

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

By

Joanna C. Colcord
William C. Koplovitz
Russell H. Kurtz

**EXPERIENCE
OF 26
AMERICAN
COMMUNITIES
1930-1931**

with

**SUGGESTIONS
FOR
SETTING UP
A
PROGRAM**

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EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

As Carried Out in Twenty-Six American
Communities, 1930-1931, with Suggestions
for Setting Up a Program

BY

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
FOREWORD	7

PART ONE

DEVELOPMENT OF WORK RELIEF

FORERUNNERS OF WORK RELIEF	11
WORK RELIEF IN 1930-1931	13
SOURCE OF FUNDS	15
AUSPICES	15
STATE LEGISLATION	17
METHODS OF ADMINISTRATION	18
TABULAR SUMMARIES	22

PART TWO

REPORTS ON WORK RELIEF IN 26 COMMUNITIES

BAYONNE, NEW JERSEY	33
BERGEN COUNTY, NEW JERSEY	37
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA	42
BRIDGEPORT, CONNECTICUT	48
BUFFALO, NEW YORK	54
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS	64
CINCINNATI, OHIO	75
CLEVELAND, OHIO	80
GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN	85
HAMILTON, OHIO	91
HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT	95
INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA	99
KANSAS CITY, KANSAS	106
KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI	110
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS	114
LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY	118
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN	127
NEW YORK, NEW YORK	136
NIAGARA FALLS, NEW YORK	161
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA	166

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

	PAGE
PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA	182
ROCHESTER, NEW YORK	192
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI	201
TOLEDO, OHIO	206
TRENTON, NEW JERSEY	210
WATERBURY, CONNECTICUT	214

PART THREE

SETTING UP A PROGRAM OF WORK RELIEF

CONCEPTS UNDERLYING WORK RELIEF	225
AUSPICES AND FINANCES	228
ADVANCE PLANNING	230
LOCATION AND EQUIPMENT OF OFFICE	231
PERSONNEL	231
OFFICE SYSTEM	233
REGISTRATION OF APPLICANTS	234
DETERMINATION OF NEED	235
DETERMINATION OF FITNESS	237
CHOICE OF WORK PROJECTS	238
WORK ASSIGNMENTS	241
TRANSFER AND DISMISSAL	241
RE-ASSIGNMENTS	242
WAGE RATES AND HOURS	243
METHOD OF PAYMENT	245
PROTECTION AGAINST INJURY	246
VARIATIONS ON THE WORK-RELIEF THEME	247
RELATION OF WORK RELIEF TO THE GENERAL RELIEF PROGRAM	248

APPENDIX A

ADDITIONAL CITIES REPORTING WORK-RELIEF PLANS IN 1930-1931	253
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APPENDIX B

SELECTED FORMS USED BY WORK-RELIEF BUREAUS.	257
---	-----

INDEX	281
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LIST OF TABLES, DIAGRAMS, AND FORMS

TABLE	PAGE
1. Expenditures for Work Relief and Number of Persons Employed	24
2. Auspices and Methods	26

DIAGRAM

1. Two Indexes of Change in Relief Expenditures of Selected Private Family Welfare Agencies	14
2. Record of Placements Made, November 17, 1930 to July 1, 1931, by the Emergency Work Bureau of New York.	149
3. Precipitate Rise and Decline in Number of Workers and Size of Payroll—Emergency Work Bureau, Philadelphia, 1930-1931	175

FORM

1. Form Used by Men Registering at Central Application Bureau in St. Louis, Missouri	259
2. Form Used by Men Registering at Central Application Bureau in Rochester, New York	261
3. Application Used in Grand Rapids, Michigan, with Space for Physician's Report	262
4. Inquiry to the Social Service (Confidential) Exchange Used in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	263
5. Referral Form Used in Louisville, Kentucky, by Agencies Sending Clients for Work Relief	264
6. Referral Form Used in Cincinnati, Ohio	265
7. Requisition Used by Superintendents of Institutions in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania	266
8. Requisition Used in Chicago, Illinois	267
9. Postcard Notice to Workers to Call for Assignment, Used in Grand Rapids, Michigan	268
10. Assignment Card (to a Single Job) Used in Indianapolis, Indiana	269
11. Assignment Card Used in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, with Space for Comparing Two Signatures of Worker, Thus Avoiding Transfer of Cards	270
12. Identification Card Used in Birmingham, Alabama, to Be Retained by Worker	270
13. Payroll Submitted by Employing Agencies in Chicago, Illinois, Showing Wages Already Paid, and Calling for Reimbursement	271
14. Payroll Used in Cincinnati, Ohio, When Men Came to Be Paid	272

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

FORM	PAGE
15. Pay-Check Used in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Showing Space for Deduction of Relief Already Advanced	273
16. Cautionary Slip Enclosed with Check in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	274
17. Report on Men Discharged as Unsatisfactory, Used in Milwaukee County, Wisconsin	275
18. Request for Transfer of a Man to a Different Type of Work, Used in Birmingham, Alabama	276
19. Record of Applicants Sent to Each Job, Used in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	277
20. Earnings Record Card Used in Rochester, New York	278
21. Street Index Card Used in Rochester, New York	279

FOREWORD

MATERIAL for this study was collected during the summer and early autumn of 1931, in response to a request from the President's Organization on Unemployment Relief. Thirty communities were visited, and the reports on work relief carried on in 26 of them, chiefly situated in the middle, eastern, and southern states, will be found in Part II. Others equally worthy of study were of necessity omitted. We regret that limitations of time prevented the investigators from visiting the Pacific Coast and examining the large and interesting projects undertaken there.

Our aim has been to select projects in communities both large and small, conducted under a variety of auspices, public and private, and attended with varying success. When we were able to learn of any unusual or outstanding undertaking within the area named we made an effort to visit that community. We believe that the report contains an account of most, if not all, of the plans for work relief which have received wide discussion and publicity.

The authors wish to express their thanks to the many social workers, public officials, and officers of local unemployment committees, who cheerfully gave time out of their crowded days. Acknowledgment is also due F. J. Bruno, who collected the information about Little Rock, Arkansas. The separate reports in Part II have been submitted to the persons who supplied the bulk of the information, and their corrections and suggestions incorporated as far as was possible. For the material in Parts I and III the authors are solely responsible.

It is inevitable that in a piece of field work so hurriedly put through as this has been, some errors of detail will be found. However, the main outlines of the picture presented are, we believe, substantially correct.

PART ONE
DEVELOPMENT OF WORK RELIEF

DEVELOPMENT OF WORK RELIEF

AN OUTSTANDING feature of the program of relief of unemployment in this country during the winter of 1930-1931 was the development, in unprecedented volume, of projects by which relief, in cash or "in kind," that is, in goods, was given to the unemployed in return for work performed. In response to a questionnaire circulated in the summer of 1931 by the Association of Community Chests and Councils to cities of over 25,000 inhabitants, nearly 200 reported some form of work relief undertaken.¹

FORERUNNERS OF WORK RELIEF

Work instead of alms for the needy was stressed as early as 1711 in the so-called "Hamburg system" of public charity developed in Germany. Workrooms were established, and supplies of flax for spinning furnished to poor people in their own homes.

The use of the unemployed on public improvements is, of course, no new idea.

So obvious a substitute for charitable relief and so apparently an economical substitute, it is not surprising that the history of public works as an unemployment relief measure is long. The device was used in England throughout the past century and has been tried elsewhere in Europe. It has long been and is still regularly used by certain public welfare departments in this country in place of outright relief grants to unemployed applicants for charitable aid.²

In their recent report on English Poor Law History, Sidney and Beatrice Webb find many drawbacks to the use of public works as unemployment relief, including the greater cost and lowered efficiency of work thus performed, the difficulty of assigning the work to those who most need it, the deleterious effect upon competitive wages of relief wages, the anticipation of real work which

¹ See Appendix A for a list of these cities.

² Hurlin, Ralph G., "Use of Public Works in the Treatment of Unemployment." In *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work*, 1931.

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

will be needed later on, and the deleterious effect upon the workers of relief work extending over considerable periods of time.

In the early days of charitable endeavor in England and in this country, work was relied on as a deterrent to the wilfully idle, and the "work test" was developed. This consisted of the performance of some useless task, such as wheeling stone from one side of the yard to the other, or digging holes and filling them in again, as a prerequisite to receiving relief. The woodyards still attached to some municipal lodging houses are a relic of the old work-test system. Like all forced labor, the results were never very valuable and often positively harmful; and as social work has developed further skills in dealing with human beings, the work test in its crudest forms has been discarded from modern practice.

During past times of industrial depression and unemployment in this country, there have been many plans developed to provide what has heretofore been called "made work" for the idle. The philosophy behind this has been quite different from that of the work test. Briefly summed up, it would amount to this: "There are many of our fellow-citizens who are not willingly idle. It would be kinder to them and better for their morale and habits of industry if we provide an opportunity for them to earn the bare necessities of life, than if we cause them to receive outright relief."

The history of made work has been, as we have stated elsewhere, disappointing.¹ It has usually consisted of hastily opened work-rooms, where sewing, repairing, bandage-rolling, or similar tasks, were performed. The work was not particularly useful or of permanent value, and there was real danger that it might interfere with the regular channels of trade and industry if developed on a large scale. Clients were likely to regard it as precisely what it was—a make-believe, a sugar-coating for relief.

The last previous depression during which made work was practiced on any large scale was that of 1914-1915. A report issued by the Mayor's Committee on Unemployment of New York City after that depression evinced complete discouragement with the results of its extensive made-work program.²

¹ Colcord, Joanna C., *Community Planning in Unemployment Emergencies*. Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1930.

² *How to Meet Hard Times—Report of the Mayor's Committee on Unemployment*, New York, January, 1917.

DEVELOPMENT OF WORK RELIEF

During that same winter, however, two private social agencies had been experimenting with new forms of made work, which were the direct precursors of what we now call work relief. The New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor entered into arrangements with one of the large city parks by which it was allowed to send able-bodied clients to work, for a regular wage which the Association paid; and the Minneapolis Associated Charities secured the privilege of "logging off" some land which was about to be inundated by new dams along the Mississippi, and paid its clients wages, in lieu of relief, to do the work. These projects involved real work of a useful nature, performed under the same conditions as would prevail if the men had been hired in the labor market. There was nothing to indicate to the passer-by that they were in any way different from other gangs of men at work.

It was at first difficult to induce municipalities to become interested in the new plan. It has been no unusual experience for a social agency to offer labor to the city departments at no cost to the public treasury, and have it flatly refused. The president and general secretary of a family society in a large western city, on going to the City Hall with such a project in 1928, were told that the city had no more work than regular city laborers could do; and that untrained men would be a bother to their foremen, and likely to cost the city money for accident compensation. It is interesting to note that this same city conducted a large-scale work-relief project in the following winter, on work supplied by the city, and with funds privately raised.

The earliest example we have been able to discover of a municipality's embarking on a work-relief program with city funds was in Bridgeport, Connecticut, in 1923.¹ The next seems to have been Cincinnati in 1929.²

WORK RELIEF IN 1930-1931

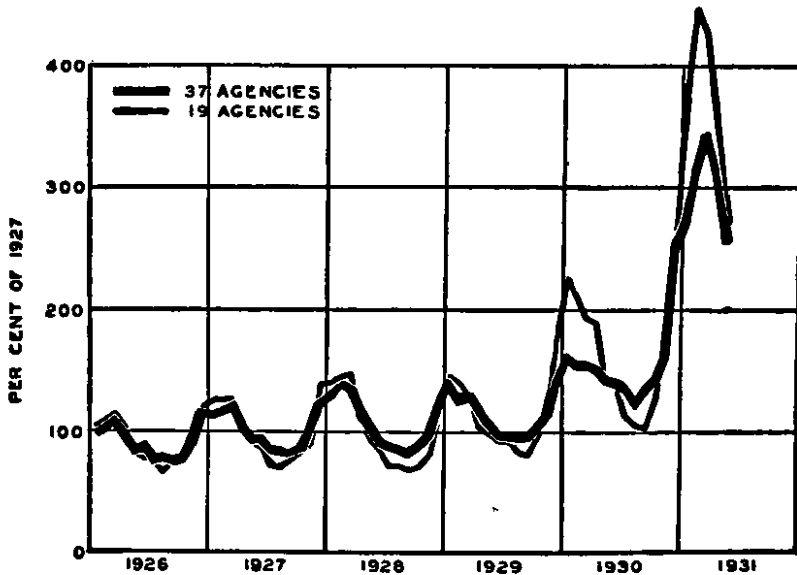
During the winter of 1929-1930, many family agencies in our cities, both public and private, experienced a demand for relief greater than they had up to that time known. The communities were, however, still unwilling to acknowledge that they were face

¹ See p. 48.

² See p. 75.

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

to face with disaster and the "optimism" campaign being vigorously promoted by business at that time prevented any concerted action from being taken in more than a few cities. The volume of relief in the larger American cities, at least, appears to have reached new high levels by the early months of 1930. An expected drop in relief expenditures occurred in the spring and early summer, but the fall increase started from a new high summer level. This is illustrated by the curves in the following diagram, representing



TWO INDEXES OF CHANGE IN RELIEF EXPENDITURES OF SELECTED PRIVATE FAMILY WELFARE AGENCIES

two indexes of relief expenditures of selected private family welfare agencies which have submitted their reports currently to the Department of Statistics of the Russell Sage Foundation since the beginning of 1926.

During the summer of 1930, some of the large private agencies, their funds exhausted, had to cease receiving new applications. By fall, the "conspiracy of optimism" had quite generally broken down, and a wave of organizing for a winter of distress swept the

DEVELOPMENT OF WORK RELIEF

cities. Cincinnati, a convinced believer in work relief, had been giving energetic publicity to its plan, and the idea took root and sprang up literally from coast to coast.

The urgency was so great, and the response so hasty, that many communities embarked without sufficient advance planning, and followed a hand-to-mouth course throughout the winter. In reading accounts of the projects detailed in Part II, one cannot fail to be struck with the frequent changes of plan, and the uncertainty as to the duration of funds, and consequently of the project itself, which characterized many of them. There were triumphs of organization in the face of difficulties which stir the imagination; but nearly all the plans were handicapped by too late a recognition of the magnitude of the task which had been undertaken.

In the 26 communities here reported upon, there were 28 separate major work-relief programs. In New York City, one was administered by a citizens' committee, and a subsequent one by city authorities; in Milwaukee, two were carried on simultaneously by the city and the county authorities.

SOURCE OF FUNDS

Of the 28 programs studied, 17 were financed entirely or almost entirely from public funds,¹ eight solely from private funds,² and three with funds from both these sources.³

AUSPICES

The direction of 16 of the programs was in the hands of the public departments or officials of the local government, although in five of these, citizens' committees participated in an advisory way or were vested with nominal supervision.⁴ Citizens' committees administered 12 programs, with co-operation from public officials

¹ Bayonne, Bergen County, Birmingham, Bridgeport, Buffalo, Cleveland, Grand Rapids, Hartford, Kansas City (Mo.), Louisville, Niagara Falls, Rochester, Toledo, New York (public program), Milwaukee (county program). In Cincinnati and Milwaukee (city program) only small amounts of contributed funds were used.

² Chicago, Hamilton, Kansas City (Kan.), New York (private program), Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Trenton, Waterbury.

³ Indianapolis, Little Rock, St. Louis.

⁴ Bayonne, Bergen County, Birmingham, Bridgeport, Buffalo, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Grand Rapids, Hartford, Kansas City (Mo.), Milwaukee (both programs), New York (public), Niagara Falls, Rochester, Toledo.

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

and departments in most cases.¹ Two of the largest of these, Chicago and New York, were preceded by a program developed by a family welfare society, and one included in this group, Kansas City, Kansas, was developed and managed entirely by an agency of this type.

Programs Administered by Public Officials. The 16 programs grouped here were financed wholly or very largely from public treasuries, either from current appropriations or by special bond issues.

In five programs, the Department of Public Welfare had the chief role in administration.² In most of these programs the main object was to reduce the expense to the city by securing a return in work for the relief expended. Work opportunities were therefore arranged only in public departments (with the exception of Cincinnati, which furnished some labor for private institutions and agencies); and only persons who had been receiving, or who had applied for, relief from public funds were allowed to work (again with some exceptions). In Cincinnati and New York (public program), the payment of wages in money was maintained throughout; Bridgeport and Grand Rapids, beginning with money wages, retrogressed into paying with grocery orders or scrip, and Milwaukee (county) was partly on the latter basis from the outset.

In the remaining 11 programs, other city officials or departments were in charge, usually those concerned with public works.³ In all of these programs, wages were paid in money. In five, a public official having a special interest in or special equipment for the task was assigned to be its executive officer; in the remaining six, the responsibility was so divided among several departments that no chief direction can be recognized. Among these 11 programs, there was only one where any adequate means had been adopted for the determination of the need of the applicants, and more than

¹ Chicago, Hamilton, Indianapolis, Little Rock, Louisville, New York (private), Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Trenton, Waterbury. In Kansas City, Kan., the group responsible for the administration of the program was the Board of the Family Service Society.

² Bridgeport, Cincinnati, Grand Rapids, Milwaukee (county), New York (public).

³ Bayonne, Bergen County, Birmingham, Buffalo, Cleveland, Hartford, Kansas City (Mo.), Milwaukee (city), Niagara Falls, Rochester, Toledo.

DEVELOPMENT OF WORK RELIEF

one where the evidence seems to be strong that political favoritism played a part in the selection of workers.

There were more instances in this group than in the others of considerable portions of the work-relief funds being used for materials instead of charging this expense to the regular budgets of the departments benefiting by the work. While it is true that in some of these programs the ordinance appropriating the funds was so drawn that it was necessary to expend large amounts for materials, there is danger of confusing the mind of the public, which thinks that the entire funds are being used for relief. In this respect, some of the programs here described are difficult to distinguish from public works as usually administered in our cities.

Citizens' Committees. With the exception of Louisville, all of the citizens' committees financed their work, in part at least, with funds raised privately. In three cities private funds were supplemented in various ways from the public treasury. Funds devoted by private committees to work relief were spent almost exclusively for wages and operating expenses, the materials used being furnished by the agency for which the work was done.

Work opportunities were secured partly through various city departments and institutions, partly through private institutions and agencies of the city which were not operated for profit.

Wage payments were made in money, except in Kansas City, Kansas, which paid in food orders, and Indianapolis, which, beginning with money payments, later paid entirely with grocery orders issued by the public relief authorities. The few programs providing on any large scale for the employment either of women or of "white-collar" workers were found among those administered by citizens' committees.

STATE LEGISLATION

Only one state, New Jersey, enacted legislation during the winter of 1930-1931 directed especially to work relief. The measure became effective on December 2, 1930,¹ and a number of counties and municipalities immediately availed themselves of its provisions. Under the act, they were permitted during the ensuing six months to appropriate or sell bonds for sums not exceeding one-

¹ Laws of New Jersey, 1930, ch. 272.

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

eighth of one per cent of the assessed valuation of property in order to employ residents (including non-citizens) on public improvements. Ohio, by the passage of the Pringle-Roberts Act,¹ set aside the constitutional limits of bonded indebtedness of its municipalities, and enabled them to float additional bonds for emergency relief, but work relief was not directly mentioned in the act. No state funds were available for work relief until the New York law, which was passed in September, 1931,² went into effect in November. This law appropriated \$20,000,000 to supplement the relief funds of local communities and specified work relief as one of the forms to be subsidized.

METHODS OF ADMINISTRATION

Personnel. Persons experienced in employment work were associated with seven programs.³

Five programs were administered by agencies already employing experienced social workers.⁴ In six, the task of determining the need of applicants was delegated to outside agencies of this description,⁵ while three of the bureaus employed experienced social workers for this purpose on their own staff.⁶ In two other instances, while most of the volunteer or paid investigators were inexperienced, a single trained social worker attached to the bureau was presumably able to give them some supervision.⁷

Three bureaus used volunteers or inexperienced paid investigators without such supervision,⁸ and in two cases, police officers were called upon to perform this delicate service.⁹

In seven, no social investigation appears to have been uniformly in effect,¹⁰

¹ Laws of Ohio, 1931, pp. 11-13.

² Laws of New York, 1931, ch. 798.

³ Birmingham, Chicago, Indianapolis, Milwaukee (city program), Philadelphia, St. Louis, Toledo.

⁴ Bridgeport, Cincinnati, Grand Rapids, Kansas City (Kan.), Milwaukee (county program).

⁵ Chicago, Hamilton, Hartford (in part), Indianapolis, Pittsburgh, St. Louis.

⁶ Louisville, New York (private program), Philadelphia.

⁷ Rochester, Waterbury.

⁸ Birmingham, New York (public program), Trenton.

⁹ Little Rock, Niagara Falls.

¹⁰ Bayonne, Bergen County, Buffalo, Cleveland, Kansas City (Mo.), Milwaukee (city), Toledo.

DEVELOPMENT OF WORK RELIEF

Wages. The wide range in hourly and weekly wage rates¹ cannot be explained on the basis of wage or relief rates current in different parts of the country, and must be ascribed to variations in the concept of what work relief was supposed to accomplish, and to differences in the resources.

Some skilled workers were employed at their trades in at least nine of the programs. In Bayonne, Birmingham, Chicago and Rochester, they were paid either at the union scale or at a rate in advance of unskilled workers. In Bridgeport, Buffalo, Hamilton, Hartford, and New York (private program), they received with only occasional exceptions the same rate as laborers.

In at least half the programs, persons chosen from among the applicants were employed as clerks, interviewers, time-keepers, foremen, and so on, in the administration of the program itself. They were generally allowed to work a greater number of hours and were frequently paid at a higher rate than others on work relief.

Length of Work Assignments and Average Total Earnings. There is so much variance between the several programs in the length of time covered, as well as in the time each person was allowed to work, that an attempt to indicate average individual earnings for each program would have little significance.

In several programs carried on under public auspices, it was definitely planned in advance to limit the amount of work given each person, in order to spread the work as far as possible among qualified applicants. In Bergen County, Cleveland, Milwaukee (city and county), and Niagara Falls, the total period of assignment ran from nine to sixteen days of work, sometimes performed continuously, sometimes spread over several weeks. On its completion, the worker was supposed to receive no further assignments. In Toledo, while part of the force was employed week after week, the larger number of those included in the program received a single assignment of three days. Such programs obviously bear no relation to the total relief needs of the workers; and must be considered only as an attempt to give a little aid and encouragement to unemployed citizens.

The other extreme of procedure is illustrated by such programs

¹ See Table 2, p. 26.

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

as those in Bayonne, Cincinnati, Hartford, Kansas City (Missouri), New York (public and private), Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, and Waterbury. Generally speaking, the policy in these cities was to give individuals recurring assignments as long as they remained in need of employment. In Chicago the procedure varied according to the type of work done, some skilled workers receiving only a single four-day assignment but the unskilled workers being re-assigned irregularly in accordance with a monthly scale of earnings. In Indianapolis the policy in this respect varied at different periods.

In the remaining cities, while the policy of continuous employment appears to have been the one adopted, it was either impossible to ascertain the number of different persons employed, or else the average total earnings obtained from reported figures were so low as to suggest that there must have been a very high rate of employment turnover.

Health and Accident Provisions. In at least 14 of the programs,¹ the workers were protected by workmen's compensation insurance. In some instances this was taken out by the committee administering the program, in others the responsibility of thus protecting the workers was transferred to the agencies furnishing work opportunities. Where these were city departments, it was frequently possible to extend existing insurance of city employees to cover persons on work relief. In nine programs the workers were not insured against accident,² and as to five we have no information.³

In three cities, Grand Rapids, Milwaukee (city) and Niagara Falls, a medical examination was given before men were assigned to work. The provision of special clothing, rubber boots, and so on, for men working outdoors was frequent in the northern cities; and hot coffee and lunches were sometimes furnished to men working at some distance from their homes.

¹ Bergen County, Bridgeport, Buffalo, Chicago, Cleveland, Hamilton, Milwaukee (city program), New York (public and private), Niagara Falls, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Rochester, Waterbury.

² Bayonne, Birmingham, Cincinnati, Hartford, Indianapolis, Kansas City (Mo.), Louisville, St. Louis, Trenton.

³ Grand Rapids, Kansas City (Kan.), Little Rock, Milwaukee (county), Toledo.

DEVELOPMENT OF WORK RELIEF

Nature of Work Undertaken. All of the communities but one¹ relied upon public works under the direction of one or more departments of the city government for the whole or part of the work opportunities offered. This work consisted, in the main, of manual labor of a heavy outdoor nature.

Eight² of the projects also gave work on repairs and renovations to public buildings and private institutions, such as churches, hospitals, libraries, schools and homes for children and the aged.

Citizenship and Residence Requirements. In general, legal residence was a requirement for assignment to work relief. In Pittsburgh, though it was generally understood that residents would receive preference, no strict exclusion of non-residents occurred, and in Rochester and a few other cities, some minor exceptions were made.

Citizenship was required in Buffalo, Chicago, Kansas City (Missouri), Milwaukee (city), New York (public), Rochester, St. Louis, and Toledo. It is to be noted that these were, with the exception of Chicago and St. Louis, projects managed wholly by municipal governments, and that among them occurred the only instances we found where the aldermen or councilmen were allowed to choose the recipients of work relief. Milwaukee and New York in their city programs frankly demanded, indeed, that only men be selected whose names appeared on the lists of registered voters.

The Citizens' Committee in St. Louis was forced to comply with the city's requirement of citizenship on the part of men doing city work, but as their project covered only a very small fraction of the unemployed who received relief, and was highly selective, the city's refusal to accept aliens caused no particular difficulties.

In the Connecticut cities the situation in this regard was complicated by the fact that no alien can gain residence, however long he lives in the state. Bridgeport, which in the beginning excluded all non-residents from work relief, later accepted aliens, under a special arrangement with the state.

¹ The exception was Kansas City, Kan., where a private agency secured the privilege of cutting standing timber from privately owned wood-lots.

² Chicago, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Louisville, New York (private program), Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Waterbury.

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

Programs Involving Both Work Relief and Home Relief. In Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and St. Louis, where citizens' committees secured privately contributed funds for relief, these were used partly for work relief and partly allocated for direct relief in the home through private social agencies. Except in New York and Pittsburgh, the sums allotted by the committees to the private agencies included an allowance to provide additional visitors in order effectively to carry the increased case load. The Work-Relief Bureau in Waterbury allocated some of its funds to direct relief, which it disbursed through its own staff.

In Cleveland the city government, in addition to carrying on its work-relief program, furnished funds aggregating \$1,000,000 to the private social agencies of the city to meet the cost of home relief for the unemployed.

TABULAR SUMMARIES

The tables that follow attempt to summarize the information on several important points in the accounts of the separate cities contained in Part II.

Table 1 covers information as to the duration and extent of the 28 major programs studied. Several of these, as is noted in Part II, were either multiple or intermittent in character. For New York and Milwaukee, the two major programs were under entirely different auspices, and are shown separately.

It should be noted that the period covered in the third and fourth columns is that for which we present figures and that in many cases the program did not terminate on the last of the two dates given.

Many cities did not transfer their payroll data to separate cards, and, although able to give the number of separate assignments made, could not state the number of different persons receiving the assignments. Since the policy varied widely as to length of assignment, or whether the same persons were re-assigned after completing one work period, it is not possible to give complete figures as to the total number of workers employed or their average total earnings.

In some cities, materials and supervision were charged to the work-relief fund; in others they were variously allocated. The

DEVELOPMENT OF WORK RELIEF

column for total expenditures is therefore deceptive for comparative purposes, though it does represent the total amount accounted for as having been spent from the work-relief fund during the period specified.

Table 2 attempts to show the auspices under which the projects were developed, and the methods employed. Certain columns call for statistical accuracy, others depend upon the judgment of the authors. In the second column, for instance, we have tried to specify the person or the agency most responsible for the administration of the program in actual practice and not necessarily as would be shown on an organization chart. Similarly, the columns relating to the receipt and investigation of applications represent our judgment as to what actually happened.

TABLE 1.—EXPENDITURES FOR WORK RELIEF AND NUMBER OF PERSONS EMPLOYED

Place	Population (1930 Census)	Period to which figures apply		Expenditures from special work-relief funds			Number of different persons given some employment
		From	Through	Wages	Other	Total	
Bayonne, N. J. ^a	88,979	1. Dec., 1930 2. July 17, 1931	May, 1931 Oct. 2, 1931 ^b	\$158,806 112,934	\$500 ^a —°	\$159,306 112,934	— 1,030
Bergen Co., N. J.....	364,977	Dec. 8, 1930	May 27, 1931	153,510	46,228	199,738	1,555
Birmingham, Ala.....	259,678	Jan., 1931	Sept., 1931 ^b	245,776	131,921	377,697	2,271 ^d
Bridgeport, Conn. ^a	146,716	1. Feb., 1930 2. June 1, 1931	April 17, 1931 Sept. 30, 1931 ^b	388,506 106,446	81,375 32,560	469,881 139,006	— —
Buffalo, N. Y.....	573,076	Nov., 1930	March 31, 1931	535,000°	215,000°	750,000°	2,500°
Chicago, Ill.....	3,376,438	Oct. 22, 1930	April 22, 1931	1,090,651	—°	1,090,651	8,000°
Cincinnati, Ohio ^a	451,160	1. Dec. 15, 1929 2. Oct. 15, 1930	April 30, 1930 July 31, 1931 ^b	34,169 ^f 281,302 ^f	—° —°	34,169 ^f 281,302 ^f	— 1,559
Cleveland, Ohio.....	900,429	Oct. 13, 1930	April 14, 1931	910,264	189,818	1,100,082	16,000°
Grand Rapids, Mich.....	168,592	Jan., 1931	July, 1931 ^b	260,122	—°	260,122	—
Hamilton, Ohio.....	52,176	Nov., 1930	June, 1931	56,790	937°	57,727	906
Hartford, Conn. ^a	164,072	Nov. 1, 1930	May, 1931 (First week)	158,658	5,182°	163,840	785
Indianapolis, Ind.....	364,161	Dec. 2, 1930	Sept. 26, 1931 ^b	118,023	—°	118,023	6,013
Kansas City, Kan.....	121,857	Jan., 1931	April, 1931	4,454	2,116	6,570	653
Kansas City, Mo.....	399,746	Feb. 16, 1931	July, 1931 ^b	334,783	523,000°	857,783°	—
Little Rock, Ark.....	81,679	Jan. 12, 1931	March 30, 1931	—	—	43,000°	—
Louisville, Ky.....	307,745	Nov. 11, 1930	April 18, 1931	111,631	2,905°	114,536	1,641
Milwaukee, Wis.: City.....	578,249	Sept. 1, 1930	Aug., 1931	497,842	100,484	598,326	7,500°
County.....	725,263	April 15, 1931	July 31, 1931 ^b	120,472	—°	120,472	—

New York, N. Y.....	6,930,446						
Private program.....	—	Nov. 1, 1930	June 30, 1931	7,883,561	97,477 ^{a, b}	7,981,038	37,531
Public program.....	—	April 24, 1931	Aug. 31, 1931 ^b	5,680,992	— ^a	5,680,992	—
Niagara Falls, N. Y.....	75,460	Nov., 1930 (Third week)	Aug., 1931	73,765	— ^a	73,765	2,500 ^a
Philadelphia, Pa.....	1,950,961	Dec. 15, 1930	April, 1931	1,404,000 ^a	25,000 ^{a, c}	1,429,000 ^a	15,515
Pittsburgh, Pa.....	669,817	Feb. 26, 1931	Sept. 5, 1931	682,707	— ^a	682,707	6,736
Rochester, N. Y.....	328,132	Nov. 25, 1930	Sept. 28, 1931	706,605	108,395	815,000	7,917
St. Louis, Mo.....	821,960	Jan. 14, 1931	April 6, 1931	70,657	— ^a	70,657	626
Toledo, Ohio.....	290,718	Dec. 2, 1930	April 20, 1931	250,801	— ^a	250,801	4,690
Trenton, N. J.....	123,356	Dec. 15, 1930	May 14, 1931	112,000 ^a	— ^a	112,000 ^a	865 ^a
Waterbury, Conn.....	99,902	Nov., 1930 (Last week)	Oct., 1931 ^b	508,704	11,780 ^{a, b}	520,484	3,042

NOTES

- ^a Program interrupted and resumed.
^b Program continued beyond this date.
^c Materials supplied by departments or agencies for which the work was done.
^d Up to July 15, 1931.
^e Approximate.

- ^f Includes cost of luncheons and carfares for workers.
^g Another program, mentioned but not described in the text, was begun in the fall of 1931.
^h Insurance only. Operating expense not allocated as between work relief and direct relief.

TABLE 2.—AUSPICES AND METHODS

Place	Work relief program administered by	Source of funds	Applications for jobs		Kind of work provided	Usual wage and hours of work for unskilled work			Method of payment
			How received	How investigated		Wage per hour (cents)	Hours per week	Weekly wage	
Bayonne, N. J.	Munic. Dept. of Public Works	Public funds	Through Mayor's Com., poormaster, and direct application	No social investigation	Public works	37½, later 62½ ^a	24, ^a later 20 ^a	\$9.00, ^a later 12.50 ^a	Cash
Bergen Co., N. J.	County supervisor of roads	Public funds	Preliminary registration, later direct application	No social investigation	Public works, chiefly roads	50	35	17.50	Check
Birmingham, Ala.	Munic. engineer	Public funds	Direct application	By volunteers from the churches	Public works, chiefly parks	25 ^a	24	6.00	Cash
Bridgeport, Conn.	Munic. Dept. of Public Welfare, later acting under Citizens' Com. appointed by legislature	Public funds	Direct application	By nurses on staff of Dept. of Public Welfare	Public works, chiefly parks	50, later 40, later 35	32, later varied with size of family	16.00, later 12.80, later varied with size of family	Cash, later scrip
Buffalo, N. Y.	Several depts. of munic. gov.	Public funds	Through munic. employment bureau and direct hiring on job	No uniform plan	Public works	62½	24	15.00	Cash
Chicago, Ill.	Governor's Comm., co-operating with free employment bureau	Contributed funds	Through private social agencies, trade unions, and direct application	By private social agencies	Public works and private non-profit-making agencies	Current wage for kind of work done ^a	Varied—see text	Varied—see text	Cash

Cincinnati, Ohio	Munic. Dept. of Public Welfare, co-operating with Citizens' Com.	Public funds (small amount of contributed funds)	Through public and private social agen- cies	By public and private social agencies	Public works and pri- vate non-profit-mak- ing agencies	30, later 40	24, later 18	7.20	Cash
Cleveland, Ohio	Several depts. of munic. gov. co-operating with Citizens' Com.	Public funds	Preliminary registra- tion and direct appli- cation	No social investigation	Public works	60	24	14.40	Cash
Grand Rapids, Mich.	Munic. Dept. of Public Welfare	Public funds	Direct application	By Dept. of Public Welfare	Public works	50, later 40	24, later varied with size of family	12.00, later varied with size of family	Cash, later scrip
Hamilton, Ohio	Citizens' Com.	Contrib- uted funds	Direct application	By private social agency	Public works	37½	Varied with size of family	Varied with size of fam- ily	Check
Hartford, Conn.	Depts. of mun- ic. gov.	Public funds	Direct application and through private em- ployment agency	By Dept. of Public Welfare	Public works	40	24	9.60	Cash ^b
Indianapolis, Ind.	Citizens' Com.	Contrib- uted funds gradually replaced by public funds	Through public wel- fare authorities and private social agencies	By public welfare au- thorities and private social agencies	Public works and pri- vate non-profit-mak- ing agencies	30	24 or 27	7.20 or 8.12	1. Cash only 2. Cash plus grocery or- ders 3. Grocery orders only

NOTES

* Skilled workers paid at higher rates.

‡ Men worked a full week every other week.

^b A later program paid \$1.00 a week in cash, balance in groceries and rent.

TABLE 2.—AUSPICES AND METHODS (Continued)

Place	Work relief program administered by	Source of funds	Applications for jobs		Kind of work provided	Usual wage and hours of work for unskilled work			Method of payment
			How received	How investigated		Wage per hour (cents)	Hours per week	Weekly wage	
Kansas City, Kan.	Board of private social agency	Contributed funds	Direct application	By private social agency	Lumbering and wood cutting	25	Varied with size of family	Varied with size of family	Grocery orders
Kansas City, Mo.	Munic. Water Dept.	Public funds	Hiring on the job	No social investigation	Public works—laying water-mains	55	24	13.20	Cash
Little Rock, Ark.	Citizens' Com.	Public funds, later contributed funds	Direct application	By policemen	Public works	20	27	5.40	Cash
Louisville, Ky.	Citizens' Com., co-operating with munic. gov.	Public funds	Direct application	By social workers employed for the purpose	Public works and private non-profit-making agencies	30	24 or 27	7.20 or 8.10	Cash
City	Several depts. of munic. gov.	Public funds (small amount of contributed funds)	Direct application	No social investigation	Public works	60 to 75	Varied	Varied	Check
Milwaukee, Wis. County	County Dept. of Public Welfare, with co-operation of Park Dept.	Public funds	Direct application	By county Dept. of Public Welfare	Public works, chiefly parks	50	32	16.00	Check and grocery orders

New York, N. Y.	Private program	Citizens' Com.	Contributed funds	Direct application or hiring on job	By investigators employed for the purpose	Public works and private non-profit-making agencies	Men 62½ ^a women 57½	24 21	15.00 12.00	Cash
	Public program	Munic. Dept. of Public Welfare	Public funds	Direct application	None prior to assignment; investigators checked up later	Public works	68¾	24 ^f	16.50 ^f	Check
Niagara Falls, N. Y.		City manager, with co-operation of Citizens' Com.	Public funds	Direct application and referral by public and private agencies	By policemen	Public works, chiefly parks	50	24, later 16	12.00, later 8.00	Cash
Philadelphia, Pa.		Citizens' Com.	Contributed funds	Direct application and referral by private agencies	By social workers employed for the purpose	Public works and private non-profit-making agencies	Men 50 women 37½	24	Men 12.00 women 9.00	Check
Pittsburgh, Pa.		Citizens' Com.	Contributed funds	Direct application and referral by private social agencies	By private social agencies	Public works and private non-profit-making agencies	Men 50 women 28	Men 24 women 40	Men 12.00 ^g women 11.25	Check
Rochester, N. Y.		Munic. director of personnel, with co-operation of other depts. and Citizens' Com.	Public funds	Direct application	Little investigation; one social worker attached to staff	Public works	45 ^a	Varied ^d	Varied	Check, later cash
St. Louis, Mo.		Citizens' Com.	Public funds, later contributed funds	Direct application	By private social agencies	Public works	37½	Varied	Varied	Cash

NOTES

^a Skilled workers paid at higher rates.^d At first worked ¾ day a month, later 6 days a month.^g Later changed to a full week every other week.^f Later reduced to 16 hours and \$11 in some departments.

TABLE 2.—AUSPICES AND METHODS (*Concluded*)

Place	Work relief program administered by	Source of funds	Applications for jobs		Kind of work provided	Usual wage and hours of work for unskilled work			Method of payment
			How received	How investigated		Wage per hour (cents)	Hours per week	Weekly wage	
Toledo, Ohio	Depts. of munic. gov.	Public funds	Coupons issued by city councilmen and others; some direct application	No social investigation	Public works	60	12	7.20 ^b	Check
Trenton, N. J.	Citizens' Com.	Contributed funds	Direct application	By volunteers	Public works	37½	32	12.00	Check
Waterbury, Conn.	Citizens' Com.	Contributed funds	Registration by former employers; later direct application	By investigators (untrained) employed for the purpose	Public works and private non-profit-making agencies	33½	Varied with size of family	Varied with size of family	Check

^b Men on streets earned \$10.80 once a month.

PART TWO
REPORTS ON WORK RELIEF IN 26 COMMUNITIES

BAYONNE, NEW JERSEY

INCEPTION OF PROGRAM

BEFORE the onset of the present depression Bayonne had had little experience with relief problems. It has had no Community Chest and only the sparsest sort of social welfare program. The city poormaster and the Department of Public Welfare have divided between them the care of the dependent poor.

When it became apparent in the fall of 1930 that a winter of distress lay ahead for many of the unemployed unless special efforts were made to provide relief, the mayor appointed a committee of 15 citizens, known as the Mayor's Committee, to deal with the situation. This Committee began to function in November. Organized loosely at first, about January 1, 1931, it selected a full-time executive, who managed its affairs from that time until its dissolution in May. It registered the unemployed at a downtown office, tried to find jobs for as many as possible, and undertook to furnish relief as it could to the remainder. Investigation of need was made entirely by volunteer workers. Funds amounting to \$17,152 were raised by solicitation in the course of the six months during which the Committee operated. This money was used to purchase food, which was issued at the Committee's headquarters, and in some cases for coal or rent. Used clothing was collected and issued to those in need of it.

Early in December, the New Jersey legislature passed an emergency act, authorizing communities to issue bonds in order to finance work relief. The mayor and Board of Commissioners promptly took advantage of this means of assisting the unemployed and by the middle of December had a crew of men at work.

When the city administration went out of office in May, 1931, the first program came to a conclusion; but on July 17, the new mayor inaugurated a second work-relief program, which was in many respects more carefully planned than the first, and this was still in progress in October. Both programs were conducted by the Department of Public Works, a deputy of the Department serving as director of work-relief projects.

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

METHOD OF ADMINISTRATION

Registration and Investigation. The director of work relief had responsibility for the selection of the men to be given work, finding the work to keep them busy, and supervising those who were put at work. During the first period, the Mayor's Committee referred all of its able-bodied registrants to the work-relief director, but found some cause for complaint in the small proportion given work. The director, however, was besieged on all sides by persons and groups interceding for applicants. No procedure was established for investigating the claims of need of those applying or referred for work relief. In the absence of recognized social work standards in the community this defect in the program is perhaps understandable.

In May, the Mayor's Committee went out of existence, and there was no source from which to draw certified applicants for work relief except the overworked office of the poormaster. As a result, applicants were again selected by the director of work relief, without investigation of need. This condition existed until about October 1, when revival of the Mayor's Committee under new leadership gave promise that more careful determination of need of applicants would be made. Although there is no social service exchange in Bayonne there was some clearing of information concerning applicants between the poormaster and the director of work relief. In addition, there was close co-operation with the director on the part of the personnel managers of some of the industrial plants of the city.

Assignment. Letters were sent to applicants selected, notifying them to appear at the director's office in the City Hall. They were there given a numbered identification card and told when and where to report for work. The identification cards were of two colors, red and blue, to avoid confusion between the two crews. Once assigned to work, a man was allowed to continue to work indefinitely, subject to good behavior. There seems to have been a negligible amount of turnover.

Wages. Two crews worked on alternate weeks. During the first period, laborers were paid \$3.00 a day and foremen \$5.00. The work week consisted of six eight-hour days, so that laborers earned \$18 and foremen \$30 every other week, or an average in-

BAYONNE, NEW JERSEY

come from this source of \$9.00 and \$15 a week, provided there was no loss of work on account of bad weather or other causes.

When the second program began, instead of paying a uniform rate to all laborers, an attempt was made to pay the wages accepted by the community for different trades; carpenters received \$13.20 a day, plumbers \$14 a day, and so on, provided they were working at their trade on the relief-work projects. Common laborers were paid \$5.00 a day, instead of \$3.00 as before. Five eight-hour days constituted the work week, but skilled workmen, because of their higher wages, were given less than the common laborers.

Nature of Work. At first, the work projects, including snow removal and various clean-up activities, involved little planning and left no results of a permanent nature. There appears to have been considerable over-manning of the work, so that the community looked upon this relief as a thinly disguised substitute for a "dole."

When the second program was to be launched, it was deemed advisable to plan the work carefully in advance in order to achieve some permanent results, and the city engineers were called upon to lay out a work program. Several pieces of permanent construction were undertaken, the largest of which was a waterfront recreation center. The work consisted of grading and filling, laying out baseball diamonds, and so forth.

EXTENT OF PROGRAM

The first work-relief program was financed by borrowing under authority of the emergency statute of December, 1930. The Board of Commissioners voted to issue for work relief short-term bonds amounting to \$159,000, to be retired during the years 1931 to 1935. Practically all of this amount was spent for relief wages. The monthly payrolls were as follows:

December, 1930	\$1,515
January, 1931	21,778
February	29,373
March	34,617
April	39,486
May	32,037
Total	<u>\$158,806</u>

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

In addition, about \$500 was spent for supplies. Between 500 and 600 positions were provided at the peak of the work, giving jobs to double that number of men.

The second program was financed by temporary improvement notes, to be later funded into bonds having a maturity of fifty years.

About 1,030 different men were employed up to October 2, 1931, of whom 1,015 were receiving work relief at that time. Payrolls to the beginning of October were as follows:

Two weeks ending August 1	\$9,961
Two weeks ending August 14	16,711
Two weeks ending August 28	21,533
Two weeks ending September 11	21,012
Three weeks ending October 2	<u>43,717</u>
Total	\$112,934

No work for women was provided in either of the Bayonne work-relief programs. Accident insurance was not carried in either.

BERGEN COUNTY, NEW JERSEY

INCEPTION OF PROGRAM

BERGEN County, New Jersey, offers an illustration of a scattered community without centralized social work leadership in which a substantial work-relief project was conceived and executed largely on the initiative of a single public official.

The total population of Bergen County is 365,000. It is composed of 70 boroughs or municipalities, the largest having 29,000 inhabitants. Each municipality has its own poormaster, who distributes public relief to the indigent. There are, also, in the county several small private agencies in the fields of health and child welfare. While there are no sizable cities in the county, its population is essentially urban, without having the advantages of centralized urban control in matters of public administration.

Realizing the certainty of failure on the part of the various small units to provide a program of work relief for their unemployed, and considering such relief to be needed and desirable, the county supervisor of roads presented on October 27, 1930, a carefully prepared plan to the Board of Chosen Freeholders, which is the governing body in charge of county affairs. The plan called in effect for:

1. The registration of all the needy unemployed in the county.
2. The passage of enabling legislation by the state legislature to allow the county to issue five-year bonds to finance work relief.
3. The authorization by the County Board to finance work relief under this emergency legislation.
4. The conduct of work relief in Bergen County to give employment to from 500 to 800 men.

This plan immediately received favorable consideration. On November 5, the Board passed a resolution accepting the plan as submitted and underwriting the cost of an unemployment survey to be made by the Bergen County Chamber of Commerce. The survey was under way within a week and was completed by November 19. Preceded by newspaper publicity, this survey was in effect a voluntary registration of the unemployed at their local town halls

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

or similar centers. It showed a total of 5,612 men and 188 women who needed work.

Meanwhile, the state of New Jersey had passed an act, effective December 2, 1930, enabling counties and municipalities to "undertake works of public improvement, employ labor, and finance the same" by the issuance of bonds. On December 3, the Bergen County Board voted a bond issue of \$100,000, and ordered work to begin at once. A second bond issue of the same amount was voted on February 25.

METHOD OF ADMINISTRATION

Personnel. The county supervisor of roads was empowered to carry out the project and to engage necessary assistants. He chose a director of employment and established him in quarters near his own office in the town of Hackensack. Time-keepers, foremen, and superintendents were selected to augment the regular staff of the Road Department. These extra people were recruited from the ranks of the unemployed.

Registration and Investigation. At first, lists of the unemployed obtained through the Chamber of Commerce registration were the sole basis for the selection and assignment of men to jobs. The registrants were classified in the order of their dependency, as follows: (1) head of family with more than one dependent; (2) head of family with one dependent; (3) single man with more than one dependent; (4) single man with one dependent; (5) single man with no dependents.

As quickly as the jobs could be arranged and tools provided, men selected from the preferred classes were summoned by post-card or telephone and assigned to jobs. Residents, whether citizen or alien, were qualified as applicants. If it was learned that they had tangible resources sufficient for their most urgent needs, they were denied employment.

As the work progressed, however, the procedure was modified. Men whose names were not on the November registration lists began to apply at the central office. Some of these were hired outright on the strength of their appearance and statements of need; others were held off until persistence won them a job; still others (and this became a rather general custom later) were referred to the

BERGEN COUNTY, NEW JERSEY

freeholder of their district for identification and recommendation for placement. Finally, the requirement of the freeholder's approval came to be rather generally accepted as part of the procedure for all placements, a situation which gave rise to criticism and possibility of abuse.

Another change in the original plan was made when it became apparent that the placement office was too remote for the unemployed people of many parts of the county. Accordingly, six district offices were opened in the outlying sections, each serving the men and the work projects in those sections.

Wages. The original plan called for the payment of \$3.00 for a seven-hour day, plus a 50 cent allowance for lunch and a 25 cent allowance for transportation. This schedule was abandoned early, however, and a flat rate of \$3.50 a day for five seven-hour days was paid, with no provision for lunches. Transportation in trucks was later supplied from the several offices to the job sites. No criticisms were heard as to the rate of pay, as 50 cents an hour was the prevailing common labor rate in the community. Employment was not continuous, the aim being to allow each man to earn about \$50 before replacing him with another. This meant an average of from three to four weeks' work for each man, depending upon the weather. There was no intention at the outset of re-employing anyone who had worked the allotted number of days; but later this plan was modified so that unusually needy men with large families were re-hired several times. Since individual personnel records were not kept, the extent of these exceptions is not known.

Payment of wages was by check. Payrolls were made up every two weeks and disbursed at the various offices. Time-keepers were paid \$5.00 a day plus \$1.00 to cover a daily automobile allowance; foremen drew \$5.00 a day; superintendents, \$6.00 a day, plus a \$2.00 automobile allowance. There was one foreman to each 20 men, and one superintendent to each five foremen, approximately.

Health and Accident Provisions. Workmen's compensation insurance was furnished. No physical examinations were made. So far as possible, the health and comfort of the men seem to have been considered, although no special clothing was provided. Men who were physically unable to stand hard manual labor were put at work inside, painting or assisting with the clerical work.

