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# EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK

## HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SELECT SUBCOMMITTEE ON LABOR

OF THE WORLD WAGERS

### COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

### HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

### H.R. 8898; H.R. 10226

AND VARIOUS BILLS TO PROHIBIT DISCRIMINATION ON ACCOUNT OF SEX IN THE PAYMENT OF WAGES BY EMPLOYERS ENGAGED IN COMMERCE OR IN THE PRODUCTION OF GOODS FOR COMMERCE AND TO PROVIDE FOR THE RESTITUTION OF WAGES LOST BY EMPLOYEES BY REASON OF ANY SUCH DISCRIMINATION

### PART 2

HEARINGS HELD IN NEW YORK, N.Y.

APRIL 27 AND 28, 1962

Printed for the use of the Committee on Education and Labor

ADAM C. POWELL, *Chairman*



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## EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK

FRIDAY, APRIL 27, 1962

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SELECT SUBCOMMITTEE ON LABOR OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR,  
*New York, N.Y.*

The subcommittee met at 10 a.m., pursuant to recess, in room 129, U.S. Courthouse, Foley Square, New York, N.Y., Hon. Herbert Zelenko (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Representatives Zelenko and Daniels.

Also present: Harvey B. Cohen, counsel to the Select Subcommittee on Labor; Mollie Cohen, clerk to the Select Subcommittee on Labor; Howard G. Gamser, chief counsel for Labor-Management, and Tamara Wall, assistant counsel.

Mr. ZELENKO. The subcommittee will come to order.

Unfortunately, several of the members have been delayed in traffic, but because of the time situation that some of the witnesses are confronted with, the committee will commence the continuation of hearings on H.R. 8898 and H.R. 10226. Hearings on these bills and others were begun in Washington on March 26, 1962.

The hearings today and tomorrow here in New York will conclude the testimony on the subject, to prohibit discrimination on account of sex in the payment of wages by employers engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce and to provide for the restitution of wages lost by employees by reason of any such discrimination.

In other words, this is an FEPC bill as applied to women and/or to men. With that, these hearings will begin.

The Chair welcomes the First Lady of the World, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, who is also the Chairman of the President's Commission on the Status of Women, without whose testimony and presence these bills would not have had the opportunity to become law.

Without further ado, Mrs. Roosevelt, we welcome you and also your associate accompanying you, the Honorable Esther Peterson, the Assistant Secretary of Labor, in charge of the Women's Division, who has been a driving force in bringing this legislation to the front after so many years.

Mrs. Peterson, we welcome you.

Mrs. Roosevelt, we welcome you and you may begin your testimony.

**STATEMENT OF MRS. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT, CHAIRMAN, PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN, ACCOMPANIED BY MRS. ESTHER PETERSON, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF LABOR, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR**

Mrs. ROOSEVELT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am very pleased to appear before you today to support the administration's equal pay proposals embodied in H.R. 8898, introduced by Mrs. Green of Oregon, and H.R. 10226, introduced by you, Mr. Chairman.

At the time of the first meeting of the President's Commission on the Status of Women, of which I have the honor to be Chairman, the principle of equal pay for equal work was discussed.

On that occasion in February of this year, I said: "Where it occurs in the same establishment, the paying of lower wage rates to women workers for the same or comparable work as that performed by men workers is contrary to the concept of equality and justice in which we believe."

This I would like to repeat very strongly today.

Mr. Chairman, I read with great interest some of the statements presented before this subcommittee at the hearings in Washington, D.C., and I was impressed, although in no way surprised, by the list of distinguished witnesses appearing in support of this legislation.

It seems almost incredible that there should still be need for a Federal law to protect women workers from such a form of discrimination and exploitation as exists in the payment of an unequal rate for equal work.

It is obvious, however, that such need exists.

Back during the great depression of the 1930's, when the administration was working so hard to get the National Recovery Act adopted by the Congress, I can remember my husband saying to me that the law was necessary to prevent the undercutting of wage levels.

