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U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
W. B. WILSON, SECRETARY
WOMEN'S BUREAU
MARY ANDERSON, Director

BULLETIN OF THE WOMEN'S BUREAU, NO. 11

WOMEN STREET CAR CONDUCTORS
AND TICKET AGENTS



WASHINGTON
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1921

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[PUBLIC—NO. 259—66TH CONGRESS.]

[H. R. 13229.]

An Act To establish in the Department of Labor a bureau to be known as the Women's Bureau.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there shall be established in the Department of Labor a bureau to be known as the Women's Bureau.

SEC. 2. That the said bureau shall be in charge of a director, a woman, to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, who shall receive an annual compensation of \$5,000. It shall be the duty of said bureau to formulate standards and policies which shall promote the welfare of wage-earning women, improve their working conditions, increase their efficiency, and advance their opportunities for profitable employment. The said bureau shall have authority to investigate and report to the said department upon all matters pertaining to the welfare of women in industry. The director of said bureau may from time to time publish the results of these investigations in such a manner and to such extent as the Secretary of Labor may prescribe.

SEC. 3. That there shall be in said bureau an assistant director, to be appointed by the Secretary of Labor, who shall receive an annual compensation of \$3,500 and shall perform such duties as shall be prescribed by the director and approved by the Secretary of Labor.

SEC. 4. That there is hereby authorized to be employed by said bureau a chief clerk and such special agents, assistants, clerks, and other employees at such rates of compensation and in such numbers as Congress may from time to time provide by appropriations.

SEC. 5. That the Secretary of Labor is hereby directed to furnish sufficient quarters, office furniture, and equipment, for the work of this bureau.

SEC. 6. That this act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

Approved, June 5, 1920.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
W. B. WILSON, SECRETARY
WOMEN'S BUREAU
MARY ANDERSON, Director

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1921

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
W. L. WILSON, SECRETARY
WOMEN'S BUREAU
MARY ANDERSON, CHIEF

LISTING OF THE WOMEN'S BUREAU, NO. 11

WOMEN STREET CAR CONDUCTORS
AND TICKET AGENTS



WASHINGTON
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1917

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LETTER OF SUBMITTAL.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
WOMEN'S BUREAU,
Washington, August 16, 1920.

SIR: I have the honor to submit the accompanying report giving the results of a survey of the hours, wages, and conditions of work of women conductors and ticket agents on the street railways in Detroit (Mich.), Kansas City (Mo.), Boston, and Chicago.

The wholesale dismissal of women conductors on the street railways of New York City made it necessary for the department of women in industry of the New York State Industrial Commission to make an investigation in the city of New York. Miss Mary Van Kleeck, at that time director of the Women's Bureau, offered assistance to the New York State Industrial Commission. While the commission, through its department of women in industry, was making an investigation of the facts in New York and Brooklyn, the Women's Bureau undertook the study of the method of employing women in transportation in the above-mentioned cities.

This survey was conducted by Miss Agnes L. Peterson and Mrs. Ethel L. Best. The report was written by Miss Mary N. Winslow. Manuscript copies have been submitted to the transportation companies which come under this investigation.

Respectfully submitted.

MARY ANDERSON, *Director.*

Hon. W. B. WILSON,
Secretary of Labor.

"The time has come when it is neither the right of men nor the duty of men nor justice for men to decide problems of work for women.

"When the service of the worker and of the world shall be opened to the world workers then let us be tested by our ability to render good service, and by our ability to be faithful in that service. If we fail then let us fail, but do not let us fail by the direction of men or by the direction of any group of people.

"And therefore I claim that the time has come now when we women have a right to ask that we shall be free to labor where our labor is needed, that we shall be free to serve in the capacity for which we are fitted. No human being can tell what another human being can do until that human being has had the opportunity to test himself. And so it has been with women."¹

¹ Dr. Anna Howard Shaw in a statement made before the National War Labor Board at the hearing of the case of the women street car conductors of Cleveland, Ohio, December, 1919.

PART I.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION, SUMMARY, AND CONCLUSIONS.

Conspicuous among the occupations which were opened to women at the time of our entry into the war was the work of conductor on street and elevated railways and subways. While women had been employed as ticket agents by various companies for many years, the woman street-car conductor was a complete innovation, and about her employment in this capacity have centered much discussion and several bitter controversies.

When they first appeared early in 1918, women conductors, and to a less extent women ticket agents, were the recipients of much attention from the public and press who were curious and interested to watch the broadening of the field of industrial opportunity for women. While many women in many spheres were taking men's places in hitherto unaccustomed tasks, the conductor, by the nature of her work, was doing it so publicly, and her work was so open to inspection and comparison with that of her predecessor, that her success seemed particularly significant and likely to insure another permanently open field of work for women.

Having once been accepted as a successful participant in transportation work, there were two factors which were to influence the future employment of women in these occupations. First, Were the men employees going to accept women as fellow workers? Second, Was it going to prove possible to provide such legal regulation as might be necessary for the protection of these women workers and at the same time allow for the unusual difficulties with which a transportation company is faced in arranging the working hours of its employees?

CONTROVERSIES REGARDING THE RIGHT OF WOMEN TO WORK AS CONDUCTORS.

The first question was soon answered in one way for the women conductors in Detroit and Cleveland, and in the opposite way in Kansas City. The history of the situation in Detroit and Cleveland, as it affected the employment of women, is extremely significant. The issue was a clear-cut one between the men on the one hand who wished to maintain the work of street car conductors as strictly

men's work, and on the other hand the women who had proved that they could do the work well, and who were not ready to accept their exclusion from an occupation where the pay was good, and the hours and working conditions no more unsatisfactory than in many other occupations considered to come within the sphere of women's activities.

Women were put on as conductors during the latter part of August, 1918, in Cleveland, when the street railway company of that city claimed that it could not secure a sufficient number of men for this work. The men objected to the employment of women and threatened to strike if it continued. But a compromise was finally effected and the matter submitted to Department of Labor investigators, who were to decide whether the women should be retained during the investigation and whether there was a sufficient shortage of men to require the continued employment of women. The decision to retain the women during the investigation was made almost immediately, but after the investigation it was decided that while there was still a scarcity of male labor it was not sufficient to justify the continued employment of women. This decision was rendered by the investigators in spite of their statement that "It is true the company will have to lower its standards somewhat, owing to the extraction of the best men from civil life into the military service of the country." It was recommended that the women be discharged from the service by November 1. The women protested against this and brought the matter before the War Labor Board. They claimed that it was illegal for the company and the men employees to make the original agreement to submit to arbitration the question of whether the women should be kept, as the company had engaged the women to work during good behavior and to be discharged only for incompetency, insubordination, or other unsatisfactory service. The company expressed itself as completely satisfied with the work of the women, who claimed that the contracts between them and the company were still valid, and that they had not been consulted in any of the negotiations or investigations relative to their dismissal. They also claimed that the agreement to arbitrate was a disregard of their right to be employed and to hold employment as long as their work was satisfactory, and was an abridgement of their constitutional right to work.

The men claimed that the question of the employment of women was a matter between the company and the union. The union had an agreement with the company that no women should be employed, therefore the women had been engaged in disregard of this contract and were not parties to the discussion. The War Labor Board withheld decision for some time and the women were retained pend-

ing decision until, on December 2, the union formally demanded that the women be discharged, and threatened to go on strike immediately if this were not done. The strike began on December 3 and the War Labor Board was hurriedly appealed to by the mayor of Cleveland, and immediately handed down a decision that the company should hereafter employ no more women, and that within the next 30 days all women should be replaced by competent men. This decision was not mandatory and the men refused to abide by it. The strike was finally settled by the following agreement between the union and the company:

It is hereby agreed by and between the undersigned that on and after this date there will be no more women employed as conductors; that the Cleveland Railway Co. will remove and displace the women that are now in its service as rapidly as possible.

This agreement was made by the officers of the union and the company without including the women at any stage of the negotiations. Vigorous protests by various women's organizations as well as by the women conductors themselves followed this settlement, as it seemed to be a very dangerous precedent to deny women the right to work in any occupation for no other reason than that their dismissal was demanded by the men, and without even giving the women a hearing so that they might present their case.

As a result of many protests the War Labor Board held another hearing which was unfortunately delayed until after all of the women employed as conductors had been dismissed according to the agreement made between the company and the union.

The final award of the War Labor Board in this case was handed down on March 17, 1919, and was to the effect that the contract between the company and the union prohibited the employment of women, but that the employment of women having been permitted because of a necessity caused by a shortage of male labor these women were entitled by the terms of the contract under which they were engaged to continue in this service until their employment should cease, either by voluntary withdrawal or by discharge for cause or for other sufficient reason. The board directed, therefore, that the 64 women conductors who had been discharged by the company pursuant to its agreement with the union should be reinstated. The company, however, decided to abide by its original agreement with the union, and would not accept the recommendations of the War Labor Board. In a communication to that board the president of the company wrote:

If your honorable board can prevail upon Division 268 of the Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Employees of America to agree to the reinstatement of the women conductors, I shall be very glad to order their reinstatement.

A similar situation arose in Detroit in September, 1918. Women were taken on as street car conductors, with the consent of the union, whose contract with the company contained the following clause:

It is understood that no objection shall be made to the employment of women or of colored men if necessity arises.

The arrangement between the Detroit United Railway and its employees provided that the company should make its contract of employment with the local union of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, and should agree to employ as permanent employees only members of the union. Under this arrangement the company accepted for its employment any person who seemed fit, and after 48 hours' test the applicant was sent to the proper officer of the union to receive what is called a permit, and then after 90 days of service, if the company found him competent and no reasonable objection to him was presented by the union, he was admitted to the union.

According to this arrangement the women who were employed after September, 1918, were given permit cards, but when, after the 90-day period, they asked for admission into the union, they were refused, and on December 6, after the signing of the armistice, the union demanded the immediate dismissal of the women and refused to give permit cards to 15 women who had been in training and were ready to go on as regular conductors.

This case was argued before the War Labor Board in January, 1919, and was slightly different from the Cleveland case because of the clause in the contract between the union and the company which permitted the employment of women "if necessity arise." There were, therefore, two questions to be decided: Whether a necessity still existed which would justify the company in continuing to engage women to work as conductors, and whether the women already working as conductors should be dismissed, as was demanded by the union.

The first question required a judicial interpretation of the existence and extent of the "necessity" which, according to the terms of the contract, would justify the company in employing women. Although the women claimed that a number of the men employees who were being engaged as conductors were under age, or not sufficiently acquainted with the English language to discharge their duties properly, the board ruled that there was a sufficient supply of available male labor, if the company used diligence to find it, and therefore that the necessity to employ women no longer existed.

The second question was a more fundamental one, involving as it did the right of a group of men to demand the discharge of women who had been engaged in good faith, had performed their work in

a satisfactory manner, and who had fulfilled all of the terms of their contract.

In its decision on this subject the board stated:

The further issue arises whether we should say to the company, under the contract and circumstances, that it is its duty to discharge the women now in its employ. We find no such express limitation upon the employment of women in the contract. And we find that without such express provision equity and fair dealing toward the women who have prepared themselves for this employment * * * require us to hold that no such implication arises from the wording used and that the union must be content with the continued employment of the women now with the company * * * until in natural course, by voluntary withdrawal, by discharge, or for other causes they cease their connection with the company. * * * The order, therefore, will be that the company may retain in its employ those women now engaged in its service and may receive into its service the 15 already mentioned who prepared themselves for duty as conductors, and that the union shall issue the proper permits to them for such employment, but that no more women shall be employed.

The women were therefore retained although the union never issued the permits, and the Detroit case, so far as it provided that the women already employed should not be dismissed was a victory for the women, who by this decision could hold on to their jobs until they were ready to give them up. From the point of view of enlarged industrial opportunity for women, however, the result in each city was a decided setback for the women, as the unions so effectively controlled the situation that through their contracts with the companies they were able to shut out the women from this field of work.

A very different situation obtained in Kansas City, where women were first employed in June, 1918. The company had wished to employ women in 1917, according to a statement made by the general manager of the company,¹ but had not done so because of the opposition of the union. In May, 1918, however, this opposition was withdrawn, and shortly after this 10 women were put on as conductors. In August, 1918, when there were 125 women employed there was a controversy between the union and the Kansas City Street Railway Co. regarding wages, the status of women employees, a revision of schedules, and the constitution of the working day. From the women's viewpoint the most significant thing about this controversy, which was submitted to the War Labor Board, was that under the subject "status of women employees" the union was not demanding that the women be dismissed, but that their guaranteed minimum pay be raised to equal the guaranteed minimum for the men. The decision of the War Labor Board recognized this demand and directed that "women employees shall receive equal pay with men for the same work, and the guaranteed minimum for women shall

¹ Monthly Labor Review, Bureau of Labor Statistics, March, 1919, p. 215.

be increased from \$60 to \$75 per month, as now obtains in the case of men." The women's guaranty was accordingly raised to the same rate as the men's, but the entire award of the board was not put into effect, and when in February, 1919, there was a strike called to oblige the company to accept the full award of the board, all but a very small number of the women joined in the strike with the men.

Although an interesting and important example of the possibility of cooperation between the men and women working in the same occupation, the Kansas City situation is not reflected in the general policy of the union, for as recently as May 13, 1920, W. D. Mahon, international president of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, stated in a letter to the Women's Bureau:

The dispute that was raised by our organization was against women acting as conductors on surface and trolley cars. Our organization took the position that it was no fit place for a woman to work and has decided against it.

It would appear, then, that if women are to maintain their places as street car conductors they must do so against the organized opposition of the men who are engaged in this work.

CONDITIONS OF WORK DEMAND CERTAIN LEGAL RESTRICTIONS FOR THE PROTECTION OF WOMEN.

The statement that work of a certain kind is not fit for women is always a telling argument, but one which needs careful examination before it is accepted as a reason for excluding them from any occupation. Protection of women from the ill effects of long hours and unsatisfactory working conditions must accompany their entrance into any new occupation, and in considering opportunities for them it is necessary to study the methods by which the needs of the industry can be reconciled with legal regulation of hours and working conditions. It is always possible that too stringent regulations of conditions for women may curtail their opportunities for profitable employment. On the other hand, it is extremely important that certain minimum requirements below which conditions of work for women may not fall should be established for each industry in which they are employed. Provided that these standards are met, there are very few occupations which can be classed as unfit for women, but it is important that full information should be had of the extent to which these standards can be maintained before large groups of women are employed in any new industry. It is an easy and far too frequent occurrence to have some group of persons declare, as did the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, that

an occupation is not "fit for women," but in the words of the War Labor Board in its award in the Detroit case—

He is no friend of the wise advance of women into the much to be desired independence of self-support, who does not exercise discretion by a prudent discrimination between the work which women can do without injury to health or subjection to unfavorable environment and that from which they have been heretofore excluded solely by unreasonable custom or convention or the ignorance and prejudice of men.

In an attempt to discover the exact conditions under which women were working as street-car conductors and to formulate a policy regarding the desirability of their employment in this capacity the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States Department of Labor made an investigation early in 1917 of women street-railway employees in New York City and Brooklyn.²

After a consideration of the nature of the work, working conditions, and hours the report of this investigation states:

It is practically impossible to make the conditions of street-railway employment even tolerably endurable to women employees and the operation of street cars is one of the last occupations into which women should be lured or forced.

This conclusion was based on facts collected in one city where hours for women were long and irregular, where they were low on the seniority list, and their wages not up to the current market price for male labor. Many instances were quoted in this report which indicated that conditions were much in need of improvement. But it is equally true that in other communities satisfactory adjustments have been made to permit of the employment of women ticket agents and conductors, if not under ideal conditions, still under conditions no worse and often better than in many other industries where the woman worker is an accepted fact.

One of the most conspicuous attempts to regulate conditions for women employed in transportation occurred in New York State in 1919, when a law was passed which limited the hours of women in transportation to 9 in any day and 54 in any week. This law also prohibited the employment of women after 10 p. m. or before 7 a. m. and required that the nine hours of work should be consecutive except for one hour for lunch. The companies in New York City claimed that they could not employ women under these conditions, and large numbers of the women were dismissed. This resulted in great criticism of the law from the women employees who were discharged and from certain organizations which were opposed to any special legislation for women. It was claimed that solely because of this special legislation thousands of women had lost their jobs and their means of livelihood, and there was much agitation for

² Benjamin M. Squires, *Woman Street Railway Employees*, U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics Monthly Labor Review, May, 1918.

the repeal of the law. A very different aspect of the matter, however, was brought out by the Bureau of Women in Industry of the New York State Department of Labor when in June, 1919, it made an investigation relative to the employment of women in transportation companies in Greater New York. This investigation discovered the very significant fact, that while the law regulating the employment of women in transportation was not approved and put into effect until May 12, 1919, the companies had begun to lay off their women employees in November, 1918. Since that time large additions had been made to the force of men in the occupations in which women had been employed, to such an extent that the total number of employees had increased considerably from November, 1918, to May, 1919. That compliance with the law regulating the hours of employment of women would have involved considerable readjustment was brought out in this report, which stated that on May 1, 1919, only 17 per cent of the total number of women employed at that time were complying with all the provisions of the law. The fact, however, that the women were being laid off for many months before the passage of the law, and that the companies had made no readjustments in an attempt to meet the provisions of the law, but instead had resorted to the wholesale dismissal of the women, seemed to indicate that women had not been considered as a permanent factor, and had been employed only during the temporary emergency and labor shortage caused by the war.

PURPOSE OF THIS INVESTIGATION.

Here, then, was the situation with which the women employed in transportation were faced. They were denied opportunity for work as conductors in Detroit and Cleveland because they were not wanted by the union, although the companies were willing and anxious to keep them on; dismissed from their work as conductors and ticket agents in New York because the company claimed they could not meet the requirements of a law; and at least one official report declared that unavoidable conditions of work on the street cars made it very undesirable for women. And yet it was known that women were being employed as conductors and ticket agents in many other localities without undue hardships to them and without antagonism from the men who worked with them.

It was to add to the small amount of information which was available relative to this situation that the Women's Bureau undertook this investigation. The purpose of the investigation was to discover in several localities the hours of work and wages for women street car conductors and ticket agents; the relation of the work of women to that of men, as shown by methods of granting seniority

rights to men and women, and by special regulations for women; and the effect on hours and numbers of women employed of the enforcement of legal regulation of hours for women employed in transportation.

TIME AND SCOPE OF SURVEY.

With these points in mind the cities of Detroit, Kansas City, Chicago, and Boston. were chosen. Women were employed as conductors in Detroit and Kansas City. In Detroit they were working against the wishes of the union, and prior to August 26, 1919, there had been no regulation of their hours of work. After that time, however, their hours were limited to 10 a day and 54 a week. In Kansas City the union had not objected to the employment of the women as conductors, but had cooperated with them in an effort to raise their wage. In this city women were employed under a law which regulated their hours to 9 a day and 54 a week.

Women ticket agents and collectors were employed in Boston and Chicago. In Boston before July 17, 1919, their hours were limited by law to 10 a day and 54 a week. After that date the hours permitted were 9 a day and 48 a week. The hours of the women ticket agents in Chicago were limited by law to 10 a day and 70 a week. In none of the four cities was night work prohibited by law.

The material for this report was gathered in June, July, and September, 1919, and in January, 1920. The officials of the Detroit United Railways, the Chicago Elevated trains, and the Boston Elevated Railway offered the fullest cooperation to the agents of the Women's Bureau, and to their helpfulness is due much of the value of the material gathered. The Kansas City Street Railways Co. was not willing to permit examination of its records, but gave some information through personal interviews.

UNUSUAL REQUIREMENTS NECESSARY FOR TRANSPORTATION COMPANIES.

Before considering the conditions which exist for either women ticket agents or conductors it is necessary to emphasize the special difficulties with which transportation companies are faced in arranging the hours of their employees. Transportation lines must furnish continuous service, which involves night work and Sunday work for both ticket agents and conductors, and makes necessary special adjustments if women are to be employed and still given adequate protection. Not only must service be continuous but it must be adequate to handle the crowds which come regularly at certain hours of the day and night, and yet in the interests of efficiency, during the part of the day when travel is light there must be a corresponding shrinkage in the number of cars sent out. The necessity

for having cars run continuously with occasional "peaks" in their number to handle the crowds which come at special times of the day, results in many schedules which must be separated into two and occasionally three parts, with a period of waiting between each part, making a very long working day, although the actual hours worked may not be excessive.