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

Nature of Work. The work done was mainly repairing county roads. There was some painting of Road Department buildings; and crews were also lent to the Mosquito Extermination Commission for the clearing and drainage of the tidal meadow lands.

EXTENT OF PROGRAM

The first men were put to work on December 8, 1930, and the project terminated on May 27, 1931. During this period 1,555 different men had been given work, no work being provided for unemployed women. In his final report the director states that about 200 of the registrants were helped to find other jobs, either temporary or regular.

The bi-weekly payrolls show the following number of employees:

December 23, 1930	251
January 6, 1931	439
January 21	554
February 6	648
February 19	742
March 4	721
March 18	864
April 2	1,002
April 15	432
April 27	161
May 12	139
May 25	154
May 29	160

The approximate monthly amounts of relief wages were:

December, 1930	\$14,282
January, 1931	34,202
February	28,737
March	47,101
April	16,778
May	12,410
Total	<u>\$153,510</u>

BERGEN COUNTY, NEW JERSEY

Classification of the expenditures from the total appropriation of \$200,000 is shown by the auditor's statement as follows:

Wages	\$153,510
Insurance	2,483
Truck hire	32,927
Gas shovel hire	1,302
Equipment, tools, paint	5,643
Bus hire	3,320
Office expenditures	553
Total	<u>\$199,738</u>

Valuable as this project was in providing employment when it was needed, it seems to have been partly responsible for a cut of \$156,000 in budget of the Road Department for 1930-1931. It is estimated that perhaps half of this cut, or from \$75,000 to \$80,000, was made because of transferring regular work to the emergency work program of the winter.

BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

INCEPTION OF PROGRAM

THE general industrial depression, which began in most cities during the winter of 1929-1930, had by that time already held Birmingham in its grip for many months. As early as February, 1929, the director of the Community Fund proposed in a newspaper article that able-bodied men receiving relief from the private charitable agencies be given work in city parks and on projects for straightening the creek channels, the city furnishing the necessary supervision and tools. The proposal was intended to apply to transient as well as to resident men. Nothing came of the proposal at the time, it being rejected by the president of the City Commission on the ground that the city could not afford to pay for the supervision and equipment.

During the following winter and throughout 1930, the employment situation became steadily more acute. In November, 1930, although the Community Fund succeeded in raising its quota, which had not been increased over that of the previous year, it was apparent that some emergency steps would have to be taken. On December 1, the director of the Fund persuaded a prominent citizen to launch a special drive for \$50,000 to be used in giving work relief to men in the city parks. At a special meeting called on December 8 by the Chamber of Commerce to consider a proposal to open a community soup kitchen, representatives of the welfare agencies succeeded not only in securing the temporary abandonment of this idea, but also in getting the proposed work project before the Chamber. The sponsor, who later became chairman of the proposed Work-Fund Drive, suggested that the \$50,000 to be raised by private contributions for work relief be supplemented by public funds obtained through a special bond issue. A week later the Chamber of Commerce decided to assist in securing the city's co-operation. The city authorities were persuaded to submit to the voters a bond issue to provide work for the unemployed, and at the end of January \$300,000 was voted for the acquisition and improvement of public parks.

BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

During December, however, the number of families receiving relief from the Red Cross Family Service (the only agency doing family work except the Jewish Federation) had mounted to four times the number carried in September, and it was decided that work relief could not wait for the special bond issue. It was therefore agreed that those who had pledged contributions to the Work Fund should be asked to advance them at once to the city, with the understanding that if the bond issue passed, the money would be refunded. If the bond issue failed, the contributions would be considered as outright gifts to the city for unemployment relief. As a result of this action, work relief was inaugurated early in January, and in the hope of lessening public apprehension about unemployment, statements were issued in the newspapers that work for residents of Birmingham was now available.

METHOD OF ADMINISTRATION

Personnel. The City Commission decided that the work relief should be carried on under the supervision of the city engineer, who was empowered to obtain any assistance he might need from other department heads. The city engineer was made responsible not only for the selection of all workmen, but also for the planning of work projects. On December 31, a new City Employment Bureau opened its doors to applicants. The personnel director of a utility company was lent to assist in its organization. On the morning the Bureau opened, the city engineer selected from the group of applicants that rushed its doors 12 men to act as registrars. In addition a stenographer and a clerical worker were hired.

Registration and Investigation. Since the city government was not equipped to handle the social investigation of applicants, it was arranged through the Community Fund that the social service departments of several local churches should perform this work. The director of the department of one of the churches, a trained social worker, secured the aid of about 10 women volunteers to make home visits. Several of these women were also volunteer visitors for the Red Cross Family Service.

The employment office was arranged so that two lines of applicants, whites on one side of the office, Negroes on the other, could file by a row of desks and make applications. Names of both white

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

and colored applicants were cleared with the Social Service Exchange, and if known to the Red Cross Family Service were accepted without further inquiry. A duplicate copy of the application from other white registrants was sent to the volunteer workers for investigation. No investigation was made of Negro applicants.

Up to August, 1931, a total of 4,455 white persons and 4,184 colored persons had applied for work at the City Employment Bureau, and it was estimated that about 4,000 of the former had been investigated. Visits made were of the door-step variety, and in most cases served little more than to verify the applicant's residence. If the visitor felt that need for employment was urgent, she submitted to the Employment Bureau her recommendation that the applicant be given work immediately. The man's application was then tabbed with a red clip, which meant that he was to be placed as soon as possible. Only residents of Birmingham were accepted for work relief.

Assignment. At first a card index of all applicants, classified according to occupation, was used as a file from which to select workers, but this device was discarded in favor of a series of large sheets on which were listed the names, addresses, number of dependents, and occupation of men approved for work. Names of those who had been reported in urgent need were entered in red.

While applications for jobs were being taken and investigated, the city engineer was working out plans with the Park Department for employing the men. As the plans were approved, requisitions were sent to the office of the city engineer in triplicate, for the workers needed. The city engineer kept one requisition, one was sent to the employment office, the third, to the time-keeper for the Park Department.

Those to be assigned to work were then selected from the lists. If a skilled worker was requested, care was exercised to select a man who had stated that he possessed that particular skill. Many skilled workmen were necessarily placed at common labor, with the understanding, however, that as soon as their particular kind of work was available they would be transferred.

Police officers delivered notifications of selection to applicants. Each man took this notice to the place designated, reported to the foreman, and received from him a permanent identification card,

BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

bearing his name, number, and signature. Two time-keepers were employed to see that the men were on the job, at the time and place specified, and that there was no padding of payrolls. The foreman and time-keepers were selected from the work-relief applicants. They had automobiles with which to make the rounds of the parks each day.

When the program started the Red Cross was asked to send the names of about 1,000 men recommended for immediate placement. The Bureau placed about 250 of these during its first week of operation. A separate record was kept of these placements, and it is interesting to note that as the total number of men on work relief increased those in this initial group were gradually dropped. "Poor work" was given as the reason by those in charge of the Bureau; but the records of the Red Cross did not bear out this explanation.

It must not be gathered, however, that the clients of the Red Cross did not benefit by the work-relief program after the first week. During the entire period about 800 Red Cross clients were employed, but the fact that these persons were already clients of a charitable agency gave them no preference over other needy applicants who applied directly to the Bureau.

Wages. The men were employed in two shifts, each working three eight-hour days a week. The foremen turned in a daily report of time worked and the time-keepers computed the amount due each worker. Men who worked on the first three days of the week were paid on Friday; those who worked the last three days, on the following Tuesday. On pay-days the city comptroller sent several men to the office of the Park Department to handle the payroll. The workers were lined up outside the office and called in by name, usually a crew at a time, and paid in cash. The time-keepers were present to settle any matters of dispute. Workers were encouraged to look for odd jobs on the days on which they did not work, and were permitted to send to the office properly identified persons to receive their pay.

The men were paid according to several rates of wages. Unskilled workmen received 25 cents an hour, which enabled them to earn \$6.00 a week. The 12 registrars in the Employment Bureau, the office secretary, and the time-keepers were also paid at this

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

rate, but as they worked six days a week they were able to earn \$12 a week. Foremen were paid 50 cents an hour for six days a week. Skilled workmen if working at their trade were paid 55 per cent of the union wage. Bricklayers and stone masons received 80 cents an hour; carpenters and painters, 55 cents. A few skilled workers worked six days a week.

An ordinance of Birmingham provides that any plumbing or electrical work done by the city must be under the direction of a licensed plumber or electrician. When the question of wage rate for licensed engineers came up, it was decided to pay them 10 per cent of the total cost of labor and material for the project they were supervising.

When a worker was transferred from one job to another it was necessary to obtain the approval of the foreman and superintendent of the project on which he had been working. This approval was usually given, because in most instances the transfer meant that the man would earn more money and do work for which he was better suited.

After each pay-day a duplicate copy of the payroll was sent to the Red Cross Family Service, which made a card index of all the men on the payroll and cleared them with its own records. In this way it was able to keep a record of the work-relief history of clients, including wages, transfer, dismissal, and comment on work record.

Health and Accident Provisions. The city did not carry insurance for the men on work relief. One workman died as a result of a hernia, another sustained a spinal fracture. The city paid the medical bills in both instances and supplied the necessary appliances for the latter, keeping him on the payroll until he was able to resume work.

EXTENT OF PROGRAM

Work relief began early in January, 1931, and was still in operation in September. The following figures show the number of different persons registered, assigned to work, and actually employed up to July 15:

Number registered	8,595
Number assigned to work	2,865
Number employed	2,271

BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

Of the 594 persons assigned to work who were not employed, 114 were not found, 148 reported having other jobs, 27 were physically unable to do the work, 12 refused to accept the work offered, and 293 others failed to report.

Periodic reports of the employment office showed the number of men employed on work relief in city parks as follows:

February 4	1,036
March 4	1,302
April 1	1,242
April 30	1,132
May 31	832
July 1	650

During the first nine months of 1931, the following expenditures were made by the Park Department from the \$500,000 bond issue:

Month	Wages	Team and Truck Hire	Materials and Supplies	Total
January, 1931	\$18,000	\$234	\$4,128	\$22,362
February	29,406	291	5,717	35,414
March	42,621	679	16,722	60,022
April	42,088	585	18,131	60,804
May	39,857	580	18,806	59,243
June	40,398	746	14,317	55,461
July	22,513	746	21,291	44,550
August	8,625	378	19,677	28,680
September	2,268	517	8,376	11,161
Total	\$245,776	\$4,756	\$127,165	\$377,697

In May \$12,437 was spent in addition to the amounts shown above, for a plot of land.

BRIDGEPORT, CONNECTICUT

INCEPTION OF PROGRAM

THE history of work relief in Bridgeport goes back to the depression of 1921-1922. In 1923, the city's funds for poor relief had been greatly overspent, and permission was sought from the state legislature to issue bonds for further relief. As the city administration and the legislature were at loggerheads, a bill was introduced and passed authorizing the city to issue \$300,000 in bonds, but stipulating that it must be expended under the direction of a commission, which was named in the bill. The director of the Department of Public Welfare, acting with this commission, arranged a program of public works, consisting mostly of street extensions and improvements, and about 1,000 men, selected from recipients of public relief, received work.

It was therefore natural, when the city's relief expenditures mounted in the winter of 1930, that the same director of public welfare, recalling the success of the earlier enterprise, should induce the city again to embark upon a work-relief program. Beginning as early as February, 1930, a work-relief program was conducted by the Department of Public Welfare until April, 1931, the funds being appropriated from the current revenue of the city.

In December, 1930, a Citizens' Emergency Committee was formed. It undertook to determine the extent of unemployment in the city. About 4,000 were registered at the police stations and firehouses, and supplementary names were obtained through the schools, social agencies, churches, and lodges. An employment office was opened. A report of the Emergency Committee complains that it was impossible to obtain the names of unemployed members of labor unions, or of unemployed clients of the Department of Public Welfare, although they were given a list of all persons receiving relief from the Department. A campaign to secure odd jobs proved a disappointment, and the Committee tried to work out plans for combining a further work-relief program with that already in operation by the city. This was not effected, however.

BRIDGEPORT, CONNECTICUT

Early in 1931 it was evident that available public funds for relief would shortly become exhausted, and since an appeal for private funds was not felt to be feasible, recourse was had as in 1923 to the legislature. A bill was passed in March authorizing the city to borrow \$500,000 "to be used exclusively to pay compensation for work performed by needy persons for the city." As in 1923 the legislature did not entrust the expenditure of the fund to the city administration, but named in the bill a special commission of leading citizens, which should report to the Common Council, but should otherwise act independently.

The work-relief program begun in February, 1930, came to an end on April 17, 1931, 820 men being laid off. The new funds became available in the following month, and on June 1 work relief was renewed, the Department of Public Welfare now, as in 1923, acting as the commission's administrative agent.

METHOD OF ADMINISTRATION

Work relief in Bridgeport has been carried on simply as an adjunct to the Department of Public Welfare. Those assigned to work relief were all applicants for direct relief; if denied work, they might expect to receive the same amount of assistance over the same desk without work. It is to their credit that under those conditions most of them preferred to work for what they received.

Personnel. Fourteen new investigators and two additional interviewers were taken on during the period of the relief program by the Department of Public Welfare, but they worked on both relief cases and work cases. They were paid out of the regular department budget, and were not social workers, but trained nurses, it being the Department's policy to use nurses on its social work staff.

Six additional workers and 14 time-keepers were selected from the applicants for work relief and paid from the work-relief funds, the maximum salary being \$15 a week. A chief paymaster and three assistants were also paid from the special funds.

Registration and Investigation. Men applying for work were interviewed at the same place and by the same staff as those asking for relief. The stated procedure was to clear each application with

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

the Confidential Exchange¹ by telephone, and if the family was under the care of no agency, to refer it to one of the Department's visitors for investigation. In practice, however, the other agencies state that the Exchange was not uniformly used by the Department of Public Welfare.

Throughout the period reported on, the Department of Public Welfare insisted that when private agencies referred men for work relief, they should transfer work with the family completely to the Department. This often meant the interruption of long-time plans, involving health and other adjustments, which the Department's staff was unable because of pressure of work to continue. The private agencies expressed increasing dissatisfaction with this requirement and later in 1931 an agreement was entered into by which the private agencies might refer men for work without transferring the care of their families. Under this arrangement the Department made an investigation to determine residence, but left all further work with the family, including provision for supplementary relief, with the referring agency.

Assignment. The supervisor decided on the basis of the visitor's report whether or not an applicant should be assigned to work relief. Those selected were sent letters directing them where to report for work and where free bus transportation could be secured. At first these notices were sent by mail, but it was found that some of them fell into unauthorized hands and were presented by men other than those to whom they were addressed, so the visitors thereafter delivered them to the homes. Time-keepers visited each gang daily, and checked attendance and made up the payrolls.

Wages. From February to July, 1930, the wage-rate was 50 cents an hour, and each man irrespective of size of family worked four eight-hour days a week, earning a wage of \$16, which was paid in cash.² In July, 1930, the hourly wage was reduced to 40 cents, and the weekly wage thus dropped to \$12.80. This was due entirely to fear of exhaustion of funds. The labor unions protested

¹ See p. 236.

² A special difficulty reported in Bridgeport arose from the fact that earnings in the earlier stages of the project were higher than could be earned in factories which were working on very short time. It was difficult to deter men under these conditions from procuring their own dismissal in order to apply for work relief.

BRIDGEPORT, CONNECTICUT

the payment of such wages to skilled men for skilled work; but no concessions were made. This rate was maintained until the work was discontinued in April, 1931, but with the renewal of work under the commission in June, the wage-rate was cut to 35 cents an hour, and was paid in scrip,¹ each unit of which represented a half-day's wage, or \$1.40. On the back of each slip was the statement:

Persons supplying necessities on this order will make out a bill in duplicate, with name, address, and date plainly written thereon, attach this order to the bill and forward to the Department of Public Welfare, Washington and Madison Avenues, Bridgeport, Connecticut. Bills will be approved promptly upon receipt. Checks will be mailed from the office of the Comptroller, City Hall.

This system is a considerable improvement over that in effect in Grand Rapids since it in no way limits the source from which goods may be purchased, and thus creates no incentive to dispose of the scrip for cash. It was freely accepted by landlords and tradesmen. One advantage claimed for the system is that it gives a record on the workers' expenditures. Unless, however, the bills were scrutinized by someone familiar with the budgeting of small incomes, the advantage is not marked, and in practice the bills passed only through routine clerical hands. The checking and re-checking necessary for the comptroller's approval was an expensive process and entailed a large increase in the clerical and bookkeeping staff.

The archaic settlement laws of Connecticut provide that persons not citizens of the United States cannot obtain a legal status as residents, and citizens must have lived in a community four years without receiving any form of public assistance (including medical care) before legal settlement can be attained. Approximately 50 per cent of the families known to the social agencies of Bridgeport have no legal settlement there, though many may have lived in the city for twenty years. The state of Connecticut reimburses the individual communities for the care of the "unsettled" poor; but a state ruling that work-relief wages could not be thus reimbursed has deterred the Department of Public Welfare from employing such men. An agreement was reached, however, that the state would reimburse the city for expenditures in redeeming work-

¹ See p. 245 for explanation of the use of this term.

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

relief scrip, and this, in fact, was the real reason for adoption of the scrip system.

When the scrip system was introduced, the following scale of assignments also went into effect:

	Days per Week	Weekly Earnings
Man with 1 dependent	2	\$5.60
Man with 2 dependents	3	8.40
Man with 3 or more dependents	4	11.20

In case the Department secured information that the wages were not going to the support of the man's home, the scrip was paid directly to the wife.

Although the reduced wage-scale was recognized to be inadequate to meet the necessary expenditures of the families aided, there was great reluctance on the part of the Department to supplement the wages by direct home relief. Rent was not usually paid until the family had received an eviction notice; and landlords familiar with the Department's policy in this respect frequently refused to accept as new tenants men who were receiving work relief.¹

Health and Accident Provisions. Special accident insurance was carried for workers on work relief, although the city carries its own insurance on regular employes. Compensation, however, was only one-half the usual earnings, and these were so low as to make it necessary for the Department of Public Welfare to supplement them by relief in practically all accident cases. Most of the compensation cases were due to ivy-poisoning.

Nature of Work. The work was almost entirely done in the Park Department. Four hundred and fifty acres of unimproved land were cleared and an 18-hole golf course constructed. The trees cut down were cut into stove-wood and distributed as relief. Roads and picnic grounds were laid out. Some clean-up work was done for the Department of Streets, and, during the summer of 1931, some road construction. Painting and repair work were done in city institutions, and in one private hospital; but there was criticism of this use of public funds, and no more private institutions were thus aided.

¹ Since November, 1931, the Department has adopted the policy of paying rent when necessary, in addition to work-relief wages.

BRIDGEPORT, CONNECTICUT

EXTENT OF PROGRAM

No figures are available for the number of different men employed during the period February, 1930 to April, 1931. The maximum in any one month was reported as 1,222. The following tabulation gives the amount of work-relief wages by months:

Month	Wages
February, 1930	\$3,381
March	18,785
April	30,142
May	22,874
June	17,381
July	21,571
August	17,098
September	21,165
October	29,936
November	29,786
December	35,742
January, 1931	45,409
February	37,223
March	45,466
April	12,547
Total	<u>\$388,506</u>

In addition, \$48,012 was spent for trucks, \$26,750 for supervision, and \$6,613 for supplies, making the total expenditure for this period, \$469,881.

The work resumed in June was still continuing in October. The number of men working and the amount of wages from June through September were as follows:

	Men Working	Wages
June, 1931	446	\$15,868
July	650	30,396
August	776	28,704
September	842	31,478
Total		<u>\$106,446</u>

During this period \$20,000 was spent for materials and \$12,560 for supervision, making a total of \$139,006.

BUFFALO, NEW YORK

BUFFALO has had three major work projects since the fall of 1930: (1) A work-relief program put on by the city of Buffalo through its various public service departments during the winter months; (2) an odd-jobs campaign which developed into an organized plan of neighborhood hiring of men for snow removal known as the man-a-block plan, and its correlated program of work relief for women through casual domestic employment; and (3) a large-scale work test arranged in April, 1931, by the Department of Social Welfare, the city service departments and the public employment agency, whereby recipients of public relief were required to give one day's employment a week in the parks or on some other public work in exchange for that week's relief order. There were also two minor programs which deserve consideration.

INCEPTION OF PROGRAM

As early as April 4, 1930, the mayor, in a public proclamation, called upon the citizens of Buffalo to co-operate in the widest possible use of the municipal employment agency known as the Industrial Aid Bureau. This Bureau had been established under the Department of Social Welfare for the relief of unemployment through finding temporary or permanent work for the jobless.

By early fall it became apparent to the directors of Buffalo's social work agencies that the winter of 1930-1931 would bring problems of such magnitude that only a city-wide emergency organization could adequately cope with them. The mayor and the Chamber of Commerce officials were apprised of the gravity of the situation and presented with a tentative plan of organization prepared by the Council of Social Agencies. The mayor and six prominent citizens attended a meeting of the Governor's Stabilization Committee held in Rochester on October 10, 1930. After several further conferences, a Buffalo Stabilization Committee consisting of 53 representative persons was appointed by the mayor. In a message to the City Council, dated November 8, 1930, the

BUFFALO, NEW YORK

mayor informed the Council of this action, as a concurrent demand was arising within that body for the appointment of some such committee.

In the message referred to, the mayor enunciated the following principles underlying the Committee's appointment:

1. Economy on the part of the city government in order to create reserves for emergency employment of hand labor on city projects.
2. Widest possible co-operation between public and private agencies and business interest.
3. City-wide planning to avoid overlapping of relief efforts.
4. Relief of unemployment as far as possible by jobs instead of by direct relief.
5. Use of existing agencies to the maximum.
6. Avoidance of publicity and hysteria.

This Committee immediately proceeded to organize and to delegate its administrative functions to an Executive Committee of 15 citizens, headed by an outstanding industrialist as chairman. Headquarters were established, with several full-time staff workers. The Executive Committee was divided into the following sub-committees: Industrial Contacts, Recreation, Fact-finding, Publicity, Women's Division, Man-a-Block Plan, Relief, Headquarters Staff.

Its platform was built upon two basic principles: (1) to help insure against destitution by encouraging organized welfare work and sound preparedness for whatever relief might be called for; and (2) to develop ways and means designed to stimulate present employment and to prevent excessive unemployment in the future.

In working out the second of these objectives, the Committee developed the man-a-block idea of creating employment for the jobless, described in a later section of this report.

Meanwhile the mayor lost no time in getting under way a number of public works projects designed to furnish employment on a part-time basis to as many of the unemployed as possible. Following his message of November 8 to the City Council, he consulted with the various members of his cabinet regarding the possibility of finding needed and useful work to be done in the city parks and on street, water, and sewer developments, which could be started

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

at once and carried on throughout the winter as emergency work. On November 17, in a message to the City Council, seven projects were outlined and the Council was asked to take the necessary steps to finance them. Six of these projects were to be financed by the transfer or use of surplus funds in the current budget of the city; the seventh, by far the largest, required a bond issue.

In making his recommendations, the mayor expressed awareness of the conflicting obligations which confronted the city, namely: to provide such temporary employment as may be possible to tide over the winter hundreds of our citizens who are impoverished through no fault of their own, [and] to guard against wasteful or unnecessary expenditures which will increase the already heavy tax burden on thousands of our citizens who, through impaired earning ability, are experiencing serious difficulties in supporting themselves and their families without seeking public aid.

The City Council approved the mayor's proposals and work was undertaken at once.

METHOD OF ADMINISTRATION

Registration and Investigation. The Industrial Aid Bureau reached its highest effectiveness in placing men with the Parks Department, where practically all men taken on were selected by the Bureau. In the Sewer and Water Departments the selection was made by department heads, based upon their own judgment as to need and the desirability of the applicants' being given work relief. The Water Department assigned a member of its office staff to the task of making home investigations of the applicants' need for work, and estimates that of the hundreds coming to them on their own initiative or with letters of referral from councilmen, political workers, interested neighbors, landlords, and so forth, practically all were investigated. Applicants who were referred from the Industrial Aid Bureau (the municipal employment department) were accepted without investigation, although not all could be placed.

The Industrial Aid Bureau, in making its selections and recommendations for placement, limited itself almost entirely to the active relief cases sent by the Department of Social Welfare. In pursuing this policy, it was endeavoring to assist in cutting down

BUFFALO, NEW YORK

the relief load of these agencies by providing a work opportunity instead of giving outright relief. Under this arrangement, such individuals as had managed to get along without applying for relief were obliged either to seek a work-relief opportunity among the applicants at the various offices of the public service departments, or to apply for city relief in order to get a job.

It is probably fair to say that the Industrial Aid Bureau placements on the city's entire work-relief program aggregated from one-half to two-thirds of the total number of men placed, and that practically all of these were selected because they were actual relief recipients at the time. Of the other group, that is, those placed by the departments on their own decision, it is probable that some owed their placement to the political influence, although there is no evidence that they were not all in serious need of employment.

The only special consideration which the clients of the private relief agencies seem to have had in this work-relief program is that given them by the city service department heads who made placements on their own initiative and decision. No fixed proportion of the jobs were reserved for the private agencies, nor were they officially advised at any time of the scope of the program.

Strict requirements as to full citizenship and legal residence seem to have been observed in accepting registrations. Heads of large families and married ex-service men were given preference, so far as possible.

Assignment. There was no formal or uniform procedure among the various departments for notifying the men of their selection and assignment. Most of them were selected and signed up across the desk, either at the time of their first interview or upon persistent re-application. Brief notes directing when and where to report for work were given to the successful applicants.

Once chosen and assigned, the men were allowed to work their quota of three days a week for an indefinite period. After the program had reached its peak, placements were made only to fill vacancies caused by voluntary resignation.

Wages. The wage was uniformly \$5.00 for an eight-hour day. The men worked in two crews of three days each week. Payment was in cash, in the same manner as regular employes were paid in the same departments.

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

Health and Accident Provisions. No physical examinations were made, but the men were automatically insured under the Workmen's Compensation Act by the city.

The mustering of these previously unemployed men in large work battalions throughout the city visualized for the citizens the scope of the distress existing about them. Sympathetic interest was aroused, and many brought clothing for those whose attire seemed inadequate for the cold weather. In a number of instances organizations such as churches and American Legion posts provided the men with hot lunches at noon. The city provided rubber boots from its regular supply.

No provision was made for women needing work, or for men unable to perform common labor.

Nature of Work. The first project to get under way was tree-trimming. Buffalo had 200,000 shade trees in need of attention, and this task was assigned to the Parks Department, to be performed with the aid of work-relief labor. The other projects were begun in rapid succession. They consisted in laying water-mains under the direction of the Water Department, filling and grading streets and carrying out improvements at the airport under the Department of Public Works, and making repairs for the Department of Buildings.

EXTENT OF PROGRAM

The work began in November, 1930, and continued in the main to April 1, 1931. No central record was kept of the work done and number employed week by week except in the payroll sheets in the city auditor's office, and these were never brought together. Consequently, there is not available in Buffalo any statistical compilation of the number of persons employed, hours worked and wages earned on the various work-relief projects. On March 20, 1931, however, the chairman of the Committee on Stabilization of Employment asked for statements from the various city departments as to the number of men they were employing on work relief at that time, and, from their replies, arrived at the aggregate figure of 2,200 a week, divided into two crews of approximately 1,100 each. This was at the peak of the enterprise. At this time the Parks Department reported 600 men, the Public Works Department 500 men, and the Water Department, about 1,100.

BUFFALO, NEW YORK

No count was kept of the number of different men employed throughout the period, but the turnover is reported to have been low, as each placement was regarded as permanent for the life of the project. The Industrial Aid Bureau, which had been making from 130 to 180 placements of the Department of Social Welfare's men and ex-service men each month prior to the opening of the work-relief program, reports the following placements during the period under study:

Month	Number Placed on Work Relief
November, 1930	694
December	330
January, 1931	1,061
February	601
March	333

The director of the city budget reports as follows on the final approximate costs of the projects, and the estimated wage expenditure:

Department	Expenditures
Parks	\$85,000
Water	515,000
Public works	120,000
Buildings	30,000
Total	\$750,000
Estimated cost of materials	\$215,000
Estimated wages paid	\$535,000

From this approximate figure for wage expenditure, it may be gathered that about 107,000 man-days of work were performed at \$5.00 a day.

Work Relief of Board of Education. Following the example set by the administration, the Board of Education employed a number of painters, carpenters, and laborers on a program of buildings and grounds improvement. The regular maintenance crews of approximately 300 persons were augmented to about double that number. The wage payroll accounts of the Board of Education for the fiscal year, July 1, 1930 to June 30, 1931, show an increase of \$119,477 over those of the preceding year. This may represent extra labor employed for purposes of work relief. The policy of the

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

Board was to employ common laborers at \$5.00 for an eight-hour day, five days a week. Painters and carpenters were paid the "going rate" of \$9.00 a day and were worked in two crews, three days each. This policy regarding payment of the going rate was established after an attempt to employ men at less than the accepted union rate had met with opposition from organized labor.

Man-a-Block Plan. This plan was an organized effort on the part of the Mayor's Committee on Stabilization of Employment to create employment for a large number of men, in the removal of snow from the sidewalks of householders in the more prosperous districts of the city. A "block" was a unit of 20 to 30 homes in which the householders were willing to contribute 50 or 75 cents a week to a fund for employing a man to remove whatever snow might fall. A captain was selected for each block. His duties were to sign up the householders in support of the plan, to select the man to do the work, to collect the weekly contributions and pay them over to the employed man, and to supervise the latter's work.

In launching the man-a-block plan in December, the Committee secured wide public attention by the distribution of notices to each householder setting forth the details of the plan. These notices were in the form of printed two-page letters from the mayor to the citizens of Buffalo, and their distribution was made to the 95,000 homes of the city by the Police Department.

Although a sub-committee of the Committee on Stabilization of Employment directed the project, the co-operation of the civil authorities was given throughout. The election commissioners were called upon to lay out the city in districts comprising from five to ten blocks each, and to nominate a man in each district to serve as "major." The mayor appointed these nominees and requested them to select the captains for their districts.

At the height of the project, 789 blocks were organized, utilizing men at a maximum wage of \$15 a week. The total amount of wages was about \$80,000. Some workers increased their earnings by doing odd jobs for householders in their spare time, and several were able when spring arrived to get work from these same people, caring for lawns and gardens.

Owing to the hasty organization of the plan, a number of minor difficulties arose in its administration. Not all captains were suc-

BUFFALO, NEW YORK

cessful in getting their blocks organized. Of those who were, part followed the original plan of collecting the weekly instalments and paying them over to the man on the job, but many failed to do this and the man had to collect his own wages. Proper receipt forms were not provided. An Odd-Jobs Bureau had been created as a clearing house for men desirous of securing these jobs, but many of the captains selected men with whom they were personally acquainted, instead of calling upon the Odd-Jobs Bureau. Since the whole organization revolved around the majors, who were political committee men appointed by the election commissioners, it would not have been surprising had political preferment crept into the system of choosing the man-a-block laborers. There is no evidence, however, that this actually happened. The selection of majors was made from all political groups in the city, and this fact reduced the danger of single party patronage resulting from the distribution of jobs.

In the main, the Committee on Stabilization of Employment believes that the man-a-block project was successful. One question only the adequacy of the return for the vast amount of volunteer effort which is necessary to organize such a program and keep it going. Its chief merit is that it taps a new resource of emergency employment and offers to the distraught unemployed man concrete evidence that his fellow citizens are willing to help him and take a personal interest in his difficulties.

Household Helper Plan. The Women's Division of the Committee on Stabilization of Employment handled two projects: the operation of the Odd-Jobs Bureau, which acted as a clearing agency for the employment services to women of the Catholic Charities, Disabled Veterans' Bureau, Goodwill Industries, Industrial Aid Bureau, and State Employment Bureau; and a program for the casual employment of women in private homes, which was designated the Household Helper Plan. This plan, launched by letters delivered by the Girl Scouts on February 7, 1931, was an afterthought to the man-a-block plan. It was based upon the proposal that a number of housewives in each block should band together, under the leadership of a lieutenant appointed by the Women's Division, for the joint employment of a woman household helper to the extent of at least three days a week. From three to six

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

housewives constituted a unit in the plan. The rate of pay was set at \$3.00 for an eight-hour day, plus lunch and carfare, or 40 cents an hour plus lunch and carfare for half a day. Selection of the helpers was a responsibility of the Odd-Jobs Bureau. Agreements to use the services of a household helper were understood to cover a period of three months.

About a hundred women were placed under this plan. It was never considered particularly successful, and with the coming of spring was gradually abandoned.

Work-Test Program. On or about April first of each year it has been customary for the Department of Social Welfare to discontinue relief to able-bodied recipients. In 1931, with unemployment at such a high level, the plan was conceived of requiring each able-bodied relief applicant to give one day's work on some public works assignment in exchange for the relief required. By a tripartite arrangement between the Department of Social Welfare, the Industrial Aid Bureau, and the various city departments which had work to offer, a system was worked out which placed approximately 600 men a day, or 3,600 different men a week, at work on city jobs. Their remuneration was in the form of a relief order payable on the date when they were next "entitled" to receive one. Relief orders were granted each week, and under this system, clients of the Department of Social Welfare came to regard their continuing application for relief in the light of applications for a day's work each week, paid for with a grocery order.

Each client was expected to report to the Industrial Aid Bureau daily until he could be assigned to a job and thereafter on days when he was not working to prove that he had no other job. When assigned, his referral card was stamped by the Bureau with the date and place of his assignment. Upon completion of his day's work, the card was signed by the foreman. With these certifications on his card, the client qualified for a relief order. If for any reason the Industrial Aid Bureau was unable to place him during the week, his card was stamped "Approved" by the Bureau clerk, and relief was continued on the same basis as if he had been assigned to a job and had worked for a day.

The work test features of this plan are obvious, and may have served to weed out the indolent and indifferent. More subtle,

BUFFALO, NEW YORK

however, was the counter-influence exerted by the implied willingness of the relief agency of the city to give relief more or less continuously so long as the applicant showed a willingness to perform a day's labor in exchange for it. By mixing the three elements of determination of relief need, provision of work opportunity, and test of willingness to work, in one project, the individual approach which is so essential to the relief phase of the problem seems to have been entirely abandoned and with it went, to a certain extent, the element of control within the relief department.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

INCEPTION OF PROGRAM

DURING the late summer of 1930, the general superintendent of the Chicago United Charities developed a plan for putting heads of needy families to work, paying them out of a special relief fund of \$60,000 given for this purpose by a single contributor. This work was to be carried on apart from the regular activities of the United Charities, under the direction of the superintendent of the Bureau of Handicapped Workers, a division of the Illinois Free Employment Service. The important principles adopted for the project were as follows:

1. The work to which unemployed persons were to be assigned should be limited to non-profit-making agencies.
2. Only heads, or acting heads, of needy families should be eligible for the work.
3. The employer should furnish all materials required.
4. The work should serve some constructive purpose for which there was no appropriation in the employer's current budget.
5. Wages should be at regular market rates for similar work in the respective neighborhoods, but the amount of work given should be regulated so that differences in wage rates should not result in differences in total amounts earned.
6. Employers should pay the workers out of operating funds and be reimbursed from special funds of the agency.
7. Workers should be selected from among their clients by specially designated social agencies.

The United Charities work-relief program was initiated on October 22, 1930, the first group of workers being assigned to work in the South Park System of Chicago. By the end of October, however, Governor Emmerson's Commission on Unemployment and Relief had completed its tentative organization and had determined to conduct an extensive work-relief program for Chicago. The plans of the United Charities were made available to the Commission and the main principles of its program were accepted for the operation of the Commission's work-relief program.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

A group of engineers was requested to prepare plans for work projects similar to those already being conducted by the United Charities and to estimate the amount which should be spent in their execution. As a result it was decided that one-fifth of the \$5,000,000, which was to be raised from private sources by the Governor's Commission for the winter's relief program in Chicago, should be devoted to work relief. The remainder of the fund was to be expended for relief through existing agencies to families and to homeless men, a portion of the deficit in operating expenses of the five major family welfare agencies being also met out of this fund. A Special Work Fund Committee was appointed to oversee the administration of the \$1,000,000 work-relief fund.

A conference of this Committee with the superintendent of the Illinois Free Employment Service resulted in an arrangement by which the Committee's administrative organization was to be known as the Special Work Division of the Employment Service.¹ The new bureau adopted certain of the record forms of the Employment Service, shared its franked mailing privilege, and was directed by the head of its Bureau for Handicapped Workers. The Committee secured office space free of rent in a large downtown building, and on November 17 the Special Work Division opened for business. Part of the records of the United Charities work-relief bureau were transferred at once to the Division and before the end of November, when nearly half of the special work-relief fund of the United Charities had been spent, it was decided to merge completely the two activities.

METHOD OF ADMINISTRATION

Personnel. The staff at first consisted of the superintendent and his secretary; the assistant to the superintendent and his secretary; three outside "contact men"; three men lent by public service corporations from their personnel staffs to act as placement secretaries, their salaries being continued by their respective corporations; three stenographers to assist these placement secretaries; a man to act as reception and interviewing clerk; and a janitor.

¹ Its full title was Special Work Division of the Illinois Free Employment Service Working with Governor Emmerson's Commission on Unemployment and Relief.

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

Later it was augmented by three time clerks; an accountant; an additional stenographer; and four clerks, one of whom became the "clearance secretary." All of the paid employes of the Special Work Division except the executives were hired from among the unemployed.

Since the plan contemplated that only clients of the social agencies were to be placed, no provision was at first made for office interviews. When it became widely known, however, that jobs were being secured through the Special Work Division, thousands of persons applied directly, and the Division obtained the services of additional men as interviewers. These men were also lent by local business firms. Most of them gave valuable service to the Division, but some, because of their inability to see the social service aspects of the work, caused difficulty. Further difficulties arose from the fact that some of the paid employes, selected chiefly on the basis of their need, proved ill-fitted for the task. Moreover, all the staff were seriously overworked.

Registration. A section of the main floor of the office was set aside as a "placement division" for each of three districts of the city, each having its own contact representative to secure work opportunities and a trained employment secretary in charge. A central clearance secretary assigned workers to these placement divisions in the following way. After the accredited agencies had submitted lists of names, the superintendent of the Special Work Division personally examined the lists, and on his approval duplicate cards were made for each name. One of these cards was known as the registration card, the other as the master card. Master cards were filed alphabetically in a main file so that one could tell, at any time, whether a given person had been registered. Registration cards were sent to a so-called reserve file at the desk of the clearance secretary, where they were filed by placement divisions in which the men resided. The cards in each district group were arranged in sub-groups according to the certifying social agency, and within the sub-groups according to chronological order of their certification to the Special Work Division.

Assignment. The three contact representatives submitted to the superintendent of the Division work order sheets which gave a description of the work to be done, and stated whether it was

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

ordinarily performed by union or non-union workers, the regular wage rate paid, the number of workers required, the probable length of the job, the address to which workers should report, and the date when the work was to start. When approved by the superintendent, work orders were passed on to the clearance secretary, who selected workers from the names in the reserve file. It was his responsibility to select persons for assignment with respect to work qualifications, specified on the order, accessibility of the worker to the job, order of receipt of the certification cards, and, after January 22, the quotas allotted to the certifying agencies. A dummy card was placed in the reserve file for each card withdrawn, showing the placement division in which it was active.

The work orders were returned to the superintendent with the cards of men selected, and after inspection were forwarded to the placement divisions. Here the placement secretary wrote introduction cards, and the time clerk filled in the proper information on form letters of instruction. The typist who mailed the cards made at the same time an alphabetical list showing the names, addresses, certifying agencies, and information concerning the rate of pay and amount of work to be done. These lists were sent to the superintendent's assistant. The time clerk filled in on the backs of the registration cards information showing the employer to whom the workers were sent, occupation, and date on which the job was to begin. The registration card was kept in the active file in his placement division as long as the man was at work on a particular job.

The worker presented the introduction card to his employer, who was instructed to mail it immediately to the Special Work Division. The time clerk then checked the card against his records, assuring himself that the signatures of the superintendent and employer were genuine, and endorsing on the back of the registration card the words "hired" or "not hired" according to the employer's report. Occasionally the time clerks visited the places to which men had been assigned to check further and also to learn of vacancies which needed to be filled.

Assignment to work relief was limited to residents of the city and to citizens. A very serious problem confronting the Special Work Division from the beginning was that of resisting political

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

pressure. There was some evidence that a few of the men sent to work in one of the city departments were compelled to do electioneering during the period preceding the primaries. One man who had been certified by an agency, but who had not yet been placed, brought to the office a letter from a worker in one of the political camps, which assumed that the man had received work, and assured him that this was due to the influence of one of the candidates for the mayoralty. This intimation that their lists had been tampered with was promptly reported to the Governor's Commission, and immediate steps were taken to investigate and correct the situation. In this and in other instances, the report of the Special Work Division states that it was able successfully to withstand attempts to subvert its work to political ends.

An extremely flexible policy was adopted regarding length of assignment and wages. The Division did not attempt to control rigidly either the number of hours or days worked, or the rate of wage paid. This was left largely to the decision of employers, but the aim was to permit each man to earn only \$50 to \$60 a month. If a man was paid more than this, although the employer would be reimbursed for the wages paid, the man could not be re-assigned for a proportionally longer time. Thus, if a man doing skilled work was able to earn \$120 during the month of December, and sought re-assignment in January, he would not be re-assigned until February because he had earned the maximum amount for two months.

Re-assignment was also refused for a variety of disciplinary and other reasons, such as: failure to report for work assigned; quitting without adequate cause; discharge from a job for inefficiency, insubordination, dishonesty, or inciting misbehavior in others; failure to use wages to support family; another member of family receiving work relief.

The cards of the men ineligible for re-assignment were transferred to a closed file. As men returned for re-assignment the already complex system was further complicated by the establishment of a Re-assignment Division. All registration cards of men who were eligible for re-assignment came to this department. When an application for re-assignment was taken, the information concerning the man was attached to his registration card and forwarded to the superintendent. If he approved the application and

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

there was a job available the man was given another introduction card and letter of instruction and sent out to the new job immediately. If no jobs were available, the man was told that he would be notified when another position was open. The Re-assignment Division kept a record of each man assigned to a new job, his registration card being returned to the active file of the placement secretary of the proper division.

The cumbersome nature of the office routine which has been described was recognized by the staff; and one of the recommendations made for its improvement, should work be resumed, was abandonment of the three placement divisions, and consolidation of their staffs and files into one placement unit.

In the matter of re-assignment, the Division tried to meet the preferences expressed by the agency which certified to the applicant's need. The social agencies preferred to have continuous work given to clients sent by them even if this meant a reduction in the number who could participate, while the Painters' Union, in order to distribute the available jobs to as many of its members as possible, asked that each union painter be given only one assignment of four days.

Relations with Social Agencies. The United Charities, Central Charity Bureau (Catholic), Salvation Army, Jewish Social Service Bureau, Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare, and Chicago Chapter of the American Red Cross were the agencies which were designated by the Governor's Commission to certify as to the need of applicants for assignment to work relief. Attempts to work out a division between these agencies on a quota basis were not strictly adhered to, partly because of the inclusion in the list of labor unions, discussed below, and partly because a certain proportion of assignments was reserved at the division office for "emergency cases." This was done because of the pressure of direct applications from men who had not been certified by the agencies. More than 60,000 such applications were received from December, 1930 to April, 1931, and of those who had the patience to wait until they were seen by an interviewer, fewer than 1,000 succeeded in obtaining jobs, these constituting the "most desperate cases" in the judgment of the staff. Those not placed on work relief were, however, given an opportunity to state their difficulties and were fre-

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

quently given vocational advice, sent to employment bureaus, or referred to social agencies.

One of the main criticisms of the entire placement procedure was that it nowhere provided for a notification to the certifying agencies of the placement of men. Social agencies were left to discover as they might which of their clients were benefiting by work relief. In many instances the facts remained unknown, so that there was unnecessary loss of time and expenditure for relief.

Relations with Labor Unions. Certain important agreements were reached with labor unions with regard to the employment on work relief of their members. The Street Cleaners' and Sweepers' Union complained that 1,000 of its members were as hungry and needy as anybody else, and that if jobs in the Street Department were to be given out, they should participate. On November 28, an agreement was reached by which this Union was to furnish temporary membership cards, with no payment of dues, to all non-union men assigned by the Special Work Division to street-cleaning jobs. In return, one man holding a regular union card was to be given work for each of three temporary cards issued. The regular union wage of \$5.50 a day was paid to all the men.

The agreement with the Painters' Union was somewhat more complicated, since this trade was not completely organized in Chicago. Non-union painters were sent to employers accustomed to pay less than the union wage, and the number of days' work adjusted accordingly. When men were sent on union jobs, however, the Painters' Union issued temporary membership cards, with the understanding that one union member should be placed for each non-union man assigned, each receiving \$14 a day, and working four days each month. By arrangement with the Union, its regular members were not to receive re-assignments to the work.

Both these unions sent to the Division a list of members in greatest need, together with data concerning their family condition, and in certain instances a member of the staff of the Division was permitted to interview these men at the Union headquarters. In the case of the painters, however, the Union determined by lot which of the more needy members should be first assigned.

These examples show the general attitude adopted by the Special Work Committee toward union labor. Although the unions are

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

reported as entirely friendly to the work of the Division, no others except the ones described above availed themselves of the opportunity to work out definite arrangements of the kind described.

Wages. As has been stated, employers were allowed to fix wage rates in accordance with what they were in the habit of paying for the kind of work done; but in its instructions to them, the Division included a list of the union wage rates prevailing in the city, and used these rates in checking amounts paid by employers. Total earnings were controlled by the length of the assignment made by the Division, and no person was permitted to earn more than the maximum of \$50 a month set by the Division.

Employers were requested to pay work-relief employes in cash on the completion of each work shift. The payroll, showing wage payments made, was later sent by the employer to the Special Work Division. If approved, the treasurer of the Special Work Fund reimbursed the employer. This system had the advantage of saving the workers the embarrassment and inconvenience of applying at a central office for their wages, as well as of saving time in the preparation of payrolls and in payment of wages.

In some instances transportation to work projects outside the city of Chicago was provided by the Division; in others employers transported the men by truck.

Health and Accident Provisions. The Special Work Division did not provide accident insurance for any of the men on work relief, except for those sent to work in the Street Department, where Civil Service requirements made insurance obligatory, but where no city funds were available to pay the necessary premiums. In all other cases, liability was assumed by the agencies employing the workers.

About 600 regular and 1,800 temporary members of the street cleaning union were given work. The policy covering these men ran from December 10, 1930 to April 14, 1931. It cost the Division \$13,216, but the agent who wrote the policy refunded 10 per cent of this sum as his donation to the unemployment relief fund.

There were 34 accident cases among these men, costs for compensation and medical treatment being \$447 and \$764 respectively. Information was not available as to the number of accidents and

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

their cost in compensation and medical treatment among men sent to work for the co-operating employers.

Nature of Work. Some of the projects carried out in Chicago were:

Street Department: Sweeping streets and alleys, opening up inlets, shoveling snow, breaking up and removing automobile bodies, cleaning, leveling and improving vacant lots, cleaning street name plates and painting city rubbish boxes.

Bureau of Parks, Recreation and Aviation: Extending and cleaning beaches, grading and building runways at the Municipal Airport, cleaning and grading parks, repairing and rebuilding canoes.

City Hall and Public Library Buildings: Cleaning, painting, and varnishing; washing chairs and tables, dusting books.

Cook County Forest Preserves: Clearing dead timber, trimming, grubbing, removing trash.

County School for Boys: Farming, carpentry, clerical work, repairing garments.

County Highway Maintenance: Clearing, grubbing, ditching, and hard-surfacing roads.

Federal Government: Cleaning and repairing Federal Building, leveling site of old post office.

Hospitals, Churches, and Institutions: Cleaning, whitewashing, re-decorating, wrecking and clearing débris, electrical work, metal roofing, steamfitting, plumbing, carpentry, masonry, cleaning grounds, janitor, window-cleaning, and porter services, piano tuning, typing, filing and clerical work, preparing exhibits, taxidermy, building storage cabinets, printing, counter-work, game room and locker attendance, teaching handicrafts and English, soliciting night-school attendance.

EXTENT OF PROGRAM

The work-relief record of the Special Work Division began with opening of the United Charities program on October 22, 1930, and continued to April 22, 1931, when the Division's function changed from administering work relief to supplying regular employment service. During that period 16,785 persons were certified to the Division for placement. Of these, 8,228 were notified to report for work. The number of those who actually reported could not be obtained, but it is estimated to be in the neighborhood of 8,000.

A few of those assigned to work relief were women or girls who were heads of families, who received equal attention with men.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

But most of the women and girls coming to the attention of the Division were referred either to the Women's Department of the Illinois Free Employment Service or to other appropriate agencies, depending upon the exigencies of their home situations.

The number of different persons certified and the number assigned to work by periods were as follows: (Figures for more uniform periods are not available.) These figures omit re-assignments and are assumed to contain no duplication of names.

