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DIFFERENCES IN THE EARNINGS OF WOMEN AND MEN

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
FRANCES PERKINS, Secretary

WOMEN'S BUREAU
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By

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
WOMEN'S BUREAU,
Washington, September 1, 1937.

MADAM: I have the honor to transmit the results of an inquiry made by this Bureau into the differences in the wages of women and men. The findings show a striking uniformity in the extent to which women's wages are below men's, in spite of changes in the general wage level, in business conditions, or in source of labor supply, and regardless of locality, type of industry, period of time, method of pay, or other qualifying factor.

The timeliness of presenting information on this subject is indicated especially in the fact that any low-wage group constitutes a menace to wage standards in general, and also in the fact that the low wages women receive further emphasize the necessity of extending such minimum-wage measures as now are operating in nearly half the States.

The Women's Bureau, throughout its entire existence, has sought in many ways to develop more adequate standards of wage payments to women. The present study represents another step in the continuation of such efforts.

The collection and preparation of material here presented was the work of Mary Elizabeth Pidgeon, chief of the Research Division, who wrote the report. Field work for sections of the study was done by Ethel L. Best, industrial supervisor, assisted by Catharine R. Belville, and by Ethel Erickson, industrial supervisor.

Respectfully submitted.

MARY ANDERSON, *Director.*

Hon. FRANCES PERKINS,
Secretary of Labor.

WOMEN RECEIVE MUCH LOWER PAY THAN MEN

This is generally true regardless of date, industry, type of occupation, method of pay, or other qualifying factor.

In three States that have reported men's and women's wages over some 12 to 20 years, women's average wages in manufacturing almost always have been less than 60 percent as great as men's. *(For details, see p. 46.)*

Women's average earnings are considerably below the average of the bare entrance rates of men for common labor in the same industries. *(For details, see p. 41.)*

Certain recent reports show that the average wages of women office workers ordinarily are at least one-fifth below those of men (though the discrepancies are less in the more skilled types of work). In States that have reported wages of men and women clerical workers over a series of years, women in office work have received only about 50 to 60 percent as much as men. *(For details, see p. 16.)*

Women in occupations requiring considerable skill or dexterity were paid less than men in the least skilled jobs in plants making seamless hosiery, men's work clothes and shirts, knit underwear, paper boxes, men's suits and overcoats, candy, and bakery products. *(For details, see p. 39.)*

In only 3 of 18 manufacturing occupations compared were men and women receiving the same hourly pay. Most of the women were paid only 35 cents or less an hour, though some of their jobs required a considerable degree of dexterity or expertness, and though in almost no case did any man reported in the plant, no matter in how unskilled a job, receive less than 40 cents an hour. *(For details, see p. 27.)*

Recent reports of salespersons' wages show many more women than men at the lower pay levels, and many men but few women at the higher levels. *(For details, see p. 23.)*

In occupations in plants manufacturing men's clothing and seamless hosiery, though in some cases women's maximum earnings were higher than men's and a number of women earned more than any man, yet larger proportions of women than of men usually were found in the very low pay ranges. *(For details, see p. 26.)*

DIFFERENCES IN THE EARNINGS OF WOMEN AND MEN

Part I.—MEN'S AND WOMEN'S WAGES

INFORMATION ON MEN'S AND WOMEN'S WAGES MUCH IN DEMAND

The status of women's wages in all its many phases naturally is a subject concerning which the Women's Bureau receives frequent requests for information, and one aspect of this that continually is called for is the relation of women's wages to those of men. Such demands come from a variety of sources—from trade-unions, employers, educators, and students, and from various official bodies, most recently from the International Labor Office in connection with an inquiry being made by it into the economic situation of women.

Though wage information often is scattering, and at best tends to grow old almost more rapidly than it can be collected and analyzed, it seems of benefit to have brought together here some of the available indications as to men's and women's wages, including certain hitherto unpublished field data from Women's Bureau surveys.

BASIS OF INFORMATION FOR THE PRESENT REPORT

The present report includes information from various sources showing the *general levels* of men's and women's wages, chiefly in manufacturing industries, as well as the pay they receive for work of identical or essentially similar character. Close comparisons of men's and women's wages have been made along the following lines, in most cases showing both the general wage level and the pay for particular occupations:

Wages of men and women clerical workers, from Women's Bureau field surveys and other sources.

Certain Women's Bureau data on wages of men and women salespersons in department stores.

Comparison of women's wages with those of men in unskilled work.

Data on wages of men and women in manufacturing occupations, from the Women's Bureau and also from other sources.

State figures showing the general levels of men's and women's wages over a period of years.

In practically all cases of the use of such basic figures in the present report, the percents that women's earnings form of men's earnings have been computed by the Women's Bureau to show how much less women have to live on than men have.

POLICY OF GOVERNMENT TO MAINTAIN WOMEN'S WAGES

It has been the general policy of the Government of the United States, expressed in various official documents, to advocate the maintenance of women's wages at a level commensurate with that of men's wages. For example, in 1915 the Commission on Industrial Relations recommended "The recognition both by public opinion and in such legislation as may be enacted, of the principle that women should receive the same compensation as men for the same terms."[1] In 1918 the principles enunciated by the National War Labor Board included the following:

> *Women in industry.*—If it shall become necessary to employ women on work ordinarily performed by men, they must be allowed equal pay for equal work and must not be allotted tasks disproportionate to their strength.[2]

Despite this clear statement of policy, it was not possible to give it full effect, and the Women's Branch of the Ordnance Department found that of the hundreds of plants involved only 11 could be listed that reported having paid equal piece rates to men and women doing the same work.

The Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor, in its employment standards issued as early as 1918, upheld the policy of the same pay for women and men on the same jobs in the following words:

> Wages should be established on the basis of occupation and not on the basis of sex or race.

Likewise the United States Railroad Administration in 1918 made the following rule:

> The pay for female employees, for the same class of work, shall be the same as that of men, and their working conditions must be healthful and fitted to their needs. The laws enacted for the government of their employment must be observed.[3]

And on November 5, 1919, the United States Civil Service Commission definitely ruled that all examinations were open to men and women alike.[4] More recently the National Recovery Administration promulgated the following policy:

> Female employees performing substantially the same work as male employees shall receive the same rate of pay as male employees.[5]

During the life of the National Recovery Administration, 1933–35, efforts were made to assure the same code rates for both sexes, and Government authorities supported this, although in practically one-fourth of the codes—and frequently in those for industries employing many women—the code rate was fixed lower for women than for men.

The policy of maintaining women's wages at a reasonable level also has been upheld by the governments of many States, as witness the enactment of minimum-wage legislation for women in nearly one-half of the States.

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[1] Final Report of the Commission on Industrial Relations. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1916. [Reprinted from S. Doc. No. 415, 64th Cong.] p. 72.
[2] U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Monthly Labor Review, May 1918, p. 57.
[3] U. S. Railroad Administration. General Order No. 27, Supplement No. 13. Article VIII (a). 1918. *See* Monthly Labor Review, March 1919, p. 166.
[4] U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. The Status of Women in the Government Service in 1925. Bul. 53. 1926. p. 1.
[5] N. R. A. release 6367, July 12, 1934.

WOMEN'S WAGES ORDINARILY BELOW MEN'S

Despite these evidences of governmental policy to the contrary, it is well known that in almost any type of comparison that can be made, women's wages ordinarily are found to be lower than those of men. This is true of weekly earnings in industry in whatever locality or period reported, and, in a somewhat less marked degree, it is the usual case with hourly earnings. It occurs in a wide variety of occupations of many types. It is a well-known situation to the professional woman, especially the teacher, and to other white-collar workers.

Writing in 1919, an economist who studied this subject concluded:

> As adult workers their [women's] earnings always fall short of men's in the same age groups and finally their range of earnings is conspicuously more limited.[6]

A later study notes that—

> Factory wages tend to rise, but the gap between men's and women's wages remains surprisingly constant.[7]

It has been partly because women's wages in their lower ranges have been so strikingly below men's in so many cases that strong efforts have proceeded toward fixing a minimum wage especially for women.

The data collected in the present report show an almost uncanny uniformity in the differentials in the wages of the two sexes, in spite of changes in general wage level, in public sentiment, in business conditions, in source of labor supply, or in anything else.

Note, for example, the graph on page 47 showing that in more than a decade women's wages in manufacturing in several States bore a percentage relation to men's wages that varied by not more than a few points from year to year.

Especially notable are the ratios of men's and women's wages in clerical work, for here time-work pay prevails and certain factors that might make for wider discrepancies in the wages of men and women in manufacturing would not influence the pay for clerical work. In the ratios shown on page 22, figures are given for the years 1914 to 1935; the period includes the World War, the depressions of 1920–21 and 1930–33, and considerable development in the mechanization of office work; at one time men's median was 121.6 percent and women's was 113.8 percent above the figure for 1914; yet in the whole period of 2 decades the ratio of the women's median earnings to those of men varied by less than 4 points, never going above 60.2 nor below 56.6. Even for exactly the same occupations in clerical work, the discrepancies between women's and men's wages are great, as the data on page 19 show.

LOW WAGES TO WOMEN DEPRESS WAGE STANDARDS

It is obvious that the low wages received by women produce a low standard of living for the women themselves and in many cases for their families, especially in those now very numerous cases in which wage-earning women support dependents and even entire families of

[6] Hutchinson, Emilie Josephine. Women's Wages. 1919. p. 34.
[7] The Activities of Women Outside the Home. By S. P. Breckinridge. *In* Recent Social Trends in the United States. Vol. 1. 1933. p. 735.

considerable size.[8] But the effect of this situation is far more widespread than that, since it has a definite tendency to depress wage standards in general *for both sexes*, extending and perpetuating the ills of poverty and dependency and placing a premium on the displacement of men and the hiring of women at reduced rates.

WHY ARE WOMEN'S WAGES LOWER?

Why have these differences in men's and women's wages ordinarily been so marked and so persistent, in spite of continual efforts to eliminate them on the part of women and of others interested in social welfare, and even in spite of governmental recommendations designed to raise the level of women's wages to that of men's? Are these differences based on valid and sound reasons, are they attributable chiefly to economic forces, or do they arise mainly from some traditional cause?

There is no doubt that certain causes that may be considered as purely economic operate to some extent to keep women's wages low, especially where women form a residual labor supply or where they are employed in the least attractive jobs. When the labor market is overcrowded, women can be obtained cheap, usually cheaper than men. But the consistent disparity in the wages as between the two sexes, applying to nearly all types of jobs and occurring even in industries where women are much in demand, indicates the operation of additional causes to keep women's wages down.

An especially important factor in the low wages of women is the general lack of organization among employed women strong enough to battle effectively for a more adequate wage scale.

Turning from what may be thought of as these more purely economic factors, a number of other influences that may affect the wage scale of women may be examined.

The reason for paying a lower wage probably might be considered to have at least some justification if the time worked were shorter, if the output were less, if there were less skill in the performance, if the requirements of the job were in some wise less exacting, or if for some other reason the employer's demands were less or the work were less satisfactorily done. While such differences by no means have depended wholly on the sex of the worker, yet women's wages consistently have fallen below those of men.

Working time.

Where comparisons are based on weekly wages, any variations in time must be taken into consideration before evaluating amounts received. But where the hourly pay is concerned and the time element therefore does not enter, though the discrepancies often are not so great as is the case with weekly wages, yet women's hourly earnings still are less than men's.

For example, while men averaged from 32 to 39 cents an hour *as a bare entrance rate for common labor*, women in the same districts and in the same industry, in which they perform work requiring considerable dexterity and some skill, could average only from 28 to 34 cents.[9]

[8] For evidence as to the extent to which this is true, see, for example, Women's Bureau bulletins 75, What the Wage Earning Woman Contributes to Family Support; 148, The Employed Woman Homemaker in the United States; and 155, Women in the Economy of the United States of America.

[9] See p. 41.

In a series of occupations performed by both men and women in almost 20 plants visited by Women's Bureau agents, women ordinarily received not more than 35 cents an hour, though in almost every case no man in the plant was paid less than 40 cents.[10]

The worker's output.

Little information is available to form a basis for determining the relative output of the two sexes in the same jobs, especially since studies of output are most difficult and necessarily are of a particularist character.

Certain of the studies made during the World War give outstanding evidence that women's output takes its place satisfactorily with that of men.[11] For example, of 267 metal-working firms reporting on the substitution of more than 13,000 women for men in 14 occupations, the proportions stating that women's output was equal to or greater than men's ranged from 56.8 percent of the firms reporting on grinding and polishing to 84.6 percent of those reporting on welding.

Furthermore, of 533 firms reporting on the substitution of nearly 60,000 women for men in 9 occupational groups, more than three-fourths stated that women's work was as satisfactory as men's or better than men's, and the proportions so stating in the various industries ranged from 66.7 percent in chemical products to 100 percent in the rubber industry.

In another of the wartime studies reporting many women in Cleveland, Ohio, employed in plants and on processes to which they were not always accustomed, the output of women and girls was found to be greater than that of men and boys by 64 percent of the production managers reporting for the metal industries and 20 percent of those reporting for the clothing industries. In a study of women employed in the metal trades, made at about the same time by the National Industrial Conference Board, two-thirds of the employers reporting on production stated that women's output was equal to or greater than that of men.

In a study of the replacement of men by women in New York State industries during the war, made by the Department of Labor in that State, it was found that even in cases where the women produced more than the men they received lower wages than the men doing the same work in the same plant.

Since the period of the studies quoted, Women's Bureau agents have come across other similar situations, though since these have been incidental to other surveys they are nowhere brought together. A characteristic one of these not only illustrates the fact that women are lower paid even with better output than men on exactly the same job, but shows also how piece rates are cut until women earn what the management thinks a sufficient wage for them. This instance is of work on an automatic screw machine, newly installed.

* * * Men were assigned to the job on a piece-work basis at a certain rate per thousand. After working on the machine a short time the men complained that they were not able to make a decent wage at the rate paid, and the employment manager and works manager decided to try women on it, transferring the

[10] See p. 27.

[11] See the following: (1) Women's Bureau Bul. 12. The New Position of Women in American Industry. 1920. pp. 94, 96. (2) The Cleveland Chamber of Commerce. Committee on Industrial Welfare. The Substitution of Woman for Man Power in Industry. July 1918. pp. 13, 14. (3) National Industrial Conference Board. Wartime Employment of Women in the Metal Trades. July 1918. p. 30. (4) New York State Department of Labor. Bureau of Women in Industry. The Industrial Replacement of Men by Women in the State of New York. Special Bul. 93. 1919. pp. 27–29.

men to other work. Women were put on at the same rate and, the employment manager said, "They ran riot with the job and before long were making over $50 a week." Then the men wanted another trial at the job, and, as the employment manager does not approve of having women in the machine shop and tries to discourage it, the men were given another try-out at a slightly higher rate than the initial one. Again they failed to turn out enough work to earn a satisfactory wage. Women have been employed on this work ever since (about 3 years). Rates have been lowered several times since the women have been working on the machines, as it was stated that the work was in an experimental stage when the first rates were set.[12]

It is certain that differences in output continually exist between members of the same sex, and there is no evidence that women's output in general is sure to be below men's. On the contrary, from the evidences available, it is clear that differences in output may be considered far from sufficient to measure the great and consistent discrepancies between men's and women's wages.

The fixing of piece rates.

The inadequacy of output measurement as one explanation for the consistently low wages of women is indicated further when it is realized how haphazard the method of fixing the piece rate may be and how often it still is dependent in the final analysis upon the arbitrary judgment of a foreman or manager or upon some other unscientific factor. Even where careful time studies are made, the tendency is to fix the piece rate, after time study, at the level of the faster rather than the average workers, or *to fix it so as to bring the wage to about what the wage fixer thinks the worker should earn.* Quotations both of earlier and of later dates testify to the inadequate method of fixing piece rates. Though in recent years much attention has been paid to more scientific methods, many rates still are fixed by less accurate rules, and this is particularly likely to be true in some of the important woman-employing industries.

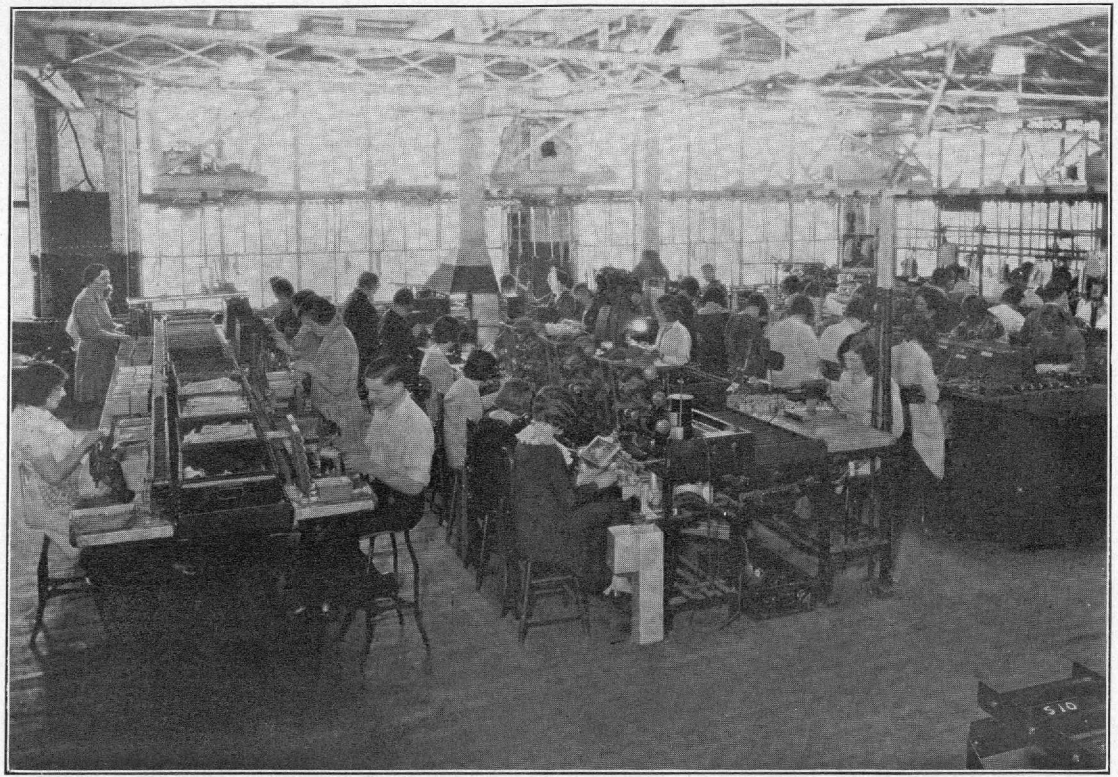
Says one authority in connection with the determination of piece rates: "There are some who advise setting tasks deliberately high or rates low so as to play safe for the future." [13] Another makes the following statement:

> Estimates of a busy foreman as to how long it should take to do a new job must necessarily be inaccurate, and rates set by his estimates are practically guesses. After the workmen have become skilled, their earnings will increase greatly and will often be out of all proportion to the exertion put forth.
>
> Under these conditions an adjustment of the prices based on the new records is made; and, as the workman becomes more skillful, it is done again. Thus the more skilled the workman becomes and the more progress he makes the greater the penalty he has to suffer, for his prices are being continually reduced so that he earns but little more than the incompetent man, who has never been able to do his work in such a manner as to exceed greatly the old records.