There is no opportunity for shutting down the plant to provide for one day of rest in seven, as there is no day or night in the week on which some part of the public does not wish to use their transportation facilities; therefore, a weekly holiday for employees on transportation lines can only be arranged by a complicated system providing for days off and extra employees to substitute for those absent. The weather is also a very important feature in the maintenance of transportation service. The worse the weather and the more difficult it is to maintain service, the more important does this service become. At a time of blizzard weather, with sickness taking its toll of workers, most industries expect a reduction in the number of their employees and a corresponding reduction in output. It is not so with transportation companies. If they have a reduction in the number of their employees they must still keep the usual number of cars running, which must be manned by trained operatives. This means not only the maintenance of an "extra" force to meet such emergencies, but also occasionally extra duty for the regular force. Another factor which will materially affect the arrangement of street-car runs is the geography of the city. In one town with a thickly settled area to be served runs can be short, while in another with a spread-out settlement and many suburbs it may be impossible to arrange short runs, and if a conductor must have a short schedule she must be relieved before her run is completed. Special excursions, ball games, theaters, conventions, and other such events also add to the irregularities of the demands on transportation, and the problems attendant upon the arrangement of schedules. Accidents or delays to the car, which can not be foreseen or prevented, are another factor contributing to the difficulty of keeping a conductor's daily hours of work within certain definite limits.

The hours of both the ticket agents and conductors are affected by these special conditions, but the problem of arranging schedules for the conductors is much the more serious of the two. A ticket agent has a fixed place of work, and the hours for a group of agents can be arranged in shifts with definite relief periods, the main problem with them being to arrange the work of extras who are engaged to take the place of absentees, to fill in at rush hours, and to serve during relief periods, so that their hours of work are not too long, irregular, or too few to insure an adequate wage. Special arrangements must be made in the case of ticket agents, to eliminate night

work for the women. The hours for the conductors are very much more difficult to arrange. Schedules for this group must be dependent on the routes of their cars, and on the number of cars which must be run at different times of the day. All the difficulties with which a transportation company is faced are reflected in the runs scheduled for the conductors. An arrangement of schedules which may be perfectly easy to bring about and perfectly satisfactory for ticket agents may be quite impossible for conductors. The two occupations are no more similar than that of a waitress and a cashier in a restaurant, yet because, presumably, they may both be employed by the same company, legislation to regulate their hours has been drawn up for both groups together without special consideration of the very different demands of the two occupations.

The difference in the requirements of the work, in the arrangement of hours, and in the attitude of the unions for the two groups has appeared so marked in the four cities studied that in this report the ticket agents and collectors are considered separately, as it was felt that the adjustments made for one group could, because of the absolutely different conditions under which the other group must work, have no comparative significance.

CONDITIONS OF WORK FOR WOMEN STREET CAR CONDUCTORS.

The special regulations which govern the hours of work for women conductors are nearly the same in Detroit and Kansas City. The law of Missouri provides for a weekly limitation of 54 hours and a daily limitation of 9 hours of work for women in transportation. The law does not prohibit night work nor limit the number of hours within which work must be completed. The Michigan law before August 26, 1919, did not regulate in any way the hours of women in transportation, but after that date a law became effective which limited their hours to 10 a day and 54 a week. As in Missouri, the Michigan law does not limit the number of hours within which the day's work must be completed, nor is night work prohibited. The only difference, then, between the regulations under which women work in the two cities is that in Detroit they may not work longer than 10 hours, while in Kansas City they can work only nine hours in any one day.

The method of adjusting the women's schedules in order to conform to the provisions of the law was quite different in the two cities. Particularly interesting is the way in which the women's schedules were worked out in Kansas City. It was the policy of the company in that city to arrange for an eight-hour day for the women conductors, although the law would permit nine hours of work. As

practically all of the runs on the line on which the women were employed were considerably over eight hours, the women's schedules were arranged so that they took only one part of a run, being transferred then to a short part of another run. In Detroit an attempt was made to meet the legal requirements by limiting the women to a choice of runs which did not exceed 10 hours.

In addition to the legal regulations of their hours, the schedules of women conductors are further influenced by their standing on the seniority list. This list is maintained in both Detroit and Kansas City for men and women employees together. Position on the list is determined by the length of service, the newcomers being put at the bottom of the list and gradually rising on it as more recent employees appear and older ones leave the service. When the schedules are posted for the week each employee is given his choice of runs, the person highest on the seniority list having the first choice.

The term "choice of runs" is one frequently used by transportation companies, but where this term is used it must be emphasized that it does not mean the runs which were most desired by either group. There is only one person among all the conductors who has absolute freedom of choice to select the run he most desires. That one person is the one who stands first on the seniority list. He has the entire lot of runs to choose from, and his choice is valid testimony of what he considers the most desirable run. The lower a conductor's standing on the seniority list, the more undesirable are the runs from which he must make a choice. As the women are far down on the list the runs chosen by them can not be considered as an indication of the runs they would prefer, their "choice" in many cases being so restricted as to become practically "Hobson's choice."

Although because of the complexity of the subject of hours for conductors it is necessary to present the detailed figures for each city separately, an outline of the conditions will serve to illustrate the most significant facts in the two cities investigated.

Daily hours.

According to the runs scheduled for the women on week days during one week in January in Detroit, the daily hours of work were less than $10\frac{1}{2}$ for 98.4 per cent of the women. For Saturday runs during the same period 69.7 per cent of the women were scheduled for less than $10\frac{1}{2}$ hours on duty. Sunday runs were very much shorter, and during this week in January 75.8 per cent of the women were scheduled for runs with less than $8\frac{1}{2}$ hours on duty.

In Kansas City the schedules of 10 women for one week showed only one with as long as nine hours of actual work. The greater number were scheduled for between seven and eight hours of work a

day. Sunday runs for Kansas City women conductors were also short—three, four, and five hours, with only one as long as six hours.

The peculiar needs of transportation service, however, do not permit the consideration solely of the actual hours of work. Where the day's work is broken up into several parts the time within which the work is done, or the "over-all" hours, becomes significant. Considerable stress has been laid by different authorities on the hardships of the long hours consumed by the day's work on the street cars, although these hours have not all been spent in actual work. During this study interviews were held with many women conductors, and an attempt was made to combine the choice of runs with the seniority rights of those choosing the runs in order to find out which arrangement of schedules was considered most desirable. It was found to be quite impossible to make any accurate statement on this subject, as the choice of special schedules was affected many times by individual matters. Some women liked the schedules with long over-all hours, as they then had time for a rest between the two shifts, some preferred the straight runs, some liked to get home at midday for lunch, and some liked a schedule that gave them a little time off in the middle of the day.

Over-all hours, then, within certain bounds, may be considered as being of only limited significance, although they give a clearer picture of the conditions under which the conductors' work is done than would be afforded by a discussion merely of the actual hours worked.

Forty-two per cent of the women conductors in Detroit on week days in January were scheduled to finish their day's work in less than 11 hours, and 54.7 per cent of them were scheduled to finish in less than 12½ hours. Over-all hours on Saturday were longer, for only 28.8 per cent of the women were scheduled for runs with less than 11 hours over all, while 69.7 per cent were scheduled for runs with less than 13½ hours over all. Sunday runs were, with one exception, straight runs, so that the actual and over-all hours coincided.

The over-all hours in Kansas City, as given for 10 women, were even shorter than those in Detroit. The longest period required to perform the day's work was 13 hours and 18 minutes, 10, 11, and 12 being the more usual hours.

Hours beginning and ending.

More important to the worker than her over-all hours are the hours at which she must begin and end her day's work, although in this case, too, individual preference plays so large a part that it is difficult to draw a hard and fast rule as to which is the more desirable time. The hours of beginning and ending work for the majority of the women conductors in Detroit seemed, however, to be the most undesirable conditions connected with their work. Dur-

ing one week in January, 48 per cent of the women were scheduled for week-day runs which began between 4 and 6 in the morning and almost all of these runs ended between 6 and 9 in the evening. Another large group of women, 25 per cent, was scheduled for runs which began between 2 and 4 in the afternoon, which meant that they must work late into the night. In fact over one-third of the women had week-day runs which were scheduled to end between midnight and 2 in the morning. On Saturday almost the same proportion of women as on week days were scheduled for the early morning and late afternoon starting hours, but on Sunday 54 per cent of the women were scheduled for runs beginning late in the day and finishing between 11 p. m. and 2 a. m.

As the runs scheduled for women are based entirely upon their standing on the seniority list which is maintained for men and women together, and as the women have been employed for a very much shorter time than the men and consequently have a low standing on the list, their choice is apt to be limited to runs with undesirable beginning and ending hours. The women in Kansas City were also on the same seniority list as the men and were limited in their choice of runs to those not exceeding nine hours, but the method of arranging their runs in two parts, one long and one short, tended to make the available choice more desirable.

Weekly hours.

A record of the actual weekly hours of work for the women in Detroit shows that 24 out of 61 women worked more than 54 hours, the legal maximum during one week, the largest single group, 13, or 21.3 per cent, having worked between 54 and 60 hours. In Kansas City the record of 10 women showed 1 woman who had worked more than 60 hours, against the rules of the company which limited hours to 54, 4 who worked from 50 to 53 hours, 3 who worked between 40 and 48½ hours, and 2 who worked between 30 and 35 hours.

Reasons for daily and weekly hours longer than those permitted by law.

The scheduled hours and actual hours worked do not always coincide, as there may be occasions on which, because of lateness, accident, or assignment to extra runs, a conductor's hours may be lengthened, or because of transfer to another than the scheduled run her hours may be shortened.

It was possible to secure a record of the actual daily hours of work for the women conductors in Detroit during one week in January. This record showed 42 instances in which the runs exceeded 10 hours. For only 18 of these runs were the scheduled hours more than 10, lateness, accident, or extra trips having prolonged the hours of the

remaining 24 until they exceeded the legal limit. The fact, however, that in January more than 43 per cent of the women in Detroit were scheduled for week-day runs with $9\frac{1}{2}$ and less than 10 hours on duty seemed to indicate that the daily schedules are based on so nearly the maximum legal time that any slight lateness or accident would make illegal overtime almost unavoidable. The practice in Kansas City of basing the schedules on considerably less than the legal daily maximum seems to have produced better results as far as the law is concerned.

Of the 11 Detroit women who worked 60 hours and over during one week it is extremely significant to note that all but two of them had worked seven days in spite of the fact that it was the stated policy of the company to arrange for one day of rest during every seven. For a total group of 24 who worked over 54 hours, 11 worked seven days and 13 worked six days in the week. It seems possible from these figures that adherence to the policy of one day of rest each week would result in a considerable shortening of the long weekly hours which are a real hardship to the women in addition to being an infringement of the law.

Night work.

Night work is not prohibited by law in either Detroit or Kansas City. Many women conductors were found in Detroit whose schedules required them to work far into the night, 2 a. m. being no uncommon hour for them to end their runs. In Kansas City, however, the women were not allowed by the company to work between 8 p. m. and 5 a. m. and none of the schedules obtained from 10 women conductors showed that this rule had been infringed. The continued employment of the women in Kansas City shows that this self-enforced standard is not too arduous for the company to maintain for the protection of its women employees from the hardships of night work.

Wages.

One of the chief reasons for which the women have fought to retain their positions as conductors is found in the rate of pay, which compares very favorably with rates prevalent in other industries where women are employed. According to the reports given by 47 women conductors in Detroit only one of them had ever received as high a wage in any former occupation as she was getting for her work as a conductor. Each of these women testified that she was getting more than \$27 a week as a conductor, and only one had previously made as much as that.

The wage received by the women street car conductors in Detroit was considerably higher than in Kansas City. More than 44 per

cent of the women in Detroit received over \$33 during one week in January. In Kansas City a wage of \$75 a month based on 50 hours and 38 minutes of work during one week is guaranteed to both men and women. It was impossible to secure figures showing the actual earnings of the women in that city, but the fact that the company objected to this guaranty, as they said the women did not work long enough to earn it, indicates that \$75 a month, or slightly over \$18 a week, can be considered a usual wage for women conductors in Kansas City. This comparatively low wage is probably due partly to the fact that the women in Kansas City have special schedules arranged for them and are considered as a separate group. In Detroit, where the women receive a much higher wage, they take their runs as they come without any special arrangement of schedules for their benefit, but because of their standing on the seniority list their choice of runs is limited. The runs available for choice by the women would, of course, increase in desirability as the period of their employment becomes longer and they rise on the seniority list, but it is only seniority and the limitation to runs not exceeding 10 hours a day or 54 hours a week which differentiates the women from the men street car conductors in Detroit. This lack of differentiation is shown in the similarity of the wage rate for men and women in that city. In January the median wage for the men conductors in Detroit was \$39.40 and for the women \$31.69.

Comparison of men's and women's runs.

The low standing of the women on the seniority list in Detroit is reflected by a comparison of the hours of beginning and ending the runs for which they were scheduled with those for which the men were scheduled. Apparently the men, who all had their choice of runs before the women, preferred the runs which began early in the morning, as 78 per cent of them were scheduled for week-day runs beginning between 4 and 6 a. m., while only 48 per cent of the women had such hours of beginning. Only 9 per cent of the men began their work in the afternoon between 2 and 4 o'clock, while 25 per cent of the women started work at this time. The difference between the ending hours for the men and women indicates an even more successful selection on the part of the men, for 39 per cent of them on week days and 52 per cent on Saturdays finished their day's work between 2 and 4 p. m., while no women had runs scheduled for these early-ending hours. On the other hand, 34 per cent of the women on week days and 25 per cent on Saturdays were scheduled to end their day's work between midnight and 2 a. m., while only 8 per cent of the men's week-day runs and 6 per cent of their Saturday runs had such ending hours. The Sunday runs for the two groups show an even more striking differentiation, 75 per

cent of the men being scheduled to begin their runs in the morning between 4 o'clock and noon, while 95 per cent of the women were scheduled to start work between noon and 8 p. m. Apparently the men liked and, by exercising their seniority privileges, secured early working hours on Sunday, for 47 per cent of them were scheduled to finish their runs on Sunday between 1 and 5 p. m., while no women finished their work during these hours.

Where men and women are on the same seniority list, a situation such as this is bound to arise when the women are newcomers and have a low seniority standing. If the employment of women were to continue, however, they would have a larger lot of runs open to them for choice and their hours would be more nearly comparable in desirability with those of the men.

Effect of law regulating hours.

In Detroit a law went into effect on August 26, 1919, limiting the hours of work for women in transportation to 10 a day, and 54 a week. There was no evidence to show that women had been dismissed because of the difficulty of complying with the terms of this law. There was a smaller number of women employed in January, 1920, than in July, 1919, before the law went into effect, but this reduction was probably due to a normal labor turnover and to the fact that the company was not permitted by the terms of its contract with the union to hire any new women. This law did result, however, in a considerable curtailment of the actual hours of work for women. In July only 80.9 per cent of the women conductors were scheduled for runs with less than 10½ hours on duty, but in January 98.4 per cent of all the week-day runs scheduled for women required less than 10½ hours. Although, during the week in January for which the figures were gathered, there were a number of cases in which women were not only scheduled for but actually worked more than the number of hours permitted by law, the record of shortened hours is a good one when allowance is made for the fact that during that week the company was struggling with a shortage of employees due to an influenza epidemic, and unusually long or extra runs were necessarily assigned to some of the women employees in order to maintain the service.

In Kansas City the women have always been employed under a law limiting their hours of work to 9 a day and 54 a week, and the company did not find this too much of a handicap to take them on as new employees in 1918 when labor was scarce.

Perhaps the fact that the employment of women has continued under the conditions imposed by law in these two cities is due to the lack of restriction of the length of over-all hours. In Kansas City the prohibition by the company of work for women between

8 p. m. and 5 a. m. provides, of course, a certain limitation of over-all hours, but this limitation is so broad that it would affect only a very limited number, if any, of the runs on which a conductor might be employed. As the arrangement of schedules in regard to the matter of over-all hours is so technical a matter dependent upon the season, the locality, and the events which take place in that locality, and as there has been considerable testimony on the part of the women who work as conductors that, under certain conditions, a break in the working day with consequent long over-all hours is preferable to one straight shift, it would seem that the most successful law, both from the point of view of the employer and of the women employed, would either leave the adjustment of over-all hours to the cooperative effort of the management and its employees, or if a limitation is to be put into the law this limitation should be established for separate communities by people with expert knowledge of local conditions and of the necessities of a transportation system.

Conclusion.

On the whole, the facts reported for these two cities do not show any royal road to ideal conditions for women street car conductors. The Kansas City women had comparatively short hours and no night work, but their wage rate did not compare favorably with that of the Detroit conductors. The Detroit women worked longer hours, at night, and frequently seven days a week, but their pay was good, and each woman who was interviewed found the work congenial, not too taxing physically, and better paid than any work she had ever done before.

Although conditions were not ideal, however, no particular reason was disclosed either through a careful study of hours and wages, or through investigation of actual working conditions, or through interviews with the women themselves, to prove that the work of a street car conductor was unfit for women. On the contrary it seemed to combine many advantages not always found in the traditional occupations for women.

Street car conductors do not have to stand continuously, they get plenty of fresh air and variety of employment, there is no heavy work to be done, their wages are good, and their hours are no longer than in many other occupations in which women have worked for years. Forty-six women conductors in Detroit told the investigators of the Women's Bureau that they preferred the work of a conductor to any work they had ever done before. Only one woman, who used to drive a rural free-delivery wagon, liked her previous occupation better. No evidence was found to show that the work on the street cars involved exposure to risks or dangers which women are not

facing and coping with successfully in other forms of work. The 10-hour day and 54-hour week law in Detroit, although adherence to it had not been absolute, seemed to have resulted in a considerable shortening of hours for the women without decreasing their numbers or their pay. Whether, under the peculiar conditions incident to the conduct of a transportation system, absolute adherence to an inelastic regulation of hours can be arranged for without handicapping the women can not be asserted from any facts included in this survey.

The difficulties with which both the companies and the women were faced in complying with the law in Detroit and Kansas City emphasizes, however, the need for a very careful study of local conditions before any phase of a transportation law is decided upon, with a view to determining possible local adjustments to make compliance more feasible and less likely to wreak disaster upon those it was framed to benefit.

CONDITIONS OF WORK FOR WOMEN TICKET AGENTS AND COLLECTORS.

The conditions under which women ticket agents and collectors were employed in Chicago and Boston showed several very important adjustments which had been made in order to make the work satisfactory for them. These adjustments were the outcome of years of experience, as women have been employed in this capacity in both cities for many years. In fact this work has come to be accepted as "women's work" in both communities, for in Boston practically the entire force of collectors and in Chicago over half of the ticket agents are women.

Although called by different names in the two cities the duties of the ticket agent and collector are nearly the same. The ticket agent sells and receives tickets and makes change, while the collector merely makes change. At the end of the day's work each must make up simple accounts.

The law regulating the work of these women limits their hours to 10 a day and 70 a week in Chicago, and in Boston to 9 a day and 48 a week. Prior to July 17, 1919, the hours of the Boston collectors were limited to 10 a day and 54 a week. Night work is not prohibited by law in either city. In the light of these legal regulations it is interesting to see how in each city conditions are far in advance of those required by law.

Daily hours.

Although 10 hours of work per day is permitted in Chicago and 9 hours in Boston, in both places the 8-hour day is the rule for the women. In both cities the 8-hour day for regular collectors is

achieved by arranging the working day into three straight 8-hour shifts, and two or more "split trick shifts" or shifts whose hours do not coincide with those of the three straight shifts or which are divided into two parts with a period of waiting between but for which the total hours worked do not exceed eight.

Hours of extras.

In addition to the regular agents whose time is spent on one of these shifts there is a group of extra agents whose work must be more irregular, as they are engaged to fill in in case of absences or unusual demands at certain stations. It is the work of this group of extras which is particularly difficult to arrange, as they are used for more or less emergency and irregular service yet must be guaranteed sufficient work to yield an adequate wage, and their hours must be arranged so that they are protected from excessively long or irregular shifts. In both Chicago and Boston the extras as well as the regulars seem to be assured of fairly regular and remunerative work. During a 15-day period in Chicago more than one-half of the extra agents did not work over 8 hours on any one day, and during a 14-day period in Boston more than two-thirds of the extra collectors did not work more than 8 hours in any one day.