Women were being employed in place of men because they could be hired at cheaper wage rates. The unions, the National Consumers League, and many other groups, were anxious to prevent further undercutting of wage levels.

The National Recovery Act and later the Fair Labor Standards Act set a floor under wages, a ceiling over hours. Women could no longer be used to undercut men's wages at the minimum wage level. But something more is needed, and that is a law to prevent undercutting by women of wages above the minimum.

For this purpose, equal pay laws are needed. I am aware of the fact that 22 States now have so-called equal pay laws on their books. But, as is frequently the case, these State laws vary widely, and their effectiveness has been seriously hampered by the inadequacies of their basic provisions, for some of these laws even lack enforcement provisions.

It was interesting and revealing, I think, to note the position taken at the Washington hearings by two prominent State labor department administrators, both of whom urged most strongly the enactment of a Federal equal pay law, although they, themselves, are employed by States which have had equal pay laws for many years.

This, I think, is something which you find quite often. The enforcement of the State laws has lagged rather badly. I do not wish to

belittle the results which have been obtained by the States in the area of equal pay for equal work. There will always be a wide area of employment, where the States will continue to have sole responsibility for securing equal pay; whereas, the Federal Government must assume the responsibility for promoting equal pay where interstate commerce is involved.

The States must continue their available efforts on intrastate cases. As we know to our sorrow, individuals employed by concerns engaged in intrastate commerce are often among the lowest paid of our work force. They are the people who work in laundries, the hotel and restaurant workers, hospital employees.

We know a little something about that in New York—and employees in local retailing, people who do not have the benefit of protection under the Fair Labor Standards Act; even in these low-paid jobs, there are wage discriminations against women. Truly, these are among the most grossly exploited of our people.

I should like at this point in my remarks to pause and pay tribute to the sincere and determined efforts made by the trade union movement in the United States to eliminate wage discriminations based on sex. A substantial and growing number of collective bargaining agreements include equal pay clauses. A pioneer in this field is the International Typographical Union, which has had a mandatory equal pay clause in its constitution since the year 1891.

The number of women members in trade unions, however, is not very large. I am told that of the total AFL-CIO membership of approximately 13 million individuals, there are only a little over 2.5 million women.

This figure becomes even more striking when compared with the average number of women workers in our total labor force in the United States, over 24 million women.

The Department of Labor estimates that by 1970 there will be 30 million women in our work force, a condition which makes favorable action on H.R. 8898 and H.R. 10226 even more urgent.

I am sure that since Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg and Assistant Secretary of Labor Esther Peterson both testified in support of these identical proposals before this subcommittee when hearings opened in Washington, D.C., there is already ample evidence of a technical nature in the record.

I should like, therefore, to confine the rest of my statement to a few brief remarks on the ethical implications of the subject we are discussing. Just as earlier I paid a tribute to the officials of the trade union movement for their longstanding fight for equal pay for equal work, so now do I wish to recognize the voluntary efforts of the many individual employers who have accepted this principle and operate their business establishments accordingly.

There are still, however, a number of employers who make a practice of denying to women the just remuneration they have earned, who cling to the outmoded concept that a woman is worth less money than a man, who refuse to recognize the age-old principle that the laborer is worthy of his hire.

From time to time, Mr. Chairman, I hear the comment made that most women work for pin money, and that they do not need a job. Are the women who are the heads of over 4.5 million families in the United States, about one-tenth of all families, working for pin money?

Are the unmarried women workers working for pin money? There is no need for me to dwell on these and other similar false concepts. They are rooted in a psychological downgrading of women generally, entrenched in prejudice, and are utterly indefensible.

The United States is recognized as a world leader and has already been in the forefront of battles for equal political and legal rights for women. It finds itself presently, however, in an unfavorable position among many other countries around the world which have adopted laws or constitutional provisions requiring equal pay for equal work.

This I know Mrs. Tillett, who is a member of the Women's Commission in the U.N., is here to testify today, and she will be able to tell you exactly how this affects us in the international field.

