

A preview as to Women
workers in transition from
War to Peace

By

Mary Elizabeth Pidgeon

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

FRANCES PERKINS, SECRETARY

WOMEN'S BUREAU

MARY ANDERSON, DIRECTOR

+

A Preview as to
Women Workers in Transition
From War to Peace

By

MARY ELIZABETH PIDGEON

+

SPECIAL BULLETIN NO. 18 OF THE WOMEN'S BUREAU

MARCH 1944



BOMBEAY.

United States

Government Printing Office

Washington : 1944

CONTENTS

	Page
WOMEN WORKERS IN WAR AND AFTER.....	IV
PART I.—THE CHANGE TO PEACETIME LIFE	
Goals for Mankind.....	1
Chart—Problems to Solve: Favorable Features.....	2
Picturing the Post-war Period.....	3
Women After the War.....	3
Women's Share in the Support of Families.....	5
What Happened After World War I.....	6
PART II.—FACTORS AFFECTING WOMEN'S OPPORTUNITIES	
Skills of Women Workers.....	7
Upgrading on the Job.....	7
What Employers Think of Women's Work.....	9
Will They Retain Women?.....	10
Plants Have Been Fitted for Women's Work.....	11
Seniority Status of Women.....	12
Spreading the Transition.....	14
Plant Planning for Post-war Production.....	14
PART III.—FACTORS IN THE GENERAL ECONOMIC BACKGROUND	
The Shifting Post-war Labor Force.....	17
Size of the Post-war Labor Force.....	17
Capacity To Employ the Labor Force.....	18
Demands for Workers, and Buying Power.....	18
Post-war Problems Vary by Industry and Area.....	19
Major Decisions That Will Affect Women.....	19
PART IV.—PLANNING FOR WOMEN	
Policy Statements by Government Authorities.....	22
Proposals by International Labor Organization.....	23
Statements Indicating Policies of National Women's Organizations.....	24

WOMEN WORKERS IN WAR AND AFTER

The Four Freedoms must be assured in American economy at home, as well as in the world at large.

An important measure of this is in whether all workers can get jobs. Women, like men, need jobs to support themselves and their families.

Even before the war, women outnumbered men in the population of two-thirds of the major cities of the United States, and about one-tenth of all employed women were the sole support of their families. The death or disablement of many men will increase the need of women's work.

This country must use effectively the valuable skills of women workers, demonstrated markedly during the war period. Before the war they were a fourth of all workers.

Displaced war workers, both men and women, must be placed in new jobs. Women must be accorded opportunities for—

Adequate training.

Advancement in their work according to their abilities.

Equal pay.

A share in making policies related to their work and to American life.

Labor unions and professional organizations should—

Encourage the full participation of women who work in such occupations.

Enable women workers to show their abilities and to build seniority status.

See that women workers are paid the full rate for the job done.

Women themselves should—

Develop their own skills as far as possible.

Take active part in labor unions and professional organizations connected with their work.

Learn more about the great economic questions that affect them.

The need for women workers will continue in a variety of occupations. (See p. 4.)

A Preview as to Women Workers in Transition from War to Peace

Part I.—THE CHANGE TO PEACETIME LIFE

What will be the situation of the woman worker after the war? This is a question of vital importance to the Nation. It is being asked with increasing insistence by all groups and agencies concerned with the post-war world, and most of all by women workers themselves.

Employment and satisfactory conditions of work for women are part and parcel of sound economic conditions for the welfare of the whole people, and hence not to be overlooked or neglected in a time when every effort is to be devoted toward creating a better society. In regard to women workers, as well as to other elements in American life, what is done now, decided now, and planned now will determine to a large extent what can be expected tomorrow.

Close of the war will bring to an end, perhaps in many cases quite suddenly, much of the activity in which women have engaged in some of the major war industries, such as making ammunition, guns, ships, aircraft and parts, which will not be needed in the quantities now required. In fact, considerable numbers already were being laid off from various ordnance plants in the late months of 1943 and this continues in 1944.

Every effort must be made to find jobs for the men and women returning from the armed services and for displaced industrial workers as well. Returning servicemen have veterans' preference, and those who formerly had permanent employment are legally guaranteed their old jobs (or equivalent ones). Others formerly had only temporary work, and very many never before had a job. By the end of 1943 more than a million men had been mustered out of the armed forces, and 1944 is expected to add another million to these. Carefully worked out organizations are being developed to aid these men to find jobs and resume a normal life. Similar attention should be given to the needs of displaced workers, including women. The economic and family situation of women workers, the extent to which they have constituted a usual part of the pre-war labor force, and the nature of their own plans for their post-war life are subjects of field investigations the Women's Bureau now has in progress.

One of the important aids in finding post-war jobs for the women who expect to remain in the labor market lies in the fact that many articles curtailed during the war will be produced again to meet a large consumer demand, and some of these are industries in which in the past women have represented a considerable part of the labor force.

GOALS FOR MANKIND

The broad objective of the great struggle in which the United States is engaged should be kept continually in the forefront. It has been defined as the establishment for mankind of Four Freedoms: Of Speech; Of Religion; From Want; From Fear. As the war continues it becomes increasingly clear that action toward these ends in the economy of this country actually is an integral part of the struggle, and cannot await the close of hostilities—that an essential part of conducting and winning the war is to establish the Four Freedoms firmly in the economic life of America itself.

AFTER THE WAR

Problems To Be Solved

- Jobs for those returning from war service.
- War workers shifting to new jobs.
- Decline in employment from the war peak.
- Methods to tide workers over until new jobs can be found.
- Speed and method most desirable in mustering personnel out of the armed forces.
- Situations in localities contracting after war expansion.
- Rapidity with which plants can convert and begin peacetime production.
- Extent to which rationing can continue until production of new goods can restock markets.
- Policies to be pursued by Government in settling war contracts and disposing of goods.

Favorable Features in the Economic Scene

- Demand for new jobs will be spread over a long period; those requiring work need not all be placed at once.
- Need for workers in—
 - Reconversion of plants.
 - Construction of homes and community facilities.
- New demands for goods—
 - Consumer goods not made during war.
 - Replacements in worn-out production machinery.
 - New machinery for conversion of plants to peacetime uses.
- Buying power accumulated during war.
- Reserves set aside by manufacturers for post-war reconversion of plants.
- More means to tide workers over transition (e. g., unemployment insurance).
- Plans being made to solve problems, by Government, labor, business, community groups, private agencies.

One of the most important goals for this country may be stated in very general terms as the organization of efforts to satisfy the almost universal desire for a high level of employment and a better standard of living. Freedom from want and freedom from fear both require that jobs must be available for persons who need them. It is encouraging that many agencies are working toward these ends. Both the AFL and the CIO have special post-war planning committees devoting much work to determining the most advantageous lines of movement toward these goals. Adequate social insurance is an important subject that is currently to the fore because of anticipated needs in the period of transition to peacetime production.¹ Business interests are making vigorous plans for full employment through their Committee for Economic Development and other agencies.² The National Planning Association has been formed to promote the cooperation of business, labor, agriculture, and Government.³ Its representatives consider that no group is self-sufficient, all are interdependent. Together they recognize collective bargaining and the need for security, participation of all in productive enterprise, organization and development of technical and commercial research.

