POST WAR PLANNING

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PROGRAM FOR THE WOMEN IN INDUSTRY SERVICE FOR THE YEAR BEGINNING JULY 1, 1919.

(Memorandum to accompany estimate of expenses for that period)

September 23, 1918.

To the Secretary of Labor:

The increase in the appropriation requested for this Service is based upon the experience of the first few months which has demonstrated the necessity for a larger force to deal with problems of national importance not handled by any other agency.

This Service is charged with responsibility for developing policies and standards in the industries of the country which shall safeguard the health and welfare of women workers while making their service effective for the national good. It represents and advises the Secretary of Labor in all matters concerning women in industry and is charged with co-ordinating and maintaining close contact with other agencies which deal with special phases of the problem, including other divisions of the Department of Labor and other agencies of the federal government, such as the Public Health Service or the Federal Board for Vocational Education. It is expected also to work with and through state departments of labor.

Specifically the standards and policies with which the Women in Industry Service is concerned have actually related to such subjects as the following:-

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1. The basis for wage determinations in their relation to the cost of living on the one hand and the wages of men on the other hand.

2. Limitation of the hours of women's employment with due regard to health and social welfare.

3. Extension of the prohibition of night work.

4. Protection of women against hazards to health.

5. Organization of the labor market for women through employment exchanges.

6. Extension of the principles of collective bargaining to give women workers a voice in the determination of the conditions of their employment.

7. Adoption of a policy of industrial training which shall insure to women an opportunity for the greatest measure of skill and efficiency.

8. The employment of colored women in industry with the two-fold problem of race and sex complicating the fundamental problems of labor.

9. Provision for the observation of facts which alone form the sound basis for policy.

Administratively several of these problems are dealt with in part at least by federal or state agencies, and our plans have never contemplated executive activity in fields covered by these other agencies, but the Woman in Industry Service is the only official agency charged with responsibility for an underlying policy affecting all of these activities and for the application of a rounded program uniting them all.

Concretely and briefly this means that the Woman in Industry Service must be, and is rapidly becoming the center of information and research on all the related problems and activities concerned with women in industry, making available the necessary facts for the guidance of working women, employers, and the public.

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These facts should be made available not only through printed documents but through first-hand consultation in the field. This task of direct industrial counselling on all the industrial problems affecting women is not the responsibility of any other agency.

In a country as large as ours, with conditions differing as radically in different communities these duties of research and counselling can be carried out only through first-hand contact in important industrial centers. The plan proposed, therefore, provides for district offices, which will represent us in these communities and facilitate co-operation with state agencies. Each office will have a staff of four persons, an industrial expert, a supervising agent, a special agent, and a clerk. The supervising agent must be capable of directing the district activities in the absence of the industrial expert, whose duties will be to cover important work in her territory. The plan is more effective and more economical than the handling of a field force from Washington alone, since it saves a large part of the cost of per diem expenses and travel. The continuation of a lump sum appropriation is requested because a fixed plan of organization is not practicable with the present unsettled conditions throughout the country.

The year for which the budget is proposed is one of great uncertainty. But whether the war ends before July 1st, 1919 or whether it continues longer, the problems of women in industry will continue to be of fundamental national importance demanding readjustments and wise handling with such far-reaching results that the federal government must necessarily take steps to discharge its responsibilities

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both to the women who are doing their share in production for the war, and to the communities affected vitally by the conditions of their work. The amount asked for is small in comparison with the magnitude of the task, but it will make possible an effective beginning.

Respectfully submitted,

Mary Van Kleeck, Director,
Woman in Industry Service.

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Women Workers during Reconstruction.

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WOMEN WORKERS DURING RECONSTRUCTION.

The war has applied an acid test to social programs and social philosophies. We cannot talk today about labor legislation and use the same language that we used a year ago and certainly the outlook since we met in Washington five years ago has changed completely. Reconstruction is not restoration. New forces, new ideas have been set free. Some of the old programs and the old philosophies will receive from them a new zest and a new motive power. But none will survive permanently which does not have in it the vitality of the new spirit. The new spirit demands not merely fairer conditions of labor, but a fairer share for labor in determining its own conditions. Power rather than reward is the definition of industrial democracy. The new spirit will busy itself especially among those groups which have had the least power. Women workers constitute one of these groups. No program of reconstruction affecting them, whether put forward by labor, by employers, by public-spirited citizens or by the government will accomplish results unless it can meet the test of the new spirit.

Quite aside from the realization of the purposes for which the war has been fought is the experience gained in the process of carrying on the war. Had we had no purpose when the war began this experience would have forced its formulation. Indeed it is clear that a wide-spread challenge of existing conditions and forms of government has grown out of the whole momentous task of raising armies, training them and equipping them for war.

To women workers the war brought extraordinary recognition. The newspapers told stories of their achievements. Employers united in praising their power to increase output. Applause instead of prewar discouragement greeted those who ventured into new fields, as machinists, elevator attendants or

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or traffic policemen, - releasing men for military service. England's experience is familiar. It was the War Department, certainly not to be accused of a desire to advance the cause of feminists, which declared that only through women's work could the country "hope to emerge victorious from a struggle without parallel in her long and glorious history."

In the United States the introduction of women into new occupations was much less extensive than in Great Britain but the recognition of the need for it was widespread. The appropriation for a women's division in the Department of Labor, which had been advocated for eight years before we entered the war was finally made in July 1918, presumably because the war convinced Congress of its necessity. Six months earlier, the Ordnance Department, charged with the task of getting munitions produced, came to realize that labor problems, including women's work, were an essential factor in production and organized the Industrial Service Section with the Women's Branch as a part of it. The United States Railroad Administration established a Woman's Section in its Labor Division. For several weeks before the signing of the armistice, the introduction of a larger number of women workers was the outstanding problem facing the Employment Service. Not only did women constitute the chief reserve supply of labor. Already they were taking an active and efficient part in the production of munitions as well as in the peacetime industries essential to civilian life during the war.