The International Labor Office established an international standard which has already been adopted by 38 countries through the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, yet proposals for a Federal equal pay law have been before the Congress of the United States every year since 1945.

It is inconceivable to me that this issue should so consistently have been pushed aside. This is no party issue. The record already shows strong and vigorous bipartisan support for the administration proposals.

There is no reason whatsoever why there should not be an overwhelming vote of approval in both Chambers of the Congress.

Mr. Chairman, we are grateful to you for holding these hearings. I urge prompt and positive action on these proposals by the 87th Congress of the United States. I would also like to say that Mrs. Peterson, though she has appeared before you before, came today, and I hope that in case there are technical questions that you still think need clarification you will give her an opportunity to speak of these things and tell you some of the things which I am not familiar with and would not know about.

I thank you again for this opportunity.

Mr. ZELENGO. Mrs. Roosevelt, we thank you for appearing here. May I assure you that this committee intends to act with the utmost expedition. There is an executive session of this committee set for Tuesday of next week in Washington, and if the bill is passed out of the subcommittee it will be before the full committee no later than Thursday.

The almost unanimous bipartisan support bespeaks the fact that the people of this country wish this bill to become law. Under your leadership, I know that will be a fact shortly.

I am going to take advantage of your suggestion that any questions might be directed to Assistant Secretary Peterson. I will ask Mrs. Peterson to be good enough to answer this question, which is a technical one relating to the bill.

Mrs. Peterson, I would like to turn to the question of enforcement of the orders of the Department of Labor if they are not voluntarily accepted by the parties against whom they are directed. That is, in the case of a violation.

I have some knowledge of the enforcement of the wage and hour law and the orders of the National Labor Relations Board in the circuit courts of appeal. I am wondering how the Department of Labor plans to enforce through courts the equal pay legislation which we are now considering?

Mrs. PETERSON. Yes, that is a technical question. I am not a lawyer, but I do know that Congress has authorized the attorneys for the Department of Labor and the NLRB to appear in court under those statutes.

As you know, not being a lawyer I am not sure as to what exact interpretation will be put on this—the interpretation of the section that authorizes the Secretary of Labor to institute actions in court and to enforce his order.

But I do know that the Department has a staff of lawyers in the field who handle cases under the Fair Labor Standards Act and certainly under the NLRB cases. I would assume that the competency that they have might be used in this case.

I must say, however, I am not sure as to the interpretation, whether they would be enforced by the Department of Labor lawyers.

Mr. ZELENKO. I agree with you that there should be some specialization in law enforcement, in labor law enforcement. That is important. It seems to me that we should make it clear that this legislation work in the courts should be handled by labor law specialists in the Department of Labor.

I will arrange for the staff to work out some language and submit it to the Labor Department for comment.

Mrs. PETERSON. I would think the Solicitor would be very happy to look over any suggestions and make any recommendations or comments that you would request.

Mr. ZELENKO. Thank you. I want to thank both of you wonderful ladies for appearing here this morning.

The Chair will declare a short recess in order to escort the two distinguished witnesses to the door.

Mrs. ROOSEVELT. Thank you.

(Brief recess taken.)

Mr. ZELENKO. The subcommittee will be in order.

The next witness will be the Honorable Mrs. Gladys A. Tillett, the U.S. representative to the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women.

#### STATEMENT OF MRS. GLADYS A. TILLETT, A U.S. REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN

Mr. ZELENKO. Mrs. Tillett, we welcome you again. You did testify in Washington. We know that your schedule requires you to leave the country before the end of the day. We appreciate your reappearance.

Mrs. Tillett, you may proceed.

Mrs. TILLETT. Congressman Zelenko, I am Gladys Tillett, U.S. representative to the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women.

It was a pleasure to testify before your committee at the hearings in Washington in March, and I appreciate your invitation to appear here today. At the hearings in Washington, you asked me to report on the action taken on equal pay in the Commission on the Status of Women during its recent 16th session held here in New York from March 19 to April 6, 1962.

