuses.

The changing patterns of occupational groupings since 1946 may also be illustrated by reference to age specific worker rates for specific occupational groups. The curves for four such groups are presented in Figure V.1.

Withdrawals from agriculture represent the striking feature of the charts. Continuous declines are evident at every age group. Thus, whereas in 1946 about 15% of females aged 25-34 were engaged in agriculture, by 1970, this proportion had declined to 6%. Declines of similar magnitude are evident at every point along the curves indicating that the movement out of agriculture is not restricted to young persons as seems to be the case elsewhere in the region /2, p.827. Another important feature has been the increase in female employment in the service occupations. Over the age interval 25-64 the proportion of females in these occupations increases notably between 1960 and 1970. Indeed, between ages 30 and 40, rates in 1970 exceeded those prevailing in 1946. Of note is the fact that at none of the dates under consideration is there any evidence of precipitous declines but rather of a levelling off in the central age groups followed by gradual reductions. In 1946, the declines which set in after age 20-24 can best be described as gradual. This is in marked contrast to the position in Jamaica, for example, where the curves of participation in the service occupations point clearly to the withdrawal from these occupations, of which domestics form a large proportion, of young females /387.

In the clerical and sales occupations there is clear evidence of considerable increases in the proportions at younger ages, i.e. under age 25.

At age 20-24, for example, the proportion of female workers in these occupations increased from 9% to 13% to 17% in 1946, 1960 and 1970 respectively. Also evident in this group is the early age of withdrawal. Thus at age 55-64, proportions decline sharply from 11% in 1946 to 1% in 1970.

By contrast, there has been a marked reduction at all ages in the heterogeneous group of production and related occupations. Difficulties of satisfactorily delineating categories in this major group no doubt make comparisons with respect to the 1946 Census hazardous. However, for the two later censuses which adopted similar procedures, it should be noted that the maximum age of participation stands at age 20-24, increasing from 7% in 1960 to 10% in 1970, after which sizeable declines occur.

Customarily, sex ratios of the working population in each major occupational group are used to illustrate the extent to which females are not adequately represented in the work force. From data on sex ratios presented in Table V.2 it is evident that in the years since World War II males have dominated the employment scene in the professions, in administration, in agriculture and in production. Further, in each of these categories the lines appear to be hardening in that the female share of these occupations is diminishing. On the other hand, the occupational orders clerical and sales activities and service, continue to be of conspicuous importance for females.

If this is looked at in another way - in terms of the proportion of workers in each occupation who are females the point is further substantiated. In the professional occupations, females in 1946 and 1960 accounted for 48% of all workers. By 1970 this had declined to 40%. In production, females accounted for 30% of workers in 1946 but only 17% in 1960. In administrative and executive occupations, females accounted for 32% in 1946 but only 10% in 1970. In agriculture, females now account for 37% of all workers as distinct

from 43% thirty years previously. On the other hand, in clerical and sales activities, females continue to amount to about 60% of all workers. Similarly, in service occupations, thus suggesting a small range of occupations in Barbados in which females tend to be found and a lack of sharing of the differential occupational experience exhibited by males.

If one examines the occupations at unit group level however, it is evident that despite this apparent feminization of certain occupations there are only five which can be described as being almost exclusively female-orientated in the sense that 90% and over of all employees are female. These include maids and other domestic service workers of whom 98% are female; stenographers/typists of whom 93% are female, nurses for whom the comparable statistic is 92%, machine operators 90% and electronic equipment assemblers 91%. A number of other occupations retain a significantly high female component ranging between 70% and 90%, these include tailors/dressmakers, street vendors, salespersons, launderers. This suggests that approximately one-half of all females in the labour force were engaged in occupations in which over 75% of the employees were female. Among the other half, in the majority of occupations involving relatively large numbers of females, the percentage of female involvement ranges between 40% and 60% - which suggests a reasonably equitable balance between the sexes. These include such occupations as clerks (other than sales), shop-keepers, hairdressers and packers.

It is possible to summarise the broad patterns of concentration in certain occupations by computing indices of dissimilarity which indicate the amount of change necessary to make two percentage distributions identical. By comparing the proportion each major occupational group forms of the total working population of each sex and by aggregating these differences, it is

possible to obtain a summary measure of the extent to which the occupational composition of two sexes differs. The index of dissimilarity is simply one-half of the differences summed regardless of sign $\frac{\sum |d_i|}{N}$. When this is done for the census years between 1891 and 1970 the lowest index, 13.8, occurs in 1891, thereafter the index increased to 19.1 in 1911 and 23.0 in 1921. Even assuming differences in definition in this early period of census taking, indices of this order reveal a remarkable similarity in the occupational composition of males and females at this time. By 1946, however, the index increased to 34.6 indicating that it would be necessary to displace about one-third of the female work force to make their distribution identical to that of the male. After 1946 the index of dissimilarity rose again to 37.9 in 1960 then declined to 36.1 in 1970. In other words, the occupational composition of the two sexes shows relatively high degrees of dissimilarity in recent times but these levels may well be on the decline. Despite this decline, however, in 1970 over one-third of female workers would have to shift their occupation in order to make the occupational distribution of female workers identical to that of male workers. Further when indices are computed separately for residential areas, as was done for Table V.3, values for urban workers are consistently higher than those for workers in rural areas, while the trend line for the two groups varies somewhat. The trend appears to be one in which the amount of dissimilarity between the sexes increased for urban workers prior to 1960 and decreased thereafter. On the other hand, indices for rural workers have been increasing steadily. The effect of these trends has been an overall reduction in the extent of sexual dissimilarity between urban and rural workers. Whereas this differential amounted to 16.4 in 1946, by 1970 this amounted to a mere 2.2. In other words, although

Indices of dissimilarity in urban areas are consistently higher than those for rural areas, the extent of the differential is being rapidly eroded. Nevertheless, the value of the index for both areas substantiates the earlier findings of relatively high degrees of dissimilarity in the occupational composition of the two sexes.

SECTION VI - EMPLOYMENT AND WORKER STATUS

According to Jack Harewood one of the best indicators of the quality of employment in a developing economy is the type of worker or employment status /22/. In such economies persons unable to find employment as paid employees earning above subsistence wages, are, very often, forced into low earning, low status self-employment or employment as unpaid family workers. The latter two groups self-employed and unpaid family workers often serve to mask a significant incidence of unemployment in an economy. Among women, considerations of this nature are particularly important in developing countries, since self-employment or unpaid employment enables the woman to keep her children with her, if they are very young, or to obtain the assistance of older children in her production activities. This is of particular applicability in rural areas. A similar view has been expressed by Boland, who, writing about Jamaica, suggests that the identification of these various status groups provides us with a useful tool for "assessing the stages of economic growth of a country as well as the growing power of the public sector over the labour market" /2, p.647.

The 1970 Census provides information about the employment status of economically active persons in terms of government employees, non-government employees, own account workers, with and without paid help, and unpaid workers. According to Table VI.1, 91% of the female work force in Barbados in 1970

were returned as paid employees, that is, persons working either in government or private enterprise, this proportion being the same as that recorded for males. This represents a considerable advance over the 1946 and 1960 position when 68% and 77% respectively of the female work force were so categorized. Data for 1970 permit a sub-division of paid employees into government and non-government workers. In Barbados, as indeed in the rest of the Commonwealth Caribbean, the largest category consists of non-government employees who number 25,000 or 76% of the total female working population. This amounts to the highest proportion of workers in this category in the entire region 73.8%. Government employees amount to 5,000 or 15% of the total, the lowest proportion recorded in the region.

Only a small proportion of female workers are returned as employers and own account workers in 1970. These amount to 2,700 or about 8% of all working women, again the lowest proportion recorded in the region. Among this group 300 were recorded as employers. This indicates a marked departure from previous experience. In 1946 over 11,000 women or about one-quarter of the female work force were returned as own account workers, of whom 100 were employers. By 1960 this was reduced to 7,200 or 21% of all working women of whom 100 were employers. The continuing decline of the total group of self-employed women may be taken as being consistent with the reduction in female involvement in agriculture noted earlier, as well as an indication of important improvements in the quality of employment which has become available in recent times and the ability of women to fill those better positions.

Unpaid workers continue to account for less than 1% of all working women as they have done in earlier censuses. Numerically this group amounted to 200 in 1970, the same as in 1946 and about two-thirds the number recorded in 1960. Similar changes are evident for male unpaid workers.

While the foregoing reveals that the pattern of change over time in terms of this classification of the work force characterises both sexes, it is instructive in the present context to analyse sex differentials in worker status in terms of sex ratios in the different age intervals as well as age specific participation rates. This exercise is possible for 1970 and the results are presented in Table VI.2. Overall sex ratios stand at 1,897 males per 1,000 females for government employees, 1,492 for non-government employees and 1,366 for own account workers, indicating levels appreciably lower than those prevailing in the total Commonwealth Caribbean, particularly with respect to non-government and own account workers 1387. Among government workers, sex ratios by age move up steadily from a low 1,245 at age 15-19 to a maximum of 3,500 at age 55-59. This pattern of a rising proportion of male workers at higher ages is not repeated in the other two categories. Among non-government employees, the ratio declines from a high 1,964 at the younger ages to a low 1,216 in the middle of the age range then rises again to a high 1,893 at ages 60-64. Males can therefore be said to predominate at the younger and older ages of this category of worker. Among own account workers, values appear rather irregular and no clear cut pattern emerges. What is significant, however, is that the recorded values at each age are half and sometimes as much as three times less than the values recorded for the entire region 1387. Among this group of workers, it may therefore be argued that no marked sex differentials can be said to exist.

When we turn to an examination of the participation rates, the outstanding feature is the much lower levels of participation prevailing for females in each of the three categories than for males. From Table VI.3 it is evident that at no age does the participation rate for females ever

exceed that of males. Among government employees female participation reaches its maximum, 11.8, at age 20-24 then declines. By contrast working males retain approximately one fifth of their number between ages 30 and 34 in the government sector, with only slightly lower levels outside of these ages. In non-government employment female participation rates, although significantly higher than their counterparts in government, nevertheless, remain consistently about half that of males. Lowest rates for both sexes occur at age 15-19 being 18.6 for females and 36.6 for males. Maximum rates occur at age 20-24 for females (43.9) and 25-29 for males (70.5), after which the decline with age tends to be more precipitous in the case of the female. The category own account workers again depicts closest similarity between males and females. Among females, rates rise steadily from a low 0.2 at ages 15 - 19 to a maximum of 6.7 at age 55 - 59. Among males the corresponding rise is from 0.3 to 12.8 at age 64, indicating slightly higher levels of participation but generally the same age pattern.

Further analysis of these differentials must await more detailed information from the 1970 census.

SECTION VII - EMPLOYMENT AND HOURS WORKED

Data on working hours is available from the 1970 Census in relation to the week immediately preceding the census. According to that, the average number of working hours per week stood at 42.8 for males and 40.5 for females or 2.3 hours less than that of males. This suggests that if 40 hours is taken as the required working week, that is, the period agreed by the national collective bargaining process, then both male and female workers can be regarded as essentially full-time workers. The difference of 2.3 hours may be explained firstly by the fact that more men than women work overtime and for

more hours of overtime than women - 23% of them working for 45 hours and over compared with 22% of women (see Figure VII.1). Part of this may be accounted for by the fact that in establishments where night work is usual, the law stipulates that women may not be employed in shifts where work continues after 10.00 p.m.²⁰ Secondly, more women work less than the specified normal weekly hours - 27% of them working for less than 40 hours as compared with 30% of male workers. In effect, a higher proportion of females than males can be identified as part-time workers and this holds for all ages though to a greater extent for women aged 30 and over. A number of studies have indicated that a high level of part-time work is correlated with the motherhood status of women, the number of children and the age of the children. These in turn are related to domestic circumstances, the facilities for alternative child care arrangement and the type of job opportunities available. In effect, the mother with young children not of school age is more likely to work part-time than the single women with no children in a professional occupation. Such studies have also suggested that part-time work tends to be undemanding, ill-paid and of low status, with no prospects for advancement. Further, that to combat this many women are forced to work longer hours than they prefer, thereby increasing the tensions between home and work responsibility known to exist (20, p.507). Data to test these relationships for Barbados are not available, however, it is as well to note that differentials in the length of the working week do exist between men and women in Barbados and that results of work in other countries suggests that these differentials warrant closer investigation.