Moreover they were being called to participate in problems of the relation of government to labor. The record made by trade union women appointed to official positions in the federal government is not merely interesting in the history of the war. It is prophetic. In the Women's Branch of the Ordnance Department, in the Woman in Industry Service of the Department of Labor, and in its Employment Service, in the Women's Section of the Railroad Administration,

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and in the staff work of the War Labor Board, trade union women with experience in their own trades were called for the first time into the service of the federal government and they have demonstrated their ability to deal with labor problems from the point of view of the nation's best interests.

The entire War Labor Administration in which these working women had their share of responsibility was a recognition of the fact that industrial relations and labor conditions are properly and inevitably subjects of governmental concern. Further, the policies developed by the War Labor Administration clearly indicate the conviction of those who shared in it that the productive efficiency of a nation at war depends upon those standards of wages, hours and working conditions for which the labor movement and the reformers have long sought recognition. Nor are facts lacking as the basis for their conviction. The greater efficiency of the shorter work-day, for example, has become almost a truism to those who have followed the experience of the nations at war.

This is a background for a discussion of the problems of women workers during reconstruction. The national importance of their work has been clearly and officially recognized. They have demonstrated their efficiency in numerous instances. The war has shown that for both men and women effective service depends upon a high standard of conditions of labor. And the new spirit has received expression in the government's endorsement of collective bargaining.

But reaction has set in, and its forces seem to be affecting at once the status of women workers. Resolutions have been passed by at least one central labor union calling on the women who have entered industry during the war to leave their jobs now that the war is over. A trade union local composed entirely of men has gone on strike demanding the discharge of the women employed in their occupation, and have received from the War Labor Board a favorable verdict on their case. Not a few public speakers have declared, as one expressed it, that "The women have

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responded with fine patriotism to the appeal to take part in industry during the war. It now becomes their duty to withdraw. It becomes our duty to persuade them to withdraw."

Before the war the bill introduced into Congress providing for the creation of a women's division in the Department of Labor defined the problems with which it would deal in these words:

> "The said division shall investigate and report to the said department upon all matters pertaining to the welfare of women and shall especially investigate the welfare of wage-earning women, the questions of competitive influence of women in the several industries, the adjustment of modern industrial mechanism and management to the physical and nervous organization of women, and the influence of industrial employments upon the subsequent home life of wage-earning women."

To these must now be added the complications of a wider range of possibilities for women's employment demonstrated during the war and a consequent widening of the area of possible underbidding of men's standards by women.

Fear of unemployment and fear of wage competition are back of the demand that women withdraw from industry. Couched in terms of giving back their jobs to returning soldiers the demand acquires an atmosphere of the war spirit and a patriotic appeal which obscure its real import. It is hardly necessary to point out that the reinstatement of the returning soldier in his former position if he wants it is an ethical obligation which holds whether his place has been taken by a woman or by a man, and even a complete and universal recognition of this ethical obligation would not settle the problem which it is assumed to illustrate. The whole situation is fraught with danger in its possibilities of forcing the women to join together as a group to defend their right to employment against the opposition of the men in an industry. The Cleveland Street Railway Company has only one hundred and seventy women employed as conductors and the demand on the part of the men's trade union for their discharge is only one instance but it

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is a danger signal. Carried further such a problem as that would inject into the labor movement a new alignment of men workers against women workers.

The antagonism would be the more unfortunate because it has its roots in a two-fold fear common to men workers and women workers, - the fear of unemployment and the fear of a cut in wage rates. That the way out is a united attack upon the causes of these fears rather than a conflict between the two groups who are their victims would seem too obvious to require proof. Success in attacking this problem depends, however, upon the extension to women of the right and responsibility for participation in action in dealing with labor problems. Without this recognition, their new economic rights may become a two-edged sword.

The new spirit of the times then with all the dangers of new developments accentuating old difficulties for women in industry demands an enlargement of the bounds of activity and a comprehensive program. First there is needed a new formulation of standards already demonstrated to be attainable and desirable, and, second, the situation demands a clarifying view of the administrative agencies necessary for the attainment of standards, including agencies of government, management in industry, and the organization of workers.

The fear of unemployment must be lessened by the further growth and the strengthening of the natural system of labor exchanges, efficient enough and comprehensive enough to reduce unemployment to a minimum and to afford a basis for analyzing the causes of the minimum which is left when as many as possible of the jobless workers have been placed in the vacant jobs.

The fear of a cut in wages must be met by a wise extension of agencies of adjustment and these can be successful only in so far as they derive their

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their strength from real collective bargaining beginning in the individual shop and extending over a wide enough area of industry to be truly representative of the collective will of management and workers. It is the absence of these agencies of adjustment which makes the present situation so strained, each side awaiting anxiously the first test of strength on the maintenance of wages paid during the war or their reduction to prewar rates or lower.

But it is not sufficient to leave to management and workers alone the settlement of issues which are fundamentally important to the entire citizenship of the country. Recently a manufacturer in a large industrial state complained testily of the unjustifiable opposition of a voluntary reform organization to a legislative program which had been adopted by representatives of the organized manufacturers and the organized workers. The legislative program in question would have permitted extension of hours for women in a very troublesome, unorganized industry. Doubtless the interests of these women and the public interest which made necessary this means of limiting their hours and safeguarding their health had been sacrificed to an exchange of courtesies resulting in gains for the groups represented in the prelegislation conference. Labor legislation cannot reflect the best thought of the citizenship of the country if its course is thus to be determined by a process other than public education.

Labor legislation must meet the test of the new spirit while it busines itself with specific gains very necessary for workers in industry. The fear which the American labor movement frequently expresses of political action as opposed to voluntary economic action must indicate either a reluctance on the part of labor to use its own political powers, or a lack of flexibility, or responsiveness to local and concrete needs on the part of governmental agencies for administration of labor laws. It is not difficult to prophesy that the problem of labor legis-

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lation just ahead is not the formulation of concrete aims but the development of a new spirit and method in administration. Nor is administration of labor laws a distinct and separate problem. It is rather part of the task of government in all its units, municipal, county, state, and national.