Our commission is composed of 21 women representing 21 countries from all regions of the world. This year, for the first time, countries of Africa were represented.

This commission has been interested from the beginning in the subject of equal pay, and took leadership in urging action by the International Labour Organization.

This year, equal pay was a very important item on our agenda. We reviewed the progress made toward establishment of the equal-pay principle throughout the United Nations, and recommended that governments implement the ILO convention and recommendations on remuneration for work of equal value by putting equal pay into effect.

We called on the ILO to continue to work in this area, and expressed the hope that the national and international voluntary organizations would continue to demand legislative and practical application of the principle of equal pay for equal work.

With your permission, I would like to file a copy of the text of the resolution adopted by the United Nations Status of Women Commission.

During the discussion of this subject at the Commission meeting, representatives of many countries summarized the progress that had been made in their countries, in putting the equal-pay principle into effect.

It is noteworthy that, of the 21-member commission, 11 representatives came from countries that had formally adopted the ILO Convention on this subject: Argentina, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, France, Indonesia, Mexico, Philippines, Poland, the United Arab Republic, U.S.S.R.

In addition, two countries on this Commission had not ratified the convention, had adopted national legislation putting the equal pay principle into effect. These two countries were Iran and Spain.

I am on my way today to a United Nations seminar on women in family life, which will be held in Tokyo, Japan, for 2 weeks beginning May 8. This seminar will be attended by all the U.N. countries in the Far East.

In January and February of this year I had an opportunity to travel throughout southeast Asia and met some of the men and women who are going to participate in this seminar. I found that countries in this area, almost without exception, have established the principle of equal pay for equal work either in their constitution or by statute.

These are the women with whom I, as a representative of my Government, will be working during the coming month at the meeting in Tokyo.

For example, Burma, in its constitution of 1947, guarantees to women the same pay for similar work. Indonesia, in its provision in its constitution of 1950, provided that every worker shall have the right to equal pay for equal work. Thailand, in its 1956 labor code, provided that, for work of the same nature and under the same conditions, the rate of pay shall be equal regardless of the worker's sex.

Japan, the country which will hold the U.N. women's seminar this coming month, requires equal pay in its constitution of 1946. India requires it in its constitution of 1949, and Vietnam in its labor code of 1952.

I am proud of the record made by women in the United States, and of the many laws which Congress has enacted to promote the welfare of all of our citizens. However, in visiting the emerging countries where women are just getting their rights for the first time, I feel deeply the importance of insuring that our country shall not lag behind in according women the rights due them in all fields.

All over the world today women are working for the economic development of their countries. On this development rests not only the standard of living of individual women and men, but also the security of the entire Nation, security both for their persons and their families and homes.

In the United States, there is 1 woman to every 2 men in the labor force. Since the turn of the century, the employment of women has been increasing at a more rapid rate than the employment of men.

Here, as in other countries, women are employed as teachers, nurses, technicians, in factories, in offices, in the service industries, and increasingly in the professions.

Women deserve to be paid the same rate as their male fellow workers. The United States has always been a leader in the practical implementation of political and legal rights for women.

Yet our women still do not have the right to equal pay for equal work. To maintain our present position of world leadership, it is of vital importance to adopt the legislation under consideration today by your committee.

Joseph Alsop's recent article in the Saturday Evening Post, on "The President's Grand Strategy," points out that if the time ever comes when the Communist system is more productive than the mixed economy of the West, that will indeed be a turning point in history.

Gentlemen, women are making an increasing contribution to the economy of our country. They have demonstrated their ability in the winning of the Second World War. They can make an equal contribution in the winning of the economic war that confronts our country today.

To insure this, women must be paid the same wage rates as men.

In conclusion, may I say that all over the world today women are making an important contribution to the economy of their countries. In the majority of the countries which I have visited, this has been recognized through the adoption of laws requiring equal pay for equal work.

In the United States, women are making an equal or greater contribution. They have earned the right to equal pay. The idea of equal pay is constantly gaining ground. Nobody can stop an idea whose time has come. But those who have power can step up the time.

