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Frankfurt, Germany: Office of Military Government for Germany (U.S.), Manpower Division, 1949

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WOMEN IN GERMAN INDUSTRY

DIE ARBEITENDE FRAU IN DEUTSCHLAND

SARA SOUTHALL AND PAULINE M. NEWMAN

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Germany (Territory under allied occupation, 1945 - U.S. zone)

OFFICE OF MILITARY GOVERNMENT FOR GERMANY (U.S.)
MANPOWER DIVISION

OFFICE OF MILITARY GOVERNMENT FOR GERMANY (U. S.)

Manpower Division

APO 757 Frankfurt, Germany

WOMEN IN GERMAN INDUSTRY

by

SARA SOUTHALL and PAULINE M. NEWMAN

Visiting Expert Series No. 14

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(The German text of the present report will appear subsequently under separate cover.)

FOREWORD

U. S. Military Government invited the Misses Southall and Newman, under the cultural exchange program, to consult with representatives of organized labor and management in Germany concerning the status and problems of women in industry. Appropriately enough, two German women trade unionists were simultaneously visiting in the United States, under the cultural exchange program, in order to gain first-hand observations in the same field there.

In their report, the Misses Newman and Southall have indicated some of the problems confronting women workers in Germany and the attitudes of some representatives of organized labor and management towards these problems. There can be no doubt that these questions deserve the continuing attention of German trade unions and management which, through mutual understanding and cooperation, can do much on their own initiative towards solving these problems.

In my judgment, a fruitful approach to these problems should be based on the idea that a nation is enriched to the extent that equal opportunities are made available to all the nation's citizens. The application of this principle to working women in Germany is highly important for a democratic development and economic progress.



H. W. Brown
Director
Office of Labor Affairs

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BUREAU OF LABOR RELATIONS
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20340
OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20530
JANUARY 10, 1941
TO THE HONORABLE SENATOR
FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK
FROM THE HONORABLE SENATOR
FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

U. S. Military Government invited the German Government to
representatives of organized labor and management in Germany
concentrating the studies and problems of women in industry
approximately equal to the German women trade unionists were
attendants in the United States, under the national
exchange program, an effort to gain first-hand observation in the
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some of the problems confronting women workers in Germany and the
attitude of the German Government of organized labor and management
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deserve the continuing attention of German trade unions and
management which, through mutual understanding and cooperation,
can determine their own initiative towards solving these problems.

In my judgment, a limited approach to these problems should
be based on the idea that a nation is enriched to the extent that
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The application of this principle to working women in Germany is
highly important for a domestic development and economic progress.


H. H. Brown
Director
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NOTES ON THE AUTHORS

Sara Southall did social work in Chicago from 1918 to 1920, and lived at Hull House for ten years. For 28 years, Miss Southall served with the Personnel Department of the International Harvester Co. of Chicago, retiring in 1948 as assistant personnel manager.

During the war, Miss Southall served as consultant to the War Manpower Commission on women in war industries. She is now completing a book, to be published in the Spring, on industrial relations problems facing American management at this time.

- - - - -

Pauline M. Newman has been the Educational Director, Union Health Center of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (A. F. of L.) since 1924. She also serves as Executive Board member of the National Women's Trade Union League of America. Miss Newman was a delegate from this latter organization to the International Congress of Working Women held in Vienna in 1923.

Since her appointment in 1909 as general organizer for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, the first woman to be so designated, Miss Newman has been active in the American labor movement and particularly in connection with women workers.

WOMEN IN GERMAN INDUSTRY

INTRODUCTION

The status of women in nearly all countries is changing rapidly in industry, labor, government, and in the community. A wise American woman recently said, "The nation which makes use, to the fullest extent of the potentialities of its women will be the strongest country in the world." The Russians have said constantly, "Give us the women and the youth, and you keep the men."

Recognizing the significance of women in the reconstruction of post-war Germany, U. S. Military Government considered it desirable to examine the status of women in German society. Specifically, our project, as it concerned the position of women in the economy, was to consult with German trade unions and management on employer-employee relations in German industry, with especial reference to those relationships involving women workers.

This survey represents only a segment of the study that would offer a complete picture of the status and problems of German women. We realize thoroughly that women on the farms (self-employed and family helpers) and women in domestic service constitute the largest part of gainfully-occupied women, but studies in these areas would require persons having different background and training from ours.

We wish to express our appreciation to Military Government for having given us the opportunity to learn so much from the many contacts which we have made. Manpower and Women's Affairs Officers in the U. S. and British Zones and representatives of German private and public organizations have given generously of their time to supply information and to exchange experiences. We are especially grateful to the employer representatives, trade union officials, and works councillors for the contribution which they made at the conferences, and to the employers and trade unions who enabled the women to attend conferences with us without loss of pay.

NOTE: The views herein expressed are those of the author, and do not necessarily reflect the views of U. S. Military Government.

WOMEN IN THE POPULATION, LABOR FORCE, AND TRADE UNIONS

In order to provide the framework for our inquiry into the status of women in German industry and trade unions, it was necessary to gather statistical information showing trends regarding the proportion of women in the population and in the labor force, and on the hours of work, wages, and unemployment among women workers.

Population 1/

Women outnumber men in Germany to a much greater extent than in 1939. In what is today the U. S. Zone, females constituted 51.2 percent (7,316,500) and males 48.8 percent (6,980,500) of the 1939 population of 14,297,000. In October 1946, according to census data, females formed 54.9 percent (9,274,600) and males 45.1 percent (7,603,600) of the U. S. Zone population of 16,878,200. In June 1949, the estimated U. S. Zone population amounted to 17,909,800, an increase of more than one million since the 1946 census, and more than 3,612,000 since 1939. While a subdivision by sex of the June 1949 population figure is not available, it may be assumed that the proportion of females in the U. S. Zone population has declined since 1946, and probably by about 1.3 percent. The appreciable increase in the total U. S. Zone population since 1939 is due largely to the influx of refugees and expellees.

In October 1946, the total working population in the U. S. Zone between the ages of 14 and 65 (exclusive of displaced persons in camps) represented 68.1 percent (11,498,200) of the total population. Of this number, 43 percent or 4,948,300 were males and 57 percent or 6,549,900 were females. By June 1948, the working population had risen to 12,109,700 (estimated), of which 44 percent or 5,316,900 were males and 56 percent or 6,792,800 were females, thus showing a slight increase in the proportion formed by the male working population.