Regularity of work for extras seems to have been more successfully arranged for in Chicago than in Boston, for in the former city during a 15-day period, only 7.8 per cent of the extra agents worked less than 11 days, while in Boston during a 14-day period over 34 per cent worked less than 7 days. In Boston, however, every extra is guaranteed and paid for 6½ hours' work for six days a week, unless she is disqualified by reporting late or refusing to take the position assigned to her. In Chicago extras are guaranteed pay for three hours' work only when they are called.

Seniority.

Although the shifts and the stations for work for collectors and agents are so similar as to make choice of shift or division on which to work less important than the choice of runs for conductors, there is still, of course, a considerable range of desirability both as to hours and location of work for the agents and collectors. Seniority lists are maintained, therefore, in both Boston and Chicago. In Chicago where a number of men are employed as agents for night work and duty at special stations four seniority lists are maintained, one each for the men and women regular and extra collectors. Promotion is made from the extra list to the regular list in order of seniority, and choice of location of station and shift is also given according to seniority standing.

Six-day week.

In addition to the careful arrangement of hours, and the guaranty, the Boston agents are given one day off each week, this being made possible by the employment of relief collectors who are engaged to take the place of regular collectors on their days off. No such arrangement is made in Chicago, where the agents work a 7-day week.

Night work.

In New York City it was claimed that the prohibition of night work for women must automatically eliminate them from their work with transportation companies, but Chicago has proved that this form of protection for women can be voluntarily and successfully adopted without handicapping their work in any degree. In that city, although there is no legal restriction against night work for women, this is entirely eliminated, and has been ever since women were employed, by the hiring of men especially to work on the night shift. It is only on the night shift that men are considered an important factor in the group of ticket agents, and they are hired for and have seniority rights only for this duty, although a limited number of men work on the day shifts at special stations. In Boston night work for women, again not contrary to law, is eliminated because the lines do not run all night, and so there are several hours during which no one is employed.

Wages.

Wages for collectors and ticket agents are not so high as for conductors but are still far in advance of those paid in many other industries where women are employed. In Chicago the regular agents receive \$66.15 every 15 days. During the period studied extra agents in Chicago received almost as large a wage as the regulars, the median rate for women being \$61.04 for 15 days' work. In Boston the wage was not so high as in Chicago. For the regulars the wage for a 14-day period was \$46.08, and for the extras the median wage received during this period was \$40.38. The wages for Chicago and Boston are hardly comparable, however, as during the 15-day period in Chicago, 15 days were worked by the regular agents, while in Boston, because of the observance of the 6-day week, pay for a 14-day period represents pay for only 12 days of work. The daily rate for eight hours' work in Boston is \$3.84, and in Chicago \$4.41, which compares very favorably with rates in other occupations at which women are employed.

Attitude of the unions.

Perhaps the most significant fact about the employment of women as ticket agents and collectors in these two cities is the way in which better hours and wages for them have been achieved. Women are

members of the union in both Chicago and Boston, and it is with the assistance of the union that their hours have been shortened and their wages increased. In Chicago at the time when the 10-hour law for women was about to be passed in Illinois the union worked for this law, appearing before the legislature in favor of it, although its members were threatened with a reduction in pay. In subsequent strikes on the street railways the women have stood with the men in their efforts to improve conditions. The result in Chicago has been that conditions for women employed on the elevated railways are far ahead of the maximum legal requirement, and adjustments have been made, as in the elimination of night work for women, which can serve as an example to many other communities.

In Boston women have been full-fledged members of the union since 1912, when they were taken in after a strike on the part of the men, in which they had offered to join. By agreement with the union the eight-hour day has been established as the standard, although the legal limit is nine hours. Of course, the fact that in Boston practically all of the collectors are women, makes the attitude of the union toward them less significant than in Chicago, where there are both men and women agents, but the whole attitude of the unions in both cities is very different from their behavior in other localities toward the women street car conductors.

Effect of law regulating hours.

During the period of this investigation more stringent provisions as to hours were put into force for the women collectors in Boston, where they had previously worked under a law which permitted 10 hours of work a day and 54 hours a week. The law which went into force on July 17, 1919, cut down the hours which they might work to 9 a day and 48 a week. This new law required an extensive rearrangement of schedules for the women who under the 10-hour law had worked from 9 to 10 hours, and under the new 9-hour law were to have their hours reduced by the company to 8 a day. This shortening of hours does not seem to have curtailed the employment of women collectors. The company had originally expected that under the new arrangement of 8-hour shifts they would have to enlarge their force of collectors. At about the time when the new law went into effect, however, the fare was raised to 10 cents, which, besides causing some reduction in traffic, so lightened the work of making change—as pennies were seldom handled with a 10-cent fare—that a slightly smaller number of collectors was needed. There was no substitution of men for women, and no special difficulty was reported in arranging the women's schedules to comply with the law. At the same time the actual hours worked and the amount of overtime were considerably reduced, while there

was an increase in the wage rate, so that weekly earnings were greater than they had been under the longer schedules.

Conclusion.

The records from these two cities show that with the 8-hour day and 6-day week, without night work, and with a wage far superior to that paid women in many other occupations, the woman ticket agent and collector is an accepted and permanent fact in two large cities. The fact that these conditions are far better than those prescribed by law in the same communities shows that some other contributory factor must be present when women are dismissed from this work because of the requirement for them of reasonable hours of work. In the matter of the length of over-all hours the same difficulty is met as with the conductors. It is essential that some of the shifts should be broken into two parts so that the "peaks" of traffic may be satisfactorily handled. Many women prefer the broken shifts, as they find eight hours too long to work steadily at such a confining task. This is a subject which will require long and careful study before a decision can be made as to an advisable limit for the time within which this work must be done, and here again is a task for persons with very expert knowledge of local conditions and the requirements of a transportation system.

was an attempt to show that the women's work was not just a necessary evil, but a central part of the capitalist system.

Conclusion

The women's work is not just a necessary evil, but a central part of the capitalist system. It is a work that is essential to the reproduction of labor power, and it is a work that is done by women. The women's work is a work that is done by women, and it is a work that is essential to the reproduction of labor power. It is a work that is done by women, and it is a work that is essential to the reproduction of labor power. It is a work that is done by women, and it is a work that is essential to the reproduction of labor power.

PART II.

DETAILED REPORTS OF HOURS AND CONDITIONS OF WORK FOR WOMEN CONDUCTORS AND TICKET AGENTS IN DETROIT, KANSAS CITY, BOSTON, AND CHICAGO.

THE WOMAN CONDUCTOR.

No description of the work of any group of women is complete without the testimony of representative members of that group. Believing that the opinions and experiences of the women street-car conductors of Detroit would add significance to any report of their hours and conditions of work, 47 of these conductors were interviewed in January, and the facts obtained from these interviews are given before the detailed figures for hours or wages, in order that the reader may have a picture of these women to form a background for the facts secured from the records of the company.

Age and marital condition.

The 47 women conductors who were interviewed ranged in age from 20 to 45 years, with the greater number of them between 23 and 33; 12 of them were single, 15 were married, 8 widowed, and 12 were separated or divorced. Twenty-two of these women were entirely supporting 47 persons and 15 were partially supporting 32 persons, making a total of 79 dependents for the 34 women, as three women had both entire and partial dependents. Table I shows the marital condition and number of dependents for the entire group of women who were interviewed.

TABLE I.—*Marital condition and number of dependents supported by 47 women street car conductors interviewed in Detroit, January, 1920.*

Number of dependents.	Number of women who were—				Total.
	Single.	Married.	Wid- owed.	Sep- arated.	
0.....	5	4	2	2	13
1.....	4	4	4	5	17
2.....	2	1	.....	1	4
3.....	.....	5	2	1	8
4.....	.....	.....	.....	2	2
5.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
6.....	.....	1	.....	1	2
7.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
8.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1
Total.....	12	15	8	12	47

Three of the unmarried women were entirely responsible for either mother or father, and one was helping to support her mother and father and six brothers and sisters. Of the married women, the greater number had only partial dependents, but one married woman was supporting entirely her mother, two sisters, and her husband; another was supporting entirely six children, and two others were entirely responsible for the support of three children. Of seven married women with partial dependents, two were helping support their husbands, three had partially dependent children, one had a partially dependent mother-in-law, and one was helping to support her mother-in-law, stepson, and stepdaughter. Of the widows and women who were separated or divorced, all of their dependents, with two exceptions, were entirely dependent, and all were children.

Previous occupation.

Women have not been employed for very long on street railways, so, of course, the greater number of them have worked in other occupations. In the light of the many criticisms that have been made of the suitability of conductors' work for women and to emphasize the value of the opinion of the women themselves as to the relative advantages of their present and former employment, it is important to know from what occupations these women had been recruited. The greater number of them, eight, had previously worked in clerical occupations, six had done general housework and two had done day's work, six had been waitresses in restaurants and two had done other work in restaurants. Three had operated sewing machines and three had operated other machines in a factory, five had done different kinds of light factory work, such as sorting and inspecting. One dressmaker, two janitresses, one telephone operator, two salesladies, one attendant in a State institution, and one driver of a rural free-delivery wagon complete the list. Only three women had never done any work before, and of the entire group only the woman who used to drive the rural free-delivery wagon preferred her former to her present employment.

Reasons for liking work on street cars.

The popularity of work on the street cars was very striking. Every woman had some reason for liking it; some had as many as eight or nine.

Table II shows the more important reasons which were given for preferring this work and the number of women giving each reason as either the main consideration or a secondary consideration.

TABLE II.—Reasons given by 47 women interviewed in Detroit, January, 1920, for preferring employment as conductors on street railways to any former occupation.

Reasons.	Number of women giving each reason, as—		Total.
	The chief reason.	A secondary reason.	
Better wages than in former employment	17	13	30
Out-of-door work	11	19	30
Better for her health.....	4	16	20
Worker can arrange for break in day and time off for personal matters and rest.....	1	21	22
Worker is not on feet all day as in former occupations.....		14	14
Not so straining, tiring, or difficult to please; in every way easier than former occupation.....	10	16	26
Constant change in scenery and interest.....	1	11	12
Feel more independent; no one checking up on you so constantly.....	3	8	11
Not lonely or monotonous.....		4	4
Shorter hours than in former employment.....		3	3
No responsibility when off duty.....		3	3
Can take a day off once in a while.....		2	2
No strain on eyes.....		2	2
No lifting.....		2	2
Total.....	47	134	181

Thirty women liked their present employment because of the wages which they earned and 29 liked it because the work was out of doors. This last reason is one which contradicts the many statements which have been made to the effect that the exposure incident to this work made it particularly hard for women. The most significant thing which was brought out in the interviews with the women was that there were so many things about this occupation which made it desirable. Almost every interview showed a different aspect of the question of desirable conditions of employment, and many of the interviews were so enlightening that they could not be separated into one subject and another, but must be quoted in full to bring out the many questions which affect the desirability of a job from the point of view of the worker herself.

Better Health—Best Wages.

I have tried a number of occupations. Began with housework when 16, but it was so lonely, no one ever spoke to me except in a hurry to give me orders or to find fault. The work was heavy and the hours long. After two years I tried clerking in a bakery store, then a dry goods store. The hours were better, and it was not so lonely, for I did see people, of course, but the pay was so small I couldn't live on it, so I took up tailoring and dressmaking, and worked at that 12 years. The pay was some better than clerking, and I was not on my feet, which meant a lot. When the war came I went to an automobile factory, operated a lathe first, then milling and screw machines, and had to lift steel pieces weighing 10 to 12 pounds—had to lift them, put them in the machine, take them out and lift them aside, one after another, for nine hours a day. It was very heavy work, and with the standing on my feet all day was just more than I could stand.

I had headaches all the time while doing general housework, clerking, and in the machine shop; never have them now. So you can't wonder I prefer this work, which is out of doors, not heavy, and does not mean being on my feet all the time and still pays me the best wages I have ever had.

You see, my father is 76 and can only care for himself; couldn't do that but for the small pension he gets. I have to support my mother and a niece 3 years old, so I have a mighty good reason for hoping I won't have to give up this job.

Time for Her Children.

Well, before the war I kept house for my husband. But he was a German through and through. I am an American through and through. He wouldn't have anything to do with anyone who found fault with his country. So it was up to somebody else to provide food and shelter for our three children, and, of course, that somebody was me. I went into a machine shop and made good money, but my children are 13, 11, and 6, and I had to leave early and they had to get lunch alone. Now I have breakfast and lunch with them, and can often arrange to be at home for supper, but a friend who works during the day lives with me so they have her at night when I am on my run.

Man's Work—Man's Pay.

Lightest work I ever did and best pay. Have worked at housework, checking orders in a drug factory, done clerical work, and as a telephone operator. Had to do heavy lifting when I checked orders in the drug company; filled a man's place at \$15 a week, while men beside me got twice that. Do you wonder I appreciate being treated as well and paid just the same as a man?

Then they fuss about our late runs; why I worked at the telephone exchange from 11 p. m. to 7 a. m. night after night, but no one got excited over that.

She's Her Own Boss.

You are practically your own boss; at least you are if you attend to your work. Somebody isn't trailing you about, so you feel really independent. Then it isn't lonely or monotonous like housework. My! I was lucky to get in.

I have six small brothers and sisters in the old country, and my father is sick, so I send \$20 each pay day to them. That is all the money they have had for some time, but now my brother has come to America and he will send them money so they can get on. He tells me things cost more there than here, so goodness knows \$40 a month has not been enough.

Out-of-Doors Work.

I like the work because it is out doors and good pay. I was almost a nervous wreck when I came on, and now I'm perfectly well.

When I worked as a waitress I earned about the same as now because of the tips, but I walked miles and miles every day and carried tons of trays, it seemed so at least, they were so heavy, and people were always complaining of slow service and all kinds of things, so that I sometimes went into the kitchen and worked as a cook, giving up the tips, just to get away from it. But I couldn't indulge in that for a long period at a time because I have a

small boy and girl to support. This is pleasant work, no kicks, and you can sit down at times during the day.

I have always worked on a job where I had to stand all day and I do appreciate being able to drop on a seat for a few minutes off and on.

She Can Support Four.

Hours are irregular and I can pick the hours I want. I found inspecting small parts in a factory very hard on my eyes and I found it so hard to attend to my duties at home. For a long time while my children were small I had to do washing at home, but it was so hard on my back I couldn't stand it.

Why do I like this better? Well, I have lived through years of want and have not had sufficient food for my children so naturally I like being able to provide enough for them.

No one who has worked in a factory can fail to appreciate or understand why we prefer this outdoor work. I tried driving a taxicab, but found that too cold. This is not work, it's being on duty without special exertion, and being on duty under pleasant conditions with constant change of scenery; always seeing people and interesting things.

Then the good wages have lifted my children out of the ranks of those in want. I am supporting four, and thank God, my earnings now make it possible to give them the food, clothing, and shelter they need.

Easier Than Washing.

Oh, I like it so much better than anything I ever did. The wages are good, it's outdoor work, and a million times easier than washing by the day. Laundry work by the day means new bosses every day and often unpleasant matters come up. Here no one bothers us if we attend to our job.

Although these accounts by the women themselves are so illuminating as to need hardly any comments, it is significant to note in Tables III and IV the comparative figures for their present and former wages and hours of work.

TABLE III.—Wages of 34 women conductors in Detroit interviewed in January, 1920, showing weekly wage in present occupation and in former occupation.¹

Wages in former occupation.	Number of women who were receiving in present occupation—				Total.
	\$27 to \$30	\$30 to \$33	\$33 to \$36	\$36 to \$39	
\$5 to \$6			1		1
\$6 to \$9	1	5			6
\$9 to \$12		2	1		3
\$12 to \$15		2		3	5
\$15 to \$18	1	6	4		11
\$18 to \$21		1	1	1	3
\$21 to \$24		2			2
\$24 to \$27		1	1		2
\$50			1		1
Total	2	19	9	4	34

¹ Six of these women had previously done general housework and six had been waitresses in restaurants. The "wages in former occupation" does not include any allowance for meals or lodging which may have been received.

Table III shows that as far as wages are concerned only one woman ever worked in an occupation which would compare with that of a street-car conductor. Every one of the women reported that they got over \$27 a week as street-car conductors, while only one had made as much as that previously.

TABLE IV.—Hours of employment of 32 women conductors in Detroit interviewed in January, 1920, showing weekly hours in present and in former occupation.

Weekly hours in former occupation.	Number of women who were working in their present occupation—					Total.
	Under 42 hours.	42 and under 48 hours.	48 and under 54 hours.	54 and under 60 hours.	60 and under 63 hours.	
Under 42.....	1			1		2
42 and under 48.....	1					1
48 and under 54.....	2	1		1		4
54 and under 60.....		2	1	2	2	7
60 and under 66.....	1	1	1	1		4
66 and under 72.....	1			2		3
72 and under 78.....			1			2
84 and under 90.....			1	1		2
90 and under 96.....	1	1				2
96 and under 102.....	1	2	1			4
115.....				1		1
Total.....	8	8	5	9	2	32

A similar condition is found in Table IV, when the hours are considered. All except two of the 32 women who reported on this question worked less than 60 hours a week on the street cars, while only 14 had worked less than 60 hours in their previous occupations, and nine had formerly worked more than 84 hours a week.

Opinions on legislation.

There was naturally a considerable diversity of opinion as to the advantages or disadvantages of the law limiting hours of work. Twenty-six women stated definitely that they liked the law and its effects, while six objected to all the provisions of the law. Four women said they were satisfied with the law because they felt it necessary for their protection. Three women said they did not object to the 10-hour daily limit, but did not want a 54-hour weekly limitation. Their reason for this was that they wanted to be able to work every day in the week occasionally when they were in need of money, and they thought six 10-hour days were not too much for a regular thing. They did feel, however, that more than 10 hours a day was undesirable. Eight women objected to the 10-hour daily limitation, but thought the 54-hour week was a good thing. They stated that they did not have a free choice of runs when the 10-hour limitation was in effect, and that frequently they were obliged to give up a run where the hours were only slightly over

10, and thereby lose a considerable bonus. They seemed to feel that it was almost impossible to keep within the 10 hours unless only runs with very much less than 10 hours on duty were chosen, so that in case of lateness or accident the time would not exceed 10 hours.

The following statements of their attitude toward the law are typical and give an indication of several points of view:

Would Like Nine-Hour Runs.

Would like law better if we could pick 9-hour runs. Now, sometimes, we have to let men finish our run, which means he gets time and a half while I sacrifice the bonus on the run and have to give up several minutes of my run. The company doesn't always find it possible to put a man on to take the car to the end of the line and back, when we get in late, but when they can they do, to keep us from working over 10 hours, but it costs us money.

Hasn't Made Much Difference.

Hasn't made much difference, because I always took time off. Fifty-four hours a week ought to be long enough for anybody, and the pay is high enough to make it a sufficient wage for everyone except, perhaps, those with big families. Not having any dependents I find it so, at least.

Fifty-four Hours Enough for Anybody.

Think 54 hours long enough for anybody, but as we've taken men's places we ought not to be handicapped from taking our runs as they come.

Shorter Hours Mean Less Pay.

Believe women should have equal rights with men. Some of the women working here have had to give up money they needed badly by being forced to cut their hours. When you are strong and have children to support it is rather difficult to understand why such restrictions are placed, especially when you know of many women working two shifts in restaurants so as to increase their pay. Some work 16 hours, six and seven days each week. Why pick on the street car women?

Time Off Worth Pay Lost.

The time off for yourself is worth the money sacrifice. [This woman has supported a daughter for eight years.]

Women Need Laws Regulating Hours.

Ten hours a day and 54 hours a week are long enough for anyone. If there were not laws to limit the hours of work for women, some employers would work them to death.

HOURS AND CONDITIONS OF WORK IN DETROIT.**Number of employees.**

In July, 1919, the Detroit United Railway Co. employed 111 women on four street car lines. On these same lines were also employed at that time 604 men, making a total of 715 employees, with the women forming slightly over 15 per cent of the total number of employees on the four lines. There were 66 men and 17 women employed as extra conductors. All of the others were regular conductors.

Women were first employed as conductors during the war in June, 1918, and by August, 1918, a total of approximately 300 women were working in this capacity. The number has decreased steadily since that time, and the company has stated that they intend to keep on whatever women may wish to stay, but not to take on any new women employees.