The women of this country look to you, our elected representatives, to step up the time and enact an equal pay law. It is in the hands of you members of the 87th Congress as to whether or not the women of the United States can help our country keep the leadership or fall behind. And we do look to you to stand guard for continuing our leadership as part of the heritage and the hope of all Americans.

Thank you, sir.

Mr. ZELENKO. Mrs. Tillett, the Chair thanks you again for appearing before this committee and bringing to it the further testimony which the committee felt necessary to come from you.

We want to wish you Godspeed on your official journey, which is to begin today.

Mrs. TILLET. Thank you, sir.

Mr. ZELENKO. With that, the Chair will excuse you because it knows you have to leave. We have no further questions.

Mrs. TILLET. Thank you, sir.

(The following resolution was submitted by Mrs. Tillett:)

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN AT ITS 16TH SESSION HELD IN NEW YORK CITY MARCH 19 TO APRIL 6, 1962 (RES. E/CN.6/L. 337)

The Commission on the Status of Women,

Having considered the report of the International Labour Office on equal pay for equal work,

Being of the opinion that the legal and factual differences in wages and salaries for men and women, which still exist in many countries, constitutes a serious obstacle to real equality of women in the economic field,

Believing that for the purpose of removing this discrimination against women effective measures should be taken on national and international levels,

Requests the Economic and Social Council to adopt the following resolution:

The Economic and Social Council,

Having examined the report of the Commission on the Status of Women on its sixteenth session,

Sharing its opinion that the legal and factual inequality between men and women in questions concerning wages and salaries, still existing in many countries, constitutes a serious obstacle to the achievement of real equality of men and women in the economic field, and that effective measures on national and international levels should be taken to remove this discrimination against women,

Emphasizing in this connexion particularly the responsibilities of Governments for the removal of discrimination against women in the question of wages and salaries and for the consistent application of the principle of equal pay for equal work,

I. Calls upon:

1. Governments of Member States which have not yet ratified or otherwise implemented the principles of Convention No. 100 of the International Labour Organization relating to equal pay for equal work to do so, as appropriate under the Constitution of the ILO, and also to implement the provisions of ILO Recommendation No. 90 and, by the adoption of the relevant legislative and practical measures in all economic fields, to apply and promote consistently the principle of equal pay for equal work;

2. The International Labour Organization to continue to follow the introduction of the principle of equal pay for equal work on a world scale and to bear this principle always in mind in considering working and social questions on an international level;

II. Expresses the hope that national and international women's organizations in consultative status with the Economic and Social Council may continue to advocate consistently in their activities the principle of equal economic working conditions for men and women and demand the legislative and practical application of the principle of equal pay for equal work;

III. Requests the Secretary-General to submit, in co-operation with the International Labour Office, a report to the eighteenth session of the Commission on the Status of Women on both the progress achieved in the field of equal pay for equal work, and obstacles existing so far in this field.

Mr. ZELENKO. At this time there will be placed into the record a statement by the Honorable Leonard Farbstein, U.S. Representative from New York, who unfortunately, because of official business, could not appear before the committee today.

His statement will be made part of the record.

(Statement of Hon. Leonard Farbstein follows:)

STATEMENT BY HON. LEONARD FARESTEIN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS  
FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

I should like to express my appreciation to this subcommittee for the opportunity of presenting this statement in support of the "Equal Pay Act of 1962."

First, let me commend my two esteemed colleagues, Herbert Zelenko, the chairman of this subcommittee, and the distinguished Congresswoman from Oregon, Mrs. Edith Green, for their valuable public service in introducing H.R. 10226—which is under consideration here today—and companion measure H.R. 8898, introduced in the previous session of Congress. The Nation, I believe, owes them a debt of gratitude for bringing to public attention one of the grosser forms of social and economic discrimination.

Enactment of legislation providing for equal pay for equal work is a matter of simple justice. But beyond its purpose of righting a grievous wrong, H.R. 10226 has much deeper implications for our entire economy.