No figures are available after 1948 for the working population in the U. S. Zone, subdivided by sex, but we were able to secure such data from Wuerttemberg-Baden. Figures from the Wuerttemberg-Baden Labor Ministry for January 1949 show 1,300,456 males and 1,614,556 females, with the female working population being larger by about 300,000. (Material taken from population by sex in Wuerttemberg-Baden, October 1946 census, and estimated population, 1 January 1949.)

1/ Statistical data on matters covered in this report may be found in the monthly "Statistical Annex" to the "Report of the Military Governor" issued by the Office of Military Government for Germany (U. S.). Information subsequent to July 1949 may be obtained from "Wirtschaft und Statistik", Monthly Statistical Supplement issued by the Statistisches Amt des Vereinigten Wirtschaftsgebietes (Statistical Office of the Combined Economic Area.)

Female Employment

The percentage of employed women in terms of total employment has not changed appreciably in the past ten years. In the U. S. Zone, women workers constituted 31.6 percent of total wage and salary earners in May 1939, as against 31.0 in December 1948, and 31.3 percent in June 1949. Gainfully-occupied women (wage and salary earners, self-employed, and family helpers) comprised 39.9 percent of the total gainfully-occupied population in 1939, 37.6 percent in June 1948, and 38.2 percent in September 1949. The largest number is working in agriculture, domestic service, and in public and private services. The crux of the employment problem for both men and women is that, although there has been an estimated increase of 25.3 percent or 3,612,000 in the U. S. Zone population since 1939, the number of wage and salary earners has risen by only 7.4 percent or 341,000 of whom 96,000 are women.

In June 1949, the proportion of female wage and salary earners in various industries was as follows:

Industry	Percent of Total Employment
Clothing	74.2
Hotels and Restaurants	68.6
Health Services (public and private)	63.5
Chemicals	31.4
Leather	28.2
Electrical Equipment	25.6

The German local public employment offices (Arbeitsaemter) report a continuing increase in the number of women registering for work who have had no previous work experience. This situation may be attributed to more than a single cause, but an examination of a number of actual workers' budgets in the British Zone would indicate that average wages for the head of the family barely cover the minimum cost of living where a need exists for repairing homes, or replacing household furnishings and clothing. These costs can rarely be covered by the earnings of one person in the family.

Wages and Working Hours

Statistical data on wages and hours of work are not available for the U. S. Zone alone, but it may be assumed that there are no great differences in the U. S. and British Zones. In 1938, the average hourly gross earnings of male workers in the Bizonal Area

was RM 0.86, and for women, RM 0.50. In June 1949, the average hourly gross earnings had risen by 46.5 percent to DM 1.30 per hour ^{1/} for males, and by 68.8 percent to DM 0.83 for females. These figures are arrived at by representatives sampling of manufacturing establishments employing ten or more persons and all construction enterprises.

According to the official cost-of-living index during this same period, living costs rose from a base index of 100 in 1938 to 160.7 in May 1949, and stood at 155.5 in September 1949. German trade unions and other sources have claimed that the actual rise in prices has been considerably greater than is reflected in the official index.

Weekly working hours in 1938 for males averaged 50 hours and for females, 46.1. In June 1946, they were 40.6 hours for men and 35.2 hours for women; in June 1949, 47.1 and 43.5 hours respectively.

Female Unemployment

In June 1948 (approximately the date of currency reform in Western Germany, 20 June 1948), public employment offices in the U.S. Zone reported unemployment among women amounting to 54,660; in July 1949, 158,778; in August 1949, 167,727; and in September 1949, 169,809. Male unemployment in the U.S. Zone rose from 169,857 in June 1948 to 374,308 in July 1949, with a slight decline to 368,011 in September 1949. Unemployment for men and women increased by 139 percent between June 1948 and September 1949.

Trade Union Membership

In the U.S. Zone at the end of June 1949, 1,789,900 employed persons were members of trade unions, with almost half this number being in Bavaria which has almost one-half of the U.S. Zone population. The U.S. Zone union membership represents 39 percent of the total wage and salary earners. Forty-five percent of all dependently-employed males have trade union affiliations, and 24 percent of all female wage and salary earners have joined a trade union.

^{1/} The new currency in Western Germany after the date of currency reform is the Deutsche Mark (DM). The official rate of exchange is 1 DM equals 23.8 U.S. cents.

LEGISLATION AFFECTING WORKING WOMEN

As further background for the understanding of the present status of and problems affecting women in German industry, we have considered it advisable to summarize briefly Reich legislation affecting women industrial workers. It was impossible to consider all the Land (State) legislation, and the many administrative directives issued by the Labor Ministries. We are indebted to the German Manpower Department of the Bizonal Economic Administration for checking the legislation, some of which may be changed by the Bundestag (Federal Parliament).

Hours of Work

Hours of work for women are, in general, limited to eight hours per day and to 48 hours per week, with the provision of one hour overtime per day for originating and finishing work. In this case, the number of working hours may not exceed ten hours per day. (Law on Working Hours or Arbeitszeitordnung of 30 April 1938, Article 17, Sections 2 and 3. Reichsgesetzblatt I, Page 447.)

In emergencies the Factory Inspection Service may permit ten working hours per day for a temporary period. For general economic reasons and technical conditions of the enterprise, the Labor Minister may approve an extension beyond ten hours (Arbeitszeitordnung, Article 20).

Exceptions to the above regulations are made for women employed in service, transportation, and public utilities where longer working hours may be permitted.

Supplementary remuneration for overtime will amount to not less than 25 percent of one hour's wage for each hour of overtime provided that no higher rate is provided for by agreement or administrative regulation (Article 15, Arbeitszeitordnung).

Rest Periods

Rest periods must be granted in accordance with the following schedule:

After Working Time (hours)	Minimum Rest Period (minutes)
4 1/2 - 6	20
6 - 8	30
8 - 9	45
More than 9	60

The employer is not required to pay for rest periods.