Period	Certified	Assigned
October 22 to November 30, 1930	6,671	2,077
December 1 to December 13	2,671	2,028
December 14 to December 31	2,203	648
January 1 to January 14, 1931	1,210	1,271
January 15 to January 28	1,506	682
January 29 to February 11	1,526	730
February 12 to February 25	486	252
February 26 to March 11	222	150
March 12 to March 25	160	181
March 26 to April 8	73	209
April 9 to April 22	57	0
Total	16,785	8,228

Distributed by certifying agencies, the number of persons and percentage of the total both certified and assigned were as follows:

Certifying Agency	Number of Men Certified for Placement	Per Cent of Total Certified	Number of Men Assigned to Work	Per Cent of Total Assigned
United Charities	4,602	27.41	3,220	39.13
Central Charity Bureau	6,673	39.75	1,733	21.06
Jewish Social Service Bureau	510	3.04	193	2.35
Salvation Army	101	.60	98	1.19
Cook Co. Bureau of Public Welfare	2,511	14.96	751	9.13
American Red Cross	201	1.20	72	.88
Street Cleaners' Union	634	3.78	602	7.32
Painters' Union	632	3.77	639	7.76
"Emergency Cases"	921	5.49	920	11.18
Total	16,785	100.00	8,228	100.00

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

The expenditures for wages were \$1,090,651, distributed as follows:

From October 22 to November 30, 1930	\$36,021
December	209,854
January, 1931	284,663
February	282,152
March	248,054
April	29,907
Total	<u>\$1,090,651</u>

The total number of man-days of labor performed was 203,670, about 90 per cent of which was for public departments of the city, county, state or federal governments. The remainder was for about 70 private institutions.

CINCINNATI, OHIO¹

INCEPTION OF PROGRAM

WORK relief, or industrial relief as it is called in Cincinnati, was first attempted in February and March of 1928. A small experimental project was developed by the city government through the Division of Welfare, and \$3,400 was spent for wages.

When the Permanent Committee for the Stabilization of Employment was organized in January, 1929, through the efforts of the city manager and a group of interested citizens, it found this program already being revived in a small way by the Division of Welfare. The commissioner of welfare became the secretary of the Committee. One of its ten subcommittees, that on Co-operation of Public and Private Agencies, took the industrial relief project as one of its special interests. The Division of Welfare was asked by the Committee to develop an enlarged program, the funds to be supplied from the city treasury.

The program of work relief herein described extended from December 15, 1929 to April 30, 1930, when it was discontinued for the summer. It was resumed on October 15, 1930, and was still continuing in the summer of 1931. In December, 1930, Hamilton County, in which Cincinnati is situated, began to make appropriations to the fund for work relief outside the limits of the city.

METHOD OF ADMINISTRATION

Personnel. The commissioner of welfare had general charge of the work-relief program, assisted by four members of his staff and two volunteer workers. From time to time additional helpers were taken on for supervision and for clerical service from among the applicants for industrial relief, the number varying from five to ten. These persons were paid at the regular hourly rate for work relief, but allowed to work more hours.

Registration and Investigation. Applicants were selected from

¹ See papers by C. M. Bookman, in Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1930, p. 341; and 1931, p. 384.

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

those already under the care of the Division of Welfare, or were referred by social agencies. In the latter case, the agency submitted full information as to composition of the family, income, previous assistance, occupation, work record, and handicaps, on a special blank. All applications were cleared in the Social Service Exchange, and only resident heads of families were chosen. This meant that some responsible agency had previous knowledge of every applicant, and independent investigations were not considered necessary.

Assignment. An Industrial Relief Office was opened on the premises of the State-City Employment Bureau, and actual assignment to jobs was made there, by means of a card signed by the applicant for purposes of identification, which he took to the prospective employer. The same card, with the employer's endorsement and record of hours worked, was later presented by the worker at the State-City Bureau at a time designated for payment of wages.¹ Wages were paid in cash by a representative of the Division of Welfare.

Wages. The basic wage in the beginning was 30 cents an hour. The intention was to allow each head of a family an income of \$7.20 a week for twenty-four hours of work. During the remainder of the time the worker was expected to pick up odd jobs or look for permanent work.

Since the current wage for unskilled labor in Cincinnati was 40 to 50 cents an hour, it was feared as the plan developed that it might tend to reduce wages in general, and so, in January, 1931, the wage was raised to 40 cents an hour, the number of hours worked being reduced to eighteen a week, so that the weekly earnings remained the same.

No increase of wages or hours was made for skilled workers. All were assigned as unskilled laborers, and their use by employers to do skilled work for which they might be equipped, was discouraged.

Car tickets and noonday lunches were furnished either by the

¹ An improvement has recently been made in this procedure. It was discovered that some workers who had not completed their allotted time, erased pencil figures entered on their cards by the foremen, and substituted larger ones. A payroll sheet has been devised to be filled in by each foreman and sent to the Industrial Relief Office in a sealed envelope. The hours indicated on this sheet are now checked against those shown on the cards. Franker statements as to the worker's performance are now entered on the payroll sheets by the foremen than when each worker was able to see what report had been made.

CINCINNATI, OHIO

institutions employing the men, or by the Division of Welfare, if they were employed on city work, no deduction being made from the wage on this account. In addition, the families of the men were allowed to select clothing from the Division's Clothing Bureau, where a large assortment of both new and used garments was available. A record of the amount of clothing given to each family was kept, so as to distribute the supply as evenly as possible, but again no deduction was made from wages for goods furnished. Clothing and miscellaneous goods to the value of \$10,815 were supplied to supplement the cash wages of men on work relief.

Health and Accident Provisions. No form of insurance against accident was provided, the workers not being regarded as regular employes of the city. In case of injury, the Division of Welfare provided hospital care or medical care at home, and kept the worker on the payroll during the period of incapacity. In some weeks the number of men on the injured list ran as high as 15, but no suits to recover damages have as yet been brought against the city.

Nature of Work. The work consisted of repair and renovation of public and semi-public buildings and institutions, as well as work in parks and playgrounds and on highways. Old buildings were demolished on property which had been condemned for park use and the ground was laid out for recreational purposes. Work in the parks included grading and laying steps. The entire river-front of the city was cleaned and leveled. Care was taken to supply relief labor only for jobs which could not otherwise have been done under existing budgets.

EXTENT OF PROGRAM

Special appropriations from city and county governments for work-relief expenditures, and hours of work through July, 1931, are shown by periods. For the first period, they were as follows:

Month	Appropriations	Wages	Hours Worked
December, 1929	..	\$254	762
January, 1930	..	6,670	20,010
February	\$10,000	8,531	25,593
March	..	16,201	48,600
April	5,000	2,513	7,536
Total first period	\$15,000	\$34,169	102,501

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

The special appropriations for the second period were as follows:

Month	Appropriations	Wages	Hours Worked
September, 1930	\$10,000	..	..
October	5,000	\$6,021	18,063
November	10,000	14,177	42,531
December	15,500	26,492	79,473
January, 1931	15,000	25,296	69,561
February	20,000	40,688	101,720
March	33,000	34,764	86,910
April	38,000	34,679	86,695
May	25,000	37,289	93,220
June	23,000	29,410	73,522
July	32,000	32,486	81,115
Total second period	\$226,500	\$281,302	732,810

Of the total appropriations here shown, \$185,000 was provided by the city and \$56,500 by the county, the latter for work outside the city proper beginning in January, 1931.

The excess of expenditures over special appropriations was met in small part by private donations, but mainly from the regular relief budget of the Division of Welfare. The wage figures represent wages plus the cost of lunches and carfares. Materials were furnished either by the private institutions or the city departments using the men, while office expenses were carried by the Division of Welfare, and neither is shown in the accounts of the Industrial Relief Office.

From October 15, 1930 to July 31, 1931, 1,616 different heads of families were referred for work relief, and 1,559 accepted. The number given work in each month in this period is as follows:

October, 1930	480
November	565
December	671
January, 1931	893
February	1,140
March	1,028
April	1,037
May	959
June	926
July	917

CINCINNATI, OHIO

Practically all included in the table just presented were men, only a few women having been taken on by the Clothing Bureau of the Division of Welfare to clean and repair garments.

RELATED PROJECTS

The Sub-Committee on Temporary Employment of the Committee on Stabilization appointed a special Make-a-Job Committee which at intervals during the winter circularized householders and employers for odd jobs. An auxiliary committee of women made a house-to-house canvass for jobs. Conflicting reports were obtained concerning the value of these enterprises.

A small work-relief program was conducted by the Cincinnati Associated Charities, with funds supplied by the Community Chest, in a group of small suburban towns and villages which had become concerned about the welfare of a totally unemployed group of Negroes in one of the communities. From January to April, 1931, 239 of these men performed 25,777 hours of work in local parks and on the grounds of institutions, receiving a wage of 40 cents an hour. They worked in three two-day shifts of seven and one-half hours a day. The total amount of wages paid was \$10,311. In addition, the men were given opportunity to cut up discarded railroad ties and so secure fuel for their own needs, and in the spring, vacant lots were plowed and assigned to the families for gardens, a local service club supplying seeds and offering prizes for the best gardens.

CLEVELAND, OHIO

INCEPTION OF PROGRAM

THE work-relief program in Cleveland was conceived and managed by city officials. Early in the fall of 1930, the city manager and the mayor recommended to the City Council that funds be appropriated for this purpose. Their recommendation was acted upon favorably, \$200,000 being appropriated to the Park Department, and \$375,000 to the Street Department for this purpose in October. In November, a further appropriation of \$375,000 was made to the Park Department. In addition, \$126,960 was made available to the Sewer Department, and \$35,000 to the Bridge Department, making a total of \$1,111,960 available for work relief. The choice of projects to be worked upon was left in the hands of the several city departments.

Prior to the appropriation of funds, the mayor appointed a Citizens' Committee, later called the Cleveland Employment Commission, which established the following three special committees. An official of the Chamber of Commerce was released to serve as the executive secretary of the first two of these committees.

Committee on Public Works. This Committee consisted of prominent business men and officials of city departments. Its purpose was to speed up public works aside from the work-relief projects, and it is said to have met with considerable success in getting projects that were on paper actually under way.

Committee on Industrial Employment. This Committee was composed of business executives. It worked with business firms in the effort to ascertain changes in the employment situation and to secure the adoption of "staggered" employment. About 50 personnel directors were lent by various employers for longer or shorter periods; and these men made personal visits to over 1,000 firms to discuss employment problems and suggest methods of spreading work. Their visits were later followed by telephone calls. Satisfaction is also expressed with the results of this Committee's efforts.

CLEVELAND, OHIO

Committee on Private Employment. This Committee was to stimulate employment by householders and small business concerns through an odd-jobs campaign. A member of the faculty of Western Reserve University served as chairman and a member of the Welfare Federation's staff acted as secretary. Its program and accomplishments are described below.

METHOD OF ADMINISTRATION

Registration and Investigation. Cleveland has no public department administering relief to families in their own homes. The private agencies, which carry the entire relief burden, could have supplied an initial list of families in receipt of relief; but it was felt that a public work-relief program should be more inclusive than this. Accordingly, the Park Department was authorized to conduct a registration of applicants for work relief. On three days, October 9 to 11, 6,500 applicants were registered. This first registration was held in the City Hall and the Auditorium Annex, employes of various city departments acting as registrars.

Only male heads of families who were residents of Cleveland were supposed to be registered. There was no requirement as to citizenship or voting qualification. Residence was assumed if a man gave Cleveland addresses covering one year. Usually no attempt was made to verify the applicant's statements, although some registrations were investigated.

The private social agencies checked the list of these registrants and their clients among them were placed on a preferred list. The entire 6,500 were, however, given an opportunity to work before any registrants were assigned a second time. Because of considerable pressure exerted on the city administration in behalf of men whose names were not on the first list, a second registration was held on November 14 in one of the armories and 11,200 men registered. Fewer than 1,000 names were duplicated in the two registrations. Again, no home investigations were made, but the cards in the second registration were classified by experienced social workers into three groups: (1) already under care of social agencies; (2) unknown to social agencies, but urgent need indicated by applicant's statement; (3) single, aged, or without dependents.¹

¹ These men, about 1,000 in number, received no assignments.

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

Assignment. Work began on October 13. The men were summoned by mail and assigned through the Park Department for work on three-day shifts according to the numbers called for by the city departments. It took three weeks to allow each of the 6,500 men of the first registration to work three days. The number gradually sifted down, however; some failed to report for work, or were unsatisfactory on the job, and these were not re-assigned. During the first two weeks in November, practically every man remaining on the first registration list received three days of work. On November 24, assignments to work were made from the second list of applicants and from that time, only a few from the first registration were re-employed. The order of the above classification was followed in assigning men to work, but owing to inclement weather, it took the entire month of December to get through the second list.

The post-office department returned cards which could not be delivered because of wrong addresses, and a further effort was made to locate these men. If they could not be found, the registration card was placed in a temporary inactive file, along with those of the men who failed to report. If they called later and made satisfactory explanation, their cards were returned to the active file.

Some instances of selling work-permits and also of stealing them from letter-boxes occurred. When discovered, those at fault were promptly dismissed, but as the routine did not call for signatures by the men at any point, it was difficult to stop these practices entirely.

Wages. The wages paid were uniformly 60 cents an hour for an eight-hour day, the men working three days a week. The workers were paid with orders on the department to which they were assigned, each man being given a "white slip pay order" on the city treasurer. All payments were in cash.

Health and Accident Provisions. There was no attempt to discover the men's fitness for the work to which they were assigned. In a few instances, men who proved unfitted for heavy work were transferred to lighter jobs, but there were no opportunities for indoor work. No women were employed, except for additional clerical work in the Park Department.

The city's insurance under the Workmen's Compensation Law

CLEVELAND, OHIO

was extended to cover men on work relief as temporary city employes.

EXTENT OF PROGRAM

The work-relief program began October 13, 1930, and ended April 14, 1931. About 16,000 men appear to have received work, the number of their assignments varying from two to five. On the average, those working received about twelve days of work during the winter, and earned \$57.60.

Figures for wages by months could not be obtained; but the total payroll was \$910,264. The amount spent from work-relief funds for materials and supervision was \$189,818, making the total expense charged to work-relief projects, \$1,100,082. Some of the cost of supervision, however, was borne by the city departments participating. The expenditures for materials were made chiefly by the Street Department, where only 50 per cent of the expenditure was for wages. In the Park Department wages were 90 per cent of the total expense.

Relation to General Relief Program. In January, after repeated requests by the social agencies, the city officials agreed to give 1,800 heads of families receiving relief from the agencies three days' work every ten days. This arrangement, if carried out, would have meant a cash income to these families of about \$10 a week. Under this plan some 800 men went to work, but the number was soon reduced to 500, and the arrangement was given up entirely before the end of January.

It had been anticipated by the social agencies that the work-relief program would lessen the demands for direct relief in the home. Owing to the method of selecting the men, no marked reduction was apparent according to the Welfare Federation, which has estimated that during November \$40,000 in work-relief wages replaced direct relief, that in December the replacement of relief funds was negligible; and that in January it amounted to not more than \$20,000. A report of the Associated Charities states that the "psychological value of work was lost when men were unable to receive anywhere near steady employment." The position of the private agencies is summed up in the Welfare Federation's statement that "wage relief should not take funds which can be used for outright relief except where the need is so small, or resources so

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

great, that a surplus remains after an adequate outright relief budget is assured." This assertion was made in the belief that wage relief had proved more expensive than outright relief.

RELATED PROJECT

The Committee on Private Employment carried on a continuous odd-jobs campaign during the winter of 1930-1931 by means of radio talks, addresses, and letters to householders. Offers of odd jobs were received at the State-City Employment Bureau, which reported about 5,000 requests for workers on such jobs up to April first. The Committee put on an intensive spring clean-up campaign in April, the telephone company enclosing circulars with its bills, and several banks agreeing to send circulars to depositors with their monthly statements. An advertising company displayed posters on behalf of the plan. More than 2,500 persons were given jobs as a result of this special campaign. The duration of these jobs varied from a half day to in some cases permanent employment.

GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN

INCEPTION OF PROGRAM

THE work-relief program in Grand Rapids is locally known as the "Scrip System," thus designated because the men who participated in it were not paid in cash but in certificates redeemable in food or clothing at the city commissary store. This system, in many ways comparable to one of the most objectionable practices of certain industrial concerns,¹ is entirely a function of the City Social Service Department, and is so closely bound up with its general relief functions that some picture of the whole situation is desirable.

The summer of 1929 found the city without adequate relief funds to meet the increasing need. It was necessary to reduce the number of employes of the Department and proposals were made by the city manager to the Family Service Association, a private agency, that it take over the investigation and supervision of families under the care of the city, the City Social Service Department restricting its work to the disbursement of food from the city commissary on requisition of the Family Service Association. As it was partly through the efforts of this private organization that the public department had been reorganized more than ten years earlier it was felt that this would be a backward step, and the proposal was declined. The Association made a counter-offer to take over 100 or more families, as a temporary relief to the city's budget provided the county authorities could be induced to co-operate in the plan, but the city did not avail itself of the offer.

During the remainder of 1929 and the first part of 1930, the city authorities felt themselves unable to expand the welfare program, despite the fact that the situation was rapidly approaching a point where existing agencies could not cope with increasing demands for relief.

On November 14, 1930, at a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Family Service Association, a committee was appointed to

¹ See discussion of restricted scrip payments on p. 245.

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

initiate a movement for better co-ordination of the relief-giving machinery in the community. On December 17, after consultation with the City Social Service Department and other social agencies, an Application Bureau was established, supervised by an Advisory Committee, made up of persons prominent in civic affairs. Applications for relief were centralized in this Bureau and thence distributed to the proper relief agencies. It also received and investigated any complaints of poor service against local agencies. Rent-free quarters were secured in a downtown office building, and a trained social worker was placed in charge. Applicants were cleared with the Social Service Exchange, and after a brief interview referred to the several agencies. Most of the cases were referred to the City Social Service Department, and most of the complaints received concerned the work of this agency.

The Advisory Committee, believing that the lack of an adequate staff and office facilities were to blame for the poor service rendered by the City Social Service Department, exerted every effort to secure larger quarters and the appointment of a greater number of workers, either trained or untrained. The city manager at this time suggested that the Family Service Association transfer its entire staff to the city department, drop its "service only" cases, and permit all relief work with residents of Grand Rapids to be carried on under city auspices, leaving those who resided outside the city limits to the care of the county authorities. The Family Service Association and the Advisory Committee felt that they could not accept this proposal.¹

The city government proceeded, however, to expand its relief program, and on January 8, 1931, opened an employment office to relieve some of the congestion in the work of the Social Service Department, whose offices were then located in the basement of the City Hall. Some two weeks later these were moved to more spacious quarters in another building. The Application Bureau under the Advisory Committee was thereupon closed.

Work relief began in January, 1931, and was still continuing in August of that year. It was financed from the general relief funds

¹ Our authority for the foregoing statements is the minutes of the Board of the Family Service Association of that year. The negotiations with the city manager were verbal, and he now questions the accuracy of these statements.

GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN

of the Department, the cost of materials, and so forth, being met by the other city departments for which the work was done.

METHOD OF ADMINISTRATION

Personnel. The Citizens' Committee released the social worker who had been in charge of its Application Bureau to become case supervisor in the City Social Service Department, and by August 1, 1931, the staff engaged in administering the scrip system had reached the following proportions: a superintendent, an accountant, a case supervisor, 3 district supervisors, 2 visitors, and 4 special investigators.¹ The staff further included 15 clerical workers, an engineer in charge of selecting projects for scrip labor, 4 men in the employment office, 25 clerks in the city grocery store, and 3 persons in the clothing warehouse.

Registration and Investigation. All applicants, whether for home relief or work relief, applied in person at the headquarters of the Social Service Department, where a brief interview was held. All names were cleared with the Social Service Exchange and at the first home visit the investigator attempted to learn more about the family's background and resources. If in her opinion relief was necessary, the head of the family was required to sign a printed application form, in which he "represented under oath"² that he was a resident, in destitute circumstances, and without resources, a number of which were enumerated on the form. It also contained an agreement to report to the city any earnings or new resources. On the basis of this so-called affidavit, the city prosecuted recipients of relief who were found to have assets which they had denied possessing. Clients on scrip work were not brought into court, however, the district attorney having ruled that no case can be established if the man worked for his relief. This decision has led to the practice of giving a small grocery order for which no work is required, to applicants after they have filled out this form; so that

¹ These men made re-investigations of cases under care of the visitors without the knowledge of the latter. Their reports were made directly to the superintendent, and in some cases formed the basis of prosecutions against clients for misrepresentation of their needs.

² In practice, no oath was administered, the wording of the blank being deemed a sufficient deterrent.

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

if it is discovered later that they are not destitute, a conviction will be possible.

If there was an unemployed man in the family, the investigator on the first home visit gave him a work application card, which he presented to the city physician, who gave him a physical examination. The physician entered on the card a report of his findings and indicated whether he was fitted for heavy or light work, or should not be employed.

Assignment. If passed for work by the physician, he next took his work application card to the Social Service Department, where he was given an identification card, and the visitor then decided how much work he was to receive. From the visitors' recommendations, the office accountant made up a work list, assigning a number to each person. As soon as a man's name was put on this list and he received his identification card, he was given an order on the city commissary for enough food to last until he received his first pay, as an advance payment of wages. The accountant then sent to the engineer in charge of scrip labor a list of names and addresses of men to be assigned to work and the amount of work to be given to each, and forwarded a copy of this list to the employment division.

From this point on the scene shifted to the office of the employment division of the Department. The city engineer informed the employment manager of the location of projects and the number of workers required, and he in turn sent to the men whose names appeared on the lists a postcard instructing them to report at his office for assignment to work.

When the client appeared at the employment office he received an assignment order which he gave to the foreman on the job. From these cards, the foreman made up his time books.

Wages. During January and February, each client was given three eight-hour days' work each week at 50 cents an hour, enabling him to earn \$12 a week in scrip. In March, the system was introduced of adjusting the amount of work to a man's needs, giving each client only enough work to enable him to secure the bare necessities for his family. The work was assigned in half-day units, different crews of men working in morning and afternoon shifts. This was intended to give the men an opportunity to look

GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN

for a regular job during their free hours. The assignments varied from two to six half-days a week. In July, the rate of pay was reduced to 40 cents an hour.

The payroll was made up in the employment division from the foremen's reports of work completed. There was no special pay-day for all the workers, different groups of men coming to the employment office every ten days showing their identification cards, signing the payroll, and receiving their scrip, in denominations of \$1.00 and of 20 cents. If a client desired to secure scrip in advance of his pay-day he might do so by applying at the employment office and signing a credit order. A record of these advancements was kept and deducted from the man's pay.

With the scrip the client could purchase at the city commissary, staple groceries, meats, tobacco, and shoes and clothing for all members of the family. Scrip was likewise redeemed for street-car tokens and for bread, milk and ice tickets, the last three items being distributed at depots located in various sections of the city. In case the client did not earn sufficient scrip to make the necessary purchases, articles were supplied on the recommendation of the social worker, and the man assigned additional work to pay for them. Frequently an investigator or the office accountant decided that a man was earning more than he needed and then a request was sent to the employment office to decrease his time. These decisions were often made on an economy basis, and in our opinion, without sufficient scrutiny of the family's needs.

It should be noted that scrip was not supposed to be discounted for cash, and could not be used for the payment of rent and other necessities which call for ready money. The relief program of the City Social Service Department did not contemplate providing such items for families receiving unemployment relief, unless an emergency existed, such as an actual eviction. The result was that families in urgent need of money are reported to have found underground channels through which scrip could be exchanged for cash at less than its face value. How far it continued to circulate, or how it was eventually redeemed, is not easy to discover. When the scrip wage per hour was lowered in July from 50 cents to 40 cents, and a change in the denominations of scrip was required, an announcement was made that all outstanding scrip would be ex-

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

changed for new paper, and visitors were directed to collect all the old scrip in the hands of their families. As a result of about 1,100 visits by the City Social Service Department visitors to families, only \$75 worth of scrip was found, although the books of the Department revealed that more than \$6,000 was outstanding.

Nature of Work. The projects undertaken by the city with scrip labor were calculated both to provide real jobs for the workers, and to bring the city permanent improvements for the money expended. During the summer of 1931, five main projects were under way. Men who were capable of doing heavy work were assigned to ditch digging, road work, and to deepening the channel and building up the bank of a river that passed the site of the new city auditorium. The men who physical examination had shown could do only light work, were engaged in sandpapering, cleaning and painting pipes and forms to be used in sewer construction. At the city's Sewage Disposal Plant the more skilled and the "white-collar" group of workmen were employed, mainly at yard work. The engineer in charge of scrip labor has worked out a schedule of projects similar to those described, contemplated to provide work opportunities for some time to come.

EXTENT OF PROGRAM

Figures on the number of men employed at scrip labor are not available for January and February, 1931. With this exception the following tabulation shows by months the number of cases given relief by the City Social Service Department, the number of these on the scrip payroll, and the amount of the monthly payrolls for scrip or work relief from January through July, 1931, during which a total of \$260,122 was expended for scrip wages.

	Number Receiving Relief	Number of These on Scrip Payroll	Amount of Payroll
January, 1931	1,807	..	\$23,001
February	1,896	..	37,512
March	2,347	1,017	16,360
April	2,530	1,428	37,613
May	2,314	1,634	43,119
June	2,480	1,744	51,901
July	2,613	1,776	50,616

HAMILTON, OHIO

INCEPTION OF PROGRAM

HAMILTON is an industrial city whose factories are largely absentee-owned. The Ford Motor Company's plant is one of the largest in the city, employing at times as many as 3,700 persons. Hamilton attracts laborers from the nearby hills of Kentucky, and in slack times the care of these people, unused as most of them are to conditions of urban living, constitutes a major social problem.

During the summer of 1930, unemployment increased so steadily and caused such heavy drains upon relief funds that the city manager asked the Chamber of Commerce to call a meeting of leading citizens in the early fall to consider the outlook. A Citizens' Unemployment Committee was formed in October to deal with the situation, the city manager serving as vice chairman and the secretary of the Chamber of Commerce as director and coordinator of its activities.

The Committee came to the conclusion that money would have to be privately raised, and that it should be spent for work relief rather than direct relief. The city had been following a regular practice of supplying part of the relief budget of the Bureau of Social Work, a private agency, inasmuch as there is no public welfare bureau in the city. It had, however, reached the limit of its ability to make relief appropriations from current operating funds. Thinking that the need for work relief would exist for a short time only, the Committee set out to raise a special fund.

The first contributors to this fund were city employes. Under the leadership of the city manager, all employes on the city pay-rolls pledged 2.5 per cent of their monthly earnings. A letter of solicitation was next addressed to a selected list of business and professional people in the city. By early December pledges were secured which assured the Committee an income of approximately \$10,000 a month, for a period not specified, but anticipated to be only a few months.

The work-relief program was initiated late in November, under

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

the direction of the Unemployment Committee. The city manager and his staff worked out a list of projects upon which, in their opinion, labor could be profitably employed with minimum overhead charges. These jobs were made available to the Unemployment Committee with the understanding that the city would provide the supervision and equipment and the Committee would meet the wage payrolls.

METHOD OF ADMINISTRATION

Registration and Investigation. The selection of men to be placed was made the responsibility of the Bureau of Social Work. It was decided that only legal residents applying to the Bureau and found to be unquestionably in need should be considered for employment. Some difficulty was experienced in dealing with the men who came to the Bureau for the first time, wanting work but not relief. Their circumstances were carefully gone over and if they were found to be at the end of their resources, they were accepted as the responsibility of the agency and given either direct relief or work relief. If, however, they were found to have only partly exhausted their resources, they were asked not to press their application. Many consented to withdraw, but in other cases appeal was made to the Unemployment Committee in the endeavor to bring pressure upon the Bureau of Social Work to approve the applicant for work relief. Six women aides were selected from among the applicants to assist the staff of the Bureau of Social Work, their salaries being paid from the work-relief fund.

Assignment. The procedure for placing applicants on work relief was as follows. The State-City Employment Office listed the jobs available and each week notified the Bureau of Social Work how many new workers could be used. The Bureau, having first sent the men to register at the State-City Employment Office, went over its list of active cases and certified men for work on the following basis:

	Days per Week
Man with wife and one child	2
Man with wife and from two to six children	3
Man with wife and seven or more children	5

HAMILTON, OHIO

Assignment was made by card, handed to the man at the Bureau's office or delivered to his home. The man surrendered this card to the State-City Employment Office and received another directing him to the city yards and telling him when to report for work. At the yards, he was taken in charge by a city foreman and transported, with others, to his work. Once assignments were made, the men were continued on work relief, from week to week, and about half of the applicants assigned retained their jobs until the conclusion of the project. The Bureau of Social Work reviewed the assignments weekly and submitted new assignment lists for each week's work to the Employment Office.

Wages. Wage payments were made by checks drawn by the treasurer of the Unemployment Committee and distributed by him on pay-days at his office. At first, payrolls were made up daily, but later this was simplified to a routine of two pay-days a week.

The rate of pay was $37\frac{1}{2}$ cents an hour, or \$3.00 for an eight-hour day, for practically all jobs. The same rate applied to women whom the Committee was able to employ.

As the winter progressed, applications from the unemployed greatly exceeded the number of jobs available, and these families had to be carried by the Bureau of Social Work on direct relief until an opportunity was found to place them on work relief. In many of the families on work relief, it was also necessary to give supplementary direct relief, due to threatened evictions for non-payment of rent, sickness, or inroads made by bad weather on the working time.

It was recognized that the plan as operated created hardship for the person at the end of his resources who hoped to avoid the necessity of receiving direct relief by securing work. It was frequently possible for the Bureau's workers, however, to secure competent advice for such persons on problems of real estate and personal finances, and thus enable them to adjust their affairs without the intervention of relief.

Health and Accident Provisions. No provision was made at first to furnish special clothing. As this need was observed, an old clothes campaign was put on by the Boy and Girl Scouts, and was later taken over by the women's clubs which conducted a clothing reclamation depot in an abandoned firehouse.

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

The men were not given a physical examination, but were covered by workmen's compensation.

Nature of Work. While the largest part of the work provided was in the parks and on the streets, there were some other jobs for those qualified to fill them. The staff of the Bureau of Social Work was augmented by assigning as aides six carefully selected women. A number of men were assigned to make a traffic count and several others were given part-time employment at the committee headquarters.

Felled timber was cut up into cord-wood and some rationed out, some sold. A reclaimed canal bed was divided into garden plots and assigned for cultivation to those who wanted them.

EXTENT OF PROGRAM

The work relief began late in November, 1930, and continued through June, 1931. From November 24 to May 1 (when the payment of pledges was discontinued) \$58,259 was collected for the work-relief fund. Expenditures to June 13 were as follows:

Wages	
Men on city projects	\$52,526
Women on city projects	1,783
Aides at Bureau of Social Work	1,443
Office and clerical work	1,038
Total wages	\$56,790
Insurance	919
Miscellaneous	18
Total	\$57,727

The project began with 40 men and reached a peak of about 500 men and women a week during the months of February and March. The total December payroll was approximately \$5,000. The weekly payrolls in March averaged about \$3,400.

The total number of different persons given work was 735 men and 171 women. In January, 1931, the Bureau of Social Work made an analysis of the earnings of its clients who were on work relief and found that they were averaging about \$28 a month. This represents a little more than nine days a month employment on the average.

HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT

INCEPTION OF PROGRAM

WHEN, in the fall of 1930, signs of increasing unemployment began to be evident in Hartford, the Committee on Unemployment of the Council of Social Agencies held several conferences with the mayor and other city officials. As a result, the city agreed to develop later in the fall a program of work relief, and the Council, for its part, undertook to supply the need for a free employment bureau, and to select the men to be placed on work relief. The Community Chest agreed to finance this employment bureau, and on October 12, the Hartford Community Employment Service was opened to receive applications. The director and assistant were persons experienced in employment and personnel work. Up to the end of June, 1931, the Employment service had made 475 placements listed as permanent, and 3,081 temporary placements (including those sent to work-relief jobs).

No special organization was created by the city to develop its program. Several department heads submitted estimates of work that could be done beyond what had already been planned, and special funds in varying amounts were appropriated to the Departments of Parks and of Public Buildings.

Work began on November 1, 1930, and ceased early in May, 1931. It was resumed in August, under arrangements as to selection of workers and methods of payment somewhat different from those described in the following section.

METHOD OF ADMINISTRATION

Registration and Assignment. It had been understood by the Council of Social Agencies that the Employment Service would select all men to be placed on work relief from among its own applicants, dividing the jobs available between clients who had been sent to register, and whose need had been certified to, by the city's Department of Public Welfare and by the privately supported agencies. The Department of Public Buildings, however, main-

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

tained from the first the policy of making its own selection of men, accepting direct applications for jobs without investigation. The Department of Parks, in which over three-quarters of the work was done, accepted only men who presented a card from the Employment Service.

Of the first 100 men sent by the Employment Service and put to work, about half were clients of the city's Department of Public Welfare, the remainder having been referred by the private agencies. The city officials at once saw that relief expenditures by the city could be reduced if work opportunities were confined to those who had been receiving aid from the Department of Public Welfare, and while no direct statement to this effect was ever made, the Employment Service soon learned that its assignments were not final, and that only persons would actually be put to work whose names had appeared on the relief lists of the Department of Public Welfare. The procedure thereafter was that the Department chose the men it wished to place on work relief, and sent them to the Employment Service to be registered; and thereafter, 90 per cent of the men which the latter sent to the Park Department were chosen from this list.

The Park Department issued assignment cards to the men presenting cards from the Employment Service, directing them where to apply, and these were signed by the foreman and returned to the Park Department for use in making up the payroll.

After work was resumed in August, the men were no longer routed through the Employment Service, but sent to the Park Department for assignment directly by the Department of Public Welfare.

Wages. At first the men were paid 40 cents an hour for an eight-hour day, and worked in two shifts of three days each a week, earning \$9.60 a week. Payment was in cash, at the office of the department by which employed. There was no attempt to adjust the wage for skilled work to the union wage, though in a few instances the director of parks paid carpenters at the rate of \$5.00 a day on his own decision.

After resumption of the project in August, when the Department of Public Welfare came more actively into the picture, a plan was adopted of assigning men to work in accordance with the number

HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT

of their dependents, payment being at the rate of \$3.20 a day. The following schedule was adopted:

	Days per Week	Weekly Earnings
Man with one dependent	2½	\$8.00
Man with two dependents	3½	11.20
Man with three dependents	4	12.80
Man with four dependents	4½	14.40
Man with five or more dependents	5½	17.60

It was decided to abandon the plan of cash payments, and the men were told that they would be paid entirely in food orders on the city commissary, but this led to a strike. The mayor went in person to discuss the situation with the strikers, and it was agreed that they should receive \$1.00 a day in cash, the balance in food and rent checks.

Health and Accident Provisions. Rubbers were supplied to men working in slush, and hot coffee was supplied at noon to men working in the parks. No accident insurance was carried.

Nature of Work. The work done included renovations on public buildings, clearing land, grading and draining in the parks, together with some construction projects, such as building a dancing pavilion. The work involved some repairs to curbs, for which the Department of Streets furnished the material, though it did not otherwise participate in the program.

EXTENT OF PROGRAM

The first program lasted from November 1, 1930 to the first week in May, 1931. About 160 different men worked in the Public Buildings Department, and 625 worked in the Park Department. The amounts of wages by months were as follows:

Month	Wages
November, 1930	\$13,723
December	26,177
January, 1931	35,852
February	29,629
March	31,701
April and May	21,576
Total	<u>\$158,658</u>

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

Expenditures for materials and trucks amounted to approximately \$5,682.

The program had been resumed only a few weeks prior to the time our visit was made, and no significant figures as to expenditures were available. It was proposed to put 700 men to work as speedily as possible.

INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA

INCEPTION OF PROGRAM

A DISTINGUISHING feature of the work-relief program in Indianapolis is that it was preceded by several months of deliberation and planning. It was finally undertaken as a function of the Indianapolis Commission for Stabilization of Employment, a body which had come into existence in February, 1930, after the director of the Community Fund and presidents of other local organizations requested that the mayor and the president of the Chamber of Commerce appoint a permanent commission to work for regularization of employment. The Commission created a Fact-Finding Committee to gather information concerning unemployment, to study the current situation and to work out a long-time plan for reducing and eliminating unemployment. This Committee submitted a comprehensive report in November, 1930, based upon data which had been gathered by the Indiana University Bureau of Social Research with the assistance of the Indianapolis Employment Bureau, the latter a private free employment agency supported by the Indianapolis Foundation.

During the nine months which the Fact-Finding Committee spent in studying the situation and preparing its report, work relief was a topic of discussion among various groups in the community. Several members of the Commission visited Cincinnati and examined its work-relief program. The director of the Indianapolis Foundation, a member of the Committee, was one of these, and his report to a committee of the Indianapolis Employment Bureau led that body to appoint on July 8, an Industrial Relief Committee. The director of the Employment Bureau worked out during the summer a plan for giving work relief to relief applicants of the public and private welfare agencies. The purpose was to permit these persons to work for at least a part of the relief given them, at a wage lower than the prevailing one, doing work for public or private non-profit-making institutions for which there was no provision in their budgets.

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

The Commission's Fact-Finding Committee recommended in its report in November "the creation of a fund, preferably from public sources, to pay unemployed workers for doing certain 'made work' jobs, which would be planned, in lieu of receiving charitable relief." The Commission at once authorized its chairman to appoint an Emergency Work Committee, which should supplement the work of the private relief agencies by providing jobs for destitute men and women who were, or otherwise would become, charges on the relief funds of the agencies.

The Emergency Work Committee proceeded to formulate plans for a work-relief program, although funds were not yet available for this purpose. The Committee was advised that according to the proposed plan, it would be the legal employer of the men put to work, and that in order to avoid personal liability in case of damage suits it should incorporate. It received its Articles of Incorporation and officially began to function on December 2, 1930.

The work-relief program conducted by the Committee passed through three distinct phases, as follows:

1. From December 2 to January 16, in which workers received wages in cash.
2. From January 17 to April 25, in which workers were paid in cash and groceries, the latter supplied by the township trustees.¹
3. From April 27 on, in which workers were paid only with groceries. During these three periods the function of the Committee gradually changed from that of administering a work-relief program in its generally accepted sense to that of merely supplying jobs for recipients of public outdoor relief, hardly more than a large-scale work fest.

For the first seven weeks, from December 2 to January 16, in which the Committee operated according to its first proposed plan, expenditures were met from a fund of about \$16,000, of which some \$10,500, the proceeds of the benefit football game, was made

¹ The city of Indianapolis disburses no relief funds since under the laws of Indiana this function is performed by townships. Marion County contains nine townships, of which five are wholly or in part within the corporate limits of Indianapolis. Six of the nine township trustees co-operated in the work-relief program. The township trustees give relief, only in groceries, to most of the dependent families of Indianapolis. The relief funds of the private agencies are expended chiefly for rent, for much the same group of families.

INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA

available by the Chamber of Commerce. The balance came from the Community Fund and miscellaneous givers.

Changes of personnel among the township trustees at the beginning of January, when the Committee's funds were nearly exhausted, made it possible to turn to public resources for assistance in carrying on the program. During the second week in January an arrangement with the trustee of Center Township was worked out whereby persons aided by the trustee were to be given jobs by the Committee in return for relief received. The opinion had by this time prevailed in the Committee's deliberations that direct relief was demoralizing, and it was believed that if the trustee's clients were made to work for the groceries given them, their morale would be strengthened. This new arrangement permitted the Committee to make use of the many work-relief jobs which were now available but to which it could not assign men because of depletion of its funds.

In order to enable the private agencies to continue to share in the Committee's program, and to permit the Committee to supplement with cash payments the wages in kind paid by the township trustee, the Community Fund agreed to underwrite the Emergency Work Committee for a seventeen week period from January 19 to May 16. It was agreed to set aside \$37,500, with which the Committee might pay 1,000 workers a week partly in cash. This plan required that any client referred by the private agencies would have to be also a client of the township trustee, though the reverse would not be necessary. Applicants were assigned more rapidly than anticipated, and the \$37,500 was nearly exhausted in fourteen weeks although a few men were kept on the cash and grocery basis until May 16.

After April 25, the Committee operated chiefly in conjunction with the township trustees, arrangements being made after this date with the trustees of five other townships. The work period was reduced from three to two days, and payments were almost wholly in groceries. Arrangements, however, were made with certain groups to administer special work-relief funds. Thus, the Red Cross provided funds to permit payment of cash wages to ex-service men whom it referred for placement, and a group of

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

county employes asked the Committee to provide jobs for certain persons and provided their wages.

At the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Emergency Work Committee in May, a formal program was adopted providing for a continuing organization having these purposes:

1. To serve any public or private relief agency in providing opportunities for their clients to work for relief given them.
2. To give relief clients vocational advice.
3. To collect and examine the experience and plans of other cities respecting work relief.

The Committee at this time also voted that serious consideration be given to the advisability of a long-time plan whereby made work might be utilized throughout the year.

METHOD OF ADMINISTRATION

Personnel. The Indianapolis Employment Bureau lent the full-time services of its employment director to manage the work-relief program. The director of civic affairs of the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce was also lent to serve as secretary to the Emergency Work Committee. He was familiar with the operations of city and county departments, and was therefore in a position to advise concerning the work projects to be undertaken.

The manager selected two assistants, a man who had previous training in personnel methods, and a woman who was an experienced bookkeeper. Later, he obtained several young women to assist in the offices of the township trustees. They were secured from among the Indianapolis Employment Bureau's applicants and had been certified by social agencies as being in need. The remaining members of the staff, seven typists and two handy men, were applicants for work relief. Office space, telephones, typewriters, and other office equipment were obtained without cost.

Assignment. Men were first selected for work only by the private relief agencies, later by both public and private agencies, and in the third period chiefly by the public agencies. After arrangement had been made with a city or county department or with a non-profit-making institution for a certain number of jobs, the Committee sent to the relief agencies introduction cards for as many men as were needed. The agencies then distributed these cards to clients,

INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA

submitting to the Committee the names of those selected. Clients presented their cards to the foremen on the job. Foremen returned to the Committee the names and addresses of those who reported. This list was checked against the lists sent in by the agencies, and in case of discrepancy the agency was asked to make an investigation. On completion of a three-day work assignment, the foremen entered the work records on the back of the introduction cards, signed and sent them to the Committee's office. These cards together with the lists that the foremen had previously sent in were used in making up the payroll.

After a man had received his pay for one three-day period, he was told that his job was over, and that he could be re-employed only by getting another introduction card from the social agency. This system of giving three days' work a week to a different group of clients each week did not meet with approval in many cities, but in Indianapolis it was preferred by the private agencies because it enabled a larger number of clients to earn some money which could be applied toward payment of rent.

In the second period, men referred by the private agencies were given re-assignments for work at the end of each work period. This change in policy was adopted because the men did not now earn enough in cash to pay rent; and it was felt that no purpose was served by spreading the jobs over a greater number of clients. This apparent advantage caused a great influx of new applications to the private agencies. Men referred by the township trustee but not by the private agencies were required to apply each time for relief before re-assignment for work.

In the third period, the plan of operation differed somewhat with each of the co-operating township trustees. In general, applicants received relief before reporting for work, and the work card, signed by the foreman, attesting that two days' work had been performed, was required before a further request for relief was granted.

Wages. In the first period, the men worked three-day shifts and were paid in cash at the end of each shift, at first at the Committee's office but later on the job. Wages were uniformly 30 cents an hour; the length of the day was either eight or nine hours, permitting earnings of \$7.20 or \$8.10. At first they were required to sign the payroll but this practice was later discontinued in order to

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

save time. The Committee agreed to furnish carfare for the men but in order to save this expense, obtained city trucks to carry the men to and from their jobs.

In the second period, the men also worked three days a week at 30 cents an hour, but instead of being paid in cash were given a \$5.00 grocery order from the township trustee and either \$2.20 or \$3.10 in cash, according to the length of the day. In the main, this amounted to a \$5.00 reduction in income, since most of those referred by the private family agencies in the earlier period had received weekly grocery orders from the township trustees in addition to the work-relief wage.

After the trustee had given a man a grocery order he was sent to the Committee's headquarters with a card certifying that he had received relief and was eligible for a job. He was given a work card and sent to the foreman of one of the work-relief projects. When the client presented this card bearing the foreman's statement that he had completed his three days' work, he received the cash portion of his wages at the office of the Committee.

In the third period, most of those working received only groceries, working two days for each grocery order granted, the orders varying in amount according to the size of the family.

Health and Accident Provisions. The Committee did not provide accident insurance, but it did make a special arrangement with the Indianapolis City Hospital to handle all cases of illness or injuries. Foremen were instructed to give men who were injured or complained of ill health a card to the hospital, entitling them to free treatment.

Nature of Work. The types of work projects undertaken are illustrated by the following examples, selected from the manager's report, covering the first twenty-six weeks of the program:

- Removing stumps, felling trees and general clean-up in parks;

- Cleaning ditches, removing brush and other work on highways for the county;

- Cleaning rubbish from alleys and vacant lots, cleaning creek bed and building roadway for the City Sanitary Collection Department;

- Wrecking a building for a non-profit-making institution;

- Cleaning walls and dusting books at county courthouse;

- Sweeping sidewalks in downtown district;

- Clerical work on the records in the offices of two township trustees.

INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA

EXTENT OF PROGRAM

During the first seven weeks a total of \$14,913 was paid out for wages, distributed by weeks as follows:

	Persons Working	Wages Paid
December 2, 1930	50	\$341
December 8	202	1,486
December 15	356	2,682
December 22	321	2,231
December 29	352	2,344
January 5, 1931	482	3,500
January 12	296	2,329

The number of different persons working in this period is not known.

From January 17 to June 27, the Committee spent \$34,275 for cash wages, most of this amount being paid prior to April 27 to supplement groceries and supplies given by township trustees. There were 13,809 wage payments during this period. After April 27 few cash payments were made. From April 27 to June 27, persons working on two-day shifts were reported to have averaged 1,581 per week.

A report of the Emergency Work Committee bringing figures up to September 26, 1931, states that during the first two periods of the Committee's program, 3,793 different persons were given work, and that total wages in cash amounted to \$49,595. This was supplemented by relief from township trustees amounting to \$68,428, making a total of \$118,023. In all, 943,204 hours of work were performed.

During the last period, 3,854 different persons were assigned to jobs. Of this group, 1,634 had participated earlier, so that the total number of different persons given work up to September 26, 1931, was 6,013. Women were given employment only in the clerical work of the project.

KANSAS CITY, KANSAS¹

INCEPTION OF PROGRAM

AN EXAMPLE of work relief carried on as part of the program of a family welfare agency was that conducted during the winter of 1930-1931 by the Kansas City, Kansas, Family Service Society. In some respects this resembled an old-fashioned wood-lot project, but the manner in which it was administered took it out of the category of work tests and gave it many of the characteristics of work relief.

The plan originated with the staff of the Family Service Society. When the cold weather began to bring in many requests for coal, it occurred to the staff that since the agency needed fuel for its clients, and many of the clients needed work, both needs could be met at the same time by having able-bodied men chop wood to be used as fuel during the winter. The matter was talked over with some of the clients of the agency, members of its Board, and a few outside persons, and it was decided to call upon the community to co-operate in putting the plan into operation.

Through a local newspaper an appeal was made to owners of timber land for permission to enter their property and cut and remove the standing timber. Citizens were also asked to lend or give trucks and tools. There was a generous response from persons willing to have their land cleared, but trucks and tools were not forthcoming. Two of the lots offered were used; the clients discovered others and secured permission to enter and cut timber, the final arrangements being made by the Society. Some of the agency's clients had small trucks, the agency itself bought axes and saws, and in January, 1931, the practice began of giving work relief instead of direct relief to families applying to the agency in which there was an unemployed male wage-earner.

METHOD OF ADMINISTRATION

In order that clients participating in the program might feel that they were receiving employment and not alms, it was decided

¹ For a more detailed account of this project, see "Client Participation" by Esther E. Twente, in *The Family*, October, 1931.

KANSAS CITY, KANSAS

to place as much responsibility for the administration of the project as possible upon the shoulders of the workers themselves. It was explained to them that they would not only earn the relief they received, but would also assist other families to secure fuel, and at the same time save money for the agency. This approach resulted in many clients accepting jobs with the feeling that by so doing they were contributing to the work of the agency.

The wood-cutting project was exclusively a Family Service Society enterprise, jobs being secured only upon the recommendation of the family visitor. The number of hours assigned depended upon the amount of relief the family received, the client being expected to work four hours for each dollar's worth of food received weekly. Care was taken to see that the working time did not interfere with the worker's chance to secure regular employment. When the client's schedule was agreed upon he was given an assignment card for each day on which he was to work in one week.

The men reported at the agency's headquarters at 7.30 a.m., where they were taken in charge by one of two foremen, selected from among the agency's clients. One of the foremen was excellently qualified for his job, and his ability to handle men was in no small degree responsible for the success of the program. The foreman collected the work cards and sent the men to the wood-lot in the clients' trucks. The two foremen and six truckmen worked every day, the latter receiving a refund for the cost of their gas, oil and repairs, but neither group was paid additional wages for its special service. These men earned enough to pay current expenses for their households; for the other clients the agency supplemented earnings by direct relief when necessary.

When the men arrived at the wood-lot, they were given axes or saws and assigned to work. The foreman carried a first-aid kit on his belt, for use in case of accidents. None occurred, however, mainly because the men worked in pairs which were well separated. The foreman pointed out that this practice of separating the workers also reduced conversation and quarreling, and the danger of loss of morale when men grumbled about having to perform this work. The latter were usually those upon whom the wood-cutting was being used as work test.

Visitors gave orders to the foremen for wood to be delivered to

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

certain addresses. These were turned over to the truck-drivers and delivered, the driver obtaining a receipt which he turned in at the office.

At noon the men received a hot meal, paid for in part by the agency, in part by a religious organization. Warm clothing was supplied when it was lacking. At the end of the day's work, the foreman filled in on each man's work card the number of hours worked, secured the worker's signature, and turned these cards in to the agency. When a man completed a week's work, he came to the office to get his pay. The number of hours he had worked during the week was determined, the wage computed, and a grocery order for the amount was given him. In order to distinguish this grocery order from one which a client received without working, the social worker wrote in its upper corner "for work." Some clients stated that when such an order was taken to a grocery store they felt that they were cashing a pay check rather than obtaining a charitable gift. In addition to groceries, each man received wood as needed for his family, no additional work being required.