It has already been pointed out to this subcommittee that women presently constitute approximately one-third of our working force—a very substantial proportion, indeed, and one that will continue to grow with the years. When these women—who perform the same occupational duties but at a lower wage than the men with whom they work side by side—are deprived of the same compensation as their male counterparts, not only are their own pocketbooks seriously affected, but the communities in which they live are also adversely affected because of diminished purchasing power.

Moreover, the too widespread concept of "unequal pay for equal work" is a constant threat to many male wage earners for the simple reason that employers either tend to replace men with women workers, or fill newly created jobs with women. The absence of an equal pay law then serves as a depressant on general wage levels.

To me, such discrepancy in salary scales has been a constant reminder that for all our talk about equality and justice, we still pay homage to the long-since-outmoded concept that women are not the equals of men. And lest we forget, may I point out that not only do women make up half of our population—but that they are an increasingly influential half.

I have been much impressed, as I know has been this subcommittee, with the cogent and learned testimony of numerous witnesses who have appeared before you. Every aspect of the need for equal pay legislation has, I think, been adequately described. It is not my desire to be repetitious, but I would ask this subcommittee to consider not only these brief statements of mine but to look as well to the fact that only 22 States currently have equal pay laws. It is apparent to me, as I hope it must be to you, that there is great need for Federal equal-pay legislation inasmuch as more than half of our State legislatures have not seen fit to write such a law.

Legislation, like people, is known by the company it keeps. The fact, I think, that this bill has the enthusiastic support of the administration, of organized labor, and a distinguished list of organizations and individuals speaks extremely well for it. I am delighted to add my voice to theirs and urge a speedy and favorable report on H.R. 10226. For my part, I shall make every effort to work for ultimate passage into law of this crucial bill this year.

I thank you for your kind attention.

Mr. ZELENSKO. The next witness will be the Honorable Dorothy Kenyon.

#### STATEMENT OF JUDGE DOROTHY KENYON, ON BEHALF OF AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

Mr. ZELENSKO. Judge Kenyon, the Chair welcomes you. You have had a most distinguished career as a fighter for civil rights. I recognize you as one of our most distinguished jurists.

You have given much of yourself to the public cause. We are deeply appreciative of the fact that you have taken the time to appear before this committee today.

May I say that I know your testimony will form an integral part of the consideration of the committee on these bills. With that, we welcome you and you may proceed.

Mrs. KENYON. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I am sorry I do not live in your constituency.

It is a very great honor to me to be called here today, at your invitation, to speak on these two most important measures which, of course, by the way, as I understand it, are identical.

Mr. ZELENKO. That is correct.

Mrs. KENYON. And they are indeed most important.

I also appear today at the request of the American Civil Liberties Union to state the position of the American Civil Liberties Union.

I think we are all too well acquainted with that organization and its purposes for me to go any further in respect to it. I suppose, Mr. Chairman, really the reason why I was invited was that I had the honor to be the first U.S. representative to the Commission of the United Nations on the Status of Women when it was first set up back in 1946, and that was also, as we all know, when Mrs. Roosevelt first took over the chairmanship of the Commission on Human Rights.

I served on that Commission for 3½ years during its formative period. Before that, and this goes back so far that no one here is going to know anything about it, I was on a committee appointed by the League of Nations to study the legal status of women throughout the world, and we had started in—

Mr. ZELENKO. The Chair will wish to interrupt and state after listening to you and looking at you, it could not be very far back.

Mrs. KENYON. Thank you. But it was 1939, I must say, which so many people do not seem to know so much about at all anymore.

In any event, we were preparing a comparative study of the legal status of women in both the civil and common law countries of the West and also in Moslem and Hindu law, and we were only interrupted by the arrival of Mr. Hitler who, for a moment, interrupted our work.

It was, however, picked up by the United Nations, and it has gone on ever since. Incidentally, in that connection I had the honor, as U.S. delegate, to propose the first resolution on equal pay for women that was ever introduced in the United Nations.