SECTION VIII - EMPLOYMENT AND INDUSTRY

As was the case with the occupational data, although the general industrial classification adopted in the 1946, 1960 and 1970 Censuses are relatively similar, the sub-divisions within these categories vary somewhat thus, comparisons, particularly in relation to the 1946 Census, need to be made with caution.²¹ In order to eliminate some of the element of risk in making these comparisons, an attempt was made to re-allocate 1946 Census categories to make them more readily comparable with those of 1970. Within this constraint a number of features centering around four major industrial groups emerge from an analysis of the female industrial structure. In the primary sector, the important feature is the substantial decline in the importance of the agriculture industry in the female sector of the labour force. In the secondary sector, the noteworthy feature is the decline in manufacturing between 1946 and 1960 followed by modest increases. In the tertiary sector, the outstanding feature is the rapid expansion in the service industries, particularly after 1960. Also of interest in this sector is the position of the sub-group, commerce, for which gains are recorded between 1946 and 1960 followed by declines in the succeeding decade. Increases in construction, utilities and transport are minimal. These changes will now be examined separately.

Agriculture: From a total of 11,400 or one-quarter in 1946, the number of females employed in this sector fell to 9,200 in 1960 and by 1970 had fallen once more to 5,100 or a mere 16% of the total number of employed women. This phenomenon is no different to that experienced by males where the decline is from one-third to 18% over the same period. Nor is it any different from the experience in other Caribbean territories. In Jamaica, for

example, only 9% of the female labour force is to be found in agriculture in 1970 as compared with 26% in 1943 [2], p.74-757. Declines of similar magnitude are evident from data for the Windward Islands, the Leeward Islands and for Guyana. Further evidence of a withdrawal of female workers from agriculture is to be found in the proportion of all agricultural workers who are female. From 42% in 1946, this proportion has declined to 41% in 1960 and 37% in 1970 (see Table VIII.2).

Manufacturing: In this sector females represent only one-third of all workers in 1970 as compared with two-fifths in 1946. Apparent trends in this sector, however, appear to be somewhat spurious mainly due to the difficulty of re-allocating 1946 categories to compare more favourably with those of the later dates. For females 7,400 or 18% of the working population were engaged in this sector in 1946. This declined to 4,000 which represented only 11% of employed women in 1960. By 1970 the absolute number had risen somewhat to 4,400 or about 14% of the female working population. Between 1946 and 1960 the female workers followed fairly closely the tendency of male workers to move out of manufacturing. However, after 1960 while the proportion of male workers continued to decline that for female workers showed slight increases.

Commerce: Among women, involvement in commercial activities increased both numerically and proportionately between 1946 and 1960 then declined. The range of movement however is not wide. Thus in 1970 about one-fifth of employed females are to be found in this sector as compared with 17% in 1946. While the trend for males is similar the proportions are less, so that only 12% of males are in commercial activities presently. At the same time the distribution by sex has evened out. In 1946, 67% of all workers in commerce were female but by 1970 this had declined to 50%.

Services: It is however the service industries which demonstrate most interesting and significant trends. In all three censuses service industries have been the most consistent employers of females. From 15,200 in 1946 the numbers declined to 13,200 in 1960 then rose again to 15,000 in 1970. Proportionately, this means an increase from 37% in 1946 to 38% and 48% in 1960 and 1970, respectively. Similar proportions are evident for virtually all other Commonwealth Caribbean territories. However, of interest in the present context is the comparative position of males, for where previously males tended to keep out of the service industries, there is increasing evidence that male workers are tending to threaten the traditional predominance of females in this area of activity. Thus we find the number of males employed in this sector increased from 6,600 in 1946 to 6,900 in 1960 and to 10,600 by 1970 equivalent to a proportionate increase from 13% to 14% to 22% at the three points in time. Further, whereas in 1946 approximately 69% of all service workers were female, this proportion had declined to 59% by 1970. In other words, in this respect the industrial distribution of males seems to be converging towards that of females.

It has been argued that economic development is apparently accompanied by increasing proportions of all workers in manufacturing, a fall in the proportion in each sex in the services and a replacement of male workers in commerce by females (77). In Barbados, only one of these trends is apparent, the increase in female participation in commercial activities. In the service industries the increase in the proportions of both sexes indicates a response of the working force to a particular form of economic development on the island, tourism, which relies heavily on the provision of services other than domestic. This development is also indicative of the growing importance of the public sector which requires significant inputs

in education, health and community services to all of which the working force has responded. Nevertheless, the tendency for the ratio of secondary to tertiary workers to decline as economic progress takes place is evident for both sexes.

Another way of demonstrating the changes being described here is to consider the industrial distribution of the non-agricultural sector, for the dramatic decline in the proportion of workers in agriculture presupposes a corresponding increase in the proportion of workers in the several non-agricultural activities. When this is done the relative importance of services, commerce, and manufacturing, in that order, is more clearly demonstrated (see Table VIII.3). Among females participating in the non-agricultural sector there has been an increase from 73% in 1946 to 84% in 1970. Most of this increase is attributable to an increase in the service industries from 50% to 57% over the same period. However, declines recorded for manufacturing are even greater than those previously noted, while commerce continued to indicate a relatively stable situation. Similar trends are evident in some Latin American countries for which it has been shown that services, manufacturing and commerce account for the majority of female participation [14, p.531-37].

When we consider the proportion of workers in each industry who are female, it is immediately evident that representation of the sexes between the agricultural and the non-agricultural sectors has not changed significantly over time. In agriculture approximately 37% of all workers are female in 1970 as compared with 40% in non-agricultural activities. In both instances these positions represent declines from previous years. In 1946, females accounted for 42% of all agricultural workers and 47% of all non-agricultural workers. As for the relative importance of females in different non-agricultural

categories it is evident that, to an increasing extent, the service industries far outweigh in importance all others. Thus in 1970, 57% of females in this sector are to be found in service, an increase of 6 percentage points over the 1946 figure. The overall domination of the service sector masks important changes in the internal composition of the sector itself. These are illustrated in Table VII.4. Traditionally, women have been heavily concentrated in domestic service. Over the years, the proportion of domestic workers who are female has exceeded 80%. But in the personal service area the importance of females is slowly being eroded by males. Thus, we see the proportion of workers who are females in this area declining from 86% in 1946 to 53% in 1960. Comparable data for 1970 are not yet available. In the hotel and restaurant services whereas previously males and females were fairly evenly represented, females being about 54% in 1946, females are slowly beginning to predominate being 63% of all workers in this area in 1960. In community and business services, females again are predominant increasing from 57% in 1946 to 86% in 1960. In the recreational services, females again are increasing in importance their proportion rising from 19% in 1946 to 28% in 1960. Similarly, in the case of public administrative services the proportion increases from 12% to 18%.

While these data demonstrate increasing participation of females in service areas other than domestic service, it is evident, however, that domestic service still represents the most important employer of females in the service industry, accounting for three-fifths of female service workers. As Table VIII.4 indicates, it is only community services representing one-fifth of these workers which approaches anything of comparable importance. Similar proportions have been recorded for Jamaica 12, p.767. Hotel services account for about 10% but for the others the representation is well below that proportion.

These data seem to point to an increase in female participation in what may be described as development industries and a flattening of the intensification of females in certain "traditional" industries. Evidently, as far as the "traditional" industries are concerned, the importance of domestic service has not materially diminished. However, there are signs that activities such as dress-making and retail trade are beginning to decline in importance for female workers. On the other hand, in the "development" industries there is growing evidence that new areas of importance are appearing for females. These include those activities related to finance and those related to community, business and recreational services. Similar trends have been recorded for Thailand, a country of a quite different cultural tradition but one in which the norms regarding the kinds of work in which women may engage appear to have produced patterns of women's involvement in various industries similar to those prevailing in Barbados 78, p.5097.

PART III

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A thorough appraisal of sex differentials prevailing in a given social structure requires a very wide range of analysis. Ideally, the sex composition of the working population might be treated as a particular aspect of that social structure and attempts made to establish linkages between it and other social variables. It is arguable that differential worker participation by sex is not unrelated to other forms of differentiation between the sexes. By the same token, it is evident that characteristics other than sex may be equally relevant in determining differential participation. These may include such characteristics as institutional arrangements within the society which act as a constraint against participation ^{and} direct discrimination in the job market. However, the identification of these and other characteristics is not the focus of this presentation which simply seeks to appraise such differentials as are shown to exist.

While it is scarcely possible, with the data at hand, to form a precise idea of the qualitative aspect of the role of women workers in the economic life of Barbados, we do have enough quantitative data to point to certain important differences between the trend and pattern of employment of males and females. These may be summarized as follows:

1. The absolute number of women in employment has been declining steadily from post-war years as has the level of worker participation. This trend, however, is in close conformity with that depicted by males though the levels involved are much lower.

2. The age composition of male and female workers exhibits minimal differences. Indeed, the index of dissimilarity amounts to a mere 4.8 in 1970, illustrating the close degree of similarity between the two distributions. The pattern of female age specific worker rates reveals an increasing tendency, particularly at ages below 50, to approach that of males. Further, the pattern of rates falls to reflect that traditionally identified with female workers /47/.
3. The mounting urbanization of employment opportunities has not resulted in a greater competition between males and females. This is well demonstrated by the fact that, despite the increased participation rates of females in non-agricultural activities in urban areas, there has been no commensurate increase in the proportion which females form of the total group of workers involved in these activities.
4. Improved education, presumably will affect appreciably the relative strength of representation of the sexes in the work force. From the available data it is evident that female worker rates by education continue to be less than those for males, but they are increasing, particularly for women in the higher educational categories. The historical pattern of low and minimal education for Barbadian women is clearly changing, with particular emphasis being placed on secondary education and vocational training. To the extent that this process motivates women to further improve their educational status and that appropriate employment opportunities may be perceived to exist, to that

extent will women's propensity to participate increase and their chances for representation in the better paid occupations be improved.

5. An examination of the extent to which working women are involved in childbearing unions, suggests that among younger women (15-44) the substantial majority had never been in a common law or married union, whilst among older women (45-64) the majority of workers were in a married union. When childbearing is taken into account, the vast majority of working women (66%) are mothers. Among both working and non-working women, younger women reveal lower levels of fertility than older women, although, in general non-working women reveal higher fertility levels at all ages than their working counterparts. In terms of participation, rates decline with parity, while at each parity maximum rates occur at higher ages. Among younger women, then, the critical factor affecting participation would seem to be the number of children. Presumably the early age at first birth and the shorter pregnancy intervals, indicate that their children would be younger than those of older women and would therefore be unable to assist with maternal and domestic chores. However, among women in the middle years of the reproductive age span, there is a close similarity in the fertility levels of working and non-working mothers. Evidence from the United States suggests that the effects of the birth of a child on work life continuity appear to be diminishing (177). Further, that the probability of a virtually uninterrupted work life is only

minimally less after the fourth child than it is after the first. Data to substantiate this finding for Barbados are not at hand presently, however, it does raise important questions in respect of the so-called role incompatibility theory, since it suggests that, even with relatively large numbers of children, working women can and are capable of combining their mother and worker roles. Precisely which group of women, in terms of education, occupation and allied variables represents an important area requiring further investigation.

6. Aggregate occupational data indicate that Barbadian women continue to be heavily concentrated in the clerical, sales and service occupations, while males continue to dominate the professional, administrative, production and agricultural occupations. Unit data indicate important changes in the internal distribution of certain major occupational groups, but these do not affect the overall position which still suggests that the range of occupations accessible to Barbadian women continues to be limited. However, the general shift of women from agriculture into commercial and, to a lesser extent, professional occupations mirrors the shift of men from agriculture into professional and production occupations. These movements reflect fundamental changes in the structure of the economy which need to be examined extensively in order to determine to what extent women have achieved any real gains. In terms of hours worked and worker status male-female differentials are minimal.

7. Industrial data suggest that women, like men, are finding jobs in the fastest growing industries, which in the present case, are the service industries. Despite the fact that domestic service continues to dominate the female sector of the service industry, important increases are evident in community and business services. This trend can probably be expected to continue if the economy continues along its present path, however, additional data would be required to determine whether these changes constitute real improvements in the status of women.