PICTURING THE POST-WAR PERIOD

The general picture after the war will be one of large numbers of men returning from the services and needing jobs, large numbers of workers leaving war industries and transferring to other work, much shifting of population from war-industry areas to home States or elsewhere. This period of transition already has begun, and bids fair to continue on an accelerated scale. Employment cannot be expected to remain very long at the war peak. However, it is most encouraging that business management, labor, and Government have efforts afoot to attain a permanent employment level considerably higher than that before the war.

WOMEN AFTER THE WAR

The situation of women will depend to a large extent on many economic factors. Foremost of these, of course, are the extent to which the entire economy can develop a high level of employment and the extent to which the industries expand that require the particular types of work women do best. Of great importance will be the opportunity for employment of men at wages sufficient to support their families, since many women who now have a real job at home as well as at the factory will leave the labor market if the male earners receive enough pay.

There are many other factors that will share in determining how far women will remain in employment—for example, the extent to

¹ See for example: For the Nation's Security, pamphlet prepared by the Department of Research and Education, C. I. O., 1943; The American Federationist, June 1943; Survey Midmonthly, April 1943 and May 1943; War and Post-war Social Security, a symposium by various writers, published by the American Council on Public Affairs, 1942.

² See for example: Publications of the Department of Commerce, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, 1943; Markets After the War; Community Action for Post-war Jobs and Profits. Also articles by Paul G. Hoffman in the American Federationist, June 1943, and the Survey Graphic, May 1943.

³ See their Joint Statement, April 1943.

which plants have been engineered for women's performance and employers convinced of its effectiveness; the skills women have demonstrated; the demand for work in industries that in past years have employed many women. Operating against women is the fact that as a class they have entered industry more recently than men and have relatively short seniority records. A strong psychological factor that does not favor women is the tradition that they do not support dependents, and that this is in a considerable degree false must be reiterated continually, with new evidences, before the mistaken theory can be overcome.

In summary, the general outline as to the present undeveloped stage of thinking and action on war and post-war policies for women workers is somewhat as follows:

Industry in general has provided no clear-cut policy.

Women have been considered in terms of "a minority group," though before the United States entered the war (that is, in 1940) they were over 24 percent of all workers, while the minority group next in size (Negroes of both sexes) constituted only 10 percent, and "children" (under 18) less than 3 percent.

Chief discussions as to women's employment have centered around:

The extent of their entrance into employment.

The types of work they are doing.

Satisfactory conditions surrounding their jobs.

The extent to which they will retire from the labor market.

The Women's Advisory Committee for the War Manpower Commission has stated basic policies for employment and retention of women workers. (See p. 22.)

Women's organizations have defined policies for the retention of women workers.

In 1940, something over 11 million women were actually employed, and about 2½ million others were seeking work. Even then women were practically one-fourth of all workers, and this proportion has risen through the war period to one-third in the latter part of 1943. After the war, the number of women who will need to remain in the labor force probably will be at least 2 or 3 million higher than the number in 1940. A much larger proportion of these than formerly will be women aged 45 to 64 years.* There is evidence that the need for women workers will continue along the following lines:

In producing consumer goods, where women long have been employed, as in the electrical, shoe, textile, food, jewelry, and other industries.

In service industries where shortages will continue acute, as in restaurants, laundries, households, and various selling trades.

In community services, as in health, welfare, social security, child care, and recreation, both in America and in reconstruction elsewhere.

* See Durand, John D. *The Post-war Employment of Women in the United States.* In *International Labor Review*, December 1943.

In specialized technical and professional work, as in medicine, nutrition, education, rehabilitation of handicapped, research, and various scientific services.

In the manufacture of goods to help in the reconstruction of devastated countries, as well as the replenishment of depleted stocks in this country.

In various business and clerical operations, as in secretarial work, statistics, and accounting.

WOMEN'S SHARE IN THE SUPPORT OF FAMILIES

An important feature of the post-war period will be the extent to which it will be necessary for women to support dependents. This is no new phenomenon, though it has become increasingly marked through the last half-century. In fact, this need has existed since much earlier times, and the way in which it was met by many women in the American colonial days has been described with interesting detail in at least one book on that period.⁵

In recent pre-war years, Bureau of Labor Statistics studies of income in some 131,000 families indicated that practically one-fifth of the employed women were the principal wage earners in their families. A Social Security Board analysis of reports on more than 700,000 city households has shown that women were at the head of a tenth of the families of 2 persons or more that constituted single households. A study made in Cleveland by the Women's Bureau showed that women wage earners contributed all the funds for the support of about a third of some 2,000 families with women wage earners reported.⁶

The death of many men in the present war, and the consequent depletion of male population, will require still more women to contribute to their families' support. Even as far back as the date of the 1930 Census there were more females than males in 66 of 93 major cities in the United States. By 1944, this had become the situation in the country as a whole. Support of the families of handicapped men is likely to increase considerably the financial obligations of women workers, in spite of aid tendered them by the Government. Reports in April 1944 give total casualties of the Armed Forces as 189,300—43,800 dead, 70,900 wounded, 41,300 missing, 33,300 prisoners.

The numbers killed and disabled are not distributed evenly over the country, and hence the effects of their loss will be greater in some localities than in others. In the first place, they are concentrated at certain ages, selectees being from the more youthful group of 18 to 38 years. Furthermore, the age distributions in the population differ by locality, and this is an added reason why the severity of the losses will be greater at some points than at others. This will mean that greater proportions of the woman population in some than in other localities must assume a large share of the support of their families.

⁵ *Women's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies*, by Julia Cherry Sprull. University of North Carolina Press, 1938. Chs. XII, XIII, and XIV.

⁶ For summaries of earlier studies, see *Women's Bureau Bull.* 75; for additional data, see *Women's Bureau Bulls.* 148, 155, 168, and 183.

WHAT HAPPENED TO WOMEN AFTER WORLD WAR I

What can be learned from the situation after World War I as to the employment possibilities for women? It is true that as plants cut down forces at that time large numbers of women lost their jobs, for the most part quite suddenly. In many cases the family earners in the armed forces, if any, had not yet returned, or had not found jobs. Many families suffered severe hardships after loss of work by their women earners.

However, an analysis made by the Women's Bureau of the records of some 500 firms engaged in war production in that period showed that though woman employment had been cut down so severely—more than 30 percent from the war peak—still these firms employed about 40 percent more women than before the war. This was in manufacturing industries. Demands of today and more efforts toward better planning than were seen in 1918 may develop a situation at least as good now as then. Moreover, expansion well above the pre-war level may be expected to occur in civilian service and supply industries.

In the various months of 1940, over-all employment figures showed from 10.5 million to 11.2 million women actually at work. An addition of 40 percent to this would give about 15 million women at work. Planning for employment should take account of some such number of women. This would mean retirement of 2 or 3 million women if the war peak should rise as estimated to some 17 or 18 million.