In addition to the women employed as conductors there were also 11 women employed as cashiers in the barns. Their duties were to give out and receive change and transfers, and they also started work in June, 1918.

Special regulations for women.

In June, 1919, when this investigation was started, the Michigan law did not limit the hours of work for women on transportation lines, but in 1919 a new law had been passed to become effective August 26, 1919, limiting the hours of work for women in transportation to 10 in any day and 54 in any week. This law does not stipulate that the daily hours shall be consecutive, nor does it limit the hours within which the day's work shall be performed. There is no prohibition of night work for women.

The company has a rule that women must take one day off in every seven, but the figures in this report show that this rule was not always followed.

Seniority rights.

The policy of the company, as stated by their representatives, is to give women the same opportunities as men. One seniority list is maintained for all employees on each line. The order in which employees stand on the seniority list determines their opportunity for choosing a desirable run. As the women have been employed for a much shorter period than the men, and as returned soldiers took their former places on the list, the majority of the men have a right to choose before the women.

Time, method, and scope of investigation.

Because of the passage of the law affecting the employment of women in this occupation, it was necessary to secure figures covering two periods, one before and one after the law went into effect. Facts on wages and hours were accordingly secured from the records of the company for one week in each period. The dates for which this material was secured were June 29 to July 5, 1919, and January 1 to January 7, 1920. The officials of the company cooperated in every way with the agents of the Women's Bureau by giving access to their records and supplying much other information. The facts collected in this way were supplemented by interviews with State labor officials and members of the union.

Because of the irregularity of street-car work, the methods of recording the hours of employees, and the fact that the data were collected after the records had been closed, it was impossible to secure for the July week figures which gave the actual hours worked by any employee.

The wage paid is not a true indication of the number of hours which have been worked, as many bonuses and special allowances are included in the weekly wage which have not been earned by actual hours of work. As the original records of these additional allowances appear in the form of minutes and not dollars and cents it is sometimes difficult to separate the minutes worked from those which merely indicate payment of a bonus. For instance, if a woman has chosen a run, and has been assigned to it, and then for some reason has been put on another run, she is paid at the rate of time and a half for the hours on this other run which do not coincide with the hours of the run she had chosen. Thus, if a conductor should choose a run with hours from 8 to 10, and from 12 to 2, and be then put on a run the hours of which were from 10 to 12 and from 1 to 3, she would be paid at the rate of time and a half for the two hours from 10 to 12, and the one hour from 2 to 3, which hours were outside of the hours she had originally chosen. A special allowance is also given on some trips when a car must be taken to the barn, when it is taken to the end of the line, or when it is brought out to meet or relieve another conductor, and when a car is late there is also an additional payment at the rate of time and a half for the minutes late. If an additional run is taken after the regular run it is paid for at time and a half and on Sundays and holidays all time actually worked over 8 hours is paid for at time and a half. All conductors are required to report 10 minutes before their first daily run, and they are paid for this 10 minutes.

In addition to the figures giving the hours for which pay was received, the other available figures which deal with the hours of employees are the "run sheets," which give the hours of the runs available for choice during a week. There are in Detroit three groups of these "run sheets," one for week days, Monday to Friday, inclusive, one for Saturdays, and one for Sundays.

This triple arrangement of hours is necessary because of the varying traffic which must be handled at different times of the week. Saturday traffic is apt to be heavier and its demands spread over a longer period than that on week days, while on Sunday the demands are so much lighter that shorter runs can be arranged for almost every one. The run sheets show what runs were chosen by each man and woman for their work during the week, on Saturday, and on Sunday, but they do not show on how many of those days any one person worked, whether the working hours were prolonged by accident and lateness, or whether the person choosing that run was transferred to another where the hours were different. The run sheets are, however, a definite indication of the extent to which, *according to the plans of the company*, the hours are long or short, whether the hours are adjusted so that the over-all is not excessively long, and whether the choice open to the women is at all comparable in desirability with the choice open to men. A comparison of the run sheets for the two periods for which the material in this report was gathered will also show what adjustments the company has made to conform to the requirements of the new law.

In January, by an intensive study of the amount paid each woman on each day during the period and a deduction of all bonus and overtime payment, it was possible to secure figures giving the actual hours which were worked by the women during that period. As such figures were unfortunately not available for July, in the tables comparing January and July hours the material used was secured from the run sheets for the two weeks.

Actual and over-all hours of runs scheduled for women, July, 1919, and January, 1920.

Table V shows the runs scheduled for the women on week days, Saturdays, and Sundays in one week in July and one week in January.

ACTUAL HOURS ON DUTY, WEEK DAYS.

The figures given in Table V, section A, are the most important, as they show the prevailing hours for five days in the week. During this period in July 80.9 per cent of the women were scheduled for runs with less than 10½ actual hours on duty. In January 98.4 per

cent of the women were scheduled for such runs. The greatest number of women—28—had runs with $9\frac{1}{2}$ or less than 10 hours on duty during each period, 29.8 per cent of the women in July and 43.7 per cent in January being scheduled in this group.

ACTUAL HOURS ON DUTY, SATURDAYS.

The runs scheduled for Saturdays in July and January, as shown in section B, indicate that the hours worked on the Saturdays in January were longer than on the Saturdays in July, although there was a slight improvement in the over-all hours in January. In July 76.8 per cent of the women were scheduled for runs with 10 and less than $10\frac{1}{2}$ hours on duty. In January only 69.7 per cent of the women's runs fell within this group.

ACTUAL HOURS ON DUTY, SUNDAYS.

The hours on duty on Sundays in January were shorter than on Sundays in July. In July 50.6 per cent of the women were scheduled for less than $8\frac{1}{2}$ hours on duty, while in January 75.8 per cent of their runs came within these hours.

On the whole, then, the actual hours on duty for women as shown by the scheduled runs were shorter in January than in July. The one instance in which there was a smaller number of shorter runs in January than in July was found in the Saturday runs. The fact that 7.1 per cent more women in July than in January had Saturday runs with hours less than $10\frac{1}{2}$ can be explained largely by the fact that very abnormal conditions existed in Detroit during the week for which the January figures were taken. At this time the city was in the grip of the influenza epidemic, which so depleted the force of street car employees that runs could not always be arranged suitably.

OVER-ALL HOURS.

The over-all hours or "hours within which duty is performed" of the runs scheduled for the women were also somewhat shorter in January than in July. Much stress frequently has been laid on the hardship of the very long over-all hours on the street railways. The investigators who collected the information for this report were not able to find, however, any definite expression of preference on the part of the women street car conductors for shorter over-all hours. Many of the women found the work congenial and easy, especially because there was a break in their working hours during which they could get away. Sometimes a very long break, making the over-all hours extremely long, would be found preferable to a short one of an hour or two, as little use could be made of the shorter interval.

There is a general tendency throughout the country to shorten the over-all as well as the actual hours on duty, but no hard-and-fast rule can be drawn at present which will indicate the most desirable over-all hours.

In July the over-all hours for the runs scheduled for the women were longer than they were in January. Of the week-day runs in July, as shown in Table V, section A, 26.6 per cent had an over all of less than 11 hours and 42.6 per cent of less than $12\frac{1}{2}$ hours. In January, however, 42.2 per cent of the women were scheduled for runs for which the over-all hours were less than 11 and 54.7 per cent had runs with over-all hours less than $12\frac{1}{2}$.

Even the Saturday runs, the actual hours of which were shorter in July than in January, show in section B over-all hours longer in July than in January. Saturday runs with less than 11 hours over all were scheduled for 27.4 per cent of the women in July and 28.8 per cent in January, while runs with less than $13\frac{1}{2}$ hours over all were scheduled for 65.3 per cent of the women in July and 69.7 per cent in January.

Sunday runs for women in both months were, with one exception, straight runs, so the actual hours worked and the over-all hours coincided.

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44 WOMEN STREET CAR CONDUCTORS AND TICKET AGENTS.

TABLE V.—Runs scheduled for women conductors in Detroit, classified by hours

A. WEEK

Hours within which duty was performed.	Number of runs with hours on duty of—													
	4½ and under 5.		5 and under 5½.		5½ and under 6.		6 and under 6½.		6½ and under 7.		7 and under 7½.		7½ and under 8.	
	July.	January.	July.	January.	July.	January.	July.	January.	July.	January.	July.	January.	July.	January.
8 and less than 8½														
8½ and less than 9														
9 and less than 9½														
9½ and less than 10														
10 and less than 10½														
10½ and less than 11														
11 and less than 11½														
11½ and less than 12														
12 and less than 12½														
12½ and less than 13														
13 and less than 13½														
13½ and less than 14														
14 and less than 14½														
14½ and less than 15														
15 and less than 15½														
15½ and less than 16														
Total														
Cumulative per cent.														

B. SATUR

8 and less than 8½														
8½ and less than 9														
9 and less than 9½														
9½ and less than 10														
10 and less than 10½														
10½ and less than 11														
11 and less than 11½														
11½ and less than 12														
12 and less than 12½														
12½ and less than 13														
13 and less than 13½														
13½ and less than 14														
14 and less than 14½														
14½ and less than 15														
15 and less than 15½														
15½ and less than 16														
16 and less than 16½														
16½ and less than 17														
Total														
Cumulative per cent.														

C. SUN

4½ and less than 5	2													
5 and less than 5½		2	1											
5½ and less than 6				2	7									
6 and less than 6½						5	8							
6½ and less than 7								13	6					
7 and less than 7½										7	3			
7½ and less than 8												4	12	
8 and less than 8½														
8½ and less than 9														
9 and less than 9½														
9½ and less than 10														
10 and less than 10½														
10½ and less than 11														
Total	2	2	2	1	2	7	5	8	13	6	7	3	4	12
Cumulative per cent.	2.2	4.4	1.5	6.6	12.1	12.1	24.3	26.4	33.3	34.1	37.9	38.5	56.1	

Actual and over-all hours of runs scheduled for men conductors, July, 1919, and January, 1920.

Table VI shows the hours of the runs scheduled on week days, Saturdays, and Sundays for the men conductors on the same lines and for the same period for which the hours of the women are given. As the number of men was so much greater than the number of women employed, it was not considered necessary to list the runs scheduled for each man, but instead the hours of every fifth man of those who stood above the women on the seniority list were taken.

ACTUAL HOURS ON DUTY, WEEK DAYS.

The week-day runs show almost the same groupings in the hours on duty for the men as for the women, with less difference between July and January for the men than was the case among the women's choice. In July 83.7 per cent of the men and in January 92.8 per cent were scheduled for week-day runs with less than $10\frac{1}{2}$ hours on duty, showing an increase of shorter runs of 9.1 per cent in January. The increase of shorter runs for the women was 17.5 per cent.

ACTUAL HOURS ON DUTY, SATURDAYS.

There was a slight decrease in January in the number of men scheduled for Saturday runs with less than $10\frac{1}{2}$ hours on duty, although this decrease was not so great as the decrease in the number of women scheduled for the shorter runs on Saturdays in January. Of the Saturday runs for men 86.2 per cent in July and 85.6 per cent in January required less than $10\frac{1}{2}$ hours on duty.

ACTUAL HOURS ON DUTY, SUNDAYS.

Sunday runs with less than $8\frac{1}{2}$ hours on duty were scheduled for more men in January than in July, although the number having the shorter runs in January does not show so large an increase over the July number as in the case of the runs scheduled for the women. Of the men's Sunday runs 58 per cent in July and 63.9 per cent in January required less than $8\frac{1}{2}$ hours on duty.

OVER-ALL HOURS.

The hours within which work was performed for the runs scheduled for the men decreased considerably from July to January. On week days in July 45.3 per cent of the men were scheduled for runs with less than 11 over-all hours, while in January 62.9 per cent of the men had such hours. Runs with an over all of less than $12\frac{1}{2}$ hours

were scheduled on week days for 47.7 per cent of the men in July and 69.1 per cent in January. On Saturdays in July 64.4 and in January 73.2 per cent of the men's runs had an over all of less than 11 hours.

Sunday runs were, with two exceptions, straight runs, so the over-all and actual hours worked coincide.

TABLE VI.—Runs scheduled for men conductors in Detroit, classified by hours on

A. WEEK

Hours within which duty was performed.	Number of runs with hours on duty of—													
	4½ and under 5.		5 and under 5½.		5½ and under 6.		6 and under 6½.		6½ and under 7.		7 and under 7½.		7½ and under 8.	
	July.	January.	July.	January.	July.	January.	July.	January.	July.	January.	July.	January.	July.	January.
7½ and under 8.....														2
8½ and under 9.....														
9 and under 9½.....														
9½ and under 10.....														
10 and under 10½.....														
10½ and under 11.....														
11 and under 11½.....														
11½ and under 12.....														
12 and under 12½.....														
12½ and under 13.....														
13 and under 13½.....														
13½ and under 14.....														
14 and under 14½.....														
14½ and under 15.....														
15 and under 15½.....														
16 and under 16½.....														
Total.....														2
Cumulative per cent.....														2.1

B. SATUR

8 and under 8½.....														
8½ and under 9.....														
9 and under 9½.....														
9½ and under 10.....														
10 and under 10½.....														
10½ and under 11.....														
11 and under 11½.....														
11½ and under 12.....														
12 and under 12½.....														
12½ and under 13.....														
13 and under 13½.....														
13½ and under 14.....														
14 and under 14½.....														
14½ and under 15.....														
15 and under 15½.....														
16 and under 16½.....														
Total.....														
Cumulative per cent.....														

C. SUN

5 and under 5½.....			1	1										
5½ and under 6.....			1			6								
6 and under 6½.....						7	7							
6½ and under 7.....								5	5					
7 and under 7½.....										3	2			
7½ and under 8.....												5	20	
8 and under 8½.....														
8½ and under 9.....														
9 and under 9½.....														
9½ and under 10.....														
10 and under 10½.....														
10½ and under 11.....														
Total.....			2	1		6	7	7	5	5	3	2	5	20
Cumulative per cent.....			2.5	1.0		2.5	7.2	11.1	14.4	17.3	19.6	21.0	21.6	27.2

duty and hours within which duty was performed, July, 1919, and January, 1920.

DAY RUNS.

Number of runs with hours on duty of—																						
8 and under 8½		8½ and under 9.		9 and under 9½.		9½ and under 10.		10 and under 10½.		10½ and under 11.		11 and under 11½.		11½ and under 12.		12 and under 12½.		Total.		Cumulative per cent.		
July.	January.	July.	January.	July.	January.	July.	January.	July.	January.	July.	January.	July.	January.	July.	January.	July.	January.	July.	January.	July.	January.	
		2				8	17											2	2	2.1	2.1	
								21	28									21	28	11.6	19.6	
										6	12							6	12	36.1	48.5	
												2	2					2	2	43.0	62.9	
														1				1	1	45.4	63.9	
								1	1									1	1	45.4	65.0	
		1		3		6	3	5	2	1	1							2	4	47.7	69.1	
				3	3	3	8	2	5	1	1			2				17	3	67.5	72.2	
		1		1		2		4	1	1	2			2				9	16	77.9	88.7	
				1		1		1	1	2				2				2	5	80.3	93.8	
		1						1	1	2	1							12	1	94.2	94.8	
									1	1	2	1						3	2	94.2	96.9	
								1	1		1							3	2	97.7	98.9	
								1	1		1							2	1	100.0	100.0	
2.1	5.8	2.1	23.3	23.7	62.8	69.1	83.7	92.8	94.2	99.0	100.0	100.0					86	97				

DAY RUNS.

1	1																	1	1	1.1	1.0	
		4	2															4	2	5.8	3.1	
				13	13													13	13	20.7	16.5	
						22	35											22	35	46.0	52.6	
								9	15									9	15	56.3	68.0	
				1		4		1		7	4							7	5	64.4	73.2	
				1		1		1										3	1	67.8	73.2	
1						2		2										6	2	74.7	75.2	
						2		1		3								2	1	77.0	75.2	
				2		1	3	2	4		3			1				3	11	80.5	86.6	
		2		2		1	3	2	2	2	2							9	7	90.8	93.8	
						1		1		1								1	1	92.0	94.8	
						1		1		1								2	3	94.3	97.9	
						1		1		1								1	1	95.4	97.9	
				2	1													3	2	98.9	100.0	
								1										1	1	100.0	100.0	
2.3	1.0	9.2	3.1	32.2	19.6	69.0	62.9	86.2	85.6	97.7	95.9	98.9	97.9	100.0	100.0		87	97				

DAY RUNS.

																		1	1	1.2	1.0	
																		1	6	2.5	7.2	
																		7	7	11.1	14.4	
																		5	5	17.3	19.6	
																		3	2	21.0	21.6	
																		5	5	27.1	42.3	
25	21																	25	21	53.0	63.9	
			13	16														13	16	74.1	80.4	
					3	10												3	10	77.8	90.7	
					1		8	7										9	7	88.9	97.9	
								4	2									4	2	93.8	100.0	
										5								5	5	100.0	100.0	
25	21	13	16	4	10	8	7	4	2	5							81	97				
58.0	63.9	74.1	80.4	79.0	90.7	88.9	97.9	93.8	100.0	100.0												

Summary of Actual and Over-All Hours for Men and Women.

A summary of the foregoing tables is given in Tables VII and VIII. The figures showing the extent of the increase or decrease in the percentage of men and women scheduled for the shorter runs in January are particularly significant.

TABLE VII.—*Per cent of men and women conductors in Detroit who were scheduled for runs with less than 10½ hours on duty on week days and Saturdays, and less than 8½ hours on duty on Sundays in July, 1919, and January, 1920.*

Month.	Per cent of men and women scheduled for runs with less than 10½ hours on duty.				Per cent of men and women scheduled for runs with less than 8½ hours on duty.	
	Week days.		Saturdays.		Sundays.	
	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.
July, 1919.....	83.7	80.9	86.2	76.8	58.0	50.6
January, 1920.....	92.8	98.4	85.6	69.7	63.9	75.8
Increase (+) or decrease (—).....	+9.1	+17.5	—0.6	—7.1	+5.9	+25.2

TABLE VIII.—*Per cent of men and women conductors in Detroit who were scheduled for runs with less than 11 hours over all on week days and Saturdays in July, 1919, and January, 1920.*

Month.	Per cent of men and women scheduled for runs with less than 11 hours over all.			
	Week days.		Saturdays.	
	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.
July, 1919.....	45.3	26.6	64.4	27.4
January, 1920.....	62.9	42.2	73.2	28.8
Increase.....	17.6	15.6	8.8	1.4

Except for the actual hours of the Saturday runs, both actual hours of work and over-all hours were shortened in January. How much this shortening was due to the necessity for conforming to the restrictions of the new law it is impossible to say. The fact that an increased number of short runs were chosen by both men and women would seem to indicate that there was a general shortening of hours, and not a local readjustment only of the hours of the women conductors. The difference between the winter and the summer schedule contributed somewhat to the change in hours for both the men and the women. The figures giving the extent of the increase or decrease

in the percentage of men and women scheduled for shorter actual hours of work show clearly, however, that the women benefited to a greater extent than did the men in every case except on Saturdays in January, when the runs were longer than in July, and when there was a smaller decrease in the number of men than in the number of women having the shorter runs. The over-all hours in January as shown in Table VIII were shortened for the men to a greater extent than for the women.

Hours beginning and ending work.

Work on transportation lines can be classed as being work in a practically continuous industry. Street-cars must be run all night, or almost all night, and in some localities very heavy traffic is handled late in the evening when the theaters are letting out. For this reason there are always many runs where the hours of beginning and ending are, to say the least, inconvenient for the workers.

Anyone who has studied the actual conditions of street-car employment and the opinions of the workers themselves would hesitate before making a statement of exactly what were the most desirable hours. A large number of men whose seniority rights are greater than those of the women chose the runs which began early in the morning. They also seemed to prefer the straight runs. Many of the women, however, gave as their chief reasons for liking the work on street cars the fact that their hours were arranged so that they could be at home in the morning, or could get home for some time during the day. Although almost all of the men had seniority rights superior to the women, the choice of runs beginning or ending at a certain time, or with certain over-all or actual hours, was never unanimous, and in only one case even so nearly unanimous as to be very significant. This one case was in the choice of runs on Sundays, where over 70 per cent of the men were scheduled for runs beginning in the morning and over 90 per cent of the women for those beginning in the afternoon. This is surely an indication that Sunday afternoons at home are particularly prized by the men who were exercising their seniority rights in choosing these hours, leaving the runs later in the day for the women.