The author adds that he knows of a very large American plant, with an international business, in which piece rates were revised every year to the basis of the lowest current wage for the highest 10-hour record, and that as a consequence many foreigners came to their piece work between 4 a. m. and 5 a. m. in order to earn a living wage by 6 p. m.[14]

At an earlier date an investigator reports the following situation, which undoubtedly still is typical in many cases.

[12] U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. The Effects of Labor Legislation on the Employment Opportunities of Women. Bul. 65. 1928. p. 228.
[13] Lytle, Charles Walter. Wage Incentive Methods. 1929. p. 167.
[14] Bloomfield, Daniel. Financial Incentives for Employees and Executives. 1923. pp. 62, 76.



ASSEMBLERS IN AN ELECTRICAL MANUFACTURING PLANT.

I have known of rates that had been cut three different times, and on one occasion a girl informed me that whenever she exceeded a certain weekly wage her rate was cut, and as a result she decided to stand pat and do only as much as would net her what the management indirectly told her she was to earn * * *. When you talk with different men in different parts of a shop on different work and have them tell you that increased production per man means the same and in many cases less wages, there is something fundamentally wrong.[15]

Writing on this subject quite recently a well-known labor economist makes the following statement:

The rate cutting which Halsey found inevitable under the piece-work system is apparently equally inevitable under any of the "scientific" wage-payment plans. * * *

It is assumed to be the management's prerogative to determine the amount of work the employees can do and to fix prices for the work on this basis.[16]

Another labor economist makes this analysis of the way in which piece rates are likely to be fixed.

The tendency is to fix piece rates in the beginning according to the capacity of the more rapid workers; and the temptation is to cut down even these rates (perhaps upon the basis of some slight improvements in the equipment) when the operatives seem to be earning excessive wages per week.
* * * in some trades the output is so varied and complex that it is difficult to establish fair rates * * * many employers are jealous of high earnings on the part of their workmen, that they are given to assuming that some mistake must have been made in the rates originally set, and that they frequently resort to tinkering or "nibbling" at the rates for the sake of speeding up the pace and cutting down the wage bill.[17]

Additional evidence of the fact that piece rates very often may be based largely on traditional practice or opinion in plants where many women are employed is found in a Women's Bureau survey of the shoe industry in New Hampshire, in which typical plant statements as to the way in which such rates were determined are as follows:

Forelady sets them according to prevailing prices in the city, and goes over them with foreman.

When designs change we experiment and set up *in our own minds* fair returns for days or weeks worked, and piece rates are computed from basic hourly rates.

The National Industrial Conference Board, organization of large manufacturing interests, says:

Early piece rates were usually based on snap judgment, reinforced by the foreman's recollection of about how long it took to do the job * * * as the study and improvement of methods assumed a larger part in standard and rate setting, time study became increasingly important as a fair and impersonal method of determining actual time consumed in performing an operation.

In the study in which this paragraph occurs time studies were found to be made by the foremen in slightly over 10 percent of the 388 companies giving such information, and in about one-half as many the rates were set either by the foreman with the approval of a higher authority (not a time-study specialist) or by a plant executive. The firms are large for the most part, as, for example, the clothing companies reported would average well over 800 workers, the textile mills more than 1,000.

Furthermore, in this study the large *man-employing* industries predominate, and in these smaller proportions of the workers are

[15] Knoeppel, C. E. The Psychology and Ethics of Wage Payment. 1912. p. 16.
[16] Leiserson, William M. The Economics of Restriction of Output. *In* Restriction of Output Among Unorganized Workers. By Stanley B. Mathewson. 1931. pp. 175, 181.
[17] Catlin, Warren B. The Labor Problem. Revised edition. 1935. pp. 168, 494.

paid by the piece method. For example, in the iron and steel, chemical, automotive, and machine and machine-tool industries, large man-employers, some 60 to more than 80 percent of the workers were paid by the time worked, while this was true of much smaller proportions of those in the large woman-employers—in textiles 45 percent, in leather 39 percent, and in clothing 16 percent were time workers.[18]

It is quite likely that rate fixing by older methods occurs to a larger extent where women are employed, and also where the establishments are smaller, and even the newer methods afford no means of protecting the worker from the setting of a piece rate so low that a relatively low wage will result. This is one of the reasons why the fixing of a minimum wage for women has been considered so important by economists who see the necesstiy of raising wage levels.

The chaotic condition of piece-rate fixing is indicated in the wide variation from plant to plant found in women's earnings in five laundry occupations taken in May 1933 and analyzed by the Women's Bureau.[19] The range of median hourly earnings for the same occupation in nine different plants in one State was as follows:

Flat ironers	16½ to 27 cents.
Finishers	11½ to 34 cents.
Press operators	12½ to 28 cents.
Sorters	13 to 24 cents.
Markers	15½ to 32 cents.

Support of dependents.

One argument that has been used to justify depressed wages for women is that men have families to support. However, the unmarried man, who is likely to assume less responsibility than his sister for their parents' obligations, is not paid less than the family man because of his lack of dependents. In fact, a family wage system never has been the rule in this country, and men, whether married or single, ostensibly are paid for the job done and not according to the number of their dependents.

Moreover, women increasingly are called upon to assume the support of others. In a compilation made a few years ago of the data from 22 studies affording information on this subject, it was shown that over one-half of the more than 61,000 women reported contributed all their earnings to the family support.[20]

In 10 studies more recently made, nearly 13 percent of the more than 369,000 women reported were the sole support of families of two or more persons. An examination of 34 studies reporting on more than 155,000 women showed that practically 60 percent of these contributed to the support of dependents, in some cases in addition to those for whose support they were fully responsible. These women included both those who were single and those who were married; they were supporting children of their own or others, parents, young sisters or brothers, husbands who were ill or unable to get jobs.

The census of 1930, having gathered information for the first time upon employed women homemakers, found that nearly a million of these were in families of two or more persons with no man at the head,

[18] National Industrial Conference Board. Financial Incentives. 1935. pp. 19, 21, 23.
[19] U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. Variations in Wage Rates Under Corresponding Conditions. Bul. 122. 1935. p. 7.
[20] Ibid. What the Wage-Earning Woman Contributes to Family Support. Bul. 75. 1929. p. 12.

and that somewhat more than 450,000 of the total were the sole wage-earners in their families.[21]

Such figures as these must effectively combat any lingering belief that employed women have no responsibility for the support of others.

Skill in performance.

Measurements of skill in performance are more difficult even than measurements of output, and information regarding them is similarly scattering. In the New York study already cited, 80 percent of the employers investigated claimed that women were as satisfactory as the men they replaced, or even more satisfactory, yet they paid them less.

An industrial engineer has stated that it is "astonishingly true that no two people seem to agree on what skill is." This same expert's definition is: "Dexterity, plus knowledge, which can adapt itself to changing situations and is capable of improvement." [22]

According to census figures, women form only 4.5 percent of the laborers in factories, and census data classified by social-economic groups show that women form 36.8 percent of the semiskilled workers in manufacturing. In all occupations together women are 31.7 percent of all semiskilled, but only 22.2 percent of the unskilled.[23]

The instance of the automatic screw machine described on page 5 shows women doing the work so adequately that a superintendent who did not prefer them kept them on, and they earned so much that eventually their piece rate was cut lower than that of the men who had been on the same job. However, since this machine was automatic, the requirement was one of dexterity, quickness, or alertness rather than what ordinarily is considered a high type of skill. This is the sort of machine-tending job upon which so many thousands of industrial women are employed. Its rapidity and constancy exact a tremendous toll of nervous energy.

From a recent series of observations made by a Women's Bureau agent there may be cited another instance that has to do with a type of work perhaps somewhat less heavy but probably making a more exacting requirement in terms of skill—the etching of designs or patterns on glassware. In some of the factories visited men were doing this work, paid according to a union wage scale. Elsewhere the work was not done in the making plant but was taken to a finishing plant. Here women were employed almost exclusively. They were paid at a much lower rate than the men who performed this same type of work in the making plant, though the patterns they executed were fully as complicated and the product was in every way as satisfactory.

Two other points that may be examined in connection with the subject of skill are the ages of the workers and the extent of their experience. According to the 1930 census, larger proportions of the women than of the men in employment are in the lower age groups, more than one-third of the women but only a little over one-fifth of the men being less than 25 years of age. However, it also is true that in many jobs the quickness and dexterity of youth are to be desired, but where comparisons have been made in the same industries, the

[21] Ibid. The Employed Woman Homemaker in the United States. Bul. 148. 1936. pp. 2, 6.
[22] Gilbreth, Lillian M. Skills and Satisfactions. *In* Trained Men. Autumn, 1930. Vol. X. p. 99.
[23] Edwards, Alba M. A Social-Economic Grouping of the Gainful Workers of the United States. *In* Journal of the American Statistical Association, December 1933, p. 383.

wages of women have run lower than those of men in the same age group to much the same extent as elsewhere.[24]

In the matter of experience, Women's Bureau evidence shows that many women remain for long years in their trades, imparting a large degree of permanency to their job-holding. Thus a low wage scale consistently based on the expectation of only a temporary holding of the job is not justified.

While the special skills and aptitudes of women differ somewhat from those of men, as will be discussed shortly, in the jobs they perform women are quite as important to industry as men are, and are worthy of better wage consideration than they now receive. Such evidence as can be found goes to show that the differences in skill that may exist are far from sufficient to justify a wage to women that frequently is only 60 or 70 percent as great as that paid men.

The jobs of women and men.

Though there are instances in which men and women are doing the same type of work, for the most part their occupations differ. As was stated some years ago in a British report written by Beatrice Webb:

> It is extremely rare, in industry, to find men and women performing exactly the same operations, making identical things by the same processes, or doing the whole of each other's jobs. Even where women are substituted for men, there is, practically always, some alteration in the process, or in the machinery employed, or in the arrangement of the tasks of the operatives, or in the way in which the labor is divided.[25]

But this is not to say that the jobs performed by women are less skilled than those of men or less important to industry. Indeed, there are types of work in which women excel and in which their particular skills are most necessary. Listed as an "important discovery" attributed to World War engineering studies is the following:

> Women are superior to men on light repetitive work requiring manual dexterity and quickness of hand, eye, or brain. They learn to perform operations involving muscular coordination more rapidly than men.[26]

A "light" machine requiring great speed of operation or the accomplishment of a quick monotonous process may be far more exacting, actually may use up far more of the performer's physical energy, and consequently may be worth a better wage than work on a machine requiring muscle or brawn alone but entailing little speed, dexterity, or judgment. In fact, indication is available that women are far better suited to certain fine operations that cannot be performed by men with any commensurate degree of adequacy or skill.[27]

Testimony frequently is received from employers that they find women more efficient in work on many types of jobs requiring delicate handling or the assembling of fine parts, as for example in the making of watches, dentists' tools, various small parts, kitchenware, automobile accessories. Many of these jobs require considerably more than mere "helper" ability, and their scale of pay should be somewhat higher in consequence. They are as vital to the industry as many of the jobs designated as "heavier" in type that are performed by men and that are likely to be paid higher, and their exaction from the

[24] Hutchinson, Emilie Josephine. Women's Wages. 1919. p. 34.
[25] Webb, Mrs. Sidney. The Relation Between Men's and Women's Wages. Minority Report of [Great Britain's] War Cabinet Committee on Women in Industry. 1919. p. 270.
[26] Dana, Richard T. The Human Machine in Industry. 1927. p. 215.
[27] U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. Employed Women Under N. R. A. Codes. Bul. 130. 1935. p. 24.

worker in terms of nervous energy often corresponds quite fully to the exaction of jobs requiring muscular strength.

The report for 1936 of the Director of the International Labor Office cites striking testimony to the importance of women's work in an industry in which the scale of women's wages had tended to be very low. He says:

> * * * With the revival of the textile industry, both in Belgium and Great Britain, the reemployment of men was restricted in a number of instances owing to the absence of a sufficient number of skilled women.[28]

In support of this it was reported in Great Britain that if more women reelers and winders could be found, additional machinery could be started in certain Yorkshire cotton mills, thus giving employment to some of the men spinners and twiners who were out of work.

TRADITION OF LOW PAY TO WOMEN

The foregoing discussion has set forth in some detail the various possible causes for the low standards of women's wages. The levels of women's wages are consistently below those of men's, even where it is the hourly wage that is under consideration. This is the case even with age groups corresponding for the two sexes and even with experienced women workers. It has been found to be true even when women's output is not less than men's, and even though women are performing skilled jobs and are known to be especially proficient in certain types of work necessary to industry. Further, low pay to women cannot be justified by their lack of responsibility for the support of others, since very many employed women have dependents.

The extent to which women's wages fall below men's cannot be explained fully by the purely economic causes, such as oversupply of labor, for their pay remains low even for jobs in which they are much in demand. While women's lack of organization undoubtedly forms a large factor in keeping their wages at low levels, the whole situation scarcely can be referred to this cause.

The conclusion must be that in many instances the payment of a low wage to women is a hangover from the traditional attitude that assigns a low money value to work thought of as "women's work." Certain jobs so designated are paid at a low rate regardless of their importance or the skill required; others are classified as "light repetitive" work, and considered worth only a low wage, regardless of their importance to the industry or of the tremendous nervous attention they require or physical toll they exact.

The situation is aggravated by the fact that there really are some unskilled jobs, some helpers' jobs, even some machine-tending jobs, that do not involve difficulty or great energy and that ordinarily would be rated at a low-pay scale, and in these types of work women often are employed. It becomes very easy for the management, the foreman, or the rate-fixing agency to exaggerate greatly the number of jobs that fall in this class, and to fail to recognize the real exactions of the work or to change attitude when significant changes are made in the process. Since the financial interest of the management is involved in keeping down the labor cost, a premium is put upon the extension

[28] International Labor Conference. Twentieth Session, Geneva, 1936. Report of the Director, p. 65. *See also* Manchester Guardian, Feb. 12, 1935.

to more and more kinds of work of this old tradition of the little worth of women. Thus both in thinking and in action a low-wage designation is applied to many jobs performed by women that should be better paid. Two illustrations drawn from the experience of code making under the N. R. A. will suffice to show how the work of women tends to be paid on a traditionally low basis regardless of the character of the work itself.

In the code for the saddlery industry the minimum fixed for unskilled labor was 35 cents (except in certain States where it was 32½ cents), skilled labor to be paid at least 20 cents more. But for "women making pads used under collars, harness, or saddles, or making canvas stitched back bands, or open-bottom cotton fiber stuffed cotton collars, or fly nets, or horse covers" the minimum was 2½ cents below that of unskilled labor, though some of these occupations certainly are not the least skilled in the industry.

Similarly, in the bakery code, the minimum was 40 cents, but cleaners, wrappers, and icers could be paid as low as 32 cents. Cleaners frequently are men or boys, and their work often includes pan-greasing. There seems little reason why wrapping, and especially icing, which often is a relatively skilled job, should be paid as low as cleaning and lower than any other unskilled job in the industry.

Part II.—MEN'S AND WOMEN'S WAGES IN THE SAME TYPES OF WORK

The question most frequently asked about men's and women's wages is as to their pay for the same types of work. In general, women and men are likely to be employed on different types of work. While women's jobs are as important to the industry as men's, and the so-called "light work" of women often requires such dexterity and speed that it is as exacting to the worker in terms of physical energy and of adjustment to rapid machines as are the so-called "heavy" jobs, nevertheless these women's jobs are likely to be paid less than men's, more because of the traditional view as to the low value of "women's work" than for any reason based on sound demonstration.

There are, however, cases of men's and women's jobs that can be compared with reasonable accuracy, and this section of the report deals especially with these. It shows wages of men and women in certain manufacturing occupations, in certain types of clerical work, and as salespersons in general mercantile establishments. It also compares the wages of women in certain industries with the pay of men in unskilled work in the same industry, and women's wages in certain well-defined productive jobs with the entrance rates paid men for common labor.

Throughout this discussion the findings show that women's pay is definitely lower than men's for essentially identical work, and that for the most part their pay in productive manufacturing jobs falls below that received by men performing common labor requiring little skill or training.

In some of the occupations considered here, both men and women are paid according to time worked. However, since many of the manufacturing occupations discussed are piece-work jobs, a further word should be said at this point in regard to such methods of pay.[1]

In the first place, the manufacturing industries in which women are largely concentrated are likely to employ piece work to a great extent, and this is less true of certain of the great man-employers. For example, in a recent study by the National Industrial Conference Board, large proportions of the workers were on time rates in several important man-employing industries as follows: Automotive, 83 percent; chemicals, 64 percent; machine and machine tools, 63 percent; and iron and steel, 61 percent. The outstanding woman-employers had much smaller proportions of time workers, as follows: Textiles, 45 percent; leather, 39 percent; clothing, 16 percent.[2]

Modern industry has been characterized by efforts to standardize piece rates where they are in use, and to work them out on a fair and scientific basis. Outstanding cases can be cited in which union agreements with employers have achieved a large measure of success in the

[1] See also part I, p. 6.
[2] National Industrial Conference Board. Financial Incentives. 1935. p. 19.

fixing of piece rates satisfactory to both sides. A notable recent example is in the agreements reached in the silk-dress industry, in which a carefully worked out method of establishing rates for the thousands of models involved has been developed through joint action of the organizations of employers and workers.[3] Similar instances of effective agreements can be cited for some other branches of clothing manufacture.[4]

That these successful efforts exist and that both industry and labor are seeking to give wider application to similar methods is encouraging, but the fact cannot be entirely obscured that in very many plants this stage has not yet been reached. Further, there is considerable evidence that in many instances piece rates still are not fixed upon the basis of reasonable time studies. In the National Industrial Conference Board study referred to, it was found that in practically one-tenth of the plants reported such rates were set by the foreman on his own responsibility, and in about one-half as many plants by the foreman with approval by a higher authority, not a time-study specialist, or by a plant executive.[5]

In regard to the fixing of piece rates, the same agency states: "It is by reference to the time wage in the same or similar occupations that their reasonableness is measured."[6] Now when the custom has been to consider the work done by women at a low value, and the time wage accordingly has been fixed low; and when the previous time wage, based on the traditional view of the low worth of "women's jobs" is used as a measure of the reasonableness of a piece rate, used frequently by a foreman not fully trained in the evaluation of the worth of a job; it is obvious that piece rates will be, as in fact they too often are, fixed relatively low for jobs that are considered "women's work" (even though some men may be employed on them), and fixed somewhat higher on jobs ordinarily performed by men, even though the attributing of superior skill to such work is largely based on the old tradition of men's work being good for somewhat more pay.

The importance of a process to an industry and the proficiency of its performance are more sound criteria of its wage value than any consideration of the mass or weight of the machines used, or of whether the articles incident to the process are large or small, light or heavy. One job may require muscular force, another may demand a special fineness of handling or delicacy of touch, yet the "light" job may be as necessary as the heavy work to completion of the product. A telling example is found in the making of glassine bags. At one end of the machine process a man lifts the heavy roll of the glassine paper and places it in the machine, a job requiring chiefly strength; at the other end, a woman deftly takes off the small bags, finished and counted, gives them a rapid double inspection, eliminates any that may be imperfect, and packs them into a box so evenly as to make a tight fill, a job requiring speed, dexterity, care, and accuracy. Both jobs are integral parts of the process of bag production. Both should be worth a living wage.