After World War I, full plans were worked out by War Department officers for demobilization to proceed according to occupational needs, so that returning men could be assured of finding jobs more quickly. However, authorities within the War Department were not in agreement as to the method of demobilization, and General March ordered demobilization by military units. It was claimed that to separate first those with certain skills would disrupt army units and require regrouping of men, thus slowing the process of demobilization, and that it would be impractical for the Army because of varied overseas locations of men with a given needed skill. Routing of soldiers to home draft boards for final release, thereby avoiding danger of labor surpluses in large cities, was declared impractical, largely because of administrative difficulties.

Result of demobilization by military units and from centralized camps was lack of placement in jobs, and concentration of unemployed men in cities, owing partly to the fact that instead of actually buying tickets to their preferred destinations the Government only issued cash to the men. After this developed, a partial effort was made to release more rapidly men needed in certain industries. The problems to be solved at such a time admittedly are very difficult, and neither method proved wholly satisfactory. It was remarkable that demobilization was practically completed in about a year's time. In any case, however, the people will be too impatient for the return of their men to wait for economic planning at home. Hence this must be done thoroughly ahead of time if it is to have much effect.

Part II.—FACTORS AFFECTING WOMEN'S OPPORTUNITIES

Women's post-war job opportunities will be influenced in a considerable degree by the wartime situation of working women in several respects—for example, the skills they are developing, the extent to which they are upgraded, their seniority status and union membership, the attitudes of employers toward their work, the extent to which plant processes have been adjusted to women's performance, the period of time over which occupation shifts will occur.

SKILLS OF WOMEN WORKERS

In the past the opportunity given women workers to learn and to exercise skills has been narrower in range than men's has been. In consequence, very large numbers of women have been concentrated in a relatively small number of occupations. Women were little thought of in connection with other types of work, and so they continued to be given little opportunity to develop additional skills.

The war situation has changed that considerably. With shortages of men workers, women have been employed in a greater variety of occupations than before. Thus they have been given new opportunities to acquire and to develop additional skills. Many of the processes required on war goods have called for operations to which women's nimble fingers, delicate touch, dexterity, and perseverance were admirably adapted. Industry has learned that women can do well many kinds of work for which before they were not considered. This will be of great advantage to women in the future. The extent to which they can make themselves effective in doing an A-1 job will be a large factor in determining the numbers of women who will be employed after the war.

Upgrading On the Job.

Unfortunately there are many cases where women still have been given far too little chance to be upgraded to their highest skills. In 1943, the National Industrial Conference Board analyzed reports from some 130 plants, chiefly in heavier metal industries, plants that had employed relatively few women or none. In nearly 60 percent of these plants there were no plans for advancing women from the top production jobs they held at the time of reporting to more highly skilled jobs. Moreover, numerous instances are reported of the placement of women in jobs that are not in the usual line for the job progression; in such blind-alley jobs neither proficiency nor length of service can bring these women beyond a limited early stage of the work. If this situation continues, it will be a great disadvantage to women after the war, and in fact Government agencies are finding promotional discrimination against them as one of the major reasons

why women quit jobs in war plants. Whether or not this continues may depend largely on the length of the war and the consequent stringency in the labor supply. It also will depend to some extent on how proficient women show themselves to be.

Women's Bureau surveys indicate that in some of the newer or better organized plants, as for example in aircraft or electrical industries, systems of upgrading are fairly well worked out, and women find some opportunities. The workers' progress often is influenced to a considerable extent by agreements with the unions as to wage increases, and seniority is likely to be of major importance. However, in many instances there is relatively little opportunity for women to advance to any considerable extent. This sometimes results from a general lack of any well-organized system of upgrading toward the better jobs. In some cases promotion is left to the department foreman. In others there is no progression except such as the worker makes by increasing her earnings under a piece-work system. The following cases illustrate the sharp limitations on women's opportunity for progress.

In a midwest ordnance depot reported as fairly typical of the general situation there have been very few promotions for women. Occasionally workers of merit and with several months of service are paid less than workers who came on the job recently. There have been opportunities, now and then, for women to advance to crew-leaders and various grades of supervision, and there are several women in these jobs. However, there is no definite plan as to what they should be paid in these jobs. Some crew-leaders and supervisors receive no more than the workers under them, while some are put in a classification that pays more.

In a western naval station upgrading to helper classification is automatic; beyond that it is a matter of merit, though there do not appear to be special standards for determining whether a person should be upgraded. Women are being taken in as helpers, instead of starting as mechanic learners. It is generally felt that women will not get beyond the helper classification, except for machine operators in the machine shop. Some beginning boys are mechanic learners.

Packers and feeders in a midwest match factory are upgraded to very simple jobs as machine operators, but upgrading takes place not primarily for women but in the plant's machine shop where men are highly skilled.

In a western shipyard there seems in general to be slower upgrading of women than of men. Some women report that, though allowed to become trainees (in the helper classification), they are kept at that point after they have finished the training courses and passed the tests set by the unions.

In several southern textile and clothing mills recently reported by Women's Bureau agents, there is little chance for upgrading. In one of these making clothing, workers do not want to be shifted to different jobs, but this apparently is largely due to loss in piece-work earnings on a new job. A nearby plant with a similar product forestalks this difficulty by guaranteeing workers their average piece-rate earnings on their regular job if they go to unfamiliar work.

Reports from a large aircraft plant show no women in office work permitted to advance to group leaders, regardless of seniority or ability. Recently a group leader went on vacation and a young boy was promoted to group leader over the woman who had trained him.

In an aircraft plant in the East, male trainees were paid more than the woman training them.

That similar difficulties also beset women in other fields is shown in the experience of professional women in their efforts to progress toward their best service. For example, it was not until a year and a half after Pearl Harbor that a law was passed permitting women doctors to be commissioned in the U. S. Army and Navy. At least one outstanding woman specialist had long previously tendered her services to Great Britain, where she was accorded rank more appropriate to her abilities. In mid-1943, the president of the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs stated in convention:

I solemnly charge that the war is being slowed down here in America by the failure of the Government and private enterprise alike to use women's brains and training in their specialized fields.

WHAT EMPLOYERS THINK OF WOMEN'S WORK

The appreciation of the work women have been doing has been widespread. In August 1943, on the first anniversary of the Army order to replace draft-age men with women wherever possible, Under Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson stated:

The women of America have responded ably and gallantly to the call to service the war has made upon them. Nowhere is this more evident than in the plants operated by the War Department. They have supplanted men at the bench and the lathe; they are doing civilian work in the nine Service Commands efficiently and in increasing numbers.

In the arsenals, in the ports of embarkation, in the motor centers, in all the War Department installations, their skills are invaluable and their devotion to duty is proven. They are testing guns, making ammunition, fixing motors, sewing uniforms, inspecting ordnance, driving trucks, doing many of the thousand and one jobs that are necessary to keep the machinery of war moving.

I salute them for their faithfulness, their cheerful courage, and their patriotism.