The present analysis highlights two important obstructions in our attempts to elucidate the status of women in Barbados. One relates to the absence of data in the format required, the other to the wide range of areas for which no data are available at all. With regard to the latter, small scale sample surveys should be designed to provide information on the following:

1. Female-headed Households: in particular such households with children - study to find out the incidence, types of living arrangements, problems, economic and otherwise, role of non-resident partner, attitude to males.
2. Females Employed in the Private Sector: effects of education, social background, type of occupation, on participation. Perceptions of sex-role differentiation in society.
3. Females in the Informal Trading Sector: role in total trade sector, effect on family and household living arrangements, self-perceptions, attitude to males, aspirations.
4. Non-working Females: cost to the economy of non-participation of major proportion of women of working age, reasons for non-participation, alternative means of support.
5. Status Attainment of Males and Females: multivariate analysis to determine whether and to what extent the occupational status of women differs fundamentally from that of men.

Studies such as these will undoubtedly require a significant sociological input and the dearth of such material on Barbados is well known. However, there is a wealth of relevant and comparable material which provide useful insights. One recently published paper for example has presented an overview of the existing literature on the Caribbean family and attempts to elucidate the status of Caribbean women as depicted by the various interpretations of the family /237. More, directly, anthropological work focused on particular groups of women have provided information which seems to raise fundamental questions about the validity of some long cherished notions about the economic status of women in the region. Mintz' work on women in the internal marketing system in certain West African and English-speaking Caribbean countries suggests that "the idea that a woman conducts at least a major part of her economic life independently is deeply embedded and generally accepted by all" /33, p.266/ (emphasis mine). This has been substantiated by data from a recent detailed study of a village community in Barbados. The authors of that study have this to say:

"Villagers of both sexes put a special premium on personal autonomy and the capacity to act in their own interests. Both women and men are admonished to not let their attachment to the opposite sex turn them foolish! Viewed by both sexes as capable and independent, women control their own money, they own land and houses and they act independently as legal heads of large households." /46, p. 594/ (emphasis mine).

They continue

"in this community" "women's work - though often different from men's - takes place in both /domestic and public/ arenas. It is only at the elite-controlled national level that the public and domestic domains are sex-typed and the public sphere is predominantly male." /46, p.597/ (emphasis mine).

The inference seems clear. It is mainly through in-depth analyses of the community and culture context within which Barbadian women live and work that we can come to any real understanding of their status, economic and otherwise in the society.

TABLE 1 Population by Sex and Males per 1,000 Females,
1844 - 1970

Census Year	Total Population	Males	Females	Males per 1000 Females
1844	122,200	56,000	66,200	846
1851	135,900	62,300	73,700	845
1861	152,700	70,800	81,900	864
1871	162,000	73,500	88,600	829
1881	171,900	77,300	94,600	817
1891	182,900	81,700	101,200	807
1911	172,300	70,600	101,800	694
1921	156,800	63,400	93,400	679
1946	192,800	85,700	107,100	801
1960	232,300	105,500	126,800	832
1970	235,300	110,500	124,800	886

TABLE 2 Expectation of Life by Sex, 1921 - 1970

Period	Expectation of Life	
	Males	Females
1920-22	28.5	31.9
1945-47	49.2	52.9
1951-52	53.4	58.0
1959-61	62.7	67.4
1964-66	65.5	70.9
1969-70	65.9	70.9
Gain in years 1921-70	37.4	39.0

TABLE 1.1 Movements in the Total and Working Population,
1946-70

Census Date	Sex	Total Population all ages	Total Population 15-64	Working Population 15-64
1946	Male	86,300	50,600	46,560
	Female	107,380	66,090	38,500
	Total	193,680	116,690	85,060
1960	Male	105,730	57,130	48,270
	Female	127,090	71,450	33,130
	Total	232,820	128,580	81,400
1970	Male	110,470	59,830	48,290
	Female	124,760	68,990	31,480
	Total	235,230	128,820	79,770
Percent Change				
1946-60				
	Male	+22.5	+12.9	+ 3.7
	Female	+18.4	+ 8.1	-14.0
	Total	+20.2	+10.2	- 4.3
1960-70				
	Male	+ 4.5	+ 4.7	+ 0.1
	Female	- 1.8	- 3.4	- 5.0
	Total	- 1.0	- 0.2	- 2.0

TABLE 1.2 Working Population by Age and Sex, 1946, 1960
and 1970

Age Interval	1946		1960		1970	
	Male	Female	male	Female	Male	Female
15-	6,730	5,470	5,360	2,850	5,760	3,120
20-	6,740	5,120	7,030	4,620	8,750	5,620
25-	6,390	4,700	5,130	3,770	5,300	3,570
30-	6,160	4,470	5,110	3,780	4,530	3,270
35-	6,230	4,540	5,080	3,840	4,270	3,280
40-	5,440	4,190	5,050	3,720	4,110	3,120
45-	3,700	3,510	5,280	3,490	4,330	2,970
50-	2,570	2,870	4,700	3,050	4,170	2,660
55-	1,650	2,180	3,590	2,420	3,800	2,210
60-	950	1,450	1,940	1,590	3,270	1,650
Total	46,560	38,500	48,270	33,130	46,290	31,480

TABLE 1.3 Proportional Distribution of Male and Female
Workers, 1946, 1960 and 1970

Age Group	1946		1960		1970	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
15-	14.5	14.2	11.1	8.6	11.9	9.9
20-	14.5	13.3	14.5	13.9	18.1	17.9
25-	13.7	12.2	10.6	11.4	11.0	11.3
30-	13.2	11.6	10.6	11.4	9.4	10.4
35-	13.4	11.8	10.5	11.6	8.8	10.4
40-	11.7	10.9	10.5	11.2	8.5	9.9
45-	8.0	9.1	10.9	10.6	9.0	9.5
50-	5.5	7.5	9.7	9.2	8.6	8.4
55-	3.5	5.7	7.4	7.3	7.9	7.0
60	2.0	3.8	4.0	4.6	6.8	5.2
Index of Dissimilarity	6.9		4.2		4.8	

TABLE 1.4 Sex Ratios of the Work Force and the Total Population by Age Group, 1946-70

Age Group	Males per thousand Females					
	1946	Work Force		Total Population		
		1960	1970	1946	1960	1970
15-19	1,230	1,881	1,846	916	963	996
20-24	1,316	1,521	1,557	860	872	1,032
25-29	1,360	1,361	1,485	803	717	913
30-34	1,378	1,352	1,385	835	724	821
35-39	1,372	1,323	1,302	834	733	738
40-44	1,298	1,358	1,317	800	759	730
45-49	1,054	1,513	1,458	661	806	772
50-54	895	1,541	1,568	586	786	730
55-59	757	1,483	1,719	437	658	808
60-64	655	1,220	1,982	442	634	844
Total 15-64	1,209	1,456	1,574	766	798	870

NOTE: Rates are based on the relevant populations rounded to the nearest 10.

TABLE 1.5 Worker Rates by Age and Sex, 1946, 1960, 1970

Age Interval	1946		1960		1970	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
15-	76.9	57.3	51.5	26.5	44.9	24.2
20-	95.2	62.2	89.8	51.4	88.6	58.7
25-	98.5	58.2	95.4	50.3	92.7	56.9
30-	98.0	58.0	95.4	50.7	94.2	55.9
35-	97.5	59.3	95.5	52.9	94.7	56.4
40-	97.0	59.8	95.1	53.1	94.9	53.1
45-	95.7	58.6	94.7	53.1	95.2	50.6
50-	94.5	57.5	94.4	49.8	92.1	44.9
55-	79.1	56.3	80.5	46.5	85.0	39.2
60-	63.8	43.0	70.8	36.8	77.5	31.6
General Worker Rate, 15-64	92.0	58.3	84.5	46.4	80.7	45.6

FIGURE I.1: Age Specific Worker Rates of Females, 1946, 1960 and 1970

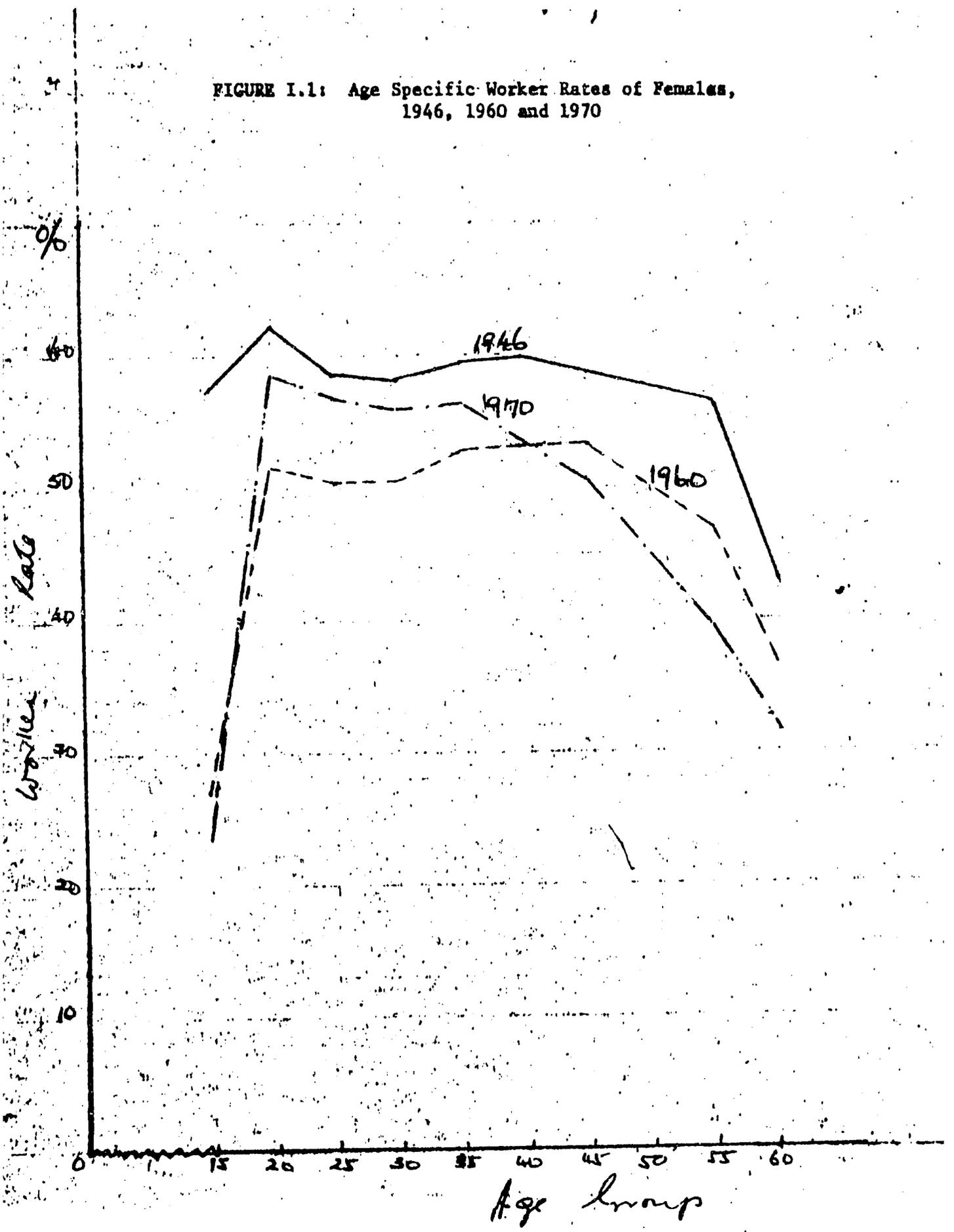


TABLE 1.6 Contribution (%) of each Age Group to Total Female Worker Participation, 1960 and 1970

Age Group	Contribution (%) to Total Worker Rate		
	1960	1970	% Inc. (+) or Dec. (-)
15-	5.6	5.1	- 6.9
20-	11.0	12.5	+13.7
25-	10.7	12.1	+12.8
30-	10.8	11.9	+ 9.9
35-	11.3	11.9	+ 6.0
40-	11.3	11.3	- 0.6
45-	11.3	10.7	- 5.1
50-	10.3	9.5	- 7.2
55-	9.9	8.3	-16.0
60-	7.0	6.7	-14.5

