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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BULLETIN OF THE WOMEN'S BUREAU, NO. 67

WOMEN WORKERS
IN FLINT, MICH.

[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
JAMES J. DAVIS, SECRETARY
WOMEN'S BUREAU
MARY ANDERSON, Director

BULLETIN OF THE WOMEN'S BUREAU, NO. 67

WOMEN WORKERS
IN FLINT, MICH.



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U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
JAMES J. DAVIS, DIRECTOR
WOMEN'S BUREAU
MORTON J. ANDERSON, CHIEF CLERK

SUBJECT OF THE WOMEN'S BUREAU, NO. 11

WOMEN WORKERS
IN FLINT, MICH.

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
WOMEN'S BUREAU,
Washington, June 25, 1928.

SIR: I am submitting herewith the report of an investigation of hours, wages, and working conditions, as well as the economic status and living conditions, of girls and women workers in Flint, Mich.

The survey was undertaken at the request of the Young Women's Christian Association of Flint, who felt that information in regard to the economic status and living conditions of the girls and women among whom they worked would be of benefit to them. The secretary of the chamber of commerce and the secretary of the industrial bureau believed that such a survey of Flint by the Women's Bureau would help them in their work also, and all three of these organizations extended their fullest cooperation.

The survey was made by Mrs. Ethel L. Best, who also wrote the report.

A preliminary report of this investigation was issued in order that the facts ascertained would be available to the persons interested before the full report could be distributed.

Respectfully submitted.

MARY ANDERSON, *Director.*

Hon. JAMES J. DAVIS,
Secretary of Labor.

WOMEN WORKERS IN FLINT, MICH.

INTRODUCTION

The city of Flint is in the lower part of Michigan, fifty-odd miles from Detroit as the crow flies but not located on the through trunk lines running east and west. It is near no large body of water, so its manufactured products must be shipped by train, by auto, or under their own power. In spite of no special natural advantages Flint grew from 13,103 inhabitants in 1900, ranking fourteenth among Michigan cities, to 91,599 in 1920, exceeded only by Detroit and Grand Rapids.¹ This remarkable increase is due entirely to the growth of a single industry, the making of automobiles and their accessories. Therefore, to understand the present composition of Flint and its problems two facts must be steadily borne in mind—the rapid increase of its population and the cause of that rapid increase, the automobile industry.

In the 30 years from 1890 to 1920 there was a great increase in population of all the principal cities of Michigan. Detroit, the largest and most important city, had nearly five times as great a population in 1920 as it had in 1890. Lansing more than quadrupled its population and Battle Creek, Grand Rapids, Jackson, and Kalamazoo at least doubled theirs during these years. In Flint the population was multiplied a little more than nine times, so that in 1920 there were 91,599 people compared to 9,803 in 1890.² Fortunately, Flint is in rather a flat plain with no natural barriers, and though in the downtown sections there are a few high buildings the city as a whole has spread out and become one of detached houses and small apartments. The city covers a wide area and many workers live at considerable distance from their employment. Rents are high in the locations more convenient for the workers and therefore lodgers are taken or the houses are divided into tenements. Both these factors are, of course, very generally true of towns or cities where the population increase has been rapid. Where Flint differs markedly from most other places is that it is a one-industry city, and this fact determines to a considerable extent its composition. Most cities that increase in size have one industry after another springing up, and though one kind of manufacturing may predominate it is generally not to such an extent as to affect the character of the population.

Flint has grown up around the automobile industry and because of it. In this industry the proportion of men is very high. In 1919, according to the Census of Manufactures, only 4.4 per cent of the wage earners in the manufacturing of automobiles and automobile

¹ U. S. Bureau of the Census. Fourteenth Census: 1920. v. 1, Population, pp. 232-234.

² *Ibid.* Thirteenth Census: 1910. v. 1, Population, p. 91; and Fourteenth Census: 1920. v. 3, Population, p. 488.

bodies and parts were women.³ Men flock to Flint in large numbers from all parts of the country. Some bring their families and settle down, but many single men are attracted by the flourishing industry and the report of good weekly earnings. Though comparatively few women are employed in the automobile industry, nevertheless single women also flock to Flint from the surrounding small towns and farms, coming as do the men because they hear of the high wages to be earned, but, unlike the men, not succeeding in securing employment.

Certain conditions obtain in the manufacture of automobiles and their accessories that vitally affect the worker, man or woman, after a position in the industry has been secured.

Passenger cars, which are the chief product of Flint, are a cross between a luxury and a necessity. The industry is still, compared to many others, in its early stages. In 1899, when Flint was a small city, only 2,500 cars were made in the entire United States during the year. In 1926 the number of passenger cars made was 3,768,631.⁴ With this increase constant improvements and changes are being made. New models are put on the market each year to tempt the purchaser, and installment payments are becoming more and more customary. In 1923 the United States was said to be spending more for automobile service than for railroad transportation, shelter, or heat and light—more, in fact, than for any other item in the national budget except clothing and meats.⁵

The worker who comes to Flint seeking employment in the automobile plants realizes that the industry is a tremendous one and growing, and he expects to share in the prosperity. Certain other facts he may not realize with equal clearness. The automobile industry, though not so markedly seasonal as lumbering or candy manufacturing, for example, nevertheless has its busy and slack periods within the year. In Ohio, where the manufacture of parts is an important branch of the industry, employment figures for 9 years in the 11-year period 1914 to 1924 show consistently that employment in the automobile industry fluctuates much more than does employment in all manufacturing, sharp peaks and valleys within the year being not uncommon.⁶

During the slack months, automobile factories do not run 5½ days each week, but 3, 4, or 5 days instead. For the worker this means either a lay-off or part time and low pay.

Another condition serious for the worker is the marked changes in production in successive years. In 1917 passenger cars to the number of 1,740,792 were made in the United States, and in the following year, due to war conditions, the number of passenger cars fell to 943,436⁷—a decrease of nearly one-half (45.8 per cent). The depression of 1920–21 caused a drop of 23.8 per cent in the number, followed by an increase in 1922 of 59.2 per cent. Such violent changes in production have an even greater effect on the worker and

³ U. S. Bureau of the Census. Fourteenth Census: 1920. v. 10, Manufactures, 1919, p. 868, Table 4.

⁴ National Automobile Chamber of Commerce. Facts and figures of the automobile industry, 1927 edition, p. 4.

⁵ National Geographic Magazine, October, 1923, p. 343.

⁶ U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. Report on trend of employment of women in Ohio. (In preparation.)

⁷ National Automobile Chamber of Commerce. Facts and figures of the automobile industry, 1927 edition, p. 4.

on the town of Flint than have the ups and downs of the industry during the course of one year.

May is normally a month when production is good, but in May, 1919, and again in May, 1924, according to State employment figures, nearly 19 per cent of the men and about 20 per cent of the women lost employment in the factories making automobiles and parts in Ohio.

In a city such as Flint the ups and downs of production are felt by all. The stores suffer, with fewer people to buy and less money to be spent; the restaurants fail, for it is cheaper to cook one's own food than to have others do it and there is a decrease of single men without homes who normally eat at restaurants; the laundries feel it, and complain that people do their own washing and send out comparatively little; the boarding and lodging houses are only half filled and many houses and apartments are empty; in short, all Flint suffers when times are bad in the automobile industry and rejoices when times are good.

Figures from the relief organizations in Flint indicate that relief follows closely the curve of unemployment in the automobile industry.

The effect of the predominance of one industry does not stop with the growth of the city and the variation in employment but may be seen in the composition and character of the population.

It has already been noted that the automobile industry is essentially man-employing, so it is not surprising to find that of the total population of Flint the proportion of men (56.4 per cent) is greater than in any other city of 25,000 or more in Michigan. When figures for industrial centers of approximately the same size as Flint in 1920 are taken for all over the country the same is true, and the preponderance of men is greater in Flint than in Erie, Pa., Evansville, Ind., Ft. Wayne, Ind., Jacksonville, Fla., Lynn, Mass., Tacoma, Wash., Utica, N. Y., or Waterbury, Conn.⁸

It is natural that when a city offers work for men rather than for women it should attract and hold the one and not the other. The census of 1920 has shown this to be true of the population, and it also shows that, compared to other such cities, Flint has a large proportion of males 10 years of age and over at work and a small proportion of employed females.⁹ Of the women of Flint who are employed, more are between the ages of 16 and 24¹⁰ than in other cities, and the probable reason has been mentioned by one of the employment managers, who stated that for the workers in her plant most of the foremen preferred women under 25 years of age, as the work was fine and older women were likely to learn less easily and to be less efficient. On account of the large number of women employed in this plant, this fact influences the age groupings of all women wage earners in Flint.

Two social surveys made some years ago, one in an eastern and one in a western city, emphasize in their reports the effect of rapid changes of population on the social whole. In the eastern city the manufacturing was diversified. This report states:

There is, however, no one industry over-shadowing all others, a situation which is usually considered of industrial and commercial advantage since it

⁸ U. S. Bureau of the Census. Fourteenth Census, 1920. v. 2, Population, Table 8, pp. 117-135.

⁹ *Ibid.*, v. 4, Population, Occupations, pp. 284-325.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 467-472.

tends to prevent wide fluctuations in local prosperity brought on by unusual general depression in any one industry. Especially is such a condition advantageous to the merchant and shop-keeper.¹¹

The report of the western city envisages the effect of change in population on community well-being rather than, as in the Newburgh survey, the effect on business life. It says that a vagrant population due to the present competitive social system results in a breaking down of the powerful disciplinary influences of social groups against anti-social individuals, and that unless the social group can hold the support of more or less permanent residents that group will not be able to preserve its integrity and the effect will be felt on home, church, and State.¹²

The problems of Flint or of any other one-industry city therefore are largely tied up with the industry in question, as it determines both the economic rise and fall of the community and the character of its inhabitants. As a background to the exposition of the facts of the Women's Bureau survey, which is concerned with the wage-earning women of Flint, the following conditions must be emphasized:

1. The growth of Flint in the last 30 years has been phenomenal.
2. This growth has been due to the large expansion of one industry.
3. The one industry is owned largely by one corporation.
4. Opportunities of work are predominately with the one industry and the one corporation.
5. Employment fluctuates considerably within the year and to an even greater extent from year to year.
6. A bad year in the automobile industry means a bad year for all Flint.
7. The work for women in this industry is limited.

All these facts not only affect the physical life of the working women in Flint but determine to a considerable extent their standards of living and sense of values.

¹¹ Russell Sage Foundation. The Newburgh survey. 1913, p. 78.

¹² Lind, Andrew W. A study of mobility of population in Seattle. 1925, pp. 10-11.

SUMMARY

No list of conditions nor any one array of facts is of great significance without knowledge of how these conditions or facts are correlated and of how they fit into the larger whole.

Character of population.

In Flint the outstanding features to which all other facts are related are the very rapid growth of the city and the cause of the rapid growth—the increase in a single industry, the manufacture of automobiles and their accessories.

These two factors influence the very composition of the population. There is a larger proportion of men among the inhabitants than is found in any other city of 25,000 or over in Michigan. This naturally would be the case, for the automobile industry is a man's industry with only a small per cent of women. Though an effort was made to include in the survey all the large woman-employing establishments and many of the small ones, it was found that women comprised less than a tenth (9.7 per cent) of the working force in the establishments visited.

Insecurity of employment.

The automobile industry, though not strikingly seasonal, has its busy and slack times within the year and its even more marked peaks and slumps from year to year. The prosperity or the depression of this great industry affects all employment in Flint. Either earnings are high, many transients flock in, and everyone is busy, or earnings are low, many people are laid off and leave Flint, and everyone suffers. This means a lack of security; "you never can tell how long work will last in Flint." For the improvident worker it also means spending freely when times are good and incurring obligations which, when times are bad and earnings are lowered because of slack work, can not be fulfilled.

When the factories are running full, large numbers of men and women come to Flint to find work. One plant reported 3,338 women applying for work during the year, with placements of 271. Without doubt, many of these applicants were transients, for in the house-to-house canvass made during the survey in four industrial sections of the city only 178 women were reported as wanting work. Manufacturing was the kind of work usually preferred by these women, and, though the choice was made regardless of the worker's experience, the kind of factory work wanted was influenced by the woman's industrial history. Women who had been machine operators in garment factories usually preferred that job, and women experienced in textile mills would have liked mill work.

Conditions in various industries.

By far the largest group of women who were at work was found in the automobile industry. Conditions of work varied considerably not

only in the actual work performed but in the earnings and hours. The median of the week's earnings was highest for women in the automobile factories and lowest for those in the 5-and-10-cent stores. The higher week's earnings in the automobile industry perhaps account for the preference for factory work of the women wanting jobs, though employment is far steadier in stores, offices, and laundries than in factories. In manufacturing, through no fault of the employee, there is likely to be much lost time. In other lines of work—notably stores and offices—there is a week's work if the worker can come each day. Also, each hour lost by a factory worker generally means a decrease in pay, while in many cases a store or office worker is paid for a full day if a few hours only are lost.

Week's earnings.

The median of the week's earnings of all wage-earning women included in the survey¹³ was \$16.50, one-half of the number earning less than this amount and one-half earning more in the week selected (see Appendix Table 5). Often it is impossible for women to work every day, because of illness or other personal reasons or because, as may happen in the case of factories, there is no work. In factories, however, occasional overtime is worked, which, as far as earnings are concerned, compensates to some extent for the lost time. That this compensation is only partial is shown by the slight difference between the earnings of women working the full week and those of all women. The median for full-time workers in the industries surveyed was \$16.70, only 20 cents more than the \$16.50 for all women regardless of time worked.

Women in restaurants generally receive one or more meals a day as well as their pay, and waitresses frequently receive tips, so the median of the week's earnings of restaurant workers, \$12.20, can not be compared with the median earnings of women workers in other industries.

Year's earnings.

The amount earned in a year's work in the industry was obtained in the case of 132 women who had been with the employer for at least 12 months. Complete data could be secured in only stores, laundries, and manufacturing other than automobiles and accessories. The median of the year's earnings of the 132 women was \$775. Ninety-one of the 105 women for whom weeks worked, as well as amount earned, was reported, worked at least 44 of the 52 weeks, and for these the median for the year was \$766. The highest earnings were in specialty shops and the lowest were in laundries. (See Text Table 11.)

Earnings and weekly hours.

When women work less than their scheduled or weekly hours the effect is observed in earnings, but there exists no close correlation between earnings and the scheduled weekly hours. The median of the week's earnings in the automobile industry was the highest of all, and this industry also had the largest proportion of women with weekly hours of 50 and under. The lowest median was in 5-and-10-cent stores, and for all workers employed in such stores weekly hours were over 52. The most usual week in the manufacturing industries

¹³ Restaurant workers excepted.

was 50 hours and in stores it was between 50 and 54. In laundries the most common week was between 48 and 50 hours. The women in restaurants had by far the longest week. A fifth of the restaurant workers reported a schedule of over 58 hours, which excessively long week was largely the result of a 7-day schedule that existed for a little more than two-thirds of the women. (See Appendix Tables 2, 5, and 15.)

Daily hours.

The most usual workday found in Flint was one of $8\frac{1}{2}$ or 9 hours, and only small proportions of the employees, a little over 2 per cent in each case, had hours of more than 9 or of 8 and under. Daily hours were shorter in stores than in manufacturing establishments, but laundries had a larger proportion of days of nine hours and over than was found in any other industry. A shorter day was worked on Saturday in almost all the factories and laundries, but this was not true of stores, where hours were in many cases as long as on other days and for more than half of the women were longer. (See Appendix Tables 1 and 3.)

Working conditions.

Though two of the most important facts for the wage earner are earnings and hours, it has long been realized that good working conditions also are a decided factor in the contentment and efficiency of the working force. In Flint more attention had been given to lighting than to ventilation. The majority of employers seemed to realize that both quantity and quality of work are likely to suffer with poor lighting, but the effect of excessive heat and steam on the worker and therefore on the work had not received equal attention. In laundries and restaurants, though general ventilation had been taken care of, the importance of good hoods, with exhausts, over machines and stoves where steam is generated was little realized. Another need noted was more adequate seating facilities for women in laundries and in some automobile plants for workers who were employed on standing jobs.

Sanitary conditions.

It is now a well-known fact that the insanitary bubbler,¹⁴ as well as the common drinking cup, is a carrier of germs. Nevertheless, 31 of the 34 establishments with bubblers had those of the insanitary type and in 21 plants there were common drinking cups. The common towel, which also may be a germ carrier, was found in 56 establishments, and there were no towels in 24. The absence of towels may be more sanitary, though that is open to question, but the inconvenience due to lack of towels can not be questioned. Toilet facilities were in all cases connected with the city sewers and of the flush type, but in 13 the number of seats was insufficient, in one-fourth of the rooms the ventilation was poor, and about a quarter had doors on which there was no designation. The provision last named is required by law in many States and is an aid to privacy and decency.

It is often said in excuse of poor sanitary or comfort provisions that they are as good as those to which the workers are accustomed at home. The fallaciousness of any comparison between conditions

¹⁴ One where the water falls back on the orifice.

in a home and in a factory where many men and women are working side by side in large or small numbers is, of course, apparent, and the far stricter and more explicit laws for work places in most States show clearly the realization of this difference.

Equipment of homes.

Sanitary provisions in the 853 homes where visits were made and information was obtained were so general that almost 90 per cent of the homes were equipped with running water, flush toilet, bath, and sewer connection, and less than 1 per cent had no improvements. (See Appendix Table 13.)

Women's employment status.

In visiting the homes, certain sections were selected where it was known that large groups of industrial workers lived, and where, therefore, a high percentage of working women might in all probability be found and interviewed. In spite of this method of selecting the districts, less than a quarter of the 3,648 households visited contained women who were either working or desiring work. Naturally, in some households or units¹⁵ several women were working. The total number of women in units having women workers was 1,633, of whom 946 were employed or had worked during the year and 178 wanted work. The average size of the unit was 4.5 persons. It was somewhat less where women did not work nor want work outside the home and somewhat larger where they did. It is significant that there was a larger per cent of men in the households where women did not work. (See Text Table 2.)

Boarders and lodgers.

Where the family income is not sufficient it may be supplemented by the renting of rooms as well as by the wife going out to work, and this method was resorted to in about 30 per cent of the units reporting on this: Of course, most of the lodgers or boarders were men, but the number of women who reported living away from their families and in the homes of strangers was unusually high. Three in every twenty women were living in rooms or boarding, and that this is an exceptionally large proportion is shown by the fact that in only 2 of 16 States where similar facts have been gathered by the Women's Bureau was the proportion of women living independently so high. (See Appendix Tables 11 and 12.)

Personal data.

When it is realized that half the women in the survey were under 25 years of age, it may be seen that the problems confronting those who are interested in either the welfare of young women or the social conditions in Flint are of greater magnitude than in most cities of like size. Perhaps one thing that should make it less difficult to improve conditions is the rather low proportion of foreign-born women (12.1 per cent) and the fact that of this group nearly two-thirds were from English-speaking countries. Married women formed a considerable proportion of the women workers, and if to these are added the women

¹⁵ A unit is a group of persons keeping house together. There may be two or more such groups in one house or apartment.

who had been married, that is, the widowed, separated, and divorced, they constituted more than half (53.7 per cent) the 1,738 women for whom such data were secured. (See Appendix Tables 8, 9, and 10.)

Reasons for married women working.

The reason for working was obtained from 143 married women and in the majority of cases insufficient income due to irregularity of the husband's work was given as the cause. This irregularity was due to the opportunities of work, not to the man's failure to work. As one man said, and many confirmed, "Between lay-offs and short time you can't count on anything."

Problems in Flint.

It seems somewhat like a circle, and that the end of the survey leaves off near the beginning, so far as the special problems of Flint's women workers are concerned. Constantly with them is the uncertainty of work, their own and their men's together, in Flint's major industries, with little opportunity for the good times in one industry to offset the bad times in another. For the woman worker there is also keen competition because of the limited number of jobs and the difficulty of establishing a way of living for herself and family that is justified by the wide fluctuations in earnings.

Nor are the problems much simpler for the man or woman who desires Flint's best welfare. Besides the usual economic and social difficulties that exist in every large city are those occasioned by a single dominating industry, owned by one corporation, and whose operations require thousands of men, a considerable proportion of whom must be mobile, able to come at call and leave when work is slack. In any attempt at local action for improving opportunities and conditions for the woman worker in Flint, the facts collected in this survey not only must be considered but an estimate must be made of their significance in the larger economic background in which Flint is a small part. The far-reaching effect of such conditions is well summed up by Doctor Elkind:

To-day the family and the community are determined largely by the character and the location of the industries on which they are dependent. The economic, the social, and the political status of our population has been colored by the rapid and phenomenal development of modern industry.¹⁶

¹⁶ Elkind, Henry B. Behavior studies in industry, in *Journal of Industrial Hygiene*, January, 1925, v. 7, No. 1, p. 17.