Plant after plant has testified to women's efficiency on jobs new to them. A few of innumerable examples that can be taken from Women's Bureau files and other sources are as follows:⁷

In a survey of aircraft assembly plants the Women's Bureau found that some of the foremen who had expressed a presumptive opposition to the induction of women in their sections were among the most effusive in their praise of the quality and quantity of the work done by women under their supervision.

⁷ See also further list of instances in Women's Bureau Bull. 196, pp. 5 ff.

A large metal plant reported to a Women's Bureau agent that women were found more careful of materials, and large savings were being made by less spoilage of tin plate.

An official of a major motor company reports women workers as precise, patient, eager to learn, eager to make good, and apt to follow detailed instructions to the letter. A good example of the meticulous care they exercise occurred recently in the plant. A new female inspector instructed to use a measuring scale found the counterbore of an oil pump adapter to be one-sixteenth of an inch oversize. The job-setter and two male inspectors had previously checked and approved the job.

A woman at a large electric and engineering company in Ohio was given a 10-weeks' training course in the standards department. In less than 5 months she had acquired a surprisingly high degree of facility and had come to be considered a top-notch time-study woman on hand and machine operations.

An employer-relations representative of the USES states that women doing acetylene-gas welding passed Army-Navy tests two to one better than men.

Of 146 executives who commented on this subject to the National Industrial Conference Board, nearly 60 percent stated without qualification that the production of women workers who were on jobs formerly held by men was equal to, or greater than, that of men on similar work.

The National Safety Council, in a study including about 700 women commercial drivers—truck, bus, and taxicab—found them more willing than men to listen to instructions, and more likely to obey speed laws and stop signs and to keep their windshields clean.

Will They Retain Women?

Such examples as the foregoing could be multiplied many times. Moreover, the satisfaction of employers with women's performance has been a very practical advantage to women. Many employers have been so enthusiastic over women's work that they have stated an intention to retain women after the war. Examples follow.

The president of the United States Chamber of Commerce recently expressed his opinion that "women will be able to keep almost every gain they have made in industry—in numbers employed, in better types of jobs, in higher wages."

An official of a large midwest electrical company stated to a Women's Bureau agent that women have proved themselves capable on machine jobs, and that probably a higher proportion will be retained than was employed prior to the war.

Women's Bureau field agents found women at work on all types of precision inspection in the manufacture of gear cutters in a machine-tool plant visited. Women were proving so efficient that the foreman thought possibly they always would be kept on this work, even after the war. They picked up the work faster than men, followed instructions better, and were more careful in making precision measurements and checks.

A prominent shipbuilder has stated repeatedly that 50 percent of the women workers will want to continue in the labor force after the war, and that he intends to employ them.

A high officer of a major motorcar company stated recently that his firm employed 40 percent women as compared to 15 percent before the war, and that many of these want to stay, so the percentage may continue above that before the war.

Officers of a firm making aircraft engines and parts told a Women's Bureau agent that their company never again will use men on inspection, which is a considerable part of their process, though women probably will not be retained to any great extent in the machine shop after men return.

A major aircraft manufacturer and his executives expect to continue employing women in technical work, and maintain that women workers who are being upgraded and who want a career can continue to work after the war. Another states that women have established themselves as logical permanent employees in highly technical shop work, as personnel counselors, and in engineering.

An official of the American Hotel Association stated that women will be encouraged to remain on the job, as "We are convinced there is a future for them in our business."

A major telegraph company expects women to be able to keep jobs as operators after the war.

The engineering laboratory of a large automobile company that employed only one woman before the war in scientific work now has 160 and wants more.

PLANTS HAVE BEEN FITTED FOR WOMEN'S WORK

Many war production plants have made changes in machinery and arrangement of work to adapt jobs for employment of women workers. In some instances entire new plants have been built with an eye to the efficiency of women workers. The shift of these plants to peacetime production after the war will be greatly facilitated by continuing to employ women on the jobs and at the machines designed for them.

In some of these cases, rotation with other jobs has been arranged where continuous work at one process would be too tiring for women. In others, fewer duties are grouped into individual jobs to fit them for performance by women. Elsewhere a rearrangement of the work is necessary, as for example in some machine-tool plants where lighter parts in the machining departments may be processed by women separately from those that are so large and heavy that men must handle them.

Innumerable instances could be cited of the installation of cranes, hoists, and other lifting devices that can be operated by women, thus enabling them to do jobs that otherwise would be too heavy. For example, in a large aircraft-engine plant, inspection of cylinder barrels for tool marks and scratches requires removal of the 50-pound cylinder from the conveyor, tilting it for proper lighting, and rotating it so as to examine the entire inside of the cylinder. A welded tilting carriage easily operated on a wheeled platform eliminates the need of lifting and enables women to do the inspecting.

The Women's Bureau has reported a number of plants that have installed lighter jigs, dies, fixtures, and holding devices to facilitate

women's work. Often these may be made of some of the newer plastic materials. In one aircraft plant, for example, steel jigs too heavy for women were replaced with masonite jigs weighing less than one-tenth as much. A large New Jersey metal plant has installed modified jigs and dies for engine and turret lathes, cylinder and tool grinders, and milling and broaching machines. Other examples are as follows.

A tool company in Ohio has introduced a small light tool to aid in handling rivets. It holds 50 rivets at a time and has a special nose jaw that keeps a single rivet ready at all times for inserting in the hole of the metal. Another tool company provides women with long-handled wrenches, which require less strength than the short-handled and enable women to do more tightening of parts.

A Michigan factory formerly making automobile parts, now engaged in manufacture of machine guns, has made extensive changes to fit more jobs for women. Conveyors were installed to slide parts from one machine to another, lighter fixtures have replaced heavier, machines fitted with automatic stops and new guards, fixtures and bench vises designed to hold parts during operation, and machines and benches adjusted to women's height.

A very large tool company has built its plant and designed its machinery with the express purpose of work for women. It has provided machines of proper height, adjustable chairs, foot rests, electric-button controls instead of levers and wheels, and weight-lifting devices. On a spinning lathe, a hand lever that took all the strength of a man to move has been lengthened by a 2-foot extension so that it now can be operated by a gentle touch. Features especially planned for women's safety include elimination of hand feeding on grinders, installation of metal guards and shatterproof glass on straightening presses to safeguard against flying metal pieces.

It is extremely likely that these companies which have found women's performance satisfactory, and which have engineered large sections of their plants for women, will continue to employ many women. This is not to say, however, that they will not have many places for returning men. Many women workers will not care to stay on when their men return from the service. The heavier metal industries will have an important role in post-war retooling and production of needed goods in the early post-war periods, and these should afford many jobs for men, since women that have been so employed during the war may be considered unlikely to remain to any preponderant extent in heavy metal industries.

SENIORITY STATUS OF WOMEN

At any period of job shortages, the seniority status that workers have been able to develop greatly influences their chances of employment. The many women recent entrants to the labor market naturally have not yet built up long seniority records. Their chances will be limited sharply in the face of men who return with longer records. For example, in one of the outstanding War Labor Board cases dealing with equal pay for women on the job, the Board agreed that women transferred to men's jobs for the duration would acquire no

seniority. In some cases women have skipped a job considered unsuitable for them and been placed in a job with a higher rate but only on a temporary basis of tenure.