The client's visit to the office for his grocery order was frequently used by the visitor as an opportunity to interview him regarding the welfare of his family and to work out plans for the future. At this time, also, the number of hours which he was to work during the coming week was determined and he was given work cards for the next week.

EXTENT OF PROGRAM

The program continued from the first week in January, 1931 to the end of April with the exception of short intervals when the weather was too severe to permit outdoor work. The number of men working daily ranged from 30 to 50 until the latter part of the period, when some were able to get odd jobs. Over the entire period 653 different men performed 17,819 hours' work. The number of "ricks" of wood delivered to the agency's clients was 1,556; which was considered equivalent to 389 tons of coal.

The estimated cost of the project was as follows:

Wages	\$4,454
Lunches and extra clothing	700
Other expenses (tools, gas, oil, etc.)	<u>1,416</u>
Total	\$6,570

KANSAS CITY, KANSAS

It should be noted that this project differs from many of the others described, in that it was not community wide, but was confined to the clients of one family agency. It was included in spite of its small size, because of the interesting suggestions it contains of client participation in planning a work-relief project.

KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

INCEPTION OF PROGRAM

THE work-relief program in Kansas City, Missouri, is hard to distinguish from a project involving simply the advancement of needed public improvements. Largely through the efforts of the Chamber of Commerce and a newspaper, co-operating with the Council of Social Agencies, the city manager was prevailed upon in January, 1931, to propose an expenditure by the city of \$1,000,000 for laying water-mains. This proposal met with immediate opposition from quarters hostile to the administration. Its opponents declared that the city could not legally undertake such a project at that time, and local bankers shied away from the proposition.

The city manager turned to the Chamber of Commerce for support, stating that if he received the unanimous endorsement of that body, he would press the issue. The Chamber of Commerce was actively interested in unemployment relief, having three months earlier sponsored the establishment of the Greater Kansas City Employment Bureau, a non-fee-charging agency which was opened late in November and which was financed by the Charities Fund,¹ a subsidiary organization of the Chamber. It was expected that the water-main project would present an opportunity to supply work to thousands of needy men who had already registered at the Bureau for jobs.

When a few conservative members of the Chamber balked at endorsing a program the legality of which had been questioned, it was decided to appoint a special Committee on Unemployment and to abide by the decision of this smaller group. This Committee approved the plan and recommended that it be put into operation as quickly as possible. With this endorsement, the city officials passed the project and authorized an Emergency Loan Fund. This money was borrowed from an out-of-town source, and the city manager announced that by February 15, pick-and-shovel work would begin.

¹ This Fund, corresponding to the Community Chest in other cities, is carried on by the Charities Bureau of the Chamber of Commerce.

KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

METHOD OF ADMINISTRATION

Registration. Before the work-relief program began, an understanding was reached by the city manager and the Chamber of Commerce that all men assigned to the water-main jobs were to be secured through the Greater Kansas City Employment Bureau. In November, prior to the opening of this Bureau, a registration of the unemployed had been conducted by means of newspaper coupons which applicants filled out and returned to the Employment Bureau. The location of the employment office was not disclosed in the newspaper notice, because it was felt that it would be impossible to handle the large crowds which would respond. When nearly 10,000 applications had been received through the mail, 23 men who had had some office experience were hired to transcribe on application cards the information sent in on the coupons. When this was done, notices were sent to those who were apparently in greatest need of jobs, asking them to report for a special interview. Following this interview, if the applicant gave evidence of special need, a new card was filled out, which indicated that this applicant was to be given preferred consideration as jobs became available. Later the office received personal applications, the distinction according to need of work being made at time of application.

Assignment. On February 14, 1931, the day before work on the city water-main project was to begin, the newspapers printed the story of the arrangement between the city and the Employment Bureau. The Water Department had already sent to the Bureau a requisition for 30 workers, and it was reported that soon hundreds of heads of needy families would be assigned to jobs. Before noon of the first day of work, it was clear that the Water Department had no intention of complying with the arrangement agreed to by the city manager. Men were being hired by the dozens, on the basis of letters of recommendation addressed to the foremen from political sources friendly to the administration. Within the next few days hundreds of men received jobs, but few of them came from the lists of the Employment Bureau. On February 20, the newspaper which had been instrumental in getting the project under way printed an account of what was happening, and editorially denounced the city administration's practice of giving jobs on the basis of political affiliations.

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

It proved impossible to bring about co-operation between the city and the Employment Bureau. The Water Department announced that it would "play no favorites," that it would accept recommendations not only from the Employment Bureau but also from other reliable sources, such as the American Legion, churches, and political organizations. During the month of February the Employment Bureau referred 280 men for placement on city work relief. It was found, however, that it was to the advantage of the applicant to present a letter from his precinct captain instead of a recommendation from the Bureau, and this advice was generally given to those who applied for work-relief jobs at the Bureau. To be eligible for work on the water-main project, a man had to be a citizen and a legal resident of Kansas City.

Wages. The men employed on the water-main project worked three days a week; in all other respects they were treated as if they were regular city employes. They were paid 55 cents an hour, the regular city wage for unskilled labor. They worked in two crews each week, eight hours a day, thereby earning \$13.20 a week. Payment was in cash.

Accident Provisions. The city did not carry accident insurance.

EXTENT OF PROGRAM

Work on this project began on February 16, 1931, and was still in progress in July. The number of different men who had received jobs could not be obtained, but the largest amount of wages was paid in March, when 3,206 different men had half-time jobs. During the first six months \$334,783 was spent for wages and about \$523,000 for materials. The following table shows the numbers employed each month and the amounts paid in wages:

Month	Number of Employees	Monthly Payroll
February, 1931	2,690	\$51,217
March	3,206	106,988
April	1,930	71,442
May	924	46,235
June	822	38,879
July	504	20,022

KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

No special organization was set up to handle the administration of the \$1,000,000 Emergency Loan Fund. The superintendent of the Water Department estimated that it cost about \$30,000 to administer the program, which was paid from the Department's regular budget.

Although the amount spent on work relief in Kansas City was larger than that in many other cities, it may well be questioned whether a proportional increase in unemployment relief was obtained. The practice of the Water Department in conforming to its regular procedure in the selection of the men hardly produced the results which might have been obtained had the city carried through its original agreement with the Chamber of Commerce.

RELATED PROJECT

Odd-Jobs Campaign. Prior to the commencement of the city's water-main project the Chamber of Commerce sponsored an odd-jobs campaign to increase work opportunities for the Employment Bureau's applicants. Radio talks, speeches, sermons, advertisements in the newspapers were used. A group of women canvassed residential districts. When these efforts fell short of producing desired results, the service clubs were called into action. Property owners were listed by zones, a zone assigned to each club, and the members of the clubs were asked to interview property owners and solicit work. In spite of all efforts the amount of work provided appears to have been comparatively small.

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

INCEPTION OF PROGRAM

THE Chamber of Commerce, the city government, and the Social Welfare Bureau (a private family welfare agency) all participated at different stages in the development of work relief in Little Rock.

The president of the Social Welfare Bureau took the initiative in calling attention to the need for a community attack upon unemployment. Early in October, 1930, he acquainted the mayor, representatives of the Chamber of Commerce and others, with the serious increase in unemployment which had been noted by the society. A series of meetings held under the auspices of the Chamber during the next few weeks led to the formation in December of a Citizens' Committee. The organization consisted of a General Committee, whose personnel was drawn from nearly all groups in the city, a smaller Executive Committee, and four sub-committees.

One sub-committee, on Repairs and Improvements, commonly referred to as an Odd-Jobs Committee, by the use of radio, newspaper stories, civic club addresses, and a house-to-house canvass conducted through the Parent Teacher Association, sought to focus public attention on the importance of having odd jobs done immediately to relieve unemployment. A sub-committee on Industrial Employment and another on Office and Mercantile Employment visited employers, urging them to stagger their employment if reduction of work became necessary, and, if additional workers were to be taken on, to employ workers with dependents. Employers were also urged to make use of the employment service of the Bureau. The fourth sub-committee, on Public Construction, approached city and county officials in the effort to increase the volume of public work. These sub-committees continued to be active, however, for only a few weeks.

On December 15, the Committee opened the Emergency Employment Bureau of Greater Little Rock. A local business man, without previous experience in relief administration, agreed to serve

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

without salary as executive director of the Bureau, and office space was secured rent free in a downtown office building. Furniture, stationery, and other office supplies were donated, and all persons engaged in the work of the Bureau volunteered their services or were lent by their employers. This office was later moved farther out, some reports indicating that neighboring banks objected to the long queues of applicants, which suggested a run on a bank.

The original purpose of the Bureau was to meet the need for a free employment agency by conducting a registration of the unemployed and furnishing workers for such jobs as could be found by the Committee on Repairs and Improvements. The demand for such help was not great, and the Bureau found little outlet for its registrants until the following month, when the work-relief project was developed.

Early in January the pressure of applications for relief upon the Social Welfare Bureau had reached alarming proportions. With nearly 1,600 families in need of relief and but \$3,200 available for relief, a special meeting of its Board of Directors was called and strong representations made to the city government that it should appropriate not less than \$20,000 to meet the needs of the next two months. As the city had no department equipped to disburse relief, the Bureau asked that it be allowed to administer the funds appropriated.

The mayor and City Council took prompt action and \$20,000 was appropriated on January 9, to be devoted, however, to a program of work relief rather than home relief. The Emergency Employment Bureau was asked to administer the project, the city agreeing to bear the cost of wages and materials. Work relief began at once.

The city's appropriation soon became exhausted, and early in February a new Emergency Relief Committee, headed by a local judge, undertook to raise private funds to keep the project going. About \$25,000 was raised representing chiefly contributions of one day's wage or salary by employed members of the community.

METHOD OF ADMINISTRATION

Registration and Investigation. The registration of applicants, which began in December, was conducted as follows. The director

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

assumed the task of interviewing colored applicants, and an assistant interviewed white applicants. An application card was made out for each person who registered. Applicants, who stated that they were in need but for whom there was no work, were referred to their church if Catholic; others were referred to the social agencies. These agencies were also asked to assist in case the work-relief wage was inadequate to meet the family's needs. On account of the low wages paid, this became a heavy burden on the agencies, particularly the Social Welfare Bureau.

The Employment Bureau had no social worker attached to its staff, and any investigation of the applicants' statements was made by police officers. If men were sent to the Bureau by the social agencies, the information submitted by the latter was accepted at its face value; but no preference was given such applicants.

Assignment. By agreement with the city authorities, 600 men were to be employed, working in two shifts each week. Legal residence in the city was required for assignment to work. Decision to give employment was based mainly upon the number of dependents reported.

Work assignments were made out in triplicate, one copy being presented by the worker to the foreman on the job, another sent to the Social Welfare Bureau, and the third retained in the office. In case the work order was not presented, the Social Welfare Bureau was notified, and a visitor was sent to ascertain the cause.

Wages. The men doing common labor were paid 20 cents an hour for a nine-hour day, and earned a maximum of \$5.40 a week. Wages were paid in cash. It could not be learned that this low rate of pay had occasioned protests from labor unions or other sources. Some skilled workmen were paid 50 cents an hour.

Nature of Work. The major project undertaken was improving a tract of land which had been given for a park. This work was supervised by the alderman who was chairman of the municipal Public Works Committee.

EXTENT OF PROGRAM

The work-relief program began on January 12, and closed March 30. About 3,600 applications were received at the Employment Bureau, but no estimate was obtained of the number of different

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

persons given work relief. The largest number employed in any week was about 600. As funds became depleted, the number dropped as low as 50 a shift. Negroes constitute about 23 per cent of the population of Little Rock but they were more than 50 per cent of the applicants. They constituted from one-quarter to one-third of those placed at work.

The records show that 18,037 days of labor were performed. This is exclusive of odd jobs, of which approximately 1,820 were secured.

No figures are obtainable for the amounts spent respectively on wages, material or supervision, but the total amounts expended were approximately \$18,000¹ from tax funds and \$25,000 from funds raised privately.

RELATED PROJECT

The Employment Bureau also functioned as an employment agency to fill calls for workers on a temporary or permanent basis. Some of their efforts seem to have involved the Bureau in direct competition for jobs in the general labor market. For instance, a contract was secured for washing the windows of a downtown hotel. The Bureau also asked department stores that extra help for the Christmas rush be drawn from the Bureau rather than from the stores' own lists of reserve employes.

The city turned over to the Bureau the handling of permits for street-vending, and apple-selling as well as other forms of street merchandising was arranged by the Bureau, white-collar men being assigned to these jobs. If a man doing work relief was sent on an odd-jobs assignment, or sold merchandise on the street on his off days, his amount of work relief was not reduced.

The Employment Bureau was opened on December 15, 1930, and closed on March 30, 1931, the men remaining on its active list on the latter date being referred to social agencies and religious organizations for further relief.

¹ No explanation was given as to why the \$20,000 appropriated by the city was not completely expended.

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

INCEPTION OF PROGRAM

IN LOUISVILLE the work-relief program was carried on under the auspices of the Unemployment Committee of the Louisville Board of Trade. The mayor, who was also chairman of the Board of Trade, had since the beginning of the present industrial depression played an active role in assisting the private relief agencies to secure financial resources, giving them assurance that the city would assume a share of responsibility for handling the emergency unemployment situation, and thus permit them to devote their major efforts to the increasing number of families who needed more intensive social treatment.

The municipal government had recently undergone reorganization, and had established a Department of Public Welfare. Almost the first task of the director of this Department was to make plans for alleviating distress among the unemployed. During the summer of 1930, he studied the emergency measures which had been taken in other cities, particularly those in Cincinnati, and by fall had come to the conclusion that a work-relief program was the most practical solution of the relief problem in Louisville.

By this time the unemployment situation had become critical. The Community Fund, stimulated by increasing demands from the Family Service Organization, presented to the Board of Trade the need for immediate action. During the latter part of October, a meeting of local business men and representative citizens was called and the Unemployment Committee of the Board of Trade was organized. This Committee appointed an Executive Committee consisting of three members, the mayor, another officer of the Board of Trade, and the president of the Community Fund. Chairmen of various sub-committees were selected and empowered to choose committee members.

No time was lost in lengthy discussion. The mayor taking the initiative, pledged the support of the city administration and presented to the new Unemployment Committee the plan which the director of welfare had formulated. The Committee voted to

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

endorse the proposed program and approved placing the director of welfare in charge of its administration. On November 6, the plan of the director of welfare was presented to the Board of Trade and was subsequently put into effect.

The main items in this plan were as follows. A central bureau was to be established to serve as headquarters for the activities of the Unemployment Committee, under the supervision of the director of welfare. A Municipal Relief Committee, consisting of the mayor, the president of the Board of Aldermen, and the director of public welfare was to be created, to which should be appropriated all city funds for emergency relief. A preliminary appropriation sum of \$25,000 was to be placed at the disposal of the Unemployment Committee by the Municipal Relief Committee, to initiate work relief for the needy unemployed. The work was to be of a "light labor" type, distributed as follows:

1. In city departments and city owned institutions, work which would not ordinarily be undertaken because of lack of funds.
2. In private and non-profit-making and charitable institutions, which would be expected to furnish the men carfare and one meal a day.

The plan recommended that city appropriations for work relief be made in small amounts as the money was needed, rather than in a lump sum, in order that the publicity which might follow a large appropriation should not attract hundreds of needy families from all sections of the state.

On November 11, the Emergency Unemployment Bureau of the Unemployment Committee, later known as the Municipal Relief Bureau, was officially opened for the purpose of administering work relief.

METHOD OF ADMINISTRATION

Registration. A registration of the unemployed had been conducted by the director of welfare on October 29 and 30, prior to the opening of the Municipal Relief Bureau.

The Board of Trade requested business concerns to lend clerical workers, and over 100 volunteer workers thus secured were assigned to register unemployed persons in fire and police stations. A comprehensive census of the unemployed was not attempted; and it was announced that only heads of families in destitute or nearly

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

destitute circumstances should register. The number of registrations received was 11,725. Subsequent applications brought the total up to 13,911 on March 1, after which no more were accepted.

Personnel and Investigation. From the outset the director of welfare had been firmly convinced that a work-relief project could not be successfully engineered unless the applicants' claims were thoroughly investigated by competent social workers and selection made on the basis of their findings. His analysis of work relief in other cities had led him to the conclusion that the city ought not to depend upon existing social agencies to undertake the investigation of all applicants who registered for jobs. He therefore secured the services of a competent supervisor and five trained and experienced visitors. Three more persons who had had some training in social work were added as visitors. Seven persons were selected for clerical work in the office.

It was first necessary to eliminate from the 11,725 persons who registered on October 29 and 30, and the additional applicants who began to come in as soon as the Bureau opened, those who were clearly ineligible for work relief. It was decided that work-relief jobs could be given only to men who had dependents under sixteen years of age, who were living with their families, and who had an income of less than \$30 a month. Those meeting these preliminary requirements numbered 3,282. Home investigations made by the social work staff reduced this number by almost one-half.

Reasons assigned for rejecting 1,391 of the applicants who were investigated at home were as follows:

Reason	White	Colored	Total
Unable to locate	167	212	379
No dependents under sixteen years	160	132	292
Husband working (women applicants)	179	76	255
Family Service Organization active	63	60	123
Man separated from family	20	37	57
Wife working (men applicants)	34	21	55
Older children maintaining home	34	10	44
Living with relatives	28	14	42
Stated could manage	36	4	40
Left city	20	8	28
Physically incapacitated	20	4	24
Receiving pension	20	1	21
Non-resident	13	1	14
Supported by relatives	8	2	10
Refused information	3	4	7
Total	805	586	1,391

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

A policy of refusing employment to families living with or receiving support from relatives, or supported by the earnings of children between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one, was reluctantly adopted, but since both appropriations and jobs were limited, it was deemed necessary to require older children, relatives, and even friends of the families to carry additional responsibilities.

Relations with Family Service Organization. The Family Service Organization stationed some of its staff in the Municipal Relief Bureau, in order that cases calling for direct relief might receive its prompt attention. Arrangements were made with this agency, whereby the Bureau was not to give work relief to applicants found to be actively under the care of the agency. This was not intended to prevent clients of the family agency from getting work-relief jobs, since it was expected that after the necessary investigation the agency would transfer to the Bureau cases of unemployment only. In case of such transfer it was agreed that the agency's recommendation would satisfy the requirements of the Bureau and that the Bureau would assume all further responsibility for care of the family. Some clients objected to transfer, wishing to be free to decide for themselves. However, it was found throughout the winter that the plan agreed upon between the two agencies was a satisfactory one.

Assignment. Only the first call for workers found the Bureau without a waiting list of men investigated and ready to be assigned to jobs. Thereafter, the visitors had in reserve sufficient men to fill requisitions as soon as they were received. Requests from employers stated the number of men needed, length of employment, nature of the work to be performed, and so forth. On receipt of such requests, the social workers selected those to be assigned and notified them by mail or by home visit to come to the Bureau, where they were given work cards together with instructions for reporting for work. The applicant signed the work card and presented it to the foreman on the job. At the end of the third day of work the foreman filled out a portion of the card showing the time worked, entered comments on work record, signed and returned the card to the worker. The foreman also sent to the Bureau a payroll list showing the number of hours each man worked. Reports to the Bureau were for the most part promptly attended to by the city

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

departments, but the private institutions could not be depended upon to send in written reports promptly so that it became necessary to secure by telephone the number of hours worked by men assigned to them.

Wages. The men worked in two three-day shifts each week. On the last day of each work period they presented their cards with the foreman's signature at the Bureau, and were paid in cash, the rate being fixed by city ordinance at 30 cents an hour. Some of the men worked eight hours a day, three days a week, earning \$7.20 a week. Those assigned to the Park Department, however, worked nine hours a day and received \$8.10 a week. Wages were paid in cash. The men were also given street-car tokens, if it was necessary to ride to work. As the men received their pay, they signed and turned in their work cards and were directed to come back within two days for another work card.

The Bureau issued new cards to the men each week unless their work record was unsatisfactory or there was other reason for discontinuing the relief. The figures given below show the number of men who were removed from the Bureau's placement list after they had been notified to report for work, classified by reason for removal and color.

Reason	White	Colored	Total
Refused to accept work after being notified	135	33	168
No dependents under sixteen years	17	13	30
Failed to support children	11	4	15
Failed to report after working four weeks	7	1	8
Additional income revealed by later investigation	7	..	7
Intemperance	5	2	7
Physically incapacitated	4	1	5
Poor work record	2	..	2
Not legal resident	1	..	1
Total	189	54	243

The majority of the men placed worked regularly at the same job during the period of the work-relief program.

Accident Provision. Neither the city nor the institutions carried accident insurance for the men on work relief.

Nature of Work. No large construction projects were undertaken; the jobs consisted mainly of clean-up and repair work for

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

city departments and private institutions, and for some 50 private non-profit-making institutions. The cost of materials and supervision was met by the institutions or departments for which the work was done.

The city work to which men were assigned was checked by the chairman of the Committee on Public Works to prevent the city departments from using men on work relief for construction work provided for in their current budgets. There is no evidence that work otherwise provided for was drawn upon for work-relief projects, but the social investigation of men assigned to work relief did reveal that some of the workers had formerly been regular city employes, and would not have needed this form of relief if they had not been laid off by the city. Several men complained to the Bureau that they had lost jobs in institutions following the placement there of men on work relief. Investigation showed in each instance, however, that the complainant had been discharged for good reason.

EXTENT OF PROGRAM

The work-relief program lasted from November 11, 1930 until April 18, 1931. During that time 1,641 persons were given jobs, of whom all but three were men. From the first week that the Bureau opened, when 49 men were employed, there was a gradual increase in the number at work until the end of February, when the peak of 1,268 was reached.

During the six months of the work-relief program the following monthly expenditures were made for wages and transportation of workers:

November, 1930	\$10,119
December	10,119
January, 1931	30,936
February	35,168
March	21,129
April	7,065
Total	<u>\$114,536</u>

For the entire period, \$111,631 was expended for wages. Of this amount, \$25,485 was spent for work in private institutions, \$86,146

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

for work in city departments. A total of \$2,905 was expended for transportation. The expenses of operating the Municipal Relief Bureau were charged against the regular budget of the Department of Public Welfare.

Subsequent Study of Families. During the months of May and June the Bureau made follow-up visits to 1,527 of the 1,641 families aided by work relief during the winter. An attempt is made in the following statistical statement to show the situation of these families from one to two months after work relief was discontinued. The several categories are not mutually exclusive.

Situation of Family	White	Colored	Total
Dependent on odd jobs	709	285	994
Under care Family Service Organization	215	82	297
Managing well	224	48	272
Having permanent employment	160	31	191
Received veterans' adjusted compensation	23	6	29
Expecting eviction	31	11	42
Lost home	8	0	8
Owing two or more months' rent	677	252	929

RELATED PROJECTS

Man-a-Block Campaign. With the approach of spring it became apparent that further city appropriations for work relief would not be available, and that until the beginning of the new fiscal year on September 1, 1931, at least, the Committee would have to secure financial support from other sources. After deliberation the Unemployment Committee decided to sponsor a man-a-block campaign, primarily to provide work for those who were being laid off from work relief.

The campaign was begun on March 12, with a proclamation by the mayor, stating that the city, after having carried its share of the unemployment burden during the winter, was calling upon the citizens to undertake individual responsibility for providing work for the unemployed. The proposed plan called for the employment, where feasible, of one or more men by the residents of each city block for a period of six weeks from March 23 to May 2, 1931. A householder in each block was to act as captain. Each family was to be asked to hire a man for three hours a week, paying him

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

30 cents an hour. As men were laid off from work provided by the Unemployment Bureau, they were to be assigned to groups of nine co-operating families, which would provide three nine-hour days. One family was to supply carfare each day to the job; a second, a noonday meal; and a third, carfare home.

This campaign was launched with much publicity. Local newspapers volunteered assistance, calling together more than 1,000 delivery boys at several mass meetings, where the purpose was explained. The boys were asked to urge each family to whom they delivered a paper to sign the coupon printed on the front page, indicating a willingness to hire an unemployed man. Unfortunately, prizes were offered to the newsboys who returned the largest number of signed coupons. The result was that they turned in hundreds of coupons, some of which they had filled in themselves. Many were signed by people looking for work instead of by those who wanted to give it; others by housewives who knew nothing about the plan.

The city was next divided into 35 sections, and subdivided into 150 divisions. The Committee secured 150 students from the University of Louisville as volunteers to visit residents in each division and to enroll block captains. The system was not a success. Few of the captains selected could spare the necessary time, or if they had time, were able to find the required nine families to complete a schedule for a worker. The result was that captains frequently held in their possession partly made schedules, while persons who had agreed to give work were wondering why the worker was not sent.

When it appeared that the response from householders would be far too meager to meet the need for jobs, the Committee decided to canvass the downtown stores for odd jobs. The plan used was simpler than that followed in the residential districts. A store was asked to hire a man for one day's work a week for six weeks. These downtown jobs were used to supplement work already obtained, so that some men worked two days a week on a block and one day a week downtown.

A brief account of the office routine followed will show the staggering amount of administrative detail required for carrying out this kind of project.

Coupons indicating willingness to give work were sorted as re-

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

ceived, and the names and addresses typed on three sheets, one of which was given to the superintendent, one to a volunteer student, and one was filed. The volunteer students used these lists when they visited families in their respective areas in search of block captains.

A separate card was made out for each prospective employer, showing his name, address, and the length of time he would give employment. Some householders agreed to take a man according to the terms of the man-a-block plan, others preferred to determine for themselves the working days of the men whom they hired.

After the block captain, or a staff member, had worked out a schedule for the three-day period, it was turned into the Bureau to be assigned to an unemployed man. The Bureau then selected a man for the job. His name and address and the day of the week, as well as the part of the day he was to work, were entered on the cards of each of the employers for whom he was to work.

When the schedule had been carefully checked with the employers' cards to make sure that no employer had more than one man assigned to him, it was given to the office stenographer, who made up an assignment card. This was mailed to the worker. The face of the card contained the man's name, the block division and section to which he was assigned, and the name of his block captain. On the reverse were the employers' names and the time when he was to work for each. Once the worker was given his assignment card the Bureau was supposed to be relieved of responsibility, the man thereafter collecting his pay from each employer. In practice, the schedules were upset by changes in the plans of employers and the Bureau found itself constantly making adjustments and ironing out difficulties which arose at every turn.

A total of 303 men were assigned to jobs in this enterprise. Of this number seven were considered as failures either because of poor work records or failure to report for work. In 59 instances citizens who had agreed to provide work over a six weeks' period failed to do so. Earnings varied from \$8.10 to \$18 a week. Although the man-a-block plan was supposed to continue only until May 2, 10 men were still working under the plan on July 1.

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

IN DISCUSSING work relief in Milwaukee it is necessary to distinguish between the program of the Milwaukee city government and that carried on by Milwaukee County. The former, which began early in September, 1930, provided work for residents of the city only, and was closely related to the regular employment of city laborers; the latter, beginning in April, 1931, gave employment to residents from the entire county. These programs were administered independently and were intended to provide unemployment relief for different groups of applicants.

CITY PROJECT

INCEPTION OF PROGRAM

In September, 1930, the possibility of extending the underground conduits of the fire and police alarm system as a means of providing work to unemployed residents was presented to the Finance Committee of the Common Council, and an initial appropriation of \$10,000 from the contingent fund was made for this purpose. This work got under way at once under direction of the Fire and Police Alarm Bureau. From time to time additional appropriations were made for this work, amounting by September, 1931, to a total of \$234,118.

A second plan to cope with unemployment took form in October. After the Common Council had listened to a report from one of its members who had observed work relief elsewhere, it decided to make provision for work relief in several city departments. All labor was to be assigned through the City (Civil) Service Commission, to which an initial appropriation of \$1,000 was made on October 23 for immediate registration and classification of applicants. While deliberations were in progress as to the size of the fund to be appropriated, the Council, on November 15, appointed three aldermen to serve as an Unemployment Committee. This Committee secured a small appropriation out of the unexpended 1930 balance to employ men whose need was urgent. A charity football game netted \$26,000 and this and some other private con-

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

tributions were applied to work in the Bureau of Street Sanitation. By the end of 1930 a total of about \$51,000 had been paid in wages to 876 different men.

On the basis of the experience which was thus gained, the Council decided to include \$350,000 for work relief in the 1931 budget, which it was calculated would be sufficient to employ 5,000 men for ten days each. The original proposal had been for \$200,000 to give but three days' work to each of 13,500 men. The money was to be spent in the city departments according to a program prepared by the Unemployment Committee. Work was planned under the Park Board, the Bureau of Street Sanitation, the Playground Division, and the Bureau of Electrical Service. The work of the Fire and Police Alarm Bureau was also continued with appropriations from this fund, but this Bureau was permitted to hire its men independently.

METHOD OF ADMINISTRATION

Registration and Assignment

1. *By the Fire and Police Alarm Bureau.* This Bureau adopted a different method of selecting men for its work, from that followed by the City Service Commission, which assigned men to the other city work-relief projects. Assignment to work was made to men who presented letters from their aldermen, and the practice of dispensing these jobs became an important aldermanic function. This naturally met with censure from various sources, not the least critical being some of the aldermen who found that others were placing a disproportionately large number of their constituents. In an effort to pacify the discontented, it was planned to issue a book of coupons to each member of the Council, every coupon to be good for one job. This plan, however, met with so much criticism from the newspapers that it was never put into effect and the Common Council instructed the Bureau to continue to hire men as before, but to distribute the jobs among wards as equally as possible.

Efforts to change the method of assigning men to this work continued into the summer, when at last the Council decided that henceforth registration and assignment of all men on city work relief, including those working under the Fire and Police Alarm Bureau, should be made through the office of the City Service Commission.

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

2. *By the City Service Commission.* This civil service bureau makes all usual appointments to city work. It followed its usual procedure in the main in selecting men for the work-relief jobs. It had no facilities for making home investigations and attempted instead to devise an application blank which would supply complete data concerning the applicants, including family responsibilities, earnings, length of time out of work, home ownership, likelihood of eviction, relief received, indebtednesses, citizenship, and length of residence in city. The Commission mailed these blanks to all men who had applied for usual work during the preceding year and who had been approved but not appointed. When these men returned the blanks properly filled out, they were considered eligible for work relief without further examination.

All new applicants were examined by the regular medical examiner of the Commission and many were rejected because of physical conditions. Those who were not residents or not citizens were also rejected. Applicants who were not voters were required to register for voting before being accepted.

Applications accepted were classified into the following three groups according to family responsibility: (1) men having more than one dependent; (2) men having only one dependent; (3) men having no dependents.

A fourth class consisted of the rejected applicants. Two files were kept, one a master alphabetical file, and the other arranged by wards and by class of responsibility of applicant.

The city departments sent to the office of the City Service Commission statements of the number of men desired as they were needed. Applicants were then selected from the cards filed by wards, care being taken to assign an equal number from each ward. Policemen delivered assignment cards to the applicants, informing them where to report for work but warning them not to quit a regular job as this work would last only a short time. Not all the men who were sent these cards used them for obtaining jobs. The reports of the Playground Division show that those reporting after the first month ranged from 74 to 85 per cent of those notified.

The department to which the man was to report for work was indicated on the back of the application blank, which was then removed to a "placed" file. On reporting to the job, the man

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

delivered his assignment card to the foreman, who turned it in to his department. It was then returned to the Commission for its records. After the man had worked for ten days he was dismissed. Each department was required to file separate payrolls with the Commission showing the number of men employed, their names and addresses, the number of hours worked and amount of money earned.

The Commission's policy was to assign no man a second time until every applicant having family responsibilities had been given an opportunity to work. By the middle of March great discrepancies were discovered between wards as to proportion of available applicants who had received assignments. With the approval of the Unemployment Committee of the Council, the Commission then began to assign larger numbers of men from the wards having the greatest number of unemployed residents, but subsequently reverted to the former policy.

Wages. Men were paid in the same manner and at the same time as other city employes. Hourly rates of pay on work relief were the same as for other city employes doing the same work and varied from 60 to 75 cents an hour.¹ During the last three months of 1930 most of the men were given one assignment of three days, except on the work of the Fire and Police Alarm Bureau, where assignments varied from periods of several days only to full-time work. Assignments of the City Service Commission during 1931 were for a single period of ten days each, the men earning from \$48 to \$56. All men worked eight hours a day.

Health and Accident Provisions. The medical examinations given men assigned by the City Service Commission had three purposes: to prevent physical harm to those unsuited to the work, to return to the city a fair amount of labor for money spent, and to reduce expense for accident compensation, since the city carried its own insurance. Expenses resulting from accidents to men on work relief, including compensation payments and medical expenses amounting to about \$6,200, are reported. The portion of these expenses arising from the work of the Fire and Police Alarm Bureau was about two-thirds of the total, which may have been due to the

¹ In October, 1931, a uniform rate of 60 cents an hour was established for all laborers on work relief.

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

fact that no medical examinations were given to applicants for its jobs.

EXTENT OF PROGRAM

From September 1, 1930 to June 30, 1931, a total of 2,766 assignments for longer or shorter periods were made by the Fire and Police Alarm Bureau, involving an expenditure for labor of \$167,652. A check which was made of the names on this list against those accepted for work relief by the City Service Commission indicates that a large proportion of these men worked on both the city programs.

On May 20, 1931, a total of 10,138 men had applied to the City Service Commission for work relief. Of these, 8,470 had been accepted, 853 rejected because of physical unfitness, and 815 had failed to meet the citizenship or residence requirements. Of the applicants accepted, approximately 6,600 were men with dependents and of these about 6,000 were assigned to work. No women participated in either work-relief program. We estimate that about 7,500 men were given some employment in one or both of these projects.

According to a statement of the city comptroller the monthly expenditures of the city for work relief from September, 1930 through August, 1931, including both programs, were as follows:

	Wages	Other Expenses	Total
September, 1930	\$4,798	..	\$4,798
October	8,681	\$10	8,691
November	23,874	827	24,701
December	39,504	17,666	57,170
January, 1931	67,287	14,503	81,790
February	101,472	1,604	103,076
March	109,309	22,156	131,465
April	57,052	10,353	67,405
May	24,471	5,445	29,916
June	19,790	9,401	29,191
July	9,637	7,356	16,993
August	4,944	11,163	16,107
Total	<u>\$470,819</u>	<u>\$100,484</u>	<u>\$571,303</u>

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

In addition \$27,023 received from private sources was spent by the Bureau of Street Sanitation for wages, making the total for work-relief wages \$497,842.

By the end of August all funds available for work relief were spent and the City Service Commission discontinued receiving applications in view of the large number of names on its approved list and the small number of jobs available.

The foregoing figures include money spent on snow removal. This, of course, was usual city work and though it has been designated as part of the work relief of the city, there is some question as to whether need of relief was given great consideration in the distribution of this work. All men who registered with the City Service Commission and passed the medical examination were given an identification card. These cards bore instructions that when a snowstorm occurred the bearer was to report for work at the ward-yard of the ward in which he lived. While single men did not get an opportunity on other work-relief projects, the snow removal jobs were given to any men who presented such cards. The total number of men who received snow removal jobs is not available, but during the period, January to April, 1931, the city expended a total of \$80,705 in wages for this work.

RELATED PROJECT

Citizens' Voluntary Committee. In the fall of 1930, a Citizens' Voluntary Committee on Unemployment was organized and undertook a program of the nature of Buffalo's man-a-block plan. Early in December this Committee submitted to the Unemployment Committee of the Common Council a scheme for registering unemployed men and assigning them to districts consisting of about three city blocks in which they might canvass for odd jobs. The Committee wanted the city to undertake a complete census of the unemployed in conjunction with a job solicitation campaign, but it was later decided to abandon the idea of a census, and to concentrate on persuading householders to give a few hours' work each week at 50 cents an hour to the man assigned to their district.

The Citizens' Committee opened a registration office in a downtown building and gave to all men who registered a card certifying that the bearer was an unemployed resident of the city. A number

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

of the men accepted by the Committee had been rejected for city work relief. The headquarters of the Citizens' Committee were later moved to the office of the City Service Commission, which undertook an odd-jobs campaign, arranging with the milk dealers to deliver 105,000 letters and questionnaires to all the householders in Milwaukee. As a result of this canvass, only 176 orders for men were received.

After this program had continued for about a month, the Commission sent letters to 1,518 men who had been assigned to districts to find how successfully the plan was working. Only 430 replies were received; 300 made no report on work; 164 reported work found and total earnings of \$1,461. Only 25 had earned over \$20. Gradually the activities of the Citizens' Committee subsided and it passed out of the relief picture.

COUNTY PROJECT INCEPTION OF PROGRAM

In April, 1931, the Milwaukee County Board decided to spend \$100,000 through the County Park Department to give employment to able-bodied heads of families who were already receiving relief from the County Relief Department and also to men who were not yet recipients of relief but who were on the border-line of dependency.

METHOD OF ADMINISTRATION

Registration and Assignment. Responsibility for making assignments to these jobs was delegated to the secretary of the Park Commission. He notified the Relief Department to send about 500 clients at a time to work at certain designated places in the county. The selection of these workers was left entirely to the investigators of the Relief Department, who gave the men identification cards bearing instructions for reporting to work.

Applications for work from the so-called "near needy" were made at the office of the secretary of the Park Commission. The applicant gave information as to his family condition, residence, and citizenship. No home investigations were made, those presenting the most pathetic stories being the first to receive assignments. These men were mailed notices to report for work to the superin-

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

tendent on the job. Altogether 4,152 direct applications for work relief were received. The plan contemplated assigning the neediest of this group for four days' work a week in four consecutive weeks. In several instances re-assignments were made where the need appeared extremely urgent.

Wages. Each day the park superintendents sent to the Commission a record of the number of men at work. Time sheets and payrolls were made up as for ordinary employees. Each man was given about a month's employment, receiving 50 cents an hour for four eight-hour days a week, the usual pay at the end of the month being \$64. Payment was by check.

Men selected from the lists of the County Relief Department received their pay either in money or "in kind," or part in each. They were permitted to draw supplies from the County Commissary,¹ and the value of these items was deducted from the amount due them at the end of the work period. If the value of the goods drawn from the commissary exceeded the amount earned, the client would receive no pay whatever; if less, he received the difference in money. The near-needy group were paid entirely in money.

EXTENT OF PROGRAM

The work-relief program began on April 15, 1931, and continued throughout July. A few border-line men received employment for a month longer. The number of different men employed is not available. The number of employees and the amount of wages paid by half-month periods were as follows:

	Number Employed	Wages Paid
April 15-30	623	\$18,066
May 1-15	591	18,146
May 16-31	794	24,989
June 1-15	715	22,473
June 16-30	482	18,745
July 1-15	446	12,077
July 16-31	158	5,976
Total		\$120,472

¹ See discussion of commissary system of payment on p. 245.

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

The amount expended for wages includes \$89,153 paid in cash and \$31,319 in groceries. That the amount of wages exceeded the special appropriation for the project is explained by the fact that funds of the County Relief Department were transferred to the Park Department to meet part of the cost of the wages of the Relief Department clients assigned to the work. Wage payments to Relief Department clients amounted to \$80,296, and wages of the near needy to \$40,176.

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

THERE were two large work-relief programs in New York City during the winter of 1930 and the spring and summer of 1931. The first, beginning in October, 1930, was financed with funds privately raised, and was administered by the Emergency Work Bureau of New York; the second, beginning in April, 1931, was financed out of public funds, and administered through the city's Department of Public Welfare. Although one reason for launching the second program was to continue the relief which was being supplied to some 26,000 families during the first, certain new qualifications and requirements in the method of selecting workers resulted in making the second program by no means a continuation of the first, but one in which quite a different group of individuals participated. In this report the two programs will be dealt with separately.

EMERGENCY WORK BUREAU

INCEPTION OF PROGRAM

As was stated in Part I, a New York agency, the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, had made some of the earliest experiments known in this country in administering relief as wages for work performed. In 1914-1915, and again on a larger scale in 1921-1922, this agency made arrangements with several of the large parks of the city to supply men drawn from its relief lists, and pay their wages, to carry out improvements to grounds and buildings under the direction of the regular staff in the parks.

This plan was again undertaken by the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor in the late winter of 1929-1930, over \$200,000 being expended in wages up to the end of the summer of 1930, in addition to the other relief funds disbursed by the agency.

In August, since it was seen that unemployment was increasing, a second large relief-giving society in New York, the Charity Organization Society, was called into conference, and a plan drawn up to meet the emergency needs which it was foreseen would arise during the following winter. It was decided to interview city

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

officials and ascertain the number of men that could be sent to work over a period of approximately six months on projects which were not already provided for in the regular municipal budget. At the same time a canvass was made of churches, social settlements, educational institutions, and other non-profit-making agencies, to learn whether these might serve as a second field of work opportunities. The result of these interviews and inquiries seemed to warrant a program of work relief on a scale larger than had heretofore been attempted, but as yet no one realized the tremendous proportions which it was destined to assume once it was under way.

A prominent banker agreed early in September, 1930, to organize the Emergency Employment Committee. In October this body, known as the Prosser Committee, began a drive to raise \$150,000 a week to pay work-relief wages to 10,000 heads of families applying to the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor and the Charity Organization Society. It was hoped that this campaign would be conducted quietly in order not to cause a rush of applicants, and not to interfere with the money-raising efforts of other agencies. The publicity attendant upon the Committee's solicitation of funds, however, brought about these very consequences. The two agencies whose names were being used in the Committee's publicity were literally besieged by applicants for jobs. The Catholic Charities and the Jewish Social Service Association also found applications assuming alarming proportions, but in view of the community wide appeal being made by the Emergency Employment Committee, the latter agencies did not consider the time opportune for attempting to raise independent funds.

The Welfare Council of New York City viewed with concern the plight of these agencies and urged the Committee to enlarge its scope and raise enough money to provide work for persons of all creeds and for residents in all the boroughs of the city. After several meetings had been called by the Council to emphasize the importance of a fuller degree of joint planning and a program of relief extended to all boroughs, the Emergency Work Bureau was organized to carry out on a larger scale the same kind of work-relief program which had been originally planned in connection

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

with the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor and the Charity Organization Society. An Executive Committee consisting of representatives of these two agencies, the Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York and the Jewish Social Service Association, was formed to direct the expenditure of the money, and operations were begun on a city-wide scale. By identical resolutions adopted early in November by these four agencies, the Emergency Employment Committee was appointed to raise emergency relief funds to be disbursed by them; and from this point on, the Committee accelerated its activities to a pace which had been totally unanticipated. Its goal was increased from \$5,000,000 to \$6,000,000 and then to \$8,000,000.¹ As the campaign proceeded, more and more pressure was brought upon the Emergency Employment Bureau to speed up its placement operations: from the Committee because quick placements were a good talking point in raising money; from the agencies because they were receiving floods of new clients; from the unemployed themselves who soon learned that the Bureau was a place where one could actually get a job.

Thus, what had started out as a comparatively small work-relief program, with about 100 men referred for placement by participating agencies on the first day, soon became a gigantic undertaking. The number of applicants a day increased from 100 to 1,600, the line for the next day beginning to form at midnight, and by morning, extending for blocks. In order to relieve this situation, especially after the cold weather set in, branch offices were opened in two outlying boroughs, the central office continuing to register applicants from Manhattan, the Bronx, and Brooklyn. For two weeks an evening shift of interviewers was organized, and registrations were taken up to eleven o'clock at night. If men were still awaiting interviews at this hour, they were given a card which would admit them to the office the next morning without having to wait in line again.

Placements were made at a similar accelerated rate. When, on January 10, 1931, the number on the Bureau's payroll reached 26,039, and according to the budget of the Emergency Employment Committee, further additions were impossible, a notice was

¹ A total of \$8,551,165 was raised.

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

posted to the effect that no new work assignments would be made, but that for the next five days men would be registered by consecutive numbers, and in the event of replacements becoming necessary they would be sent for in the order registered. When the five days were over, an additional 6,000 names had been secured, and with this surplus to work with the Bureau practically closed its doors to new applicants.

Toward the close of the work-relief program in April, 1931, all the persons on the records of the Emergency Work Bureau were registered with the State Employment Office. Meanwhile the Bureau circulated among employers of the city a bulletin stating that this had been done and containing an occupational classification of all the persons on its payroll. The additional clerical work involved was done by workers supplied by the Bureau.

During the latter part of April the Bureau began to decrease its activities and thousands of workers were laid off. At about the same time the city began its \$10,000,000 work-relief program and as men were dismissed by the Bureau, they were given a small card certifying that they had been removed from the Emergency Work Bureau payroll, and containing instructions as to how to apply for city employment. The Bureau continued to operate during the summer but on a much reduced scale, and almost entirely as an adjunct to the four co-operating social agencies.

During the late summer months 461 individuals who had received work relief during the winter were visited or investigated; and 48 per cent were found to be still looking for jobs.

METHOD OF ADMINISTRATION

It was not the policy of the Bureau to "rotate" jobs among all registrants. When a person was placed at work, it was for the duration of the job. On the completion of one project, those employed upon it were transferred to another, as long as they gave satisfactory service and their need for the work continued.

Health and Accident Provisions. Men on city projects were covered by workmen's compensation from the beginning of the program. In the latter part of December, when a large number of men and women had been assigned to work in non-profit-making institutions, some question arose as to the liability in case of

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

injury of the corporation which was paying the wages or the corporation receiving the benefit of the work. It was decided that for the protection of all concerned, the Bureau should carry a blanket insurance policy written in such a form as to protect all workers on other than city projects, and their employers. To men who were working on outdoor jobs and needed warm clothing the Bureau supplied heavy underwear, sweaters, coats, and boots, while several private agencies undertook to furnish hot lunches to groups of men working outdoors in cold weather. The Bureau itself spent about \$1,500 to supply lunches to men who had to wait for long periods in line to make application for work. There was no medical examination prior to assignment.

Personnel. The director of the Welfare Department of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor was placed in charge of the Bureau. The remainder of the staff consisted almost entirely of persons recruited from the ranks of the unemployed, the number reaching a peak in the middle of January, when 257 persons were thus employed. These included interviewers, investigators, clerks, stenographers, time-keepers, foremen, inspectors, paymasters—in fact, every kind of employe necessary to conduct the program. These persons worked six days a week, and were paid from \$3.00 to \$5.00 a day.

From this point on, in discussing the operations of the Emergency Work Bureau, it will be well to consider separately (1) placement of men on city jobs, (2) placement of men at jobs in private or semi-public institutions, and (3) placement of women.

1. *Placement of Men on City Jobs*

Registration. The Emergency Employment Committee decided at the outset that work-relief jobs should be given to family men with dependents who were residents of New York City, irrespective of length of residence. At first "dependents" was interpreted as being young children, but later when instances came to the attention of the Bureau of men and women wage-earners responsible for the support of aged parents, or younger brothers and sisters, or of an invalid wife or husband, these were included as eligible. Occasionally single men who made special pleas were given jobs, but this was not the general rule.

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

There were in all about 15,000 men assigned to work throughout the five boroughs in seven different city departments. In addition, others were given work on federal property on Governor's Island and Bedloe's Island. Men assigned to these jobs made their application in person at the Bureau's headquarters, or at its two branch offices. The capacity of the Bureau's waiting room was 900 and, after the program had been in operation for about ten days, this capacity was reached half an hour after the opening of the doors in the morning. When the men had filed in and found seats on long rows of benches, a member of the Bureau's staff addressed the group and told them that every man would be interviewed in his turn, and each would be given equal consideration. The men were hastily interviewed by a group of from 20 to 25 persons, mostly without previous experience in social work, and a registration card was made out for each applicant. They were required to sign the registration card, and, after being informed that a visitor would call at their home, and that they would receive word through the mail regarding their placement, they were allowed to leave. These registration cards were used as a general file of men eligible for placement. When a man was placed his card was filed in an "active" file. The cards of persons taken off the Bureau's payroll for any reason were kept in an "inactive" file. On the reverse side of these cards a complete work record of each man was kept, including place of assignment, date of reporting to and leaving work, transfers, and amount earned each week.

Investigation. After a man's registration was taken, an investigator called at his home to verify residence, number of dependents, and need for employment. At first these visits were made before the man was placed, but because they involved a delay in some cases where the need for immediate placement seemed obvious, the staff was instructed to send the men to work and investigate them afterward. A study of such cases showed that one out of 12 men was laid off after home visits were made, usually because there was some form of income in the family equal to or in excess of that which the man was earning on work relief. In the matter of dependents in the family, the investigator would usually insist upon seeing them or their birth certificates, or would telephone the school to learn the number of children in the family. If the families

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

visited seemed to be in need of immediate assistance, the investigator would give them direct relief sufficient to last until the first wage was received. If the family's situation was a very serious one, involving possibility of eviction, illness of some member of the family, or in any way indicating the necessity of care from one of the city's nursing or family welfare organizations, it was referred to such agencies. The investigators wrote down their decision as to the eligibility of the applicant for work relief on a plain white card and submitted it to the Bureau.

While the investigations were being made the applicants' names were cleared with the Social Service Exchange. This served to inform the Bureau as to the proper relief agency in case direct relief was necessary, but it in no way affected the eligibility of the applicant for a job. Approximately 65 per cent of the total placements were from families not on the records of any relief organization, the policy of the Bureau being to give jobs to men who were still some distance from the dependency line instead of waiting until they had used up all their resources.

Assignment. When the Bureau received the recommendation of the investigator, the applicant was notified by mail whether or not he could be assigned to work. If accepted, he was requested to return to the office for placement. On presenting this letter, he was given a job assignment card and directions for reporting to work on a project as near as possible to his home. This assignment card was signed by the applicant in the office and again in the presence of the foreman when reporting at the job. A copy of the assignment card was made by the foreman, and the original returned to the main office where it was filed according to work project. When the man reported for work the time-keeper gave him a brass tag which he kept as a means of identification as long as he worked. These tags were issued in series of 1,000 and bore the letters E. W. B., the man's number, and a number designating the type of work he was doing. A record of each brass tag was kept in the Bureau's office on 3 by 5 cards, filed in numerical order.