The concrete aims for women workers have been formulated by the Woman in Industry Service of the Department of Labor. They are based upon experience of the government in securing production for the war, and they represent also the result of conferences with state commissioners of labor, employers and women workers. They may be summarized as follows:-

I. HOURS OF LABOR. A working day of eight hours and a working week of forty-eight hours. At least three-quarters of an hour for a meal. One day of rest in seven and the prohibition of night work, Rest periods and the observance of Saturday half holiday.

II. WAGES. The establishment of wages on the basis of occupation and not on the basis of sex. A minimum rate governing the cost of living for dependents and not merely for the individual. The same wage for the same work as men with increases equal to those received by the men in the same industry.

III. WORKING CONDITIONS. Proper provisions for comfort and sanitation and protection against the risk of accident or occupational disease and the prohibition of home work.

IV. EMPLOYMENT MANAGEMENT. Provision for recognizing through employment management the responsibility of industry for conditions affecting labor and the appointment of women in responsible positions in the employment management department of plants employing women.

V. Cooperation of wokrers in enforcement of standards. Provision for collective bargaining.

VI. COOPERATION WITH OFFICIAL AGENCIES. The extension of the activities of federal, state and local agencies in the difficult problems of adjustment in the period of reconstruction following the war.

These are not new aims but they have received new support in the war. Nor are they all to be included in a program of labor legislation. Same must be secured through collective action of voluntary groups of workers and all must receive their

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sanction and support from these groups.

Two aims for labor legislation for women workers may be emphasized as of immediate importance. They are the enactment into law of the eight hour day, and the fuller representattion of women in important positions in administrative of labor laws. The first has the sanction of experience but an examination of state labor laws shows how far the majority of states fall below such a standard. The second will create outposts of observation necessary in the new relations of women to industry. -

Underlying all the problems of women workers in reconstruction is the challenge which their new position and their old problems offer to the labor movement and the citizenship of the country. The answer will show whether labor and other citizens comprehend the real meaning of the challenge.

Mary Van Kleeck, Director
Woman in Industry Service.

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E-13 From Mary Van Kleeck-Plans for reconstruction in relation to the Women in Industry.

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November 11, 1918.

E-13

From: Mary Van Kleeck, Director, Woman in Industry Service.

To: Felix Frankfurter, Chairman, War Labor Policies Board.

Subject: Plans for reconstruction in relation to the Woman in Industry Service in response to your request for suggestions as to immediate action to be taken by the War Labor Policies Board in relation to problems of Woman in Industry Service as part of the program of reconstruction.

I. THE IMMEDIATE TASK.

Obviously the immediate task is to accomplish the change from a war basis to a peace basis with the least possible unemployment and with the reinstatement of the largest possible number in normal occupations for which they are best adapted. Thus stated the task is the same for all workers, including women and men and this memorandum assumes therefore that the fundamental aspects of the program as affecting both men and women are being worked out. In it will be inferred the necessity for a policy with reference to cancellation of contracts with due regard to its relation to the transfer of labor from one occupation to another; the conversion of plants manufacturing munitions to the manufacture of products required in peace; plans for public workers and consultation on this point with Governors of states, in order that the states may plan with full knowledge of the plans of the federal government; and that demobilization of returning soldiers at a sufficiently slow rate to insure their reinstatement in normal occupations.

The question peculiar to women in relation to this task relates to those who have taken men's places and those who although not previously employed, have been drawn into gainful employment for patriotic reasons. Many persons are asking whether these women should not now withdraw to give place to the men. At least one central federated labor body (that in New York City) has passed a resolution calling on these women to withdraw. No information is available showing the extent of the employment of women not hitherto gainfully employed. Such evidence as there is at hand seems to indicate that the number is smaller than is generally supposed and that large numbers of women employed in the war industries have been transferred ~~to~~ from other occupations. For them it will be necessary to arrange for their transfer to normal employment unless the plants in which they are employed are converted to production in peace time under conditions making it possible to retain the same personnel.

For the women who have taken men's places or have been drawn into industry for the first time, the question is more complicated. It would seem to be a fair policy for business organizations to re-instate returning soldiers in the positions which they held before the war, if they wish to be re-instated, but it is inconceivable that the federal government should urge upon any group of workers, whether men or women, that they withdraw entirely from gainful employment if they wish to make this contribution to the economic life of the nation. The problem here is not one of withdrawal of any group of workers voluntarily but rather a task of organization of industry in such a way as to utilize to the full all of the available working forces of the country. That this

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working force is needed in larger numbers than ever before, cannot be doubted. The problem of making possible steady employment is not one which concerns women in industry as a separate group. There remains therefore a task of dealing with the individual case through such an agency as the Employment Service. Thus women who have no equipment through past experience for the new work to be undertaken, will normally find that there is no demand for their work. For those who have had some experience in gainful employment however, during the war, there will undoubtedly be a demand for training which will fit them for continued employment.

There is in industry, however, a large group which should be withdrawn at the earliest possible moment. This is the group of children in industry, of whom there were 1,990,000 under sixteen, according to the census of 1910 and of these, 557,645 were in non-agricultural pursuits.

With reference to the immediate task of reconstruction as it relates to women or children in industry, it is therfore

RECOMMENDED

a. That provision be made for the representation of women in the groups in the government who will determine policies of cancellation of contracts and other aspects of the relation of the government as a purchaser to the labor conditions immediately following the war.

b. That plans be made to enable the Woman in Industry Service to establish such connections with these groups as to insure knowledge in advance concerning the policies and plans for cancellation and conversion of contracts of plants, in order that the necessary plans may be developed for the transfer of women employed in these plants or for their continued employment.

c. That after consultation with the Children's Bureau, a statement be issued by the War Labor Policies Board or some other appropriate federal agency regarding the desirability of raising the age limit for the employment of children in industry. This statement should also be of assistance in securing the passage of a new federal law. It will have added force if made a part of a reconstruction program.