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[3] U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. Piece Work in the Silk-Dress Industry. Bul. 141. 1936, pp. 35, 36, and Women's Bureau News Letter, February 1936.

[4] Agreements, like the N. R. A. codes, represent as much as a bargain can arrange and often women's wages still are lower. For example, in an agreement in the textile dyeing and finishing industry of Aug. 21, 1936, signed by 122 companies employing 17,000 workers, women's minimum hourly rates were to be 48 cents, men's 66 cents. *See* Monthly Labor Review, October 1936, p. 919.

[5] National Industrial Conference Board. Financial Incentives. 1935. p. 23.

[6] Ibid. Systems of Wage Payment. 1930. p. 27.

Further evidence of the fact that piece rates very often may be based largely on traditional practice or opinion in plants where many women are employed is found in a Women's Bureau survey of the shoe industry in New Hampshire [7] in which typical plant statements as to the way in which such rates were determined are as follows:

Forelady sets them according to prevailing prices in the city, and goes over them with foreman.

When designs change we experiment and set up in our own minds fair returns for days or weeks worked, and piece rates are computed from basic hourly rates.

Figure what they can pay on that job.

Some persons have drawn the conclusion that where the hourly earnings of women are below those of men at the same piece rate, women must be less efficient. That this by no means follows is proven by the many instances in which some women are found to earn more than any man on the job. (For examples, see p. 5.) Moreover, variations in the run of material, in the coarseness, fineness, or other attribute of the product worked upon may make great differences in the rapidity with which the job can be done and consequently in the pay received.

The pages following give comparisons of men's and women's wages where engaged upon essentially similar work in clerical occupations, as salespersons in department stores, and in manufacturing occupations. Since the material used in this section has been taken from many studies made at different times and on bases that cannot always be compared each to each, it has had to be presented in somewhat piecemeal form. Nevertheless, when considered as a whole it comprises a mass of testimony to the fact that even when women put forth as great exertion and contribute as greatly to the resultant product as do men, on the whole their pay envelopes contain amounts distressingly lower than those of their brothers.

[7] U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. A Survey of the Shoe Industry in New Hampshire. Bul. 121. 1935. pp. 80, 81.

WAGES PAID WOMEN AND MEN IN CLERICAL WORK

A good illustration of the relation between the general levels of men's and women's wages is in the clerical occupations, since regular work of this type usually is paid on a time basis. Information on this subject from various sources has been examined. Some of this bears on the general wage levels in this type of work, and some of it shows women's and men's wages in particular clerical occupations.

The data taken together show that for the most part women receive far less than men for clerical work, which, according to the 1930 census, is the greatest of all occupational fields for women except domestic and personal service.

The clerical earnings of women came somewhat nearer to those of men in the manufacturing plants reported than in the general business concerns such as mail-order houses, insurance companies, and the like, but even in these manufacturing plants, when women were averaging in the neighborhood of $20, men averaged about $24 or $25.

Reports for all clerical work from one State, including a very large proportion of all such employees in the State and covering, with but one break, a 21-year period, show that the average rate for women in this type of employment was as much as 60 percent of men's *in only 1 year*.

Such information as is available shows wide differences from one clerical occupation to another in the extent to which women's earnings approach men's. As file clerks and as calculating-machine operators, women's rates averaged practically the same as men's; as operators of bookkeeping and billing machines their average was more than men's; but as general clerks of all types women averaged less than 80 percent as much as men, as correspondents less than 70 percent as much, and as supervisors less than 65 percent as much.

The sources of the data that are analyzed in the pages following are these:

1. A study made by the Women's Bureau in the fall and early winter of 1931, which shows the monthly rates of pay for clerical work done by men and women in Chicago in different types of business organization and also in particular office occupations.
2. Reports on the weekly and hourly pay received by the office workers in several of the manufacturing industries recently surveyed by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics.
3. Reports on weekly payments to office workers in manufacturing plants, issued once a year (in November) by the Department of Labor in New York from the information it obtains regularly from a sampling of the State's industries.
4. The yearly reports of clerical workers' weekly salary rates as collected by the Department of Industrial Relations in Ohio for the great majority of all persons employed in the State.

STENOGRAPHERS AND TYPISTS IN A CENTRAL OFFICE.

Payments to men and women clerical workers in Chicago as found by the Women's Bureau.

Median salary rates of the women clerical workers in Chicago, reported by the Women's Bureau in the winter of 1931, were somewhat less than three-fourths as great as men's.[8] The following table shows that the relation of the women's to the men's wages varied considerably according to the type of business, women's average rates ranging from about 63 to nearly 86 percent of men's.

Type of office	Median monthly salary rate [1]			Percent distribution of employees with rates reported	
	Men	Women	Percent women's rate formed of men's	Men (7,016)	Women (8,909)
All offices	$135	$99	73.3	100.0	100.0
Advertising agencies	145	117	80.7	2.4	3.3
Banks	133	114	85.7	35.9	17.6
Insurance companies	128	93	72.7	9.6	18.3
Investment houses	156	127	81.4	11.8	9.6
Mail-order houses [2]	103	75	72.8	12.7	23.8
Public utilities	158	100	63.3	25.0	17.7
Publishers	152	106	69.7	2.6	9.6
Ratio of lowest to highest median	65.2	59.0			

[1] One-half earned more, one-half less, than the amount stated.
[2] Includes a few chain stores.

The largest proportion of the women reported were in mail-order houses, and this was the lowest-paying type of office, for men as well as for women. Banks, which employed much the largest proportion of the men reported, paid relatively high salaries to both sexes. It is apparent that the type of clerical work and the attendant responsibility might differ considerably as between banks and mail-order houses.

If a single major occupation be considered, that of "general clerk", it is found that mail-order houses and insurance companies paid low to both men and women, while banks, investment houses, and publishers paid relatively high. These data show that the women averaged somewhat more than the men as general clerks in banks. For general clerks as a group, the ratio of women's average rate to men's was higher than that for all office workers, but it still was only 78.3. The following summary [9] shows the median monthly salary rate of general clerks in offices.

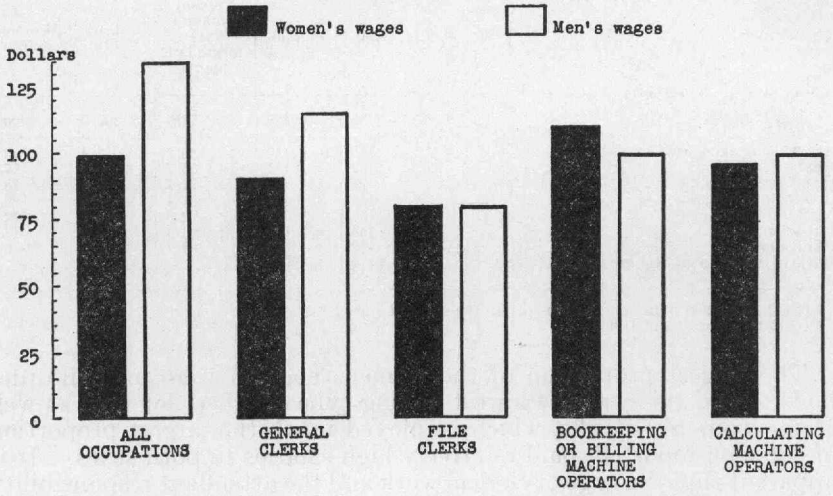
	Median monthly salary rate		*Percent women's rate formed of men's*
	Men	*Women*	
All types	$115	$90	78.3
Advertising agencies	108	98	90.7
Banks	111	114	102.7
Insurance companies	109	88	80.7
Investment houses	125	111	88.8
Mail-order houses [10]	108	72	66.7
Public utilities	124	97	78.2
Publishers	121	100	82.6

[8] Ibid. The Employment of Women in Offices. Bul. 120. 1934. pp. 71, 72.
[9] Ibid. p. 75.
[10] Includes a few chain stores.

Considering more in detail the special clerical occupations in which men as well as women were engaged, it is found that the rates of file clerks averaged the same for women as for men, and those of operators of bookkeeping or billing machines considerably more for women. Women's pay was lower than men's in all other occupations, particularly as supervisors, correspondents, and mail-order clerks, in none of which occupations did women's salaries average as much as 70 percent of men's.

Even as supervisors women averaged only a little over $150, and it must be remembered that this was a price scale applying in one of

AVERAGE MONTHLY SALARIES OF WOMEN AND OF MEN IN CLERICAL OCCUPATIONS IN ONE CITY



the largest cities in the United States, where living is not cheap. The averages for men hand bookkeepers and correspondents (as well as men supervisors) were much more than this amount. Though in many instances the women supervisors may have had less authority or responsibility than the men, this but shows the lack of full opportunity accorded women and the reflection of this in their pay envelopes. The data on distribution of men's and women's salaries show much the same situation—namely, much larger proportions of men than of women had earnings in the higher brackets. The following summary[11] shows the median salary rates of women and men in the various occupations and the percent distribution of these workers.

[11] U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. The Employment of Women in Offices. Bul. 120. 1934. pp. 73, 75.

Occupation	Median monthly salary rate			Percent distribution of employees with salaries reported	
	Men	Women	Percent women's rate formed of men's	Men (7,014)	Women (8,867)
All occupations	$135	$99	73.3	[1] 100.0	[1] 100.0
Correspondent	174	120	69.0	1.4	1.9
File clerk	80	80	100.0	1.0	6.5
Hand bookkeeper	162	122	75.3	7.2	2.4
General clerk	115	90	78.3	33.9	30.0
Machine operator					
Bookkeeping or billing	98	108	110.2	1.2	5.8
Calculating	98	95	96.9	2.3	3.9
Messenger	65	56	86.2	10.5	1.5
Supervisor	241	153	63.5	10.6	3.7
Merchandising (mail order)	97	67	69.1	7.1	4.3

[1] Total exceeds details, since only occupations engaged in by both sexes are shown in detail. Approximately 30 percent of the women were stenographers or typists or both, and over 8 percent of the men were tellers.

Payments to men and women office workers in manufacturing industries surveyed by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

The earnings of men and women as clerical workers in manufacturing plants have been reported by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics in connection with its recent surveys of plants making automobiles, car parts, set-up paper boxes, and folding paper boxes, and of plants finishing and dyeing cotton goods and silk and rayon materials.

In none of these instances did the average earnings of women clerical workers, whether taken on an hourly or a weekly basis, run as high as 86 percent of men's; in 11 of the 20 cases the women averaged less than 80 percent of the men's earnings in this class of work.

Where women were averaging only $20 (or a little more or less), men were averaging from about $24 to $27, and in the dyeing and finishing of silk and rayon, where the average wage of men clerical workers was $23.84, that of women clerical workers was only $16.73. This may be another illustration of the fact frequently found, that many more men than women are given a chance at the more advanced jobs.

Table 1 shows the data discussed in the foregoing as to earnings of men and women clerical workers in manufacturing plants.

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TABLE 1.—*Average hourly and weekly earnings of women and men in clerical work in three industries*

Industry	Date reported	Average hourly earnings		Average weekly earnings		Percent women's earnings formed of men's [1]	
		Men	Women	Men	Women	Hourly	Weekly
Automobile plants: [2]		*Cents*	*Cents*				
Cars	Apr. 1934	66.4	52.1	$27.06	$20.51	78.5	75.8
	Sept. 1934	68.9	52.6	26.25	20.40	76.3	77.7
Parts	Apr. 1934	62.0	50.5	25.06	19.89	81.5	79.4
	Sept. 1934	63.6	51.2	24.24	20.06	80.5	82.8
Paper-box plants:							
Folding boxes [3] (North)	Aug. 1934	58.6	49.1	23.74	19.40	83.8	81.7
	Aug. 1935	59.0	50.3	24.88	20.10	85.3	80.8
Set-up boxes [4] (North)	Aug. 1934	57.1	47.6	21.43	13.52	83.4	63.1
	Aug. 1935	55.8	47.1	22.58	14.15	84.4	62.7
Textile dyeing and finishing plants: [5]							
Cotton	Aug. 1934	51.0	40.2	19.38	15.00	78.8	77.4
Silk and rayon	---do---	62.3	44.2	23.84	16.73	70.9	70.2

[1] Computed in Women's Bureau to indicate how much less women have to live on than men have.
[2] U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Monthly Labor Review, March 1936, p. 527. Applies to "office employees."
[3] Ibid., June 1936, pp. 1597, 1612. Applies to "clerical employees, office and plant."
[4] Ibid., August 1936, pp. 420, 421, 430. Applies to "clerical employees, office and plant."
[5] Ibid., May 1936, pp. 1343, 1347, 1355, 1359. Applies to "clerks, factory."

Payments to men and women office workers in New York factories.

The New York State Department of Labor issues each year in its November bulletin the average weekly earnings for October of the men and women office workers reported in manufacturing plants. In each of the 14 years reported these women clerical workers were paid only about half as much as men were. The following summary shows the average weekly earnings of the two sexes as reported for New York State factories:[12]

	Average weekly earnings		*Percent women's earnings formed of men's*
	Men	*Women*	
1923	$42.18	$20.77	49.2
1924	43.60	21.29	48.8
1925	44.38	22.63	51.0
1926	45.54	23.17	50.9
1927	46.73	23.41	50.1
1928	46.70	24.05	51.5
1929	48.24	24.38	50.5
1930	49.34	24.42	49.5
1931	46.22	23.25	50.3
1932	42.14	20.49	48.6
1933	41.52	20.63	49.7
1934	42.71	21.15	49.5
1935	42.04	21.23	50.5
1936	42.67	21.31	49.9

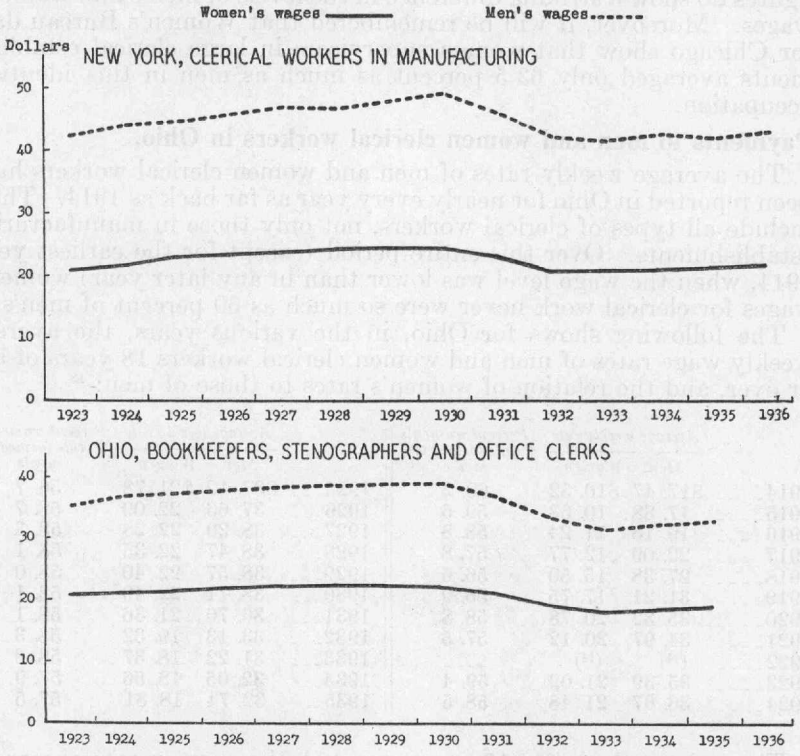
Such data are reported for women in office employments in eight different manufacturing industries. These show that in almost every year women averaged less than one-half as much as men in metal and machinery plants; chemical, oil, and paint factories; and printing and paper-goods factories. The smallest ratio of women's earnings to men's was 43.1, in chemical, oil, and paint plants in 1931, and in printing and paper goods in 1932. In clothing and millinery plants in most years women's average was over 55 percent of men's, the highest ratio for women in any industry being in clothing and millinery

[12] New York. Department of Labor. The Industrial Bulletin, November issue, 1923 to 1936.

in 1926, where their average was 61.7 percent of the men's, though the same relation was found in furs, leather, and rubber in 1935.

From an examination of the data for office workers in these manufacturing plants over the 14-year period reported, the following summary shows the proportion the earnings of women formed of men's in

AVERAGE WEEKLY WAGES OF WOMEN AND OF MEN CLERICAL WORKERS



the year in which women's earnings ranked the *highest*, in comparison with men's, in the particular industry:

Metals and machinery, 1928	50.3
Wood manufactures, 1925	54.3
Furs, leather, and rubber, 1935	61.7
Chemicals, oils, and paints, 1936	54.3
Printing and paper goods, 1923	50.5
Textiles, 1925	58.8
Clothing and millinery, 1926	61.7
Food and tobacco, 1929	59.6

The men in factory offices reported in New York ordinarily averaged $40 to $50 a week, the amounts running under $35 for several years in the fur, leather, and rubber group, and above $55 in 3 years in printing and paper-goods plants. The women, on the other hand, ordinarily averaged only $20 to $25 a week, running below $19 in 1 or 2 years in four industries and above $25 in several cases in three industries but never above $27.66.

One explanation of the extremely low wages paid women in comparison with men as reported in this State undoubtedly lies in the differences in the exact occupations performed by the two sexes, since the figures include office clerks, stenographers, bookkeepers, accountants, cashiers, stock clerks, office managers, and superintendents. Yet the two last-named, occupations likely because of custom to be made up largely of men, also are likely to be relatively small groups, and the figures do show a striking difference in the levels of men's and women's wages. Moreover, it will be remembered that Women's Bureau data for Chicago show that women supervisors in large clerical establishments averaged only 63.5 percent as much as men in this identical occupation.

Payments to men and women clerical workers in Ohio.

The average weekly rates of men and women clerical workers have been reported in Ohio for nearly every year as far back as 1914. These include all types of clerical workers, not only those in manufacturing establishments. Over this entire period (except for the earliest year, 1914, when the wage level was lower than in any later year) women's wages for clerical work never were so much as 60 percent of men's.

The following shows for Ohio, in the various years, the average weekly wage rates of men and women clerical workers 18 years of age or over, and the relation of women's rates to those of men: [13]

	Average weekly rate		*Percent women's rate formed of men's*		*Average weekly rate*		*Percent women's rate formed of men's*
	Men	*Women*			*Men*	*Women*	
1914	$17.47	$10.52	60.2	1925	$37.12	$21.78	58.7
1915	17.88	10.63	59.5	1926	37.63	22.09	58.7
1916	19.13	11.24	58.8	1927	38.20	22.28	58.3
1917	22.09	12.77	57.8	1928	38.47	22.35	58.1
1918	27.38	15.50	56.6	1929	38.57	22.40	58.0
1919	31.21	17.75	56.9	1930	38.71	22.49	58.1
1920	35.32	20.78	58.8	1931	36.76	21.36	58.1
1921	34.97	20.12	57.5	1932	33.13	19.32	58.3
1922	[14]	[14]	----	1933	31.22	18.37	58.8
1923	35.39	21.02	59.4	1934	32.05	18.56	57.9
1924	36.67	21.48	58.5	1935	32.74	18.81	57.5

Throughout the latest 10 years reported, the average rate of women was from about $13 to $16 below that of men. Men's average had a range of only about $7.50, and women's a range of only just over $4, from high to low in the 10 years. During this time the women's average was never so high as 60 percent of the men's average

Earnings of office employees in laundries.[15]

In a laundry survey made by the Women's Bureau in 22 cities the average weekly earnings were reported for 114 men and 420 women employed in the offices of these establishments in 1934. The highest average for women in any city was $19.90. In only 5 of the 20 cities in which men office employees were reported were their earnings as low as that, and the highest average for men in any city was $47.56.