Night Work

Women are prohibited from working at night from 8 p.m. until 6 a.m. except in service, transportation, and public utilities. In enterprises operating on more than one shift, women may work during the time from 6 a.m. to 11 p.m. or from 5 a.m. to 10 p.m. and, with the approval of the Factory Inspection Service, from 7 a.m. to midnight. Exceptions from this regulation are provided for in case of service, transportation, and public utilities.

Pregnancy

Employers are forbidden to dismiss women workers during their period of pregnancy, or during the four months immediately following confinement. Women may take leave, if they so desire, six weeks before confinement and may not be employed until six weeks after confinement. Pregnant women and nursing mothers are not permitted to work overtime, between the hours of 8 p.m. and 6 a.m., or on Sundays or holidays. (Law for the Protection of Working Mothers or Mutterschutzgesetz of 17 May 1942, Reichsgesetzblatt, I, Page 321, Articles 2,3,4. and 6.

Time for Household Duties

Women having a household of their own may take four hours' leave per week and one day per month for which time payment may not be claimed. Upon request, severely-disabled persons may not be required from performing overtime work which would exceed 48 working hours per week (Free Time Ordinance or Freizeitanordnung) of 22 October 1943, Reichsgesetzblatt, 1943, III, Page 325.)

PLAN OF INVESTIGATION

Series of Conferences

After consultation in Frankfurt with Manpower and Women's Affairs Officers and with some trade union officials, we made short trips to Darmstadt, Munich, and Stuttgart. In these three cities, we discussed with Manpower and Women's Affairs Officers, trade unionists, and employers the nature of some problems of women workers and the methods, whereby in the little more than two months' time available to us in Germany, the most information could be obtained and the widest exchange of experiences with German employers and women in the trade unions could be ensured. We also visited some factories in these three cities.

The plan which was finally developed was to request Manpower Officers in the various Laender to arrange for a series of conferences with representative women in trade unions and works councils, and with employers whose firms employed a comparatively large number of women. The cities selected were Frankfurt, Darmstadt, Kassel, Stuttgart, Munich, Berlin, and a special project in Nuremberg. It was not possible for us to visit Bremen.

A questionnaire was developed for each group which was filled out by all participants, and an agenda covering the major items to be discussed was prepared. There was not sufficient time to cover all items on the agenda at each meeting inasmuch as we were anxious to follow the non-directive approach, and to get a full discussion of the problems which conference participants considered most important.

In the series of conferences, we met for several hours with a total of 91 women who were members of works councils. These meetings were often attended by men and women active in the trade unions. At other conferences, we met with 62 employers or their representatives. Between the two groups, 101 individual business institutions were represented at the conferences although the number of participants was considerably larger. Sometimes the employers sent more than one representative and, in the women's groups, more than one woman from a works council was often present.

Some of the women works council members came from the same business organizations as the employers, but this was not always the case. The total number of employees in these firms was approximately 120,000. Employment in these enterprises ranged from slightly over 100 workers to two very large firms, one with 8,600 employees and the other with 23,000 employees. A wide variety of industry and occupations in heavy and light industry were covered, i.e. clothing, textile, shoe, chemicals, telephone equipment, electrical equipment, machine tool, public services, and some branches of the civil service.

The following information is based exclusively on the seventy questionnaires which were fully completed. There are no available figures to ascertain whether this small sample is typical. Unfortunately, neither of the two largest firms answered all questions.

In the seventy firms, total employment was 67,407 of whom 31.6 percent or 24,350 were women. Of the total female employment, 37.9 percent were married, and 24.7 percent had children. In the factories we visited, we inquired concerning the percentage of women who were married. Estimates in some factories were well over 50 percent married and with dependents; in others, single women comprised 80 to 90 percent of the female work force. The problems of working women with dependents are acute, and take up much time of both the works council and the management. It may be advisable to ascertain how great the problem really is. Sometimes, the size of problems affecting a relatively small number may be magnified by their acuteness. We do not intend saying, by any means, that housing and transportation are not serious problems for all workers, and more serious for women workers with dependents, but it is desirable to know how many working women are in this most critical situation.

Working hours for women in the seventy reporting plants varied from 32 to 54 hours weekly and from 8 to 10 hours per day. Rest periods ranged, depending on the length of the working day, between one and two periods exclusive of the lunch hour. The duration of the lunch period varied greatly, depending on the size of the town, canteen service, or continuous operation. Lunch periods ranged from 15 to 90 minutes.

Replies to the question concerning membership in community organizations outside of church, business, or trade union indicated that there was almost no community organization participation among men and women attending the conference.

The information summarized cannot be assumed statistically accurate inasmuch as conference participants did not have exact figures with them. Since the same questionnaire and agenda were used in all cities, however, the sample is large enough to indicate a trend and consensus.

Management-Works Council Relations

We had been impressed in all factory visits by the very cordial relationship between management and the works council. The chairman of the works council was almost always called into the conference at the suggestion of the management. In trips through the factory, the

works council chairman often took the leadership, introducing the foremen as we went from department to department. This was clearly different from the pattern in nearly all American industry.

In order to obtain a first-hand impression of works council activities in a particular establishment, we twice visited a radio plant in Nuremberg. The first time we went through the plant which was modern and had good working conditions, we discussed the operation of the works council and the relationship of the management and works council to the trade union with management representatives only. We had met a woman at Fuerth who was deputy chairman of the works council at this plant. The return visit was made in order to have further conferences with management and with the works council chairman and deputy chairman.

We did not get an opinion of serious differences from management or works council members, but minor differences did appear. There was some feeling among the works council members that the management attempted to by-pass the works council and to deal directly with the workers. Great admiration was expressed by the works council representatives for the owner of the business who had originally come from the ranks of labor. They were critical, however, of some action of the directors with whom they had to deal.

They cited an example of going to a director in order to request an increase in wages for women doing heavy and difficult work. The director indicated that he could not act on this proposal and, therefore, the works council went directly to the owner. The owner approved the increase. The management had certain reservations about the political connections of some members of the works council. This parallels the situation in American factories, and is a difficult point to determine objectively. Oftentimes, members of trade unions or works councils who are particularly aggressive on behalf of workers are assumed by employers to be motivated by their political affiliations.