II. DEVELOPING NEW STANDARDS FOR THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN.

The problems of women in industry which have been familiar before the war will be accentuated during the reconstruction period. These include danger to health from unsanitary working conditions and hazardous occupations; the general conditions in the sweated trades which have always borne heavily upon women workers; a distinctly lower wage scale for women than for men despite the demonstrated necessity for large numbers of women workers to support dependents; inadequate opportunities for training and limited chances to be advanced to more responsible work in many industries and the danger to health involved in long hours and employment at night. These conditions have always been a check upon the rendering of the most

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efficient service by women workers. The war has demonstrated that the range of possibilities for efficiency by women in industry is much larger than has been assumed in the past. This is notably illustrated in the work of women in machine trades. This suggests that in planning vocational training the wider range of occupations open to women should be fully recognized and in the work shop correspondingly large opportunites should be given to women. On the other hand the danger that women may become the competitorsof men through underbidding, is very real.

These complicated problems can only be met by a variety of methods of attack. They suggest the necessity for strengthening the resources of the federal government for dealing with these problems. This should be done at once. Otherwise the difficult questions concerning women in industry will be a constant obstacle in the development of any reconstruction program for labor. It is probable that such federal agencies as the Women's Branch of the Ordnance Department will be discontinued, as the production program of the War Department becomes unnecessary and it is the more important therefore that the force in the Department of Labor should be increased. It is therefore

RECOMMENDED

a. That in accordance with a supplementary memorandum provision be made for an enlargement of the Woman in Industry Service to make possible the addition of a field force and the carrying out of plans for a program of education of public opinion.

b. Immediate issuance of standards governing the employment of women already adopted by the War Labor Policies Board with such changes in the introductory statement as will make the standards applicable to the reconstruction period and not merely as in its first form to the war industries.

c. That the following resolution regarding night work be adopted:

WHEREAS, On September 6th the War Labor Policies Board endorsed the plan which provided for federal control of night work of women through the insertion of a clause in contracts prohibiting the employment of women between the hours of ten p.m. and six a.m. in any plant working on a contract for the federal government unless the plant held a certificate from the Secretary of War or the Secretary of the Navy granted with the approval of the Secretary of Labor after demonstration that production for the war required the employment of women at night for a specified period in that particular plant and

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WHEREAS, By this action the War Labor Policies Board recognized that the employment of women at night is harmful because of its bad effects on health, family life, the welfare of children and industrial efficiency and that only an extreme emergency created by the war could justify night work for women in any plant working for the federal government.

BE IT RESOLVED that now with the prospect of an early restoration of peace and the necessity for strengthening the safe-guards for women workers in the difficult period of reconstruction, the Board hereby reaffirms its conviction that the employment of women at night should be prevented and urges upon all federal departments that pending the enactment of legislation in those states which at present have no laws prohibiting night work of women, the employment of women at night in plants working on contract for the federal government shall be controlled through provisions in the contracts and shall cease at the earliest possible moment consistent with the immediate demands of the war, and that, furthermore, the employment of women at night in all arsenals, navy yards, and other establishments owned or controlled by the federal government, shall be discontinued as soon as possible and that with the restoration of peace, night work of women shall be prohibited in all plants under federal control whether by contract or ownership by the federal government.

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III. AGENCIES THROUGH WHICH A WOMEN'S BUREAU IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT MAY ACT.

A. The federal government as employer.

During the war the federal government has had an unprecedented opportunity to develop standards through the control of plants manufacturing for federal departments. Although its control during the reconstruction period will be very much less extensive than standards which it maintains in plants owned by the federal government will have a marked influence in private industry. Its control through contracts can also be continued even though the contracts will be fewer in number. It is therefore

RECOMMENDED

a. That the standards endorsed by the War Labor Policies Board be made strictly enforceable in arsenals, navy yards and in plants working on contract for the federal government.

b. That the Woman in Industry Service be given supervision over conditions affecting women in government owned plants with the right to inspect and report as a basis for advising the department responsible for the plant, this supervision to become effective when such existing agencies as the Women's Branch of the Ordnance Department, discontinue the supervision now exercised.

c. That the Woman in Industry Service be authorized to secure from all the federal departments facts about their activities with relation to women in industry during the war. In the Council of National Defense, in the Quartermaster's Department and in the Ordnance Department, noteworthy work has been done to raise standards affecting women. In the government arsenals employment management departments for women have been established. The record of these activities will have an influence in showing standards already adopted by the federal government. Authorization is necessary, however, in order that the records may be collected in a central place before the discontinuance of activities in these departments.

B. State Labor Legislation.

As the control of the federal government exercised during the war is lessened, the responsibility of states will increase. One of the primary purposes of a Women's Bureau in the Department of Labor will therefore be to strengthen in every possible way state labor legislation and its enforcement. This can be done by establishing close connections with state labor departments and by assisting state groupsto secure necessary information on which to base

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plans for labor legislation and administration. It is in this connection especially that additional resources for field work for the Woman in Industry Service are imperatively needed. It is therefore

RECOMMENDED

a. That the Woman in Industry Service be authorized to suggest to the Secretary of Labor that women holding important positions in state labor departments be deputized to act for the Woman in Industry Service.

b. That the Woman in Industry Service be authorized to call a conference of representatives of minimum wage commissions already established in thirteen states, to confer with them regarding their task in the reconstruction period.

c. That the Woman in Industry Service be authorized to make necessary arrangements with the Council of National Defense to establish continuing relations with State Committees on Women in Industry which may decide to continue their activities especially in working for more adequate state legislation and in developing the necessary public opinion to make possible constructive action for women in industry in the states both by voluntary and official agencies.

C. Employment Management in the Plants.

The test of federal activities will be the actual results in the various plants and industrial establishments throughout the country. The application of standards and policies will devolve largely upon the individual shop organization, including employers and workers. The further development of intelligent employment management will be of great importance in relation to the problems of women in industry. It is therefore

RECOMMENDED

a. That the Woman in Industry Service be authorized to call a conference of employers with a view to the organization of a permanent advisory council which will exert an influence in the establishment of such methods on the part of the management of the industries of the country as shall be in accord with the highest standards already demonstrated to be practicable in the employment of women.

b. That the Woman in Industry Service include in its purpose, especially in planning for enlarged resources the task of industrial counselling which shall make available for the industries of the country the best experience in the employment of women. This should be done not only through

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publication but through visits to plants for a long enough period to assist in a practical way in their problems.