Many plants have arranged for an automatic extension of seniority for their permanent workers called to war services and afterward returning to the plant. For example, a study of some 250 companies showed that nine-tenths of them provide full continuous-service credit for employees on military leave. In another study of 300 labor agreements, 75 of them signed in 1943, however, no specific listing was made of any of the women now in armed services such as WACs and WAVEs.

There will be many questions as to workers who had only a temporary status before leaving for war service, and also as to those never having worked in the plant. Reasonable seniority provisions should give women with continuous service in a plant in the war period precedence over persons never having worked there. Examination of such provisions, however, indicates that it is very likely that the plant seniority practices under the clauses of many union agreements give women workers very inadequate protection.

For example, some agreements definitely provide that women's occupation of jobs formerly held by men shall be for the duration only. Some agreements give women employed at time of signing the agreement full seniority rights with men, but for women employed after that time set up a list for women separate from that for men. Some agreements provide for the seniority of women as "separate and distinct from the seniority of men." Agreements fixing seniority by department only may affect women and men quite differently. Other agreements are so vaguely worded as to permit interpretations that are of disadvantage to women.

Among special sufferers from lack of seniority may be large numbers of married women who have responded in good faith to their country's call to war production. In many cases such workers may desire to leave their industrial jobs. But it must not be forgotten that there are numerous instances in which their financial assistance is needed by the families, and the aftermath of war is likely to add to this number. An example of their probable treatment in too many cases is illustrated by recent amendments to the unemployment compensation act in one State that provide that plants formerly having a rule barring married women from employment may reinstate this rule immediately after the war. Married women workers of these plants will at once lose their jobs, and probably will not be eligible to receive unemployment insurance to tide them over this transition period in their lives.

The extent of this problem may be indicated from a sample of 35 ordnance, aircraft, and other war industry plants, in half of which at least 50 percent of the woman labor force were married. Some employers took on married women by preference, with the idea that when lay-offs came the husband would be a wage earner and the wife could go. But many of these male wage earners may not return, or may be disabled, and it cannot be assumed that these married women can automatically return home.

SPREADING THE TRANSITION

It appears at present that the war may be completed in some areas while still in progress elsewhere. This suggests that needs for reemployment may be spread through several months or even years instead of being concentrated at one time. This will afford better opportunity for placement. In effect two major wars are being fought, each composed of several areas of combat. As parts of these are completed, men are released for other areas, and some are enabled to leave the battle fronts. In fact, many service men already have returned and are fitting into their old jobs or into new ones. To the extent that they can be permanently placed, the solution to employment problems is being stretched out over a considerable period.

In December 1943, the estimate for men mustered out of the armed services for medical reasons involving hospitalization was 35,000 a month, with some 35,000 more discharged for reaching age limits or for disabilities not needing hospitalization. The War Manpower Commission has been placing these men, thus lessening the number to find jobs at the war's end. Something over 1 million were returned to civilian life by the end of 1943.

At the same time war production needs have been shifting markedly, both as to goods required and as to areas in which they are manufactured. During the summer of 1943, for example, a number of ordnance plants were curtailing output and labor force, and their workers shifting to other jobs or leaving the labor market. This situation has continued in various localities since that time. The War Manpower Commission fixed manpower ceilings in various industries and localities; for example, in October 1943, Seattle shipbuilders were ordered to make certain reductions in force. During November the number of areas short of labor dropped from 77 to 69. It is probable that in many cases the saturation point in employment has been reached. Workers already are making adjustments, and as a result fewer of them should be seeking jobs at the time soldiers are returning in the greatest numbers.

PLANT PLANNING FOR POST-WAR PRODUCTION

The extent to which war manufacturers have been able to look ahead to their business after the war is an indication as to possibilities of full employment of the labor force, including women.⁸ Many of the larger companies have well-developed plans for production and marketing in the post-war period, whether or not these require a large extent of conversion of their plants or promotion of a new product. The Committee for Economic Development makes suggestions to individual firms on how to proceed with such planning. The National Association of Manufacturers recommends that every company establish "rainy-day" reserves for conversion to peacetime activities.

Some companies expect to intensify their efforts in pre-war lines, many to develop related lines, and a smaller proportion to branch out into entirely new fields. A major electrical company at an early date urged its operating departments to draft detailed plans for reconver-

⁸ See also *Capacity to Employ the Labor Force*, p. 18.

sion of facilities to post-war volumes of manufacture, to keep these up-to-date, with estimates of money and time required for them, to train skeleton crews, develop processes, carry forward redesigns of new products, and study necessary sales problems and personnel.

Aircraft companies have studied post-war needs in their own and related lines, their industry being recognized as having some of the most serious transition problems. A major one has investigated 140 different products for possible post-war manufacture. Some have especially considered plans to make refrigerators, stoves, washing machines, radios, and metal furniture after the war. Some plants were converted to making plane parts instead of civilian supply goods, and may very well return to their original product.

Of more than 300 war production plants recently visited by Women's Bureau agents, more than a fifth made statements that showed a definitely favorable attitude toward employment of women in the post-war period. Of 25 aircraft plants reporting on this subject, 15 had a favorable outlook as to employment after the war, expecting to continue production. However, others pointed out women's lack of seniority and some said they expected to give jobs to returning men and probably would not use women. Twenty machine-tool and other metal plants and 6 manufacturers of engines and motors predicted good employment for women, a number of them declaring women had proved their worth and would be kept.

Many war manufacturing plants, possibly a majority, particularly of those not directly making munitions and firearms, may shift to civilian production without a break. This would be true, for example, of those making shoes and textile goods, which are major employers of women. A company making a rubber life boat is promoting its use as a fishing boat, since it can be folded for carrying, yet will hold men, tackle, and fish.

Other firms will resume the making of pre-war goods again in demand, after taking a period for reconversion to peacetime uses. The motor industry may set the pace for this, and probably will require over 6 months to get into production of a pre-war model car. For the first year after reconversion, one large automobile company proposes to employ 30 percent more workers than in the last pre-war year, with production doubled. The electrical industry, an important employer of women, may require not more than a few weeks to convert again to peacetime manufacture.

A survey by Factory Management and Maintenance in late 1943 indicated plans for extensive capital expenditures. The coverage included more than 700 plants in over 160 industries. Of these, 219 plants had such definite programs as to be able to state dollar value of improvements and extensions they intended to make, which totaled more than 42 million dollars. This included expenditures for new equipment and repair of equipment, and also for new construction and repair of existing structures, planned by more than 40 percent of these plants.