Hours beginning and ending for women.

Table IX gives the hours of beginning and ending work for the runs scheduled for women on weeks days, Saturdays, and Sundays in July and January.

WEEK DAYS.

The figures in this table do not show any great change between the two months. Table IX, section A, shows that 46.8 per cent of the women in July and 48.4 per cent in January were scheduled for week-day runs with starting hours between 4 and 6 in the morning. Another comparatively large group of women, 22.4 per cent in July and 25 per cent in January, had runs which began between 2 and 4 in the afternoon.

Almost all of the women who started work between 4 and 6 in the morning ended their day's work between 6 and 9 in the evening. The ending hours for 41.5 per cent of the women's week-day runs in July and 36 per cent in January were between 6 and 9 p. m.

For the group of runs with hours beginning between 2 and 4 in the afternoon the ending hours are between midnight and 2 in the morning. In July 37.2 per cent and in January 34.3 per cent of the women's runs were scheduled to end between midnight and 2 a. m.

SATURDAYS.

The hours of beginning and ending for the Saturday runs of the women are shown in Table IX, section B. The grouping for these runs is very similar to the week-day runs. The predominating starting hours were the same as for the week-day runs, from 4 a. m. to 6 a. m. In July 52.7 per cent and in January 53 per cent of the runs scheduled for women on Saturdays started between 4 and 6 in the morning. Next to the runs which start in the early morning the most important group of runs, as far as the women are concerned, on Saturdays as on week days, is that group with starting hours between 2 and 4 in the afternoon. In this group came 21 per cent of the women's Saturday runs in July and 19.7 per cent in January.

The ending hours for most of the Saturday runs which began between 4 and 6 a. m. were, as for the week-day runs, between 6 and 9 p. m. In July 42.1 per cent and in January 39.4 per cent of all the Saturday runs scheduled for the women ended between 6 and 9 p. m. The Saturday runs, beginning between 2 and 4 in the afternoon, all ended after midnight. For 30.5 per cent of the runs scheduled for the women on Saturdays in July and for 25.8 per cent of those in January the ending hours came between midnight and 2 a. m.

SUNDAYS.

The hours of beginning and ending the runs chosen by the women on Sundays as given in Table IX, section C, show a situation very

different from the hours of the week day and Saturday runs. In Table V, section C, the fact is brought out that, except for one run, all Sunday runs were straight, with the over all no greater than the actual hours of work. The figures given in this section show that practically all of the runs which were scheduled for the women on Sundays began late in the day and finished between 11 p. m. and 2 a. m. These runs were scheduled for 71.5 per cent of the women in July and 54.6 per cent in January.

54 WOMEN STREET CAR CONDUCTORS AND TICKET AGENTS.

TABLE IX.—Number of runs scheduled for women conductors in Detroit,

A. ENDING TIME,

Beginning time.	12 p. m. and before 1 a. m.		1 a. m. and before 2 a. m.		2 a. m. and before 3 a. m.		3 a. m. and before 4 a. m.		1 p. m. and before 2 p. m.		3 p. m. and before 4 p. m.	
	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.
	4 a. m. and before 5 a. m.									1		
5 a. m. and before 6 a. m.												
6 a. m. and before 7 a. m.												
7 a. m. and before 8 a. m.												
10 a. m. and before 11 a. m.												
11 a. m. and before 12 noon	2											
12 noon and before 1 p. m.	6		1									
1 p. m. and before 2 p. m.	1		3	1								
2 p. m. and before 3 p. m.	4	7	2	8								
3 p. m. and before 4 p. m.			2	5	1							
4 p. m. and before 5 p. m.			3	3								
Total.....	13	7	22	15	3	1			1			
Per cent.....	13.8	10.9	23.4	23.4	3.2	1.6			1.1			

B. ENDING TIME,

12 p. m. and before 1 a. m.									2			
4 a. m. and before 5 a. m.												2
5 a. m. and before 6 a. m.												
6 a. m. and before 7 a. m.												
7 a. m. and before 8 a. m.												
10 a. m. and before 11 a. m.												
11 a. m. and before 12 noon	2											
12 noon and before 1 p. m.	3											
1 p. m. and before 2 p. m.		2	2									
2 p. m. and before 3 p. m.	5	3	7	3								
3 p. m. and before 4 p. m.			8	7								
4 p. m. and before 5 p. m.			2	2	2	1			1			
5 p. m. and before 6 p. m.								1				
Total.....	10	5	19	12	2	1		2	2			2
Per cent.....	10.5	7.6	20.0	18.2	2.1	1.5		3.0	2.1			2.1

C. ENDING TIME,

9 a. m. and before 10 a. m.												
11 a. m. and before 12 noon												
12 noon and before 1 p. m.												
1 p. m. and before 2 p. m.		1										
2 p. m. and before 3 p. m.	2	1										
3 p. m. and before 4 p. m.	4	2	4		1							
4 p. m. and before 5 p. m.	4	4	3	1								
5 p. m. and before 6 p. m.	5	2	6	5	3							
6 p. m. and before 7 p. m.	4	7	6	2	2	1						
7 p. m. and before 8 p. m.	1	2	3	2					1			
Total.....	20	19	22	10	6	1			1			
Per cent.....	22.0	28.8	24.2	15.2	6.6	1.5			1.5			

classified by beginning and ending hours for July, 1919, and January, 1920.

WEEK-DAY RUNS.

4 p. m. and before 5 p. m.		5 p. m. and before 6 p. m.		6 p. m. and before 7 p. m.		7 p. m. and before 8 p. m.		8 p. m. and before 9 p. m.		9 p. m. and before 10 p. m.		10 p. m. and before 11 p. m.		11 p. m. and before 12 p. m.		Total.					
																Number.		Per cent.			
July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.
		4	2	3	5	1	7	3	2	1	1					8	8	8.5	12.5		
		3	7	14	7	9	5	7	3	2	1	1				36	23	38.3	35.9		
				3	2			1								4	2	4.3	3.1		
								1								1	2	1.1	3.1		
												1				3	1	3.2	1.6		
													3			2		2.1			
													2	2		9	2	9.6	3.1		
								1					3			5	4	5.3	6.3		
													1			12	8	12.8	12.5		
																9	9	9.6	12.5		
																5	6	5.3	9.4		
		7	9	20	14	9	6	10	3	2	1	1	2	6	6	94	64	100.0	100.0		
		7.4	14.1	21.3	21.9	9.6	9.4	10.6	4.7	2.1	1.6	1.1	3.1	6.4	9.4						

SATURDAY RUNS.

																				2	2.1
		4	5	1	4															7	7.4
1				17	9	2	5	13	7	7	3	3	2							43	26
				1				3	1	2	1	1								5	2
										1										6	5.3
																					6
																					4
																					4
																					4
																					4
																					4
																					4
																					4
1		4	5	19	13	2	5	19	8	10	4	4	3	1	8	95	66	100.0	100.0		
1.1		4.2	7.6	20.0	19.7	2.1	7.6	20.0	12.1	10.5	6.1	4.2	4.5	1.1	12.1						

SUNDAY RUNS.

				1	1																3	1
				1				4	3	1	1	5	3	1	1						10	2
				3				3	1	1	1	7	3	10							17	11
										1				2	9	2					12	5
														1	2	10					10	4
															1	7					7	7
															2	1	16				8	17.6
																1	12				11	13.2
																	4				5	4.4
		1		5	1		5	6	2	5	13	3	7	23	7	91	66	100.0	100.0			
		1.1		5.5	1.5		7.6	6.6	3.0	5.5	19.7	3.3	10.6	25.3	10.6							

Hours beginning and ending for men.

The prevailing hours of beginning and ending work for the men, as shown in Table X, illustrate a real difference between the runs which are chosen by the men and those which are chosen by the women and show the advantage given by the higher seniority standing of the men.

WEEK DAYS.

The predominating hours for starting work on week days for the men are shown in Table X, section A, to be between 4 and 6 in the morning. In July 80.2 per cent and in January 78.5 per cent of the runs scheduled on week days for the men started between 4 and 6 a. m.

As there was this large group of the men's runs which started early in the morning there was naturally a correspondingly large group of runs which ended in the late afternoon. In July 25.6 and in January 39.2 per cent of the runs scheduled for the men ended between 2 and 4 p. m., and between 4 and 6 p. m. came the ending hours for 13.9 per cent of the men's runs in July and 13.4 per cent in January.

There was no large group of men, as there was of women, who were scheduled for hours which began in the afternoon, nor was there any considerable number of men with runs which ended after 11 p. m.

SATURDAYS.

The Saturday runs scheduled for the men show a situation similar to the distribution of the week-day runs. In July 80.5 per cent and in January 83.5 per cent of all the Saturday runs scheduled for the men started between 4 and 6 in the morning. Ending time for 40.2 per cent of the men's runs on Saturdays in July and for 52.6 per cent in January was between 2 and 4 in the afternoon. Between 4 and 6 p. m. ended 18.4 per cent of the runs in July and 13.4 per cent of those in January.

SUNDAYS.

The Sunday runs scheduled for the men as given in Table X, section C, show a very different arrangement of hours from those scheduled for the women for the same day. The men's runs were massed in the early part of the day, 72.9 per cent in July and 75.3 per cent in January beginning between 4 a. m. and noon. The ending time for most of the Sunday runs scheduled for the men came in the afternoon, in July 51.8 per cent and in January 47.4 per cent of these runs having an ending time between 1 p. m. and 5 p. m.

No.	Name	No.	Name	No.	Name	No.	Name	No.	Name	No.	Name	No.	Name	No.	Name	No.	Name	No.	Name	No.	Name	No.	Name	No.	Name																																																																										
1	100	2	100	3	100	4	100	5	100	6	100	7	100	8	100	9	100	10	100	11	100	12	100	13	100	14	100	15	100	16	100	17	100	18	100	19	100	20	100	21	100	22	100	23	100	24	100	25	100	26	100	27	100	28	100	29	100	30	100	31	100	32	100	33	100	34	100	35	100	36	100	37	100	38	100	39	100	40	100	41	100	42	100	43	100	44	100	45	100	46	100	47	100	48	100	49	100	50	100

TABLE X.—Number of runs scheduled for men conductors in Detroit, classified by beginning and ending hours, for July, 1919, and January, 1920.

A. ENDING TIME, WEEK-DAY RUNS.

Beginning time.	12 p. m. and before 1 a. m.		1 a. m. and before 2 a. m.		2 a. m. and before 3 a. m.		3 a. m. and before 4 a. m.		4 a. m. and before 5 a. m.		5 a. m. and before 6 a. m.	
	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.
12 p. m. and before 1 a. m.												
3 a. m. and before 4 a. m.												
4 a. m. and before 5 a. m.												
5 a. m. and before 6 a. m.												
6 a. m. and before 7 a. m.												
7 a. m. and before 8 a. m.												
10 a. m. and before 11 a. m.												
12 noon and before 1 p. m.	1		1									
1 p. m. and before 2 p. m.												
2 p. m. and before 3 p. m.		3	1	1								
3 p. m. and before 4 p. m.			3	3			2					
4 p. m. and before 5 p. m.				1			2					
9 p. m. and before 10 p. m.												
10 p. m. and before 11 p. m.												
11 p. m. and before 12 p. m.												
Total	1	3	5	5			4					
Per cent.	1.2	3.1	5.8	5.2			4.1					

Beginning time.	6 a. m. and before 7 a. m.		7 a. m. and before 8 a. m.		8 a. m. and before 9 a. m.		9 a. m. and before 10 a. m.		10 a. m. and before 11 a. m.		11 a. m. and before 12 noon.		12 noon and before 1 p. m.		1 p. m. and before 2 p. m.		2 p. m. and before 3 p. m.		3 p. m. and before 4 p. m.		
	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	
12 p. m. and before 1 a. m.							1	2													
3 a. m. and before 4 a. m.																					
4 a. m. and before 5 a. m.														2							
5 a. m. and before 6 a. m.														3	16	20	1	1			
6 a. m. and before 7 a. m.														2	4	11	1	6			
7 a. m. and before 8 a. m.																					
10 a. m. and before 11 a. m.																					
12 noon and before 1 p. m.																					
1 p. m. and before 2 p. m.																					
2 p. m. and before 3 p. m.																					

3 p. m. and before 4 p. m.																				
4 p. m. and before 5 p. m.																				
9 p. m. and before 10 p. m.				1																
10 p. m. and before 11 p. m.				1	2															
11 p. m. and before 12 p. m.					1	1														
Total.....				2	3	1	1	2							9	5	20	31	2	7
Per cent.....				2.1	3.5	1.0	1.2	2.1							10.5	5.2	23.3	32.0	2.3	7.2

Beginning time.	4 p. m. and before 5 p. m.		5 p. m. and before 6 p. m.		6 p. m. and before 7 p. m.		7 p. m. and before 8 p. m.		8 p. m. and before 9 p. m.		9 p. m. and before 10 p. m.		10 p. m. and before 11 p. m.		11 p. m. and before 12 p. m.		Total.				
																	Number.		Per cent.		
	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	
12 p. m. and before 1 a. m.																		1	2	1.2	2.1
3 a. m. and before 4 a. m.				1														2	1	2.3	1.0
4 a. m. and before 5 a. m.	2	2	4	6	4	4		1									34	37	39.5	38.1	
5 a. m. and before 6 a. m.			6	4	11	10	7	2	4	2		2	2				35	39	40.7	40.2	
6 a. m. and before 7 a. m.					1				3	1							4		4.7	.....
7 a. m. and before 8 a. m.									1	1							1	1	1.2	1.0	
10 a. m. and before 11 a. m.									1				1				1	1	1.2	1.0	
12 noon and before 1 p. m.																	2		2.3	.....
1 p. m. and before 2 p. m.																		1	1	1.0	1.0
2 p. m. and before 3 p. m.															1		1	4	1.2	4.1	
3 p. m. and before 4 p. m.																	1	4	1.2	4.1	
4 p. m. and before 5 p. m.																	3	5	3.5	5.2	
9 p. m. and before 10 p. m.																		3	3	3.1	3.1
10 p. m. and before 11 p. m.																		1	1	1.0	1.0
11 p. m. and before 12 p. m.																		2	1	2.3	1.0
Total.....	2	2	10	11	16	14	7	3	8	3		2	2	1		1		86	97		
Per cent.....	2.3	2.1	11.6	11.3	18.6	14.4	8.1	3.1	9.3	3.1	2.1	2.3	1.0	1.0		86	97	100.0	100.0

TABLE X.—Number of runs scheduled for men conductors in Detroit, classified by beginning and ending hours, for July, 1919, and January, 1920—Con.

B. ENDING TIME, SATURDAY RUNS.

Beginning time.	12 p. m. and before 1 a. m.		1 a. m. and before 2 a. m.		2 a. m. and before 3 a. m.		3 a. m. and before 4 a. m.		4 a. m. and before 5 a. m.		5 a. m. and before 6 a. m.	
	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.
3 a. m. and before 4 a. m.												
4 a. m. and before 5 a. m.												
5 a. m. and before 6 a. m.												
6 a. m. and before 7 a. m.												
7 a. m. and before 8 a. m.												
12 noon and before 1 p. m.	1											
1 p. m. and before 2 p. m.												
2 p. m. and before 3 p. m.	1	2										
3 p. m. and before 4 p. m.			2	3	1							
4 p. m. and before 5 p. m.				1		1						
8 p. m. and before 9 p. m.											1	2
9 p. m. and before 10 p. m.												1
10 p. m. and before 11 p. m.												
Total	2	2	2	4	1	1					1	3
Per cent.	2.3	2.1	2.3	4.1	1.1	1.0					1.1	3.1

Beginning time.	6 a. m. and before 7 a. m.		7 a. m. and before 8 a. m.		8 a. m. and before 9 a. m.		9 a. m. and before 10 a. m.		10 a. m. and before 11 a. m.		11 a. m. and before 12 noon.		12 noon and before 1 p. m.		1 p. m. and before 2 p. m.		2 p. m. and before 3 p. m.		3 p. m. and before 4 p. m.	
	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.
3 a. m. and before 4 a. m.																				
4 a. m. and before 5 a. m.															2	1				
5 a. m. and before 6 a. m.															7	4	14	19	2	5
6 a. m. and before 7 a. m.																	10	9	9	18
7 a. m. and before 8 a. m.																				
12 noon and before 1 p. m.																				
1 p. m. and before 2 p. m.																				
2 p. m. and before 3 p. m.																				
3 p. m. and before 4 p. m.																				
4 p. m. and before 5 p. m.																				
8 p. m. and before 9 p. m.	1	2																		

Beginning time.	4 p. m. and before 5 p. m.		5 p. m. and before 6 p. m.		6 p. m. and before 7 p. m.		7 p. m. and before 8 p. m.		8 p. m. and before 9 p. m.		9 p. m. and before 10 p. m.		10 p. m. and before 11 p. m.		11 p. m. and before 12 p. m.		Total.				
																	Number.		Per cent.		
	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	
9 p. m. and before 10 p. m.																					
10 p. m. and before 11 p. m.		1																			
Total	2	2														9	5	24	28	11	23
Per cent.	2.3	2.1														10.3	5.2	27.6	28.9	12.6	23.7
3 a. m. and before 4 a. m.																		2	1	2.3	1.0
4 a. m. and before 5 a. m.	1	1	6	9	2	3											32	41	36.8	42.3	
5 a. m. and before 6 a. m.	5	2	4		5	6	1	2	1	3							38	40	43.7	41.2	
6 a. m. and before 7 a. m.		1			1				1								3	1	3.5	1.0	
7 a. m. and before 8 a. m.					2				1								2		2.3		
12 noon and before 1 p. m.															1	2	2	2	2.3	2.1	
1 p. m. and before 2 p. m.															1		1		1.1		
2 p. m. and before 3 p. m.																	1	2	1.1	2.1	
3 p. m. and before 4 p. m.																	3	3	3.5	3.1	
4 p. m. and before 5 p. m.																		2	2	2.3	2.1
8 p. m. and before 9 p. m.																		4	4	2.3	4.1
9 p. m. and before 10 p. m.																		2	1	2.3	1.0
10 p. m. and before 11 p. m.																		1		1.1	
Total	6	4	10	9	10	9	1	2	2	3	4					2	2	87	97		
Per cent.	6.9	4.1	11.5	9.3	11.5	9.2	1.1	2.1	2.3	3.1	4.6					2.3	2.1			100.0	100.0

TABLE X.—Number of runs scheduled for men conductors in Detroit, classified by beginning and ending hours for July, 1919, and January, 1920—Con.

C. ENDING TIME, SUNDAY RUNS.

Beginning time.	12 p. m. and before 1 a. m.		1 a. m. and before 2 a. m.		2 a. m. and before 3 a. m.		3 a. m. and before 4 a. m.		4 a. m. and before 5 a. m.		5 a. m. and before 6 a. m.	
	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.
12 p. m. and before 1 a. m.												
4 a. m. and before 5 a. m.												
5 a. m. and before 6 a. m.												
6 a. m. and before 7 a. m.												
7 a. m. and before 8 a. m.												
8 a. m. and before 9 a. m.												
9 a. m. and before 10 a. m.												
10 a. m. and before 11 a. m.												
11 a. m. and before 12 noon.												
12 noon and before 1 p. m.												
1 p. m. and before 2 p. m.												
2 p. m. and before 3 p. m.				1		1						
3 p. m. and before 4 p. m.												
6 p. m. and before 7 p. m.		1			1		2					
10 p. m. and before 11 p. m.												
11 p. m. and before 12 p. m.												
Total.....	1	1	2	2								
Per cent.....	1.2	1.0	2.5	2.1								

Beginning time.	6 a. m. and before 7 a. m.		7 a. m. and before 8 a. m.		8 a. m. and before 9 a. m.		9 a. m. and before 10 a. m.		10 a. m. and before 11 a. m.		11 a. m. and before 12 noon.		12 noon and before 1 p. m.		1 p. m. and before 2 p. m.		2 p. m. and before 3 p. m.		3 p. m. and before 4 p. m.	
	July	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.
12 p. m. and before 1 a. m.					2			2	1											
4 a. m. and before 5 a. m.												1	2	3	1	2				3
5 a. m. and before 6 a. m.												3	1	1	4	8	5	5	8	3
6 a. m. and before 7 a. m.														2			4	5	4	4
7 a. m. and before 8 a. m.															1				3	1
8 a. m. and before 9 a. m.																			1	
9 a. m. and before 10 a. m.																				
10 a. m. and before 11 a. m.																				
11 a. m. and before 12 noon.																				