D. Representation of Women Workers.

It will be impossible to deal effectively with any of the problems affecting the women in industry unless the women themselves participate actively in their solution. It is therefore

RECOMMENDED

a. That representatives of working women be added to such wage adjustment boards in the federal government as may continue to function through the reconstruction period.

b. That the Woman in Industry Service be authorized to continue the Advisory Council of working women already established and to call them into consultation at an early date to confer regarding the program of reconstruction.

E. Public Opinion.

Obviously it will be impossible to continue useful work unless public backing is secured in the development of higher standards for the employment of woman. It is therefore

RECOMMENDED

a. That the Woman in Industry Service be authorized to formulate a program of public education through exhibits, moving pictures, published reports, lectures and other methods, the plans to be worked out by the Woman in Industry Service and to be put into effect through the cooperation of such agencies as the U. S. Employment Service, the Information and Education Service and state groups.

b. That the Woman in Industry Service be authorized to secure the cooperation of the Navy, Shipping Board, and the various divisions of the War Department, in securing a photographic record of women's work in arsenals, navy yards and plants which may continue to manufacture on contract for the federal government.

F. Employment Service.

A large part of the task of transferring women from one occupation to another will of course devolve upon the Employment Service and on the other hand the successful carrying out of policies in connection with the federal government will depend upon the unity of purpose of the women responsible for work for women in the employment service. In the interest of closer cooperation, it is therefore

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RECOMMENDED

That as a means of developing the policies necessary at this time and securing unity of action through the federal agencies, the Woman in Industry Service be authorized to call regional conferences of women in the Employment Service acting in this matter through the state directors and in other ways to develop closer contact with the women's work in the Employment Service.

G. Institutions for Training Women Workers.

The successful employment of women will depend in large part upon the policies guiding those institutions now existing in cities, states and the federal government which are responsible for the development of vocational education. Policies in connection with training are so intimately associated with all the other aspects of women's work that it should be made possible and appropriate for the Woman in Industry Service in the federal government to develop plans to be recommended to local trade schools, state departments of education and such national agencies as the Federal Board for Vocational Education, and the Training and Dilution Service. It is therefore

RECOMMENDED

That the Woman in Industry Service be authorized to include this subject in its activities as soon as sufficient resources can be provided and to make such investigations as will result in recommendations to the appropriate agencies on the subject of the training of women.

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

1. REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN GROUPS NOW PLANNING THE POLICIES OF THE PRODUCTION DEPARTMENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT WITH REFERENCE TO CANCELLATION OF CONTRACTS AND CONVERSION OF PLANTS.

2. PROVISION FOR INFORMING THE WOMAN IN INDUSTRY SERVICE OF THESE PLANS AND POLICIES IN ADVANCE.

3. STATEMENT IN COOPERATION WITH THE CHILDREN'S BUREAU REGARDING THE IMPORTANCE OF MORE STRINGENT CHILD LABOR LEGISLATION AS A RECONSTRUCTION MEASURE.

4. ENLARGEMENT OF RESOURCES OF THE WOMAN IN INDUSTRY SERVICE.

5. ISSUANCE OF STANDARDS GOVERNING THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN.

6. ADOPTION OF A RESOLUTION ON NIGHT WORK OF WOMEN LOOKING TOWARD ITS PROHIBITION IN GOVERNMENT OWNED PLANTS AND IN PLANTS WORKING ON CONTRACT FOR THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

7. STRICT ENFORCEMENT IN GOVERNMENT OWNED PLANTS OF THE STANDARDS GOVERNING THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN.

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8. PROVISION FOR ADVISORY RELATIONSHIP BY THE WOMAN IN INDUSTRY SERVICE TO THE CONDITIONS AFFECTING WOMEN IN GOVERNMENT OWNED PLANTS.

9. PROVISION FOR FORMULATION OF REPORT ON ACTIVITIES FOR WOMEN IN INDUSTRY IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT DURING THE WAR.

10. DEPUTIZING OF WOMEN IN IMPORTANT POSITIONS IN STATE LABOR DEPARTMENTS TO ACT FOR THE WOMAN IN INDUSTRY SERVICE.

11. CONFERENCE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF STATE MINIMUM WAGE COMMISSIONS.

12. ESTABLISHMENT OF CONTINUING RELATIONS WITH STATE COMMITTEES ON WOMEN IN INDUSTRY ESTABLISHED DURING THE WAR.

13. CONFERENCE OF EMPLOYERS AND ORGANIZATION OF ADVISORY COUNCIL REPRESENTING MANAGEMENT.

14. INCLUSION OF INDUSTRIAL COUNSELLING OF PLANTS AMONG THE PURPOSES OF THE WOMAN IN INDUSTRY SERVICE.

15. REPRESENTATION OF WORKING WOMEN ON FEDERAL WAGE ADJUSTMENT BOARDS FUNCTIONING AFTER THE WAR.

16. CONTINUANCE OF PERMANENT ADVISORY COUNCIL OF WORKING WOMEN IN CONNECTION WITH RECONSTRUCTION PROBLEMS.

17. DEVELOPMENT OF A PROGRAM OF PUBLIC EDUCATION ON STANDARDS AFFECTING WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

18. PROVISION FOR PHOTOGRAPHIC RECORD OF WOMEN'S WORK IN GOVERNMENT PLANTS AND IN TYPICAL WAR INDUSTRIES.

19. ESTABLISHMENT OF CLOSER COOPERATION BY THE WOMAN IN INDUSTRY SERVICE WITH THE WOMEN EXAMINERS AND STATE SUPERINTENDENTS IN THE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE.

20. INCLUSION OF THE FORMULATION OF POLICIES FOR TRAINING WOMEN WORKERS AMONG THE PURPOSES OF THE WOMAN IN INDUSTRY SERVICE.

