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M I S C E L L A N E O U S S E R I E S

**FAMILY ALLOWANCES
IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES**

By

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FAMILY ALLOWANCES IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

SCOPE OF SURVEY

The survey of family allowances conducted by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1924, which this report covers, included the following 27 countries: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, England, Esthonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and Yugoslavia.¹ Letters of inquiry were sent to the ministries of labor and of finance of these countries wherever such ministries existed and to the heads of the national federations of employers and of trades-unions. While replies were not received from all these sources in all cases, there was only one country, Portugal, from which no report at all was received. However, a little information on the subject for that country was obtained from published documents. The various reports from governmental ministries and national labor and employers' organizations have been supplemented to a considerable extent by research in official and private publications. While the data secured in this survey do not lend themselves to general combined statistical presentation, some interesting comparisons may be made between certain countries.

As the term "family allowances" is at times applied somewhat indiscriminately, and is open to rather broad interpretation, it seems necessary at the outset to define the subject as treated in this bulletin. As a matter of fact, maternity benefits immediately before and after childbirth, pensions to destitute mothers whose husbands are dead or incapacitated, and provision for dependents in unemployment insurance and in compensation for accidents embody the family-allowance principle, and, broadly speaking, might be included in a report on family-allowance systems; but the present report deals mainly with allowances for everyday family responsibilities aside from special contingencies, although grants for special occasions and circumstances are also discussed to some extent when they are closely bound up with the regular family-allowance systems.

¹ For previous publications of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics on the subject of family allowances, see *Monthly Labor Review*: October, 1921 (pp. 9-19), "Some developments in the movement for family wages"; October, 1923 (pp. 1-17), "Extension of the 'family wage' system in France and Belgium"; January, 1924 (pp. 20-29), "Family wage system in Germany and certain other European countries"—all by the present author.

Tax exemptions for dependent children as indirect grants for family responsibilities, and separation allowances for the families of soldiers and sailors, might possibly be included in a study of family allowances; but a report on these two subjects would exceed the limits of this bulletin.

Family allowances for regular family responsibilities as here treated are granted sometimes in close connection with the wage, and sometimes apart from it, but always with the underlying idea of supplementing the regular income of the family, in view of its greater needs as compared with the needs of the single man or woman without dependents.

BEGINNING OF THE MOVEMENT FOR FAMILY ALLOWANCES

Probably one of the most predominant features of wage negotiations during and immediately after the war was the added importance given to the "living-wage" theory. This was undoubtedly due to the unprecedented inflation of the prices of the necessities of life, followed by reiterated demands from the workers for wage increases. Back of what seemed to be a more generous conciliatory attitude toward the contentions of labor may have been the realization of the value of physically fit workers in terms of man and woman power in the face of war.

Closely allied with the "living-wage" doctrine is the "standard-family" theory, namely, that the normal male adult should receive a wage sufficient to enable him to support a wife and two or three dependent children. Under the economic strain of war and post-war conditions foreign Governments and private industry felt that to pay such a wage was an impossibility. The results of cost-of-living investigations emphasized the fact that the wages of adult males were utterly inadequate to meet even minimum standards of living for a "standard family," and yet to pay every adult male what was necessary to support such a family was, according to the viewpoints of the Governments and private industry, prohibitive. The fact that many families including more than the average number of dependents were subject to special hardship was also realized.

In view of the variations in family conditions and because of the economic difficulties in which certain Governments and employers found themselves during the period of high prices, recourse was had to a wage system, whereby the basic wage was supplemented by allowances to workers with families, thus providing for the greater need of those having dependents. While in a few instances family allowances in a limited way had been known before the war, yet the movement gained its impetus because of the economic conditions during and following the war, and in a few years extended over the greater part of Europe. As economic conditions have changed for the better, however, in some countries family allowances have been reduced and in some cases abolished.

INTRODUCTION INTO DIFFERENT COUNTRIES

In the majority of the countries family allowances were instituted during the war in the State civil service or in private industry, but in Finland, France, Germany, and Sweden, to a certain extent, such grants had been made some time previous to 1914. The solicitude

of France for those with heavy family responsibilities is of long standing. Under an act of June 28, 1793, the fathers and mothers in that country who were entirely dependent upon their own labor had a right to national assistance when their wages were inadequate for their family needs, while various other measures for the relief of large families in France were put into effect even before the war.

Family allowances were paid in Finland to certain grades of teachers as long ago as 1908. Before the war such grants were also made to some extent in Sweden in the mining, iron, and textile industries and in Germany in a few monopolistic enterprises, among them the Zeiss Optical Works.

On the other hand, Esthonia and Latvia did not inaugurate family allowances in State employment until 1919, while Australia and Belgium did not do so until 1920, although grants of this character had been made in private industry in the latter country since 1915.

EXTENT OF FAMILY-ALLOWANCE MOVEMENT

NUMBER OF PERSONS EMPLOYED UNDER FAMILY-ALLOWANCE SYSTEMS

Not quite 50 per cent of the countries reported in regard to the number of persons employed under family-allowance systems and the statistics on this subject which were received were not complete. The number of persons employed under such systems in Belgium, France, Germany, and Italy in 1924 and in the Netherlands in 1923 combined was more than 7,500,000.

DISBURSEMENTS FOR FAMILY ALLOWANCES IN CIVIL SERVICE

The amounts paid out by the various countries for family allowances in the civil service in the years 1921 to 1923, as far as reported, are shown in Table 1:

TABLE 1.—AMOUNTS DISBURSED IN FAMILY ALLOWANCES BY SPECIFIED GOVERNMENTS TO PERSONS IN GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT, 1921 TO 1923

Country	Unit ¹	1921	1922	1923
Austria.....	Krone.....	1,100,000,000	11,000,000,000	63,000,000,000
Belgium.....	Franc.....	6,384,503	6,404,069	36,756,779
France.....	do.....	200,000,000	200,000,000	200,000,000
Germany.....	Gold mark.....	.....	.....	253,000,000
Hungary ²	Paper krone.....	40,471,040	84,208,200	167,754,850
Latvia.....	Ruble.....	123,000,000	130,000,000	157,000,000
Lithuania.....	Litas.....	.....	.....	836,400
Luxemburg.....	Franc.....	.....	.....	1,216,345
Netherlands.....	Guilder.....	3,800,000	3,800,000	3,800,000
Norway.....	Krone.....	.....	.....	10,000,000
Rumania.....	Leu.....	.....	.....	205,477,915
Sweden.....	Krona.....	.....	.....	4,600,000
Switzerland.....	Franc.....	18,714,000	12,315,000	12,600,000

¹ Franc at par=19.3 cents; gold mark=23.82 cents; guilder at par=40.2 cents; krona at par=26.8 cents; krone at par=Austria, about 0.01415 cent; Norway, 26.8 cents; litas at par=10 cents; leu at par=19.3 cents; ruble at par=51.46 cents. Exchange rate varies.

² In June, 1924, the yearly expenditure in 1921, 1922, and 1923 could not be given because of the continuous fluctuations of the grants due to the depreciation of the currency.

³ The amounts shown for Hungary are the budget estimates for the fiscal years 1921-22 to 1923-24. The actual expenditures were much greater because of the depreciation of the currency.

⁴ Nine months

Only three countries, Belgium, France, and Greece, reported on the amounts disbursed in family allowances in private industry. In Belgium the figures include birth bonuses, and it is probable that

such bonuses are included in many of the reports upon which the totals for France are based.

In Belgium the amounts paid out by the family-allowance funds from their establishment to the middle of 1924 was 14,000,000 francs. If the allowances distributed by the coal mines were added the sum would approximate 30,000,000 francs. In France, according to an estimate in June, 1925, the disbursement in family allowances in private industry aggregated over 660,000,000 francs per annum.

Of the 67,380,000 drachmas* paid in 1923 to the workers in the three private undertakings in Greece according family allowances, 2,328,000 drachmas were for such grants.

DIFFERENT KINDS OF FAMILY ALLOWANCES

Family allowances may be roughly divided into two classes: 1. Allowances paid under legal enactments such as the law of December 21, 1921, of Austria, the law of July 22, 1923, of France, and various laws providing for family allowances in public employment; 2. Voluntary grants made by private employers. In this survey, however, for the sake of uniformity, they have been classified as to whether they are paid in the public service or in private industry.

FAMILY ALLOWANCES IN PUBLIC SERVICE

Except in England, New Zealand, Norway, Spain, and Portugal, family allowances are being paid more or less extensively in the State civil services of all the countries covered. The Norwegian Government discontinued such grants at the close of 1923. In Portugal a bill has been recently drafted providing for family allowances for public employees.

While some countries did not report as to whether the family-allowance system was in operation in municipal employment, specific information was obtained that such a scheme was followed by at least some local government services—provincial, communal, or municipal—in Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland, and Yugoslavia. The scope of the local systems varies greatly in different countries. In France, for instance, the greater number of the departmental and communal administrations pay family allowances. In Belgian and Italian municipal services also the practice seems to be widespread. On the other hand, there are at present only a few cantons and towns in Switzerland in which such allowances are paid. Family allowances are not paid in the States of the Australian Commonwealth and in the Communes of Greece, and the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury of Spain had no knowledge of such grants being made in the municipalities of that country.

FAMILY ALLOWANCES IN PRIVATE INDUSTRY

Of the 27 countries included in the survey, three—Australia, New Zealand, and Hungary—were reported as having no family allowances in private industry. In England such grants are negligible, the British Minister of Labor stating, through his representative, that a few individual employers may make these supplementary payments,

* Drachma at par=19.3 cents; exchange rate varies.

"but there is no substantial section of industry or commerce in which the system has been applied collectively to a group of undertakings." No replies to the questionnaire on family allowances in private industry were received from Bulgaria, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Portugal. In the remaining 18 countries such supplements have been or are being paid, at least to some degree, by private employers.

In France the system is making striking progress in industry, and within the last few years there has been a marked development of the movement in Belgian industry. In the Netherlands, Germany, and Austria the practice of making such grants has been quite widespread, although there was a distinct setback to the German system in 1923. In the Scandinavian countries family allowances have been almost entirely eliminated in private industry.

COLLECTIVE CONTRACTS

Of the 27 countries covered in this report, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Netherlands, Poland, and Sweden have been the most conspicuous in the regulation of family allowances through collective agreements. Although in Germany the family-allowance system had a considerable setback in 1923, in 1924, family allowances were provided for in collective agreements covering from 3,000,000 to 3,200,000 workers. The total number of workers employed under collective contracts in Germany in January, 1924, was 13,135,384. In the Netherlands in June, 1923, there were included under collective contracts granting family allowances 62,624 wage earners, or 26 per cent of the total wage earners under collective agreements.

Family allowances were included in the various collective agreements of Czechoslovakia in 1919 and 1920, but in 1921 the system was largely abandoned in private industry in that country, although these grants are still being paid in greatly reduced degree in agriculture, the metal and machine industries, sugar mills, the chemical industry, and banking.

After family allowances were introduced into Poland in private industry in 1919, they were for a short period provided for in various collective agreements, but when economic conditions became more normal many establishments discontinued the practice. They are still being granted in certain coal mining districts, in some potash mines, and in the sugar industry. In Great Poland in the last-mentioned industry workers with two children receive a supplement of 1 grosz⁴ per hour of work, while in other sections of the country family responsibilities are taken into consideration by allowances in kind.

Of 1,250 agreements in force in Sweden in 1921, affecting 219,984 workers and providing cost-of-living bonuses, 443 covering 109,009 workers, granted family allowances. At present, however, family allowances have been almost eliminated in private industry in that country.

METHODS OF GRANTING FAMILY ALLOWANCES

The methods of granting family allowances are so diversified and subject to such manifold modifications that the hope of present-

⁴ Gross at par—0.193 cent; exchange rate varies.

ing tabular international comparisons was abandoned. Even in different industries in the same country a variety of regulations is found. Among the provisions are—

Allowances for married men regardless of the number of children.

Allowances for children only, but frequently including legitimated, illegitimate, adopted, and foster children and stepchildren.

Allowances for both wives and children. The allowances for wives in various instances include common-law wives and divorced wives when the latter are entitled to support.

Allowances for widows with dependent children and for unmarried mothers.

Allowances for aged parents, sisters, and brothers.

Allowances on an hourly, weekly, monthly, or annual basis, by the shift, as a higher wage, as a percentage of the basic wage, without alleged connection with the wage, or as a part of the cost-of-living bonus.

Allowances to all employees with family responsibilities or only to workers and employees in the lower salary or wage groups.

Allowances for a certain number of children only or for all children under a certain age.

Allowances for children under 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 20, 21, and even 24 years of age.

Allowances for children in the higher age groups, usually under certain conditions; for example, because such children are continuing their education or are suffering from physical or mental disability which prevents them from earning a living.

Allowances for all children but the first, or for all children but the first two.

Allowances which increase or decrease in amount according to whether the child is the second, third, or fourth in the family.

The amounts of allowances vary in different countries and in different industries or employments and frequently according to the salary grade or wage group of the beneficiaries. As instances of the various amounts granted the following are cited:

The Belgian allowance for State employees on July 1, 1923, was 1 franc a day per child, having been advanced from 50 centimes.

In the middle of 1924, the family-allowance fund for the Liege region, the largest fund of that character in Belgium, paid monthly allowances of 10 francs for the first child, 20 francs for the second, 30 francs for the third, and 40 francs for each subsequent child.

From June 1 to December 1, 1924, family allowances were granted in the German civil service as follows:

(a) To permanent and temporary employees for all dependent children under 6 years of age, 16 gold marks monthly; for children 6 to 14 years of age, 18 gold marks; for children 14 to 20 years of age, 20 gold marks. In addition a statutory employee received an allowance of 10 gold marks for a wife.

(b) To workers, 27 gold pfennigs (4 cents) per workday for a wife and for each child entitled to support.

By a decree which went into effect December 1, 1924, these allowances were increased 2 marks per month per wife and per child.

In the early part of 1924 the family-allowance fund of the National Employers' Federation of the Saxon Electrical Works, Germany,

granted all classes of workers 3 pfennigs per hour for a wife, the same amount for the first child, and 2 pfennigs per hour for each subsequent child.

In 1924 the allowances in the French civil service were 495 francs per annum for each of the first two children and 840 francs for each subsequent child. The 1925 appropriation bill as submitted to the Senate provided for family allowances for civil service employees as follows: 540 francs per annum for the first child; 720 francs for the second child; 1,080 francs for the third child; and 1,260 francs for each subsequent child.

In France there has been great variation in the amounts of allowances paid by the family-allowance funds. The average allowances, as reported by the director of the Central Committee on Family Allowances at the 1924 congress of family-allowance funds, were 19 francs per month for 1 child, 46 francs per month for 2 children, 81 francs per month for 3 children, and 124 francs per month for 4 children. The principal funds, however, were reported as gradually putting themselves in position to pay 20 to 25 francs per month for 1 child, 50 to 75 francs per month for 2 children, and 100 to 150 francs per month for 3 children.

FAMILY-ALLOWANCE FUNDS

One of the most logical and important developments of the family-allowance movement is the institution of family-allowance funds for the pooling of the costs of family allowances among groups of employers and the prevention of discrimination in employment against workers with family responsibilities. This development has been most remarkable in France where the first fund was established in 1918 and where there are now 176 such funds. The astonishing growth of these funds in France is shown in Table 2:

TABLE 2.—GROWTH OF FAMILY-ALLOWANCE FUNDS IN FRANCE, DECEMBER 31, 1920, TO JUNE 8, 1925

Date	Number of funds	Number of establishments belonging to funds	Number of employees of establishments	Annual disbursements for allowances
Dec. 31, 1920.....	57		500,000	<i>Francs</i> 65,000,000
Dec. 31, 1921.....	75	5,200	655,000	70,000,000
Dec. 31, 1922.....	107	7,000	800,000	80,000,000
Dec. 31, 1923.....	130	8,100	950,000	101,700,000
May 25, 1924.....	152	9,300	1,100,000	128,000,000
Dec. 15, 1924.....	162	10,000	1,200,000	142,000,000
June 8, 1925.....	176	11,200	1,210,000	160,000,000

The first Belgian fund was organized in March, 1921, and in the middle of 1924 there were 12 funds in existence, one of these being set up by the Christian Federation of Trade-Unions.

In Germany the number of funds has been very restricted.

The mining industry, the heavy-metal industries, and most of the chemical industries have had no family-allowance funds, and to the employers the necessity for the establishment of such funds did not seem great.

In 1922 there were 11 funds in Germany, most of which have now ceased to function.

Both Austria and the Netherlands have funds. In the former country these funds are established under the law of December 21, 1921. In June, 1922, the procedure for pooling the costs of allowances for agricultural and certain other workers was abolished. The "cumbersome" fund machinery is reported as being out of all proportion to the negligible amounts of allowances for children.

The municipal government of Arnhem in the Netherlands has instituted a children allowance fund for municipal employees and for private employees in so far as private enterprises may be able to arrange with this fund for such grants. Funds have also been created in the boot and shoe, baking, and cigar industries in the Netherlands.

A cost-of-living fund was established in the printing industry of Copenhagen, Denmark, in January, 1917, which paid family allowances, but it was abolished in July, 1921.

FUNCTIONING OF FUNDS

Family-allowance funds are of two types, regional funds and trade funds, the former with a membership of establishments or industrial groups operating in the same locality, and the latter composed of employers or industrial groups in the same or allied trades. There are arguments both for and against both types of fund (see pp. 26, and 66 and 67).

While these funds have been created to equalize the distribution of expenses arising from the payment of family allowances and to protect the workers with family responsibilities from being thrown out of employment or from not being hired at all, the methods of preventing such discrimination are not the same in all funds. The three principal plans of determining the employers' contributions to the French funds are based on (1) the number of days worked, (2) the total number of workers employed during the month by the members of the fund, and (3) the total wages bill.

Reductions are sometimes made in the assessments for establishments employing large numbers of youthful workers who have no dependents. There have been cases in which differentiation in the rates paid by commercial undertakings affiliated with regional or intertrade funds was necessary because the personnel of such undertakings had fewer dependents in proportion to the industrial workers. In most instances the Belgian funds base the assessments of their affiliated members on either the number of their employees or the total wage bills.

Among the methods adopted by agricultural funds for fixing the assessments of member establishments is that of basing the contribution on the number of hectares cultivated.

It is estimated that the allowances in 1923 for all the funds in France taken together averaged from 1.6 to 3 per cent of the pay roll, while the allowances of the Belgian funds in 1924, constituted 2 per cent of the wage bill.

The Central Committee on Family Allowances organized in 1920, acts as a permanent liaison for the French family-allowance funds. Five annual congresses of these funds have been convened at the

call of this committee, the first meeting being held in Paris in 1921. These conferences have undoubtedly given great impetus to the movement, and the reports of the proceedings of the various sessions constitute valuable contributions to the literature on family allowances.

In Belgium also the family-allowance funds are headed by a central committee which gathers information for these funds and studies in a general way the technical, demographic, juridical, and social problems resulting from the establishment of the family-allowance system.

The first congress of the Belgian Family Allowance Funds met at Brussels November 4, 1924.

HYGIENE SERVICES OF FUNDS

As an outcome of the experience of French and Belgian family-allowance funds hygiene services have been organized by them for the benefit of the families of the workers. At the fourth annual congress of the French funds 20 of these funds were reported as having such services, some of the schemes being quite elaborate.

In November, 1924, the Liege and Brabant funds in Belgium were maintaining notable visiting-nurse services with allied activities. A visiting nurse who is a graduate midwife was at that time employed by the Verviers fund, another Belgian organization for the payment of family allowances.

In general, the family-allowance funds in the Netherlands do not carry on welfare services. It would seem also from the reports concerning the German family-allowance funds that such services are not an important feature of these funds.

FAMILY ALLOWANCES IN AGRICULTURE

The family-allowance principle is followed in agriculture in various countries, particularly through payments in kind.

In France there is a growing movement for the creation of family-allowance funds in agriculture. In February, 1925, there were 15 of these funds. As already stated, one of the bases of computing assessments for members in some of these funds is the number of hectares cultivated.

The French Ministry of Agriculture has recently sent an appeal to the prefects and presidents of the agricultural offices of his administration and to the heads of the departmental bureaus of agriculture and labor for the expansion of the family-allowance system for agricultural laborers, special attention being called to the need for the encouragement of agricultural family-allowance funds and to the importance, in the face of depopulation in the rural regions, of making every effort to keep large families on the land.

In Austria the procedure for pooling the cost of family allowances for agricultural workers, provided for under the law of December 21, 1921, was abolished in June, 1922.

In Germany family allowances are paid in agriculture to both permanent and independent workers. A permanent worker is provided by his employer with a dwelling and a tract of land which he can cultivate for himself. His wages in kind correspond to the needs of his family. A much more substantial part of the independent

worker's wages is in cash. A number of different methods of **paying independent workers**, however, are found in collective contracts.

In Czechoslovakia the permanent workers are, as a rule, the **only agricultural workers** who receive family allowances.

STATE CONTROL FOR FAMILY ALLOWANCES

A bill to make family allowances compulsory in industry in France was introduced by Maurice Bonowski in February, 1920, but failed to pass. Vigorous opposition was registered by various important conventions to proposals to make such grants obligatory in industry. The first four congresses of the French family-allowance funds have declared themselves in favor of the free development of these funds through private initiative.

Even in connection with requiring family allowances in contracts for public works the compulsory feature has been contested, but it was finally established by decree of July 13, 1923, concerning bids for public works approved by the State.

In Belgium certain public administrations have already made it compulsory for contractors for public works to affiliate with a family-allowance fund or to pay family allowances themselves to their workers. Moreover, a bill was introduced early in 1924, providing for the inclusion of a provision for family allowances in contracts for public works. The Belgian Committee for the Study of Family Allowances opposed the passage of the proposed measure, pointing out the grave danger which the committee considers such legislation involves.

In addition to the above bill there have been various proposals to place the whole family-allowance system in Belgium under the Government. The attitude of the Belgian employers on the matter is similar to that of the French industrialists, namely, that it is repugnant to them to have a voluntary liberality made compulsory; that the efficacy of the system depends upon its flexibility and freedom; and that such a scheme would lead to the imposition of an enormous tax, to be used for the most part to meet the immense costs of official administration.

The Austrian law of December 21, 1921, made family allowances compulsory for industrial employers.

In the children's maintenance bill introduced in the New South Wales Parliament in 1919 it was provided that the contributions to the children's maintenance fund were to be made by employers. In the 1921 bill, however, the general public was to be assessed for such fund. Both measures were defeated.

A bill which was presented to the New Zealand Parliament in 1922 stipulated that every employer of adult workers, except employers of domestic labor, should pay into a child-sustenance fund such amount as should be assessed for each day or part day worked by each employee.

Difficulties arising from industrial rivalry in connection with the family-allowance system in the Netherlands have resulted in propositions to establish by law for the whole country a common fund for children's allowances, to which employers would be compelled to contribute. The creation of such a fund has been urged again and again before the States General by the Minister of Labor. In

May, 1923, a bill had been drafted in this connection, but its introduction was postponed until the economic situation of the country was more favorable.

An unsuccessful attempt was made in 1924 to include in the English agricultural wages bill a provision for the establishment of a fund for the payment of children allowances.

NATURE OF FAMILY ALLOWANCES

RELATION TO WAGES

In France there has been voluminous discussion as to the actual nature of the family allowance when granted by employers, the crux of the contention being whether or not these allowances constitute a part of the wage. Jurists and economists have split hairs on this question. In industrial accident cases courts have handed down apparently diametrical decisions on the matter. Belgium is also beginning to be agitated over the same problem. At the first congress of family-allowance funds in that country, one of the principal addresses was on the legal aspects of family allowances.

The need for more scientific statistical studies on the subject of family allowances is realized, especially in France and Belgium where the system of payment has been so elaborated. In the estimates of the number of children per 100 workers the question sometimes arises as to whether all children are included or merely those eligible for allowances. The reports on the number of heads of families are not always subject to as careful delimitation as one would wish.

At the 1923 congress of French family-allowance funds, the necessity of precise terminology for family allowances was emphasized.

RELATION TO THE POPULATION PROBLEM

Not the least interesting aspect of the family-allowance system is its alleged relation to the problem of the future labor supply and, in the eyes of some militarists, to the problem of future man power for the respective nations in the event of war. In the case of France particularly this relation is more conspicuous than in any other country because of its grave concern over depopulation and the dread of military invasion.

The proceedings of the congresses of French family-allowance funds indicate how closely linked up the movement for family allowances is with the question of the birth rate. At the first annual congress the following statement was made in the opening address: "The war has revealed the terrible danger to which the paucity of births brings our country—the lack of labor is the end of industry and agriculture, the lack of soldiers is the end of the nation, the extinction of the race." Another speaker pointed out that not only were these funds established to adjust wages in accordance with economic conditions but the spirit in which such agencies were created called for an interest in the individual relations of employers and employees, a general interest in the affiliated members of

these funds, and a still broader interest in the country. These interests imperatively demanded that France be assured of future labor reserves.

The director of the Central Committee on Family Allowances declared at another congress that France was depeopling itself, that its life was compromised, and cited family allowances as the most effective means that had been instituted to encourage large families. At the 1924 meeting the subject of the birth rate was a prominent one.

On the other hand, Étienne Villey, in his *L'Organisation professionnelle des Employeurs dans l'Industrie* (p. 297), flatly denies that the family-allowance system has "for its principal objective the influencing of the birth rate."

In other countries there are evidences that at least some nationalities have realized that such a system might have an important bearing on population problems. In Belgium the marked interest of the Committee on Large Families and the National League for Large Families in the movement for family allowances may be cited as an instance of this.

Edouard Heimann, of the University of Freiburg, Germany, calls attention to one point upon which he claims he finds widespread agreement in connection with the social wage in that country, namely, that "the subsidizing of the father of a family must not be carried to such lengths as to offer him an inducement to parenthood."

Quite a different attitude was taken by W. Kulemann who declared, in the *Sociale Praxis* of April 20, 1921, that marriages were "being made more difficult because the incomes of most men are not sufficient to support a family. It seems therefore only proper to place the married men in a more favorable economic position. Not only consideration as to increasing the population but also equity calls for the procedure. The minimum of existence, whether measured from a physiological or social viewpoint, is manifestly much higher in the case of a family man than that of a single person. The same income which makes a favorable existence possible to the latter will mean starvation or at least great deprivation to the former."

A. B. Piddington, of Australia, has prophesied that the principle of child endowment established on a "sensible scale" would counteract "the impelling force of what Mr. Knibbs has called the 'Malthusian drift' which can be discerned in all the western races."⁵

Behind the advocacy of family allowances by Catholic and other Christian economists and by the Christian federations of trade-unions one may discern the religious ideal of the family.

VIEWPOINTS

PUBLIC OFFICIALS

According to the Austrian Ministry of Finance family allowances would be abolished altogether in Government employment if salaries could be restored to the pre-war level, and the General Director of the Royal Treasury of Italy holds that these grants in his country will

⁵ For a discussion of the alleged possible influences of family allowances upon the quantity and quality of the population, see Pigou, A. C.: *Essay in Applied Economics*. London, 1923, pp. 87-91.

be discontinued in the State service of that country when economic conditions become normal.

According to the German Ministry of Finance the practice of paying family allowances to those in the Federal service is somewhat different from making such payments in private industry because of the prevalent theory that compensation paid under public law "does not represent a pure and simple working wage" but a return to the employees "for putting their whole personality into the service of the State."

The Czechoslovak Ministry of Finance announces that the continuation of the family-allowance system complicates the wage problem, and the reports from the Danish Government are for the most part unfavorable.

On the other hand, the Assistant Director of the Belgian Ministry of Justice thinks we may expect greater peace and happiness for all men through perfecting family allowances and making the system general. The Director of the Budget and Financial Control of France states that "it seems the family-allowance system should bring forth its expected fruits"; and an official representative of the Latvian Ministry of Labor holds that "family allowances are indispensable" in view of the present high cost of living. In the judgment of the Secretary General of Labor, Commerce, and Industry of the Netherlands such grants are as a rule in the interest of society. The chief of the Swiss Federal Department of Finance approves of them as advantageous both to the Government and its personnel.

Conspicuous among official advocates of special provision to meet family responsibilities is Hon. Thomas W. McCawley, president of the court of arbitration of Queensland and chief justice of the supreme court of that State. He declares that the next move should be the establishment of children's allowances on a national scale as he "can see no other way of substantially raising the standard of living of those who are at present the most unfairly treated, married men with young dependent children, who now receive the basic wage or a little more."

Judge L. V. Frazer, of the New Zealand court of arbitration believes that in the matter of wages "justice to all can not be attained by working on the basis of an average family."

PRIVATE EMPLOYERS

The remarkable multiplication of family-allowance funds in France within the last few years and the enthusiasm manifested at the annual congresses of these funds seem to indicate that the French employers in general are more favorable to family allowances than the industrialists of any other country. Their attitude on this subject in connection with the population problem and the taking over of the family-allowance system by the State has already been referred to. In addition, it is interesting to note that such bonuses are in keeping with the French spirit of thrift; for, according to Étienne Villey, these allowances, being based on verified actual conditions, appeal strongly to practical industrial leaders. Rough averages and estimates are replaced by close calculations founded on fact. Bonvoisin, the director of the Central Committee on Family Allow-

ances, also emphasized the economy of these grants in an address before the second congress of the French family-allowance funds in 1922. A growing solicitude for the welfare of the families of the workers is also one of the prominent characteristics of the French movement.

Many Belgian employers are apparently sanguine over the system. The secretary of the Belgian Committee for the Study of Family Allowances declares that the institution of these grants "has permitted the realization of the most truly democratic and fruitful of reforms—one of the most far-reaching and important social reforms of the era of big industry."

On the other hand, the Central Federation of German Austrian Industry regards family allowances as necessary palliatives in times of industrial depression, but reports that employers are opposed to the "family wage" as they are keenly conscious of its undesirable effects on production.

The National Association of Czechoslovak Manufacturers holds that family allowances are not justified from the standpoint of the national production. The general secretary of the General Confederation of Italian Industry considers the system "antieconomical," unless offset by the French and Belgian system of family-allowance funds. "Special demographic reasons" alone can justify the institution of these grants.

The president of the Employers Central Association of Finland states that these grants could be instituted only under exceptional circumstances. The Scandinavian employers seem to care little for such a system.

PUBLIC EMPLOYEES

The Federal employees in a substantial number of countries seem to regard the family-allowance system with favor. The system of children's allowances established in the Australian Commonwealth is backed, with qualifications, by the "bulk of employees and nearly every union in the service." Among the most frequently expressed wishes of the Federal employees of France is that for family allowances. The greater number of the Federal personnel in Austria wish to have the system continued. The Rumanian Engineers' Association requested the Government in 1923 to keep up the practice of making grants for family responsibilities to the engineers in the State service. The Federal employees of Belgium, Italy, and Luxemburg are reported as satisfied with or favoring these bonuses. The Latvian State Government employees wish to have their system expanded. In Norway the workers in both State and municipal services desire to have family allowances reestablished.

In Switzerland, all the Federal service organizations are not agreed on the matter of family allowances, the federal union objecting to the system and the Christian federation of the transport personnel looking upon these grants as advantageous.

A very large majority of the public employees of the Netherlands Government who are members of unions affiliated with the central independent and neutral trade unions are opposed to children's allowances but the central sectarian trade-union federations defend them. The Federal employees of Czechoslovakia are also divided

on the subject, and there is a tendency among them to object to what they consider the injustice of the family-allowance system.

While the employees and manual workers in the German Federal Service are not "strictly hostile" to family allowances, the majority of them would prefer to have their basic salaries increased.

The law of March 28, 1923, of Denmark, providing that family responsibilities should be taken into account in the trade-cycle allowance, was opposed by the greater number of Danish civil service employees.

WORKERS IN PRIVATE INDUSTRY

The secretary of the International Federation of Trade-Unions sets forth three of the main objections of its affiliated members to family allowances: (1) The fear that the general efforts of the workers to secure better wages will be thwarted by the institution of these bonuses; (2) the dread that it will make it more difficult for married men and those with heavy family responsibilities to obtain employment as compared with men without dependents; (3) the feeling that these allowances would create discord among unmarried workers who would not understand receiving less remuneration for equal work.

Among other frequent objections registered by the socialistic trade-unions are the power that family allowances give industrialists over the workers and the laborer's aversion to receiving such grants as "liberalities" from employers.

A close analysis of some of the pronouncements of the national non-Christian federations of trade-unions in various countries and of the resolutions of the labor parties of England and Australia indicates that a number of these bodies are not averse to family or children endowment provided by the State in a manner agreeable to the workers and which would protect them from exploitation by employers.

Even in France and Belgium, where the protests of the socialistic trade-unions against the family-allowance system have been at times quite vehement, some of their recent resolutions include recommendations for family allowances regulated by law and subject to more or less control by representatives of the workers. Indeed, it would seem that a considerable part of the trade-union objection to family allowances is rather against the manner of granting them than against the allowances themselves.

The Christian trade-unions, while sharing some of the dominant fears of the socialistic trade-unions in regard to the family-allowance system, are not so bitterly arrayed against their employers as the latter group of workers. The economic world program of the International Federation of Christian Trade-Unions included a recommendation for the establishment of special funds for the payment of allowances to large families. The Christian trade-unions of Belgium have themselves created a family-allowance fund. The International Federation of Christian Unions of Textile Workers in September, 1924, urged the creation of national or regional family-allowance funds under the joint control of employers and workers.

Among the international meetings at which a pronounced interest either in motherhood endowment or in family allowances has been

manifested are the quinquennial congress of the International Council of Women in Christiania in 1920, the meeting of a committee of the International Women Suffrage Alliance in Rome, May, 1923, and the Conference of Women Socialists at Hamburg the same month and year.

CONCLUSIONS

So many matters concerning the family-allowance systems in their present tentative existence are debatable that the drawing of definite conclusions is difficult and frequently impossible. For example, it would be indeed futile to attempt any deduction as to the actual influence of these systems on the birth rate. Even in France, where some investigations have been made along these lines, the findings are of doubtful value. It is perfectly obvious, however, that the depopulation crisis is very much to the fore in the minds of the leaders of the family-allowance movement in that country.

Another moot question is the effect of family allowances upon industrial production. The elements influencing production are so numerous, however, that any sound conclusions as to what extent family allowances are to be taken into account in this connection should be the result of intensive scientific investigation, and particularly so under the abnormal industrial conditions following the war.

While reports from several countries state that family allowances affect production adversely, certain employers in other countries hope by such grants to reduce strikes and to lessen labor turnover, and consequently to stabilize production.

Varying replies were made to the bureau's inquiry as to the reaction of family allowances on the basic wage. This question, it is realized by the writer, could not properly be answered in many cases unless special individual studies had been made on the subject with due regard to the intricacies of wage adjustments. Such studies, would, of course, be rendered especially difficult by the extraordinary fluctuations in currencies, rapidly changing price levels, and war-devised methods of payment running parallel with family-allowance systems. It is safe to say, however, that in the civil services in various countries and to a considerable extent in industry family allowances have without doubt constituted a breakwater against demands for higher wages.

While family allowances were being paid in the civil services of 22 of the 27 countries covered in this report, the practice of making these grants in private industry has declined in almost all of the countries in which it has been tried out. This decline is especially marked in Czechoslovakia, Germany, Switzerland, and the Scandinavian countries.

On the other hand, there has been a recent vigorous development of the family allowance system in France and Belgium under the enthusiastic leadership of private employers, and a renewed interest in the question of family endowment is being manifested in England and in Australia.

Any attempt to evaluate the various experiments with family allowances is baffling not only because of the conflicting testimony of those closely associated with such experiments and of the short

period over which they have been made but because of the confusion of thought as to the nature and character of family allowances and the varying plans for putting them into effect.

On the one hand, family allowances are regarded as closely tied up with wages, and the newer system of payment is, as it were, put in juxtaposition with the standard family wage and is declared to be more just and more economical because it takes into consideration actual instead of hypothetical family responsibilities.

On the other hand, there are schemes for mother or child endowment or insurance for family responsibilities apart from the competitive wage of the father. Between these extremes there is the combination to a greater or less degree of the family allowance system with the standard family theory; for example, the paying of a wage which will support a man and his wife with supplementary grants for each dependent child, or the payment of a standard wage and the exclusion of the first child or of the first two children from such grants.

There are evidences, however, in the ever-increasing literature on family allowances of a trend, in certain countries which are more vitally interested in the subject, away from concept of the family allowance as a supplementary wage and toward proposals for State family endowment or some form of national social insurance for family responsibilities.

This trend lends support to the fears of those who see in family allowances or child endowment a more penetrating invasion of private rights and domestic intimacies, but at the same time reveals a growing determination on the part of the workers to defend their rights through effective representation.

It may also be said that the experience under family allowance systems adds weight to the demand of women for equal pay for equal work and calls for a more logical response than is frequently made to that contention.

Furthermore, the establishment of family allowance funds, at least in France and Belgium, has resulted in a growing solicitude on the part of employers for child welfare and a keener realization of its bearing on future citizenship.

Although family allowance systems have aroused bitter antagonism, and in many cases have been completely abandoned, these experiments are of real social significance. This survey shows that they have been made in 25 countries and at present cover some millions of manual and nonmanual workers. It would seem that such experiments are well worth careful consideration in connection with any comprehensive study of the problem of the living wage.

FRANCE

French legislation providing assistance for large families is quite voluminous.⁶ A brief reference to some of these measures will here be made by way of introduction to a description of the present system of family allowances in France, which is more highly developed than that in any other country.

Even before the reign of Louis XIV, financial encouragement was given to large families in certain sections of France where the birth rate did not reach the desired figure. In the Province of Bourgoyne, for example, households with 12 living children were tax exempt, and later this exemption was extended to such households throughout the country. In 1666, an imperial edict was issued at St. Germain-et-Laye for the purpose of facilitating marriages and rendering religious vows of celibacy more difficult. This measure accorded certain privileges and exemptions to persons who married before they became 20 years of age and to fathers of 12 children.⁷

A law of October 27, 1790, favored the fathers of three or more children in the matter of personal property tax exemptions,⁸ and under an act of June 28, 1793, fathers and mothers depending entirely upon their own labor had a right to national assistance when their wages were inadequate for their family needs.⁹

In the early half of the nineteenth century France seems to have been influenced by the doctrine of Malthus, and interest in large families waned,¹⁰ but after the fearful losses in man power during the Franco-Prussian war the population problem again became acute, and at that period certain legislative proposals, of more or less limited scope, favoring large families were made. The birth rate, however, decreased from 1870 to 1914, though the National Alliance for the Growth of French Population (*L'Alliance nationale pour l'accroissement de la population française*), which was formed in 1896, conducted a vigorous propaganda. After the World War this campaign was intensified.¹¹

An interesting law for the relief of large families is that of July 14, 1913, providing that "every head of a family, of French nationality, having charge of more than three legitimate or recognized children and whose resources were insufficient to maintain them, receive an annual allowance for each child under 13 years of age beyond the third child under that age." Should a father die, disappear, or

⁶ Eblé, Maurice: *Mésures légales en faveur des familles nombreuses (à la date du 1^{er} janvier, 1924)*. Paris, [1924]. Such measures include those for tax exemptions, cheaper housing, facility for securing small holdings of land, reduction of the period of military service, reductions in railroad fares, scholarships, allowances to heads of families, birth bonuses, special privileges relative to pensions and industrial accident compensation, and recognition by conferring medals.

⁷ Guesdon, Victor: *Le Mouvement de Création et d'Extension des Caisses d'Allocations familiales*. Paris, 1922, p. 23.

⁸ Dequidt, Georges: *Le Statut des Familles nombreuses*. Paris, 1923, p. 2.

⁹ Guesdon, Victor: *Le Mouvement de Création et d'Extension des Caisses d'Allocations familiales*. Paris, 1922, p. 24.

¹⁰ Dequidt, Georges: *Le Statut des Familles nombreuses*. Paris, 1923, pp. 3, 4.

¹¹ Guesdon, Victor: *Le Mouvement de Création et d'Extension des Caisses d'Allocations familiales*. Paris, 1922, pp. 25, 26.

abandon his children, leaving them in their mother's care, an allowance is to be granted to every child, beginning with the second, under 13 years of age. This assistance to large families is made compulsory on the Departments, in cooperation with the communes and the State Government.

The amount of the allowance in each commune, to be fixed by the municipal council subject to the approval of the general council of the Ministry of the Interior, must not be less than 60 nor more than 90 francs^a a year for each child entitled to such allowance, unless any excess of the latter amount be met entirely by the commune.

On April 7, 1917, a law was passed providing for the payment of family allowances in all State services (see p. 20). Previous to this date, however, various ministries had in some cases for many years granted allowances of this kind to certain classes of employees.¹²

A decree of January 27, 1920, created a superior council of natality under the Ministry of Health, Assistance and Social Welfare, and a natality commission in each department to determine measures "to combat depopulation, to increase the birth rate, to develop child welfare work, and to protect and honor large families."¹³

Among the most recent family allowance measures are the law of December 19, 1922, making it "permissible" to include in bidders' estimates for public works a provision obligating contractors to pay family allowances to persons employed on such works,¹⁴ and the decree of July 13, 1923, which made family allowances for employees engaged in State public works obligatory.¹⁵

On July 22, 1923, a law was passed providing an annual allowance from the State of 90 francs for each child under 13 years of age in excess of three in French families. This allowance may be granted up to 16 years of age if the children are still in school, apprenticed, "invalided, or incurably ill," except in the case of children who are cared for in hospitals at the expense of the State, Department, or commune. The Departments or communes may increase these national grants from their own funds. The allowances granted under this law, however, are not in addition to the allowances for heads of families employed in the State civil or military service or by the Departments, communes, and public establishments, nor to the assistance provided under certain other laws.¹⁶

PUBLIC SERVICE

STATE

The Marine Ministry seems to have been the first to inaugurate the payment of family allowances in the State Government service, an imperial decree of December 26, 1862, providing for allowances of 10 centimes per day for each child under 10 years of age to be paid to registered seamen, up to and including quarter-

^a Franc at par=19.3 cents; exchange rate varies.

¹² Bulletin du Ministère du Travail, Paris, March-April, 1920, p. 104.

¹³ Le Journal Officiel, Paris, Jan. 28, 1920, pp. 1496, 1497.

¹⁴ Bulletin du Ministère du Travail, Paris, January-February-March, 1923, p. 65.

¹⁵ Idem, July-August-September, 1923, p. 100*.

¹⁶ Idem, pp. 71*, 72*.

masters, having over 5 years' service. In 1908, housing allowances for married sailors were substituted for the allowances for children.¹⁷

The law of July 30, 1913, provided for grants of 200 francs per annum for each legally dependent child under 16, beginning with the second child, to be paid to the personnel of specified grades in the army, navy, and colonial services, more than 3,000,000 francs being appropriated for the payment of such allowances.

Under a ministerial order of December 28, 1911, constables or bailiffs (*huissiers*), office watchmen, and day workers of the colonial office received 150 francs at the birth of each child, 20 francs annually for the first and second child, and 60 francs annually for the third and each subsequent child, the allowance being paid until the child became 17 years of age.

Certain allowances for children were granted by the Ministry of Finance approximately 25 years ago, and from 1908 annual grants varying with the number and ages of their children were paid to teachers in the public primary schools of the State.¹⁸

Among other State Government services reporting the payment of family allowances to certain classes of their personnel prior to 1917 were the Ministry of Industry, Ministry of Commerce, postal and telegraph services, the customs service, the mint, the national printing office, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Labor, and the Ministry of Public Works.¹⁹

The law of April 7, 1917, extended family allowances to all permanent State employees receiving less than a certain specified compensation, and to carry out such provisions 45,832,200 francs were appropriated. These measures were taken because of the difficult economic circumstances in which such employees were placed as a result of the war. The allowance was fixed at 100 francs per annum per child under 16 years of age, there being no age limit in case the child was infirm, unable to work, or legally dependent on the employee or workman. The laws of August 4, 1917, March 22, 1918, and November 14, 1918, liberalized certain provisions of the original act,²⁰ in some cases including employees of higher salary grades in the classes benefited and in others increasing the amounts of the allowance per child.

The law of October 18, 1919, increased the allowance to 330 francs annually for each of the first two children, and 480 francs for each child beginning with the third, and the law of June 30, 1923, granted each child beginning with the third an additional allowance of 120 francs per annum. Temporary supplements provided under the law of December 28, 1923, raised the allowance for each of the first two children to 495 francs and for each succeeding child to 840 francs per annum.²¹

The average amount disbursed in family allowances in each year from 1921 to 1923 was approximately 200,000,000 francs. In 1924 the annual cost of family allowances was increased by 80,000,000 or 90,000,000 francs because of the law of December 28, 1923.

¹⁷ Bulletin du Ministère du Travail, Paris, March-April, 1920, p. 105.

¹⁸ Idem, pp. 105, 106.

¹⁹ France. Chambre des Députés, Session de 1916. Rapport fait au Nom de la Commission d'Assurance et de Prévoyance sociales, No. 2711. Paris, 1916, pp. 42, 43.

²⁰ Bulletin du Ministère du Travail, Paris, March-April, 1920, p. 107.

²¹ Data furnished by the Minister of Finance of France, May 9, 1924.

State civil-service employees who are heads of families receive family allowances regardless of sex, which are granted for all dependent children under 16 years of age, including recognized children of unmarried mothers, and also for children from 16 years to the completion of their eighteenth year if apprenticed under a written contract. Moreover, allowances are granted for children over 16 and under 21 years of age if such children are studying in educational institutions, and for infirm or incurably ill children without regard to their age.

In the early part of May, 1924, a uniform system of family allowances was made applicable to all civil-service permanent employees, both manual and nonmanual, whose family responsibilities bring them within the scope of the law, 270,000 out of a force of 638,000 being entitled to such allowances.

The 1925 appropriation bill, as submitted to the Senate, provides for family allowances for civil-service employees as follows: For the first child, 540 francs; for the second child, 720 francs; for the third child, 1,080 francs; and for each subsequent child, 1,260 francs per annum.²²

DEPARTMENTS AND COMMUNES

More than a dozen of the Departments of France were paying allowances before 1917. Rhone, Finistère, Gironde, and Lozère were among the first to make such grants, establishing the practice in 1900, 1903, 1904, and 1905, respectively.²³

In 1920 the great majority of the 80 Departments had adopted the same system as the State.²⁴ The allowances paid by 15 Departments having systems which differed somewhat from that of the State ranged from 50 to 720 francs per annum for the first and the second child and from 100 to 1,080 francs per annum for subsequent children. In the Department of the Rhone the allowance was 10 per cent of the salary for the first and the second child and 12 per cent for succeeding children under 16. The age limits of child beneficiaries in the various Departments were from 13 to 18 years.

An investigation made in 1920 by the French Ministry of Labor²⁵ showed that the 185 cities from which reports were received were paying allowances to 14,987 municipal employees, whose dependents, including children, wives, and parents, numbered 22,587. Of 206 cities reporting, 99 had uniform allowances, while 99 had progressive allowances and 8 had digressive allowances according to the number of children.

Of 147 cities reporting 17 cities fixed the age limit for receiving allowances at 13 years, 13 cities at 14 and 15 years, 115 cities at 16 years, 1 city at 17 years, and 1 city at 18 years. In the 99 cities in which all children in a family received uniform allowances such allowances ranged from 50 to 360 francs per annum. In the 99 cities in which the allowances were progressive according to the number of children, the amounts varied from 60 to 480 francs per annum.

²² International Labor Office. *Industrial and Labor Information*, Geneva, Mar. 2, 1925, pp. 35, 36.

²³ *Bulletin du Ministère du Travail*, August-September-October, 1920. Paris, p. 369.

²⁴ *Idem*, p. 369.

²⁵ *Idem*, pp. 377, 381.

The greater number of departmental and communal administrations are at present paying family allowances, and are free to fix the amounts of the allowances and the conditions regulating them, with the proviso, however, that they must not make higher grants than the State Government makes to its employees.²⁶

INDUSTRY

RAILROADS

By 1920 family allowances were being granted by all the large railway companies in France, some of them having paid such allowances for many years previous to that date; for example, the North and Orleans companies since 1890, the Paris-Lyon-Marseille Co. since 1892, and the State system since 1907. The payment plans adopted by the different companies varied considerably, but in November, 1916, agreements were reached with the State under the terms of which the family allowances granted by the different railroads and the regulations governing them were made uniform.²⁷

In January, 1925, the principal French railways inaugurated a new scale of salaries and wages which eliminated the special cost-of-living bonus.²⁸ The prominent features of this system are a higher basic wage, an advance in housing allowances, and an increase in family allowances. The family allowances paid since then range from 504 to 804 francs per annum for each of the first two children and from 852 to 1,302 francs for the third and each succeeding child. The higher allowances are paid in localities in which housing allowances are granted, the allowance being increased in proportion to the increase in the housing-allowance rates.²⁹ Various local steam railroads and street railways also pay grants to the heads of families.³⁰

MINING

Even before the war certain mine operators took into account the family responsibilities of their workers by means of bonuses, and during the war various companies granted family allowances. The agreement of December 31, 1917, between the Central Committee of the Coal Mines of France, the National Federation of the Coal Mining and Quarry Industries, and the Mine Workers' Union of Pas de Calais provided for grants of 3 francs a month per child. In 1919 and 1920 provision was made by decision of joint commissions and in arbitration awards for the payment of family allowances by various coal-mining companies. The amounts of the allowances varied considerably in different mines, being as low as 3 francs per month and as high as 1 franc a day per child, and 4 francs per month to 1 franc per day for a wife.³¹

Allowances are usually granted for wives and children and in some cases for parents. As a rule, the age limit for children is 13.

²⁶ Data furnished by the Minister of Finance of France, May 9, 1924.

²⁷ Bulletin du Ministère du Travail, Paris, March-April, 1920, pp. 111-115.

²⁸ International Labor Office. Industrial and Labor Information, Geneva, Apr. 20, 1925, p. 14.

²⁹ Data furnished by the Director of Labor, Ministry of Labor, Hygiene, and Social Welfare of France, May 9, 1925.

³⁰ Bulletin du Ministère du Travail, Paris, August-September-October, 1920, p. 373.

³¹ Idem, pp. 386-388.

Sometimes, however, grants are made for children up to 14 and 16 years of age, the amounts varying from 10 centimes to 1.50 francs daily per dependent child.

A report presented at the general meeting of the Committee of French Mine Owners on March 25, 1924, discussed family allowances in the industry as follows:

There has been considerable development in the system of family allowances in the mining industry. The figures for such allowances are beyond comparison larger than the figures for similar allowances, great as these are, in kindred industries. The total sums paid during 1923 under this heading rose to about 80,000,000 francs, which is equivalent to about 5 or 6 per cent of the total wages bill, whereas the same proportion is not more than 1.2 per cent for all the industries included in the list of the various benefit funds involved.³²

OTHER INDUSTRIES

In addition to the mines and railways various other individual undertakings not affiliated with family-allowance funds were making such grants to their personnel in 1920, some of them having done so for about 10 years preceding that date. These provisions were incorporated in numerous collective agreements.³³

Among 240 of these private establishments, which were engaged in food production, the textile, clothing, leather, wood, stone and clay, rubber, paper, metallurgical, and chemical industries, large stores, banks, and insurance companies, there were the characteristic variations in methods and regulations in disbursing allowances for family responsibilities.³⁴ In addition to allowances for children, grants were also made for wives who remained at home to take care of their children.

FAMILY-ALLOWANCE FUNDS

A logical development of the system of family allowances in France was the creation of funds to equalize the expenses of groups of employers for such allowances and to prevent any discrimination against workers having family responsibilities.

Under a family-allowance system the temptation of reactionary employers to engage workers without dependents was a strong one. On the other hand, patriotic and philanthropic employers, concerned over the depopulation crisis and interested in the welfare of their wage earners, could not fail to realize the special need of workers with dependent families for employment and for higher remuneration. The situation brought about by these conflicting attitudes, full of grave competitive dangers for both employers and workers, together with the necessity for economy in the matter of labor costs, quickly led to the multiplication of these funds.

The first two funds were established in 1918, one at Lorient under the patronage of the Alliance of Industry and Commerce and the other at Grenoble by the Federation of Industrial Engineers and Metal Workers of Isère (*Syndicates des Constructeurs, Mécaniciens, Chaudronniers et fondeurs de l'Isère*). While the former fund was

³² International Labor Office. *Industrial and Labor Information*, Geneva, May 12, 1924, p. 31.

³³ *Bulletin du Ministère du Travail*, Paris, August-September-October, 1920, p. 384.

³⁴ *Idem*, November-December, 1920, pp. 493-502.

in operation a few months previous to the latter, it is conceded that the pioneer in this movement was Émile Romanet, industrial engineer in the Joya Metal Works at Grenoble, which establishment had been signalized for years by its welfare activities in behalf of its personnel.

In May, 1919, a family allowance fund was set up at Saint Dizier, and in the following month two funds were organized, one at Rouen and another at Epernay. In December, 1919, a regional fund was created at Nantes.⁸⁶ An impetus was given to the growth of institutions of this character through discussion during the Catholic "social week"⁸⁷ at Metz in 1919, and by the Natality Congress which convened at Nancy the same year. The latter assembly passed a resolution that trade funds for family allowances be established in all parts of France, and that such funds be supported by contributions from employers' organizations and individual employers in proportion to the total pay roll in each establishment.⁸⁸

Table 3 shows the great increase in family-allowance funds from December 31, 1920, to June, 1925:

TABLE 3.—GROWTH OF FAMILY-ALLOWANCE FUNDS IN FRANCE, DECEMBER 31, 1920, TO JUNE 8, 1925¹

Date	Number of funds	Number of establishments belonging to funds	Number of employees of establishments	Annual disbursement for allowances
Dec. 31, 1920.....	57	—	500,000	Francs 65,000,000
Dec. 31, 1921.....	75	5,200	665,000	70,000,000
Dec. 31, 1922.....	107	7,000	800,000	80,000,000
Dec. 31, 1923.....	130	8,100	950,000	101,700,000
May 25, 1924.....	152	9,300	1,100,000	128,000,000
June 8, 1925.....	176	11,200	1,210,000	160,000,000

¹ Data furnished by the Minister of Labor of France, May 23, 1924; and from Comité central des Allocations familiales, IV^e Congrès national des Allocations familiales, Mulhausen, May 26-29, 1924. Compte rendu. Lille, 1924, p. 98; La Journée Industrielle, Paris, June 21-22, 1925, p. 7.

It will be noted from Table 3 that in June, 1925, 160,000,000 francs were being disbursed by 176 family allowance funds, the system covering 1,210,000 manual and nonmanual workers.

If similar figures for other private undertakings are included, the number of wage earners and employees is 2,500,000 and the annual amount disbursed in allowances is 662,000,000 francs. The addition of the personnel of the public administrations and the sums paid out by such administrations in family allowances brings the aggregate number of workers embraced under the family-allowance system to 3,500,000 and the amounts disbursed annually in this connection to 1,017,000,000 francs.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Guesdon, Victor: Le Mouvement du Création et Extension des Caisses d'Allocations familiales. Paris, 1922, pp. 69, 74-76.

⁸⁷ The French Catholic social week was first held at Lyon in 1904 and has been an annual occurrence since that date except during the late war. At the Grenoble meeting 1,300 persons from 19 nations were in attendance. The "social week" has been termed an "itinerant social university." It occupies "a most important place in both the thought and practical activities of the Catholic social movement."—International Labor Office, Industrial and Labor Information, Geneva, Sept. 14, 1924, pp. 4, 5, 12.

⁸⁸ Guesdon, Victor: Le Mouvement de Création et Extension des Caisses d'Allocations familiales. Paris, 1922, pp. 76, 77.

⁸⁹ La Journée Industrielle, Paris, June 21-22, 1925, p. 7 (report of the director of the Central Committee on Family Allowances presented at the Fifth Annual Congress of Family Allowance Funds, Rouen, June 8-10, 1925).

The very "ingenious" scheme of treating the family responsibilities of the workers as an insurance risk for employers was clearly a development of the growing habit of industry to insure against hazards for which these employers were made legally responsible,⁴⁰ an outstanding illustration of which is industrial accident insurance. In the case of family allowances the risk involved has been "benevolently assumed." In connection with this assumption a brief examination of some of the variations in family responsibilities is pertinent.

A report on the varying composition of families benefiting under certain funds submitted at the 1924 congress of family allowance funds⁴¹ stated that of the personnel covered by 30 funds (153,801 wage earners, of whom 35,236 received family allowances), the heads of families formed 22.9 per cent, as compared with 24.7 per cent the preceding year. The small difference may be accounted for in part, it was suggested, by the fact that identical funds were not covered by the two inquiries.

In the individual funds included in the 1924 investigation the maximum percentage of heads of families in the personnel was 36.31 per cent and the minimum 7.96 per cent. The average number of children per 100 workers was 41.57, as compared with 41 in the year preceding, but the proportion varied considerably in the different funds, the maximum being 71.55 and the minimum 20.78. The average number of children per family for the funds covered was 1.81, as compared with 1.66 for the preceding year.

The per cent of families having a given number of children in 1923 and 1924 were as follows:

	1923 Per cent	1924 Per cent
Families of 1 child-----	58	55.72
Families of 2 children-----	25	26.41
Families of 3 children-----	10.7	10.65
Families of 4 children-----	4.1	4.60
Families of 5 children-----	2.2	2.80

The report states that, as the figures for the two years are not completely comparable, these statistics are an inadequate foundation for any sound conclusion.