SCOPE AND METHOD

The survey was undertaken at the request of the Young Women's Christian Association of Flint, which felt that it should have further knowledge of the economic and living conditions of the girls among whom the work was conducted and for whose benefit the organization was established. The secretary of the chamber of commerce and the secretary of the industrial bureau believed that a survey of the women of Flint by the Women's Bureau would help them in their work also, and they extended their fullest cooperation. Certain facts were wanted by each of the three organizations interested in the survey and an effort was made by the bureau to obtain such material as would show, for the wage-earning women of Flint, hours, wages, working conditions, nativity, age, marital status, schooling, present position, experience, and training. Effort was made to ascertain from those wanting jobs what their past experience had been, and to find why the married women wanted work. The number of young children whose mothers were working or wanting work was obtained in order to have some idea of home responsibilities. The numbers of people working and not working in each family unit also were recorded, and whether the family had boarders or roomers. The schedule contained so many questions that little attempt was made to go into the housing situation, but notes were taken as to the number of homes owned, being bought, or rented, and the sanitary provisions in each dwelling.

This information was obtained from three sources—from the employer, from cards distributed to the women in the plants visited, and from the workers in home visits.

Factories, stores, laundries, and restaurants were included in the survey. Women employed in these places but doing clerical work, telephone operating, supervising, and other noncomparable work have been tabulated separately from the women in the usual industrial jobs. Every concern employing large numbers of women and many firms employing only a few workers were visited. The information from the plants was secured solely through agents of the Women's Bureau. Whenever possible a week's earnings for each woman employee were copied from the pay roll, together with the hours she worked and her occupation. Where such records were available, year's earnings also were copied for 10 per cent of the women in each plant. In some of the smaller establishments no pay-roll records were kept and the earnings and hours were given by the owner or manager. When earnings were not obtainable in the plants the earnings and hours worked as reported by the women themselves were accepted.

In all the plants visited a brief inspection was made of the working, sanitary, and comfort conditions for the women workers.

Cards were distributed among the women in the establishments, on which the workers were asked to record age, nativity, marital condition, length of service in the present trade and with the present employer, and the grade at leaving school, together with present living condition, whether with the family or other relatives or boarding or lodging.

The house-to-house canvass, made to obtain additional social and personal information, covered only certain sections of the city where numbers of women workers were thought to reside. For this reason the data, though probably representative of the wage-earning women of Flint, can not be said to illustrate the composition or the living conditions of the city as a whole. The sections visited were selected with the help of persons who know Flint, and those chosen were in the school districts of Dort, Doyle, Homedale, and Parkland. Within these areas every house and tenement was visited—frequently many times before all the information could be obtained. The secretaries of the Young Women's Christian Association and a few social workers of Flint helped the agents of the Women's Bureau in making these visits.

In the selected areas where visits were made, details were secured only where there lived a woman who was actually working, or who had worked during the year, or who wanted work. Questions were asked regarding the number in family, number in home, number of roomers or boarders, chief male wage earner and his relation to the woman interviewed, his occupation, and whether or not he had been out of work for a month or longer during the past year. For the one or more women workers or would-be workers facts were obtained as to nativity, age, marital status, grade left school, special training, former jobs, present work, length of service with present employer, unemployment during year, and earnings and hours worked during a given week unless that material had already been furnished at the place of work. When a woman was not working but desired work the kind of work she wished to do was recorded. Information as to whether the family owned, were buying, or rented their home also was ascertained, as was the existence of certain sanitary conveniences. For a few of the questions the information secured was too slight to be worth tabulating.

The Young Women's Christian Association, the chamber of commerce, the manufacturers' association, and the industrial bureau had been consulted on the importance to each of them of the inclusion or exclusion of different items in the survey and as to the availability of certain material. The field work of the survey was begun October 20, 1925. It was terminated by the Women's Bureau December 22, but the Young Women's Christian Association continued the collection of material for six weeks longer. This organization was invaluable both in the actual work it accomplished and in the constant advice and assistance it gave. Without its help in the selecting and routing of districts and in the home visiting the bureau could not have undertaken, with the time and the staff at its disposal, the collection of the facts on personal and living conditions that form a useful part of this report.

According to the United States Census there were 45,054¹⁷ wage earners 10 years of age and over in Flint in 1920. In the 138 establishments visited in the present study 29,048 men, women, and children¹⁸ were employed.

TABLE 1.—*Number of men, women, and children in the establishments visited, by industry*

Industry	Number of establishments	All employees	Men	Women	Boys under 16
Total.....	138	29,048	26,231	2,814	3
Per cent distribution.....		100.0	90.3	9.7	(1)
Manufacturing:					
Automobiles and accessories.....	22	27,097	25,346	1,751	
Other.....	13	499	347	152	
Stores:					
General mercantile.....	11	378	98	280	
5-and-10-cent.....	4	166	28	138	
Other.....	34	274	145	128	1
Laundries.....	16	226	79	147	
Restaurants.....	38	408	188	218	2

¹ Less than 0.05 per cent.

These figures show pretty accurately the distribution of the women in the various industries of Flint. Of course, all small stores and restaurants could not be included, but a fair sample was taken and all the larger woman-employing establishments were visited. The largest numbers of both men and women were in manufacturing industries, and the importance of the automobile and automobile-accessory establishments to the worker of Flint is shown by the fact that 96.6 per cent of the men and 62.2 per cent of the women in the plants visited were engaged in the automobile industry. That nearly two-thirds of the women were working in automobile factories is especially significant when it is realized that the other industries were largely woman-employing industries in which the proportion of women, as a rule, is greater than that of men. The explanation of this large number of women in an industry that is preeminently a man's industry is the considerable number employed in the automobile-accessory group, wherein, unlike automobile or body manufacturing, the proportion of women is high.

These figures all refer to the numbers of men and women at work in the different plants visited and were obtained from the plant records. However, this was only one source of information concerning the women workers in Flint. The second source was visits to the workers in their homes. In not quite one-quarter (23.8 per cent) of the homes visited were women found who worked¹⁹ or wanted work. The sections visited were among the more crowded and less prosperous ones of Flint, where the economic pressure would seem to force women to work; nevertheless, only about one in every four units contained women who worked or wanted work. This situation is somewhat accounted for by the fact that the proportion of young

¹⁷ U. S. Bureau of the Census. Fourteenth Census: 1920. v. 4, Population, Occupations, p. 265.

¹⁸ Persons under 16 years of age.

¹⁹ Includes women who were working or had worked within the year.

women workers is high, as is the proportion of women living away from their homes. Thus several workers or would-be workers might be grouped in the same unit.

The size of the unit was much the same in the homes where women did not work as where they did, and averaged 4.5 persons, being slightly larger in the units where women worked or desired work than where they were supported.

Figures from the school-attendance records showed a larger number of children from the same family attending school in the districts included in the survey than the average for other districts. Nevertheless, the average number of children under 16 years was only 1.3 for all the units surveyed, being 1.1 where the women worked or wanted work and 1.4 where they neither worked outside the home nor desired to do so.

TABLE 2.—*Composition of the units surveyed, by employment status of the women*

	Number of units surveyed	Units in which—	
		Some women worked or desired work	No women worked or desired work
Number of units.....	3,648	867	2,781
Number of men and women.....	11,436	3,155	8,281
Men—			
Number.....	6,592	1,522	5,070
Per cent.....	57.6	48.2	61.2
Women—			
Number.....	4,844	¹ 1,633	3,211
Per cent.....	42.4	51.8	38.8
Number of boys and girls under 16.....	4,824	963	3,861

¹ Of this number, 509 neither worked nor desired work.

The small proportion of children is without doubt due to the large numbers of roomers and boarders found in the sections visited and the uniting of several women for housekeeping purposes. Many units contained two women living together, or a family with possibly several children but also several roomers. One feature, however, is most marked, and that is the very much smaller proportion of men in units where women were employed or wanted employment. In such units men comprised a little less than half the total number of persons 16 years of age and over, while more than three-fifths (61.2 per cent) were men where women neither worked nor wanted to work outside the home. Only a comparatively small number of women were found who expressed themselves as wanting work, but this figure can not be considered indicative of the possible woman labor supply. Many young girls and older women come to Flint from neighboring cities and if work is not available either return home or move on to another city. From the standpoint of women wanting work it is of more significance to know that in one large manufacturing establishment alone 3,338 women applied for work during a single year and only 8.1 per cent of them were taken on. This large number

of women seeking work at one plant would indicate that the opportunities in Flint for women are considerably less than the number of women seeking jobs. To sum up the findings:

1. The number of establishments visited was 138 and they employed 29,048 persons.
2. Nearly two-thirds of the women (62.2 per cent) and almost all the men (96.6 per cent) were engaged in the automobile industry.
3. Home visits were made to 3,648 units, i. e., groups of persons keeping house together.
4. In less than one-quarter of the homes in the industrial districts were women employed in industrial work or wanting such work.
5. The average size of the unit was 4.5 persons. This was much the same figure in the units whose women did not work (4.4) as where they worked or desired work (4.8).
6. The units that contained women working or desiring work had a smaller proportion of men than had those where women were not employed and did not want employment.
7. The average number of children under 16 years of age was slightly less in units where women were working or wanting work (1.1) than where women were not working (1.4).

HOURS

Daily hours.²⁰

The most usual working day in Flint was one of 8½ or 9 hours. Over one-half (55.1 per cent) of the women had such hours and comparatively few had hours of 8 or less (2.8 per cent) or more than 9 (2.1 per cent) a day. No plant reported daily hours so long as 10 and only 5 establishments had scheduled hours of more than 9. (See Appendix Table 1.)

TABLE 3.—Daily hours, by industry¹

Industry	Number of women reported	Per cent of women whose daily hours were—			
		8 and under	Over 8 and under 9	9	Over 9
Total ¹	2,594	2.8	40.0	55.1	2.1
Manufacturing:					
Automobiles and accessories.....	1,751	.1	28.8	70.2	.9
Other.....	150	12.7	21.3	58.0	8.0
Stores:					
General mercantile.....	280	1.4	66.8	1.8	.....
5-and-10-cent.....	138	.....	100.0	.....	.....
Other.....	128	32.0	64.1	3.9	.....
Laundries.....	147	4.8	6.8	70.1	18.4

¹ Excludes restaurants, tabulated elsewhere. (See p. 29.)

In manufacturing industries and laundries the majority of women had a 9-hour day, but in stores the hours were in most cases between 8 and 9. A larger proportion of women in specialty stores than in other stores had hours of eight or less. In no store were regular daily hours more than nine. In manufacturing and in laundries 7 in every 10 women worked nine hours a day.

If the daily hours of wage-earning women in Flint are compared with those of women engaged in manufacturing industries in other States, it is found that Flint shows less tendency toward scheduled hours of eight and under. In the 12 States in which metal products were included in the surveys made by the Women's Bureau, a little more than one-half of the women working in this industry had scheduled hours of nine a day and nearly one-tenth (9.4 per cent) had hours of eight or less. In Flint more than two-thirds (70.2 per cent) of the women in automobile and accessories plants had a 9-hour day and only one plant, employing two women, had a day of eight hours or less.

The hours of general mercantile establishments in Flint also were longer than the average in most of the 16 States in which scheduled hours have been tabulated for this industry by the Women's Bureau,

²⁰ Restaurant hours are reviewed in another section of this study (see p. 28).

but the 5-and-10-cent stores and laundries followed the hours prevailing in other States. Due possibly to smaller numbers, the variations in hours of the 5-and-10-cent stores were less than in most places.

To summarize briefly the findings in Flint, the records show that—

- (1) The prevailing daily hours in manufacturing establishments and laundries were nine.
- (2) The prevailing daily hours in stores were between eight and nine.
- (3) One in every 35 women had scheduled daily hours of eight or less.
- (4) One in every 50 women had daily hours of more than nine.

Saturday hours.

The custom of the shorter day on Saturday has become very general in manufacturing establishments. However, this is not the case in stores, where hours seldom are shorter and frequently are longer on Saturday than on other days of the week. (See Appendix Table 3.)

What has been found to be the case throughout the country is equally true in Flint. All but seven of the manufacturing establishments had Saturday hours of five or less, and the plants with the longer Saturday were small ones employing only a few women.

Only four stores, each employing one woman, had hours shorter on Saturday than on other days of the week. In the general mercantile establishments the hours were the same on Saturdays as on other days, and in the smaller stores Saturday hours were longer. This longer Saturday also was found in all the 5-and-10-cent stores and in the large majority of the specialty stores characterized as "other." Laundries as a rule had a shorter day on Saturday and in a few cases Monday hours also were shorter than on other days of the week. Six plants where hours were the same on Saturday as on Monday to Friday were dry-cleaning establishments, and in only one of these was more than one woman employed. Some dry-cleaning plants had a short Saturday.

A summary of these facts shows that—

- (1) A shorter day on Saturday than on other days was scheduled for 98.9 per cent of the women in manufacturing establishments.
- (2) A shorter day on Saturday was scheduled for 92.5 per cent of the women in laundries.
- (3) A shorter day on Saturday was scheduled for 0.7 per cent of the women in stores.
- (4) A longer day on Saturday was scheduled for 56.2 per cent of the women in stores.

Lunch period.

From the viewpoint of the worker, probably there is no one ideal lunch period. If she lives near her work and can go home for dinner, she prefers a longer time than when she must eat in a plant cafeteria or near-by lunch room. Again, if the hours of work are long more time is needed for rest and change than when the day is a short one.

The large majority of the women in factories (83.4 per cent) and in stores (79.3 per cent) had an hour for lunch, but in laundries the prevailing time was 30 minutes. In two factories three-quarters of an hour was given the workers and in seven half an hour. In no store was the time allowed less than one hour and in a number of the smaller stores the time for lunch was more than an hour. (See Appendix Table 4.)

1. In manufacturing establishments a little more than four-fifths of the women (83.4 per cent) had a lunch period of one hour.

2. In stores almost four-fifths of the women (79.3 per cent) were allowed one hour for lunch.

3. In laundries a little more than two-thirds of the women (67.3 per cent) had 30 minutes for lunch.

Weekly hours.

To know how the weekly hours in Flint compare with those in other parts of the country, it may be well to consider what are the most common weekly hours in other States and cities. Figures compiled from studies by the Women's Bureau in 18 States and 2 cities show that, when all industries are combined, the largest group of women, a little less than one-fifth, had a week of 50 hours. This also is the weekly schedule for the largest group in Flint. (See Appendix Table 2.)

TABLE 4.—Weekly hours, by industry¹

Industry	Number of women reported	Per cent of women whose weekly hours were—					
		48 and under	Over 48 and under 50	50	Over 50 and under 52	52 and including 54	Over 54
Total ¹	2,596	12.1	15.0	50.5	12.6	9.6	(?)
Manufacturing:							
Automobiles and accessories.....	1,751	13.9	15.0	69.0		2.1	
Other.....	152	33.6	4.6	50.7	1.3	9.9	
Stores:							
General mercantile.....	280	.7	.4	1.1	96.8	1.1	
5-and-10-cent.....	138					100.0	
Other.....	128	7.8	10.2	16.4	26.6	38.3	0.8
Laundries.....	147	6.1	72.1		12.9	8.8	

¹ Excludes restaurants, tabulated elsewhere. (See p. 31.)

² Less than 0.05 per cent.

One-quarter of the establishments reporting had a week of 50 hours, and these hours affected one-half (50.5 per cent) of the women employed. A little more than a fifth of the women (22.4 per cent) had hours over 50 and a little over one-fourth (27.2 per cent) had hours less than 50. The 50-hour week was most prevalent in manufacturing.

In 9 of the 11 department stores the weekly hours were less than 52, the prevailing hours being between 50 and 52, the schedule for 96.8 per cent of the women in general mercantile establishments. Hours for all the women in 5-and-10-cent stores were in one group, with a week of more than 52 and less than 54 hours.

In laundries the majority of workers had shorter weekly hours than those prevailing in manufacturing establishments and stores. Ten of the 16 laundries, where more than three-fourths of the women were working, had weekly hours of 48 and under 50.

The lack of the Saturday half holiday in stores lengthened the weekly hours, so that, though their daily hours were shorter than was general in factories and laundries, stores as a rule had weekly hours longer than those in manufacturing or laundering.

1. In manufacturing establishments the 50-hour week was the most frequent and a little over two-thirds of the women (67.6 per cent) had this schedule.

2. In stores nearly 90 per cent (89.7) of the women had weekly hours of over 50 and less than 54.

3. In laundries nearly three-fourths (72.1 per cent) of the women had weekly hours of over 48 and less than 50.

EARNINGS

Week's earnings.²¹

The consideration of week's earnings is difficult to make significant to most people, especially to those who have never had to figure their own living costs and make every penny count. Even with imagination the difficulty of realizing what it means to live on a weekly wage of \$16.50 is of two kinds: First, due to the fact that very rarely does a weekly wage of \$16.50 mean that such amount is received invariably each week, and, second, that what it costs to live varies with time and place but probably even more with the individual. It may be generally admitted that everyone must have shelter, food, and clothing, but in importance these various items certainly have various weightings. One woman may feel that a quiet, clean room all to herself is of vital importance and that food and clothing are secondary, while another may not mind sharing a room but finds essential three substantial meals a day. Where the emphasis is laid depends not only on the individual but to some extent on the standards of those among whom she works and lives.

In Flint the emphasis was laid on clothing, and two factors were largely responsible for this: One, the general custom of installment buying, and the other, the large proportion of young men in the community, who naturally favored the better-dressed girls. Perhaps a third contributing cause may be the many young girls who come to Flint from the farms and smaller towns. They are not used to a city and have not the balance and background that a home would give them; therefore the importance of clothes looms large.

The median²² of the earnings of the 1,530 women for a single week in the autumn of 1925²³ was \$16.50. This median is, however, \$1.60 more than was averaged during the year by the 132 women who were exceptionally steady workers and for whom year's earnings were obtained. The median of \$16.50 includes all workers but those in restaurants, and the survey was in a period prosperous for the automobile industry. In Flint the prosperity of this main industry also meant prosperity for most of the other industries. As times were good in the automobile industry, stores sold more goods, commissions were higher, and more girls were employed (the season of the year, in the late fall, also contributed to this); laundries were busy, for when the women were working they sent out the family wash; restaurants also reported business as good at the time of the survey. The effect of the prosperity in Flint's major industry was felt everywhere and earnings in all industries reflected the good conditions of the automobile industry.

²¹ Excludes restaurants, discussed elsewhere. (See p. 32.)

²² Half the women earned more and half earned less.

²³ A week was selected from the period between the latter part of September and the latter part of November. The exact date varied, because it was considered desirable to take a week where the selected plant was running full time and in which there were no holidays.

TABLE 5.—Median earnings, by industry or occupation ¹

Industry or occupation	Number of women reported	Median earnings
Total.....	1 1, 530	\$16. 50
Manufacturing:		
Automobiles and accessories.....	397	20. 10
Other.....	161	14. 05
Stores:		
General mercantile.....	286	16. 00
5-and-10-cent.....	138	11. 50
Other.....	142	18. 40
Laundries.....	150	13. 30
Office work.....	184	19. 20
Telephone operating.....	22	18. 20
Service ²	28	13. 75
Supervisory positions.....	16	19. 00

¹ Exclusive of restaurant occupations, discussed elsewhere. (See p. 32.) Total includes women selling candy, cigarettes, etc., in restaurants, too few for the computation of a median.

² Elevator operators, cleaners, charwomen, etc.

Women's earnings in the automobile industry for the one week taken were the highest of all industries, \$20.10, but this probably did not represent weekly earnings throughout the year, at least to the extent that the \$19.20 median did for office work, the \$19 for supervisory work, the \$18.20 for telephone operating, or the \$15.45 for all women in stores. The regularity of employment in these latter groups is far greater than in the automobile industry, as will be shown later when lost time is considered. The lowest earnings were in 5-and-10-cent stores and laundries, where the medians were \$11.50 and \$13.30, respectively, closely followed by the service group, with a median of \$13.75.

Earnings in manufacturing establishments other than automobile and accessory plants show a median of \$14.05, considerably lower than those in several groups but higher than in 5-and-10-cent stores, laundries, and service. As would be expected, the earnings in supervisory positions are high and those in service low. Nevertheless, the median for women in supervisory positions was lower than the rank and file in automobile factories and in office work. (See Appendix Table 5.)

1. The median of the earnings of all workers for one week was \$16.50.
2. The highest median for any one industry was \$20.10 in automobiles and accessories.
3. The lowest median was \$11.50 for women in 5-and-10-cent stores.

Full-time earnings, undertime earnings, and overtime earnings.

It has been noted that the median of the earnings of all workers was \$16.50, and that the median for different industries varied considerably from this sum. Since half of the workers earned less and half earned more than the median, in a given industry the variations above or below the average may be due to differences in earning ability or in the number of days or hours worked.

Scheduled weekly hours may be 50 a week, for example, but a worker may be ill or the work may be slack so that a few hours or even days are lost; or there may be extra work and more hours may be worked than those scheduled. In other words, one marked cause of variation in earnings is that the employee has worked less time, which is under-

time, or more time, which is overtime, than her scheduled or plant hours.