Other Visits

In each community, we made an effort to meet women active in political life, public employment offices, trade unions, and schools, and particularly women who had been in the United States. We held discussions with groups at the U.S. Information Centers in Berlin and Munich. These meetings were made up of approximately 3/4 women and 1/4 men. We visited the Academy of Labor in Frankfurt and the Hesse Trade Union School at Oberursel, and attended a session of a training school for women works councillors at Vora (Fuerth). In Berlin, we visited the Headquarters and school of the Berlin UGO (Unabhaengige Gewerkschaftsorganisation, or Independent Trade Union Organization), and the August Bebel Institute. We visited the railway union school at Hammersbach in Bavaria. A quick trip was made to the British Zone where conferences were held with Manpower Officers, British men

and women working in the field of vocational education, miners' welfare, and German directors of the mills and mines in the Ruhr. No special conferences of either employers or workers were held in the British Zone.

OBSERVATIONS

Working Conditions

In all, we visited 15 factories in Darmstadt, Nuremberg, Munich, Stuttgart, Berlin, Neuss, Kassel, Krefeld and Weinheim. In these cities, we went to a large locomotive works, a farm equipment firm, a factory manufacturing stoves and hotel kitchen equipment, and plants producing textiles, clothing, electrical equipment, shoes, cameras, and telephone equipment.

The usual variation in working conditions was found in the plants visited. One or two plants had excellent working conditions, good lighting, and good ventilation. The older establishments, especially those which had been badly bombed, still have one or two years' work ahead before rehabilitation is completed. Similar variations existed with respect to safety equipment. Some factories have developed guards for machines that are more progressive than those on similar machines in the United States. On the other hand, we went to a foundry which is not mechanized and where workers were wearing neither goggles nor leggings.

Personnel Administration

It must be concluded from the information secured in employers' conferences and from discussions which we had with employers in factories we visited that what has been developed in the United States in the last two decades known as industrial relations or personnel administration does not exist in Germany. Personnel activities carried on in German industry, apart from the collective labor agreement and the contact with the works council, parallel what we knew 20 years ago in the United States as welfare work.

In a large factory in Darmstadt, we met a director holding one of the three top positions who had responsibility and authority in all matters involving the trade union, works council, and welfare activity. In the Ruhr, one of the directors of each mine and mill is nominated by the trade unions. An examination of the programs in these departments, however, indicates the difference between industrial relations in German and American industry. Education, training, and research in the field of human relations play a much less significant part in the German industrial relations program than in the United States.

Few firms represented were using any of the modern techniques of psychological and aptitude testing in the selection and advancement of employees. We did not find one employer who was carrying on the type of management training being widely given in the United States by employers themselves and, in some instances, in cooperation with the industrial relations centers of many large American universities. In making this statement, we are in no position to reach a conclusion as to which is the better program. There are differences in fundamental philosophy and production techniques between German and American industry.

A few German employers in the larger industries have instituted "Training within Industry" (TWI) after the visit to Germany of Mr. John J. McCarthy, a U.S. visiting expert, and the circulation of his report. 1/ Those employers we met who had adopted this program were enthusiastic about it. In conferences where these firms were represented, other employers showed keen interest in knowing more about it.

Relationship of Trade Unions and Works Councils

Americans experienced in industrial relations in the United States are confused at first by the relationship of works councils to trade unions, which is a unique German pattern. We found employers uniformly approving it especially since the threat of Communists taking over the councils has subsided.

We met with a few works council members who had no hesitancy in telling us that they were members of the Communist Party. From past experience with works councils in other countries and, observing the relationship between works councils and management, we cannot help but take notice of the potential dangers to the trade unions owing to employer influence on works council members and infiltration of political activity which may not be in line with general trade union policy. We hope that, when the major reorganization and reorientation of the trade unions is accomplished, trade union leaders will take time to review this relationship and to tie the works councils closely into the trade union structure.

1/ McCarthy, John J., "Development of Supervisors in German Industry." Manpower Division, OMCUS, "Visiting Expert Series", No. 5. January 1949.

Employers Attitudes and Opinions

1. Right of Codetermination.--Codetermination has been defined as follows: "The so-called 'right of codetermination' (Mitbestimmungsrecht) has a dual meaning depending on whether the term refers to an individual establishment or to the economy as a whole. On the plant level, codetermination may be defined as the participation of labor in management whether in social, economic, or personnel matters. Codetermination when applied to the general economy signifies the joint participation of management and labor in quasi-official economic agencies." 1/

Uniformly we found employers opposed to the full application of codetermination. In general, they are willing to apply this principle to matters involving working conditions and employer-employee relations, but not in the fields of production, finance, manufacturing, or research even if these areas have employer-employee implications. We are of the opinion that they are honest in their statement that they do not feel representatives of works councils have the experience and training to assume responsibility in these areas at the present time.

2. Apprenticeship Training and Vocational Continuation.--The apprenticeship system in Germany, which is deeply rooted in industrial tradition, usually covers a three-year period of training. The purpose of many boys in taking apprenticeship training is to become a "Meister" (expert) and to have his own business. Many more trades require apprenticeship in Germany than in the United States.

Few women are given real apprenticeship training. In our judgment, many of those who are in three years' apprenticeship courses do not need such a long time for the jobs for which they are being trained. German employers almost completely approve the present apprenticeship system.

We were cited one instance of a young woman who was in her second year of apprenticeship of learning to sell books. She had spent the first year largely in, what would be termed in America, running errands and doing chores. In nearly all groups, when we mentioned this case, we got the reaction that apprenticeship was necessary, that a customer going into a store to buy a book would expect the saleswoman to offer complete advice on books, including their printing and the different types of bindings. Employers constantly mentioned the cost of these long apprenticeships.

1/ Shaw, Charles E., "Human Relations in Industry," p. 3. Manpower Division, OMGUS, "Visiting Expert Series", No. 4. December 1948.

We discussed with employers the instruction being given to women in the vocational continuation schools (Berufsschule). There seemed to be a rather uniform opinion that these courses train young women in home responsibilities, and there was agreement that this was necessary.

3. Skilled Training for Women.--A few employers, notably in Berlin and Stuttgart, have come to the realization that, with the over-balance of women in the German population, many of them with family responsibilities, it will be necessary to give those women who qualify the opportunity for training and advancement. Some employers report that women themselves have begun to realize the situation and have asked for additional training. In the few cases where this has been tried, it has been successful.