The figures for the family-allowance funds as a whole reported by the president of the Central Committee on Family Allowances at the congress of family-allowance funds in 1924⁴² were as follows:

Number of wage earners covered by funds-----	1, 100, 000
Number of heads of families per 100 wage earners----	23
Number of children per 100 wage earners-----	39
Average number of children to heads of families-----	1. 69

These statistics correspond rather closely with the findings from the investigation of the 30 funds.

TYPES OF FUNDS

There are two types of family-allowance funds: (1) Regional or intertrade funds, composed of chambers of commerce and federations of employers, and (2) trade funds, organized according to indus-

⁴⁰ Guesdon, Victor: *Le Mouvement de Création et d'Extension des Caisses d'Allocations familiales*. Paris, 1922, p. 86.

⁴¹ Comité central des Allocations familiales. *IV^e Congrès national des Allocations familiales*, Mulhausen, May 26-29, 1924. *Compte rendu*, Lille, 1924, pp. 33-36.

⁴² *Idem*, p. 135.

tries. Of the 158 funds listed in the 1925 annual of the Central Committee on Family Allowances (pp. 564-643), 94 are regional funds and 64 are trade funds.

Some of the advantages of the regional fund, from his point of view, were summarized by Pierre Richemond, president of the group of metallurgical and mechanical industries of the Parisian regional fund, at a meeting held by the Paris Chamber of Commerce, as follows:⁴³

1. The employers of a given locality or district have a community of interest in the recruiting of manual workers.
2. Living costs vary by locality and not by industry.
3. Birth rates are subject to regional influences.
4. The majority of allowances imply a certain measure of control which is effected more easily by a single fund the membership of which is in the same district.
5. It is expedient to stabilize these allowances as far as possible by making them independent of a single industry.

The trade fund should not be the goal of the family-allowance movement, according to Fernand Rey, director of the family associations of the upper Rhine. This type should be regarded merely as a provisional form justified, perhaps, by exceptional circumstances. He holds that "the application of family allowances is a question of an industrial character entirely detached from trade, which admits of no bargaining (*marchandage*) and which should lead to the establishment of the intertrade (regional) fund—the only guaranty of complete mutuality and solidarity—which the solution of such question demands."⁴⁴

At the Congress of Family Allowance Funds in 1921 a resolution in favor of the formation of intertrade or regional funds paying uniform allowances was adopted unanimously.⁴⁵ Notwithstanding the advantages of the regional fund as set forth above, it is reported that the different industries object to being absorbed into regional funds and that trade funds still continue to be formed. This is attributed to the individualism of the industry and also to the feeling that there is not the same unity of interest in a fund made up of entirely different trades. Moreover, the divergent character of the personnel in different trades constitutes in some cases a strong element in this objection to regional funds. For example, the confectionery and textile industries employ large numbers of young women with few dependents, while the majority of the workers in the chemical and building industries are men, many of whom have heavy family responsibilities.

Certain districts as well as certain trades are considered "sterile," declares Fernand Rey, while others have the reputation of being "prolific," and it will be easily seen why the sterile trades and districts do not wish to combine with prolific trades and districts for the payment of family allowances through a central fund.⁴⁶

⁴³ Bulletin du Comité central industriel de Belgique, Brussels, September 20, 1922, pp. 712, 713.

⁴⁴ Comité des Allocations familiales. Congrès national des Caisses de Compensation Paris, July 4, 1921. Compte rendu. Paris, 1921, p. 56.

⁴⁵ Idem, p. 99.

⁴⁶ Guesdon, Victor: Le Mouvement de Création et d'Extension des Caisses d'Allocations familiales. Paris, 1922, pp. 126, 127, 129.

OPERATION OF FUNDS

In discussing the remarkable growth of family-allowance funds, Victor Guesdon says: "One of the characteristic features of this efflorescence is variety—born of circumstances adapted to regional needs, they [the funds] have chosen the most diverse plans and adopted, both for the allowances paid and for the compensation assessments, elastic and multiple rules."⁴⁷

The funds vary greatly in the number of their member establishments, the Paris regional fund having 1,661 affiliated establishments, the Lille fund for family allowance in the building industry, 396; the family fund of the Picardy region with headquarters at Amiens, 308; while the family-allowance fund of the region of Castres has only 10 member establishments, and the Grenoble carpentry fund, 4.⁴⁸

The methods adopted for the purpose of equalizing the distribution of expenses arising from the payment of family allowances vary somewhat in different funds but the three outstanding schemes of computing assessments are based as follows⁴⁹ on:

1. *Number of days or hours worked*, the total cost of family allowances to the various establishments affiliated with the fund being divided by the total days or hours worked by such establishments, and the quotient multiplied by the number of days or hours worked by the individual establishment to ascertain the amount of the assessment for such establishment.

2. *The total number of workers employed during the month* by the members of the fund, the total expenditure for family allowances being divided by such number and the result multiplied by the number of workers employed by the individual establishment.

Sometimes there is a difference between the assessment rates paid by employers for male and for female workers because the latter have fewer dependents.

3. *The total wages bill*, the contributions of the various members of the fund being a certain percentage of the pay roll for a given period, ordinarily the quarter. This method is the most common and is said to be both fair and simple. It has the disadvantage, however, of revealing data which some employers might prefer to keep to themselves.

Sometimes "coefficients of reduction" are used in computing assessments for establishments employing a very large proportion of youthful workers, as such workers have, of course, few dependents. It has been found that the expense of family allowances for commercial employees is, as a rule, not so great as that of allowances for manual laborers, who have on the whole more children. For this reason commercial establishments are somewhat chary of affiliating with regional funds having industrial members. Because of this attitude on the part of commercial undertakings provision has been made by the Paris regional fund to carry commercial workers in a

⁴⁷ Guesdon, Victor: *Le Mouvement de Création et d'Extension des Caisses d'Allocations familiales*. Paris, 1922, p. 196.

⁴⁸ Comité central des Allocations familiales. *Annuaire*, 1925. Paris [1925?], pp. 30-38, 104, 160, 178-194, and 277-374.

⁴⁹ International Labor Office. *International Labor Review*, Geneva, February, 1924, pp. 165-166: "Family allowances in French industry," by Roger Picard.

separate section.⁵⁰ In other instances industries are placed in certain classes according to the make-up of their personnel. These complicated and discriminating measures tend, however, to affect the solidarity of the system and jeopardize its successful operation.

Members of a fund also assume their share of the overhead expenses of the fund, according to the business activity of their establishments and the normal competitive conditions in the same district.⁵¹

In April, 1925, the allowances paid averaged from 1.6 to 3 per cent of the pay rolls of the establishments making such grants.⁵²

The assessment systems for agricultural funds are described on pp. 36 and 37.

METHODS OF GRANTING ALLOWANCES

Among the methods of granting family allowances are the following:⁵³

1. No allowance for the first child.
2. Increased allowance for the second and subsequent children.
3. Discontinuance of allowance to the first child unless there is a second child within a certain period, varying from one to four years.
4. Same allowance for each child.
5. Same allowance (rather low) for the first two children, and increased allowance for subsequent ones.

An age limit is generally fixed, beyond which no allowance is granted for the child. The regular prevailing age limits fixed by the funds for children benefiting through family allowances are 13 and 14 years. Some funds stipulate that children within the age limits must be attending school or must be dependent. The age limits, however, are subject to extension by various funds to 16 years and sometimes over this age because the child is following higher school courses or is apprenticed. Exceptions to age limits are also made for children who are unable to work. Some funds make a difference between the age limits of boys and girls. Other funds stipulate that the children must be residents of France.⁵⁴ The majority of funds pay allowances for natural as well as legitimate children. Under certain circumstances parents and even grandparents of the workers receive allowances.

Some funds do not include foreign workers in their family allowance system, and other funds do not make these grants to employees who receive a salary above a certain sum.⁵⁵ Of the 158 funds tabulated in the 1925 annual of the Central Committee of Family Allowances (pp. 564-642), 48 are reported as fixing maximum salaries beyond which the workers do not receive family allowances. Such maximum salaries range from 6,000 to 15,000 francs per annum. There are 10 other funds which have sections with

⁵⁰ Guesdon, Victor: *Le Mouvement de Création et d'Extension des Caisses d'Allocations familiales*. Paris, 1922, pp. 176, 177.

⁵¹ *Bulletin du Ministère du Travail*, Paris, March-April, 1920, p. 101.

⁵² Data furnished by the Director of Labor, Ministry of Labor, Hygiene, and Social Welfare of France, Apr. 5, 1925.

⁵³ *Bulletin du Ministère du Travail*, Paris, October-November-December, 1921, pp. 418-421; also *Comité des Allocations familiales*, III^e Congrès national des Allocations familiales, Nantes, June, 1923, *Compte rendu*, Paris, 1923, p. 85.

⁵⁴ *Comité central des Allocations familiales*. *Annuaire*, 1925. Paris [1925?], pp. 564-643.

⁵⁵ International Labor Office. *International Labor Review*, Geneva, February, 1924, p. 167: "Family allowances in French industry."

different methods of granting family allowances so far as maximum salary is concerned, such grants being made regardless of salary limits in one section while in another section the personnel receiving beyond a maximum salary are not eligible for the benefits in question. The remaining funds are reported as having no maximum salary limits for family allowances,⁵⁶ except that 6 funds exclude administrators and delegates, and a seventh fund makes no grants to directors.

Some establishments not affiliated with funds grant a family allowance to a mother who is not gainfully employed. Family-allowance funds have not, however, adopted this method, although they do give birth bonuses and nursing bounties to mothers. (See p. 31.)

When it was first organized the Grenoble metallurgical fund granted 12½ francs per month to a worker's wife who stayed at home to care for her children and 25 francs per month to a sick or infirm wife who was unable to perform her household duties. The matter of finding out why women did not come to work was quite a problem, and these special allowances were soon discontinued and applied in a general way to child dependents.⁵⁷

The Algerian family allowance fund accords an allowance for an infirm wife and the Paris armament fund for family allowances makes a grant for a wife.⁵⁸

Allowances are paid in some cases by the funds themselves and in other cases directly by the employer, the funds merely computing the compensation. Some funds grant allowances by the month and others by the day. The question as to whom the allowances should be paid has given rise to considerable discussion, certain funds being in favor of paying these allowances to the father of the family, and others advocating that the mother is the proper person to receive the "sursalaire."⁵⁹

FAMILY-ALLOWANCE RATES

There is great diversity in the amounts of allowances paid by different funds. The amounts of the monthly family allowances for children under 13 or 14 years of age for 72 funds in 1923, as reported to the Third National Congress on Family Allowances,⁶⁰ were as follows:

TABLE 4.—FAMILY-ALLOWANCE RATES PAID BY 72 FUNDS FOR CHILDREN, 1923

Birth rank of child	Average	Maximum	Minimum
	Francs	Francs	Francs
First child.....	17.20	50	0
Second child.....	22.95	75	0
Third child.....	27.35	100	5
Fourth child.....	29.30	80	5
Fifth and subsequent children.....	30.38	75	5

⁵⁶ Comité central des Allocations familiales. *Annuaire*, 1925. Paris [1925?], pp. 564-643.

⁵⁷ Guesdon, Victor: *Le Mouvement de Création et d'Extension des Caisses d'Allocations familiales*. Paris, 1922, pp. 135, 137.

⁵⁸ Comité central des Allocations familiales. *Annuaire*, 1925. Paris [1925?], pp. 564 and 620.

⁵⁹ Guesdon, Victor: *Le Mouvement de Création et d'Extension des Caisses d'Allocations familiales*. Paris, 1922, pp. 137-148.

⁶⁰ Comité des Allocations familiales. *III^e Congrès national des Allocations familiales*, Nantes, June, 1923. *Compte rendu*. Lille, 1923, p. 82.

At the Fourth National Congress on Family Allowances the director of the Central Committee on Family Allowances reported that the average amounts of allowances were 19 francs per month for 1 child, 46 francs for 2 children, 81 francs for 3 children, and 124 francs for 4 children, and that the principal funds whose members have the largest working forces were gradually putting themselves in position to pay allowances of 20 to 25 francs per month for 1 child, 50 to 75 francs for 2 children, and 100 to 150 francs for 3 children. Not only was the principle of family allowances constantly developing, he said, but the family-allowance-fund system was becoming more and more triumphant over the "individualism" which people have for so long claimed characterized the employers of France."⁶¹

The highest and the lowest monthly family-allowance rates for 132 regional and trade funds shown in the 1925 annual of the Central Committee on Family Allowances (pp. 532-557) are as follows:

	Francs
For 1 child.....	0-31. 25
For 2 children.....	12. 50-125. 00
For 3 children.....	27. 50-200. 00
For 4 children.....	45. 00-300. 00
For 5 children.....	62. 50-375. 00
For 6 children.....	75. 00-450. 00

The average weighted monthly family-allowance rates for these 132 funds were:

	Francs
For 1 child.....	19
For 2 children.....	48
For 3 children.....	90
For 4 children.....	140
For 5 children.....	194
For 6 children.....	253

The highest and lowest monthly allowance rates for the 14 commercial funds were:

	Francs
For 1 child.....	0-50
For 2 children.....	15-125
For 3 children.....	35-225
For 4 children.....	60-325
For 5 children.....	85-425
For 6 children.....	105-525

As a result of a recent and detailed inquiry made by 10 or more funds it was reported that the cost of maintaining a child under 1 year of age should ordinarily be 100 francs a month; that the cost of maintaining a child from 1 to 3 years of age, averaged 150 francs a month, and for a child over 3 years of age it was at least 200 francs and frequently from 250 to 300 francs per month. The contrast between the actual cost of living for children and the amounts of the allowances granted by the funds is rather startling, although it must be remembered that the allowances are not intended to cover the entire cost of maintenance of such children.⁶²

⁶¹ Comité central des Allocations familiales. IV^e Congrès national des Allocations familiales, Mulhausen, May 26-29, 1924. Compte rendu. Lille, 1924, p. 98.

⁶² Idem, pp. 42, 43, 125.

BIRTH BONUSES AND NURSING BOUNTIES⁶³

At the Third National Congress on Family Allowances, in June, 1923, a resolution was passed that the funds "study and establish nursing bonuses which would enable a mother to remain at home at least three months after her child's birth and that rooms for nursing be available for exceptional cases where the necessities of the industry call for such rooms."⁶⁴

At the Fourth Annual Congress on Family Allowances in May, 1924, it was reported that 106 funds were paying birth premiums ranging from 100 to 300 francs and 50 funds were granting nursing bonuses of from 30 to 125 francs per month. It was also stated that birth expenses had become increasingly heavy, and while certain funds had made an attempt to meet all such expenses, all funds can not stand such a strain on their resources. Emphasis was laid on the desirability of the public authorities interesting themselves in the matter of birth expenses.

A nursing bonus is granted by some funds to every mother who has an infant, if she is employed by a member of a fund or is the wife of a worker employed by such member. Other funds limit the nursing bonuses to those working mothers who prolong their stay at home in order to nurse their children. Statistics have already shown that where these birth benefits and nursing bonuses are accorded there has been a considerable reduction in infant mortality.

ALLOWANCES TO FOREIGN WORKERS

An important problem which the funds have had to solve is whether or not family allowances should be paid to foreign workers. Some funds have decided in favor of their foreign personnel but, generally speaking, the sentiment is against such procedure. In localities near the borders of France where there are large numbers of foreigners, however, it has seemed advisable, as well as just, to pay family allowances to foreign as well as native workers. Various funds which are not on the frontiers also include immigrants under their family-allowance system, but the majority of such funds stipulate that the children thus benefited must be at the time residing in France. Certain funds exclude from these benefits immigrant workers from countries which have been at war with France.⁶⁵

It was suggested at the Fourth National Congress on Family Allowances that the question of the high cost of allowances as a result of employing foreign workers with large families should be included in the annual statistical inquiries into the composition of households benefiting under family-allowance funds.⁶⁶

ALLOWANCES DURING UNEMPLOYMENT

As the practice of making family grants through family-allowance funds was inaugurated in a period of unusual activity in indus-

⁶³ Except where otherwise specified the data for the section are from Comité central des Allocations familiales. IV^e Congrès national des Allocations familiales, Mulhausen, May 26-29, 1924. Compte rendu. Lille, 1924, 50, 51, 134.

⁶⁴ Comité des Allocations familiales. III^e Congrès national des Allocations familiales, Nantes, June 4-6, 1923. Compte rendu. Lille, 1923, p. 151.

⁶⁵ Guesdon, Victor: Mouvement de Création et d'Extension des Caisses d'Allocations familiales. Paris, 1922, p. 144.

⁶⁶ Comité central des Allocations familiales. IV^e Congrès national des Allocations familiales, Mulhausen, May 26-29, 1924. Compte rendu. Lille, 1924, p. 37.

trial and commercial enterprises in France, the effect of the post-war unemployment crisis on the new institution was made the subject of a special inquiry by the Government.⁶⁷

Industrial depression first made itself felt in the clothing and boot and shoe industries in the late spring of 1920 and spread little by little to the other industries. Many establishments were obliged to run part time and some even to dismiss all or part of their personnel. In a circular dated February 10, 1921, the Minister of Labor requested those funds of which he had knowledge to state what measures they had taken in favor of their unemployed workers who were heads of families. In the circular he reported that the Vienne Textile Fund had decided on November 24, 1920, that when French workers who had been receiving family allowances became unemployed they should continue to receive such allowances for two months following the month in which the unemployment began. These allowances were to be paid at the end of the month at the office of the factory where the workers had been engaged at the time their unemployment commenced, the payments to be made, however, only in case the working man or woman had not found an occupation elsewhere. This decision, which was to be in force for two months, was renewed for a like period from January 25, 1921, and at the time the report was made (April-June, 1921) was said to be still effective, though the industrial situation was appreciably improved. The prosperous condition of the Vienne fund made it possible to take such action, but it was felt that it was too much to hope that other funds were in a condition to follow similar measures.

Of the 53 funds to which the inquiry was sent, only 34 replied. Seven of these reported that they had never before contemplated any special measures concerning unemployment because it had previously been of such little importance. Most of these seven organizations had requested their members to retain as far as practicable employees having families to support, declaring a readiness in case the crisis grew more acute to study ways of continuing the allowances to the unemployed.

Thirteen of the funds had continued to pay the full allowances but only to the partially unemployed, the greater number of these funds reporting that their members retained as far as possible the men with families, the expense involved being relatively heavier. While in normal times the membership assessment, by whatever method of calculation adopted, represented only 2 to 4 per cent of the manual labor cost, the percentage under the unemployment crisis had often doubled.

In general, it was found that these funds did not provide in their regulations for a crisis involving complete or even partial unemployment. The majority of these organizations had not yet become able to establish a reserve fund which would permit them to continue allowances in time of an industrial crisis. Moreover, even those which had taken the precaution to establish a reserve fund had on account of their recent organization only a very limited sum at their disposal for this purpose. Nearly all of these funds felt, however, that it was necessary to do something to maintain, even at great

⁶⁷ Bulletin du Ministère du Travail, April-May-June, 1921, Paris, pp. 150-153.

sacrifice, an institution which they regarded as of such high social significance, and that the allowances should be continued in case of partial unemployment and as far as possible even in case of dismissal.

At the Third National Congress on Family Allowances in 1923 it was reported that during periods of unemployment establishments affiliated with family-allowance funds had retained as far as possible fathers of families in preference to single men, assuring the former both their wages and family allowances.⁶⁸

HYGIENE SERVICES

While the family-allowance funds were at the outset created mainly to equalize the expenses of their affiliated members in paying family allowances, these organizations are steadily extending their activities in behalf of the workers' families. Even in 1922, at the Second National Congress of Family Allowance Funds, held at Grenoble, the reports on the social service of the Grenoble, Lyon, and Paris funds attracted great attention.

In the latter part of May, 1924, 20 funds were reported as having hygiene services, some funds specializing in one or two lines and others covering very broad fields of activity. A brief review of this work is given below.⁶⁹

The Dieppe Employers' Fund for Family Dependents makes use of the visiting nurses from the hygiene service of the Department of Seine-Inferieure. In addition, sisters (religious) make monthly calls. The fund grants a nursing bonus of 15 francs per month for 10 months.

The Grenoble Family Allowance Fund for the Glove and Hides and Skin Industry has an agent who visits families and looks after the health of the children. The hygiene service also covers a considerable number of home workers.

The Charentaise Fund for Family Allowances at La Rochelle depends upon Red Cross nurses for home visitation. Up to May, 1924, the inspection service was confined to newborn children.

The Family Allowance Fund of the Metallurgical Employers' Association at Lille is very active in maternity cases and as regards proper housing for the workers.

The Lille Textile Family Allowance Fund employs agents who visit expectant mothers during the five months preceding their confinement and pay them the allowance of 30 francs per month.

The family-allowance fund of Lyon and the surrounding region and that of the Lyon dyeing, printing, and finishing (textile) industry have two very modern sanitariums, but have no visiting nurses. The hygiene service of these two funds is under the direction of a noted children's specialist, with a consulting committee of competent physicians. For house visits application is made to existing organizations, the expenses being paid in part by the funds.

Three visiting nurses are employed by the hygiene service of the Family Allowance Fund of the Region of Provence at Marseille.

⁶⁸ Comité des Allocations familiales. III^e Congrès national des Allocations familiales. Nantes, June 4-6, 1923. Compte rendu. Lille, 1923, p. 88.

⁶⁹ Comité central des Allocations familiales. IV^e Congrès national des Allocations familiales, Mulhausen, May 26-29, 1924. Compte rendu. Lille, 1924, pp. 77-88.

Free medical consultations for child beneficiaries have recently been inaugurated by the Family Allowance Fund of the Upper Rhine at Mulhausen.

The Employers' Fund for Family Allowances at Nancy is financially responsible for a certain number of beds in a neighboring "preventorium," such beds being reserved for the fund's patients.

A rest house and an open-air school are maintained by the Nantes regional fund, which also started a dental clinic in October, 1923, and a prenatal consulting service early in 1924. This fund cooperates with the Central Office of Labor and Social Hygiene, paying a proportionate share of the expenses of such office.

The Paris Family Allowance Fund for Construction and Public Works has a special social-service personnel and four dispensaries, and is active in placing children in preventoriums and sanitariums. It also sends children to nurseries and to places where they may get clothes. In 1923 it extended vocational aid to 1,366 children. Lodgings were secured for some families, while others were assisted in buying furniture and obtaining pensions.

The staff of the Family Allowance Fund for the Region of Paris includes 38 woman assistants, whose principal duty is to bring the workers' families into contact with the fund's social services. Special supervision is given to the feeding and care of infants, and through the instrumentality of the fund many children have been sent to the country. Housing problems and the question of apprenticeship are being taken up by this organization.

In April, 1924, the Family Allowance Fund of the Textile Employers' Association of Roubaix-Tourcoing inaugurated a system of sick allowances.

Registration in the child hygiene service is compulsory for mothers who receive nursing allowances from the family-allowance fund of the Stephanoise region.

The family-allowance fund of the lower Rhine at Strassburg has established a preventorium and a vacation home for young girls in industrial and commercial work.

Approximately one-half of the disbursements of the Family Allowance Fund of Region of Thizy and Cours are for birth bonuses, nursing allowances, and certain other forms of aid, one of the dominant interests of this fund being the reduction of infant mortality. In this connection an effort is being made for the better enforcement of the law regarding the quitting of work by women for a period before their confinement.

The families of the workers benefiting under the family-allowance fund of the Tours region are visited by sisters (religious), who distribute medicines, layettes, and food to the most needy.

A midwife is employed by the Family Allowance Fund of the Troyenne Region, who has been successful in increasing breast feeding.

The Family Allowance Fund of the Textile Employers' Association of Vienne supplements its hygiene service by a maternity benefit association.

The hygiene services of the funds held a special conference during the 1924 congress of the funds, the visiting agents and nurses reporting as to the conditions and methods of work in their va-

rious fields.⁷⁰ Because of the success of this conference it was decided to arrange for a more comprehensive conference at the next annual congress. At the same congress attention was called to the advantage of establishing a permanent relation between the hygiene services of the family-allowance funds and the Metallurgical and Mining Association for the Prevention of Tuberculosis, in order that these two bodies might cooperate in the struggle against tuberculosis.⁷¹

The following resolution was unanimously adopted by that congress:⁷²

Whereas new and marked progress has been effected since last year by the institution of family allowances;

Whereas in particular the results obtained by the social services of the family-allowance funds are remarkable; and

Whereas, in the matter of social assistance and of family hygiene, the public authorities and private initiative each has its rôle to play along parallel and dependent but distinct lines: Be it

Resolved, That the family-allowance system continue to be made more and more general by the progressive and voluntary admission of employees of all classes to family-allowance funds;

That the family-allowance funds make an effort to perfect their efforts in the struggle against the inevitable evils resulting from the too general misunderstanding of the elementary rules of hygiene and child care;

That the public authorities, while leaving the field free to private initiative, continue kindly to receive suggestions presented to them by the committee of the funds, the central organ dealing with questions relating to employers' aid to workers' families.

FUNDS FOR THE MERCHANT MARINE

Since the 1923 congress on family allowances two large family-allowance funds or bureaus have been established to cover the personnel in the merchant marine.⁷³

On August 21, 1924, the Central Committee of Shipowners, in agreeing to the demands of the National Federation of French Seamen for a wage increase for the French mercantile marine crews as regards regular steamship lines, notwithstanding reduced freight rates, also agreed that the family allowances then being paid should be continued.⁷⁴

FUNDS IN AGRICULTURE

Serious efforts have been made from time to time in several sections of France to set up a system of family allowances in agriculture and this problem, full of difficulties, has been brought up at numerous conferences of agricultural societies.⁷⁵

In a telegram to the Second National Congress of Family Allowance Funds in 1922 the national union of the peasants of France (C. G. A.), stated that it considered the family allowance as one of the effective measures for meeting economic and social needs in

⁷⁰ Comité central des Allocations familiales. IV^e Congrès national des Allocations familiales, Mulhausen, May 26-29, 1924. Compte rendu. Lille, 1924, p. 111.

⁷¹ Idem, p. 60.

⁷² Idem, pp. 109, 110.

⁷³ Idem, p. 99. For discussion of the means of applying family allowances in maritime industry, see L'Information Sociale, Dec. 6, 1923, p. 4.

⁷⁴ International Labor Office. Industrial and Labor Information, Geneva, Nov. 17, 1924, p. 35.

⁷⁵ Idem, July 7, 1922, p. 53. See also, Le Musée Social, Paris, April, 1924, pp. 117-124.

the domain of agriculture and expressed confidence in the organizers of the congress and a desire that its work might result in a liberal plan for an agricultural family-allowance fund.⁷⁶

Adrien Toussaint, the general secretary of the International Federation of Agricultural Unions, in an article in *République Française* of October 24, 1922, called attention to the slowness with which agriculturists were following in the footsteps of industrialists in the matter of establishing family-allowance funds. At that time there were only three agricultural funds in France—the Mutual Insurance and Welfare Fund for the Families of Agricultural Workers (Île de France), the Touraine fund, and the Bordeaux fund.

The first-mentioned fund was established in 1920⁷⁷ under the auspices of the Regional Federation of the Agricultural Employers' Associations of the Île de France for the purpose of paying family allowances to the dependents of the workers of the members of the fund and to equalize the assessments of such members by basing the dues on the number of hectares under cultivation by each member (6 francs per hectare⁷⁸ plus 5 francs per 100 hectares or fraction of 100 hectares).⁷⁹

There are also honorary and sustaining members, the latter paying 100 francs per annum or 1,000 francs for permanent membership. Agricultural societies and federations are admitted only as sustaining members.

The family allowances paid by this fund include maternity benefits as well as monthly grants for children, beginning with the third child under 14 years of age, and are paid to the worker or employee who has been in the employment of a member of the fund for at least six consecutive months and who works regularly. If, however, there is a stoppage of work from a legitimate cause, and for which the worker is not responsible, the allowances are continued; for example, for six months in the case of disability through an industrial accident. The amounts of the monthly allowances are 10 francs for the third child, 15 francs for the fourth child, and 20 francs for the fifth and subsequent children. Grandparents, sisters, and brothers who have children dependent upon them may be granted allowances under certain conditions. The allowances do not form a part of the wage and do not appear on the pay rolls, a separate account being kept of such allowances.

The Indre-et-Loire fund, at Touraine, makes semiannual grants to agricultural laborers with at least three legitimate or acknowledged children under 14 years of age. Subscriptions to this fund are based on the amount of land cultivated by farmers or owners. The annual assessment for active members is 2 francs per hectare of vineyard, pasture, or arable land and 0.10 franc per hectare of forest land, the minimum assessment for six months being 50 francs.

⁷⁶ Comité des Allocations familiales. II^e Congrès national des Caisses de Compensation. Grenoble, May 22, 1922. *Compte rendu*. Paris, 1922, p. 109.

⁷⁷ Data furnished by the director of the fund (received July 21, 1924).

⁷⁸ Hectare=2,471 acres.

⁷⁹ Data furnished by the secretary-general of the *Confédération Internationale des Syndicats Agricoles*, July 11, 1924.

An agricultural worker is not entitled to family allowances from the Indre-et-Loire fund until he or she has been in the employment of an active member of the fund for six months.⁸⁰

In fixing the amount of the allowances, the sum available from the assessments of the preceding half year is divided by the number of children eligible for benefits.⁸¹

The organization also has honorary members, whose assessments and entrance fees are placed in a separate fund, from which are paid the initial costs of organization and management, additional allowances to certain families, and contributions to support or establish social institutions for the benefit of the families of peasants.⁸²

The assessment charged by the Bordeaux fund is 3 francs per month for each worker permanently employed by a member of such fund. In July, 1920, this fund was paying per month, for one child, 10 francs; for two children, 30 francs; for three children, 45 francs; for four children, 65 francs; for five children, 85 francs; for six children, 120 francs.⁸³

Among the 11 agricultural funds for which the amounts of family allowances are given in the 1925 annual of the Central Committee on Family Allowances (pp. 560-561), the highest and lowest rates are reported as follows:

	Francs
For one child.....	0-15
For two children.....	0-35
For three children.....	8-65
For four children.....	16-100
For five children.....	23-140
For six children.....	38-185

Of these 11 funds, 6 were reported as according birth bonuses but only 1 as giving nursing allowances.

There are at present 15 agricultural funds for the payment of family allowances in France. The benefits given are quite diversified, the majority of them taking the form of birth bonuses rather than family grants to meet the everyday maintenance of dependents. It is reported that the cost of these agricultural grants to the employers averages 2.5 per cent of the wages bill, but it is hoped that by expanding the funds the expense may be reduced. Some of the funds are subsidized to a certain extent by their respective departmental agricultural services.⁸⁴

In view of the exodus of families from the rural districts to the cities, the following recommendations were made to the Second National Congress of Family Allowance Funds:⁸⁵

1. That in order to assist agricultural families having young children family allowances be accorded them on the same ground that they are now being granted to workers in the majority of factories.

2. That family-allowance funds be studied and such funds established with sufficient elasticity to enable them to be adapted easily to each district.

⁸⁰ International Labor Office. *Industrial and Labor Information*, Geneva, July 7, 1922, p. 53.

⁸¹ *Idem*, p. 54.

⁸² *Idem*, pp. 54, 55.

⁸³ *Idem*, p. 55.

⁸⁴ *Idem*, Mar. 16, 1925, p. 58.

⁸⁵ Comité des Allocations familiales. II^e Congrès national des Caisses de Compensation, Grenoble, May 22, 1922. *Compte rendu*. Paris, 1922, p. 59.

3. That a study be made in collaboration with the Committee on Family Allowances of a model family-allowance fund for agriculture, open to all, but without legal restriction.

Because of the difficulties in the way of establishing rural family-allowance funds in districts divided into small acreages like Isère, it was considered probable that such funds would have to be of a benevolent, noncompulsory, and communal character.⁸⁶

It would seem that the agriculturists are opposed to compulsory family allowances, the Association of French Industry and Agriculture at its conference in Paris, May 28, 1923, having adopted a resolution which favored the expansion of the system of family allowances, "on voluntary lines which would render legislation on the subject unnecessary."⁸⁷

The French Ministry of Agriculture has recently appealed to the prefects and presidents of the agricultural offices of the administration for the expansion of the family-allowance system for agriculture, calling attention to the importance, in view of the depopulation problem in the rural districts, of making every effort to keep large families on the land. The desirability of establishing additional family-allowance funds in agriculture was emphasized.⁸⁸

FAMILY ALLOWANCES FOR HOME WORKERS

At the Second National Congress of Family Allowance Funds held at Grenoble in May, 1922,⁸⁹ a strong appeal was made for the extension of home work in order to keep women in their own households and for the payment of family allowances for such work. Attention was called particularly to the glove industry in which so much home work is done, for the most part under contractors. This class of home work was especially recommended to the interest of the funds, as these organizations already provided for home workers employed directly by member establishments. In this connection it was suggested that new family-allowance funds for home work be established; that family allowances be paid to home workers through contractors; that funds facilitate the operation of family workshops by helping to install small motors; and that the funds study the problem of housing the workers and facilitate the building of dwellings for them. The collaboration of trade-unions should also be sought for the carrying out of these enterprises.

LEGAL STATUS OF FUNDS⁹⁰

From a legal and juridical viewpoint the family-allowance funds may be divided into the following three classes:

1. Funds organized on the basis of the law of 1901 and forming a "well-defined legal society—a voluntary body, whose capacity to possess and to contract is apparently fully adequate notwithstanding the restrictions imposed by the law."

⁸⁶ International Labor Office. *Industrial and Labor Information*, Geneva, July 7, 1922, pp. 52, 53.

⁸⁷ *Idem*, June, 1923, p. 3.

⁸⁸ *La Journée Industrielle*, Paris, Feb. 15-16, 1925, p. 7.

⁸⁹ Comité des Allocations familiales. *II^e Congrès national des Caisses de Compensation*, Grenoble, May 22, 1922. *Compte rendu*, Paris, 1922, pp. 59-64.

⁹⁰ *Idem*, pp. 42-48.

2. Those funds which constitute merely an adjunct of "another organization, employers' association, or even incorporated company" limited to the scope of the trade and consequently dependent, as a rule, upon the laws of 1884 and 1921 regarding industrial associations. This type of fund has sound arguments in its favor, based on experience, and also meets legal requirements.

3. A few funds which are merely societies de facto without definite organization. These funds have no formal regulations and their very existence is precarious, although funds of this character have the advantage of the strength resulting from the union of the affiliated members of the given trade organization, which is a valuable asset in any attempt at dissolution or disassociation. They are quite flourishing, and have the advantage of the elasticity of a provisional organization in France. They also claim a legal status, under article 2 of the law of 1901, which states that "associations of persons will be able to form freely without authorization, having first made a declaration."

The independent association has no legal capacity, being unable to possess either real estate or personal property or to institute proceedings at law or even to receive assessments or dues.

To perform acts of a legal nature, the association must make a formal declaration in writing giving the purpose of the association, the headquarters of its affiliated members, and the names and professions of the proposed administrators or directors.

In the opinion of the director of the family-allowance fund of the textile industry of Lille, family-allowance funds "should no longer hesitate to make their declaration." This would not affect the individuality or the "regionalism" of these institutions, each of which could hold to its own organization and to the procedure adapted to the particular trade and district.

CENTRALIZATION

The Central Committee on Family Allowances (*le Comité central des Allocations familiales*) was organized in the latter part of 1920 for study and propaganda, with headquarters at Paris. Eugène Mathon was the first president of this new agency, which was organized to act as a permanent liaison between the various funds.⁹¹ This committee is composed of titular and honorary members, the former representing certain family-allowance funds designated each year by the national congress of family-allowance funds. Each fund thus designated is represented on the committee by its president or "by a member of its administrative council and by a special delegate chosen by this council."⁹² The titular members nominate honorary members, subject to ratification at the next meeting of the congress.

In 1923 the committee began the publication of a yearbook. The latest yearbook, published in 1925, is in four parts, dealing with the following subjects: Part I. The Central Committee on Family Allowances (its regulations, its adherent funds, and its annual congresses); Part II. The administration, benefits, and regulations of family-allowance funds; Part III. The juridical character of family

⁹¹ *La Voix du Peuple*, Paris, January, 1923, p. 24.

⁹² Comité des Allocations familiales. Congrès national des Caisses de Compensation, Paris, July, 1921. *Compte rendu*. Paris, 1921, pp. 84, 85.

allowances, with legal opinions, decisions, and decrees regarding such grants; and Part IV. Laws relating to the formation of the family and the protection of large families and of working families.⁹³

ANNUAL CONGRESSES

The congress of family-allowance funds convenes at the call of the Central Committee on Family Allowances. At such meetings each fund may have as many representatives as it wishes but has only one vote, which, however, may be augmented by one or more votes according to the amounts paid out in family allowances by the fund in the preceding year, as follows: From 250,000 to 1,000,000 francs, 1 vote; from 1,000,000 to 10,000,000 francs, 2 votes; above 10,000,000 francs, 3 votes.⁹⁴

In addition to the representatives of 79 family-allowance funds representatives of the following industrial associations and groups participated in the 1924 congress:⁹⁵ General Confederation of French Production; Union of the Metal and Mining Industries, Mechanical, Electrical, and Metal Construction, and Allied Industries; Union of Family Allowance Funds of the National Federation of Construction and Public Works; Union of Textile Employers' Associations of France; Federation of the Master Printers of France; National Association of Wholesale Dealers in Wines, Ciders, Spirits, and Liquors of France; Federation of Construction and Public Works Contractors of Alsace and Lorraine; United Trade Association of Wire and Electric Cable Manufacturers; Federation of Producers and Distributors of Electric Power; Association of Metal Construction Contractors; Chamber of Commerce of the Hardware Industry; Federation of Industrial Employers of the Creil, Montataire, and Nogent-sur Oise regions; Association for the Recruiting, Instruction, and Placement of the Personnel of Notary Public Offices; Chambers of Commerce of Brest, of Havre, of Marseille, and of Nimes; Belgian Committee for the Study of Family Allowances; Family Allowance Fund of the Liege Region (Belgium); Social Union of Catholic Engineers; Federation of Family Associations of the Parisian Region; "La Plus Grande Famille"; Franco-American Committee of Berck; Metallurgical and Mining Association for the Prevention of Tuberculosis.

Among the subjects discussed at the five annual congresses of the committee on family allowances are the following, which give some indication of the complexity and importance of the problems confronting the funds:

*First congress, Paris, July 4, 1921.*⁹⁴—Family allowances from legal and social viewpoints; psychological and social reasons for the diversity of regulations adopted by family-allowance funds; the different bases for the calculation of contributions to family-allowance funds; the trade or the regional limit for funds; family allowances and the industrial accident law; the autonomy of funds and legislative intervention.

⁹³ Comité central des Allocations familiales. *Annuaire 1925*. Paris, 1925.

⁹⁴ Comité des Allocations familiales. *Congrès national des Caisses de Compensation*, Paris, July 4, 1921. *Compte rendu*. Paris, 1921, pp. 88, 89.

⁹⁵ Comité central des Allocations familiales. *IV^e Congrès national des Allocations familiales*, Mulhausen, May 26-29, 1924. *Compte rendu*. Lili, 1924; pp. 5, 6.

*Second congress, Grenoble, May 22, 1922.*⁹⁶—History of allowances at Grenoble; social action of family-allowance funds; social service of the family-allowance fund of the region of Paris; the development of family-allowance funds in the region of Lyon; hygiene service for children in the region of Lyon; child clinics and preventorium at Nancy; legal status and juridical character of family-allowance funds; the extension of family allowances to engineers; the organization of an agricultural fund for family allowances; general considerations in re allowances and home work.

*Third congress, Nantes, June 4-6, 1923.*⁹⁷—The hygiene services of family-allowance funds; the distribution of family allowances according to family responsibilities; the distribution of the cost of allowances among members of family-allowance funds; the necessity of precise terminology for family allowances; action of funds with a view to facilitating the increase of house and garden privileges; conditions governing allowances in early infancy in case of protracted illness or death of the head of the family.

*Fourth congress, Mulhausen, May 26-28, 1924.*⁹⁸—The Mulhausen fund; the Strassburg fund; birth expenses and provision for successive children; hygiene services and family-allowance funds; prenatal hygiene; family-allowance funds in the face of tuberculosis; visiting agents for workers' families.

*Fifth congress, Rouen-Havre, June 8-10, 1925.*⁹⁹—The Rouen family allowance funds; social institutions of the Lower Seine; social work of family-allowance funds—new realizations; inquiry on workers' birth rates; sickness allowances; family allowances in agriculture; vacation colonies; vacation camps; activities of visiting nurses in medical and social work of an incorporated fund.

STATE CONTROL FOR FAMILY ALLOWANCES

BONOWSKI BILL

A bill for the purpose of making family allowances compulsory in industry was introduced in the French Chamber of Deputies, February 24, 1920, by Maurice Bonowski. Under this measure any person who employed another person on paid work for not less than 150 days per annum and 5 hours per day would be required to become a member of a family-allowance fund, and to pay thereto the amount necessary for the granting of family allowances. These allowances were to include wages during two months' pregnancy, a bonus amounting to 66 per cent of a month's wages on the birth of each child, a nursing allowance equivalent to 10 per cent of wages for 10 months, and an allowance equal to from 5 to 7 per cent of wages for each child under 14 years of age. It was estimated that, were this bill enacted into law, the employers' assessments for family allowances would amount to 5 per cent of their wages bill.¹

⁹⁶ Comité des Allocations familiales. II^e Congrès national des Caisses de Compensation, Grenoble, May 22, 1922. Compte rendu. Paris, 1923.

⁹⁷ Comité des Allocations familiales. III^e Congrès national des Allocations familiales, Nantes, June 4-6, 1923. Compte rendu. Paris, 1923.

⁹⁸ Comité central des Allocations familiales. IV^e Congrès national des Allocations familiales, Mulhausen, May 26-28, 1924. Compte rendu. Lille, 1924, pp. 147, 148.

⁹⁹ La Journée industrielle, Paris, June 9, 1925.

¹ International Labor Office. International Labor Review, Geneva, February, 1924, pp. 173, 174: "Family allowances in French industry," by Roger Picard.

Many employers' federations and chambers of commerce objected vigorously to this legislative proposal, and many resolutions criticizing the measure were passed at industrial and economic meetings,³ among the first to pass such resolutions being the Congress of Industrial Societies of France in June, 1920, which suggested a national union of family-allowance funds with no legal compulsion.

The same year the Natality Congress and the Assembly of the Presidents of the Chambers of Commerce expressed themselves strongly in favor of freedom for private initiative in the matter of granting family allowances.

Early in 1921 the plenary assembly of the agriculturists of France and the Union of Economic Interests registered their opposition, which was followed by similar action on the part of 157 groups, including the General Insurance Employers' Association, the Federation of Food Industries, and the Employing Shipbuilders' Association.

The resolution of the First National Congress of Family Allowance Funds, held on July 4, 1921, is given below as showing in detail the reasons for the employers' attitude toward the Bonowski bill:⁴

Whereas, all legislative intervention would necessarily include as its basis an obligation for which employers would be responsible—an obligation to be condemned in itself, as it would transform a voluntary united movement into an obligatory payment, having the characteristics of a real tax; and this obligation would introduce into our law a new and extremely dangerous principle which would burden one class of citizens with the responsibility of social welfare laws and of creating resources for social welfare work, without recourse to public funds, which would permit of every kind of abuse;

Whereas, on the other hand, the simple enunciation of the principle of obligation would be ineffective; it would be necessary to regulate the whole institution of family allowances from the viewpoint of the minima of assessments to be made, of the classes of beneficiaries, of administrative supervision and sanctions, and such an organization would be directly contrary to the object sought, as in effect—

(a) The assessments would be increased as much by the contemplated manner of making allowances as by the functioning of the administrative machinery and the new public employees who would surely appear;

(b) The rules voted would be rigid and uniform for all France, when experience shows the necessity of carefully taking account of localities and customs, and the majority of the funds have themselves been led to modify their statutes on certain points, as elasticity and diversity of possibilities of development are the foundation of the progress of the institution still too new to be stabilized.

Whereas, finally, in view of the results obtained in less than two years by the effort of independent initiative, employing interests openly condemn this intrusion of public authorities into their industrial relations: Be it, therefore

Resolved (1) That Parliament reject the Bonowski bill or any similar one tending to make family allowances a legal obligation for all or any employers;

(2) That in any case the discussion be postponed in order to permit without restriction the generalization of the institution and in order that the general common procedure may be determined from a longer experience.

The 1922, 1923, and 1924 national congresses of family-allowance funds also declared themselves in favor of the unrestrained development of the funds through private initiative.⁵

³ Comité des Allocations familiales. Congrès national des Caisses de Compensation, Paris, July 4, 1921, Compte rendu. Paris, 1921, pp. 70-72.

⁴ Idem, pp. 100, 101.

⁵ Comité des Allocations familiales, II^e Congrès national des Caisses de Compensation, Grenoble, May 22, 1922, Compte rendu, Paris, 1922, p. 90; Comité des Allocations familiales, III^e Congrès national des Allocations familiales, Nantes, June 4-6, 1923, Compte rendu, Paris, 1923, p. 152; Comité central des Allocations familiales, IV^e Congrès national des Allocations familiales, Mulhausen, May 26-29, 1924, Compte rendu, Lille, 1924, p. 109.

State action in the application of a family-allowance system was advocated, however, by Abbé Desbuquois in his lecture on "Economic reforms" during the fifteenth of the Catholic "social weeks," held at Grenoble, July 30 to August 6, 1923. The family, he thought, could not wait until the "good will shown by some had converted others whose present attitude is one of calculated indifference."⁶

CONTRACTS FOR PUBLIC WORKS

In 1921 the Superior Council of Labor passed a resolution favoring provision for compulsory family allowances in contracts for public work.⁷

In 1922 a commission of the French Chamber of Deputies requested the Government to insert a clause in the estimates for public works authorized by the communes, the Departments, and the State, requiring the contractors to belong to family-allowance funds.⁸

Members of an important family-allowance fund found that in public contracts they had to compete with establishments which were not affiliated with such funds and who because their bids for public work did not include family allowances could offer to do the work for less money.⁷

The paradox arose that the State, which pays family allowances to its workers, appears, when it gives the work to private contractors instead of doing it itself, to favor those employers who refuse to pay such allowances.⁹

As an outcome of this situation the National Federation of Construction and Public Works requested the Government to amend the decrees of August 10, 1899, concerning labor conditions in contracts for public works, by inserting a clause making it compulsory for those submitting bids for such works to pay family allowances.⁷

As a result of these requests a law was passed December 19, 1922, making it permissible to include in bidders' estimates for public works a provision obligating contractors to pay family allowances to those employed thereon.⁸ On July 13, 1923, three decrees were issued which amended certain existing provisions regarding labor conditions on public works.¹⁰

The first decree stipulates that in State contracts the payment of family allowances to workers on account of their family responsibilities "shall be compulsory in all but exceptional cases," when the Minister of Labor must give his reasons for permitting such exemption. For the payment of these allowances those contracting for public work must become members of an approved family-allowance fund or of another institution established by employers for the division among them of the expenses arising from these obligatory grants. Such membership is not compulsory if the contractor's

⁶ International Labor Office. Industrial and Labor Information, Geneva, Aug. 24, 1923, p. 4.

⁷ Bulletin du Ministère du Travail et de l'Hygiène, Paris, April-May-June, 1924, p. 121.

⁸ International Labor Office. Industrial and Labor Information, Geneva, Jan. 20, 1922, pp. 24, 25.

⁹ International Labor Office. Family allowances. Geneva, 1924, p. 58. Studies and reports series D (wages and hours), No. 13.

¹⁰ International Labor Office. Industrial and Labor Information, Geneva, Aug. 3, 1923, p. 20.

working force numbers 2,000 or more and he has instituted a system of family allowances which meets the conditions required for approved organizations. Under the other two decrees which applied to Departments, communes, or public charitable institutions, the inclusion of a provision for family allowances in contracts for public works was allowable but not compulsory.¹³

The following regulations for an approved family-allowance fund in the Department of the Seine contained in an order issued by the Minister of Labor August 28, 1923, were afterwards, with certain exceptions, made applicable to all Departments:¹⁴

1. The fund must have the character of a legal person or derive such character from the group to which the members constituting the fund belong.

2. It must be confined to construction and public works or must have formed a special section for these industries with separate accounts for such section.

3. It must include at least 10 building undertakings, employing in all not less than 2,000 manual or nonmanual workers.

4. It must guarantee allowances at the following minimum rates to every worker, manual or nonmanual, according to the number of days he has worked during the month: (a) For one dependent child, 20 francs per month; (b) for two dependent children, 50 francs per month; (c) for three dependent children, 90 francs per month; (d) for every dependent child above 3, 40 francs per month.

In principle an allowance is payable for every child under 13 years of age. The regulations of the fund, however, may always provide that the allowance will not be granted if it is proved that the child, without valid excuse, does not regularly attend school.

5. The fund shall always have a financial reserve or working capital amounting to not less than a minimum sum to be fixed by the minister, * * * which sum shall, however, not exceed a sum equal to the total cost of the family allowances for one quarter. * * *

The order also provides that approved funds shall forward annually to the Minister of Labor a copy of their balance sheets and shall submit evidence of the agreement of their members to increase their contribution rates should the original assessment prove inadequate to meet the cost of allowances. The funds are also required to inform the Minister of Labor of any changes in their constitutions and rules.

On September 4, 1923, the Minister of Labor invited the prefects of Departments to form at once administrative commissions to advise as to conditions to be met by family-allowance funds wishing to make agreements with the Departments.¹⁵

By the second quarter of 1924 the operation of various administrative commissions set up in connection with the payment of family allowances on public works had resulted in 89 ministerial orders fixing the terms of agreements with family-allowance funds.¹⁶ Such terms were the same as those in the order of August 28, 1923, with the exception of the requirement to establish a fund or special section for construction and the amounts of the allowances to be paid. The organization of a special section for construction has not been insisted upon except in those Departments contemplating contracts with intertrade funds which might object to such a stipulation except for those of their members undertaking public work which might come under the provisions of the decrees.¹⁷ As for the amounts of

¹³ Bulletin du Ministère du Travail et de l'Hygiène, Paris, April-May-June, 1924, p. 123.

¹⁴ Idem, p. 124.

¹⁵ Idem, pp. 123, 124.

¹⁶ Idem, pp. 124, 125.

the monthly allowances, the decrees provide that they should be fixed according "to local and regional circumstances," and in consequence they vary greatly, ranging from 10 to 25 francs for one child; from 18.75 to 50 francs for two children; from 25 to 90 francs for three children; from 31.25 to 130 francs for four children; and from 10 to 40 francs for each child after the fourth.¹⁸

On June 30, 1924, 37 funds, including local, regional, and even national organizations, had entered into agreements with Departments, 5 of the funds with almost all of the Departments, 10 regional funds with the Departments in which they operated, and 22 local funds with the Departments in which they had their headquarters.¹⁹

Through the good offices of the Ministry of Labor cooperation has been established between the funds and the regional commissions. There has, however, been some criticism because of the fact that on certain Department commissions there were no representatives of the funds in their localities nor were such representatives called in for consultation.²⁰

The insertion of the provision for family allowances in contracts for public works being optional on the part of Departments and communes, the question is decided through general and municipal councils. On a number of occasions the Minister of Labor has brought to the attention of the prefects his interest in having such councils as had not acted on this matter take it up. Besides the various departments which now impose the payment of family allowances on parties contracting for public work, many other Departments have declared through their prefects that the question will be presented at the next session of the general council.^a

Among the nearly 300 communes which now oblige contractors for public works to grant family allowances are Paris and the 9 communes of the Department of the Seine, Marseille, the 13 communes of the Department of the Lower Rhine, Angouleme and La Rochelle, the 79 communes of La Côte-d'Or, Nantes, the 117 communes of La Marne, Metz, and the 30 communes of the Department of Vaucluse.^b

At the Fourth National Congress on Family Allowances in May, 1924, special emphasis was placed on the practical manner in which the French labor administration in applying the regulations under the law of December 19, 1922, and the subsequent decrees relating thereto has endeavored to prevent any injury to the elasticity of the system of family-allowance funds which owes its remarkable strength to the diversity in its rules.²¹

COST OF FAMILY ALLOWANCES

One of the arguments against family allowances is that these grants are merely added to the expense of production and therefore increase the general cost of living.

¹⁷ Bulletin du Ministère du Travail et de l'Hygiène, Paris, April-May-June, 1924, pp. 123, 124.

¹⁸ Idem, pp. 125-127.

¹⁹ Idem, pp. 127-129.

²⁰ Comité central des Allocations familiales. IV^e Congrès national des Allocations familiales, Mulhausen, May 26-29, 1924. Compte rendu. Lille, 1924, p. 137.

²¹ Idem, p. 102.

^a Bulletin du Ministère du Travail et de l'Hygiène, Paris, April-May-June, 1924, pp. 130, 131.

^b Idem, p. 131.

The following report made by the metallurgical industry at Grenoble is an attempt to show in some detail the economy of family allowances with a given personnel:²²

Single workers and married employees without children	3,604
Married employees with one or more children	1,282

Total employees	4,886
Children under 13 years of age	2,135
(Slightly less than 2 children to a family.)	

If the cost of living rises for the single man 0.60 franc a day and for the married man with children 0.90 franc a day, and the establishment should increase wages uniformly by a cost-of-living bonus of 0.80 franc per day for both married and single employees, or if it should pay a higher cost-of-living bonus to married employees with children than to single employees (the difference constituting a family allowance), the following results are shown:

	Francs per day
Cost-of-living bonus of 0.80 franc per day to 3,604 single employees and married employees without children	2,883.20
Increased cost of living for 3,604 single employees and married employees without children at 0.60 franc per day	2,162.40
Excess of cost-of-living bonus over increase of cost of living for single employees and married employees without children	²³ 720.80
Increased cost of living for 1,282 fathers of families at 0.90 franc per day	1,153.80
Cost-of-living bonus of 0.80 franc per day to 1,282 fathers of families	1,025.60
Difference between cost-of-living bonus to fathers of families and increase in cost of living	128.20
Cost-of-living bonus of 0.80 franc per day to 4,886 employees	3,908.80
Cost-of-living bonus of 0.60 franc per day to 3,604 single employees and married employees without children	2,162.40
Cost-of-living bonus of 0.90 franc per day to 1,282 fathers of families	1,153.80
	3,316.20
Saving as compared with cost-of-living bonus of 0.80 franc per day to all employees	592.60

The benefits resulting to employers by making a distinction between fathers of families and persons without children in reducing the cost-of-living bonus is also shown by the following illustration, which supposes a decline in the cost of living of 0.60 franc a day for single persons and married persons without children and 0.90 franc a day for heads of families:

	Francs per day
Reduction of cost-of-living bonus for 3,604 single employees or married employees without children at 0.60 franc per day	2,162.40
Reduction of cost-of-living bonus for 1,282 married employees with children at 0.60+ ²⁴ 0.10 franc per day	897.40
Total	3,059.80

²² Romanet, Émile: Les Allocations familiales. Chronique Sociale de France, Lyon, 1922, pp. 3-5.

²³ 780.80 in report.

²⁴ Reduction for children—one-third of difference between 0.60 and 0.90 franc.

	Francs per day
Uniform reduction in cost-of-living bonus for both married and single, 4,886 employees at 0.60 franc per day-----	2,931.60
Daily saving to employers-----	128.20

RELATION OF FAMILY ALLOWANCES TO WAGES

TERMINOLOGY²⁶

As the system of family allowances expands, the necessity for a more scientific terminology in this connection is accentuated.

In some cases the same term is applied to the contributions paid into funds and to the amounts disbursed by them. The worker for whose family responsibilities the allowance is granted is sometimes spoken of as "attributaire" or "allocataire"—a grantee. In other cases he is called "beneficiaire"—a beneficiary. It has been held that the last term should not be applied to the worker at all but to the child or other person for whom the allowance is granted.

The word "sursalaire," which might be translated as supplementary wage, has been widely objected to and the demand made for the general substitution of the term "allocation"—allowance. For example, the Federation of Industrial Associations of France (*l'Union des Sociétés Industrielles de France*) at its congress at Rouen in June, 1922, passed a resolution in favor of discarding the term "sursalaire" in connection with family allowances and specifically advocated that manufacturers' associations, when consulted, should recommend the avoidance of such term in the titles of family allowance funds.²⁶ Indeed, the variety in the designations of these funds has been cited as an illustration of the existing vagueness of the language used concerning the family-allowance system, some still retaining in their titles the word "sursalaire," and others being entitled funds for allowances, industrial funds for allowances, funds for family allowances, funds for allowances for heads of families. The title of one, the Nantes organization, is the Regional Fund of Working-class Family Institutions (*Caisse régionale des Institutions ouvrières*).

COMPLEX CHARACTER OF FAMILY ALLOWANCES

Some of the ambiguity in terminology referred to above arises from the complex nature of the family allowance itself. As illustrating the range of interpretation regarding the character of these grants, the paradoxical conclusions reached in two articles, one published in *Les Documents du Travail* of June-July, 1923 (pp. 1-22), and the other in the *Bulletin de la Société d'Études et d'Informations économiques* of September 19, 1923 (supplement), are here cited. In the earlier article the declaration is made that these grants would not be understandable in the absence of the work contract; that they are a part of the compensation which the worker

²⁶ Comité des Allocations familiales. III^e Congrès national des Allocations familiales, Nantes, June 4-6, 1923. Compte rendu, Paris, 1923, pp. 90-95.