The proportion of women who reported a full week, according to the scheduled hours or days of their establishments, was not quite three-fifths (58.3 per cent) of the women for whom time worked was reported. Not quite two-fifths (38 per cent) lost some time during the given week and 3.6 per cent worked overtime. Naturally, earnings are affected both by the group losing time from their work and by those who worked longer hours than the schedule. The group of overtime workers is so small as to have little effect on group earnings, but the lost time is greater and does affect earnings to a considerable extent in some industries.

The median of the earnings of full-time workers—those working the required hours or days of the establishment—in all industries was \$16.70, only 20 cents more than the median for all workers. (See Appendix Tables 5 and 6.)

TABLE 6.—Median earnings of all workers and of full-time workers, by industry or occupation ¹

Industry or occupation	All workers	Full-time workers
Total ¹	\$16.50	\$16.70
Manufacturing:		
Automobiles and accessories.....	20.10	21.30
Other.....	14.05	14.55
Stores:		
General mercantile.....	16.00	16.60
5-and-10-cent.....	11.50	12.00
Other.....	18.40	18.55
Laundries.....	13.30	18.50
Office work.....	19.20	19.30
Telephone operating.....	18.20	18.20
Service ²	13.75	14.00

¹ Exclusive of restaurant occupations. Totals include selling occupations in restaurants and supervisory positions in various industries, numbers too small for the computation of medians.

² Elevator operators, cleaners, charwomen, etc.

In two industries the difference between full-time earnings and earnings that included undertime and overtime work was marked. Laundries had a median for the full-week group of \$18.50, while that for all workers was \$13.30, a difference of \$5.20. In the automobile industry the difference between the two medians was not so great as in laundries but it was significant nevertheless; the medians were \$20.10 for all workers and \$21.30 for full-time workers. There was some overtime in both these industries but, as is shown by the earnings, not enough to compensate for the time lost. The number of women losing time was high; almost three-quarters (73.3 per cent) of the women in laundries lost some time during the week, as did slightly more than four-fifths (81.2 per cent) of the women in the automobile industry.

In the interviews with the women working in the automobile industry the irregularity and uncertainty of employment constantly was emphasized. Some of their complaints were founded on their own experience and some on the experience of their husbands or fathers. Married women frequently said that they were working because their husbands' earnings were so uncertain; one husband,

after reviewing the ups and downs of his work, said, "That's why my wife is working. We've got to have something to count on." Another woman whose husband was in an automobile plant wanted work because, as she explained, "You can't ever tell how long work will last in Flint." One girl said that for four or five months during the previous year she had had work only three or four days a week; as a girl's mother expressed it, "If they was to work steady and hard they might make a living." The actual amount of involuntary lost time was not possible to ascertain, but short time and occasional shutdowns frequently were mentioned, and it was evident that they affected very generally the outlook of the working people. Several couples spoke of buying and settling in Flint but said they were afraid because of possible bad times in the automobile industry. Their fears perhaps were well founded, for more than a few persons spoke of losing houses or furniture that they were buying on installments because short time came and they could not keep up the payments.

Women in stores and in office work reported large per cents (from 79 to 95 per cent) working the full week; in these industries, therefore, the medians for all workers were fairly close to the normal or expected wage. In manufacturing other than automobiles there was a difference of but 50 cents between the median for all workers and that for full-time workers. The per cent of women losing time was very much less than in the automobile industries (only 36.5 per cent as compared with 81.2 per cent). Overtime was worked by more women in "other manufacturing" than in any other industry group, which compensated for some of the time lost. Telephone operating was the only industry in which the earnings of all workers and of full-time workers were the same. As the number of workers also was the same in both groups, either no time was lost and no overtime worked during the week taken, or a full wage was paid regardless of time worked.

1. The median of the earnings of full-time workers was \$16.70 compared to a median of \$16.50 for all workers.

2. Laundries showed the greatest difference in medians between full-time and all workers, the figures being \$18.50 and \$13.30.

3. Telephone operators had the same earnings for full-time workers and all workers.

4. Of all the women for whom time worked was reported, including restaurants, 62.8 per cent worked a full week, 34 per cent lost some time, and 3.2 per cent worked overtime.

5. The automobile industry had the smallest proportion of women working full time—only 13.1 per cent of the 388 women for whom time worked was reported.

Timeworkers and pieceworkers.

There are two general methods of payment in industry—one based on the hours, days, or weeks worked and the other on the amount produced by each worker or group of workers. All but three of the women in this study who did office work, telephone operating, or worked in laundries, restaurants, and stores were paid for the time worked. In the manufacturing industries workers were paid by both methods, time and piece, and in some cases the same worker was paid part of the time by one method and part by the other. The largest per cent of women in manufacturing industries were paid by the piece and their earnings were higher than those of time workers in the automobile factories, though not higher than those of time workers in other manufacturing.

Earnings and experience.

A beginner in an occupation almost never receives the same pay as a more experienced worker, and it seems reasonable to suppose that the longer the time spent at a given job the more efficient and therefore more valuable a worker becomes. The figures secured in Flint show this to be true.

TABLE 7.—*Median earnings, by time in the trade*

Industry	Women who had been in the trade—					
	Under 1 year		1 and under 5 years		5 years and over	
	Number	Median earnings	Number	Median earnings	Number	Median earnings
Total ¹	146	\$12.20	175	\$15.25	183	\$17.95
Manufacturing:						
Automobiles and accessories.....	11	13.75	1	(?)	14	24.50
Other.....	32	14.00	21	15.75	30	15.00
Stores:						
General mercantile.....	17	12.45	39	15.40	62	18.00
5-and-10-cent.....	51	11.05	44	12.85	5	(?)
Other.....	4	(?)	34	18.35	37	20.85
Laundries.....	24	11.80	29	14.50	29	14.40

¹ Exclusive of restaurant occupations. Totals include selling occupations in restaurants, office work, service, and supervisory positions, numbers too small for the computation of medians.

² Not computed, owing to small number involved.

In Flint there was a fairly uniform increase of median earnings with length of time in the trade. Women in all industries with experience of less than one year had median earnings of \$12.20, while beginners with less than three months' experience had a median of \$11.70. Earnings steadily increased, with slight exceptions, until for workers with 15 years and over in the same trade the median was \$20.65. (See Appendix Table 7.)

In individual industries the most marked difference in earnings between workers with less than a year's experience and those who had worked a number of years was in general mercantile establishments, where for workers with service of less than a year the median was \$12.45, and for those with service of 15 years and over it was \$21. In this same industry—general mercantile—the proportion of women remaining for five years or longer in the trade was more than one-half (52.5 per cent) and their median was \$18. In manufacturing other than the automobile industry the increase of earnings with experience was very slight. Of the 83 women reporting, workers with less than a year in the trade had a median of \$14, while those with five years and over had one of \$15. Only 26 women in the automobile industry reported earnings and time in the trade, too few to make their records significant for the industry as a whole.

Women in laundries showed a considerable increase (\$2.70) in the median between workers with less than a year's experience and those who had worked one to five years. After 5 years earnings remained practically stationary, though a small group of women in the industry 15 years or more had a high median.

The proportion of women remaining in the same trade for five years and over was a little over one-third (36.3 per cent) of the women

reporting. The industries with the highest per cents of employees as much as 15 years in the trade were general mercantile establishments and specialty stores.

1. The median for workers with less than 1 year's experience was \$12.20.
2. The median for workers with experience of 15 years and over was \$20.65.
3. The greatest increase in any one industry was in general mercantile stores, with a median of \$12.45 for workers of less than 1 year's experience and a median of \$21 for women of at least 15 years' experience.
4. A little over one-third of the women (36.3 per cent) had remained in the same industry for five years and more.
5. General mercantile stores had the highest per cent of long-time employees, i. e. 15 years and more in the trade.
6. Five-and-ten-cent stores had the lowest per cent of long-time employees (not any so long as 10 years in the trade).

Earnings and time with the firm.

Increased time with one employer usually adds to a woman's efficiency in the plant, because, as she becomes experienced in a certain job, her services are increasingly valuable to the firm. However, if she comes to her present employer experienced in the kind of work required, her earnings naturally will be higher than if she is a beginner in the work.

TABLE 8.—Median earnings, by time with the firm

Industry or occupation	Number of women reporting	Women who had been with the firm—							
		Under 1 year		1 and under 5 years		5 years and over		10 years and over	
		Per cent	Median earnings	Per cent	Median earnings	Per cent	Median earnings	Per cent	Median earnings
Total ¹	622	44.1	\$16.75	40.7	\$20.15	15.3	\$21.65	1.3	(?)
Manufacturing.....	355	43.1	18.20	39.7	20.70	17.2	21.65	1.4	(?)
Stores.....	42	66.7	12.45	31.0	14.75	2.4	(?)	.....	.....
Office work.....	179	40.2	16.65	42.5	20.10	17.3	23.15	1.1	(?)
Telephone operating.....	22	31.8	(?)	68.2	18.90	.....	.....	.....	.....

¹ Exclusive of restaurant occupations. Total includes laundries, service, and supervisory positions, numbers too small for the computation of medians.

² Not computed, owing to small number involved.

Length of service with the present employer was reported for 622 women. Almost one-half (44.1 per cent) of these women had been less than a year in the establishment, and this high per cent of women with such short length of service is specially interesting when wages are observed, for the median for workers with less than a year of service was \$16.75, a comparatively good median for new workers. It would appear, therefore, that the reason for shifting from one establishment to another was due to causes other than dissatisfaction with wages. The medians show that wages increased rather steadily up to 4 years and after that showed slight increases. The median of the earnings was \$4.90 higher for workers with as much as five years with the same employer than it was for those less than one year with the firm.

A very small number of women, only eight, reported 10 or more years with their present employer, but with the exception of telephone

operators every group showed a large proportion of women with less than 1 year's service in the establishment. This large per cent of women in the short-service group and the small per cent who reported 10 years and over with the same employer emphasize the rapid growth of Flint in the past 10 years.

1. Women with less than a year with their present employer composed 44.1 per cent of the 622 women reporting.
2. The median of the earnings for women with less than a year of service with the same employer was \$16.75.
3. The median of the earnings for women who had been with the same employer for five years and over was \$21.65.
4. Only eight women reported as much as 10 years with the present firm.

Earnings and age.

There is no doubt that in most industries the period of maximum earning ability in a woman's life lies between the ages of 20 and 40 years. The specific period within these years when earnings are highest may vary according to the demands of the industry, as will be seen in the table following.

TABLE 9.—*Highest median earnings in the industry or occupation, by age group in which found*

Industry or occupation	Age group having highest median					
	25 and under 30 years		30 and under 40 years		40 and under 50 years	
	Per cent of women	Median earnings	Per cent of women	Median earnings	Per cent of women	Median earnings
Total ¹	16.9	\$19.10				
Manufacturing:						
Automobiles and accessories.....	20.0	21.95				
Other.....			² 29.1	\$15.25		
Stores.....					³ 9.9	\$18.65
Laundries.....			28.7	15.40		
Office work.....	18.0	22.50				

¹ Exclusive of restaurant occupations. Total includes selling occupations in restaurants, telephone operating, service, and supervisory positions, numbers too small for the computation of medians.

² The groups 20 and under 25 years, with 21.4 per cent of the women, and 25 and under 30 years, with 19.4 per cent, had a median of \$15.

³ The much larger group, 30 and under 40 years, with 21.7 per cent of the women, had a median of \$18.15.

In the industries of Flint the highest median in automobile manufacturing was that of women 25 and under 30 years of age, \$21.95, while in other manufacturing an older group, 30 and under 40, had the highest earnings, \$15.25, followed closely by the groups 20 and under 25 and 25 and under 30, each with a median of \$15. In stores the highest median was that of women 40 and under 50 years of age, \$18.65, but a much larger group, the women of 30 and under 40 years, had a median of \$18.15. The highest median among laundry workers was the \$15.40 of women 30 and under 40 years of age. In office work the group 25 and under 30 years outranked the others, with a median of \$22.50.

The age group with the highest earnings is not always the largest group. In the automobile industry, though women of 25 and under 30 had the highest earnings they constituted but a fifth of the workers,

while women 30 and under 40 comprised another fifth, and women between 20 and 25 were a little over one-third. Women in stores had their highest earnings between 40 and 50 years, but the largest group of women, nearly a quarter of the whole, were between 20 and 25 years of age and more than a fifth were 30 and under 40. In "other manufacturing" and in laundries the largest group of workers and the highest-earnings group were the same.

In some industries small groups of women much older or much younger than those for whom medians have been computed had earnings as high as or higher than the average presented in the table. In automobile manufacturing a woman of 60 or more earned \$22, two girls of 16 and under 18 years earned \$25 and under \$30, and one in the same group earned \$24. In stores five women 50 and under 60 years of age averaged \$18.75. In office work a woman between 50 and 60 earned more than \$25 and two between 40 and 50 earned more than \$30.

When all the 1,179 women who reported age and earnings are considered, regardless of industry, the highest median (\$19.10) occurs in the group of workers between 25 and 30 years. The proportion of women in this group, however, is only one-sixth (16.9 per cent) of all the women, while between the ages of 20 and 25 are found three-tenths (29.8 per cent) of all, and one-fifth were 30 and under 40 years.

1. Highest earnings for all women, regardless of industry, were for those between the ages of 25 and 30 years.
2. In the automobile industry and in office work highest earnings were reached between 25 and 30 years.
3. Highest earnings were reached in "other manufacturing" and laundries in the group 30 to 40 years.
4. Highest earnings in stores were reached by workers between 40 and 50 years.

Earnings and schooling.

The relation between schooling and earnings can not be treated as though an increase in the first necessarily would mean an increase in the second. In a given job, the native ability of one worker may make her more valuable than any amount of schooling could make another worker. Furthermore, the prestige or supposed social standing of certain kinds of work may make them preferred, by the graduate of high school, to easier work and better pay in less favored industries. That these two factors, the worker's personal equipment and the social standing of the work, weigh more than the actual number of grades completed, would seem to be the case, for among 1,158 women who reported their earnings and schooling, the highest median, with the exception of the earnings of workers who had taken special training courses, was the \$18.25 for women none of whom had gone beyond the sixth grade.⁴⁴ Workers who reported having completed or partially completed the eighth grade had a median of \$17.10, while those who had attended high school but had not reached the fourth year had lower earnings than appear for workers in any other group.

⁴⁴ Slightly higher earnings were shown for women in some of the lower grades, but too few women were reported to make computation of medians significant.

TABLE 10.—*Median earnings, by extent of schooling—all industries*¹

Extent of schooling	Number of women	Median earnings
From first to sixth grade, inclusive.....	77	\$18.25
Left during or on completion of eighth grade.....	361	17.10
Left during or on completion of first year of high school.....	137	15.55
Left during or on completion of second year of high school.....	162	15.90
Left during or on completion of third year of high school.....	74	15.55
Left during or on completion of fourth year of high school.....	116	17.65
Had attended college or business or commercial school.....	121	19.50

¹ Exclusive of restaurants.

Probably the most important cause of this strange result of correlating schooling and earnings is the composition of the groups. Earnings in the automobile industry were comparatively high and almost two-thirds (64.2 per cent) of the women in this industry had only grammar-school education. Many of the high-school workers, 214 of 489, were in stores, where average weekly earnings for the industry were lower than in offices or in the automobile industry. The women doing office work, where wages were next to the highest of any industry or occupation covered, had in many cases taken special courses, and for the 86 women who reported attendance at college or a commercial or other business school as part of their training, the median (\$20.65) is the highest shown for any group of office workers.

1. The highest median was in the group of workers with special training.
2. The next highest median was \$18.25 for workers with schooling in the sixth grade or below.
3. The occupation determined earnings to a greater extent than did schooling unless special training courses were taken.

Year's earnings and weeks worked.

It has already been shown that a full week's earnings can not be counted on by the average worker; a certain number of hours or days invariably are lost, and this affects earnings. What is true of a week's earnings is even truer of a year's earnings, and the proportion of women reporting year's earnings who worked every week in the year was only half so great as the proportion who worked a full week. Of the 105 women who reported both year's earnings and number of weeks worked, only 3 in 10, a little less than one-third, had worked for 52 weeks. This was the case in spite of the fact that the records taken were of women selected by the management as steady workers who had lost comparatively little time during the year.

In the group of women who worked every week in the year, one woman earned between \$500 and \$550 and another between \$1,600 and \$1,800. Between these two figures were scattered those of 29 women, with no more than 5 women whose earnings even fell in the same \$50 group.

The median of the year's earnings of the entire group of women—the 105 reporting the number of weeks worked and the 27 not so reporting—was \$775. These women worked in factories,²⁵ stores, and laundries, and their earnings give a fair picture of the yearly

²⁵ No women in the automobile industry reported number of weeks worked, but for eight the year's earnings were reported.

income that the average woman worker in Flint may expect. Of course, the median of \$775 does not mean that each of the 132 women earned that amount; half earned more and half earned less. There were wide variations in earnings.

Of the 105 women for whom weeks worked was reported, only 91 had worked as much as 44 weeks of the 52. The median of the earnings of these women was \$766, only \$9 less than the figure for all women for whom year's earnings are reported. The distribution of these 91 women is shown in the table following.

TABLE 11.—Year's earnings, by industry¹

Year's earnings	Number of women reported	Number of women in—				
		Manu- facturing other than automobiles and accessories	Stores			Laun- dries
			General mercan- tile	5-and- 10-cent	Other	
Total.....	91	10	30	21	9	21
Median earnings.....	\$766	\$900	\$840	\$709	(²)	\$669
\$450 and under \$500.....	1					1
\$500 and under \$550.....	2			1		1
\$550 and under \$600.....	5		2	2		1
\$600 and under \$650.....	10		2	2		6
\$650 and under \$700.....	8			4		4
\$700 and under \$750.....	16		3	9		4
\$750 and under \$800.....	11	2	4	2	1	2
\$800 and under \$850.....	10	2	5	1		2
\$850 and under \$900.....	7	1	6			
\$900 and under \$1,000.....	5	1	2		2	
\$1,000 and under \$1,100.....	5	1	2		2	
\$1,100 and under \$1,200.....	6	2	2		2	
\$1,200 and under \$1,400.....	4		2		2	
\$1,400 and under \$1,600.....						
\$1,600 and under \$1,800.....	1	1				

¹ Includes only women who had worked at least 44 weeks.

² Not computed, owing to small number involved.

1. The median of the year's earnings (44 weeks and over) for women in stores, laundries, and factories other than automobile was \$766.
2. The median for women who worked for 52 weeks was \$788.
3. The highest year's earnings were reported for the women in specialty stores, too few for the computation of a median but averaging nearly \$1,100.
4. The lowest year's earnings were among laundry workers, with a median of \$669.

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RESTAURANTS

Restaurant work is a cross between industry and domestic service. In any analysis of the hours, earnings, and working conditions of women employed in restaurants, due emphasis must be laid on the varying factors that set restaurant workers apart from the women in the other industries included in this study.

The hours of the restaurant worker are regulated to a great extent by the demands of the public upon her service, and it is the public that frequently supplements the amount of her pay envelope.

Considerable planning is necessary, especially in the larger establishments, to have a sufficient number of workers at hand during meal periods and to arrange for their withdrawal when the rush period is passed. Such a scheme likewise must take cognizance of the State law and see that no woman's working hours are longer than those permitted by law. To do this and at the same time to maintain a working force constitutes the problem of the management.

Working conditions in a restaurant and in a factory differ; though the worker in the latter has sanitary facilities and welfare provisions especially for her use, the woman in a restaurant must share these with the public. In the case of washing facilities, women in restaurants occasionally must use those of the industry itself.

Restaurant workers' wages are not given as in a store or factory, so much for the time worked and services rendered, but usually are supplemented by meals and by tips from the customers. These conditions must be constantly borne in mind in the consideration of hours and earnings of restaurant workers.

Daily hours.

In a consideration of the daily hours of restaurant workers there are three points to be considered—the length of the day, the division of the day into one or more periods or shifts, and the over-all within which the woman's working period lies. Furthermore, different hours may be worked on different days of the week, an arrangement liked or disliked by the worker according to the nature of her home duties.

If a worker is living away from home, possibly in a rented room by herself, as a quarter (25.5 per cent) of the restaurant workers were doing, different hours on the various days of the week may matter very little and possibly may be preferred as allowing a free afternoon on one day and a free evening on another. If, for example, her hours on one day are from 7 a. m. to 2 p. m. and on the next are from 3 p. m. to 10 p. m., such variations may be well adapted to her mode of life. But the opinion of the married worker, and two-fifths (40.6 per cent) of the women were married, as to one daily schedule or different daily schedules, probably would not be the same as that of the single woman; for she might have a husband returning home

in the evening or children to get off to school in the morning, and their schedules would not be changed from day to day as was hers.

The majority of the restaurant women (84) reported the same hours each day of the week, while 69 worked on two different schedules and 16 on three schedules. An analysis of the length of the day of the 84 women who worked the same shift each day of the week shows that nearly two-fifths of the employee-days²⁶ were of 8 hours. None of these days exceeded 9 hours, but a little over one-fifth (22.2 per cent) were as long as 9 hours. (See Appendix Table 14.)