12 noon and before 1 p. m.																				
1 p. m. and before 2 p. m.																				
2 p. m. and before 3 p. m.																				
3 p. m. and before 4 p. m.																				
6 p. m. and before 7 p. m.																				
10 p. m. and before 11 p. m.			1			1														
11 p. m. and before 12 p. m.																				
Total			1	1	5	2			2	1	3	2	5	7	10	7	9	13	14	10
Per cent.			1.2	1.0	6.2	2.1			2.1	1.2	3.7	2.1	6.2	7.2	12.3	7.2	11.1	13.4	17.3	10.3

Beginning time.	4 p. m. and before 5 p. m.		5 p. m. and before 6 p. m.		6 p. m. and before 7 p. m.		7 p. m. and before 8 p. m.		8 p. m. and before 9 p. m.		9 p. m. and before 10 p. m.		10 p. m. and before 11 p. m.		11 p. m. and before 12 p. m.		Total.			
	Number.		Per cent.		Number.		Per cent.		Number.		Per cent.		Number.		Per cent.		Number.		Per cent.	
	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.
12 p. m. and before 1 a. m.																	3	2	3.7	2.1
4 a. m. and before 5 a. m.																	6	6	7.4	6.2
5 a. m. and before 6 a. m.	1	1															21	22	25.9	22.7
6 a. m. and before 7 a. m.	2	3															11	11	13.6	11.3
7 a. m. and before 8 a. m.		3		1													5	5	6.2	5.2
8 a. m. and before 9 a. m.	5	9	2	4													8	13	9.9	13.4
9 a. m. and before 10 a. m.	1	3	2	3													4	7	4.9	7.2
10 a. m. and before 11 a. m.					1	1											2	2	2.5	2.1
11 a. m. and before 12 noon					2	4					2						2	7	2.5	7.2
12 noon and before 1 p. m.				1	1	4	1	2									5	8	6.2	8.2
1 p. m. and before 2 p. m.					1	2											3	3	3.6	3.1
2 p. m. and before 3 p. m.										1	1						2	2	2.5	3.1
3 p. m. and before 4 p. m.																	1	2	1.2	2.1
6 p. m. and before 7 p. m.																	1	1	1.2	3.1
10 p. m. and before 11 p. m.																	2	2	2.5	3.1
11 p. m. and before 12 p. m.																	2	3	2.5	3.1
Total	9	16	4	9	7	13	1	3	1	3	1		1	1	6	5	81	97		
Per cent.	11.1	16.5	4.9	9.3	8.6	13.4	1.2	3.1	1.2	3.1	1.2		1.2	1.0	7.4	5.2	100.0	100.0		

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Summary of hours beginning and ending for men and women.

Although there is, of course, a considerable range in the hours of beginning and ending which will constitute desirable runs, a study of the foregoing tables leaves the conviction that the men have very much the best of it when it comes to the actual arrangement of their hours of work. This would be the natural result of the higher standing of the men on the seniority list. Tables XI, XII, XIII, and XIV show in summary form the hours of beginning and ending in which the predominating number of runs were scheduled for men and for women.

TABLE XI.—*Time of beginning week day and Saturday runs and per cent of men and women conductors scheduled for runs in each group in Detroit in July, 1919, and January, 1920.*

Time of beginning runs.	Per cent of men and women scheduled for runs beginning within each specified group of hours on—			
	Week days		Saturdays.	
	July	January.	July.	January
4 a. m. to 6 a. m.:				
Men.....	80.2	78.3	80.5	83.5
Women.....	46.8	48.4	52.7	53.0
2 p. m. to 4 p. m.:				
Men.....	4.7	9.3	4.6	5.2
Women.....	22.4	25.0	21.0	19.7

TABLE XII.—*Time of ending week day and Saturday runs and per cent of men and women conductors scheduled for runs in each group in Detroit in July, 1919, and January, 1920.*

Time of ending runs.	Per cent of men and women scheduled for runs ending within each specified group of hours on—			
	Week days.		Saturdays.	
	July	January	July.	January.
2 p. m. to 4 p. m.:				
Men.....	25.6	39.2	40.2	52.6
Women.....			2.1	
4 p. m. to 6 p. m.:				
Men.....	13.9	13.4	18.4	13.4
Women.....	7.4	14.1	5.3	7.6
6 p. m. to 9 p. m.:				
Men.....	36.0	20.6	14.9	14.4
Women.....	41.5	36.0	42.1	39.4
Midnight to 2 a. m.:				
Men.....	7.0	8.3	4.6	6.2
Women.....	37.2	34.3	30.5	25.8

TABLE XIII.—*Time of beginning Sunday runs and per cent of men and women conductors scheduled for runs in each group in Detroit in July, 1919, and January, 1920.*

Time of beginning runs.	Per cent of men and women scheduled for runs beginning within each hour group	
	July.	January.
4 a. m. to 12 noon:		
Men.....	72.9	75.3
Women.....	3.3	4.5
12 noon to 8 p. m.:		
Men.....	18.6	19.6
Women.....	96.8	95.6

TABLE XIV.—*Time of ending Sunday runs and per cent of men and women conductors scheduled for runs in each group in Detroit in July, 1919, and January, 1920.*

Time of ending runs.	Per cent of men and women scheduled for runs ending within each hour group.	
	July.	January.
1 p. m. to 5 p. m.:		
Men.....	51.8	47.4
Women.....		
11 p. m. to 2 a. m.:		
Men.....	11.1	8.3
Women.....	71.5	54.6

These tables show—

1. Most of the men's runs began early in the day.
2. Of the women's runs on week days and Saturdays some began early in the day, but a considerable number also began in the afternoon.
3. A very large majority of the men's Sunday runs began before noon, while practically all of the women's Sunday runs began in the afternoon.
4. A quarter, a third, and in one case more than one-half of the men's week-day or Saturday runs ended between 2 and 4 p. m. There were practically no women whose runs ended within this time.
5. About one-third of the women's week-day and Saturday runs ended between midnight and 2 a. m., while only from 4 to 7 per cent of the men's runs had such ending hours.
6. On Saturdays about half of the men had runs which ended between 1 and 5 in the afternoon, but no women's runs ended within this period.

7. Large numbers of the women's runs ended after 11 o'clock at night, while about one-tenth of the men's runs ended after that hour.

8. There was a slight increase in January in the percentage of women who chose what might be considered the more desirable beginning and ending hours. This increase was probably due to the increased seniority rights which the women obtained by the months of service which were added to their record between July and January. As no new women were taken on the women who were employed naturally gained a more valuable position on the seniority list as their period of employment increased, and new men employees were placed below them on the list. Their standing on the seniority list was, however, low, particularly as former men employees who returned to the company after service in the Army were reinstated in their original standing on the seniority list.

9. There seems to be no evidence to show that the passage of the law limiting the hours of work for women in transportation has had any effect on the time at which this group of women conductors began and ended their work. There is no particular reason why there should be an expectation that this law would affect these hours, as there is no provision in it which requires that work should be done within any specified number of hours, nor is work at night prohibited for women.

Weekly hours of work.

The figures given in the foregoing tables show only the records for certain days in the week and do not give an indication of the extent of the weekly hours for women employed during the July and January periods.

During January it was possible to get the actual hours worked during the week, as well as the hours for which pay was received, by means of a detailed examination of each woman's wage for each day during the week, and a deduction from the hours for which she received pay of all allowances for bonus, lateness, time between "swings," etc. These records were not available for July, so it was only possible for that period to secure the hours for which pay was received.

Table XV shows the hours for which pay was received for one week in July and one week in January.

TABLE XV.—Number of women conductors receiving pay for each classified group of hours in Detroit during one week in July, 1919, and one week in January, 1920.

Hours for which pay was received.	Number and per cent of women who received pay for each classified group of hours.			
	July.		January.	
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
Under 12.....	2	2.2	1	1.6
12 and under 18.....	1	1.1	1	1.6
18 and under 24.....	.....	.....	3	4.9
24 and under 30.....	2	2.2	4	6.6
30 and under 36.....	.....	.....	3	4.9
36 and under 42.....	9	9.9	3	4.9
42 and under 48.....	8	8.8	8	13.1
48 and under 54.....	12	13.2	10	16.4
54 and under 60.....	20	22.0	17	27.9
60 and under 66.....	15	16.5	9	14.8
66 and under 72.....	14	15.4	2	3.3
72 and over.....	8	8.8	.....	.....
Total.....	91	100.0	61	100.0

This table shows a larger percentage of women in January than in July receiving pay for the hour groups below 60 hours, and a very much larger percentage of women in July who received pay for over 60 hours. There were no women who received pay in January for 72 hours or over, while the pay of 8.8 per cent of the women in July was based on more than 72 hours of work. As there was no change in the bonuses and allowances which were paid during the two periods, the facts in this table may be taken as additional indications of the shortening of hours in the January period.

The great significance of the figures for the actual hours of work for the women in the January period lies in two points: First, the extent to which the 10-hour daily and the 54-hour weekly limit for women's work was exceeded and, second, whether the infringement of the law was due to unavoidable causes, such as a breakdown or abnormal traffic conditions, or whether it was due to arrangement of schedules. In studying the figures for hours of work for women it must be remembered that very serious difficulties are met in adjusting schedules to conform exactly with a legal daily limitation, and violations may in many cases have been almost unavoidable if the women were not to be discriminated against.

Table XVI shows the actual hours and number of days worked by the women in one week in January.

TABLE XVI.—Actual hours of work and number of days worked by women conductors in Detroit during one week in January, 1920.

Actual hours of work.	Number of women who worked—							Total.	
	1 day.	2 days.	3 days.	4 days.	5 days.	6 days.	7 days.	Num-ber.	Per cent.
Under 12.....	1							1	1.6
12 and under 18.....		3						3	4.9
18 and under 24.....		1						1	1.6
24 and under 30.....								5	8.2
30 and under 36.....			5					2	3.3
36 and under 42.....				2				4	6.6
42 and under 48.....				3				9	14.8
48 and under 54.....					9			12	19.7
54 and under 60.....					2			13	21.3
60 and under 66.....						11	2	9	14.8
66 and under 72.....						2	7	2	3.3
Total.....	1	4	5	5	12	22	12	61	100.0
Per cent.....	1.6	6.6	8.2	8.2	19.7	36.1	19.7		

It seems obvious from a study of the figures in this table that there was a large group of women whose hours exceeded the legal weekly limit during this period. There were no women whose hours were exactly 54 so the group coming under the heading "54 and under 60" hours includes only those whose hours were actually over 54, although in some cases the time over 54 hours was only a few minutes. The inclement weather and bad traffic conditions probably contributed largely to the amount of overtime during this week in the winter.

The policy of the company has been stated as being that all women should have one day off each week, but the figures in Table XVI show that this has not been carried out. Nearly 20 per cent of the women worked every day during this week. Eleven of the 24 women who worked over 54 hours, worked a 7-day week, and of the 11 women who worked over 60 hours, nine worked a 7-day week. Although such a large number of women worked a 7-day week there was a considerable number who worked only a few days during the week. During the week studied 8.2 per cent worked only four days and 6.6 per cent worked only two days. A large amount of this irregularity can be laid to sickness, as influenza depleted the ranks of the employees to quite an extent during the month of January. Such a decrease in the number of employees would naturally tend to increase the number who worked six and seven days a week, and in this fact may be found at least a partial explanation of the size of the latter group.

For a fuller understanding of the cause for the amount of time over 54 hours weekly which was worked by the women it is necessary to turn to Table XVII which gives the scheduled hours and the num-

ber of minutes which were actually worked over 10 hours for each of the 42 runs in which the hours of women exceeded 10 during the one week period in January.

TABLE XVII.—Number of instances, January 1 to 7, inclusive, 1920, in which the actual hours for 61 women conductors in Detroit exceeded 10, by hours scheduled and actual hours worked.¹

Number of scheduled hours.	Actual hours worked.											Total.	
	Over 10 h. and under 10 h. 5 m.	10 h. 5 m. and under 10 h. 10 m.	10 h. 10 m. and under 10 h. 15 m.	10 h. 20 m. and under 10 h. 25 m.	10 h. 25 m. and under 10 h. 30 m.	10 h. 30 m. and under 10 h. 35 m.	10 h. 40 m. and under 10 h. 45 m.	10 h. 50 m. and under 10 h. 55 m.	11 h. 5 m. and under 11 h. 10 m.	11 h. 10 m. and under 11 h. 15 m.	11 h. 25 m. and under 11 h. 30 m.		12 h. 10 m. and under 12 h. 15 m.
8 h. 15 m. and under 8 h. 20 m.			1					2					1
8 h. 35 m. and under 8 h. 40 m.													1
9 h. 5 m. and under 9 h. 10 m.	3												1
9 h. 10 m. and under 9 h. 15 m.					2								2
9 h. 15 m. and under 9 h. 20 m.				1		4							2
9 h. 20 m. and under 9 h. 25 m.	2												1
9 h. 25 m. and under 9 h. 30 m.		2									3		2
9 h. 30 m. and under 9 h. 35 m.						2		4					2
9 h. 40 m. and under 9 h. 45 m.	2												1
9 h. 45 m. and under 9 h. 50 m.	2	3							3				4
9 h. 50 m. and under 9 h. 55 m.				1	2								2
9 h. 55 m. and under 10 h.	2	2	2										5
10 h. and under 10 h. 5 m.	7												7
10 h. 5 m. and under 10 h. 10 m.		2											2
10 h. 20 m. and under 10 h. 25 m.				1	2								2
10 h. 35 m. and under 10 h. 40 m.									2				1
10 h. 40 m. and under 10 h. 45 m.							2						2
11 h. 5 m. and under 11 h. 10 m.									2	2			3
11 h. 50 m. and under 11 h. 55 m.												2	1
Total.....	13	6	3	3	4	2	2	2	3	2	1	1	42

¹ Each employee is required to report 10 minutes before scheduled time of beginning runs. This time is paid for but is not included in this table.

² Car was late.

³ Extra trip in addition to scheduled trip.

⁴ Both late and extra trip.

⁵ One woman was late and one took an extra trip.

Only 18 of these 42 runs had scheduled hours of more than 10. The hours of the remaining 24 runs were over 10 because of lateness, accident, or extra runs taken in addition to the regular schedules. Of the 18 runs which were scheduled for more than 10 hours 7 were completed in less than 10 hours and 5 minutes, and 9 were completed in less than 10 hours and 10 minutes, leaving only 9 runs in which the scheduled hours can be said to be a marked infringement of the law. Although not entirely responsible for all the time worked over 10 hours, lateness and extra runs contributed largely. In one case a woman conductor who had worked her scheduled run found no one to relieve her when she got back to the barn, and had to take her car out for an additional run to get workers who were leaving a factory after a night shift, making her actual hours of work considerably more than 10. Several times cars were delayed or rerouted, so that over an hour was added to the scheduled time. "Tripper" runs, or short runs taking cars to the barn, were some-

times taken by the women in addition to their regular schedule. A bonus was paid for extra runs, making them particularly desirable for the women who needed to earn more money. In two cases women who worked over 10 hours were not only late, but also worked on extra runs.

In only 14 instances where the scheduled hours were over 10 was there neither lateness nor additional time worked on extra trips. In connection with the taking of extra runs by women the company reported to the investigators that an effort was made to give but one extra run a week to each person but that it was not possible to keep to this rule because of a shortage of employees. When it was found that a woman had chosen runs with long hours and had also taken an extra run, wherever it was possible her schedule was rearranged so as to bring her hours within the legal limitation. Many of the women reported that they wanted to take the extra runs because of the additional pay they received for such work. In some cases the women were so eager to get this extra work that after their regular run was completed, although they knew that they had already worked a full day and a full week, they would apply to the man in charge for an extra run. This man, frequently hard pressed for people to take out necessary cars, and always hard pressed for time, could not always stop to check up the daily and weekly hours which had been worked by the applicant for an extra run, with the result that she was assigned to the run and worked more than the legal time.

Wages.

The same wage rate was paid to both men and women conductors in Detroit. Beginners received 50 cents an hour which was increased to 55 cents after three months' work, and after one year the rate was 60 cents an hour. On Sundays and holidays all time actually worked over 8 hours was paid for at time and a half, and if an extra run was taken in addition to the regular run it was paid for at time and a half. Conductors were required to report 10 minutes before the scheduled time for their first daily run, and were paid for this time.

There was a night or "owl" run which began after 9 p. m. and extended through the night. This run was paid for at the rate of 10 hours pay for 8 hours work and time and a half for all time over 8 hours. Only men worked on this run, which was popular because of the high pay it brought and was chosen by the men high up on the seniority list, often by the man at the head of the list.

In Table XVIII are shown the wages received by the 61 women who worked from January 1 to 7 and the actual hours which they worked.

TABLE XVIII.—Actual hours of work and pay received by women conductors in Detroit, January 1 to 7, 1920, inclusive.¹

Actual hours of work.	Number of women who received—													Total.	
	Under \$6.	\$6 and under \$9.	\$9 and under \$12.	\$12 and under \$15.	\$15 and under \$18.	\$18 and under \$21.	\$21 and under \$24.	\$24 and under \$27.	\$27 and under \$30.	\$30 and under \$33.	\$33 and under \$36.	\$36 and under \$39.	\$39 and under \$42.		\$42 and under \$45.
Under 12.....	1														1
12 and under 18.....			3												3
18 and under 24.....			1												1
24 and under 30.....			1	1	3	1									5
30 and under 36.....							2								2
36 and under 42.....						1	2								4
42 and under 48.....							1	5							9
48 and under 54.....								5	4						12
54 and under 60.....								1	12	7	4				13
60 and under 66.....										1		6	3		9
66 and under 72.....														2	2
Total.....	1		4	1	3	2	4	6	5	8	16	6	3	2	61
Percent.....	1.6		6.6	1.6	4.9	3.3	6.6	9.8	8.2	13.1	26.2	9.8	4.9	3.3	100

¹ Each employee was required to report 10 minutes before scheduled time of beginning runs. This time was paid for but is not included in this table under "actual hours of work."

Twenty-one dollars a week or more was received by nearly 82 per cent of the women who worked during this period, and 44.2 per cent received over \$33. Of the group which received over \$33, however, all but four worked over 54 hours during the week, showing that, in the case particularly of a woman who is supporting dependents—as are so many women street car conductors—overtime work must frequently be more of a necessity than a choice, and the temptation to work extra hours and earn more money must be hard to withstand.

Table XIX gives the earnings of both men and women for the same period in July and January.

TABLE XIX.—Earnings of men and women conductors in Detroit, in July, 1919, and January, 1920.

Earnings	Men.		Women.	
	July.	January.	July.	January.
Under \$6.....	2		1	1
\$6 and under \$9.....		1	2	
\$9 and under \$12.....				4
\$12 and under \$15.....		1	1	1
\$15 and under \$18.....	2	4	1	3
\$18 and under \$21.....		2	1	2
\$21 and under \$24.....	3	4	9	4
\$24 and under \$27.....	2	1	8	6
\$27 and under \$30.....	5	6	10	5
\$30 and under \$33.....	6	3	18	8
\$33 and under \$36.....	15	12	17	16
\$36 and under \$39.....	10	10	9	6
\$39 and under \$42.....	15	19	11	3
\$42 and under \$45.....	10	14	2	2
\$45 and under \$48.....	5	7		
\$48 and under \$51.....	2	6		
\$51 and under \$54.....	3	2		
\$54 and under \$57.....	1	1		
Total.....	81	93	90	61
Median earnings.....	\$37.65	\$39.40	\$31.92	\$31.69

The median wage for the men in July was \$37.65, which increased in January to \$39.40. For the women the median wage in July was \$31.92 and decreased in January to \$31.69.

The increase in the median rate of earnings for the men is probably due to the fact that during the January period, because of the influenza epidemic, many conductors were absent, which necessitated the taking of extra runs by those who were on duty. This made the actual hours of work for the men very much longer than in July. This fact is not brought out in Table VI in the earlier part of this report, as only scheduled runs are given there and not actual hours of work.