4. Equal Pay for Equal Work.--In the discussion on equal pay for equal work, employers generally agreed to the principle, but in further questioning, the complete application of this principle does not apply in most industries. Minimum rates for women are different from those for men, and there are very few jobs where women and men are engaged on identical work. In visiting factories, we found many jobs considered most appropriate for men which, in the United States, women have been doing for years.

5. Household Day.--Employers do not have much objection to the household day (one scheduled working day off per month with pay). The practice appears to be to grant a day off when the plant is on six-day operation, but employers object to it when the firm is on a five-day working week.

Attitudes and Opinions of Trade Unions and Works Councils

1. Housing Conditions.--In discussions with men and women, who are officials or members of trade unions and with women representatives of works councils, the most pressing problem is undoubtedly the housing situation. Women told story after story of exceptionally sub-standard housing conditions, and the long time it took them to get to and from work, especially women with family responsibilities.

In comparing the situation with that of women in the United States where housing is also acute, there is no doubt that housing for women in Germany is much worse than in the United States. A general impression among women workers in Germany seems to be that every woman housekeeper in America has the most modern equipment in her home and owns a radio and a car. This is certainly true for a much larger number of workers in the United States than in Germany. We, however, attempted to present a more realistic picture of American workers who do not have all modern conveniences, yet somehow arrange their work and home responsibilities so that they can be active in their communities whether large or small.

2. Codetermination.--Trade union officials and women works council members with whom we discussed this matter do not seem to place, at the top of the agenda, the full application of codetermination, at least at the present time. They definitely expect and are exercising codetermination in the area of employer-employee relations. Few people within the unions with whom we discussed this problem believe that union members have enough experience and skill to operate codetermination in every field at the present time.

3. Social Legislation.--Women works council members almost uniformly approve of the household day where the plant is operating more than five days a week. They also believe that full wages should be paid from some source for the time women are away from work prior to and following childbirth. A few women expressed the fear that employers will not hire them if too much special legislation for women is enacted. Our information indicates that social insurance contributions and income tax deductions constitute a very high percentage of workers' income at the present time. Estimates are made that the cost to workers of these benefits is three or five times as high in Germany as in the United States. It is only fair to say that German workers have health insurance coverage which American workers do not have by federal legislation. We introduced into the discussions the question as to whether it would not be better, at the present time, to advance the standard of living by increased production, and eventually shorter hours and higher wages than by any further social benefits that do not tend to increase production. A few women agreed with this.

4. Apprentice Training and Berufsschule.--Opinion among the women in the groups was divided as to whether it was necessary to have as long apprenticeships for certain occupations. More women questioned this training than employers. We cited an instance of one operation we had seen in a clothing plant where the worker on the sewing machine stitches the hem at the bottom of a man's tie. The machine has an attachment which turns the edge. The apprentice time is considered three years, and the employer suggests that it should be four years. Most women in the conference groups thought this was ridiculous. We ourselves began to learn after a few conferences and visits to factories that many of these operations are not real apprenticeship but rather the time an employer considers it takes for a worker to reach piece-work standards. Most women expressed the opinion that women should be given a greater variety of training in the Berufsschule.

5. Unemployment.--Trade unionists and works council members are seriously worried about unemployment which is increasing steadily in Germany. Employers also express some concern for this situation, but it is not as personal a problem to them as to workers. Trade unionists are conscious of both the economic as well as political dangers of widespread unemployment. They are particularly concerned about the thousands of young men and women who will be coming out of the schools in October with so few job openings.

Women's Organizations

We met as many women leaders in all communities as was possible, including professional women, women in government service, women in politics, business, and trade unions. As a matter of interest, we have met German women holding extremely unusual and responsible positions. For instance, one woman in Hesse is director of a large textile concern which has three plants, another woman is the chief counsel for a large steel company in the Ruhr. More women are in the Bundestag in Germany than in the United States Congress. The difference we found, in general, is in the activity and opportunity for women in business, professions, and politics and in the range of positions between the workers at the machine and executive or top professional jobs.

This definitely reflects the difference in the American and German educational system. A much higher percentage of young people in Germany leave school at 14 years of age and do not have the opportunity for the kind of education required for this middle group of occupations. Where it is possible for young men and women to go to school beyond the age of 14, a large number of them go on to the universities and qualify for top professional or administrative positions.

Another observation on women's organizations is that there are few patterns of cooperation existing between the different women's groups. The pattern of women's organizations studying the problems of the community and working together on the solution of these problems has been highly developed in the United States. We did find some examples of this kind of cooperative endeavor on specific community problems among women's organizations in Berlin, in Stuttgart, and in Ulm. On the whole, even in these communities, trade union women have not participated in the activities.

Women's Affairs Officers are giving direction and stimulation to getting the women's groups in the various communities to work together in the solution of some of the most pressing problems. The finest example we saw of this was in Ulm where very small groups of women have taken on such projects as establishment of day nurseries for children of refugees. Another group did valiant work in raising money in all kinds of ways to pay for one third of a housing project to take care of over 100 families. Another group in Stuttgart has assisted in equipping a home for apprenticed orphan boys. The boys themselves did much of the work in repairing the building. If these small groups of women can be as successful as has been demonstrated, there is no reason why other women's groups, with the proper direction and stimulation, cannot accomplish the same thing in many communities in Germany.

German women have not gained the status in industry and trade unions essential to their playing an important role in the economic and political life of the community. The schools do not prepare women to train for skilled and responsible jobs that in no way are physically too taxing for a woman to do. The employers' attitude in general is sympathetic paternalism.

Most women works council members were articulate in discussing their problems and how they would go about solving them. But if men were present a good deal of prodding was necessary before they would disagree with an opinion expressed by a male official.

Women officers in the trade unions have a difficult job of educating men in the trade unions to understanding women as individual workers; they also have the almost more difficult job of educating the large number of women industrial workers to join and participate in labor organizations and, within these organizations and others, to achieve better training, wider job opportunity and more participation in the labor organization. We have met some women actively working in labor organizations on these objectives, but we did not find large numbers of women occupied and working together. That is the job ahead.