When hours are not the same each day they usually are so arranged that hours worked are long on one day and short on the next, which would account for the wide variation in hours found in the employee-days where two schedules were worked. The group of 69 women with two schedules had a smaller proportion of 8-hour and 9-hour days and more short ones of less than 6 hours. When three schedules were worked, the proportion of employee-days with short or long hours was even greater than under the two-schedule arrangement. The following table shows that, when one schedule was worked, almost three-fourths of the employee-days were of 8 and 9 hours, none under 6 nor over 9; in the two-schedule employee-days, there were small per cents of days with hours less than 6 or more than 9; while about 30 per cent of the employee-days in the three-schedule arrangement were of more than 9 hours and 13.5 per cent were of less than 6 hours.

TABLE 12.—Length of employee-day, by number of schedules in a week—restaurants

Schedules in one week	Number of employee-days	Per cent of employee-days whose hours were—			
		Under 6	8	9	Over 9
Total.....	1, 128	3. 9	30. 3	21. 5	5. 1
One (uniform schedule).....	553		37. 3	22. 2	
Two.....	464	6. 3	27. 6	18. 1	5. 2
Three.....	111	13. 5	7. 2	31. 5	29. 7

When all employee-days—those of one schedule, those of two, and those of three—are grouped together, the largest number in any hour group (30.3 per cent) is in the 8-hour classification and the next largest (21.5 per cent) is in that of 9 hours. More days of short hours and more of long hours were worked in independent restaurants than in restaurants in hotels or in stores.

The arrangement of the daily hours varies. Sometimes the 8 or 9 hours are in a straight shift; sometimes the hours are broken by one or more periods when work is slack and the worker is off duty.

The advantages or disadvantages to a worker of a straight or a broken shift probably would depend largely on the individual worker. If the worker's home was near and the free period of sufficient length, the interval between shifts would be useful and many odd jobs might be accomplished. However, if the distance from home was too great or the time too short, the free period with nowhere to go might be anything but useful or restful. It must also be remembered that

²⁶ Total number of days worked by all women, each day's work considered as a unit.

with time off between shifts the spread of the day is much longer, and the hours of beginning and ending—in other words, the over-all hours—cover a very long day. When a woman starts at 6 and works until 10, has two hours off duty, begins again at 12 noon and works until 2.30, is off again for three hours, and then is on duty from 5.30 until 8, her actual working hours are nine but she has been more or less tied to her job from 6 in the morning until 8 at night.

The unbroken shift was the rule for nearly one-half (47.3 per cent) of the employee-days worked in Flint. For about the same number of days (47.1 per cent) there was one break in the employed period, and only a small proportion (5.6 per cent) had two periods off duty.

TABLE 13.—*Number of periods off duty, by type of restaurant*

Type of restaurant	Number of employee-days	Per cent of employee-days with—		
		Un-broken shift	Shift broken by one period off duty	Shift broken by two periods off duty
Total.....	1, 128	47. 3	47. 1	5. 6
Independent.....	964	50. 4	48. 1	1. 5
In hotels.....	49	-----	-----	100. 0
In stores.....	115	41. 7	58. 3	-----

Where one break occurred in the day's work, this break in nearly one-half (45.2 per cent) of the cases was of three hours or more duration. In a quarter (25.2 per cent) of the cases the period between the shifts was less than two hours. When the day was divided into more than two shifts the total amount of time off was greater, but the number of employee-days where this occurred was much less. A little more than three-fourths (77.8 per cent) of these employee-days had an aggregate between shifts of four hours and over, and on no day did the periods between shifts amount to less than two hours. The broken day occurred most frequently in hotels, while the single shift was more prevalent in independent restaurants and cafés. In restaurants in stores there was no instance of a shift being broken by two periods off duty.

Women who are engaged in housework, either in their own homes or in the homes of others, frequently complain that their work is "never done." The same might be said by restaurant workers who have long over-all hours. Though they, like housewives, have periods during the day when they are not actually working, in most cases they do not live where they work and therefore can not rest or relax as can the worker within the home. A spread of the workday over 12 or more hours occurred in more than one-fifth (21.6 per cent) of all the employee-days, and a spread of 10 hours and over occurred in 43.1 per cent of the days.

The women who worked a single continuous shift, and who had, therefore, the same actual and over-all hours, with no time for meals except while on duty, were responsible for almost one-half (47.3 per cent) of all the employee-days. The women whose shifts were

broken reported an over-all of 12 or more hours for about two-fifths (41.1 per cent) of their employee-days; four-fifths (81.8 per cent) of the days had an over-all of 10 hours and more. The time off between shifts varied considerably. Of the broken employee-days less than two hours off duty was found in 22.6 per cent, while one-half (50.7 per cent) had three hours and more of leisure time. This illustrates one aspect of the restaurant workers' problem, that of intermittent hours of work, necessitating long over-all hours broken by periods off duty, in many cases far from home.

Weekly hours.

It has been observed that the prevailing day for workers in restaurants was in most cases not a long one, but when the hours scheduled for a week are recorded the result is a surprisingly long week for many women. (See Appendix Table 15.)

TABLE 14.—Weekly hours, by occupation—restaurants

Occupation	Total number of women	Per cent of women whose weekly hours were—			
		48 and under	Over 48 and including 54 ¹	Over 54	Over 58
Total.....	² 169	17.2	39.6	43.2	20.7
Waitress.....	99	14.1	45.5	40.4	14.1
Cook.....	28	17.9	35.7	46.4	39.3
Dishwasher.....	25	20.0	32.0	48.0	24.0

¹ One-fifth of the women (20.1 per cent) had a week of 54 hours.

² Total includes 17 women not listed separately because number in each occupational group too small to be of significance.

A larger proportion of women had hours of more than 54 (43.2 per cent) than had hours of less than 54 (36.7 per cent). One-fifth of the women had a schedule of more than 58 hours. The apparent contradiction of daily hours where only 5.1 per cent of the employee-days were longer than 9 and weekly hours that were more than 58 for 20.7 per cent of the women is explained by the number of women who reported a 7-day week. Two-thirds (67.5 per cent) of the 169 women reported a week of seven days, and the tremendous difference this made in the weekly hours is shown when the hours of the 6-day and the 7-day week are compared.

Hours	6-day week	7-day week
Number of women reported.....		
Per cent distribution.....	55 32.5	114 67.5
Per cent whose hours were—		
48 and under.....	40.0	6.1
Over 48 and including 54.....	50.9	34.2
Over 54.....	9.1	59.6

Practically six-tenths (59.6 per cent) of the women working a 7-day week had hours of more than 54, and less than one-tenth (9.1 per cent) of the women working a 6-day week had an equally

long schedule. Even with reasonably short daily hours a 7-day week will mean long weekly hours and give very little leisure time for the worker.

The occupations of the women in restaurants appear to have had some relation to their hours. Cooks generally had longer daily hours than others and of all the groups they had the largest per cent with long weekly hours. Dishwashers had the highest per cent of workers with weekly hours of more than 54, and a quarter (25.1 per cent) of their employee-days were of 9 hours or over.

From the facts obtained it would appear that in Flint the actual daily and weekly hours of women employed in kitchens were longer than those of women employed in dining rooms, but the over-all, or time from the beginning to the end of the working period, was longer for waitresses. Of women for whom this information was obtainable a little more than two-thirds of those with a long over-all were dining-room workers.

1. Of the days worked in restaurants, almost a third (30.3 per cent) were of 8 hours and a little more than a fifth (21.5 per cent) were of 9 hours.
2. One-half of the women (49.7 per cent) had the same daily schedule of hours all week; two-fifths (40.8 per cent) had two alternating schedules of hours; and almost one-tenth (9.5 per cent) had three different schedules of hours.
3. One continuous shift was worked on 47.3 per cent of the employee-days; about the same proportion (47.1 per cent) had a shift broken by one period off duty; and one-twentieth (5.6 per cent) had a shift broken by two periods off duty.
4. More than two-fifths (43.2 per cent) of the women had a scheduled week of over 54 hours; one-fifth (20.7 per cent) had a schedule of over 58 hours.
5. A little more than two-thirds (67.5 per cent) of the women worked a 7-day week.
6. Actual daily and weekly hours of kitchen workers were longer than those of dining-room workers; dining-room workers had a longer over-all than had kitchen workers, due to their time off duty during the day.

Earnings.

There are two reasons why earnings of women in restaurants can not be compared with those of women in factories and stores: In restaurants one or more meals usually are given to waitresses, and tips received by them frequently add to cash wages, so that the mere statement of the week's wage does not give the whole picture of a woman's earnings.

The median of the pay-roll earnings for one week for women in restaurants was \$12.20. The amounts upon which this median is based include the earnings of women who worked the full scheduled week and those who worked fewer hours or more hours than were scheduled. The earnings of full-time workers and of all workers might indicate considerable lost time and overtime that would more or less balance, or but little of either. This last evidently was the case, because of the 249 restaurant workers reporting only 1 in 11 lost any time and only 1 of the 249 worked overtime. The median of the earnings of those women who lost time was \$8.25, a third less than the median for full-time workers.

The increase of earnings with experience was not marked. In the records of 114 women there was an increase of \$1.20 from the median of \$12.20 for those with less than a year's experience to the median of \$13.40 for those with experience of 5 years and more. The number of women who remained in the industry over a considerable period of time was fairly high, nearly two-fifths (38.6 per cent) of those

reporting length of time in the trade having been in restaurant work 5 or more years. This closely approaches the proportion of women who had remained in manufacturing industries for this length-of-service period and it is higher than the per cent in laundries (35.4) or in stores (35.5). In automobiles and accessories only 26 women reported time in the trade.

Though restaurant workers showed a tendency to remain in restaurant work, they changed quite often from one restaurant to another. Of the 27 women for whom the length of time with the present employer was recorded, 20 reported less than 6 months' service and only 4 reported employment in the present establishment of as much as a year.

When earnings are correlated with the age of the worker the highest earnings are found in the group of women 40 and under 50 years of age. Their earnings show a median of \$15.25, an amount \$2.75 in excess of the median of all the women in the restaurants for whom age and earnings were recorded during the course of this survey. It is not true, however, that the older women were more valuable as restaurant workers regardless of their occupation. The probable reason for the higher earnings in the older group is the proportion of cooks, whose earnings were, as a rule, greater than those of waitresses. Of the restaurant women who reported their age and earnings, only a small per cent (3.8) of the waitresses, compared with more than one-half of the cooks, were 40 years of age and over.

As with other workers, the women in restaurants differed considerably in the amount of their schooling. A small proportion, less than 10 per cent, had not gone so far as the sixth grade, but nearly one-half (46.7 per cent) had completed or partially completed the eighth grade and almost three-tenths (28.9 per cent) had had some high-school work or higher education. Compared with workers in other industries, a larger per cent left school in the last two grades of grammar school and fewer continued beyond.

Year's earnings were obtained for 17 restaurant workers and the median of this group was \$675. Four of these women lost from three to six months, and their earnings can hardly be considered as significant of what the year's wage would mean to a fairly steady worker. Only 3 of the remaining 13 workers reported the number of weeks in which they worked, and the earnings of these 3 showed wide variations, \$1,047, \$765, and \$575. They were engaged on different work; 1 was a cook, 1 served at a steam table, and 1 was counter and floor girl. These three women worked at least 48 weeks during the year. The year's earnings of those who did not report time worked varied from 1 worker who earned only \$360.45 to another who earned \$1,300, the median for the 10 women being \$733.50.

1. The median of the week's earnings of restaurant workers, exclusive of meals and tips, was \$12.20.
2. Of workers reporting experience, those with less than one year in the trade had a median of \$12.20; those with five years and over, \$13.40.
3. The proportion of women less than six months with the present employer was 74.1 per cent. Only four women had remained as much as a year in the present establishment.
4. The median of the year's earnings of 10 restaurant workers, regardless of weeks worked, was \$733.50; 1 earned as little as \$360.45 and 1 as much as \$1,300.
5. For 17 restaurant workers the median of the year's earnings, regardless of weeks worked, was \$675.

WORKING CONDITIONS

A worker in Flint who is employed the prevailing day of $8\frac{1}{2}$ or 9 hours naturally must spend more than half of her waking hours within the walls of her establishment. Whether these hours are spent comfortably and contentedly depends not only upon her wages, hours, and occupation, but upon the conditions under which her work must be done. Hazards must be reduced to a minimum, strains must be avoided so far as possible, and lighting and ventilation must be adequate in order to have a good work place; sanitary and comfort facilities must be in convenient locations and have the proper equipment so that the workers may use the provisions profitably.

In a brief survey it was impossible to cover more than a few of the many factors that go to make up a well-equipped establishment. Certain outstanding conditions, however, were noted, such as the safety of stairways—lighted and with hand rail; the adequacy of lighting, seating, and ventilation in the work rooms; the provision of drinking, washing, and toilet facilities, of cloakroom, lunch room, rest room, and first-aid equipment; and finally the care taken in selecting and placing workers by the use of employment departments. For these many conditions that help to constitute good surroundings for workers there are no absolute standards, though in a number of cases there is a minimum standard incorporated in the State law. Two considerations, however, are of special importance when working conditions are judged: One is the kind of establishment and the other is its size.

Four different groups of industries—factories, stores, laundries, and restaurants—are considered in this survey, and the importance of the different conditions surrounding the worker varies with each industry. For example, the lighting arrangements are more important in factories than in stores or laundries; the provision of seats is more important in stores than in restaurants; good ventilation is more of a problem in laundries and in kitchens than in stores.

Industries such as stores, and to a less degree restaurants, have a closer connection with the public than have factories and laundries. In stores the public has the same ventilation and light, and occasionally the same drinking and toilet facilities, as have the workers, and this use by the public and the workers frequently is the practice in small restaurants. Where this occurs the public acts as somewhat of an inspecting force, as good or bad conditions help to make or mar the reputation of an establishment. The conditions in factories and laundries, however, are seldom seen by the public, and adequate provisions usually are due to the standards of employers and to legal specifications. In all establishments, whether stores, factories, laundries, or restaurants, certain minimum provisions of safety and comfort are a necessity, but this minimum may not be the same in plants with only a few people as in plants where larger numbers are

employed. For this reason, in the present study the establishments with more than five employees are tabulated separately from those having five or fewer.

Stairs.

In considering the factories with more than five women employees, the stairs were found in good repair in 19 of the 22 buildings for which this was reported. The lighting of the stairs and the provision of a handrail were found satisfactory in almost all cases. Four large laundries were visited and in only one was the repair and lighting of the stairways bad. In two there was no handrail, a lack that always means a hazard, especially where girls are hurrying and crowding at night. In stores the stairs were satisfactory in every respect and in many cases they were supplemented by elevators, some establishments allowing the workers to use these in coming and going.

The establishments with five or fewer women employees rarely had stairs, as usually they were on one floor. Two laundries and three stores had stairs. In the former the stairs were not in good repair; in one there was no handrail and in the other the lighting was poor. One store had a stairway with open rises, no rail, and an abrupt turn. There were few stairs in the other establishments and no mention was made of bad repair or inadequate lighting.

Lighting.

Natural lighting was good throughout in 8 of the 24 buildings of the larger factories. In artificial lighting the record was much better, with a total of 18 establishments where the lighting was satisfactory. The chief trouble with the natural lighting was its inadequacy, but with artificial lighting more defects were due to glare than to inadequacy. In the small factories lighting, both the natural and the artificial, was rather better than in the larger plants. Where conditions were not satisfactory, glare was more likely than inadequacy to be the fault. The natural light in the stores was as a rule poor, but this was remedied by excellent artificial lighting. In all the larger stores there was plenty of artificial light, and in only one case was it accompanied by glare. The small department stores were satisfactory in their artificial lighting.

The need of ventilation in restaurants and laundries is especially important, due to the heat and steam created by the various processes. All but 7 of the 38 restaurants made some effort to improve ventilation, principally by the installation of exhausts and, to a less degree, of hoods over the stoves. In three restaurants there were neither hoods nor exhausts, but in two there was found an excellent ventilating system that took care of the heat and steam. In laundries and cleaning establishments more attention was paid to exhaust fans in the walls to carry out the heat and steam than to hoods with exhausts over the machines. In two or three laundries there were exhausts in the washrooms, but rarely was a hood found over machines doing flat-work ironing. The importance of removing the steam at the source without allowing it to escape into the room seemed to be little recognized, and the placing of exhaust fans in the walls to carry off the general heat and steam in a room, though valuable, no more takes the place of local exhausts than would heating equipment be considered satisfactory if no panes of glass were in the windows.

Seating.²⁷

The necessity of seats for women workers has very generally been recognized. This is shown by the fact that 46 States and the District of Columbia have included in their laws some provision regarding seats for women who are engaged in work outside the home.

Some occupations require constant sitting, some constant standing, and in some the work may be carried on either sitting or standing. In most manufacturing plants where women are employed on a number of occupations, all three types of work are carried on. In stores the large majority of women are selling, and while performing their work they must stand; therefore, women in stores have very largely standing jobs. In laundries some of the occupations, such as hand ironing or small flat-work ironers, require constant standing, while there are other jobs, such as feeding or taking-off from the large presses, that can be done either sitting or standing.

Of the 35 factory buildings included in the investigation only 9 supplied seats with backs to all their workers regardless of whether the girls had sitting or standing jobs. Even when the job required that the worker be seated, the provision of seats frequently was haphazard, some places having chairs, some stools, and some boxes. In occupations where the work had to be done standing, chairs or stools were supplied in most places, so that a woman might occasionally sit down, but in 12 cases seats of any description for this group of standing workers were lacking. In establishments where the women worked standing, or alternated between sitting and standing, there were 16 cases in which there appeared to be an inadequate number of seats. In laundries and cleaning establishments, where much of the work must be done standing, 3 of the 16 establishments showed standing jobs that supplied chairs for all and 3 others had some kind of seats.

Seats were supplied in practically all the stores visited. In most cases the seat was a collapsible stool behind the counter, though in some places the chairs provided for customers were used by the saleswomen when they were not busy.

When the floor is of cement or concrete the strain of constant standing is considerably augmented. Three laundries had such floors in one or more of their departments; in only one was there a wooden platform for the worker to stand on. Of manufacturing establishments a less proportion had cement or concrete floors, and a covering of wood or of rubber was provided in practically all cases.

Heating.

In a northern climate such as that of Flint the winters are severe and the problem of heating is an important one. Nevertheless, it is practically impossible in a single inspection to pass on adequate or inadequate heating. It would seem, however, that the heating from the industry alone frequently would result in too great heat for workers near the ovens, furnaces, or steam presses, and too little for those at a distance. This condition was found in three establishments.

With the exception of these three plants the heating arrangements were satisfactory in the establishments reported upon.

²⁷ Large and small establishments are included in this section.

Drinking facilities.

The two healthful methods of providing drinking water where many people must use the facilities are individual cups and sanitary bubbling fountains. When bubbling fountains, commonly called bubblers, came largely into use, any bubbler was considered sanitary. It has been discovered, however, that the bubbling fountain is a menace to health rather than a safeguard unless the jet of water is projected at an angle of 30° or more, so that the water does not fall back on its orifice.²⁸ Only 3 of the establishments visited in Flint, considering all stores, laundries, and factories, were equipped with sanitary bubbling fountains, while 31 had bubblers that were insanitary. There was a general prevalence of insanitary bubblers and of common drinking cups. The latter were found in one or more places in 21 establishments, including factories, stores, and laundries. In 40 establishments no cups were supplied. Individual cups were provided in 5 stores, 2 of which had only 1 employee each. In some factories and laundries the workers supplied their own glasses.

Washing facilities.

The need in each work place of suitable provision for washing is apparent. When various materials, frequently dusty or dirty, must be constantly handled, the necessity of soap and water before and after eating is clear.

Washing facilities, usually a basin or sink, were found in all but one of the factories, stores, and laundries visited in Flint. A considerable number of plants (39) left a good deal to be desired in the way of equipment. Common towels were found in 33 establishments, individual towels in 43, and no towels at all in 22.

The importance of adequate and well-equipped washing facilities for women serving in restaurants is especially obvious. In every restaurant visited some provision was made; that is, a basin or sink was provided, and usually it was clean. Common towels were used in 23 restaurants and no towels were supplied in 2, while a few had soap and no hot water and 2 had hot water and no soap. In only one in four of the establishments was the equipment complete, with individual towels, soap, and hot water.

Toilet equipment.

A brief inspection was made of toilet provisions and certain conditions of decency and comfort were noted. According to the standards of the Women's Bureau, the number of seats supplied should be 1 to every 15 women. The toilet rooms should be kept clean and properly lighted and ventilated. To insure privacy they should be designated, screened, and the seat inclosed.

There was an insufficient number of seats in 13 of the 99 establishments, and a third of the toilet rooms were not clean at the time of the inspection. In about one-fourth of the rooms ventilation was not good, as there was no window nor artificial outlet, but lighting as a rule was satisfactory, whether supplied by natural or artificial means. In eight establishments there was poor screening, the interior of the toilet room being easily seen from the workroom, and in about a sixth of the establishments the seats were not inclosed. On the doors of more than a fifth of the rooms there was no designation.

²⁸ American Medical Association. Journal, Nov. 11, 1916. v. 67, No. 20, p. 1451.