²⁷ International Labor Office. Industrial and Labor Information, Geneva, June 30, 1922, p. 15.

takes into account when he agrees to render certain services. If employers should decide to discontinue the system they would undoubtedly meet with "vigorous opposition" on the part of labor or with demands for higher wages. In the later article²⁷ the family allowance is said to be "foreign to the contractual elements of hiring, [and] voluntarily given by the employer. * * * The allowance relates only to the family situation and social conditions completely independent of the working conditions. * * * The family allowance is an institution of assistance purely. To speak of insurance here is exaggeration."

In contrast to this last statement is the view of René Hubert that from the standpoint of the personal interest of employers these allowances should be looked upon as a form of insurance "against labor instability, against the decline of the birth rate and the consequent diminution of the supply of manual labor."²⁸

Étienne Villey holds that the institution of family allowances is not simply a form of philanthropy. It has a substantial economic significance, and is in fact a "real innovation concerning the problem of the remuneration of work."²⁹

INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS

It was inevitable that the moot character of family allowances should bring about legal difficulties. In the case of industrial accidents to workers who received family allowances, the question arose as to whether such allowances should be taken into account in computing the amount of insurance these workers were entitled to under the law of April 9, 1898. This problem has created much discussion. Abel Durand, the counsel for the Nantes fund, went into the matter in great detail at the first national congress of the funds in 1921, and the following legal references are taken from his address.³⁰

The crux of the controversy is apparently as to whether allowances are remuneration for labor or, according to the court of cassation (Cass. Req., December, 1903 D. 1904, 1373, etc.), whether "they form a part of the wage." The courts for a long time were opposed to regarding these allowances as a part of wages, and for a number of years in railroad cases allowances were regarded as gratuities and assistance, and therefore not to be considered in calculating the basic salary. The following two decisions involving railway companies were exceptions:

The court of Chambéry, June 15, 1920 (*Le Droit Ouvrier*, January, 1921, p. 12), declared that indemnity for family responsibilities "constituted really a supplementary part of the wage," to be taken into account in determining the basic wage.

The court of Limoges on January 17, 1921 (*Le Droit Ouvrier*, April, 1921, p. 108), held that as such an indemnity was not known

²⁷ Quoted in *Les Documents du Travail*, Paris, October, 1923, pp. 16-22.

²⁸ Hubert, René: *Sursalaire, Allocations familiales et Caisses de Compensations*, Paris, 1921, p. 16 (quoted by Roger Picard in *Les Documents du Travail*, Paris, June-July, 1923, p. 11).

²⁹ Villey, Étienne: *L'Organisation professionnelle des Employeurs dans l'Industrie française*. [Paris.] 1923, p. 294.

³⁰ Comité des Allocations familiales. *Congrès national des Caisses de Compensation*, Paris, July 4, 1921. *Compte rendu*. Paris, 1921, pp. 57-68.

“to have an existence independent of work,” “it should be regarded as forming an integral part of the worker’s wage.” In a judgment of the tribunal of Wassy, May 11, 1921 (*Journée Industrielle*, June 12 and 13, 1921), an opposite conclusion is expressed, as is also the case in the opinion handed down March 21, 1921, by the permanent Interministerial Immigration Commission to the effect that family allowances “do not constitute a supplement to the wage but a benevolent contribution of certain employers to a mutual fund.”

Because of these apparently antipodal legal conclusions, Durand emphasized the need for the funds to formulate definite principles on this subject for their practical guidance before the courts during the pioneer period. Attention was called, however, to the very great variety in the family-allowance systems of different funds, which variety might, of course, easily lead to different legal decisions relative to the nature of such allowances.

In interpreting article 10 of the law of April 9, 1898, with reference to a worker covered by a family-allowance fund, the Advisory Insurance Committee ruled that “in this particular case, and allowed under this form, these allowances did not form an integral part of the salary.”

In Durand’s opinion, the right to these family grants is based on the work contract and is so recognized by the workingman’s family, but he holds at the same time that this is because of the bond existing between the worker and the establishment and not because of the labor performed by him.³¹ As a proof of his theory, Durand refers to the fact that under date of February 19, 1921, the Minister of Labor circularized the family-allowance funds to continue these grants in the unemployment crisis.³²

Under the regulations of a number of family-allowance funds, “the right to allowances” belongs not to the working head of the family but to the members of his family included in the provisions for such grants. The allowances are also declared to be nontransferable and not liable to seizure by creditors, and the law of June 25, 1920, exempted such grants from the salary tax.³³

At the suggestion of the Central Committee on Family Allowances additional funds have decided to continue family allowances during disability from industrial accidents. It is reported, however, that this practice will be abandoned if such grants are legally considered a part of the basic wage.³⁴

Under the French workmen’s compensation law of 1898³⁵ an employer pays a fixed compensation to workers and salaried employees who are disabled for five or more days as a direct result of their employment or to the dependents of those who are killed.

Recommendation has been made that in case family allowances are interpreted to be a part of the basic wage under this law, such

³¹ Roger Picard, in *Les Documents du Travail* of June–July, 1923 (p. 21), takes issue with Durand and asks “What bond outside of the work contract can bind the worker to a commercial establishment?”

³² Comité des Allocations familiales. Congrès national des Caisses de Compensation, Paris, July 4, 1921. *Compte rendu*. Paris, 1921, p. 63.

³³ *Idem*, pp. 62, 66.

³⁴ *La Journée Industrielle*, Paris, June 8–9, 1924, p. 7.

³⁵ U. S. Bureau of Labor. Twenty-fourth annual report, 1909: Workmen’s insurance and compensation systems in Europe. Washington, 1911, vol. I, p. 685.

legislation be amended to take into account the "special and essential character of these allowances."³⁶

The adverse attitude of the funds toward the inclusion of family allowances in the basic wage in connection with compensation for industrial accidents is due not to a desire on the part of the funds to exempt their members from the additional and comparatively moderate costs but rather to the feeling that the money involved might be expended to better advantage.³⁷

RELATION OF FAMILY ALLOWANCES TO THE POPULATION PROBLEM

From an examination of the increasing literature on family allowances one can not but conclude that the remarkable growth of the movement for these grants in France has been influenced, if not considerably accelerated, by the widespread concern over the low birth rate. The French reports on the subject would seem to indicate that the depopulation problem is an acute one, and the recurring references to it at the annual congresses of the family-allowance funds show that in the minds of some of the leading industrialists of France the matter of family allowances is very closely allied with the question of encouragement of large families.

In the opening address at the first congress is the following statement:³⁸

The war has revealed the terrible danger to which this paucity of births brings our country—the lack of labor is the end of industry and agriculture; the lack of soldiers is the end of the nation, the extinction of the race.

We have sought to the limit of our means to remedy this sad state of things, but as Mr. Isaac, the former Minister of Commerce, said at the congress at Nancy, the question of the birth rate is above all a moral question.

By family allowances we shall have provided for the material side, but the other? * * * Now the creation of a household, the responsibility of a family, involve duties, sacrifices, self-denials; * * * the family is the real social cell. * * *

Another speaker at the same congress focused attention on the fact that not only were these funds established to adjust wages in accordance with existing economic conditions, but the spirit in which the agencies were created called for an interest in the individual relations of employers and employees, a general interest in their affiliated members as a corporate body, and a still broader interest in their country. These interests, he held, imperatively demand that France be assured of future requisite labor reserves.³⁹

At the second congress there is reference to the "agonizing problem of the birth rate,"³⁹ and in the report of the director of the Central Committee on Family Allowances the declaration is made that France is depeopling itself—that its life is imperiled—and family allowances are cited as the most effective means that have been instituted to encourage large families.⁴⁰

³⁶ Comité des Allocations familiales. Congrès national des Caisses de Compensation, Paris, July 4, 1921. Compte rendu. Paris, 1921, p. 65.

³⁷ Idem, p. 67.

³⁸ Idem, p. 6.

³⁹ Idem, pp. 61, 62.

⁴⁰ Comité des Allocations familiales. II^e Congrès national des Caisses de Compensation, Grenoble, May 22, 1922. Compte rendu. Paris, 1922, p. 106.

The president of the chamber of commerce at Nantes, in welcoming the delegates to the third congress of the funds, which was held in that city in 1922, stated that family allowances have aided the efforts of the Natality Congress.

At this same convention a session was devoted to the question of depopulation, and Vieuille, a member of the Superior Natality Council and of the council of administration of the National Federation of Associations of Large Families, expressed the wish that the family-allowance funds be left free in their activities in behalf of the general good, for depopulation was still a danger and the cooperation of all social forces was needed for the preservation of the country.⁴¹

At the fourth congress also the birth rate was a prominent subject, and Vieuille again spoke on the question, declaring that "France, which a hundred years ago was the richest of the great nations in men, had on the eve of the war descended to the fifth rank; after having constituted a quarter of the population of Europe she now formed but a tenth."⁴²

By allowances to less fortunate families and by lighter taxation for family men, legislators have made an effort to effect an approach to economic balance, but they "have scarcely dared touch the excessive privileges of the childless."⁴³

Eugène Mathon, the president of the Central Committee on Family Allowances, warned of the danger of the continued decrease of the French population and called upon the assembly to make the requisite sacrifices of money, time, and devotion to develop the work in behalf of the family, which represented the future of France.⁴⁴

It would be interesting to know to what extent, if any, the family-allowance system has influenced the birth rate, but it is felt that it would be impossible to reach a statistically sound conclusion in this connection. In 1922 Victor Guesdon declared that the effect of family allowances on the birth rate can only "be presumed as it is not demonstrable." Even if an inquiry were made under the auspices of the Central Committee of Family Allowances, the results of such an investigation "would necessarily be subject to caution."⁴⁵

The living births per 100 inhabitants in France for 1920, 1921, 1922, and 1923 were 2.13, 2.07, 1.94, and 1.94, respectively. Birth and death rates for 1920 to 1923 for certain countries as compared with France are given in Table 5.

⁴¹ Comité des Allocations familiales. III^e Congrès national des Allocations familiales, Nantes, June 4-6, 1923. Compte rendu. Lille, 1923, pp. 159, 165.

⁴² Comité central des Allocations familiales. IV^e Congrès national des Allocations familiales, Mulhausen, May 26-29, 1924. Compte rendu. Lille, 1924, p. 116.

⁴³ Idem, p. 118.

⁴⁴ Idem, pp. 136, 139.

⁴⁵ Guesdon, Victor: *Le Mouvement de Création et d'Extension des Caisses d'Allocations familiales*. Paris, 1922, p. 165.

TABLE 5.—BIRTH AND DEATH¹ RATES (PER 100 INHABITANTS) IN SPECIFIED COUNTRIES, 1920 TO 1923²

Country	1920		1921		1922		1923	
	Birth rate	Death rate	Birth rate	Death rate	Birth rate	Death rate	Birth rate	Death rate
Australia	2.55	1.05	2.50	0.99	2.47	0.92	2.38	0.99
Austria	2.24	1.91	2.29	1.69	2.27	1.72	2.23	1.53
Belgium	2.21	1.39	2.19	1.37	2.04	1.39	2.04	1.30
Denmark proper	2.54	1.29	2.40	1.10	2.23	1.19	2.25	1.13
England and Wales ³	2.55	1.24	2.24	1.21	2.04	1.28	1.97	1.16
Finland	2.53	1.59	2.43	1.40	2.34	1.44	2.37	1.38
France	2.13	1.72	2.07	1.77	1.94	1.76	1.94	1.70
Germany ⁴	2.59	1.51	2.53	1.46	2.28	1.43	2.09	1.39
Hungary	3.12	2.12	2.79	1.93	2.94	2.08	2.84	1.92
Ireland ⁵	2.22	1.18	2.02	1.42	1.99	1.45	2.06	1.37
Italy	3.19	1.88	3.04	1.75	3.00	1.76	2.91	1.65
Japan	3.62	2.54	3.51	2.27	3.42	2.23	.....	.....
Netherlands	2.80	1.19	2.74	1.11	2.59	1.14	2.60	.99
Norway	2.63	1.24	2.44	1.13	2.42	1.19	2.30	1.15
Scotland	2.81	1.40	2.52	1.36	2.55	1.49	2.28	1.29
Spain	3.60	2.38	3.01	2.14	3.05	2.05	3.04	2.12
Sweden	2.35	1.33	2.14	1.24	1.96	1.28	1.88	1.14
Switzerland	2.09	1.44	2.03	1.27	1.96	1.29	1.94	1.18

¹ Exclusive of stillborn.

² France, Ministère du Travail, Bureau de la Statistique générale, *Annuaire Statistique, 1924, Paris, 1925*, pp. 201, 202.

³ In 1923 figures, inclusion of Wales not specified.

⁴ Exclusive of Mecklenburg, Saare, and Wurtemberg.

⁵ Figures for 1922 and 1923 are for Irish Free State.

It will be noted from the above statistics that the birth rate in France in 1921 and 1922 was lower than that for any other country listed in the table (except Ireland in 1921) and in 1923 it was lower than that for any country but Sweden. The death rate for France in 1922, 1.76 per 100 inhabitants, exceeded that for any other country for which 1922 death rates are here reported except Hungary, Japan, and Spain, the death rates of which were 2.08, 2.23, and 2.05, respectively.⁴⁶ In 1923 the death rate for France (1.70), while lower than the preceding year, was higher than that for all the countries for which data are given except Hungary and Spain, the rate for Japan not being given for 1923.

It is possible that the recent decline in the birth rate may arouse industrialists to even more generous efforts. However, Étienne Villey in his "l'Organisation professionnelle des employeurs dans l'industrie française" (p. 297) flatly denies that the system of family allowances has "for its principal objective the increase of the birth rate. * * * The promoters of the system have never imagined that a monthly bonus would be adequate to reestablish the upward trend of the birth rate. But employers have considered that elimination of inequalities arising from family responsibilities was a requisite condition to making repopulation measures effective. Employers are interested in their own field. When similar measures become general in all fields, then and then only can be brought into play the ethical and social factors alone susceptible of correcting morals."

EMPLOYERS' VIEWPOINTS

Étienne Villey in his "l'Organisation professionnelle des employeurs dans l'industrie française" (pp. 294, 296) points out that

⁴⁶ For birth and death rates for various countries, from 1912 to 1923, see p. 194.

the fixation of wages is the result of two orders of facts operating inversely. One follows the law of competition, which tends to cut prices; the other is influenced by the moral and social consideration "that the individual should find in the organization of society the means of participating as fully as possible by his work in the moral and material advantages of civilization: this consideration—which naturally guides labor's action—tends to increase wage rates."

In a period in which the trend has been towards greater and greater industrial concentration the following situation has been created from the interaction of these conflicting principles. Real wages have on the whole risen somewhat, but the increase has been irregular and slow as a consequence of these diametric elements in the remuneration of labor, which have naturally been influenced by the fluctuations in industrial conditions. In times of crisis and acute competition wages declined sometimes even below the amount required for normal living. In periods of prosperity when competition was less rigorous wages advanced to a point which "brought even a certain ease to the worker."

During the war the ordinary principles of production based on competition were disregarded by the State, which assumed control over industry and proceeded to speed up production at any cost. To keep labor placated in the face of the high prices of the necessities of life, cost-of-living bonuses were introduced. These bonuses were an important contribution to wage theory. They "consecrated and made practical that purely moral element, which will perhaps be found to contradict the laws of competition, that the wage should be exactly adapted to the cost of living." When industry was returned to private control it was found impossible to pay to every worker a wage which would support the alleged typical family of four, which had been arbitrarily introduced in the war-time adjustment of wages, whereupon many important employers proceeded to institute family allowances, which are "but high-cost-of-living bonuses perfected and adapted to economic exigencies." These allowances, being based on verified actual conditions, appealed strongly to practical industrial leaders. Rough averages and estimates were replaced by close calculations founded on fact. In this way, Villey explains, the two different elements in the wage problem are taken into account—one by the wage, properly so called, "corresponding to the economic value of the work performed," and the other by the family allowance based on the "social value of the worker."

Bonvoisin, the director of the Central Committee on Family Allowances, also emphasized the economy of these grants in an address before the second congress of the funds in 1922, stating that family allowances seemed fortunately to effect a harmonizing of two apparently conflicting needs—the reduction of the general expenses of industrial establishments and the relief of large families.⁴⁷

On the other hand, some employers object to family allowances because of the extra expenditure involved. This was one of the points of view shown in a report of an inquiry made by the Social Union of Catholic Engineers (*Union Sociale d'Ingénieurs Cathol-*

⁴⁷ Comité des Allocations familiales. II^e Congrès national des Caisses de Compensation, Grenoble, May 22, 1922. Compte rendu. Paris, 1922, p. 71.

iques) which appeared in the July, 1923, issue of the *Echo de l'Union Sociale d'Ingénieurs Catholiques*.⁴⁸

It would seem quite evident from what has been said of the population problem (see pp. 50 to 52) that the declining birth rate is and has been a spur to the activities of employers for the extension of the system of family allowances. The fact that Vieuille, who is prominently connected with a number of propagandist organizations having for their objective the increase of the birth rate, was invited to address both the 1923 and 1924 congresses of the family allowance funds has been cited to illustrate that the leaders of the family-allowance movement thought that the purpose of the organizations represented by Vieuille was closely related to one of the objects of their organization. The following unanimous resolution of the Sixth Natality Congress held at Strassburg, September 25-28, 1924, constitutes still another public recognition of the bond between the above-mentioned organizations:

Resolved, That all employers without exception extend to their personnel the benefits of the system of family allowances by joining family-allowance funds.

That these funds, under the protection of administrative regulation, continue to develop their operation with a view to an ever-improving production.⁴⁹

The following extract from Victor Guesdon's comprehensive and scientific study of family allowances⁵⁰ indicates that he also attributes at least some of the energy behind the system of family allowances to the desire of leading industrialists to avert what Paul Haury calls "the suicide of a great people."⁵¹

Thanks to this movement of the funds, which is broad and really effective, positive defensive measures have been taken in industrial centers in response to the immediate interest of the present hour, which should be the increase of the birth rate.

The views of various groups of employers as to making family allowances compulsory have already been presented (see pp. 41 to 43). For the most part the general trend of opinion has been against such compulsion, because of the alleged fear of paternalism, with its rigid regulations, its heavy administrative expenses, and the proposed greater financial demands upon employers.⁵²

According to a prominent French industrial authority "the liberty allowed employers has been in this matter [family allowances], as in many others, one of the principal factors of success. Funds would not have been able to develop in the midst of such varied conditions but for the privileges of self-government which they enjoyed. Any legal regulation might result in paralyzing this movement."⁵³

As already pointed out, there has been a somewhat different attitude in the case of contractors for public work, especially in construction work. As the result, in part, of the lively competition between contractors for public works who accorded family allowances and those who did not make such grants the law of December 19,

⁴⁸ International Labor Office. Family allowances. Geneva, 1924, p. 64. Studies and reports, series D (wages and hours), No. 13.

⁴⁹ La Journée Industrielle, Paris, Oct. 5-6, 1924, p. 7.

⁵⁰ Guesdon, Victor: Le Mouvement de Création et d'Extension des Caisses d'Allocations familiales. Paris, 1922, p. 199.

⁵¹ Haury, Paul: La Vie ou la Mort de la France. Paris, 1923, p. 1.

⁵² Comité des Allocations familiales. III^e Congrès national des Allocations familiales, Nantes, June 4-6, 1923, compte rendu, Paris, 1923, p. 67; Congrès national des Caisses de Compensation, Paris, July 4, 1921, compte rendu, Paris, 1921, pp. 100, 101.

⁵³ Bulletin du Comité central industriel de Belgique. Brussels, September 20, 1922, pp. 714, 715.

1922, was enacted. This legislation, together with certain subsequent decrees, has brought about the rapid multiplication of provisions for family allowances in bidders' estimates for undertakings authorized by the State, the Departments, and communes. Indeed, it would seem as if State intervention in the matter of family allowances in its contract work is appreciated by the funds, despite their jealousy of their autonomy. At their 1924 congress an eloquent tribute was paid by one of the speakers "to the spirit of impartiality as well as the understanding of the facts with which the Ministry of Labor had endeavored to apply the regulatory provisions, avoiding any injury to the elasticity of a system which manifestly owes its remarkable progress to the variety of its applied rules."⁵⁴

In addition to the economic and at least partially patriotic motives of employers and their rather militant attitude toward what Mathon has termed "the microbe of State socialism" in the matter of Government interference with the industrial family-allowance system a number of other motives are more or less plainly discernible. Among them is a growing sympathy with the family needs of the workers, the outcome probably of a closer knowledge of actual living conditions as revealed by inquiries necessitated by the family-allowance system. The increase and elaboration of the hygiene services of the funds are a concrete manifestation of this sympathy, commingled with a desire to improve industrial relations and preserve industrial peace. Some employers are of course much less enthusiastic over family allowances than others. For example, the president of one of the family-allowance funds does not consider the system a universal panacea, but thinks that there are conditions, times, and places to which the institution is not universally applicable. He also suggests the following three general principles in making such allowances: (1) The allowances must be sufficient; (2) they must be supplemental to a fair wage proportioned to the work accomplished; and (3) they must be the beginning of closer cooperation between employers and workers.⁵⁵

LABOR VIEWS

One of the most frequently expressed desires of civil-service employees has been for the payment of family allowances, the advantages of which are appreciated by members of the service who have family responsibilities.⁵⁶

While some employers declare that the workers approve of the system of family allowances, there is evidence that the present private system is looked upon with considerable suspicion, at least in certain sections of the labor world.⁵⁷

The subject of family allowances was not originally placed on the agenda of the seventeenth congress of the General Confederation of Labor (C. G. T.) of France, which was in session at Paris, January 30 to February 2, 1923, but as certain unions had become interested in this problem the confederation published in the January, 1923,

⁵⁴ Comité central des Allocations familiales, IV^e Congrès national des Allocations familiales, Mulhausen, May 26-29, 1924. Compte rendu. Lille, 1924, p. 102.

⁵⁵ International Labor Office. Industrial and Labor Information, Geneva, May 25, 1923, pp. 23, 24.

⁵⁶ Data furnished by the Minister of Finance of France, May 9, 1924.

⁵⁷ International Labor Office. Industrial and Labor Information, Geneva, July 6, 1923, p. 19.

number of its official organ, *La Voix du Peuple* (pp. 15-32), a report on the subject. After the program of the convention was made up the Federation of the Unions of the North requested that the question of family allowances be brought before the congress because of the importance of the new system and the necessity for defining labor's attitude in the matter. The following resolution, adopted by the congress, reiterates in somewhat different language a number of the objections to family allowances which were set forth in the above-mentioned report.⁵⁸

The congress considers that assistance for large families and maternity and nursing allowances constitute a form of social protection which should be organized by the community in the same way as protection against unemployment, sickness, disability, and old age. These questions can not be adequately dealt with by systematic resort to private charity or philanthropy, and such a system is liable to encourage extremely dangerous forms of dependence.

The congress warns the workers against the practice of granting additional wages for workers with families.

This measure was invented by the employers in the course of their contest with the trade-unions, and constitutes a danger to the latter. It has the effect of lowering wages, and it is liable to result in a conflict between the claims of workers with families and those of other workers.

If the measure is applied by individual employers only, it may encourage them to dismiss workers with families in order to decrease the costs of their undertaking. If it is applied with the assistance of compensation funds, it means that the employer is in possession of files giving particulars regarding his workers. He is thus enabled to interfere in the private life of the workers in an unjustifiable way, and an undesirable system of regulations is set up, by means of which the workers are kept in subjection and all their efforts toward emancipation frustrated. In whatever way it is organized, the system in fact results in increasing the influence and means of domination at the disposal of capitalism.

Instead of such false and dangerous philanthropic measures, the burden of which is, in the last resort, borne by the workers, the congress demands the establishment of minimum wages at rates fixed by the trade-unions.

The congress demands that an effective system of assistance for large families, in the form of family allowances and maternity and nursing benefits, should be organized by the community as a whole. The expenses should be covered by compulsory contributions from the employers and by contributions from the State. The management of the funds and the distribution of allowances should be entrusted to officially appointed committees, including representatives elected by the various interests concerned.

The right to family allowances is of a social character, and should be completely independent of employment. They should not be affected by the fluctuations of employment, and the families which are entitled to them should not lose them owing to sickness or to unemployment in any of its forms.

The assistant secretary of the General Confederation of Labor and the secretary of the Federation of Textile Workers express themselves in published interviews as personally in favor of taking the payment of family allowances out of the hands of employers and of placing the matter under Government direction. The former advocates that these allowances be made a form of social insurance regulated by law. He also calls attention to the possibility of employers reducing generally their hourly wage rates to counterbalance the expenses of affiliating with family-allowance funds. The latter trade-unionist is of the opinion that family allowances should be paid not only in unemployment and sickness, but also during strikes.⁵⁹

Other trade-union opinions are reported in "*Le Peuple*" (during December, 1922, and January, 1923), as follows: Family allow-

⁵⁸ International Labor Office. *Industrial and Labor Information*, Geneva, Feb. 16, 1923, pp. 11, 12.

⁵⁹ *La Journée industrielle*, Paris, Dec. 31, 1922—Jan 1, 1923, p. 7.

ances are a means of reducing wages. The financial burden of these grants are really carried by workers with few or no family responsibilities. Objection is registered against the woman social workers employed by the family-allowance funds who go into the homes of working families and tell them what they should do. All employers should be compelled to belong to funds in order to bring about a greater uniformity in wages in the same localities. Attention was also called to the fact that the instability of employment in the building industry resulted in a large number of workers failing to receive family allowances for weeks at a time, because as a rule these allowances are granted only after a worker has been on the pay roll of a given employer for at least a month.⁶⁰

The resistance of the confederation shows signs of waning, however. Recently in "Le Peuple" the following statement was made :

We are obliged to bow before an accomplished fact; an institution which has begun to interest 3,000,000 wage earners is a fact with which one must reckon.⁶¹

The Christian Trade-Unions.—The attitude of the Christian labor unions on family allowances is, on the whole, more pacific than that of the unions affiliated with the General Confederation of Labor of France.

The Christian trade-unions, according to Eugène Duthoit, professor in the Catholic University at Lille, were "the first to call attention to the relation between wages and the family. They aimed at securing labor and wage conditions which would enable the worker to carry out fully his family duties."⁶²

The French Federation of the Unions of Catholic Employees, on May 10, 1921, submitted a resolution to the permanent commission of the Superior Council of Labor, declaring themselves strongly in favor of legally established family allowances, dispensed through funds subsidized by the State.⁶³ These workers also urged—

That the control of the State, notably in the fixing of the rates of allowances and other regulations, be exercised over the funds through the meeting of joint trade commissions elected regionally by the employers' organizations and trade-unions interested.

A similar resolution was presented by certain labor members of the Superior Council of Labor at the November 16, 1921, session of that body.⁶³

The following resolution was submitted at the Second National Congress of Family Allowance Funds at Grenoble, May 22, 1922:⁶⁴

The engineers of the Professional Union of Catholic Engineers request that the congress of family-allowance funds study favorably the question of allowances for family responsibilities granted engineers, and decide, if it be opportune, in the different industries, that married engineers and fathers of families shall benefit by these allowances at the same rates as the workers.

This resolution was referred to the permanent commission of the Central Committee on Family Allowances.

⁶⁰ International Labor Office. Family allowances. Geneva, 1924, pp. 66, 67. Studies and reports, series D (wages and hours), No. 13.

⁶¹ La Réforme Sociale, Paris, February, 1925, p. 129: "Les allocations familiales dans l'agriculture."

⁶² International Labor Office. Industrial and Labor Information, Geneva, Aug. 24, 1923, p. 2.

⁶³ Data furnished by the general secretary of the Confédération française des Travailleurs chrétiens, April 25, 1924.

⁶⁴ Comité des Allocations familiales. II^e Congrès national des Caisses de Compensation, Grenoble, May 22, 1922. Compte rendu. Paris, 1922, p. 48.

At the congress of the Federation of Christian Women Workers' Unions at Paris, January 26-29, 1923, a resolution was passed recommending that the family allowances paid by the funds should be large enough "to make it unnecessary for mothers to work outside their own homes."⁶⁵ A measure somewhat along the same line was passed by the Tenth Congress of Women's Free Unions (Catholic, in the Silk Industry of the Isère, May 19 to 21, 1923. Pending the advocated reform the free unions "should insist upon the adding of family allowances to the mothers' wages."⁶⁶

Family allowances were again advocated at the January, 1924, congress of the Federation of Christian Women Workers' Unions, a resolution being adopted declaring that such grants "contribute to the restoration of the working family * * * and assure to the country an era of prosperity and peace." The desirability of the mother's remaining in her own household to bring up her children was pointed out, and the demand made that an allowance be given, beginning with the second child, which should fully meet the cost of living of a child.⁶⁷

A report on the progress of family allowances was made at the June, 1924, congress of the French Confederation of Christian Workers, and it was stated in connection with such progress that "much remained to be done to overcome the selfishness of employers and the apathy of the wage earners. * * * The trade-unions should take action to influence opinion, the heads of industrial undertakings, and legislators." A resolution which was unanimously adopted is given below as showing the attitude of this particular body of workers at that date, even though in some instances the measure merely reiterates previous viewpoints:⁶⁸

Whereas the increase of the birth rate constitutes a moral, social, economic, and national problem which no one should ignore;

Whereas the fathers and mothers of families who are courageous enough completely to fulfill their rôle are entitled to the recognition and aid of their fellow citizens;

Whereas the heads of businesses especially should contribute in the largest measure to the well-being of those who contribute greatly to the prosperity of the business and who by increasing their families provide for the recruitment of the labor of the future;

Whereas the system of family allowances has amply proved its efficacy as well as its vitality; whereas these allowances should correspond more and more to what their promoters expect of them;

Whereas it would be unjust and dangerous for certain employers, less generous and less humane than others, by escaping the responsibilities which the others have assumed, to impose upon them a quasi disloyal competition in their business territory;

Whereas, finally, a number of employers' organizations which have adopted the system of family allowances have clearly pronounced themselves in favor of the obligation;

The national congress of the Confederation of Christian Workers therefore resolves:

(1) That family allowances be made legally obligatory through the medium of existing trade and regional funds which satisfy certain conditions.

(2) That State control, notably in the fixing of the assessments for allowances and other regulations, be exercised through conferences of joint trade

⁶⁵ International Labor Office. Industrial and Labor Information, Geneva, Mar. 2, 1923, pp. 14, 15.

⁶⁶ Idem, Aug. 10, 1923, p. 43.

⁶⁷ Data furnished by the general secretary of the French Confederation of Christian Workers, April 25, 1924.

⁶⁸ Confédération française des Travailleurs chrétiens. Circulaire mensuelle No. 45, Paris, July 31, 1924, pp. 314, 315.

commissions elected by organizations of the employers and workers interested, in accordance with the principle of proportional representation.

(3) That the age limit of the children benefiting by allowances be not less than 16 years, at least for those who are still pursuing their studies or whose parents have apprenticed them under a regular contract.

(4) That at the time when the child reaches the age limit the discontinued allowance shall correspond to the birth rank of that child.

(5) That no account be taken of the amount of salaries or wages, however high these may be.

THE OUTLOOK

In 1924-25 new family allowance funds were in process of formation and others were being planned.

A resolution at the May, 1924, congress of family allowance funds favored the study of the possibilities of extending family allowances to all workers, manual and nonmanual, irrespective of the amount of their regular remuneration.⁶⁹ At the same convention the director of the Central Committee on Family Allowances announced that the family-allowance system was already being studied by various groups in collaboration with the committee with a view to establishing such system in some of the liberal professions.⁷⁰

Émile Dollfus, the president of the Family Association of the Industry of the Upper Rhine, has likened the system of family allowances to a young plant which will grow, declaring that the past "is a sure guaranty of the future."⁷¹

That the system of family allowances may be merely transitional is suggested by Robert Pinot, who says: "Like all human work, employers' institutions, either individual or collective, can not bring about a definite solution to a problem the terms of which are in perpetual evolution."⁷²

Roger Picard mentions the possibility of the future conversion of the employers' contributions to family-allowance funds into obligatory payments for social insurance subsidized by the State, to which the workers would also contribute.⁷³

Victor Guesdon visualizes a potential family-allowance fund for the whole nation—a federation of the various family-allowance funds, which would equalize the employers' expenses for such allowances all over France.⁷⁴

Indeed, the increasing interest of the State, in its assistance to heads of families, notably to civil service employees, the rapid development of the family-allowance system through inclusion in contracts for public works, the repeated demands of trade-unions for State control of family-allowance funds through joint trade commissions, the diminishing antagonism among certain employers to State intervention in connection with family allowances, and the trend of the family-allowance fund movement toward centralization seems to point to the assumption of further responsibility by the Government in connection with these highly important experiments with the "social wage."

⁶⁹ Comité central des Allocations familiales. IV^e Congrès national des Allocations familiales, Mulhausen, May 26-29, 1924. Compte rendu. Lille, 1924, p. 110.

⁷⁰ *Idem*, p. 99.

⁷¹ *Idem*, p. 125.

⁷² Pinot, Robert: *Les Oeuvres sociales des Industries metallurgiques*. Paris, 1924, pp. 156, 157.

⁷³ International Labor Office. *International Labor Review*, Geneva, February, 1924, p. 176: "Family allowances in French industry," by Roger Picard.

⁷⁴ Guesdon, Victor: *Le Mouvement de Création et d' Extension des Caisses des Allocations familiales*. Paris, 1922, p. 198.

BELGIUM

The subject of family allowances has recently been attracting much attention among Belgian industrial organizations and economic groups. The striking progress of the movement for such allowances in France has no doubt given additional impetus to the development of the family-allowance system in Belgium. In fact, the secretary-treasurer of the Belgian Committee for the Study of Family Allowances suggests that the success of the system in Belgium is due in part to the fact that that country has had the benefit of the comprehensive and "quasi-scientific" studies on this subject which have been made in France.⁷⁵

PUBLIC SERVICE

STATE ⁷⁶

The State Government of Belgium first instituted family allowances on March 1, 1920, 100 francs⁷⁷ per annum being granted for each child under 21 years of age, including stepchildren and legally or actually adopted children for whose support a government employee was wholly responsible. Two months later this grant was raised to 0.50 franc per day, or 182.5 francs per annum, per dependent child, and on July 1, 1923, an allowance of 1 franc per day per dependent child was provided. Allowances are granted for abnormal children or those prevented from earning their living by permanent infirmity or illness, irrespective of their ages, unless such children have resources of their own. Female employees receive family allowances provided they do not have husbands holding remunerative State positions.

Allowances are paid temporary and part-time employees according to the number of days worked instead of by the year. Family allowances are also paid when employees are temporarily relieved from duty because of reorganization or discontinuance of operation in the interest of the service, or because of ill health, but are not paid when there is any question of such allowances taking the place of a pension. Family allowances are not paid to substitutes nor to persons in the State civil service called to the colors.

As will be seen from Table 6 a large proportion of the employees in the various State services have no dependent children, about 47 per cent of the service as a whole receiving no family allowances:

⁷⁵ Comité d'Etudes des Allocations familiales. Rapport présenté en séance du Novembre 15, 1923, par M. Paul Goldschmidt, secrétaire, Brussels, 1923, p. 15.

⁷⁶ The data on which this section is based was furnished by the Belgian Ministry of Finance, July 26, 1924.

⁷⁷ Franc at par=19.3 cents; exchange rate varies.

TABLE 6.—NUMBER OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES, NUMBER THEREOF RECEIVING FAMILY ALLOWANCES, AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN FOR WHOM ALLOWANCES ARE MADE, JULY, 1924

Service	Number of employees	Number of employees receiving family allowances	Number of children for whom family allowances are made
Agriculture.....	1,303	709	1,570
Public works.....	3,375	1,875	3,975
Justice.....	4,955	2,065	4,125
Sciences and arts.....	5,266	1,901	4,017
Economic affairs.....	2,960	551	936
Industry and labor.....	2,644	275	570
Interior and hygiene.....	1,141	461	936
Colonies.....	358	157	318
National defense.....	8,113	3,974	6,795
Railroads, marine, etc.....	140,842	69,428	126,983
Foreign affairs.....	647	193	331
Finance.....	15,344	5,060	10,422
Total.....	184,943	86,649	160,978

The annual disbursements for family allowances in the different services of the State for 1921, 1922, and 1923, are given in Table 7:

TABLE 7.—AMOUNTS PAID OUT BY VARIOUS STATE SERVICES IN FAMILY ALLOWANCES, 1921, 1922, AND 1923

State service	Amounts paid in—		
	1921	1922	1923
	<i>Francs</i>	<i>Francs</i>	<i>Francs</i>
Agriculture.....	265,575	279,407	430,964
Public works.....	715,870	739,300	1,090,225
Justice.....	752,900	754,200	1,134,500
Sciences and arts.....	683,033	725,501	1,116,537
Economic affairs.....	190,069	198,729	276,026
Industry and labor.....	98,945	107,524	161,897
Interior and hygiene.....	167,350	165,912	261,754
Colonies.....	56,605	56,192	83,932
National defense.....	1,569,000	1,427,000	1,860,000
Railroads, marine, etc.....	(1)	(1)	27,321,973
Foreign affairs.....	65,517	76,707	99,178
Finance.....	1,819,644	1,873,597	2,919,793
Total.....	6,384,508	6,404,069	36,756,779

¹ It was not possible to determine the exact amount of the family allowances as they were combined with allowances for housing.

The payment of family allowances has not affected the basic salaries, as these allowances are entirely separate from such salaries. The civil-service employees are favorable to family allowances and these grants also have the personal approbation of the Secretary-General of the Ministry of Finance.

PROVINCES AND COMMUNES

During the war a number of Belgian local public services inaugurated family allowances. In the Provinces the same system as that

of the State service now prevails, but in the different communes the system varies.⁷⁸

In 1923 the city of Louvain granted to its workers 50 centimes per day per dependent child under 16 years of age. In March of the same year the city of Brussels voted to grant to its employees 75 centimes per day, or 273.75 francs per annum, per child. Several other communes provided for family dependents of employees in the cost-of-living bonuses. In Etterbeek a married municipal employee who is the father of a family is allowed 19 francs per month and in addition 30 francs a month per child. The annual salary of a single man is limited to 8,000 francs and that of a married man without children to 10,000 francs, while the father of a family may receive 10,000 francs and 1,000 francs additional per child. A father of 10 children may thus receive as much as 20,000 francs annually. Furthermore, the commune of Etterbeek exempts a household in which there are two children under 15 years of age from paying a tax on the first servant and one in which there are more than five children from a tax on the first two servants.⁷⁹

PRIVATE INDUSTRY

Family allowances were paid in private industry in Belgium as far back as 1915, being paid by the coal mines of Tamines and of Carabinier and Pont de Loup. In 1919 the coal-mine operators of Werister granted their workers 0.40 franc a day for a wife, 0.40 franc for the first child, 0.60 franc for the second, 0.80 franc for the third, and 1 franc beginning with the fourth child. With a personnel of 1,200 the sums disbursed in such allowances amounted to as much as 140,000 francs per annum. On July 1, 1920, the coal mines of Roton-Farciennes instituted family allowances. Shortly afterwards the coal mines of Nord de Gilly, d'Ormon, de Marcinelle-Nord, and Noel-Sart-Culpart began to make these grants, the mines of the Caroloregienne district paying 0.25 franc per day each for the first and second child and 0.60 franc per day for each subsequent child beginning with the third. In 1921 the building contractors of Enghien-Saint Éloi inaugurated an allowance of 15 francs per month for the third child, 18 francs for the fourth child, and 21 francs for subsequent children. They also grant unemployment and sick benefits and progressive reduction in the rents of workers with families to support.⁸⁰

The proportion of certain industrial workers under the family-allowance system in 1923 is shown in Table 8.

⁷⁸ Data furnished by the Secretary-General of Finance of Belgium, July 21, 1924.

⁷⁹ *Revue du Travail*, Brussels, May 1, 1923, p. 955.

⁸⁰ *Idem*, July, 1923, p. 1411: "Les Allocations familiales en Belgique," by M. Midol.

TABLE 8.—NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES IN VARIOUS PRIVATE INDUSTRIES IN BELGIUM UNDER THE FAMILY-ALLOWANCE SYSTEM AS COMPARED WITH THE TOTAL NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES IN SUCH INDUSTRIES¹

Industry	Total number of employees	Employees under family-allowance system	
		Number	Per cent
Coal mines.....	160,000	160,000	100
Iron, steel, and metal construction.....	125,000	45,000	36
Quarries, cement, building industry.....	174,000	23,000	13
Special metals, chemical industries, ice manufacture, ceramics, and glass manufactures, etc.....	91,000	19,000	21
Textiles.....	165,000	4,000	3
Food, paper, tobacco, and transportation.....	118,000	(?)	-----
Agricultural workers, and other industries not specified.....	400,000	(?)	-----
Home workers.....	130,000	(?)	-----

¹ Revue du Travail, Brussels, November, 1923, pp. 2329-2332.

² Not reported.

³ None except in a few sporadic undertakings.

It was estimated that in the early part of August, 1924, nearly 20 per cent of the workers in private industry in Belgium were under the family-allowance system.⁸¹

FAMILY-ALLOWANCE FUNDS

The first family-allowance fund was established on March 1, 1921, by the small mechanical industries, in the Verviers district, 39 firms being affiliated with the fund. The combined working forces of these establishments numbered approximately 2,000. In the beginning the allowance was 18 francs per month per child under 14 years of age, provided the worker "had at least two children." The allowance, however, like the salary, varied according to the cost-of-living index number.

After June 1, 1923, allowances were also paid for the first child, the scale being 12, 20, 28, and 36 francs per month for the first, second, third, and fourth child, respectively. On July 1, 1924, the following monthly allowances were being paid: One child, 14 francs; 2 children, 38 francs; 3 children, 72 francs; each subsequent child, 43 francs.

This first family allowance fund did not receive whole-hearted approval even in the industrial world and aroused opposition among certain trade-unions, some labor leaders looking upon the scheme as destructive to the system of equal pay for equal work.⁸²

⁸¹ Data furnished by Willy Julin, of the Belgian Ministry of Industry and Labor, Aug. 9, 1924.

⁸² Revue du Travail, Brussels, July, 1923, p. 1411: "Les allocations familiales en Belgique," by M. Midol.

Table 9 gives data as to the various family-allowance funds and their operation in 1924:

TABLE 9.—NUMBER OF FIRMS AFFILIATED WITH BELGIAN FAMILY-ALLOWANCE FUNDS, NUMBER OF THEIR EMPLOYEES, AND TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS FOR BENEFITS, 1924¹

Name of fund	Date established or of beginning operations	Date figures reported	Number of affiliated firms	Total number of employees of affiliated firms	Total disbursements for benefits	
					Per month (approximate)	During period of operation
Compensation Fund for Family Allowances and Social Insurance of the District of Verviers.....	Mar. 1, 1921	July 31, 1924	38	2,200	Francs 16,400	Francs 358,000
Compensation Fund for Family Allowances of Tournaisis.....	Sept. 1, 1922	June 30, 1924	36	5,000	42,300	977,000
National Fund for Family Allowances and Social Insurance for Construction and Public Works.....	Oct. 1, 1922	.....do.....	178	12,000	73,000	1,370,000
Family Allowance Fund of the Federation of Zinc, Lead, Silver, Copper, and Nickel Foundries.....	.....do.....	July 31, 1924	13	14,300	235,000	3,253,000
Compensation Fund for Family Allowances of the Chamber of Commerce of Renaix.....	Nov. 1, 1922	June 30, 1924	22	2,600	6,500	104,000
Compensation Fund for Family Allowances of the Liege Region.....	Dec. 1, 1922	.....do.....	143	54,600	330,000	4,900,000
Compensation Fund for Family Allowances of the Region of Charleroi and La Basse-Sambre.....	Feb. 1, 1923	Aug. 31, 1924	30	7,650	44,700	610,000
Compensation Fund for Family Allowances of Brabant.....	Mar. 1, 1923	July 31, 1924	79	12,600	103,000	1,340,000
Antwerp Association for the Distribution of Family Allowances.....	Apr. 1, 1923	.....do.....	24	5,050	58,000	612,000
Compensation Fund for Family Allowances of the Quarries of the Region of Soignies and Maffles.....	Jan. 1, 1924	.....do.....	10	2,300	20,000	112,000
Provincial Compensation Fund for Family Allowances of Antwerp.....	(?)	(?)	5	3,600	32,000	* 128,000

¹ Bulletin du Comité central industriel de Belgique, Nov. 19, 1924, pp. 1002-1007.

² Not reported.

³ For 4 months of operation.

The number of firms affiliated with the family-allowance funds listed in the above table is 578, representing 121,900 employees.

Among the industrial activities carried on by the firms included under these 11 funds are: Machine shops, blast furnaces, steel and sheet-metal works, zinc, silver, copper, lead and nickel foundries, glass manufacture, establishments affiliated with the Belgian Brewery Association, tanneries, dyeing establishments, manufacture of arms, munition works, chocolate and confectionery establishments, street railways, building and public works.⁸³

On April 1, 1924, the only trade-union fund, the Federated Fund of Christian Trade-Unions for the Payment of Family Allowances, was established. Each member of the trade-union organizations affiliated with the fund pays 275 francs per annum. The federation, however, obligated itself to pay 75 per cent of the expenses for the first nine months of the fund's operation. All members of the affiliated unions 21 years of age and over come under the plan.⁸⁴

⁸³ Bulletin du Comité central industriel de Belgique, Brussels, Nov. 19, 1924, p. 1007.

⁸⁴ Revue du Travail, Brussels, March, 1924, pp. 494, 495.

In May, 1923, it was estimated that, exclusive of State and provincial employees, there were between 225,000 and 250,000 covered by the family-allowance funds and the coal-mine family-allowance systems.⁸⁵ The estimate in November, 1924, was 280,000 workers.

The amounts that had been distributed in family allowances and birth bonuses up to the middle of 1924 by the funds approximated 14,000,000 francs. If the allowances distributed by the coal mines are added the sum would reach 30,000,000 francs.⁸⁶ As previously indicated, the family allowances disbursed by the Government in 1923 amounted to 36,756,779 francs.

Table 10 shows the changes in the number of firms affiliated with the family-allowance funds and the number of their employees from May, 1923, to the middle of 1924:

TABLE 10.—NUMBER OF FIRMS AFFILIATED WITH BELGIAN FAMILY-ALLOWANCE FUNDS AND NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES OF SUCH FIRMS MAY 1, 1923, AS COMPARED WITH THE MIDDLE OF 1924¹

Name of fund	May 1, 1923		Middle of 1924 ¹	
	Number of affiliated firms	Number of workers employed by affiliated firms	Number of affiliated firms	Total number of employees of affiliated firms
Compensation Fund for Family Allowances and Social Insurance of the District of Verviers.....	39	1, 973	38	2, 200
Compensation Fund for Family Allowances of Tournaisis.....	30	5, 461	36	5, 000
National Fund for Family Allowances and Social Insurance for Construction and Public Works.....	170	10, 000	178	12, 000
Family Allowance Fund of the Federation of Zinc, Lead, Silver, Copper, and Nickel Foundries.....	14	11, 997	13	14, 300
Compensation Fund for Family Allowances of the Chamber of Commerce of Renaix.....	16	2, 195	22	2, 600
Compensation Fund for Family Allowances of the Liege region.....	83	35, 097	143	54, 600
Compensation Fund for Family Allowances of Soignies.....	8	2, 000	(²)	(³)
Compensation Fund for Family Allowances of the Region of Charleroi and La Basse-Sambre.....	16	5, 681	30	7, 650
Compensation Fund for Family Allowances of Brabant.....	31	5, 513	79	12, 600
Antwerp Association for the Distribution of Family Allowances.....	6	2, 500	24	5, 050
Compensation Fund for Family Allowances of the Quarries of the Region of Soignies and Maifles.....	(⁴)	(⁴)	10	2, 300
Provincial Compensation Fund for Family Allowances of Antwerp.....	(⁴)	(⁴)	5	3, 600

¹ Revue du Travail, Brussels, July, 1923, pp. 1416-1419, Bulletin du Comité central industriel de Belgique, Brussels, Nov. 19, 1924, pp. 1003-1007.

² The exact date of the report for each fund is shown in Table 9.

³ Apparently was not functioning in October, 1923. Not listed in the 1923 report to the Committee for the Study of Family Allowances.

⁴ In October, 1923. International Labor Office. Family allowances, Geneva, 1924, p. 77. Studies and reports, Series D (wages and hours), No. 13.

⁵ Not in existence on May 1, 1923.

On the whole, there has been considerable expansion of the family-allowance-fund system in the period specified. It will be noted that there are 60 more establishments in the Liege fund in the middle of 1924, than in May, 1923, that the family-allowance fund of the region of Charleroi and La Basse-Sambre has almost doubled its affiliated members, that of Brabant has increased from 31 to 79 establishments, and the Antwerp Association from 6 to 24. One family-

⁸⁵ Revue du Travail, Brussels, July, 1923, p. 1415.

⁸⁶ Bulletin du Comité central industriel de Belgique, Brussels, Nov. 19, 1924, p. 1008. The date up to which the coal-mine allowances are estimated is not given.

allowance fund established in March, 1923, is omitted from the 1924 report. There were three funds, including the Christian trade-union fund, established in 1924.

OPERATION OF FUNDS

The family-allowance funds are frequently organized as non-profit associations, in which case they have an administrative council. In other cases funds are administered by a commission composed of delegates from each region represented. In most instances the assessments of establishments affiliated with the funds are based on the total wage bills of such establishments or the number of their employees. It is estimated that the granting of allowances increases the general expenses of the establishments by an amount equivalent to 2 per cent of the total pay roll. The administrative expenses of the funds are paid from the combined assessments of affiliated establishments.⁸⁷

It would be practically impossible to institute exactly the same regulations for family allowances throughout the whole country because of the variations in population, statistical surveys showing an average of 30 to 40 children under 14 years of age to 100 workers in certain regions and as many as 230 children per 100 workers in others.

In Belgium, as in France and other countries, some industries employ large numbers of adult males while in other industries the employees are chiefly youthful workers. These marked differences in the make-up of the working forces call for very flexible regulations. Statistical inquiries into the demographic conditions of the various regions of the country and into the general composition of the working force of a given industry before the rates of allowances are fixed are therefore recommended by the secretary of the Committee for the Study of Family Allowances.⁸⁸

Because the birth rate in Belgium is generally somewhat higher, at least in the Flemish country, than it is in France, the cost of the system under the same scale of allowances would be greater in Belgium, but it is estimated that "appreciable" grants could be made by an assessment equal to 4 to 5 per cent of the pay roll.⁸⁹ The substantial additional expense involved in such grants, however, is cited as among the obstacles to the extension of the family-allowance system in Belgium,⁹⁰ which is still in an experimental stage.

In general, the regional or intertrade funds seem to be better adapted to Belgian needs than the trade or interregional funds. With a few exceptions, the proportion of children benefiting by family allowances in similar industries in the same regions shows very little variation.⁹¹

The trade or interregional funds, with affiliated members all over the country, are confronted with many serious problems of adminis-

⁸⁷ Data furnished by Willy Julin, of the Belgian Ministry of Industry and Labor, Aug. 9, 1924.

⁸⁸ Comité d'Études des Allocations familiales. Rapport présenté en séance, Nov. 14, 1923, par Paul Goldschmidt, secrétaire, Brussels, 1923, p. 5.

⁸⁹ Revue du Travail, Brussels, May, 1923, p. 942.

⁹⁰ Comité d'Études des Allocations familiales. Rapport présenté en séance, Nov. 14, 1923, par Paul Goldschmidt, secrétaire, Brussels, 1923, p. 11.

⁹¹ Idem, pp. 5, 6.

tration, especially because of lack of uniformity in the amounts of allowances in the same industries. In the case of construction and public works, however, the trade fund is apparently preferable. The National Fund for Family Allowances and Social Insurance for Construction and Public Works has operations all over the country, procuring its labor from various districts. The number employed is extremely variable. The construction firms would not find it easy to become members of regional funds, and it would seriously inconvenience such funds to admit these firms to membership.⁹¹

On the other hand, the regional funds are made up of different industries and the composition of the working forces of these industries varies considerably in the matter of family responsibilities. The French practice of reducing assessments for industries employing large numbers of young persons has been suggested as a solution to this difficulty.⁹¹

MANNER OF PAYMENT OF ALLOWANCES⁹²

In order to make a clear-cut distinction between the family allowance and wages, family-allowance funds ordinarily pay such allowance at the worker's home. When the father and mother are employed by different establishments, one only is entitled to an allowance. If both husband and wife are working, one in an establishment affiliated with a fund and the other in an establishment not affiliated with a fund or one is a home worker, or a merchant, or follows some other trade, the one working in the establishment affiliated with a fund may receive only one-half of the family allowance.

AGE LIMITS OF CHILD BENEFICIARIES

Some funds limit the allowances to children under 14 years of age and some to children under 15 years of age, while others include children up to 16 years of age.⁹² The Verviers fund pays allowances for children up to 16 years of age who daily attend school. The fund for building and public works makes grants for children over 14 years of age who are delicate and for children up to 16 years of age who are apprenticed or who attend trade schools.⁹³

FAMILY-ALLOWANCE RATES

The family-allowance rates being paid by the various funds in the middle of 1924 were as follows:⁹⁴

District of Verviers fund.—One child, 14 francs; two children, 38 francs; three children, 72 francs; each subsequent child, 43 francs per month.

Tournaisis fund.—First child, 0.50 franc; second child, 0.50 franc; third child, 0.75 franc; each subsequent child, 1 franc per day.

National-construction and public-works fund.—First child, 10 francs; second child, 12 francs; third child, 14 francs; each subsequent child, 16 francs per month.

Federation of Zinc, Lead, Silver, Copper, and Nickel Foundries fund.—Region of Antwerp: Second and each subsequent child, 15 francs. Region of Campine: First child, 15 francs; each subsequent child, 25 francs. Region of

⁹¹ Comité d'Études des Allocations familiales. Rapport présenté en séance, Nov. 14, 1923, par Paul Goldschmidt, secrétaire, Brussels, 1923, pp. 5, 6.

⁹² Data furnished by Willy Julin, of the Belgian Ministry of Industry and Labor, Aug. 9, 1924.

⁹³ Bulletin du Comité central industriel de Belgique, Brussels, Nov. 19, 1924, pp. 1002, 1003.

⁹⁴ Idem, pp. 1002-1007.

Liege: First and second children, 15 francs each; third child, 30 francs; each subsequent child, 40 francs per month.

Chamber of Commerce of Renais fund.—Third child, 0.50 franc; fourth child, 0.50 franc; each subsequent child, 1 franc per day.

Liege Region fund.—First child, 10 francs; second child, 20 francs; third child, 30 francs; each subsequent child, 40 francs per month.

Region of Charleroi and La Basse-Sambre fund.—First child, 10 francs; second child, 20 francs; third child, 30 francs; each subsequent child, 40 francs per month.

Brabant fund.—First child, 10 francs; second child, 20 francs; each subsequent child, 30 francs per month.

Antwerp Association fund.—Each child, 16.50 francs per month.

Quarries of the Region of Soignies and Maffles fund.—One child, 0.25 franc; two children, 1.50 francs; three children, 3 francs; four children, 4.50 francs; five children, 6 francs; each subsequent child, 1.50 francs per day.

Antwerp provincial fund.—First child, 10 francs; second child, 20 francs; third child, 30 francs; each subsequent child, 40 francs per month.

*Federated Fund of Christian Trade-Unions.*⁹⁶—Third and each subsequent child under 16 years of age, 500 francs per annum.

In the majority of these funds the family-allowance rate is a monthly one, being a daily rate in only three cases. The Christian trade-union-fund benefit is reported as 500 francs per annum, but it is possible that this amount is paid in installments.

The daily rates range from 0.25 to 0.50 franc for the first child; 0.50 to 1.25 francs for the second child; from 0.50 to 1.50 francs for each subsequent child. The fund of the Chamber of Commerce of Renais, however, which has daily rates, pays no allowance for the first two children.

The monthly rates range from 10 to 16.50 francs for the first child; 12 to 24 francs for the second; from 14 to 34 francs for the third; 16 to 43 francs for each subsequent child. The only instance in which the first child receives no monthly rate is under the Family Allowance Fund of the Federation of Zinc, Lead, Silver, Copper, and Nickel Foundries in the Antwerp region. In the region of Campine and Liege this fund makes grants for the first child.

In the coal mines and certain glass works which are not members of funds the amounts of family allowances the workers receive also vary, but in general they are 10 francs per month for the first child, 20 francs for the second, 30 francs for the third, and 40 francs for each subsequent child. In some districts the first child receives no allowance.⁹⁷

BIRTH BONUSES

All but two of the family-allowance funds are reported as granting birth bonuses. The amount per birth, however, is not given for the Antwerp Association, although such bonuses are included in the statement of monthly expenditures for allowances.

The various amounts paid by these funds as birth bonuses are as follows:⁹⁷

District of Verviers fund.—First birth, 190 francs; each subsequent birth, 145 francs.

⁹⁶ Revue du Travail, Brussels, March, 1924, pp. 1416, 1417.

⁹⁶ Data furnished by Willy Jalin, of the Belgian Ministry of Industry and Labor, Aug. 9, 1924.

⁹⁷ Bulletin du Comité central industriel de Belgique, Brussels, Nov. 19, 1924, pp. 1002-1007.