Although the actual hours of work for women were considerably reduced in January, as indicated in Table V, there was a reduction of only 23 cents in the median rate of earnings received by the women in January. The smallness of this reduction is probably due to the fact that whereas in July all women were in the group of employees who had been employed less than a year and received, therefore, 55 cents an hour, in January they had been employed more than one year and their wage had been raised to 60 cents an hour.

The similarity of the median rate for the wages of men and women during January, as well as July, seems to be conclusive proof that the legal limitation of the women's hours has not resulted in discrimination against them, or in any considerable reduction in their wage. The men's higher wage was earned by extra runs and overtime, from which it was the object of the law to protect the women.

HOURS AND CONDITIONS OF WORK IN KANSAS CITY.

Number of employees.

In July, 1919, only 26 women were employed as conductors by the Kansas City Railways Co. Women had been employed first in this capacity in June, 1918, according to a report made to the War Labor Board, and the largest number employed at any time was 150 on the 1st of December, 1918. The decrease in numbers of women employed between December, 1918, and July, 1919, was caused not by dissatisfaction with their work, but by the company's adherence to its policy established in February, 1919, of not employing any new women to replace those who left from time to time.

Although the number of women employed at the time this material was gathered was so small as to constitute only 1 per cent of the total working force, their hours of work and wages are still significant as an indication of how the problems of their employment were being handled in that community.

Special regulations for women.

The law of Missouri provides for a weekly limitation of 54 hours and a daily limitation of 9 hours of work for women in transportation. It does not prohibit night work nor limit the hours within which work must be completed. It is the policy of the company that women conductors shall not work more than 8 hours in any one day nor more than 54 hours in any one week, nor between the hours of 8 p. m. and 5 a. m. Occasionally a woman takes a schedule which exceeds these limits, but if this is discovered by the officials of the company she is reprimanded, and if it occurs a second time she is dismissed.

Seniority rights.

The women have equal seniority rights with the men on the one line on which women are employed, but they are limited in their choice of runs to day runs and runs not exceeding nine hours' actual running time.

Time, method, and scope of investigation.

Representatives of the Women's Bureau visited Kansas City in June, 1919. As the Kansas City Railways Co. would give only general information as to the numbers of women employed, and would not permit examination of their run sheets or pay rolls, it was necessary to secure information from other sources. The material in this report was obtained from interviews with officials of the company and of the union, from the women conductors themselves, and from material in the files of the War Labor Board.

Schedules were obtained from 10 of the 26 women conductors themselves, as the records of the company were not available. As these schedules represent the hours of over one-third of the total number employed, and as the women from whom they were secured were selected at random, these hours may be assumed to be representative of the prevailing hours for women on the street railways of Kansas City.

Hours.

Table XX gives the hours of service for those 10 women on week days and on Sundays.

TABLE XX.—Actual hours of work and over-all hours for 10 women street car conductors in Kansas City in July, 1919.

Conductor's No.	Actual hours worked.			Daily over-all hours.
	Daily.	Sunday.	Weekly.	
	Hrs. m.	Hrs. m.	Hrs. m.	Hrs. m.
1.....	4 50	4 50	33 50	4 50
2.....	7 49	4 00	50 54	11 45
3.....	6 44	4 06	44 30	10 05
4.....	7 38	5 26	51 14	13 18
5.....	7 30	3 30	48 30	12 00
6.....	8 01	5 00	53 06	12 33
7.....	4 51	4 51	33 57	4 51
8.....	8 10	3 22	52 22	12 48
9 ¹	9 07	6 32	61 14	13 07
10.....	7 18	.....	43 48	9 37

¹ Reprimanded for working overtime.

The figures given in this table show remarkably short hours for the women when compared with the hours of women conductors in other localities. Only one of the 10 women had a schedule of nine hours, and the greater number of women worked between seven and eight hours a day. Sunday runs were also short, three, four, and five hours, with only one as long as six hours. Neither were the over-all hours very long. Thirteen hours and 18 minutes is the longest period required to perform the day's work, 10, 11, and 12 hours being the more usual over-all time. Of course, these hours are the scheduled hours and do not show the actual hours worked, but even so, they indicate that long hours are not one of the handicaps of employment for women on the Kansas City Street Railways.

To show how the runs are arranged so as to secure short hours for women the actual schedules for the 10 women on week days and Sundays are given in Table XXI.

TABLE XXI.—Schedules of 10 women conductors employed in July, 1919, by the Kansas City Street Railways Co.

Conductor's No.	Duration of periods of work for each conductor on—					
	Week days.				Sundays.	
	On at—	Off at—	On at—	Off at—	On at—	Off at—
1.....	7.35 a. m.	12.25 p. m.	.....	.....	7.35 a. m.	12.35 p. m.
2.....	6.40 a. m.	12.39 a. m.	3.35 p. m.	6.25 p. m.	.....	(¹)
3.....	6.29 a. m.	8.42 a. m.	12.03 p. m.	4.34 p. m.	1.14 p. m.	5.20 p. m.
4.....	6.17 a. m.	8.34 a. m.	2.14 p. m.	7.35 p. m.	2.14 p. m.	7.40 p. m.
5.....	7.00 a. m.	9.30 a. m.	2.00 p. m.	7.00 p. m.	.....	(²)
6.....	5.55 a. m.	8.48 a. m.	1.20 p. m.	6.28 p. m.	12.45 p. m.	5.45 p. m.
7.....	.....	.....	1.15 p. m.	6.08 p. m.	1.15 p. m.	6.06 p. m.
8.....	5.12 a. m.	9.22 a. m.	2.00 p. m.	6.00 p. m.	9.36 a. m.	12.58 p. m.
9.....	5.05 a. m.	9.28 a. m.	1.28 p. m.	6.12 p. m.	1.28 p. m.	8.00 p. m.
10.....	9.05 a. m.	11.40 a. m.	1.29 p. m.	6.12 p. m.	.....	.....

¹ Not over four hours.² 3½ hours.

There were 37 runs on the line on which women were employed and only three of these runs took less than nine hours. To insure that the women should work not more than eight hours a day they were given the choice of the first or second half of a day's run. The other half of the day they took a short part of another run or a short extra run. Table XXI shows that some of the women had the greater part of their work in the morning and only one or two hours in the afternoon, while others worked one or two hours in the morning and four or five in the afternoon. There is no way of determining which of these arrangements is the more satisfactory, as the desirability of schedules in such cases would depend almost entirely upon individual preference.

Wages.

Wages for both men and women began at 36 cents an hour and increased 1 cent an hour with each six months of service until a maximum of 40 cents was reached. Seventy-five dollars a month was guaranteed to both men and women if they took whatever runs were offered and reported on time. A conductor must work 7 hours and 14 minutes a day for 30 days a month, or 50 hours and 38 minutes a week to earn the guaranty, although it is paid whether or not as many hours as this are worked. The company claimed that while men, even the extras, usually worked the number of hours covered by the guaranty so that it was not an extra expense to the company, the women cost them 57 cents an hour because of careful adjustment of their hours which was necessary and the extra amount which was paid them in the form of the guaranty when they had not worked a sufficient number of hours to earn it. This statement is hardly borne out by the study of the 10 representative schedules. Of the women working on these 10 schedules three were not eligible for the guaranty, as two of them had but half-day runs and one refused to take early morning runs. The schedules of the remaining seven girls show that five worked more than 50 hours and 38 minutes, the number of hours and minutes necessary to earn the guaranty. This left only two girls who received the guaranteed wages of \$75 without working the full time necessary to earn it. One of these girls worked 44 hours and 30 minutes and one worked 48 hours and 30 minutes, making the cost to the company of the guaranty for this whole group 8 hours and 15 minutes a week above the actual time worked. The cost of arranging the women's hours is, of course, impossible to ascertain, but it does not seem likely that it can be so great as to raise the cost of the employment of the women as much as was stated by the company.

It was not possible to secure the record of the actual amounts earned by the women, but the \$75 monthly guaranty can be taken as an indication of the average monthly earnings for the women.

Four of the women had been with the company for a year, and six had worked as conductors more than six months but less than a year. Four had never worked before, three had previously done housework, one had done sewing, one factory work, and one had been a post-office clerk. Only two of these women were single and only three were not supporting dependents. Seven women were supporting 16 dependents.

TICKET AGENTS AND COLLECTORS.

HOURS AND CONDITIONS OF WORK IN BOSTON.

Number of employees.

The women employees of the Boston Elevated Railway Co. work as collectors (ticket agents) and as station receivers. As collectors their position with the company is well established, as they have been working in this capacity since 1905 and constitute practically the entire force of collectors. Women station receivers have been employed only since 1917. There are nine of them, and they work in the car barns, receiving the money and transfers turned in by the conductors. They also issue transfers to the conductors. There are no men station receivers on the day shifts from 7 a. m. to 3 p. m. and from 3 to 11 p. m., but the night shift, from 11 p. m. to 6 a. m., is taken by men. As the work of the women station receivers does not present the problems incident to the work of ticket agents and conductors, and as it is done under very different conditions, this group is not included in the report.

Table XXII shows the numbers and proportions of men and women employed as regular and extra collectors.

TABLE XXII.—*Number and per cent of men and women employed as regular and extra collectors, Boston Elevated Railway Co., July, 1919.*

	Number of men and women who were employed as—		Total.	
	Regular collectors.	Extra collectors.	Number.	Per cent.
Men.....	5	.....	5	2
Women.....	199	49	248	98
Total.....	204	49	253	100
Per cent.....	80.6	19.4	100	.....

On July 16, 1919, there were 248 women and 5 men employed. Women constituted 98 per cent of the total force. Nearly one-fifth of the collectors worked as extras.

Special regulations for women.

Up to July 17, 1919, the hours of women on the elevated railways were limited to 10 in any one day and 54 in any one week. On that date a new law went into effect prohibiting the employment of women in transportation for more than nine hours in any day or 48 hours in any week, and the company was obliged to change its former schedule of hours to conform with this law. There is no prohibition of night work for women in transportation companies in Massachusetts, but the stations in Boston are closed from four to five hours every night, so women are not employed during those hours.

Time, method, and scope of investigation.

The material for this report was secured for two different periods during the summer and fall of 1919. The first information was collected during the early part of July, 1919, when the company allowed the agents of the Women's Bureau to take from the run and pay sheets figures showing the numbers employed and the hours and wages in force before the new law went into effect. The new schedules which were to be used after the law went into effect were also secured at this time, and interviews were held with officials of the railway company, of the union, and of the State department of labor, and with many of the women collectors. Later on, after the law had been in effect for some time, additional information was secured from the records of the company to show alterations in the number of women employed and the hours and wages of extra collectors in October, 1919.

Effect of the law on number of women employed.

It had been stated by the company early in July that they did not expect to employ any more girls under the 8-hour schedule than formerly. They estimated that the hours for each station varied from 19 to 20 out of the 24 hours, as the stations were closed from 4 to 5 hours at night. Two girls, working on a 9-hour shift in a 19-hour period, left 1 hour for the relief girl. Two girls working 9-hour shifts in a 20-hour period left 2 hours for the relief. In the new 8-hour schedule the working period for 2 girls would be 16 hours, leaving 3 hours and 4 hours for the relief. As the relief girl can never take care of more than 2 stations this new schedule merely puts her on a 7-hour schedule instead of her former 4-hour one.

In September it was found that an increase in fare from 8 to 10 cents had come into effect almost simultaneously with the new schedule. The reduction in traffic, which resulted from this increased fare, affected the number of collectors which were necessary. It was also found that the 10-cent fare almost eliminated the handling

of pennies and made it possible to make change so much more rapidly that fewer collectors were needed. It was estimated in September by a representative of the company that under normal conditions it would have been necessary to increase the number of collectors from 5 to 10 per cent to maintain satisfactory conditions under the eight-hour schedule. Because of the increased fare, however, there had been a slight decrease in the number of collectors employed, in spite of the shorter hours they worked.

Seniority rights.

There is one main seniority list with three sublists for the different divisions of the railways. If a vacancy occurs in any sublist the position can be chosen by any collector according to her standing on the main seniority list. When a new time table is issued changing the hours in the different divisions, each collector chooses her shift according to her standing in her own subdivision. There is a special seniority list for extras. The extra who is highest on this seniority list takes the first vacancy on the list of regulars. The few men who are employed as collectors are used only at two stations and are not on the seniority list.

Choice of runs.

None of the women who were interviewed knew her seniority number, but merely the shifts from which runs could be chosen. One woman chose an "early" shift because she liked her evenings at home. Another selected a late shift so that she could rest and do her housework in the morning. One girl chose to be a relief agent, substituting for regular agents on their days off, because this work gave her three early days and three late days, which meant some mornings and some evenings to herself. The company said about half the girls chose the regular and half the relief shifts. The girls themselves seemed to consider from 8.40 a. m. to 4.40 p. m. the choicest shift, so this is the shift which is usually chosen first.

Relief periods.

No relief periods or regular time for luncheon were arranged for under either the old or the new schedules, although the collectors could usually get the station agent or station sweeper to relieve them for a short time. Under the old schedule relief periods were not so essential, as the day's work was usually broken into two parts, but the lack of relief periods during the eight-hour shifts was a considerable hardship. One girl who was interviewed in October said she preferred the old nine-hour day in two shifts to the present straight eight hours. "Eight hours on a stretch is awfully long to be shut up in a little box," she remarked. For lunch she said she

sometimes went out and bought something while the station agent relieved her, and sometimes she brought food with her, ate it, and attended to business at the same time.

Hours.

The schedules given in this account as for July 17, 1919, are the schedules which were planned by the company to go into effect on that date. It is most interesting to see the great improvement in the working hours which was brought about at this time. Table XXIII gives in detail some representative schedules which were in effect before the nine-hour law was passed.

TABLE XXIII.—Representative schedules of hours of work of women collectors on Boston elevated trains prior to July 17, 1919.

RAPID TRANSIT DIVISION—SCHEDULE 1.¹

Day.	Duration of periods of work on each specified day.				Time worked.	Time with- in which work was completed.
	On at—	Off at—	On at—	Off at—		
3 week days.....	5.30 a. m.	11.00 a. m.	2.00 p. m.	6.00 p. m.	H. m. 9 30	H. m. 12 30
1 week day.....	5.30 a. m.	11.00 a. m.	.....	.....	5 30	5 30
Saturday.....	11.00 a. m.	6.00 p. m.	9.30 p. m.	11.30 p. m.	9 00	12 30
Sunday.....	11.30 a. m.	4.00 p. m.	7.00 p. m.	12.30 a. m.	10 00	13 00

SCHEDULE 2.²

4 week days.....	7.00 a. m.	10.00 a. m.	3.00 p. m.	8.00 p. m.	8 00	13 00
Saturday.....	6.15 a. m.	11.15 a. m.	2.15 p. m.	6.15 p. m.	9 00	12 00
Sunday.....	5.55 a. m.	11.00 a. m.	2.00 p. m.	6.00 p. m.	9 05	12 05

SCHEDULE 3.²

3 week days.....	11.00 a. m.	2.00 p. m.	6.00 p. m.	12.40 a. m.	9 40	13 40
Saturday and Sunday.....	11.00 a. m.	2.00 p. m.	6.00 p. m.	12.40 a. m.	9 40	13 40
Wednesday.....	12.30 p. m.	6.10 p. m.	.....	.....	5 40	5 40

SCHEDULE 4.²

3 week days.....	11.00 a. m.	2.00 p. m.	6.00 p. m.	12.00 m.	9 00	13 00
Monday.....	5.30 a. m.	11.00 a. m.	2.00 p. m.	6.00 p. m.	9 30	12 30
Saturday.....	12.00 m.	6.30 p. m.	.....	.....	6 30	6 30
Sunday.....	6.00 a. m.	11.00 a. m.	2.00 p. m.	6.00 p. m.	9 00	12 00

¹ Schedule 1 provides for one whole day and one-half day off each week.

² Schedules 2, 3, and 4 provide for one week day off each week.

These schedules seem to illustrate almost all of the undesirable conditions incident to this kind of work. A woman who worked on schedule 1 started work at 5.30 a. m. three days a week, and did not finish until 6 p. m. Although she worked only 9½ hours during this time it really took 12½ hours for her to complete her day's work. On Saturday she did not have to go to work until 11 in the morning,

but she did not get off duty until 11.30 that night. Sunday she worked from 11.30 a. m. until 12.30 Monday morning, and then started in again at 5.30 Monday morning on the next week's routine. One day of 10 hours' work in 13 hours' time, four days of $9\frac{1}{2}$ hours' work in $12\frac{1}{2}$ hours' time, beginning work sometimes at 5.30 a. m., sometimes at 11 a. m., and ending it at 6 or 11.30 p. m. or 12.30 a. m., and at least one night a week having the late hour of stopping work and the early hour of beginning the next day so close together that a very insufficient time was possible for rest, were the conditions which this schedule imposed upon those whose hours were regulated by it. Similar conditions existed in the other schedules which were given to the investigators by the women themselves.

In marked contrast are the new schedules as arranged by the company after the passage of the 9-hour law. The arrangement of these schedules and the number of men and women who were to be employed on the different shifts are shown in Table XXIV.

TABLE XXIV.—*Number and per cent of men and women regular collectors working on each shift, Boston Elevated trains, July 17, 1919.*

	Number and per cent of men and women regular collectors working on—					
	5.30 a. m. to 1.30 p. m. shift.	8.30 a. m. to 4.30 p. m. shift.	4.30 p. m. to 12.30 a. m. shift.	Split shifts. ¹		Total.
				5.30 a. m. to 8.30 a. m.; 1.30 p. m. to 6.30 p. m.	5.30 a. m. to 8.30 a. m.; 1.30 p. m. to 4.40 p. m.	
Men.....	2	1	2	.....	.....	5
Women.....	35	36	73	25	10	179
Total.....	37	37	75	25	10	184

¹There are two divisions on the Boston Elevated trains—"Rapid Transit" and Division No. 8. The shifts on these two divisions were not identical, but as the difference was only in beginning and ending two shifts 10 minutes earlier and later the hours for the two divisions are grouped together. Ten agents on Division No. 8, however, who worked on the split shift stopped work at 4.40 instead of 6.30 as in the Rapid Transit division, shortening the work day by 1 hour and 50 minutes.

All women working on either the regular or split shifts had an eight-hour day and a six-day week under this new arrangement of hours. The six-day week was made possible by the provision of relief collectors who substituted for the regulars on their days off. The eight-hour day was worked without any regular relief period or time for meals.

To replace regulars and reliefs who were absent there were a certain number of extra collectors employed. In July before the new schedule went into effect, there were 49 women extra collectors. In September there were 53 women employed as extra collectors, but 10 of these women did not work at all during the 14-day period for which the hours were taken.

Table XXV shows the total hours and number of days worked by the women extra collectors during 14 days in June and 14 days in October.

TABLE XXV.—Hours and number of days worked by women extra collectors on Boston Elevated Railways, June 14–27, and Oct. 4–17, 1919.

Total hours worked.	Number of women who worked—									
	Under 7 days.		7 days.		8 days.		9 days.		10 days.	
	June.	Oct.	June.	Oct.	June.	Oct.	June.	Oct.	June.	Oct.
Under 48.....	4	14		1				2		
48 and under 56.....		1				2	1	1		
56 and under 64.....							1			
64 and under 72.....										1
72 and under 80.....							1		1	
80 and under 88.....										1
88 and under 96.....										
96 and under 104.....										
104 and over.....										
Total.....	4	15		1		2	3	3	1	2
Per cent.....	8.2	34.9		2.3		4.7	6.1	7.0	2.0	4.7

Total hours worked.	Number of women who worked—									
	11 days.		12 days.		13 days.		Total.			
							Number.		Per cent.	
	June.	Oct.	June.	Oct.	June.	Oct.	June.	Oct.	June.	Oct.
Under 48.....			1				5	17	10.2	39.5
48 and under 56.....		1	5				6	5	12.2	11.6
56 and under 64.....	1		3	1			5	1	10.2	2.3
64 and under 72.....		1	2		1		3	2	6.1	4.7
72 and under 80.....	1	1	4	1			7	2	14.3	4.7
80 and under 88.....		1	6	3			6	5	12.2	11.6
88 and under 96.....	1	2	4	8			5	10	10.2	23.3
96 and under 104.....	5		3			1	8	1	16.3	2.3
104 and over.....			4				4		8.2	
Total.....	8	6	32	13	1	1	49	43		
Per cent.....	16.3	13.9	65.3	30.2	2.0	2.3			100.0	100.0

The figures given in this table show that over one-third of the women in October worked less than half of the time during the 14-day period, as less than 48 hours was worked by 39.5 per cent of the women during this period and 34.9 per cent worked less than 7 of the 14 days.