Service equipment.

In every establishment where women are employed provision should be made not only for good working and sanitary conditions, but for aid in case of accident, for a rest room in case of fatigue or illness, and for places other than the workroom in which to eat lunch and to hang wraps. The completeness and elaborateness of these provisions depend on the number of workers employed and the standards of the employer. In a small establishment the cloakroom and rest room or the cloakroom and lunch room sometimes are combined, but in a large establishment, employing hundreds of women, such a combination is most unsatisfactory. There is no hard and fast standard except that there should be some suitable provision for the comfort and welfare of the workers along the lines mentioned.

In a great majority (83.3 per cent) of the larger factories, stores, and laundries surveyed in Flint there was a cloakroom, and in 16 of the 35 buildings this was combined with a lunch room or rest room; in 7 plants no room was provided. The equipment in many cases consisted of lockers or racks, but frequently there were only wall hooks or nails.

It is important that during the lunch period women should have a change of surroundings and should not eat where they work. Rooms separate from the workrooms were provided by more than half (54.8 per cent) of the establishments; sometimes these rooms were for lunch purposes solely and sometimes they were combined with cloak or rest room. Factories were more likely than were either stores or laundries to supply lunch rooms; only a third of the stores provided lunch rooms and in no laundry was such provision made.

Rest rooms were found more generally in the largest plants, while in those employing fewer women a cot frequently was placed in the cloakroom and no separate rest room was provided.

In only two cases had restaurants a regular rest room, though where women work on broken shifts a rest room in which to wait between the periods of employment is especially needed.

The importance of first-aid treatment in case of accident or sudden illness has been very generally realized. This is especially true of manufacturing establishments, and in Flint all but one plant had first-aid facilities. All laundries with five or more women had first-aid equipment, but the absence of a hospital or, generally, a rest room might make its application more difficult and certainly more upsetting to the workers and the work. Only about one-fourth of the restaurants had first-aid equipment. Regular hospital equipment with doctors and nurses in attendance was found in four of the large manufacturing establishments.

Employment department.

The provision of a special person or department by whom the entering and departing worker must be interviewed has been found to be a more satisfactory method than that of having three or four different people hiring and discharging independently. In large plants there usually is an employment department, with one or two employment managers and several clerks to keep the records. In small plants this is unnecessary and the hiring may be done by the owner or superintendent. Where the employing is not conducted by either of these two centralized methods it usually is done by each foreman for his own department.

In Flint a centralized system of hiring workers was found in all but one of the manufacturing establishments. In the smaller plants this function was performed by the manager or foreman, but in the large automobile factories there were regular employment departments that did the hiring and kept individual records of employees.

In all the stores and laundries having more than five employees and in all but one restaurant one person was responsible for the hiring of workers, and in most instances the power of discharge also was centralized.

Working conditions may be summarized as follows:

FACTORIES, STORES, AND LAUNDRIES

1. Stairs were satisfactory as to lighting and hand rails in—
All stores.
All but two factories.
All but three laundries.
2. Natural lighting was good throughout in 8 of 24 factories where more than 5 women were working, and in 8 of 11 where 5 or fewer women were employed.
3. Artificial lighting was good throughout in 18 of 24 of the larger factories.
4. In laundries and cleaning establishments wall fans were installed generally, but few plants had exhaust hoods over flat-work ironers.
5. Seats with backs were supplied to all workers in 9 of the 35 manufacturing establishments.
6. In 12 manufacturing establishments no seats were supplied for workers whose jobs required constant standing.
7. In laundries and cleaning establishments seats were supplied for standing jobs in 6 of the 16 plants.
8. Practically all stores had seats for their workers.
9. Bubble fountains for drinking were found in 34 establishments. Only three of these were of the sanitary type of construction.
10. Common drinking cups were found in one or more places in 21 establishments.
11. The common towel was found in 33 factories, stores, and laundries, and in 22 no towel was provided.
12. One-third of the toilet rooms were not clean at time of visit and in 13 establishments the seats, according to the Women's Bureau standard, were too few.
13. Ventilation in toilet rooms was lacking in nearly a fourth of the rooms visited, and doors were not designated in almost as many cases.
14. Cloakrooms were provided in 35 of the 42 larger establishments reporting.
15. Lunch rooms separate from workrooms were found in more than one-half of the establishments.
16. Rest rooms were provided in three-fifths of the plants having more than five women employees, and cots were supplied, sometimes in the rest rooms and sometimes in the cloakrooms, in 22 establishments.
17. First-aid equipment was provided in all the larger laundries and in all but one of the larger manufacturing establishments.
18. Of the larger places, a centralized system of employment was found in all stores and laundries and in all but one of the manufacturing establishments.

RESTAURANTS

1. Most restaurants had satisfactory lighting; a number had unshaded bulbs in the kitchen.
2. Ventilation was provided for in 33 of the 38 restaurants by exhausts, hoods, or other device. Hoods over stoves or dish-washing machines were found in one-half the places.
3. In 23 restaurants common towels were supplied for the washing facilities, and in 2 no towels at all; 5 had no soap, 11 no hot water, and 3 of these had neither soap nor hot water.
4. In three-fourths of the restaurants toilet conditions were satisfactory.
5. In 33 restaurants only hooks or nails were provided for wraps; 2 had lockers.
6. Two restaurants had rest rooms and nine had first-aid equipment.

PERSONAL HISTORY

When information concerning the wage-earning woman is desired, the mere collection of facts that relate to her working life no more gives a true picture than if an artist, in painting a portrait, should give careful attention to the sitter's clothes and neglect to include the face and hands. For this survey information was desired not only as to the conditions of work for Flint women but also as to the women themselves. Were there many foreign-born workers? Were the majority of workers young or old, married or single? What had been their work in the past and what was it at present? What kind of work was wanted by those seeking work? These are a few of the many questions for which answers based on facts were desired.

The survey was neither extensive nor intensive enough to permit of a final answer to all these questions, but facts were obtained that give an indication of the character and living conditions of Flint's working women.

The personal facts obtained came from two sources, cards filled out by the women at work and visits to their homes. Calls were made on 3,648 units,²⁹ comprising 16,260 men, women, and children. According to the United States census estimate of Flint's population in 1925 (130,316) this is one-eighth of the inhabitants of Flint. As the sections of the city visited were in Flint's industrial districts, the facts showed different groupings as to nationality, age, schooling, work experience, and so on, than probably would have been found in Flint as a whole. The sections of the city where visits were made were comparatively old, but the people were as a rule fairly recent comers to Flint. Though the rapid growth of Flint is industrial the effect is social as well, and because, as was said of an industrial city in the East, "the impulse for growth has never come from within the city's own life, but always from abroad,"³⁰ the difficulties of assimilation and adjustment are greater and the actual conditions harder to know than in a normally developed city.

The difficulties of providing for the many newcomers to Flint are recognized. In an article published by a newspaper of Flint in 1925 the following paragraph appeared:

Flint's industries grew so fast from 1910 to 1920 that difficulty was experienced in attracting and housing sufficient people to meet even the factory requirements. The people that serve the factory worker were slower to come. Homes, schools, churches and other public buildings could not keep pace, because the supply of building labor was not available. Development of adequate retail and wholesale facilities was left to follow in time. The same was true in the matter of professional men, transportation help, domestic servants, etc.

* * * Flint had only 3.7 persons in population for each factory worker in 1920. A normal figure for cities of the United States ranges from six to seven.

²⁹ A unit is a group of persons keeping house together.

³⁰ Todd, Robert E., and Sanborn, Frank B. The report of the Lawrence survey. Lawrence (Mass.), Andover Press, 1912, p. 15.

The remaining five or six persons represent the families of workmen together with the building labor, the tradesmen, the public utility and public service men, the professional, domestic and clerical occupations that serve the workmen.¹

The more that can be learned of the workers themselves, their composition and desires, the better able will the people of Flint be to meet the city's growing needs.

Nativity.

Of the 1,784 women who were working or had worked during the year, a little less than one-eighth (12.1 per cent) were foreign born, and of these 216 women nearly two-thirds (63.9 per cent) came from English-speaking countries. This fact probably accounts for their distribution, for though the greatest number were in the automobile industry the largest proportions were in specialty stores and laundries. This is contrary to the findings of surveys in other cities and States, where the foreign born in manufacturing industries claim by far the largest per cent. Very few negro women were found in any of the industries, only 9 of the 1,784 women. (See Appendix Table 10.)

TABLE 15.—Nativity, by industry or occupation

Industry or occupation	Number of women reporting	Per cent white		Per cent negro
		Native	Foreign	
Total	1,784	87.4	12.1	0.5
All manufacturing	685	87.9	12.1	-----
Stores:				
General mercantile	165	87.9	12.1	-----
5-and-10-cent	131	91.6	8.4	-----
Other	123	81.3	18.7	-----
Laundries	122	80.3	18.9	.8
Restaurants	217	85.3	12.9	1.8
Office work	256	92.2	7.8	-----
Telephone operating	27	100.0	-----	-----
Service ²	31	71.0	16.1	12.9

¹ Total includes selling occupations in restaurants, supervisory positions, and occupation not reported, numbers too small to be significant.

² Elevator operators, cleaners, charwomen, etc.

Of the 176 women reporting on nativity who were not working but who wanted work there was about the same proportion of foreign born, 12.7 per cent, as among the women working. The proportion of negroes was slightly greater than this, though still small, consisting of only eight women. The largest group of foreign-born women who wanted work did not desire it in the industries where the per cent of foreign-born women already working was high, specialty stores and laundries, but in factories. The native-born white women preferred factories and their second choice was office work, desired by very few foreign-born workers.

Age.

The largest number of wage-earning women in Flint were in the age group 20 to 25 years. This included women in all occupations but it does not follow that this was the predominating age group in each industry. Only three—automobile manufacturing, office work, and telephone operating—showed the ages of 20 to 25 to be their largest

¹ Flint Journal, Dec. 20, 1925.

group. In manufacturing other than the automobile industry, stores exclusive of 5-and-10-cent stores, and laundries the largest group of workers was in the 30-to-40-year group, while in 5-and-10-cent stores it was from 18 to 20 years. (See Appendix Table 8.)

In the following table the ages of the women are grouped:

TABLE 16.—Age, by industry or occupation

Industry or occupation	Number of women reporting	Per cent of women whose age was—		
		Under 25 years	25 and under 40 years	40 years and over
Total	11,755	51.6	36.7	11.7
Manufacturing:				
Automobiles and accessories	535	49.5	41.1	9.3
Other	145	40.7	44.1	15.2
Stores:				
General mercantile and specialty	273	38.8	44.3	16.8
5-and-10-cent	132	89.4	9.8	.8
Laundries	119	36.1	46.2	17.6
Office work	254	67.7	29.1	3.1
Restaurants	213	44.1	35.7	20.2

¹ Total includes 84 women in industries or occupations each having fewer than 35 women.

The per cent of workers under 25 years of age was high in 5-and-10-cent stores and in office work and comparatively low in other stores and laundries. As would be expected, the proportion of older women, over 40 years of age, was high in these two latter industries and also in restaurants. In the automobile industry the workers were almost evenly divided between those under 25 years and those 25 years and over.

The proportion of workers under 25 years of age found in this survey is almost identical with the proportion reported for Flint by the United States Census of 1920. One-half (51.3 per cent) of the wage-earning women in Flint were reported there as under 25 years, which was a higher per cent of young workers than was found in any other city in Michigan of 25,000 and over.³²

The women who were not employed but wanted work were, on the whole, an older group than were those working. Of the 174 for whom age was reported, the age distribution was wider also, both the proportion under 20 years (27 per cent) and the proportion 40 years and over (21.8 per cent) being higher in the nonworking than in the working group.

Age seemed to have little significance in the kind of work wanted. On the whole, the women 30 years and over preferred factory work, while not so large a proportion under 30 years wanted factory jobs. Office work was more in demand with workers under 30 years than in the older groups, and more in the younger groups expressed themselves as being willing to take any kind of work. Whether this was due to a lack of experience in the different kinds of work or more eagerness to work it was not possible to discover.

³² U. S. Bureau of the Census. Fourteenth Census: 1920. v. 4, Population, Occupations, Table 28, pp. 466-472.

TABLE 17.—Age distribution of the women who were working or had worked during the year and of women wanting work

Age	Women who were working or had worked during the year	Women wanting work
Number of women reporting.....	1,755	174
Per cent who were—		
Under 20 years.....	22.2	27.0
20 and under 25 years.....	29.3	16.1
25 and under 30 years.....	16.6	7.5
30 and under 40 years.....	20.1	27.6
40 and under 50 years.....	8.9	14.9
50 years and over.....	2.8	6.9

Schooling.

Of the 1,834 women for whom definite records were obtained as to the amount of schooling they had received, one-third (33.4 per cent) reported either the completion or the partial completion of the eighth grade, a sixth (16.5 per cent) stopped short of the eighth grade, and exactly one-half took some high-school work or special courses. Only two women had never attended school, and the women as a whole showed a surprisingly large number, 1 in every 11 workers, who had taken special courses or attended college or other higher schools.

Of the employed women, those in office work, as would naturally be expected, showed a larger per cent who had completed high school and a very much larger proportion who had taken special courses than were found in the other employment groups. The extent of schooling among store workers was considerably more than among those in factories, restaurants, and laundries. In laundries a little over a quarter of the women had never reached the eighth grade of grammar school and in factories and restaurants a little under a quarter had never reached it. This is in strong contrast to the records of women in office work and in stores, where very small proportions (1.6 per cent and 4.3 per cent, respectively) stopped before reaching the eighth grade.

TABLE 18.—Extent of schooling of employed women, by industry or occupation in which employed

Extent of schooling	Fac-tories	Stores	Laun-dries	Office work	Res-taurants
Number of women reporting.....	1631	397	117	249	203
Per cent who had—					
Stopped below eighth grade ¹	23.1	4.3	27.4	1.6	23.2
Completed or were in eighth grade.....	42.6	28.7	49.6	7.6	43.3
Had 1 to 3 years of high school.....	26.1	45.3	19.7	27.7	29.1
Completed or were in fourth year of high school.....	4.9	16.4	2.6	18.9	3.4
Had other courses.....	3.2	5.3	.9	44.2	1.0

¹ Includes a woman who had had no schooling.

The records of schooling of women wanting work did not show so large proportions of women who had reached the eighth grade nor who had taken continuation work as among the women who were working. This may have been because the women not working were an older group, practically one-half being 30 years and over compared to less than one-third of the women who were working, and the older group may have had less opportunity for education. Whether their opportunities were fewer or not, a smaller proportion than of the women who were working had completed high school or taken other courses.

TABLE 19.—Extent of schooling of women wanting employment, by kind of work desired

Extent of schooling	Women who desired—			
	Factory work	Office work	Sales work	Any work
Number of women reporting ¹	97	40	24	21
Per cent who had—				
Stopped below eighth grade ¹	38.1	2.5	16.7	38.1
Completed or were in eighth grade.....	24.7	10.0	-----	33.3
Had 1 to 3 years of high school.....	29.9	52.5	66.6	23.8
Completed or were in fourth year of high school.....	3.1	12.5	12.5	-----
Had other courses.....	4.1	22.5	4.2	4.8

¹ Includes a woman who had had no schooling.

Among the women wanting work who had finished high school or had taken special training courses the preference was somewhat more for office work than for factory work. Twenty-four of the 38 women who had completed grammar school expressed a desire for factory work and only 4 wanted to do office work. The desire for factory work was expressed by so many in each education group that it can not be closely tied up with any special educational equipment or lack of it. However, it is more surprising that women who had gone through high school or taken college or business courses should express a preference for factory work over other jobs than that those with only grammar-school equipment should prefer it.

In this survey, as in one made several years ago in an Ohio city,³³ education seems to have "a social rather than a business value" but in the present study this judgment is based on actual week's earnings, not on the relative efficiency of well educated and poorly educated workers on the same work or over a period of time during which the result of mental training would be noticed. This same report states further that the employers declare that "the need for a higher grade of general intelligence for the rank and file of their workers is imperative. Ignorance, failure to understand, and inability to think out the problems that arise in the course of the day's work react upon the skill of the workers and inevitably upon the quality of the product."³³

³³ Cincinnati. Chamber of Commerce. Industrial survey of Cincinnati. Garment making industries. Clec Murland. 1917, pp. 34-35.

Conjugal condition.

The number of women in each marital group is not determined, as in the case of age, by the demands of the industry. Occasionally an employer may prefer single women or married women, but as a rule a good worker is wanted regardless of her conjugal condition.

In Flint a rather curious situation exists, probably caused by the peculiar make-up of the city's population. The records of 1,738 women show the proportion of married workers to be nearly two-fifths (38.7 per cent) of all the workers, and if those who had been married are included with the married a little more than one-half (53.7 per cent) were or had been married. Of the women wanting work, 72.1 per cent were or had been married. These are larger proportions than are found in studies made by the Women's Bureau in eight industrial States, including New Jersey, Ohio, Illinois, and Missouri, and it is especially surprising when it is remembered that the proportion of young women in Flint is unusually high, over one-half of the women for whom ages were recorded being under 25. This condition is due partly to the high cost of living and partly to the large number of young men in the population, for it is likely that girls will marry younger in a city like Flint than in localities where the proportion of men is not so high.

Single women predominated in 5-and-10-cent stores and in offices and telephone exchanges, while the proportion of married women was highest in laundries, manufacturing other than automobiles, and stores other than 5-and-10. (See Appendix Table 9.)

TABLE 20.—*Conjugal condition of employed women,¹ by industry or occupation in which employed*

Industry or occupation	Number of women reporting	Per cent of women who were—		
		Single	Married	Widowed, separated, or divorced
Total.....	² 1,736	46.3	38.7	15.0
Manufacturing:				
Automobiles and accessories.....	529	45.0	37.2	17.8
Other.....	145	30.3	55.2	14.5
Stores:				
General mercantile.....	161	36.0	47.8	16.1
5-and-10-cent.....	132	74.2	20.5	5.3
Other.....	114	31.6	53.5	14.9
Laundries.....	117	26.5	58.1	15.4
Restaurants.....	207	33.8	40.6	25.6
Office work and telephone operating.....	276	73.2	21.4	5.4

¹ Includes women who had worked during the year.

² Total includes 55 women in industries or occupations each having fewer than 35 women. (See Appendix Table 9.)

When the marital condition of women wanting work is considered and compared with that of women workers, the most striking feature is the greater proportion of married women among those wanting work. Nearly three-fifths (57.1 per cent) of the latter group were married and only a little over one-fourth (27.6 per cent) were single. The following summary of the conjugal condition of women wanting work shows the per cent in each marital group.

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TABLE 21.—*Conjugal condition of women wanting employment, by kind of work desired*

Work desired	Number of women reporting	Per cent of women who were—		
		Single	Married	Widowed, separated, or divorced
Total.....	1 170	27.6	57.1	15.3
Manufacturing.....	109	16.5	64.2	19.3
Stores.....	26	53.8	38.5	7.7
Office work and telephone operating.....	41	46.3	46.3	7.3
Other.....	32	40.6	46.9	12.5

¹ Details aggregate more than total, because some women appear in more than one class of work desired.

Reasons were given by 143 married women as to why they were working or wanted to work. One-half (50.3 per cent) of the women found it necessary to work because the earnings of their husbands were insufficient to support the family. The most general reason why the husbands' earnings were insufficient was irregularity of work. This same cause accounted for other reasons for working, such as "to keep up payments on house, as husband's work is too uncertain to do it"; "wife wants work because husband will not start buying a home on his uncertain earnings"; "wouldn't work if husband were sure of steady work, but he never is."

Other women gave as the reason for working a special object such as savings or to pay debts incurred by illness, death, or other unavoidable cause, and 11 women said they worked, or would like to, in order to have a little money of their own. The cause last mentioned constituted but a small proportion of the total reasons given.

Of 172 mothers reporting number of children under 12 years of age, 121 were at work or had worked during the year and 51 wanted employment. Of the 121 working mothers, 77 had 1 child under 12 years, 32 had 2 children, and 12 had 3 to 5; of the 51 wanting employment, 32 had 1 child under 12 years, 12 had 2, and 7 had 3 to 5.

Industrial experience of women wanting work.

The extent to which experience determines the kind of work wanted seems to be negative rather than positive. The women who had had only one job were not usually anxious to repeat their former experience.

TABLE 22.—*Kind of work desired, by experience*

Experience	Number of women reporting	Women wanting work in ¹ —						
		Factory	Store	Restaurant	Office	Telephone operating	Other line	Any line
Total.....	169	96	9	3	33	1	5	22
Factory.....	34	29	-----	-----	1	-----	-----	2
Store.....	13	6	2	-----	3	-----	2	2
Restaurant.....	6	4	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	2
Office.....	14	1	1	-----	12	-----	-----	-----
Telephone operating.....	2	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	-----	-----
Other.....	23	15	-----	2	-----	1	-----	-----
No experience.....	40	15	5	1	10	-----	3	3
Two occupations.....	28	20	1	-----	3	-----	-----	4
Three or more occupations.....	9	6	-----	-----	3	-----	-----	-----

¹ First choice only.