TABLE 1.7 Ratio of Female to Male Age Specific Worker Rates, 1946, 1960 and 1970

Age Group	Female to Male Worker Rates		
	1946	1960	1970
15-	0.75	0.51	0.54
20-	0.65	0.57	0.66
25-	0.59	0.53	0.61
30-	0.59	0.53	0.59
35-	0.61	0.55	0.60
40-	0.62	0.56	0.56
45-	0.61	0.56	0.53
50-	0.61	0.53	0.49
55-	0.71	0.58	0.46
60-	0.67	0.52	0.41
Total	0.63	0.55	0.57

TABLE 11.1 Proportional Distribution of Population in
Main Town, Special Areas and Rural Areas -
1946-1970

Area	1946	1960	1970
MAIN TOWN			
Bridgetown	6.81	4.93	3.77
SPECIAL AREAS			
St. Michael - Special Area	26.99*	13.48	15.69
Hastings/Worthing	1.87*	2.40	1.99
St. James Resort Area	-	8.41	0.27
SMALL TOWN			
Speightstown	1.10	1.04	1.09
TOTAL URBAN	36.77	22.26	22.81
TOTAL RURAL	63.22	77.74	77.19
TOTAL POPULATION	(192,580)	(232,327)	(235,229)

NOTE: *Area within 2 mile radius of Public Buildings in Bridgetown which included parts of St. Michael and Christ Church

TABLE 11.2 Male and Female Workers by Parish of Residence, 1960 and 1970

Parish of Residence	1960		1970		Percent Change 1960 - 1970	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Bridgetown	2,480	1,880	1,880	1,320	-24.1	-29.8
St. Michael	16,550	11,450	17,710	11,850	+ 7.0	+ 3.5
Christ Church	7,130	5,250	7,670	5,220	+ 7.6	- 0.7
St. George	3,640	2,310	3,420	1,990	- 6.0	-13.6
St. Philip	3,600	2,130	3,430	2,040	- 4.6	- 4.0
St. John	2,290	1,480	2,110	1,220	- 7.6	-17.9
St. James	2,950	1,960	2,790	1,730	- 5.4	-11.5
St. Thomas	2,190	1,560	2,200	1,360	+ 0.1	-12.9
St. Joseph	1,850	1,210	1,610	800	-13.0	-33.5
St. Andrew	1,540	1,010	1,400	770	- 9.1	-24.4
St. Peter	2,190	1,590	2,270	1,340	+ 3.8	-15.7
St. Lucy	1,810	1,260	1,800	1,030	- 0.5	-18.3
Total	48,200	33,100	48,290	30,680	+ 0.2	- 7.3

NOTE: Errors in Totals due to rounding

TABLE 11.3 General Worker Rates of Females Aged 15-64 by Parish of Residence, 1960 and 1970

Parish of Residence	Worker Rates		
	1960	1970	Percent Change
St. Michael	43.53	44.33	+ 1.84
Christ Church	49.87	49.46	- 0.81
St. George	45.90	42.39	- 7.64
St. Philip	43.11	42.73	- 0.87
St. John	47.62	41.54	-12.78
St. James	47.18	44.31	- 6.07
St. Thomas	54.99	48.45	-11.88
St. Joseph	50.10	39.31	-21.55
St. Andrew	50.45	41.68	-17.37
St. Peter	50.57	44.28	-12.43
St. Lucy	49.05	42.74	-12.86
Total	46.38	44.64	- 3.73

FIG II.1 Parish General Worker Rates, 1960 and 1970

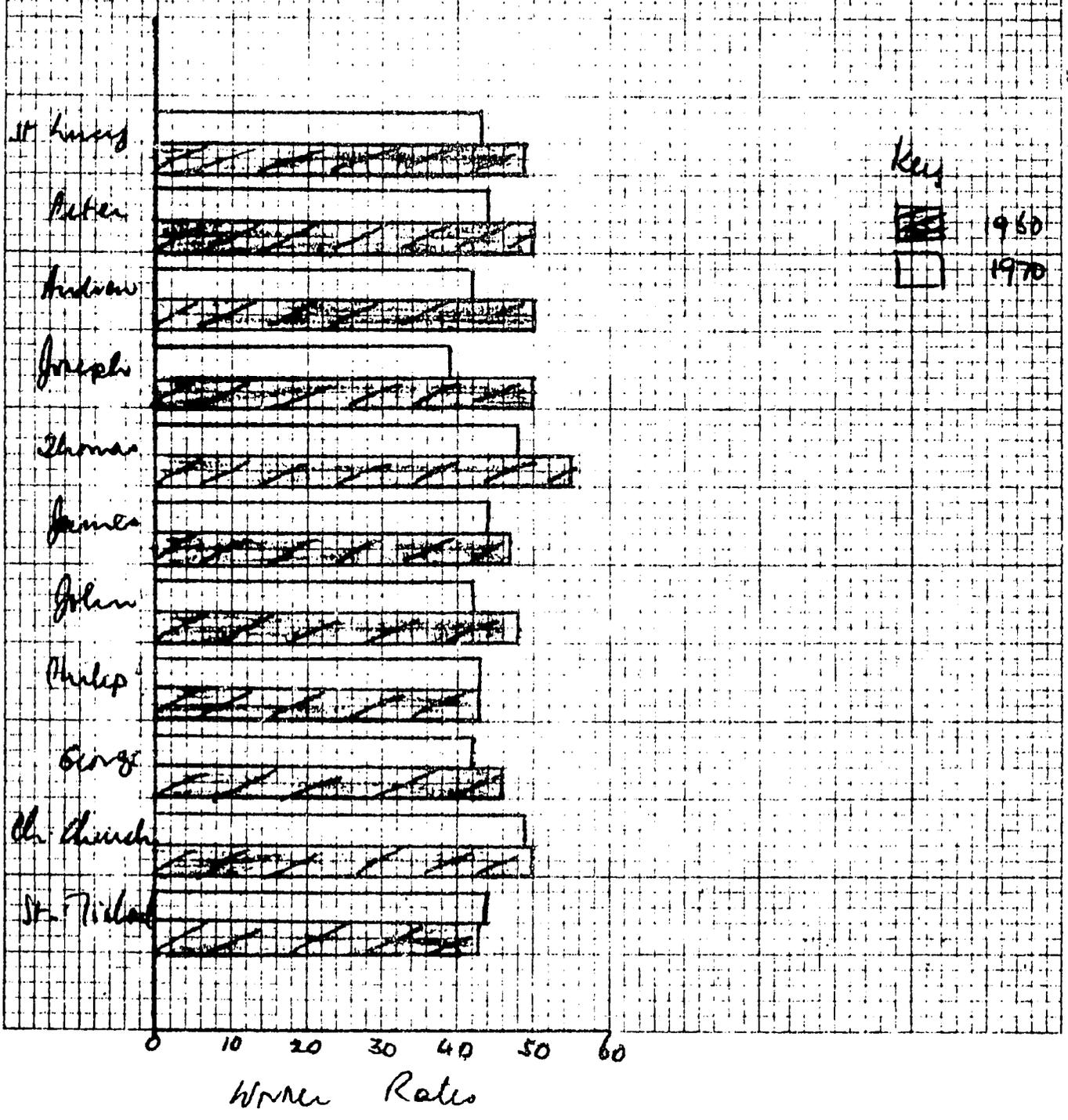


TABLE 11.4 Proportional Distribution of Working and Non-Working Women Aged 15-64 by Parish of Residence, 1960 and 1970

Parish of Residence	Working Women		Non Working Women	
	1960	1970	1960	1970
St. Michael	40.29	42.93	45.20	43.49
Christ Church	15.86	17.01	13.79	14.01
St. George	6.96	6.50	7.09	7.12
St. Philip	6.43	6.66	7.35	7.20
St. John	4.48	3.97	4.26	4.50
St. James	5.90	5.64	5.71	5.71
St. Thomas	4.72	4.44	3.34	3.81
St. Joseph	3.66	2.62	3.15	3.26
St. Andrew	3.06	2.50	2.60	2.82
St. Peter	4.81	4.37	4.07	4.43
St. Lucy	3.82	3.37	3.44	3.64
Total	(33,133)	(30,684)	(38,311)	(38,045)

Figure II.2 Age specific worker rates of
Urban, Rural parishes, 1970

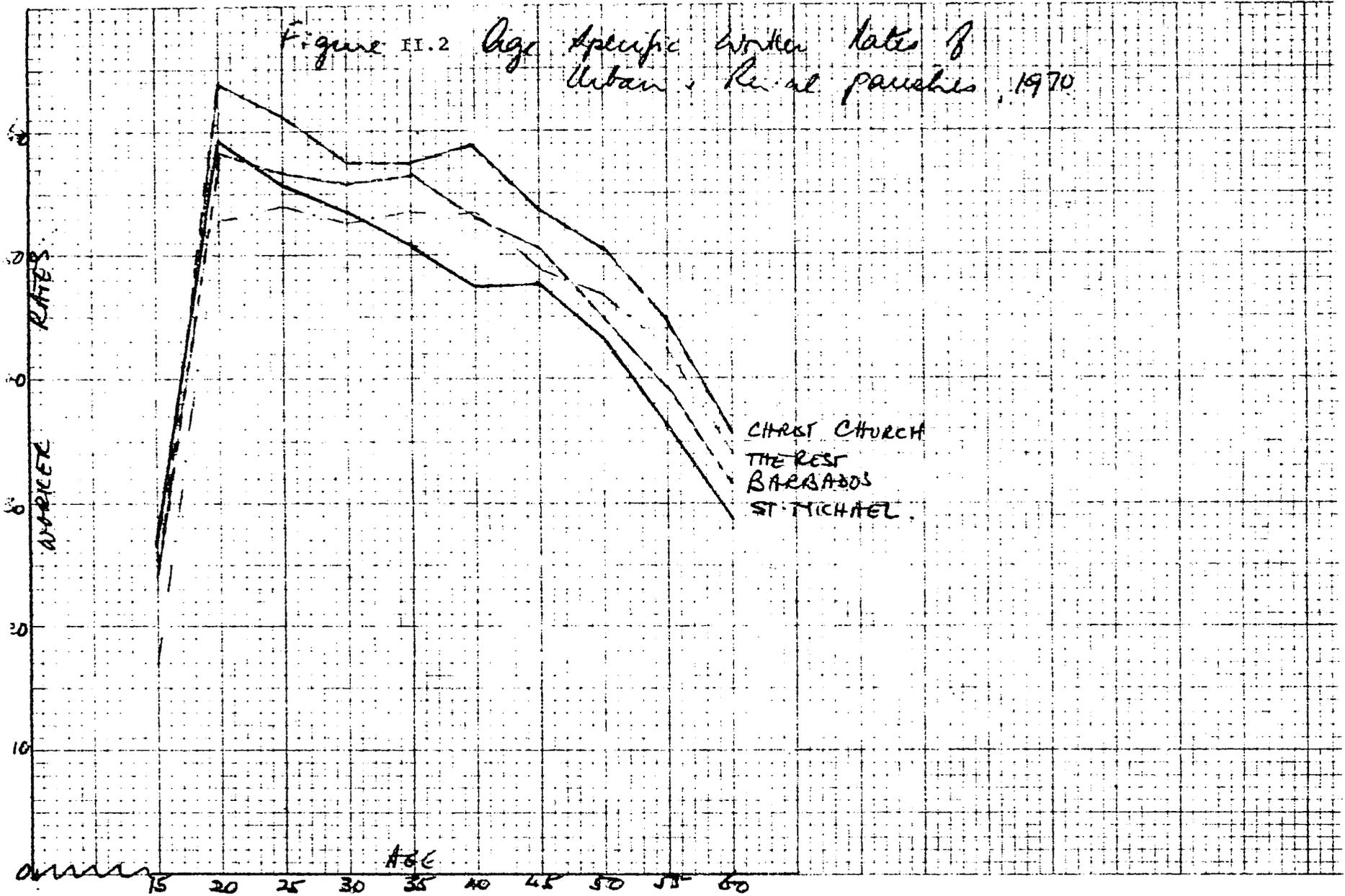


TABLE 11.5 General Worker Rates of Males and Females engaged in Agricultural and Non-Agricultural Activities, by parish , 1960 and 1970

Parish of Residence	Agricultural Activities				Non-Agricultural Activities			
	1960		1970		1960		1970	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
St. Michael	5.62	2.45	4.04	1.44	76.23	41.02	75.12	42.89
Christ Church	17.27	9.63	11.34	5.53	68.25	40.22	71.98	43.94
St. George	28.57	21.20	17.95	11.83	58.78	24.70	63.86	30.57
St. Philip	36.87	21.94	22.20	10.91	48.87	21.15	57.30	31.82
St. John	39.62	23.48	23.15	12.01	44.67	24.15	56.10	29.52
St. James	24.27	14.31	13.34	5.79	62.30	32.87	68.20	38.53
St. Thomas	36.19	28.00	22.39	15.18	53.68	26.95	61.91	33.27
St. Joseph	37.01	21.73	24.68	12.58	49.35	28.17	58.00	26.73
St. Andrew	42.23	30.70	21.32	15.60	43.68	19.75	58.68	26.09
St. Peter	33.33	22.46	19.79	11.30	51.14	27.98	62.45	32.98
St. Lucy	38.22	26.71	23.89	15.34	47.93	22.26	56.98	27.41
TOTAL	20.10	12.01	12.27	6.30	64.25	34.32	68.45	38.34

15.