RECOMMENDATIONS

We are thoroughly conscious of the many difficulties facing German industry and trade unions today. With so much of industry and so many workers' homes destroyed, the job of rebuilding cannot be accomplished for some time to come. The psychological effects of defeat and destruction are important considerations, but there is no way out except skillful planning, an open mind, and hard work. We know also that, in drawing whatever comparison we have between industrial conditions in the United States and Germany, the background of the two countries is different. Germany is an old country with long traditions. America has as yet few traditions. Traditions themselves need to be examined from time to time; the good kept, and those that are no longer of any value discarded. Many of these recommendations are long-range, but one must put his foot on the road he is going to travel even though he does not reach the end of it for a long time.

To German Employers

1. German employers who have either the opportunity to go to the United States on the exchange program or who go for business reasons, would be well advised to study the organization of American industrial relations and personnel administration. Great advances have been made in the last two decades in this area. There are various management

associations which can give information on this subject and direct German employers to industries that are leaders in the field. Many American employers are cooperating with universities all over the United States in a practical training program for industrial and human relations problems in industry. If enough German employers know what is happening in American industry and American universities, it is possible that they would bring influence to bear on at least one university in Germany to institute this type of training.

2. Either individual companies or employers associations should undertake research in the field of industrial relations; it is essential to good program planning. This is being highly developed in certain large American companies, and information on this can also be secured from the American Management Association.

3. We recommend that employers use more widely on-the-job training now being tried in a few large companies in Germany. This program has been tested long enough for the definite conclusion to be drawn that it not only improves employer-employee relations but shortens the time necessary for training new workers. With TWI (Training Within Industry) in operation, a careful review of the necessity for long apprenticeship in many different categories of jobs could be undertaken. Employers have often told us that apprenticeship is very costly to them. This program should tend to shorten training time, thereby cutting the costs to employers and enabling workers to reach higher levels of earnings in a shorter time. Certain skills necessary in any industry require three years apprentice training, but we believe that, with this program in operation, some apprentice training could be shortened and on-the-job training speeded up.

4. Employers should review carefully and exert an influence on instruction offered in the Berufsschule (Vocational Continuation School) to see that wider opportunities for training are offered to German women. There has been much discussion and many studies made of education in general in Germany, and there are many years of work ahead before all the recommended educational reforms can be put into effect, but vocational education is of particular interest to employers.

5. A few employers, realizing the surplus of women in the population, are attempting to give women training in the plant for more skilled jobs. This should be done more widely where women have the ambition and qualifications. Even though the general attitude has been that women are only temporary in industry, this situation is not true in Germany today. Education and training are valuable even if a woman leaves to be married. Life is uncertain. She may be called upon, at some later date, to earn her own living and to support dependents.

Recommendations to German Trade Unions

1. Although the trade unions have made great strides in growth and organization during the four and a half years of the Occupation, it will still take some time to catch up on the years they lost during the Nazi regime. For that reason, it is necessary that they take advantage of every opportunity to meet and discuss trade union philosophies and programs with representatives of trade unions in other countries. Every democratic person believes that a strong trade union movement is essential in a democratic society, but it is important that trade unions keep their own organization democratic, that they support democratic organizations in the community and democratic school systems. We have been impressed with the revival of trade union training schools. In the refresher courses given, we would like to see more women selected for leadership training in the trade union schools.

2. Trade unions should be particularly concerned with the type of instruction given in the Berufsschule. We do not feel that the courses offered to women in the Berufsschule adequately prepare a large number of German women to earn a decent living. Trade unions should review carefully the apprenticeship system, and assume responsibility with employers and educational authorities for the length and content of subject matter of the courses as well as wages paid to apprentices.

3. We would like to recommend that capable women in the trade unions be given positions of greater responsibility. In our conferences with trade union officials and works councils we met many promising and interested women. Certainly beginning training in union leadership must be offered to young women.

4. After the Western German Trade Union Federation is fully organized, we would recommend strengthening the research department. Both the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. have strong research divisions, and some of the large international unions have their own research staff. The position of the trade unions cannot be adequately presented without basic, unbiased information.

5. Trade unions must immediately set out to eliminate all differentials in women's rates in the collective agreements. The slogan "Equal Pay for Equal Work" does not solve the problem. We have seen copies of labor agreements where different minimum rates for men and women have been established. In the cost-of-living wage increase there was a differential in the percentages paid to men and women. Even if these differentials are eliminated from the contract, the policing of its application job by job must be carried on by the trade union and works council. As long as jobs with little or no difference in operation are designated "male and female", there is no equal pay for women.

6. We recommend that the trade unions support legislation providing equal pay for women as well as establishing the practice through trade union agreements. In other areas of labor laws for women (which are briefly set forth on pages 5 and 6 of this report) we regard the existing legal provisions as reasonably adequate. The maternity safeguards seem particularly pertinent in view of the great strain and hardship of the present period.

We recommend that the trade union women give very serious consideration to a proposal for further legislation that was widely discussed and supported by them in conversations with us, namely, that women with a household should be paid for the time off for household duties which they are now legally permitted to claim. We note that the claim is most widely pushed where industry operates on a six-day week and not strongly urged where the five-day week prevails. While we believe that a five-day week is the socially desirable solution to this problem for the women and for their families and community, we recognize that the German economy is not in a position to realize its complete establishment at this time. We do, however, recommend to the women they weigh carefully the comparative disadvantages and the economical position of German women of struggling on with their present handicap in the matter of household and child care as against the competitive disadvantages to their job and advancement opportunities that might result from the requirement that the employers pay them for a day of undelivered work per month.

TABLE 1
Population - U.S. Zone of Germany I/

			<u>Males and Females</u>	
			<u>Number</u> (thousands)	<u>Percent</u>
1939 May (census)	All ages	--	14,297.0	
	14 - 65 years	---	10,085.6	= 70.5
1946 Oct (census)	All ages	--	16,878.2	
	14 - 65 years	--	11,498.2	= 68.1
1948 June	All ages	--	17,632.2	
	14 - 65 years	--	12,109.7	= 68.7 <u>a/</u>
1949 March	All ages	--	17,868.4	
1949 June	All ages	--	17,910.0	

1/ The Laender (States) of Bavaria, Wuerttemberg-Baden, Hesse, and Bremen, frontiers as of 1949, excluding DPs in camps.

a/ Estimated percentage of the Bizonal Area applied to U.S. Zone.