National-construction and public-works fund.—Each birth, 100 francs.

Federation of Zinc, Lead, Silver, Copper, and Nickel Foundries fund.—First birth, 150 francs; second birth, 200 francs; each subsequent birth, 250 francs.

Chamber of Commerce of Renais fund.—Each birth, 100 francs.

Liege Region fund.—First birth, 250 francs; each subsequent birth, 150 francs.

Region of Charleroi and La Basse-Sambre fund.—First birth, 250 francs; each subsequent birth, 150 francs.

Brabant fund.—First birth, 250 francs; each subsequent birth, 150 francs.

Antwerp provincial fund.—First birth, 250 francs; each subsequent birth, 150 francs.

*Federated Fund of Christian Trade-Unions.*⁸⁸—Each birth, 200 francs.

Two funds give the same amount for each birth—100 francs, while the Christian trade-union fund pays 200 francs for each birth. One fund grants 190 francs for the first birth and 145 francs for each subsequent birth; another fund, 150 francs for the first birth, 200 francs for the second, and 250 francs for each subsequent birth; while four funds have adopted the practice of giving 250 francs for the first birth and 150 francs for subsequent births.

ALLOWANCES UNDER SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES

In case of unemployment or accident family allowances are continued, but workers on strike forfeit these grants.⁸⁹ In the Verviers fund these grants are made during involuntary unemployment for not more than three months, but this period may be extended if conditions warrant such action. Regulations for allowances during unemployment are also applied to absence for military service. The fund for building and public works makes allowances during the military service of the worker and for three months in case of illness or disability from accident.¹

The fund for the region of Soignies and Maffles pays family allowances to workers injured in accidents during the period for which they are entitled to compensation for temporary disability and in cases of illness during the current and the following month. When workers who have been receiving allowances die, these grants are continued for their children for three months.²

WELFARE WORK

The Verviers fund employs a visiting nurse who is a graduate midwife, and her services are available both before and after confinement.³ The Liege and Brabant funds are reported as having notable visiting-nurse services, with allied activities.⁴ A resolution passed by the first congress of the family-allowance funds commends the activities of these funds along these lines (see p. 70) and recommends the extension of welfare work to all funds.

⁸⁸ *Revue du Travail*, Brussels, March, 1924, pp. 1416, 1417.

⁸⁹ Data furnished by Willy Julin, of the Belgian Ministry of Industry and Labor, Aug. 9, 1924.

¹ *Bulletin du Comité central industriel de Belgique*, Brussels, Nov. 19, 1924, pp. 1002, 1003.

² *Idem*, p. 1006.

³ *Idem*, p. 1002.

⁴ *La Journée industrielle*, Paris, Nov. 9, 10, 1924, p. 7.

TREND TOWARD CENTRALIZATION

Toward the close of 1922 the national-construction and public-works fund, the regional funds of Verviers and Tournaisis, the fund of the Renaix Chamber of Commerce, and the fund of the Federation of Lead, Zinc, Silver, Copper, and Nickel Foundries held a conference to discuss their experiences and to compare the results of investigations which they had made. At this conference the Committee for the Study of Family Allowances was organized. The purpose of this committee is to coordinate the principles adopted in the different regions and industries in order to avoid in the future certain inequalities in the situation of the workers in similar or allied industries. The committee is not to interfere with the autonomy of existing funds or funds in process of organization, but merely to be a link between them, to gather information which may be of service to them, and to study in a general way the technical, demographic, juridical, and social problems which the establishment of the family-allowance system has created.⁵

FIRST CONGRESS*

The first congress of the Belgian family-allowance funds was held at Brussels November 4, 1924. The congress was called by Henri Lechat, the president of the Committee for the Study of Family Allowances and the founder of the Liege fund, and more than 200 employers were present. Among the subjects discussed were the operation of certain funds, the division of costs relative to family allowances, the legal aspects of family allowances, and government aid in connection with such grants. The following resolution was passed:

Considering the results secured up to the present by the institution of family allowances in private industry and by the initiative of employers,

The congress desires to see family-allowance funds become general in Belgium and their operation extended under a system of freedom and also to see public and private organizations regard as essential the family-allowance principle in the interest of working families.

Considering the result obtained in the matter of infantile and general hygiene by the organization of the visiting-nurse services and related activities inaugurated by certain funds, notably by those of Liege, Brabant, and Verviers,

The congress desires to see family-allowance funds follow these lines for the well-being and health of the children of the workers.

That the development of the movement for family allowances and funds in France and Belgium tended to bring about a closer collaboration between the two countries, which was conducive to the success of their common efforts, was pointed out by C. Bonvoisin, the director of the French Committee on Family Allowances.

⁵ Data furnished by Willy Julin, of the Belgian Ministry of Industry and Labor, Aug. 9, 1924.

⁶ *La Journée industrielle*, Paris, Nov. 9, 10, 1924, p. 7; *Bulletin du Comité central industriel de Belgique*, Brussels, Nov. 12, 1924, pp. 971, 972. For proceedings of the congress see *Comité d'Études des Allocations familiales, Congrès Restreint des Caisses de Compensation pour Allocations familiales*, Brussels, Nov. 4, 1924, *compte rendu*, Brussels [1925].

CONTRACTS FOR PUBLIC WORK

Certain public administrations in Belgium have made it obligatory for contractors for public work to affiliate with a family-allowance fund or to pay family allowances themselves to their workers.⁷

On January 31, 1924, a bill was introduced in the Chamber of Representatives which would make obligatory the inclusion of a provision for family allowances in contracts for public work for the State. The bill provided that preference should be given to contractors affiliated with family-allowance funds which grant a minimum of 10 francs per month for each child under 14 years of age. In comparing amounts of bids the bids of nonaffiliated contractors were to be increased 2 per cent and such a contractor was to be required to pay his workers and office employees an allowance of 0.50 franc per day for each child under 14 years. In case of nonpayment of the allowances the State was to pay the same to the employees entitled thereto and to deduct the amounts paid from the sum due the contractor. These allowances were not to be taken into account in determining the minimum wage to be paid by the contractor. The object of the bill was to increase affiliations with family-allowance funds.

The Belgian Committee for the Study of Family Allowances opposed the bill. It pointed out that the system of family allowances is being regarded more and more favorably by industry, that the workers' families are grateful for the benefits accorded thereunder, and that the public hopes for happy social results therefrom. All this, however, the committee declared, was compromised by this bill, which had been hurriedly formulated without consultation either with the parties interested or those competent to advise on the subject. Instead of benefiting the fathers of families, such a law would exclude them from all kinds of public work. The bill failed of passage.

VIEWPOINTS**EMPLOYERS**

In addition to the attempt to make family allowances obligatory in contracts for public works in Belgium there have been various proposals to place the whole system under the Government. The attitude of Belgian employers toward such a plan, it would seem, is very similar to that of the French industrialists, namely, that it is repugnant to them to have a voluntary liberality made compulsory; that the efficacy of the system depends upon its flexibility and freedom; that legal restraint would render the system futile, would create artificial costs without consideration for the possibilities of the individual industry, would lead to the imposition of a disguised but enormous tax to be used for the most part to meet the vast expense of official administration. In brief, making the system general and uniform through legal action would be an "economic impossi-

⁷ Data furnished by the secretary general of the International Organization of Industrial Employers, Sept. 17, 1924.

bility."⁸ The elimination of the element of liberality would seriously compromise the maintenance of Belgium's production.⁹

At the first congress of the Belgian family-allowance funds the statement was made by George Herlant that to make family allowances compulsory by law "would ruin, without profit to anyone, a precious guaranty of social peace."¹⁰ He declared that there is "no connection between the payment which constitutes an allowance and the work furnished. The father of a family who receives the allowance works no more and no better than the single man who is excluded. Moreover, he continues to receive it, although absent from the shop as a result of illness or accident." A recent amendment to the income-tax law which exempts from taxation "family allowances granted for each dependent child beyond three," but not exempting the allowances for the first three children, is criticized by Herlant as a "hybrid solution."¹¹

As the trade-unionists have objected to the term "liberality" in connection with the granting of allowances, the secretary of the Committee for the Study of Family Allowances points out that "liberality" does not mean beneficence and that there is nothing whatever in the principle or application of allowances which is hurtful to the dignity of the beneficiaries,¹² and suggests the substitution of the term "mutual interest" (*solidarité*) for "liberality."¹⁰

The family-allowance system does not create antagonism between husbands and wives but rather tends to harmonize marital relations, as under it the woman has her special rôle and domain,¹³ according to one of the speakers at the first congress of family-allowance funds. The family-allowance system tends to break down the barriers between labor and capital—between employers, overwhelmed with commercial and technical problems, and the workers, who are in closer touch with trade-unions than with the managers of industrial establishments, according to a report presented at the meeting of the Committee for the Study of Family Allowances in November, 1923.¹⁴ The very large and the less important industrial undertakings are also brought together through the funds.

It is felt that in "the present economic and social chaos solutions should be sought in the way of bringing the classes together and not by way of struggle, and that production will be improved when important classes of workers, and among them the most worthy, will be less a prey to material cares which are difficult to surmount."¹⁵

Willy Julin, of the Belgian Ministry of Labor, also refers to this conviction of the employers that family allowances will tend to create better industrial relations. He speaks specifically of their hope, through regulations providing that these grants shall depend

⁸ Comité d'Études des Allocations familiales. Rapport présenté en séance, Nov. 14, 1923, par Paul Goldschmidt, secrétaire. Brussels, 1923, p. 13.

⁹ Idem, p. 4.

¹⁰ Bulletin du Comité central industriel de Belgique, Brussels, Nov. 12, 1924, p. 980.

¹¹ Idem, pp. 974, 978.

¹² Idem, Nov. 19, 1924, p. 1010.

¹³ Idem, Nov. 12, 1924, p. 977.

¹⁴ Comité d'Études des Allocations familiales. Rapport présenté en séance, Nov. 14, 1923, par Paul Goldschmidt, secrétaire. Brussels, 1923, p. 4.

¹⁵ Bulletin du Comité central industriel de Belgique, Brussels, Nov. 19, 1924, p. 1001.

upon the workers' presence at the factory for fixed periods, to stabilize their labor forces, notably by preventing strikes among those receiving these benefits. Family allowances, they claim, have already increased the diligence of workers and effected a notable reduction in Monday absences from industrial plants.

Probably one of the most enthusiastic statements in regard to this new system in Belgium is the following, by the secretary of the Committee for the Study of Family Allowances:

A flexible and exact plan and a well thought-out terminology have permitted the realization of the most truly democratic and fruitful of reforms—one of the most far-reaching and important social reforms of the era of big industry.¹⁷

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

A substantial number of trade-union leaders look upon the family-allowance system as a "war machine." Many of the rank and file of the workers, however, are favorable to the institution, and antagonism to the system seems to be on the wane.¹⁸ A brief résumé of some of labor's views in connection with the progress of the movement is given below:

TRADE-UNION COMMISSION OF BELGIUM AND AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS

The opposition of the Socialist unions is said to have impeded the advance of the family-allowance movement in Belgium.¹⁹

In December, 1922, speaking of the family-allowance system, J. Bondas, then assistant secretary of the Trade-Union Commission, said that "he was quite disposed to support a project which will become better established." He was, however, in accord with his fellow unionists in wishing to reject the gilded chain offered by the "public-spirited" employers whose liberalities were prompted by self-interest.²⁰

Less than two months later the following resolution was adopted by the National Committee of the Trade-Union Commission:²¹

The National Committee of the Trade-Union Commission assembled on February 6, 1923, to examine the problem of "family allowances"—

Points out, in the first place, that the essentially socialistic principle "each according to his needs" has always been supported by the Belgian trade-union committee; that in the application of this rule a large number of trade-union organizations long ago incorporated in their system of indemnities of all kinds a supplement for the wife of the beneficiary and for his children under 14 or 16 years of age;

Recognizes that aid and assistance to large families are necessary and indispensable in the interest of the proletariat.

But the committee is not deceived by the action of the employer who is not really philanthropic but who has in view only the subjugation of the workers, not only in the factory but even in their homes.

It considers, on the other hand, that charity debases him who receives it more than him who bestows it, and this being so, labor organizations can accept only a system based on social solidarity.

¹⁷ Comité d'Études des Allocations familiales. Rapport présenté en séance, Nov. 14, 1923, par Paul Goldschmidt, secrétaire. Bruxelles, 1923, p. 15.

¹⁸ Data furnished by Willy Julia of the Belgian Ministry of Industry and Labor, Aug. 9, 1924.

¹⁹ La Journée Industrielle, Paris, Nov. 9-10, 1924, p. 7.

²⁰ Les "Cahiers" de la Commission syndicale de Belgique, No. 2, Brussels, December, 1922, p. 28: "Le sursalaire et les allocations familiales," by J. Bondas.

²¹ Le Mouvement syndical Belge, Brussels, Feb. 17, 1923, p. 51.

The National Committee believes that family allowances as well as birth bonuses and nursing allowances constitute social services which it is the duty of the community to provide, as it has provided protection against involuntary unemployment, industrial accidents, sickness, invalidity, and old age.

It demands these allowances as an inalienable social right entirely independent of work and wages.

Urges the affiliated organizations to accept the principles enunciated in the present resolution, and to instruct their delegates to take definite action at the national congress of the Trade-Union Commission.

This resolution was approved by the twenty-second national trade-union congress at Brussels the following July, the congress directing the bureau of the National Committee to confer with the Socialist members of Parliament on the most effective means of providing family allowances by law.²²

The congress also requested its affiliated bodies to oppose strongly "employers who would impose family allowances by means of promises binding the workers."²³

As further illustrating the trade-union attitude in the matter of family allowances disclosed in the above resolutions, it may be noted that at the 1923 congress the assistant secretary of the Trade-Union Commission held that by paying these benefits employers hoped to create divisions among the workers to divert them, and to "classify" them. Fathers of families will be benefited, and therefore in industrial controversies there will not be the same unanimity among the workers, as some will fear to forfeit their allowances. Employers may well look forward to accomplishing much through these grants if the trade-unions are not vigilant in exposing the motives of these industrialists.²⁴ The workers were counseled to avail themselves of the advantages employers are willing to grant but to deflect them from their original purpose. Even the regulation of family allowances by law, however, will leave the employer opportunities for dominating over the workers in connection with these grants, according to the same speaker.²⁵

Another trade-unionist at this congress advocated propaganda for the legalization of family allowances as the most effective method of fighting the system, suggesting that if these benefits were made compulsory employers themselves would wish to abolish the system.²⁶

In the spring of 1923 various congresses of Belgian federated trade-unions affiliated with the Trade-Union Commission passed resolutions on family allowances, among them that of the National Federation of Belgian Miners on March 17-19, which directed its delegates to urge employers to make family allowances general and to regulate them by a national agreement.²⁷ The bookbinders at their twenty-fifth congress decided that they could not support the family-allowance system in the printing industry unless such system was made general by a collective agreement determining the method of application.²⁸

²² Le Mouvement syndical Belge, Brussels, Aug. 4, 1923, p. 227.

²³ Commission syndicale de Belgique. XXII^e Congrès syndical, July 27 and 28, 1923, Compte rendu stenographique. Brussels, 1923, pp. 94, 95.

²⁴ Idem, pp. 81, 87.

²⁵ Idem, pp. 87, 88.

²⁶ Idem, pp. 92, 94.

²⁷ Commission syndicale de Belgique. Rapport annuel pour 1923. Brussels [1924], p. 15.

²⁸ International Labor Office. Industrial and Labor Information, Geneva, June 8, 1923, p. 12.

At the annual congress of the Federation of Belgian Metal Workers, Brussels, April 22, 1923, a report on family allowances was submitted and a resolution adopted almost unanimously, urging that these benefits be made general by means of "legislation regulating the conditions for the granting of allowances under the supervision of public authorities in cooperation with the workers' organizations," and that the administration of family-allowance funds should be in the hands of the workers themselves.²⁹ At a previous meeting of the Federation of the Metal Workers it had been suggested that such allowances be accepted and used to swell the organization's strike fund.³⁰

The Federation of Stone Workers in its session of April 29, 1923, adopted a resolution that its members demand of employers the same wage for the same work under the same condition. It was emphasized, however, that such demand will never be met by employers who refuse to grant wage increases or who defend wage reductions on the ground of payment of family allowances or who pay allowances at the same time they pay wages and for the same period.³¹ Legally regulated family allowances were favored by the May, 1923, congress of the glass workers and the congress held the following July by the food and agricultural workers, the former body taking the stand that family-allowance funds "should be taken over by the State."³²

The National Congress of Miners in March, 1924, demanded the immediate examination of a proposal for a system of family allowances which had been submitted by the National Federation of Miners to the National Joint Commission of Mines.³³

CHRISTIAN TRADE-UNIONS

The Belgian Christian Trade-Union Workers have been in favor of the family-allowance system from the beginning.³⁴ Various special sessions have been held by them for the consideration of this subject, at which a number of the discussions centered around the question as to whether these benefits should be confined to large families.³⁵

In a circular issued by the Confederation of Christian Trade-Unions to various Christian trade-union propagandists, emphasis was laid on the distinction that "it is proper to establish between the wage, which is remuneration for labor furnished, and family allowances, benefits paid to workers having family responsibilities." This distinction it felt was necessary to prevent the fixing of wages in a manner which would adversely affect the minimum wage. It was also pointed out that to fix wages in accordance with the number

²⁹ International Labor Office. *Industrial and Labor Information*, Geneva, May 11, 1923, p. 3.

³⁰ Commission syndicale de Belgique. XXII^e congrès July 27 and 28, 1923. *Compte rendu stenographique*. Brussels, 1923, p. 83.

³¹ Commission syndicale de Belgique. *Rapport annuel pour 1923*. Brussels [1924], pp. 19, 20.

³² International Labor Office, *Industrial and Labor Information*, Brussels, June 8, 1923, p. 12; Commission syndicale de Belgique, *Rapport annuel pour 1923*, Brussels [1924], p. 25.

³³ *Revue du Travail*, Brussels, March, 1924, p. 491.

³⁴ *Idem*, July, 1923, p. 1413.

³⁵ *Idem*, February, 1923, p. 250.

of dependent children and not in accordance with the work performed would have grave economic drawbacks, for the extinction of the hope of receiving a larger wage for more and better work tends to paralyze the efforts of ambitious workers to equip themselves for more highly skilled service. Workers were advised not to regard family allowances as the employers' liberality or charity, but as "industry's debt to large families" which are a guaranty of a future labor supply.³⁵

In May, 1923, the sixth congress of the confederation, which met at Antwerp, passed the following resolution:³⁶

(1) The congress reaffirms the decision of the fifth congress of Christian trade-unions demanding as a fair wage remuneration commensurate with the work done, and as a minimum wage a sum sufficient for the needs of a family of average size;

(2) Appeals to the affiliated organizations to continue trade-union action with a view to securing such wages;

(3) Reaffirms the demand of the fifth congress of Christian trade-unions for the allocation of family allowances to families with more than the average number of children;

(4) Declares that family allowances represent an act of solidarity on the part of industry as a whole with regard to workers with more than an average number of children, and that such allowances must not prevent the workers from securing an adequate wage as defined above, nor should the introduction of a system of family allowances be allowed to lead to the adoption of the so-called "relative family wage," i. e., remuneration of labor based on the individual needs of each worker;

(5) Considers that a system of family allowances consisting in the payment of a comparatively small allowance for small families and a much larger allowance for children in excess of the average number, is not necessarily contrary to the principles set forth but is of opinion that it is always preferable to grant allowances only to families with more than an average number of children;

(6) Reaffirms also the decision declaring that family allowances should be paid by national compensation funds set up for each industry and subsidized by the State;

(7) Protests against the proceedings of certain employers who take advantage of the position of workers with heavy family responsibilities to restrict the liberties of workers and even to assume a certain control over their private life;

(8) Declares that, contrary to the views expressed by certain employers, the workers are entitled to share in the administration of the compensation funds just as much as the employers, and reaffirms the demand of the fifth congress of Christian trade-unions that compensation funds should be administered by joint committees, consisting of representatives of the workers' and employers' organizations;

(9) Declares that it is the duty of the affiliated organizations (a) to endeavor to secure adequate representation in the administration of existing compensation funds, and (b) to take every opportunity to enforce the recognition of the principles set forth above;

(10) Considers that in order to prevent abuses in the application of the family-allowance system, it is essential that the system should be regulated by law.

In 1923 the Federation of Christian Miners laid before the National Joint Commission of Mines a tentative agreement on family allowances, which included the establishment of a family-allowance fund for the coal industry of Belgium.³⁷ Among some of the interesting features of this proposal were the following: The miners themselves were to contribute a certain percentage of their salaries

³⁵ Revue du Travail, Brussels, February, 1923, p. 250.

³⁶ International Labor Office. Industrial and Labor Information, Geneva, June 29, 1923, pp. 13, 19.

³⁷ Revue du Travail, Brussels, June, 1923, pp. 1125-1127.

to the fund; the employers were to pay into it an equal percentage, the amount of such percentage to be determined by the council of administration of the national family-allowance fund. A committee of eight representatives of employers and eight trade-union delegates were to administer the fund.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS, PUBLIC OFFICIALS, AND SOCIOLOGISTS

Social organizations.—The Christian Federation of the Middle Classes created a commission of inquiry with a view to establishing an intertrade family-allowance fund for the Flemish country, the birth rate in that section differing from that of other parts of Belgium.³⁸

The plan recommended by the commission included a wage to the head of a normal family which would be adequate without supplements, and allowances for children, beginning with the third, up to 14 years of age. The suggested amounts for such allowances were 25 francs per month for the third child, 30 francs for the fourth, and 40 francs for subsequent children. To receive allowances the worker must have been in the service of the employer for two months. The proposed assessment for the family-allowance fund was 2 per cent of the total pay roll, including both manual and nonmanual workers.³⁸

The Committee on Large Families at its meeting on April 30, 1923,³⁹ adopted a number of conclusions and resolutions concerning family allowances, which not only show how strongly that body advocates such allowances but also analyze the principles upon which the practice of making these grants is based. For example, the committee declares that it is reasonable to consider the "social value of the father of a family" in addition to his value as a worker; that the family is actually the source of "the necessary renewal of all human forces and activities, and that the father of a family assures to the society in which he lives future prosperity and security, while the celibate and the childless married worker generally provide only for their personal needs." It is equitable that society should fully compensate the father of a family because of the benefits society secures from his assumption of responsibilities. It is also pointed out that employers have a special interest in the stability and renewal of their labor supply. On the other hand, the committee emphasizes the importance of making a clear-cut distinction between the remuneration for the labor of a father of a family and the payment for his socio-economic services.

In the judgment of the committee compensation funds for family allowances are the best institutions known for carrying out the theories just cited. Large families themselves are, of course, particularly interested in seeing the movement for the establishment of such institutions extended as far as possible to all kinds of workers, intellectual as well as manual.

The committee also holds that the most equitable and most practicable way to solve the difficulties of large families is the granting of allowances in proportion to the responsibilities and services of such families. Furthermore, these grants must never be confounded

³⁸ *La Femme Belge*, Brussels, May, 1923, pp. 781, 782.

³⁹ *Revue du Travail*, Brussels, May, 1923, pp. 963, 964.

with the assistance given needy families. The amount of the family allowances should be increased sufficiently to correspond to the responsibilities for which the grants are made. As the inadequacy of salaries and actual wages is particularly obvious in the case of large families and the available sums for the payment of allowances are limited, the committee suggests that the needs of such families be provided for first of all by granting them higher allowances than the families which have few children.

It is recommended that the allowance per child per day should not be less than 1 franc after the family has four children, and that amount should be increased as soon as possible to 2 francs per child per day. The suggested age limit is 16 years, except in cases where older children are dependent upon the head of the family because of more advanced courses of study, apprenticeship, or poor health.

The committee is in favor of continuing allowances under conditions to be defined, in case of the unemployment, sickness, invalidity, or disability through accident or death of the head of the family, and possibly in other circumstances.

The State, Provinces, and communes, the committee believes, should encourage the expansion of the family-allowance system, and it suggests the propriety of these respective governments making at least as large grants as are made in private enterprises.

The practice of paying wages on the "standard-family" basis is declared to be illogical in a report to the Committee on Large Families published in the *Revue du Travail*, May, 1923 (pp. 956, 957). Why, it is asked, should the wages of all persons that have families to support be measured by the responsibilities of some?

The responsibilities of males at least 21 years of age are, according to this report, as follows: 42.6 per cent have no family responsibilities; 14.6 per cent have 1 child; 13.1 per cent have 2 children; 9.2 per cent have 3 children; 20.5 per cent have 4 children or more. It will be noted that only 29.7 per cent have more than 2 children.

The report further declares that neither public administration nor private industry would be able to meet the expense of paying wages to every adult male sufficient for him to raise a large family according to the modern standard of living. Even if such a wage could be paid from Belgium's present resources, it would not bring about the hoped-for results, because this would give the majority of the population abundant means, which would lead to high prices and the rise of the general standard of living, and large families would still be at a great disadvantage.

The uniform increase of wages is an advantage to those without family responsibilities and results in "inequality between the single worker and the worker who is the father of a family." The conclusion is that "resources should be proportioned to responsibilities." Heads of families should be better provided for than adults without children. "If not, life will become impossible for families, above all for large families, and they will disappear."

The third congress of the League for Large Families of Belgium held at Brussels in the latter part of October, 1923, thanked the industrial employers "who have generously undertaken to establish

the family-allowance system, a highly humanitarian reform."⁴⁰ The congress also recommended extensive propaganda by the various regional sections of the league, especially the Flemish section, with a view to including under the system all classes of workers, both manual and nonmanual; that the central committee endeavor in the most effective way to bring about the provision for family allowances in contracts for public works; that the allowance be fixed on a progressive scale and the amounts be "really efficacious for large families, due account being taken of local conditions."⁴¹

Among the Belgian assemblies of 1924 which specifically favored family allowances were the congress of the Federation of Christian Stone, Cement, Ceramic, and Glass Workers, the congress of the National League of Christian Workers, and the National Congress of Women's Christian Social Work of Belgium (the biennial congress of an organization closely allied with the Catholic women's trade-union movement).⁴²

Public officials.—In a public address before the conference of the League for Large Families, at Brussels, June, 1923, M. Masson, the Minister of Justice, declared that family allowances are a right.⁴³

Willy Julin, of the Belgian Ministry of Industry and Labor, states that family allowances have not affected wages determined by collective agreements or based upon the changes of the cost-of-living index. Allowances, he reports, have always been and still are looked upon as gratuities from the employers, and entirely apart from the worker's remuneration for his labor.

Joseph Biermé, assistant director of the Belgian Ministry of Justice, sets forth as follows the results which he thinks may be expected from the general extension and perfection of the family-allowance system:⁴⁴

A modest ease replacing the unmerited privation of large families, and consequently more of social justice;

A restraint on the exaggerated demand in the matter of wages, and a resultant guaranty for industry;

The stabilization of the most experienced manual labor; the assurance of its future recruitment;

The amelioration of the relations between industrial leaders and the workers;

The restoration of the dignity of the father of the family, an extension of his liberty;

The conservation of the woman in her household; the hygiene of childhood; the best education, instruction, and industrial training for children;

The reduction of the expenses of public and private welfare;

A checking of the decline in the birth rate;

The increase of economic production, more satisfaction, happiness, and peace for all men.

Sociologist.—The following analysis made by a Belgian sociologist suggests that in his country, as well as in France, there is need for precise definition of the character of the family allowance:⁴⁵

First of all, it is averred that the right to the allowance belongs not to the wage earner, but to the beneficiary—the family—which renders such allowance

⁴⁰ *Revue du Travail*, Brussels, November, 1923, pp. 2333, 2334.

⁴¹ *Idem*, p. 2334.

⁴² *Idem*, October, 1924, pp. 1950–1951; *La Femme Belge*, Brussels, August–September, 1924, p. 133.

⁴³ *Commission syndicale de Belgique. Rapports soumis aux délibérations du XXII^e Congrès syndical*, July 27 and 28, 1923. Brussels [1923], p. 10.

⁴⁴ *Revue Mensuelle*, Brussels, January, 1925, p. 318. *Oeuvre nationale de l'enfance*.

⁴⁵ *Revue du Travail*, Brussels, March, 1924, p. 574.

inalienable and exempt from seizure. Note also the mode of paying the allowance; although the wage is ordinarily by the day, the allowance is almost always monthly; furthermore, it is disbursed outside the pay service, often by an agency not personally connected with the employer, and generally to the mother of the family. Finally, there is no correlation between the amount of the allowance and the economic value of the service furnished by the worker; the allowance is independent of the quantity and of the quality of the work. That which gives the right to the allowance, that which is the juridical cause and determines the share, is family responsibility.

Besides, if the allowance formed a part of the integral wage, why, he asks, would not the worker receive the grant during his whole life, and not merely while his children are growing, and why is the employer able to augment the allowance without reciprocally increasing the rates of wages? Moreover, if the allowance is a part of the wage, why can not such allowance be secured until after a preliminary period in the employment, and for what reason do nearly all the family-allowance funds fix a maximum salary beyond which the allowance is not accorded? And in the discussion which the opportunity for the extension of the allowance to foreign workers has sometimes provoked, one can not help seeing, he declares, the confirmation of the idea that, as the allowance is a method of social protection, the benefit apparently from the very first has been reserved for national labor.

GERMANY

PUBLIC SERVICE

*Federal civil service.*⁴⁶—Family allowances have been paid in the German Federal civil service since October 1, 1915. When the system was first inaugurated the grants were made only to married, widowed, and divorced permanent employees, with salaries up to 2,100 marks⁴⁷ per annum, who had one or more dependent children under 15 years of age. The allowance was 6 marks per month, and for each child beyond the second an additional allowance of 3 marks was paid.

As a result of the steady rise in the cost of living the pre-war salaries of the employees became more and more inadequate, and the family-allowance system, instituted at first for the lower-paid groups, whose economic distress was more acute, was extended to cover the whole personnel—statutory and nonstatutory employees and manual workers. These grants are also paid to temporary and furloughed employees and to retired statutory employees and the survivors of statutory employees.

The number of salaried Federal employees in active service at present receiving family allowances is as follows: (a) General administrative service, 90,000 permanent employees, or 83 per cent; (b) Federal railroad and postal services, 470,000 permanent employees, or 84 per cent.

While the number of manual workers in the service of the Federal Government in receipt of family allowances was not ascertainable, the percentage of this class receiving such subsidies is probably about the same as in the class of permanent salaried employees.

From June 1 to December 1, 1924, the following family allowances were granted:

(a) To permanent and temporary employees, for all dependent children under 6 years of age, 16 gold marks monthly; for children 6 to 14 years of age, 18 gold marks; for children 14 to 20 years of age, 20 gold marks. In addition, a statutory employee was granted an allowance of 10 gold marks for a wife.

(b) To workers, 27 gold pfennigs⁴⁸ per workday, or 6 marks 48 pfennigs per month, for a wife and for each dependent child.

By a decree concerning the salaries and wages of persons in civil-service employment which became effective December 1, 1924, family allowances were increased 2 marks per month per wife and per child.⁴⁹

In June, 1924, the general administrative service was paying to employees in active-service allowances for approximately 110,000 children and 90,000 wives, disbursing approximately 24,000,000 gold

⁴⁶ Except where otherwise specified the data in this section was furnished by the German Ministry of Finance, June 17, 1924.

⁴⁷ Gold mark=23.82 cents. Because of the enormous depreciation of the paper mark during and after the war no equivalent in American money will be here attempted.

⁴⁸ Gold pfennig, at par=0.4 cent.

⁴⁹ *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, Berlin, Dec. 11, 1924, p. 748.

marks per annum for children's allowances and 11,000,000 gold marks per annum for allowances for wives. The railroad and postal administrations were paying allowances to 770,000 children and 470,000 wives, expending 167,000,000 gold marks per annum in children allowances and 56,000,000 gold marks in allowances for wives. The number of dependent children per employee was only 1.2 in the general administrative service as compared with 1.6 in the railroad and postal services.

The proportion which the family allowance bears to the total salary varies in the different groups and grades of employees as follows:

	Per cent
Married permanent employees with two children between 6 and 14 years of age:	
Low-salary groups (I to V)-----	27-40
Intermediate-salary groups (VI to IX)-----	12-23
High-salary groups (X to XIII)-----	5-14
Manual workers with two children:	
Unskilled-----	⁶⁰ 25
Semiskilled-----	⁶⁰ 22
Skilled-----	⁶⁰ 18

The following regulations apply to both salaried employees and manual workers in the Federal service, though, as noted before, the amounts of the allowances to the latter are smaller.

Family allowances are granted for dependent legitimate, legitimated, and adopted children, and stepchildren who are members of the household of the civil-service employee, and also for illegitimate children when the civil servant's paternity "has been established by judgment or has been acknowledged in a publicly attested affidavit," and if he has taken the child into his household or can prove that he fully supports it. Family allowances are not paid for foster children and grandchildren.

Allowances for children between 16 and 21 years of age are paid only when they are attending school or receiving training for some remunerative vocation, when they are permanently disabled, physically or mentally, "or if they have no income of their own or if their own income does not exceed the children's allowance inclusive of the cost-of-living allowance."

When both parents are in the Government service allowances are granted for children only if the father, in view of his other obligations, may not be able to support his family in a manner suitable to his position.

Allowances are paid for a married child only when that child can not support himself or herself and neither the consort nor the children of the married son or daughter can furnish such support.

Illegitimate children are entitled to maintenance until they are 21 years old, but if an illegitimate child is not a German citizen such child shall be considered as having a right to maintenance only for such period as the employee is required to pay for the maintenance of such child. A woman employee is paid an allowance for an illegitimate child under the same regulations as those governing an allowance to a male employee for a legitimate child.

⁶⁰ Approximately.

A widowed employee may be granted an allowance for a wife if he has a household of his own and wholly supports the children for whom he receives allowances.

An allowance will not be granted for a wife if she is a salaried employee or wage worker in the Federal, State, communal, or other public corporation service, but may be granted if she is only a part-time employee or worker or does certain work without specified hours, for a lump-sum payment.

An allowance is not granted for a wife who is receiving a pension from Federal, State, or communal funds, unless such pension, inclusive of the cost-of-living bonus, amounts to less than the allowance for a wife, in which case the difference will be paid. When a civil-service employee holds more than one position under the Federal Government, he can draw only one allowance for a wife.

In case a civil-service employee, through no fault of his, has had his marriage annulled, has been divorced, or has been legally separated from his wife, he shall receive the same family allowance as a widower, but if the marriage annulment, the divorce, or the separation is because of his own misconduct he will not be granted an allowance for his wife even if he is required to support her.

States, Provinces, and communes.—Family allowances in the State, Provinces, communes, and other public services are regulated in the same way as in the Federal service.

PRIVATE INDUSTRY

Even before the war the family responsibilities of the workers in Germany were taken into consideration in the payment of wages. Certain monopolistic enterprises, such as the Zeiss Optical Works, followed this practice. In such undertakings the procedure was more or less simple, as the question of reconciling the family or social wage (*Familienstandslohn, Familienlohn or Soziallohn*)⁵¹ with wages in the open market was not a vital one. No grave problems on this score arose during the war in private industries which were paying to their workers bonuses graded according to the size of their families. The extra expenditures of business establishments for family allowances were shifted to the Government, as each firm was allowed its actual expenses and 10 per cent profit, but when the Government relinquished its war control of industry the need for a collective system of family allowances was recognized.⁵²

In 1920 the practice of granting children's allowances apparently was prevalent in the mining industry. In the Ruhr district during the war 20 pfennigs per shift were granted for each child under 14 years of age who was incapable of earning wages. In the early part of 1920 the allowance was raised to 1 mark and later in the same year it was doubled. This represented an increase in remuneration of from 10 to 15 per cent for a large number of miners, who as a class have big families. It was reported at this time that even if the then existing prosperity in coal-mining operation should diminish, family allowances would still be continued in the Ruhr district, as "the

⁵¹ For a French discussion of the social wage in Germany, see Mainguy, Maurice: *Le Problème des Salaires en Allemagne depuis la Guerre*. Paris [1924?], pp. 211-264.

⁵² *The Economic Journal*, London, December, 1923, p. 509: "The family wage controversy in Germany," by Edouard Heimann.

whole pension system of the Bochum Miners' Insurance Society is dominated by the idea of children's allowances."⁵³

As illustrating the extent to which the family allowance or social wage system had expanded by 1922, the following summary of family allowance provisions in trade agreements in Germany is presented:⁵⁴

In connection with family allowances the industries of Germany may be arranged in three groups—

Group 1, in which the family-wage system was seldom found. Among these industries were the oils and fats and leather industries, the clothing trades, shoemaking, hotel and restaurant operation, woodworking, with the exception of sawmilling, and the art crafts. In the collective agreements for the building trades, roofers were almost the only workers for whom provision for family allowances was made.

Group 2, in which the family-wage system and payment by performance had about equal representation. The stone, clay, and pottery trades, trade, transportation, and the food and drink industries were included in this classification.

Group 3, in which the payment of family allowances was almost universal. Foremost in this group was the mining industry, which not only paid money allowances but also granted coal to its married workers. In the machinery, chemical, textile, paper, wood pulp, and cardboard industries family allowances were commonly granted. Nearly all State and municipal employees, both manual and non-manual, received such grants, which were also frequently paid to salaried employees in private industrial undertakings.

METHODS OF PAYMENT

Sometimes the family allowance took the form of a higher wage rate and at other times the form of a supplement to the basic wage. The first and somewhat cruder scheme provided a higher compensation for married workers generally, without regard to the number of children they had. This plan was followed in the collective agreement for the German printing trade, in which there was a classification of skilled workers according to their trade, local class, age, and marital condition. In the agreement of December, 1922, the weekly wage for married skilled workers in wage class C was approximately 4 per cent higher than that for single skilled workers in the same class. In a Hamburg rubber factory single workers were paid 0.2 mark less per hour than the married workers.

The so-called social wage was often paid in such a way that only the younger married workers were better off than their coworkers of the same age because, according to this scheme, beginning with a certain age married and single workers received the same compensation.

Several collective agreements provided the same basic wage for both the single and married workers, while the cost-of-living bonus varied. For example, the collective agreement of December 1, 1921, for Berlin belt and suspender factories made provision for a bonus of 25 per cent for single and 50 per cent for married workers. As a rule, however, under the family-wage system married workers did not receive higher wage rates but were given grants supplement-

⁵³ Great Britain. Ministry of Labor. Labor Overseas, July-September, 1920, p. 48.

⁵⁴ Germany. Reichsarbeitsministeriums. Reichsarbeitsblatt, Berlin, Jan. 1, 1923, pp. 4*-8*.

ing the wage based on performance. While these grants were sometimes based on a fixed percentage of the wage of individual workers, they were much more frequently granted in specific amounts, which in some collective agreements varied with the local cost of living. Such family allowances generally consisted of two parts—a household allowance (*Hausstandgeld*) and an allowance for the children (*Kindergeld*). In some collective agreements only children's allowances were provided.

A household allowance was granted a married worker on the ground of additional expense. In cases where the wives were wage earners the allowances were reduced or not paid at all.

In some collective agreements widowers and divorced men were given household allowances under certain specified circumstances. Some single workers who were the support of their families also received family allowances. It has become necessary, therefore, in many collective agreements to define in detail the term "family." To avoid any doubling of allowances, most collective agreements granted family allowances to single workers only when they were the sole or main supporters of their families.

As indicated above, many establishments did not grant the household allowance, but paid the allowance for children, including in general adopted children, stepchildren, foster children, and illegitimate children. In most instances these allowances were granted only for children up to 14 years of age, although some collective agreements provided that allowances be paid for children up to 17, 18, and 19 years of age, and in a few cases up to 24 years of age when such children were to receive a higher education.

For the prevention of fraud in claims for "superwages" a great many collective agreements prescribed that the worker must prove his statements regarding his family conditions, the form of proof required in various provisions being the attestation of the commune.

In order to protect the family against thriftless and neglectful fathers, a collective agreement for a foodstuff factory stipulated that allowances should not be paid to a worker not living with his family or who "does not support his family, or does not manage his earnings economically, or withholds from his family a proper share of his earnings." In such a case the employer shall, on the motion of the works council, take proper steps to have the allowances paid direct to the mother or the children.

Children's allowances were granted according to the number and ages of the children. In some cases the allowance for the individual child decreased as the number of children increased on the ground that the per capita expense is less for a large family. Other collective agreements provided for an increase in the allowance rate with the increase in the number of children. The following stipulations showed respectively these two methods of payment: Under an agreement of August 1, 1922, electrical workers in Dresden were to receive, for the first legitimate child, 48 marks per week, and for subsequent legitimate children, 34.7 marks per week. The family wage scale for workers in the textile industry in Gladbach, Rheydt, and nearby towns under an agreement of June 19, 1922, was 6 marks per day for the first child; 7 marks per day for the second child; 8 marks per day for the third child; 9 marks per day for the fourth child; and 10 marks per day for the fifth and each succeeding child.

The period which the family allowance covered was usually the same as that for which the wage for performance was paid. In the greater number of instances, therefore, this supplemental compensation was granted by the hour, shift, day, or week, and for salaried employees by the month.

In the cost-of-living bonuses (*Wirtschaftsbeihilfen*), which have been so frequently granted, consideration was always given to the worker's family condition. For example, in April, 1922, in the cigar industry lump-sum allowances of 300 marks were paid to single foremen, 400 marks to married foremen, and 500 marks to married foremen with children.

Workers who live at a considerable distance from their places of employment were, as a rule, paid a sustenance allowance to meet the expense of room and board. As married men in cases of this kind also had to keep up their homes, they usually received a larger sustenance allowance than the single workers. For example, the sustenance allowance of married tinsmiths, under an agreement of July, 1922, was 25 per cent higher than that for unmarried tinsmiths.

The collective agreement provisions regarding the rights of workers to family allowances in connection with the amount of work performed are of special interest. For instance, it was explicitly held in some of the agreements that these family grants were part of the wage and as such were paid according to the hours worked. Some agreements excepted overtime in estimating the family allowance due a worker, while other agreements took overtime into account. It is not a difficult task to calculate the "superwage" on an hourly basis, but the matter becomes somewhat complicated when allowances are fixed by the day or week and questions of broken shifts or weeks have to be dealt with.

In cases in which it was agreed that the allowances were to be paid by the day, such grants were usually made for each shift commenced even if it was not worked in full. Under the collective agreement of July 13, 1922, for the Rhenish-Westphalian iron and metal working industries, the number of computable shifts was arrived at by dividing by 8 the aggregate hours worked during the wage period, a remainder of four or more hours being regarded as a full shift. In accordance with a collective agreement of December 3, 1922, in the paper industry in Silesia, the per capita allowance was not to be paid "for those days on which a worker by his own fault misses more than four hours." When allowances were granted by the week and the full time had not been worked, workers were usually paid for the actual hours worked, the allowances being reduced one-sixth for each day not worked.

The hiring and firing of workers were frequently responsible for incomplete weeks of service. The collective agreement of April 1, 1922, for the chemical industry in Hanover stipulated that a newly employed worker should receive one-sixth of the weekly allowance for each workday begun. This provision prevented a man from getting a double allowance when he changed his job.

A worker forfeited his claim to an allowance for a given week if through his own fault he remained away from his job two days within the work week.

There were various regulations in regard to the payment of the family wage in cases in which the worker missed time through no

fault of his own. Full allowances were ordinarily paid for holidays or for a reduction in working time, an agreement in the textile industry of May 4, 1922, even providing that these grants should be doubled if short time reduced the hours of labor per week to less than 33.

There were only a few agreements under which the amount of the family allowance was reduced for time lost, but there were usually limitations to the continuation of these grants during loss of time. In illustration, one agreement provided that in the case of short-time employment family allowances should be paid in full during the first two weeks after the beginning of short-time work.

Family allowances were also commonly paid when workers were on their "annual contractual leave with pay." It was ordinarily provided through collective bargaining that family allowances should be paid in sickness for a certain limited time, which ranged from 6 to 13 weeks.

Although there were few industries in Germany in 1922 that had instituted family allowances in all establishments, there were no industries that wholly ignored this system of payment.

EFFECT OF FAMILY ALLOWANCES ON WAGE RATES

The effect of family allowances on wages, as shown by a comparison of the average weighted wage rates of married workers with those of single workers in certain industries and occupations, in April, 1923, may be seen in Table 11:

TABLE 11.—PER CENT AVERAGE WEIGHTED WAGE RATES OF MARRIED WORKERS¹ WERE OF THOSE OF UNMARRIED WORKERS, APRIL, 1923²

Industry and class of workers	Per cent rate for married was of rate for un-married workers	Industry and class of workers	Per cent rate for married was of rate for un-married workers
Coal mining:		Printing industry:	
Pick miners and loaders.....	141	Hand compositors.....	104
Other underground workers.....	112	Helpers.....	104
Surface workers.....	113	State railway workers:	
Metal industry:		Skilled.....	122
Skilled workers.....	107	Semiskilled.....	123
Semiskilled workers.....	108	Unskilled.....	130
Unskilled workers.....	108	State salaried employees:	
Chemical industry:		High grade.....	116
Artisans.....	103	Intermediate grade.....	122
Process men.....	105	Low grade.....	136
Unskilled workers.....	105		

¹ Where the allowances paid vary with the size of the family, the rates here given for married workers are for those with wife and two children, generally under 14 years of age.

² International Labor Office. Family allowances. Geneva, 1924, p. 109. Studies and reports, series D (wages and hours), No. 13.

COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS

The family-allowance system suffered a considerable setback in Germany in 1923, the period of highest inflation of the currency, and has not as yet been restored to its former important position.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Data furnished by Federation of German Employers' Associations, Aug. 7, 1924.

Individual employers are still granting family allowances under collective contracts, but the number of agreements with such provisions is greatly reduced.⁵⁷ Among the industries in which this decline is noted are the potash industry; the paper, cardboard, celluloid, and pulp-wood industry in Silesia and Posen; the textile industry at Munchen-Gladbach-Rheydt; the chemical industry in Baden and the Rhenish Palatinate and Brandenburg; and coal mining in Saxony. No allowances are being paid in the leather, woodworking, boot and shoe, clothing, and cigar industries, nor in the building trades.⁵⁸

The elimination of the family allowance in a number of collective agreements is attributed to the hostility of the trade-unions, according to the Federation of German Employers' Associations. Collective agreements in the metal industries, however, still contain provisions for allowances for wives and children, and in these industries there are only a few insignificant districts in which family wages are not being paid. This system of payment also prevails extensively in the mining industry, and especially in the coal mining sections. The allowances, which are still made by the shift, vary in amount in different localities, but average, for a wife and child, from 3 to 4 per cent of the wages.⁵⁹

Table 12 gives the average wages of single and married workers in coal mines in various districts, the wages of married workers, including allowances for a wife and two children under 14 years, but no allowance for household coal:

TABLE 12.—AVERAGE WAGES PER SHIFT OF SINGLE AND MARRIED WORKERS IN COAL MINES, JUNE, 1924¹

Occupation and marital condition	West Upper Silesia	Lower Silesia	Ruhr district	Aix la Chapelle	Saxony	All districts			
						Money wages (weighted) ²		Real wage (weighted) ²	
						Amount	Per cent of pre-war wage	Amount	Per cent of pre-war wage
Pick miners:	Rentenmarks ³	Rentenmarks	Rentenmarks	Rentenmarks	Rentenmarks	Rentenmarks		Rentenmarks	
Single	4.68	3.68	6.48	5.90	4.50	6.11	97.4	5.98	85.8
Married	4.98	3.90	6.98	6.20	4.70	6.55	104.5	5.76	91.9
Other underground workers:									
Single	3.56	3.36	5.06	4.66	4.33	4.78	107.7	4.21	94.8
Married	3.86	3.68	5.54	4.96	4.53	5.21	117.3	4.58	103.2
Surface workers:									
Single	3.76	3.53	5.02	4.53	4.17	4.74	114.5	4.17	100.7
Married	4.06	3.80	5.50	4.83	4.37	5.17	124.9	4.55	109.9

¹ Germany Statistisches Reichsamt. Wirtschaft und Statistik, Berlin, July 26, 1924, p. 441.

² By number of workers.

³ Rentenmark—23.82 cents.

⁵⁷ According to the Federation of German Employers' Associations, August, 1924, family allowances were provided in agreements covering from 3,000,000 to 3,200,000 workers. The number of workpeople employed under collective agreements in January, 1924, was 13,135,384. International Labor Office, Industrial and Labor Information, Geneva, Feb. 23, 1925, p. 10.

⁵⁸ Germany. Reichsarbeitsministeriums. Reichsarbeitsblatt, Berlin, Oct. 1, 1924, p. 487: "Die Berechtigung der Familienlohn systems in Auslande," by Irmgard Feig.

⁵⁹ Data furnished by the Federation of German Employers' Associations, Aug. 7, 1924.

FAMILY-ALLOWANCE FUNDS

The number of family-allowance funds in Germany has been very restricted. The main reason given for this is that during most of the time in which family wages have been granted there has been but little unemployment in that country, and consequently the men with family responsibilities ran small risk of being discriminated against by employers.⁶⁰ The mining industry, the heavy metal industries, and most of the chemical industries have had no family-allowance funds, and to the employers the necessity for such administrative procedure did not seem great.⁶¹ Another possible explanation is the insignificance of the allowances in certain industries and the consequent unwillingness of employers to set up a costly fund in this connection.⁶²

It is next to impossible for the funds to prevent fraud. For example, in periods of labor shortage when employers' organizations pledged their membership not to pay wages in excess of those provided in collective contracts "it frequently happened that the employees of a concern were given to understand that no strict examination would be made by the management of the data submitted as to the number of children, and in such cases unduly high allowances were granted to many workers at the expense of the fund."⁶³ Furthermore, the establishment of funds is fraught with various difficulties, which, of course, has impeded the rapid multiplication of such funds.⁶⁴

One of the pioneer German family-allowance funds was established in 1920 by the Federation of Employers in the Berlin Industries, one of the most important industrial organizations of the country. Various other industrial groups followed this example,⁶⁵ and in 1922 the 11 funds of the following organizations were in existence: Federation of Employers in the Berlin Metal Industries; Federation of Employers in the Industrial District of Elberfeld; Employers' Association of the Chemical and Explosives Industry at Cologne; Employers' Association of the German Ceramic Industry; Thuringian Textile Manufacturers; Employers' Federation of the Saxon Textile Industry; Federation of the Textile Industrialists of the Munster District; Employers' Federation of Anhalt at Dessau; Industrial Employers' Federation of the Free State of Oldenburg; Employers' Federation of the Rhenish-Westphalian Cement Works, Bochum; and the German Pharmacists.⁶⁶

Most of these family-allowance funds have ceased to operate. The liquidation of some of the funds was due to the expense of adminis-

⁶⁰ International Labor Office. Family allowances. Geneva, 1924, p. 95. Studies and reports, series D (wages and hours), No. 13.

⁶¹ Data furnished by Federation of German Employers' Associations, Aug. 7, 1924.

⁶² International Labor Office. Family allowances. Geneva, 1924, p. 106. Studies and reports, series D (wages and hours), No. 13.

⁶³ U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics Bul. No. 380: Postwar labor conditions in Germany. Washington, 1925, p. 145.

⁶⁴ Soziale Praxis, Berlin, Nov. 9, 1922, cols. 1234-1238: "Die Schwierigkeiten der Durchführung des Soziallohns in der Praxis," by Hans Brauer.

⁶⁵ Economic Journal, London, Dec. 23, 1923, p. 510: "The family wage controversy," by Edouard Heimann.

⁶⁶ Germany. Reichsarbeitsministeriums. Reichsarbeitsblatt, Berlin, Oct. 1, 1924, p. 487: "Die Verbreitung der Familienlohn systems in Auslande," by Irmgard Feig.

tration.⁶⁷ Among the few that were functioning in 1924 were the funds of the Federation of Employers in the Industrial District of Elberfeld, the National Employers' Federation of Saxon Electrical Works, and the Federation of Textile Industrialists of the Munster District.⁶⁶

The fund of the Federation of Employers in the Industrial District of Elberfeld covers textile and metal workers and the salaried employees of all the member establishments of the federation, including the chemical, woodworking, and paper industries. Family allowances for the manual workers in the chemical and paper industries in this district are paid by individual employers without recourse to the fund, while no family allowances are paid the manual workers in the woodworking industry.⁶⁶

The contributions to the fund by the employers in the metal and textile industries are equivalent to 2½ per cent of wages for male workers, and 1½ per cent of wages for female workers. If the sum disbursed by an individual establishment in family allowances is in excess of the amount paid by it into the fund, the fund is obliged to make up the difference. The members of this fund include 235 textile establishments and 150 metal-work establishments, with about 40,000 workers.⁶⁶

In the early part of 1924 the family allowance of a skilled male worker in the textile and metal industries was 0.50 mark per week, per child or per wife. The family wage of salaried male employees 30 years old in Class A was then 6 marks a month "per wife and per child."⁶⁶

The fund of the National Employers' Federation of the Saxon Electrical Works computes its contributions on the number of workers employed by an establishment at the end of the calendar year. All classes of workers are paid 3 pfennigs per hour for a wife, the same amount for the first child, and 2 pfennigs an hour for each subsequent child, legitimate and illegitimate.⁶⁶

The Federation of Textile Industrialists of the Munster District has no central fund, but the family allowances for all the firms occupying a given locality are calculated and the costs divided among the different establishments in accordance with the number of workers employed. The family wage in these establishments includes an allowance for each child under 14 years and an allowance for a wife who is not gainfully employed. In 1924 such grants were being made to 32,000 workers.⁶⁶

The fund of the Federation of Employers in the Berlin Metal Industries was also operating in 1924.⁶⁷

FAMILY ALLOWANCES IN AGRICULTURE *

There is little conflict over the question of whether or not the responsibilities of married agricultural workers should be taken into consideration by their employers, as the principle of family allow-

⁶⁶ Germany. Reichsarbeitsministeriums. Reichsarbeitsblatt, Berlin, Oct. 1, 1924, p. 487: "Die Verbreitung der Familienlohn systems in Auslande," by Irmgard Feig.

⁶⁷ Data furnished by the Federation of German Employers' Associations, Aug. 7, 1924.

⁶⁸ Germany. Reichsarbeitsministeriums. Reichsarbeitsblatt, Berlin, Feb. 16, 1923, pp. 68*-70*: "Der Familienlohn in den landwirtschaftlichen Tarifverträgen." Summarized in International Labor Office, Family allowances, Geneva, 1924, pp. 104-107, studies and reports, series D (wages and hours), No. 13.

ances is already quite generally the practice among this class of labor. The procedure, however, varies in accordance with the conditions prevailing in the different parts of the country. In regard to systems of wage payment agricultural labor may, however, be divided into two principal groups, permanent and independent workers.

The permanent workers are employed chiefly by the large land owners in the north who, because their farms are frequently a long distance from town, require a substantial number of permanent workers. These permanent workers are provided by the employer with a house and a piece of land which they can cultivate for themselves. By his supplementary work, and especially by his wife's labor, the permanent worker adds substantially to his basic income, a considerable part, frequently the greater part, of which is in kind (potatoes, cereals, milk, etc.) instead of in money. Only married workers are included under this plan, and their wages in kind correspond, of course, to the needs of their families and do not constitute a payment for performance alone.

Employers who do not lodge and board unmarried workers generally pay them partly in kind and do not allow them tracts of land to cultivate for themselves or the privilege of keeping livestock. A much more substantial part of the independent workers' wages than of the wages of the permanent worker is in cash, and the cash wages of married independent workers exceed those of the unmarried workers. Family responsibilities are taken into account in the wages of independent workers which are paid in kind.

The following variations in methods of wage payment for independent married workers may be found in collective contracts:

1. Married workers may receive no wages in kind and be paid higher wages in cash than unmarried workers. This practice prevailed in the Danzig district and in a few districts in the eastern section of Germany.

2. Married workers may be paid the same wages in kind as unmarried workers and higher wages in cash. This method is provided for in a "model" contract for East Prussia and Silesia.

3. Married workers may be paid higher wages in kind than unmarried workers and lower wages in cash. Contracts of this character have been made in some districts in Brandenburg.

4. Married workers may be paid higher wages in kind than unmarried workers and the same amount of wages in cash. This system is in vogue mainly in southern and western Germany.

5. Married workers may be paid higher wages in kind and also higher wages in cash than the unmarried workers. Such provision is found, however, in only a few collective contracts.

The social side of the wage payment is given less consideration in southern than in northern Germany. This is probably due to the fact that many of the workers in southern Germany own small tracts of land and can meet the increased cost of living out of the produce of their own small land holdings.

Among some of the interesting provisions in certain collective agricultural agreements are: Wages in kind are to be based on the needs of a family of certain size, one of the contracts stating that such wages are to be "calculated for a family of five—husband, wife, and three children under 14."

Other contracts stipulate that the amount of corn to be allowed depends upon the size of the family. There is considerable variation in the regulations as to additional grants in kind for children. Some of these supplementary allowances are made for the second child. In other cases the extra grant begins only with the third, fourth, fifth, or sixth child. Allowances in kind are not granted "for children who are able to work, unless they are employed upon the estate."

Many workers who are not fathers of families but who have dependents to support are granted allowances in kind. Among the dependents included under such allowances are infirm or disabled adults, especially the parents of the workers.

Attention is called to the fact that the valuation of allowances in kind in collective contracts is substantially below the market price.