Many plants are continuing or even intensifying their research during the war, and in this way products have been developed and inventions made that have been of immediate importance and that may have far-reaching uses after the war. An outstanding example of this that

16 WOMEN WORKERS IN TRANSITION FROM WAR TO PEACE

comes at once to mind is the rubber industry. It is probable that some of the synthetic rubbers, which are more resistant than rubber to deterioration from the air and temperature, will find many peacetime uses, as for hospital necessities, raincoats, household aids, floor coverings, hose lines, equipment coming in contact with chemicals or oils, and so on. One large tire company has developed a tire-tester that spots by sound waves defects in used tires, and a neutralizer that removes static from radio waves. A plastic-foam insulating material has been developed. An air conditioner for homes is a product now being promoted for more widespread post-war use. Plastic resins resistant to intense heat have been worked out by a large glass company and a chemical company. Synthetic resins are usable for coating fabrics against both fire and water and are expected to find a myriad uses, such as for packaging food, for covering seats in trains and restaurants, for making shoes and luggage, and for flameproof clothing and rainwear.

Part III.—FACTORS IN THE GENERAL ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

Thus far in this bulletin primary attention has been paid to certain specific factors that outline the situation of women after the war, with a particular bearing on their opportunity for jobs. But the entire direction of America's post-war economy will have a profound effect on women. It has been pointed out that the extent to which a high level of employment can be developed is of major importance to women's opportunities, as is also the extent of demand for labor in the particular industries to which women's skills are best suited. Other features in the general economic background that will outline the place that women may take will be suggested in the paragraphs following.

THE SHIFTING POST-WAR LABOR FORCE

It is expected that at least some 8 or 9 million men will be returning from the armed forces and it is likely that the great majority of these will seek jobs. It is probable that at least 6 million workers will be displaced from war industries, and that many additional workers will find job shifts necessary. One of the hopeful factors is that not all these will be seeking jobs at one time. Already considerable shifting is occurring. Perhaps more than a third will be demobilized from armed forces and industry before the war ends, and placement of these is in progress. Some estimates see about 6½ million persons released in the year after European victory, a somewhat larger number in 6 months after final victory, remaining smaller numbers over the following year's period.

Size of the Post-War Labor Force.

In April 1940, the labor force consisted of 54 million persons, of whom 45 million were employed. The labor force estimated for mid-1944 is over 65 million, more than 11 million of these in the armed forces.

Industrial planning is based on employment of 54 to 57 million persons.

Some 5 or 6 million persons may leave the labor market, including older workers, younger persons wishing to continue education and training, and some of the women newly drawn in.

Probably at least 1 million from service personnel will be interested in more education or training, according to the Committee of the Armed Forces for Post-War Educational Opportunities for Service Personnel, and many younger men and women now in the civilian labor forces will be added to this. Of the ages 14 to 19 years, nearly half a million more girls than normal are reported in the labor

force. The Office of Education estimates that from 2 to 3 million young men and women now in industry or the armed forces will want part-time educational opportunities after the war.

Capacity to Employ the Labor Force.

A minimum estimate to provide full employment would require that the national output of goods and services be maintained at a level of 110 to 120 billion dollars (at a price level not inflated). To uphold living standards some 77 billion dollars' worth of consumers' goods must be produced.

There is little question as to the physical capacity of plants and equipment to produce enough to keep people employed and furnish them with necessities. The more serious problems are likely to be as to the possibilities for developing markets, one of the partial solutions of which may be in the satisfaction of delayed demands by the use of assets that are now being accumulated. As to capacity to produce, even in 1929, it is estimated, our productive resources were used to only 81 percent of their capacity, and in the years immediately following to less than 50 percent of their capacity. If the measure both for goods turned out and for prices be taken at the 1940 levels, a time neither abnormally depressed nor as yet inflated, gross national output of goods and services totaled almost 100 (97) billion dollars. The increase since that time has demonstrated an actual physical capacity to produce 50 percent more than this, still figured on 1940 prices, and at 1940 work hours (the shortest in history), employing all but a minimum of 2 million of the labor force.

Demands for Workers, and Buying Power.

To begin with, a considerable number of the workers who now are carrying on some branches of production will need to be retained for retooling of plants. Further, certain sharply curtailed service industries are badly in need of expansion.

Accumulated demand for consumers' goods, which is one measure of demands for workers, was estimated to total some 12 billion dollars at the end of 1943. Demand is expected for 1 million private homes, and there are estimated to be deferred maintenance costs of 3.5 billion dollars for public and private property. At the time of the 1940 census almost half the dwelling units in the United States were in need of major repairs or had no bath, or both these conditions. Of more than 7 million farm units reported, 6½ million had no bath, 6 million had no running water, and only 31 percent had electric current. Authorities state that to properly house the urban population alone 1,600,000 dwelling units should be built every year for at least 10 years after the war ends. Food needs also are tremendous. Paul V. McNutt estimates that 75 percent of all Americans need better diets, and Milo Perkins stated that in 1939 an estimated 20 million Americans were living on an average of 5 cents' worth of food per meal. A Nation-wide survey made in 1936 by the Bureau of Home Economics revealed that 45 million men, women, and children were inadequately nourished. At least 250,000 people could be employed at making clothes if every consumer could have even the amount of clothing purchased by the families that lived on an income of \$1,800 a year in 1939. This would mean a 10-percent increase in clothing production.

The problem arises of distributing this demand over a period of time such that production can begin and continue, without the growth of so great a peak demand (with consequent high prices) that a slump might follow, with resulting unemployment.

In many cases plants can begin at once to produce civilian goods. Less than 10 percent of total civilian manpower was estimated at a peak time, to be in war-converted industries, which must reengineer plants and rebuild sales organization (automobiles, refrigerators, office equipment, and so forth). Another 10 percent are in industries such as aircraft and shipbuilding that undoubtedly will decline markedly from their war status. This leaves 80 percent of civilians still engaged either in producing essential civilian goods and services or in war production very similar to peacetime products.

If war lasts through 1944, accumulated savings available as estimated by the Department of Commerce would be 40 to 60 billion dollars. That this is conservative is indicated by statements in the spring of 1944 that savings-bank accounts at that time totaled 80 billion dollars, war-bond holdings 25 billion dollars, besides other reserves in insurance and pension funds. Of course it must be remembered that these savings partake of the nature of capital reserves for their owners and are not fully available for short-time expenditure.⁹

Post-War Problems Vary by Industry and Area.

Demobilization obviously will affect some industries and occupations, as well as some geographic areas, much more than others.

About 80 percent of the manufacturing and mining employment in this country is concentrated in 413 of the more than 3,000 counties, that also have 80 percent of the urban population. Some 70 or more major production areas have been greatly overexpanded by war industries, a number of them formerly of a chiefly rural character, and many of them affording but few occupational opportunities to offset withdrawal of war manufacturing.

MAJOR DECISIONS THAT WILL AFFECT WOMEN

An orderly transition to peacetime living will depend to a considerable extent on the methods of handling a number of major economic policies, some of which can be indicated though not fully discussed here. The decisions made on these will influence to a great extent women's work and women's opportunities in the post-war world, though the economic factors that have been discussed also will have important effects. The few important problems listed below are not entirely independent of each other and are not shown in any particular order as to importance.