MVK/ALL

Mary Van Kleeck, Director
Woman in Industry Service.

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FEDERAL POLICIES FOR WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

With the signing of the armistice women in industry assumed a position in the public mind radically different from their status two weeks earlier. Two weeks before government officials, employers, the wives, mothers and friends of soldiers and all the rest of the general public were showing livelyinterest in persuading women to undertake new occupations in order to release men for the war and to serve with adequate supplies those already at the front. With peace in sight the changed seemed to be swift and radical. The question heard most frequently was whether women would now retire from industry. At least one central labor union passed a resolution calling upon women to give up their positions in order that there might be place for returning soldiers. For the moment it seemed as though the remarkable recognition of the importance of women's work in the war was leaving no permanent impression. The old idea that their position in industry was a transient one was now uppermost in the public mind with the added strength of a patriotic appeal to recognize the right of the soldier to his job. The issue thus raised cannot be settled in a few weeks. About the answer to it will center the policies to be adopted by federal and state agencies and by those voluntary associations of employers and workers through which standards governing the employment of women are established.

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No wise policy for the period of readjustment can be developed without clear realization of the position of women in industry during the war and the lessons for industry which the war taught. The outstanding fact was the change in attitude toward the work which women could do. Illustrations of their new occupations occur readily to mind. They have been conductors on street cars, elevator operators, taxicab drivers, railroad employees in a variety of occupations and machine operators in branches of the machinists' trade usually considered men's work. It is not to be forgotten that before the war there were very few large industries in the country in which there were not some women employed, so that the change was not so much the work which they did as the attitude of employers and the public toward it. As the war went on it was expected of the progressive employer that he would find in his organization as many places as possible for women, and the space given in magazines and newspapers to descriptions of the successful employment of women in unusual work gave evidence of the keen interest in breaking down barriers.

With the employment of women in new positions and the necessity for keeping production at its normal level, experience very soon taught that there were conditions which made for the effective employment of women and that there were conditions which put obstacles into the way of their producing satisfactory results. This fact led to the organization of agencies in the federal government to study the conditions of

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women's employment and to advise the industries regarding hours, wages and proper working environment. The Ordnance Department, faced with an enormous production program, organized as part of its Industrial Service Section a Women's Branch with representatives in every district office of the Department and in the arsenals employing women. The U. S. Railroad Administration established a Women's Section in its Labor Division. With the organization of the War Labor Administration, established by appropriation from Congress early in the summer of 1918, the Woman in Industry Service began its work as part of the Department of Labor. Its function was to advise the Secretary of Labor on all matters affecting the employment of women. As the Secretary had been designated by the President as the Labor Administrator, to develop consistent national policies for labor duringthe war, this position of the Woman in Industry Service was an important one. The Woman in Industry Service was also represented on the War Labor Policies Board, organized to represent those departments of the government concerned with production for the war, and concerned therefore with labor problems as a fundamental aspect of production.

Several different statements of standards which should govern the employment of women were issued by various agencies associated in the War Labor Administration, and these formed for the first time a definition of the policy of the federal government. General Orders #13 by the Chief of Ordnance, which were issued simultaneously by the Quartermaster General as suggestions

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to manufacturers working on contracts for those departments and to plants under the control of the government, declared that the eight hour day, prohibition of night work, one day of rest in seven, a minimum wage based on the cost of living, and equal pay for women doing the same work as men, were held to be "mechanisms of efficiency." Similar conditions were urged by the Committee on Women in Industry appointed by the Committee on Labor of the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense. The U. S. Railroad Administration also adopted the principel of equal pay for equal work. In the statement of national policies which should underlie industrial relations during the war, formulated by the War Labor Conference Board and confirmed by the President when the War Labor Board was appointed, it was stated that "if it shall become necessary to employ women on work ordinarily performed by men, they must be allowed equal pay for equal work and must not be allotted tasks disproportionate to their strength." At the same time all of the other principles laid down by this Board, such as the right to collective bargaining, applied also to women workers.

The great gain in this consensus of opinion of the various federal agencies rests upon the fact that the statements were issued when the whole energy of the country was concentrated upon production. Standards for which the labor movement and those public spirited citizens interested in labor legislation had struggled for many years, thus during the stress of war received the sanction of the federal government as conditions essential

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to satisfactory production.

The means of enforcement were found in the two-fold relation of the government to industry, first as an employer of labor in government owned plants, and second as the largest purchaser of the products of industry during the war. Certain provisions regarding labor conditions were written into the contracts. Early in the war the contracts with the Quartermasters Department contained clauses prohibiting the giving out of army clothing to be made or finished in tenements. One of the first acts of the War Labor Policies Board was its recommendation that the provisions of the federal Child Labor Law, which had recently been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, should be written into contracts of all the producing departments represented on the Board. Shortly afterward a clause requiring full compliance with state labor laws was added to the contracts and at the same time officials of state departments of labor were deputized by the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, the Director of the Shipping Board and the Director of the Housing Corporation to co-operate with federal agencies in enforcing this contractual obligation.

It should be noted that the contracts never contained all of the provisions included in the standards issued by the various government departments for the employment of women. For example, the principle of the same wage for the same work was not included as a contractual obligation. From the point of view of enforcement the significant fact in the conditions of women's work

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during the war was the insistence of the federal government upon the observation of state labor laws. In its statement of policy the federal government went much further and laid the basis for high standards in state labor legislation.

Immediately after the signing of the armistice the relation of the federal government to labor conditions changed, since its power of enforcement resting on its contracts with industry wasdecreased with the curtailment of contracts. For women workers, therefore, the problem during the period of readjustment is to find new means of enforcement of standards which have received such authoritative sanction from the nation at war. The agencies to be relied upon now include the states, through labor legislation and through vocational training, the industries, through the voluntary adoption of high standards of labor conditions in shop organization, and working women themselves, through the strengthening of collective action by them. Clearly the three groups will need the leadership of federal agencies since in peace no less than in war the problems of labor are questions of national importance.