TABLE 11.6

Proportion of Females aged 15-64 engaged in
Agricultural and Non-Agricultural Activities,
by Parish of Residence, 1960 and 1970

Parish of Residence	Proportion (%) of Female Workers			
	1960		1970	
	Agricul- tural	Non-Agri- cultural	Agricul- tural	Non-Agri- cultural
St. Michael	36.5	41.5	30.0	40.7
Christ Church	41.3	42.7	35.8	41.2
St. George	47.2	33.6	42.5	35.0
St. Philip	41.2	33.8	35.3	38.1
St. John	40.5	32.3	36.3	36.7
St. James	41.8	39.1	33.1	39.2
St. Thomas	47.2	36.8	42.3	36.7
St. Joseph	39.9	35.2	34.9	32.6
St. Andrew	45.0	33.7	43.6	42.8
St. Peter	45.1	40.0	38.5	36.7
St. Lucy	46.2	26.4	41.1	34.3
TOTAL	42.8	36.1	37.2	39.1

TABLE III.1 Proportional (%) Distribution of Female Workers by Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 1960 and 1970

Educational Attainment	Female Workers	
	1960	1970
None/Infant	2.0	0.6
Primary		
1-4 years	30.5	8.1
5+ years	53.6	21.8
Total	84.1	29.9
Secondary		
No Certificate	7.9	56.9
Certificate	5.7	10.8
Total	13.6	67.7
University	0.3	1.8
TOTAL	(34,303)	(32,054)

TABLE III.2 General Worker Rates of the Female Population aged 15 years and over by Educational Attainment; 1960 and 1970

Educational Attainment	Worker Rates	
	1960	1970
None/Infant	42.5	29.7
Primary		
1-4 years	45.6	N.A.
5+ years	42.1	N.A.
Total	43.3	43.6
Secondary		
No Certificate	29.3	35.7
Certificate	59.6	67.1
Total	37.3	38.5
University	47.6	64.7
TOTAL	42.4	39.7

TABLE III.3 Proportional (%) Distribution of Female Working Population by Occupation and Educational Attainment, 1960 and 1970

Major Occupational Group	Educational Attainment					
	None/ Infant	Primary		Secondary		Degree/Diploma
		1-4 years	5+ years	HSC	SC	
<u>1960</u>						
Professional & Technical	-	0.30	2.59	14.71	55.75	79.78
Administrative & Managerial	0.74	2.15	3.50	3.17	1.83	5.62
Clerical	0.29	0.09	1.84	33.54	33.98	11.24
Sales	13.40	27.75	16.96	21.01	3.87	1.12
Transport & Communication	0.15	0.36	0.83	1.29	0.86	-
Service	13.99	47.57	38.20	11.98	1.83	1.12
Farmers etc.	69.07	4.41	19.18	1.70	0.25	-
Production & Related	2.21	0.11	16.82	12.27	1.02	1.12
Other	0.15	17.26	0.08	0.33	0.56	-
Total	(679)	(10,458)	(18,398)	(2,713)	(1,966)	(89)
<u>1970</u>						
Professional & Technical	0.49	0.62	3.40	4.37	40.10	66.61
Administrative & Managerial	-	-	0.25	0.24	1.13	3.52
Clerical	1.47	9.54	4.81	10.30	50.39	23.45
Sales	11.27	14.90	16.79	14.60	2.57	1.07
Transport & Communication	-	0.12	0.27	0.25	0.69	-
Service	15.20	31.18	39.39	36.71	1.39	2.31
Farmers etc.	60.29	42.73	19.41	11.43	1.36	-
Production & Related	2.45	3.23	11.01	17.26	1.47	0.89
Other	8.82	6.70	4.71	4.84	0.84	2.66
Total	(204)	(2,598)	(7,000)	(18,230)	(3,459)	(563)

TABLE IV.1 Proportional (%) Distribution of Female Population aged 15-44 by Union Status and Age, 1960 and 1970

Year Union Status	A G E						All Women
	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	
<u>1960</u>							
Married	1.4	13.7	31.4	40.4	43.0	44.4	27.3
Common Law	3.5	13.6	18.3	18.0	16.4	13.9	13.6
Visiting	5.4	10.8	5.9	4.2	2.1	0.7	5.8
Single	0.5	3.5	7.4	10.7	13.9	17.1	8.0
None	86.2	58.4	37.0	26.8	24.6	23.9	44.9
Total	(10,769)	(8,921)	(7,437)	(7,394)	(6,939)	(7,147)	(48,667)
<u>1970</u>							
Married	1.4	11.8	32.7	45.1	50.4	52.4	23.4
Common Law	5.3	15.8	22.0	20.5	17.9	15.2	14.9
Visiting	9.5	8.8	5.2	2.7	1.9	0.8	3.9
Single	0.9	3.6	6.1	9.1	10.3	14.2	9.2
None	83.0	60.0	33.9	22.5	19.5	17.4	48.7
Total	(7,864)	(9,339)	(6,173)	(5,801)	(5,741)	(6,141)	(41,059)

TABLE IV.2 Proportional (%) Distribution of Women Workers by Union Status, 1960 and 1970

Union Status	Women Workers			
	Aged 15-44		Aged 45-64	
	1960	1970	1960	1970
Married	13.5	23.4	34.4	41.2
Common Law	12.9	14.5	10.2	10.3
Visiting	5.4	3.9	0.1	0.1
Single	11.1	9.2	20.3	22.2
Never	52.0	48.7	35.1	26.2
Total	(22,245)	(21,389)	(10,321)	(10,653)

TABLE IV.3 General Worker Rates by Union Status, 1960 and 1970

Union Status	General Worker Rates of Females			
	Aged 15-44		Aged 45-64	
	1960	1970	1960	1970
Married	32.10	41.37	34.20	25.23
Common Law	44.87	48.95	53.67	40.60
Visiting	42.56	36.95	-	-
Single	63.90	70.17	56.96	33.20
Never	51.05	57.99	60.36	37.50
Total	45.76	51.43	46.88	30.71