[13] Information through 1926 from Information Bureau on Women's Work. Wage Rates, Earnings, and Fluctuation of Employment: Ohio, 1914–26, pp. 47, 70; for 1927–29, from the Department of Industrial Relations and the Industrial Commission of Ohio. Division of Labor Statistics. Bul. 19, 1927–28, pp. 22, 198, and Bul. 26, 1929, p. 132; for 1930–35, from unpublished data compiled by the Ohio Division of Labor Statistics. Medians for the years since 1926 computed by Women's Bureau.

[14] No record.

[15] U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. Factors Affecting Wages in Power Laundries. Bul. 143. 1936. p. 35.

WAGES OF MEN AND WOMEN AS SALESPERSONS IN STORES

The earnings of salespersons in department stores give a good illustration of the wage levels of women and men, since this is an occupation usually paid on a time basis.

In a survey made by the Women's Bureau in one State in 1936 there were 150 salesmen and 1,229 saleswomen at work in the department stores covered. In general, the men earned considerably more than the women, though the pay of the two sexes compared more favorably when salesmanship was combined with other work usually considered somewhat more responsible.

That the amounts paid salesmen and saleswomen were very unequal is shown by the following:

	Men	*Women*
Median hourly earnings (cents)	36. 7	28. 4
Percent receiving—		
Under 30 cents an hour	34. 7	70. 5
50 cents an hour or more	26. 0	2. 8

Many of these saleswomen received even less than men in unskilled jobs in the stores. Twenty men were reported in such jobs as general utility, packer, cleaner, and parcel check boy. While 7 of these men earned more than 30 cents an hour, 867 saleswomen, more than 70 percent of all those reported, were paid less than 30 cents an hour.

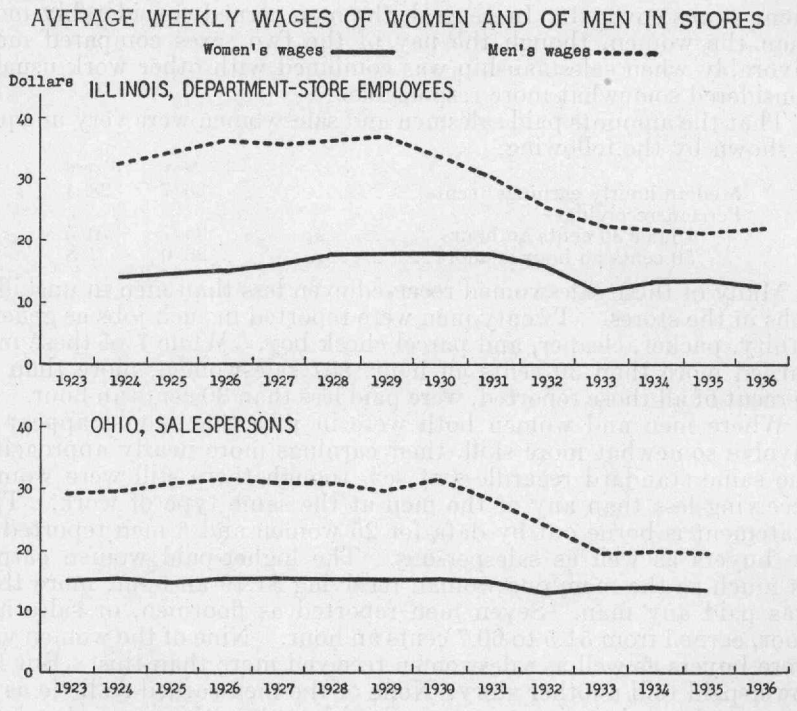
Where men and women both were in jobs that would appear to involve somewhat more skill, their earnings more nearly approached the same standard regardless of sex, though there still were women receiving less than any of the men at the same type of work. This statement is borne out by data for 25 women and 5 men reported to be buyers as well as salespersons. The higher-paid women earned as much as the men, one woman receiving $1.19 an hour, more than was paid any man. Seven men reported as floormen, or sales and floor, earned from 51.5 to 60.7 cents an hour. Nine of the women who were buyers as well as saleswomen received more than this. But the lower-paid told another story: None of the men earned so little as 45 cents an hour, but six women received less than this amount, two of them less than 35 cents.

Another source of information on salespersons in stores is the Ohio State figures. The following summary for persons 18 years of age and over shows that women's average weekly rate at this type of work for the years 1923–35 had been only about half as great as men's, less in most years, though in 1933, 1934, and 1935 they were more than 60 percent as great as men's.[16] Undoubtedly this was in large part due to the fact that men's wages had fallen during the depression and women's later had been raised by the N. R. A.

[16] Information for 1923–29 is from the Department of Industrial Relations and the Industrial Commission of Ohio. Division of Labor Statistics. Rates of Wages, Fluctuation of Employment, Wage and Salary Payments in Ohio, Buls. 8, 19, 26. 1923, 1928, 1929. Information for 1930 to 1935 is from unpublished data compiled by the Ohio Division of Labor Statistics. Medians computed by the Women's Bureau.

	Average weekly rate		Percent women's rate formed of men's
	Men	Women	
1923	$29. 22	$15. 21	52. 1
1924 [17]	29. 96	15. 48	51. 7
1925 [17]	30. 49	14. 98	49. 1
1926 [17]	31. 19	15. 43	49. 5
1927 [17]	30. 92	15. 47	50. 0
1928	30. 54	15. 36	50. 3
1929	29. 50	15. 21	51. 6
1930	$31. 36	$15. 42	49. 2
1931	28. 34	14. 54	51. 3
1932	23. 71	12. 63	53. 3
1933	19. 63	13. 61	69. 3
1934	19. 97	13. 57	68. 0
1935	19. 87	13. 54	68. 1

Further data on the wages of men and women in department stores have been reported from Illinois. These show women earning less



than half as much as men before 1930, and never so high as 62 percent of men's wages. The figures are as follows:

	Average weekly wage		Percent women's wage formed of men's
	Men	Women	
1924	$32. 82	$14. 39	43. 8
1925	34. 25	14. 56	42. 5
1926	36. 07	15. 14	42. 0
1927	35. 76	16. 07	44. 9
1928	36. 28	17. 89	49. 3
1929	37. 14	17. 65	47. 5
1930	34. 15	17. 97	52. 6
1931	$30. 26	$17. 52	57. 9
1932	25. 55	15. 67	61. 3
1933	22. 38	11. 54	51. 6
1934	21. 55	13. 11	60. 8
1935	21. 46	13. 17	61. 4
1936	22. 27	12. 49	56. 1

[17] The figures for this year are for salespersons in all trades, not stores alone. More detailed figures are not available, but the vast majority of the workers are in stores.

WAGES OF MEN AND WOMEN IN SERVICE OCCUPATIONS [18]

A survey of wages paid to its nonprofessional workers made by the Young Women's Christian Association in 1935–36 covered 2,217 women and 851 men in all parts of the country, and included those engaged in maintenance, food service, and clerical work. It is unique in affording information on the wages of the two sexes in comparable service occupations.

The median wages of those in maintenance and food service were as follows:

	Median week's earnings		*Percent women's earnings formed of men's*
	Men	*Women*	
Maintenance	$20. 90	$13. 82	66. 1
Food service	16. 96	15. 00	88. 4

Of those in maintenance, 94 percent of the women but only 39 percent of the men received less than $20, while 33 percent of the men but less than 2 percent of the women received $25 or more.

Of those in food service, 48 percent of the women but only 30 percent of the men received less than $15, while 27 percent of the men but only 13½ percent of the women received $20 or more.

In two special occupations reported, much larger proportions of the women than of the men received less than $15, the percentages at at these lower wages being as follows:

	Men	*Women*
Dishwashers	41. 5	70. 8
Kitchen helpers	27. 1	57. 9

The report states that the skills required for these occupations "are obviously the same whether performed by men or women." This also applied to elevator operators, of whom 34 of 36 men but only 19 of 46 women received as much as $15.

[18] Harper, Elsie D. Study of Standards of Work of Association Employees Other Than Professional, 1935–36. Young Women's Christian Association. [No publication date.] pp. 12, 13, 14.

WAGES OF MEN AND WOMEN IN MANUFACTURING OCCUPATIONS

Any comparison of men's and women's wages in manufacturing occupations presents greater difficulties than such a comparison for the somewhat more homogeneous types of work that have been presented earlier, since manufacturing occupations vary so greatly and are so undefined that a term or designation frequently does not mean the same when applied to different plants or even when applied to different individuals in the same plant. Even minute changes in the job may have a great effect on output or on pay.

On the whole, women and men are engaged in different types of work, and since the particular skills of women are considerably in demand for certain kinds of jobs that are of a highly dexterous order, there seems little justification for classifying such jobs at relatively low wage scales for the chief apparent reason that they are in the main performed by women.

A few manufacturing employments may be found in which a man and a woman are doing essentially the same work, and some jobs exist that are fairly uniform in requirements regardless of the sex of the worker. The following pages give information on the wages paid men and women in some occupations of such character.

Wherever possible, jobs paid on the basis of time worked are presented, and hourly earnings are used to eliminate the complications of showing a time scale. Piece work sometimes is a factor, but discrepancies between the wages of the two sexes scarcely can be assigned solely or chiefly to this cause, when it is remembered, as referred to earlier in this report, that the piece rate is very likely to be set at what will yield an amount considered to be suitable payment for the work. Hence, when it is fixed in jobs traditionally thought to be "women's work" it is likely to be set low. (See pp. 6 and 13.)

In some piece-work occupations, where no minimum is fixed for women, considerably more women than men are found receiving pay in the very low ranges, yet a group of women also will be found making more than any man. Thus, the range of pay will be much greater for women than for men. A typical example is shown by two large piece-work occupations in which considerable numbers of men and women were engaged in seamless-hosiery mills in one State, as recently reported by Women's Bureau agents; much larger proportions of women than of men received low hourly earnings, but an appreciable proportion of women received more than any man, as the following shows:

	Percent with hourly earnings of—			
	Less than 25 cents		*45 cents or more*	
	Men	*Women*	*Men*	*Women*
Knitters	2. 8	30. 3	0. 0	1. 7
Loopers	6. 3	14. 7	0. 0	8. 1

The same data, as well as additional data from work-clothing plants, show women's hourly earnings, not protected by any fixed minimum, dropping very much below men's, while they also rose very much higher at the other extreme:

	Range of men's earnings (cents)	*Range of women's earnings (cents)*
Seamless-hosiery mills:		
Knitters	13. 9 to 43. 3	3. 9 to 52. 8
Loopers	19. 5 to 41. 7	8. 1 to 67. 4
Work-clothing plants:		
Machine operators	23. 8 to 48. 8	5. 0 to 73. 9

WAGES OF MEN AND WOMEN IN 18 SPECIFIC OCCUPATIONS

Visits of Women's Bureau agents to plants in several large industrial States on the East Coast and in the Middle West in the early months of 1935 gave information on men's and women's wages in 18 occupations that could be compared for the two sexes, and the processes performed and wages paid will be described in the pages following. It should be noted that these are in the nature of *individual case histories* of occupations and consequently most of them involve only small numbers. However, they do represent some of the best typical instances of the two sexes engaged in closely similar or identical occupations—something that is far from universally found in industrial employment.

Nearly all these 18 occupations were in factories making some type of paper product. In only three of the occupations were men and women receiving exactly the same amounts per hour, though in two others in which the full earnings were not given the rate of pay was reported to be the same for the two sexes.

There were almost no instances in which any man in these plants with wages reported, no matter in what occupation, received less than 40 cents an hour, but many of the women in the occupations described below were paid only 35 cents or less, though some of them required a considerable degree of dexterity or expertness.

Of the 18 occupations at least 5 were reported to be exactly the same for men and women and 9 others were so described as to seem to be the same for the two sexes. In most of these the pay differed for men and women. Eleven of them were time-work occupations, and the learning period reported as necessary to reach proficiency ordinarily was short, in practically all cases not more than 3 or 4 months at the outside, and usually very much less.

Men and women on same time-work jobs at different pay.

In the nine occupations noted and described below, men and women were paid by time for the most part, but in every case women or girls received less per hour than did men or boys. It is even more significant to note that in every case reported the women or girls in these occupations, some of which were quite exacting, received an hourly time-work wage less than that paid any men engaged on any job (no matter how unskilled) reported in the entire plant. It must be remembered that a lower wage rate for women was set by the codes covering these industries and that these manufacturers were within the law when they paid lower wages to women, though the industry proposed the code provisions and hence bore the major responsibility for the inclusion of such wage-differential provisions in the codes.

In a collapsible-tube factory, punch-press operators were feeding metal discs into a machine that shaped the tube when the worker pressed the treadle. This was reported as a job taking only 10 days to learn, was paid by time, and was identical regardless of the worker's sex. Three men received 40 cents an hour, but for 3 women this was the highest pay, and the earnings ran down to 37½ cents. No men reported in this plant on any occupation received less than 40 cents.

Another operation identical for the two sexes was found in a venetian-blind plant, and consisted in assembling the slats and feeding them into the paint machines. Both boys and girls brought up their own slats to the machine, and the paint for both was mixed by a paint man. Pay was by time, the two boys receiving 35 cents an hour, the three girls only 32½ cents, though the forewomen got 37½ cents. No men reported on any job in this plant were paid less than 35 cents an hour, and in another such plant 40 cents was the least any man received.

In a plant making gummed labels a man and two women were doing identical work as seal-press operators. For each, another worker would set up and repair the machines. Pay was by time, and the learning period necessary was reported as only 1 week. One of these women, an experienced worker, was receiving only 38 cents, though the man was a beginner and was paid 40 cents. The other woman, also a beginner, was paid only 35 cents. No man reported on any job in the plant received less than 40 cents an hour.

In a plant making paper food dishes, men and women (numbers not reported) were pounding out sections from piles of die-cut boxes. The jobs were identical, but the men received time-work pay of 40 cents, the women of only 35 cents, an hour. The minimum pay for men reported in any job in the plant was 40 cents an hour.

In another food-dish factory, workers stood at a bench machine that put glue on the paper for the sides of cups. The process consisted of taking the cup form from the blanking machine that had shaped it, pressing it against the gluing mechanism, and then placing it on a moving belt to be taken off and stacked. The pay was by time and bonus, and the work was said to require a 6-week learning period. Two men received 43 cents an hour. Women had received only 35 to 37 cents, though no woman was on the operation at the time the plant was visited. No man reported at any work in the plant received less than 40 cents an hour.

In a paper-bag plant members of each sex were employed as platen-press operators, paid by time worked. Presses were set up by a separate worker. They were automatic and the feeding had to be carefully timed, a month's period being estimated as required to reach proficiency. For this operation two men were paid 40 cents an hour, but a woman received only 35 cents. The lowest pay of any man reported in this plant on any job was 40 cents an hour.

In a factory making gummed tape, men and women were at work interchangeably on hand wrapping the rolls of tape and sealing the ends. The women especially might also be shifted to other jobs, hence adaptability was required on their part though the learning period for either sex was reported as not more than a few days. The pay was by time, and the number of men was not reported. Men received from 40 to 43 cents an hour, but women only 35 cents. No man reported on any job in this plant was paid less than 40 cents an hour.

In a plant making blackboards and erasers men and women were paid by time for operating slitting machines. Felt was fed automatically into these, to be cut into strips for the making of the eraser. The worker had to see that it went through smoothly and properly, and this was estimated to take about a month for proficiency. The man reported received 45 cents an hour, but the woman only 35 cents. The lowest-paid man reported on any occupation in the plant received 40 cents an hour.

In a loose-leaf and blank-book factory general workers were shifted more or less interchangeably on several jobs, including inspecting and the operation of power punch presses. It was estimated that several months were required to learn these somewhat varied jobs, which were paid by time worked. Four boys so engaged earned 35 cents an hour, the lowest pay of any man reported in the plant, but a girl at this same job received only 30 cents.

Men and women on same jobs with same pay or same rates reported.

In the five occupations following, women and men were performing essentially identical tasks and the pay either was reported at exactly the same per hour or the piece rate was the same. Two of these were time-work jobs, one was piece work, and two were not reported as to method of pay. In one case a boy was paid less than girls for the operation.

Gold stamping in a loose-leaf and blank-book factory is a press operation not frequently required, though the learning time reported was 3 or 4 months. Hence, it is not steadily engaged in by men and not often by women. It is paid by time. A man and a woman found on this operation in one plant each received 48 cents an hour. The performance consists of placing the corner of the book under the press after the gold leaf has been applied by hand, pulling the lever, releasing it, and taking the book out.

In the same industry men and women were found hand gluing and assembling cases, an operation reported to require a 2-week learning period and to be paid the same piece rates for the two sexes.

Men and women pressfeeders in a graphic-arts plant (numbers not reported) were receiving the same time-work pay, 47½ cents an hour.

On an automatic-clasp machine in a loose-leaf and blank-book factory a boy and a girl were receiving the "same pay", but the superintendent stated, "The girl is faster." It was estimated that a 2-year learning period was required, though in another plant the time was stated as only 1 month. In this second plant the only boy reported received 40 cents, while the girls on the automatic machines (number not reported) earned 44 cents.

In the plant last mentioned men cutting tabs, an operation reported to require a 4-month learning period, received the same pay as girls, 46 cents an hour. The men were on at night, the girls on the day shift.

Men and women on same processes but with different functions.

In the four occupations described next the actual processes performed by men and women admittedly are not the same, but the pay of the two sexes varies so widely as to raise the question whether the differences in the respective requirements the job makes of men and women actually are so great as the differences in their pay.

In these machine processes the men carry their own materials, but the women have theirs brought by another worker. In each, one man and one woman are reported, and each is paid by time. No man reported on any job in the plant is paid less than 40 cents.

Product	Machine operation	Average hourly rate		Percent by which woman's rate is below man's
		Man	Woman	
		Cents	*Cents*	
Gummed labels	Cutting corners of boxes [1]	45	33	27
Loose-leaf and blank books	Riveting, punching, eyeleting [2]	50	37½	25

[1] Man's learning time reported as several months, woman's as 1 week.
[2] Both man and woman set up own machine.