TABLE 1

Population - U.S. Zone of Germany 1/

		<u>Males</u>		<u>Females</u>	
		<u>Number</u> (thousands)	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u> (thousands)	<u>Percent</u>
1939 May (census)	All ages	-- 6,980.5		7,316.5	
	14 - 65 years	-- 4,884.1	- 70.0	5,201.5	- 71.1
1946 Oct (census)	All ages	-- 7,603.6		9,274.6	
	14 - 65 years	-- 4,948.3	- 65.1	6,549.9	- 70.6
1948 June	All ages	-- 7,983.3		9,648.9	
	14 - 65 years	-- 5,316.9	- 66.6 <u>a/</u>	6,792.8	- 70.4 <u>a/</u>

1/ The Laender (States) of Bavaria, Wuerttemberg-Baden, Hesse, and Bremen, frontiers as of 1949, excluding DPs in camps.

a/ Estimated percentage of the Bizonal Area applied to U.S. Zone.

TABLE 2

Females in Percent of Gainfully Occupied by Major Economic Groups

U.S. Zone of Germany

		(Thousands)											
		Total		Agriculture, Forestry		Industry and Handicrafts		Commerce, Transporta- tion		Public and Private Services		Domestic Service	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1939 May (census)	Total	7.446		2.373		2.883		1.194		735		261	
	Female	2.973	39.9	1.363	57.4	691	24.0	426	35.7	234	31.8	259	99.2
1948 Jun	Total	7.831		2.414		2.990		1.188		1.010		229	
	Female	2.943	37.6	1.280	53.0	701	23.4	376	31.6	358	35.4	228	99.6
1948 Dec	Total	7.873		2.339		3.166		1.207		939		222	
	Female	2.995	38.0	1.258	53.8	787	24.9	392	32.5	337	35.9	221	99.5
1949 Sep	Total	7.813		2.348		3.093		1.256		907		209	
	Female	2.984	38.2	1.262	53.7	765	24.7	418	33.3	331	36.5	208	99.5

TABLE 3

Employed Wage and Salary Earners - U.S. Zone of Germany

		(Thousands)											
		Total		Agriculture, Forestry		Industry and Handicrafts		Commerce, Transporta- tion		Public and Private Services		Domestic Service	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1939 May	Total	4,628		347		2,493		861		666		261	
	Female	1,461	31.6	142	40.9	579	23.2	269	31.2	212	31.8	259	99.2
1946 Dec	Total	4,527		635		2,097		717		844		234	
	Female	1,420	31.4	228	35.9	452	21.6	201	28.0	306	36.3	233	99.6
1948 Dec	Total	5,090		510		2,632		886		840		222	
	Female	1,578	31.0	178	34.9	626	23.8	249	28.1	304	36.2	221	99.5
1949 Jun	Total	4,969		472		2,580		885		820		212	
	Female	1,557	31.3	169	35.8	619	24.0	258	29.2	300	36.6	211	99.5
1949 Sep	Total	5,017		458		2,637		896		817		209	
	Female	1,573	31.4	167	36.5	631	23.9	266	29.7	301	36.8	208	99.5

Note: While the population increased by 3,613,000 from 1939 to June 1949, the number of employed wage and salary earners increased by only 341,000, of whom 96,000 were females. The U.S. Zone comprises the Laender (States) of Bavaria, Wuerttemberg-Baden, Hesse, Bremen, frontiers throughout as of 1949.

TABLE 4

Employed Wage and Salary Earners, by Selected Branches of Industry

U.S. Zone of Germany

Branches of Industry	December 1946 1/			December 1948		
	Males and Females	Females		Males and Females	Females	
		No.	%		No.	%
Electrical Equipment	113,050	25,038	22.1	157,626	39,185	24.9
Chemicals	80,024	26,050	32.6	102,870	32,607	31.7
Textiles	99,525	57,713	58.0	181,062	113,258	62.6
Clothing	139,216	103,539	74.4	189,224	138,474	73.2
Leather, Linoleum Prod. and Working	42,800	13,115	30.6	53,024	16,005	30.2
Shoe Manufacture & Repair	48,391	11,546	23.9	65,282	16,120	24.7
Commerce, Banking	291,307	116,207	39.9	418,449	167,306	40.0
Hotels, Restaurants	55,108	41,684	75.6	58,690	39,991	68.1
Public Administration	286,813	78,749	27.5	304,630	75,268	24.7
Public & Private Health Services	144,607	90,081	62.3	164,729	103,063	62.6
Education, Religion, Legal & Econ. Services	84,450	36,636	43.4	121,881	50,959	41.8

1/ Excluding Bremen

TABLE 4

Employed Wage and Salary Earners, by Selected Branches of Industry

U.S. Zone of Germany

Branches of Industry	June 1949			September 1949		
	Males and Females	Females		Males and Females	Females	
		No.	%		No.	%
Electrical Equipment	155,216	39,658	25.6	159,500	42,350	26.6
Chemicals	98,460	30,936	31.4	98,646	31,363	31.8
Textiles	187,524	114,227	60.9	194,011	117,611	60.6
Clothing	183,385	136,097	74.2	178,776	133,106	74.5
Leather, Linoleum Prod. and Working	47,088	13,260	28.2	48,553	13,384	27.6
Shoe Manufacture & Repair	58,284	17,016	29.2	56,715	17,707	31.2
Commerce, Banking	423,379	174,735	41.3	435,798	182,200	41.8
Hotels, Restaurants	59,373	40,725	68.6	61,119	42,127	68.9
Public Administration	283,869	66,223	23.3	283,225	66,120	23.3
Public & Private Health Services	162,986	103,553	63.5	162,410	103,537	63.8
Education, Religion, Legal & Econ. Services	122,500	51,114	41.7	123,553	51,871	42.0

TABLE 5

Average Hourly and Weekly Gross Earnings, Hours Worked per Week, Manual Workers in the Manufacturing Industries incl. Construction 1/

Bizonal Area of Germany

	Hourly Gross Earning (Marks)			Weekly Gross Earning (Marks)		
	Males and Females	Males	Females	Males and Females	Males	Females
1938 Average	.80	.86	.50	39.68	43.25	23.04
1946 June	.89	.94	.57	35.22	38.28	20.14
1948 June	.99	1.07	.64	40.51	44.31	24.80
Dec	1.13	1.22	.76	50.44	55.05	32.04
1949 March	1.16	1.27	.79	52.55	58.04	33.79
June	1.20	1.30	.83	55.31	61.16	35.87

TABLE 5 (continued)

	Hours Worked per Week		
	Males and Females	Males	Females
1938 Average	49.5	50.3	46.1
1946 June	39.7	40.6	35.2
1948 June	41.1	41.6	39.0
Dec	44.6	45.3	41.9
1949 March	45.3	46.0	42.7
June	46.3	47.1	43.5

1/ Based on representative sample of manufacturing establishments employing 10 or more persons, and of all construction enterprises.