It is sometimes provided that if a worker is not regular in his work he receives no wages in kind. In other instances the worker is paid such wages only if he has worked a stipulated number of hours (2,800 per annum, for instance).

VIEWPOINTS

There has been considerable discussion in Germany over the social wage, many of the arguments advanced by different groups in other parts of Europe on the same problem being set forth. Various German attitudes on family allowances are given in some detail below.

PUBLIC OFFICIALS

The German Ministry of Finance states (July 18, 1924) that "family allowances in themselves can not be well justified under a salary or wage system governed strictly by performance." It is pointed out, however, that in Government employment the case is somewhat different because of the prevalence of the theory that compensation paid according to public law "does not represent a pure and simple working wage," but a return to the employees "for putting their whole personality into the service of the State." The Ministry of Finance forecasts that family allowances will be continued in the Federal civil service as long as the Federal Government is not in a financial position to pay to all its employees salaries adequate to support their families in a manner corresponding to their positions.

PRIVATE EMPLOYERS

The following employers' views, taken from the *Deutsche Bergwerkszeitung*, are quoted in the *Korrespondenzblatt* of July 30, 1921; W. H. Knut, of Dillenburg, is of the opinion that the social wage "trains to laziness and is injurious to the workers' interests and national economics by increasing the population." On the other hand, H. Bangert, of Wetzlau, says that the "general economic advantage of the social wage lies in the fact that it lessens the purchasing power of the single worker and thus decreases demand and promotes a general lowering of prices," and concludes that "this new system of a

social wage, considered from all points of view, will play an important part in the reconstruction of economic life."

Employers are said to favor family allowances so long as they do not result in an increase of production costs. The more mature workers are steadier, realize their responsibility to their firms, and are ordinarily more desirable employees than irresponsible young men, who are ready to change their jobs at any time. The older workers also constitute "a breakwater against the syndicalist and revolutionary tendencies of many of the youthful wage earners."⁶⁹

Among the objections of employers to the social wage are (1) that it will add to the number of unproductive laborers, (2) that it will have the same result as inflation, (3) that the pool system, if limited to particular localities or particular branches of industries, would cause an invasion of such localities and branches of industry by family men and an exodus of bachelors.⁷⁰

WORKERS

The employees and manual workers of the German Federal civil service are not "strictly hostile" toward the system of family allowances. The majority would prefer to have their basic salaries or wages increased.⁷¹

Theodore Leipart, the president of the General Federation of German Trade-Unions, the largest labor organization in the country, takes up in the *Korrespondenzblatt* (Berlin) of April 30, 1921, the cause of the single worker and catalogues the various expenses and obligations of the unmarried man, such as the supplementing of his inadequate education, dues to athletic clubs, the cost of pleasures which youth craves, the expense of living in restaurants, and the necessity for saving to establish a future household. Leipart believes that the married man should be favored by more generous tax exemptions and that the children of workers "should be granted all possible facilities out of public funds, the cost of which should be borne by the whole nation." Among the benefits which should be furnished gratis to the children of the workers are education, textbooks, meals in schools, transportation to school, physical culture, and, to a certain extent, clothing and shoes. Milk for babies should be supplied free or at reduced rates. As an alternative for such grants fixed Government allowances to defray various family expenses are suggested. To burden individual employers with such costs would, Leipart holds, result in higher prices for the finished products.

"The organized far-seeing workers" regard with suspicion the institution of the social wage, according to the June 23, 1923, issue of the *Metallarbeiter Zeitung* (Stuttgart, p. 99). Reports that family allowances are being used as strike preventives do not tend to allay such suspicion. "All allowances due for the period from the first of a month up to the date of the calling of the strike are generally declared forfeited." Trade-unionists "demand a wage, collectively agreed upon, sufficient to maintain a family and for the single worker to save for the setting up of a household."

⁶⁹ The Economic Journal, London, December, 1923, pp. 512, 513.

⁷⁰ The answers of Edouard Heimann to these objections are set forth on p. 96.

⁷¹ Data furnished by the German Minister of Finance, June 17, 1924.

In the Free State of Saxony the social wage has been generally instituted only for municipal and State employees and in the mining industry, the labor organizations as a rule being opposed to the system for fear it will lead to the dismissal of married workers in times of industrial depression.⁷²

The official attitude of the General Federation of German Trade-Unions on the social wage⁷³ is that "it has been always a recognized principle that the wage should correspond to the work performed. * * * It is always suspicious when the employers in some manner want to play themselves up as friends of the workers. * * * It seems an established fact that the social wage is only a means of depressing wages." Employers claim that they are obliged to keep production costs at a minimum and that the economic situation in Germany makes it imperative to fix wages according to individual needs. Industrialists conceal under "oratorical flourishes" their view that in periods of industrial depression "the workers alone should bear all the burdens."

The justice of the workers' demands for higher wages can not be denied by employers, who, however, desire to make the single man foot the expense of family allowances for the married man. In this way employers establish a minimum-of-existence wage standard for the single worker. When this standard prevails the principle of a wage based on performance will be reintroduced, and the social wage "will work as a perpetual screw in the same manner as piecework." The social wage will also split the ranks of the workers and facilitate the domination of employers.

The trade-unions realize, however, the interest of the commonwealth "in a healthy increase of the population," and it is suggested that the married workers be granted special assistance by the Government. This, of course, would mean added taxation, which would fall on the classes of society which are best fitted to bear it. Consequently employers "think it much cheaper" to put the burden of the social wage upon the shoulders of the single worker.

To reduce the hostility of single men to the social wage it has been suggested that they should bear in mind that when the time comes for them to establish a family they will benefit by the system. It has also been suggested that if wages were generally increased for both married and single workers it would be easier for bachelors to sacrifice themselves in favor of family men.⁷⁴

The family-allowance system is looked upon with favor by most of the leaders of the Christian trade-unions in Germany, which are closely allied with the Center Party.⁷⁵ It has been frequently stressed in the Christian trade-union press that "the Christian worker sets greater ethical value upon the family than the members of the Social Democratic unions." The latter are reported as favor-

⁷² Germany. Statistisches Reichsamt. Jahresberichte der Gewerbeaufsichtsbeamten und Bergbehörden für das Jahr 1922. Berlin, 1923, vol. 2, sec. 3, p. 124.

⁷³ Korrespondenzblatt der Allgemeinen Deutschen Gewerkschaftsbundes, Berlin, June 3, 1922, pp. 309-311.

⁷⁴ The Economic Journal, London, December, 1923, p. 515: "The family wage controversy in Germany," by Edouard Heimann.

⁷⁵ Idem, p. 513.

ing a restriction of the number of children. On the other hand, Christian families regard many children as "a special blessing."⁷⁶

The Tenth Congress of the Federation of Christian Metal Workers of Germany which met at Fulda in August, 1922, recommended "that wages be based on workers' output and that supplementary family allowances be granted for the relief of large families so long as the cost of living remains high."⁷⁷

The development of a system of family allowances was advocated in a resolution of the national conference of the Christian Miners' Union, which met at Cologne in the latter part of April, 1924.⁷⁸

The following is an extract from a resolution passed by the Tenth Congress of the German Christian Trade-Unions, held at Essen in the latter part of November, 1920:⁷⁹

In view of the fact that wages represent not only a part of the costs of production but also the income of the worker on which the latter and his family must live, wages sufficiently high to make possible the existence of a whole family should be paid. To this end the conjugal condition and number of children of the worker should be considered by the granting of sufficient bonuses out of the adjustment fund (*Ausgleichskasse*) to be created for this purpose. Such measures should, however, not lead to wage rates being based on the minimum of existence. Single workers must be paid wages sufficiently high to enable them to found a household of their own.

In connection with this resolution Louis Wimmer made the following statement in the *Zentralblatt der Christlichen Gewerkschaften Deutschlands*:⁸⁰

The capitalistic conception which evaluates the worker merely as a part of the costs of production can no more be accepted by us than the current socialistic conception that each worker is entitled to the full value of his labor. As labor, in addition to nature, is the creator of all values, labor must produce the means of existence for all people; i. e., also for those who for various reasons are not able to exercise a gainful occupation. The solidarity so much vaunted by the trade-unions must therefore begin with the distribution of the product of labor. In the collective agreements hitherto concluded the trade-unions have followed the principles of the liberal-capitalistic economic system and have tacitly accepted a wage system in which the actual performance of labor is the sole measure for determining the compensation as the only suitable wage system. The wage no longer adjusted itself to the worker but the worker had to adjust his personal and family conditions to the wage.

New ways must be found to come as near as possible to the ideal of a fair wage, i. e., the assuring of an existence to the workman's family. To assure to all a wage representing the minimum of existence of a normal family, i. e., to all without consideration of age, conjugal condition, and size of family, seems to be precluded. It would not even be suitable to grant to all such an income. * * *

Is it possible, in view of the present economic depression in Germany, to allow to all workers annual earnings of 24,000 marks, which sum represents the minimum of existence of a family not unnaturally limited in size? This question must be answered flatly in the negative. Two proposals have been made to assure to workers a fair wage, making it possible to support a family: Mothers' pensions and family bonuses. Mothers' pensions are not practical for several reasons. Among other things, they could not be adjusted to the fluctuations in the value of German currency. Family bonuses are to be preferred because the workers are, through their organizations, in a position to regulate in accordance with the cost of living the basis upon which family or children's bonuses are to be granted.

⁷⁶ Korrespondenzblatt der Allgemeinen Deutschen Gewerkschaftsbundes, Berlin, June 8, 1922, p. 309.

⁷⁷ International Labor Office. Industrial and Labor Information, Geneva, Sept. 15, 1922, p. 8.

⁷⁸ Idem, Sept. 29, 1924, p. 22.

⁷⁹ Soziale Praxis und Archiv für Volkswohlfahrt, Berlin, May 18, 1921, cols. 532, 533.

⁸⁰ Idem, cols. 533, 534.

ECONOMISTS

Amid the pros and cons in re family allowances, Edouard Heimann claims he finds widespread agreement on one point, namely, that "the subsidizing of the father of a family must not be carried to such lengths as to offer him an inducement to parenthood."⁸¹

To the objection of the employers that the social wage will add to the number of unproductive laborers, Heimann points out that "so long as the family wage represents merely a lessening of the burden of parenthood and not a positive reward for the production of children," family men will continue to work.

In regard to the objection that the family wage will have the same result as inflation, he declares that as long as the total-wage bill is merely redistributed among married men and bachelors there will be no basis for "a rise in the general level of prices," although some changes would probably take place within certain groups of commodities. For example, there would be a decline in the demand for luxuries which appeal to the popular taste and an increase in the demand for necessary food and clothing. In the course of time production would adjust itself to these shifts in demand. Heimann holds that "the consumption of solid food and clothing is clearly more beneficial to future production than the consumption of alcohol and the latest fashions."

The rush of family men into certain industries or localities, which is feared by some employers, could be obviated, Heimann suggests, by a universal pool system.

Among those who have advocated the social wage is W. Kulemann, a leading economist, who some years ago acted as chairman of a board of arbitration in a dispute in the metal industry of Brunswick. In this case the workers held that wages should be determined by performance and not by the size of the family. The majority of the board decided in favor of family allowances. The reasons given by Kulemann for the adoption of the proposal of the board were in part as follows:⁸²

There is no doubt that the father of a family is a more valuable member of the State and of the economic community than a single man. * * * Marriages are being made more difficult because the incomes of most men are not sufficient to support a family. It seems therefore only proper to place the married man in a more favorable economic position. Not only consideration as to increasing the population but also equity calls for the procedure. The minimum of existence, whether measured from a physiological or a social viewpoint, is manifestly much higher in the case of a family man than that of a single person. The same income which makes a favorable existence possible to the latter will mean starvation or at least great deprivation to the former.

Kulemann also arraigned the extravagant, highly remunerated single male workman, with his self-indulgence, as being responsible with the capitalistic spenders in helping to keep up the high prices of necessities by a demand for the production of luxuries, and affecting detrimentally the country's debit balance and foreign exchange rate. Kulemann criticized as individualistic and indefensible the

⁸¹ The Economic Journal, London, December, 1923, p. 511: "The family wage controversy in Germany," by Edouard Heimann.

⁸² Soziale Praxis, Berlin, Apr. 20, 1921, pp. 414-416.

reasoning that the economic value of work is entirely independent of the conjugal condition of the worker.

Compensation for the activity of the worker does not, Kulemann holds, "consist in handing him a certain quantity of paper the value of which becomes more and more problematical from day to day, but in giving him the means to procure a proper standard of living. This view is conditioned upon the concrete circumstances of the worker."

Kulemann acknowledged the weight of the objection to family allowances on the ground of possible discrimination by the employer against the married man. He, however, regarded as a makeshift and as an undesirable interference with management the suggested plan of stipulating in collective agreements that a certain percentage of married men shall be employed. While viewing favorably the system of paying family allowances which was inaugurated by the Federation of Employers in the Berlin Metal Industry in January, 1920, Kulemann thought the scheme should be improved in certain respects. This federation paid to its male and female workers allowances in accordance with the size of their families, the amounts thus disbursed being assessed upon the federation members in proportion to the number of their employees. The average amount that each member should pay in allowances was calculated, and if an individual fund fell below this amount it was required to pay into the general fund an additional sum to make up this discrepancy. If an individual firm's personnel assessment was above the average to be paid by each establishment, such firm received a reimbursement from the aggregate fund. While the plan was adapted to this particular employers' federation, another local organization, Kulemann felt, might not be strong enough to effect such a reform, or if its example were not extensively imitated in other places its members would suffer so seriously from competition that they would not be able long to sustain their assumed burden. This danger might be obviated if all establishments in the country in a specified industrial group would form a joint equalization fund. Kulemann doubted whether this could be accomplished by voluntary combination and suggested the possibility of legislation.

It was also proposed that the existing compulsory organizations of industrial accident associations could be used in connection with the administration of the family-allowance joint funds.

To surmount the difficulties arising from the different living conditions in various localities, the following scheme was submitted by Kulemann:

An ideal or a normal wage shall be determined by each industrial group. * * * This ideal wage is the constant quantity which in order to obtain the actual wage is influenced by a number of factors such as local bonuses, which presuppose the division of the localities into classes according to their cost-of-living conditions and other circumstances coming into consideration, and per capita bonuses depending upon the size of the family and possibly the age of the children. These per capita bonuses should not be borne by the individual employer but as a joint burden by the industry group as such. * * * It might be recommended that these bonuses be separated from other receipts of the workers and paid out of the central fund, not by the individual employer.

In the above plan each worker would, as hitherto, receive his wage from the employer, the amount to be determined in the customary manner.

A part of the voiced trade-union objection to family allowances was attributed to the fact that labor leadership was in the hands of young men. The workers specifically objected to these super-wages on the ground that the proposal for such allowances was made by employers when demands for wage increases were made, and the offering of these allowances to the married men alone and the failure to advance the wages of single men struck a blow at the solidarity of the workers.

NETHERLANDS ⁸³

In discussing the beginnings of family allowances in the Netherlands, A. M. Joeekes, of the Department of Labor, Commerce, and Industry of that country, declares that one will search in vain for any reference to such grants in the standard work on economics of the liberal school at the close of the last century, at which time the influence of the liberal school was predominant. Nor does one find in the wage systems previous to that period any inclusion of methods of payment which took into account the number of the worker's dependents. Within the last decade, however, the consideration of this aspect of the wage problem has played an increasingly important part.

Leaving out of account socialist propaganda, Catholic sociologists, notably Professor Van Aken, Professor Aengenent, and Doctor Aalberse, were the first to advocate openly in the Netherlands that family responsibilities must be regarded in the matter of wage payments. They held that a worker's wage should primarily be proportioned to the value of the labor he performs, but that at the same time he should receive a minimum wage adequate for the support of himself and an average-sized family. "The generally prevailing wage must, therefore, be a 'family wage.' In addition provision must be made for the needs of large families by the payment of children's allowances for the benefit of families with more than the average number of children."^a

STATE, PROVINCIAL, AND COMMUNAL SERVICES

The system of family allowances was first established in the State civil service in 1912 for post-office employees. From 1916 to 1919 temporary cost-of-living bonuses were instituted to mitigate the hardships resulting from high prices, and in these bonuses family responsibilities were taken into account. At present each State civil-service employee is granted for each child under 18 years of age an amount equivalent to 2½ per cent of such employee's salary, the minimum allowance per annum for each child being 50 guilders⁸⁴ and the maximum 200 guilders. Manual workers in the State civil service are granted 1 guilder a week for each child. According to a recent estimate, approximately "30,000 civil-service employees come into consideration for children's allowances." This number

⁸³ Except where otherwise specified the data in this section are from International Labor Office, *Industrial and Labor Information*, Geneva, Aug. 3, 1923, pp. 13-20: "Family allowances in the Netherlands," by A. M. Joeekes; and data furnished by the Minister of Finance and Secretary General of Labor, Commerce, and Industry of the Netherlands, May 10 and May 26, 1924, respectively.

⁸⁴ Guilder at par=40.2 cents; exchange rate varies.

^a International Labor Office, *Industrial and Labor Information*, Geneva, Aug 3, 1923, p. 14. Report by Dr. A. M. Jrekes.

constitutes about 33 per cent of all the civilians paid either directly or indirectly from the State treasury. The number of children for whom such allowances were granted in May, 1924, is estimated at between 65,000 and 75,000. The amount paid out in such allowances per annum in 1921, 1922, and 1923 was approximately 3,800,000 guilders. It is authoritatively stated that if these allowances had not been made it would have been necessary to increase the salaries in the State civil service.

Under a Government order railway employees are paid family allowances under the same regulations as those in the civil service, except that the first two children do not benefit. The establishment of the system for the railway employees was fought, however, by the Social Democratic and Democratic Parties in the second chamber and was also opposed by the railway workers' representatives serving on the central committee for the consideration of certain personnel problems and on the railway wages board.

Approximately 26,000 workers in the Limburg mines, which are for the most part controlled by the State, were in 1921 granted 5 guilders per month for each child under 14 years of age.⁸⁵

By November, 1921, children's allowances had been inaugurated for the employees and officials of the majority of the Provinces and municipalities. There were some variations in the manner of granting these allowances in the different Provinces. In North Brabant, for example, the grants in 1920 were made as follows:

(a) To civil-service employees, including messengers and those in somewhat similar grades of work, an addition of 5 per cent of their respective annual salaries for each legitimate or illegitimate child below 18 years of age, exclusive of the first two, the minimum allowance being 100 guilders and the maximum 250 guilders per annum for each child.

(b) To road workers and bridge tenders with more than two legitimate or illegitimate children under 16 years of age 1 guilder per week for each child exclusive of the first two.

Children's allowances were not considered a part of the basic wage or salary.

In Gelderland in 1921 the allowance for each legitimate or illegitimate child under 18 years of age of a statutory or nonstatutory civil servant was equivalent to 2½ per cent of the gross salary of such civil servant, the minimum allowance being 50 guilders and the maximum 200 guilders per annum.

There is also a considerable variety in the matter of regulations, some communes making a grant equivalent to a certain percentage of the salary (from 3 to 5 per cent in the different communes) for each child below a stated age, ordinarily 16 or 18 years. Other municipalities do not pay allowances for all children, excluding the first two, three, or four. In some communes only those workers below a certain salary grade receive allowances. The majority of the communes for which data are available make these grants to both salaried employees and wage earners. The prevailing allowance for

⁸⁵ International Labor Office. Family allowances. Geneva, 1924, p. 88. Studies and reports, series D (wages and hours), No. 13.

wage earners is 1 guilder a week for each child, although the provisions vary as to whether or not all dependent children shall benefit.⁸⁶

The municipal government of Arnhem has instituted a children's allowance fund for municipal employees and for private employees in so far as private enterprises may be able to arrange with this fund for such grants. Amsterdam and Rotterdam do not pay children's allowances.

PRIVATE INDUSTRY

The payment of family allowances in private industry in the Netherlands has been established on a "fairly large scale," especially during the last 10 years.⁸⁷ The greater expense, however, to employers who make these grants and the possibility of discrimination against applicants for work who are married are two obstacles to be reckoned with in considering the prospect of further development of the system. These problems have been partially solved by regulating children's allowances in collective agreements. Table 13 gives data as to such collective contracts as were in effect on June 1, 1923:

TABLE 13.—NUMBER OF COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS CONTAINING PROVISIONS AS TO FAMILY ALLOWANCES, JUNE 1, 1923, AND OF ESTABLISHMENTS AND EMPLOYEES COVERED

Industry group	Collective agreements	Establishments covered	Employees covered
Pottery, glass, etc.....	3	1	100
Woodworking, etc.....	3	3	130
Clothing, etc.....	1	1	66
Leather working.....	2	130	6,650
Coal mines, peat.....	1	5	27,736
Metal works.....	1	1	6
Preparation of food and beverages.....	30	920	25,352
Baking.....	17	686	4,419
Cigar industry.....	2	222	20,000
Agriculture.....	16	314	2,490
Bulb industry.....	13	202	2,500
Trade.....	8	8	64
Transport.....	1	1	10
Insurance.....	1	1	20
Total.....	167	1,380	62,624

⁸⁶ 10 per cent of the total number of collective agreements on June 1, 1923.

⁸⁷ About 8 per cent of the total number of establishments bound by collective agreement. (The total is given as reported. The actual sum of items is 1,385.)

⁸⁸ 28 per cent of the total number of workers employed under the regulations of collective agreements on June 1, 1923.

As the total number of nongovernmental workers in 1923 was approximately 1,500,000, only 4 per cent, therefore, were covered by collective agreements providing for family allowances.

Table 14 gives data with reference to the payment of family allowances in the chief industries of the Netherlands. It will be noted that in three out of the five industries the allowances are disbursed through funds established by the employers.

⁸⁶ International Labor Office. Family allowances. Geneva, 1924, pp. 87, 88. Studies and reports, series D (wages and hours), No. 13.

⁸⁸ Idem, Aug. 3, 1923, p. 17. Report by Dr. A. M. Jrekes.

TABLE 14.—FAMILY ALLOWANCES GRANTED IN THE PRINCIPAL INDUSTRIES OF THE NETHERLANDS, JUNE 1, 1923

Industry	Child with whom allowance begins	Age limit of child for allowance (years)	Allowance per child per week	How allowance paid
Boots and shoes:			<i>Guilders</i> ¹	
Workers.....	Third.....	14	² 75	From fund established by employers' organization.
Foremen.....	do.....	14	1	
Mining.....	First.....	14	³ 4	From fund established by employers. From fund established by employers' organization. ⁴
Baking.....	Third.....	14	1	
Cigars.....	Fourth.....	14	1	
Bulb.....	First.....	15	(⁵)	

¹ Guilder at par=40.2 cents; exchange rate varies.

² Dutch cents. Cent at par=0.402 cent.

³ Per month.

⁴ There are two funds in the cigar industry, one in Amsterdam and one in Eindhoven.

⁵ The worker is granted the use of fertilized land of a maximum of 40 square meters for the second growth.

The Netherlands Roman Catholic Leather Workers' Union reported in April, 1924, that the shoe manufacturers contribute to a family-allowance fund an amount equivalent to 3 per cent of their wages bill; if the amount thus contributed is found to be too large for the expense which it is designed to meet, the percentage may be reduced. There must, however, be sufficient money in the fund to cover the amounts disbursed in family allowances.

The general regulations in regard to the payment of children's allowances do not apply in unemployment, accidents, or strikes.

As a rule, the contributions of employers to family-allowance funds are based on the total pay roll, being, on the average, equivalent to about 1 per cent of such pay roll.

In general, the family-allowance funds in the Netherlands do not pay maternity benefits and nursing bonuses nor carry on social-service work, nor have these funds organized any central committee or federation, as has been done in France and in Belgium.

MOVEMENT FOR STATE CONTROL FOR FAMILY ALLOWANCES

The problems arising from industrial competition in connection with the introduction of family allowances have led to the proposal to establish for the whole country, by law, a common fund for such allowances, to which fund employers would be obliged to contribute, and out of which all workers having more than a specified number of children would be paid a supplement to their wages. The creation of a fund of this character has been earnestly advocated again and again before the States General by the Minister of Labor, Commerce, and Industry. His introduction of a bill for this purpose was postponed at first because other and more important social matters claimed attention. The question, however, came up in the Second Chamber in the discussion relative to the Department of Labor's estimates for 1921, after a motion had been made by the Catholic members urging the enactment of a law for the creation of a "national children's fund and inviting the Government to introduce in the States General a proposal with that object based on the principles of compulsory insurance." The vote was 58 to 21 in favor of that part of the motion which advocated a national chil-

dren-allowance fund, but that part relating to compulsory insurance was defeated by a vote of 45 to 33.

In May, 1923, the matter was again discussed in the First Chamber, and the Minister of Labor, Commerce, and Industry reported that a bill for children's allowances had been drafted, but that he intended to postpone its introduction until the industrial situation was more promising. The proposed bill was favored by the National Federation of Christian Trade-Unions, which, on October 15, 1923, in a communication to the Minister of Labor, Commerce, and Industry, expressed regret that the bill had not been enacted and urged its enactment at the earliest possible moment.⁸⁷

VIEWPOINTS

In the conclusions of the Stork Commission, appointed some years ago by the Netherlands Government to investigate whether the wage should be related to the size of the family, the wage is considered simply as the purchasing price for work performed without taking into account at all the needs of the workers.⁸⁸

The present Government holds that the needs of its civil-service employees must be regarded in the matter of their remuneration and looks upon children's allowances as a just institution. In the judgment of the Secretary General of Labor, Commerce, and Industry, the system of family allowances, as a rule, is in the interest of society and "equitable for the workers with large families."

A very large majority of the public-service employees, especially those who are members of unions affiliated with the central independent and neutral trade-union federations, of whom there are 38,000, are not in favor of children's allowances. The central sectarian trade-union federations, with an affiliation of 17,000 civil-service employees, defend the institution.

The following resolution, adopted unanimously at the joint congress in Amsterdam in January, 1921, of the Netherlands Federation of Trade-Unions, the largest of the trade-union federations in the Netherlands (independent) and the Netherlands General Trade-Union Federation (neutral) expresses the stand of those federations at that time.⁸⁹

This congress, having regard to the fact that the system of family and children's allowances is being introduced not only in State undertakings but also in privately owned industries, considers—

(1) That experience has shown that the system tends to keep wages low and is therefore acceptable to employers.

(2) That the Government introduced it for State employees in order to maintain a low basic-wage level.

(3) That it is an attempt, under the pretext of "payment according to need," to avoid the introduction of an adequate standard or minimum wage, "payment according to need" being impossible under present social conditions.

(4) That the system hinders good relations between workers with large families and those with small families (or none) who perform the same work.

(5) That it tends to destroy the unity of organized workers in their struggle for an adequate wage, undermines the activities of trade-unions, and perpetuates existing inadequate wages.

⁸⁷ Data furnished by the National Federation of Christian Trade-Unions of the Netherlands, July 17, 1924.

⁸⁸ Engels, Frans: Naar aanleiding van 't Genzinsloon. Antwerp, 1922, p. 347.

⁸⁹ Labor Overseas, London, January-March, 1921, p. 58; Van de Walle, F.: Het Kinderbijslagstelsel, reprint from de Vakbeweging, May-June, 1921, p. 20.

The congress therefore demands both from the Government and from private employers that they shall, after consulting the trade-unions as the existing representatives of the workers, draw up and introduce wage regulations based on the principle of equal pay for equal work, with a fixed minimum which shall insure to all workers an adequate existence for themselves and their families; and calls upon all who, by remaining outside the trade-unions, hinder the struggle for better wages to join their trade-union, in order that the strongest possible action may be begun in opposition to family allowances and all other systems which tend to keep wages low.

A third nonsectarian trade-union federation proposed to forbid affiliated trade-unions from signing any agreement providing for family allowances.⁸⁶

On December 29, 1919, the Protestant Christian Federation of Railroad and Street Car Employees declared itself in favor of children's allowances.⁸⁷ Both the Catholic and the Protestant Christian federations of trade-unions are in favor of the creation by law of a national fund for children's allowances, holding that family allowances will bring about the better nourishment of children, tend to relieve the heads of large families who are overwhelmed with responsibilities, and benefit society in general. The proposal of the two federations is for an allowance, supplementary to wages, for each child under a given age, ordinarily 14 years, beginning with the third or fourth child. The National Federation of Christian Trade-Unions of the Netherlands, in its communication to the Minister of Labor, Commerce, and Industry urging the enactment of the bill for a children's allowance fund (see p. 103) called attention to the fact that workers with families experience the greatest hardship in an industrial crisis and that the assessment for a children's allowance fund would not be a great burden, it being estimated that the contributions from employers would be 1 per cent of their wage bills.⁸⁷

In addition to the trade-union organizations various other bodies have expressed themselves as for or against the family-allowance system. Among the important nontrade-union meetings at which such allowances have been discussed were the sessions of the Association of Political Economy and Statistics in 1913, the Second Christian Social Congress at Amsterdam in 1919, and the Congress on Social Insurance at Utrecht in 1921.

The hostility of the Social Democrats to the system is the outcome of a viewpoint somewhat similar to that of the non-Christian trade-unions. Some persons in the Social Democratic party, however, advocate an allowance from public funds to every mother whose income is inadequate, such allowance to be compensation for her services as a mother, in other words, a "motherhood wage."⁸¹

Although the Social Democrats are for the most part obstructionists in the movement for children's allowances, one of the leaders of this party in the Netherlands more than a decade ago stated before the Association for Political Economy that the payment of such allowances "was quite compatible with socialist doctrines and

⁸⁷ Data furnished by the National Federation of Christian Trade-Unions of the Netherlands, July 17, 1924.

⁸⁶ Labor Overseas, London, January-March, 1921, p. 13.

⁸¹ For various articles bearing on the subject of children's allowances, see De Gids (organ of the National Federation of Christian Trade-Unions in the Netherlands), Rotterdam, vol. 11, Nos. 5, 6, 8, 10; vol. 12, Nos. 4, 8; vol. 13, Nos. 4, 5; vol. 14, No. 7. See also Roomsche-Katholieken Centralen Raad van Bedrijven. Commissie tot het ontwerpen van een model-kindertoelag-regeling. Rapport: Kindertoelag. Utrecht [1920?].

aims," and in his opinion could be backed by Social Democrats, "provided that such allowances were not abused and made a means of forcing down the general level of wages, and that the amount of the allowances themselves was sufficient to meet the additional expense of large families."

As a matter of fact, in the discussions on children's allowances before the Second Chamber in 1921, the Social Democrats did support the proposal for payment of such allowances; but took the stand that there should be a public fund out of which these benefits should be accorded to all families with inadequate incomes and not merely to the families of wage earners.

Some feminists disapprove family allowances because of the conviction that these allowances tend to make women more dependent. A committee was created by the Union of Women's Interests for the special purpose of opposing the institution of these grants.

Savornin Lahman, the leader of the Christian Historical Union (Protestant) in 1921 is among those who object to children's allowances for fear they will lessen the sense of responsibility which the fathers of families should have.

In his brochure on *The Family Wage and Large Families*, J. B. Bosmans, declaring that the question of family allowance is one of equity and love of one's neighbor, suggests that the matter should not be made a party issue.⁹²

It is thought by some that children's allowances will reduce industrial friction, as the needs of large families have figured so prominently in wage controversies.

⁹² Engels, *Frans: Naar aanleiding van 't Gesinsloon*. Antwerp, 1922, p. 341.

AUSTRIA

PUBLIC SERVICE*

Federal Government.—Family allowances were first granted to employees in the Federal service in 1916, and the practice has continued ever since, although the form in which these grants have been made has been somewhat modified.

A few years later, under a provision which was effective for about 12 months, State employees were granted what was termed a shopping allowance, computed on rationed articles, the amount varying according to the number of persons in the family. The absolute increase "in the cost of one ration of controlled articles during the month was ascertained, and each State employee received as his cost-of-living bonus as many times this amount as there were persons in his family."⁶⁴

In July, 1924, all salaried employees in the civil service of the Federal Government were covered by the family-allowance system, as were also a small percentage of manual workers whose compensation is "similar to that of the salaried employees." Manual workers in the Federal service whose remuneration is fixed by collective agreement are not granted family allowances.

Of the 107,000 salaried employees, 58 per cent, having 150,000 dependents (wives and children), are entitled to family allowances. The allowance for a wife is 600,000 kronen⁶⁵ per annum, and a grant of the same amount is made for each dependent child up to completion of the twenty-first year, regardless of the number of children. The amounts disbursed in such grants from 1921 to 1923 were as follows: In 1921, 1,100,000,000 kronen; in 1922, 11,000,000,000 kronen; in 1923, 63,000,000,000 kronen.

Among the provisions in the salary act of July 18, 1924, are the following: A Federal salaried employee may be granted an allowance for his legitimate child over 21 years of age, if such child, through mental or physical disabilities or serious disease, is prevented from earning a living, or is pursuing a course of studies or receiving technical training and so not yet able to support himself. In the latter case, however, the age limit is 24 years. Under certain circumstances an employee may receive an allowance for a stepchild of legitimate birth or an adopted child or an illegitimate child of his own under 21 years of age who is dependent on him for support.

Married men and widowers in the Federal service who are entitled to allowances for children also receive a household allowance of 600,000 kronen per annum. A permanent salaried employee who

⁶³ When not otherwise specified the information in this section was furnished by the Austrian Ministry of Finance, July 23, 1924.

⁶⁴ International Labor Office. *International Labor Review*, Geneva, July, 1924, p. 37: "Sliding scale of wages in Austria," by Carl Forchheimer.

⁶⁵ Krone is now worth about 0.01415 cent.

is divorced and obliged to support his divorced wife receives the same grants under the family allowance system as a married or widowed salaried employee.

Family allowances are not included in the salary upon which the Federal employees' pension is computed.

A lump-sum donation is generally made to an employee in case of accident or sickness in his family. Furthermore, the Federal employee and his family are insured against sickness.

States and communes.—The various Austrian States and communes and the city of Vienna grant allowances under systems similar to that established for Federal employees.

PRIVATE INDUSTRY

INSTITUTION OF FAMILY ALLOWANCES BY LAW

Allowances for wives and children of industrial employees were provided for in the law of December 21, 1921,⁹⁸ abolishing after January 8, 1922, the existing State subsidies "to reduce the selling prices of flours and fats," which, though not representing a very great expense to the Government when first inaugurated, aggregated at this time more than 200,000,000 kronen. As salaries and wages at this period were not sufficient to meet the enormous cost of living,⁹⁹ the act provided that every salaried employee and manual worker (apprentices being included), regardless of sex, who is employed all or the greater part of the working time by the same employer should, in addition to wages or salary, be paid a bonus by the employer, the amount of such bonus to be fixed by a joint committee composed of representatives of employers and employees. An additional bonus of equal amount was to be granted for a wife unless she was industrially employed. A man could receive an allowance for a common-law wife if she had "been living with him in a common household" for over six months or for a woman who had kept house for him for at least half a year.

The law provided that these allowances should be paid with the wage or salary, but in advance of the period for which the employer paid such wage or salary.

Employers who granted their workers rations of bread, flour, and fat in the amount stipulated in the law, or who allowed their workers land or the right to keep livestock, etc., which enabled them to secure such foodstuffs, were not required to pay money allowances unless the rations, grants in kind, agricultural privileges, etc., were less than the stipulated amount, in which case the deficiency was to be offset by money allowances. These regulations also governed the allowances for wives, common-law wives, and housekeepers.

Under this law, male employees (as defined in the act), manual and nonmanual, were entitled to allowances for each of their children (including stepchildren and foster children) until such children reached the age of 14 years, but this age limit could be extended to

⁹⁸ Bundesgesetzblatt für die Republik Österreich. [Vienna], Dec. 27, 1921, pp. 2167-2174.

⁹⁹ International Labor Office. *Industrial and Labor Information*, Geneva, Mar. 10, 1922, p. 573.

enable the children to complete the elementary and grammar-school grades. Home workers were also, under certain regulations, to be granted allowances for their dependent children. Money allowances were not to be paid for children when allowances in kind were received for them.

Female employees were entitled to allowances for their children if there was no other person legally responsible for their support or the person legally responsible for their maintenance did not support them.

The law also provided that cost-of-living bonuses and bonuses for wives and dependent children should be granted to persons in receipt of pensions and unemployment, sickness, pregnancy, and certain other benefits.⁹⁰

The act made provision for family-allowance funds to equalize the expenses of employers for family allowances and to protect married men from being discriminated against in the matter of employment. Industrial district commissioners were to administer the funds and act as accounting officers, except in the case of employers of agricultural and forestry workers and workers insured in sick funds, in which cases they were to utilize the commune in which the agricultural undertakings were carried on and the accounting officers of the sick-insurance funds, respectively. The creation of arbitration commissions to adjust differences of opinion between employers and the accounting officers in regard to equalization was provided for by the law.

In June, 1922, the procedure for pooling the cost of allowances for agricultural and certain other workers was abolished.¹ During the first half of 1922 it was made "permissible through collective agreements to include allowances for wives in wages," and so the allowances for wives provided for by the original act are no longer paid.²

Children's allowances are still being paid, the time limit of the law having been extended again and again. Because of the continued depreciation of the currency, which produced a steady rise in the prices of the necessities of life, however, the value of the children's allowances has become correspondingly less.³ The amount granted per week per child is now only 1,155 paper kronen, which, because of the depreciation of the currency, are equivalent to from one-fourth to one-third of 1 per cent of the weekly wage. Indeed, the "cumbersome" fund machinery is reported as being out of all proportion to the inadequate relief offered by the present insignificant allowances for children.² The General Confederation of Austrian Trade-Unions states, however, that there is a demand that these legal allowances be granted until "the problem of children's insurance has been solved in some other legal manner."⁴

⁹⁰ International Labor Office. *Industrial and Labor Information*, Geneva, Mar. 10, 1922, p. 573.

¹ International Labor Office. *Family allowances*. Geneva, 1924, p. 116. *Studies and reports, series D (wages and hours)*, No. 13.

² Data furnished by the president of the Central Federation of German-Austrian Industry, Apr. 24, 1924.

³ International Labor Office. *International Labor Review*, Geneva, July, 1924, pp. 38, 39; "Sliding wage scales in Austria," by Carl Forchheimer.

⁴ Data furnished by the General Confederation of Austrian Trade-Unions, July 23, 1924.

A renewed attempt has recently been made to secure the passage of a bill granting to each worker whose wages are fixed by collective agreement a bonus for each dependent child under 14 years of age, the amount of the allowance to be determined by the collective agreement, and, in cases in which an employers' organization is a party to the agreement, provision to be made in the agreement for a family-allowance fund;⁶ but from the attitude of capital and of labor (see pp. 110 and 111) such a measure, it would seem, stands little chance of enactment into law.

COLLECTIVE CONTRACTS

In 1914 certain employers decided to grant, in particular instances or regularly, family allowances to the dependents of their salaried employees and workers who had to leave their homes for military service in the war. No special importance was attached to this innovation. In 1915, however, such grants to their employees were being made by bankers, mine operators, and employers in the iron and steel industries and in other industrial groups. In some cases the allowances were for children, in other cases for wives.⁶ Notwithstanding the substantial decline in wages after the war, the practice of granting such allowances through collective agreements has not made great progress in Austria.

The amounts of these allowances vary considerably in different agreements, and until recently have been subject to continual modification on account of the rapid changes in the currency. As a rule, however, the amounts are so small as to be of very little assistance to the family.⁶

Banks (except the private banks) pay married employees in the higher and lower grades about 6 per cent more than single employees and an allowance for each child of 10 per cent of the bonuses granted for clothes and certain household expenses other than food and 10 per cent of the vacation bonus. When there is a large number of children in the family, the allowance for them is limited to an amount equivalent to one-third of the employee's claim for bonuses. Insurance companies grant 100,000 kronen a month for one child, 175,000 kronen for two children, 225,000 kronen for three children, and 250,000 kronen for four or more children.⁷

The allowance for the wife or common-law wife of an industrial employee is approximately 12½ per cent of his basic salary, and that for each of his children under 14 years of age, not exceeding three, is 2½ per cent of such salary.⁸ According to the International Labor Year Book for 1923, such allowances were being granted to approximately 125,000 workers and salaried employees in about 16 to 18 per cent of all private industrial establishments. These comparatively high allowances are being granted without recourse to funds, experience having shown that such adjustment of costs is not necessary.

Provisions in collective agreements for family allowances for manual workers apply mainly to industries outside of Vienna. In

⁶ Data furnished by the Ministry of Social Welfare of Austria, Oct. 6, 1924.

⁷ Data furnished by the General Confederation of Austrian Trade-Unions, Apr. 23, 1924.

such industries the grants are at fixed hourly rates and not as percentages of the wage.⁸ Mine workers receive an average of 1,000 kronen per child per shift.⁹ In the metal industry so-called household allowances are paid in all industrial centers of Lower Austria, being about 20 per cent of the hourly wage rate of the workers receiving such allowances, regardless of the number of children.⁸

In Vienna the collective agreements in the metal industry provide, instead of definite family allowances, fixed hourly allowances regardless of productivity, the amounts of such grants being based on age groups, namely, whether the worker is under 17, between 17 and 22, or over 22 years of age. This method has been adopted for accounting purposes, it being assumed that workers over 22 years of age are married. There is no clearing fund in connection with this system, such a fund being reported as apparently unnecessary.⁸

In the steel industry, the Styrian Steel Trust, employing 14,000 workers, pays a family allowance of 65,000 kronen a week, irrespective of the number of children, while in the Alpinen Montan Steel Works, which has a force of 7,000 workers, the family allowance is 60,000 kronen per week, regardless of the number of children.¹⁰

VIEWPOINTS

The Austrian Ministry of Finance states that the family-allowance system would be abolished altogether if salaries could be restored to their pre-war level, while the Ministry of Social Welfare declares that at present no decisive judgment can be passed upon the family wage.

Generally speaking, the Federal Government employees wish to have family allowances continued. Some however, contend, "that salaries should be governed solely by the work performed."¹¹

Before the Federal salary law of July 18, 1924, was passed, the Government, in view of the proposed salary increases, had intended to abolish the existing system of family allowances and substitute for it some scheme of family insurance, to be subsidized by the State in the amount then being disbursed in family allowances. It was planned to meet the remaining costs of the insurance scheme by contributions from the Government employees themselves. The latter, however, demanded that the existing system of family allowances be continued, declaring that the present economic conditions of employees in the Government service "would not permit any further deductions."¹¹

The president of the Central Federation of German-Austrian Industry holds that when adverse economic conditions force a country to pay low real wages, family allowances are more or less necessary as palliatives in order that the workers with heavy family responsibilities may be assured a minimum of existence. Austrian industrialists have, therefore, had recourse to this system although clearly recognizing its unfavorable influence upon production, but employers as a class are aligned against the family wage.

⁸ Data furnished by the president of the Central Federation of German-Austrian Industry, Apr. 24, 1924.

⁹ Data furnished by the Ministry of Social Welfare of Austria, Oct. 6, 1924.

¹⁰ Data furnished by the General Confederation of Austrian Trade-Unions, Apr. 23, 1924.

¹¹ Data furnished by the Austrian Ministry of Finance, July 23, 1924.

In general, the members of the General Confederation of Austrian Trade-Unions "oppose the social wage for trade-union reasons," and especially because of the fear that employers will not employ married workers.¹²

A minority of the workers are reported to desire that children's allowances under the law of December 21, 1921, be abolished.¹³ The Social Democratic Party, however, has demanded that children's allowances be raised to 10 times what they are now, the payment of these grants to begin with the second child, also asking the retention of the procedure for pooling the costs of these grants. Later it made a compromise proposal, to increase allowances to about five times the present amount and to abolish the complicated fund machinery, experience having shown that workers with large families did not find it difficult to get jobs.

The Christian trade-unions of Austria are in favor of a wage principle by which remuneration is based on work performed, with a grant in the form of a family allowance. The amount paid for the work performed should be fixed by collective agreement, the bonus for family responsibilities should be regulated by law, and provision should be made for family-allowance funds.

The Christian trade-unions make the following objections to the proposal to regulate family allowances through collective contracts:¹⁴

(1) Such regulation would increase the difficulties of wage negotiations; the workers would have to give up many just demands in order to secure family allowances; (2) These grants would represent individual gratuities of the employer to family men, who would be exposed to the danger of being discriminated against in periods of economic strain.

¹² Data furnished by the General Confederation of Austrian Trade-Unions.

¹³ Data furnished by the president of the Central Federation of German-Austrian Industry, Apr. 24, 1924.

¹⁴ Data furnished by the Central Committee of Christian Trade-Unions of Austria, July 23, 1924.

BRITISH EMPIRE

AUSTRALIA

PUBLIC SERVICE

Commonwealth.—While in 1918 it was suggested by Justice Powers, of the Commonwealth Court of Conciliation and Arbitration, that the Federal Government of Australia should pay allowances of £5 a year to its public-service employees for all children beyond the third,¹⁶ it was not until 1920, after the findings of the Royal Basic Wage Commission (see p. 113) had been presented, that children's allowances were paid in the Federal service. The present allowance of 5s. per week for every child under 14 years of age is paid to employees whose salaries are under £500 per annum.¹⁷

The Commonwealth system of family allowances is self-supporting, "as the arbitrator in fixing the minimum and maximum salaries for the service adopts a scale £10 lower than the basic wage¹⁸ indicated by the Statistician's figures. For example, the arbitrator (Arlee Hunt), in delivering judgment, found that the basic wage for the 12 months ending June, 1923, was £205 8s. according to the Statistician's index numbers. From this amount he deducted 0.84 of £13 to cover the child-endowment payments, as it had been pointed out that child-endowment statistics showed that the average payment was 0.84 of adult employees'. This deduction amounted to £10 18s., which being deducted from £205 8s. gave £194 10s., and he (the arbitrator) then fixed £195 as the basic wage for the Commonwealth public service."¹⁹ In effect therefore, a given total amount of wages and salaries is distributed according to family needs.²⁰

The experience of the Federal public service has indicated that even children's allowances which have been acknowledged as inadequate have alleviated substantially the heavy financial burden of the family man.²¹

States.—There is no family-allowance system in the civil service of the States of the Commonwealth.

PRIVATE INDUSTRY

Family allowances are not paid in nongovernmental industries in Australia.²²

¹⁶ Piddington, A. B.: *The Next Step—A Family Basic Income*. London, 1922, p. 66. Second impression.

¹⁷ Data furnished by the Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics of Australia, May 29, 1924.

¹⁸ For discussion of the "basic wage" see pp. 113 to 116.

¹⁹ Data furnished by the secretary of the Australian Letter Carriers' Association.

²⁰ Queensland, Department of Labor. *The Queensland Industrial Gazette*, Brisbane, March, 1925, p. 211.

²¹ Piddington, A. B.: *The Next Step—A Family Basic Income*. London, 1922, p. 30. Second impression.

²² Data furnished by the Commonwealth Statistician of Australia, May 29, 1924.

FAMILY ALLOWANCES AND THE "BASIC WAGE"

While in actual practice family allowances in Australia are confined entirely to the Commonwealth public service, the whole history of wage regulation in that country, in which the Government plays such an unusual part, seems to form, as it were, a genealogical background for the important and repeated proposals that have been made in recent years for family allowances in Australia.

A brief résumé of certain of these proposals and the resultant attitudes throws some significant lights on the question at issue.

In determining "fair and reasonable wages" in what is known as the "Harvester case" Hon. Henry Bournes Higgins, justice of the High Court of Australia and president of the Commonwealth Court of Conciliation and Arbitration for 14 years, adopted in 1907 as a "standard of 'fair and reasonable conditions of remuneration' * * * the normal needs of the average employee regarded as a human being living in a civilized community."

The daily wage fixed by him as necessary to enable the worker at that time to maintain such standard of living was 7s. This wage was afterwards termed the "basic wage" and was increased from time to time in accordance with the fluctuations in the cost of living as calculated by the Commonwealth Statistician. Criticisms of the manner in which the basic wage was arrived at and subsequently adjusted can not be here taken up, but it may be said in passing that the wage was originally fixed without adequate evidence on the cost of living, and an analysis of the changes made in the basic wage by the application of price index numbers also discloses painful discrepancies.²³

The increasing dissatisfaction in regard to wage decisions led in 1919 to the appointment of a Royal Commission on the Basic Wage, which found that the actual weekly cost of living at that time ranged from £5 6s. 2d. in Brisbane to £5 17s. in Sydney.²⁴

As soon as the report of the commission was submitted the Prime Minister secured from the Commonwealth Statistician a statement as to the practicability of paying to every adult male a wage of £5 16s. a week. In this statement the following declaration was made:²⁵

Such a wage can not be paid to all adult employees because the whole produced wealth of the country, including all that portion of produced wealth which now goes in the shape of profit to employers would not, if divided up equally amongst employees, yield the necessary weekly amount.

The Prime Minister then requested the chairman of the commission, A. B. Piddington, to discuss the matter with him. As a result of this conference Piddington immediately prepared a memorandum suggesting a way out of the economic dilemma. This memorandum²⁶ stated that the basic wage at that time was supposed to provide: "(a) In New South Wales awards the actual cost of living of a man, wife, and two dependent children; (b) elsewhere in the Com-

²³ Australia. Royal Commission on the Basic Wage. Report. Melbourne, 1920, pp. 8, 9.

²⁴ Idem, pp. 13, 58.

²⁵ Piddington, A. B.: The Next Step—A Family Basic Income. London, 1922, p. 22. Second Impression.

²⁶ Australia. Royal Commission on the Basic Wage. Report. Melbourne, 1920, pp. 89-93.

monwealth the same, but with three children (henceforth called the typical family)."

As such a large number of the workers in New South Wales were under the wage awards of the Commonwealth, Piddington took as a basis of his discussion the family with three children. He declared that while the present wage system is founded on the theory that the wage minimum "is that which will enable employees to live in comfort" it does not bring about the supposed result, for if the basic wage does meet the cost of living of the typical family of five—

- (1) All families with more than three dependent children suffer privation.
- (2) All families with less than three children receive more than is necessary for the living wage.
- (3) All unmarried men receive what would support a wife and also three children.

In this connection he quoted the following figures from the 1911 census:

TABLE 15.—CONJUGAL CONDITION OF MALE WAGE EARNERS IN 1911

Conjugal condition	Total male wage earners	Children under 14	
		Number	Average per male wage-earner
Unmarried.....	438, 735		
Families with grown-up children.....	90, 617		
Married, but no children.....	69, 174		
Married, with one child.....	78, 288	78, 288	
Married, with two children.....	77, 752	155, 504	
Other husbands with children.....	220, 400	645, 026	
	974, 906	879, 418	0.90

Taking these 1911 census figures as a basis, Piddington assumed the number of male employees in 1920 to be 1,000,000, and the number of children 900,000, instead of 3,000,000 as would be the case if the average number of children for each male wage earner was three. According to his calculations, therefore, Australian industries in 1920 were paying for "450,000 nonexistent wives and 2,100,000 nonexistent children.

The conclusion is reached that "from the produced wealth of the country, its children have less than enough in order that the unmarried childless may have more than enough." Piddington explains how the Royal Commission's finding of £5 16s. as the actual cost of living for a man, wife, and three children can be made effective so that each employee may have "the actual cost of living according to its true incidence," as follows:

(a) To secure the actual cost of living for each employee according to its true incidence, it is desirable that every employee should receive enough to keep a man and wife—

(1) Because during bachelorhood, which ends, on the average for the whole Commonwealth, at the age of 29, ample opportunity should be provided to save up for equipping the home.

(2) Because a man should be able to marry and support a wife at an early age.

The figures as to 450,000 nonexistent wives may therefore be disregarded.

(b) Every employee must be paid the same amount of wages; otherwise married men with children will be at a disadvantage. There is, indeed, no conceivable reason, either on economic or humane grounds, why an employer's obligation to each individual employee should vary with the number of that employee's children.

(c) There is, however, every reason why employers as a whole throughout the Commonwealth should pay for the living needs of their employees as a whole. Indeed, that they should do so is the basis of the whole theory of the living wage. The proposal below for a tax upon employers as a whole is based upon this consideration.

(d) The desired result can be secured by a basic wage of £4 per week paid by the employer to the employee, and the payment of an endowment for all dependent children, whether three, or less, or more, in the family at the rate of 12s. per week.

Thus the employee would receive as follows:

	Per week			
	£	s.	d.	
If a bachelor-----	4	0	0	} Composed of £4 per week plus child endowment by Commonwealth Government of—
Married but with no dependent children-----	4	0	0	
Married, with 1 child-----	4	12	0	
Married, with 2 children-----	5	4	0	
Married, with 3 children-----	5	16	0	
Married, with 4 children-----	6	8	0	
Married, with 5 children-----	7	0	0	

And so on adding 12s. per week for each child.

The above table shows that every basic wage earner's family in the Commonwealth with even one dependent child is now receiving less than a reasonable standard of comfort. When it comes to three dependent children, the shortage is formidable and justifies the evidence given on August 25th by the president of the Hobart Chamber of Commerce (Mr. Malcolm Kennedy) that with prices as they are, a man with a wife and three children on a wage of £3 17s. 0d. "is having a rotten bad time of it."

Piddington also estimated that if the supposition continues to be held that each male employee has a wife and three children to maintain, 386,000 (1920 estimate) or 38.6 per cent of all the male employees (married or unmarried) in Australia or approximately 70 per cent of all married male employees would be debarred from the "reasonable standard" of comfort determined by the Basic Wage Commission.

It was estimated that industry could save somewhere around £65,000,000 annually by paying a basic wage of £4 a week to the 1,000,000 adult males and 12s. a week to their children instead of paying all adult males a basic wage of £5 16s. per week. All computations in the memorandum were based on the assumption that the increment in the basic wage would be added also to the wage of employees then being paid more than the basic wage. It was suggested in the memorandum as an alternative scheme that the fund for children's allowances could be raised by a tax upon employers.²⁷

The work of the Royal Commission on the Basic Wage in ascertaining the actual cost of living of a family of five vividly demonstrated, according to Piddington, "the impossibility of providing by means of the male worker's wages alone for the enjoyment by all employees and their families of a real standard of comfort. * * * The doctrine of a living income has now reached a new point of departure." The Australian people, he holds, will persist in be-

²⁷ Australia. Royal Commission on the Basic Wage. Report. Melbourne, 1920, pp. 92, 93.

lieving this doctrine in the face of the present attempts to oppose it, yet such doctrine can not be put into practice under the existing system. Despite the setbacks and the hostility to "a new departure, that new departure must be made."²⁸

In his book entitled "The Next Step—A Family Basic Income," Piddington arraigns the present wage system, "which in the name of family support penalizes parenthood while simultaneously offering money prizes to the childless," and forecasts that if the principle of children's allowances were established on a "sensible scale" it would counteract "the impelling force of what Mr. Knibbs [now Sir George H. Knibbs] has called the 'Malthusian drift,' which can be discerned in all the western races, and would make every home a welfare center." While the influence of this proposed scheme on the birth rate is logically secondary to the immediate aim of such scheme, the question of population, as a matter of fact, Piddington holds, may be more important.²⁹

Mr. Piddington recently declared that Australia had adopted the living-wage doctrine but had never taken the requisite steps to "carve it up" and "make it good, sound practice." A doctrine without practice is a hypocrisy. The hypocrisy of the present "minimum-wage lie" is the greatest obstacle to the progress of industrial arbitration.³⁰

Hon. Henry Bournes Higgins, president of the Commonwealth Court of Conciliation and Arbitration from 1907 to 1921, suggested the possibility of children's allowances for Australia as a measure for reducing the basic wage to an amount sufficient to cover the normal expenses of a man or of a man and wife, and that the cost of such allowances should be borne by the country as a whole.³¹

Mr. Justice Powers, who succeeded Mr. Justice Higgins in the above-mentioned court, refused in a test case to adopt the Australian standard wage for five persons, mainly because it was not practicable at that time "as a flat rate." The decision was considered inimical to the unions, but the justice held that they might later be grateful for such decision, as, in connection with the refusal of their demand, the justice declared that the present system was "smashing family life in Australia," and the sure way to secure the Australian standard for every worker was to endeavor to establish through legislation a basic wage which would be adequate for a man and wife and an allowance for each dependent child.³²

In a recent article James T. Sutcliffe, of the Commonwealth statistical bureau, speaks of "the folly of endeavoring to fix wages upon the requirements of a fictitious family and without regard to the total quantity production which is available for distribution among the breadwinners." It seems urgent to him that a comprehensive survey should be made of the resources of Australia to ascertain whether some improvement can not be made in the organization of industry in order to eliminate the enormous waste and the pro-

²⁸ Piddington, A. B.: *The Next Step—A Family Basic Income*. London, 1922, p. 21. Second impression.

²⁹ *Idem*, pp. 30, 56.

³⁰ Queensland. Department of Labor. *The Queensland Industrial Gazette*, Brisbane, March, 1925, p. 217.

³¹ Higgins, Henry Bournes: *A New Province of Law and Labor*. London, 1922, pp. 137, 138.

³² Piddington, A. B.: *The Next Step—A Family Basic Income*. London, 1922, p. 67. Second impression.

duction of innumerable luxuries "until a better standard of the necessities of life is available for all." Sutcliffe admits that single men would object to family allowances, but calls attention to the fact that in due process of time 90 per cent of these bachelors will marry and receive benefits under the new system.³³

VIEWPOINTS

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Shortly after the establishment of children's allowances in the Federal service numbers of Government employees expressed themselves as favorable to the new scheme.³⁴ The Australian Public Service Federation, which includes employees of the various State governments, recommended in a resolution at its annual meeting in December, 1923—

That the Federal and State Governments be requested to institute throughout the Commonwealth a uniform system of—

(a) Basic wage determined on the cost of living for a married man and applicable to all workers.