Within a month after the signing of the armistice the Woman in Industry Service of the Department of Labor with the approval of the Secretary of Labor issued the following statement of standards which should be a guide in the employment of women after the war. The statement is based on the experience of the nation during the war. It has been endorsed by the War Labor

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Policies Board.

STANDARDS RECOMMENDED FOR THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN

(In the following outline the word "shall" and the larger type indicate those provisions which are of the most vital importance.)

I. HOURS OF LABOR

1. DAILY HOURS. NO WOMAN SHALL BE EMPLOYED OR PERMITTED TO WORK MORE THAN EIGHT HOURS IN ANY ONE DAY OR FORTY-EIGHT HOURS IN ANY ONE WEEK. THE TIME WHEN THE WORK OF WOMEN EMPLOYEES SHALL BEGIN AND END AND THE TIME ALLOWED FOR MEALS SHALL BE POSTED IN A CONSPICUOUS PLACE IN EACH WORK ROOM AND A RECORD SHALL BE KEPT OF THE OVERTIME OF EACH WOMAN WORKER.

2. HALF HOLIDAY ON SATURDAY. Observance of the half-holiday should be the custom.

3. ONE DAY OF REST IN SEVEN. EVERY WOMAN WORKER SHALL HAVE ONE DAY OF REST IN EVERY SEVEN DAYS.

4. TIME FOR MEALS. AT LEAST THREE-QUARTERS OF AN HOUR SHALL BE ALLOWED FOR A MEAL.

5. REST PERIODS. A rest period of ten minutes should be allowed in the middle of each working period without thereby increasing the length of the working day.

6. NIGHT WORK. NO WOMAN SHALL BE EMPLOYED BETWEEN THE HOURS OF TEN P.M. AND SIX A.M.

II. WAGES

1. EQUALITY WITH MEN'S WAGES. WOMEN DOING THE SAME WORK AS MEN SHALL RECEIVE THE SAME WAGES WITH SUCH PROPORTIONATE INCREASES AS THE MEN ARE RECEIVING IN THE SAME INDUSTRY. Slight changes made in the process or in the arrangement of work should not be regarded as justifying a lower wage for a woman than for a man unless statistics of production show that the output for the job in question is less when women are employed than when men are employed. If a difference in output is demonstrated the difference in the wage rate should be based upon the difference in production for the job as a whole and not determined arbitrarily.

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2. THE BASIS OF DETERMINATION OF WAGES. WAGES SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED ON THE BASIS OF OCCUPATION AND NOT ON THE BASIS OF SEX. THE MINIMUM WAGE RATE SHOULD COVER THE COST OF LIVING FOR DEPENDENTS ANDNOT MERELY FOR THE INDIVIDUAL.

III. WORKING CONDITIONS

1. COMFORT AND SANITATION. State labor laws and industrial codes should be consulted with reference to previsions for comfort and sanitation. Washing facilities, with hot and cold water, soap and individual towels, should be provided in sufficient number and in accessible locations to make washing before meals and at the close of the work day convenient. Toilets should be separate for men and women, clean and accessible. Their numbers should have a standard ratio to the number of workers employed. Workroom floors should be kept clean. Dressing rooms should be provided adjacent to washing facilities, making possible change of clothing outside the workrooms. Rest rooms should be provided. Lighting should be arranged so that direct rays do not shine into the workers' eyes. Ventilation should be adequate and heat sufficient. Drinking water should be cool and accessible with individual drinking cups or bubble fountain provided. Provision should be made for the workers to secure a hot and nourishing meal eaten outside the workroom, and if no lunch rooms are accessible near the plant, a lunch room should be maintained in the establishment.

2. POSTURE AT WORK. Continuous standing and continuous sitting are both injurious. A seat should be provided for every woman employed and its use encouraged. It is possible and desirable to adjust the height of the chairs in relation to the height of machines or work tables, so that the worker may with equal convenience and efficiency stand or sit at her work. The seats should have backs. If the chair is high, a foot rest shouldbbe provided.

3. SAFETY. Risks from machinery, danger from fire and exposure to dust, fumes or other occupational hazards should be scrupulously guarded against by observance of standards in state and federal codes. First aid equipment should be provided. Fire drills and other forms of education of the workers in the observance of safety regulations should be instituted.

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4. SELECTION OF OCCUPATIONS FOR WOMEN. In determining what occupations are suitable and safe for women, attention should be centered especially on the following conditions which would render the employment of women undesirable if changes are not made:-

   A. Constant standing or other postures causing physical strain.

   B. Repeated lifting of weights of 25 pounds or over, or other abnormally fatiguing motions.

   C. Operation of mechanical devices requiring undue strength.

   D. Exposure to excessive heat,-that is, over 80 degrees, or excessive cold,-that is,under 50 degrees.

   E. Exposure to dust, fumes, or other occupational poisons without adequate safeguards against disease.

5. PROHIBITED OCCUPATIONS. WOMEN MUST NOT BE EMPLOYED IN OCCUPATIONS INVOLVING THE USE OF POISONS WHICH ARE PROVED TO BE MORE INJURIOUS TO WOMEN THAN TO MEN, SUCH AS CERTAIN PROCESSES IN THE LEAD INDUSTRIES. Subsequent rulings on the dangerous trades will be issued.

6. UNIFORMS. Uniforms with caps and comfortable shoes are desirable for health and safety in occupations for which machines are used or in which the processes are dusty.

IV. HOME WORK

1. NO WORK SHALL BE GIVEN OUT TO BE DONE IN ROOMS USED FO R LIVING OR SLEEPING PURPOSES OR IN ROOMS DIRECTLY CONNECTED WITH LIVING OR SLEEPING ROOMS IN ANY DWELLING OR TENEMENT.

V. EMPLOYMENT MANAGEMENT

1. HIRING, SEPARATIONS AND DETERMINATION OF CONDITIONS. In establishing satisfactory relations between a company and its employees, a personnel department is important charged with responsibility for selection, assignment, transfer or withdrawal of workers and the establishment of proper working conditions.