Of 13 women who had done sales work in stores, 6 preferred trying a factory job and 3 wanted office work; only 2 wanted to go back to selling goods. Of 6 who had worked in restaurants, 4 wanted factory work and 2 had no choice but were willing to take any job, and of 23 women who had tried various kinds of work, such as nursing, domestic service, and sewing, the majority, 15 women, wanted factory work. Factory work was wanted by 29 of 34 women who had tried factory work and office work by 12 of 14 women who had had experience in offices. Experience in factory work and the skill thus acquired frequently determined the kind of factory work desired. This was especially true of women who had worked in garment factories on power sewing machines and of those who were skilled in some operation in textile mills. A number of women expressed the desire for work on power machines and those who had worked in textile mills hoped that some day a textile mill might be opened in Flint.

The great demand of all workers, regardless of experience, was for factory work, and over one-half (56.8 per cent) of all wanting work gave as their first choice work in factories. This preference is without doubt due to the higher weekly earnings obtainable in the factories than in most of the other industries of Flint. The only other industry whose earnings compared favorably with those of factory employment—office work—required more training and therefore was not open to many women who had not taken special courses.

Of the women with wider experience, who had tried more than one kind of work, 26 of 37 preferred factory work. Among these 26, factories were preferred to restaurant service by 12 women, to domestic work by 8, to sales by 6, to office work by 5, and to laundry work by 2. Of the 37, 25 had had experience in factories. Of the 11 women who preferred other work to that in factories, 6 wanted office work, 1 sales, and 4 were not specific and merely desired "any kind of work." The six who preferred office work had tried work in factories, stores, telephone exchanges, and other places.

1. Foreign-born women comprised 12.1 per cent of the number reporting.
2. Nearly two-thirds of the foreign born, 63.9 per cent, were born in English-speaking countries.
3. One-half of the women, 50.8 per cent, were under 25 years of age.
4. The largest group, 28.1 per cent, were from 20 to 25 years of age.
5. The women not working but desiring work were older than those working, practically one-half, 49.4 per cent, being 30 years and over.
6. Of the 1,834 women reporting, 33.4 per cent had either completed or partly completed the eighth grade.
7. One-half (50 per cent) reported taking some high-school work or special courses. Only two women had had no schooling.
8. Nearly twice the proportion of women wanting work as of women working had not completed grammar school. About the same per cent in the two groups had had high-school work, but fewer of those wanting work had taken special courses.
9. Of the women reported as working, single women constituted 46.3 per cent, married women 38.7 per cent, and those widowed, separated, or divorced 15 per cent.
10. Among women wanting work, the single were 27.6 per cent, the married 57.1 per cent, and the widowed, separated, or divorced 15.3 per cent.
11. The reason given by the majority of married women for working or wanting work was the husband's insufficient earnings due to irregularity of employment.
12. Of the women reporting kind of work desired, the first choice of 96 was factory work, 33 preferred office work, and 22 merely said "any work."

Living condition.

In this study the subject of living condition could be little more than touched upon. Essentials such as food, shelter, and heat are not discussed, but the facts reported may serve to call attention to what the physical and social needs must be where many workers are living away from their families, where many are young, and where lodgers are a social as well as a family problem. The number of families owning, buying, or renting homes was recorded, as giving some idea of the stability, or perhaps it would be more accurate to say the hope for stability, of the working families in Flint.

Living with relatives or living independently.—When young people are living at home, that is, with their immediate family or with relatives, it may be considered that, as a rule, more interest is taken in their welfare, and that in cases of illness or other misfortune proper care will be given. With young girls especially it is taken for granted also that there will be other supervision and not the physical only. Any city with a large proportion of young men and women living away from their families has problems far greater than those in a community with most of the population living in normal family groups.

In Flint more than a seventh (15 per cent) of the 1,922 women reporting on living condition were boarding or lodging, away from their families and other relatives. This is a larger proportion of women living independently than has been found in 14 of 16 State studies by the Women's Bureau in which living condition was inquired into. In the table correlating living condition and industry it is seen that in the automobile industry the proportion of women living away from their homes or relatives was considerably greater, being one in every five women, while in restaurants the highest proportion was reached, with one in every four women boarding or lodging. Telephone operating, general mercantile establishments, and laundries had the largest proportions of workers living at home or with relatives.

TABLE 23.—*Living condition, by industry or occupation*

Industry or occupation	Number of women reporting	Per cent of women who were—	
		Living at home ¹	Boarding or lodging
Total.....	1,779	83.9	16.1
Manufacturing:			
Automobiles and accessories.....	538	79.6	20.4
Other.....	145	89.7	10.3
Stores:			
General mercantile.....	165	91.5	8.5
5-and-10-cent.....	132	87.1	12.9
Other.....	121	83.5	16.5
Laundries.....	122	91.0	9.0
Restaurants.....	216	74.5	25.5
Office work.....	257	86.0	14.0
Other.....	83	90.4	9.6

¹ With immediate family or relatives.

It is of interest to note that the automobile industry has a higher per cent of single women and a greater proportion under 25 years of age than are found in the other industry groups where the per cent of women living away from home is high.

A very small number of women wanting work, only nine, were living away from their homes. This naturally would be the case, as a worker dependent on her own earnings would not remain long in a city where she was unable to obtain work.

The effect on the individual and on society of many women living away from their homes and without the influence of home surroundings probably would be more important in the case of young girls than in that of older women. Of the various age groups, that of 20 and under 25 showed one in every five women to be living away from home. For women under 20 the proportion was not quite so high; nevertheless, a larger per cent were away from home among girls from 18 to 20 (14.7 per cent) than among women 25 years and over (13.5 per cent).

TABLE 24.—*Living condition, by age*

Age	Number of women reporting	Per cent of women who were—	
		Living at home ¹	Boarding or lodging
Total.....	1,922	85.0	15.0
Under 18 years.....	122	95.1	4.9
18 and under 20 years.....	313	85.3	14.7
20 and under 25 years.....	542	79.9	20.1
25 years and over.....	945	86.5	13.5

¹ With immediate family or relatives.

Boarders and lodgers.

In many homes in Flint rooms are rented as an additional source of income. A few of the roomers in the districts visited had their meals supplied as well as their lodgings, but in most cases the room only was rented and the lodger either did light housekeeping or went out for his or her meals.

Records as to the number and relationship of persons in one unit³⁴ were taken for 867 homes. Of these households or units 29.9 per cent had one or more lodgers—either men or women, and in some cases boarding as well as lodging—besides the regular members of the group or family. Though the correlation is not perfect it may almost be said that the larger the family the more certain they were to have one or more roomers. Households of only 2 to 4 persons in most cases had no roomers, but nearly one-half of the units of 5 to 9 persons had roomers, and units of 10 to 15 persons had 1 or more lodgers in nearly two-thirds of the cases.

³⁴ A unit is a group of persons keeping house together.

Size of unit or household	Units reporting	
	Number	Per cent having lodgers
2 and including 4 persons.....	442	13.1
5 and including 9 persons.....	367	46.6
10 and including 15 persons.....	41	65.9

By far the greatest number of units that had roomers (44.4 per cent) reported only one lodger, but a substantial number, nearly one-fourth (23.6 per cent), rented rooms to four or more persons.

Houses owned, being bought, or rented.

It has been pointed out that the districts visited were in the older sections of Flint. This fact may have some bearing on the subject of ownership. Without doubt, in newer sections of the city more houses would be in process of purchase, if not already owned. The tenure of the homes reported upon was as follows:

Owned.....	Per cent 22.7
Being bought.....	19.1
Rented.....	58.3

Nearly three-fifths of the houses in the districts visited were rented and not owned. How this would compare with most cities it is impossible to say, but in a survey made in 1917 in a city in Kansas³⁵ a very different condition was found. In that city nearly one-half of the homes (46.8 per cent) were owned by the persons who lived in them and less than two-fifths (38.7 per cent) were rented.

Sanitary conveniences were found in most of the houses in the districts surveyed in Flint, whether owned, being purchased, or rented. Running water, with flush toilet, bath, and sewer connection, was supplied in 87.2 per cent of the houses visited. In each group the per cent of houses with no improvements was small, the highest being in the houses in process of purchase, where 2.4 per cent reported no running water and no sewer connection.

1. The proportion of women living away from their homes and relatives was 15 per cent.
2. In the industries where the per cent of women boarding or lodging was high, the proportions of single women and of women under 25 years of age also were high.
3. Of 867 households where information was obtained 29.9 per cent rented rooms to lodgers.
4. The largest proportion (44.4 per cent) of the households renting rooms had but one lodger; 23.6 per cent had four or more lodgers.
5. Nearly three-fifths (58.3 per cent) of the houses were rented, 22.7 per cent were owned, and 19.1 per cent were being paid for by installments.

³⁵ Kansas University, Department of Sociology. Lawrence social survey. 1917. p. 18.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A—GENERAL TABLES

APPENDIX B—SCHEDULE FORMS

APPENDIX A
GENERAL TABLES

TABLE 1.—Scheduled daily hours, by industry¹

Industry	Number reported		Number of establishments and number of women whose scheduled daily hours were—									
			Under 8		8		Over 8 and under 9		9		Over 9 and under 10	
	Establishments	Women	Establishments	Women	Establishments	Women	Establishments	Women	Establishments	Women	Establishments	Women
All industries ¹	2 99	2,594	8	25	18	48	45	1,037	28	1,430	5	54
Per cent distribution.....	---	100.0	---	1.0	---	1.9	---	40.0	---	55.1	---	2.1
Manufacturing:												
Automobiles and accessories.....	2 22	1,751	1	2	---	---	8	504	13	1,230	2	15
Other.....	12	150	1	14	1	5	4	32	5	87	1	12
Stores:												
General mercantile.....	11	280	1	2	2	2	5	271	3	5	---	---
5-and-10-cent.....	4	138	---	---	---	---	4	138	---	---	---	---
Other.....	2 34	128	3	3 4	11	37	20	82	3	5	---	---
Laundries.....	16	147	2	3	4	4	4	10	4	103	2	27

¹ Excludes restaurant occupations, tabulated elsewhere. (See p. 28.)

² Details aggregate more than total, because some establishments appear in more than 1 hour group. Women alternating different shifts are divided between the 2 hour groups.

³ Includes 2 of 4 women alternating a 9-hour day with one of 5 or 6 hours.

TABLE 2.—Scheduled weekly hours, by industry ¹

Industry	Number reported		Number of establishments and number of women whose scheduled weekly hours were—									
			Under 44		44		Over 44 and under 48		48		Over 48 and under 50	
	Establishments	Women	Establishments	Women	Establishments	Women	Establishments	Women	Establishments	Women	Establishments	Women
All industries ¹	² 100	2,596	7	22	1	2	7	248	8	43	15	330
Per cent distribution.....		100.0		0.8		0.1		9.6		1.7		15.0
Manufacturing:												
Automobiles and accessories.....	² 22	1,751	1	2			3	241			5	263
Other.....	² 13	152	2	15			2	4	2	32	1	7
Stores:												
General mercantile.....	11	280			1	2					1	1
5-and-10-cent.....	4	138										
Other.....	² 34	128	2	4			2	3	1	5	3	13
Laundries.....	16	147	2	3					5	6	5	106

Industry	Number of establishments and number of women whose scheduled weekly hours were—											
	50		Over 50 and under 52		52		Over 52 and under 54		54		Over 54 and under 55	
	Establishments	Women	Establishments	Women	Establishments	Women	Establishments	Women	Establishments	Women	Establishments	Women
All industries ¹	25	1,310	13	326	2	6	23	230	4	18	1	1
Per cent distribution.....		50.5		12.6		0.2		8.9		0.7		(³)
Manufacturing:												
Automobiles and accessories.....	12	1,209					3	36				
Other.....	2	77	2	2			1	2	2	13		
Stores:												
General mercantile.....	2	3	5	271			1	1	1	2		
5-and-10-cent.....							4	138				
Other.....	9	21	4	34	1	2	13	44	1	3	1	1
Laundries.....			2	19	1	4	1	9				

¹ Excludes restaurant occupations, tabulated elsewhere. (See p. 31.)² Details aggregate more than total, because some establishments appear in more than 1 hour group. Women alternating different shifts are divided, one in each group.³ Less than 0.05 per cent.⁴ Includes 1 of 2 women working alternate weeks of 42 and 49 hours.

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TABLE 3.—Scheduled Saturday hours, by industry ¹

Industry	Number reported		Number of establishments and number of women whose scheduled Saturday hours were—											
			4		Over 4 and under 5		5		6		Over 6 and under 7		7	
	Establishments	Women	Establishments	Women	Establishments	Women	Establishments	Women	Establishments	Women	Establishments	Women	Establishments	Women
All industries ¹	2 99	2,594	4	47	14	628	16	1,290	4	9	4	36	1	4
Per cent distribution.....		100.0	1.8	1.8	24.2	24.2	49.7	49.7	0.3	0.3	1.4	1.4	0.2	0.2
Manufacturing:														
Automobiles and accessories.....	2 22	1,751	1	2	8	516	13	1,212						
Other.....	12	150	2	9	2	29	2	77			2	26		
Stores:														
General mercantile.....	11	280												
5-and-10-cent.....	4	138												
Other.....	3 34	128					1	3 1	1	4 1	1	1		
Laundries.....	16	147	1	36	4	83			3	8	1	9	1	4

Industry	Number of establishments and number of women whose scheduled Saturday hours were—															
	Over 7 and under 8		8		Over 8 and under 9		9		Over 9 and under 10		10		Over 10 and under 11		11	
	Establishments	Women	Establishments	Women	Establishments	Women	Establishments	Women	Establishments	Women	Establishments	Women	Establishments	Women	Establishments	Women
All industries ¹	1	1	9	38	8	229	9	23	6	75	23	201	5	9	2	4
Per cent distribution.....		(9)	1.5	1.5	8.8	8.8	0.9	0.9	2.9	2.9	7.7	7.7	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2
Manufacturing:																
Automobiles and accessories.....			1	21												
Other.....			2	7	1	1	1	1								
Stores:																
General mercantile.....					4	222	3	5	2	50	2	3				
5-and-10-cent.....											4 4	138				
Other.....	1	1	2	6	1	3	5 6 17	17	4	25	17	60	5	9	2	4
Laundries.....			4	4	2	3										

¹ Excludes restaurant occupations, tabulated elsewhere. (See pp. 28 to 32.)

² Details aggregate more than total, because some establishments appear in more than 1 hour group. Women alternating different shifts are divided, 1 in each group.

³ This woman alternates 5 and 9 hours.

⁴ This woman alternates 6 and 9 hours.

⁵ Less than 0.05 per cent.

⁶ Includes 1 woman alternating 5 and 9 hours and 1 alternating 6 and 9 hours.

TABLE 4.—Length of lunch period, by industry ¹

Industry	Number reported		Number of establishments and number of women whose scheduled lunch period was—									
			30 minutes		45 minutes		1 hour		More than 1 hour		No definite lunch period allowed	
	Establishments	Women	Establishments	Women	Establishments	Women	Establishments	Women	Establishments	Women	Establishments	Women
All industries ¹	2 99	2,591	10	162	3	248	67	2,054	20	123	2	4
Per cent distribution.....		100.0		6.3		9.6		79.3		4.7		0.2
Manufacturing:												
Automobiles and accessories.....	2 22	1,751	4	35	2	239	16	1,463	1	14		
Other.....	13	152	3	28			10	124				
Stores:												
General mercantile.....	11	280					8	229	3	51		
5-and-10-cent.....	4	138					4	133				
Other.....	2 33	123					18	8 62	15	57	2	4
Laundries.....	16	147	3	99	1	9	11	38	1	1		

¹ Excludes restaurant occupations, discussed elsewhere. (See p. 30.)

² Details aggregate more than total, because some establishments appear in more than 1 hour group. Women alternating different lunch hours are divided, 1 in each group.

³ Includes 1 of 2 women having no lunch period on three 6-hour days and having a 1-hour lunch period on three 9-hour days.

TABLE 5.—Week's earnings, by industry or occupation ¹

Week's earnings	Number of women earning each specified amount in—											
	All industries or occupations	Manufacturing		Stores			Selling occupations in restaurants ²	Laundries	Office work	Telephone operating	Service ³	Supervisory positions
		Automobiles and accessories	Other	General mercantile	5-and-10-cent	Other						
Total.....	1,530	397	161	286	138	142	6	150	184	22	28	16
Median earnings.....	\$16.50	\$20.10	\$14.05	\$16.00	\$11.50	\$18.40	(*)	\$13.36	\$19.20	\$18.20	\$13.75	\$19.00
Under \$6.....	29	4	14	1	8			2				
\$6 and under \$7.....	22	1	8	2	5	1		2	1		2	
\$7 and under \$8.....	16	1	7	3	3	2		2			1	
\$8 and under \$9.....	18	1	8	3	3	2		2				
\$9 and under \$10.....	44	4	9	6	10	1		11	1			
\$10 and under \$11.....	85	5	6	8	31	5		23	2		3	2
\$11 and under \$12.....	71	8	7	7	25	4		12	1	1	3	1
\$12 and under \$13.....	121	14	7	47	19	11		16	3	2	4	2
\$13 and under \$14.....	91	17	12	11	15	3		18	9	2	4	2
\$14 and under \$15.....	69	14	12	8	4	5	2	14	7	2	1	
\$15 and under \$16.....	161	12	27	48	5	23		14	19	2	8	3
\$16 and under \$17.....	76	25	7	15	8	2	1	9	8		1	
\$17 and under \$18.....	88	34	7	15	2	6	1	4	16	2	1	
\$18 and under \$19.....	135	35	6	40	2	20	2	3	20	5	2	
\$19 and under \$20.....	53	21	5	3		2		2	16	4		
\$20 and under \$21.....	92	26	8	21	1	11		3	20	2		
\$21 and under \$22.....	53	27	2	5		6		1	11	1		
\$22 and under \$23.....	51	23	3	10		7		2	3			3
\$23 and under \$24.....	39	21	2	2		1			13			
\$24 and under \$25.....	33	22		5		2		3	1			
\$25 and under \$30.....	134	66	1	17		21		6	21			2
\$30 and under \$35.....	31	11		4		4		1	8			2
\$35 and over.....	18	5	1	2		5			2			

¹ Excludes restaurant occupations, discussed elsewhere. (See p. 32.)² Selling candy, cigarettes, etc.³ Elevator operators, cleaners, charwomen, etc.⁴ Not computed, owing to small number involved.

TABLE 6.—Week's earnings of full-time workers, by industry or occupation¹

Week's earnings	Number of full-time workers earning each specified amount in—											
	All industries or occupations ¹	Manufacturing		Stores			Selling occupations in restaurants ²	Laundries	Office work	Telephone operating	Service ³	Supervisory positions
		Automobiles and accessories	Other	General mercantile	5-and-10-cent	Other						
Total.....	883	51	79	254	109	135	6	34	156	22	26	10
Median earnings.....	\$16.70	\$21.30	\$14.55	\$16.60	\$12.00	\$18.55	(4)	\$18.50	\$19.30	\$18.20	\$14.00	(4)
\$6 and under \$7.....	8	—	4	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	2	—
\$7 and under \$8.....	3	—	2	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
\$8 and under \$9.....	5	—	2	2	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
\$9 and under \$10.....	18	—	4	5	5	1	—	—	2	—	—	—
\$10 and under \$11.....	49	1	4	5	27	5	—	1	2	—	3	1
\$11 and under \$12.....	40	—	5	3	23	4	—	—	1	—	3	—
\$12 and under \$13.....	92	—	7	45	19	10	—	4	3	2	2	—
\$13 and under \$14.....	43	1	7	5	14	3	—	4	7	—	3	2
\$14 and under \$15.....	39	—	8	7	4	5	2	3	7	2	1	—
\$15 and under \$16.....	116	—	12	47	5	21	—	3	15	2	8	3
\$16 and under \$17.....	37	2	5	13	7	1	1	1	6	—	1	—
\$17 and under \$18.....	46	—	5	12	2	6	1	—	10	2	1	—
\$18 and under \$19.....	97	5	2	39	2	19	2	2	19	5	2	—
\$19 and under \$20.....	25	1	2	3	—	2	—	—	13	4	—	—
\$20 and under \$21.....	68	7	5	21	—	11	—	3	18	2	—	—
\$21 and under \$22.....	26	5	1	4	—	6	—	1	8	1	—	—
\$22 and under \$23.....	30	3	3	10	—	7	—	2	2	—	—	3
\$23 and under \$24.....	18	4	—	—	—	1	—	—	11	—	—	—
\$24 and under \$25.....	14	3	—	5	—	2	—	3	1	—	—	—
\$25 and under \$30.....	71	8	—	17	—	21	—	6	19	—	—	—
\$30 and under \$35.....	22	3	—	6	—	4	—	1	8	—	—	—
\$35 and under \$40.....	9	—	1	2	—	4	—	—	1	—	—	—
\$40 and over.....	4	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	1

¹ Excludes restaurant occupations, discussed elsewhere. (See p. 32.)

² Selling candy, cigarettes, etc.

³ Elevator operators, cleaners, charwomen, etc.