(b) Child endowment by the State from funds created by contributions from employers.³⁵

Various unions of public service employees of the Commonwealth have voiced more or less qualified approval of the present children's-allowance system. The following statements are submitted as typical:³⁵

Generally speaking the system of child endowment operating in the Commonwealth service is supported by the bulk of the employees and nearly every union within the service as being more equitable in its effects than the system of fixing wages irrespective of the number of dependent children.—Secretary of the New South Wales Branch, Postal Sorters' Unions of Australia.

As an organization we would like to see the salaries of all the same, and the system abolished. That is an impossibility at present and we are glad to find that it has been included in the latest determination of the court. It has proved a great boon to married men with large families.—Secretary of the Australian Postal Linesmen's Union.

Taking the service as a whole, the child endowment has been a great boon to the married men. We are not in accord with the action of the public service arbitrator in making the charge a call on the pocket of the employees by a reduction of the basic wage. The endowment was a policy of the Federal Government and should not have been made a charge on wages.—Secretary of the Australian Letter Carriers' Association.

In the summer of 1924, however, a lively controversy was being waged among the employees with reference to the operation in the public service of the Commonwealth of the principle of children's allowances.³⁶

LABOR UNIONS

The principle of child endowment has for a long time been approved in the platforms of the Labor Party.³⁷

³³ Queensland. Department of Labor. The Queensland Industrial Gazette, Brisbane, December, 1924, p. 821.

³⁴ Piddington, A. B.: The Next Step—A Family Basic Income. London, 1922, p. 30. Second Impression.

³⁵ Data furnished by the acting secretary of the Labor Research and Information Bureau of New South Wales, Sept. 19, 1924.

³⁶ Queensland. Department of Labor. The Queensland Industrial Gazette, Brisbane, August, 1924, p. 499.

³⁷ Queensland. Department of Labor. The Queensland Industrial Gazette, Brisbane, August, 1924, p. 510. Statement of Hon. Thomas W. McCawley, president of the Court of Arbitration of Queensland.

The All-Australian Congress of Trade-Unions at Melbourne in June, 1921, unanimously resolved "To indorse the principle of the endowment of motherhood and childhood... * * * such payment to be a charge on the whole community and to be recognized as an individual right and not associated in any way with the economic circumstances of the husband or father."³⁸

An industrial conference in Sydney on June 22, 1924, at which 46 unions with 106,000 members were represented, unanimously decided to make children's maintenance and motherhood endowment a part of its immediate program.³⁹

The following extract is taken from a report forwarded September 19, 1924, by the acting secretary of the Labor Research and Information Bureau, Sydney, New South Wales:

With regard to plans with reference to the movement for family wages, the position is not clear. The labor movement as a whole is pledged to the principle, but existing labor governments have not yet taken steps in this direction. There are, however, increasing signs that the attempts to secure an increase in the individual basic wage are taking the line of insisting on some form of family allowance.

In the *Australian Worker* of April 4, 1923, it is declared that payment should be made according to the results of a man's labor and not according to the number of children he has.

The Interstate Labor Conference at Melbourne in October, 1924, defeated a motion to "indorse the principle of universal motherhood and childhood endowment," which included "as a preliminary to the full maintenance of children by the State" the payment of 5s. per week to every child up to school-leaving age, and complete maintenance of the children of deserted wives, widows, and of unmarried mothers. The motion also suggested a levy on wealth to carry out the proposal. While it was stated in the discussions that the general opinion was that "some effective system of family endowment would be enacted," a large majority voted against the resolution. Among the objections to it were the following:⁴⁰

To indorse any plan to link up a child-endowment system with capital levy would be folly.

The impossibility of a capital levy in cash or in kind. The very attempt to make such a levy would result in chaos.

A capital levy for family endowment would upset "the whole incidence of the basic wage."

To institute family endowment at the present time would, without doubt, bring about "economic distress."

Those who advocate a large increase of wages, according to James T. Sutcliffe, of the Commonwealth statistical bureau, are against the system of children's allowance, holding that it would provide no general increase but only a shifting of current rates.⁴¹

³⁸ Piddington, A. B.: *The Next Step—A Family Basic Income*. London, 1922, p. 66. Second impression.

³⁹ Data furnished by the acting secretary of New South Wales Labor Research and Information Bureau, Sept. 19, 1924. He also stated that "the literature of the Australian trade-union movement on the question of family allowance or family wages is very meager, for the reason that the proposal has been taken up publicly by a large number of influential politicians and statisticians and also for the reason that it is only at the present moment that attention is being diverted from the direct attempt to raise the individual basic wage."

⁴⁰ *The Australian Worker*, Sydney, Nov. 5, 1924, p. 15.

⁴¹ Queensland. Department of Labor. *The Queensland Industrial Gazette*, Brisbane, August, 1924, p. 511.

NEW SOUTH WALES⁴³

In 1914 Judge Heydon, of New South Wales, refused to fix a minimum basic wage for a man, wife, and three children, as the Federal arbitration courts had been doing. In determining his wage standard he took a family of four instead of five, holding that the average family of married employees has a little less than two children. The family of four was afterwards used as a basis of calculation under the law regulating the New South Wales Board of Trade.⁴³

As early as 1916 family allowances were being discussed as an outcome of "the hardship imposed on large families by the flat-rate minimum wage."⁴⁴ In 1919 the State government presented to Parliament a bill for the "maintenance of children," in which a proposal was made to set up a system of family allowances. The measure also provided "that the board of trade should declare as a living wage for men the amount sufficient to maintain a man and his wife," and that a separate declaration should be made by the board as to the supplementary expense of "maintaining a single child and each additional child in the same household." The fund for the maintenance of the children of the workers was to be made up from contributions by employers.

In this connection the State Statistician was to secure during each year data concerning the number of employers having on their pay rolls workers of each sex and the number of these employees classified "according to the amount by which their wages exceeded the declared living wage and the number of children dependent on them—that is, boys under 14 and girls under 15." This information was to be used in determining the monthly cost per male employee of maintaining all children included under the proposal and the monthly cost per female employee of maintaining "the children of female employees who were not also the children of male employees."

The contribution of an employer to the maintenance of the children's fund was to be based on the number of his employees of each sex; that is, the cost of child maintenance per employee was to be multiplied by the average daily number of his employees. The amounts of the allowances were to be decreased by one-twelfth for each 5s. or part thereof by which the wage of the father or mother exceeded the declared living wage, so as to disappear in the case of employees who were paid £3 above the living wage.

Employees on strike were not to receive allowances for their children. The bill was not applicable to employees whose earnings were above £8 per week or £400 per year.

This measure passed the legislative assembly and was amended in the upper house in regard to one of its important principles, after which further consideration of the bill was indefinitely postponed.

⁴³ Unless otherwise specified the data in this section was furnished by the director of finance of the New South Wales Treasury, May 19, 1924.

⁴⁴ Piddington, A. B.: *The Next Step—A Family Basic Income*. London, 1922, p. 40. Second impression.

⁴⁵ Rathbone, Eleanor F.: *The Disinherited Family*. London and New York, 1924, p. 185.

In April, 1921, the New South Wales State Conference of the Australian Labor Party submitted to the Federal Labor Party for its consideration a motion which included among other matters a recommendation that the latter party adopt a "national comprehensive scheme * * * for the maintenance of all children of the nation by a direct charge on the whole community by means of a graduated tax on incomes."⁴⁵

In the same year the New South Wales labor government, which in 1920 had succeeded the nationalist government, introduced a bill for child maintenance providing that the allowance should begin with the third child instead of the first, as was stipulated in the 1919 measure. The amount of the allowance per child in the new bill was 6s. a week. Another important difference in the two bills was in connection with the source from which the children's maintenance fund was to be derived. In the 1919 proposal, as already noted, the contributions were to be made by employers; in the 1921 measure they were to be made by the general public. This bill, after passing the lower house, was rejected by the legislative council.⁴⁶

The Public Service Federation of New South Wales has given its indorsement to the 1923 resolution of the Australian Public Service Federation recommending children's allowances. No resolution on the subject, however, has been passed by the labor council of the State.⁴⁷

The Employers' Federation of New South Wales has never expressed itself in resolutions on the living wage, as opinion is greatly divided on the matter, "and nothing concrete and acceptable to a great majority has ever been prepared." The secretary of the organization states that the wage "prescribed" by the Royal Basic Wage Commission "was a ridiculous one and the country could not have paid it."⁴⁸

QUEENSLAND

The Queensland Government in 1921 made an offer to "pay their public service on the footing of a recognition of child endowment." The public-service employees' union, however, refused to accept the proposal. The fact that the unions of workers in private industry were asking for a standard-family-of-five basic wage is said to have had weight in the rejection of the Government's plan.⁴⁹

The need for family allowances is voiced in the opinion of the industrial court of arbitration of Queensland on February 15, 1921, in re the basic wage, such opinion being in part as follows:⁵⁰

The court is compelled to fix the wages for all adult males on the basis that they are married and have three children. Assuming that there is a given fund available for wages, it is obvious that a legislative direction to pre-

⁴⁵ Piddington, A. B.: *The Next Step—A Family Basic Income*. London, 1922, p. 11. Second impression.

⁴⁶ International Labor Office, *Family allowances*. Geneva, 1924, p. 163. Studies and reports, series D (wages and hours), No. 13.

⁴⁷ Data furnished by the acting secretary of the Labor Research and Information Bureau of New South Wales, Sept. 19, 1924.

⁴⁸ Data furnished by the secretary of the Employers' Federation of New South Wales, July 1, 1924.

⁴⁹ Piddington, A. B.: *The Next Step—A Family Basic Income*. London, 1922, p. 65. Second impression.

⁵⁰ Queensland. Department of Labor. *The Queensland Industrial Gazette*, Brisbane, Mar. 10, 1921, p. 138.

scribe the same minimum for all male workers involves the consequence that the wage prescribed will be less than that which would be prescribed for married men and more than would be prescribed for single men had the legislature directed the court to fix the basic remuneration of married and single men according to these respective needs. Put in another way, the effect of prescribing an equal basic wage for married or single is that the single men are enabled to maintain a higher standard of life than are the married men, their wives and children, and that the inequality of the standard is widened as the responsibility of the married men for the care and upkeep of children increases as the family grows in number. In announcing the intention to appoint the [Royal Basic Wage] Commission, the Prime Minister said: "If we are to have industrial peace, we must be prepared to pay the price, and that price is justice to the worker." If justice to the worker requires that regard should be had to the greater social needs of the average married man, so that his standard of living may be approximately equal to that of the average single man, and if justice is the price of industrial peace, it is obvious we are not paying the price, and also obvious that in this respect this court has not the power to do such justice.

Hon. Thomas W. McCawley, president of the court of arbitration in Queensland and chief justice of the supreme court of that State, is of the opinion that the next move should be the establishment of children's allowances on a national scale as he "can see no other way of substantially raising the standard of living of those who are at present the most unfairly treated—married men with young dependent children, who now receive the basic wage or a little more."⁵¹

In the report of the Economic Commission on the Queensland Basic Wage, appointed December 30, 1924, by the court of industrial arbitration of that State,⁵² children's allowances were discussed at considerable length, the following aspects of the subject being covered: Advantages of discrimination in wage payments according to family needs; machinery for its practical application; example of Commonwealth public service; practical limitations on application of scheme to Queensland; peculiar advantages in Queensland for application of the scheme; how far in range of earnings should scheme be applied; general scheme outlined; variation of payments in years differing in "prosperity"; some difficult practical questions; economic effects of discrimination in wage payments according to family needs; material facts for consideration of a practical scheme.

The chief advantage in family allowances, the commission declared, was the possibility such grants offer of assuring to every family with more than one dependent child a higher standard of comfort without placing further burdens on industry or without infringement upon the "Harvester equivalent"⁵³ for single or childless men.

The commission called attention, however, to the important fact that if a family-allowance scheme should be financed by the State government the general taxpayer would have to contribute, and that additional taxation tends to reduce the capacity to pay wages. The single man, the commission held, has no right to complain of family allowances since the sums set aside for the children are virtually to meet the industrial cost of replacement. Moreover, the single man may look forward to benefiting later on.

⁵¹ Queensland. Department of Labor. The Queensland Industrial Gazette, Brisbane, August, 1924, p. 510.

⁵² *Idem*, March, 1925, pp. 187, 211-213.

⁵³ The term "Harvester equivalent" was used to express the nominal wage at any given time, which represented 7s. per day in 1907—the "basic wage" fixed in the Harvester case (see p. 113).

Family allowances, according to the commission, are not only likely to increase efficiency but to add to the general welfare in other ways. One incidental effect concerns the kind of commodities and services produced, which necessarily depends upon the demand. For example, an effective demand in the hands of the married would, on the whole, be "more likely to increase the production of the necessities and of goods and services leading to the welfare of the community" than if such demand were to a greater extent in the hands of men without children.

The commission had no serious misgivings regarding the possible antagonism of the single man to family endowment if the average allowances received by family men are not large and if the money wage paid to the single man is about the same as he has been receiving or that is being paid elsewhere. Among the principal recommendations of the commission were suggestions for the "establishment of a modified scheme of discrimination between wage earners according to family needs, with a greater equalization of receipts by men in different industries as an incidental effect."

In Queensland the frequent argument against the payment of wages to support "fictitious families" has been advanced. For example, the "Queensland Producer" (the official organ of the Council of Agriculture), of February 23, 1924,⁵⁴ calls attention to the fact that the State court of conciliation and arbitration in fixing the basic wage can make no discrimination between bachelors and married men with families. To pay each of the 175,040 males from 21 to 64 years of age in Queensland enough to support a wife and three children would mean contributing to the maintenance of 325,100 more children and 82,240 more wives than are to be found in the State.

VICTORIA

The Victorian section of the Labor Party at its Easter conference in 1924 indorsed a proposal approving the principle of universal endowment for mothers and children.⁵⁶ A special committee had considered the problem and recommended, as a preliminary to full maintenance by the State, that a labor government upon assuming office should "pay from State funds 5s. per week for each child until it reaches the school-leaving age." The question of the manner in which financial provision should be made for family allowances was to be referred to the Federal Labor Party.⁵⁷

The Melbourne Trades Hall Council has adopted the statement of the committee appointed to promote the principle of equal pay for men and women, that "the dual standard, if allowed to remain, is bound to become an evil of the first magnitude" and "that the only measures that deal effectively with the situation are the uniform basic wage for sexes, and child and motherhood endowment by the State."⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Queensland. Department of Labor. The Queensland Industrial Gazette, Brisbane, April, 1924, p. 191.

⁵⁶ Data furnished by the acting secretary of the Labor Research and Information Bureau of New South Wales, Sept. 19, 1924.

⁵⁷ Labor Magazine, London, May, 1924, p. 44.

⁵⁸ Queensland. Department of Labor. The Queensland Industrial Gazette, Brisbane, April, 1924, p. 190.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA

The secretary of the Western Australian branch of the Australian Labor Party states that, so far as he is aware, no resolutions have been passed by his organization or any of the unions of his State on the matter of family allowances. The subject, however, has been discussed quietly and will probably be brought for consideration at the triennial congress of the labor movement in Western Australia, which is to be convened in 1925.

GREAT BRITAIN

PUBLIC SERVICE

During the war the family-allowance principle was applied in various kinds of State and local government employment.⁵⁹ Such grants took the form of advances to meet the rising cost of living, "householders" being paid higher bonuses than single men. In other instances men in the Government service received certain supplements to their salaries for each of their dependents, but woman employees did not receive these additions to their pay.

In 1920 the committee appointed by the British Home Secretary to consider the grant of a nonpensionable pay increase to police in England and Wales recommended that the agreed-upon bonus "at the full rate should, for all ranks, be applicable only to married men, the bonus for single men being calculated at half rates, subject to the consideration of special cases by the police authorities."⁶⁰

Allowances for dependents were paid during the war to municipal street-railway employees, as for example, of Newcastle-on-Tyne and Neath. This policy was objected to by the Amalgamated Association of Tramway and Vehicle Workers which demanded in lieu of these grants a "flat advance." The workers' representative emphasized the necessity of getting rid of what "we regard as a nasty stigma on the single men, especially in an arbitration award. * * * [We] do not want to distinguish between the single and married men. They are giving up their labor energy, and we say that it is not the function of the employer to say what a man's responsibilities are."⁶¹

A lively and interesting three-cornered conflict arose in the latter part of 1924 from the demand of male teachers for salaries adequate to provide a "reasonable standard of living" for themselves and their families, the insistence of female teachers upon "equal pay for equal work" or at least that there should be no further discrepancies between their salaries and those of their male colleagues, and the contention of the local authorities that salaries must not be so high as to lead to undue economy in personnel, in building, or in the improvement in educational facilities, or to exorbitant taxes. This

⁵⁹ Great Britain. War Cabinet Committee. Report on women in industry. London, 1919, p. 264. [Cmd. 135.]

⁶⁰ Labor Gazette, London, October, 1920, p. 541.

⁶¹ Great Britain. War Cabinet Committee. Report on women in industry. London, 1919, p. 263. [Cmd. 135.]

conflict precipitated fresh public discussion of family endowment. In this connection Eleanor F. Rathbone proposed a system of substantial allowances for children and possibly for wives, "as the only way of meeting the warring claims of the parties to the controversy." To back her recommendation she submitted the following figures for England and Wales from the 1921 census returns:

Number of male teachers.....	65, 689
Number of female teachers.....	182, 190
Number of male teachers having wives.....	46, 655
Number of children under 16 of male teachers.....	46, 481
Number of children under 16 of female teachers.....	3, 147
Average number of children of male teachers.....	0. 70
Average number of children of female teachers.....	.01
Average number of children of male and female teachers..	.20

From these figures she concluded that the cost of children's allowances and even the cost of allowances for wives, dependent widowed mothers, and orphan brothers and sisters would be substantially less than the raising of the salaries of all teachers or even of the men alone to a scale sufficient to meet the requirements of a family.⁶²

Family allowances are not now being paid either in the civil service of Great Britain or by the county or municipal services of that country.⁶³

PRIVATE INDUSTRY

No case of the adoption of the family-allowance system in private commercial, industrial, and agricultural undertakings in Great Britain has come to the attention of the present Ministry of Labor of that country. While a few individual employers may have instituted such a system, "there is certainly no substantial section of industry or commerce in which the system has been applied collectively to a group of undertakings."⁶⁴

Even during the war family allowances were seldom paid in private industry. Among the few instances cited is that of three firms who made the following grants to the Swansea copper workers:⁶⁵

1. Married men or householders (with dependents) earning below 30s. a week, 3s. a week.
2. Single men (without dependents) earning below 30s. a week, 1s. 6d. a week.
3. Married men or householders (with dependents) earning 30s. a week and upward, 2s. a week.
4. Single men (without dependents) earning 30s. a week and upward, 1s. a week.
5. Youths and boys, 1s. a week.

The bonus was supplementary to the rates of wages of all those earning below 60s. a week.

⁶² The Times Educational Supplement, London, Nov. 8, 1924: "Family allowances for teachers," by Eleanor F. Rathbone.

⁶³ Data furnished by the British ambassador to the United States, May 24, 1924.

⁶⁴ Data furnished by the director of statistics of the Ministry of Labor (statistics branch), Apr. 17, 1924.

Indeed, the problem of whether in existing social insurance schemes consideration should be given to family responsibilities "has not yet been fully faced" in Great Britain. For example, it has not been decided whether the additional provision for dependents in unemployment insurance is to be a permanent measure. Apart from the inadequate maternity benefit, no difference is made, under the present health insurance act, between single and married men, and the recent workmen's compensation law grants no extra benefits for dependents except in the case of victims of fatal accidents.—Cohen, Joseph L.: Social Insurance Unified. London 1924, p. 136.

⁶⁵ Great Britain. War Cabinet Committee. Report on women in industry. London, 1919, p. 263. [Cmd. 135.]

In January, 1916, however, the differences in the bonuses of married and of single men were abolished.

In the mining industry, provision was made in clause 5 of the national settlement of July 1, 1921, for allowances where the district rates for low-paid workers were below a subsistence wage.⁶⁶ In an award in October, 1922, for the mining industry in South Wales and Monmouthshire, Lord Buxton, the independent chairman of the South Wales conciliation board, declared that it was not possible to interpret equitably the "subsistence wage" unless the workers' family needs were considered. While he looked upon methods of payment which take into account the needs of individual workers as "neither practicable nor desirable," he found that a distinction was already made between the man who was the support of a family and one who was not in the grant of allowances of coal and so adopted the distinction by fixing the subsistence wage of workers over 21 years of age of the first class at 7s. 2d. per day and of those of the second class at 6s. 8d. per day.⁶⁷ On December 15, 1923, the rates for these two classes of workers were 7s. 6d. and 6s. 8d., respectively.⁶⁸

The principle of family allowances has also been recognized for clerks in some banks and for certain groups of the clergy. In the case of the latter family-allowance funds have sometimes been formed.⁶⁷ In the latter part of 1924 it was reported that an unsuccessful attempt had been made to include in the agricultural-wages bill a provision which would have enabled "county committees to establish a fund from which payments in respect of children of workers, over and above wages, would have been paid."⁷⁰

VIEWPOINTS

LABOR

At the National Conference of Labor Women, held at York early in May, 1923, the advisory committee on motherhood and child endowment of the joint research and information department of the Labor Party and the Trades-Union Congress, in its second interim report, stated that it considered none of the schemes for family allowances proposed or in force in other countries satisfactory, and that the labor views in those countries which it had gathered during the year confirmed its opinion. It was making direct inquiries of the labor movement in other countries and expected to get further light from discussion of the subject at the congress of the International Federation of Working Women in the following August. The committee is "not abandoning the possibility of finding some sound solution of the problem," stating that it is convinced of one thing—namely, that any allowances should be from national funds and not from employers.⁷¹

⁶⁶ Redmayne, Sir R. H. S.: *The British Coal-Mining Industry During the War*. London and New York, 1923, p. 310.

⁶⁷ International Labor Office. *Family allowances*. Geneva, 1924, p. 152. *Studies and reports*, series D (wages and hours), No. 13.

⁶⁸ Great Britain. Board of Trade Journal and Commercial Gazette, London, Feb. 14, 1924, p. 217.

⁷⁰ *The Times Educational Supplement*, London, Nov. 15, 1924, p. 457.

⁷¹ *The Labor Woman*, London, June 1, 1923, p. 93.

The following comment on the plea for family allowances made by Eleanor F. Rathbone in her book on *The Disinherited Family* appears in the May 1, 1924, issue of the *Labor Woman* (p. 70), published by the Labor Party:

Where some of us would part company from her [Eleanor F. Rathbone] is in her assumption that the limit has been reached of the share which the working-class family can expect to draw from the national revenue. Socialists assume no such thing, and they therefore look askance at a scheme which starts from such a belief. In a reorganized society they look for something much more than a mere redistribution (according to family needs) of the money received in wages. And we are suspicious too of the argument put forward that if Great Britain continues to pay wages on the present system she can not compete successfully with other countries, as, for example, the textile regions of France, where the system of family allowances has been adopted and the cost of production is presumably less. We do not wish to lay much stress on the hostility shown by French trade-unions to the system adopted in France, because it is there (as acknowledged by Miss Rathbone) a sort of welfare work on the part of employers and she herself would prefer a State scheme free from this kind of patronage.

ORGANIZATIONS, CONFERENCES, ETC.

The Family Endowment Committee sets forth its position as to family allowances as follows:⁷²

Soldiers' separation allowances paid to wives during the war have resulted in better furnished homes and better fed and better clothed children. The allowance paid for each child made the family income vary according to need. "A new and just system of providing for the rearing of the next generation has been unwittingly established by the State." The maintenance and wider adoption of this plan will be a protection of the next generation from the more acute injustice which menaces it through the rise in the cost of living and industrial disorganization. The scheme is also, the committee claims, a solution of the otherwise hopeless problem arising from claims on the ground of family responsibilities and the demand of "equal pay for equal work."

Holding that wages can not be regulated to meet the needs of the family, the committee proposed a weekly allowance, to cover adequately the "primary cost of subsistence," paid by the State to the mother herself and for each of her children during the years in which they necessarily require her entire services. The allowances to mothers and children would not have to be sufficient for their separate maintenance. It was suggested that the ideal grant would be equivalent to the difference between the cost of living for a husband, wife, and children and the cost of maintenance of a man who had no children.

The committee unanimously urged that every family, regardless of income, which had children under 5 years of age should be entitled to allowances.⁷³ The majority of the committee was of the opinion that the rates of allowance should be the same for all families and that a flat rate of 12s. 6d. a week be paid to all mothers 8 weeks preceding confinement and as long as they have any children under 5

⁷² The Family Endowment Committee. *Equal pay and the family*. London, 1918.

⁷³ It was felt by some of the committee members that the children entitled to allowances in any one family should be limited to, say, four.

years of age. The suggested allowance for children until they reached 5 years of age (to be afterwards extended to school-leaving age) was 5s. per week for the first child under 5 years of age and 3s. 6d. per week for each subsequent child under that age.

Allowances under certain circumstances for unmarried mothers was favored by a majority of the committee.

A heavy increase in taxation, combined possibly with a contributory insurance scheme, is suggested for the practical working out of family allowances. Some of the committee members objected to the flat rate for all classes, as it would, in effect, penalize families with incomes of intermediate levels, such incomes being absorbed by the increases in taxation necessitated by the family-allowance scheme if the funds therefor were met by taxes. Aside from the heavy burden of taxes on families having intermediate incomes, the minority of the committee pointed out that unless the allowance was higher as the income rose the scheme would have an almost negligible influence on the birth rate and on women's status and employment in the classes having intermediate incomes. The cost of the scheme, limiting the allowance to children under 5 years of age, was estimated at £144,000,000, and at £240,000,000 if the age limit of the child beneficiaries was extended to 15 years. It was suggested, however, that great savings could be made in the appropriations for poor relief, insurance, hospitals, prisons, and police service.

At a conference on international legislation at the British Empire Exposition at Wembley on July 21, 1924, it was suggested that "the time was ripe for the consideration of an international system of family allowances, whether under State control or under the control of the industries concerned."⁷⁴

At the meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Toronto, Canada, in August, 1924,⁷⁵ family allowances for workers in intellectual occupations "as a necessary safeguard against racial deterioration were advocated by Sir W. H. Beveridge and Prof. William McDougal, of Harvard University."⁷⁶

ECONOMISTS

Any differentiation in wages because of exceptionally heavy family responsibilities would be "in flat contradiction of the principle of collective bargaining and the occupational rate," according to Mrs. Sydney Webb in the minority report on women in industry by the British War Cabinet Committee in 1919.⁷⁷ She also declares that such differentiation would not correspond with the results of higgling the market any more than with the variations among individuals in industrial efficiency or advantageousness to the employer. She can see no basis for adapting wages to family responsibilities, and calls attention to the estimate that not more than 50 per cent of

⁷⁴ International Labor Office. *Industrial and Labor Information*, Geneva, Sept. 1, 1924, p. 9.

⁷⁵ *The Times Educational Supplement*, London, Nov. 8, 1924, p. 453.

⁷⁶ Family allowances have also been recently discussed at a Liberal summer school at Oxford and at an Independent Labor Party school in Yorkshire.

⁷⁷ Great Britain. War Cabinet Committee. *Report on Women in Industry*. London, 1919, pp 254-341. [Cmd. 135.]

the males over 18 years of age in industry in the United Kingdom have any children at all and that probably 25 per cent of the adult women are supporting one or more children.

The "average" family is, of course, merely a convenient figment of the statisticians and does not exist in fact. * * * The nation can not be satisfied any more than the children can with a family or household "average" of rations for the rising generation. Each individual baby has got to be adequately and satisfactorily provided for. This can not be done under any system of wages; nor can the adoption of any conceivable principle as to the relation between men's and women's wages achieve this end.

Mrs. Webb holds that in the interests of both race preservation and national production a national legal minimum of rest time, education, sanitation, and subsistence with no sex discrimination is absolutely imperative. If Great Britain desires to maintain its population without heavy foreign immigration, the Government must provide endowment for children while they are economically dependent. Children's allowances for all mothers in the United Kingdom on the 1919 scale of the separation allowances for soldiers would approximate £250,000,000 a year. Mrs. Webb recommends also that the "children's fund—the 'bairn's part' in the national income"—should be provided from the exchequer, i. e., by taxation, like any other community obligation.

"It is obviously impracticable to differentiate wages in accordance with the number in the family," B. Seebom Rowntree declares in *The Human Needs of Labor* (London and New York, 1918), and claims that if such distinction was made employers in periods of industrial depression would dismiss men with large families. Wage boards should endeavor to raise the minimum wage in order to meet the needs of large families, but even to establish a general minimum which will cover the requirements of a family with three dependent children would be a great strain on industrial resources, and the outlook for fixing a minimum which would be adequate for families with more than three children is anything but encouraging. Rowntree therefore suggests as a solution, which he admits abounds with difficulties and which he thinks may seem "revolutionary," minimum wages large enough "to secure physical efficiency for, say, three dependent children" and that "the State make a grant to the mother in such cases and for such a time as there are more than three dependent children."

According to the 1911 census there were in York, England, 1,641 families having more than 3 dependent children. The composition of these families was as follows: 878 families had 4 dependent children; 464 families had 5 dependent children; 197 families had 6 dependent children; 75 families had 7 dependent children; 22 families had 8 dependent children; 5 families had 9 dependent children.

Assuming that these figures for York were typical for the whole country, Rowntree estimates the number of children in excess of three in all the families of Great Britain at 1,418,500. To grant each of these children an allowance of 3s. per week would cost the Government yearly somewhere around £11,000,000. It is pointed out, however, that probably many families in the higher income groups would not claim such benefits and that the actual cost would be approximately £8,000,000. Rowntree holds that it is "one of

the nation's first duties to see that its citizens are adequately provided for during their youth; and when it is impossible to meet the case through ordinary channels, the State itself may reasonably be expected to intervene, if only because no civilization can be sound or stable which has at its base a mass of stunted human life."⁷⁸

Arguments against family allowances are found in Prof. F. Y. Edgeworth's article on "Equal pay to men and women for equal work," in the *Economic Journal* (London) of December, 1922 (pp. 431-457). He contends that family allowances would not eliminate all the difficulties accompanying competition between men and women. "The transitory and episodic character of female labor would still threaten male wages. * * * The demand for goods in the production of which men's labor plays a great part greatly exceeds and will continue to exceed the corresponding demand for women's work."

The administration of huge sums would necessarily multiply the number of government officials and augment "bureaucratic routine" so detrimental to individual initiative. The imposition of an immense additional burden on the income tax-paying classes would certainly have a tendency to halt savings.

The effect on contributors to such a fund would be "depressing" and that on beneficiaries "seriously deleterious."

The family-allowance scheme, Professor Edgeworth also points out, involves an "enormous risk" of increasing the birth rate among "the least desirable" groups of the population.⁷⁹

NEW ZEALAND

No system for supplementing the salaries of State and municipal employees by family allowances has been established in New Zealand.⁸⁰ The New Zealand Department of Labor reports that it is not aware of any instance in which the family-wage system has been adopted in that country, and that there is no legislation dealing with the matter, though the department has recently been making an inquiry in regard to the movement for family allowances in other countries.

In 1922 Hon. George Mitchell, a member of the New Zealand Parliament, introduced a bill for children's allowances, "to insure that the wages paid on account of family responsibility shall go to those rearing families in due proportion," but the measure did not pass. Some of the most important sections of the proposed "child sustenance act" are as follows:⁸¹

5. All payments for wages or salaries for adult male workers by way of a basic wage shall in future be based on a family of two (man and wife).

6. Every employer of adult workers shall pay into the child sustenance fund such amount as shall be assessed for each day or part day worked by each employee, and shall furnish a return on a prescribed form of all workers

⁷⁸ The minimum income proposal made by Dennis Milner in *Higher Production by a Bonus on National Output*, London (1919?), (p. 46), contains some interesting discussions bearing on family allowances and a chart illustrating the changing income required to maintain varying family responsibilities.

⁷⁹ See also *Journal of Social Forces*, Chapel Hill, N. C., November, 1924, pp. 118-124: "The British discussion of family endowment," by Paul H. Douglas.

⁸⁰ Data furnished by the Secretary to the Treasury of New Zealand, May 9, 1924.

⁸¹ Data furnished by the secretary of the New Zealand Employers' Association, May 9, 1924.

employed, showing status and pay of each employee, at least once in each calendar month, such payments and return to be made within the first seven days in the succeeding month.

9. All Government departments, local bodies, or anyone whatsoever employing labor, other than domestic labor * * * , shall be classed as employers under this act.

10. Each employee shall furnish a certificate showing his or her status and dependents (if any). Such certificate shall be endorsed by the employer on each pay day and shall show the number of days worked by each employee. Such certificate shall be presented by the claimant on claiming the child allowance.

12. The wife of every employee, the female appointee of a widower or single employee, or a widow shall be entitled to draw 6 shillings per week or such other sum as is assessed by the arbitration court, for each child under 14 years of age who are solely supported by them so long as such children are kept and provided for solely by the employee, and providing they are not excluded from benefit under this act.

13. Any person or persons other than the wife of the employee being a near relative, as described in the destitute persons act, 1910, who through age or infirmity are unable to provide their own living and are not in receipt of any income shall be classed as a child under this act, and any employee solely providing for them shall be entitled to claim the allowance under this act, providing the employee comes within the provisions of the act.

15. Any person who, through sickness, disability, or any other legitimate cause, is unemployed shall be entitled to the allowance under this act for all children or dependents within the meaning of the act solely dependent on them, subject always to the discretionary powers in section 14 hereof. In all cases the payments shall be made to the wife or female head of the house, unless otherwise directed by the magistrate.

18. No employee in receipt of more than 300 pounds per annum where there is one child in the family and 50 pounds per year each additional child shall be eligible for the child allowance. In calculating such income, the income of the wife (if any) shall be added to that of the husband.

22. The arbitration court shall, on the request of the commissioner, assess the minimum wage of any class of employee, below which no wage shall be reduced for the payments into the child sustenance fund.

Judge L. V. Frazer, of the New Zealand Court of Arbitration, declares "that justice to all can not be attained by working on the basis of an average family." He argues that in New Zealand the standard family has been reckoned as having two children under 14 years of age, while as a matter of fact it has 1.57 children and the average number of children under 14 years of age per male adult is only 0.94. The demand of the trade-unions for full wages for all adult males without regard to the number of their dependents can not be reconciled with the demand for an adequate wage for a man with a wife and three or more children. If all adult males are paid the same basic wage, some of them will have more than a fair living wage, others will have the proper amount to meet their needs, and the remaining men will not have sufficient. In this connection the following statistics on the adult male population of New Zealand are given by Judge Frazer:⁸²

(a) Unmarried.....	150,000
(b) Married, without children under 14.....	70,000
(c) Married, with one child under 14.....	53,500
(d) Married, with two children under 14.....	42,000
(e) Married, with three or more children under 14.....	59,500
Total	375,000

⁸² New Zealand. Department of Labor. Pronouncements of the Court re Cost of Living. Wellington, 1922, p. 23.

It is obvious from the preceding figures that if an adequate basic wage for a family of four persons is paid every adult male, groups (a), (b), and (c), aggregating 273,500 adult males, would get more than they are entitled to on the ground of actual needs, and group (e), comprising 59,500 adult males, would not receive enough to maintain the standard of living agreed upon for the standard family.

The attitude of some employers is reflected in the November 10, 1924, issue of the *New Zealand Industrial Bulletin*⁸⁴ (p. 119), in which some of the obstacles to a system of children's allowances are stressed, first and foremost being the matter of additional expenditure and its bearing on international industrial competition. No such a system should "be established without the most accurate actuarial computations to ascertain the additional costs of the suggested scheme."

The calculations of A. B. Piddington, the Australian economist, as to mythical children are characterized as sweeping, as he ignored the fact that thousands, possibly tens of thousands, unmarried male and female wage earners are helping to maintain their parents and sisters. While it is widely conceded that the present wage-payment system results in injustice to the man who is attempting to educate a young family, the question is fraught with difficulties and New Zealand statistics supply no adequate basis "upon which to make such a plunge." It is agreed, however, that the problem is "worthy of discussion" and "can not be brushed aside lightly."

At the annual meeting of the New Zealand Associated Chambers of Commerce which was held at Wanganui, November 19-21, 1924, it was urged in a unanimous recommendation that Parliament insist upon the establishment of a "more equitable standard" for the legal minimum wage, as such wage is now "based upon the estimated requirements of a married man with two children or equivalent dependents," while the responsibilities of 75 per cent of the wage earners are acknowledged to be less.⁸⁵

The New Zealand Labor Party has twice introduced bills for motherhood endowment, providing 10 shillings per week for each child after the second until such child completes his or her 14th year, according to the *New Zealand Worker* (Wellington), June 17, 1925. It is stated in the same source that "a labor majority in Parliament means endowment of motherhood."

⁸⁴ Official organ of the New Zealand Employers' Federation and the Dominion Federated Sawmillers' Association.

⁸⁵ International Labor Office. *Industrial and Labor Information*, Geneva, Feb. 18, 1925, p. 22.

BULGARIA

PUBLIC SERVICE**

The State.—Family allowances have been paid in State employment in Bulgaria since July 1, 1916. From the beginning of April, 1922, the following monthly allowances, varying with marital condition and family responsibilities, have been granted:

TABLE 16.—AMOUNTS OF FAMILY ALLOWANCES PAID IN BULGARIA TO STATE EMPLOYEES IN VARIOUS SALARY GRADES

Basic salary grade :	Single persons or widows without children	Amounts of allowances to married persons having—			
		No children	1 or 2 children	3 or 4 children	5 or more children
	<i>Leva</i> ¹	<i>Leva</i>	<i>Leva</i>	<i>Leva</i>	<i>Leva</i>
Grade I.....	300	350	400	450	500
Grade II.....	250	300	350	400	450
Grade III.....	200	250	300	350	400
Grade IV.....	150	200	250	300	350
Grade V.....	100	150	200	250	300
Grade VI.....	50	100	150	200	250

¹ Lev at par=19.3 cents; exchange rate varies.

Men and women in State employment receive the same allowances except when a man and his wife are both Government employees, in which case they each receive a smaller grant. For example, if a husband and wife were in the fourth salary grade of the civil service and had two children, instead of each being paid allowances for two children, they would each receive the allowance provided for married persons who have no children, namely, 200 leva.

Besides the allowances for children's maintenance a monthly allowance of 50 leva is granted toward the support of other dependent members of the family (father, mother, minor brothers and sisters), whatever be their number.

The granting of family allowances has to a certain extent retarded the increase of basic salaries.

Urban and rural communes.—Family allowances are also granted in the urban and rural commune services, the amounts of such allowances being the same as in State employment.

VIEWPOINTS

The Bulgarian Office of the Director of the Public Debt states that, in its opinion, the pre-war system of paying salaries should be reestablished, but on a gold basis.

⁸⁸ Data furnished by the Office of the Director of the Public Debt of Bulgaria, Dec. 12, 1924.

The State employees do not regard family allowances as altogether satisfactory, as these supplements are quite insufficient in view of the high prices and family needs. That the skilled and professional classes, however, are not averse to family allowances might be deduced from the fact that a request for supplementary grants for every member of a civil servant's family who is not in a position to earn a living was made in a petition to Parliament by the Bulgarian Federation of Trade-Unions, whose affiliated unions include public employees, postal, telegraph, and telephone employees, railway men, compositors, stenographers, draftsmen, bank employees, schoolmasters, teachers, technicians, chemists, artists, architects, doctors, judges, and clergymen.⁸⁷

⁸⁷ International Labor Office. Industrial and Labor Information, Geneva, Apr. 14, 1924, pp. 24, 25.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PUBLIC SERVICE⁸⁸

State.—In 1916, family allowances were introduced in the State civil service of Czechoslovakia (then a part of Austria), as a war emergency measure, to mitigate the economic burdens of those who were staggering under their family responsibilities because of the exorbitant prices. Both manual and nonmanual workers received these grants, which were continued and increased by the Czechoslovak Government after the war. Under a law enacted December 20, 1922, however, employees coming into the service of the State after December 31 of that year are not entitled to family allowances. Moreover, those persons in the service prior to January 1, 1923, now receive smaller allowances. Grants are not made to them for children born after December 31, 1923, and employees who were in the service previous to 1922 but were married after 1922 do not receive allowances for their wives. Similar regulations apply to State employees who are not in active service.

Of the 352,000 State employees in active service, 236,000, or 67 per cent, are covered by the family-allowance system. It is estimated that the total number of dependents of the civil employees receiving family allowances is approximately 600,000.

Family allowances are granted in two ways: The cost-of-living bonus is graduated according to the size of the family, and special allowances are granted for children.

For the purposes of the cost-of-living bonuses State civil-service employees are divided into the following eight family classes: Class 1, unmarried employees and widowers without children; class 2, married employees without children and widowed employees with one child; class 3, married employees with one child and widowed employees with two children; class 4, married employees with two children and widowed employees with three children; class 5, married employees with three children and widowed employees with four children; class 6, married employees with four children and widowed employees with five children; class 7, married employees with five children and widowed employees with six children; class 8, married employees with six children and widowed employees with seven children. Married employees with more than six children and widowed employees with more than seven children receive the same bonus as employees in class 8.

The amount of the cost-of-living bonus varies according to the family class, the basic salary, and the rank of the employee. For example, the annual basic salaries of the higher grade civil and military employees of the State and police sergeant majors in com-

⁸⁸ Unless otherwise specified the data in this section were furnished by the Ministry of Finance of Czechoslovakia.

mand of stations range from 4,908 to 35,880 kronen,⁸⁹ while the minimum and maximum cost-of-living bonuses for the different family classes are as follows:

TABLE 17.—MAXIMUM AND MINIMUM COST-OF-LIVING BONUSES FOR HIGHER PAID STATE EMPLOYEES, BY FAMILY CLASS AND SALARY GRADE¹

Family class	Cost-of-living bonus for—	
	Lowest salary grade	Highest salary grade
	<i>Kronen</i>	<i>Kronen</i>
Class 1.....	4,320	0
Class 2.....	6,600	4,908
Class 3.....	7,968	6,552
Class 4.....	7,164	5,556
Class 5.....	8,520	7,188
Class 6.....	7,728	6,192
Class 7.....	9,084	7,836
Class 8.....	8,280	6,828

¹Czechoslovakia. Code of Laws and Government Orders. [Prague, 1923?], p. 158.

For lower grade civil and military employees, police sergeants, and probationary policemen the annual basic salaries range from 3,852 to 8,580 kronen, while the cost-of-living allowances run as follows:

TABLE 18.—MAXIMUM AND MINIMUM COST-OF-LIVING BONUSES FOR CERTAIN LOWER PAID STATE EMPLOYEES, BY FAMILY CLASS AND SALARY GRADE¹

Family class	Cost-of-living bonus for—	
	Lowest salary grade	Highest salary grade
	<i>Kronen</i>	<i>Kronen</i>
Class 1.....	4,776	3,048
Class 2.....	6,252	4,608
Class 3.....	6,852	5,208
Class 4.....	6,252	4,608
Class 5.....	6,852	5,208
Class 6.....	6,252	4,608
Class 7.....	6,852	5,208
Class 8.....	6,252	4,608

¹Czechoslovakia. Code of Laws and Government Orders. [Prague, 1923?], p. 159.

At first glance it seems incongruous that in the cost-of-living allowances the amounts are lower in some of the family classes in which there are more children but additional grants are made for children which range from 900 to 1,500 kronen per annum per child, and these grants, which vary according to the salary grade of the employees, are larger for the higher paid employees, while the cost-of-living allowances diminish as the salary increases.

No allowances are granted for children over 18 years of age, except where they are pursuing their studies "with sufficient progress," or have some physical or mental disability which prevents them from earning their living, in which circumstances allowances may be granted until they are 24 years of age.

⁸⁹ Krone at par=20.3 cents; exchange rate varies.

As a rule, no allowances are paid for dependents who are not residing in Czechoslovakia.

Women in the State civil service do not receive allowances for family responsibilities, but exceptions may be made under extraordinary circumstances. A married man employed by the State is not granted an allowance for his wife if she is a public employee or if she is earning more than 10,000 kronen per annum outside the Government.

Widowed employees who maintain a household for their children are classed as married until the youngest of their children is 12 years of age.

If an employee is obliged to contribute to the support of a divorced wife, he may be granted an allowance for her, but such allowance must not exceed the amount of the compulsory contribution to her support. If the children of divorced or separated parents are not living in their father's household, the allowance for them must not exceed the amount he is legally obliged to pay for their support.

When ill or injured as a result of accident State employees receive their salaries and family allowances during the period of disability, provided such disability does not extend beyond a year from the beginning of the illness or the date of the accident. Temporary employees are entitled to family allowances on the basis of the number of days worked.

The tendency in Czechoslovakia is to cut down family allowances in the State civil service and raise the basic salary, the latter being increased 75 per cent under a recent law.

Provinces and municipalities.—Both provincial and municipal governments in Czechoslovakia pay family allowances to the employees in their service, but these grants must not exceed in amount the allowances paid to State employees. Prior to the passage of the law of December 20, 1922, referred to above, the methods of regulating provincial and municipal family allowances were, as a rule, like those of the State government but the amounts of such allowances were not the same as the State provided.

PRIVATE INDUSTRY **

During the World War the practice of granting family allowances to the families of mobilized men was extended to munition workers and as the war progressed was adopted in private industrial, commercial, and agricultural enterprises. During 1919 and 1920 the system was embodied in various collective agreements.

The earliest form of family allowance in private industry was an allowance by the hour to all married workers. Another form was a weekly grant for a wife, not to exceed a certain amount, and a grant for each child up to his or her fourteenth year. Later on, the number of children for whom a worker was entitled to allowances was limited to three. Although these weekly grants for wives

** Data in this section furnished by Social Institute of the Czechoslovak Republic, May 24, 1924; the Minister of Social Affairs of Czechoslovakia, July 11, 1924; and the president of the Czechoslovak Manufacturers' National Association, May 23, 1924, and from International Labor Office, Family allowances, Geneva, 1924, Studies and reports, series D (wages and hours), No. 13.

and children were more common, they were of little importance socially as they represented such small percentages of the wage or salary.

In the beginning the weekly supplement for a wife was 3 per cent of the worker's wage and that for a child 2 per cent. In 1920 such allowances were reduced to 2 and 1½ per cent, respectively. Under certain provisions of law these grants are also paid in case of unemployment.

The hourly allowances, which were paid to both male and female workers, were far more substantial, increasing with the years, to which were added the above-mentioned grants for wives and children.

In clothing allowances consideration was given to the family conditions of those to whom they were granted. The family-allowance principle was also embodied in "purchasing allowances," which, although paid to both unmarried and married, were much higher for the married.

In 1921 the family-allowance system was to a great extent abandoned in private industry, although these grants are still being paid, in greatly reduced degree, in agriculture, metal and machine industries, sugar mills, chemical industry, and banking.

Permanent married workers who are provided with dwellings and plots of ground free or at a low rent for cultivation for their own benefit, who may keep a limited amount of livestock, and who are paid largely in kind, are as a rule the only agricultural workers paid family allowances. These allowances are ordinarily in kind and for a family of four, but the amount may be increased if the family exceeds this number. If the family consists of less than four members and does not need the full amount allowed, the extra quantity may be sold by the worker but only to his employer.

Family allowances for miners have varied from time to time and from district to district. They have generally been granted in three forms: (1) Children's allowances; (2) clothing allowances; and (3) cheap or free coal. Children's allowances per shift worked have been paid for each child under 14 years of age, and for children between 14 and 18 years satisfactorily pursuing their studies. Such allowances might also be granted for children over 14 years of age having physical or mental defects which prevented them from earning a living.

Workers disabled by accidents in the course of their employment were entitled to allowances for a period of not more than 28 days.

The collective agreement of March 20, 1919, provided for higher sickness allowances to married than to single workers, no consideration being given to the size of the family. In the clothing allowances, based on each shift actually worked, the amount was proportioned according to the size of the family.

Widows and widowers also received allowances varying with the number of their children.

In the metal industry in 1919 weekly allowances were paid the workers for wives and children under 14 years of age (in some cases 16 years), but in 1921 the allowances for wives were abolished and

in the following year the allowance for one child was eliminated, married workers being granted 2 kronen per week for two children, 4 kronen for three children, and a maximum of 6 kronen for four or more children.

In the chemical industry allowances were paid in 1920 for the wife and each child under 14 years of age. In 1921 and 1922 such allowances were shifted from a weekly to an hourly basis, and the number of children for whom allowances were granted was limited to five.

By agreement of January 10, 1923, family allowances for bank employees, which had been paid for several years, were continued. In some of the food industries clerical employees with family responsibilities receive percentage supplements to their salaries. The latest agreements in the sugar industry and in alcohol distilleries contain provisions decreasing the amounts of family allowances.

VIEWPOINTS

The family-allowance system is a suitable and necessary institution under abnormal economic conditions, according to the Ministry of Finance of Czechoslovakia. Under ordinary circumstances payment for work should be based on quality and quantity. The principal economic rule for the State, "Work and save," demands that good workers should be given an incentive, and this can be provided only by payment for performance and special industry. On the other hand, the worker must earn enough to live on. Separate bonuses should be paid for special diligence. The continuation of the family-allowance system is reported as complicating the wage problem.

The report of the National Association of Czechoslovak Manufacturers for 1922 pointed out that when it became necessary to reduce wages in their country following the fall of world prices various social allowances were discontinued as a preliminary to a more economic and "rational organization of production." These allowances had resulted in a leveling of wages. It was important to have capable and skilled workers. Such workers should be able to earn wages corresponding to their abilities, and this had been next to impossible under the social-allowance system.⁹¹

Private employers are unfavorable to family allowances, according to the president of the above-mentioned manufacturers' federation. These grants are a war-time survival which it is the present policy of employers to eliminate, as such allowances "are not justified from the standpoint of the national production."

The State employees are divided in opinion as regards the desirability of family allowances.⁹²

⁹¹ International Labor Office. *Industrial and Labor Information*, Geneva, Aug. 3, 1923, p. 10.

⁹² Data furnished by the Ministry of Finance of Czechoslovakia, May 17, 1924.

ESTHONIA ⁹⁴

Family allowances were inaugurated for workers employed in State undertakings in Esthonia by Government order of May 16, 1919, and for State civil-service employees by act of April 12, 1920. The law now in effect covering these grants was passed December 19, 1922.

According to the 1924 budget there are 16,665 civil-service employees, 15,632 of whom are entitled to family allowances.

Allowances are paid to both male and female civil-service employees for children under 18 years of age and for disabled children without age limitation. The allowances vary according to locality, being 800 marks ⁹⁵ per month where the cost of living is highest and 600 and 400 marks per month in other parts of the country. These supplemental payments are made for children only, the same amount being paid for each child.

Only employees whose earnings do not exceed 12,000 marks per month are paid family allowances, and the total wages combined with the family allowances must not amount to more than 13,500 marks per month.

A manual worker employed by the State receives 25 marks per day for his wife and 15 marks per day for each child.

⁹⁴ Data furnished by the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare of Esthonia, June 6, 1924.

⁹⁵ Mark at par=19.3 cents; exchange rate varies.

GREECE

PUBLIC SERVICE*

The practice of granting allowances for dependents of persons in State civil employment was instituted at the beginning of the World War. The amounts of these grants, however, have been increased since that period.

Married State employees receive family allowances for their wives and children, the rate for each of these dependents being 10 per cent of the monthly salaries of such employees. These grants are made until the boys are 17 years of age and until the girls are married. No allowances are paid for minors in State employment or living on their own resources.

Unmarried employees receive a supplement of 10 per cent of their monthly salaries for their widowed mothers and for each of their unmarried sisters.

The above-mentioned allowances, however, taken together, may not in any case amount to more than 50 per cent of the monthly salary.

The communes of Greece do not pay family allowances.

PRIVATE INDUSTRY**

Family allowances in private industry in Greece are of very little importance, existing only in the following three enterprises: (1) Manufacture and distribution of gas, (2) supplying of electricity, and (3) a street railway system. The combined personnel of these undertakings numbers approximately 3,220, or only about one-sixtieth of the total number of nongovernmental industrial workers.

Family allowances in these undertakings were inaugurated at the instigation of the labor unions and have been paid since 1918.

The allowances are paid for each child up to the fifth, except in one undertaking, in which the number of children entitled to allowances is limited to four. These grants are made until the children reach 16 or 18 years of age, or 20 years of age if their education is being continued. The workers also receive allowances for their wives and unmarried employees are entitled to allowances for dependent mothers. The allowances for all members of the family who benefit under the system are usually the same.

Of the 67,380,000 drachmas⁹⁸ paid to the workers in these three enterprises in the year 1923, 2,328,000 drachmas were for family allowances.

There are no family-allowance funds in private industries in Greece.

⁹⁸ Data furnished by the Minister of Finance of Greece, May 20, 1924.

⁹⁷ Data furnished by the Office of the Director of Labor and Social Welfare, Ministry of National Economy of Greece, Oct. 8, 1924.

⁹⁸ Drachma at par=19.3 cents; exchange rate varies.

In calculating compensation for accidents family allowances are included in the total sum upon which such accident indemnities are based.

VIEWPOINTS

In the judgment of the Minister of Finance of Greece the payment of family allowances is a "right and just" measure, resulting in the relief of Government employees with dependents.

While the State Government employees appreciate family allowances as a partial palliation of their economic situation, they complain that these allowances are insufficient in view of the high cost of living.

HUNGARY ⁹⁹

PUBLIC SERVICE

State.—The family-allowance system for the civilian State employees in active service in Hungary dates back to January 1, 1912, and for the pensioned civilian State employees to January 1, 1921. The introduction of the system was due to the economic difficulties experienced even before the war by the Federal personnel as the result of the high cost of living. As these hardships pressed most heavily on married employees, the Government desired to help them first. To increase the compensation of the single employees to a similar level "would have put unbearable burdens upon the State treasury."

All active and retired civilian State and railroad employees are included under the family-allowance system. Skilled workers employed in State undertakings (for example, on Federal railroads, in steel plants, and in the postal service) are not granted family allowances, but are entitled to children's allowances. Unskilled day laborers receive no allowances for their wives, children, or other dependents. It is estimated that the employees receiving such grants constitute 70 per cent of the total employees under the system.

On July 1, 1924, the following monthly allowances were inaugurated in the four groups into which the employees entitled to such grants are divided: Group 1, 10 gold kronen;¹ group 2, 9 gold kronen; group 3, 8 gold kronen; group 4, 7 gold kronen. The annual allowances prior to July 1, 1924, for employees in the four groups were 1,600, 960, 800, and 640 paper kronen, respectively, which amounted to only a few cents in gold kronen but which were made up by payments in kind with an average value of 7 gold kronen. Single employees are not granted allowances unless they are maintaining from their earnings dependent parents or adopted children.

As a rule, no distinction is made between male and female employees in the matter of granting family allowances, but a woman employee is entitled to allowances for a child only if its father is dead or wholly incapacitated and without means, or if she is not living with her husband and is supporting the child.

A male employee living with his wife may be paid an allowance even if she has an income or is receiving a salary. He is entitled to an allowance for only one other member of his family besides his wife and children.

Allowances are made for dependent children only, but a child whose monthly earnings are less than 10 gold kronen is considered as dependent. The age limits of children for whom allowances are paid are as follows: For children of certain employees in Group 1,

⁹⁹ Except where otherwise specified, the data in this section were furnished by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, July 29, 1924.

¹ Gold krone at par=20.26 cents.

24 and of others 20 years; for children of employees in Groups 2, 3, and 4, 16 years. An extension of the age limit is permitted for children of employees in the last two classes when such children are pursuing their studies satisfactorily.

There are no special provisions for the payment of allowances in the case of accidents or illness.

Basic wages are not being affected by family allowances. Housing allowances, however, have been fixed at from 10 to 20 per cent higher for those entitled to family allowances for three or more dependents than for those receiving allowances for not more than two.

The budget estimates of appropriations for family allowances for the fiscal year 1921-22 to 1923-24 were: 1921-22, 40,471,040 paper kronen; 1922-23, 94,208,200 paper kronen; 1923-24, 167,754,880 paper kronen. Because of the enormous depreciation of the currency, however, the amounts disbursed were much greater.

Counties and municipalities.—Family allowances are also granted in all counties and municipalities, under conditions and regulations similar to those for the payment of such allowances by the State.

PRIVATE INDUSTRY

Family allowances are not paid in Hungary in private industry.²

VIEWPOINTS

The Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs states that, as the economic conditions which led to the establishment of the family allowances in 1912 still obtain and are even worse, these grants are "practical, necessary, and just."

State employees express great satisfaction at the institution of the system.

The secretary of the Hungarian Labor Council states that in his opinion employees are entitled to such wages as will not only enable them to maintain their physical strength but also to maintain their families and meet their social obligations. He also pointed out that it is important for industrial establishments to pay their workers for labor performed a remuneration sufficient to enable them to provide for their families, as such a remuneration tends to develop efficiency in the workers. While this Hungarian trade-unionist holds that similar wages should be paid for identical work, he believes that, apart from wages, married employees should be enabled to maintain their families through family allowances, as this would have the effect of encouraging those with small incomes to establish families.

² Data furnished by the secretary of the Hungarian Trade-Union Council, June 4, 1924.