The time-keeper on the project put the man's name on the payroll and he was then assigned to a particular job. Although this work was being done for the city, all the projects were supervised by time-keepers, foremen, and sub-foremen selected from the white-

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

collar and skilled group of applicants who came to the Bureau for work.

Wages. Up to November 29, the men worked five eight-hour days in each week, and were paid \$3.00 a day. After that date, the rate was \$5.00 a day for three days each week. The reasons given for this change were that it practically doubled the number of jobs available, raised the rate of pay to a point more commensurate with the services being rendered, and enabled men to look for work in regular industry on their off days. Investigators, interviewers, foremen, time-keepers, inspectors, and others whose jobs required their continuous service worked on a six-day schedule.

Time-keepers on the job made up the payrolls and had them ready when the paymasters called on Wednesdays and Saturdays. Before the paymaster left the Bureau, the time-keeper told him by telephone the amount which would be needed for that particular pay-day, and the paymaster then distributed that amount in envelopes containing \$15 each. Men were paid off on the last of the three days on which they worked, the paymaster requiring each to show his brass tag and sign the payroll before giving him his money. In case a man was not present to receive his pay, his money was put in an unclaimed wage fund and he was required to call at the office of the Bureau to obtain it. If a name appeared more than once on the list of those for whom the Bureau was holding unclaimed wages, the time-keeper was asked to ascertain why such repetitions occurred and to advise the office as to the exact amount which the worker could rightfully claim.

Men were supposed to be paid only for work which had been performed, deduction being made where it was known that they were absent from the job. In case a man became ill while at work, or after reporting, was sent home because of inclement weather, he received his full pay for that day.

Nature of Work. A great variety of work was undertaken for the park systems in the five boroughs of the city. This consisted of such work as constructing walks and roads, re-surfacing playgrounds and tennis courts, building fences, water fountains, bridges, and bridge approaches, clearing and removing brush, planting trees, and repairing motor equipment. The Department of Sanitation used 3,500 men to clean up vacant lots. The Tenement

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

House Department used men to remove dirt and rubbish from cellars and back-yards. The Department of Hospitals used 2,500 men on a program of general renovation in 23 hospitals.

2. *Placement in Private or Semi-Public Institutions*

Registration and Assignment. The method by which a man secured a job with one of the co-operating semi-public institutions differed somewhat from that just described. When a man who registered at the Bureau's headquarters appeared to belong to the white-collar or skilled class of workmen, he was sent to a special division on a different floor of the building where a duplicate registration card was filled out, and he was questioned further regarding his exact skill or line of work. The duplicate card was filed in the general file along with the registration cards of those eligible for city work. As soon as he was assigned to an institution, his original registration card was put in another file, behind a card for the institution to which he had been sent. This institution card contained on its face a weekly record of the number placed, the number laid off, the number on the present payroll, and the total number placed up to that time, for that particular institution. On the back of this card a record was kept of the individuals transferred and the places to which they were sent. A separate alphabetical index file was kept of all men assigned to the various institutions, and in this were recorded the transfers of each individual. This alphabetical file facilitated the finding of the original registration card filed under the institution cards.

The majority of men who received jobs in the non-profit-making institutions did not make personal applications at the Bureau's headquarters. Arrangements were made with the Jewish Social Service Association and the Catholic Charities as well as with some Protestant churches to take applications for work and assign men to jobs, and then send the cards to the Bureau. For example, the Jewish Social Service Association might take an application for work relief in its office and then arrange with one of the Jewish institutions in the city to put that man to work. In this manner, working schedules for Jewish applicants could be arranged so as not to require them to work on the Sabbath. Ministers and priests of some 758 churches were in many instances not only responsible for

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

the supervision of work projects and the raising of money with which to pay for materials, but also selected and assigned men to jobs.

Investigation. As in the case of men assigned to work on city properties, persons were placed in institutions before they were investigated by the Bureau, but in most instances the Bureau had the recommendation of a minister, priest, or institution head upon which to rely. Subsequent investigations revealed some irregularities, usually that men had succeeded in getting jobs in the parks for part of a week and a job in an institution for the remainder. Occasionally men were sent to jobs in institutions requiring a skill which they did not possess; more often men were assigned to outdoor labor for which they were not fitted. In such cases transfers had to be made, with more careful attention given to the particular abilities of the men.

Arrangements with Employing Agencies. Although work-relief projects were performed in over 1,400 different institutions during the period of the Bureau's activities, an attempt was made throughout to keep the rules governing this type of work uniform. A memorandum was sent to each co-operating institution stressing the following points: that the Bureau would not be responsible for wages ordinarily met out of the institution's budget; that the work must be of a fairly simple character, involving as little risk as possible, and supervised by the agency for whom it was being done; that all materials must be supplied by the agency; that the agency was free to supplement the wages paid by the Bureau if it so desired; that in no instance were two persons in the same family to be given work. So long as these requirements were adhered to, the institutions might secure men to work on their projects themselves. If no persons with the necessary qualifications were known to the institutions, it might make an application in writing to the Bureau for workers, stating the amount and kind of work to be done, the number of persons and approximate length of time which the project would require.

The Bureau arranged with the emergency employment committee of an architectural society to obtain the services of six of its unemployed members to act as inspectors of work done in the various institutions. These inspectors helped to plan work, esti-

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

mate the length of time it would take, assign men to particular jobs, and arrange for their transfers. Inspectors submitted a card for each institution showing a record of the progress being made on that particular project. Occasionally they arranged to have workers with special skill transferred. When a project was completed, the institution was required to send the Bureau a final report describing the work done, the materials used and their cost, stating when the work was begun, when finished, number of men employed, and amount paid in wages.

Despite the Bureau's intention to deal uniformly with all institutions, some variations were found to be necessary because all did not co-operate to the same extent. On December 13, when the work in institutions had reached its peak, it was necessary to issue a notice that henceforth no wages would be paid for work done in institutions until the persons employed had been registered and approved by the Bureau.

Wages. The wages and hours worked were the same as in the case of men on city work. No attempt was made to pay the union scale for skilled work, but in some instances men rendering a highly skilled service were paid at a higher rate.

Payrolls for those working on institutional projects were made up at the Bureau's headquarters. The city was divided into zones, and one paymaster was assigned to all the institutions in each zone. Paydays in different institutions were on different days, so that the paymaster was constantly making the rounds of institutions in his zone, paying off workers in cash. As in the case of outdoor workers, if the man was not present to receive his pay and sign the payroll, he was listed on the unclaimed wage sheet and his money was either left with the institution head to be given to the worker when he called and signed for it, or was taken back to the Bureau's headquarters.

Nature of Work. The work in non-profit-making institutions was chiefly renovation and repair work. Some men were assigned to clerical and similar tasks.

A variation from the kind of work which had been done during the winter was that performed on fresh air camps conducted by New York City agencies for the benefit of New York children. The institutions agreeing to undertake the improvement of their camps

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

were permitted to select the men to be sent on the jobs, provided they adhered to the rules which had been laid down for workers in the non-profit-making institutions during the winter. The men resided on the premises, and were paid \$3.50 a day for a six-day week and allowed \$1.00 a day for board, seven days a week. The work lasted from about April 15 to July 1, and over that period a considerable amount of construction work was accomplished. It included repairing of roads, construction of retaining walls, excavating trenches for sewage and water lines, installation of septic tanks and cesspools, remodeling of bungalows, cementing and painting swimming pools, grading baseball grounds and tennis courts—all work which was not supposed to have been included in the ordinary budgets of these camps.

3. *Placement of Women*

Registration and Investigation. Almost from the beginning, women who were the earning heads of family groups appeared inquiring for work, and it was soon decided that a limited number from this group should be given employment. The women were registered on the same floor as the skilled and white-collar men, and in general the procedure was as given under "2" above.¹ All were employed in non-profit-making agencies or institutions.

Nature of Work. As sewing was one of the things in which most of them were more or less skilled, it was decided to open sewing rooms in connection with churches and social settlements. Some 25 sewing rooms were opened, the articles made consisting principally of children's clothing of all kinds and working shirts for men. Finished garments were distributed to families on the Bureau's payroll and to others known to the city's family welfare agencies. A full-time supervisor was assigned to each shop, who was in turn responsible to one person charged with the general direction of all the shops. A central pattern and cutting room was operated. Approximately 112,000 garments were made during the six months the shops were in full operation.

Many women who came to the Bureau were not suited for work in the sewing shops. They were file clerks, secretaries, or women with some professional training. Some the Bureau placed in non-profit-making institutions as clerical workers. Women with nurs-

¹ See p. 144.

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

ing experience were assigned to the city's Health Department, those with special training were sent to libraries, museums, or educational institutions. In such places as the Bronx Botanical Gardens, the American Museum of Natural History, and the Brooklyn Children's Museum they were assigned to clean exhibit cases and collections, to mount accumulated botanical material, to make and index scrapbooks, to act as guides and teachers to school children, and so on. The Bureau placed about 2,900 women in these various institutions, in addition to the 1,270 who were sent to the sewing shops.

During the months of March and April, the Women's Fund Committee was organized to supplement the work of the Emergency Employment Committee by raising a fund of \$600,000 to be used in providing work for single women. This fund was turned over to the Emergency Work Bureau to be expended with the assistance of a committee representing a group of agencies primarily interested in working girls and women. Only single women, over twenty-one years of age, not living with their families, were employed by this fund.

Wages. Women in the non-profit-making institutions or in the Bureau's sewing rooms worked on three-day shifts, seven hours a day, and received \$4.00 a day. Forewomen in the sewing shops were paid at the same rate but worked six days a week. Women assigned to jobs in institutions as secretarial or clerical assistants were paid \$3.00 a day for six days a week.

EXTENT OF PROGRAM

Emergency Work Bureau (excluding Women's Fund Committee). Statistical reports of the Emergency Work Bureau cover the period from November 1, 1930 to July 1, 1931. During these eight months the Bureau received a total of \$8,520,000 from the Emergency Employment Committee and \$2,240 from other sources, making its total receipts \$8,522,240. The expenditures of the Bureau over this period were as follows:

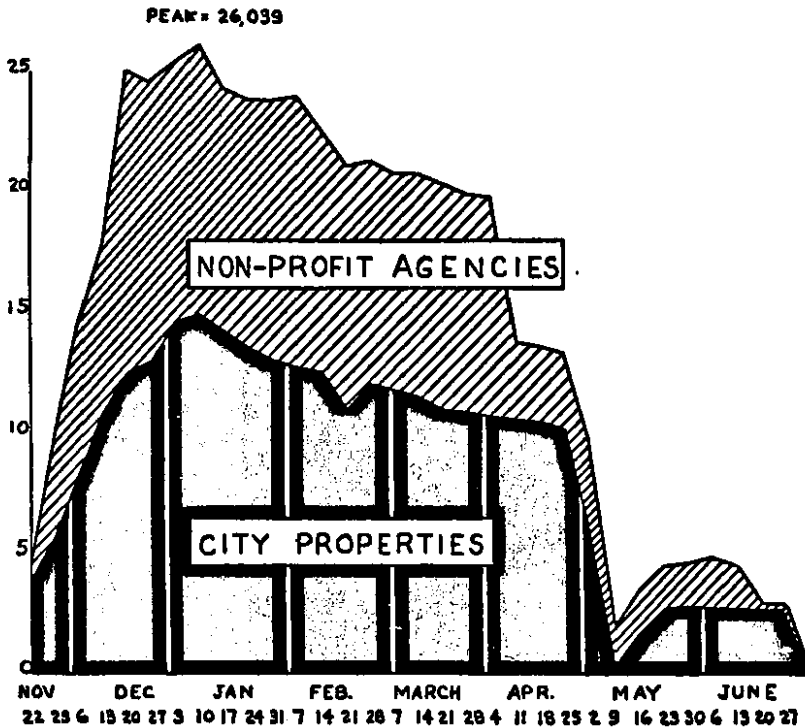
Wages, \$7,402,022, of which approximately 55 per cent was spent on municipal and federal properties, and 45 per cent for work in non-profit-making agencies.

Relief, \$681,061, of which \$600,000 was allotted to five welfare agencies to be administered to their clients, \$53,267 was expended for materials used in the women's sewing shops, for garments which

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

were eventually distributed as relief, and \$27,794 went for clothing, cash, and food distributed directly to the clients of the Emergency Work Bureau.

PERSONS
EMPLOYED
(THOUSANDS)



RECORD OF PLACEMENTS MADE, NOVEMBER 17, 1930 TO JULY 1, 1931, BY
THE EMERGENCY WORK BUREAU OF NEW YORK

The top line shows the total number of persons employed by the Bureau. At the time of the peak of 26,039 there were 15,000 employed on city properties, and 11,039 in non-profit agencies.

Administrative and operating expense, \$381,957, of which the largest items were \$214,392 for wages (95 per cent of this amount was paid to persons selected from the unemployed) and \$97,477 for insurance.

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

The above expenditures total \$8,465,040, leaving a balance on hand on July 1 of \$57,200.¹

The number of persons on the payroll of the Emergency Work Bureau is best shown in the graph on page 149, reproduced from the Committee's report.

Women's Fund Committee. The Bureau's figures relating to the disbursements of money received from the Women's Fund Committee are given separately from those of the Emergency Employment Committee. From February 1, 1931, when expenditures from the former fund began, to July 1, 1931, a total of \$440,000 was received from this source and \$280,395 expended, \$277,867 for wages and \$2,528 for relief, leaving a balance of \$159,605 on hand with which it was planned to keep the 1,400 women then employed at work until October first. These women received \$18 a week for six days' work.

Up to July first, 1,992 different women had been paid from the Women's Fund, about half of these having been transferred from previous employment under the Emergency Employment Bureau.

Summarizing the work of the two funds, 37,531 different persons were given work relief, of whom 6,205 were women and 31,326 men. Those working on city and federal properties numbered 17,743; those in non-profit-making institutions, 19,788. Total wage payments were, in round numbers, \$7,680,000.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE

INCEPTION OF PROGRAM

The city of New-York entered the field of work relief in response to several months of stimulation from various sources, chief among these being the Welfare Council's Co-ordinating Committee. In order to understand the nature of this Committee, as well as the circumstances under which it was called into existence, it is necessary to know something of the relief activity in the city during the early winter of 1930-1931. The city of New York had no community wide program for dealing with the emergency caused by unemployment, and the situation which developed as cold weather approached was an almost inevitable consequence of this lack.

¹ This total includes unclaimed wages amounting to \$15,126.

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

As has been described in the preceding pages, the Emergency Employment Committee was organized early in October, 1930. During the same month, the mayor appointed a Committee on Unemployment Relief, consisting of 37 city commissioners, to make plans for relieving distress of families discovered during a house-to-house count of the city's unemployed conducted by the police. This Committee secured donations from municipal, county, and borough employes, and from private citizens, with which a great quantity of food was purchased and doled out periodically to needy families. Occasionally direct money relief was given after a policeman had investigated the degree of destitution.

The Board of Education, with contributions from teachers and others on its staff, supplied hot meals to poor school children. The Department of Public Welfare began spending large sums of money on enlarging and equipping quarters for lodging and feeding homeless men. The Salvation Army established breadlines and soup kitchens, and enlarged its shelter homes. Scores of private organizations and individuals, in a frantic effort to be helpful during the emergency, established more breadlines and food stations, distributed more coal, clothing and cash relief. Meanwhile the city's regular welfare agencies were making an effort to assist all families known to be in want.

It soon became apparent that the lack of co-ordination among all these agencies was resulting in much waste of energy and money. In the hope of bringing these activities under some kind of control, and of diverting the money and efforts of well-meaning philanthropic and religious organizations and individuals into the most socially desirable channels, the Welfare Council's Co-ordinating Committee was organized early in November. The Committee was headed by the former governor of the state, and its membership comprised persons who were leaders in the community. Unfortunately the city was not represented on it; both the mayor and the commissioner of public welfare declining invitations to become members. The Committee announced as its purpose the unifying and strengthening of the several hundred temporary and permanent agencies for relief of the unemployed, and immediately turned its attention to the subject of work relief. Even before the Emergency Employment Committee had completed its money-raising

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

campaign, the Co-ordinating Committee began to make plans for handling the situation after this money had been spent. Through one of its sub-committees it proposed to the city government on January 6, 1931, that it continue the work-relief program after April 1, by which date it was expected most of the privately raised funds would be exhausted. The mayor took the suggestion under advisement and called upon the comptroller and the corporation counsel for their opinions on the matter. When, by February, no action had been announced by the city, the Co-ordinating Committee undertook to mobilize public opinion in favor of a municipal work-relief program. A mass meeting was called on February 27, attended by over 1,000 persons, and a resolution was passed calling upon the city to appropriate at least \$10,000,000 to be spent on wages for work relief at a rate of not less than \$2,000,000 a month. At the same time it was suggested that employment at useful work for the city should be given for three days a week to heads of resident families, and that the plan might be carried on under the direction of the heads of the various city departments.

The mayor received this resolution and this time turned it over to the Board of Estimate and Apportionment for their consideration. The Board was advised by the corporation counsel that the city could not legally appropriate \$10,000,000 at this time because its charter limited the amount of special revenue bonds or tax notes in any one year to \$2,000,000, and that in order to exceed this limit it would be necessary to secure the permission of the state legislature. After some deliberation, a special bill was drawn up and passed by the legislature. The mayor delegated the full responsibility for the administration of the program to the commissioner of public welfare, and on April 24, the city's work-relief program began.

METHOD OF ADMINISTRATION

Registration. No new organization was set up within the municipal government to administer the \$10,000,000 fund. The commissioner of public welfare decided that the money must be expended through the various city departments under the supervision of their existing personnel. The only additional machinery required was for the purpose of registering applications. A regis-

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

tration depot was opened in a public building in each of the five boroughs and four or five registrars were assigned to each depot. Applications for jobs were received from April 24 to May 2, during which time about 19,500 men registered, the maximum on any day being approximately 3,500. The recommendation of the Coordinating Committee had been that residents be allowed to register for work, but not every resident of New York City was allowed to register. The bill contained the express provision that "all persons who [are] employed directly on such work and paid out of this fund are to be legal residents of the city and voters therein for at least two preceding years." As a prerequisite to registration, an applicant was required to secure a certificate from the Board of Election of the city of New York testifying to the fact that his name had appeared on the Register of Voters for two years.¹ This certificate served also to confirm his legal residence. The ordinary fee for securing such a certificate was waived. The applicant was required to sign the certificate, and if this signature appeared to be genuine when compared to that in the register, he was given the certificate and directed to the registration depot in his borough. There he showed the certificate to the registrar but retained it. An application card was filled out in duplicate, and he was required to sign both copies. This signature was verified with that on the voting certificate, and if it appeared genuine the applicant was told that he would receive word through the mail regarding his employment.

Investigation. There was no investigation of applicants prior to placement,² and no effort was made to check up on the accuracy of the information given. The names were not cleared with the Social Service Exchange. At the registration depots the two sets of application cards were arranged in alphabetical order and sent to the Free Employment Agency of the Department of Public Welfare, where they were placed on file, separate files being kept for each borough.

¹ It was the general opinion that this requirement prevented a great number of those who had been on the Emergency Work Bureau payroll from being eligible for city work relief. Social agencies reported that few of their clients participated in the city's program.

² A report from the commissioner of public welfare states that home investigations subsequent to placement were made of those whose names appear on the payrolls.

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

Assignment. Meanwhile the heads of the various city departments received instructions to determine the amount and kind of work which they could undertake and to send to the commissioner's office a statement of the number of men needed and the borough in which the work was to be done. Requisitions were sent to the Free Employment Agency, where a clerk drew a corresponding number of application cards from the files of registrants in that borough. The primary consideration in selecting these cards was the need of the applicant as disclosed by his statement of his marital status and the number of dependents in his family. As the work was all unskilled labor, there could be little attempt made to assign a man to a job according to his previous training.

At the time that a man's application card was sent to one of the departments, the place of assignment was indicated on the card remaining in the Department of Public Welfare, and at this point the direct control over him passed from that office to the department to which he was assigned. The former, however, maintained a general supervisory control over the entire program. The 23 persons who had acted as registrars during the ten-day registration period were assigned positions as special investigators, with the duty of checking up on the manner in which the various departments were co-operating in the program. This force was augmented by the employment of additional investigators, who were supposed in addition to discover instances of men who were not heads of families, or who had other sources of income, being placed on jobs.

The department to which the applicant was assigned sent him a notice directing him to report for work at a certain place and time. When the man appeared on the job, the foreman had his application card, and again his signature was obtained and checked, this time with the one on his application card. If it appeared genuine, he was assigned to a job, and his card was returned to the office of the Department, where it was kept on file.

Wages. Thereafter the worker was treated as if he were a regular city employe on part-time work. His name was put on the city payroll and he was paid off through the Finance Department. When the worker received his pay check, his signature was again obtained. It was expected that by securing the worker's signature

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

at various stages in the program, the city could protect itself against such abuses as the transfer of voting certificates, the transfer of notices to report to work, and the padding of payrolls.

The wage rate of all employees was \$5.50 a day, the regular city scale for unskilled labor. For the first several months, each employe was given three days' work a week or thirteen days a month, and was thus able to earn \$71.50 a month. The number of days' work each week was then cut to two,¹ which meant that the monthly earnings of each worker were reduced to \$44. Women, who received the same rate of pay as men, were officially designated on the payroll as scrub-women, though some of them were employed to do the additional clerical work necessitated by the administration of the program. The total number of women employed was comparatively small.

Accident Provision. The city's insurance against accident was extended to cover men on work relief.

Nature of Work. Most of the work planned was in the nature of repairing highways, roads, sewers, hospitals, and other public buildings, street cleaning, renovating parts of public buildings, and park work. All of this was supposed to be in addition to that already called for by the budget of the departments, and the additional workers were not to replace regular city employees.

EXTENT OF PROGRAM

The figures relating to the extent of the city's program cover the period from its inception on April 24 to August 31, 1931. During this period a total of \$5,680,992 was expended, and distributed over the five months in the following manner:

Month	Wages	Persons Employed
April, 1931	\$277,992	3,888
May	1,275,000	14,432
June	1,351,000	15,355
July	1,446,000	15,555
August	1,331,000	15,670

The total number of different persons employed over this period was not available, but it was reported that the rate of turnover was very slight.

¹ In two departments, which were overrunning their budgets.

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

REPORTS HAVING REFERENCE TO NEW YORK PROJECTS

*Report of Special Committee.*¹ When the city's program had been in operation for about four months, the acting mayor appointed a committee consisting of the comptroller and the commissioner of public welfare to suggest the future course of the city in handling unemployment relief. They reported early in October, basing their recommendations largely upon the experience of the Department of Public Welfare in administering work relief up to that date. The city was now spending about \$1,250,000 a month on work relief and funds still remained to continue at this rate nearly to the end of the year. They suggested, however, that the program be suspended just as quickly as the city could put into effect a new plan expediting public improvements, one feature of which would be to insert a specification in all future contracts to the effect that contractors employ two shifts of men working three days each so as to give work to twice the usual number of men. The principal role of the Department of Public Welfare in the proposed plan would be to establish public employment bureaus in each borough with headquarters in Manhattan, where lists of unemployed men, classified according to work wanted, would be available for any contractor, private firm, borough president or city commissioner. Referring to the existing work-relief program, the report stated:

The method now employed is wasteful and it is almost impossible to check or audit such work or prevent irregularities. It provides little or no permanent benefit to the city in return for the expenditure of millions. By the use of proper specifications, useful work returning great benefits to the city can be substituted for the work now going on. Where it is now difficult under the present system to obtain money and work for the unemployed, millions are available and ready to be used in the ordinary course of the city's business.

Energetic protest was made by the Welfare Council against some of the conclusions reached in this report. In the meantime, public criticism had begun to break out regarding alleged irregularities in the assignment of workers. These charges centered particularly about the borough of Richmond, and special investi-

¹ Berry, Comptroller C. W., Program for Meeting New York City's Relief and Unemployment Problems. New York, October, 1931.

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

gators were engaged and paid from the Unemployment Fund to look into the situation.

Report of Legislative Commission. An independent legislative commission which was at the same time investigating the conduct of the city government undertook a further investigation, and we quote from its interim report:¹

. . . approximately 400 cards, in addition to those which had been executed and sent to the Bureau of Public Welfare through regular channels, were in the files of, and the persons named thereon were put in line for employment by, the Borough President of Richmond. On no other hypothesis could the Borough President have had cards for these 400 people for whom the Department of Public Welfare had no cards. . . .

The result of the investigation conducted by the Commissioner of Public Welfare up to the time he testified in November, 1931, was that he had already found 253 people in Richmond who were getting relief and did not deserve it. Of these 253 persons, 155 were the owners of their homes, subject only to small mortgages, and each of them had an adequate income. In 15 of the cases 2 in the same family were receiving the relief; in 15 cases relief was being collected by a person who was single and had no dependents; in 19 cases, the family had incomes from \$50 to \$59 a week; in 18 cases, the family had incomes from \$60 to \$69 a week; in 16 cases the family had incomes over \$70 a week; in one case the family was in receipt of a weekly income of \$115; in another \$108.60 a week; in another \$100 a week; in another \$92 a week; and in another \$89 a week, etc.

. . . The evidence indicates that preferences were given to enrolled Democrats over enrolled Republicans and that the better paid positions were given exclusively to enrolled Democrats. In many cases political influence was responsible for the giving out of the jobs. A large number of persons without dependents were permitted to draw money from the unemployment relief fund. A great many persons who had not voted twice, indeed, who had voted not even once, were permitted to draw money from the unemployment relief fund. The parade of witnesses called before the committee showed that person after person who was not in need of unemployment relief, but who had political connections or for whom there had been political intervention, was given unemployment relief work. In some cases the recipient was a member of a household in which there were two or three, and in one case four, automobiles.

¹ Investigation of the Departments of the Government of the City of New York Pursuant to Joint Resolution Adopted by the Legislature of the State of New York March 23, 1931. Intermediate Report to Hon. Samuel H. Hofstadter, chairman, by Samuel Seabury, counsel, New York, January 25, 1932.

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

The evidence with respect to the administration of the unemployment relief fund in Richmond and Manhattan establishes a shocking abuse of a sacred trust; it shows that the money of the taxpayers, appropriated by them to relieve starvation and privation, was used instead to take care of faithful Democrats, while considerations of necessity and hardship were disregarded.

Report of Welfare Council of New York City. In November, 1931, the Welfare Council gathered statements from 900 social workers and public health nurses, upon various phases of the unemployment situation in New York during this period.¹ While admittedly a record of opinions, the report presents some interesting first-hand testimony of the people interviewed, especially as to the attitudes of the clients themselves, both expressed and observed, toward the two work-relief projects.

. . . Many families managed to keep going through the winter on a regular wage-income of \$15 a week who would have needed more than that if they had been receiving an allowance from a charitable agency. The suggestion is made that this is because a man who is working regularly, whatever his wages may be or from whatever source they may come, has a better economic status in the community than one with the same income who is not employed, and therefore can draw on his credit and other "invisible resources" as the other cannot do. Perhaps too the sense that he is making a return for what he receives has an energizing psychological effect which acts favorably on planning of expenditures and inventiveness of management.

On the other hand, it was noted that men employed on "made" work seemed to develop a sort of helplessness about hunting for work. In the conditions prevailing last winter, it might be argued that to stop looking for work was more intelligent than to persist in it, but that view does not seem to appeal to these social workers. They are worried at the ease with which men shifted responsibility for getting a job, lost their initiative, made only perfunctory efforts, if any, and rested content with an assured \$15 a week from an artificial job.

. . . The work itself was not hard. Many of the men enjoyed it, especially those employed in the parks. Some liked it so well that they "could not be spurred into any effort to secure other work." While mention is made by one or two nurses of instances of suffering from exposure

¹ Brandt, Lillian, *An Impressionistic View of the Winter of 1930-31 in New York City*. Welfare Council of New York City, February, 1932.

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

among men not used to outside work, there is much more testimony to mental and physical benefit. Many men came back when laid off in April, as from a long vacation in the country, with clear eyes, good color, more vigor, and "personality difficulties all smoothed out." . . .

The attitude of the men who were employed towards the work seems to have varied according to their own temperament and character, mental and physical, and according to the supervision they received. Some of these social workers report that the men "had no consciousness they were doing 'made' work." Whether this is desirable or not depends perhaps on one's point of view. In these cases it is probably intended as commendation—evidence that the working conditions of the men referred to approached closely to those of normal employment.

For the energetic and robust man, however, most of the outdoor work was too light to engage his powers or occupy his time. Such men felt that it was indeed "made" work. When it was not adequately supervised this resulted in loafing, tardiness, slovenly work, and formation of bad work habits generally. Some of the wives hinted at drinking on the job. There were reports also, referring presumably to work for institutions, that the fear of being out of work when the job was finished tended to make men lazy. Some men said that the bosses, wishing to prolong the work, urged them not to work too hard. A settlement worker noticed that the men worked vigorously at first but gradually "let down."

Of the second program, under municipal auspices, the report states:

There were indications that the voting requirement stimulated resolutions to acquire citizenship as soon as possible and to exercise it (in a way likely to bring rewards) but it also had unintended effects. Much bitterness and resentment was roused in men whose failure to vote in one of the last two elections was due to illness or change of residence or other circumstances for which they were not to blame; in foreign-born men who had started on the process of naturalization but now found themselves discriminated against; in men who could not qualify according to the requirements announced at first but could have met the conditions as later interpreted if they had known about the changes; in eligible men who were refused for indirect and elusive reasons; and among the poor generally, because they considered the requirements unreasonable and the administration of the program unfair.

Among the unemployed themselves the impression was abroad that not need but "pull" and trickery determined success in securing these jobs. . . . There was a prevailing belief among the men that "voting"

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

did not meet the requirement unless it had been "right" and that political influence was needed to get on the emergency payroll.

. . . Men who were accepted showed a disposition to suspend all other efforts and wait for their call, which sometimes was delayed for weeks and sometimes never came. After a man had actually been put to work there seemed to be uncertainty of tenure; and the \$16.50 a week which theoretically was the pay could not be depended on, since it might be reduced by stormy weather which interfered with the work.

NIAGARA FALLS, NEW YORK

INCEPTION OF PROGRAM

THIS city's organized effort to cope with the emergency unemployment situation began in November, 1930, when a preliminary meeting was called by the Chamber of Commerce to consider the need for action. This was followed by the early appointment of a Mayor's Committee; the launching of an odd-jobs drive; the development of a man-a-block organization for snow removal; and the inauguration of a municipal program of work relief financed by tax-raised funds.

The group which first met in November, 1930, was aware of growing distress and was keenly desirous of coping with it. Some thought a campaign for relief funds should be put on by the Community Chest; others, that the problem of finance was one for the city government to meet, even though it meant borrowing against the next year's budget. Although the conference adjourned without definite recommendation as to how funds should be raised, sentiment during the next few days favored the city's carrying the burden.

The mayor promptly appointed a planning committee of some 75 representative citizens, known as the Mayor's Committee. The Committee as a whole met only a few times, but an Executive Committee, chosen from its membership, met regularly until spring. The Community Chest executive served as its secretary and a business man as its chairman.

The city manager proposed to the City Council that it borrow \$25,000 to be repaid in 1931, with which to provide work in the parks in rotation for persons needing relief. The recommendation was approved by the City Council on November 3, and by the third week in November, the first crew of men were at work.

METHOD OF ADMINISTRATION

Registration. The work-relief program was directed by the city manager, acting with the advice of the Mayor's Committee. The

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

first step in the program was to register the unemployed and to ascertain the extent of their need.

The days for registration were announced through the newspapers. Women were registered at the Young Women's Christian Association, while men were registered at first by the Department of Public Welfare in the basement of the City Hall. Within a week, however, it was found that the Department could not carry this extra burden, so registration was transferred to the city manager's office, where it was handled by his secretary and an assistant.

It was felt that work-relief opportunities should not be confined to persons who were, at the moment, active relief cases of public or private relief agencies, but that the man "on the edge" who had not yet "come to charity" should be helped through work relief to maintain his status. Accordingly, no formal restrictions were placed upon the eligibility of the applicants, except that they be in real need of the work sought. Preference was, however, given to heads of families and to legal residents, but tolerance was shown in individual cases that could not have qualified under a strict limitation.

The first rush of applicants brought in about 1,200 men. By March, when registrations were discontinued, the number had grown to 2,500.

Investigation. To arrive at a verification of "real need" the names of applicants were cleared with the Social Service Exchange and door-step investigations were made by members of the Police Department. The attempt to clear all applications through the Social Service Exchange did not last long, and complete reliance came to be placed in the reports of the police officers. The Department of Public Welfare secured work relief for many of its clients by making direct contacts with the city manager's office regarding them. The private agencies, too, received the co-operation of the city manager in placing applicants for whom they interceded.

Assignment. Responsibility for decisions concerning assignments was accepted by the city manager and exercised by him and his staff. They culled over the applications and the investigations reported by the police officers, and made up a list of the men for

NIAGARA FALLS, NEW YORK

each new crew that was to be put to work. The police notified the men, telling them when and where to report. The regular city foremen and department managers within the division of public works then took charge of and supervised them on the job.

Wages. The first intention was that each man should receive employment at \$4.00 for an eight-hour day three days a week for three successive weeks, but during January the days each man worked were reduced to two a week. However, there was not absolute uniformity in this respect during any part of the project. In January an attempt was made to organize the work so that 166 men would start on Monday, 166 on Wednesday, and 166 on Friday of each third week. Bad weather and other factors interfered, of course, with this schedule, and it was impossible to learn how much re-assignment actually took place. Wages were paid in cash.

Health and Accident Provisions. The men were covered by the city's regular workmen's compensation insurance. As they registered, they were sent to the city Health Department for physical examination. If physical defects were found, they were not held as a bar to employment, but were recorded as a protection to the city in the event of a fraudulent compensation claim. During the peak registration period, seven private physicians gave their service in assisting the Health Department to make these examinations.

Nature of Work. The work comprised various improvements in the public parks.

EXTENT OF PROGRAM

Work relief began the third week in November, 1930, and continued actively until June, coming officially to an end on August 12.

The first appropriation of \$25,000 lasted into January. On January 17, the Mayor's Committee recommended the continuance of the program, and the City Council, accepting the recommendation, voted a second \$25,000 on January 26, 1931. Again, on March 30, the Council voted a third \$25,000. In each instance it was provided that the funds should be repaid during the following fiscal year. The city met whatever other operating costs were

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

involved from regular department budgets, the special appropriations being applicable only to wages.

Monthly expenditures for wages were approximately as follows:

November, 1930	\$2,686
December	12,156
January, 1931	9,788
February	14,735
March	9,129
April	9,822
May	13,670
June	1,324
July	342
August	113
Total	\$73,765

The balance remaining in the work fund on August 12 was expended in small weekly amounts during the remaining weeks of the summer and early fall.

At the height of the program work was given to from 450 to 600 men each week. During the entire period it is estimated that about 2,500 different men received some work.

RELATED PROJECTS

Odd-Jobs Campaign and Man-a-Block Plan. The Mayor's Committee attempted to supplement the work-relief project by the development of odd jobs. Citizens were urged at the time work relief was starting to offer odd-job employment to the fullest extent of their ability. Returns were meager.

In December the neighboring city of Buffalo launched its novel man-a-block plan, and Niagara Falls prepared to follow its example. On January 7, 1931, a man-a-block program was undertaken, letters being sent to each householder. The Mayor's Committee appealed to the luncheon clubs for volunteers to serve as captains in the man-a-block organization. The plan was to organize in each residential block in the more prosperous sections of the city a volunteer group containing approximately 30 householders who would be willing to pay 50 cents a week into a general fund for that block, the proceeds to be paid to some unemployed man for re-

NIAGARA FALLS, NEW YORK

moving snow from the walks. As in Buffalo, the success of the plan hinged upon securing aggressive captains for the organization work and follow-up in each block. The plan failed to some extent because the winter was half gone before it could be put into operation. The letters to householders went out on January 7. By January 28, 25 blocks had been organized; by February 11, 92 men were working, 55 under captains and 27 without such supervision. The men received from \$9.00 to \$15 a week.

A minority of the Mayor's Committee kept alive the question of raising private funds for relief purposes and through their efforts, which continued through December and January, a total of \$2,700 was obtained in voluntary contributions, which was turned over to the regularly organized relief agencies of the city.

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

INCEPTION OF PROGRAM

SPEAKING of the situation which the city faced in the fall of 1930, one of Philadelphia's leading social workers wrote:

Of the nineteen large cities canvassed in the recent federal census of unemployment only Detroit and Cleveland were found to have more people out of work in proportion to population than Philadelphia. Moreover, because of changes in the textile field and in certain other industries the present unemployment was superimposed upon an unemployment that had existed even during the prosperous months of 1929. Still further complicating the situation was an inadequacy in the facilities for answering the calls of those in need, an inadequacy which was steadily becoming more pronounced. Because of insufficient funds the [private] family agencies had been obliged to restrict their activities and for years it had been literally true that a family in real and acute distress might seek aid and not receive it from any organized source. Philadelphia did not start the winter of 1930-31 with balanced books. It began with a deficit.¹

In addition to the shortage of private relief funds mentioned in the above quotation, it should be pointed out that the city of Philadelphia has not given relief in the home for many years; therefore, prior to the emergency, no funds obtained by taxation² had been included in the budget for this purpose. The mayor of the city had appointed a Mayor's Committee on Unemployment to organize street selling of fruit, but this was not the committee responsible for the large-scale projects described below.

Individuals were not lacking, however, who saw the need of concerted action. The two executives of the Community Council (a council of social agencies) and of the Federation of Jewish Charities were especially active throughout in securing public interest and attention to the need for organized relief measures; and it was principally owing to their stimulation on behalf of the group of

¹ de Schweinitz, Karl, "Philadelphia Takes Heart." In the Survey, May 15, 1931.

² Except for pensions to widows. Mothers' assistance is administered by the state in Pennsylvania, state and county funds sharing the cost.

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

social agencies which they represented that a mass meeting of prominent citizens was held on November 7, 1930, which resulted in the establishment of the Committee for Unemployment Relief (locally known as the Lloyd Committee).

A prominent banker was induced to accept the chairmanship, and was able to devote his entire time to the work of the Committee. To his vision and leadership the success of the plans must largely be attributed.

The responsibility for developing a work program was entrusted to a Sub-Committee on Work, to which the Permanent Committee on Unemployment of the Chamber of Commerce gave its support. A prominent business man assumed the chairmanship, and the Emergency Work Bureau was created to carry on the work-relief activities. The director was a man of wide experience in industrial and in personnel management, while the three chief assistants serving as department heads under him were all highly skilled and experienced in their several duties.

It was from the beginning the intention of the Committee to make work relief as large a part of its program as funds would permit. The man who afterward became director of the work-relief enterprise visited several cities in early December and returned with positive convictions that the work should be decentralized, that alarming publicity should be avoided, and that time should be allowed for developing a sound scheme and organization. The program was begun on this basis just before Christmas, but by the end of January placements were outrunning the receipt of funds to finance them and the Committee was reluctantly forced to resort to emotional publicity for its fund-raising. The new publicity stimulated contributions so that placements were almost immediately resumed and the program was consciously overbuilt in the hope that it would attract the funds to sustain it. As spring approached, however, it became necessary to curtail rapidly in order to conserve funds for direct relief. In the end, the Committee had secured contributions approximating \$4,000,000, about 36 per cent of which went into work-relief wages.

Late in March, when the funds approached exhaustion, employers were asked to reduce the number of employes on work relief, and on April 6, a general notification reached them that all

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

work should be stopped by April 25. At the same time, a notice of the approaching end of the project was enclosed with each man's pay-check, and he was told to apply at the nearest Application Center if he was still in need of assistance.

METHOD OF ADMINISTRATION

Office and Personnel. A Central Office was opened on December 15 in a downtown office building, and registration and investigation were decentralized in "zone offices" strategically located close to the centers of unemployment and work, and on transportation arteries serving their districts. In all, five such branch offices were established, with an additional city-wide office for women applicants. These were distinct from the application centers for relief, described later, reference back and forth between the two types of office being common, however, in the case of applicants for relief who could be put to work, or applicants for work who could not be assigned to jobs but were in need of relief. These premises were all secured rent free.

The office personnel was secured in several ways:

1. By employing clerical workers from among the applicants.
2. By borrowing trained social workers from the agencies, sometimes paying part of their salaries.
3. By borrowing placement workers and accountants from personnel departments of mercantile and public utility corporations. These companies usually contributed the men's time outright, with no cost to the Committee.

At the Central Office, the director and several assistants assumed the tasks of general supervision, direction of publicity, and arranging for work opportunities in the various departments of the city government, and in several hundred non-profit-making institutions. An architect and four assistants acted as technical supervisors and field men on this institutional work.

The functions involved in actual placements at the Central Office were distributed as follows:

Determination of Need. Supervised by the chief social worker, with two paid and a corps of volunteer interviewers and investigators.

Placement. Supervised by a personnel director lent by a mercantile concern, with 10 personnel men as assistants. One chief

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

clerk and six clerical workers furnished the clerical service for these two divisions.

The Women's Division was in immediate charge of a personnel director with social work experience, an assistant, two interviewers and investigations and four clerical workers.

Accounting. Supervised by a chief paymaster, with an assistant and 10 paymasters, all lent by business concerns; and 17 clerks and time-checkers, a chief clerk and 13 typists, selected from the applicants.

Staffs at the zone offices varied, a social worker being in charge of each, with four to eight clerical workers. Personnel men gave general assistance at three zones. A staff of five messengers who also did janitor work supplemented telephone communication between the offices.

In all, the personnel comprised 143 volunteers who were active for varying periods, 52 persons lent by firms or organizations, and 112 on the Bureau's payroll, mostly at work-relief rates.

The zone office received and investigated applications, under the general supervision of the chief social worker, while placement and accounting were concentrated in the Central Office.

Registration and Investigation. Ten agencies which co-operated in the relief-giving program were first of all invited to send to the Emergency Work Bureau applications on behalf of their able-bodied men, lettering them A, B, or C, according to their lack of resources and the urgency of their need. A total of 9,923 "A" cards came in, and most of these men got work. Of the 1,161 "B" cards received, only a few were ever assigned, unless they made independent application later, and their circumstances warranted it at that time; and the "C" cards were never reached at all. No citizenship requirements were laid down, but non-residents and single men without dependents were not assigned to work relief.

The Women's Division operated somewhat differently from the others, in that the social agencies did the preliminary interviewing, the Division undertaking only placement. Of the 1,436 "A" cards received from the agencies, only 1,072 were placed. Subsequent direct applications from women were referred to appropriate agencies for care.

Men who applied directly to the Central Office or the zones were

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

interviewed, and an application card filled out giving the usual social and occupational data. The cards from each zone were serially numbered, and bore at the top code designations as to the applicant's occupation or skill to guide in his assignment. All applications were cleared in the Social Service Exchange, and whatever information was available was secured from the agencies found to be already registered. When this information was incomplete or not up to date, the application was assigned to one of the social work staff for home investigation. The Exchange, fortified by additional personnel supplied by the Committee, was of invaluable assistance in carrying out the plan.

The following tabulation will show the length of time during which the zone offices were active, and the volume of work they handled. The applications were from men only.

Zone	Opened	Closed	Total Applicants	Sent to Central Office for Placement
1	December 26, 1930	March 13, 1931	7,155	3,637
2	December 31	March 13	11,203	5,366
3	January 6, 1931	February 27	3,617	2,246
4	January 19	February 13	1,506	848
5	January 14	February 20	2,588	1,654
Total			26,069	13,751

Assignment. Requisitions for workers came in from employers on a special blank giving full details as to the work to be performed and the qualifications desired. The personnel workers then chose the persons to be assigned, making a list of applicants sent to each job. There was specialization among the personnel workers, some being responsible for choosing white-collar men, others laborers, mechanics, and so on. Priority of application and degree of need were considered, as well as fitness for the job in hand. Those selected were notified by mail to call for assignment cards, which were made out in triplicate and signed by the applicant before leaving the office. One copy was retained by the applicant and two delivered to the employer, who kept one and forwarded the other, which the applicant signed a second time as a precaution against substitution, to the Bureau. From these cards, time and payroll sheets for each job were made up by the paymasters, and signed by the foreman and time-keeper before pay-checks were made out.

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

In case a foreman found it necessary to discharge a worker for misconduct, he used a special pay-off notice, giving the reason for dismissal. Otherwise, the person assigned was expected to be retained till the end of the job, when he returned for reassignment. Some men failed to appear, but shortages were promptly filled from the next morning "call-ins." A reservoir of assorted jobs kept any left-over men from having to leave without being assigned. Every day each co-operating agency was sent a list, made up by the social workers, of its clients assigned to work or laid off.

Wages. Men were paid on the job by check, on the day their next shift began. Workers were generally assigned three days on and three days off, with some exceptions on special jobs. The basic wage aimed at was \$4.00 a day, or \$12 a week, for men; and \$3.00 a day, or \$9.00 a week, for women, the rule being to pay not more than the "going rate," nor more than the above rates. No attempt was made to approximate union rates for skilled work. The Committee defended its position to the unions on the ground that it was necessary to conserve funds, and that no work performed would be permitted to interfere with "real jobs" which the institutions had funds or prospects of funds to have done at regular rates. No serious opposition was met from the unions. Clerical workers chosen from among the applicants received \$2.50 to \$5.00 a day, and worked a full six-day week.

Health and Accident Provisions. The city assumed all responsibility for compensation for accidents among men assigned to its departments. The Committee carried workmen's compensation and public liability insurance on all men assigned to work for private institutions, and full instructions were issued to these employers. Total premiums paid amounted to about \$9,150, while the report on accidents and costs is as follows:

Number of accidents	80	
Number of claims	27	
Total amount of compensation paid		\$1,795
Estimated outstanding compensation		<u>1,501</u>
		\$3,296
Medical treatment		\$1,439
Funeral costs		150
Estimated medical costs outstanding		<u>11</u>
		1,600
Total cost of accidents		<u>\$4,896</u>

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

There was no medical examination, nor were there arrangements for supplying extra clothing to men on work relief. It was felt that the careful arrangements for placement made a medical examination unnecessary; and the unusually mild winter prevented suffering from exposure. No time was lost on account of snow, and men who were prevented from working outdoors on account of rain received their pay if they reported for work.

Nature of Work. The most striking feature of the Philadelphia experiment, aside from its size, is the wide diversification of work provided. The program offered not only much opportunity to use common labor, but skilled and even professional services as well. Manual labor was employed more in clean-up and repair work than in new construction, however. Demolition of buildings was avoided on account of the danger of accident. The Division of Housing and Sanitation of the Department of Health was able to use upwards of 1,200 men, whose wages amounted to nearly \$120,000, in such jobs as removing rubbish from vacant lots and dwellings, boarding up the latter, cleaning alleys and posting signs. The Department of Public Works and the Park Commission employed men to excavate and lay walks and drives; build and paint fences, incinerators and hot-beds; clean woodlands; grade and pave for drainage and highway improvement; chip mastic from gutters; and clear dangerous corners. Landscape gardeners were furnished to trim and plant trees and hedges. Trucks were borrowed through the Committee's efforts to supplement those owned by the city. On outdoor city work it is estimated that from 50 to 65 per cent efficiency was attained. The reasons given are similar to those mentioned in Rochester.¹

In private institutions all sorts of repairs and renovations were carried out by men, while women were assigned for cleaning. This institutional work offered shelter and variety, but the difficulties of dealing with so many small employers were very apparent.

Work for White-Collar Group. Without doubt more original work for white-collar men was found in Philadelphia than in any city visited. For instance, the local chapter of the Institute of Architects, which had undertaken a survey of colonial landmarks in the city, raised separate funds and disbursed them under the Bu-

¹ See p. 199.

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

reau's direction, using unemployed architects and draftsmen, and paying them \$20 a week.

Expert typographers were employed to set Braille type for the blind. Dietitians and cooks were employed in the school feeding experiments. Entertainers, musicians, and recreation workers to the number of 118 from among the unemployed were sent to settlements, recreation centers, hospitals and children's institutions, and to the Shelter for Homeless Men. This was reported as being an especially valuable morale-building influence, both for the entertainers and for those whom they served.

An outstanding piece of work was done in the Municipal Department of Public Safety, where the traffic engineer had long felt the pinch of an inadequate budget, and had many plans ready to be carried out. About 650 men were assigned to this Department, performing 21,500 man-days of work, and earning \$76,000. This force included engineers, draftsmen, statisticians and file clerks, as well as traffic checkers and street laborers. A special report¹ issued by this Department lists 19 different projects carried out.

Some 87,000 accident records were transcribed and sorted—and over 50,000 records were typed, filed, and sorted.

4 accident spot maps were made.

A list of 166 intersections that had had 10 or more accidents in 1929 was developed.

Field studies were made for over 100 of the worst accident intersections.

Traffic studies were made in the vicinity of approximately 400 public and parochial schools. Protective measures have since been instituted from these recommendations for some 40 schools.

Some 1,400 traffic signs were made and erected.

Some 500 street name signs were made and erected, or cleaned and painted.

137 U. S. and State route signs and posts were erected.

225 one-way arrows were constructed.

200 mechanical semaphores for use by officers were repaired and painted.

990 electric traffic signals were cleaned and 233 were painted.

35,000 feet of traffic control cable were pulled in ducts.

Traffic volume counts were made at some 1,700 intersections and city-wide traffic flow map made.

¹ Report on Traffic Improvement Work by Loaned Workers from the Committee for Unemployment Relief. Office of Traffic Engineering, Department of Public Safety, Philadelphia, June, 1931, pp. 2-4.

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

Considerable parking data were obtained, including some of the data from which the recent downtown parking ordinance was evolved.

Four out of five riders on buses using the Delaware River Bridge, assisted loaned workers by filling out printed origin-destination questionnaires. Numerous other types of bus information were obtained. (When completely summarized and analyzed, the obtained facts will lead to recommendations for improvements in bus conditions in the central business district.)