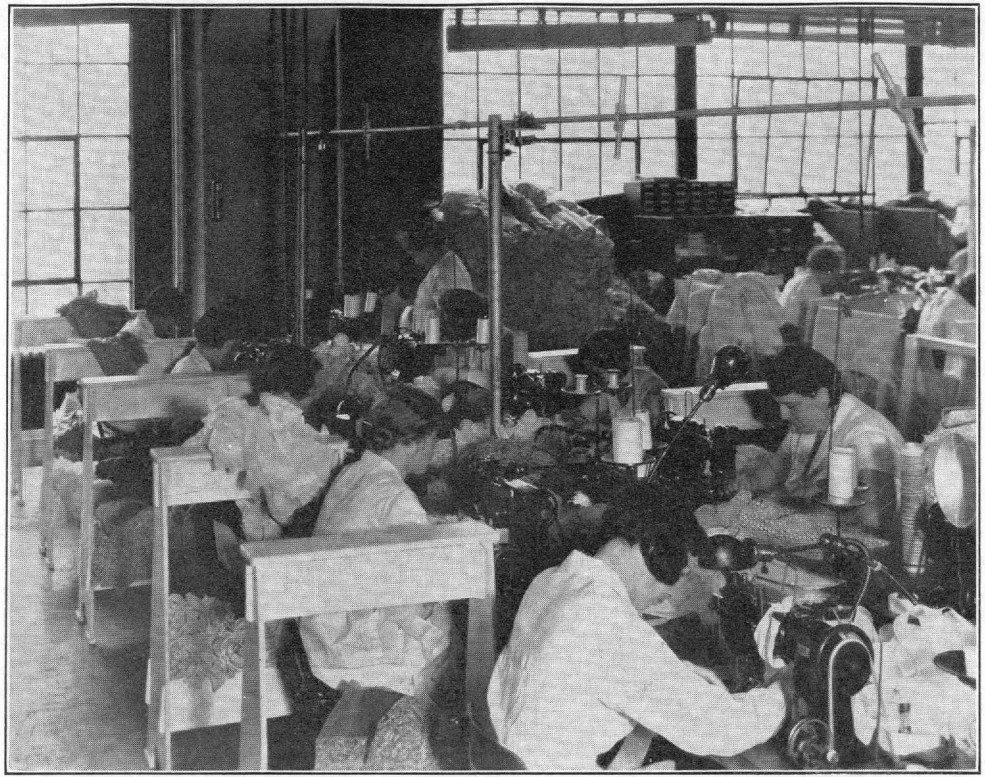
In the two occupations discussed in the following it is evident that women and men perform different parts of the process, which is a situation entirely distinct from that in which, for example, the difference consists merely in that the man works on heavier paper or transports his own materials while the woman has them brought to her.

In two-toning in a loose-leaf and blank-book plant the man wipes the paint on to a raised design on the article, then the woman rubs the raised surfaces with a cloth soaked in a solvent, which takes off the color from the parts touched, a delicate operation since care must be taken to avoid contact with parts on which color must remain. It was reported that this work took a year's learning period. The difference in the time-work wage of the two sexes seems very much greater than the difference in the care required in the process. An experienced woman received only 37 cents an hour, while an inexperienced male helper got 60 cents, and an experienced man $1. No man in this plant was paid less than 60 cents an hour.

In a tag plant a girl running a patching machine, a kick-press operation reported to require a 2-month learning time, received 35 cents an hour plus bonus, while the man who puts the roll of material on the machine received 45 cents and bonus. No man on any job reported in this plant was paid less than 40 cents an hour.

MEN AND WOMEN IN CERTAIN CHARACTERISTIC OCCUPATIONS IN CLOTHING PLANTS

A recent Women's Bureau survey in one State has yielded considerable data on men's and women's wages in clothing plants of various types in certain characteristic occupations likely to make similar requirements of the worker regardless of sex: Machine operating in work-clothes factories and in men's-clothing plants, and knitting, looping, and boarding in seamless-hosiery mills. While these are chiefly piece-work occupations, the maximum pay to women was considerably above that to men, though much larger proportions of women than of men received pay in the lower ranges. Moreover, since women in some of the characteristic occupations in these industries were paid less than were men in wholly unskilled jobs, it would appear that piece rates in these jobs, in most of which women were in the great majority, were likely to have been fixed too low.



MACHINE OPERATORS IN A GARMENT FACTORY.

An example of a great difference in maximum earnings of machine operators,[19] and in the percent paid less than 30 cents, follows: [20]

	Men	*Women*
Median hourly earnings (cents)	32. 1	31. 5
Maximum hourly earnings (cents)	48. 8	73. 9
Percent receiving—		
Under 30 cents an hour	25. 0	39. 6
40 cents an hour or more	8. 9	7. 2

Machine operators of both sexes also were reported in five plants making men's suits and overcoats, though only a very few of these were men. While all the men machine operators averaged at least 40 cents an hour (several of them over 75 cents), fewer than half the women averaged so much and nearly one-fifth of them averaged less than 30 cents. The men were sewing together major parts of the garments, while women sewed linings and other parts. However, this seems not sufficient to account for so wide a difference in the pay of the two sexes.

Another occupation in work-clothing plants, while employing fewer workers, gives a similar picture. Of 91 women inspectors, 60 averaged less than 30 cents an hour and none were paid as much as 45 cents, though of the 14 men reported none received as little as 30 cents and 4 earned 45 cents or over. The men were more likely to be final inspectors or inspectors for filling orders, who might have to carry heavy piles of garments, but the women were inspecting for quality and perfect work and hence had to exercise great care.

As knitters in 14 seamless-hosiery plants the maximum hourly earnings of women or girls were very much higher than those of men or boys, and a number of women received more than any men; but regardless of these earnings in the higher ranges, very much larger proportions of women than of men were paid less than 30 cents, as the following data on average hourly earnings of knitters show:

	Men	*Women*
Median hourly earnings (cents)	33. 4	31. 6
Maximum hourly earnings (cents)	43. 3	117. 3
Percent receiving—		
Under 30 cents an hour	8. 9	38. 6
45 cents an hour or more	0	2. 2

As loopers, women's earnings ran much higher than men's, and also a relatively smaller proportion of women than of men received less than 30 cents, as the following shows:

	Men	*Women*
Maximum hourly earnings (cents)	41. 7	67. 4
Percent receiving—		
Under 30 cents an hour	31. 3	27. 8
45 cent an hour or more	0	8. 1

In further explanation of the apparently high wage for women, it may be said that this was a job on which the few men employed usually were those with some definite physical handicap.

As boarders, an occupation in which few women were found, men's earnings ran much the higher.

	Men	*Women*
Maximum hourly earnings (cents)	91. 5	41. 9
Percent receiving—		
Under 30 cents an hour	5. 9	11. 1
45 cents an hour or more	10. 8	0

[19] Many of these workers were sewing-machine operators, but some operated other machines, such as those putting on buttons or clasps.

[20] In spite of the small total numbers involved in some cases, percents have been computed to clarify the interpretation.

WAGES OF MEN AND WOMEN IN CERTAIN OCCUPATIONS IN LEATHER-GLOVE PLANTS

In a survey of leather-glove plants in New York State in June 1933 the Women's Bureau reported the following median earnings for men and women and for certain occupations: [21] All men, $23.45, cutters, $25.30; all women, $12.65, all makers, $12.85, gage makers, $15.

Cutting of whatever type, performed almost wholly by men, is a highly skilled occupation, and it is not surprising to find it receiving the highest pay in the industry. Gage-making is the highest paid of the women's jobs, and requires a high degree of skill. It consists of sewing the seams on the outside, usually of the heavier leather gloves, using a gage attachment on the machine that keeps the stitching a uniform distance from the edge, carefully fitting the edges of the small finger-pieces together so that the glove comes out perfectly made, trimming off the surplus leather at the finger ends where the gage cannot operate well, and pulling the thread ends through to the wrong side after the seaming has been done. Women's average earnings in this occupation were slightly less than 60 percent of those of men cutters, though it would seem that for such obviously skilled work their wage should be higher than it is, if it were not one of those instances in which the tradition of "women's work" prevailed in keeping down the wage.

EARNINGS OF WOMEN AND MEN IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS AS REPORTED BY THE BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

Data on both the average hourly and the average weekly wages of men and women engaged in the same occupations have been reported in studies of nine industries recently made by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics.[22]

In all, some 65 occupations were reported that employed both women and men [23], and from these the selections made as a basis for the following discussion have included those that are likely to be most uniform in their requirements, regardless of sex of the operator.

In all but a very few cases women received substantially less than men did, and in only 12 of the entire 48 occupations considered in this study was women's hourly average as much as 90 percent of that of men. Caution must be exercised against making too absolute an interpretation of these data, since even when the process was exactly the same, some other difference may have entered in, as for example, work on a larger or smaller product, or with a finer or coarser material, or with lighter or heavier machines. Though one of the best sources in this country for the type of data under discussion, this agency has not in most cases given specific descriptions of the occupations for which the wage is reported in such terms that minute differences could be ascertained.

[21] U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. Hours and Earnings in the Leather-Glove Industry. Bul. 119. 1934. p. 5.

[22] Since many of these are piece-work occupations, the discussion of the fixing of piece rates, pp. 6 and 13, should be referred to again and kept fully in mind during the reading of this section of the report.

[23] Occupations included in this discussion are those employing the largest numbers of women, in no case fewer than 100 of each sex being reported.

Where such differences are probable, this will be noted, but for the most part the occupations considered here are likely to be quite uniform in requirements and the numbers involved large enough to minimize any slight variations that might be possible from such causes. The outstanding fact remains that the women's pay ordinarily was below the men's to a degree much greater than could be explained by any notable difference in the requirements of the job or the efficiency of the workers.

In three [24] of these industries—cotton goods, hosiery, and underwear, employing respectively more than 33,000, 20,000, and 9,500 women—men's hourly earnings in 15 out of 16 occupations considered for the two sexes averaged less than 45 cents. Though in the occupations in these industries women's pay more nearly approached men's than in occupations where men's wage level was higher, in most cases women still were paid less per hour than men were paid.

In the cotton industry women were receiving very nearly as much as men in both their lowest-paid and their highest-paid occupation in the North. There is less difference in the earnings of the two groups than in most lines of employment, and the difference that does exist is due chiefly to the men carrying a heavier load of the work. The following shows the average hourly earnings of both sexes in the five occupations in which the largest numbers of women and also considerable numbers of men were reported.

	Average hourly earnings		*Percent women's earnings formed of men's*
	Men	*Women*	
Filling hands:	(*Cents*)	(*Cents*)	
North (712 men, 780 women)	34. 3	33. 5	97. 7
South (1,422 men, 1,950 women)	31. 1	30. 7	98. 7
Speeder tenders:			
North (480 men, 1,427 women)	45. 4	40. 2	88. 5
South (2,778 men, 656 women)	36. 8	35. 3	95. 9
Spinners, frame:			
North (418 men, 2,493 women)	44. 5	37. 8	84. 9
South (827 men, 7,401 women)	33. 8	32. 1	95. 0
Spooler tenders:			
North (136 men, 1,779 women)	(25)	38. 0	----------
South (215 men, 3,842 women)	33. 2	33. 4	100. 6
Weavers:			
North (3,507 men, 2,813 women)	44. 2	43. 5	98. 4
South (4,603 men, 2,271 women)	40. 1	38. 2	95. 3

This summary shows that in the North women's average hourly earnings were from 85 to 98 percent of men's average. In the South, where the entire scale was lower, women's average was 95 percent or more of men's; in one occupation women received slightly more than men did. The earnings differed much more from North to South for either sex than the variation between the sexes in either North or South alone, but this is most likely to be explained by differences in the types of material handled in the product.

[24] U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Textile Report, pt. I, Wage Rates and Weekly Earnings in the Cotton-Goods Industry from July 1933 to August 1934. February 1935. pp. 38–39 and 53–55; and Ibid., Wages and Hours of Labor in the Hosiery and Underwear Industries. 1932. Bul. 591. 1933. pp. 6–7, 39 ff.

[25] Not reported.

In three out of four characteristic occupations performed by both sexes in hosiery mills, women earned more than men per hour, as follows:

	Average hourly earnings		Percent women's earnings formed of men's
	Men	Women	
	(Cents)	(Cents)	
Boarders (1,513 men, 726 women)	38. 0	41. 6	109. 5
Knitters—seamless automatic (436 men, 266 women)	30. 6	25. 7	84. 0
Toppers—full fashioned (349 men, 2,771 women)	32. 2	36. 9	114. 6
Transferrers (167 men, 1,488 women)	19. 6	20. 5	104. 6

The earnings of the toppers in these full-fashioned plants varied considerably with the locality, though women usually were paid more than men, as the following shows.[26]

	Average hourly earnings		Percent women's earnings formed of men's
	Men	Women	
	(Cents)	(Cents)	
Indiana (44 men, 169 women)	39. 5	34. 7	87. 8
Minnesota and Wisconsin (94 men, 239 women)	28. 4	35. 4	124. 6
New Jersey (36 men, 202 women)	39. 1	40. 5	103. 6
North Carolina (45 men, 236 women)	27. 2	32. 4	119. 1
Eastern Pennsylvania, including Philadelphia (114 men, 1,330 women)	34. 2	39. 7	116. 1

The figures indicate a general irregularity in payments for this occupation rather than any significant information regarding the level of women's and men's earnings. For women, the lowest pay was only 80 percent of the highest; for men, the lowest was less than 70 percent of the highest. A more definite analysis would require fuller knowledge than is now available of plant differences in the numbers of either sex employed and, if possible, differences in processes.

In underwear plants, in the two occupations employing as many as 100 persons of each sex, women had an average hourly wage considerably less than men's, these hourly averages being as follows:

	Average hourly earnings		Percent women's earnings formed of men's
	Men	Women	
	(Cents)	(Cents)	
Cutters, hand layers up and markers (186 men, 341 women)	38. 5	28. 6	74. 3
Knitters, web and tube (362 men, 133 women)	39. 0	32. 2	82. 6

In the cutting referred to in the foregoing, men ordinarily are cutting the larger parts and have, on the whole, a heavier job, but women, on the other hand, cut the smaller parts, which means sometimes even more care in fitting, as well as good planning to avoid waste of material, and thus a probable slowing up of the piece worker.

Data for two other textile industries [27] afford information on occupations each of which employs several hundred women—the woolen and worsted industry with a total of more than 13,500 women reported, and silk and rayon manufacture with more than 15,000 women. Of these, woolen and worsted gives women the best showing. Women averaged over 90 percent as much as men in three of four occupations

[26] Several localities excluded because no men were employed as toppers.

[27] U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Textile Report, pt. II, Wage Rates and Weekly Earnings in the Silk and Rayon Goods Industry from April 1933 to August 1934. Mar. 25, 1935. pp. 17, 23; and pt. III, Wage Rates and Weekly Earnings in the Woolen and Worsted Goods Industry from January 1932 to August 1934. Apr. 17, 1935. pp. 25, 41, and unpublished data.

reported here, one of these being weaving, the most highly paid for both sexes. Frame spinners, well paid if they were men, received very much less if they were women. The following shows the average hourly earnings in these occupations in woolen and worsted plants.

	Average hourly earnings		*Percent women's earnings formed of men's*
	Men	*Women*	
	(Cents)	*(Cents)*	
Drawing frame tenders (200 men, 1,235 women)	39. 3	37. 8	96. 2
Gill box tenders (316 men, 395 women)	38. 9	37. 5	96. 4
Spinners, frame (502 men, 983 women)	53. 4	41. 2	77. 2
Weavers (3,333 men, 1,240 women)	56. 2	51. 5	91. 6

In occupations reported in silk mills, women's hourly earnings ranged from about 78 to nearly 90 percent of men's. As warpers, the highest-paid occupation for both sexes, they earned about 80 percent as much as men. Here it may be noted that men workers sometimes take off the product from their own machines, women frequently do not. The following shows the hourly earnings of both sexes in three occupations in silk mills.

	Average hourly earnings		*Percent women's earnings formed of men's*
	Men	*Women*	
	(Cents)	*(Cents)*	
Spinners (1,008 men, 1,326 women)	45. 6	35. 6	78. 1
Warpers (410 men, 949 women)	62. 0	49. 9	80. 5
Weavers (5,393 men, 3,468 women)	48. 2	43. 3	89. 8

The five industries just discussed are those that give the most hopeful showing for women. In the other cases reported women's earnings fall farther below those of men.

The boot and shoe industry [28] is an important employer of women, more than 21,500 being reported. It also is an industry in which, though women and men are likely to be employed in the greatest numbers in different occupations the operations women perform are quite skilled. Yet in only one of eight occupations engaging both sexes did women average as much as 35 cents, though the men received more than this in all but one occupation and averaged over 43 cents in five occupations. The largest numbers of women were in the three types of work that paid the best for men and probably were the most skilled of all reported, yet even in these 35.5 cents an hour was the highest average for women and in one of them women received only about one-half so much as men. The wage averages in these three occupations were as follows:

	Average hourly earnings		*Percent women's earnings formed of men's*
	Men	*Women*	
	(Cents)	*(Cents)*	
Fancy stitchers (176 men, 3,486 women)	59. 2	30. 1	50. 8
Top stitchers (115 men, 1,449 women)	60. 3	33. 8	56. 1
Vampers (283 men, 1,097 women)	56. 9	35. 5	62. 4

Only in the lowest-paid occupation of men, sole cementer, where men averaged only 32.1 cents, was the average pay of women as much as three-fourths of that of men. In one of the least skilled occupations

[28] Ibid. Wages and Hours of Labor in the Boot and Shoe Industry, 1910-32. Bul. 579. March 1933, p. 3 ff.

reported, shoe cleaning, men averaged 35.6 cents, women only 24.7 cents.

Another industry employing many women is the manufacture of paper boxes, especially set-up boxes,[29] in which nearly 8,500 women were reported, most of them in northern mills. In two factory occupations in which both sexes were reported in the North, women had an average wage of 34.5 and 36.5 cents, respectively 83 and 80 percent of men's. However, women's higher average, 36.5 cents, was considerably below that of what men received in the lower-paid of their two jobs. The figures follow:

	Average hourly earnings		*Percent women's earnings formed of men's*
	Men	*Women*	
	(Cents)	*(Cents)*	
Bundlers and packers (154 men, 214 women)	41. 5	34. 5	83. 1
Miscellaneous machine feeders (185 men, 253 women)	45. 7	36. 5	79. 9

In folding-paper-box plants[30] about 1,800 women were reported, chiefly in northern mills, to which the following figures apply. Again men's lowest average, 45.3 cents, was above women's highest in any occupation, 38.4 cents. As machine helpers, likely to be unskilled, men were paid 45.3 cents, women only 36.9 cents, or 81.5 percent as much as men. In the highest-paid men's job, press feeder, men were paid 50.6 cents and women only 38.4 cents, or 75.9 percent as much as men. The figures follow:

	Average hourly earnings		*Percent women's earnings formed of men's*
	Men	*Women*	
	(Cents)	*(Cents)*	
Machine helpers (578 men, 409 women)	45. 3	36. 9	81. 5
Press feeders (1,020 men, 218 women)	50. 6	38. 4	75. 9
Strippers (605 men, 252 women)	48. 3	37. 6	77. 8

In two industries, men's-clothing and motor-vehicle manufacture, men's wages, on the whole, ran higher than those discussed in the foregoing, and in most occupations women's wages were much further below men's than in the other industries.[31] Indeed, women's highest wages in the men's-clothing and motor-vehicle occupations reported as employing both sexes were lower than was usual in the shoe, paper-box, and most textile industries.

More than 16,500 women were reported in the men's-clothing industry, the great majority of them as machine operators on coats, pants, or vests, or as basters or hand sewers on coats. The last-named occupation was the largest woman-employer, but the number of men at such work was relatively small. Men in these occupations always were paid more than 56 cents an hour, but women never received so much as 41 cents, and never were paid so much as 67 percent of the men's hourly average. The relative amounts received by the two sexes in four of these important woman-employing occupations were as follows:

[29] U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Monthly Labor Review, August 1936, p. 411 ff.
[30] Ibid., June 1936, pp. 1589, 1597.
[31] U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Wages and Hours of Labor in the Men's-Clothing Industry, 1932. Bul. 594. 1933. pp. 4, 23 ff.; and Monthly Labor Review, June 1933, p. 1367 ff.