APPENDIX A

AGENDA FOR MEETINGS WITH WOMEN ON WORKS COUNCILS

1. Problems you have met that affect women workers on the job (community problems later).
2. As women on works councils, what do you do about these individual problems?
What support do you get from the chairman and other members of the council?
3. Have you ever had any cases you handled go to the labor court?
4. Is there any upgrading of women in the factory, or are you trained only for one job and stay on that job as long as you are working?
5. Are there any women apprentices? If so, for what jobs are they trained and how long is the apprenticeship?
6. Are there any welfare plans initiated and paid for by management? Are the benefits the same for women as for men? How does the works council participate in these plans?
7. What percent of women in the plant belong to the union?
8. Is the one day a month for shopping and household duties necessary since food is more plentiful? Would you want an extension of this in new contracts, or a wage increase instead? How would your decision reach the union officials who will negotiate the contract?
9. What is the situation in your plant about equal pay for equal work? If you do not have it, how would you go about getting it?
10. What are the major community problems that affect women workers?
11. How would you make a beginning in solving them?

APPENDIX B

AGENDA FOR MEETINGS WITH EMPLOYERS

1. What particular problems do you as a representative of management have with women employees in the job, not as a result of community conditions?
2. How does turnover and absenteeism compare with men?
What are major reasons for absenteeism?
What is generally considered reasonable absenteeism and turnover?
3. Are there any women apprentices?
What jobs and how long is the apprenticeship?
4. Is there any upgrading going on in the plant?
Have women participated?
5. Are there any women representing management?
If so in what kinds of jobs? What kinds of jobs do women occupy in offices of the plant?
6. What does management think of paying women for a day a month to do house work? Has it reduced absenteeism enough to justify cost?
7. Is equal pay for equal work a policy of your firm?
If not, what is your opinion of it?
8. Have you used T.W.I. program? If so, what do you think of it and have any women participated in it?
9. What is your function in relation to works council?
Are there regular meetings? Minutes? Meetings with all employees on regular basis?
Are women in works councils?
How do they function?
10. What are the community problems affecting women workers?
11. Can you as an individual do anything about their solution in your community?
12. What courses do women take in the Berufsschule?

CONCLUSION

The early objectives of Military Government - increased production and the reestablishment of free trade unions - has, in our opinion, been successful. We have checked our own observations with other experts who have been in Germany at different periods since the Occupation. To achieve the long range objectives of the reorganization of Germany into a democratic society is a different and more difficult task. German women must play a large part if this objective is to be achieved. In discussions with many German men and women in industry, trade unions, and government we are of the opinion the old traditional phrase, "Kinder, Kirche und Kueche" (children, church, and kitchen) is still alive. As evidence of this we quote parts of the text of the revised (1948) civics course, which is being taught all apprentice miners. This text was approved by management, trade unions and the responsible educational authorities.

Lesson I

"Direction of State lies in the hands of Minister President and the cabinet. The father is president of the family as his position as executive. Mother is minister of economics."

Lesson II

"The father is according to law the executive of the household, and represents the family on every occasion. This is just as much in accordance with the Christian point of view as with natural law. Therefore, the father is the person to be respected in the family. The children are aware of that and pay particular attention to him. He fulfills this task when he is an example to them.

"The life of the mother must be based on love, trust, pity, and selfless help. Mother love and mother hands are proverbial."

The Miner's Wife

"Life demands from the miner's wife from the very beginning courage and readiness to sacrifice herself. The miner's wife has long working days especially when there are several miners in the family and the work in kitchen, garden and in the stall demand a great deal from her."

For Children

"Obey your elders, follow their advice, they have the greatest experience of life. Do not forget you have to thank your parents for everything."

The text was used for an evening's discussion when a few educators from other European countries were meeting with a group of German educators. The Germans present had no particular criticism to offer the text.

We quoted from this text to a well informed military official. His comment was, "that's the way almost any man deep inside him would like to have his small world, but we are not allowed to."

An eminent psychiatrist who knows Germany well commented just before we left the United States: "Germany, nor any other country can hope to achieve economic and political democracy, until and unless the home, the family, is a democratic institution. Perhaps the necessity for German women to become responsible not only for their own livelihood but in many cases the livelihood of dependents may make necessary changes in the structure of the family, but the family is the crux of the problem." An eminent churchman called attention to the fact that in present day living especially in industrial countries the community plays a large part in the education of the children. In what proportion young people's education comes from the home and the community may be a debatable question but few people will disagree with these two basic opinions. A labor expert who is familiar with philosophies and development of trade unions in many different countries remarked "Co-determination had better start in the home, before the factory."

We met a few German women who are not allowing their homes to be modeled on the text used in this civics course and some evidence exists among young married people that things are changing. We met a woman active in labor and politics in Germany who has her home organized along the lines of "co-determination." When she gets complaints from women who say they have too much work at home to participate in political and community organizations she has them come to her home to see first hand how a home can be organized cooperatively.

We met women who understand the fundamental need for more democratic organization of the home and of the community, but until more working women especially in the trade unions become conscious of the necessity for achieving a position of more than "the minister of economics" in the home and in the life of the community, and the part this plays in developing a democratic society, slow progress will be made.

American women, though not having reached all of their objectives have made progress in the status of women in the home and the community and will be happy to give what assistance they can to German women. We hope and believe German women will achieve this necessary objective.

OCCUPIED AREAS OF GERMANY