Taxicab data, including use of taxicab stands and taxicab movements on various streets, were obtained, looking to improvement of taxicab conditions.

Education Work—About 75 traffic safety write-ups for small daily "box" in the Evening Bulletin, were prepared. Eight radio talks were arranged for and considerable assistance was given in their preparation. About a dozen magazine articles and news story releases were prepared and used. One unemployed man, with publicity experience, did this valuable work, for approximately two months.

Statistical Work—Nearly 10,000 man-hours of summarizing and analyzing work was done, mainly on volume counts, parking studies, bus studies and taxicab studies. While this is not one of the most spectacular parts of the work, it is one of the most important.

Drafting Work—Some 3,000 man-hours of drafting work were supplied by the loaned workers.

"The improvements carried out by means of this temporary assistance," the report states, "have done much toward bringing Philadelphia up to a reasonably satisfactory standard of traffic control."

EXTENT OF PROGRAM

The work-relief program extended from December 15, 1930 to about the end of April, 1931, diminishing sharply after April 2. Of the total of \$1,429,000 charged to work relief, \$1,404,000, about 98 per cent, was disbursed in wages. Equipment was borrowed, and materials were paid for by the employers. The remainder of the Committee's funds was spent for insurance, supplies, and the few salaries that were not a proper charge as work-relief wages. As has been said, the more highly skilled members of the Bureau's staff were for the most part lent, their former employers continuing to pay all or part of their salaries; and office space, trucks, transportation, and equipment were largely donated without cost.

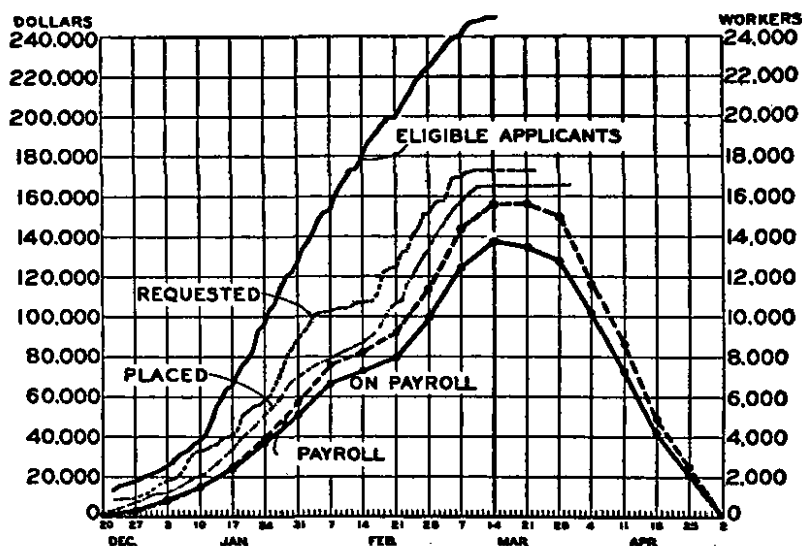
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

As between public and private agencies, the distribution of work was as follows:

	Man-Days	Payroll
Municipal departments and institutions	226,300	\$784,000
Private non-profit-making institutions (358)	160,495	598,000
Total	386,795	\$1,382,000

The remainder of the total payroll, approximately \$22,000, was for personnel employed on a work-relief basis in the Bureau's own operations and in other affiliated projects conducted by the Committee for Unemployment Relief.

The number of different persons receiving wages was 15,515; 14,443 being men and 1,072 women. Re-assignments increased the total placements, but accurate count of these was lost in the rush at the end to complete all projects which had been started. The average weekly earnings were \$11.50, and the average amount earned by each person during the period was about \$100.



PRECIPITATE RISE AND DECLINE IN NUMBER OF WORKERS AND SIZE OF PAYROLL—EMERGENCY WORK BUREAU, PHILADELPHIA, 1930-1931

The diagram reproduced herewith shows graphically the change from week to week in the number at work and on the payroll. By a slight effort of the imagination, one may translate these curves

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

into the feverish activity of receiving the applications, arranging for work opportunities, keeping records and payrolls, reaching in a few weeks such a peak of activity as is depicted. The even more precipitate decline is also significant of the crashing of what had meant some degree of security about the ears of the workers. The hasty effort to reach a peak of production, when the end was even then in sight, was made in the hope that a demonstration sufficiently impressive in size would attract the funds to sustain it. If less hand-to-mouth planning had been possible, a smaller and more carefully selected group of people could have been put more gradually to work, and the "tapering-off" process could also have been more gradual.

In an unpublished report summing up the experience, the director of the Emergency Work Bureau writes:

Work relief, like any other enterprise, can be expected to succeed only so far as it is planned and administered with perspective and in proportion. It is not a substitute for employment; it is inescapably a relief measure and, except for direct relief in orders or cash, is a community's last line of defence. Unless all the larger regular agencies of employment are first persuaded to sustain and even increase their share of the burden, therefore, any work-relief program will defeat itself. Over-emphasis means failure.

It was recognition of this fact that made Philadelphia's Committee on Work last winter undertake first to maintain and increase where possible the going level of industrial and commercial employment, to expedite public works and to stimulate private owners and employers to advance all work that they could. The Committee then dedicated the relatively meager private funds at its disposal wholly to the reduction of the remaining net unemployment, and it sought to do this by putting the city's neediest and most deserving heads of families at the most useful, non-competitive work it could develop in the public interest, and by paying their wages.

Emergency work relief plainly must provide larger amounts per week for the individual who works than for the man who receives relief without working. Its direct cost will run double what it would cost to ration relief in kind to the same family, or more. When the need for relief is so great or funds so limited that many must go a little cold or a little hungry anyway, therefore, a work program is justifiable only if it achieves in high degree the following aims:

- a. The maintenance of habits of industry and the avoidance of the deterioration which accompanies prolonged idleness.

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

- b. The preservation of morale.
- c. The return to the community of substantial benefits that only work can create.

As to whether Philadelphia's program attained these objectives, others must judge. In retrospect, it seems clear that most of the men started with great earnestness, but that from then on, results varied with the discipline, supervision and attractiveness of the work. Despite co-operation of the loan employers, less interesting work which was difficult to supervise, like street cleaning, proved a problem. There was malingering and, in a few cases, the attitude of whole groups was affected by a few "bad apples." On the other hand, where the work was constructive and supervision was intelligent and effective, the attitude was correspondingly high, as in traffic engineering where men worked evenings on their own time, or as it was in some two hundred reported cases where men showed to such advantage that a permanent place was made for them at the first opportunity on the regular staff of the department or institution.

The second objective of morale was also reached unevenly. The cases where the mere fact of employment was a rest to a worrying mind were legion, but this again varied with the success with which men and work and supervision were selected. In the lower levels, there was a note of despair or fatalism and an inclination to muddle through until the end came in sight, when some appealed desperately to be kept on. The difficulty was that everyone who stopped to think realized that this made work could be only temporary.

The tangible return to the community through productive labor finally, varied with the type of work done, and with the ability of the Bureau to produce normal results under emergency conditions.

The lessons of the winter, then, are readily stated. Structurally, the program would carry over with its emphasis on quiet decentralization, independent investigation, careful placement and followup, central accounting, control, and clearance with relief agencies, almost unchanged. Qualitative improvement therefore would be chiefly a matter of reducing the load on that structure (1) by tightening up on the selection of workers for their mental as well as their physical needs, their attitude and ability; (2) by choosing work more and more for its attractiveness and its productivity, and above all (3) by reserving a definite amount of money and sufficient time to permit complete social planning and even closer integration of the work program with the general relief that it supplements.

This means that minimum relief needs should in general be assured before any work program could properly be undertaken. By the same token, it means that work relief would tend to be limited to the most

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

valuable work and to that type of worker for whom it would conserve the maximum in good habits and morale. The happy product of this stern necessity would be more complete relief coverage on the one hand enriched, on the other, by selective work relief at its best.

STUDIES OF THE WORK-RELIEF PROGRAM IN PHILADELPHIA

Questionnaires were sent to all employers at the close of the project, to secure an appraisal of the value of the work done. The replies were somewhat contradictory, but on the whole favorable to the workers and to the Bureau.

A study of some phases of the Philadelphia project is now being made under the direction of the Industrial Research Department of the University of Pennsylvania, the results of which are not yet available.

The Community Council of Philadelphia has several studies in progress, from one of which we are permitted to quote. A sample of 8,724 records of the men and women employed on work relief was studied.

As to sex and race, they were distributed as follows:

	White	Colored	Total
Men	5,818	2,359	8,177
Women	378	167	545
Total	6,196	2,526	8,722

The total number of dependents upon these people was 31,815. Of the whites, 2,709 stated they were born in Philadelphia; of the colored, 168. Also 345 of the whites were non-citizens, and 12 of the colored; 1,423 of the whites and 51 of the colored owned their own homes or had recently lost them.

The educational history was as follows:

	White		Colored	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Unknown or no formal education	512	25	302	19
Some grammar school	4,423	224	1,923	124
Some high school	798	111	121	17
Some college	85	18	13	7
Total	5,818	378	2,359	167

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

Among the whites there were 212 high school and 24 college graduates; among the colored, 29 high school and 5 college graduates.

As to previous occupational history, the distribution according to the longest job previously held was as follows:

	White	Colored
Not stated	223	48
Common labor	1,848	1,865
Semi-skilled labor	2,204	437
Skilled labor	1,071	88
Supervisory	163	13
Clerical	218	8
Salesmanship	128	10
Own business	310	53
Professional	31	4
Total	6,196	2,526

Only 641 of the whites and 89 of the colored had definite trade union affiliations. The men, both white and colored, had been out of work on the average about eight and a half months; the women about a year. The average number of both men and women had been out of work six to seven months.

It would appear from these figures that this was a group for which Philadelphia is clearly responsible, since it is composed of resident American citizens, 33 per cent having been born in the city and 17 per cent having been home owners and taxpayers in normal times. Their educational and occupational history compares favorably with any random sample of the population. They had been out of work for a length of time that would exhaust the resources of all but the prosperous. By any of these statistical tests, they are a group of average Americans.

This is the first examination, so far as we know, of the social facts concerning a large group of people on work relief; and it seems to dispose effectually of the idea that they differ markedly from the general population.

OTHER RELATED ENTERPRISES

The program described above was only a part of the activities which the Committee undertook, and it is necessary to sketch in

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

briefly the outlines of the whole picture, although volume of work and expenditures have been shown only for work relief.

Two important principles were established and adhered to throughout; namely, that direct relief must be decentralized and disbursed through existing agencies; and also that the funds raised for relief must bear the added cost of service imposed upon those agencies. Where no agency existed to carry on a needed piece of work, the Committee established and financed it, using the services of trained personnel.

To co-ordinate relief, a *Committee on Relief* was constituted, consisting of the executives of 10 private agencies engaged in work with families. This body worked out the procedure of dealing with the various agencies, and also developed, as a new activity, a special unit of 50 social workers, paid from the Committee's funds, to assist the municipality in disbursing emergency relief funds, which were made available through special appropriations by the city.

The plan for co-ordinating relief involved the opening of four application centers located in different parts of the city, and staffed with social workers directly employed by the Committee. When personnel was lent by the social agencies, the Committee paid a fixed maximum toward the salary and the agency made up the balance. Applications received at these centers were cleared at once with the Social Service Exchange through direct-wire connections or by messenger, additional filing clerks and typists being furnished to that agency by the Committee to handle the increased volume of work. No relief was given out at the application centers, but on the basis of the interview and the report from the Exchange, the applicant was either advised how he might further attempt to handle his own problem, or he was referred to one of the agencies disbursing relief. By agreement among the agencies, this reference was final, and the application center registered the family with the Social Service Exchange in the name of the agency to which it was assigned. The several agencies were reimbursed by the Committee for relief funds expended for such families, a special voucher system being established. They were also reimbursed in the same manner for the salaries of added personnel needed to carry on the work.

This left agencies free to carry on, with their original staff and regular budgets, the volume of work for which they had assumed a

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

prior responsibility, and transferred to the Committee *in toto* the added expense due to unemployment.

A *Shelter for Homeless Men* was established, with the aid of personnel lent by the Prison Association, the Recreation Association and several of the religious missions.

A *loan fund* of \$50,000 was established, under the direction of the manager of one of the semi-philanthropic remedial loan associations, assisted by an experienced social worker.

Through the Department of Education, a special project in *supplemental feeding of school children* was set up and financed.

PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA

INCEPTION OF PROGRAM

THE work-relief program in Pittsburgh was an outgrowth of the efforts made by the mayor and the City Council to relieve unemployment distress by means of appropriations of public funds for direct relief. From October 28, 1930, until January 17, 1931, the city helped to pay relief bills incurred by seven private social agencies to the amount of about \$275,000. By this time some of the citizens of Pittsburgh had come to fear that their city was undertaking to finance a "dole" to the needy unemployed. A group of influential business men, acting in the name of local taxpayers, volunteered to take over the responsibility for raising money to relieve the suffering and privation caused by the business depression.

On January 30, 1931, a meeting of representative business men was called and a plan discussed of taking men from the relief lists of charitable agencies and putting them to work on public and semi-public works. This suggestion was received with enthusiasm, and out of the meeting developed the Allegheny County Emergency Association and the so-called "Pittsburgh Plan" of raising money, which was to ask each corporation or employer in Allegheny County to subscribe to a sum equal to his company's total payroll for one average day in the year 1929. Employees were asked to contribute the equivalent of one day's wage, and employers and others were also solicited for individual donations. The Association hoped to raise \$3,000,000. Actually, about \$1,300,000 was collected. This was spent partly for work relief and partly for direct relief through seven private family agencies.

Although the city's subsidies to the social agencies came to an end on January 17, it was not until February 2 that funds of the Emergency Association began to be used for home relief by the seven family agencies, with the understanding that the money was to aid only resident families where unemployment was the cause of the need. The agencies had kept a separate list of these cases, a

PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA

copy of which was sent to the Association to provide names of those who were to be given first preference when the work program started.

The executive body of the Association was the Operating Committee. Under this were sub-committees on Relief and on Work. The Relief Committee directed the activities of the relief agencies under the supervision of a trained social worker lent by the Federation of Social Agencies. The Work Committee was directly in charge of work relief, but since the relief agencies furnished the men to be employed, it was impossible clearly to differentiate the functions and responsibilities of the two sub-committees, which caused some friction from time to time. Work relief began on February 26.

METHOD OF ADMINISTRATION

Personnel. The employment operations of the Association were under the supervision of the director of the Pittsburgh Bureau of Governmental Research (a privately financed municipal research bureau), who was lent to the Association. Office space and equipment in a large downtown building were secured rent free, and a staff of about 20 workers was selected from those who made the first applications for jobs. Later, when a number of registration offices were opened in different parts of the city eight men were hired to take work applications. After the registration offices were closed, these men were used as representatives to go about and check up on the work being done by the men assigned to jobs. There was also an investigator to follow up men who failed to report to work after assignment to jobs. Later, the social agencies made such inquiries themselves. The people who were selected for office work and as representatives and investigators, were familiar with office routine, though not with social work.

In addition to the paid staff a chief auditor was lent by a business concern. Seven auditors were employed, who made an analysis of the records of the social agencies each month.

With the exception of the supervisor lent by the Federation of Social Agencies, there were no social workers on the staff of the Association. Its plan of operation called for all social investigation to be done by existing agencies.

Registration. The plan of the Association was first to take from

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

the lists of the social agencies all unemployed men who had applied for relief during the winter, and then to assign jobs to those who, while still able to get along on their own resources, had nearly reached the point of needing relief.¹ Only one breadwinner in a family was to be employed. No qualifications as to citizenship or legal residence were enforced. If a man was the head of a family in receipt of relief, it was left entirely to the judgment of the agency administering it whether he should be recommended for work.

One of the first steps taken was to mail work application blanks to every person who had received relief out of the \$275,000 appropriated by the city. These were complicated documents and required that the applicants take them to their last employer and secure his recommendation and signature before mailing them back to the office. Many who had received relief during the winter had changed their residence, or had found work; many did not receive or did not understand the purpose of the application blank; there was delay in securing reports from former employers.

Later this procedure was changed, and the social agencies were requested to have each unemployed head of family who was receiving relief fill out an application for work and to submit these to the Emergency Association. They were supposed to send applications only for cases recently visited so as to assure the reliability of the data and to indicate urgency by marking them A, B, C, and so on, so as to guide the Association in determining the order of placing the men.

In response to the insistence of certain members of the Association that some of the work opportunities should be given to persons who had not applied to a relief agency, it was decided to open up registration depots and take applications for jobs from such persons. On March 9, five stations were opened in different parts of the city, in quarters temporarily lent. Although several thousand applications were received at these stations, the Association found it impossible in the months that followed to make any placements from this group. Undoubtedly many of these persons actually did apply to the agencies when the word got around that this was the only way in which a job could be obtained.

¹ This purpose was never realized, the number of unemployed men carried by the agencies on direct relief at no time dropping below 700.

PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA

Assignment. The first method used for assigning men to work was to send a notice through the mail to those whose names appeared on the relief lists of the agencies and from whom the Association had received a work application. There were at least two difficulties with this system: first, that it provided no opportunity for placing a man in the kind of a job he was fitted for; second, that it failed to allocate men to jobs in neighborhoods where they lived.

Agencies reported that some men assigned to heavy jobs were breaking under the strain. The majority of the men, in filling out their application blanks, had answered in the affirmative the question "Will you take any job offered?", many of them doing so in the belief that the question was meant to test their willingness to work. Although the agencies began later to designate on the application whether a man was able to do light work only, it was practically impossible to make satisfactory placements without seeing the man. Some men were assigned to work in distant sections, while in their own neighborhoods the Association had placed others from another part of the city. In addition to the inconvenience to the workmen, this meant the expenditure of carfare, which usually fell as an added expense on the agencies.

It was not until April 14 that the system of placing men by mail was abandoned in favor of a method whereby the social agencies were given notice, though not always sufficiently in advance, of the number required for a certain kind of work at a given date and place. When this notification was received, the agency returned within forty-eight hours a list in duplicate of names and addresses, the man's identification number, and the job to which he was assigned. From this list the Association made up the time sheets and payrolls.

The agency notified the men eligible for work, choosing those who lived close by to report direct to the job. Each man was given an identification card which he was told to show to the time-keeper when he reported for work. The Association notified the agency about men who failed to report for their jobs. The agency investigated these cases, and if it found that the men could not report for work shortly, made substitute assignments and notified the Association. As soon as men received their first wages they were supposed to be removed from the relief list of the agency.

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

By May the matter of re-assigning men to jobs, once the project on which they had been working came to an end, became a problem. On May 4, the agencies were informed that there might be occasional lapses between jobs, in which event the man would be referred back so as to be available for re-assignment, but this happened in only a few cases, as the men were usually transferred to another job as soon as the project on which they were working was over.

A study was made in May by the Federation of Social Agencies to determine the causes of the reported failure of 660 men to appear at the job after assignment. They were found to be as follows:

Erroneously reported as failing to appear	105
Employed elsewhere	299
Sick, or death in family	97
Misunderstood instructions or had received incorrect information	43
Not found at address given	31
Found work too heavy	29
Refused to work	27
Discharged by foreman	17
Deserted family or serving jail sentence	6
No carfare	4
Had to appear in court	2

Wages. Men on city and county projects were paid by check at a central pay office in each municipality, the time sheets, payroll lists and checks having been made up at the Association headquarters. All received a flat rate of \$4.00 a day. At first they worked three days each week, those who worked the first three days being paid off on the following Friday, and those who worked the last three days on Tuesday of the following week, so that the agencies knew exactly when they were to cease giving relief. The office workers, representatives and investigators were paid \$20 a week.

On May 20 a major change in the administration of the work program was put into effect. Instead of the men working three days each week and receiving \$12 on their pay-day, the schedule was altered so that they worked six days a week every other week, receiving \$24 at one time. The longer work period was adopted mainly because it made for more efficient work.

The Association began sending workers to institutions about the

PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA

first of April. Women were sent as cleaners, housekeepers, and seamstresses, earning \$11.25 for a five-day week. The Association adopted this rate of pay because it was slightly less than the amount received by the women employed regularly in the institution. The latter usually received their board, and sometimes a room; but no allowance for these items was made to the women on work relief. In many cases, however, the latter received one meal a day in addition to wages.

The rate of pay for men sent to work in various institutions was a question which occasioned considerable discussion at the meetings of the committees. It was finally decided to pay them \$4.00 a day, the same rate paid to men on outdoor work, regardless of whether they were doing painting, cleaning, carpentering, plastering, or common labor. This was a departure from the original Pittsburgh Plan, the organizers of which seem, from the publicity they issued, to have contemplated paying skilled workers the prevailing rate of wage for their particular job. Before the men were sent to the institutions they were summoned to the Association headquarters and a statement was secured from them that they were willing to accept any type of work that might be given them at the institution. The first group of 162 "handy men" was sent to work on April 2.

It was anticipated that the trade unions would offer some resistance to the policy of paying skilled workers a flat rate of \$4.00 a day, and that union workers themselves would object to this system, but as the program continued, no strong opposition was forthcoming, and the Association continued its wage policy. The institutions undertook real improvements, the Association supplying the labor. Materials and cost of supervision were paid for by the institutions.

Health and Accident Provisions. Early in the program the social agencies reported that men who did not have rubber boots had been assigned to digging ditches and, as a result of standing in water, some had become ill. The Association requested the city to furnish the men necessary equipment, and about 100 pairs of rubber boots were distributed. Aside from this, no other provision to safeguard the health of the workers was reported. Men working on city projects were covered by workmen's compensation insurance, and the

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

private institutions were required to insure against accident all persons assigned them for work.

Nature of Work. The earliest work undertaken, and the largest in amount throughout, was outdoor labor for the city and county. In his connection with the Bureau of Governmental Research, the director had studied the budgets of the various city and county departments, and knew exactly where needed work could be done, for which no appropriation had been made in the current budget.

The cost of all materials and wages for necessary supervision was borne by the city or county. Before any project was undertaken, a report from the city engineer describing the work to be done, the cost, number of men required, length of employment, and the amount needed for their wages was submitted to the Operating Committee. If this Committee decided that the proposed project fell within the scope of the Association, the director was authorized to advise the city that the Association would furnish the labor, and the treasurer was instructed to earmark an amount to cover the labor cost of the project. This double approval served as an additional safeguard against the city's foisting off upon the Association projects which it should have financed entirely out of its own funds.

The work done was chiefly on the streets. Dirt roads were improved by surfacing with "red dog," a kind of slag from the steel mills which could be secured without cost. Sewer and water pipes were laid, walks built, and work done on gutters and curbs.

The Committees on Institutional Work and Job Finding were called into action during the latter part of March to find in the hospitals and non-profit-making institutions of the city work opportunities for women, for the more skilled type of workmen, and for the white-collar group who remained on the agencies' relief lists. The chairman of the Job Finding Committee took over the program which had been begun by the Committee on Repairs and Improvements of the Pittsburgh Federation of Social Agencies to find work projects in the various semi-public institutions. He called a meeting of superintendents of all the hospitals and explained that if they needed work done which they could not otherwise afford, the Association would supply the labor free, and a skilled engineer to make plans and estimates and to offer suggestions. Two engineers were lent by utility companies who worked out plans with heads of insti-

PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA

tutions and submitted to the employment office a record of the number and type of workmen required to carry them out.

On May 15, the following work projects had been undertaken by the Association:

In connection with the city of Pittsburgh, 46 jobs were being done, of which 8 had already been completed, 29 were under way, and 9 were to be begun. The completion of jobs had already released 291 men who were being re-assigned. There were 2,380 men on the payroll for city work at this time.

In the municipalities outside of Pittsburgh 28 jobs had been planned, of which 5 were still to be started. On May 15, there were 483 on the payroll doing work in the 16 municipalities bordering upon the city.

Meanwhile work opportunities had been secured in 15 hospitals, in 5 institutions, and in 8 settlement houses. In these places 767 men and women were employed by the Association.

EXTENT OF PROGRAM

The first assignment of men to work-relief jobs was made on February 26. When the program reached its peak about the first of June, a total of 5,587 men were at work. By this time many of the projects were finished or nearing completion, and it was planned to lay off the men as those on which they were working came to an end.

The last payment of work-relief wages was on September 5, 1931. From the beginning of June as the numbers on work relief decreased, those on direct relief increased, leaving the agencies with over 2,500 unemployed men to care for, after the last payment of direct relief from Association funds, which was made on August 8.

The total expenditures of the Association from February 1 to September 5 are approximately as follows:¹

Direct relief through relief agencies	\$365,359
Wages on work-relief projects	682,707
Office equipment	5,586
Salaries, supplies and stationery	17,966
Expense of raising fund	8,145
Total	<u>\$1,079,763</u>

¹ Based upon the Association's audited statement to August 31, and reported expenditures thereafter, the item "operating expense" for the last week being estimated.

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

Based on the report of the Association's operations, issued September 5, 1931, the following tabulation shows the number of families given direct relief, the number given work relief, the total weekly expenditures, and the average expenditure per family for both groups.

FAMILIES GIVEN DIRECT RELIEF				FAMILIES GIVEN WORK RELIEF			
Week ending	Families aided	Amount of relief	Average amount per family	Workers	Wages	Average wage 3 days weekly	6 days alternate weeks
Feb. 7	2,002	\$14,548	\$7.27	..	..	..	..
14	3,950	38,005	9.62	..	..	..	..
21	4,678	22,955	4.91	..	..	..	..
28	3,648	22,971	6.30	..	..	..	..
Mar. 7	4,181	30,454	7.28	357	\$4,134	\$11.58	..
14	4,002	22,753	5.69	853	9,604	11.26	..
21	3,781	25,357	6.71	1,250	14,092	11.27	..
28	3,370	19,668	5.84	1,612	17,939	11.13	..
Apr. 4	2,963	18,353	6.19	1,872	19,864	10.61	..
11	2,696	18,873	7.00	1,879	21,683	11.54	..
18	2,588	16,596	6.41	2,301	29,512	12.83	..
25	2,329	14,640	6.29	2,646	33,895	12.81	..
May 2	2,008	11,239	5.60	3,274	41,913	12.80	..
9	1,440	9,768	6.78	3,566	46,807	13.13	..
16	1,346	8,041	5.97	3,628	47,159	13.00	..
23	1,283	7,814	6.09	2,275	32,333	14.21	..
30	1,148	6,940	6.04	2,290	49,109	..	\$21.44
June 6	709	3,900	5.50	2,804	55,572	..	19.82
13	777	4,579	5.89	2,783	58,455	..	21.00
20	984	5,322	5.41	2,631	55,225	..	20.99
27	1,257	6,014	4.78	2,408	38,562	..	16.01
July 4	1,422	7,283	5.12	1,391	28,472	..	20.47
11	1,691	8,217	4.86	1,066	21,696	..	20.35
18	1,951	8,497	4.35	805	16,751	..	20.81
25	2,118	10,000	4.72	777	15,980	..	20.57
Aug. 1	2,295	9,989	4.35	498	9,585	..	19.25
8	2,572	10,999	4.27	269	5,680	..	21.12
15	..	..	..	140	3,039	..	21.71
22	..	..	..	122	2,694	..	22.08
29	..	..	..	98	1,970	..	20.10
Sept. 5	..	..	..	46	982	..	21.35
Total		\$383,775			\$682,707		

In comparing these figures, it should be kept in mind that while the same men reappeared week after week on the work-relief lists, there could have been no such regularity about those on direct relief, the latter varying, for the individual family, according to the

PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA

amount of work secured or other resources that became available. In general, however, it is possible to note a close correlation between the right and left hand sides of the table; as men on work relief increased in number, there was a steady diminution in the number of families receiving direct relief, and a corresponding increase as the work-relief project contracted after the middle of June. Moreover, it is to be noted that this renewed influx was accompanied by a progressive lowering of the amount of relief per family per week, showing how severely the resources of the agencies were taxed by the increase.

On August 15, a study of the 6,736 persons who had been employed up to that date showed that 5,010 had been employed in Pittsburgh, and 1,726 elsewhere in the county. Approximately 500 of the total were women. The extent of the earnings of those employed during the period is indicated by the following tabulation:

Earnings	Number of Persons
Over \$200	474
\$150-\$199	1,104
\$100-\$149	1,453
Under \$100	3,705

ROCHESTER, NEW YORK¹

INCEPTION OF PROGRAM

AS EARLY as 1928, the Family Welfare Society of Rochester presented a plan to one of the departments of the city government for putting able-bodied recipients of relief to work in the parks, the private agency paying them wages in lieu of relief. During the years of plenty Rochester, along with most other cities, was disinclined to admit the existence of widespread unemployment, and the offer did not even reach the city manager for consideration.

Early in 1930 the slackening of business and increasing unemployment forced itself upon the community's attention, however, and a group of leading citizens organized the Civic Committee on Unemployment. With ample financial and community backing, this developed into an exceptionally well-organized body with a paid staff. By fall this influential group had exerted a considerable educational influence upon the industries and the government of the city. As the load upon the private agencies increased, they were forced to place more and more of the burden of relief upon the Bureau of Public Welfare, and on November 1, the city manager, who was a member of the Civic Committee, proposed to the City Council that the rising need be met in part through a program of work relief. An appropriation of \$250,000 was added to the 1931 budget of the city for work relief, of which \$50,000 was authorized to be spent in 1930, in order that the work might get under way at once. During the course of the winter, two other appropriations of \$250,000 each, together with some smaller appropriations, brought the total sum up to \$815,000.

Three special committees were established to plan and carry out the work-relief program. One, on Co-ordination, composed of rep-

¹ Extensive use has been made in this account of an unpublished study, *An Appraisal of the Rochester Experiment in Work Relief, 1930-1931*, by Ivan Asay, made under the direction of the Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research. See also "Work Relief for the Unemployed in Rochester," by J. E. Alloway, in *Social Service Review*, December, 1931, p. 539.

ROCHESTER, NEW YORK

representatives of social, civic, and labor organizations, as well as city officials, functioned more or less actively as the policy-forming body. A Work Committee, composed of the heads of city departments, planned and gave engineering supervision to the work projects. An Arrangements Committee, whose members were the director of the Bureau of Public Welfare, the city auditor, and the city's personnel director, was responsible for putting the plan into effect. The personnel director became the executive head of the work-relief program.

METHOD OF ADMINISTRATION

Location of Office. On November 25, when the first \$50,000 of the work-relief appropriation became available, an Emergency Employment Bureau was opened in the City Hall Annex to receive applications. By the end of the next day 105 men had been put to work. This hasty placement is generally regarded by all concerned as having been too precipitate a step, taken in response to public clamor resulting from the publicity given to the appropriation. No time had been allowed for planning office procedure, investigating and properly assigning the men, or finding work projects. For a while the result was chaos. More adequate space was soon provided, proper office equipment obtained, and forms devised to replace the squares of blank paper at first used in taking registrations. But the bad start was not retrieved for some time, and the permanent office, though the space was adequate, was not well arranged for private interviews. The desks of the interviewers were in the reception room where the men waited; there was no appointment system, and no railing separated interviewers from applicants. An unfortunate feature of the location of the office was its proximity to the Department of Public Welfare and to the headquarters of the veterans' organizations, which made it possible for applicants who were refused work to apply for outright relief without leaving the building.

Personnel. The staff of the Bureau was largely recruited from work-relief applicants who had had clerical experience. The interviewers were former city employes, mostly inspectors of construction, who had had no experience in securing social histories, and much difficulty was occasioned by the inadequacy of the informa-

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

tion they obtained. All except the director and his assistant, who were city officials, were paid from the special appropriation.

The office staff consisted of 15 interviewers and clerks, 8 paymasters, and 16 stenographers and typists.

When the difficulties above noted became apparent, the Council of Social Agencies lent a social worker of long experience to give temporary assistance in formulating procedure. This worker soon became indispensable for maintaining contact with the social agencies and for conducting the most difficult interviews. She was therefore continued as part of the regular staff, her salary being shared by the Council of Social Agencies and the Emergency Employment Bureau.

Registration and Investigation. By the first of the new year, a more orderly system had emerged, the procedure being as follows. An application card was filled out by an interviewer at the time of application. This card contained information as to number and ages of applicant's family, his occupation, earnings and other income. For quick reference, certain facts about each applicant were indicated on his application card by means of code letters, the following situations being coded: (1) man and wife with at least one dependent under sixteen years; (2) man and wife with no dependent under sixteen years; (3) single man; (4) man not likely to be ordinarily in steady employment because of age; (5) family known to a family caring agency.

The application cards were filed alphabetically and were used as permanent registration cards. The records of work assignments and of wages received were later entered currently on the backs of these cards.

The names of those registered were cleared with the Central Index (Social Service Exchange). The Index, however, kept no record on their own cards of the inquiries made by the Employment Bureau, because of the clerical labor required. It is now recognized by most of those concerned that this omission was a serious error for two reasons. First, it meant that no notification from the Index reached the agencies to which applicants were known, and second, no similar notification was made to the Bureau if the family of an applicant for work relief later applied to a social agency for assistance. The work-relief project thus failed to be

ROCHESTER, NEW YORK

"geared in" with the other social machinery of the city, and an unknown amount of duplication resulted.

No adequate procedure was set up for determining the need of applicants. In the beginning, the brief interview previously described was relied upon. The men's own statements were accepted on the theory that the nature of the work would be a sufficient deterrent against applications from persons whose need was not urgent. It will be recalled that the interviewers were former city employees. They formed the habit of relying upon the letters of recommendation, obtained from political and other sources, which the men presented at time of application. This was not an officially approved practice, however, and was discontinued when discovered by the director.

Interviews by the social worker with some of the men who came in for re-assignment revealed that the routine interviews often failed to disclose the full extent of the applicants' resources, and that, on the other hand, mental or physical handicaps, or the existence of extreme need justifying reference to other social agencies, had gone undiscovered.

At one period, four men were employed to make investigations of 2,000 families of persons on work relief. These men had had no training or experience for the task, and the number of families in which they were able to discover resources which made work relief unnecessary was very small. This is in marked contrast to the experience in Louisville and other cities where the determination of need was entrusted to trained social workers.

Many men who failed to secure work complained that others who had been placed were less in need than they. When these complaints were specific, a prompt investigation was made, and the situation corrected if the facts warranted it.

Assignment. Actual assignment was in theory made by the director, the assistant director, or the social worker. In practice, it had often to be delegated to other members of the staff. The early policy of making assignments "over the desk" at time of application gave way to a system of sending out special delivery letters. But the more persistent applicants did not await the summons at home, and continued to crowd the waiting room daily. Occasionally it was convenient to fill a rush order from

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

among these men, but only those were selected whose applications had already been approved.

The original plan called for one-third of the assignments to be made to men whose need had been certified by the public or private welfare agencies, but in the press of work this arrangement was soon abandoned. The number of men assigned to work who failed to report was small. In the main, they were reported as eager to get work and earn every cent possible. The foremen had the right of dismissal, and exercised it in relatively few instances. Over 99 per cent of men assigned to work were citizens and legal residents of Rochester.

Wages. The rates of pay were those current in Rochester for the kind of work performed. Men placed at common labor earned 45 cents an hour for an eight-hour day, and were at first allowed to work alternate four-day periods. This permitted about twelve days' work a month, or a monthly income of about \$43. Skilled workers generally received the union scale, but were allowed to work fewer days than the unskilled. They earned about \$72 a month.

The men received regular city time-checks, which were punched four times daily by city time-keepers. Payrolls were made up by the city departments for which the men worked. The men were paid by check on the last day of each shift. Payment was made on the job for the most part.

In January, after the second appropriation was made, the work periods were reduced, those employed as laborers working in three two-day shifts each week. This decision to spread the work further was made suddenly by the Co-ordination Committee, neither the social agencies nor the staff of the Bureau itself feeling that the decision had been sufficiently considered. The difficulties of supervision were greatly increased, and the frequency of pay periods made it necessary to pay in cash instead of by check. Laborers now worked eight days a month and earned about \$29. Skilled men earned about \$40 a month under the new plan.

Health and Accident Provisions. Accident insurance was carried by the city. The total expense for compensation and medical care was \$3,800. No medical examinations were made but some men were rejected because of obvious physical handicaps.

ROCHESTER, NEW YORK

Rubbers were supplied by two private charitable agencies, and warm second-hand clothing was collected and furnished to the men by volunteers among the city employes. The city supplied canvas mittens where necessary. Hot coffee and cookies were supplied through the generosity of a private citizen, and distributed with equipment lent by military organizations.

Nature of Work. One of the outstanding features of the Rochester program is the extent and variety of the 77 projects carried out and the permanent character of the improvements.¹ They included land clearing and road building in a municipal park about six miles from the city, together with the construction of a new golf course and erection of a clubhouse; the creation of several playgrounds, one on the site of a gravel pit which had been both unsightly and dangerous; the building of skating shelters, refectories and bathhouses in other parks; demolition of condemned buildings; preparing sites for a new zoo and a library; renovating school buildings and beautifying grounds; electrical repairing, painting, and carpentry on public buildings; grading of bridge approaches and digging incinerator pits; and construction of a restaurant at the municipal airport. Unemployed engineers and surveyors were supplied and paid by the Emergency Bureau to assist the city engineers in laying out these projects.

Uncertainty of Tenure. A grave impediment to the functioning of the administration was the continuing uncertainty as to how long the experiment would last. The unpublished report to which reference has been made says:

Twice the end was believed to be very near and each time an additional \$250,000 was appropriated. Just previous to the second of these an admirable social procedure had been formulated, but a drastic change in policy precluded its successful application. This uncertainty did not tend to stimulate far-sighted planning and the rush and confusion in the midst of which the project was operating made careful analysis and thoughtful policy-building difficult.

The errors in procedure commented upon above were reported by those most closely connected with the administration, who showed a frank self-criticism and desire that others might profit

¹ A detailed list of these projects may be secured from the Council of Social Agencies, 70 North Water Street, Rochester, N. Y.

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

by their experience, which was unusual. The spirit of honest endeavor and co-operation displayed throughout was commendable. Applicants received courteous treatment, and there was no disposition to discourage their securing additional work on off-days, by cutting down on the work-relief income accordingly. The man who has almost, but not quite, reached the dependency line was the object of chief concern in the Rochester experiment. The paramount object was to preserve morale and self-respect, though a more careful investigation might have resulted in rejecting some applicants who could have got along without the wages earned on work relief.

EXTENT OF PROGRAM

Work relief began on November 25, 1930, continued actively for four months, and thereafter with diminishing activity till September 28, 1931. The number of registrants during the period was approximately 12,000, of whom 7,917 were given work in varying amounts. The total cost of the project was \$815,000, of which \$108,395 was spent for materials. Accurate apportionment by months of cost of materials is not available; and of wages only through June, 1931. Monthly figures for wages are as follows:

November, 1930	\$794
December	75,959
January, 1931	142,472
February	140,152
March	163,852
April	48,940
May	28,765
June	15,196
July	90,475
August	
September	
Total	\$706,605

Only 3 per cent of the men assigned to work relief reported a weekly income at time of application of more than \$15, while 22 per cent reported less than \$4.00 a week. The majority had been out of work from four to six months.

Of those employed, 5,626 were heads of families with children,

ROCHESTER, NEW YORK

870 were married men with dependents but no children, 847 were single men with dependents and 574 single men without dependents. The largest age group was 35 to 45 years. No women were employed except for clerical service in the Bureau's office. It is interesting to note that although 66 per cent of the applicants claimed a skilled trade when registering, only 7 per cent could be given skilled jobs.

It is estimated that the average total earnings for each man were about \$80, and that the total number of hours' work performed was 1,198,000.

Efficiency of Work Performed. One of the most interesting reports produced by the Rochester group relates to the efficiency of the work performed. Competent engineers assessed the value of the completed projects and compared their costs with the estimated cost of contract work. They estimate the heavy grading to have been about 15 per cent efficient, light grading 75 per cent, building and construction 60 per cent, and wrecking 92 per cent. For miscellaneous projects, such as cleaning and repairing, efficiency of 80 per cent was assigned. The average efficiency of all projects was estimated to have been about 52 per cent.

The reasons for this lower efficiency, as compared with ordinary commercial work, are not far to seek, nor do they reflect discredit on the program. It is, of course, true that some of the men, unused to hard outdoor labor, could not work as efficiently as ordinary laborers. But we must consider also that there was a definite avoidance of labor-saving machinery in order to use more hand labor; that most of the work was done in the winter when the ground was frozen and had to be picked loose; that snowstorms and severe cold often delayed operations; that the changing shifts slowed up production considerably; that mass purchasing of supplies was impossible owing to uncertainty about future appropriations; and that many construction jobs had to be embarked upon before the final blue-prints could be drawn. Lack of advance planning, due to the emergency nature of the operations, was a severe handicap.

If, however, the lessened drain upon relief funds is considered, the situation appears in a more favorable light. Studies of the families known to social agencies and receiving work-relief wages

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

lead to the belief that at least 65 per cent of the amount spent on wages would otherwise have been required as direct relief. If the value of the work to the city was \$423,800 (52 per cent of \$815,000) while at the same time the relief agencies saved \$459,293 (65 per cent of the amount of wages), then the project appears to have shown a substantial profit. Moreover, it is impossible by this form of reckoning to include the spiritual values of morale and self-respect conserved, the advantage to the city of having money put in circulation, and the prevention of social disorder and crime.

The experiment cost the taxpayers about \$1.22 on each \$1,000 of assessed valuation. There can be no doubt as to the pride taken and the interest shown in the project by the citizens of Rochester.

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

INCEPTION OF PROGRAM

WORK relief was only a small part of the program undertaken in the winter of 1930-1931 by the St. Louis Citizens' Committee on Relief and Employment. This Committee, appointed by the mayor in October, 1930, consisted of approximately 900 members. An Advisory Board of 81 formulated the Committee's policies and acted through an Executive Committee of 22 members. From the outset the Citizens' Committee planned to administer direct relief through existing relief agencies and to make every effort to provide work opportunities for those who applied for such assistance.

One of the first steps taken by the Committee, before work-relief plans were under discussion, was to open on November 10 an Employment Registration Office in an abandoned downtown hotel. This office was closed on December 12, but during the month in which it operated 4,000 applications had been received and 400 placements made, of which about 175 were classified as permanent.

It took the Citizens' Committee two months to organize fully and to formulate a definite plan of action. Late in December it secured from the city a sum of \$300,000 to be spent for unemployment relief. It was first proposed that this money be spent for an extensive work-relief program, but on December 30 the Advisory Board decided that the money would not go far enough if devoted entirely to work relief, and that the time was not opportune for putting on a campaign for additional relief funds. This appropriation was therefore applied mainly to direct relief administered through the existing relief agencies.

On January 2, the Executive Committee of the Citizens' Committee decided that work relief on a smaller scale than was at first proposed should be attempted, specifying that the selection of the men for the work should be made with special care. On January 6, representatives of the Committee met with officials of the various city departments to find out if the city could make use

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

of common labor if paid for by the Citizens' Committee. The commissioner of public welfare offered to put 400 men at work in the parks. The Health Department reported that 25 men could be used for extra clerical and other work necessitated by an epidemic of measles. The Public Utility Department could use 10 men cleaning manholes of the lighting system and the Street Department about 200 men in cleaning alleys and streets and in improving the river-front. Arrangements were made by which the city departments were to furnish foremen and necessary supplies, while the Committee would provide laborers, teams, and trucks for this work.

The Executive Committee heard the report of this conference and voted to make a four weeks' trial of work relief, using for the purpose part of the funds supplied by the city. Men were to be put to work gradually, rather than in one large group, as if they were supplementing regular city forces. It was specified that the selection should include men on the verge of having to ask for relief, as well as those dependent on the welfare agencies. This trial of work relief was initiated on January 14, and the work was continued without interruption until early in April. During the last month of this period, the funds procured from the city were exhausted, and the Citizens' Committee raised approximately \$300,000 more by popular appeal.

METHOD OF ADMINISTRATION

Office and Personnel. An Employment Division of the Citizens' Committee was organized to revive the employment office service which had been discontinued on December 12. The directors and managers of the non-fee charging employment agencies in St. Louis were called into conference, and responsibility for establishing a new employment bureau was placed in their hands. Persistent efforts were made by this group to secure the co-operation of the employment bureau of the Missouri Department of Labor, in order to co-ordinate all placement efforts in the city, but without success. The Employment Division began operation on January 12, its director being a woman who had had long experience in placement work. Two men with previous experience in employment work were appointed to assist her.

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

This new employment office was opened in the same building and in conjunction with the Joint Application Bureau previously established by the Citizens' Committee, at which all applications for relief or employment were received. The interviewing and clerical staff for the combined bureaus consisted of 18 interviewers, 14 clerical workers, and 2 assistants supplied to the Social Service Exchange to clear names of applicants. All were trained and experienced workers.

Registration and Investigation. No attempt was made to keep applicants for work separate from those applying for direct relief at the Joint Application Bureau. A person coming to this office found himself on the ground floor of a large downtown store which the Committee had secured rent free, in the front part of which were several rows of benches filled with persons who had already applied for help. In the rear, dozens of other applicants were being interviewed by members of the staff. At the railing which separated the two parts of the office was an application desk. Here the applicant gave his name, address, name of his wife, number of children, and stated whether he wished to apply for relief, for work, or for both. If eligible, he then waited with others until he was called for an interview.

If the applicant applied for work only, the interviewer recorded information concerning his family, physical condition, and work history on a yellow card which was placed in a waiting file.

If the man requested relief, the work application was taken in the same fashion; his name was then cleared with the Social Service Exchange, after which he was again interviewed. Disposition of his case would depend partly on the report of the Exchange and partly on his family status. If he was already under care of a social agency, that agency was notified by telephone. If known to an agency but not at the time under care, he was referred to that agency. In case of first applications for relief, applicants were directed to an appropriate agency. Those most urgently requiring assistance were given emergency relief orders to meet immediate needs.

In most instances where relief was asked, the applicant also requested a job. In such cases data concerning the applicant were recorded on a pink card and placed in a second waiting file. When, at the outset, the requisition for 600 men came in from the city

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

departments, the placement workers went through both files and listed the names of all who had two or more dependents. This condition was made the first requisite of work-relief assignment. Other requirements demanded by the city for all persons employed on public works were a year's residence in St. Louis and citizenship.

Assignment. Before any man was finally chosen for work relief his application was passed on by the supervisor in the Relief Division. The men selected were sent postcards requesting them to come to the Joint Application Bureau. Nothing on the cards indicated that they were being considered for work relief. The applications of those who failed to show up within five days were placed in the "dead file."

When the men came to the Application Bureau they reported at the application desk and were again interviewed. This time the work interview was a more thorough one and references were required. The interviewer telephoned a former employer in order to verify the information given. The attitude of the Employment Division was the same as if it were sending men to ordinary jobs, every effort being made to select well-qualified workers. After selection by the Employment Division for assignment to work relief, applicants were referred to the Municipal Efficiency Board, which followed its usual procedure in hiring city employees. The Board re-examined the men and, if they met the established qualifications for city employment, assigned them to available work-relief jobs.

Each day the Employment Division sent a list to the Efficiency Board of men being referred that day, so that those who actually appeared could be checked against those who had been sent to the different departments. At the end of each day the Efficiency Board submitted a report to the Employment Division of dispositions made. These were recorded on the application card, and if a man had been assigned to a job, his card was put in the "placed file."

Wages. The work-relief wage was the same as that paid by the city for common labor, \$3.00 for an eight-hour day. The men were employed an average of four and a maximum of five days a week. The city kept a special payroll of men on work relief, and paid them off in cash each Wednesday. Before each pay-day, a copy

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

of the payroll was sent to the Employment Division, and the names appearing on it were checked with those who had been reported to it as placed by the Efficiency Board. This check enabled the Employment Division to keep a record of the amount earned by each man and to make sure that no one received a work-relief job who had not been referred by it.

Health and Accident Provisions. There were no medical examinations, and no extras were provided, such as special clothing, meals or transportation. The Committee believed that nothing should mark these men as different from other city laborers who were working in the same gangs.

There was no arrangement for compensation in case of accident. The Missouri Workmen's Compensation Act specifically exempts municipalities from responsibility for accidents to city employes, and the Committee carried no accident insurance. It is stated that no men lost time because of accidents and that no major accident occurred. This record differs markedly from the experience of other cities. It may be that accidents occurred and were not reported owing to general knowledge that no compensation was to be expected.

EXTENT OF PROGRAM

The work-relief program was in active operation from January 14, 1931 to April 6. During that period 626 different men received jobs. The largest single payroll, for the week ending March 2, contained 616 names. The following tabulation shows the number of men employed each week, and the weekly payroll:

Week Ending	Workers	Wages
January 21	24	\$213
January 27	132	1,478
February 3	347	4,226
February 10	538	6,853
February 17	575	5,923
February 24	616	7,291
March 2	616	7,372
March 9	606	7,350
March 16	603	6,713
March 23	607	7,821
March 30	562	7,582
April 6	563	7,835

Over the twelve-week period a total of \$70,657 was spent for wages. The average amount of money each worker earned was \$113, the men working on the average about eight weeks.

TOLEDO, OHIO

INCEPTION OF PROGRAM

THE work-relief program carried on in Toledo during the winter of 1930-1931 was a substitute for a much broader unemployment relief plan that had been proposed in October, 1930, when the mayor suggested that a \$750,000 bond issue to provide work for Toledo's unemployed be voted on at the November election. Primarily to show the need for this bond issue, a registration of the city's unemployed was begun on October 21, by a newly created Unemployment Bureau, in quarters donated by a newspaper. The employment manager in the Division of Streets of the Department of Public Service was put in charge of this Bureau, and citizens were permitted to register either in person or by sending in coupons which were inserted in the newspapers.

On October 28, the mayor called a conference of the Employment Managers' Association of the city, asking for their co-operation during the winter, and urging each member to persuade the employees of his firm to vote for the bond issue in the coming election.