ITALY

PUBLIC SERVICE*

State.—Family allowances for State government workers were inaugurated in Italy in 1917 by a royal decree, as an outcome of the high cost of living. Successive decrees have modified the regulations concerning such family allowances. On January 1, 1924, all the employees of the State civil service, both manual and nonmanual, were covered by this system of payment. The numbers of these employees are as follows:

Permanent employees:	
Civil nonmanual.....	89, 723
School teachers.....	10, 932
Manual workers.....	30, 391
Temporary employees:	
Nonmanual workers.....	17, 438
Manual workers.....	26, 226
State railways:	
Permanent employees.....	143, 639
Temporary employees.....	39, 450
Total.....	357, 799

It is estimated that in the spring of 1924 family allowances were being paid by the State to approximately 750,000 dependents of civil-service employees proper and to 850,000 dependents of the employees of the State railways.

The total amounts paid out in cost-of-living bonuses and family allowances to those employed in the State civil service in 1922 were 1,069,225,433 lire⁴ and in 1923, 991,882,815 lire, the allowances for dependents not being given separately.

In May, 1924, a monthly bonus of 135 lire was being granted to each civil-service employee who was married or had children under 18 years of age, while the single employee received only 100 lire. The married employee also received a bonus of 0.85 lira per day, or 25.85 lire per month, for his wife (unless legally separated from her) and for each dependent son not over 18 years of age.

Single women employed by the Government receive the same bonus as single men. If a married woman who is legally separated from her husband has children to support, she is granted 135 lire per month and also 0.85 lira per day for every son under 18 years. If a woman's husband has no means and because of permanent physical disability is not able to work, she is granted the same allowances as a married man. A married woman whose husband is able to work and provide for the support of his family, gets only the allowance for a single woman.

³ Data furnished by the General Director of the Royal Italian Treasury, May 5, 1924.

⁴ Lira at par=19.3 cents; exchange rate varies.

A permanent employee of the State civil service who has been transferred to a special register because of long-continued illness, where he is given one-third of his salary if he has been in the service for less than 10 years and one-half of his salary if his service exceeds 10 years, receives also the full amount of family allowances. He may be carried on this register for two years.

Family allowances were granted to those in the employment of the State as a temporary adjustment to abnormal economic conditions, but "what was thought abnormal is becoming normal." The reduction of the cost of living is peculiarly difficult in Italy because of the unfavorable exchange and the increased pressure of population, but there has been some decrease in the cost of living in the last few years. Family allowances have been reduced to some extent and the basic salaries have been raised to what is regarded as a fairer scale. This increase also means larger pensions, as they are calculated on basic salaries. Because of a general reorganization of the State Government departments, numbers of the personnel were dismissed, and these changes have bettered the economic situation of those at present in the service.

Provinces and municipalities.—Provincial and municipal governments grant family allowances, generally according to the same rules as the State civil service, but are empowered to raise or decrease the rates of such allowances. In important industrial centers, such as Milan, Turin, etc., where the cost of living is above that in other sections of Italy, family allowances are reported to be "very substantial." The municipality of Rome has adopted the plan of the State Government.

PRIVATE INDUSTRY

During the late war some collective agreements provided cost-of-living bonuses in which account was taken of the workers' family responsibilities, but since 1920 such contracts have contained no stipulations for supplemental allowances for dependents.⁵

The International Labor Office in its report on family allowances⁶ refers to a few collective agreements of minor importance which provided bonuses for dependents, among them an agreement in 1921 in the printing industry in Milan granting a supplement of 7 per cent of the total wages to certain lower-paid married workers with one or more children. Married agricultural workers in some districts in Italy have certain advantages over the single workers receiving either higher money wages or allowances in kind.

VIEWPOINTS

Employers.—The General Director of the Royal Italian Treasury is of the opinion that the system of family allowance will be abolished in Italy when conditions become normal, and that such allowances "may be embodied partly or entirely in the basic salary if the general level of salaries suggests an improvement of the basic salary of the civil servants."

⁵ Data furnished by the General Confederation of Italian Industry, July 25, 1924.

⁶ International Labor Office. Family allowances. Geneva, 1924, p. 151. Studies and reports, series D (wages and hours), No. 13.

The family-allowance system is "antieconomical" for industry, according to the general secretary of the General Confederation of Italian Industry, and this disadvantage can be offset by only the French and Belgian system of family-allowance funds. "Special demographic reasons" alone can justify the institution of these grants.

Workers.—State employees seem to be satisfied with the family-allowance system, according to the Director of the Royal Italian Treasury.

The Italian General Confederation of Labor states that since the war several attempts to institute family allowances in private industry have met with opposition from both employers and workers, the employers feeling that such a system would lead to dismissal of those with family responsibilities and the workers holding that such discriminations should not be made in wages.⁷

In the few instances in which the family-allowance principle has been applied in private industry, such action has been prompted by the "generous paternal impulses" of employers, according to the Italian Confederation of (Catholic) Workers. While it is acknowledged that the demand for a family wage is a just social demand, the obstacles in the way of meeting it are regarded as formidable. Among the difficulties arising from the system is the competition of married workers with single workers and of employers who have large numbers of married men in their personnel with other employers. It is conceded, however, that the population situation in some countries has strengthened the arguments for family wages and that the Christian belief in such compensation adds its weight in favor of these supplementary allowances.⁸

Attention is called to the necessity in certain nations of encouraging large families, and the confederation holds that if there are moral and social reasons for establishing the family wage the whole financial burden of it should not be left to employers, but that the workers themselves should contribute to a joint fund for children's allowances, and in this connection organization of an insurance system for family allowances is recommended.⁹

⁷ Letter of May 1, 1924.

⁸ Letter of May 3, 1924.

LATVIA ¹²

PUBLIC SERVICE

State.—A system of family allowances was established in the Latvian civil service in March, 1919, to relieve the economic hardships of married employees brought about by the high prices of the necessities of life. The allowances are paid for both wives and children. Table 19 shows the changes that have been made from April 11, 1919, to July 1, 1924, in the size of these allowances in connection with the increase in salaries:

TABLE 19.—AMOUNT OF FAMILY ALLOWANCES IN LATVIA, APRIL 11, 1919, TO JULY 1, 1924

Period	Monthly salary		Allowance for each family member
	Minimum	Maximum	
Apr. 11, 1919, to Jan. 1, 1920.....	<i>Rubles</i> ¹ 250	<i>Rubles</i> ¹ 900	For salaries up to 500 rubles, 10 per cent of full salary; for salaries over 500 rubles, 5 per cent.
Jan. 1, 1920, to Apr. 1, 1920.....	375	1,800	10 per cent of full salary.
Apr. 1, 1920, to July 1, 1920.....	500	3,000	Do.
July 1, 1920, to Apr. 1, 1921.....	750	5,000	20 per cent of full salary.
Apr. 1, 1921, to July 1, 1921.....	1,300	10,300	10 per cent of full salary, but not less than 300 rubles.
July 1, 1921, to Nov. 1, 1921.....	1,800	10,800	Do.
Nov. 1, 1921, to Apr. 1, 1922.....	2,700	12,800	Do.
Apr. 1, 1922, to July 1, 1924.....	3,000	18,000	8 per cent of the salary, but not more than 800 rubles nor less than 400 rubles.

¹ Ruble at par = 51.46 cents; exchange rate varies.

Basic salaries are not affected by family allowances.

In 1923 there were 26,125 persons in the Latvian Government civil service who were under the family-allowance system, and allowances were granted to 36,194 members of the families of persons in the civil service. These allowances are paid for wives, unless they themselves have salaried positions, and for each child up to the completion of his or her sixteenth year and up to 18 years of age if the child remains that long in school. If the husband and wife are both in the State civil service, only one is paid the allowance for the children. A woman in the civil service may also receive an allowance for an invalid husband.

The total amounts paid by the State in family allowances to its civil-service employees in 1921, 1922, and 1923 were as follows: In 1921, 123,000,000 rubles; in 1922, 130,000,000 rubles; in 1923, 157,000,000 rubles.

Municipalities.—Municipal government employees whose salaries are graded by law in the same salary grades as the State civil service are granted family allowances equal to those paid to the State employees. In the municipal service of Riga, the capital of the country, an allowance of 630 rubles per month is paid for each family member of all employees.

¹² Data furnished by the Ministry of Labor of Latvia, Aug. 9, 1924.

VIEWPOINTS

“Family allowances are indispensable” in view of the present high cost of living, according to the acting director of the department of labor and tariff of the Latvian Ministry of Labor.

The organizations of Federal employees, realizing that these grants for wives and children help to make family life more secure and comfortable, have from time to time expressed the following desires: (a) That other dependents, for example, parents, brothers, and sisters, should be included in the family-allowance system; (b) That the amount of the family allowance should be larger; (c) That an allowance should be granted for each member of the family regardless of the employee's salary grade.

LITHUANIA ¹²

The Republic of Lithuania instituted family allowances for its civil-service employees January 1, 1922. The allowances are granted to both men and women in the State service for each child under 14 years. The amounts of these grants have been changed from time to time as follows: January 1, 1922, 100 ost marks¹³ per child per month; September 1, 1922, 5 litas¹⁴ per child per month; August 1, 1923, 10 litas per child per month; May 1, 1924, 20 litas per child per month.

The basic wages of employees receiving children's allowances range from 150 to 1,000 litas per month but the allowance for each child is the same for all, 20 litas. The number of children for whom allowances are paid is 9,680.

The total amount of children's allowances in 1922 prior to the inauguration of the Lithuanian currency was 8,204,400 marks and after such change, 204,360 litas. In 1923, children's allowances amounted to 836,400 litas.

The chief of the chancery of the Lithuanian Ministry of Finance calls attention to the advantage family allowances afford in aiding Government employees, particularly those in the lower salary grades, to educate their children, which, he reports, satisfies such employees.

¹² Data furnished by the Lithuanian Ministry of Finance, July 3, 1924.

¹³ Ost mark at par=23.82 cents; exchange rate varies.

¹⁴ Litas at par=10 cents; exchange rate varies.

LUXEMBURG

PUBLIC SERVICE¹⁵

State.—Legal provision for the payment of family allowances in State civil employment in the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg was made in 1916 to ameliorate the financial conditions of Government employees with family responsibilities. In 1918, 2,509 employees out of a total of 4,921 employees were receiving such grants.

Under the law of August 7, 1921, State Government employees and pensioners are paid, in addition to their salaries, 400 francs per annum for each of their first two children under 18 years of age and 500 francs for each subsequent child. Allowances are paid only for legitimate children. The number of children benefiting by these allowances varies from year to year, the number in 1918 being 3,011.

Woman employees do not receive these grants.

In 1923 the total amount disbursed by the State Government in family allowances to its civil-service employees was 1,216,345 francs.¹⁶

Municipalities.—The city of Luxemburg has instituted the same system of family allowances for its employees as that adopted by the State Government.

PRIVATE INDUSTRY

Both manual and nonmanual workers are accorded family allowances in the large and average sized private industries of the Grand Duchy, the majority of these industries having adopted the practice in 1916.

There are about 20,000 workers employed by the iron mines and iron works and about 6,000 in the other industries, not including the railroads which have a working force of 6,500, and it is estimated that approximately 50 per cent of these workers receive these allowances.

The amounts of the allowances vary in different undertakings. The following are the provisions adopted by the more important enterprises: To married salaried employees: 50 francs per month, and for each child under 20 years of age, 25 to 40 francs per month; for women in confinement, 80 francs; to married workers: 1 franc per day, and for each child under 16 years, 25 to 40 francs per month; for women in confinement, 80 francs.

Some employers do not pay allowances for the first two children. If a woman and her husband are employed by the same firm, the husband only is entitled to the family allowance.

Workers continue to draw these allowances when they are ill or disabled by accident. When they remain away from work, how-

¹⁵ Data furnished by the Ministry of Finance of Luxemburg, June 6, 1924.

¹⁶ Franc at par=19.3 cents; exchange rate varies.

ever, without justifiable cause their allowances are reduced or discontinued.

There are no family-allowance funds in the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg. The allowances in private industry for the country as a whole during the last few years have been equivalent to 10 per cent of the total wage bill.

VIEWPOINTS

The Government is well satisfied with its system of family allowances, according to the Ministry of Finance of the Grand Duchy. The Government employees in general are also satisfied with these grants.¹⁷

The Director-General of the Ministry of Commerce, Industry, and Labor states that the family-allowance system makes it possible to take into consideration the individual responsibilities of each worker, which would seem to be a justifiable procedure. The hope of reducing labor turnover was a leading motive in the establishment of this system. In according these supplements to married men, who constitute the more stable portion of the working force, it was felt that such employees would have a stronger incentive to remain with their employers. At the same time, he states, the most successful method of stabilizing labor is to provide suitable and cheap dwellings for married workers.

¹⁷ Information furnished by the Ministry of Finance of Luxemburg, June 17, 1924.

POLAND

PUBLIC SERVICE

STATE ¹⁸

On September 19, 1918, a provisional law (Journal of Laws of the Polish Republic, No. 17, par. 45) instituted supplementary allowances for married men and women, widowers, and widows teaching in the primary schools who had children to support.

Cost-of-living bonuses granted under the law of July 28, 1919 (Journal of Laws of the Polish Republic, No. 63, par. 377), to State employees included supplements for members of the family, unmarried employees, and employees who were widowers without children receiving lower bonuses. These family supplements ranged from 20 to 100 marks per month according to the grade and class of the employee, the number of dependents, and the section of the country in which the employee lived. The supplements have since been changed both as to form and application, the modifications being due to the depreciation of the currency.

On January 1, 1923, 54.55 per cent of the State employees were receiving family supplements.

In July, 1924, State employees were being granted under the law of October 9, 1923 (Journal of Laws of the Polish Republic, No. 116, par. 924), 15.75 zloty ¹⁹ per month for each member of the family, not to exceed five persons, including the wife, the husband under certain circumstances, legal or legitimated children, and stepchildren. This allowance is designated an "economic supplement."

A husband receives an allowance for his wife "if he is obliged to support her." A wife, however, is paid an allowance for a husband only when he is an invalid and can not support himself. The allowances for children are granted without regard to their sex and are paid until they are 18 years of age. If a child is attending public school, or is unable to support himself because of physical or mental incapacity, the age limit is extended to 24 years, and under exceptional circumstances—for example, in certain cases of incurable illness or where because of military or mobilization service, the child's studies have not been completed—it may be extended beyond 24 years.

Table 20 shows the relation between the allowances granted at three different periods to several grades of State employees with varying numbers of dependents:

¹⁸ Data furnished by the Polish Ministry of Finance, July 22, 1924.

¹⁹ Zloty at par=19.3 cents; exchange rate varies.

TABLE 20.—INDEX NUMBERS OF MONTHLY ALLOWANCES TO CERTAIN CLASSES OF STATE EMPLOYEES AT THREE SPECIFIED DATES¹

[Smallest family group=100]

Date and size of family	Low-grade employees	Intermediate-grade employees	High-grade employees
December, 1919:			
Small family.....	100.0	100.0	100.0
Average family.....	102.7	103.1	107.6
Large family.....	105.5	106.2	115.3
June, 1920:			
Unmarried.....	100.0	100.0	100.0
Married, with 1 child or none.....	109.2	109.5	114.2
Married, with 2 children.....	115.6	113.5	120.7
Married, with 3 children.....	125.3	126.1	136.3
Married, with 4 or more children.....	131.9	132.8	139.8
December, 1920:			
Unmarried.....	100.0	100.0	100.0
Small family ²	106.0	112.4	132.7
Average family ³	110.5	121.7	157.3
Large family ⁴	115.0	131.0	181.9

¹ International Labor Office. Family allowances. Geneva, 1924, p. 127. Studies and reports, series D (wages and hours), No. 13.

² With 1 or 2 dependents.

³ With 3 or 4 dependents.

⁴ With more than 4 dependents.

MUNICIPALITIES

The State system of granting allowances for family responsibilities to Government employees is accepted by almost all the towns of Poland.²⁰

On June 5, 1924, the municipal council of Warsaw made the State law of October 9, 1923, applicable to municipal employees except workers on municipal undertakings.²⁰ Municipal workers in the various occupations are paid the following supplementary grants for dependents, based on the wages of single workers:

TABLE 21.—SUPPLEMENTARY GRANTS FOR FAMILY RESPONSIBILITIES PAID MUNICIPAL WORKERS OF WARSAW, BY OCCUPATION¹

Occupation	Per cent of wages of single worker paid—		
	Workers with one dependent	Workers with two dependents	Workers with three or more dependents
Electrical engineers.....	2.63	5.26	7.89
Locksmiths.....	3.12	6.24	9.36
Skilled masons.....	3.97	6.78	10.17
Helpers.....	5.00	10.00	15.00
Seamstresses.....	4.08	8.16	12.24
Nurses, male and female.....	4.54	9.08	13.62

¹ Data furnished by the Polish Ministry of Labor and Social Assistance, July 15, 1924.

PRIVATE INDUSTRY²¹

Family allowances were introduced into private industry in Poland in 1919 as an outcome of the low wages and economic pressure fol-

²⁰ Data furnished by the Polish Ministry of Finance, July 22, 1924.

²¹ Unless otherwise specified, the data in this section were furnished by the Polish Ministry of Labor and Social Assistance, July 15, 1924, and the National Polish Committee of the International Chamber of Commerce, Nov. 10, 1924.

lowing the war. At this period wages were based on the minimum of existence for a worker's family. Various collective contracts were made containing provisions for supplements to wages in behalf of workers' dependents,²² among them an agreement between the Union of Oil Producers of Poland and their employees, effective January 1, 1920, which provided for allowances for wives, mothers, brothers, sisters, and children.²³

When living conditions became more normal family allowances were abandoned in many private industries. Such grants are, however, still made for workers in the Dombrowa and Cracovia mining districts and in the potash mines in Kalusz and Stebnik.

As, up to the beginning of 1924, wages in Poland advanced quickly because of the rapid depreciation of the currency of the country, family allowances were calculated as a percentage of the wage of the single worker.

In the mining industry such allowances are combined with bonuses for regular work, which are granted to workers who are not absent more than two working-days a month without good reason. In July, 1924, family allowances in the coal and potash mines were as follows:

TABLE 22.—PER CENT OF WAGE GRANTED COAL AND POTASH MINERS IN POLAND AS FAMILY ALLOWANCES IN JULY, 1924

Family status of worker	Coal mines	Potash mines
	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Married workers without children and with 1 child, widowers or widows with 1 child.....	4.76	4.35
Married workers, widowers, or widows with 2 or 3 children.....	11.43	8.69
Married workers, widowers, or widows with 4 or more children.....	19.04	13.04

In the iron works of the Dombrowa Basin monthly allowances are granted as follows: Workers with a small family 3.05 zloté; workers with an average family, 5 zloté; workers with a large family, 7 zloté. Furthermore, all married workers receive an allowance of 150 per cent more coal than single workers.

In the sugar industry in Great Poland workers with two children receive a supplement of 1 grosz²⁴ per hour of work. Widows with dependent children receive higher salaries than other woman workers in the same establishment. In the sugar industry in other sections of Poland family responsibilities of the workers are taken into consideration by granting various allowances in kind.

There are no family-allowance funds in Poland.

VIEWPOINTS

The Polish Ministry of Finance states that in the face of the high cost of living and the decrease in the possibilities of earning larger salaries, especially in the Government, and the lack of opportunities for remunerative work for members of families the family-allowance system seems to be indispensable in Poland.

²² International Labor Office. Family allowances. Geneva, 1924, p. 128. Studies and reports, series D (wages and hours), No. 13.

²³ Great Britain. Ministry of Labor. Labor Overseas, London, April-June, 1920, p. 53.

²⁴ Grosz at par=0.103 cent; exchange rate varies.

State Government employees are of the opinion that the practice of granting them family allowances will be continued as long as the present economic conditions exist.²⁵

The family-allowance system under which employers pay from their private funds certain supplements to the wages of workers with family responsibilities can not exist in Poland except under abnormal conditions, according to the Undersecretary of State of the Polish Ministry of Labor and Social Assistance, who also holds that "wages are a remuneration for certain work and can depend only on the individual skill and efficiency of the worker." He believes, however, that a more extensive system of family allowances would prove a very useful form of social insurance.

The president of the National Polish Committee of the International Chamber of Commerce states that Polish employers "are of the opinion that the worker should be paid according to performance." He points out that although the workers who receive these grants are more closely bound to the business upon which they are engaged and employers who pay family allowance thus guarantee themselves a specialized and capable labor supply, there are, nevertheless, initial indications of a spirit of growing independence among the workers themselves—a wish to procure their own little homes and small holdings of land. Moreover, this tendency is increased by the fact that allowances paid for dependents are very low and do not cover the actual extra cost of supporting big families.

* Data furnished by the Ministry of Finance, July 22, 1924.

PORTUGAL ²⁶

Early in 1924 the Portuguese Government decided to come to the relief of its public employees whose economic situation had been badly affected by high prices, and a legislative proposal was drafted for the granting of family allowances to such public employees.

The Governor of Macao, a Portuguese colony in China, decided to pay family allowances to the military and civil employees in such colony. It was also planned to adopt a similar scheme in Angola, a Portuguese possession in Africa.

²⁶ International Labor Office. *Industrial and Labor Information*, Geneva, Apr. 14, 1924, p. 25.

RUMANIA

PUBLIC SERVICE

Supplemental grants for family responsibilities are made to the public employees of Rumania.²⁷ At present a married employee without children receives a 5 per cent addition to his basic salary per month; the allowance for 1 child is 100 lei; ²⁸ for 2 children, 150 lei; and for 3 or more children, 250 lei.²⁷

In nine months of the fiscal year 1923 the Government expended for its personnel 4,139,175,880 lei, divided as follows: 1,481,051,532 lei for salaries, 215,837,858 lei for rent, 1,736,808,575 lei for cost-of-living bonuses, 205,477,915 lei for family allowances, and 500,000,000 lei for a fund to improve the financial situation of Federal employees.²⁹

PRIVATE INDUSTRY

There are no legislative regulations for family allowances in private industry in Rumania, nor is there any proposal to embody such regulations in the labor code. Among the collective agreements concluded in 1923, those between the following employers and their workers contained provisions for family allowances.³⁰

Metallurgical works of Resitza: 200 lei per annum for each member of the family for clothing and 25 lei per month for maintenance expenses.

Association of the Iron Industry of Caras-Severin: 25 to 75 lei per month for one or two children, and 100 lei per month for three or more children.

Certain manufacturers of Bucharest: 12 lei per day for workers with minor children.

Busteni Paper Factory: 30 lei per month for a wife and for each child under 13 years of age.

VIEWPOINTS

The Rumanian Engineers' Association submitted a memorandum to the Government requesting it to increase the 1923 salaries of all engineers in the public service and to continue family allowances.³¹

²⁷ Data furnished by the Ministry of Public Health, Labor, and Social Welfare of Rumania, May 22, 1924.

²⁸ Leu at par = 19.3 cents; exchange rate varies.

³⁰ Data furnished by the Ministry of Finance of Rumania, Mar. 26, 1925.

³¹ International Labor Office. Industrial and Labor Information, Geneva, April 6, 1923, p. 25.

SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES

DENMARK ²²

PUBLIC SERVICE

State.—Before the World War the Danish Government did not take into consideration family responsibilities in connection with the salaries of its civil-service employees. From 1914 to 1919, however, cost-of-living bonuses were granted which usually were higher for married than for single employees. At first, a supplementary bonus was also paid for each child under 15 years of age.

New wage regulations in the law of September 12, 1919,²³ provided for: (1) A basic wage varying for the different classes of employees. (2) An age supplement varying for the different classes of employees and within each class differing according to length of service. (3) A locality allowance (to offset the variations in prices in different communities) as follows: 450 kroner ²⁴ per annum for employees living in Copenhagen, 330 kroner for those residing in the larger provincial towns, and 240 kroner for those living in the smaller towns, while for employees in rural sections no locality bonus was provided. (4) A "trade-cycle" allowance for all employees, which did not vary according to family responsibilities but ranged from 750 kroner per annum for the lowest paid employees to 1,590 kroner for the highest paid, never, however, exceeding 50 per cent of the basic wage and the age bonus combined. The purpose of the trade-cycle allowance was to adjust wages to business conditions. It was reduced in 1922 and again in 1923, but in the latter year the amounts granted varied according to family responsibilities, the unmarried employees under 35 years of age receiving only 66 $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent of the allowance granted to married employees or unmarried employees over 35 years of age. (5) A cost-of-living bonus to be fixed twice a year in accordance with variations of the price index number. The cost-of-living bonus for single employees is only 66 $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent of that for the married. From October 1, 1924, to March 31, 1925, this bonus amounted for married employees to 702 kroner per annum and for single employees to 468 kroner per annum. From the above provisions it will be seen that no distinction is made between single and married civil-service employees in basic wages and age and locality supplements, but that unmarried employees under 35 years of age receive only two-thirds of the trade-cycle allowance accorded employees who are married or who are unmarried and over 35 years of age. Furthermore, unmarried employees are granted only two-thirds of the cost-of-living bonus received by the married.

²² Data furnished by the Danish Ministry of Social Affairs, Aug. 6, 1924, and the Danish Department of Statistics, Sept. 26, 1924.

²³ Denmark. Finansministeriet. Bekendtgørelse af Lov Nr. 489 af 12 September, 1919, om Statens Tjenestemaend. Copenhagen, 1922.

²⁴ Krone at par = 26.8 cents; exchange rate varies.

The following example shows how much a particular employee would be paid under these seemingly complex provisions: From October 1, 1924, to March 31, 1925, a State railroad employee, 34 years of age who is married, is living in Copenhagen, and has been in the service since his twenty-second year would receive the following:

	Kroner Per annum
Basic wage-----	1,920.00
Age supplement, including seniority bonus-----	450.00
Locality bonus-----	450.00
Trade-cycle allowance-----	421.20
Cost-of-living bonus-----	702.00
Total-----	3,943.20

If he were unmarried he would receive only 280.80 kroner as a trade-cycle allowance and 468 kroner as a cost-of-living bonus, his total wages amounting to 3,568.80 kroner yearly, or 374.40 less than if he were married.

Of the annual expenditure by the Danish Government for the wages of its civil-service employees proper, estimated at from 170,000,000 to 180,000,000 kroner, 18,800,000 kroner were for trade-cycle allowances and 30,000,000 kroner for cost-of-living bonuses.

At present the trade-cycle allowance can not exceed 27 per cent of the basic wage plus the age bonus for married employees or 18 per cent for unmarried employees under 35 years of age. In the lowest-paid classes married employees receive 120 kroner per annum more than unmarried employees under 35 years of age; in the highest-paid classes, 290 kroner.

Table 23 shows the amounts of monthly trade-cycle allowances fixed from July, 1923, to March, 1925, for married employees and single employees under 35 years of age in specified salary grades in the State Government service:

TABLE 23.—TRADE-CYCLE ALLOWANCES PER MONTH FOR MARRIED AND FOR SINGLE EMPLOYEES JULY 1, 1923, TO MARCH 31, 1925, BY SPECIFIED PERIODS

Annual basic salary and age supplement	Amount per month beginning—									
	July 1, 1923		Oct. 1, 1923		Apr. 1, 1924		July 1, 1924		Oct. 1, 1924	
	Married employees ¹	Single employees under 35	Married employees ¹	Single employees under 35	Married employees ¹	Single employees under 35	Married employees ¹	Single employees under 35	Married employees ¹	Single employees under 35
Under 1,200 kroner-----	Kroner ¹ 33	Kroner ² 22	Kroner ¹ 30	Kroner ² 20	Kroner ¹ 29	Kroner ² 19½	Kroner ¹ 28	Kroner ² 18½	Kroner ¹ 27	Kroner ² 18
1,200 to 1,499 kroner-----	36.00	24.00	33.00	22.00	31.90	21.26	30.80	20.53	29.70	19.80
1,500 to 1,799 kroner-----	39.00	26.00	36.00	24.00	34.80	23.20	33.60	22.40	32.40	21.60
1,800 to 2,399 kroner-----	42.00	28.00	39.00	26.00	37.70	25.13	36.40	24.26	35.10	23.40
2,400 to 2,899 kroner-----	45.00	30.00	42.00	28.00	40.60	27.06	39.20	26.13	37.80	25.20
2,900 to 3,899 kroner-----	48.00	32.00	45.00	30.00	43.50	29.00	42.00	28.00	40.60	27.00
3,900 to 4,899 kroner-----	51.00	34.00	48.00	32.00	46.40	30.93	44.80	29.86	43.20	28.80
4,900 to 6,399 kroner-----	54.00	36.00	51.00	34.00	49.30	32.86	47.60	31.73	45.90	30.60
6,400 to 8,399 kroner-----	60.00	40.00	57.00	38.00	55.10	36.73	53.20	35.46	51.30	34.20
8,400 to 10,399 kroner-----	69.00	46.00	63.00	42.00	60.90	40.60	58.80	39.20	56.70	37.80
10,400 kroner or over-----	87.00	58.00	81.00	54.00	78.30	52.20	75.60	50.40	72.90	48.60

¹ Also unmarried employees over 35 years of age to whom the State does not grant housing and full maintenance.

² Per cent of total monthly amount of basic salary and age supplement.

Municipalities.—The great majority of the local governments pay their employees cost-of-living bonuses in which a distinction is made between married and single persons.

PRIVATE INDUSTRY

During the World War and the years immediately succeeding family allowances were granted by employers in the printing, brewing, and textile industries in Denmark as a part of a cost-of-living bonus. Previous to that cost-of-living bonuses had been paid, but generally no difference between the married and the unmarried had been made in them.

In December, 1916, an agreement was reached in the printing industry in Copenhagen to establish a fund for the payment of cost-of-living bonuses, and this fund began to function the following month. It was administered by four persons, two representing the employers and two the workers. Each employer paid into the fund 3 kroner per week per worker. The weekly allowances paid the workers, which varied according to wages and family responsibilities, were as follows: To every worker whose weekly wage did not exceed 36 kroner, about 2.6 kroner; to every worker whose weekly wage was from 37 to 40 kroner, about 1.3 kroner; for the wife of a worker (a widow or a widower's housekeeper) if she had no trade, about 1.3 kroner; to every married worker, widower, widow, and unmarried woman worker for each child under 15 years of age, about 0.65 krone. The allowances for the wife and children were irrespective of the wage of the worker.

The typographical union acknowledged that this plan was a departure from the principle of its usual trade agreements providing equal pay for equal work, but declared that the arrangement had been made under unusual circumstances and had the approval of the workers by a large majority vote.

These cost-of-living bonuses were increased in September, 1917, February, 1918, and September, 1918. At the latter date while the cost-of-living index had reached 182, the wages as increased by the bonus were 88 per cent higher than those of 1914. In the fall of 1918 the regulations for the cost-of-living-bonus fund were considerably simplified, allowances being varied only for family responsibilities and not according to wages.

In October, 1918, the cost-of-living bonus amounted to 21 kroner per week. In the following March it was increased to 26.5 kroner per week, but was granted only to those who had children to support. The agreement of July, 1921, increased substantially both piece and time rates and abolished the cost-of-living-bonus fund.

In the Provinces cost-of-living bonuses were paid directly by employers to printers, the quarterly bonus in October, 1916, for married workers being 25 kroner and for single workers 12½ kroner. In 1918 the employers proposed a scheme like that in effect in Copenhagen, but the workers objected. Their opposition was based, however, on practical grounds rather than on principle. Considerable increases were made from time to time in the bonuses, and finally under the agreement of July, 1919, no distinction was made between married and single workers.

From 1917 to 1919 brewery workers received the following family allowances: January 1, 1917, to January 1, 1918, 1 krone per week per child; January 1, 1918, to April 1, 1918, 5 kroner per month per child; April 1, 1918, to April 1, 1919, 6 kroner per month per child.

In the cost-of-living bonuses granted Copenhagen textile workers from July, 1917, to February, 1918, a difference was made between persons who had families to support and those who did not, as indicated below:

TABLE 24.—COST-OF-LIVING BONUSES IN THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY UNDER AGREEMENT OF JULY, 1917

Kind of worker	Bonus to workers whose weekly wages were —		
	Less than 20 kroner	20 to 30 kroner	More than 30 kroner
Males over 18 years of age:			
Supporting a family.....	6.00	5.50	5.00
Living alone.....	4.00	3.50	3.00
Females over 18 years of age:			
Supporting a family.....	4.50	4.00	3.50
Living alone.....	4.00	3.50	3.00

Under the agreement of February, 1918, the cost-of-living bonuses were as follows:

	Øre ^a per hour
Males supporting a family.....	12
Males living alone (over 18 years of age).....	10
Females supporting a family.....	10
Females living alone (over 18 years of age).....	8

After the expiration of the above agreement family responsibilities were not taken into consideration in the remuneration of Copenhagen textile workers.

Of 30 inquiries sent out by the Danish Department of Statistics to various trade-unions for the purpose of securing information on family allowances in private industry in Denmark, the replies were received only from the printers, brewery workers, and textile workers. This fact, together with certain other data in the matter, has led the secretary of the Danish Department of Statistics to conclude that the family-allowance system has not prevailed to any great extent in other trades, at least in Copenhagen. From reports received by that department from three different associations concerned with the working conditions of nonmanual employees in private and semiofficial enterprises it seems evident that "the family-allowance system is now of no greater practical importance for nonmanual workers in private undertakings than for manual workers."

VIEWPOINTS

The great majority of employees' organizations opposed the passage of the law of March 28, 1923, providing for a trade-cycle allowance in the Government service, in which bonus family responsibilities were taken into account. As an outcome of such opposition, unmarried employees over 35 years of age were put on "equal terms with the married."

^a Øre at par=0.208 cent; exchange rate varies.

The Department of Statistics states that future proposals for family allowances in private industry would certainly arouse the antagonism of the trade-unions, which have always insisted on equal pay for equal work.

FINLAND

PUBLIC SERVICE *

State.—As long ago as 1908 the family-allowance principle had been put into effect in the payment of certain grades of teachers in Finland.

In 1917 family allowances were being paid to certain classes of State employees, and one of the duties assigned the Government committee created in 1918 to study salaries paid by the State "was to propose a scale of family allowances." The plan for such grants formulated by this committee was put into effect March 18, 1919, and covered all permanent State officials and employees. While in general these allowances were made irrespective of salaries, in certain municipalities and rural sections the salaries received by those in State employment were taken into consideration. The monthly allowances for each child under 18 years of age and for children over that age who were unable to work were as follows:

TABLE 25.—MONTHLY FAMILY ALLOWANCES GRANTED TO CIVIL-SERVICE EMPLOYEES IN FINLAND IN 1919

Number of children	Helsing-fors	Other towns	Rural districts
	Marks ¹	Marks	Marks
One child.....	100	80	60
Two children.....	140	110	80
Three children.....	180	140	100
Four children.....	220	170	120
Five children or more.....	260	200	140

¹ Mark at par=19.3 cents; exchange rate varies.

The Confederation of Civil Servants objected to this scheme and made the following demands: (a) An allowance for the wife also; (b) Equal allowance for each child; (c) Abolition of the maximum of five children for which allowances are paid; (d) Increase of the maximum age of children for whom allowances would be paid to 21 years. These demands were not granted. In 1920, however, the system was simplified, equal allowances of 80 marks per month being granted for each child, regardless of locality or of the number of children.

In 1921 the allowance was increased to 150 marks per month per child. The next year basic salaries were substantially increased and certain modifications made in the provisions for family allowances, no grant being made for the first child but an allowance of 150 marks per month being made for each subsequent child under 16 years of age. The law of December 29, 1923, provided 1,200 marks per annum for each child under that age excepting the first.

* When not otherwise specified, the information in this section is from International Labor Office, Family allowances, Geneva, 1924, pp. 143-146, Studies and reports, series D (wages and hours), No. 13.

On the average, family allowances have been equivalent to 10 per cent of the salary of civil servants.

Municipal.—Employees of the municipality of Helsingfors were in 1915 receiving cost-of-living bonuses which took into account variations in family responsibilities. At the same period the city of Abo also considered the number of dependents in remunerating employees in the municipal service.³⁶

In 1922 the family-allowance rates for municipal employees per child per month were:

	Marks
Abo and Vasa.....	150
Borga.....	125
Helsingfors and Sordavala.....	120
Viborg and Raumo.....	100
Kuopio.....	75
Tammerfors.....	60

Generally speaking, these allowances are granted irrespective of basic salaries. In Abo and Borga an allowance is also given for the wife.

In some towns 16 years is the age limit for children receiving allowances, but usually the maximum age is 18 years. There is a tendency toward the gradual abolition of these grants as basic salaries become adjusted to prevailing price levels.

Family allowances for wage earners in the service of certain Finnish municipalities are shown in Table 26:

TABLE 26.—FAMILY ALLOWANCES GRANTED WAGE EARNERS EMPLOYED BY EIGHT MUNICIPALITIES OF FINLAND

City	Unit	Amount per child	Age limit (years)	Date when grant paid
Abo.....	Day.....	Marks 1 1	18	Since 1920.
Helsingfors.....	do.....	2	18	Since December, 1920.
Jakobstad.....	Month.....	120	18	
Kuopio.....	do.....	75		
St. Michael:				
Electric and waterworks workers.....	do.....	100	14	
Other workers.....	Hour.....	.25		Since 1921.
Uleaborg.....	do.....	.20		} Until 1920.
	Month.....	40		
Pietarsaari.....	Hour.....	1 15	18	
Tammerfors.....	do.....	.30	18	

¹ No allowance for first child. ² 18 years if child is being educated. ³ Same amount for wife.

The Municipal Central Office of Finland reports that there were no important modifications in the payment of family allowances to the wage earners employed by municipalities in 1922 and 1923.

PRIVATE INDUSTRY ³⁷

The system of family allowances in private industry in Finland originated during the World War to meet demands of the workers for wage increases to keep pace with the high cost of living. Em-

³⁶ Sweden. [Socialdepartementet.] Socialstyrelsen. Sociala Meddelanden, Stockholm, No. 4, 1916, p. 485.

³⁷ Data furnished by the Ministry for Social Affairs of Finland, July 17, 1924, and by the Employers' Central Association of Finland, Oct. 18, 1924.

ployers preferred to grant temporary cost-of-living bonuses and family allowances rather than to raise permanently the basic wages.

The shortage of foodstuffs during the war, especially toward the latter part of it, was sorely felt by industrial workers in Finland. In order to ameliorate this situation, employers bought or furnished from their own estates the most essential foodstuffs and distributed them among their employees either gratis or at a comparatively low price. Workers who had a large number of dependents benefited, of course, more from this arrangement than single workers or those who had few family responsibilities. When foodstuffs became more plentiful prices were still high, and the employers of Finland, in general, substituted money allowances for payments in kind, such money allowances being fixed in accordance with the workers' family responsibilities. This practice was adopted by individual establishments merely as a temporary measure, and no collective action was taken in the matter by the organizations with which these employers were affiliated.

In general, these supplemental payments were made to the head of the family for every child under 15 years of age. In many cases, however, the allowances were paid to wives who remained in their homes, and even to widows who supported their families.

As a result of a survey in the spring of 1920 the following estimate was made of the proportion the cost-of-living bonuses and family allowances constituted of the total weekly remuneration of men and women in the four industries in which these grants were made, namely, the metal, textile, paper, and lumber industries:

TABLE 27.—PER CENT COST-OF-LIVING BONUSES AND FAMILY ALLOWANCES CONSTITUTED OF THE AVERAGE WEEKLY REMUNERATION IN SPECIFIC INDUSTRIES, SPRING OF 1920

Item	Metal industry		Textile industry		Paper industry		Lumber industry	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Wages.....	95.82	94.79	69.66	61.97	93.00	94.84	96.83	97.55
Allowances in kind.....			1.01	.49	4.11	4.86	1.98	1.40
Additional payments.....	4.18	5.21	29.33	37.54	1.99	.30	1.19	1.05

The above-listed additional payments in the metal, paper, and lumber industries were chiefly, if not altogether, made as family allowances. In the textile industry the "additional payment" took the form of a cost-of-living bonus, as in such industry the workers are principally young women. The above statistics were secured, however, at a time when the system of family allowances was on the wane in private industry in Finland and wages were being adjusted to current prices.

In private nonindustrial undertakings the family-allowance system was never largely adopted and where it was instituted it has been discontinued.

VIEWPOINTS

The Ministry of Social Affairs of Finland reports that the present methods of relief and welfare work in private industry in Finland,

which are being substantially extended in scope,³⁸ are more satisfactory for providing for the workers' family responsibilities than family allowances and have led to the abolition of these money grants. "It is impossible to base wages on family conditions," yet such conditions must be regarded in order to stabilize employment.

Public-service employees for the most part have not been in favor of permanently establishing family allowances but consider such grants as temporary means for meeting unusual economic exigencies.³⁹

The president of the Employers' Central Association of Finland states that in his opinion and that of other employers family allowances can "be introduced only under exceptional circumstances."

The workers have felt that family allowances would create discord in their ranks.³⁹

NORWAY

PUBLIC SERVICE

State.—At the present time in Norway no account is being taken of family responsibilities in the salary regulations of its State civil-service employees. From 1918 to 1922, however, to relieve in some degree the economic pressure resulting from war-inflated prices, temporary cost-of-living bonuses were granted. Certain portions of these bonuses were called family allowances, which were fixed at 300 kroner⁴⁰ for the first dependent, 200 kroner for the second dependent, and 120 kroner for each additional dependent.⁴¹

A proposal by the Norwegian Government that after July, 1923, the cost-of-living bonuses should be granted only to those who had not had their wages adjusted since 1919 aroused much opposition, resulting in a conference between the Minister of State and representatives of the Government employees' high-cost-of-living committee. The outcome was an appropriation in July, 1923, of 10,000,000 kroner for family allowances for all Government employees.⁴² These grants were, however, abandoned at the end of 1923.⁴¹

Municipalities.—During the years when prices were exceptionally high municipalities increased the wages of their employees largely by means of bonuses, consisting of a fixed amount and an allowance varying with the size of the family. The family allowances paid by some municipalities were at first the same as those paid by the State.⁴³

While in 1922 the cost-of-living bonuses were no longer being granted to commune workers by the majority of municipalities, some of the cities retained for the fiscal year 1922-23 certain family

³⁸ See also Finland, Sosialministeriö, Työväenhuolto Suomen Suurtollisuudessa, Sosialinen aikakauskirja, 1923 [Helsingfors, 1923?].

³⁹ International Labor Office. Family allowances. Geneva, 1924, p. 143. Studies and reports, series D (wages and hours), No. 13.

⁴⁰ Krone at par=26.8 cents; exchange rate varies.

⁴¹ Data furnished by the Norwegian Government through its Minister to the United States, Oct. 25, 1924.

⁴² Arbeidernes Faglige Landsorganisation i Norge. Meddelelsesblad, Christiania, June-July, 1923, pp. 218, 219.

⁴³ International Labor Office. Family allowances. Geneva, 1924, p. 137. Studies and reports, series D (wages and hours), No. 13.

allowances.⁴⁴ For example, in Sarpsborg, family allowances of from 20 to 35 øre⁴⁵ per hour were paid to permanent road workers. In Königsberg, commune workers were granted 300 kroner per year for a wife, 200 kroner for the first child, and 120 kroner for each succeeding child. In Fredriksstad a worker received 4 øre per hour per child, beginning with the third.

PRIVATE INDUSTRY

From 1916 to 1922 collective agreements in several private industries—chiefly export industries—provided for allowances for the wives and children of the workers. This practice, however, has now been abandoned.⁴⁶

The president of the Norwegian Federation of Employers has no knowledge of any payment of family allowances by any members of that association.

VIEWPOINTS⁴⁷

Private industrial employers are reported as not being in favor of family allowances and the majority of their workers are opposed to these grants. The majority of the trade-union leaders object to the family-allowance principle in private industry, as their experience has shown that these grants do not help to forward trade-union efforts to raise the standard of wages and living for all the workers.

In the State and municipal services, however, the workers and their trade-unions desire to have the family-allowance system re-established and have passed numerous resolutions on the matter. Their efforts have as yet been unavailing, except in a few of the larger cities.

SWEDEN

PUBLIC SERVICE

State.—Family allowances were instituted in the Swedish State service as a result of the high prices created by the recent war.⁴⁸ In 1916 a war-time allowance was granted to certain State employees who had families to support, and later cost-of-living bonuses, which were higher for married employees, were also paid. These family allowances and higher cost-of-living bonuses to married employees were adopted largely for financial reasons. As bonuses corresponding to the depreciation of the currency could not be given to all employees preference was given to those who suffered most from the high cost of living. The allowances were continued after the war,⁴⁹ but as prices have fallen the allowances have been greatly reduced.

⁴⁴ Norway. Statistiske Centralbyrå. Lønninger, 1922. Christiania, 1923, pp. 5*, 18.

⁴⁵ Øre at par = 0.268 cent; exchange rate varies.

⁴⁶ Data furnished by the secretariat of the National Federation of Trade-Unions of Norway, Aug. 5, 1924.

⁴⁷ Data furnished by the Ministry of Finance of Sweden, July 8, 1924.

⁴⁸ International Labor Office. Family allowances. Geneva, 1924, pp. 140, 141. Studies and reports, series D (wages and hours), No. 13.

In 1921 a committee appointed by the Swedish Government to make an inquiry into wages and old-age pensions for female employees in the State civil service suggested the same wage system for men and women, with provision for family allowances ranging from 240 to 1,200 kronor⁵⁰ per year, according to the salary grade and the number of dependent children. It was also suggested that the age limit for the children benefiting by allowances should vary with the salary grades of the family providers as follows: Grades 1 to 4, 16 years; grades 5 to 7, 17 years; grades 8 to 11, 18 years; grades 12 to 16, 19 years; grades 17 to 20, 20 years.⁵¹

The women on the committee declared that the plan for women's salaries was not altogether satisfactory, but they were willing to accept it as a temporary measure in view of the State's financial condition and in order not to jeopardize the new law concerning the eligibility of women for civil service.⁵² The proposal of the committee has been strongly opposed.

At present in State departments and establishments where basic wages have recently been adjusted the monthly allowance for each dependent child under 16 years of age is 4 kronor; in offices and institutions where such adjustment has not been effected, the monthly allowance per child is 5 kronor. These monthly allowances are granted to male and female manual and clerical workers and also to employees in the higher grades. In 1923-24 4,060,000 kronor were disbursed as family allowances.⁵³

On unemployment relief work carried on by the State in the period of industrial crisis resulting from the war, higher wages were paid to workers having families to support. For instance, in 1918 the family provider received 5 kronor per day, while the single worker received only 4 kronor. From November 1 of the same year all workers were paid the same wage, 5 kronor a day, but after due investigation of the need, additional grants were made to the heads of families, the maximum amount being 1 krona per day for a wife and 0.25 krona for each child under 15 years of age. Grants could also be made for parents who were not able to work, for brothers and sisters who were dependent on the worker, and even for other relatives in unusually distressing circumstances.⁵⁴

Municipalities.—During the war the personnel of many of the municipal governments of Sweden also received cost-of-living bonuses graded according to family responsibilities. In some cities the bonus was composed of a basic amount and an additional amount for each member of the family beyond a specified minimum number, as is shown in Table 28:

⁵⁰ Krona at par=26.8 cents; exchange rate varies.

⁵¹ Sweden. Finansdepartementet. 1921 Års Lönekomitté. Betänkande angående ordnandet av Kvinnliga Befattningshavares avlönings- och pensions förhållanden M. M. Stockholm, 1923, p. 166. Statens offentliga utredningar 1923: 62.

⁵² International Labor Office. Industrial and Labor Information, Geneva, Jan. 28, 1924, p. 30.

⁵³ Data furnished by the Ministry of Finance of Sweden, July 8, 1924.

⁵⁴ Data furnished by the Ministry of Social Affairs of Sweden, Aug. 22, 1924.

TABLE 28.—COST-OF-LIVING BONUSES PAID MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES IN SPECIFIED CITIES IN SWEDEN, 1916¹

City	Minimum number of members of family	Cost-of-living bonus	
		Basic allowance	Supplement for each member of family beyond minimum
Stockholm:		<i>Kronor</i>	
Administrative personnel.....	1	60 per year.....	24 per year.
Workers.....	1	8 per month.....	2 per month.
Nyköping.....	1	60 per year.....	24 per year.
Kalmar.....	2-3	5 per month.....	2 per month.
Karlskrona.....	2	do.....	Do.
Visby.....	1	One-half monthly wage.....	5 per year.

¹ Sweden. [Socialdepartementet.] Socialstyrelsen. Sociala Meddelanden, Stockholm, No. 12, 1916, p. 1389.

In certain other cities the cost-of-living bonus was proportioned directly to the number of members in the family, but could not exceed a specified sum.⁵⁵

In some cities the amount varied with the income and family responsibilities, the amounts paid in three cities being shown in Table 29:

TABLE 29.—VARIATIONS IN COST-OF-LIVING BONUSES ACCORDING TO INCOME AND FAMILY RESPONSIBILITIES IN 3 SWEDISH CITIES, 1916¹

Income	Sundsvall	Eskilstuna			Vesteras		
	Having at least 2 dependents	Un-married	Married	Each child	Un-married	Married	Each child
	<i>Kronor</i>	<i>Kronor</i>	<i>Kronor</i>	<i>Kronor</i>	<i>Kronor</i>	<i>Kronor</i>	<i>Kronor</i>
1,000 kronor.....	50	50	80	15	50	80	15
1,100 kronor.....	49.50	40	75	15	40	70	15
1,200 kronor.....	48	30	70	14	30	60	15
1,300 kronor.....	45.50	20	65	14	20	50	15
1,400 kronor.....	42	10	60	13			15
1,500 kronor.....	37.50		55	13	10	40	15
1,600 kronor.....	34		50	12			15
1,700 kronor.....	30.50		45	12		30	15
1,800 kronor.....	27		40	11			15
1,900 kronor.....	23.50		35	11		20	15
2,000 kronor.....	20		30	10			15
2,100 kronor.....						10	² 15

¹ Sweden. [Socialdepartementet.] Socialstyrelsen. Sociala Meddelanden, Stockholm, No. 12, 1916, p. 1391.

² Paid on income up to 2,300 kronor.

The Swedish Ministry of Finance states that most of the larger and middle-sized cities have recently adopted a "new and more rational system of payment" than that followed during the period of inflated prices, and in many cases family allowances have been abolished.

PRIVATE INDUSTRY

In Sweden prior to the World War family allowances were paid only in the mining, iron, and textile industries.⁵⁶ From 1915 to 1920

⁵⁵ Sweden. [Socialdepartementet.] Socialstyrelsen. Sociala Meddelanden, Stockholm, No. 12, 1916, p. 1300.

⁵⁶ Data furnished by the president of the Swedish Employers' Association, Oct. 30, 1924.

the family-allowance principle was applied in connection with the so-called "dearth" or cost-of-living bonuses, numerous employers making additional grants to their married workers. There are no complete reports regarding the application of this system,⁵⁷ but Table 30 shows the number of employers in different industries granting various forms of family allowances as reported by the Swedish Social Board in 1916.

TABLE 30.—NUMBER OF EMPLOYERS IN SPECIFIED INDUSTRIES GRANTING COST-OF-LIVING BONUSES, 1915 TO JULY, 1916¹

Industry	Number of employers granting cost-of-living bonuses—				Total
	Regardless of number of dependents	In larger amounts to heads of families	To heads of families only	According to systems not reported	
Metal.....	28	55	26	—	109
Earth and stone.....	2	7	—	—	9
Wood products.....	7	13	9	4	33
Paper and printing.....	10	11	13	2	36
Food.....	53	75	10	4	142
Textiles and clothing.....	14	12	5	3	34
Leather, hair, and rubber.....	5	9	2	—	16
Chemical-technical.....	1	13	9	—	23
Building trades.....	4	2	—	2	8
Light, cleaning, etc.....	—	2	—	—	2
Trade and storage.....	56	8	1	6	71
Land and sea transportation.....	4	37	3	—	44
Banking and insurance.....	15	5	2	2	24
Miscellaneous.....	2	2	—	—	5
Public works.....	9	6	11	—	26
Total.....	210	262	92	23	587

¹ Sweden. [Socialdepartementet.] Socialstyrelsen. Sociala Meddelanden, Stockholm, No. 7, 1916, p. 733.

During the peak period of the high cost of living the majority of collective agreements provided cost-of-living bonuses in addition to the basic wage. In a number of these agreements a portion of the cost-of-living bonus was designated as a family allowance. Out of 1,250 agreements in force in 1921, affecting 219,984 workers, which provided cost-of-living bonuses, 443 agreements, affecting 109,009 workers, granted family allowances.⁵⁸

From 1921 on, the cost-of-living bonuses, together with family allowances, were successively discontinued and at present they have nearly disappeared in private industry. Of the collective agreements in effect August, 1924, only one of the more important—that in the textile industry—provides for family allowances. This agreement covers 25,000 workers and grants, in addition to the regular hourly wages, to each worker with children under 14 years of age, or with an infirm mother or father the following amounts per month: 5 kronor for 1 dependent; 8 kronor for 2 dependents; 11 kronor for 3 dependents; 14 kronor for 4 dependents; 17 kronor for 5 dependents; 20 kronor for 6 or more dependents.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Data furnished by the Ministry of Social Affairs of Sweden, Aug. 22, 1924.

⁵⁸ Sweden. [Socialdepartementet.] Socialstyrelsen. Kollektivavtal i Sverige vid Årsskiftet 1920-1921, Part 1. Stockholm, 1922, p. 33.

AGRICULTURE

The annual wages in 1923-24 in Sweden of male farm servants on the smaller or medium sized farms who were boarded by their employers were equivalent to 1,155 kronor, 566 being in cash and the remainder in kind. On the large estates a worker who had his own household received in 1923 an average of 615 kronor in cash and a "stat" estimated at 660 kronor.⁶⁰ He was also provided with a dwelling, an allowance of fuel, and a share in his employer's potato harvest.⁶¹

VIEWPOINTS

The president of the Swedish Employers' Association states that the family-allowance system in Swedish industry was a phenomenon of the recent period of inflation and there is no likelihood of its being reestablished under normal economic conditions. The association has taken no particular interest in such system, being of the opinion that under normal conditions the pay for married and unmarried workers doing similar work ought to be the same.

A civil-service employee of high rank, who was a member of the Government committee of 1921 to investigate the wages of woman State civil-service employees, objected to the proposal of the committee to pay the same family allowances to women as to men, and proposed that such grants should be made to married women only in case their husbands were wholly or partially incapacitated for work and practically unable to assist in the support of their families. The representative of the lower salary grades on the committee declared that the employees themselves are not in favor of the family-allowance principle.⁶²

The president of the Federation of Swedish Trade-Unions reports that the trade-union movement of his country is antagonistic to the family-allowance system and he and his fellow unionists hope to see it wholly abolished, "as here it is considered natural that wages shall be compensation for work performed" and not a contribution toward the maintenance of a family or a prize "bonus" for numerous children. The trade-unions "have by common consent in their daily activities opposed the so-called social-wage principles." The Swedish textile workers, whose collective agreement provides for family allowances, is not affiliated with the Swedish Federation of Labor.⁶³

It is of interest to note, however, that the Swedish ironworkers vigorously opposed an attempt of the employers on January 15, 1923, to eliminate family allowances. The discontinuance of these grants would have meant an average reduction of approximately 10 per cent for the industry as a whole. A prolonged controversy resulted, terminating June 30, 1923, in favor of the workers.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ In Central Sweden the "stat" is regulated by collective contract and consists of 1,280 liters of milk, 600 kilos of rye, 300 kilos of wheat, 300 kilos of mixed corn and oats, 100 kilos of barley, and 50 kilos of peas per annum. [Liter=1.0567 quarts; kilo=2.2046 pounds.]

⁶¹ International Labor Office. Industrial and Labor Information, Geneva, Mar. 10, 1925, p. 55.

⁶² Idem, Jan. 28, 1924, p. 30.

⁶³ Data furnished by the Swedish Employers' Association, Oct. 24, 1924.

⁶⁴ International Labor Office. International Labor Review, Geneva, January, 1924, p. 114.

SPAIN

PUBLIC SERVICE ⁶⁵

Family allowances are not granted in the State civil service of Spain and so far as the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury of that country is informed the Spanish municipalities have not instituted such practice. It has been many years, however, since a general report on municipal budgets has been made.

PRIVATE INDUSTRY

The following proposals were approved at the third congress of the Spanish Association of Employers, which met in Vigo, June 22-26, 1921: ⁶⁶

(1) That there be established in Spain a compensation for workers' families in order that those workers with families may not be under a disadvantage as compared to those without dependents.

(2) That in order to inaugurate this system there be established a fund by the employers. From this fund a certain daily amount to be agreed upon shall be paid to the worker for each of his children under the age of 13 who is dependent upon him.

(3) That the employers contribute to this fund a certain percentage of their total turnover, according to the importance of their business, taking into consideration the living conditions in the locality. The number of laborers employed in a given establishment who have dependent children is not to be taken into consideration in assessing the employer for his contribution to the fund for family compensation.

(4) That any funds so set aside for family compensation shall be administered only by the employers creating them, intervention by outside authorities to be limited to that prescribed by law.