The arrangement of the June schedules seemed to have been more satisfactory from the point of view of regularity of employment, for during the 14 days in June 65.3 per cent of the women extra collectors worked on 12 days and only 10.2 per cent worked less than 48 hours. On the other hand, a very much larger group of women in June worked more than 96 hours, the equivalent of two 48-hour weeks, during this same period of 14 days, 16.3 per cent

having worked over 96 and less than 104 hours, and 8.2 per cent having worked more than 104 hours, making a total of 24.5 per cent who worked over 96 hours in 14 days in June. Only 2.3 per cent of the women extra collectors worked over 96 hours in October.

Less overtime and more undertime seems to have been the result of the rearrangement of the schedules for the extra collectors. The question of the amount of overtime is illustrated more fully in Table XXVI, which shows the amount of overtime worked by the extra collectors during the two periods. Although 9 hours is the legal working day in Massachusetts, 8 hours is the standard day on the street railways through contract with the union.

This table shows a very remarkable improvement in October, from the standpoint of the elimination of overtime work.

TABLE XXVI.—Total overtime¹ worked by extra agents during pay periods, June 14-27 and October 4-17, 1919, on the Boston Elevated Railways.

Total hours worked.	Number of agents who worked no overtime.		Number of agents who worked overtime.									
			Under one hour.		One hour.	Over 1 hour and under 2.	2 hours and under 3.	3 hours and under 4.	4 hours and under 5.	5 hours and under 6.	6 hours and under 7.	
	June.	October.	June.	October.	June.	June.	June.	June.	June.	June.	June.	
Under 48.....	1	15	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
48 and under 56.....	1	4	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
56 and under 64.....	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
64 and under 72.....	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
72 and under 80.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
80 and under 88.....	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
88 and under 96.....	1	7	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
96 and under 104.....	1	7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
104 and over.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Total.....	3	31	1	12	1	4	5	6	6	2	3	7

Total hours worked.	Number of agents who worked overtime.										Total.	
	7 hours and under 8.	8 hours and under 9.	9 hours and under 10.	10 hours and under 11.	11 hours and under 12.	12 hours and under 13.	13 hours and under 14.	14 hours and under 15.	15 hours and under 16.	16 hours and under 17.		
	June.	June.	June.	June.	June.	June.	June.	June.	June.	June.	June.	October.
Under 48.....											5	17
48 and under 56.....											6	5
56 and under 64.....											5	1
64 and under 72.....											3	2
72 and under 80.....				1							7	4
80 and under 88.....	1					1					6	5
88 and under 96.....			1	2							5	11
96 and under 104.....				1	1	2	1		1	1	8	1
104 and over.....							1	1	1	1	4	1
Total.....	1		1	4	1	3	2	1	2	2	49	43

¹ Time worked over 8 hours in any one day is considered overtime.

Thirty-one extra collectors in October did not work more than 8 hours on any day during the 14-day period, and the remaining 12 worked less than a total of one hour over 8 hours a day during this same period. In June, 16 collectors worked from 9 to 17 hours of overtime during the 14 days, and 29 worked from 1 to 8 hours overtime.

Wages.

In June the wage rate paid to both collectors and station receivers was 40 cents an hour. In October this rate was increased to 48 cents an hour. Allowing for an 8-hour day 6 days a week, this would make the weekly wage for regular collectors \$23.04, or \$46.08 for the 14-day period. Collectors are also allowed their car fare.

Extras were guaranteed pay for 6½ hours a day 6 days a week, and unless disqualified by reporting late or refusing to take the position assigned they were paid for the hours whether or not they had worked them.

Table XXVII shows the wages received and the number of hours worked by the women extra collectors.

TABLE XXVII.—Wages received by women extra collectors on the Boston Elevated Railways during 14 days in June and October, 1919, by number of hours worked.

Wage received.	Number of women who worked—									
	Under 48 hours.		48 and under 56 hours.		56 and under 64 hours.		64 and under 72 hours.		72 and under 80 hours.	
	June.	October.	June.	October.	June.	October.	June.	October.	June.	October.
Under \$18.....	3	8								
\$18 and under \$21.....	1									
\$21 and under \$24.....			1	1						
\$24 and under \$27.....					1					
\$27 and under \$30.....				1						
\$30 and under \$33.....		2	2	1	2				2	
\$33 and under \$36.....	1	2	3	2	2		3		1	
\$36 and under \$39.....		3							4	
\$39 and under \$42.....		2		2		1		2		1
\$42 and under \$45.....										1
\$45 and under \$48.....										
\$48 and over.....										
Total.....	5	17	6	5	5	1	3	2	7	2

TABLE XXVII.—Wages received by women extra collectors on the Boston Elevated Railways during 14 days in June and October, 1919, by number of hours worked—Continued.

Wage received.	Number of women who worked—									
	80 and under 88 hours.		88 and under 96 hours.		96 and under 104 hours.		104 hours and over.		Total.	
	June.	October.	June.	October.	June.	October.	June.	October.	June.	October.
Under \$18.....									3	8
\$18 and under \$21.....									1	1
\$21 and under \$24.....									1	1
\$24 and under \$27.....									1	1
\$27 and under \$30.....										1
\$30 and under \$33.....									6	3
\$33 and under \$36.....	1								11	2
\$36 and under \$39.....	4	1	2		2				12	4
\$39 and under \$42.....	1		3		3		1		8	8
\$42 and under \$45.....		3		4	3		3		6	8
\$45 and under \$48.....				7						7
\$48 and over.....						1				1
Total.....	6	4	5	11	8	1	4		49	43

Although there was a larger number of women in October than in June who received less than \$18 there was also a larger group in October who received more than \$39. The median wage for the women extra collectors in June was \$36.50 and in October \$40.38, the increase being due mainly to the increase in the wage rate.

In considering the larger number of women who worked less than 7 days and less than 48 hours during the 14 days in October and the larger number in June who worked over 96 hours during a similar period, it is very significant to see that the median wage increased in October to such a considerable extent in spite of the evident shortening of the hours. Twenty-three women in June received between \$33 and \$39, and 23 women in October received between \$39 and \$48.

HOURS AND CONDITIONS OF WORK IN CHICAGO.

Number of employees.

Women were employed by the Chicago Elevated trains as ticket agents but not as conductors. The company has used women as ticket agents since the establishment of the transportation system, and their employment has been satisfactory apparently, as the number of women considerably exceeds the number of men. According to the figures given by the company the average number of women employed from January 1 to April 30, 1919, was 476. During the same period there were 343 men, making a total of 819 ticket agents, which

was said to be the usual number employed. At the time of the investigation the traffic sheet showed a total of 857 agents. Table XXVIII gives the number and proportion of men and women, regular and extra agents.

TABLE XXVIII.—*Number and per cent of men and women employed as regular and extra agents on the Chicago Elevated trains, June, 1919.*¹

	Number and per cent of men and women employed as—		Total.	
	Regular agents.	Extra agents.	Number.	Per cent.
Men.....	329	33	362	42
Women.....	427	68	495	58
Total.....	756	101	857	.....
Per cent.....	88.2	11.8	.....	100

¹ In September there were 117 extra agents, 35 of them men and 82 women.

Special regulations for women.

The Illinois law regulating hours of work for women permits a 10-hour day and a 70-hour week, and does not prohibit night work. The hours of women working on the Chicago Elevated trains are regulated, however, so that their regular shifts are of eight hours' duration, and no women are on the night shifts.

Time, method, and scope of investigation.

The material for this report was gathered in June, 1919. Supplementary information on the hours and wages of extra agents was secured in September, 1919. Officials of the Chicago Elevated trains cooperated with the agents of the Women's Bureau by making available the traffic sheets and other records of the company from which the information given in this report was secured. Additional information was also secured from members of the union and from the State department of labor.

Seniority rights.

The choice of station and shift is based on the seniority rights of the employees. The company maintains four seniority lists, one each for the regular men, regular women, extra men, and extra women agents. To get on the regular list an extra must first work up through the extra list. A system of rotation by which agents are employed first at one station and then at another is also based on seniority rights. Each of the four lines in Chicago is divided into subdivisions of five or six stations and agents serve only one month at each station. Every four months the agents can choose, according to their seniority, the first station in which they prefer to begin the period of rotation. They must, however, work in the other

stations belonging to the same subdivision for the remaining three months of the period. One reason given by company officials for this plan of rotation was that traffic was heavy in some stations and light in others and this method helped to equalize the work.

Men are hired and have seniority rights for night work only, although they are assigned to day shifts in certain localities by agreement between the company and the women employees.

Relief periods.

Where travel is light and stations equipped with toilet facilities, no relief periods are provided for the agents, but at busy stations and stations that are not provided with toilet facilities they are given relief by relief agents. At certain busy stations where two or more agents are on duty at one time they are allowed to relieve each other. Agents are employed seven days a week.

Hours.

The most significant fact which was disclosed by this study in Chicago was that the hours of the men and women ticket agents were so arranged that the women did not work on the night shift. This arrangement was made in spite of the fact that the Illinois law did not prohibit the employment of women at night.

HOURS OF REGULAR AGENTS.

Hours were arranged so that there were three regular shifts of eight hours each, the first shift from 7 a. m. to 3 p. m., the second from 3 to 11 p. m., and the third from 11 p. m. to 7 a. m. Only men worked on the 11 p. m. to 7 a. m. shift. Women regular agents worked mainly on the first and second shifts, but a small number of them worked on what are called "split tricks," or shifts the hours of which either are not consecutive or are consecutive but do not coincide with the hours of any regular shift.

Table XXIX gives the number and per cent of men and women regular agents on each shift and on split tricks.

TABLE XXIX.—*Number and per cent of men and women regular agents working on each shift and on split tricks on the Chicago Elevated trains, June, 1919.*

	Number and per cent of men and women regular agents working on—								Total.	
	7 a. m. to 3 p. m. shift.		3 p. m. to 11 p.m.shift.		11 p. m. to 7 a. m. shift.		Split tricks.			
	Num-ber.	Per-cent.	Num-ber.	Per-cent.	Num-ber.	Per-cent.	Num-ber.	Per-cent.	Num-ber.	Per-cent.
Men.....	21	10	61	27	221	100	2	9	305	45
Women.....	193	90	163	73	.....	.....	21	91	377	55
Total.....	214	100	224	100	221	100	23	100	682	100

As the regular agents who did not work on split tricks had a regular eight-hour day without overtime, the arrangement of their hours was simple, particularly as a seven-day week was the practice for both men and women, and no relief periods were arranged.

The actual hours and the over-all hours of the 23 regular agents who worked on split tricks and of the extra agents are more significant. Table XXX shows the actual hours of work, the number of hours within which the work was completed, and the number of splits in each working day for regular agents working on split tricks.

TABLE XXX.—Hours of work of split-trick agents on Chicago Elevated trains and the number of hours within which work was completed.

Number of agents.	Actual daily hours.		Overall daily hours.	Number of splits.
	Hr.	Min.	Hrs. Min.	
2.....	6	15	12 00	1
1.....	7	00	11 45	1
3.....	7	00	7 00	.....
4.....	7	30	11 30	2
1.....	7	45	7 45	.....
1.....	7	45	10 00	1
7.....	8	00	8 00	.....
1.....	8	00	12 00	1
1.....	8	15	12 00	1
2.....	8	30	10 00	1

A "split trick" does not necessarily mean that a run is divided into two parts. Runs the hours of which do not coincide with those of one of the regular shifts are also called split tricks. It is significant that 11, or nearly 50 per cent, of these split-trick agents worked consecutive hours of eight or less, and that the hours of three other agents, although not consecutive, were within a total period of 10 hours.

The foregoing tables show that hours have been arranged in Chicago so that among the 377 women in a group of 682 regular ticket agents not one worked at night, only 12 worked over eight hours a day or hours that were not consecutive, and only nine did not complete their day's work in 10 hours or less. These conditions prevailed in spite of the fact that the Illinois law permits a daily total of 10 hours of work, and also allows the employment of women at night.

HOURS OF EXTRA AGENTS.

In addition to the regular agents who work on the eight-hour shifts and those who work on the split tricks there is another group of agents employed by the Chicago Elevated trains to substitute for absentees and to fill in on special tricks. The problem of the employment of these extra agents lies in the arrangement of their work so that they may be assured of comparative regularity of employ-

ment and that the hours worked may be sufficient to guarantee an adequate wage. The actual arrangement of the hours of extras coincided with the hours worked by the regular agents either on the eight-hour shifts or on the split tricks. There was a guaranty of pay for at least three hours' work for any extra who was called and the work was carefully regulated by the company so that the majority worked a full eight-hour day when they were called.

Table XXXI shows the number of days worked by each extra who was employed from September 1 to 15, and the total number of hours worked by each extra during the same period.

TABLE XXXI.—*Total hours and total number of days worked by extra agents on the Chicago Elevated trains Sept. 1 to 15, 1919, inclusive.*

Total number of hours worked	Number of agents working—										Total.	
	Under 7 days.	7 days.	8 days.	9 days.	10 days.	11 days.	12 days.	13 days.	14 days.	15 days.	Num-ber.	Per cent.
Under 48.....	3										3	2.6
48 and under 54.....		1									1	0.9
66 and under 72.....				1							1	0.9
72 and under 80.....					1		1				2	1.7
80 and under 88.....					3	1	2				6	5.1
88 and under 96.....						3	5	2			10	8.5
96 and under 104.....							3	7	5	2	17	14.5
104 and under 120.....								6	19	22	47	40.2
120.....									1	18	19	16.2
More than 120.....										1	9	8.5
Total.....	3	1		1	4	4	11	16	25	52	117	100.0
Per cent.....	2.6	0.9		0.9	3.4	3.4	9.4	13.7	21.4	44.4	100	

The figures here are for a different period from that for which the other figures in this report are given, so that the total number of extra agents does not agree with the number employed in June, when the earlier material was collected.

This table shows that the hours of the greater number of extra agents in Chicago were arranged so that they had sufficient work during the pay period to guarantee them an adequate wage. Only 12 per cent of the extra agents during the period from September 1 to 15 worked less than 88 hours. Twenty-three per cent of them worked over 88 but less than 104 hours, the equivalent of 13 working days of 8 hours each, and 40 per cent worked over 104 hours but less than 120 hours, the equivalent of 15 working days of 8 hours each.

Regularity of work was also arranged in their schedules, for Table XXXI shows that only 9, or 7.8 per cent of the total number of women, worked less than 11 days during the pay period of 15 days, and 77, or over 65 per cent, worked 14 or 15 days.

Because of the arrangements of shifts, however, for many employees on street railways the actual hours of work during a given period can not alone serve to indicate the regularity of employment. An agent might work every day out of the 15, but her hours might be so irregular as to cause her considerable inconvenience. It is, therefore, interesting to note in Table XXXII the amount of overtime that was worked by this same group of extra agents during the period from September 1 to 15. The time worked over 8 hours in any one day is counted as overtime.

TABLE XXXII.—Total overtime¹ worked by extra agents from September 1 to 15, 1919, on the Chicago Elevated trains.

Total number of hours worked.	Number of agents who worked no overtime.	Number of agents who worked overtime in the period.												
		Under 1 hour.	2 and under 3.	3 and under 4.	4 and under 5.	6 and under 7.	7 and under 8.	8 and under 9.	9 and under 10.	10 and under 11.	12 and under 13.	16 and under 17.	19 and under 20.	Total.
Under 48.....	3													3
48 and under 54.....	1													1
66 and under 72.....	1	1	1											2
72 and under 80.....	2													2
80 and under 88.....	6													6
88 and under 96.....	8		1		1									10
96 and under 104.....	9	1	3	1	2		1							17
104 and under 120.....	14		11	2	11	4	2	1	2					47
120.....	18					1								19
More than 120.....			2	1	1				1	2	1	1	1	10
Total.....	61	2	18	4	15	5	3	1	3	2	1	1	1	117
Per cent.....	52.1	1.7	15.4	3.4	12.8	4.3	2.6	0.9	2.6	1.7	0.9	0.9	0.9	100

¹ Time worked over 8 hours in any one day is considered overtime.

No overtime at all was worked by 61, or 52 per cent, of the extra agents during the pay period; 33 per cent worked less than 5 hours overtime during the 15 days, and 13 per cent worked between 6 and 13 hours overtime.

Wages.

The wage rate for the agents on the Chicago Elevated trains was the same for men and women. Regular agents were paid \$4.41 a day. As all of the regular agents were scheduled to work seven days a week the wage at this rate for the 15-day period would amount to \$66.15, or \$30.87 a week.

The wage rate for the extra agents was based on the same hourly rate as that of the regular agents, 55 cents an hour. Table XXXIII shows the wages received by the men and women extra agents from September 1 to 15.

TABLE XXXIII.—*Earnings of men and women extra agents, Chicago, Sept. 1 to 15, 1919.*

Earnings.	Men.	Women.
Less than \$39		6
\$39 and less than \$42		1
\$42 and less than \$45	1	5
\$45 and less than \$48	1	1
\$48 and less than \$51	2	4
\$51 and less than \$54	4	5
\$54 and less than \$57	1	5
\$57 and less than \$60	6	10
\$60 and less than \$63	4	13
\$63 and less than \$66	4	11
\$66 and less than \$69	10	15
\$69 and less than \$72		1
\$72 and less than \$75	1	3
\$75 and less than \$78		1
\$78 and less than \$81	1	
\$81 and over		1
Total	35	82
Median wage	\$61.88	\$61.04

The median wage for the men during this period was \$61.88, and for the women \$61.04. All but a very few of both the men and women extra agents received between \$50 and \$70 during this 15-day period, which fact shows that the work of extras is almost always as well and, occasionally, better paid than the work of the regular agents.



PUBLICATIONS OF WOMEN'S BUREAU.

BULLETINS.

- No. 1. Proposed Employment of Women During the War in the Industries of Niagara Falls, N. Y. 16 pp. 1918.
 - No. 2. Labor Laws for Women in Industry in Indiana. 29 pp. 1918.
 - No. 3. Standards for the Employment of Women in Industry. 7 pp. 1919.
 - No. 4. Wages of Candy Makers in Philadelphia in 1919. 46 pp. 1919.
 - No. 5. The Eight-Hour Day in Federal and State Legislation. 19 pp. 1919.
 - No. 6. The Employment of Women in Hazardous Industries in the United States. 8 pp. 1919.
 - No. 7. Night-Work Laws in the United States. 4 pp. 1919.
 - No. 8. Women in the Government Service. 37 pp. 1919.
 - No. 9. Home Work in Bridgeport, Conn. 35 pp. 1919.
 - No. 10. Hours and Conditions of Work for Women in Industry in Virginia. 32 pp. 1920.
 - No. 11. Women Street Car Conductors and Ticket Agents. 86 pp. 1920.
 - No. 12. New Position of Women in American Industry. 158 pp. 1920.
 - No. 13. Industrial Opportunities and Training for Women and Girls. 48 pp. 1920.
- First Annual Report of the Director. 1919. (Out of print.)
Second Annual Report of the Director. 12 pp. 1920.

CHARTS.

- I. Eight-hour and eight-and-a-half-hour laws for women workers. 1 section, 1919.
- II. Nine-hour laws for women workers. 1 Section, 1919.
- III. Ten-hour laws for women workers. 1 section, 1919.
- IV. Ten-and-a-quarter-hour, ten-and-a-half-hour, eleven-hour, and twelve-hour laws for women workers. 1 section, 1919.
- V. Weekly hour laws for women workers. 1 section, 1919.
- VI. One day rest in seven and time for meals. 1 section, 1919. (In preparation.)
- VII. Night-work laws for women workers. 1 section, 1919.
- VIII. Home work. 2 sections. 1919.
- IX. Minimum wage legislation in the United States—April, 1920. 3 sections, 1920.
- X. Mothers' pension laws in the United States. 4 sections, 1920. (Revised.)