NOTE: - denotes numbers too small to calculate a rate

FIGURE IV. I: Proportion of women who are mothers, by main activities, 1970

90
% Mothers
Women

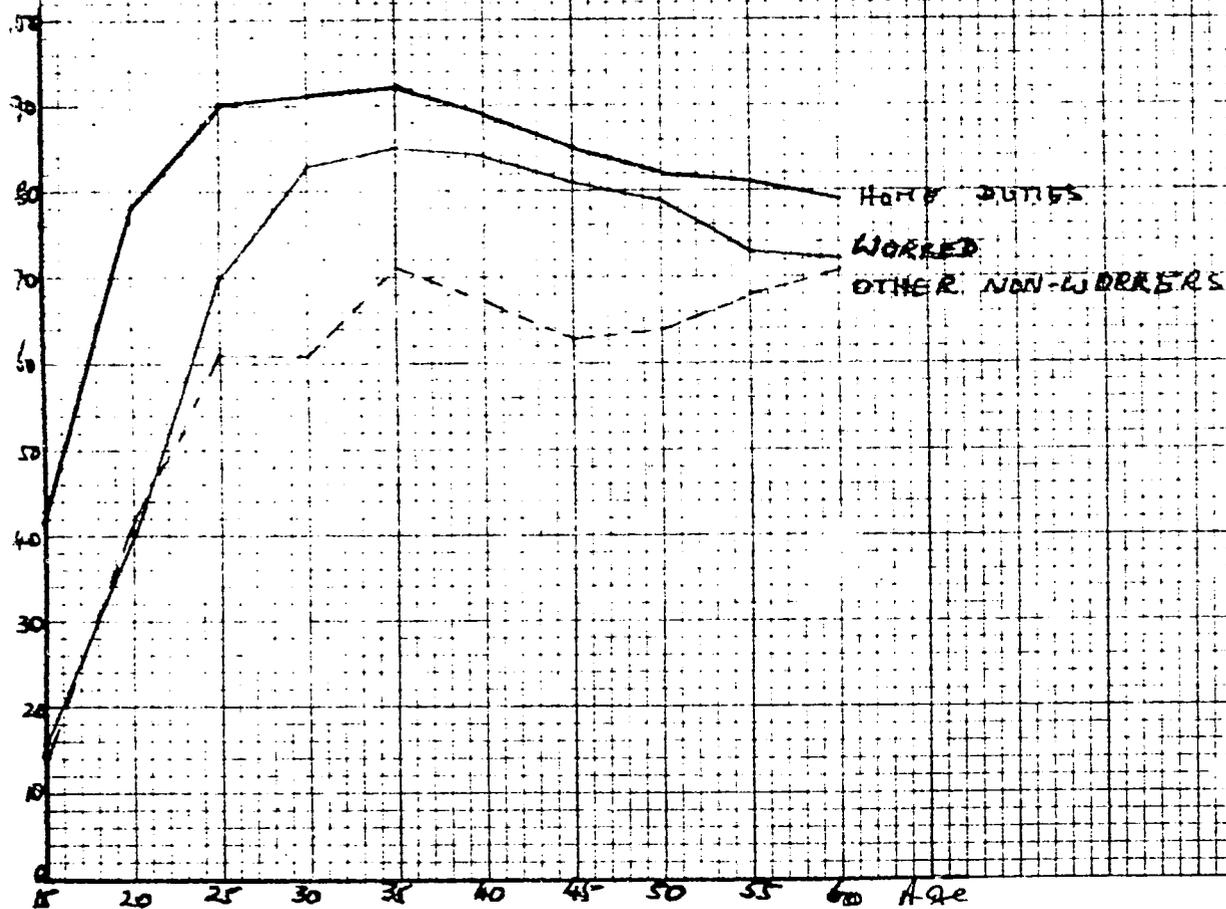
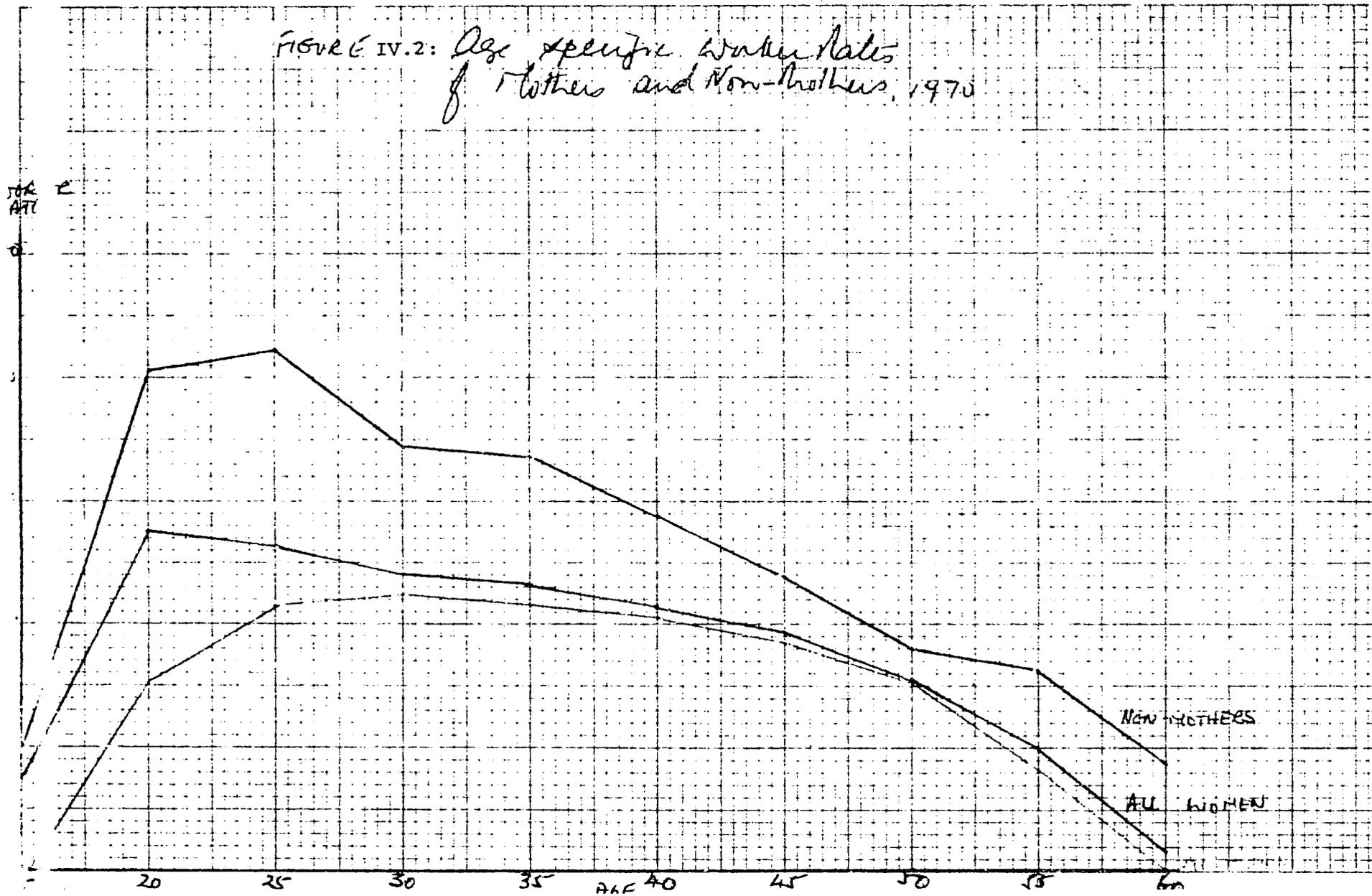
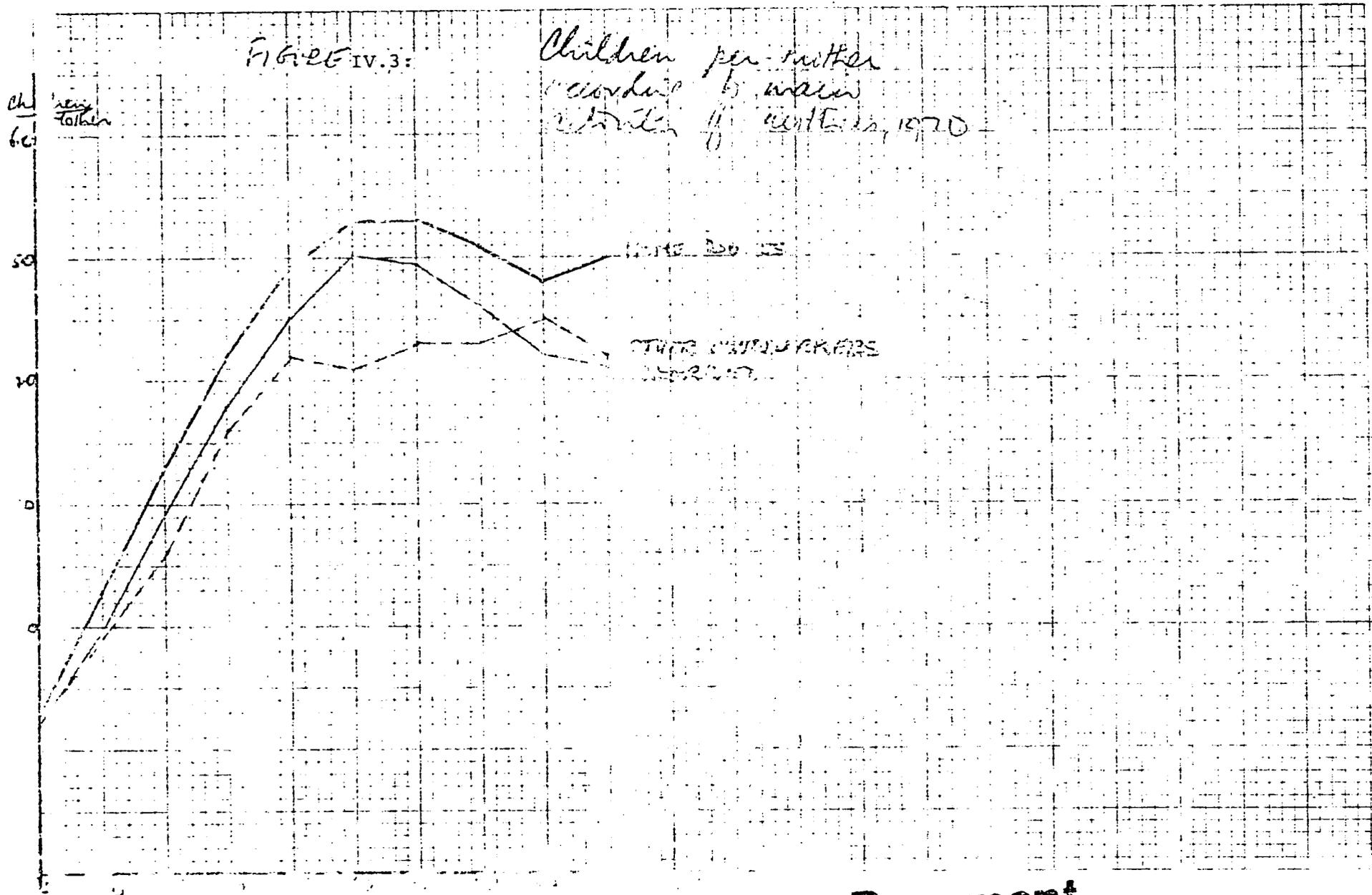


FIGURE IV.2: Age specific Worker Rates
of Mothers and Non-Mothers, 1970





ch

FIGURE IV.4: Children per woman according to main activity of women, 1970

Children
/ woman

50
40
30
20
10
0

15 20 25 30 35 40 45 50 55 60 110E

HOME DUTIES

WORKED
OTHER NON-WORKERS

43

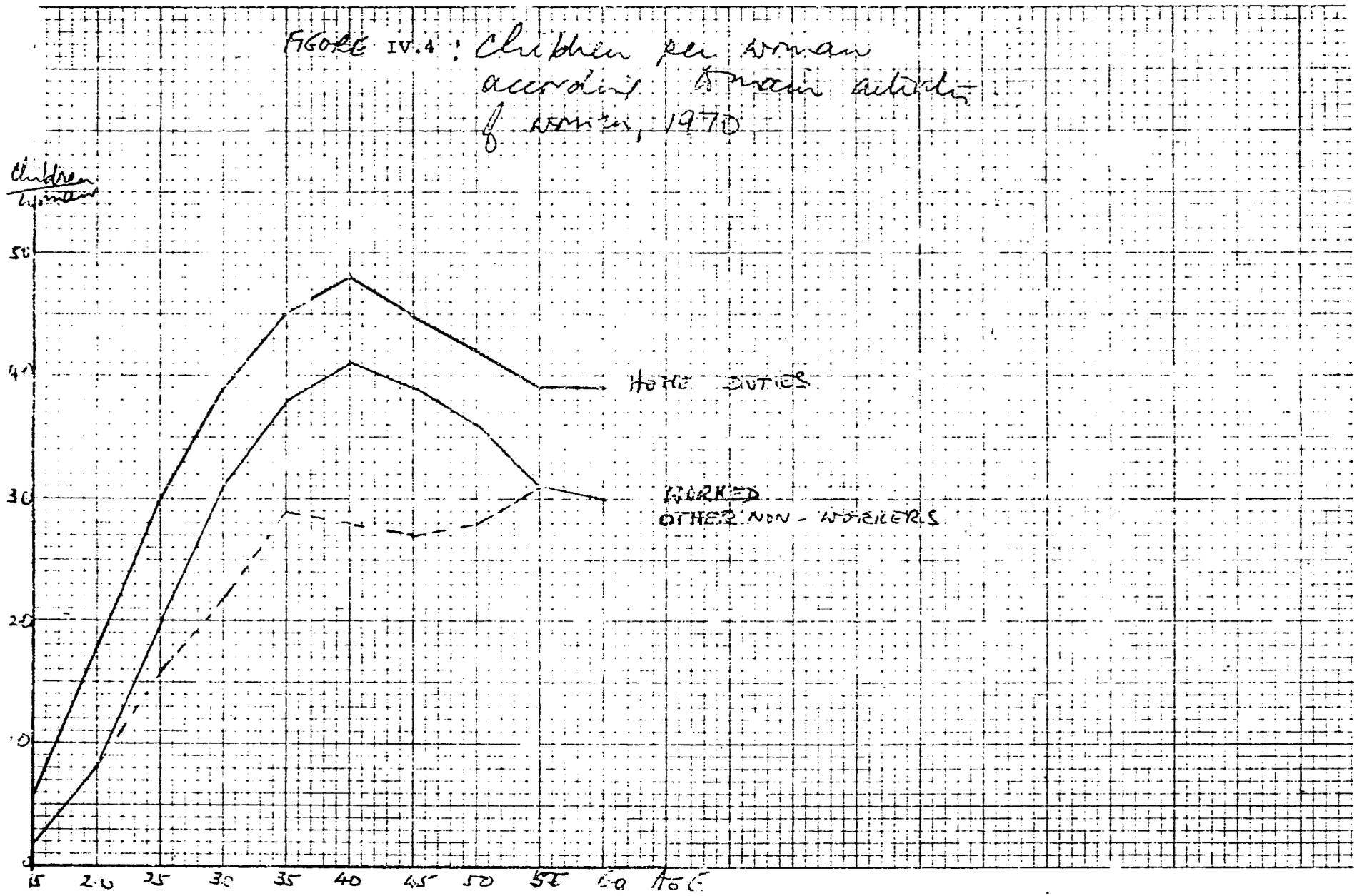


TABLE IV.4 Age Specific Worker Rates by Number of Children Ever Born per Woman Worker, 1970

Age	Number of Children					All Women with Children
	0	1	2-3	4-5	6+	
15-	30.57	29.61	23.86	-	-	28.07
20-	70.48	50.62	43.57	33.08	27.12	45.05
25-	72.20	58.69	53.73	45.12	42.70	51.51
30-	64.49	61.41	52.81	52.04	46.90	52.32
35-	63.64	62.54	52.62	51.60	47.43	51.68
40-	58.94	57.09	51.75	48.93	43.73	50.45
45-	53.77	56.20	50.09	46.19	45.60	48.30
50-	43.03	51.05	47.33	41.73	42.65	45.10
55-	46.25	46.10	41.62	35.37	32.47	38.10
60-	33.84	37.35	31.47	30.51	24.49	30.20
Total	52.96	49.44	47.65	44.68	42.19	45.76

TABLE IV.5 Female Workers aged 45-64 in 1970 by Mean Age at First and Last Birth

Year of Birth	Mean Age at First Birth	Mean Age at Last Birth	Interval spent in Childbearing
1925-30	20.2	33.7	13.5
1920-25	20.4	33.6	13.2
1915-20	21.2	33.2	12.1
1910-15	21.3	33.3	12.0
All Women aged 45-64	20.7	33.5	12.7