Apparently these proposals were never carried out by the Spanish Association of Employers. In fact, only a very small number of companies have ever adopted the family-allowance system.⁶⁷ A few employers in the textile industry of Catalonia grant family allowances in the form of bonuses for regular attendance and attention to work.⁶⁸

Employers in the timber industry in Madrid in January, 1924, decided to pay to their workers an allowance of 25 centimes per day for each of their children, with the idea of promoting harmonious industrial relations.⁶⁹

During the session of the Spanish Institute of Social Reform,⁷⁰ January 8-22, 1924, the draft of a bill on labor contracts was ap-

⁶⁵ Data furnished by the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury of Spain, Apr. 28, 1924.

⁶⁶ Report from the American consul at Vigo, Spain, June 30, 1921.

⁶⁷ Data furnished by the assistant secretary of the national committee of the General Federation of Spanish Workers, May 26, 1924.

⁶⁸ International Labor Office. Family allowances. Geneva, 1924, p. 26. Studies and reports, series D (wages and hours), No. 13.

⁶⁹ International Labor Office. Industrial and Labor Information, Geneva, Feb. 11, 1924, p. 14.

⁷⁰ The institute, which is the supreme authority for the administration of Spanish labor laws, was established in 1903. This body is made up of industrial, labor, and Government representatives, and is now attached to the Ministry of Labor, Commerce, and Industry, which was organized in 1920.—International Labor Office, International Labor Review, Geneva, January, 1923, p. 99.

proved.⁷¹ Among the provisions of this proposed law are the following:⁷²

This law shall apply to industrial and commercial work with the exception of work in which only members of the same family are employed, under the supervision of one of its members. It shall also apply to agriculture, maritime transport, services directly connected with railway traffic, home work, and domestic service. Public employees shall be subject to special legislation. * * *

The remuneration of labor shall be made on the principle of equal pay for equal work irrespective of sex. In order that the wages of married workers may be sufficient to satisfy the needs of their families, there shall be organized benefit funds which shall fix the rates of family allowances and shall determine the method by which the cost shall be apportioned among the employers, proportionately to the number of their workers.

The Government, through the Institute of Social Reform, shall by special order determine the grant to be paid by the State to the benefit fund and the form and conditions under which the said grant shall be applied.

⁷¹ International Labor Office. Industrial and Labor Information, Geneva, Mar. 31, 1924, pp. 15, 16.

⁷² Instituto de Reformas Sociales. Secretaria General. Proyecto de Ley de Contrato de Trabajo. Madrid, Feb. 19, 1924.

SWITZERLAND

PUBLIC SERVICE¹

State.—Children's allowances were first granted in the civil service of the State, including its railways, in January, 1916. Since that time these allowances have been subject to a number of modifications, which are shown in Table 31:

TABLE 31.—CHILDREN'S ALLOWANCES PER ANNUM PAID EMPLOYEES IN THE SWISS FEDERAL SERVICE, 1916 TO 1922¹

Year	Allowance per child ²	Age limit of child	Pre-war salary limiting right to full allowance	Salary up to which allowances are granted
	<i>Francs</i> ³		<i>Francs</i> ³	<i>Francs</i> ³
1916.....	18.75	16	3,999	4,000
1917.....	50.00	16	3,999	6,001
1918.....	150.00	18	4,500	6,401
1919.....	180.00	18	4,500	6,401
1920.....	180.00	18	5,000	6,701
1921.....	180.00	18	5,000	6,701
1922—first 6 months.....	150.00	16	5,000	6,401
1922—from July 1.....	150.00	18	5,000	6,201

¹ Switzerland. Conseil fédéral. Message à l'Assemblée fédérale concernant le paiement d'allocations de renchérissement au personnel fédéral pour le deuxième semestre de 1923. Berne, 1923, pp. 26, 27.

² Children under 18 years of age who work for wages or are beneficiaries of an insurance fund subsidized by the State are not entitled to an allowance if the wage or the benefit, or the two combined, is 50 francs or more.

³ Franc at par=19.3 cents; exchange rate varies.

The amounts paid out in such children's allowances, 1921 to 1923, were as follows: In 1921, 18,714,000 francs; in 1922, 12,315,000 francs; in 1923, 12,600,000 francs. The disbursements for 1921 were higher than for the two subsequent years, as the allowance per child was higher, being 180 francs, as compared with 150 francs in 1922 and 1923.

The proportion of the 67,400 persons in the Swiss civil service having dependents is as follows:

TABLE 32.—PER CENT OF SWISS FEDERAL EMPLOYEES HAVING SPECIFIED NUMBER OF DEPENDENTS, JULY, 1923¹

Marital conditions and number of dependents	General administration	Federal railways	Total
	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Single.....	25.6	15.2	20.1
Married, widowed, or divorced:			
Without children under 18 years.....	28.1	18.3	22.9
With 1 child under 18 years.....	18.1	23.8	21.1
With 2 children under 18 years.....	14.0	19.8	17.1
With 3 children under 18 years.....	7.2	11.3	9.3
With 4 children under 18 years.....	3.7	5.8	4.8
With 5 children under 18 years.....	1.7	3.0	2.4
With 6 children under 18 years.....	.8	1.6	1.2
With 7 children under 18 years.....	.4	.7	.6
With 8 children under 18 years.....	.2	.3	.3
With 9 children under 18 years.....	.1	.1	.1
With 10 children under 18 years.....			
With 11 children under 18 years.....	.1	.1	.1
With 12 children under 18 years.....			
	100.0	100.0	100.0

¹ Switzerland. Conseil fédéral. Message à l'Assemblée fédérale à l'appui d'un projet de loi sur le statut des fonctionnaires fédéraux du 18 juillet, 1924. [Berne, 1924¹], p. 164.

² Unless otherwise specified the data in this section was furnished by the Swiss Federal Department of Finance, Dec. 4, 1924.

It will be noted that only 14.2 per cent of those in the general administration and 22.9 per cent of those in the Federal railroad service had more than 2 children, the percentage of those in the combined services who had more than 2 children being 18.8 per cent.

The average number of children per married employee was 1.6, and the average number per married employee having children was 2.3.

On July 18, 1924, a bill providing for a reduction of children's allowances to 120 francs per dependent child per annum, with a maximum of 600 francs annually for all children,⁷⁴ was tabled by the Swiss Federal Council.

At present manual and nonmanual workers of both sexes in the civil service who are receiving less than 10,000 francs per annum are entitled to an allowance of 150 francs per year for each dependent child, including stepchildren, grandchildren, foster children, and illegitimate children. Adult dependents are not taken into consideration.

The number of State employees covered by this system of children's allowances is 38,345, or 57 per cent of the total civilian personnel.

There is no limitation as to the number of children for whom civil servants may receive allowances. A man or woman with 10 children is entitled to 1,500 francs per annum. In periods of illness or disability from accident children's allowances are usually paid without deductions.

The chief of the Swiss Federal Department of Finance states that his Government will continue to pay children's allowances, hoping to reduce slightly the total amount of basic salaries.

Provinces and municipalities.—Except in a few cantons and towns, children's allowances are not paid at present by provincial and municipal governments in Switzerland. •

PRIVATE INDUSTRY ⁷⁵

From about the middle of 1916 most of the industries in Switzerland were obliged to supplement wages by bonuses as a result of the high prices, and in these bonuses family responsibilities were taken into consideration. The grants were not usually provided for in collective agreements, being arranged for either by the employees themselves or through verbal conferences with the trade-unions.

In the machine and metallurgical industry in 1916 workers under 18 years of age received a bonus of 4 francs per month and those over 18 years, 5 francs, and an allowance of 2.5 francs per month was paid to both men and women for each child under 15 years of age. In the fall of 1918 these grants had been increased to the following amounts per fortnight (12 days) which were about the maximum paid in the industry at any time: Married workers, 22 francs; for each child under 15, 6 francs; single workers over 18, 16 francs; workers under 18, 10 francs. In 1922 such bonuses were eliminated.

⁷⁴ International Labor Office. Industrial and Labor Information, Geneva, Sept. 1, 1924, p. 41.

⁷⁵ Data furnished by the assistant director of the Swiss Labor Office, June 19, 1924.

Among the few industries in which allowances were granted in collective contracts were clockmaking, the locksmith trade, and printing. In 1921 such grants were practically abolished in the clock industry. In June, 1924, there were only two national agreements in effect in Switzerland, namely, those in the brewing and printing industries, and only in the latter was there any stipulation in regard to family allowances.

No family-allowance funds have been created in Switzerland. In 1923 ⁷⁷ it was reported that the Geneva Social Federation of Catholic Employers had some years ago established a family-allowance fund, but according to the International Labor Office ⁷⁸ this organization had not actually created a fund but had formulated rules and regulations for a project of this character modeled on the French plan. Some individual establishments are granting allowances similar in amount to those provided in the regulations for the proposed fund.

The exigencies of world competition are given as the motive for the elimination of children's allowances in Swiss industry, many employers thinking that these grants could not be continued without penalizing young and competent single workers who would be tempted to emigrate just as they completed their trade courses or apprenticeship period.⁷⁹

VIEWPOINTS

EMPLOYERS

The chief of the Swiss Federal Department of Finance is in favor of the payment of family allowances, regarding it as a very good measure both for the Government and its personnel.

The Swiss Federal Council states that the granting of children's allowances to the Federal personnel has established a closer bond between the Government and its employees. As a rule such employees value these grants, which naturally tend "to stimulate the sense of duty and the taste for work and thus to exercise a happy influence on the service in general."⁸⁰

In general, private employers are opposed to keeping up the family-allowance system, some fearing that it will adversely affect production⁸¹ and also that these extra bonuses to men with family responsibilities will lead, as suggested above, to an exodus of youthful and capable single workers to other countries.

The subject of family allowances has repeatedly been brought before the Central Federation of Swiss Employers' Associations, and in the annual report of that body for the year 1922 it is stated that the organs of the federation had during that year "assumed no definite attitude on the social wage."

⁷⁷ Journal de Statistique et Revue économique Suisse No. 3, Berne, 1923, pp. 272-275: "Zur Frage der Familienlöhne."

⁷⁸ International Labor Office. Family allowances. Geneva, 1924, p. 148. Studies and reports, series D (wages and hours), No. 13.

⁷⁹ Switzerland. Conseil fédéral. Message à l'Assemblée fédérale à l'appui d'un projet de loi sur le statut des fonctionnaires fédéraux du 18 juillet, 1924. Berne, 1924, p. 158.

⁸⁰ Idem, p. 159.

⁸¹ Journal de Statistique et Revue économique Suisse, No. 3, Berne, 1923, pp. 272-275: "Zur Frage der Familienlöhne." and data furnished by the Swiss Federation of Trade Unions, April 27, 1924.

At a general meeting of the federation on July 5, 1922, Professor Weyermann made a report on the subject. He said in part:⁸²

One of the means to which private enterprise owes its economic superiority, as compared with State or guild-like socialized production, is its wage system. The State assigns a certain salary to a position in accordance with the social importance of that position. The private employer, on the other hand, pays the man according to his performance.

The influence which the social standing of a public employee exercises upon his salary leads necessarily to a salary adjusted to his requirements and to a consideration of his family conditions. Such a fixing of wages has, however, no place in an economic system, is uneconomic in its effects and can not, therefore, be introduced in a private enterprise operated for economic gain. This, however, does not mean that a private establishment can not carry on welfare activities for its workers and their families and that such welfare work can not bear rich economic fruits.

WORKERS

The chief of the Swiss Federal Department of Finance reports that the majority of the civil-service employees wish to have the family-allowance system discontinued and their basic compensation increased so that unmarried employees will be in a position to establish a family. This statement is quite at variance with that made by the Swiss Federal Council, which is referred to above. As a matter of fact, the organizations of members of the Swiss Federal service are not all in agreement upon the matter of children's allowances. For example, the federal union objects to this form of family assistance, one of the union's arguments being that the "State should interest itself not only in the children of its own employees but in the well-being of youth in general." On the other hand, the Christian federation of the transportation personnel favors, on moral and social grounds, unreduced allowances for children, declaring in a memorandum of 1921 that the demand for such allowances was one which the personnel favored most strongly.⁸³

The industrial workers, especially the most radical, disapprove of family allowances. The general secretary of the Swiss Federation of Trade-Unions, while acknowledging that the so-called social wage is in accordance with socialistic tenets, holds "that it will have no beneficial influence upon industrial relations." He looks upon the institution as "nothing but a cunning tactical move of the employers." Notwithstanding the need in Switzerland of measures for the adjustment of the economic situation important groups of workers subconsciously cling to the axiom of equal pay for equal work. Moreover, the militant attitude of single workers toward the social wage complicates the problem.⁸⁴

The fear of the workers that under the family-allowance system men with heavy domestic responsibilities will be more likely to lose their jobs and less likely to secure new ones is pointed out by the secretary of the Swiss Federation of Trade-Unions. He adds that

⁸² Zentralverband Schweizerischer Arbeitgeber-Organisationen. Bericht des Zentralvorstandes an die Mitglieder über das Jahr, 1922. Zurich, 1923, p. 25.

⁸³ Switzerland. Conseil fédéral. Message à l'Assemblée fédérale à l'appui d'un projet de loi sur le statut des fonctionnaires fédéraux du 18 juillet, 1924. Berne, 1924, pp. 160-162.

⁸⁴ Journal de Statistique et Revue économique Suisse, No. 3, Berne, pp. 272-275: "Zur Frage der Familienlohnne."

the practice during the war of granting more substantial cost-of-living bonuses to workers with large families demonstrated the disadvantages of such a system. While he believes that large families should be given special help, he does not wish such help to come from employers but from the State or commune in the form of tax reductions, cheap housing, free education, and possibly, free school lunches, shoes, and clothing for the children for the low-paid workers.

A congress of Catholic trade-unions held in Zurich, March 26, 1922, showed its interest in the problem of family allowances by calling for an investigation on the subject.⁸⁵

ECONOMISTS AND RELIGIOUS BODIES **

Dr. L. Schnelles, in a report made to the Swiss Society in Freiburg at its annual meeting on June 29, 1923, called special attention to the advocacy of family allowances by national economists of Switzerland who emphasize ethical and religious motives and hold that such motives should be the guiding forces of "sound economic life."

Not only have important Roman Catholic influences been behind the movement for family allowances, but also other Christian social welfare groups and their spiritual leaders are said to be in favor of it. Swiss Protestant interest in the matter dates back to 1917 when a motion on the subject was introduced in the Reformed Church Synod of the Canton of Zurich.

⁸⁵ International Labor Office. *Industrial and Labor Information*, Geneva, May 5, 1922, p. 20.
⁸⁶ *Journal de Statistique et Revue économique Suisse*, No. 3, Berne, 1923, pp. 272-275: "Zur Frage der Familienlöhne."

YUGOSLAVIA

PUBLIC SERVICE

The economic problems of civilian employees of the Serb, Croat, and Slovene Kingdom, numbering almost 200,000 persons in different grades of the service, whose compensation in many cases was hardly adequate to provide bare necessities, caused the Government grave concern for a long period, and became the subject of wide discussion in the press and at various congresses and conferences. It was not until 1923, however, that an act was passed to ameliorate the situation. The act, which did not go into effect until May 1, 1924, provided for State civil servants family allowances of 360 dinars^b per annum per child up to 6 years of age, 600 dinars per child up to 12 years of age, and 960 dinars per child above that age. Housing allowances were also provided under this law.^a

A supplementary decree, effective May 1, 1924, granted a monthly cost-of-living bonus consisting of a personal allowance and a family allowance. The personal allowance ranges from 480 to 1,500 dinars, according to the grade of the employee and the locality of his residence, but the family allowance is granted regardless of grade or residence district, and amounts to 150 dinars for a wife and 150 dinars per child. The latter allowance covers the family allowance granted in the principal act.^a

A 1923 agreement between the Government and the miners in the State mines of Bosnia-Herzegovina provided an allowance to a married man working at least 22 days in the month of 1.50 dinars per day for a wife and for each child under 15. Married workers without children received 70 dinars per month for clothing; those with one child, 75 dinars; those with two children, 80 dinars; and those with three or more children, 85 dinars. The single worker's clothing allowance was only 50 dinars.^c

At least some of the municipalities pay family allowances.⁸⁷

PRIVATE INDUSTRY

A large number of industrial establishments in Yugoslavia pay family allowances, but the practice was adopted merely for temporary relief following the depreciation of the national currency.⁸⁷

^a International Labor Office. Industrial and Labor Information, Geneva, May 19, 1924, pp. 16-19.

^b Dinar at par=19.3 cents; exchange rate varies.

^c International Labor Office. Industrial and Labor Information, Geneva, Jan. 28, 1924, p. 18.

⁸⁷ Data furnished by the president of the Yugoslavia Federation of Employers' Associations, May 24, 1924.

INTERNATIONAL ACTION

The subject of family allowances and mother and child endowment has been taken up recently at a number of important international congresses. Some of the resulting resolutions are given below:

WOMEN'S CONVENTIONS

At the quinquennial congress of the International Council of Women held in Christiania, Norway, September 8-18, 1920, it was urged in a "leading resolution" that the national councils "study the question of motherhood endowment." It was also resolved "That the International Council of Women support the principle of the endowment of mothers in necessitous circumstances. Mothers who have their children with them ought to be secured a fixed minimum income in proportion to the number of their children. The difference between the minimum income and that of their household should be paid out of government or municipal funds, or out of both conjointly. Effective control should secure that this endowment should be expended exclusively for the benefit of mothers and children."⁸⁸

A resolution noting with interest the development of the family-allowance system in various countries was adopted by a committee of the International Women Suffrage Alliance at the meeting of that organization in Rome, May 12-19, 1923, at which delegates representing 40 nations were present. It was also decided to appoint a committee to study such system.⁸⁹

A conference of women socialists, held at Hamburg in the latter part of May, 1923, attended by 93 delegates from 21 foreign countries, demanded the insurance of children and a statutory system of family allowances.⁹⁰

The following resolution was passed by the International Federation of Working Women at its Vienna congress in August, 1923:⁹¹

1. That the family allowances in addition to wages for industrial workers should not be regarded as more than a temporary expedient to meet the economic difficulties developed in capitalist society.
2. That the workers should rather aim, first, at the provision of grants of public money to meet the special emergencies of child birth, unemployment, illness, or death of the family wage earner; and that these grants should be available to all.
3. That every service needed for the health, education, or welfare of mothers and children should be provided by the community and free to all.
4. That commodities, such as milk, food, or school clothes which are needed in similar quantities or qualities for all children, should be provided for all by the community.
5. That an inquiry should be made into the possibility of a scheme of pensions for all children in the period during which they are normally dependent upon their parents.

⁸⁸ International Council of Women. Combined first and second annual reports of the seventh quinquennial period, 1920-1925. [The Hague?], pp. 285, 286.

⁸⁹ International Labor Office. Industrial and Labor Information, Geneva, June 20, 1923, p. 11.

⁹⁰ *Idem*, June 8, 1923, p. 4.

⁹¹ International Federation of Working Women. Working women in many countries. Report of Congress held at Vienna, August, 1923. Amsterdam [1923?], International Federation of Trade-Unions, p. 11.

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF CHRISTIAN TRADE-UNIONS

The International Federation of Christian Trade-Unions adopted at its second congress, Innsbruck, Austria, June 21-23, 1922, an economic world program which stated that wages should be fixed by collective agreements in accordance with the following principles:⁹²

(a) Every adult worker has a right to a minimum wage sufficient for his maintenance in conformity with human dignity and the bringing up of a family. In fixing such wage, account should be taken of the cost of living. Special funds should be established for the payment of family grants to large families.

(b) In addition to this minimum wage the worker's share in production should correspond to the value his work gives to the product. Wages, therefore, should compensate for the worker's application, his special qualities, and the dangers and risks of his trade.

In reporting on the program the secretary general of the International Federation declared that "the worker has an inalienable right to marry. In marrying he fulfills a duty of mankind. The wages he gets for his work must on this account be sufficient for the upkeep of his family."⁹³

The majority of the leaders of the Christian trade-union movement are in favor of allowances for large families only. In general, the payment of such allowances by individual employers is disapproved for fear of discrimination against workers with many children.

The following extracts from a resolution of the second congress of the International Federation of Christian Unions of the Textile Industry, held at Strassburg, September 17 and 18, 1924, embody definite provisions for extending the system of family allowances:⁹⁴

The minimum personal wage of a worker must be sufficient to support an average sized family, and an allowance must be accorded to workers with large families to procure them an honest and decent living.

In order to safeguard the dignity and independence of the workers, it is essential that family allowances be assured through national or regional equalization funds, established so far as possible on a trade basis, administered by an equal number of representatives of employers and of workers, and under the direction of a president appointed by the contracting parties or by the Government.

The national organizations affiliated with the International Federation of Christian Unions of the Textile Industry pledge themselves:

(a) To do their utmost in order that the principle of family allowances be included in collective contracts;

(b) To urge their national federations to approve the resolutions adopted at the present congress;

(c) To urge their Governments to introduce legal family allowances.⁹⁵

⁹² *Compte rendu du Deuxième Congrès de la Confédération Internationale des Syndicats Chrétiens*, Innsbruck, June, 1922, p. 130.

⁹³ Data furnished by the general secretary of the International Federation of Christian Trade-Unions, Mar. 2, 1925.

⁹⁴ *Bulletin de la Confédération Internationale des Syndicats Chrétiens*. Utrecht, October, 1924, pp. 150, 151.

⁹⁵ The attitude of the International Federation of Christian Wood Workers on family allowances is expressed in a resolution published in *Bulletin de la Confédération Internationale des Syndicats Chrétiens*, February, 1925, pp. 22, 23.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A.—INFORMATION SOUGHT IN THIS SURVEY

In collecting the data on which this bulletin is based the following inquiries as to family allowances paid to public employees were submitted to the ministers of finance of the different countries:

1. Are family allowances paid by your State government to civil-service employees, both manual and other workers?
2. If so, when and why was the system inaugurated?
3. How many of these employees are covered by the system, and what percentage is this number of the total number in State civil-service employment?
4. What are the amounts of family allowances paid to a person in State government civil service for each of his dependents; that is, how much is he granted for the first child, second child, subsequent children, and other dependents?
5. What is the total number of dependents of civil-service employees for whom family allowances are granted by the State government?
6. What was the total amount paid out by the State government in family allowances to persons in civil-service employment in 1921, 1922, and 1923?
7. What are the regulations for the payment of allowances, for example, (a) in regard to sex of employees; (b) in regard to the number, age, and relation of dependents; and (c) in case of sickness, accident, etc.?
8. What is the effect of the family-allowance system on the basic wage?
9. What is the attitude of State government employees toward this method of payment?
10. What is your personal opinion of the system?
11. To what extent does the system prevail in provincial and municipal governments in your country?
12. What practice is followed in granting family allowances in the most important municipality in your country?

Similar inquiries as to family allowances paid to workers in non-governmental, industrial, commercial, and agricultural undertakings were made of the ministers of labor or of social affairs of the various countries and in addition the following inquiries:

What are the titles, locations, character, and scope (number of adherent establishments) of the compensation or clearing funds for the payment of family allowances now in operation in your country?

How are these funds organized?

How are they administered?

Upon what basis are the amounts paid into compensation funds by member firms calculated—(a) total personnel; (b) total pay roll; (c) total hours worked; (d) or other basis?

How do the amounts paid out in allowances by firms belonging to compensation funds compare with the total pay rolls of such firms? (Give average percentage.)

Do compensation funds in your country also pay maternity benefits and nursing bounties, and carry on social service? If so, give typical examples.

To what extent, if any, have these compensation or clearing funds been brought together through a central committee or federation?

APPENDIX B.—CONSTITUTION OF THE FAMILY ALLOWANCE FUND OF THE REGION OF PARIS

[Adopted March 1, 1920]

TITLE I.—PURPOSE AND COMPOSITION OF THE ORGANIZATION

ARTICLE I. The association designated "The Compensation Fund of the Region of Paris (Allowances for Family Responsibilities)" (*Caisse de la Région Parisienne (Allocations pour charges de famille)*), established in 1920, has for its purpose the creation of a fund for the payment of family allowances for the benefit of the workers and employees of the region of Paris and the guaranty of the division of the responsibility for this service among the members in proportion to the wages and salaries paid in the region of Paris by the members of the organization.

By the region of Paris is understood Paris, its suburbs, and the neighboring Departments, to a maximum of 60 kilometers from the fortifications of that city. Those employers carrying on construction and public works under the law of December 19, 1922, and the decree of July 13, 1923, whose headquarters are in the region of Paris may continue as members of the regional fund of Paris for such of their work shops and lumber and stone yards as are located in that region.¹

The life of the organization, which has been fixed at 30 years, can be prolonged by the general meeting of its members.

The fiscal year begins January 1 and terminates December 31 of each year. The first fiscal period will begin the day of the organization of the association and terminate December 31, 1920.

The association has its headquarters in Paris. These headquarters are provisionally located at 59 Hoche Avenue. They may be transferred to any other place by the decision of the administrative committee of the association.

ART. 2. The association is empowered to act jointly with individual industrial and commercial establishments or groups of such establishments, to issue publications and memoranda, and to organize conferences and meetings as shall seem to it advisable.

ART. 3. The association is composed of members, paying a fixed annual assessment of 5 francs, whose factories, workshops, stores, or lumber and stone yards are located in the region of Paris.

This assessment shall be paid quarterly and shall be included in the settlement of account of the variable assessment provided for under article 16.

Trade associations, federations, or groups may be members of the association.

Applications for membership must be approved by the administrative committee of the association. In case of rejection of an application the committee is not obliged to make known its reasons.

Honorary membership can be conferred by the administrative committee on any person, trade association, federation, or group desiring by means of donations or subscriptions to assist families, or capable of rendering or which has rendered services to the association. This membership confers on its holders the right to take part in the general meeting without the payment of the annual assessment.

ART. 4. Membership may be lost (1) by resignation of (2) by cancellation of the membership by the administrative committee for nonpayment of dues, for nonobservance of the constitution or the regulations of the association, or for grave reasons (the member in question having been previously called to give explanations) and subject to appeal to the general meeting.

TITLE II.—ADMINISTRATION AND OPERATION

ARTICLE 5. The association is directed by the general meeting of its members and operates through an administrative committee in accordance with the regulations adopted by the constitutional assembly.

These regulations, subject to modifications by the general meeting, define the conditions under which the members pledge themselves to pay to their personnel allowances for family responsibilities, as well as the conditions of payment of such allowances, and the distribution among the members of the corresponding expenses.

¹ Voted by the General Assembly Sept. 26, 1923.

ART. 6. The administrative committee is composed of from 12 to 20 members, elected for three years by the general meeting from among the regular or honorary members of the association.

Trade associations, federations, or groups may serve on the administrative committee, being represented by a delegate of their choice who need not necessarily be a member of the association.

One-third of the committee is elected each year by the general meeting, the retiring members being eligible for reelection.

In case of a vacancy on the administrative committee the committee may fill it subject to confirmation by the next general meeting. Members thus appointed remain in office only during the unexpired term of their predecessors.

The services of the members of the administrative committee are gratuitous, except that in the case of honorary members it may be otherwise decided by the general meeting.

ART. 7. The committee chooses from among its members an executive board, to serve for one year, composed of a president, three vice presidents, and a treasurer.

In case of the resignation or the decease of a member of this board his successor is chosen at the next meeting of the administrative committee.

The president, or in his absence one of the vice presidents, presides at the meetings of the administrative committee.

ART. 8. The executive board may appoint one or more paid or unpaid secretaries, not members of the association.

ART. 9. The administrative committee meets at the call of its president whenever necessary, but at least once every quarter, in the fourth week of that quarter. An official report is to be made of the meetings.

The committee fixes the compensation of the secretaries, if they are paid.

It approves the settlement of the accounts for the preceding quarter and decides on changes in the variable assessment rates relative to the cost of allowances, conformably to the regulations of the fund.

It decides questions involving the application of principles laid down in the regulations, especially in connection with the investigations provided for in the said regulations.

It regulates the investment of the reserve funds and fixes the amounts of the expenses of administration.

It decides on inquiries or studies, paid or unpaid, to be made by experts with a view to the progress of the association, and decides, if necessary, on proposals for changes in the constitution and regulations to be submitted to the general meeting.

It has the widest powers in the management both of the funds and the material and moral interests of the association, in view of the realization of its purpose.

ART. 10. The decisions of the administrative committee are not valid unless at least eight of its members are present. A majority vote is necessary for a decision, and in case the votes are equally divided the president of the meeting has the deciding voice.

ART. 11. The executive board directs the operations and carries out the decisions made by the administrative committee.

ART. 12. The treasurer is responsible for the handling and investment of all funds, under the direction of the administrative committee.

ART. 13. The duty of the secretary, under the control of the executive board, is to assure current service to the association, especially along the following lines:

He collects quarterly from the members information upon which the calculations of the variable assessment rates and the account of each of the members are based.

He secures the collection and the payment of the sums due from this source. He makes inquiries in regard to the family condition of those who are paid family allowances in accordance with the regulations of the fund, and proposes, when necessary, changes in regard to those receiving family allowances, as provided for in the regulations.

He collects information relative to difficulties and disputes arising in the payment of family allowances and presents such information for investigation by the administrative committee.

He distributes printed matter to the members.

ART. 14. In law and in all civil transactions the association is represented by the president of the executive board, he being delegated by the board for such duty. The representative of the association should be in full possession of his civil rights. He is given full powers to comply with all the formalities prescribed by law.

ART. 15. The general meeting of the association is held at least once a year and may also be called by the administrative committee or by one-fourth or more of its members. The order of business for such meeting is fixed by that committee. The executive board of said committee acts as the executive board of the meeting.

The meeting provides for the election or reelection of the administrative committee. It hears reports on the work of the committee and on the moral and financial situation of the association. The meeting also approves the accounts for the fiscal period then ended, votes the budget for the following fiscal period, determines the percentage to be allocated to the reserve funds as provided for in the regulations of the fund, discusses the question on the agenda, and decides, when necessary, on amendments to the regulations.

Copies of the annual report and the accounts submitted by the administrative committee are transmitted each year by the committee to all the members of the association.

TITLE III.—ANNUAL RESOURCES AND RESERVE FUNDS

ARTICLE 16. The receipts of the association comprise:

1. The fixed dues;
2. The surplus of the variable assessments necessary to cover the expenses of the family allowances in conformity to the regulations of the fund and to constitute the reserve funds fixed by the general meeting;
3. Donations or subscriptions which the association may collect.

Since the association will itself judge in what measure to seek recognition as a public utility, it will take the necessary steps in this connection in order to be able to benefit by gifts and legacies.

ART. 17. The reserve funds are invested by the administrative committee.

TITLE IV.—CHANGE OF CONSTITUTION—DISSOLUTION

ARTICLE 18. The constitution can not be changed except by proposal of the administrative committee or of a tenth of the members composing the general meeting, submitted to the executive board at least a month before the meeting. The meeting should include at least a quarter plus one of the members of the association.

A general meeting called to decide on the dissolution of the association should include at least one-half plus one of the members of the association.

If the above proportion of one-quarter and of one-half plus one, respectively, are not reached, another meeting must be called but not before an interval of at least 15 days, and the decisions of this meeting will be valid irrespective of the number of members present.

In any case the constitution can not be amended or the association dissolved except by a two-thirds vote of the members present.

In case of dissolution the general meeting designates one or several commissioners to be charged with the liquidation of the property of the association. The disposition of the net assets is determined by the general meeting.

APPENDIX C.—REGULATIONS OF THE MUTUAL AGRICULTURAL FAMILY ALLOWANCE FUND OF THE REGION OF SOISSONS

PART I.—DEFINITION OF ALLOWANCES—GENERAL PRINCIPLES

ARTICLE 1. The allowances consist of monthly bonuses paid to heads of families for all legitimate or acknowledged children who are dependent upon such heads of families.

Children under 13 years of age residing in France with their parents for at least six months are considered as such dependents.

ART. 2. The bonuses or allowances for the benefit of the children of workers or salaried employees who have been in the employ of a member of the fund for at least six consecutive months are granted directly by the fund on the application of such member. The allowances are sent to the member by post-office money order or check together with two copies of a detailed statement, one copy to be forwarded to the head of the family interested, or, if there is no head, to the person in charge of the children, and another copy to be receipted and returned to the accounting officer.

ART. 3. The monthly allowances are calculated to the last day of the month and are paid by the fund. They become payable to the worker or employee when he has been employed for at least six months. They cease at the date of the last pay period preceding the worker's separation should this occur in the course of a month, except as provided in articles 9 and 10.

If the separation is due to a legitimate cause outside of the worker's control (in case of "force majeure," sickness, or temporary incapacity for work not exceeding six months) the allowances shall be paid in full.

ART. 4. Bonuses and allowances are paid to workers or employees entitled to them only when the child beneficiaries are actually in their charge.

PART II.—APPLICATION OF ALLOWANCES

ARTICLE 5. The amounts of the monthly allowances to workers with dependent children are fixed at: 15 francs for one child; 35 francs for two children; 65 francs for three children; 100 francs for four children; 140 francs for five children; 185 francs for six children; 235 francs for seven children. Beyond seven children the allowances are increased according to the same progression.

Children are considered as dependents until the month following that in which they attain the age of 13.

ART. 6. The allowances provided in the above article are paid to a working man or woman employed by an establishment affiliated with the fund who has actual charge of children because of the death of the father or mother or the abandonment of such children.

ART. 7. The allowances may be suspended or discontinued by the decision of the committee of management when the conduct or morals of the parents or those who fill their places are not satisfactory.

ART. 8. In case of the death of a child benefiting by an allowance, such allowance will be paid during the month in which the death occurred.

ART. 9. If a father employed by an affiliated member of the fund and receiving allowances dies or is incapacitated for work by accident or illness, the monthly allowances are paid to the mother of the family, if the latter survives him, on condition that she be employed by a member of the fund, except as provided in the following article.

If the father was a widower at the time of his decease, or if a mother employed by a member is a widow or her husband is unable to work and she dies or is totally incapacitated for work by accident or sickness, the monthly allowance is paid to the person who assumes charge of the children, on condition that such person remains in the locality for five years or longer, according to the decision of the committee of management.

ART. 10. If the death or disability of the father or mother occurs under circumstances to which workmen's compensation legislation is applicable, the allowances will continue to be paid without taking into account the compensation received under such legislation, in order to provide for the children until they have reached the age limit.

If the death or disability is due to an occurrence for which a third party is financially responsible, the allowances are reduced by the amount of the judgment against such third party, if such judgment provides for a special annuity for the maintenance of the children.

ART. 11. The family condition of workers and salaried employees of each establishment is established by data furnished quarterly by the members of the fund.

ART. 12. All investigations for the purpose of verifying the family condition of those receiving allowances and the use made of such allowances should

be made by the committee of management. It may take any practical measure to assure the judicious use of such allowances.

ART. 13. The workers and salaried employees receiving allowances should prove their family condition by submitting their family records (*livret de famille*), including abstracts of papers concerning civil status, and identification certificate, birth notices, medical certificates, etc.

ART. 14. In case grandparents, brothers, or sisters claim family allowances under the provisions of article 6, they should make a written request, explaining the circumstances. Their request shall be investigated by the association, with the aid of the establishment employing them, for the purpose of determining whether the circumstances are those mentioned in article 6.

ART. 15. The circumstances provided for by articles 9 and 10 relating to inability of the head of the family to work should be proved by a medical certificate.

ART. 16. The amounts due for allowances, with the necessary documents, are sent by the fund to the head of the establishment, who makes the payments to the beneficiaries. The head of the establishment may always request that the allowance be sent at the close of the quarter directly to the father or mother of the family or, if there are no parents, to the person who assumes charge of the children.

ART. 17. In case both father and mother work for members of the fund, the monthly allowances, which can not be doubled, are sent either to the father or to the mother, according to the decision of the committee of management.

The acceptance of two similar bonuses, even when they are paid by separate funds, is prohibited.

The payment of allowances may be suspended or stopped by the committee of management if it is proved that a family is receiving allowances through both parents or if allowances have been secured through false declarations or failure to report deaths occurring among the children of the grantee.

ART. 18. Allowances are not a part of the wage, nor can they be attached or withheld for the worker's debts.

ART. 19. The decisions of the committee of management are binding and final in all questions arising in connection with the operation of the fund.

PART III.—REGULATIONS FOR ACCOUNTS

ARTICLE 20. Each member must forward a statement to the fund during the first fortnight of each quarter showing—

1. The total extent of his farming, making a distinction between meadows and other lands.

2. A list of all his workers and salaried employees and of their families without exception, such list giving the names of all families with dependent children.

3. The amount of wages paid in the course of the preceding year.

4. A sum on account, fixed by the committee of management, which is proportioned to his assessment and amounts to a percentage of the wages paid during the year preceding the current fiscal period.

The members agree to assist the representatives of the fund in the verification of the information furnished.

ART. 21. The information submitted by a member serves as the basis for determining the amount of his assessment; if the assessment is too small to meet the expenses of the fund during a given quarter, each member is liable for his share of the deficit even if he should leave the organization.

ART. 22. The employers' contributions are apportioned on the basis of the salaries paid by each member in the current fiscal year and of the sums paid out by the fund in allowances, plus administrative expenses and a percentage to be fixed by the general assembly for the purpose of establishing, together with other resources of the society, provisional and reserve funds. These reserve funds may be used to prevent excessive variations in assessment rates from one fiscal period to another.

ART. 23. A member who has tendered his resignation must pay his assessment up to the end of the current quarter.

APPENDIX D.—STATEMENT OF LYON REGIONAL FAMILY ALLOWANCE FUND ON PURPOSE AND ORGANIZATION

PURPOSE

The family-allowance fund is an association having for its object:

To assure financial and material advantages to wage earners with family responsibilities who are employed in the establishments of the members of the fund.

To divide the burden of these benefits among the establishments supporting the fund, so that those establishments shall pay a contribution based on their importance regardless of the actual family responsibilities of their respective personnel.

In this connection two questions arise: Why is it necessary to give allowances? and Why is it necessary to do so through the medium of a fund?

I. Why is it necessary to give allowances?

Among the many reasons which make allowances necessary, the two principal ones are:

1. The difference in the responsibilities of single persons and of heads of families. It is not necessary to show that a father of a family necessarily has larger expenses than an unmarried person. Everyone knows that this inequality is of such a character as to injure the development of family life. It is, then, unjust and antisocial that the resources of workers with family responsibilities should be the same as those of the unmarried.

Wages being a return for work, it is proper to pay the supplementary amount necessitated by family responsibilities entirely apart from such wages. It is a duty which imposes itself without waiting for the compulsion of law. The employer, being the leader in economic life, has the honor and the responsibility of himself taking the measures indispensable to social life.

2. The general birth-rate situation in France. The French birth-rate situation is well known. In the course of the last century the German population increased from 24,000,000 to 64,000,000, while the French population increased only from 27,000,000 to 29,000,000. The situation immediately after the war had not improved, but rather the contrary. * * *

It is estimated that among the manual workers in Lyon 72 per cent are single or married without dependents under 14 years of age, and among the remaining 28 per cent which have families 52 per cent have but one child.

The consequences of this situation are perilous to the country itself and to the prosperity of its business. One can not produce without laborers, one can not sell without buyers. There can be neither industry nor commerce without population, and this is so true that in the second half of the nineteenth century our general commerce had but doubled, while in Germany commerce had almost quadrupled.

II. Why is it necessary to pay allowances through the medium of a fund?

At first glance it seems that it would be sufficient for each employer himself to distribute allowances to his wage earners. This has been tried, but the results are far from being as satisfactory as those obtained by membership in a compensation fund.

A compensation fund alone can—

1. Destroy all objection on the part of workers' organizations. The isolated employer can promise allowances but to avoid paying them he can hire single persons or married persons without dependents. When he joins a fund, however, his contribution is identically the same regardless of the family responsibilities of his personnel.

2. Prevent variations of costs in the same industry. Great differences are found in the number of heads of families in different establishments, such differences arising from the location of the plants, the length of time established, and various other factors. With a system of direct and individual payment some establishments would be at an advantage and others handicapped, while under the fund system each establishment pays a contribution according to its importance. Payments for family responsibilities, being thus equalized, are placed beyond the conflict of production costs.

3. Establish uniform rules and prevent bidding of employer against employer in recruiting manual labor. It is evident that there is advantage in having uniform scales of rates and methods of administration and operation among the employers of the same city and of the same trade.

4. Prevent frauds and duplications. An organization is necessary in order to make sure that the beneficiaries are actually living and that both husband and wife are not paid for the same children.

5. Create additional services. Medical and technical services can be provided by a fund because of the importance of the salaried personnel covered by it. Each factory acting separately would find such expenses very heavy, but divided among a number of participating establishments these expenses are reduced to a minimum. * * *

6. Establish organizations solid enough and powerful enough to prevent dangerous legislative intervention. The isolated establishment has no influence with public authorities, but funds, on the contrary, having constitutions and regulations, present an organization which must be reckoned with. The central committee of these funds represents them in an effective manner before the public authorities. It is certain that without compensation funds allowances would now be compulsory, with rules fixed by laws and decrees. The proposals submitted to Parliament for this purpose show that the obligations, the expense imposed on employers, would be much heavier and that there would be new public officials, new annoyances, new investigations.

In view of the advantages, one seeks vainly for an objection to the organization of a fund. It is certain that to-day one can not remain isolated and that collective restraints are necessary.

Moreover, the proof is based on statistics. * * * At present [early in 1924] there are more than 150 funds in France and each of these funds is growing and prospering.

What contribution is required of employers belonging to the funds? This contribution varies among the different groups, from 1.90 to 2.40 per cent of the wages paid—the lowest possible proportion in view of the results obtained.

The costs of management of the fund are insignificant compared to the sums disbursed (less than 2.5 per cent of the total). The smallness of these charges is due to the fact that the necessary expenses are divided among a large number of members, thereby reducing expenses to a minimum, and that the fund is administered gratuitously by employers who are members.

PRESENT ORGANIZATION

ADMINISTRATION

The fund is divided into groups for the purpose of assessing employers according to their personnel.

Each group has its own regulations and administrative procedure, which are the most convenient according to its professional or trade customs.

Each group has a certain number of representatives on the council of administration. * * *

The present groups are as follows: Various industries, Lyon; metallurgical and allied industries; various industries outside of Lyon; silk manufacturers; construction and public works; factories of Neuville-sur-Saône; iron and metal industries.

The services of a technical character (birth bonuses and infant hygiene) are administered by a joint committee formed from the various groups distributing allowances or benefits. It has thus been possible to reduce the general expenses to a minimum and to obtain the most valuable cooperation. An advisory medical council has been created which has given advice as to methods of operation.

ADVANTAGES ASSURED

Membership in the family-allowance fund assures to the personnel of the establishment the following advantages:

1. Family allowances on the following scale: 40 francs per month for 2 children under 13 years of age, 75 francs per month for 3 children under 13 years of age, 120 francs per month for 4 children under 13 years of age, 175 francs per month for 5 children under 13 years of age, 240 francs per month for 6 children under 13 years of age, 315 francs per month for 7 children under 13 years of age, and 400 francs per month for 8 children under 13 years of age.

Each group regulation indicates in a precise manner the persons to be paid and the beneficiaries.

At present this scale of rates is in use in the following groups: Iron and metals; various industries, Lyon; and silks.

The group of silk manufacturers pays in addition an allowance of 15 francs to families with one child.

The rates of the construction and public works groups are as follows: 20 francs per month for 1 child under 13 years of age, 45 francs per month for 2 children under 13 years of age, 75 francs per month for 3 children under 13 years of age, and 30 francs per month for each additional child under 13 years of age.

The group of industries outside of Lyon and the group of factories of Neuville-sur-Saône² pay allowances according to the following scale: 15 francs per month for 1 dependent, 40 francs per month for 2 dependents, 70 francs per month for 3 dependents, 100 francs per month for 4 dependents, 130 francs per month for 5 dependents, and 30 francs per month for each additional dependent beyond 5.

* * * * *

OPERATION

Printed matter containing a résumé of the advantages afforded by the fund is sent to employees entitled to allowances by the employer. * * *

Such an employee makes application to the office or factory on a regular form, to which are attached documentary proofs, such as the civil marriage certificate, birth certificate, etc. The employer verifies the statements as far as he is able, fills out a form, which is signed by himself and the applicant, and forwards it to the fund. The documentary proofs are returned to the employee.

In case of changes in responsibilities (births or deaths) a special certificate is filled out. If a person receiving an allowance leaves an establishment notice is given to the fund.

Certain groups have adopted a regulation by which all changes in the personnel, whether or not receiving allowances, are reported to the fund. This practice has numerous advantages, notably in connection with those who may in future be entitled to birth bonuses, and its adoption is becoming general in the different groups.

Each month the employer reports on a special printed form the total number, by sections (men, women, workers, employees, etc., according to groups), of his present personnel, whether or not receiving allowances.³

FINANCIAL OPERATION

From the verified applications received the office of the fund knows by group and by section what the disbursement for allowances, bonuses, and general expenses should be, while from the monthly reports it ascertains the number of wage earners in each group and each section at that time. The total number of wage earners in each section is divided by the total sums to be paid and each employer is assessed an amount equal to this quotient multiplied by the number of his employees in the group or section considered.⁴

² This fund also pays birth and nursing bonuses and maintains a child-hygiene service.
³ In the construction group this declaration is replaced by one giving the wages paid, the basis of compensation being wages and not the present personnel.

⁴ For example, an employer of the group of metallurgical industries reports that he employs 250 men and 10 women. The total personnel reported for his group is 22,500 men and 4,300 women. The total of the sums required to distribute allowances to the group is 170,000 francs for the men and 15,000 francs for the women. The quotients will, therefore, be 7.55 francs for the men and 3.48 francs for the women. The employer in question owes, therefore, for the month considered— $7.55 \times 250 = 1,887.50$ francs for the men; $3.48 \times 10 = 34.80$ francs for the women.

In the construction group the method is the same but the quotient is based on the total wages paid instead of on the total personnel. The contribution of a member in this case is a percentage of his pay roll.

This sum is sent by check to the fund, the persons receiving allowances being paid either in cash at the factory by the disbursing clerk of the fund or by postal money order.⁵

The expenses for birth bonuses and child-hygiene services are met by the joint committee, which is reimbursed by the fund.

The whole system, which has been improved several times, aims to impose upon the member the least possible formality and red tape. He is responsible only for the verification of the individual declarations, the sending in of the monthly detailed report, and the contribution check. Everything else is done by the fund.

⁵ For the factories outside of Lyon another system is used. The employer himself pays the allowances and remits to or receives from the fund only the difference between his payments to the employees receiving allowances and the result of the fund's computations. This system, full of inconveniences, is maintained only because of the difficulties in applying the general system of Lyon.

APPENDIX E.—BIRTH AND DEATH RATES IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES, 1912 TO 1923

BIRTHS AND DEATHS¹ PER ANNUM IN SPECIFIED COUNTRIES, 1912 TO 1923²

NUMBER (IN THOUSANDS)

Country	1912		1913		1914		1915		1916		1917		1918		1919		1920		1921		1922		1923	
	Births	Deaths	Births	Deaths	Births	Deaths	Births	Deaths	Births	Deaths	Births	Deaths	Births	Deaths	Births	Deaths	Births	Deaths	Births	Deaths	Births	Deaths	Births	Deaths
Australia.....	133	52	136	52	138	52	135	53	131	54	130	48	126	50	122	66	136	56	136	54	137	51	135	56
Austria ³	904	592	864	590	152	117	119	133	94	126	88	136	88	154	112	125	138	117	142	107	142	107	146	100
Belgium ⁴	171	112	171	111	156	109	124	101	99	101	87	125	85	157	123	114	164	103	163	103	153	104	155	100
Bulgaria ⁵	184	92	108	120	193	88	174	86	99	95	79	98	99	142	157	95	192	103						
Denmark proper ⁶	75	36	72	35	73	36	70	37	72	39	70	39	73	39	69	40	78	40	79	36	74	39	75	38
England and Wales.....	873	487	882	505	879	517	815	562	786	508	668	499	663	612	692	504	958	466	849	459	780	487	758	444
Finland.....	92	52	87	52	88	51	83	52	80	55	81	59	79	95	64	63	85	53	82	47	80	49	82	48
France ⁷	751	693	746	704	594	648	388	655	315	608	343	613	399	789	404	621	834	675	813	696	760	689	762	667
Germany ⁸	1,870	1,030	1,839	1,005	1,819	1,053	1,383	1,020	1,029	961	912	1,055	927	1,227	1,261	964	1,599	933	1,560	860	1,400	882	1,291	858
Hungary ⁹	766	492	736	501	747	506	512	553	314	392	297	385				246	168	223	154	237	167	230	156	
Ireland.....	101	72	100	75	99	71	96	76	91	71	86	73	87	79	89	79	100	67	91	64	88	65	92	61
Italy ¹⁰	1,134	636	1,122	664	1,114	643	1,109	741	882	722	714	703	649	1,168	771	694	1,123	663	1,086	625	1,125	661	1,101	623
Japan.....	1,738	1,037	1,757	1,027	1,808	1,102	1,800	1,094	1,805	1,188	1,812	1,200	1,792	1,493	1,779	1,232	2,026	1,422	1,991	1,289	1,969	1,287		
Netherlands.....	170	75	174	76	177	78	167	80	173	84	173	87	167	115	164	90	193	82	190	77	182	80	186	71
Norway.....	61	32	61	32	62	33	59	33	66	34	65	34	64	43	59	36	69	34	64	31	65	32	63	31
Portugal.....	208	120	200	125	194	118	196	123	193	129	190	134	181	253	168	154	206	144	199	126				
Rumania ¹¹	314	166	310	192	327	183	320	194					103	297	286	262	539	417	620	372	614	376		
Scotland.....	123	72	121	73	124	74	114	82	110	71	97	69	99	78	106	75	137	68	123	66	115	73	112	63
Spain.....	638	426	618	449	608	450	615	432	599	442	602	466	613	696	585	482	622	494	649	455	656	441	658	449
Sweden.....	183	79	180	77	129	78	123	83	122	78	120	77	118	104	115	84	139	78	127	73	117	76	113	68
Switzerland.....	92	54	90	55	87	54	76	52	74	51	72	53	73	75	72	55	81	56	81	50	76	50	76	46

¹ Exclusive of stillbirths.

² France, Ministère du Travail, Bureau de la Statistique Générale, Annuaire Statistique, 1924, Paris, 1925, pp. 201, 202.

³ For 1912 and 1913 figures are for pre-war territory; for succeeding years they are for present territory.

⁴ For 1912 and 1919 to 1923 figures are for pre-war territory; for 1913 to 1918 they are exclusive of about 50 communes of Western Flanders.

⁵ Figures are for pre-war territory.

⁶ For 1912 to 1919 figures are for pre-war territory; for succeeding years they are for present territory.

⁷ For 1912 and 1913 figures are for pre-war territory; for 1914 to 1919 they are for 77 uninhabited Departments; for succeeding years they are for present territory.

⁸ For 1912 to 1916 figures are for pre-war territory; for 1917 to 1923 for new territory; 1917 to 1920, exclusive of Mecklenburg, and 1921 to 1923, exclusive of Mecklenburg, Saare, and Wurtemberg.

BIRTHS AND DEATHS PER ANNUM IN SPECIFIED COUNTRIES, 1912 TO 1923—Continued

RATES PER 100 INHABITANTS

Country	1912		1913		1914		1915		1916		1917		1918		1919		1920		1921		1922		1923		
	Births	Deaths	Births	Deaths	Births	Deaths	Births	Deaths	Births	Deaths	Births	Deaths	Births	Deaths	Births	Deaths	Births	Deaths	Births	Deaths	Births	Deaths	Births	Deaths	
Australia.....	2.86	1.12	2.82	1.07	2.79	1.05	2.71	1.06	2.66	1.10	2.63	0.97	2.50	1.00	2.35	1.27	2.55	1.05	2.50	0.99	2.47	0.92	2.38	0.99	
Austria ³	3.14	2.05	2.96	2.03	2.30	1.77	1.82	2.03	1.46	1.95	1.38	2.14	1.40	2.49	1.79	2.03	2.24	1.91	2.29	1.69	2.27	1.72	2.23	1.53	
Belgium ⁴	2.27	1.49	2.16	1.39	2.02	1.42	1.61	1.89	1.28	1.32	1.13	1.64	1.14	2.10	1.62	1.50	2.21	1.39	2.19	1.37	2.04	1.39	2.04	1.30	
Bulgaria ⁵	4.17	2.07	2.60	2.30	4.62	2.11	4.14	2.05	2.11	2.04	1.69	2.08	2.08	2.99	3.28	1.99	3.97	2.12							
Denmark proper ⁶	2.66	1.30	2.56	1.25	2.56	1.25	2.42	1.28	2.43	1.34	2.37	1.32	2.41	1.30	2.26	1.30	2.54	1.29	2.40	1.10	2.23	1.19	2.25	1.13	
England and Wales ⁷	2.39	1.33	2.41	1.38	2.38	1.40	2.19	1.57	2.09	1.44	1.78	1.44	1.77	1.76	1.85	1.37	2.55	1.24	2.24	1.21	2.04	1.23	1.97	1.16	
Finland.....	2.91	1.63	2.71	1.61	2.69	1.56	2.54	1.69	2.40	1.65	2.43	1.76	2.38	2.85	1.92	1.89	2.53	1.59	2.43	1.40	2.34	1.44	2.37	1.38	
France ⁸	1.90	1.75	1.88	1.77	1.79	1.88	1.16	1.85	.95	1.75	1.05	1.79	1.22	2.20	1.26	1.93	2.13	1.72	2.07	1.77	1.94	1.76	1.94	1.70	
Germany ⁸	2.82	1.65	2.75	1.50	2.68	1.55	2.04	1.51	1.53	1.43	1.39	1.61	1.43	1.89	2.00	1.53	2.59	1.51	2.58	1.40	2.28	1.43	2.09	1.39	
Hungary ⁸	3.63	2.33	3.45	2.35	3.47	2.35	2.38	2.57	1.68	2.09	1.60	2.07	1.54	2.59	2.74	1.96	3.12	2.12	2.79	1.93	2.94	2.08	2.84	1.92	
Ireland ¹⁰	2.30	1.65	2.28	1.71	2.26	1.63	2.20	1.76	2.09	1.65	1.97	1.66	1.99	1.80	2.00	1.76	2.22	1.45	2.02	1.42	1.99	1.45	2.06	1.37	
Italy ⁵	3.24	1.82	3.17	1.87	3.11	1.79	3.05	2.04	2.40	1.97	1.95	1.92	1.81	3.30	2.14	1.90	3.19	1.88	3.04	1.75	3.00	1.76	2.91	1.65	
Japan.....	3.34	2.00	3.33	1.95	3.38	2.06	3.30	2.02	3.27	2.15	3.23	2.14	3.22	2.68	3.16	2.28	3.62	2.54	3.51	2.27	3.42	2.23			
Netherlands.....	2.81	1.23	2.81	1.23	2.82	1.24	2.62	1.25	2.65	1.29	2.60	1.31	2.48	1.71	2.42	1.32	2.81	1.19	2.74	1.11	2.59	1.14	2.60	.99	
Norway.....	2.56	1.35	2.54	1.32	2.52	1.35	2.38	1.34	2.61	1.36	2.51	1.32	2.42	1.63	2.19	1.33	2.63	1.24	2.44	1.13	2.42	1.19	2.30	1.15	
Portugal.....	3.46	1.99	3.30	2.06	3.19	1.94	3.19	1.99	3.11	2.08	3.05	2.15	2.88	4.02	2.64	2.42	3.21	2.25	3.10	1.96					
Rumania ⁶	4.34	2.29	4.21	2.61	4.21	2.35	4.05	2.45					1.53	4.57	3.95	3.61	3.37	2.59	3.87	2.30	3.72	2.23			
Scotland.....	2.59	1.53	2.55	1.55	2.61	1.55	2.39	1.71	2.29	1.46	2.03	1.43	2.05	1.60	2.20	1.54	2.81	1.40	2.82	1.36	2.35	1.49	2.28	1.29	
Spain.....	3.16	2.12	3.04	2.21	2.98	2.29	2.98	2.21	2.89	2.13	2.88	2.23	2.94	3.81	2.83	2.33	3.00	2.38	3.04	2.14	3.05	2.05	3.04	2.12	
Sweden.....	2.38	1.42	2.32	1.37	2.29	1.38	2.16	1.47	2.11	1.36	2.08	1.34	2.03	1.79	1.96	1.44	2.35	1.33	2.14	1.24	1.96	1.28	1.88	1.14	
Switzerland.....	2.41	1.41	2.31	1.43	2.25	1.38	1.95	1.33	1.87	1.29	1.82	1.32	1.84	1.90	1.84	1.40	2.09	1.44	2.03	1.27	1.96	1.29	1.94	1.18	

³ For 1912 and 1913 figures are for pre-war territory; for succeeding years they are for present territory.

⁴ For 1912 and 1919 to 1923 figures are for pre-war territory; for 1913 to 1918 they are exclusive of about 50 communes of Western Flanders.

⁵ Figures are for pre-war territory.

⁶ For 1912 to 1919 figures are for pre-war territory; for succeeding years they are for present territory.

⁷ For 1912 and 1913 figures are for pre-war territory; for 1914 to 1916 they are for 77 unthruvaded departments; for succeeding years they are for present territory.

⁸ For 1912 to 1916 figures are for pre-war territory; for 1917 to 1923 for new territory; 1917 to 1920, exclusive of Mecklenburg, and 1921 to 1923, exclusive of Mecklenburg, Saara, and Wurtemberg.

⁹ Inclusion of Wales in 1923, figures not specified.

¹⁰ Figures for 1922 and 1923 are for the Irish Free State.