The bond issue failed to pass, however, and the city found itself with a large registration of persons seeking work, but with no funds to assist them. In order to meet the situation at least in part, \$150,000 which had been allotted for street repair work was made available to the Unemployment Bureau to give jobs in the city parks, and this work was started at the beginning of December. Subsequently \$100,000 was diverted from the city's general fund to provide work relief in the Division of Streets. The latter work, though administered through the regular employment office of the Division of Streets, was under direction of the same official as the work in the parks.

When the Unemployment Bureau began its registration late in October, the mayor announced that it would serve as a clearing house for both steady and occasional employment in Toledo. Applicants were required to bring a letter from some reliable person stating that they were both citizens and residents of Toledo.

TOLEDO, OHIO

Applications were taken in duplicate, and one copy was sent to the employer for whom the applicant had last worked. The latter was expected to check the facts given by the applicant and return the application card to the Bureau. On the basis of information thus secured, which was considered to make home investigations unnecessary, the neediest applicants were supposed to be assigned to jobs as soon as any were available.

In addition to verifying information given by applicants previously employed by them, employment managers of Toledo were asked to supply the Bureau with a complete record of the employment transactions of their firms by submitting each month a list of the names of employees added to and dropped from their payrolls. From these reports, the Bureau expected to establish two files of its applicants, one containing the names of those who had been hired by the firms, the other of those who had been laid off. It was thought that the interchange between these files would reflect the total ebb and flow of employment in the community.

METHOD OF ADMINISTRATION

Registration and Assignment to Park Work. Despite elaborate preparation for handling work-relief assignments, the practice actually adopted once funds became available was an entirely different one. The applications already in hand were disregarded, and coupons were given to the councilmen in each ward, and to certain others, to be placed in the hands of persons seeking work. These coupons were good for a job when presented at the Unemployment Bureau. Some were distributed by clergymen, officials of the Welfare Department, and by individuals aware of acute need. Upon presentation of the coupon at the Bureau, the applicant was given a work assignment card directing him to a city foreman in one of the parks. The assignments were for two days a week as long as the work program lasted.

Registration and Assignment to Street Work. The pressure on the Bureau showed little abatement, and in order to supply an outlet for those who made personal applications, as well as to satisfy councilmen who continued to hand out coupons, it became the practice to refer applicants to the employment office of the Division of Streets, which, as early as February, 1930, had begun a

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

policy of staggering employment among a large portion of its employes, putting them on two- or three-day shifts. When applicants from the Unemployment Bureau began to be accepted, the practice was adopted of giving jobs for single periods of three days. This was called "alternate work," and a man might obtain such a job about once a month. A second application for these jobs was made at the regular employment office of the Division, the same record forms and verifying methods being used as at the Unemployment Bureau. Each registrant was given a permanent identification card, bearing his name and work number. He was not assigned to a job at once, but notified through the mail when his turn for work came. In both places the guiding principle appeared to be satisfactory dealing with the city councilmen rather than with the unemployed themselves.

Wages. On both the street and the park work the men were paid 60 cents an hour and worked six hours a day. Those working two-day shifts in the parks thus earned \$7.20 a week while the work lasted. They were paid by check, at the office of the Division of Streets, the day after each shift was completed.

Those working three-day shifts on the streets received \$10.80 in the week in which they worked, but even if re-assigned in the following month, their net earnings were greatly below those of the park workers.

EXTENT OF PROGRAM

The work in the city parks began on December 2, 1930, and continued until April 20, 1931. A total of 1,892 assignments to park jobs were made. The following tabulation shows by two-week intervals the number of men working during the period:

Period Ending	Number Working in Parks
December 2, 1930	867
December 16	1,179
December 30	1,270
January 15, 1931	1,383
January 29	1,472
February 12	1,504
February 26	1,464
March 12	1,450
April 2	1,353
April 16	906

TOLEDO, OHIO

No similar figures for the less regular relief employment on the streets are available, but a report of the Division of Streets states that 2,798 men in all were given "alternate work" on the streets up to the end of April.

The amount spent for work relief in the parks alone could not be ascertained, but the amount spent for wages on both park and street work during the period was \$250,801, distributed by months as follows:

December, 1930	\$70,754
January, 1931	56,774
February	55,695
March	43,153
April	<u>24,425</u>
Total	\$250,801

It may be questioned whether the above expenditure represents additional city appropriations for unemployment relief, in view of the fact that approximately \$150,000 which was spent for work in the parks had already been allotted for disbursement by the Division of Streets. Undoubtedly a large proportion of this amount would have gone for the payment of wages in any case.

TRENTON, NEW JERSEY

INCEPTION OF PROGRAM

TRENTON, with no private family welfare society and no Community Chest (although supporting a diversity of private social agencies in addition to its Department of Public Welfare), found itself approaching the winter of 1930-1931 with increasing unemployment and no co-ordinated plans for relief. In October a leading citizen wrote to the mayor urging that steps be taken to register the unemployed and assist them in finding work. The suggestion fell on fertile ground and on October 26 the mayor appointed a committee of 20 representative persons, known as the Mayor's Committee, to give it careful consideration. The City Commission supported his action by voting \$1,000 to defray the expense of working out a plan.

This Committee, with one of Trenton's leading industrialists as chairman, met within a few days and four sub-committees were appointed on Industry and Employment, Public Works, Registration and Classification, and Co-operation with Relief Agencies. There was also an Executive Committee and later one on Finance. The industrial secretary of the Chamber of Commerce was appointed executive secretary of the body.

The Mayor's Committee decided that its first task was to register the unemployed and a call was issued for volunteers to conduct the registration at 20 designated centers. On the first day, November 1, 888 persons registered. By November 30, a total of 3,493 were recorded, and the number eventually reached over 6,000.

The Committee established offices in a vacant store, and a week after the registration began volunteers were recruited from the churches to investigate the needs of registrants. By November 30, 1,900 investigations had been completed.

Meanwhile the Committee had been busy with other activities. Letters were sent to employers asking their co-operation in retaining men and in giving further employment as far as possible. Later a call was sent out for used clothing.

TRENTON, NEW JERSEY

On November 24, the Committee decided to raise funds both for a work-relief program and for home relief, the latter to be disbursed either through the several relief agencies or by the Committee itself. Accordingly a twenty-week campaign for \$200,000 was undertaken, half of the amount to be raised by small subscriptions, the other half to come from large givers. It was planned to use at least half of this fund for work relief. The Committee also encouraged the continued donation of clothing, food, and so forth, to be disbursed from the central office.

The fund-raising began on December 8. The City Commission passed an ordinance forbidding any competing solicitations for funds. The campaign was continued throughout the winter and spring. By February 15, \$165,000 had been pledged and by the end of May the fund was over-subscribed. Something more than half of the total was obtained from small givers.

The Committee, realizing its inability to provide work relief for all the registered unemployed, not only sought the co-operation of industrial and commercial employers of the city, but also interested the State Highway Department and the county and township administrations in drawing upon its registration lists for workers. In the capacity of a central clearing agency for the unemployed, it supplemented the activities of the State Employment Office.

The Committee's work-relief program was developed in co-operation with the city director of public works. As early as November 28, three crews of 20 men each, working two days a week, had been put to work cleaning the grounds of hospitals. This was several weeks before the main program was ready. This as well as the later work was planned and supervised by the director of public works, the men being selected and paid by the Committee.

METHOD OF ADMINISTRATION

Registration and Investigation. After an applicant for work had registered, his name was cleared with the Social Service Exchange operated by the Department of Public Welfare. His circumstances were then investigated by three volunteer investigators working independently. If approved, his name was placed on a waiting list. The Committee valued co-operation with relief and service agencies, but cannot be said to have relied very greatly upon their

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

knowledge of individual applicants, for it caused a re-investigation to be made by its volunteer workers of all cases whether or not recommended by the agencies. Only residents of Trenton were accepted for work relief.

Assignment. As men were required on the work-relief projects, applicants were notified by letter to report for work at the Water Department office. They were there assigned to a foreman. Once on the payroll, the men stayed for the length of the project, unless voluntarily leaving or discharged for cause, and when one project was completed, workers were transferred to another if possible. All discharges were made by the Committee through its executive secretary. In spite of its large waiting list of approved applicants, the Committee exercised its authority to discharge workers very seldom, allowing absences to run as high as 15 per cent daily with little attention to the indifference which this implied on the part of many work-relief recipients.

Wages. The city bore the cost of supplies and supervision, thus making it possible for the Committee's work-relief funds to go entirely for wages. Men were paid \$3.00 for an eight-hour day and were employed four days a week. Friday and Saturday were idle days, unless bad weather earlier in the week prevented operations. There was no rotation of jobs in order to spread the opportunity for work.

Wages were paid once a week at the Water Department office by check drawn by the treasurer of the Committee.

Health and Accident Provisions. While no physical examination or workmen's compensation insurance was provided, the Department of Public Works looked after the men's health and comfort as best it could. Rubber boots and coats were furnished rather liberally and the older and less robust men were given work under shelter wherever possible.

Nature of Work. The work-relief program in Trenton consisted of such projects as cleaning up vacant city lots, leveling and grading waste land, removing rubbish dumps, developing and improving parks, and otherwise beautifying the city, opening dead-end streets, and extending recreational and playground facilities. Firewood was sawed and split in sheltered locations by the less able-bodied men, and was later supplied to those in need of fuel. Though the

TRENTON, NEW JERSEY

volume was not large, some work was provided for women in cleaning institutional buildings, such as hospitals and schools.

EXTENT OF WORK PROGRAMS

The main work-relief program can be said to have begun on December 15, 1930, with 246 men at work, and to have run for a period of twenty-three weeks to May 14, 1931. The average number of jobs was 435; the largest number in any one week was 549. The total number of days worked was 34,554.

The amounts paid in wages, by months, were as follows:

December, 1930	\$7,770
January, 1931	21,171
February	22,788
March	26,847
April	18,150
May	6,938
Total	<u>\$103,664</u>

The cost of tools, supplies, trucking, and supervision, borne by the city partly from its regular maintenance funds and partly from Water Department receipts, was \$18,490. Of this, \$7,490 was for truck hire.

Men who were fortunate enough to be assigned work at the beginning of the project had twenty-three weeks' work at \$12 a week, earning a total of \$166 in wages. These were men with large families.

The executive secretary of the Committee reported that over 2,100 persons secured employment through the efforts of the Committee, but this number includes men taken from its lists by the State Highway Department, the county and the township in their programs of work expansion during this same period. The main work-relief program of the Mayor's Committee resulted in work for 765 different men, and perhaps 100 others were given employment on scattered minor projects. The total payroll reported by the Committee approximated \$112,000.

WATERBURY, CONNECTICUT

INCEPTION OF PROGRAM

WATERBURY is a city of about 100,000 population. Its industry is dominated by the metal trades, with three large manufacturing firms outstanding. By the early fall of 1930, the social agencies of the city had become aware that emergency relief measures would be needed. They presented the situation to the mayor, who called a meeting of representative citizens on November 1 and appointed a Relief Committee. Its Executive Committee, on which the social agencies as well as the industries were represented, was instructed to register the unemployed and ascertain the extent of unemployment.

The director of the Associated Charities was lent to take charge of this undertaking, and an office was opened close to the City Hall and the offices of several of the private social agencies. As a first step, employers were asked to report to the Committee: (1) the names, addresses and dates of employment of all employes released since October 1, 1929, and (2) the names and addresses, in separate lists, of employes then working one, two, or three days only a week. Social and religious agencies were also asked to report the names of those under their care because of unemployment. When these lists had been consolidated, direct registrations of the unemployed were accepted. In a preliminary announcement the Committee explained its method, requesting those who had had employment in the factories not to register, since their names had already been obtained. As a result, only a negligible number of direct registrations was received.

The original list of registrants was not cleared through the Confidential Exchange, which had been established for only a few months. Instead, the social agencies were asked to inspect the list of names and an effort was made to have these agencies visit and investigate all families not already under their care. The assistance of volunteers was enlisted for the purpose, but the burden proved too great, and it was decided to select investigators

WATERBURY, CONNECTICUT

for the Committee from among the unemployed. Several investigators were chosen and about 3,600 families were visited. The results found by this investigation were as follows:

Resident families, head unemployed	1,579
Resident families, head employed	509
Families removed from city	542
Families not identified	679
Non-resident families	322

The Mayor's Relief Committee decided that a work-relief program should be undertaken as the means of meeting the emergency situation. Since the platform on which the mayor had been elected was reduction of taxes, it was felt that public funds would not be available, and steps were therefore taken to raise funds from private sources. A Finance Committee was appointed with a leading banker as chairman and prominent employers among its members. This Committee held conferences with the industrial leaders of the city and evolved a method of financing the work-relief program, which proved thoroughly successful and which has been widely referred to as the "Waterbury Plan."

Under this plan, manufacturing and other employers undertook to obtain from their employes weekly contributions to be taken from their wages, and agreed to match them dollar for dollar. While the plan was given extensive publicity, the employes were not consulted as a group. Instead, each employer was asked to explain the plan to his force, pledge-cards being distributed by the foremen. The following schedule of contributions was requested: from those earning less than \$50 per week, 1 per cent of wages; from those earning \$50 to \$100, 1½ per cent; and from those earning \$100 or more, 3 per cent. Contributions were to be taken from wages by the employers and paid to the Committee weekly. Supplementary contributions were solicited from interested citizens. The fund thus obtained was to be known as the Mutual Aid Unemployment Fund of Waterbury. Pledges of about \$15,000 a week were made and money became immediately available. The fund was incorporated on November 21, 1930, and the work-relief program of the Mayor's Relief Committee was inaugurated the following week.

This plan for administering unemployment relief proved enor-

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

mously popular in Waterbury with city officials, employers, and citizens generally. There is no doubt that pressure was exerted in obtaining pledges of contributions, but in no plant did 100 per cent of employes contribute and coercion is said to have been applied alike to executives and to workers. The Waterbury Plan has some features of a mutual insurance scheme, although no attempt was made to confine the beneficiaries to those who had at any time contributed to the fund. Those who had contributed and later became unemployed, however, did adopt the attitude that they had a right to a share in the relief for which they had been paying.

In addition to work relief for the totally unemployed, the Waterbury Plan included direct relief for the underemployed, that is, those who had been retained by the employers on short time, provided their earnings were clearly inadequate for the family needs. This was a small number, since the practice of spreading work by means of short time was not prevalent in Waterbury.

Because of the mutual insurance features of the plan, the Committee did not feel free to refer such families for relief to the regular agencies.¹ Part of its funds have, therefore, been devoted to a Relief Bureau, operating at the same address as the placement department. During the winter of 1930-1931, this Bureau was staffed with four men, not experienced in social work, one of whom dispensed food orders, another coal, another milk, while a fourth attended to rent payments. One clerical assistant served this department. Relief from the Mutual Aid Unemployment Fund was regarded as supplementary to earnings, and in no case exceeded the amount an individual could have earned on work relief. Up to October 1, 1931, about \$31,000 had been dispensed in direct relief.

The activities of the Mayor's Relief Committee continued to be administered by the director of the Associated Charities, who had conducted the initial registration of the unemployed. While the plans for raising funds were maturing, the director made arrangements with city departments and non-profit-making institutions for work opportunities.

¹ The investigations of such families were made, however, by visitors of the social agencies, rather than by the Committee's investigators.

WATERBURY, CONNECTICUT

METHOD OF ADMINISTRATION

Personnel. The staff of the administrative office consisted of the director, assistant director (a former official of the American Legion), 14 investigators, reception clerk, five clerks, stenographers, 25 time-keepers, paymaster, and five payroll clerks. In addition, one clerk was added to the staff of the Confidential Index (Social Service Exchange) and paid for by the Committee, and a small amount of volunteer clerical service was used.

The position taken by the Committee was that none of the funds could be used for any other purpose than relief, so that the director felt unable to employ trained social and personnel workers. In fact, the idea that investigation was necessary was a novel one to the citizens at large. All the staff with the exception of the director were therefore selected from applicants for work relief. Of the 14 investigators, all were men; perhaps five had had college education, but none had had experience in either social or personnel work. The qualification most insisted upon was knowledge of the local community. The director attempted by daily staff conferences to give them some idea of the methods of social work.

The office working-week was thirty-one hours, and the basic rate of pay was \$12 a week.

Registration and Investigation. The office space, consisting of four rather small rooms, was inadequate to the volume of work handled. There was no waiting-room, and men awaiting interviews had to stand along the sides of a narrow hall.

The registration card, filled out by or for the applicant, carried the usual information as to family status and composition, age, birthplace, occupation, earnings, debts, and so forth. If the applicant had been referred by a social agency, the agency's recommendation was in most cases accepted without further investigation. About one-fourth of the applicants had been previously known to the social agencies. The cards of applicants not known to the agencies were given to investigators, who made home visits, the reports of which were typed and submitted to the director who examined them and entered on the registration card his decision as to assignment to work relief. If the applicant was found to have other resources than those stated on the application card, if there were others working in family, or if he were a non-resident, assign-

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

ment to work relief was not made. In such cases the decision and reasons therefor were explained to the applicant when he next came to the office. The cards of those approved for assignment to work were placed in a "waiting action file."

The director in his discretion referred to the private social agencies for care any families where the investigators' reports suggested other social or health problems than unemployment.

Assignment. The first applicants to be assigned were the resident heads of families (approximately 1,600) who had been registered and investigated before work relief began. At first, postcard notices were sent to the applicants as needed; but later it was found that this was unnecessary, since they called frequently at the office. Perhaps a hundred men would be grouped about the entrance at time of opening each day. As many as could be conveniently handled at once were allowed to remain, the remainder were given appointment cards and told to return at a definite hour later in the day.

There was no system of requisition by employing agencies, but an informal understanding as to the number which each could employ. When sent to work, the applicant's registration card was filed in an "employed file," and he was given an assignment card, which he delivered to the foreman who was in charge of the work project, who retained it till the completion of the job. In case a foreman wished to discharge a man, he entered the circumstances on the back of the assignment card, and directed the man to take it to the office. No re-assignments were made contrary to a foreman's recommendation.

The cards of persons who failed to appear, who became ill, who were discharged, or who found other work, were transferred to the "terminated file," where they remained unless they re-applied and made a satisfactory explanation. There was no alphabetical master file, so that it is difficult to understand how information could have been readily furnished in answer to inquiries about a particular worker; or, indeed, how the office could have checked re-applications with its various files.

Wages. The rate of pay was uniformly 33⅓ cents an hour for a nine-hour day, whatever the kind of work done. So far as known, no union members were placed at their trades at these wages.

WATERBURY, CONNECTICUT

Several conferences were held with representatives of labor unions on the wage question, and it is believed by those in charge that the unions were satisfied with the wage-policy. Single individuals received two days' work a week; persons with one or two dependents three days, those with three or more dependents five days.

A time-keeper attached to each job kept the payroll data, and the workers were paid off by check on their last working day in each week.

Health and Accident Provisions. There was no medical inspection, but men known to have physical defects were placed on light work, and men over sixty were only rarely assigned to work relief.

Insurance against accident to the workers was provided by the Fund, a premium of \$11,780 being paid. Compensation for injuries was handled entirely by the insurance company, and the Committee has no record of the number of such injuries. If medical care was necessary, the director was allowed to specify the doctor to be called in.

Nature of Work. Among the work-relief projects carried on were the following:

Park Department: Building a new miniature golf course, clearing land, demolishing buildings, building walls and paths, grading, laying pipes, seeding and planting, removing snow for skating. The superintendent of parks claims that his program of improvements has been advanced ten years.

Street Department: Excavating for water-mains, street widening and construction.

School Department: Clearing and grading grounds, constructing playgrounds. An assistant janitor was supplied.

Public and Private Institutions: Painting, cleaning, white-washing, repairing, improving grounds.

Miscellaneous: Raising vegetables (chiefly root crops) on an eight-acre tract lent for the purpose; cutting of 600-700 cords of stove-wood, 125 cords being dead timber in the state forest; repairing of old articles and making new in a Clothing Bureau, established for the purpose. Vegetables raised and stove-wood cut, and articles repaired or made, were distributed to families in need in lieu of relief.

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

Work opportunities for women were confined to sewing in the Clothing Bureau, and a few women were assigned to the social agencies for clerical work, in addition to those employed by the Committee itself.

EXTENT OF PROGRAM

The work-relief program began in the last week in November, 1930, and was still in operation in October, 1931. It is beginning to be looked upon as a permanent institution.

For the first five months, or through April, 1931, contributions averaged \$15,000 a week, of which about one-third was contributed by employed workpeople. During the summer they dropped to \$11,000 a week. A determined drive was made in the fall of 1931 which brought them back to the \$15,000 level.

Total receipts to October, 1931, amounted to \$577,880. Of the total, \$539,960 came from employers and their employes and \$37,920 from other sources.

Disbursements for the same period were \$557,171, divided as follows:

Wages	\$508,704
Insurance	11,780
Direct relief	30,937
Miscellaneous	5,750

Approximate figures representing the extent of the work by months are as follows:

	Wages
November, 1930	\$4,190
December	44,314
January, 1931	72,854
February	60,626
March	64,941
April	47,702
May	24,649
June	31,270
July	53,346
August	50,020
September	50,585
October	4,207

WATERBURY, CONNECTICUT

The average weekly payroll was \$11,561; the average weekly earnings for each worker were \$9.49.

The number of different persons given work was 3,042. Of these, 2,603 were heads of families comprising 11,397 individuals, while 439 were single men or women. Probably not over 150 women were employed. The average time on work relief was 17.6 weeks, and the average total earnings was \$167.

RELATED PROJECTS

Close contact was maintained with the personnel departments of the factories, to learn when employes on work relief might be called back to their jobs. In Waterbury there is little changing about from plant to plant; employers count upon recalling former employes when needed. The State Employment Bureau is little used, and about May 1, 1931, the Relief Committee found it necessary to start its own Employment Bureau. This was tied up with an odd-jobs campaign, reported as moderately successful. The Bureau specialized in temporary placements, although some permanent placements were made. This enterprise was conducted at an address separate from the Committee's headquarters, until September 1, when it was discontinued. The staff consisted of two men without personnel or employment experience, and one clerical assistant.

PART THREE
SETTING UP A PROGRAM OF WORK RELIEF

SETTING UP A PROGRAM OF WORK RELIEF¹

THE preceding pages have shown how diverse were the inception, development, and conduct of work relief in the cities studied. The investigators who prepared these reports were not working in a laboratory under controlled conditions; and outside the laboratory there probably is no such thing as completely objective investigation. The thing that primarily interests social workers is what is happening to human beings; and as we passed from city to city, this was our chief object of concern. Was a decent return in wages being made? Were the conditions of hiring, of working, of payment, such as to conserve and upbuild self-respect and independence, or to break them down? Was care taken not to subject the men at work to public interest and curiosity, as a class apart, the recipients of the community's bounty? Some approached the task with old prejudices against "made work" which became somewhat dispelled as they observed the workings of good projects. Others, coming to the study with no bias, found themselves developing one, according to the merit of the projects observed. It is no easy task to synthesize the experiences of a group, when those experiences have been diverse.

Moreover, differences in size of community, in available personnel, in the complex relationships of public and private social agencies with each other, and of both with industrial leaders, make it very difficult to lay down a plan of development for a work-relief program that is even remotely applicable to all communities. Suggestions, based on the common experiences in the communities studied, are all that can be attempted.

CONCEPTS UNDERLYING WORK RELIEF

Three major premises have been discernible in the thinking of the various groups which sponsored work-relief projects during the winter of 1930-1931. Briefly stated, they are:

1. Relief to the able-bodied is demoralizing. Those who are not willing to give labor in return for relief should be forced to do so.

¹ Published as a separate pamphlet, Russell Sage Foundation, December, 1931.

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

2. Relief without an equivalent in labor is a waste of money. The community has a right to secure as much of a return as possible in public improvements.

3. Relief is not necessarily demoralizing, if accompanied by skilled service. For a selected number of the unemployed, relief in the form of wages is important in preserving their morale. The return of value to the community is only incidental to this more important purpose.

The extremists in the first group, who hold that relief to the able-bodied is demoralizing, make frequent reference to the supposed pauperizing influence of the English dole, and imply in their discussions a return to the precept of our forefathers that "those who will not work shall not eat." It is evident that this disciplinary attitude is based on a profound distrust of the independence and eagerness for work of the majority of the unemployed. We still hear occasional statements from a few of the proponents of this point of view that "anyone who really wants work can find it," but the facts so patently controvert this statement that it is not nearly so frequently heard as in former depressions.

Projects sponsored with these underlying conceptions have taken on the aspect of work tests, the principal emphasis being to force the unemployed to demonstrate their willingness to take any work offered. Along with this has gone a disbelief in their ability or willingness to spend thriftily the wages earned, and a tendency to supplant cash wages with food orders and other necessities "in kind."

The second major premise, that relief without an equivalent of labor is a waste of money, has been less actuated by the emotions of fear and distrust. It is the expression of the views of the business man—that large sums are going necessarily to be expended to prevent suffering, and that it is fair for the community to secure as large a return as possible by way of permanent improvements.

This concept has produced some of the very large projects, with competent planning from the engineering standpoint. The effort has been to compete as nearly as possible in accomplishment with commercial construction work. The largest numbers of men that can conveniently be handled and supervised have been put as

SETTING UP A PROGRAM OF WORK RELIEF

promptly as possible to work. Wage scales have been kept low, and the selection of workers according to skilled social work standards has not been a prominent feature. The advantage has been that these projects closely duplicated the conditions of real public work, in the efficiency with which they were directed. The treatment of the men as gangs of laborers has been similar to that followed in construction jobs let by contract.

The returns from work relief on a cost-accounting basis are bound to be disappointing to those who look at it from this angle. The reasons for this are amply set forth in Part II.¹

The holders of the third concept, that relief is not necessarily demoralizing if accompanied by skilled service, do not believe that the unemployed have to be driven unwillingly to work. When supervision has been wise and kindly, and the purposes explained to the workers in such a way as to make it seem a privilege to participate, the savage theory of "work or starve" has been completely discredited. Men have stormed the bureaus for a chance to work for a few hours a week; they have labored willingly, at unaccustomed tasks, and co-operated in the project as far as they were encouraged or permitted to do so. When allowance is made for poor physical condition and unhandiness at unfamiliar tasks, they have shown as much industry and zeal as any group of workers.

Neither do the holders of the third point of view feel that efficiency and financial returns should be the major emphasis, though they believe that good business management and planning are desirable. Efficiency is certainly one of the goals in a work-relief program, though it should be by no means the only one.

They realize that a relief fund can be made to go farther when spent as direct relief on a basis of individual needs, than when it is spent on a flat wage basis, and that consequently a work-relief program, when properly administered, is an expensive form of relief. But they feel that there is a differential involved, which must be given primary weight and importance, if the expenditure of funds for work relief is to be fully justified. This factor is the preservation of morale.

This third concept places the primary purpose of relief in this form squarely in the field of spiritual values, and points toward a

¹ See Rochester, p. 192 and Philadelphia, p. 166.

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

program administered so as to exclude such unfortunates as have no longer any morale to be preserved. We have recommended elsewhere that a work-relief project should be made a volunteer enterprise.

The aristocracy of the unemployed will choose it, if they are given the choice. . . . They will not then have to be herded in with those who do not want to work and who will pull down the morale of the group by their efforts to avoid making a fair return. In the end, the higher prestige secured by those who elect to work, will create a more effective social pressure on the rest, than all efforts at coercion. . . .

The purpose of such a scheme as that outlined above should be not to establish a forced labor colony, not to return *quid pro quo* to the community for the relief offered; but rather to do a piece of preventive work with people exposed to the degeneration incident to loss of work, of status, of morale.

That it is a relief program, is shown by the fact that the "basis of need" is insisted upon. It cannot be made a money-making scheme for the community; even with the best will in the world, inexperienced men working part time cannot be as efficient as "old hands." It will be expensive; and the returns will be imponderable—to be stated only in terms of salvation.

When such as these whom we have been considering regain their place in industry—become once more the solid citizens whose contributions we ask at Community Fund time—will they look back on these bitter years with a feeling of shame and defeat, or will they feel a rising sense of co-partnership in the community that extended when they needed it a helping hand which they could grasp without loss of self-respect?¹

The corollary is, of course, that direct relief should be relied on for those not participating in the work-relief program, and that the major portion of funds available should probably be turned into that more economical form of assistance.

AUSPICES AND FINANCES

Good projects have been developed under both public and private auspices, and there is no reason to recommend one of these sources as opposed to the other. When the community's limit of taxation or borrowing has been reached, or when, as in the case of Pennsylvania, there are constitutional limitations in the way, re-

¹ Colcord, Joanna C., "This Winter's Work Relief." In *The Survey*, September 15, 1931, pp. 541-542.

SETTING UP A PROGRAM OF WORK RELIEF

liance must perforce be placed on private funds. It has so far been comparatively easy to raise contributed funds for work relief; there is the suggestion of an economy program attached to it which appeals to donors. The danger is that such emergency campaigns will overshadow the continued need for funds to support the regular program of relief and service in the community.

Funds privately raised are usually expended on a more flexible basis, for the routine of city expenditures does not have to be followed. It is possible also to transfer entirely the cost of materials to employers.

Expenditures from public funds, on the other hand, can usually be more adequately planned, since the sum which will be available can be estimated in advance. City departments, which have supplied most of the work opportunities, can be woven into a unified scheme.

In the latter case, we would, however, make several strong recommendations:

1. The administration of the fund should be through an organization or department separately created; and city officials assigned to direct the enterprise should be freed as far as possible from other duties. Confusion between the direct-relief function of the Department of Public Welfare and the Work-Relief Bureau should be avoided by placing them in separate quarters and if possible at separate addresses.
2. The city should not rely for its supply of workers entirely on its Department of Public Welfare. A definite proportion of applicants should be received by the Work-Relief Bureau from this agency, and from the private relief agencies as well; but residents of the city, who have not yet been obliged to receive home relief have a right to apply for work relief, and a definite proportion of work opportunities should be reserved for them. In order to determine that they actually need this assistance, one or more trained social workers should be employed to interview and to inquire into the circumstances of individual applicants.
3. Any suspicion should be avoided that the recommendations of persons seeking election are considered in the assignment of work. Aldermen and councilmen are frequently well informed about the needs of residents of their districts; but the connection

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

between favors extended and votes obtained is too serious to be risked.

4. Legal requirements that city employes must be citizens of the United States should be waived for those engaged in work relief. Many bona fide residents, eligible for other forms of relief, do not have citizenship papers. There is no reason to deny them this particular form of relief.

5. A city government undertaking work relief will do well to safeguard itself against criticism and add to the prestige of the project by associating with it an advisory committee composed of disinterested persons such as social workers, members of the citizens' committee on unemployment, if one exists, and labor leaders. The policies and procedures should be developed in consultation with this body.

ADVANCE PLANNING

Before the doors are opened procedures should be carefully thought out and determined as to registration, selection and assignment of workers, integration of the project with the other resources for relief in the community, kind of jobs available, and general office routine and procedure. The staff should be in readiness, so far as skilled personnel is concerned, though lesser clerical jobs can and should be filled from among the applicants. Foremen who will have direct supervision of workers should have the plans, purposes, and methods explained to them. Forms should be in readiness, and in a large city, letters of instruction should be sent out in advance, both to the prospective employers and to those who will have the privilege of sending candidates for employment. In a small city, a greater proportion of the preliminary work can be accomplished by informal conference.

The kind of advance publicity that is given out is very important. Care should be taken not to overstate the possibilities, or convey the idea that jobs may be had for the asking. It should be emphasized that those who have other resources should not apply for work relief. It is desirable to have the office open for a week or two, and get the machinery in running order, while receiving applicants referred by the social agencies, before giving out any public notice of its location or its readiness to receive independent applications.

SETTING UP A PROGRAM OF WORK RELIEF

LOCATION AND EQUIPMENT OF OFFICE

The office should not be contiguous to the offices of any agency, public or private, which dispenses direct relief. It becomes too easy for clients who are refused work to go next door and prefer a request for other assistance. Every effort should be made to give the quarters the aspect of an employment agency rather than a relief bureau.

There should be private rooms or screened-off cubicles for interviewing, and ample waiting space, with benches or chairs for the applicants. In practically every case, it has been possible to secure quarters rent free, and to fit up the office with suitable furniture and typewriters on a loan basis.

Telephone facilities can usually be secured at a reduced rate from the telephone company. In large cities a direct-wire connection with agencies frequently called, such as the Confidential Exchange, or the switchboard at the City Hall, has proved to be a great time-saver.

PERSONNEL

Three varieties of skilled professional service are needed in a properly set up work-relief project.

1. *For Direct Employment Service.* There is an endless amount of detail connected with the assignment of men to suitable jobs. Arrangements with employers will have to be made in advance, and interlocking time schedules prepared so that delay is avoided. Someone will have to see that materials, tools, and trucks are on hand when and where needed. A system of checking the presence of the men on the job will need to be set up, and reports on their efficiency secured. Simple and effective records of the assignments made will have to be devised. Complaints and misunderstanding between employers and employees will need to be adjusted. In small cities, the part time of a good personnel man may be sufficient to direct this end of the work; in large cities, it may demand the full time of one or more than one. Public utilities and mercantile and manufacturing concerns have been very generous in lending the services of skilled employment managers to these projects.

2. *For Social Service.* Work relief is still relief; and it requires no laboring of the point to state that all relief-giving involves the

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

determination of need. This is within the peculiar province of social work; and the ordinary procedure of an employment agency does not suffice. There is ample evidence in the foregoing pages that when skilled and experienced social workers have been busy at the source of applications, the selection of workers has gained greatly in effectiveness. Persons unskilled in social work may fill in a schedule of information, writing down the answers routinely as received; but the experienced social worker knows what supplementary questions to ask and how to ask them. Not only do applicants receive more considerate treatment from social workers than from inexperienced interviewers, but the process is considerably shortened by the application of previously acquired skills.

In the work-relief program, the social worker serves as the natural channel of communication to and from the social agencies interested in some of the workers. By furnishing them prompt reports on assignments, she helps them to avoid inadvertent duplication of work-relief wages by home relief. Where such supplementation is necessary, she secures it from the appropriate agency. She refers other serious problems, such as need for medical care, personality difficulties, or domestic discord, to the agency that will undertake to help. In the frequent cases where, after having been assigned, the worker fails to show up on the job, she investigates to learn whether the reason was a legitimate one. Complaints that a worker's wage is not going to the support of his family are referred to her for adjustment. She may attempt to make some further plans for those laid off on account of unsatisfactory conduct. The testimony of public officials and others who have received this sort of assistance from social workers on a work-relief program is that they "would never try to get along without them."

It is obvious that competent social workers cannot be drawn from the ranks of the unemployed. They are one of the few over-employed groups in the community in times of depression. They will have to be engaged and paid by the agency administering work relief (after consultation with the social work leaders in the community who are able to pass upon their competency); or borrowed from the social agencies, the latter continuing to pay all or part of their salaries; or secured on a volunteer basis. Not all competent social workers are paid professionals; a person might be found in

SETTING UP A PROGRAM OF WORK RELIEF

a small community who had devoted a large share of his or her time to direct work with individuals in distress under the direction of a social agency of good standards, and who was willing to transfer time and skill to developing the social work end of a work-relief project without compensation. The ordinary amateur doer of good deeds has not had the experience, however, to meet the requirements of the task.

3. *For Accounting and Clerical Service.* In a large project, the mechanics of making up the payroll and paying off require the services of a trained and responsible head. This is a vulnerable part of the organization, any charge of mismanagement of funds being serious to the continuance of a work-relief program. On city-managed projects, the ordinary machinery of the municipality can be extended to cover this project also. On those privately managed, it will be necessary to hire or borrow a competent business-trained executive.

All necessary clerical help—stenographers, filing clerks, work inspectors, time-keepers, and so on—can be found among the ranks of the white-collar unemployed who loom so conspicuously in the present depression. Their salaries should form part of the wage-bill chargeable to the work-relief fund; but in most cities it has been found necessary to employ them on a full-time basis, the operation of two shifts being inexpedient in the management of the work bureau itself.

OFFICE SYSTEM

In Appendix B will be found reproductions of selected forms which have been used in the cities studied. The nature and size of the projects will determine whether a simple system will suffice. The minimum requirements would be (1) an application-registration form, preferably in duplicate, which should call for occupational history, to assist in the *determination of fitness*, and social and financial data to assist in the *determination of need*; (2) a requisition for workers, to be sent in by employing agencies; (3) an assignment card, to be given to the worker and by him presented to the foreman or supervisor; and (4) a payroll sheet, with spaces for proper checking and signatures.

It is important that the division of office duties be clearly under-

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

stood by those participating; and that filing equipment be adequate, so as to avoid errors. Too many people clustering about the files impede progress. The records of completion of employment assignments should be entered on the back of each registration card at night, or at some time when the cards are not otherwise in use.

REGISTRATION OF APPLICANTS

Attempts to register all the unemployed should not be combined with a work-relief program. Applications for jobs will need no stimulation of this sort, once the news gets about. On the other hand, not all the unemployed are resourceless and in need; and a general registration of these would only clog the machinery.

There are two main sources of labor supply:

1. *Reference from Private Social Agencies and Public Relief Departments.* These agencies should be able to give verified facts about their candidates. Ordinarily, no further time should be given to investigation in these cases, though a supplementary interview with the client is desirable.

2. *Independent Applications.* A careful interview, a home visit, and some checking of resources should be made if possible in these cases.

A third method, pursued in some cities, we can unreservedly condemn. This is the acceptance without investigation of persons who come with letters of recommendation from individuals. We have already commented on the improper use of recommendations for political advantage; but it has been found in practice that the ordinary citizen of high standing in the community is a very free giver of letters of recommendation; and usually has no very precise knowledge about the person he sends. Any semblance of "pull" creates distrust in the community and among the applicants themselves; and such practices should be resolutely avoided by those in charge of work-relief projects.

The policy as to what circumstances shall include or exclude the applicant from participation should be as far as possible determined in advance. No rules can be laid down for every community, but these are some of the governing principles which have been developed.

SETTING UP A PROGRAM OF WORK RELIEF

1. There should be no discrimination on grounds of race, religion, or nationality. Non-citizens who are residents should participate.

2. It seems fair to exclude non-residents, particularly homeless men, from participation. The community should develop other means for handling these problems.

3. Preference should be given to heads of families with dependents. Women and single men who are responsible for the support of others should receive the same consideration as male heads of families.

4. Resources should be interpreted as available resources. The home-owner who can neither sell, rent, nor borrow upon his property, and who is behind on tax and interest payments, is for all practical purposes resourceless.

5. Total family income should be taken into consideration, and a maximum decided upon which will exclude an applicant from participation. In some cities where a comparatively high wage-rate was paid, this was placed at the amount the person could earn on work relief.

6. Not more than one person from the same household should ordinarily be employed on work relief.

It will be possible on the first interview to sift out a number of applications which should be eliminated as not meeting the conditions laid down for participation. The reasons for elimination should be carefully explained to each applicant, and if necessary, he should be referred to some other source of assistance for consideration of his problems.

Those who pass the first test will then remain for further consideration. In Louisville, where social workers were employed in the Work-Relief Bureau, a scrutiny of the 13,000 applications received resulted in the non-inclusion of over one-half without the necessity of further investigation. Home visits disclosed information that reduced the remainder by nearly one-half again; so that less than one-third of the original number of applicants remained to be placed, and jobs were found for all these.

DETERMINATION OF NEED

As has been stated, the determination of need in each instance requires the participation of social workers. We strongly advise,

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

however, against the method, employed in some communities, of "farming out" the task of investigation to the social agencies. The agencies are engrossed with their own task of administering direct relief in the home. Their burden is appallingly increased by the depression, and their resources increased in no such measure. If the position is taken, as in Chicago, that only persons proposed by the social agencies will be placed at work, a strong incentive is created to apply to these agencies, ostensibly for direct financial assistance but actually in order to secure work-relief jobs. It is far better to maintain a direct channel for applications, instead of forcing all applicants for work relief to apply first to a relief agency. From the point of view of the agencies themselves, it is more advantageous to release social workers to the Work-Relief Bureau or to lend them for a period, replacing them with less highly trained personnel, than it is to permit themselves to be used either as the sole investigating arm of the work-relief enterprise, or as the only avenue through which jobs may be secured.

Social workers employed by a Work-Relief Bureau will make it their first procedure to "clear" a new application with the Confidential Exchange.¹ This is a central card-file, maintained for the use of the social agencies which deal with families and individuals, each card relating to a particular family. The only information which these cards contain, in addition to names, addresses and other identifying information, is a list of the agencies which have registered their interest in the family. Agencies that inquire are given the names of agencies previously interested; and a report of the registration of the newcomer is made to such of the latter as desire this service. This simple mechanism enables the group of agencies interested to get in touch with one another, supplement one another's information, and make sure that the plans they are putting into effect are not in conflict. It is important, therefore, that the Work-Relief Bureau not only inquire at the Exchange, but register its connection with its applicants, in order that it may be "geared in" with the group of social agencies which may have previous or subsequent dealings with the same people.

¹ Variouslly called Social Service Exchange, Central Index, or similar terms. Complete directions for establishing one of these bureaus may be obtained from the Association of Community Chests and Councils, Graybar Building, New York City.

SETTING UP A PROGRAM OF WORK RELIEF

By means of sources of information learned in this way, and through the interview with the applicant, the process of investigation can be foreshortened as an emergency measure, the social worker going unerringly to the source best calculated to furnish the needed information. Home visits are necessary unless recent information can be secured from a social agency as to size of family, resources, and occupational history.

Let us digress at this point to discuss why the applicant's own statements are not always sufficient. This is not due to deliberate fraud; there are instances in which a panic-stricken individual thinks his situation worse than it really is. Enterprising and energetic citizens who have resources to tide them over may nevertheless feel that they have a right to participate in the work project if they are willing to give full value for the wage received. One city which relied on the very nature of the hard outdoor labor provided, to deter from seeking it those whose need was less than desperate, found that a fair proportion of thrifty, hard-working folk had no objection to supplementing their resources in this way. Such people are among our most energetic and productive citizens; they are not essentially frauds and spongers; but if they are not kept off a work-relief project, the funds will be diverted from their purpose of the relief of stark need. Careful explanations, such as social workers are trained to give, are necessary to show these good people why they cannot participate.

DETERMINATION OF FITNESS

After the determination of need, it is next in order to consider the fitness of the applicant for the kinds of work that can be provided. We shall later discuss the advantages of a diversified selection of jobs; and what is advanced in this section presupposes that more than one kind of work is offered.

The determination of fitness falls more to the task of the person trained in employment exchange work or personnel management, though even here the information secured by the social worker will have great value.

The statement of an applicant that he is master of a skilled trade should be made the subject of closer questioning. It is in response to a natural human weakness that plumbers' helpers like to write

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

themselves down as plumbers, and hod-carriers and plasterers as masons. A telephone inquiry to the last few employers will sometimes reveal causes for dismissal which the applicant did not state or of which he was unaware. But the caution should also be observed that at a time like the present, employers sometimes "rationalize" their reasons for dismissal.

Some attempt must be made to determine physical fitness before assigning people to heavy laboring jobs. Certain handicaps are evident to the eye, others can be discovered only by a medical examination. Four of the projects studied used a routine medical examination for laborers made by physicians who were employed by the city or who volunteered their services for the purpose. In these cities we did not hear, as we did in some others, that a cardiac dropped dead on the job, or that a man died of a strangulated hernia. Applicants desperate for work will conceal their physical disabilities to their own detriment; and we therefore heartily recommend a preliminary medical examination before people are sent to heavy jobs.

Age should also be considered, and men beyond middle age given the lighter forms of work unless they have always performed hard labor. The same is true of younger men of inferior physical development accustomed only to indoor work; although many instances were reported last winter of white-collar men whose physical health improved when they were given hard outdoor work.

It is only fair to the co-operating employers, as well as to the good repute of the project itself, that efforts be made to fit the man to the job available. When the applicant possesses some special skill, a canvass should be made in order to find some job for which his qualifications will be most useful. It is wasteful to employ the time of a draftsman in picking up litter in the streets, when the city engineer could use him on interesting and important work. This, however, leads directly into our next topic.

CHOICE OF WORK PROJECTS

The most important principle to be kept in mind here is a negative one. No work-relief project must be allowed to reduce by a dollar the money available for real wages. For this reason no workers paid from work-relief funds must be supplied to any con-

SETTING UP A PROGRAM OF WORK RELIEF

cern operating for profit, even though the employer claims to be "making" work he would not otherwise have done. If workers are supplied to do odd jobs for householders, it must be at the householders' expense.

It is, moreover, necessary to scrutinize carefully the nature of the jobs offered by non-profit-making agencies to be sure that these are things the department or agency has no funds in its budget to pay for through commercial channels. The anticipation of work that would have to be done and paid for as a matter of necessity in a few months or a year is of problematical value. When that time rolls around, some independent worker will be deprived of a real job, and unemployment is therefore only postponed. Agencies and departments anxious to reduce immediate pressure upon their budgets do not always see clearly on this point. Those in charge of a work-relief project have the duty laid upon them to see clearly and to speak clearly, demanding the most explicit assurances that all jobs provided be those that the agency has no means to pay for and no intention of undertaking with its own funds in the immediate future. This applies equally to city departments and to private agencies. Any complaint that a person has been "laid off" from a regular job to make room for another on work relief should be given serious and prompt attention, and the worker withdrawn if the complaint is found to be justified.

A diversified program of work is more valuable than concentration on one type of labor, even though it is more difficult to deal with many employers than with one or two. The "concentrated" type of program usually means that the source of all the jobs is in one or two city departments, such as parks or streets. This means that only men capable of hard outdoor labor can be used; and the Work-Relief Bureau will have nothing to furnish to women and delicate men, who are nevertheless responsible for the support of families.

We recommend careful perusal of the account of the Philadelphia experiment,¹ where the program was so diversified that not only the white-collar group of office workers, but many professional people, were employed at tasks that would utilize their best powers.

The list of projects carried out in Philadelphia might be indefi-

¹ See p. 172.

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

nately extended. Few public departments are able to carry out all the studies they would like to make, and with the example of Philadelphia's Traffic Department to quicken their imagination, might develop similar pieces of work.

In one county, the registrar of deeds was years behind with his filing, and thankfully accepted office men on work relief to help him. In other places, the museums have used college women with laboratory experience to prepare, mount, and catalogue specimens. Libraries have used people to repair damaged books, catalogue, sort out duplicate pamphlet material, and have even provided less skilled work for delicate women in the form of removing the dust of ages from infrequently consulted books in the stacks.

It is quite possible that the Department of Health could use laboratory assistants, if qualified chemists or biologists turn up. The Tenement House Department might use additional inspectors. The Department of Street Cleaning might be willing to experiment with the new unit cost-accounting system which is now being tried out in some cities, if qualified personnel could be furnished them free. The Municipal Research Bureau might be another source of jobs or suggestion. Additional nurses and orderlies might be supplied to the hospitals. Musicians and entertainers could be employed in recreation programs.

At the same time, projects of public works, where large gangs of men can be used, with supervision from regular city employes, will doubtless continue to be the main dependence of a work-relief program. Part II instances many types of work of this sort which were undertaken in the several cities. The diversion from the relief fund of large amounts for the purchase of materials ought to be avoided, however. They are a legitimate charge upon the budgets of the city departments which profit by the work.

Wherever possible, emphasis should be placed on new construction. Clean-up and repair work, while necessary and useful, resemble too closely the old-fashioned made work to be good morale builders. Rochester, which undertook a large amount of permanent construction, reports that the workers, particularly the skilled men, took great pride and interest in the projects, and in some instances came to work without pay on an off-day, in order not to hold up a piece of work on which the jobs of other men de-

SETTING UP A PROGRAM OF WORK RELIEF

pended. The experience of Kansas City, Kansas, shows that the interest and participation of the men employed can be secured even on the cruder operations of logging and wood-sawing.

WORK ASSIGNMENTS

Certain cautions are suggested by the experience of several cities in the mechanics of assigning people to work.

When a group of assignment cards have been made out, it is natural to mail them to the men selected. In practice, however, this has not always worked well, especially in cities with a large foreign population. The names men give on application are frequently not the names by which they are known in their neighborhoods, and the postman may be unable to locate them. Tenement mail boxes are not well protected, and work orders have been known to be abstracted from them. There is even some trading about of work permits—John Jones has got a real job since applying for work relief; or he is ill when the permit arrives. He sees no reason for wasting it, and so gives it or sells it to Jim Smith in the same house, who “works out the time” instead, under Jones’s name.

A few instances of this sort have caused some cities to adopt the plan of mailing a postcard directing the applicant to call for his work permit at the office. He signs the permit when it is given to him, and his signature is later compared by the clerk with that appearing on the payroll when he receives his pay.

The system of having the men come for their work permits at a given time is useful also when gangs are to be transported by bus to the outskirts of the city. They can thus be assembled in one spot and taken out together. A few extra men are usually summoned, in the expectation that some will not appear, and any left-overs are used to make up vacancies in other gangs.

TRANSFER AND DISMISSAL

The transfer of men to other jobs, on the basis either of their aptitudes or their weaknesses, is to be encouraged. Such requests coming from foremen should be given special attention. It is necessary to discipline and effectiveness that foremen and supervisors should be given the right of dismissal for misconduct; but in all

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

such cases a special report should be sent to the Work-Relief Bureau, and the discharged employe called in and interviewed. Experience has shown that franker explanations for dismissal are received from foremen if they are requested to send them in by mail, and not allowed to transmit them by the discharged employe.

Since work relief is granted only to people with dependents, it goes without saying that failure to use the money earned for the support of those dependents constitutes a breach of faith which cannot be tolerated. Drinking or gambling under these conditions constitutes aggravated non-support, and should be dealt with promptly and severely when a case has been proved.