FIGURE IV.5 : Age specific worker ratios
of males & females by pentads, 1970

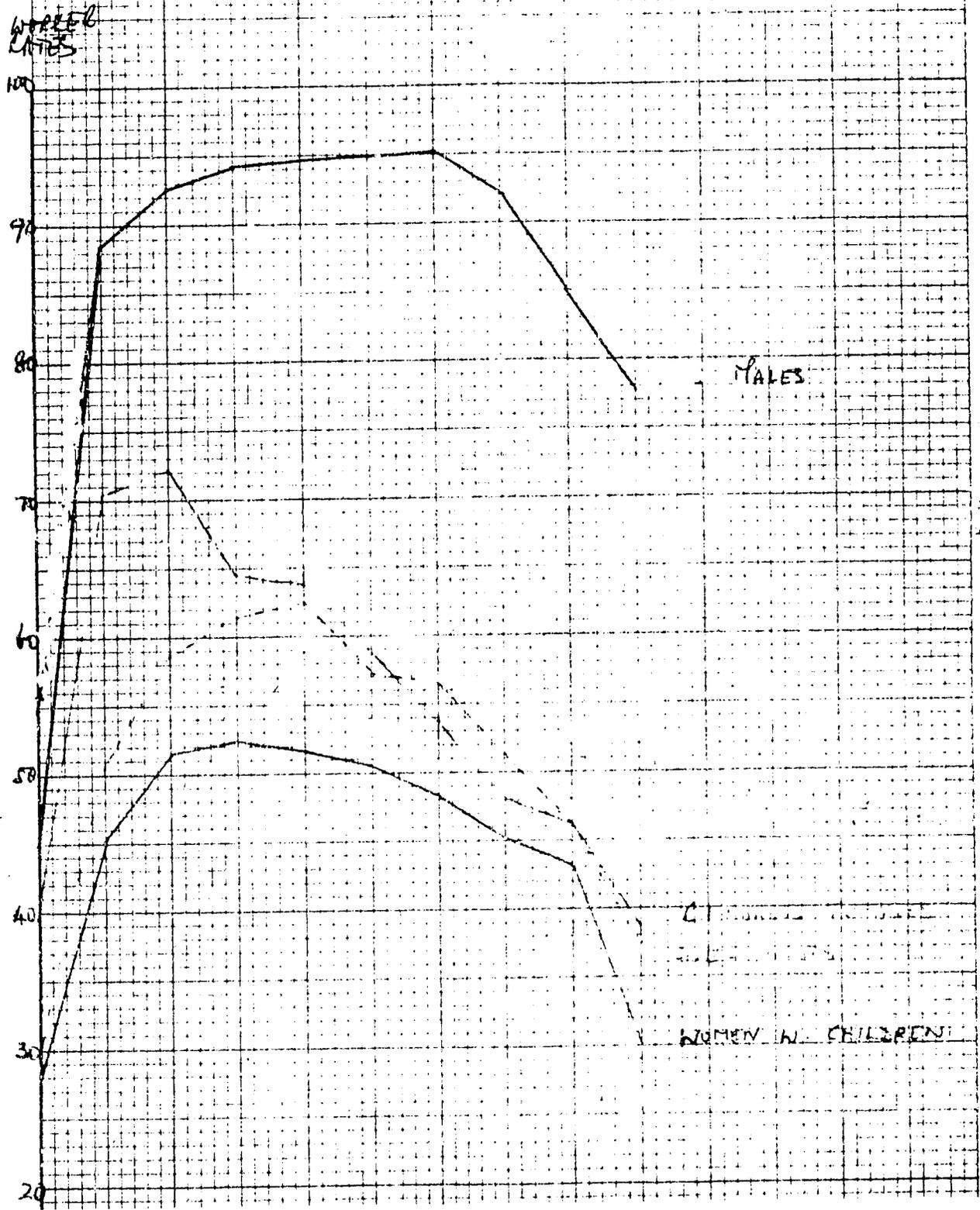


TABLE V.1 Working Population by Major Occupational Group, 1891 - 1970

Year	Professional and Technical	Administrative and Executive	Clerical and Sales	Agricultural Workers	Transport and Communication	Production and Related Workers	Service Workers	N.E.C. and N.S.	TOTAL*
BOTH SEXES									
1891	1,130	-	6,090	45,000	2,420	27,710	20,760	1,540	104,450
1911	1,220	-	9,310	37,690	2,620	27,180	21,580	710	100,310
1921	1,240	-	10,320	34,150	2,790	23,700	20,350	1,810	94,360
1946 ⁺	2,520	410	11,630	26,710	3,590	23,190	17,980	5,340	91,370
1960	4,320	2,670	12,100	21,380	7,740	21,330	15,310	190	85,040
1970	7,770	1,150	15,090	13,020	1,190	23,490	16,090	6,180	83,980
MALE									
1891	600	-	2,340	20,270	2,420	13,200	5,780	340	44,960
1911	580	-	2,640	15,510	2,600	12,130	4,710	270	38,450
1921	630	-	2,720	13,690	2,740	11,650	4,030	940	36,400
1946 ⁺	1,320	280	4,280	15,320	3,550	16,130	4,250	4,640	49,730
1960	2,210	1,640	4,360	12,220	7,490	17,360	4,750	140	50,170
1970	4,700	1,030	6,260	8,250	1,100	19,390	5,620	4,710	51,060
FEMALE									
1891	530	-	3,750	24,730	-	14,510	14,980	1,000	59,500
1911	640	-	6,670	22,180	20	15,050	16,870	440	61,370
1921	610	-	7,600	20,460	50	12,050	16,320	870	57,960
1946 ⁺	1,200	130	7,350	11,390	40	7,060	13,730	700	41,590
1960	2,110	1,030	7,740	9,160	250	3,970	10,560	50	34,880
1970	3,070	120	8,830	4,770	90	4,100	10,470	1,470	32,920

NOTE: *Discrepancies in totals are due to rounding

⁺Data for 1946 refer to the Gainfully Occupied Population which exceeds the Working Population by 290 (Males) and 330 (Females)

Figure 2.1. Age Specific Women Rates of Juveniles
by Specific Occupation Groups,
1946, 1960, and 1970

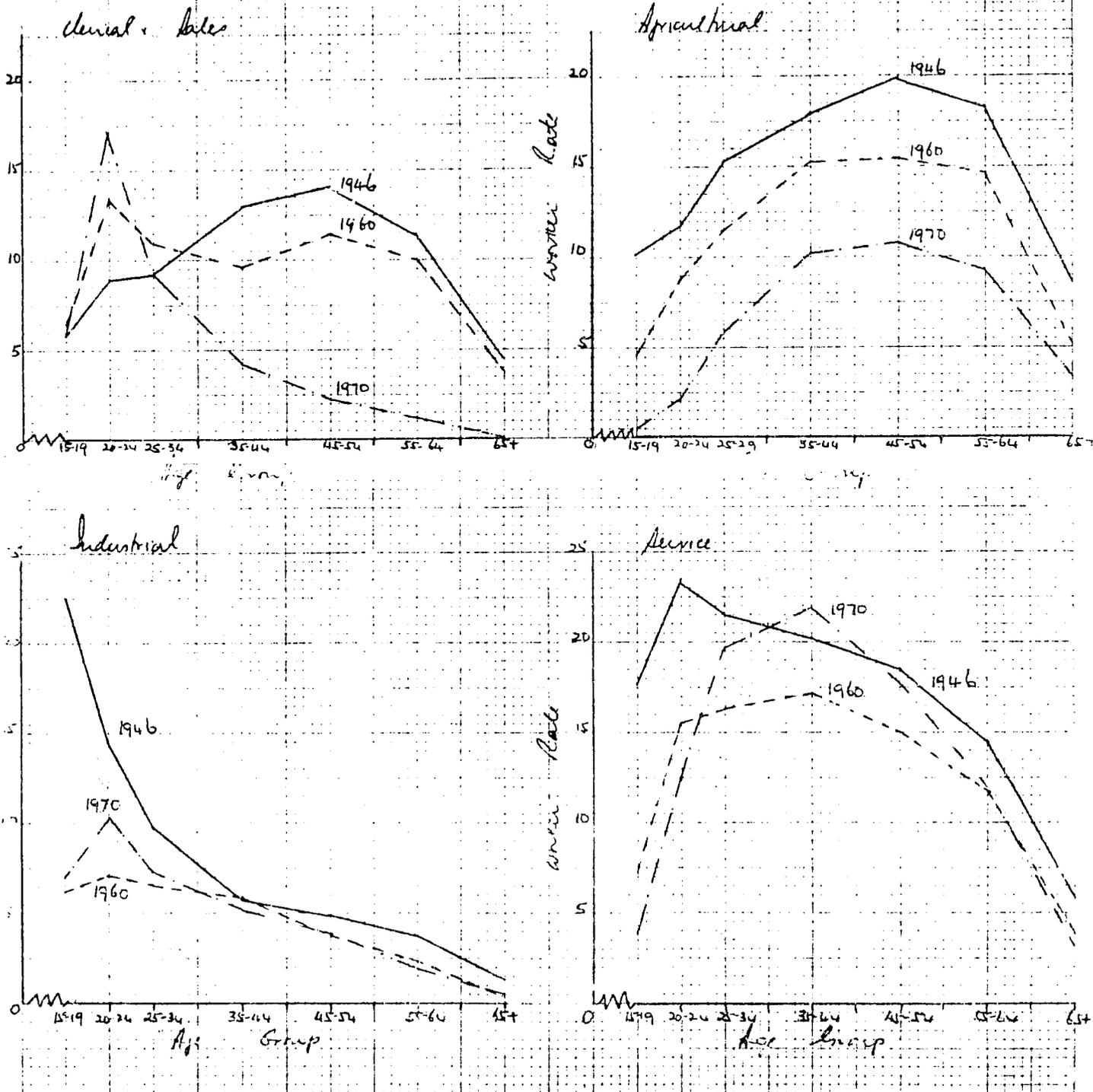


TABLE V.2 Sex Ratios of Working Population by Major Occupational Group, 1891-1970

Year	Professional and Technical	Administrative and Executive	Clerical and Sales	Agricultural Workers	Transport and Communication	Production and Related Workers	Service Workers	N.E.C. and N.S.	TOTAL
Males per 1000 Females									
1891	1,132	-	624	320	-	910	386	340	756
1911	906	-	396	699	N.A.	806	279	614	622
1921	1,033	-	358	669	N.A.	967	247	1,081	628
1946	1,100	2,154	582	1,345	N.A.	2,285	310	6,629	1,197
1960	1,047	1,592	563	1,334	N.A.	4,373	450	2,800	1,438
1970	1,531		709	1,730	N.A.	4,729	537	3,204	1,551
Percent (%) Women Workers									
1891	46.9	-	61.6	55.0	-	52.4	72.2	74.6	57.0
1911	52.5	-	71.6	58.9	1.0	55.4	78.2	62.0	61.7
1921	49.2	-	73.6	59.9	1.8	50.8	80.2	48.1	61.4
1946	47.6	31.7	63.2	42.6	1.1	30.4	76.4	13.1	45.5
1960	48.6	38.6	64.0	42.8	3.0	18.6	69.0	26.3	41.0
1970	59.5	10.4	58.5	36.6	7.6	17.5	65.1	25.8	39.2

NOTE: The following explanations apply to the symbols used:

- No entries in these cells

N.A. Numbers too small to warrant calculations

99.