Problem A. Certain goods that have not been made during the war will continue to be scarce though it now appears that many people who want them will have money to buy. Unless rationing be continued until these stocks of goods can be somewhat replenished, prices will go very high before plants can be reconditioned to new production. The available goods will be sold, money will be spent in high prices. By the time new goods can be made available, unless some rationing continues, people will have considerably satisfied their wants and also will have less money to buy. The new market thus will be slowed up, as will production and the chance for jobs.

⁹ See Pierson on underwriting consumer spending, *American Economic Review*, March 1944.

Problem B. The policies that are followed, as to time and method, in demobilizing the military forces and fitting them again into civilian life will have much influence on whether or not people can have jobs, or money to live on until jobs are available. (See p. 6 on World War I.)

Problem C. The Government has made extensive contracts with private operators to furnish necessary war supplies. These will not be needed if the war ends suddenly. The rapidity with which the Government can cancel these orders and pay for the goods actually completed will determine the quickness with which the plants can promise their workers jobs at making peacetime goods.

Problem D. The Government owns large stores of goods, food, clothing, and all sorts of supplies for the armed forces that will not be needed after the war. Disposal of these too rapidly and at too low a price could cause a great loss to the Government (i. e., the taxpayers). It also could supply such a considerable demand as to make a slow market for new goods for a long time to come, thus retarding development of jobs.

Problem E. The Government owns much machinery in private plants. A major automobile manufacturer estimated, for example, that before reconversion 57 acres of Government machinery would have to be removed from his property. The types of arrangements made to transfer this to plant owners, or to remove it quickly if not needed for peacetime production, will have much influence on the rapidity with which the plants can begin peacetime work and take on their labor forces.

Problem F. The Government also owns almost 1,600 plants. Such properties owned by the Government cost more than 14 billion dollars, in addition to much of the machinery in private plants that also is Federally owned. The operation of these, their lack of operation, or the method of their return to private ownership can have a great influence on jobs, wages, and other labor standards.

These are but a few of the many questions to be solved, which include also the extent to which cooperative relations can be maintained between business and Government; the tax policy and the extent to which it may foster or retard new production; the ease with which manufacturers can get funds to begin financing their peacetime products; the rapidity with which communities can begin public works and offer jobs to displaced workers during their period of transition; the method by which the Army sees to it that returning men actually are transported to their homes or preferred communities; rehabilitation of devastated areas; policing through a world agency to foster peace; and so on. Wise solutions of these myriad problems will affect jobs and standards of work and life.

The problems to be met after the war were studied by the National Resources Planning Board. A Conference on Post-war Readjustment was called, and suggestions were made as to the wise solution along many lines. These were summarized in a brief report on "Demobilization and Readjustment," available in libraries.

More recently, a definite effort has been made to prepare for solving the problems indicated under D, E, and F by the appointment through Executive order of a Surplus War Property Administration. The property over which this authority extends includes "any property, real or personal, including, but not limited to, plants, facilities, equipment, machines, accessories, parts, assemblies, products, commodities, materials, and supplies in the possession of, or controlled by, any Government agency, whether new or used, in use or in storage, which are in excess of the needs of such agency."

Part IV.—PLANNING FOR WOMEN

Sound policies outlining women's post-war situation and opportunities are the subject of much thought among women themselves. They are being discussed at numerous public conferences and form the basis for active programs of national organizations of women. It is realized strongly that the economic situation as a whole will have the most profound effect on women's opportunities. Besides this, certain basic principles specifically applying to women have been thought out and expressed. Practical methods for putting these into effect, taking account of controlling economic factors, have not been fully developed, though some steps in this direction have been initiated.

The more outstanding facts and principles being stressed by women who are thinking through these problems are along the following lines:

Even before the war, women constituted a very considerable proportion (24 percent) of the labor force. For decades this had been an increasing proportion. A large part of the woman labor force has been responsible for the support of dependents. The extent of this is increased by war conditions. War casualties will contribute to the excess of female over male population, which already had developed in many areas in this country.

Many women who have entered employment for patriotic reasons or because their husbands were in service will wish to leave the labor force after the war. Many other women will be unable to retire from gainful work or will wish to continue to use the skills they have developed.

The skills developed by women in their war work are a national asset that should continue to find effective use.

Opportunity should be afforded to women for education, training, job placement, and advancement in their chosen lines of work.

Efforts to provide jobs for the post-war labor force should fully include women workers. Arbitrary dismissals of women should be forestalled by developing constructive measures to expand the economy and provide full employment for all who want it.

It is not possible here to quote from the many outstanding women who have given thought and expression to these post-war needs of women. A few excerpts will be given here from women and others in Government authority and from policies adopted by national organizations of women or stated individually by officials of such organizations.¹⁰

¹⁰ See also quotations collected in a mimeographed publication of the American Association of University Women, *Food for Thought and Discussion on Women in the Post-war World*. Compiled by Frances Vaillant Speck, October 1943.

POLICY STATEMENTS BY GOVERNMENT AUTHORITIES ¹¹

Mary Anderson, Director of the Women's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor:

After the war women will predominate in this and other countries. Thus, on any count, the peace plans—which must be formulated even during the throes of war—must give especial attention to the interests of women but in relation to the greatest good for all our people.

For decades in this country millions of women have had to earn a livelihood. Many have had to be the total or partial support of dependents. As a result of the war, women's wage-earning responsibilities will be greatly increased. A large number of women in all types of positions will have to continue to take the place of men—to take the place as breadwinners of men who fail to return or come back incapacitated from the battle fronts.

To rebuild the world after the war, to reconvert our own country to normal, will require a vast amount of work—enough to absorb all dislocated workers. There must be a farsighted employment program of readjustment for men and women and of fair play to both.—*April 1943.*

Women's Advisory Committee, War Manpower Commission:

Government and industry must not assume that all women can be treated as a reserve group during war only, nor should those who wish to stay in the labor market be accused of taking men's jobs. The right of the individual woman to work must be recognized and provided for, just as is the right of the individual man to work.—*May 1943.*

If the rights of women workers are to be protected, intelligent and comprehensive programs will have to be evolved and put into effect. The committee is of the opinion that national planning should be taking definite shape now to provide employment outlets for everyone who wants to work—both men and women—after the war.

The Committee is in full recognition of the fact that men in the armed forces will have their old jobs back when they return if they want them. This is written into the Selective Service Act. It is further recognized that some women will leave their jobs of their own accord and return to their homes as soon as possible.

But any easy assumption that a great number of women will return to their homes is to be seriously questioned. Almost 14,000,000 working women are not newcomers to the labor force. The number of women who want and need to work has increased enormously during the war. There will be an even higher proportion of unmarried women in our population. There will be hundreds of thousands of women who must accept the permanent function of breadwinner because of the loss of husbands in the

¹¹ See also statement of the Under Secretary of War, p. 91; and Address by Mary Anderson, Proceedings, American Economic Association, 1944.

war. And there are the women who have adjusted their family life and found a new, often hard-won economic status which they do not wish to lose.

Prospects for job security and other new job opportunities after the war are as important to these women as to men. Furthermore, no society can boast of democratic ideals if it utilizes its woman power in a crisis and neglects it in peace.