RE-ASSIGNMENTS

When a job has been completed, the question of re-assignment of the workmen arises. One of the most debated questions connected with work relief centers about continuity of employment. The social agencies involved have stood as a unit in pleading for the re-assignment, week after week, of the same group of people as long as they are out of regular work, those who cannot be given work being carried on a home-relief basis. They point out that insecurity and fear are destructive forces; and that the first duty of a work-relief project is to give assurance to the persons for whom a responsibility has been assumed that their small earnings will continue as long as the funds last. It is a traditional attitude among social workers not to "spread thin," and not to withdraw from a situation until all has been done that is possible. This attitude we respect and share; but we think it is necessary also to give the arguments on the other side, and to admit that they have weight.

Work relief is strictly an emergency measure. It is not designed to bring about a permanent solution for the troubles of the unemployed. It is rather intended to give them a breathing-space while they search for the more lasting security of a real job. It is undesirable that an emergency stop-gap should become a life habit. People may have their morale sapped instead of strengthened, by becoming inured to three days on and three days off at \$12 a week! If carried too far, this means the creation of a contented pool of casualized labor.

SETTING UP A PROGRAM OF WORK RELIEF

Moreover, there is a strong feeling among the labor group—as witness the decision made by some of the Chicago labor unions—that work-relief jobs ought to be passed around so that each man who needs work gets a little. If individual morale suffers, group morale is heartened by this method.

The man who feels that he had the same chance as the next man cherishes a kindly feeling toward the community that offered him assistance—even inadequate assistance. The man who sees his neighbor no needier than he working week after week, while he is rejected merely because the other fellow got his application in first, feels himself justifiably aggrieved.

We confess that we cannot reconcile these divergent points of view. We can only present them for the consideration of the Work-Relief Bureau that has more qualified candidates for jobs than it is able to place at work.

WAGE RATES AND HOURS

The daily or hourly rate should not be conspicuously below the rate current in the community for the kind of work performed. The work-relief project ought not to be responsible, as some have been held to be, for a general lowering of wage rates.

The amount of weekly earnings need not vary so widely, however, as the foregoing statement might lead one to suppose. Weekly earnings are controlled by the number of days the person is permitted to work. A basic weekly wage should be aimed at, which will cover the necessities of life for the ordinary family, with such supplemental wages as the members who are of working age can pick up.¹ Suppose it is decided in a given city that \$12 a week shall be the basic wage. If common laborers customarily receive 50 cents an hour, the men assigned to these tasks should work three days of eight hours each a week. This permits the operation of two shifts a week, and introduces no serious difficulties in management.

But suppose the job in hand calls for the additional services of

¹ In a few smaller cities the number of days a man is allowed to earn is decided by the number of his dependents. This attempt to apply the principle of the "family wage" has not met with general favor, however, because of the complexity introduced when it is attempted to run two-day, three-day, four-day, and possibly five-day shifts simultaneously.

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

carpenters and bricklayers, and the "going rate of wages" for these skilled trades is from \$11 to \$13 a day? In this case, one day's work a week at the rate the man is accustomed to earn will produce somewhere near the basic weekly wage. It must be taken into consideration, however, that the higher scale of wages has created a somewhat different standard of living in the families of skilled men; their rents, for instance, are higher and cannot be readily reduced. A four-day shift once in three weeks might be a fairer arrangement for them.

But it is often better to let a skilled man finish a job he has begun. In Rochester, it was found that if one man began to build a chimney and another finished it, the difference in individual technique caused a poor-looking job. Chicago solved the difficulty by letting such a man work till he had accumulated about \$120 in wages, and then laying him off for two months. Such flexible arrangements, while they introduce some difficulties in bookkeeping and assignments, have decided advantages in dealing with skilled workers.

They have added advantages in smoothing otherwise troubled relations with the labor unions. The vexed subject of union rates can be handled in this way so that the co-operation of the labor group is retained. It is not so much the weekly earnings that the unions are militant about, as protecting the daily rate of pay. A man ought not to be forced to choose between food for his family, and the loss of his union card, which will imperil his chances of securing independent work later on.

In general, however, it is better to permit men to work only part of each week, since this leaves them some free time in which to look for real work, and to pick up odd jobs here and there. They should be encouraged to secure an extra day's work occasionally if they can, and not discouraged by having their hours on work relief reduced accordingly. The system occasionally met with of forcing men on work relief to report daily to the Bureau on off-days simply to prove that they are idle, is a pernicious one and should be avoided.

SETTING UP A PROGRAM OF WORK RELIEF

METHOD OF PAYMENT

During the past winter, the method of payment has differed as widely in the several cities as the wage scale itself. The main groupings are as follows:

1. *Payment with Money.* This may be either by checks issued by the Work-Relief Bureau, or by cash. Under the latter method, the pay envelopes are made up at the Bureau, and either handed to the men when they call for them, or distributed by paymasters on the job. In some cities where the work was done for municipal departments, the men were paid off at the same place and time as regular employes of the department, and the corresponding amount transferred as a bookkeeping entry from the unemployment fund to the credit of the department.

Chicago developed an interesting method of dealing with the numerous institutions and agencies to whom workers were assigned. These agencies were requested to set up revolving funds out of their own treasuries and pay the workers off in cash at the completion of each shift. The certified payrolls, bearing the workers' signatures, were accepted as vouchers, and a check mailed by the Work Bureau to reimburse the agency.

2. *Payment with "Scrip."* Scrip consists of printed slips in various denominations, exchangeable for goods on presentation. Two varieties of this system were found in operation; the "restricted" system, when the scrip has to be redeemed at a commissary store operated by the municipality, and the "unrestricted" system, when the scrip is simply a general order on any merchant to supply necessities according to the holder's wishes, the dealer later presenting the bill to the city for settlement.

There can be little objection to scrip provided it is allowed to circulate as legal tender, with the credit of the city behind it; though even then it is a cumbersome and expensive way of distributing wages. When, however, the attempt is made to center its redemption at a city commissary store, we can find no good to say of it. Diverting the purchase of groceries to the city store interferes with normal trade, and deprives dealers of profits from customers whom they have carried in many cases for long periods on credit. More serious still, it deprives people who have earned

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

something in exchange for their labor of the right to dispose of their earnings in the way that seems best to them. The natural human reaction to such an interference with self-direction is to "beat the game" in any way that can be devised.

A further objection, which applies to the commissary system rather than to the scrip system *per se*, is that it forces people to make public acknowledgment of their condition when they enter a place which is known to serve only the recipients of relief and depart laden with a basket. Good social practice protects the poor from humiliations of this sort.

3. *Payment "in kind."*¹ This method has been used only where the Department of Public Welfare has been closely tied up with the work-relief program. Many public departments still cling to the method of giving direct relief in goods rather than in cash; and they have in many cases transferred the practice without change when their clients become the wage-earners in a work-relief project.

Relief in kind is sometimes given out direct from a city commissary, when the same objections attach to it as those just advanced against the restricted scrip system. Less objectionable is the practice of giving out orders on specified dealers for the goods needed. But this, like the unrestricted scrip system, is cumbersome and involves both increased bookkeeping and some element of overseeing the worker's use of his income. It has the further disadvantage of placing considerable opportunity for favoritism in the hands of city officials as to the dealers on whom orders are drawn.

We would recommend that all payment of work-relief wages be made in cash or by check, and on the job if possible, to avoid unnecessary loss of time to the workers.

PROTECTION AGAINST INJURY

No city has reported an unusual number of serious accidents.² This is surprising, in view of the inexperience of many of the men

¹ That is, in food, clothing, or other necessities.

² Springfield, Massachusetts (not one of the cities studied), reports many more layoffs due to strains and sprains among men on work relief than among regular city laborers.

SETTING UP A PROGRAM OF WORK RELIEF

and their "soft" physical condition. Nevertheless, it is strongly recommended that workmen's compensation insurance be provided for all persons on work relief. Work relief is employment as well as relief; and either the bureau that assigns the workers or the agency to which they are assigned ought in justice to carry the employer's risk as provided in the laws of the state. It is also a protection to the work-relief agency itself, which might otherwise be liable for heavy damages in case of serious injury or death.

VARIATIONS ON THE WORK-RELIEF THEME

Some confusion has arisen about just what projects should be included under the term "work relief." As used herein, it means useful work projects for which men are selected on the basis of need, their wages being paid from relief funds contributed or appropriated for the purpose. It does not include the following:

1. *Advanced Public Works.* This is a phrase intended to mean special public works projects, even though they may be embarked upon as an unemployment measure, when the work is let out to contractors in the customary way, and when they hire their employees without reference to need and pay them directly.

2. *"Staggered" Employment.* Such a plan was adopted in the cities of Akron¹ and Toledo. Here the regular force of city laborers was put on half time, and an equal number of new men hired, their need being one of the considerations. No new work was attempted and no additional funds were required under this arrangement.

3. *Odd-Jobs Campaigns.* In the make-a-job canvasses undertaken in numerous cities, the men are assigned on a basis of need, but the employer pays the wages, while the unemployment committee functions only as a specialized employment bureau.

4. *Street-selling.* Here the relief is confined to providing men with initial stocks of apples or other commodities. Each man is then launched upon a private business venture and turns over his capital like any merchant.

5. *Woodyards and Other Work Tests.* The woodyards operated by agencies caring for homeless men, when the furnishing of meals and lodgings for short periods is contingent on the performance of a few hours of work at sawing and splitting wood, are outright work

¹ Not reported on.

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

tests, and these enterprises make no claim to be included in the field of work relief.

6. *Man-a-Block Plan.* Our definition of work relief could be stretched to include projects like the man-a-block plan in Buffalo where the committee in charge secured regular contributions from the householders employing the men, and paid them off at a wage rate previously agreed upon. It would have to stretch almost to the breaking point, however, to include the Louisville man-a-block plan under which the blocks were organized and men assigned as in Buffalo, but thereafter each man collected his own wages from his several employers.

RELATION OF WORK RELIEF TO THE GENERAL RELIEF PROGRAM

An attempt should be made at the outset of a work-relief program to envisage it as a part of the total relief efforts of the community. The money available locally for all relief purposes constitutes in reality a single pool. If one portion of the program is stressed, there will be less to spend on the others. A rough appraisal should therefore be made, in conference with chest executives and representatives of public and private charity, to arrive at what will be an equitable amount to divert into work-relief channels.

The Welfare Federation of Cleveland has given much thought to this problem, upon the premise that work-relief funds should be expected to lessen the burden upon private charity by removing certain families from its lists. It arrives at the conclusion that funds go much farther in meeting relief needs when expended for direct relief than when used to pay work-relief wages. The director writes:

The factors which go to make up this additional cost are as follows:

1. It requires more money in work-relief wages for a given family than in home relief . . . due to the difference in attitude toward the family by the landlord, the grocer, and other creditors, and the difference in attitude of the family itself toward the income from wages as compared to home relief.

2. The average case worker will recommend many families for work relief which she would not recommend, at least not as soon, for home re-

SETTING UP A PROGRAM OF WORK RELIEF

lief, due to a difference in attitude by the visitor toward work relief compared to home relief as a resource.

3. A man doing work relief has less time to pick up odd jobs or to look for partial or permanent employment than a man who has all his time free to look for work.

All of this refers, of course, to communities where funds are so limited or the need is so great that the expenditure of money for work relief cuts into the amount available for home relief to such an extent that relief funds may be inadequate to meet total relief requirements. Where a community has either so much money or so little unemployment that work relief can be provided in addition to reasonably adequate home relief or where funds can be used for work relief which cannot be used for home relief, then I am heartily in favor of work relief because of its obvious advantages in maintaining self-respect on the part of the recipients. But where . . . a large made work program parallels serious inadequacy of relief funds, I believe the relief funds should come first.

It is our aim in Cleveland so to plan our resources that the Associated Charities and Jewish Social Service Bureau, which are responsible for material relief, may not at any time have to refuse an applicant because the agency has exhausted the funds available to it for relief. We believe it is even more important to avoid the closing of relief agency doors than to promote a work-relief program.

The point of view expressed by the Cleveland Welfare Federation leaves out of account, however, the potential burden removed from the agencies when families not already on their lists are prevented from falling in need of direct relief by the receipt of work-relief wages. Much study, which no one has yet had the time to make, could profitably be given to this point.

Pittsburgh, which made the valiant attempt to remove all able-bodied men and their families from the load carried by the relief agencies, was not able to do so. No city, we believe, will be able successfully to substitute wages for direct relief to all the resourceless unemployed. Recourse must be had for the remainder to the old and well-tried measures of relief in the home, granted on an individual basis. This only makes more imperative the need for a careful selection among the applicants for work relief, which we have been stressing throughout the preceding pages. In this selection, the social agencies can be of great help, if they are included in the planning from the outset, and their probable need for relief

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

funds kept in the picture when the size of the work-relief budget is being determined.

This study has dealt in the main with the methods of administering work relief. We have been able to give only brief sidelights, in passing, on the effect of these experiments on the lives of the workers. In a few of the accounts in Part II—particularly in those of Louisville, New York, Philadelphia, and Rochester—some of these brief references will be found.

Work relief is certainly no solution for the problem of *unemployment*; it remains to determine how effective it may become in offering a solution for some of the problems of *unemployed individuals*. We have not attempted to approach this question ourselves. Only detailed case-studies, of the "before-and-after" type, would produce the material upon which a judgment could be formed.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

ADDITIONAL CITIES REPORTING WORK-RELIEF PLANS IN 1930-1931

IN ADDITION to the 26 communities the programs of which are discussed in this volume, the following 184 cities reported to the Association of Community Chests and Councils, New York City, that they had undertaken work-relief projects of greater or less magnitude. Neither the Association nor the writers vouch for the completeness of this list; it is included here merely to show the wide range in geographical location and sizes of communities where work-relief projects were undertaken.

The sources from which the funds were received are indicated in brackets after the name of each city.

ARKANSAS
HOT SPRINGS (Private)

CALIFORNIA
ALAMEDA (Public)
BERKELEY (Public and Private)
LONG BEACH (Public and Private)
LOS ANGELES (Public and Private)
MONTEREY (Public)
OAKLAND (Public)
PASADENA (Public)
SACRAMENTO (Private)
SAN DIEGO (Public)
SAN FRANCISCO (Public)
SANTA ANA (Public and Private)
SANTA BARBARA (Private)
SOUTH PASADENA (Private)

COLORADO
COLORADO SPRINGS (Private: Administration Public)
GREELEY (Private)

CONNECTICUT
BRISTOL (Public and Private)
MERIDEN (Public and Private)
NEW BRITAIN (Public and Private)
NEW HAVEN (Public)
NORWALK (Private)
STAMFORD (Public)

DELAWARE
WILMINGTON (Public and Private)

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
WASHINGTON (Private)

FLORIDA
JACKSONVILLE (Public and Private: Administration Private)
MIAMI (Private)
PENSACOLA (Public and Private)
ST. PETERSBURG (Public)
TAMPA (Public)

GEORGIA
SAVANNAH (Private)

ILLINOIS
ALTON (Private)
BLOOMINGTON (Private)
DANVILLE (Public and Private)
ELGIN (Public and Private)
EVANSTON (Public and Private)
PEORIA (Private)
QUINCY (Private)
ROCKFORD (Public)
SPRINGFIELD (Private)

INDIANA
ANDERSON (Private)
EAST CHICAGO (Private)

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF

INDIANA—(*Continued*)

FORT WAYNE (Private)
GARY (Public)
HAMMOND (Private)
LAFAYETTE (Private)
MARION (Private)
MICHIGAN CITY (Public and Private)
MISHAWAKA (Public)
NEW ALBANY (Private)
RICHMOND (Private)
TERRE HAUTE (Public)

IOWA

DAVENPORT (Public and Private)
DES MOINES (Private)
NEWTON (Public and Private)
OTTUMWA (Public)
SIOUX CITY (Private)

KANSAS

WICHITA (Private)

KENTUCKY

COVINGTON (Public)
PADUCAH (Private)

LOUISIANA

NEW ORLEANS (Public)

MAINE

PORTLAND (Public)

MARYLAND

CUMBERLAND (Private)

MASSACHUSETTS

BOSTON (Public)
BROCKTON (Public)
BROOKLINE (Not stated)
CAMBRIDGE (Private)
FALL RIVER (Private)
FITCHBURG (Public)
LAWRENCE (Public)
LOWELL (Public)
LYNN (Public and Private)
MALDEN (Private)
NEWTON (Public and Private)
NORTHAMPTON (Public)
PITTSFIELD (Public)
SPRINGFIELD (Public and Private)
WATERTOWN (Public and Private)
WORCESTER (Public)

MICHIGAN

FLINT (Public)
KALAMAZOO (Public)
LANSING (Private)
PORT HURON (Public and Private)
SAGINAW (Public)

MINNESOTA

DULUTH (Public)

MISSOURI

JOPLIN (Private)

MONTANA

GREAT FALLS (Private)

NEBRASKA

LINCOLN (Public)

NEW HAMPSHIRE

CONCORD (Public)
MANCHESTER (Public)

NEW JERSEY

ATLANTIC CITY (Private)
BELLEVILLE (Public)
BLOOMFIELD (Public)
JERSEY CITY (Public)
MONTCLAIR (Private)
MORRISTOWN (Public and Private)
NEW BRUNSWICK (Private)
THE ORANGES (Not stated)
PERTH AMBOY (Public and Private)
PLAINFIELD (Public)

NEW YORK

AUBURN (Public)
BINGHAMTON (Public and Private)
CEDARHURST (Private)
CORNING (Public)
ELMIRA (Public and Private)
HUDSON (Public and Private)
ITHACA (Public and Private)
JAMESTOWN (Public)
NEWBURGH (Public)
NEW ROCHELLE (Private)
POUGHKEEPSIE (Private)
ROME (Public and Private)
SYRACUSE (Public)
TROY (Public and Private)
UTICA (Private)
WATERTOWN (Public)
YONKERS (Private)

NORTH CAROLINA

ASHEVILLE (Private)
GOLDSBORO (Public)
GREENSBORO (Public)
ROCKY MOUNT (Public)
WILMINGTON (Private)

OHIO

AKRON (Public and Private)
CANTON (Public)
COLUMBUS (Public)

CITIES REPORTING WORK-RELIEF PLANS IN 1930-1931

OHIO—(Continued)

LIMA (Public)
MASSILLON (Public)
MIDDLETOWN (Public)
NILES (Public)
SANDUSKY (Public)
WARREN (Public)
YOUNGSTOWN (Public)
ZANESVILLE (Public)

OKLAHOMA

OKLAHOMA CITY (Public)

OREGON

MEDFORD (Public)
PORTLAND (Public)

PENNSYLVANIA

ALTOONA (Private)
BETHLEHEM (Public)
BRADFORD (Public and Private)
CHESTER (Public and Private)
EASTON (Private)
HARRISBURG (Public and Private)
JOHNSTOWN (Private)
NEW CASTLE (Public)
NORRISTOWN (Private)
OIL CITY (Public and Private)
READING (Public)
WEST CHESTER (Private)

RHODE ISLAND

NEWPORT (Private)
PAWTUCKET (Public)
PROVIDENCE (Public and Private)

TENNESSEE

JOHNSON CITY (Private)
KNOXVILLE (Public)
MEMPHIS (Public and Private)

TEXAS

AMARILLO (Public)
DALLAS (Public)
EL PASO (Public)
GALVESTON (Private)
LUBBOCK (Public)
SAN ANTONIO (Public)
WACO (Public)

UTAH

SALT LAKE CITY (Public and Private)

VIRGINIA

BLACKSBURG (Private)
HARRISONBURG (Public and Private)
NORFOLK (Public and Private)
PETERSBURG (Public)
PORTSMOUTH (Private)
RICHMOND (Private)

WASHINGTON

BELLINGHAM (Public)
EDMONDS (Public and Private)
SEATTLE (Public and Private)
SPOKANE (Public and Private)
TACOMA (Public)
WALLA WALLA (Public)
WENATCHEE (Private)
YAKIMA (Public)

WEST VIRGINIA

FAIRMONT (Private)
HUNTINGTON (Private)
WHEELING (Private)

WISCONSIN

APPLETON (Public and Private)
EAU CLAIRE (Public)
GREEN BAY (Public and Private)
MADISON (Public)
RACINE (Public)
SUPERIOR (Public)

APPENDIX B
SELECTED FORMS USED BY WORK-RELIEF BUREAUS

Surname

Address

Telephone

Phone Location

First Name	Age	Color Bl. Whit.	M.	S.	W.	Length of Time in St. Louis	Education										
Man							Grammar School—	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		
Woman		Bl. Whit.	Div.	Sep.			High School—	1	2	3	4	Junior College—				1	2
							College—	1	2	3	4	Degree					
							Training School	Bus. College				Other					
Number Children Under 14		Number Children Over 14		Others in Household				Working									

Employment History	Employer	From — To	Reason for Leaving	Salary	Kind of Work
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					

References Verified

1
2
3
4
5

Classification

Social Service Exchange:

Remarks:

Employable _____

Unemployable _____

Interviewed by

Date

FORM USED BY MEN REGISTERING AT CENTRAL APPLICATION BUREAU IN ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

(Reduced from 8 by 5.)

FRONT

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
CLASSIFICATION												EMPLOYMENT RECORD								SERIAL NO.						
NAME												MAIN OCCUPATION								UNION NON						
Address												Source								Central Index						
Single		Married		Widow		Widower		Divorced		Separated		Interviewed by								Further Investigation						
Time in U.S.		Citizen		Nationality				Time in Rochester		Immediate Placement								Deferred Placement								
No. Children Under 16 yrs.		No. Children Over 16 yrs.		Age of Males		Age of Females		Dismissed																		
Other dependents												Member of what Fraternal Order														
Income from		Wages		Boarders		Roomers		Rents		Relations		Others														
Is your wife employed		What Wage		Children Employed		What Wage																				
Board		Rent		Buying Home		Equity in Property																				
RELIEF AMOUNT												AGENCY														
Worked Emergency last Winter												Worked for City County														
How long since you have had a steady full-time job												How long since you have had a part-time job								How many hours per week have you averaged on part-time job						
Total wage last year												Total family income last year								What do you consider your average weekly wage						

BACK

EDUCATION

Common School	Continuation School	Shop School	High School	College	Apprenticeship
Business School	Trade School	Night School	Correspondence School		Age School

HEALTH

Is your physical condition good? _____ Hernia _____	Have you taken an industrial physical examination? _____ Date _____ High Blood Pressure _____	Passed _____ Not passed _____ Heart Trouble _____
---	---	---

EMPLOYMENT RECORD

261

Enter last job here	Next to last job	Next to previous job
1. Dates of employment from _____ to _____	1. From _____ to _____	1. From _____ to _____
2. Name of Employer		
3. Address of Employer		
4. Type of Work		
5. Weekly Wages		
6. Reasons for leaving last regular job.		
7. Remarks		

FORM USED BY MEN REGISTERING AT CENTRAL APPLICATION BUREAU IN ROCHESTER, NEW YORK

(Reduced from 8 by 5.)

APPLICATION FOR WORK CARD

X22294

Name		Age	
Address		Phone	
How long there			
Status	Children		
Own	Rent	Room	
What Income			
Where last employed			
How long since			
Physical Examination			
Remarks			
Physician			

APPLICATION USED IN GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN, WITH SPACE FOR PHYSICIAN'S REPORT

SURNAME

DATE

WOMAN'S FIRST NAME	MAIDEN NAME	AGE
MAN'S FIRST NAME		
ADDRESS		COLOR
PREVIOUS ADDRESS		

CHILDREN'S NAMES	AGE	CHILDREN'S NAMES	AGE

RELATIVES IN HOUSEHOLD

HISTORY	RELIGION

REPORTED BY

S. S. E.	

REFERRED TO

**COMMITTEE FOR UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF
CARE OF COUNCIL OF SOCIAL AGENCIES
311 SOUTH JUNIPER STREET**

**INQUIRY TO THE SOCIAL SERVICE (CONFIDENTIAL) EXCHANGE
USED IN PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA**

(Reduced from 3¼ by 8.)

To:- Unemployment Relief Bureau

From:-

Re: _____
(Surname) (Man's first name) (Woman's first name)

Dependents:

Dates of birth	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

Possible Resources:

Fraternal Orders, Church:

Length of residence in Louisville: _____

Education & Training: _____

Names of two past employers (recent) Wage _____

Did man work regularly prior to depression?

Is man physically able to do manual labor?

Remarks:

Date of referral:

REFERRAL FORM USED IN LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY, BY AGENCIES SENDING CLIENTS
FOR WORK RELIEF

It was assumed that no additional investigation would be necessary.

(Reduced from 8¼ by 11.)

MAKE CARBON COPY TO BE KEPT ON FILE BY AGENCY

I. IDENTIFICATION:

Date _____
A. Name (man) _____ (woman) _____
surname given name age given name age
B. Children (Names and ages) _____
C. Address _____ Color—W _____ C _____
D. How long resident in Cincinnati? _____ S. S. Ex. Clearance _____

II. WORK RECORD:

A. Trade, if any _____ B. Skilled _____ Semi-Skilled _____ Unskilled _____
(Check which)
C. Last one or two regular jobs (Last job first):

(Job)	(Reason)	(How long held)	(Wages)
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

D. Reasons for quitting last regular job:
A. Employee's reason _____
B. Employer's reason _____
E. Does last regular employer rate applicant as Satisfactory _____ Fairly Satisfactory _____ Unsatisfactory _____ (Check)
Remarks: _____
F. How long since last regular job? _____
G. Temporary or part time jobs recently? Yes _____ No _____ (Check). If so, on the average about how many days per week? _____
H. Registered at S. C. E. E.—Yes _____ No _____ Any other Exchange?—Yes _____ No _____
(Check) (Check)

III. FINANCIAL CONDITION:

Wife's approximate weekly earnings _____
A. Members of family fully or partly employed _____ Children's " " " _____
(Number) Others' " " " _____
B. Any other sources of income? _____ Total _____
Boarders (Amt.) _____ Roomers (Amt.) _____ Others (Amt.) _____ Total _____
C. Has applicant received aid from relatives _____ friends _____ labor unions _____ lodges _____ churches _____ (check), others? _____
D. Does applicant still have credit for food _____ fuel _____ clothing _____
(Specify Yes, No or Desirable)
E. Approximate total indebtedness (not including amount on house) _____
F. Is applicant a renter _____ home owner _____ buying home _____ (Check)

IV. GENERAL:

A. Handicap—Mental _____ Physical _____ Behavior _____ Appearance _____ Clothing _____ (Check)
B. Serious problems in family _____
C. General Comments: _____

V. DISPOSITION AND RECOMMENDATION BY AGENCY:

Referred to A. State City Employment Bureau _____
B. Work Relief _____
C. Agency for emergency relief _____ further investigation _____ service _____ (Check)
D. Other _____

VI. Agency _____ Interviewer _____

REFERRAL FORM USED IN CINCINNATI, OHIO

It was assumed that no additional investigation would be necessary.

(Reduced from 8 1/4 by 11.)

January 15, 1931

INSTITUTION City General Hospital

REPRESENTATIVE Miss G. Smith

ADDRESS Jefferson Boulevard

TELEPHONE Jefferson 4913

The City General Hospital agrees to provide all materials, tools, and supervision; to carry workman's compensation; to keep the time sheets. It is understood that the Allegheny County Emergency Association will not subsidize any work otherwise provided for in the budget of the City General Hospital

Work Could Start (Mon. or Thur.) Thur. Workmen Report To Miss G. Smith

266

MEN				WOMEN			
Total No. Days Work	No. Men Per Day	Type of Work	Weeks of Work	Total No. Days Work	No. Women Per Day	Type of Work	Weeks Work
63	3	Painters	3½	30	1	Cleaning	5
24	1	Carpenter	4	60	1	Laundry	10
12	2	Roofers	1				
540	6	Laborers	15				
90	1	Cement Fin- ishers	15				
30	2	Steam Fitter	2½				
6	1	Plasterer	1				
12	2	Wall washers	1				
TOT. 777	18		43	90	2		15

REMARKS: Laundry work to be done in July and August.

REQUISITION USED BY SUPERINTENDENTS OF INSTITUTIONS IN PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA

-(Reduced from 8¼ by 11.)

WORK ORDER SHEET _____ Division _____ Date _____

To the Special Work Division of the Illinois Free Employment Service working with Governor Emmerson's Commission on Unemployment & Relief, 163 West Washington Street, Chicago, Illinois.

The undersigned employer requests you to furnish workers as follows:
(The Special Work Division sends out only heads of families in which emergency needs exist as verified by accredited Relief Agencies cooperating with the Governor's Commission; and no person is to be employed under this agreement, unless presenting an Introduction Card bearing the bona fide signature of M. H. Bickham, Superintendent of the Special Work Division.

Description of the work to be done _____

Is this work ordinarily done by Union or Non-union Workers? _____

What is regular wage rate \$ _____ Number of
now paid for similar work workers
by your organization? Per _____ required? _____

Estimated number of days required to complete the job? _____

On what days of the week
are the workers wanted? _____

Person to whom workers must report? _____

At what address? _____

At what hour and date? _____ Phone? _____

Signature of employer _____

Representing what Agency,
Organization or Institution? _____

At what address? _____

Signature of Contact Man for
the Special Work Division _____

REMARKS: (1) If more than one class of occupation will be involved, state the number of each class of workers needed. (2) If Special directions must be given to the workers as to how they can best reach the place of work, describe clearly, in detail. (3) If we may use two groups of workers on above job, each group working part-time, state how the employer wishes them to be used (e. g., one group working the first two or three days in the week, the other group working the last three days each week). The other side of this sheet should be used for describing all these details.

REQUISITION USED IN CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

(Reduced from 8½ by 11.)

CITY OF GRAND RAPIDS

Dear Sir:

**Please report at once to 16
Campau Ave. for work assignment.**

(Signed) *Jack Huban*

**POSTCARD NOTICE TO WORKERS TO CALL FOR ASSIGNMENT, USED IN GRAND RAPIDS,
MICHIGAN**

**The notice gives the address of the City Social Service Department, but not its name, in
order not to embarrass the recipients.**

3-D

INDIANAPOLIS COMMISSION FOR STABILIZATION OF EMPLOYMENT

TO Mr. Andrew Miller
Camp Sullivan (Military Park)
THIS INTRODUCES John Doe
ADDRESS 1415 So. Meridian St.
FOR MAR 23 1931 - 1

EMERGENCY WORK COMMITTEE, INC.

BY D. DITZENBERGER

3-C

THIS CERTIFIES THAT MR. John Doe

WORKED 24 HOURS Mar 23-24-25 1931 DOING

working on Coffin Course River Side

SIGNED Andrew Miller #1

THE ABOVE IS CORRECT AND I HAVE RECEIVED Ch No. 1516

for \$7.20

SIGNED John Doe

MAR 25 1931

ASSIGNMENT CARD (TO A SINGLE JOB) USED IN INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA

EMERGENCY WORK BUREAU, PHILADELPHIA

Name.....Job No.....

Address.....Workman's Serial No.....

Sent by.....Date Sent.....

Signature 1.....Date to Report.....

Signature 2.....

Location of Job.....Employer.....

The person whose signature appears above has been employed through the Agency of the
EMERGENCY WORK BUREAU. This card serves to identify bearer to employer.

Date Reported.....Foreman's Signature.....

*Original to be returned to E. W. B., 1450 Cherry Street. Duplicate to be retained by employer.
 Triplicate to be retained by employee.*

**ASSIGNMENT CARD USED IN PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA, WITH SPACE FOR COMPARING
 TWO SIGNATURES OF WORKER, THUS AVOIDING TRANSFER OF CARDS**

Signature	No. _____
	City of Birmingham
	IDENTIFICATION CARD
	Name
	<i>This card must be presented by YOU to the Paymaster when you are paid, and is a condition precedent to any claim for pay for services rendered.</i>
	KEEP THIS CARD—DON'T LOSE

**IDENTIFICATION CARD USED IN BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA, TO BE RETAINED
 BY WORKER**

**WELFARE DEPARTMENT
WORK RELIEF PAY ROLL**

TIME FOR SHIFT ENDING_____199__

[illegible]

SUPERVISOR

This was made up by the person supervising the men's work, and contains space for a report on the quality of the work done

272 ✓

MILWAUKEE COUNTY PARK
COMMISSION

CHECK NO. _____		DATE _____		COUNTY OF MILWAUKEE			
		PAY ROLL NO. _____		NAME _____			
PAY ROLL NO. _____		PAY ROLL AMOUNT _____					
CHECK AMOUNT \$ _____		DEDUCTIONS					
SIGNATURE ADDRESS		OUT DOOR RELIEF				DATE _____	
		TRANSPORTATION					
		TOTAL DEDUCTIONS				CHECK AMOUNT	

PAY-CHECK USED IN MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN, SHOWING SPACE FOR DEDUCTION OF RELIEF ALREADY ADVANCED

(Reduced from 3 by 8½.)

IMPORTANT NOTICE FROM EMERGENCY WORK BUREAU

The Committee for Unemployment Relief has arranged your temporary "made work" and is paying your wages. This is only a winter relief measure, however, and you should not count too heavily on its continuance. You should make every effort in your off days each week to find permanent work on your own account.

274

With thousands of other heads of families waiting for work of any kind, fairness requires that only those who work most earnestly and efficiently can be retained on the payroll for the remaining weeks.

EMERGENCY WORK BUREAU
COMMITTEE ON WORK

March 16, 1931

CAUTIONARY SLIP ENCLOSED WITH CHECK IN PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

(Reduced from 3 by 8¼.)

MILWAUKEE COUNTY PARK COMMISSION

P a y O f f

Date_____ { Hours worked this day_____
Car Fare this day_____ Rate_____
Time Check No._____ Name_____
Case No._____ Kind of Work_____

Reason for discharge:_____

Deductions: This space for main office only.

Out Door Relief_____ Transportation_____ Others_____

Hours Worked_____ Amount Due_____

Foreman's Signature_____

Timekeeper's Signature_____

Note: Timekeeper should show hours man worked the day of pay-off.
Make other necessary remarks on opposite side.

Approved_____

REPORT ON MEN DISCHARGED AS UNSATISFACTORY, USED IN MILWAUKEE COUNTY,
WISCONSIN

(Reduced from 5¼ by 8¼.)

_____ Department _____ 1931

REQUEST FOR TRANSFER

Transfer of _____

is hereby requested by city - by employe.

Occupation _____ Card No. _____

Department _____

To Occupation _____

Department _____

Signed _____

APPROVED: _____ ACCEPTED: _____

Foreman

Foreman

APPROVED: _____ ACCEPTED: _____

Superintendent

Superintendent

REQUEST FOR TRANSFER OF A MAN TO A DIFFERENT TYPE OF WORK, USED IN
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

This was chiefly for transferring men from heavy to lighter labor, or from unskilled
work to skilled.

(Reduced from 5¼ by 8¼.)

EARNINGS RECORD CARD USED IN ROCHESTER, NEW YORK
It was filed numerically and filled out from the payrolls.

(Reduced from 4 by 6.)

STREET	204

STREET INDEX CARD USED IN ROCHESTER, NEW YORK

It was filed by street and number. The purpose was to prevent more than one in a family from receiving work relief.

INDEX

INDEX

- Acknowledgments, 7
- Administration of programs: by public officials, 15, 16-17; by citizens' committees, 15-16, 17; methods outlined, 18-22; statistics summarized, 22-30, in communities studied, 34-35, 38-39, 43-46, 49-52, 56-58, 65-72, 75-77, 81-84, 87-90, 92-94, 95-97, 102-104, 106-108, 111-112, 115-116, 119-123, 128-131, 133-134, 139-148, 152-155, 161-163, 168-174, 183-189, 193-198, 202-205, 207-208, 211-213, 217-220. *See also* Setting up a program of work relief
- Advance planning, 230
- Alloway, J. E., 192 *note*
- Applicants for relief: registration methods recommended, 234-235; determining need of, 235-237; fitness of, considered, 237-238; assignments, 241; transfer and dismissal, 241-242; re-assignments, 242-243; wages and hours suggested, 243-244; payment methods, 245-246; compensation insurance, 246-247
- Applications, tabulations, by cities, 26-30
- Appraisal of the Rochester Experiment in Work Relief, An*, by Ivan Asay, 192 *note*
- Asay, Ivan, 192 *note*
- Assignment: length of work, and earnings, 19-20, 22; reports on, in communities studied, 34, 44-45, 50, 57, 66-69, 76, 82, 88, 92-93, 95-96, 102-103, 111-112, 116, 121-122, 128, 142, 144, 154, 162-163, 170-171, 185-186, 195-196, 204, 207-208, 212, 218; cautions suggested, 241; re-assignments, 242-243. *See also* Registration and investigation
- Auspices: and finances, 15-17, 228-230; tabular summaries, 23, 24-25, 26-30
- Bayonne, New Jersey: source of relief funds in, 15 *note*; administration of program in, 15, 16, 18 *notes*, 19, 20 *note*; statistics summarized, 22-23, 24, 26; report on work relief in, 33-36
- Bergen County, New Jersey: source of relief funds in, 15 *note*; administration of program in, 15, 16, 18 *notes*, 19, 20 *note*; statistics summarized, 22-23, 24, 26; report on work relief in, 37-41
- Berry, C. W., 156 *note*
- Birmingham, Alabama: source of relief funds in, 15 *note*; administration of program in, 15, 16, 18 *notes*, 19, 20 *note*; statistics summarized, 22-23, 24, 26; report on work relief in, 42-47; form of identification card, 270; transfer request form, 276
- Bookman, C. M., 75 *note*
- Brandt, Lillian, 158 *note*
- Bridgeport, Connecticut: municipal relief in, 13; administration of program in, 15, 16, 18 *notes*, 19, 20 *note*, 21; statistics summarized, 22-23, 24, 26; report on work relief in, 48-53
- Buffalo, New York: source of relief funds in, 15 *note*; administration of program in, 15, 16, 18 *notes*, 19, 20 *note*, 21; statistics summarized, 22-23, 24, 26; report on work relief in, 54-63
- Chicago, Illinois: source of relief funds in, 15 *note*; administration of program in, 15, 16, 18 *notes*, 19, 20, 21, 22; statistics summarized, 22-23, 24, 26; report on work relief in, 64-74; requisition form, 267; payroll form, 271
- Choice of work projects, recommendations, 238-241
- Cincinnati, Ohio: municipal relief in, 13, 15 *note*; administration of program in, 15, 16, 18 *notes*, 20, 21 *note*; statistics summarized, 22-23, 24, 27; report on work relief in, 75-79; referral form, 265; payroll form, 272
- Cities reporting work relief in, 33-221, 253-255
- Citizens' committees, programs administered by, 15-16, 17, 21, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 132
- Citizenship, and residence requirements, 21, 51
- Cleveland, Ohio: source of relief funds in, 15 *note*; administration of program in, 15, 16, 18 *notes*, 19, 20 *note*, 22; statistics summarized, 22-23, 24, 27; report on work relief in, 80-84

INDEX

- "Client Participation," by Esther E. Twente, 106 *note*
 Colcord, Joanna C., 12, 228 *notes*
Community Planning in Unemployment Emergencies, by Joanna C. Colcord, 12 *note*
 Compensation insurance, 20, 246-247
 Confidential Exchange: applications to, in Philadelphia, 180; for use of social agencies, 236
- de Schweinitz, Karl, 166 *note*
 Determination of need, methods for, 168, 235-237
 Dole, relief work and, 35, 226
- Early relief programs, 11-13
 Earnings, average total, 19-20. *See also* Wages
English Poor Law History, by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, 11
 Expenditures for work relief: and persons employed, tabulations, 24-25; auspices and methods, 26-30
 Extent of program, reports on, in communities studied, 35-36, 40-41, 46-47, 53, 58-59, 72-74, 78-79, 83-84, 90, 94, 97-98, 105, 108-109, 112-113, 116-117, 123-124, 131-132, 134-135, 155, 163-164, 174-178, 189-191, 198-199, 205, 208-209, 213, 220-221
- Fitness of applicants, determination of, 237-238
 Forms used by work-relief bureaus, 259-279
 Funds: sources of, for programs studied, 15, 17, 22, 26-30; report of New York Emergency Work Bureau, 148-150; New York Women's Fund Committee, 150; sources of, for additional cities reported, 253-255; recommendations for administration of, 228-230
- Grand Rapids, Michigan: source of relief funds in, 15 *note*; administration of program in, 15, 16, 18 *notes*, 20; statistics summarized, 22-23, 24, 27; report on work relief in, 85-90; application form, 262; notice to workers, form, 268
- Hamilton, Ohio: source of relief funds in, 15 *note*; administration of program in, 15, 16, 18 *notes*, 19, 20 *note*; statistics summarized, 22-23, 24, 27; report on work relief in, 91-94
- Hartford, Connecticut: source of relief funds in, 15 *note*; administration of program in, 15, 16, 18 *notes*, 19, 20; statistics summarized, 22-23, 24, 27; report on work relief in, 95-98
 Health: and accident provisions, 20, 246-247; reports on, in communities studied, 39, 46, 52, 58, 71, 77, 82, 93-94, 97, 104, 130, 139-140, 163, 171-172, 187, 196-197, 205, 212, 219
 Home relief: involving work-relief programs, 22; tabulations, 24-30
How to Meet Hard Times, report by Mayor's Committee on Unemployment, New York, 12 *note*
 Hurlin, Ralph G., 11 *note*
- Impressionistic View of the Winter of 1930-31, An*, by Lillian Brandt, 158 *note*
 Indianapolis, Indiana: source of relief funds in, 15 *note*; administration of program in, 16, 18, 20, 21 *notes*; statistics summarized, 22-23, 24, 27; report on work relief in, 99-105; form of assignment card, 269
- Kansas City, Kansas: source of relief funds in, 15 *note*; administration of program in, 16, 18, 20, 21 *notes*; wage payments, 17; statistics summarized, 22-23, 24, 28; report on work relief in, 106-109
 Kansas City, Missouri: source of relief funds in, 15 *note*; administration of program in, 15, 16, 18 *notes*, 20, 21; statistics summarized, 22-30; report on work relief in, 110-113
- Labor unions, relations with, 70
 Legislation: in New Jersey, 17-18; in Ohio, 18; New York, 18; legislative commission report in New York City, 157-158
 Length of work assignment: and average total earnings, 19-20; tabulations, 22-23, 24-25. *See also* Assignment
 Little Rock, Arkansas: source of relief funds in, 15 *note*; administration of program in, 16, 18, 20 *notes*; statistics summarized, 22-23, 24, 28; report on work relief in, 114-117
 Louisville, Kentucky: source of relief funds in, 15 *note*; administration of program in, 15, 16, 18, 20, 21 *notes*; statistics summarized, 22-23, 24, 28;

INDEX

- report on work relief in, 118-126;
referral form, 264
- Made work: studies of, 12; results of
programs for, 12-13
- Man-a-block plan: in Buffalo, 55, 60;
in Louisville, 124-126; in Niagara
Falls, 164-165; as work relief, 248
- Milwaukee, Wisconsin: relief programs
by city and county, 15, 16 *notes*;
methods of administration in, 18 *note*,
19, 20, 21; statistics summarized,
22-23, 24, 28; report on work relief
in, 127-135; pay-check form, 273;
Milwaukee County discharge form,
275
- Minneapolis, made-work program, 13
- Nature of work, reports on, in com-
munities studied, 35, 40, 52, 58,
72, 77, 90, 94, 97, 104, 116, 122-123,
143-144, 146, 147, 155, 163, 172, 188-
189, 197, 212, 219-220
- New York City: report of Mayor's
Committee on Unemployment, 12;
Citizens' Committee program, 15;
source of relief funds in, 15 *note*; ad-
ministration of program in, 15, 16, 18
notes, 19, 20, 21, 22; statistics sum-
marized, 22-23, 25, 29; report on
work relief in, 136-160; Emergency
Work Bureau program, 136-150;
Welfare Council, 137, 150, 151, 156,
158-160; Department of Public
Welfare, 150-160
- Niagara Falls, New York: source of
relief funds in, 15 *note*; administra-
tion of program in, 15, 16, 18 *notes*,
19, 20 *note*; statistics summarized,
22-23, 25, 29; report on work relief
in, 161-165
- Number employed, tabulated, 24-25
- Odd-jobs campaigns: in Kansas City,
Missouri, 113; in Niagara Falls, 164;
basis of, 247
- Offices: location and equipment, 231;
systems of, and forms used, 233-234,
259-279
- Payments: wage rates and hours dis-
cussed, 243-246; variation of meth-
ods, 245-246. *See also* Expenditures;
Wages
- Personnel: reports on, in communities
studied, 18, 38, 43, 49, 65-66, 75, 87,
102, 120-121, 140, 168, 183, 193-194,
202, 217; recommendations for, in
work relief, 231-233
- Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: source of
relief funds in, 15 *note*; administra-
tion of program in, 16, 18 *notes*, 20,
21 *note*, 22; statistics summarized,
22-23, 25, 29; report on work relief
in, 166-181; Emergency Work Bu-
reau, 167, 169, 175, 176; inquiry
form, 263; form of cautionary slip,
274; record of applicants, form, 277
"Philadelphia Takes Heart," by Karl
de Schweinitz, 166 *note*
- Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: source of
relief funds in, 15 *note*; administra-
tion of program in, 16, 18 *notes*, 20,
21, 22; statistics summarized, 22-23,
25, 29; report on work relief in, 182-
191; requisition form, 266
- Population of communities studied,
24-25
- Pringle-Roberts Act, of Ohio, 18
- Private agencies: in relief programs,
13-15, 26, 27, 28, 29; indexes of
change in expenditures, 14
- Program for Meeting New York City's
Relief and Unemployment Problems*,
by C. W. Berry, 156 *note*
- Programs of relief. *See* Home relief;
Work relief
- Protection against injury. *See* Health
- Public administration: of programs,
15, 16-17; auspices and methods,
tabulated, 26-30; advanced public
works, 247
- Re-assignment, 68, 242-243
- Registration and investigation: re-
ports on, in communities studied,
34, 38, 43, 49, 56, 66, 75, 81, 87, 92,
95, 111, 115, 119, 128, 133, 140-142,
144-145, 147, 152-153, 161-162,
169-170, 183-184, 194-195, 203-204,
207-208, 211-212, 217-218; methods
recommended, 234-235; determining
need of applicants, 235-237
- Relief without labor, concepts under-
lying, 225-228
- Residence requirements, and citizen-
ship, 21
- Rochester, New York: source of relief
funds in, 15 *note*; administration of
program in, 15, 16, 18 *notes*, 19, 20
note, 21; statistics summarized, 22-
23, 25, 29; report on work relief in,
192-200; registration form, 260, 261;

INDEX

- earnings record, form, 278; form of street index card, 279
- St. Louis, Missouri: source of relief funds in, 15 *note*; administration of program in, 16, 18 *notes*, 20, 21, 22; statistics summarized, 22-23, 25, 29; report on work relief in, 201-205; registration form, 259
- Setting up a program of work relief: concepts underlying, 225-228; auspices and finance, 228-230; advance planning, 230; office location and equipment, 231; personnel, 231-233; office system, 233-234; registration of applicants, 234-235; determination of need, 235-237; fitness of applicant, 237-238; choice of work projects, 238-241; assignments, 241; transfer and dismissal, 241-242; re-assignments, 242-243; wages and hours, 243-244; methods of payment, 245-246; protection against injury, 246-247; projects included in work relief, 247-248; general relief program as related to, 248-250
- Social agencies: relations with, in Chicago, 69-70; and personnel of social workers, 231-233; as sources of labor supply, 234; Confidential Exchange for, 236
- Source of funds, by cities, 26-30
- Tabular summaries: of duration and extent of major programs, 22-23, 24-25; auspices, and methods employed, 23, 26-30
- "This Winter's Work Relief," by Joanna C. Colcord, 228 *note*
- Toledo, Ohio: source of relief funds in, 15 *note*; administration of program in, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20 *notes*, 21; statistics summarized, 22-23, 25, 30; report on work relief in, 206-209
- Trenton, New Jersey: source of funds in, 15 *note*; administration of program in, 16, 18, 20 *notes*; statistics summarized, 22-23, 25, 30; report on work relief in, 210-213
- Twente, Esther E., 106 *note*
- "Use of Public Works in the Treatment of Unemployment," by Ralph G. Hurlin, 11 *note*
- Wages: payments in Kansas City, Kansas, 17; range of, in cities, tabulated, 19, 24-30; expenditures for work relief, tabulated, 24-30; reports on, in cities, 34-35, 39, 45-46, 50-52, 57, 71, 76-77, 82, 88-90, 93, 96-97, 103-104, 112, 116, 122, 130, 134, 143, 146, 148, 154-155, 163, 171, 186-187, 196, 204-205, 208, 212, 218-219; rates and hours discussed, 243-246
- Waterbury, Connecticut: source of relief funds in, 15 *note*; administration of program in, 16, 18 *notes*, 20, 21 *note*, 22; statistics summarized, 22-23, 25, 30; report on work relief in, 214-221
- Webb, Beatrice, 11
- Webb, Sidney, 11
- White-collar workers: programs by citizens' committees, 17; in Philadelphia, 172-174; traffic engineering report, 173-174; clerical service, 233
- Women: Buffalo Household Helper Plan, 61-62; placement of, by Emergency Work Bureau, New York, 147-148; Women's Fund Committee, New York, 148, 150; Philadelphia Women's Division, 169
- Work relief: forerunners of, 11-13; programs outlined, 13-15; involving home relief, 22; expenditures for, tabulated by cities, 22-25; reports on, in 26 communities, 33-221; by Buffalo Board of Education, 59-60; setting up a program of, recommendations for, 225-250; concepts underlying, 225-228; professional service, 231-233; variation of term, 247; relation of, to general relief program, 248-250. *See also* Registration and investigation
- "Work Relief for the Unemployed in Rochester," by J. E. Alloway, 192 *note*
- Work-test systems and programs, 12, 62-63, 247

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