	Average hourly earnings		Percent women's earnings formed of men's
	Men	Women	
	(Cents)	(Cents)	
Hand sewers, coats (385 men, 4,025 women)	59. 1	34. 5	58. 4
Operators, coats (2,926 men, 3,086 women)	68. 7	40. 7	59. 2
Operators, pants (1,345 men, 2,484 women)	59. 4	39. 6	66. 7
Operators, vests (506 men, 1,050 women)	69. 1	39. 6	57. 3
Ratio of low to high	85. 5	84. 8	

As hand sewers on coats and as sewing-machine operators on coats, women were paid about 58 or 59 percent as much as men. These were the two occupations on which the largest numbers of women were reported, the former employing relatively small proportions of men, the latter having a nearly equal division of the sexes. The variations between the payments to men and to women in each of these occupations differ considerably according to locality. In three cities, each of which reported more than 600 women hand sewers on coats, the average hourly earnings of the women and the men were as follows:

	Average hourly earnings		Percent women's earnings formed of men's
	Men	Women	
	(Cents)	(Cents)	
Chicago (122 men, 646 women)	59. 7	48. 3	80. 9
New York (173 men, 1,140 women)	61. 3	33. 5	54. 6
Rochester (4 men, 626 women)	47. 8	37. 3	78. 0
Ratio of low to high	78. 0	69. 4	

In New York, where men's pay was the highest, women received only 54.6 percent as much as men, though in Chicago, where men were paid only a little less than in New York, women received over 80 percent as much. In their lowest-paying city men earned 78 percent as much as in their highest-paying, but women in their lowest-paying earned only 69.4 percent as much as in their highest-paying.

In each of seven cities more than 200 women sewing-machine operators on coats were reported, and the ratios of their wages to those of men so occupied were as follows:

	Average hourly earnings		Percent women's earnings formed of men's
	Men	Women	
	(Cents)	(Cents)	
Baltimore (42 men, 332 women)	49. 4	26. 2	53. 0
Chicago (324 men, 335 women)	75. 7	68. 0	89. 8
Cincinnati (53 men, 288 women)	65. 1	45. 7	70. 2
Cleveland (7 men, 460 women)	39. 1	40. 7	104. 1
New York (1,569 men, 254 women)	70. 7	43. 4	61. 4
Rochester (170 men, 419 women)	74. 6	50. 2	67. 3
St. Louis (23 men, 203 women)	58. 4	34. 1	58. 4
Ratio of low to high	51. 7	38. 5	

In Cleveland, where the wages of men were lowest, women averaged more than men. In Chicago, where the pay was highest for both sexes, women received nearly 90 percent as much as men, but in Rochester and New York, where men's pay was not greatly below that in Chicago, women received only from about 61 to about 67 percent as much as men. In Baltimore, where the wages of women were lowest, they were 53 percent of those of men.

Men in their lowest-paying city earned only 51.7 percent as much as in their highest-paying, but this was raised to about 65 percent with the omission of Cleveland; women earned 38.5 percent as much in their lowest- as in their highest-paying city, about 50 percent as much if Baltimore be omitted.

A finer division shows the occupation according to the parts sewed by the machine operators on coats. In four of these that employed considerable numbers of each sex, women's average was less than three-fourths of men's, ranging from 58.5 to 72.1 percent of men's. Women's average never ran so high as 44 cents, though in no case was men's less than 59 cents. Much the largest numbers, both of women and of men, were pocket makers, and this was the highest-paid occupation for men, their average earnings running up to 73.7 cents an hour. Of course, type or special pattern of garment, condition of machine, arrangement of work, coarseness or heaviness of material, or other factors often not controllable by the worker have a great effect on the earnings of piece workers. The figures for the four machine operations referred to follow:

	Average hourly earnings		*Percent women's earnings formed of men's*
	Men	*Women*	
	(*Cents*)	(*Cents*)	
Joiners, side and back seams (225 men, 103 women)	70. 2	41. 6	59. 3
Lining makers (320 men, 246 women)	63. 6	41. 9	65. 9
Pocket makers (774 men, 508 women)	73. 7	43. 1	58. 5
Sleeve seamers (235 men, 216 women)	59. 2	42. 7	72. 1
Ratio of lowest to highest	80. 3	96. 5	

The manufacture of motor vehicles is predominantly a man-employing industry, though nearly 4,500 women were reported in the 1932 study by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. In each of seven occupations employing both sexes, women's average hourly earnings were less than three-fourths of those of men. Though it is probable that in this industry the work of the two sexes varied considerably in the same occupation, yet the wage differences seem greater than such variations should produce.

As laborers, men averaged 57.5 cents an hour, women only 36.4 cents, or 63.3 percent as much as men. The largest group of women, nearly 1,000, worked as trim-bench hands and averaged only 35.4 cents an hour, or just over 68 percent of the 51.8 cents of men.

	Average hourly earnings		*Percent women's earnings formed of men's*
	Men	*Women*	
	(*Cents*)	(*Cents*)	
Assemblers, chassis and final (7,354 men, 265 women)	57. 0	34. 9	61. 2
Inspectors (5,593 men, 256 women)	66. 4	36. 1	54. 4
Laborers (9,651 men, 117 women)	57. 5	36. 4	63. 3
Punch-press operators (4,002 men, 178 women)	64. 6	33. 2	51. 4
Sheet-metal workers (2,522 men, 121 women)	57. 4	31. 7	55. 2
Top builders and trimmers (3,714 men, 294 women)	60. 3	36. 1	59. 9
Trim-bench hands (219 men, 925 women)	51. 8	35. 4	68. 3

Part III.—WAGES OF WOMEN COMPARED TO WAGES OF UNSKILLED MEN

WAGES OF WOMEN AND OF UNSKILLED MEN IN CERTAIN INDUSTRIES IN ONE STATE

A comparison of the wages paid *unskilled men* with amounts received by women in all types of work in the same industry shows that such men, in their unskilled jobs, fare better on the whole than do women performing jobs that require at least great care and dexterity and sometimes considerable skill.

Such a comparison can be made from data recently reported by Women's Bureau agents in a field survey covering several industries in one State.[1] More than 1,000 women were reported in each of four of these industries. The following gives the details as to their earnings and those of the unskilled men and also shows similar data for three industries in which smaller numbers were reported.

Seamless hosiery.

In seamless-hosiery plants 13 men or boys were reported in such unskilled jobs as carrying yarn or bundles of work or as helpers of various types. Only two of these were paid less than 30 cents an hour, though practically one-third of all the women reported in these plants had received less than 30 cents. Nearly 40 percent of the women knitters and more than 25 percent of the women loopers were paid less than 30 cents, though these are occupations requiring considerable dexterity such as would be thought to justify more than the wage of a yarn carrier or helper.

Men's work clothes and shirts.

In factories making men's work clothes and shirts 22 men and boys were reported in such unskilled work as bundle carrier, beltboy, cutter's helper, general, and miscellaneous and shipping clerk. Only five of these received less than 30 cents an hour, though the median for all the women reported in this industry was only 26 cents an hour and 70 percent of them were paid less than 30 cents. More than 60 percent of the women sewing-machine operators and of the inspectors were paid less than 30 cents an hour, occupations that would be thought to warrant more than the wage of unskilled helpers.

Knit underwear.

In knit-underwear plants 29 men and boys were reported in such unskilled jobs as carrying work or bundles, giving out work, general, beltboy, and helpers of various types. Only three of these were paid less than 30 cents an hour, though more than one-fourth of all the women reported had received less than 30 cents. The median for all women reported was 32 cents an hour, and practically one-

[1] For this comparison only white unskilled men and white women have been used, in order that the figures should not be complicated by the added factor of racial differences in pay.

fourth of the sewing-machine operators were paid less than 30 cents. The hourly earnings of four men "general" workers ranged from 45 to 70 cents, though only a very small proportion of the women reported received as much as 45 cents.

Men's suits and overcoats.

In factories making men's suits and overcoats 20 men and boys were reported on such unskilled work as bundle carrying, general utility, or helping. None of these was paid less than 30 cents an hour, though 15 percent of all the women reported, whatever their jobs, received less than this amount, as did nearly 20 percent of the women sewing-machine operators. The median for all women reported was only 38 cents, which means that half were paid less than this, though two bundle boys each received just over 49 cents, several male helpers were paid 46 cents, and one boy who turned coats received 54.6 cents an hour.

Food.

In the candy factories and in the bakeries reported, the majority of all the women were paid from 25 to 35 cents an hour, a great majority in the candy plants. The pay range for most of the unskilled men and boys with such jobs as greasing and cleaning pans, dumping cakes, putting in and taking out of oven, or helping in various ways, was from 30 to 40 cents. The median hourly earnings of women were below those of unskilled men, as the following shows:

	Unskilled men (Cents)	*Women in all jobs (Cents)*
Bakeries	35	32
Candy factories	32. 6	28

Very few of these unskilled men received less than 30 cents an hour, but these low earnings were the portion of more than 80 percent of the women in candy factories, of nearly as large a proportion of the candy packers, and of 32 percent of the women in bakeries.

Paper boxes.

In paper-box factories, 27 men and boys were reported in such unskilled work as tying bundles of paper, machine helping, or hand wrapping. Most of these workers received 35 cents an hour or more and two hand wrappers were paid 45 cents. However, the median for all the women reported, whatever the job, was only 32 cents, and well over one-fourth of them were paid less than 30 cents an hour.

NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE BOARD DATA

Another source of information on the wages of women compared with those of unskilled men is the periodic wage reports of the National Industrial Conference Board, an organization of large manufacturing interests. Over a period of years extending regularly back to 1920, this agency has reported the average weekly earnings of skilled and semiskilled men, unskilled men, and women, monthly and also with an average for the year. For the most part the average for women, whatever the job, has been only about three-fourths as much as that of *unskilled* men, running to larger proportions, however, in the depression years when men's wages were very low. The levels of men's and women's wages as reported from this source are shown graphically on

page 47. The proportions women's average weekly earnings formed of those of unskilled men in the various years are as follows: [2]

	Percent women's earnings formed of men's		*Percent women's earnings formed of men's*
1920 [3]	68. 0	1928	71. 8
1921	77. 1	1929	72. 2
1922 [4]	78. 0	1930	73. 0
1923	77. 4	1931	76. 6
1924	74. 7	1932	81. 0
1925	74. 9	1933	82. 8
1926	74. 4	1934	87. 9
1927	73. 8	1935	83. 6

These figures include more workers from the large man-employing industries, such as steel, automobiles, building construction, and the heavier metal industries, than from the more outstanding woman-employers. When the data for separate industries are taken and the more important of the woman-employers reported are considered, it is found that in the boot-and-shoe and the hosiery and knitwear industries, in which women perform jobs of considerable skill at piece rates, women earned more than unskilled men (though still not nearly so much as all men together); in six other industries women received appreciably less than unskilled men. These figures for a late month (November 1936) are as follows:

	Percent women's earnings formed of unskilled men's
Boots and shoes	113. 6
Cotton (North)	80. 6
Electrical manufacturing	79. 6
Hosiery and knit goods	102. 8
Meat packing	80. 1
Paper products	75. 1
Silk	65. 5
Wool	90. 0

WAGES OF WOMEN AND ENTRANCE RATES FOR MALE COMMON LABOR

Women's wages may be compared with the hourly entrance rates of male common labor in certain industries in which most women employees are definitely engaged in the productive processes, frequently as tenders of machines, and many of them are performing work requiring great dexterity and often a considerable degree of skill.

The entrance rates for male common labor, secured periodically by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics from the various firms reporting to that Bureau, are the rates paid adult males when first hired by an industry to "perform physical or manual labor of general character requiring little skill or training," workers "having no specific productive jobs or occupations," "thus excluding machine operators and semiskilled employees" (whose pay would be presumed to be somewhat more).[5] While the reports are somewhat scattered they undoubtedly are of an adequately representative character, and the wages shown for male common labor compare most favorably with the

[2] National Industrial Conference Board. Wages, Hours, and Employment in the United States, 1914-36. 1937. pp. 48-51, 52-55.
[3] Average of 7 months' reports.
[4] Average of 6 months' reports.
[5] U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Monthly Labor Review, December 1934, p. 1452; March 1936, p. 699.

all-too-low pay to women in industries where women's jobs are chiefly of the type ordinarily designated as semiskilled, and often require at least a high order of dexterity.

A summary of the comparisons discussed in fuller detail in the pages following shows the wages paid to unskilled male laborers upon their entrance and those paid to women in industries where women's jobs are at least semiskilled.

	Average entrance rates for male common labor	*Women's average weekly earnings in factory occupations*
Weekly averages:		
Electrical supply, 1929	$22.84	$19.00
		21.06
1934	14.73	15.00
Meat packing, 1928	16.84	16.85
	16.92	
1929	19.57	19.25
	18.65	16.93
		18.50
Hourly averages:	(*Cents*)	(*Cents*)
Motor-vehicle manufacture, 1934	54.9	50.5
Leather, 1932:		
New England	38.4	31.9
Middle Atlantic	38.8	33 to 34.2
East North Central	32.4	27.8 to 30.5

To show how the figures for comparison were obtained, further details as to the rates for these industries are discussed in the following, as are certain additional wage data along the same line. The male entrance rates reported are for the month of July in each case.

Electrical machinery, apparatus, and supplies.

In July 1929, the reports covered 3,806 common laborers in the electrical machinery, apparatus, and supply industry. The average hourly entrance rate was 48.4 cents for those included who worked in the East North Central region (which includes Ohio and Illinois).[6] In October 1929, average weekly hours worked in the electrical-apparatus industry in Illinois were 47.2, which would mean at 48.4 cents an hour an average weekly wage for common labor of $22.84.[7] Women's weekly earnings in this industry in Illinois in July averaged $21.06.[8] In Ohio, women's weekly earnings in electrical machinery, apparatus, and supply factories averaged only about $19 for the year.[9] Thus women's average in factory jobs, including those on production, was less than men's average in the first rate paid them on entering common labor jobs.

The available hour data are not separated by sex, but even if the lower wage of women should be due in part to more short time, this greater irregularity of employment time with its attendant wage uncertainty is but an added factor in the low standard of women's wages.

In July 1934, the hourly entrance rates reported for common labor in the same section of the United States averaged 43.7 cents.[10] Average hours worked per week in this industry in July (the month for which the rates were reported) were 33.7,[11] which thus would provide

[6] U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Monthly Labor Review, October 1929, p. 173.
[7] Illinois. Department of Labor. Labor Bulletin, November 1929, p. 68.
[8] Ibid., August 1929, p. 30.
[9] Ohio. Department of Industrial Relations. Rates of Wages, Fluctuation in Employment, Wage and Salary Payments in Ohio, 1929. 1931. p. 29.
[10] U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Monthly Labor Review, December 1934, p. 1455.
[11] Ibid., September 1934, p. 742.

an average of $14.73 as an entrance weekly wage for common labor. Women's earnings in Ohio [12] in that year showed a median of only $15, though it is well known that many of the processes they perform in electrical-supply factories require considerable skill.[13]

Slaughtering and meat packing.

In a Women's Bureau survey of the meat-packing industry, made in 1928, women's median week's earnings, chiefly in May and June, were only $16.85, though three-fourths of those reported had worked longer than 40 hours.[14] Nearly one-fifth of these women were time workers, and of these practically 90 percent had received less than 40 cents an hour, 80 percent being paid less than 35 cents an hour.

In the West North Central cities with large numbers reported (over 500 women in each case) median week's earnings of women were: In Kansas City (Kans.) $17.50, in Omaha $16.50, as compared to an average entrance rate of $16.92 for male common labor. In Chicago the women's median was $17.40 compared to an average of $16.84 entrance wage for male common labor in the East North Central region.

In Bureau of Labor Statistics reports for July 1928 nearly 12,000 male common laborers in the meat-packing industry were included. In the two districts in which this industry is primarily concentrated, the East North Central (including Illinois) and the West North Central (including Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, and Nebraska) the average hourly entrance rates of common labor were respectively 42.1 cents and 42.3 cents, or well above the hourly earnings of women.[15] At these average rates a 40-hour week would yield $16.84 and $16.92 in the respective districts.

In the late fall of 1929 the Bureau of Labor Statistics surveyed this industry, reporting women's average hourly earnings as 41.4 cents and 38.4 cents in the two districts most nearly corresponding to those just discussed,[16] in each of which entrance rates for common labor averaged just over 42 cents. The average hours worked by women in the two districts were respectively 46.5 and 44.1, and for these their earnings averaged $19.25 and $16.93. But these hours at men's entrance rates for common labor in the corresponding districts would average $19.57 where women averaged $19.25, and $18.65 where women averaged only $16.93. Illinois reports show women's average weekly earnings to have been $18.50 in October 1929.

Motor-vehicle industry.

In the automobile industry entrance rates for common labor in July 1934 were reported as averaging 54.9 cents.[17] But the average hourly earnings of women factory employees in motor-vehicle plants were reported as only 50.5 cents in April, the peak season.[18] In car

[12] From unpublished wage data furnished the Women's Bureau by the Ohio Department of Industrial Relations.

[13] For example, see Women's Bureau Bul. 65, The Effect of Labor Legislation on the Employment Opportunities of Women. p. 55 ff.

[14] U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. The Employment of Women in Slaughtering and Meat Packing. Bul. 88. 1932. pp. 9, 66, 67, 73, 145.

[15] U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Monthly Labor Review, October 1928, pp. 96–98.

[16] Ibid. Wages and Hours of Labor in the Slaughtering and Meat-Packing Industry, 1929. Bul. 535. 1931. p. 105. District 1, averaging 41.4 cents for women, consisted of Chicago, and district 2, with an average of 38.4 cents for women, included Kansas City, Omaha, St. Joseph, St. Louis, and East St. Louis. See p. 61.

[17] Ibid. Monthly Labor Review, December 1934, p. 1454.

[18] Ibid., March 1936, Wages, Hours, Employment, and Annual Earnings in the Motor-Vehicle Industry, p. 523.

factories the average hourly earnings for women in the same month were 51.8 cents, in parts factories only 45 cents.

Leather.

In leather industries the average hourly entrance rates of male common labor reported in July 1932 were in every case above the highest hourly averages of women in corresponding districts, as the following shows: [19]

	Average hourly entrance rates for male common labor (*cents*)	*Range of women's average hourly earnings* (*cents*)
New England States	38. 4	31. 9 [20]
Middle Atlantic States	38. 8	33 to 34. 2 [21]
East North Central States	32. 4	27. 8 to 30. 5 [22]

The women receiving these wages that were below the common-labor entrance rate were largely in finishing departments, including trimmers, glazing-machine operators, hand and machine seasoners, driers, and hand or machine ironers, and in sorting and shipping departments, including measuring-machine operators, sorters, and packers and shippers.