The American people, therefore, must demand consideration of the status of women in all post-war plans. This consideration is important to the war effort now, and it is socially desirable for the post-war period.—*December 1943.*

Conference on Post-War Readjustment of Civilian and Military Personnel, National Resources Planning Board:

. . . Women and men who have shared similar responsibilities during the period of the war as workers in war industries or as members of the armed forces should enjoy similar rights and privileges with respect to demobilization and readjustment.—*June 1943.*

U. S. Senate Special Committee Investigating the National Defense Program (Mr. Truman, Chairman):

Many of the women who have gone into our factories and done such splendid work during the war will want to continue working, and they are entitled to a chance to earn a good living at jobs that they have shown they can do.—*November 1943.*

**PROPOSALS BY INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION
AS TO EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN**

The following extracts are from one of the reports prepared by the International Labor Conference to present background material on the questions on the Agenda for its regular spring session, to be held in Philadelphia in April 1944 (ch. IX of Report III, The Organization of Employment in the Transition from War to Peace). The Recommendations as to Women Workers, which are proposed for discussion at the conference, also are included here.

If full employment can be achieved, the solution of women's special problems will, of course, be greatly facilitated. But the employment shifts which are bound to accompany the transition from a wartime to a peacetime economy are likely to give rise to temporary difficulties in respect of women's employment, since woman power is still generally regarded as a reserve of labor which can be tapped or neglected at will.

During the present war, the reserves of woman power have been drawn upon very freely . . . Furthermore, women have been entrusted with the most varied types of work and functions, at nearly every level of skill and responsibility.

[During] the economic depression, . . . one school of thought was then in favor of eliminating women, especially married women, from the employment market as a remedy for unemployment. It need hardly be emphasized that such a remedy is inef-

fective; it merely shifts the incidence of unemployment and is, in fact, more difficult to apply than had been anticipated.

The last depression, indeed, clearly showed that unemployment increases the number of applicants for employment within the family circle. The remedy is, therefore, not to try unsuccessfully to bar married and other women from employment but to develop social security measures which will give women real freedom to choose between whole-time domesticity and a paid occupation, which they can do only if the pressure of economic necessity is relaxed.

The practical methods of applying the principle of equality of opportunity for employment must be worked out within each occupation.

PROPOSED ILO RECOMMENDATIONS AS TO WOMEN

Having regard to the ability which women have shown during the war in the skillful performance of the most varied jobs, and in accordance with the consistent policy of the International Labor Organization, it is suggested that the redistribution of women workers in the peacetime economy should be organized on the principle of complete equality of opportunity for men and women on the basis of their individual merit, skill, and experience.—*Paragraph 37.*

In order to place women on a basis of equality with men in the employment market and to prevent competition among the available workers, prejudicial for all alike, it is suggested that measures should be taken to encourage application of the principle of equal pay for equal work, a principle which the Organization has consistently supported from the outset.—*Paragraph 38 (1).*

As a means of facilitating the application of this principle, it is suggested that investigations should be conducted, in cooperation with employers' and workers' organizations, for the purpose of obtaining information on the quantity and quality of work performed by men and women in the same or comparable occupations and jobs, and thereby establishing standards of evaluation permitting of the comparison of job performance and the fixing of wages on that basis.—*Paragraph 38 (2).*

Finally, without prejudice to opportunities for the employment of women in other occupations, the employment of women should be facilitated by action to raise the relative status of industries and occupations in which large numbers of women have traditionally been employed and to improve conditions of work and methods of placement therein.—*Paragraph 39.*

STATEMENTS INDICATING POLICIES OF NATIONAL WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS

American Association of University Women:

The National Board of this organization voted in June 1943 to endorse the policy stated in May by the Women's Advisory Committee of the War Manpower Commission. (See quotation above.)

It was considered that in concrete terms this reaffirmed the following resolution passed at the 1941 biennial convention:

Women in a democracy should have opportunity to participate fully in the intellectual, social, economic, and political life of the Nation according to their ability as persons without restriction because of sex or marital status.

The Board recommended:

That we support efforts to secure qualified personnel on policy-making boards, staff, and conferences, with full recognition of the expertness of women as well as men, and that we cooperate where desirable with other organizations to secure the inclusion of competent women. (For later statements, see the quarterly *Journal* of this organization.)

National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association:

Mrs. Henry A. Ingraham, then president of the Board, stated:

We accept the challenge to aline ourselves with like-minded organizations, with Government, education, labor, and the church, for many specific purposes and for the general over-all purpose of securing for women opportunities for greater leadership and fuller service to mankind.—*October 1943.*

Miss Juliet O. Bell of the Board says:

A new philosophy of work for men and women may be one of the fruits of the present conflict—that work is a way of life and not a matter of getting and keeping jobs . . . Only when all able persons in a society take their rightful part in co-operative enterprises can society enjoy full health and vigor.—*October 1943.*

(For later statements see *The Woman's Press*, published monthly.)

National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs:

Dr. Minnie L. Maffett, president, in addressing this organization's national convention in July 1943, stated:

An organization like ours must see that opportunities for a woman to use her talents are never again closed. Moreover, every woman in a high position must be made to feel that she owes it to all women who are coming after her to hold the door open. In our clubs we must take our places with organizations that are concerned with post-war economic planning, to make certain that in that planning provision is made for jobs for both men and women. Broad expansion in industry and better systems of distribution must be developed if we are to be honest and fair to the old employees, the millions of new recruits, and the 10 million returning soldiers after the war is ended.

Dr. Maffett recommended further:

That nationally, in the States, and locally, we initiate and cooperate, when a need exists, with appropriate organizations applying themselves to economic and social problems involving winning the war and winning the peace; and

That the Federation demand the enforcement of the principle of equal pay for comparable work.

(For later statements, see *The Independent Woman*, published monthly.)

National Women's Trade Union League:

Rose Schneiderman, president, has made these statements:

We must give the impetus of our collective voice raised in support of post-war jobs for women as well as men, equal pay for equal work, and adequate social security.—*October 1943.*

Demobilization of millions of women when the war ends will indeed challenge us. But it is right that the youngest among them, the 16-year-olds who are doing war work now, should go back to school. It is right that some of the very old women who have been drawn back into industry be allowed to return home. And if women with young children can be supported without working, they should have that privilege.

There will be a tremendous chance for women in retail trades and service industries which have been drained. There will be opportunities in the many war plants which will be converted to peacetime purposes, some of them entirely new.

Many men now in the armed services have been trained to more complex jobs and will not be coming back to their old jobs, and women may fill their old positions. There will be much reshifting, but not a situation to warrant complete pessimism.—*November 1943.*

(For later statements see the monthly mimeographed publication, *Life and Labor.*)

In addition to the foregoing, statements far too numerous to quote have been made by outstanding women from all walks of life who have been thinking along these lines—educators, vocational advisers, labor-union officers, executives, editors and feature writers, radio commentators, personnel administrators, women in public life, and those in many other professions.