⁴ Not computed, owing to small number involved.

TABLE 7.—*Week's earnings, by time in the trade—all industries or occupations*¹

Week's earnings	Number of women reporting	Number of women earning each specified amount who had been in the trade—											
		Under 3 months	3 and under 6 months	6 and under 9 months	9 months and under 1 year	Total under 1 year	1 and under 2 years	2 and under 3 years	3 and under 4 years	4 and under 5 years	5 and under 10 years	10 and under 15 years	15 years and over
Total.....	504	66	34	28	18	146	41	58	45	31	106	40	37
Per cent distribution.....	100.0	13.1	6.7	5.6	3.6	29.0	8.1	11.5	8.9	6.2	21.0	7.9	7.3
Median earnings.....	\$15.05	\$11.70	\$12.00	\$12.50	\$15.20	\$12.20	\$13.10	\$14.65	\$15.70	\$17.30	\$17.00	\$18.50	\$20.65
Under \$6.....	7	3				3	2				1	1	
\$6 and under \$7.....	7		1	2		3					1	1	1
\$7 and under \$8.....	3						1	1		1			
\$8 and under \$9.....	9	3	1	1		5					4		
\$9 and under \$10.....	15	3	2			7	1	3	1		3		
\$10 and under \$11.....	39	15	4	5	2	26	3	2	1	1	3		3
\$11 and under \$12.....	42	13	9	2		24	5	8	1		3	1	
\$12 and under \$13.....	54	13	2	4	4	23	8	4	2	2	9	3	3
\$13 and under \$14.....	41	8	5	2	2	17	5	5	6	1	6	1	
\$14 and under \$15.....	30	2	1	2		5	1	8	4	2	7	3	
\$15 and under \$16.....	69	4	2	4	5	15	7	11	11	3	11	7	4
\$16 and under \$17.....	21	1	1			2	3	1	5	4	5		1
\$17 and under \$18.....	21			1		1	1	4		5	9	1	
\$18 and under \$19.....	39	1	4	1		6		4	3	5	15	4	2
\$19 and under \$20.....	8						1	1	1	1	2		2
\$20 and under \$21.....	24		1	1	1	3	1	1	3	1	6	5	4
\$21 and under \$22.....	9			1	1	2		1	1	1	2	1	1
\$22 and under \$23.....	11				1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	1
\$23 and under \$24.....	7										4	2	1
\$24 and under \$25.....	8						1	1	1	2	1	1	1
\$25 and under \$30.....	30		1		2	3		1	4		12	5	5
\$30 and under \$35.....	6											2	4
\$35 and over.....	4												4

¹ Excludes restaurant occupations.

TABLE 8.—Age, by employment status

A. WOMEN WHO WERE WORKING OR HAD WORKED DURING THE YEAR

Industry or occupation	Number of women reporting	Women whose age was—																	
		Under 16 years		16 and under 18 years		18 and under 20 years		20 and under 25 years		25 and under 30 years		30 and under 40 years		40 and under 50 years		50 and under 60 years		60 years and over	
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Total	1,755	6	0.3	93	5.3	291	16.6	515	29.3	291	16.6	353	20.1	157	8.9	43	2.5	6	0.3
Manufacturing:																			
Automobiles and accessories.....	535	1	.2	13	2.4	73	13.6	178	33.3	109	20.4	111	20.7	41	7.7	6	1.1	3	.6
Other.....	145			6	4.1	16	11.0	37	25.5	24	16.6	40	27.6	14	9.7	7	4.8	1	.7
Stores:																			
General mercantile.....	161			9	5.6	21	13.0	32	19.9	27	16.8	45	28.0	23	14.3	4	2.5		
5-and-10-cent.....	132	2	1.5	28	21.2	50	37.9	38	28.8	9	6.8	4	3.0	1	.8				
Other.....	112			6	5.4	13	11.6	25	22.3	15	13.4	34	30.4	16	14.3	3	2.7		
Selling occupations in restaurants ¹	6			2	(⁴)	2	(⁴)			1	(⁴)	1	(⁴)						
Laundries	119			2	1.7	16	13.4	25	21.0	23	19.3	32	26.9	18	15.1	2	1.7	1	.8
Restaurants, public	200	2	1.0	11	5.5	36	18.0	40	20.0	30	15.0	42	21.0	23	11.5	15	7.5	1	.5
Restaurants, other ²	13			2	(⁴)	2	(⁴)	1	(⁴)	1	(⁴)	3	(⁴)	3	(⁴)	1	(⁴)		
Office work	254			8	3.1	46	18.1	118	46.5	44	17.3	30	11.8	6	2.4	2	.8		
Telephone operating	27			3	11.1	9	33.3	10	37.0	2	7.4	2	7.4	1	3.7				
Service ³	31	1	3.2	3	9.7	5	16.1	5	16.1	1	3.2	6	19.4	7	22.6	3	9.7		
Supervisory positions	19					2	10.5	6	31.6	4	21.1	3	15.8	4	21.1				
Occupation not reported	1									1	100.0								

¹ Selling candy, cigarettes, etc.² Restaurants in factories or schools and soda-fountain lunch service.³ Elevator operators, cleaners, charwomen, etc.⁴ Not computed, owing to small number involved.

WOMEN WORKERS IN FLINT, MICH.

TABLE 8.—Age, by employment status—Continued

B. WOMEN WHO WANTED WORK

Type of work desired	Number of women reporting	Number of women whose age was—							
		16 and under 18 years	18 and under 20 years	20 and under 25 years	25 and under 30 years	30 and under 40 years	40 and under 50 years	50 and under 60 years	60 years and over
Total.....	174	23	24	28	13	48	26	10	2
Per cent distribution.....	100.0	13.2	13.8	16.1	7.5	27.6	14.9	5.7	1.1
Any.....	19	5	4	4		6			
Any but housework.....	3	1			1	1			
Any but restaurant.....	1			1					
Automobile factory.....	8	1	1	2		3	1		
Beauty shop.....	2				1	1			
Café.....	1						1		
Café or factory.....	2			1			1		
Cigar factory.....	1							1	
Cleaning cores.....	1					1			
Factory.....	65	4	6	8	6	24	11	6	
Factory or store.....	7	2	1		1	1	2		
Factory or daywork.....	1						1		
Factory or office.....	7		1	3		2	1		
Factory, store, or office.....	7	1	3	1		2			
Factory, store, or laundry.....	1						1		
Factory, hotel, or store.....	1			1					
Garment factory.....	4						3	1	
Garment factory or nurse.....	1								1
Housework.....	1			1					
Laundry.....	1					1			
Light work.....	1			1					
Nurse.....	1							1	
Office.....	22	5	6	2	2	5	2		
Office or sales.....	4	1	1	1		1			
Sales.....	6	3		1	1		1		
Sewing-machine operating.....	2			1					1
Tailor shop.....	1						1		
Telephone or office.....	1		1						
Textile.....	1				1				
Type not reported.....	1							1	

TABLE 9.—Conjugal condition, by employment status

A. WOMEN WHO WERE WORKING OR HAD WORKED DURING THE YEAR

Industry or occupation	Number of women reporting	Women who were—					
		Single		Married		Widowed, separated, or divorced	
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Total.....	1,738	804	46.3	673	38.7	261	15.0
Manufacturing:							
Automobiles and accessories.....	529	238	45.0	197	37.2	94	17.8
Other.....	145	44	30.3	80	55.2	21	14.5
Stores:							
General mercantile.....	161	58	36.0	77	47.8	26	16.1
5-and-10-cent.....	132	98	74.2	27	20.5	7	5.3
Other.....	114	36	31.6	61	53.5	17	14.9

TABLE 9.—*Conjugal condition, by employment status—Continued*

A. WOMEN WHO WERE WORKING OR HAD WORKED DURING THE YEAR—Continued

Industry or occupation	Number of women reporting	Women who were—					
		Single		Married		Widowed, separated, or divorced	
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Selling occupations in restaurants ¹	6	5	(²)	1	(²)	—	—
Laundries.....	117	31	26.5	68	58.1	18	15.4
Restaurants, public.....	194	66	34.0	76	39.2	52	26.8
Restaurants, other ²	13	4	(²)	8	(²)	1	(²)
Office work.....	248	183	73.8	52	21.0	13	5.2
Telephone operating.....	28	19	67.9	7	25.0	2	7.1
Service ³	30	14	46.7	11	36.7	5	16.7
Supervisory positions.....	19	7	(²)	7	(²)	5	(²)
Occupation not reported.....	2	1	(²)	1	(²)	—	—

¹ Selling candy, cigarettes, etc.

² Not computed, owing to small number involved.

³ Restaurants in factories or schools and soda-fountain lunch service.

⁴ Elevator operators, cleaners, charwomen, etc.

B. WOMEN WHO WANTED WORK

Type of work desired	Number of women reporting	Number of women who were—			
		Single	Married	Widowed, separated, or divorced	
Total.....	172	48	97	27	
Per cent distribution.....	100.0	27.9	56.4	15.7	
Any.....	19	10	7	2	
Any but housework.....	3	1	1	1	
Any but restaurant.....	1	—	1	—	
Automobile factory.....	8	—	7	1	
Beauty shop.....	2	—	2	—	
Café.....	1	—	1	—	
Café or factory.....	2	—	1	1	
Cigar factory.....	1	—	1	—	
Cleaning cores.....	1	—	1	—	
Factory.....	64	8	41	15	
Factory or store.....	7	3	4	—	
Factory or daywork.....	1	—	—	1	
Factory or office.....	7	1	5	1	
Factory, store, or office.....	7	5	2	—	
Factory, store, or laundry.....	1	—	—	1	
Factory, hotel, or store.....	1	1	—	—	
Garment factory.....	2	—	2	—	
Garment factory or nurse.....	1	—	1	—	
Home work.....	1	—	1	—	
Housework.....	1	1	—	—	
Laundry.....	1	—	1	—	
Light work.....	2	1	1	—	
Office.....	21	10	10	1	
Office or sales.....	4	2	1	1	
Sales.....	6	3	3	—	
Sewing-machine operating.....	2	—	1	1	
Tailor shop.....	1	—	1	—	
Telephone or office.....	1	1	—	—	
Textile.....	1	—	1	—	
Type not reported.....	2	1	—	1	

WOMEN WORKERS IN FLINT, MICH.

TABLE 10.—*Nativity, by employment status*

A. WOMEN WHO WERE WORKING OR HAD WORKED DURING THE YEAR

Industry or occupation	Number of women reporting	Women who were—										
		Native-born white		Native-born negro		Foreign born, by country of birth						
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	All countries		Canada	England	Poland	Scotland	Other
						Number	Per cent					
Total.....	1,784	1,559	87.4	9	0.5	1,216	12.1	89	27	21	18	59
Manufacturing:												
Automobiles and accessories.....	538	473	87.9			65	12.1	16	12	11	7	19
Other.....	147	129	87.8			18	12.2	8		1		9
Stores:												
General mercantile.....	165	145	87.9			20	12.1	12	3	2	1	1
5-and-10-cent.....	131	120	91.6			11	8.4	9	2			
Other.....	123	100	81.3			23	18.7	11	3	1	2	6
Selling occupations in restaurants ¹	6	4	(⁴)			2	(⁴)					2
Laundries.....	122	98	80.3	1	.8	23	18.9	12	1		2	7
Restaurants, public.....	204	173	84.8	3	1.5	28	13.7	8	2	4	1	13
Restaurants, other ²	13	12	(⁴)	1	(⁴)							
Office work.....	256	236	92.2			20	7.8	11	2	1	4	2
Telephone operating.....	27	27	100.0									
Service ³	31	22	71.0	4	12.9	5	16.1	2	2		1	
Supervisory positions.....	19	18	94.7			1	5.3			1		
Occupation not reported.....	2	2	100.0									

¹ Includes 2 women reported as foreign born but country not specified.² Includes 1 woman reported as foreign born but country not specified.³ Selling candy, cigarettes, etc.⁴ Not computed, owing to small number involved.⁵ Restaurants in factories or schools and soda-fountain lunch service.⁶ Elevator operators, cleaners, charwomen, etc.

TABLE 10.—*Nativity, by employment status—Continued*

B. WOMEN WHO WANTED WORK

Type of work desired	Number of women reporting	Number of women who were—							Nativity not reported
		Native born		Foreign born, by country of birth					
		White	Negro	All countries	Canada	England	Poland	Other	
Total.....	176	143	8	22	6	1	6	9	3
Any.....	19	11	5	3		1	1	1	
Any but housework.....	3	3							
Any but restaurant.....	1	1							
Automobile factory.....	8	8							
Beauty shop.....	2	2							
Café.....	1	1							
Café or factory.....	2	2							
Cigar factory.....	1			1					
Cleaning cores.....	1							1	1
Factory.....	65	52	2	11	3		4	4	
Factory or store.....	7	6		1	1				
Factory or daywork.....	1			1	1				
Factory or office.....	7	6		1	1				
Factory, store, or office.....	7	7							
Factory, store, or laundry.....	1			1				1	
Factory, hotel, or store.....	1	1							
Garment factory.....	4	3		1			1		
Garment factory or nurse.....	1								1
Home work.....	1	1							
Housework.....	1		1						
Laundry.....	1	1							
Light work.....	2	1		1				1	
Nurse.....	1	1							
Office.....	22	21							1
Office or sales.....	4	4							
Sales.....	6	6							
Sewing-machine operating.....	2	2							
Tailor shop.....	1	1							
Telephone or office.....	1	1							
Textile.....	1			1				1	
Type not reported.....	1	1							

TABLE 11.—Living condition, by age and employment status

Age	All women				Women who were working			
	Total number reporting	Number who were living—			Total number reporting	Number who were living—		
		At home	With relatives	Independently		At home	With relatives	Independently
Total	1,922	1,512	121	289	1,650	1,274	113	263
Per cent distribution	100.0	78.7	6.3	15.0	100.0	77.2	6.8	15.9
Under 16 years	6	6			6	6		
Per cent distribution	100.0	100.0			100.0	100.0		
16 and under 18 years	116	103	7	6	85	75	6	4
Per cent distribution	100.0	88.8	6.0	5.2	100.0	88.2	7.1	4.7
18 and under 20 years	313	240	27	46	269	205	24	40
Per cent distribution	100.0	76.7	8.6	14.7	100.0	76.2	8.9	14.9
20 and under 25 years	542	390	43	109	476	336	40	100
Per cent distribution	100.0	72.0	7.9	20.1	100.0	70.6	8.4	21.0
25 and under 30 years	303	232	19	52	275	206	19	50
Per cent distribution	100.0	76.6	6.3	17.2	100.0	74.9	6.9	18.2
30 and under 40 years	400	340	16	44	345	289	15	41
Per cent distribution	100.0	85.0	4.0	11.0	100.0	83.8	4.3	11.9
40 and under 50 years	181	152	7	22	146	119	7	20
Per cent distribution	100.0	84.0	3.9	12.2	100.0	81.5	4.8	13.7
50 and under 60 years	53	42	2	9	42	33	2	7
Per cent distribution	100.0	79.2	3.8	17.0	100.0	78.6	4.8	16.7
60 years and over	8	7		1	6	5		1
Per cent distribution	100.0	(¹)		(¹)	100.0	(¹)		(¹)

Age	Women who had worked during the year				Women who wanted work			
	Total number reporting	Number who were living—			Total number reporting	Number who were living—		
		At home	With relatives	Independently		At home	With relatives	Independently
Total	98	80	1	17	174	158	7	9
Per cent distribution	100.0	81.6	1.0	17.3	100.0	90.8	4.0	5.2
16 and under 18 years	8	7		1	23	21	1	1
Per cent distribution	100.0	(¹)		(¹)	100.0	91.3	4.3	4.3
18 and under 20 years	20	15	1	4	24	20	2	2
Per cent distribution	100.0	75.0	5.0	20.0	100.0	83.3	8.3	8.3
20 and under 25 years	38	31		7	28	23	3	2
Per cent distribution	100.0	81.6		18.4	100.0	82.1	10.7	7.1
25 and under 30 years	15	13		2	13	13		
Per cent distribution	100.0	86.7		13.3	100.0	100.0		
30 and under 40 years	7	5		2	48	46	1	1
Per cent distribution	100.0	(¹)		(¹)	100.0	95.8	2.1	2.1
40 and under 50 years	9	9			26	24		2
Per cent distribution	100.0	100.0			100.0	92.3		7.7
50 and under 60 years	1			1	10	9		1
Per cent distribution	100.0			100.0	100.0	(¹)		(¹)
60 years and over					2	2		
Per cent distribution					100.0	100.0		

¹ Not computed, owing to small number involved.

TABLE 12.—Number and size of units¹ surveyed, by number of roomers in the home

Size of unit	Number of units surveyed	Units in which the number of roomers was—												
		None		1		2		3		4		5		
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	
Total.....	867	608	70.1	115	13.3	57	6.6	26	3.0	28	3.2	16	1.8	
1 person.....	14	14	100.0											
2 persons.....	198	195	98.5	3	1.5									
3 persons.....	121	102	84.3	17	14.0	2	1.7							
4 persons.....	123	87	70.7	4	27	22.0	8	6.5	1	.8				
5 persons.....	127	68	53.5	4	33	26.0	18	14.2	7	5.5	1	.8		
6 persons.....	84	46	53.6	13	15.5	11	13.1	7	8.3	6	7.1	2	2.4	
7 persons.....	60	25	41.7	4	13	21.7	11	18.3	5	8.3	4	6.7	4	3.3
8 persons.....	57	35	61.4	6	10.5	2	3.5	4	7.0	7	12.3	3	5.3	
9 persons.....	39	23	49.0	1	2.6	1	2.6	1	2.6	7	17.9	3	7.7	
10 persons.....	15	4	26.7			1	6.7			2	13.3	2	13.3	
11 persons.....	13	5	(?)	1	(?)	1	(?)	1	(?)	1	(?)	2	(?)	
12 persons.....	5	2	(?)			1	(?)					1	(?)	
13 persons.....	4	1	(?)	1	(?)	1	(?)							
14 persons.....	3	2	(?)									1	(?)	
15 persons.....	1													
18 persons.....	1													
20 persons.....	2													

Size of unit	Units in which the number of roomers was—													
	6		7		8		9		11		14		15	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Total.....	6	0.7	5	0.6	2	0.2	1	0.1	1	0.1	1	0.1	1	0.1
1 person.....														
2 persons.....														
3 persons.....														
4 persons.....														
5 persons.....														
6 persons.....														
7 persons.....														
8 persons.....														
9 persons.....	2	5.1	1	2.6										
10 persons.....	3	20.0	2	13.3	1	6.7								
11 persons.....	1	(?)	1	(?)										
12 persons.....	1	(?)	1	(?)										
13 persons.....					1	(?)								
14 persons.....														
15 persons.....									1	100.0				
18 persons.....														
20 persons.....											1	(?)	1	(?)

¹ A unit is a group of persons keeping house together. There may be 2 or more such groups in one house or apartment.

² Not computed, owing to small number involved.

³ Includes 1 unit of 2 girls, both working, interview not obtained.

⁴ In 1 case the "roomer" was the housekeeper.

⁵ In 1 case the "roomer" was the maid.

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TABLE 13.—Number of units¹ owning, buying, or renting home, by extent of improvements

Extent of improvements	Units surveyed		Units owning		Units buying		Units renting	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Total.....	860	100.0	195	100.0	164	100.0	501	100.0
Running water, flush toilet, bath, and sewer.....	744	87.2	181	92.8	143	87.2	420	85.0
Running water, flush toilet, and bath.....	1	.1					1	.2
Running water, flush toilet, and sewer.....	85	10.0	9	4.6	11	6.7	65	13.2
Running water, bath, and sewer.....	1	.1					1	.2
Running water and flush toilet.....	2	.2					2	.4
Running water and sewer.....	7	.8	3	1.5	4	2.4		
Flush toilet, bath, and sewer.....	2	.2					2	.4
Flush toilet and sewer.....	1	.1			1	.6		
Bath and sewer.....	1	.1					1	.2
Running water.....	3	.4	1	.5	1	.6	1	.2
No improvements.....	6	.7	1	.5	4	2.4	1	.2
Improvements not reported.....	7						7	

¹ A unit is a group of persons keeping house together. There may be 2 or more such groups in one house or apartment.

² Based on total after excluding those not reporting improvements.

TABLE 14.—Length of employee-day,¹ by occupation—restaurants

A. ALL WORKERS

Occupation	Number of women	Number of employee-days	Number of employee-days ¹ of—										
			Under 5 hours	5 and under 6 hours	6 and under 7 hours	7 and under 8 hours	8 hours	Over 8 and under 9 hours	9 hours	Over 9 and under 10 hours	10 hours	Over 10 and under 11 hours	11 hours
All occupations.....	169	1,128	31	13	120	173	342	150	242	39	8	7	3
Per cent distribution.....		100.0	2.7	1.2	10.6	15.3	30.3	13.3	21.5	3.5	0.7	0.6	0.3
Dining-room:													
Bus girl.....	1	7					1	6					
Counter girl.....	6	42	2	8	2		5	20		5			
Soda-fountain clerk.....	1	7				4	3						
Vegetable checker.....	1	7	1			1				5			
Waitress.....	99	662	6	4	61	117	233	98	116	3	2	2	
Kitchen:													
Cook.....	28	187	6	1	28	23	23	14	60	26	1	5	
Chocolate dipper.....	2	12					6		6				
Dishwasher.....	25	167	16		5	28	50	26	34	5			3
Kitchen girl.....	5	30			24				6				
Not reported.....	1	7					1	6					

¹ Because of the irregularity of daily hours, each day's work is taken as a unit—the employee-day, however short or long. Totaled, they amount to 6 or 7 times the number of women employed.