Compared to weekly earnings of at least $15.97 that would be received by New England men on wholly unskilled jobs, on the basis of their entrance rate and at the average hours reported for women, women in Massachusetts and New Hampshire were averaging only $13.28. On the same basis in Middle Atlantic States, where men entering common labor would average from $15.95 to $17.11, women were averaging only from $14.06 to $15.08. In the East North Central States, where men as common laborers would average $12.15 to $14.87, women would average only $10.43 to $14.

COMPARISON OF WAGES OF STREET AND SEWER LABORERS AND OF WOMEN IN MANUFACTURING

The reports on entrance rates of common labor include information on such amounts paid in September 1935 to laborers on new construction, repair, and cleaning for both street and sewer work. Of these laborers, 166 were reported from Tennessee, and their average hourly entrance rate was 32.2 cents. More than one-third of the 4,750 street and sewer laborers reported in the entire South were paid entrance rates of 37.5 or over.[23]

Women's Bureau reports of wages of women workers in Tennessee in the fall of 1935 showed that white women employed in manufacturing, stores, and laundries were receiving average hourly pay that was practically the same as or was even less than the beginning wage for common labor. More than 17,000 white women employed in manufacturing plants had an hourly average of 32.3 cents. In the three types of manufacturing employing the largest numbers of women

[19] Ibid., October 1932, pp. 906, 919.
[20] Massachusetts and New Hampshire.
[21] New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey.
[22] Illinois, Missouri, Ohio, and Wisconsin.
[23] U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Monthly Labor Review, November 1936, pp. 1229, 1231, 1232.

in this State, the average hourly earnings of white women were as follows:

	Cents
Seamless hosiery	32
Men's work clothing and shirts	26
Cotton mills	33

In department stores and laundries the pay was still lower, the averages per hour for white women being respectively 27 and 17 cents. Negro women were paid still less. These averages seem especially low when it is considered that under the N. R. A. the effort had been to maintain a minimum of 40 cents an hour.

Women's average earnings in manufacturing industries in three States surveyed by the Women's Bureau in 1936 were lower than the September 1935 entrance rate for common labor on streets and sewers in the same States, as the following shows:

	Average hourly entrance rate for common labor (*Cents*)	*Average hourly earnings of white women in manufacturing* (*Cents*)
Arkansas	24. 6	23. 1
Delaware	38. 6	33. 6
West Virginia	39. 5	34. 5

In the group of southern States as reported by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, 45 percent of the more than 4,700 street and sewer laborers reported had an entrance wage below 32½ cents an hour; in the group of northern States, less than 1 percent of the more than 34,000 such laborers received less than 32½ cents an hour.

Of the women reported in manufacturing plants in the three States surveyed by the Women's Bureau the following proportions received less than 30 cents an hour:

	Percent
Arkansas	74. 9
Delaware	39. 4
West Virginia	21. 8

Part IV.—GENERAL LEVELS OF MEN'S AND WOMEN'S WAGES

The foregoing section has brought together evidence as to women's and men's wages in comparable occupations, or of women's wages in productive as compared to men's in unskilled occupations. As a general background for the material, this section will give summaries showing the relation between the *general levels* of women's and men's manufacturing wages. This will include reports from a few special studies in various States and industries, and also will bring together from several sources information that has been collected regularly over a number of years.

In two States surveyed by the Women's Bureau in 1935 or 1936, the median week's earnings of the men and women in manufacturing were as follows:

	Median week's earnings		*Percent women's earnings formed of men's*
	Men	*Women*	
Arkansas, 1936 (white)	$14.80	$9.50	64.2
(Negro)	12.00	7.40	61.7
Tennessee, 1935 (white)	15.80	12.00	75.9
(Negro)	12.45	6.75	54.2

LEVELS OF WOMEN'S AND MEN'S WAGES IN MANUFACTURING

The general levels of men's and women's earnings as reported periodically from several sources will be presented next.

Wages in three industrial States.

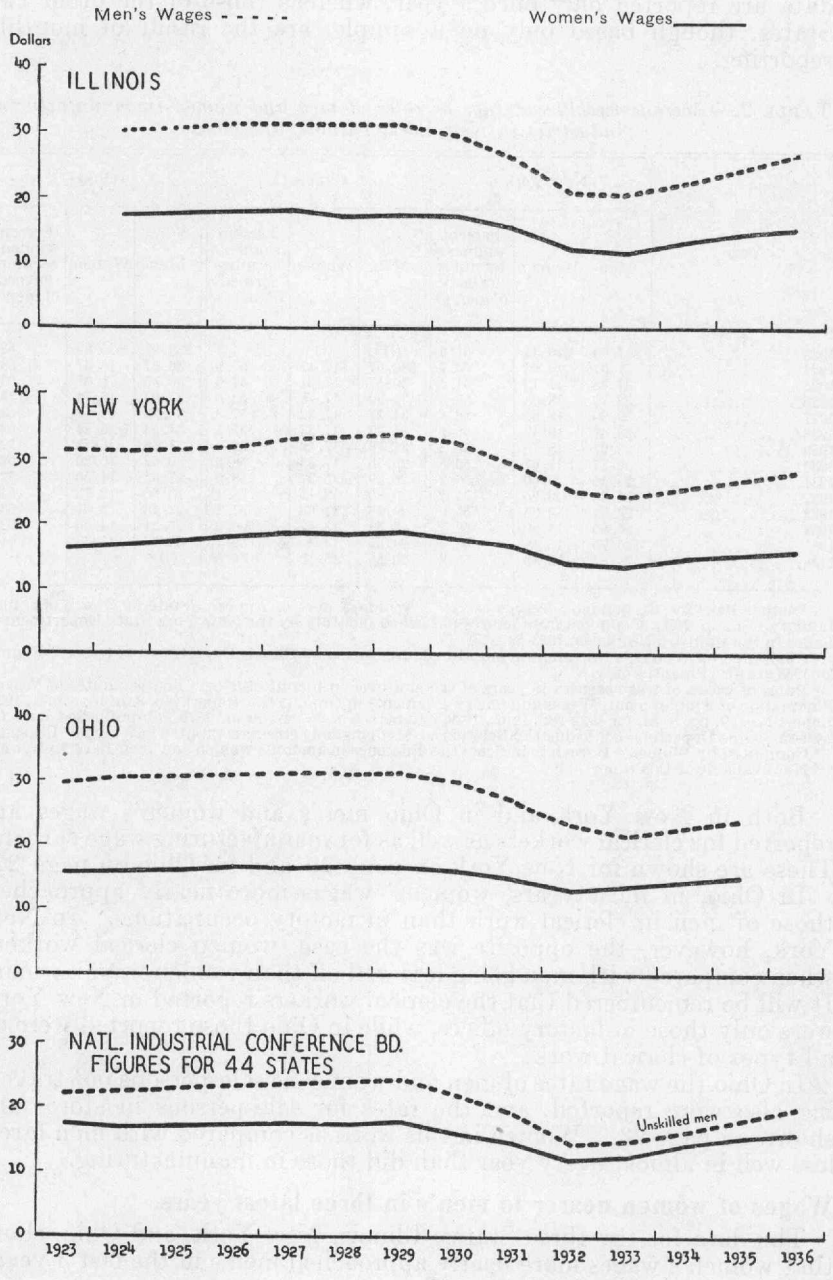
Such data as are available reporting women's and men's wages regularly over a period of years show very definitely that the level of women's wages at all times falls below men's. Consequently, working women have much less to live on than men have. In no case, over a period of from 13 to 14 years in three large industrial States, did women's average wages in manufacturing run as high as 65 percent of men's. The figures showing this are given in table 2.

The discrepancy between women's and men's wages appeared consistently, regardless of time, locality, size of sample, method of pay, proportion of women in the total, type of industry represented, or any of the other manifold variants that affect wage figures.

The ratio of women's wages to those of men had a range in the 13 or 14 years as follows:

Ohio (rate)	52.7 to 63.4
New York	51.9 to 58.2
Illinois	55.5 to 60.2

AVERAGE WEEKLY WAGES OF WOMEN AND OF MEN IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES, 1923–36



Ordinarily women's wages approach men's more closely in Illinois and New York, where the figures are average weekly earnings, than in Ohio, where they are median rates. The coverage is greatest in Ohio (better than 95 percent where examined), but on the other hand these data are reported only once a year, whereas those of the other two States, though based only on a sample, are the result of monthly reporting.

TABLE 2.—*Average weekly earnings or rates of men and women in manufacturing industries in New York, Illinois, and Ohio*

Year	New York [1]			Illinois [2]			Ohio [3]		
	Men	Women	Percent women's earnings formed of men's [4]	Men	Women	Percent women's earnings formed of men's [4]	Men	Women	Percent women's earnings formed of men's [4]
1923	$31.43	$16.31	51.9	([5])	([5])		$29.81	$15.99	53.6
1924	31.01	16.65	53.7	$30.07	$17.42	57.9	30.27	16.37	54.1
1925	31.48	17.12	54.4	30.57	17.51	57.3	30.85	16.37	53.1
1926	32.72	18.08	55.3	31.39	17.78	56.6	31.03	16.74	53.9
1927	33.20	18.62	56.1	31.27	17.92	57.3	31.23	16.62	53.2
1928	33.47	18.49	55.2	31.23	17.33	55.5	31.53	16.74	53.1
1929	33.97	18.75	55.2	31.26	17.49	56.0	31.66	16.73	52.8
1930	32.37	17.97	55.5	29.73	17.33	58.3	30.62	16.20	52.9
1931	29.56	16.60	56.2	26.09	15.37	58.9	27.53	14.50	52.7
1932	25.36	13.75	54.2	20.90	12.15	58.1	23.55	12.72	54.0
1933	24.27	13.35	55.0	20.46	11.68	57.1	21.48	13.61	63.4
1934	25.62	14.90	58.2	22.39	13.47	60.2	23.21	14.55	62.7
1935	26.79	15.40	57.5	24.35	14.40	59.1	24.77	15.33	61.9
1936	28.37	15.83	55.8	26.61	15.12	56.8	([5])	([5])	([5])

[1] Factual Brief for Respondent, People ex rel. Tipaldo, Court of Appeals, State of New York, filed January 1936. p. 108. Compiled from figures published monthly by the New York State Department of Labor in the Industrial Bulletin, 1923–36.

[2] Computed by Women's Bureau from monthly figures issued by Illinois Department of Labor. Figures for 1933 are for 11 months only.

[3] Rates of wages of wage earners 18 years of age and over in manufacturing. Source: Rates of Wages, Fluctuation of Employment, Wages and Salary Payments in Ohio. 1923. Report No. 8. p. 10; ibid., 1928. Report No. 19. pp. 8, 84, for 1924–28; ibid., 1929. Report No. 26. p. 10 for 1929; unpublished data for 1930–35. Ohio Department of Industrial Relations. Medians and percents computed in Womens' Bureau.

[4] Computed by Women's Bureau to indicate the difference in amounts women and men have to live on.

[5] Not available at this time.

Both in New York and in Ohio men's and women's wages are reported for clerical workers as well as for manufacturing wage earners. These are shown for New York on page 20 and for Ohio on page 22.

In Ohio, in most years, womens' wages more nearly approached those of men in clerical work than in factory occupations. In New York, however, the opposite was the case, women clerical workers when compared with men being less well off than women wage earners. It will be remembered that the clerical workers reported in New York were only those in factory offices, while in Ohio those reported were in all types of clerical work.

In Ohio the wage rates of men and women as salespersons not traveling also were reported, and the rates for salespersons in stores are shown on page 23. Women in this work as compared with men fared less well in almost every year than did those in manufacturing.

Wages of women nearer to men's in three latest years.

The data for the three States, Illinois, New York, and Ohio, show that women's wages more nearly approached men's in the last 3 years reported than in most of the earlier years.

This may be explained as follows:

First: For the most part men's wages declined more than women's during the depression, and since women's wages already were so near the bottom levels in many cases, men's wages obviously had farther to go in the depression decline than women's had. The figures indicate that this was the case to a small extent in Illinois and markedly so in Ohio.

Second: Women's wages appear to have recovered more rapidly than men's did. The summary following indicates that this rather than the first cause has been the more powerful, which undoubtedly is in a large part due to the effectiveness of the efforts of the National Recovery Administration to raise the lowest levels of wages.

The percent decline in wages in manufacturing from 1929 to the depression low [1] was as follows:

	Men	*Women*
Illinois	34. 5	33. 2
New York	28. 6	28. 8
Ohio	32. 2	24. 0

The percent increase in wages from the depression low [1] to 1936 [2] was as follows:

	Men	*Women*
Illinois	30. 1	29. 5
New York	16. 9	18. 6
Ohio	5. 2	20. 5

Wages of women and men from earlier census data.

The consistent degree in which women's wages fell short of men's in the three States discussed corresponds with earlier studies, notably wage estimates made from the data of the census of manufactures showing the annual earnings of women and men. From 1899 to 1923, census figures for the United States as a whole show that women's earnings were less than 55 percent of men's. This was a lower level than the average weekly earnings for practically all the later years in Illinois and New York, and than the average rates of wage earners in Ohio, the State with the most complete coverage. The estimated amounts of money earnings per capita, taken from the census material,[3] are as follows:

	Estimated annual earnings		*Percent women's earnings formed of men's* [4]
	Men	*Women*	
1899	$498	$267	53. 6
1904	540	289	53. 5
1909	631	339	53. 7
1914	644	344	53. 4
1919	1, 354	726	53. 6
1921	1, 170	627	53. 6
1923	1, 562	837	53. 6

[1] In 1933, except for women in Ohio, which was in 1932. The decline to 1933 for women in Ohio was 19 percent.

[2] Increase to 1935 for Ohio, since the 1936 figures were not available when this table was prepared. In Illinois and New York, for both sexes, 1936 showed an increase over 1935.

[3] U. S. Bureau of the Census. Census Monographs, X. Earnings of Factory Workers, 1899 to 1927. By Paul F. Brissenden. 1929. p. 94.

[4] Percents computed by the Women's Bureau.

LEVELS OF WOMEN'S AND MEN'S WAGES IN PARTICULAR INDUSTRIES OR SPECIFIC LARGE OCCUPATION GROUPINGS

The chief consideration in the foregoing discussion has been that of all manufacturing industries taken together. When attention is given to particular industries, however, a similar situation appears—namely, that the level of women's average earnings always falls well below that of men's. The average weekly earnings of women and men as reported from five States for specific industries, chiefly in manufacturing, are discussed in the following pages.

Wage rates in Ohio industries, 1914-35.

Data on four manufacturing industries in Ohio over a 22-year period, 1914–35 (excepting only 1922), are included here. These reports are based on the rates of pay in the reporting factories for the week of greatest employment in the year.

In two of these industries, men's clothing and women's clothing, from roughly two-thirds to more than three-fourths of the wage earners in any year were women. Average weekly rates of men were relatively high, but in men's clothing women's average rates amounted to less than 60 percent of men's in 16 of the 21 years. In women's clothing women averaged less than 45 percent as much as men in the 13 years beginning with 1923. When men were averaging more than $30 a week (sometimes more than $40) in women's clothing, women in that industry, in most years, averaged less than $20.

In hosiery and knit goods, where at least three-fourths of the workers in each year were women, men's weekly rate never (except in the peak of 1920) averaged so high as $25, but in 14 of the 21 years reported women's rates were less than 70 percent of men's. Though in many years men averaged over $20 a week, women often averaged less than $15.

In rubber, less than one-fourth of the workers were women—less than one-fifth in most years. Men's average weekly rates were practically $35 or more in one-half the years, while women usually averaged less than $20. In 9 of the 21 years women's average weekly wages were less than 55 percent of men's.

Year	Percent women's rates formed of men's[1]				Year	Percent women's rates formed of men's[1]			
	Rubber	Hosiery and knit goods	Men's clothing	Women's clothing		Rubber	Hosiery and knit goods	Men's clothing	Women's clothing
1914	51.3	69.9	57.2	48.6	1925	55.7	70.3	58.8	42.7
1915	49.0	68.5	55.3	46.7	1926	56.4	70.2	57.5	41.4
1916	54.9	83.8	54.1	46.7	1927	56.6	65.7	59.3	42.8
1917	52.4	78.6	54.0	50.0	1928	56.9	69.3	57.0	42.7
1918	53.2	66.3	56.0	48.7	1929	56.3	67.6	57.2	39.4
1919	54.0	64.0	55.6	48.7	1930	58.6	68.0	60.8	40.0
1920	53.9	66.7	51.9	47.0	1931	56.8	63.2	61.0	36.6
1921	53.9	69.3	55.5	46.2	1932	55.2	69.3	58.5	33.9
1922	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	1933	58.9	80.5	60.7	39.3
1923	53.0	65.5	57.5	44.2	1934	57.2	80.4	60.1	41.5
1924	57.3	65.0	60.0	42.8	1935	58.0	81.1	59.4	41.6

[1] Source: Ohio. Information Bureau of Women's Work. Ohio Wage Earners in the Manufacture of Rubber Products, 1914–28; ibid., Ohio Wage Earners in the Manufacture of Textiles and Textile Products, 1914–27; The Department of Industrial Relations and the Industrial Commission of Ohio, Buls. 19, 26.

[2] Not available.

The summary following shows for wage earners in 10 manufacturing and 6 nonmanufacturing employments in Ohio (including the 4 just discussed) the ratio of women's rates to those of men in the 5 years 1928, 1932, 1933, 1934, and 1935. It is apparent that even in 1933, when men's and women's wages ordinarily were much below those of 1928, and women's in most cases formed a larger proportion of men's than in 1928, women's average rate was as much as three-fourths of men's average rate in only 1 of the 10 manufacturing and 2 of the 6 nonmanufacturing industries. In five of these employments, women's average was less than 60 percent of men's average.

Industry	Percent women's rates formed of men's [1]				
	1928	1932	1933	1934	1935
Manufacturing:					
Boots and shoes	62.8	59.6	72.3	66.9	67.6
Metal and metal products	60.2	60.6	69.4	67.8	67.1
Printing and publishing	44.0	43.5	49.5	51.0	48.9
Rubber products	56.9	55.2	58.9	57.2	58.0
Stone, clay, and glass products	55.3	60.9	69.4	69.9	66.5
Men's clothing	57.0	58.5	60.7	60.1	59.4
Women's clothing	42.7	33.9	39.3	41.5	41.6
Hosiery and knit goods	69.3	69.3	80.5	80.4	81.1
Tobacco manufactures	64.9	61.0	65.3	70.0	68.0
Electrical machinery	57.3	60.2	64.2	69.5	69.5
Nonmanufacturing:					
Hospitals	69.1	68.4	73.1	78.3	78.8
Hotels	72.4	79.2	84.0	84.8	84.7
Laundries and dry cleaning	48.0	50.3	56.3	57.7	56.3
Restaurants	68.2	72.6	78.6	76.1	74.1
Stores, retail and wholesale	60.3	56.9	71.0	70.4	68.1
Telephone and telegraph	57.8	54.9	54.3	52.2	49.2

[1] For source, see references in footnote 3, p. 48.

Wages in five New York industries, 1923–36.

The summary following shows the percent that women's average weekly earnings were of men's average in five New York manufacturing industries over a 14-year period, 1923–36. These averages for the year are computed from reports received monthly from a fixed list of firms providing a representation of the industries.

In none of these industries in any year reported were women's average weekly earnings as much as 65 percent of men's, and in about one-fourth of the cases they were less than 55 percent of men's.