TABLE V.3 Indices of Dissimilarity between
the Occupational Composition of
the Sexes, 1946, 1960 and 1970

Type of Residence	Census Year		
	1946	1960	1970
Urban	41.9	43.6	36.8
Rural	25.5	33.1	34.6
Total	34.6	37.9	36.1

NOTE: Urban refers to St. Michael and Christ Church

Rural refers to all other parishes

TABLE VI.1 Proportional (%) Distribution of Female Workers
by Employment Status, 1946, 1960 and 1970

Employment Status	1946	1960	1970
Paid Employees	68.2	76.8	(91.1)
Government	-	-	15.1
Non-Government	-	-	76.0
Own Account Workers	-	-	(8.2)
With paid help	0.3	0.4	0.9
Without paid help	26.9	20.5	7.3
Unpaid Workers	0.6	1.0	0.7
Learners	4.1	1.3	-
Total	(39,113)	(34,864)	(32,871)

TABLE VI.2 Sex Ratios of the Working Population by Age
and Employment Status, 1970

Age Group	Sex Ratios		
	Government Employee	Non-Government Employee	Own/Account Worker
15-	1,245	1,964	1,250
20-	1,445	1,609	1,616
25-	1,554	1,483	1,362
30-	1,787	1,321	1,987
35-	1,832	1,216	1,294
40-	1,937	1,216	1,422
45-	2,545	1,296	1,355
50-	2,796	1,411	1,515
55-	3,500	1,633	1,378
60-	3,436	1,893	1,874
Total	1,897	1,492	1,366

TABLE VI.3 Age Specific Worker Rates of Males and Females
by Employment Status, 1970

Age Group	Age Specific Worker Rates					
	Government Employees		Non-Government Employees		Own Account Workers	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
15-	4.56	3.65	36.61	18.57	0.31	0.25
20-	16.59	11.85	68.33	43.86	1.62	1.03
25-	17.26	10.13	70.52	43.38	3.02	2.03
30-	19.36	8.91	67.67	42.14	6.24	2.58
35-	20.55	8.69	62.26	39.67	6.63	3.97
40-	22.59	8.56	66.91	40.37	9.26	4.78
45-	22.37	6.79	57.28	34.14	9.14	5.21
50-	22.34	6.10	62.63	33.91	12.34	6.22
55-	17.85	4.03	57.36	27.74	11.75	6.73
60-	8.26	1.94	52.60	22.36	12.76	5.48
Total	15.41	7.05	57.93	33.66	5.70	3.62

FIGURE VII.1: Hours worked by Male & Female workers in week preceding the census, 1970

HOURS
WEEK

15-19

20-24

25-29

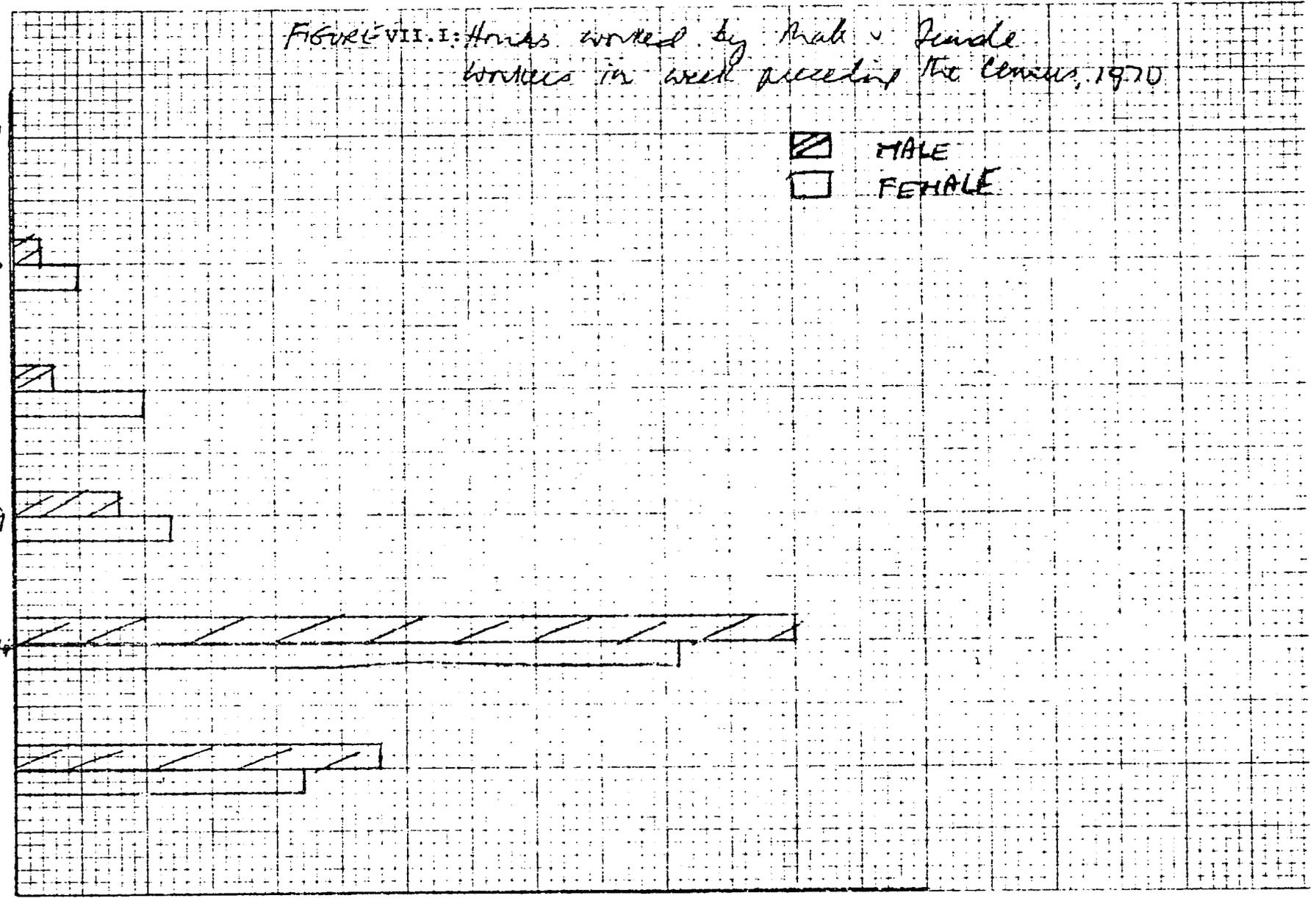
30-34

35-39

40-44

45+

MALE
FEMALE



Percent of workers

8.61

TABLE VIII.1 Proportional (%) Distribution of the Working Population by Sex and Major Industrial Group, 1946, 1960 and 1970

Industrial Group	1946		1960		1970	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Agriculture	31.2	27.4	26.4	26.5	17.6	16.1
Mining/ Quarrying	0.8	0.0	0.9	0.2	0.6	0.1
Manufacturing	21.4	17.8	17.9	11.5	16.1	14.1
Construction	15.4	0.8	17.4	0.7	21.3	0.9
Electricity	0.7	0.0	1.5	0.1	2.1	0.3
Commerce	10.8	17.1	13.9	22.2	12.4	19.2
Transport	6.3	0.2	8.2	0.8	8.3	1.8
Services	13.5	36.6	13.8	38.0	21.7	47.6
Total	(49,776)	(41,593)	(50,166)	(34,877)	(51,057)	(32,924)

TABLE VIII.2 Proportion of Workers in Each Industrial Group who are Female, 1946, 1960 and 1970

Industrial Group	Percent Female		
	1946	1960	1970
Agriculture	42.3	41.1	37.1
Non-Agriculture			
Total	46.9	41.0	39.6
Manufacturing	41.0	30.8	36.1
Construction	4.1	2.8	2.7
Commerce	57.0	52.7	50.0
Transport	2.9	6.4	12.2
Services	69.5	65.7	58.6
Other	3.9	8.3	8.4

NOTE: 'Other' includes (i) Mining & Quarrying
(ii) Electricity, Gas, Water & Sanitation

TABLE VIII.3 Proportional (%) Distribution of Female Workers In Non-Agricultural Activities
1946, 1960 and 1970

Non-Agricultural Activities	Female Workers		
	1946	1960	1970
Mining	0.1	0.3	0.1
Manufacturing	24.5	15.6	16.8
Construction	1.1	1.0	1.1
Electricity/Gas, etc.	0.1	0.1	0.4
Commerce	23.5	30.2	22.9
Transport	3.2	1.1	2.1
Services	50.5	51.7	56.7
Total	(30,182)	(25,650)	(27,640)

TABLE VIII.4 Service Industry of the Labour Force -
proportional distribution of Females
and proportion who are Female, 1946 and
1960

Service Industry	Proportional (%) Distribution of all Females in Services		Percent of Service Workers who are Female	
	1946	1960	1946	1960
Government	2.3	3.0	12.1	18.0
Community) 9.8	20.6) 57.4	61.1
Business				
Recreation	0.4	1.3	19.3	27.8
Domestic	78.9	60.2	84.4	80.3
Hotels/Restaurants	2.5	9.1	54.4	62.8
Personal	6.1	5.1	65.6	52.8
Total	(15,212)	(13,293)	69.6	65.8

NOTE: Comparable data for 1970 are unavailable.

FOOTNOTES

¹The data which form the basis of the paper are contained in the published census reports. At several points in the analysis, a discussion in terms of age groups, or of critical age intervals (e.g. 20-34) would have been valuable, but the data were not available. Some of these are mentioned in footnotes, but it may be as well to list here those tabulations which could have been of particular value:

Female working population by

- educational attainment, occupation and age
- union status and age
- income, occupation and age
- children ever born, occupation and age
- relationship to head of household, union status and age
- occupation and industry.

Data from such tabulations would have permitted the derivation of worker participation rates which, in turn, would have permitted finer analysis of certain sections in the paper.

²Extensive discussions of the implications of emigration as an agent of population containment are to be found in /27, 39/.

³For detailed analysis of projections of the Barbados population to the year 1985 see /28/.

⁴The exclusion of the population under age 20 yields similar trends. The female work force (aged 20-64) declines by 8.3% from 33,000 in 1946 to 30,300 in 1960 and by 6.5% to 28,400 in 1970. The corresponding general worker rates move from 53.5, to 49.9 and 50.1 respectively.

⁵The total worker rate is calculated from the formula

$$\frac{\sum_i \{w_x\}}{\sum_i (n)}$$

where i = interval

w_x = age specific worker rate

n = number of age groups.

For an application of this procedure to another Caribbean population see /22/.

⁶Detailed discussion of these classification problems in respect of Barbados are to be found in /29, ch. 4/.

⁷For a discussion of these and other points related to the interpretation of trends in educational attainment see /29, ch. 5/.

⁸ The data required to test the validity of this apparent trend are not currently available in the required format.

⁹ Comparable data are not available for 1970, however, it is arguable that the rate for all women with a primary education would be fairly close to that for women with over five years schooling. Thus the difference of 10 percentage points between all primary and non-certificated secondary is also fairly close to that to be expected between 5+ primary and non-certificated. The argument therefore holds for 1970.

¹⁰ For an economist's view of suitable employment strategies for the region see /9, ch. 4/.

¹¹ Similar conclusions are reported in respect of the U.S.A. /34, 35/; Thailand /19/. However, reference should be made to a critique of these conclusions in /43/.

¹² Comprehensive overviews of the literature are to be found in /5, 18/.

¹³ The word traditional is to be interpreted in its general sense rather than as being specific to Barbados. An examination of female participation curves for different countries of the world depicted in /47/ indicates the extent to which the bi-modal type curve has been traditionally regarded.

¹⁴ For example, in Bulgaria a working mother, following obligatory paid leave, may take further leave for between eight and twelve months at a minimum basic wage and still further unpaid leave with employment rights protected until the child is three years old; in Austria, within the framework of unemployment insurance, a working mother is granted one year of paid maternity leave following child birth; in Sweden, cash maternity benefits have been renamed 'parents' benefits' and are now payable to either parent; in France paid leave of three days is granted to a father whose wife has been in confinement. For these and other examples see ILO /25/.

¹⁵ Similar findings have been reported for some Eastern European countries in /17/.

¹⁶ According to Section VI, over 90% of working women are employed in either the public or private sector, it is assumed therefore that 'work', in the present paper generally refers to wage-earning employment outside of the home.

¹⁷ At the same time the importance of the availability of maternity leave and associated benefits and of day nursery facilities cannot be overlooked.

¹⁸ A similar exercise has been attempted in a recent study on Jamaica in which the intervals are assessed in terms of age at menarche and age at menopause. Findings from the Jamaica study closely resemble the findings documented here for Barbados.

19 It should be borne in mind that a precise definition of the category dressmakers is extremely difficult to obtain satisfactorily in the Caribbean census undertakings.

20 At the time of writing, the possibility of revising this stipulation was being considered in legislation before the House of Assembly.

21 The discussion here proceeds in terms of the labour force since detailed listings of the major industrial categories are not available for the working force.

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