2. SUPERVISION OF WOMEN WORKERS. Where women are employed, a competent woman should be appointed as employment executive with responsibility for conditions affecting women. Women should also be appointed in supervisory

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positions in the departments employing women.

3. SELECTION OF WORKERS. The selection of workers best adapted to the requirements through physical equipment and through experience and other qualifications is as important as the determination of the conditions of the work to be done.

VI. CO-OPERATION OF WORKERS IN ENFORCEMENT OF STANDARDS

1. THE RESPONSIBILITY SHOULD NOT REST UPON THE MANAGEMENT ALONE TO DETERMINE WISELY AND EFFECTIVELY THE CONDITIONS WHICH SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED. THE GENUINE CO-OPERATION ESSENTIAL TO PRODUCTION CAN BE SECURED ONLY IF DEFINIT E CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN EMPLOYERS ANDGROUPS OF THEIR WORKERS ARE ESTABLISHED. THE NEED OF CREATING METHODS OF JOINT NEGOTIATION BETWEEN EMPLOYERS AND GROUPS OF EMPLOYEES IS ESPECIALLY GREAT IN THE LIGHT OF THE CRITICAL POINTS OF CONTROVERSY WHICH MAY ARISE IN A TIME LIKE THE PRESENT. EXISTING CHANNELS SHOULD BE PRESERVED AND NEW ONES OPENED IF REQUIRED, TO PROVIDE EASIER ACCESS FOR DISCUSSION BETWEEN EMPLOYER AND EMPLOYEES.

VII. CO-OPERATION WITH OFFICIAL AGENCIES

The United States Government and State and local communities have established agencies to deal with conditions of labor, including standards of working conditions, wages, hours, employment and training. These should be called upon for assistance especially in the difficult problems of adjustment in the period of reconstruction following the war.

Inquiries regarding the employment of women may be addressed to the Woman in Industry Service, Department of Labor, washington, D. C., and these will be dealt with directly or referred to the official federal or state agency best equipped to give the assistance needed in each instance.

The new note in this outline is in the paragraph which deals with the basis of determination of wages. The principle of equal pay for equal work is but a partial step. In its application during the war, one employer, for instance, objected to paying women in one department the wages which men in the

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same position had been earning, while women in an adjoining department were receiving about half as much for work which was different but no more difficult to learn. In the opinion of this employer it is indicated that women's rates should be established in the occupations hitherto filled by men. If the principle of equal pay for equal work be as sound as the support of it during the war would seem to indicate, such an instance suggests an anomaly of long standing in basing wages not upon occupation but upon sex. Undoubtedly there will be great differences in wage rates in different processes and in different industries, but the difference should not be due to the fact that certain occupations are filled more largely by women than by men.

The comparative wages of men and women will be the most crucial problem of the readjustment period. As women have entered a wider range of occupations it will be possible for th em to become the unwilling competitors of men in lowering standards of wages. Moreover, now as before the war, women are working to earn a living and the facts show that many are also supporting dependents. Low wages for women mean an inadequate standard of living in the families in which they are the chief support. Low wages for women mean a lower wage scale in those industries in which they are entering in large numbers. The upbuilding of the country after the war will depend upon the possibility of maintaining and raising the standards of living. A theory of wages which establishes a lower scale for approximately one-third of the workers of the country, that is, the women, is a menace to

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the standard of living of the country.

The right of the returned soldier to his job is not a labor policy upon which to build a program for women in industry. It is a matter of the relation between a firm and the soldier, and public opinion has endorsed as fair and just the determination of many companies to reinstate the men who have gone to war. In many instances, however, the former positions of the soldiers are not held by women but by men. This is not a problem of women's work, nor is the position of the woman holding a soldier's job any different from that of a man who has taken his place. For both men and women workers the immediate task is to accomplish the change from a war basis to a peace basis with th e least possible unemployment and with the reinstatement of the largest number of soldiers and war workers in normal occupations for which they are best adapted. The task of production ahead is enormous, With the rebuilding of those things which have been destroyed during the war and with the opening up of new markets. This presents, therefore, a task of organization of industry in such a way as to utilize to the full all of the available working forces of the country. Women before the war have constituted an important part of the working force of the country. If the tendencies clearly reflected in their increasing employment in the century before we entered the war are to be a guide, then the problems of women in industry are evidently a permanent part of the labor problem which the country now faces. The experience of the war gives ground for optimism if out of it can be evolved more

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effective state action, and most fundamental of all, a new spirit and method of self government in industry which shall give equal recognition to women workers.

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Statement
for D. Meyer Bloomfield
April 15

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D-5

FEDERAL POLICIES FOR WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

By Mary Van Kleeck

No wise policy for the period of readjustment can be developed without clear realization of the position of women in industry during the war and the lessons for industry which the war taught. The outstanding fact was the change in attitude toward the work which women could do. Illustrations of these new occupations occur readily to mind. They have been conductors on street cars, elevator operators, taxicab drivers, railroad employes in a variety of occupations and machine operators in branches of the machinists' trade usually considered men's work. It is not to be forgotten that before the war there were very few large industries in the country in which there were not some women employed, so that the change was not so much the work which they did as the attitude of employers and the public toward it. As the war went on it was expected of the progressive employer that he would find in his organization as many places as possible for women, and the space given in magazines and newspapers to descriptions of the successful employment of women in unusual work gave evidence of the keen interest in breaking down barriers.

With the employment of women in new positions and the necessity for keeping production at its normal level, experience very soon taught that there were conditions which made for the effective employment of women and that there were conditions which put obstacles in the way of their producing satisfactory results. If any summary of this war experience were attempted it would be the statement that it pointed to the practicability of a policy which would eliminate the old custom of assigning women to unskilled or semi-skilled work on the assumption that they could not qualify for skilled occupations. We held during the war that women should not be introduced into the occupations until they were made safe and wholesome. But it is change in conditions and not exclusion of women which should be emphasized. The great majority of occupations can be made safe for women, to the great advantage of the men employed in them.

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