In the candy, knit-goods, paper-box, and shoe industries in the predepression years, when men's average weekly earnings were from about $25 to nearly $33, women never averaged so much as $19 in shoes, so much as $18 in paper boxes, nor so much as $17 in candy and in knit goods. In women's clothing, when men were averaging between $40 and $50 a week in the predepression years, women never averaged so much as $29, and later, when men's wages were from $33.50 to $37, women's highest were less than $20.50. In each of the five industries, when men's wages showed a depression drop, women's also declined, and the relation of women's wages to men's was much the same as before.

Year	Percent women's earnings formed of men's [1]				
	Candy	Knit goods [2]	Paper boxes [3]	Shoes	Women's clothing
1923	56.0	62.2	60.1	64.5	55.8
1924	57.0	57.9	60.1	62.0	54.7
1925	56.5	61.0	60.8	58.4	55.4
1926	57.5	58.4	56.1	59.9	55.8
1927	56.1	58.3	54.7	59.6	57.2
1928	58.3	58.3	55.9	58.7	55.6
1929	52.4	58.4	54.5	59.7	57.0
1930	51.0	53.7	53.1	59.7	59.6
1931	52.5	52.3	49.8	56.9	57.8
1932	50.0	50.3	52.5	55.3	53.6
1933	51.3	55.9	55.7	58.5	54.9
1934	58.0	61.9	60.8	63.2	57.7
1935	56.3	61.7	59.2	63.3	55.5
1936 [4]	54.6	60.9	57.6	64.9	57.7

[1] Source: Factual Brief for Respondent, People ex rel. Joseph Tipaldo, Court of Appeals, State of New York, filed January 1936, p. 108. Compiled from figures published monthly by the New York State Department of Labor in the Industrial Bulletin, 1923–35.
[2] Except silk.
[3] Includes tubes.
[4] Figures for this year are averages computed by the Women's Bureau.

Wages in 15 Illinois industries, 1924–36.

The following summary shows the ratio of women's average earnings to those of men in 10 manufacturing and 5 nonmanufacturing industries in Illinois in 1924, 1928, 1932, 1933, 1935, and 1936.

The closest approach of women's earnings to men's in any manufacturing industry was in slaughtering and meat packing, where in 4 years women's average was 69 or 70 percent of men's.

Women's pay envelopes contained less than half as much as men's in most years in women's clothing and in job printing, in both of which men's wages were high as compared to other industries. Likewise the pay of women in laundries ordinarily was less than half of men's, though men's earnings were not particularly high in these establishments.

Industry	Percent women's earnings formed of men's [1]					
	1924	1928	1932	1933	1935	1936
Manufacturing:						
Electrical apparatus	60.7	60.9	66.0	59.6	61.6	62.3
Watches and jewelry	55.9	55.2	50.4	56.1	60.1	57.9
Sheet metal	53.5	62.4	58.5	63.0	([2])	([2])
Boots and shoes	64.3	61.1	65.1	65.4	67.0	66.6
Paper boxes, bags, and tubes	54.8	56.1	49.1	54.0	61.2	57.8
Job printing	50.5	46.4	49.0	46.4	46.8	47.2
Men's clothing	64.8	63.2	60.7	60.8	61.3	61.5
Women's clothing	52.5	41.6	34.3	38.2	45.9	44.0
Slaughtering and meat packing	69.3	68.8	70.4	68.9	64.4	64.7
Confectionery	50.9	51.5	48.9	55.7	61.5	56.2
Nonmanufacturing:						
Department stores	43.8	49.3	61.3	51.6	61.4	56.1
Hotels	([3])	([3])	69.5	70.5	[4] 70.2	73.8
Restaurants					[4] 80.4	82.3
Laundries and cleaning and dyeing	44.7	46.9	41.2	41.9	45.3	45.4
Telephone	58.2	53.4	52.7	52.9	52.2	50.4

[1] Source: Monthly reports of Illinois Department of Labor.
[2] Classification changed in this year, so figures are not comparable to those of earlier years.
[3] First report, June 1928.
[4] Reported separately for last 6 months of year.

Wages in three Pennsylvania industries, 1928 and 1929.

Data on women's and men's earnings in two Pennsylvania industries in 1928 and one in 1929 are shown in the summary following. These are taken from special pay-roll studies applying in each case to a week's period within 1 month of the year.

The median of women's weekly earnings was less than 65 percent of men's median except in one branch of the silk industry (throwing), where men's earnings were quite low, and even there women's wage was less than 68 percent of men's. In seamless hosiery women's earnings had a median less than half as large as men's.

When men averaged $19, women averaged less than $13; when men averaged $32.50, women averaged less than $21. In every case but silk weaving the lowest median of earnings received by men in any plant [5] was above the median for all women reported.

The variations in pay from plant to plant were very wide for men (in some cases more so than for women); men's median earnings in the lowest-paying plant ranged from just under 30 to 60 percent of their median in the highest-paying in the several industries. Yet in one branch of the hosiery industry—the seamless product—there was a greater difference between men's and women's wages than there was between the wages of men in the highest-paying and those in the lowest-paying plant.

	Median week's earnings		*Percent women's earnings formed of men's* [6]
	Men	*Women*	
Silk [7]—Weaving	$29. 66	$18. 30	61. 7
Throwing	19. 12	12. 88	67. 4
Hosiery [8]—Full-fashioned	32. 49	20. 77	63. 9
Seamless	25. 99	12. 35	47. 5
Knit goods [9]	23. 82	15. 38	64. 6

Wages in seven Tennessee industries, 1935.

In seven manufacturing industries in Tennessee reported by the Women's Bureau in the fall of 1935, women's median weekly earnings in all such industries taken together were only about three-fourths as much as those of the men reported. In full-fashioned hosiery mills, the highest-paying group for the men reported, women's median was little over half the median for men, or roughly $13.50 to men's $25.50. In cotton mills, one of the lower-paid industries for the men reported, women's median earnings were 94 percent of men's, or $12.50 to men's $13.25. The summary following shows the median earnings of white women and men in these industries:

	Median week's earnings		*Percent women's earnings formed of men's*
	Men	*Women*	
Manufacturing [10]	$15. 80	$12. 00	75. 9
Cotton mills	13. 25	12. 50	94. 3
Hosiery—Full-fashioned	25. 55	13. 40	52. 4
Seamless	12. 65	10. 20	80. 6
Knit underwear	14. 40	12. 10	84. 0
Men's suits and overcoats	22. 05	13. 25	60. 1
Men's work clothes	14. 15	9. 55	67. 5
Shoes	20. 45	14. 15	69. 2

[5] Plants with fewer than 25 employees of each sex are omitted from this comparison.
[6] Computed by Women's Bureau.
[7] Pennsylvania. Department of Labor and Industry. Hours and Earnings of Men and Women in the Silk Industry. Bul. 29. 1929. pp. 25, 28. Figures for February 1928.
[8] Ibid. Hours and Earnings of Men and Women in the Hosiery Industry. Bul. 31. 1930. p. 25. Figures for June 1928.
[9] Ibid. Hours and Earnings of Men and Women in the Knit-Goods Industry. Bul. 35. 1931. p. 21. Figures for April 1929.
[10] Includes other industries surveyed besides those shown in detail.

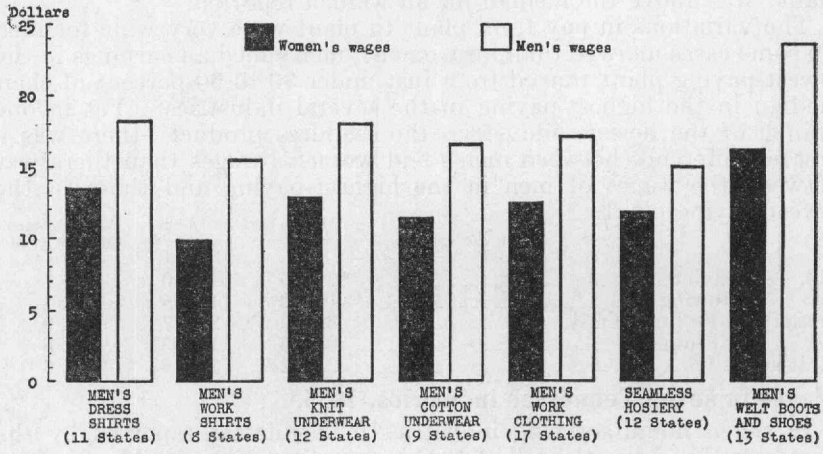
Negro women received only a little more than half as much as Negro men. The median weekly earnings of Negro workers were as follows:

	Median week's earnings		Percent women's earnings formed of men's
	Men	Women	
Manufacturing	$12. 45	$6. 75	54. 2
Laundries	9. 35	5. 65	60. 4

Special industrial studies by Women's Bureau.

In addition to these State figures, which cover wage data for the two sexes over a series of years, the following table shows the average

AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS OF WOMEN AND OF MEN IN CERTAIN CLOTHING INDUSTRIES



(median) weekly earnings reported in special studies of particular industries made during the last 3 years by the Women's Bureau:

	Median week's earnings		Percent women's earnings formed of men's
	Men	Women	
Beauty shops, 1934	$22. 50	$14. 25	63. 3
Laundries (21 cities, 1934, productive workers, by city). [11]	12. 50 to 21. 45 [12]	6. 67 to 13. 05 [12]	33. 2 to 67. 8 [11]
Leather gloves (New York, July 1933)	23. 45	12. 65	53. 9
Men's clothing, 1936:			
Shirts—Dress (11 States)	18. 35	13. 50	73. 6
Work (8 States)	15. 55	9. 85	63. 3
Underwear—Cotton (9 States)	16. 70	11. 40	68. 3
Knit (12 States)	18. 10	12. 85	71. 0
Work clothing (17 States)	17. 25	12. 50	72. 5
Seamless hosiery (12 States), 1936	15. 05	11. 95	79. 4
Men's welt boots and shoes (13 States), 1936–37	23. 80	16. 35	68. 7

Wage data from most recent Bureau of Labor Statistics studies of 26 industries.

Table 3 following shows the average weekly and hourly earnings of women and men from the most recent studies of 26 industries or branches of industries made by the United States Bureau of Labor

[11] Average for all cities combined not obtainable. Low and high not the same in the 3 columns.
[12] Arithmetic mean.

Statistics. In each instance more than 500 women were reported and most cases included over 5,000 women.[13] The wages reported are based on data secured in the field directly from factory pay rolls.

TABLE 3.—*Men's and women's average earnings as reported in most recent Bureau of Labor Statistics surveys* [1]

Industry	Date of pay roll	Number of employees		Average weekly earnings			Average hourly earnings		
		Men	Women	Men	Women	Percent women's earnings formed of men's [2]	Men	Women	Percent women's earnings formed of men's [2]
							Ct.	Ct.	
Bakery products	1931	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)		(3)	(3)	
Bread		27,856	591	$29.82	$13.93	46.7	55.3	29.8	53.9
Cake		1,552	1,240	24.25	12.11	49.9	48.6	27.5	56.6
Boots and shoes	1932	28,046	21,620	19.73	12.58	63.8	49.3	30.8	62.5
Cane-sugar refineries	1930	11,027	863	25.96	12.42	47.8	47.2	28.9	61.2
Cigarettes, snuff, chewing and smoking tobacco [4]	1935	11,564	12,241	17.11	12.23	71.5	48.5	37.3	76.9
White		(3)	(3)	19.48	13.16	67.6	54.8	40.4	73.7
Negro		(3)	(3)	13.13	10.30	78.4	37.7	30.8	81.7
Cotton textiles [5]	1934	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)		(3)	(3)	
North		20,164	14,891	14.48	12.18	84.1	42.1	37.3	88.6
South		41,561	22,786	10.29	9.19	89.3	33.9	32.1	94.7
Dyeing and finishing of textiles [6]	1934	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)		(3)	(3)	
Cotton		10,528	2,530	17.32	12.46	71.9	49.5	40.1	81.0
Silk and rayon		4,306	567	20.01	14.05	70.2	61.7	43.8	71.0
Furniture	1931	28,876	1,783	17.22	11.40	66.2	41.6	31.4	75.5
Hosiery	1932	12,908	20,319	21.80	11.54	52.9	49.4	29.2	59.1
Leather	1932	18,755	2,644	20.78	12.41	59.7	49.3	30.3	61.5
Machine-shop products	1931	64,921	1,017	24.36	15.85	65.1	63.7	40.8	64.1
Men's clothing	1932	16,511	16,540	24.75	13.01	52.6	64.1	36.1	56.3
Motor vehicles [7]	1934	146,450	14,134	27.45	17.80	64.8	70.7	48.9	69.2
Factory		139,792	9,711	27.49	17.67	64.3	71.0	50.5	71.7
Cars		(3)	(3)	28.45	19.16	67.3	73.0	51.8	71.0
Parts		(3)	(3)	24.68	15.30	62.0	65.1	45.0	69.1
Office		6,658	4,423	26.56	18.08	68.1	65.3	45.9	70.3
Cars		(3)	(3)	27.06	20.51	75.8	66.4	52.1	78.5
Parts		(3)	(3)	25.06	19.89	79.4	62.0	50.5	81.5
Paper boxes, folding [8]	1935	6,034	1,831	23.25	14.62	62.9	57.7	38.9	67.4
North		5,616	1,702	23.68	14.86	62.8	58.6	39.5	67.4
South		418	129	17.52	11.44	65.3	44.4	31.6	71.2
Set-up [9]	1935	4,194	8,487	22.08	13.99	63.4	54.5	37.8	69.4
North		3,821	7,893	22.58	14.15	62.7	55.6	38.2	68.7
South		373	594	16.98	11.85	69.8	42.9	32.5	75.8
Pottery	1932	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)		(3)	(3)	
Semivitreous		4,086	2,381	[10]31.74	[10]15.95	50.3	53.5	29.2	54.6
Vitreous		1,425	994	[10]25.03	[10]10.72	42.8	54.6	26.4	48.4
Rayon and other synthetic yarns	1932	14,869	10,457	19.51	12.55	64.3	40.8	28.3	69.4
Shipping containers (corrugated and solid fiber) [11]	1935	9,291	2,748	22.38	15.00	67.0	53.8	39.8	74.0
North		8,463	2,529	22.84	15.28	66.9	54.9	40.2	73.2
South		828	219	17.64	11.90	67.5	42.6	34.5	80.9
Silk and rayon goods	1931	21,885	27,151	23.45	14.46	61.7	48.5	33.5	69.1
Slaughtering and meat packing	1931	45,523	8,032	21.57	13.61	63.1	47.0	32.1	68.3
Underwear—knitted	1932	2,174	9,564	17.72	9.56	54.0	40.8	26.0	63.7
Women's neckwear and scarfs [12]	1935	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)		(3)	(3)	
New York City		(3)	(3)	33.14	21.12	62.6	88.0	58.0	65.9
East (except New York City)		(3)	(3)	25.89	13.79	53.3	64.0	36.0	56.3
Midwest and far West		(3)	(3)	26.83	14.19	52.9	70.0	41.0	58.6
Woolen and worsted goods [13]	1934	18,091	13,893	17.58	11.94	67.9	(3)	(3)	

[1] Except as noted, from summary in Monthly Labor Review, July 1933, pp. 140–143.
[2] Computed by Women's Bureau.
[3] Not available.
[4] U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Monthly Labor Review, May 1936, p. 1326.
[5] Ibid., March 1935, pp. 617, 619, 622.
[6] Ibid., May 1936, pp. 1337, 1343, 1347, 1352, 1355, 1359.
[7] Ibid., March 1936, pp. 523, 524, 527.
[8] Ibid., June 1936, pp. 1589, 1591, 1608.
[9] Ibid., August 1936, pp. 412, 414, 430.
[10] 2-week pay roll.
[11] U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Monthly Labor Review, September 1936, p. 687.
[12] Ibid., July 1936, p. 150.
[13] Ibid., June 1935, pp. 1451, 1457.

[13] Number in women's neckwear and scarfs not reported, but 39 plants included.

In only 5 of the 42 cases cited in these industries did women average per week more than three-fourths as much as men, and in 3 of these 5 the men's average earnings were less than $15, as follows:

	Men's average week's earnings	*Percent women's earnings formed of men's*
Cotton—North	$14. 48	84. 1
South	10. 29	89. 3
Cigarettes, snuff, chewing and smoking tobacco—Negroes	13. 13	78. 4

In four cases women received less than half as much as men, and in all these men earned at least $24, while women's wage was less than $14, as follows:

	Men's average weekly earnings	*Percent women's earnings formed of men's*
Bread	$29. 82	46. 7
Cake	24. 25	49. 9
Cane-sugar refinery	25. 69	47. 8
Vitreous pottery	25. 03	42. 8

The figures in table 3 enable a comparison of men's and women's average hourly as well as average weekly earnings, thus showing the difference in the earnings of the two sexes entirely without regard to time worked. Though women are more likely to approach men's wages by the hour than in the amounts they have to live on through the week, they averaged as much as 80 percent of the men's hourly wage in only six instances, in four of which men were getting less than 45 cents an hour, as is shown in the following summary:

	Men's average hourly earnings (cents)	*Percent women's earnings formed of men's*
Cotton textiles—North	42. 1	88. 6
South	33. 9	94. 7
Cotton dyeing	49. 5	81. 0
Cigarettes, snuff, chewing and smoking tobacco—Negroes	37. 7	81. 7
Motor-vehicle parts—office	62. 0	81. 5
Shipping containers (corrugated and solid fiber)—South	42. 6	80. 9

In eight cases women averaged less than 60 percent as much as men, though in five of these men's average hourly earnings were less than 56 cents, as follows:

	Men's average hourly earnings (cents)	*Percent women's earnings formed of men's*
Bread	55. 3	53. 9
Cake	48. 6	56. 6
Hosiery	49. 4	59. 1
Men's clothing	64. 1	56. 3
Pottery—Semivitreous	53. 5	54. 6
Vitreous	54. 6	48. 4
Women's neckwear and scarfs:		
East (except New York)	64. 0	56. 3
Midwest and West	70. 0	58. 6

The one outstanding exception to certain of the foregoing analyses is that of office employees in car and parts factories, who averaged more than three-fourths of men's weekly earnings even though these were over $25, and roughly 80 percent of men's hourly averages, though these were above 60 cents.

Year's earnings in manufacturing.

If weekly earnings and even hourly earnings of women are so far below those of men, as indicated, it is obvious that women's yearly earnings fall below those of men to a still greater extent. Year's earnings of men and women in 8 years in which the census of manufactures reported them by sex, are available in an estimate made in a special study of such census data.[14]

It is a striking fact that in only one instance—that of tobacco, cigars, and cigarettes in 1919—in any of these 18 industries did the proportion women's wages formed of men's differ by as much as a full point from one year to another. In no case did women's earnings in any year rise to 80 percent of men's.

Analysis of the 8 years reported shows that in five industries women's annual earnings were below 50 percent of men's, and in five others they were below 60 percent. Women's earnings were nearest to men's in cotton textiles, but in this industry men had received less than in almost every other. Women's earnings were farthest below men's—not one-third so much—in glass manufacturing, but this was an industry that paid men comparatively high wages in every year, the highest in 3 years.

[14] U. S. Bureau of the Census. Census Monographs, X. Earnings of Factory Workers, 1899 to 1927. By Paul F. Brissenden. 1929.