TABLE 14.—Length of employee-day,¹ by occupation—restaurants—Continued

B. WORKERS ON A UNIFORM SCHEDULE

Occupation	Number of women	Number of employee-days	Number of employee-days ¹ of—										
			Under 5 hours	5 and under 6 hours	6 and under 7 hours	7 and under 8 hours	8 hours	Over 8 and under 9 hours	9 hours	Over 9 and under 10 hours	10 hours	Over 10 and under 11 hours	11 hours
All occupations..	84	553	-----	-----	63	85	206	76	123	-----	-----	-----	-----
Per cent distribution.....		100.0	-----	-----	11.4	15.4	37.3	13.7	22.2	-----	-----	-----	-----
Dining-room—waitress.....	57	379	-----	-----	20	64	166	56	73	-----	-----	-----	-----
Kitchen:													
Cook.....	9	58	-----	-----	19	-----	7	7	25	-----	-----	-----	-----
Chocolate dipper.....	2	12	-----	-----	-----	-----	6	-----	6	-----	-----	-----	-----
Dishwasher.....	11	74	-----	-----	-----	21	27	13	13	-----	-----	-----	-----
Kitchen girl.....	5	30	-----	-----	24	-----	-----	-----	6	-----	-----	-----	-----

C. WORKERS ON TWO DIFFERENT SCHEDULES

All occupations..	69	464	24	5	49	79	128	71	84	13	1	7	3
Per cent distribution.....		100.0	5.2	1.1	10.6	17.0	27.6	15.3	18.1	2.8	0.2	1.5	0.6
Dining-room:													
Bus girl.....	1	7	-----	-----	-----	-----	1	6	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Soda-fountain clerk.....	1	7	-----	-----	-----	4	3	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Waitress.....	39	263	6	4	39	50	87	39	33	2	1	2	-----
Kitchen:													
Cook.....	14	94	3	1	5	19	13	7	30	11	-----	5	-----
Dishwasher.....	13	86	15	-----	5	6	23	13	21	-----	-----	-----	3
Not reported.....	1	7	-----	-----	-----	-----	1	6	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

D. WORKERS ON THREE OR MORE DIFFERENT SCHEDULES

All occupations..	16	111	7	8	8	9	8	3	35	26	7	-----	-----
Per cent distribution.....		100.0	6.3	7.2	7.2	8.1	7.2	2.7	31.5	23.4	6.3	-----	-----
Dining-room:													
Counter girl.....	6	42	2	8	2	-----	5	-----	20	-----	5	-----	-----
Vegetable checker.....	1	7	1	-----	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	5	-----	-----	-----
Waitress.....	3	20	-----	-----	2	3	-----	3	10	1	1	-----	-----
Kitchen:													
Cook.....	5	35	3	-----	4	4	3	-----	5	15	1	-----	-----
Dishwasher.....	1	7	1	-----	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	5	-----	-----	-----

¹ Because of the irregularity of daily hours, each day's work is taken as a unit—the employee-day, however short or long. Totaled, they amount to 6 or 7 times the number of women employed.

TABLE 15.—Scheduled weekly hours, by type of restaurant and by occupation—restaurants

Type of restaurant and occupation	Number of women reported	Number of women in each occupation whose scheduled weekly hours were—														
		40 hours and under	Over 40 and under 44 hours	Over 44 and under 48 hours	48 hours	Over 48 and under 50 hours	Over 50 and under 52 hours	52 hours	Over 52 and under 54 hours	54 hours	55 hours	Over 55 and under 58 hours	Over 58 and under 60 hours	60 hours	Over 60 and under 65 hours	65 hours and over
All restaurants—total.....	169	12	7	5	5	10	4	5	14	34	3	35	19	5	9	2
Per cent distribution.....	100.0	7.1	4.1	3.0	3.0	5.9	2.4	3.0	8.3	20.1	1.8	20.7	11.2	3.0	5.3	1.2
Dining room:																
Bus girl.....	1														1	
Counter girl.....	6					1					1	3			1	
Soda-fountain clerk.....	1									1						
Vegetable checker.....	1												1			
Waitress.....	99	4	7	1	2	9		3	10	23	2	24	9	1	3	1
Kitchen:																
Cook.....	28	2		2	1		1	2	1	6		2	5	3	2	1
Chocolate dipper.....	2				1					1						
Dishwasher.....	25	2		2	1		3		3	2		6	3	1	2	
Kitchen girl.....	5	4								1						
Not reported.....	1												1			
Independent restaurants—total.....	144	8	7	2	3	10	4	5	7	27	3	35	18	5	8	2
Per cent distribution.....	100.0	5.6	4.9	1.4	2.1	6.9	2.8	3.5	4.9	18.7	2.1	24.3	12.5	3.5	5.6	1.4
Dining room:																
Bus girl.....	1														1	
Counter girl.....	6					1					1	3			1	
Vegetable checker.....	1												1			
Waitress.....	83		7		2	9		3	4	19	2	24	8	1	3	1
Kitchen:																
Cook.....	26	2		2	1		1	2	1	5		2	5	3	1	1
Dishwasher.....	21	2					3		2	2		6	3	1	2	
Kitchen girl.....	5	4								1						
Not reported.....	1												1			

WOMEN WORKERS IN FLINT, MICH.

Hotel restaurants—total.....	8	4	2	1														1
Dining room—waitress.....	4	4																
Kitchen:																		
Cook.....	1																	1
Dishwasher.....	3		2	1														
Store restaurants—total.....	17		1	1				7	7								1	
Dining room:																		
Soda-fountain clerk.....	1								1									
Waitress.....	12		1					6	4								1	
Kitchen:																		
Chocolate dipper.....	2			1														
Cook.....	1								1									
Dishwasher.....	1							1										

APPENDIX B

SCHEDULE FORMS

SCHEDULE I

[This schedule was used for recording the numbers of employees, scheduled hours, plant policies, and data on working conditions in factories, stores, and laundries employing more than five women.]

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

- Agent.....
Date.....
Address.....
City.....
1. Name of firm.....
 2. Product.....
 3. Person interviewed..... Position.....
Person interviewed..... Position.....
 4. Number employed:

	Day			Night		
	White	Colored	Total	White	Colored	Total
Men.....				Men.....		
Women.....				Women.....		
Girls.....				Girls.....		
Boys.....				Boys.....		
Total.....				Total.....		

5. Firm's scheduled hours:

	Begin	End	Lunch	Rest	Total		Begin	End	Lunch	Rest	Total
Day.....						Day.....					
Sat.....						Sat.....					

Reg. wk. days Reg. wk. hrs..... Reg. wk. days Reg. wk. hrs.....

6. Seasonal or overtime.....

7. Home work given out Same work done in shop Identical rates.....

8. Wages:

Length pay period Vac. without pay With pay.....

Deductions.....

Bonus or commission.....

Overtime pay.....

9. Employment policy:

Employment manager Other centralized method Other.....

Records kept.....

10. Stairways:

Location	Material	Wind-ing	Light O. K.	Hand rail O. K.	Nar-row	Steep	Repair	Other	Notes
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

11. Employees allowed to use elevators _____
 Workrooms:

12. Rooms			13. Floors				14. Aisles		15. Ventilation			16. Other problem
Workroom	Code	Fl.	Mat.	Rpr.	Cln.	Other	Obstr.	Narr.	Nat.	Artif.	Spec. probl.	
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

Notes:

 17. Cleaning: Sweep, by whom _____ Freq. _____
 Scrub, by whom _____ Freq. _____
 18. Natural light: _____
 Shades or awnings _____
 In roof _____
 Glare _____
 General statement _____

 19. Artif. light: General _____
 Indiv., hang., or adj _____
 Glare _____
 General statement _____

20. Seating:

Occupations	Seats		Foot rests		Notes
	Kind	No. O. K.	Kind	Need	
Sit _____	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Stand _____	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Both _____	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

26. Uniforms requ. by firm _____ Kind _____ Supplied by firm _____
 Laundered by firm _____ Free _____ Cost to girl _____

27. Health service:
 Hosp. ___ First aid ___ Chg. of doctor full time ___ Doctor part time ___
 Other ___ No resp. ___ Med. exam. ___ Other welfare ___

SCHEDULE II

[This schedule was used for recording the number of employees, scheduled hours, and data on working conditions in factories, stores, and laundries employing five or fewer women.]

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

Name of firm _____ Date _____
 Product _____ Agent _____
 Person interv. _____ Address _____
 City _____
 Position _____

Number employed:

Firm's scheduled hours:

	White	Col.	Total		Begin	End	Lunch	Rest	Total
Men _____				Day _____					
Women _____				Sat. _____					
Girls _____				Reg. wk. days _____					
Boys _____				Reg. wk. hours _____					
Total _____									

Natural light _____ Glare _____ Adequate _____
 Artificial light _____ Glare _____ Adequate _____

Seating:

Occupations	Seats		Footrests		Notes
	Kind	No. O. K.	Kind	Need	
Sit. _____					
Stand _____					
Both _____					

Drinking facilities: Bubbler _____ Cooler _____ Faucet _____ Other _____

Washing facilities: Kind _____ Clean _____ Ind. towel _____

Com. towel _____

Toilet facilities: Kind _____ No. using _____ Women _____ Men _____

Public _____

No. seats _____ No. per seat _____ Room ceiled _____ Vent.: Outside

window _____ artif. vent. _____ vent. other rm. _____ Light: Outside

window _____ artif. _____ room clean _____

Notes: _____

WOMEN WORKERS IN FLINT, MICH.

SCHEDULE III

[This schedule was used for recording the number of employees, scheduled hours, plant policies, and data on working conditions in hotels and restaurants.]

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

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

1. Name of firm..... Address.....
 Person interviewed.....
 2. Type of restaurant.....
 3. Hours open for business:
 Daily..... Sunday..... Extra.....

			Total
4. Number of men.....	Boys.....		
Number of women.....	Girls.....		
Total.....			

5. Location of building.....

6. Workroom conditions: a. General description of use of floors.....

b. General impression of workrooms.....

c. Cleaning.....

d. Heating.....

e. Lighting.....

f. Ventilation.....

7. Occupations (describe general duties of various employees):

8. Sanitation:
 Drinking facilities.....

Washing facilities.....
 Hot water..... Soap..... Towels.....

Toilets:

- a. Location _____
- b. Ventilation _____
- c. Lighting—Daylight _____ Artificial _____
- d. Screened from workroom _____
- e. Describe—ventilation; cleanliness; cleaned when and by whom; type of toilet; type of seat _____

f. Number of seats _____ Number of women per seat _____

Uniforms: Supplied _____ Required _____ Laundering _____

9. Service and welfare facilities:

Lunchroom _____

Rest room _____

Cloakroom and locker facilities _____

Health service: Medical examination _____ Health records _____

First-aid equipment _____

Other welfare equipment _____

10. Employment management: a. Hiring and discharge centralized _____

Other _____

Records kept _____

Worker _____ Race _____ Occupation _____

11. Hours worked by employees:

	Hours														Meals		Total hours												
	M	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3		4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	M	12	On duty	Off duty
	12																												
Sunday																													
Monday																													
Tuesday																													
Wednesday																													
Thursday																													
Friday																													
Saturday																													

Total weekly _____

[The individual record of hours worked was repeated for each employee.]

WOMEN WORKERS IN FLINT, MICH.

SCHEDULE IV

[Pay-roll information was copied onto this card, one card being used for each woman employee. Certain information was added later from Schedule V.]

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

Establishment		Employee's No.			Department					
Name						Male	Female	Age		
Address						Conjugal condition				
Occupation						S	M	W	D	NR
Rate of pay	Piece	Hour	Day	Week	½ month	Month	Additions			
		\$0.	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$		
Days worked	Regular weekly hours	Hours worked this period	Overtime hours	Undertime hours	Earnings		Deductions			
					This period	Computed for regular time				
					\$	\$	\$	\$		
Country of birth		Began work	Time at work		In this trade		This firm			
At home		Age	Board		Pay-roll period					
				---- days ending						

SCHEDULE V

[This schedule was distributed in the factory to be filled out by each woman employee. Certain information was transferred later to Schedule IV.]

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

Establishment	Employee's No.	Department
Name		Male or female
Address		Single, married, widowed, separated, or divorced
Country of birth		Age
How old were you when you began to work for wages?		
How long have you been in this trade or business?		
How long have you been working for this firm?		
What is your regular work here?		
Schooling—last grade completed?		
Do you live with your family?		With other relatives?
Do you board or room with persons not relatives?		

SCHEDULE FORMS

SCHEDULE VI

[Pay-roll information for each week in the year was recorded for a representative number of the women employees a year or more with the establishment, this schedule being used.]

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

Firm.....					City.....			
Em- ployee	W. N.		W. N.		W. N.		W. N.	
	T. P. B.							
Week	Wage	Remarks	Wage	Remarks	Wage	Remarks	Wage	Remarks
1								
2								
3								
4								
5								
6								
7								
8								
9								
10								
11								
12								
13								
14								
15								
16								
17								
18								
19								
20								
21								
22								
23								
24								
25								
26								
27								
28								
29								
30								
31								
32								
33								
34								
35								
36								
37								
38								
39								
40								
41								
42								
43								
44								
45								
46								
47								
48								
49								
50								
51								
52								
Amt.....	Wks. wrkd.....							
Wks. clsd....	Wks. lost.....							

SCHEDULE VII

[This schedule was used in the house-to-house canvass to record information where there were women who worked, who had worked during the past year, or who wanted work.]

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

Agent _____
Date _____

1. Address 2. Family name 3. Number in family 4. Number persons in home 5. Number roomers or boarders

- Housing: 6. Own home 7. Buying on contract or mortgage 8. Rent home 9. Number of rooms
10. Running water 11. Flush toilets 12. Bath 13. City sewerage

14. Wage earners	15. Nativ-ity	16. Pres-ent age	17. Age left school	18. Present job		19. Date began work	20. Special training	21. Experience: Former jobs—kind of work
				Occupation	Industry			
a.								
b.								
c.								
d.								
e.								
f.								
g.								

22. Non-wage earners 16 years and over	23. Nativ-ity	24. Pres-ent age	25. Age left school	26. Grade	27. Will continue in school	28. Want work	29. Regu-lar work	30. Part-time work	31. Special training	32. Ex-perience	33. Kind of work wanted

34. Under 16 years:
Boys' ages _____
Girls' ages _____

35. Wage earners	36. Present time				37. Unemploy-ment during year, seasons	38. Work wanted			
	Unemployment		Part-time work			Job wanted	Regular	Part-time	Kind of work
	Vol.	Invol.	Vol.	Invol.					
a.									
b.									
c.									
d.									
e.									
f.									
g.									

39. _____
Remarks: _____

SCHEDULE VIII

[This schedule was used in the house-to-house canvass to record general information where there were no women who worked, who had worked during the past year, nor who wanted work.]

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

1. Address.....

2. Family name.....

Family:			Roomers:		
No.....	Male.....	Female.....	No.....	Male.....	Female.....
Under 16.....			.....	
16 and over.....			.....	
Married.....			.....	
Single and other.....			.....	

PUBLICATIONS OF THE WOMEN'S BUREAU

Any of these bulletins still available will be sent free of charge upon request.

- 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. 1919.
 - No. 3. Standards for the Employment of Women in Industry. 8 pp. Third ed., 1921.
 - 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. 1921.
 - No. 7. Night-Work Laws in the United States. (1919.) 4 pp. 1920.
 - *No. 8. Women in the Government Service. 37 pp. 1920.
 - *No. 9. Home Work in Bridgeport, Conn. 35 pp. 1920.
 - *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. 90 pp. 1921.
 - No. 12. The New Position of Women in American Industry. 158 pp. 1920.
 - No. 13. Industrial Opportunities and Training for Women and Girls. 48 pp. 1921.
 - *No. 14. A Physiological Basis for the Shorter Working Day for Women. 20 pp. 1921.
 - No. 15. Some Effects of Legislation Limiting Hours of Work for Women. 26 pp. 1921.
 - No. 16. See Bulletin 63.
 - No. 17. Women's Wages in Kansas. 104 pp. 1921.
 - No. 18. Health Problems of Women in Industry. 11 pp. 1921.
 - No. 19. Iowa Women in Industry. 73 pp. 1922.
 - *No. 20. Negro Women in Industry. 65 pp. 1922.
 - No. 21. Women in Rhode Island Industries. 73 pp. 1922.
 - *No. 22. Women in Georgia Industries. 89 pp. 1922.
 - No. 23. The Family Status of Breadwinning Women. 43 pp. 1922.
 - No. 24. Women in Maryland Industries. 96 pp. 1922.
 - No. 25. Women in the Candy Industry in Chicago and St. Louis. 72 pp. 1923.
 - No. 26. Women in Arkansas Industries. 86 pp. 1923.
 - No. 27. The Occupational Progress of Women. 37 pp. 1922.
 - No. 28. Women's Contributions in the Field of Invention. 51 pp. 1923.
 - No. 29. Women in Kentucky Industries. 114 pp. 1923.
 - No. 30. The Share of Wage-Earning Women in Family Support. 170 pp. 1923.
 - No. 31. What Industry Means to Women Workers. 10 pp. 1923.
 - No. 32. Women in South Carolina Industries. 128 pp. 1923.
 - No. 33. Proceedings of the Women's Industrial Conference. 190 pp. 1923.
 - No. 34. Women in Alabama Industries. 86 pp. 1924.
 - No. 35. Women in Missouri Industries. 127 pp. 1924.
 - No. 36. Radio Talks on Women in Industry. 34 pp. 1924.
 - No. 37. Women in New Jersey Industries. 99 pp. 1924.
 - No. 38. Married Women in Industry. 8 pp. 1924.
 - No. 39. Domestic Workers and Their Employment Relations. 87 pp. 1924.
 - No. 40. See Bulletin 63.
 - No. 41. Family Status of Breadwinning Women in Four Selected Cities. 145 pp. 1925.
 - No. 42. List of References on Minimum Wage for Women in the United States and Canada. 42 pp. 1925.
 - No. 43. Standard and Scheduled Hours of Work for Women in Industry. 68 pp. 1925.
 - No. 44. Women in Ohio Industries. 137 pp. 1925.
 - No. 45. Home Environment and Employment Opportunities of Women in Coal-Mine Workers' Families. 61 pp. 1925.
 - No. 46. Facts About Working Women—A graphic presentation based on Census statistics. 64 pp. 1925.
 - No. 47. Women in the Fruit-Growing and Canning Industries in the State of Washington. 23 pp. 1925.
 - *No. 48. Women in Oklahoma Industries. 118 pp. 1926.
 - No. 49. Women Workers and Family Support. 10 pp. 1925.
 - No. 50. Effects of Applied Research upon the Employment Opportunities of American Women. 54 pp. 1926.
 - No. 51. Women in Illinois Industries. 108 pp. 1926.
 - No. 52. Lost Time and Labor Turnover in Cotton Mills. 203 pp. 1926.
 - No. 53. The Status of Women in the Government Service in 1925. 103 pp. 1926.
 - No. 54. Changing Jobs. 12 pp. 1926.
 - No. 55. Women in Mississippi Industries. 89 pp. 1926.
 - No. 56. Women in Tennessee Industries. 120 pp. 1927.
 - No. 57. Women Workers and Industrial Poisons. 5 pp. 1926.
 - No. 58. Women in Delaware Industries. 156 pp. 1927.
 - No. 59. Short Talks About Working Women. 24 pp. 1927.
 - No. 60. Industrial Accidents to Women in New Jersey, Ohio, and Wisconsin. 316 pp. 1927.
 - No. 61. The Development of Minimum-Wage Laws in the United States, 1912 to 1927. 616 pp. (and index). 1928.
 - No. 62. Women's Employment in Vegetable Canneries in Delaware. 47 pp. 1927.
 - No. 63. State Laws Affecting Working Women. 51 pp. 1927. (Revision of Bulletins 16 and 40.)
 - No. 64. The Employment of Women at Night. 86 pp. 1928.
 - No. 65. The Effects of Labor Legislation on the Employment Opportunities of Women. 498 pp. 1928.
 - No. 66. History of Labor Legislation for Women in Three States; Chronology of Labor Legislation for Women in the United States. (In press.)
 - No. 67. Women Workers in Flint, Mich. (80 pp. 1928.)
 - No. 68. Summary: The Effects of Labor Legislation on the Employment Opportunities of Women. (Reprint of Chapter II of Bulletin 65.) 22 pp. 1928.
- Annual Reports of the Director, 1919*, 1920*, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928.

*Supply exhausted.