I recall that our State Department was not quite sure what its policy should be on the matter. I suspect it had never given the matter of equal pay a moment's thought.

But I reassured them by saying that it was a matter of fairplay, and, of course, the United States was in favor of fairplay. So I was permitted to introduce it.

I was very happy because every single one of the countries on the Commission were unanimous in their support.

As for the American Civil Liberties Union—well, I suppose I should state my qualifications as a witness in this area. I have been on its board for 32 years and have served as vice president and secretary and am now chairman of its committee on equality, which deals with discriminations of all sorts. Of course, those are mainly minority group discriminations, of course, and the group of women is peculiar, as we all know, in that it is not a minority but a very definite majority group.

I think we emphasize that to remind you legislators of it when it comes around to election time. But nevertheless, women are very seriously discriminated against even if they are a majority group, and nowhere perhaps more than in the economic field where changing economic conditions and old habits and customs clash, and women are caught in the middle.

I learned my first lessons about equal pay and frankly, I was shocked at what I learned at the United Nations. The League of Nations had not prepared me for it because there we were dealing only with laws, whereas equal pay or rather unequal pay, is not a matter of law at all but of habit and custom.

Bad habit and custom, a survival of outmoded thinking. I discovered to my surprise that it was not a phenomenon peculiar to us but was widespread throughout the world. Whatever its ancient roots or original causes, the evil was worldwide.

I remember how surprised I was to learn that Australia, which actually was one of the pioneers in women's suffrage, had imbedded in its economic system a differentiation between men's and women's rates which meant that women on the average only got two-thirds of the pay that men got.

It seemed to me incredible. But a great change occurred. That was in 1946 and 1947. A great change has come over the world's thinking since then.

Here in the United States, at the time of World War II, the National War Labor Board laid down the principle and which all of the labor unions had to comply with, that there had to be equal pay for women with men in all union contracts.

Congress later, as we know, extended the principle to Government employees. It has also, to a certain extent, been rectified in the States, although as Mrs. Roosevelt has said, it is very spotty there and a tremendous job of work must still be done on the State level.

Of course, you all know what tremendous advantages have been made on the world scene. Mrs. Tillett has told you about that.

Now for the bills themselves which make an effort to give practical form to this principle of simple justice and fair play for women; of course, we all know that you can state a principle but it is an entirely different matter to find practical form for the enforcement of the principle.

In other words, there are many rights to which we give lipservice, or give genuine support, for which there is no practical remedy.

That has been one of the great difficulties in this area of the principle of equal pay for equal work. The great problem in respect to it is how you are going to determine what you mean by equal work, and it is only when you have worked out standards for the determination of what work is comparable with what work and so one that you have a chance to develop a remedy. Standards are greatly needed. Fortunately, we were able, during these last 15 or so years to have developed for us by the International Labor Office over in Geneva, a very fine set of standards, of working standards.

There, again, I hate to indicate my own qualifications, but I again had the chance to make the first resolution, calling upon the International Labor Organization to draft a model convention containing standards appropriate for the determination of this question.

It not only obliged, but it has kept the question under major study ever since and has contributed greatly to its clarification. So we have that background of work already done in this area of determination of standards.

The way it has been described is, I think, significant, in describing it in a pamphlet recently published by the United Nations on the subject of equal pay for equal work.

The convention is described as doing this: Whatever other considerations may apply in the fixing of rates of remuneration, the principle is established that there shall be no discrimination on the ground of sex. The convention states further that where such action will assist in giving effect to the principle of equal pay, measures shall be taken to promote objective appraisal of jobs on the basis of the work to be performed.

This means the establishment of wage or salary rates on the basis of the characteristics and requirements of the job and irrespective of the sex of the worker. It means payment of the same rate per unit of measurement, whether pay is by time or piece rate. It means, too, the differential rates which correspond without regard to sex differences in the work to be performed shall not be regarded as being contrary to the principle of equal remuneration.

Where rates are fixed on this basis, that is, according to job content, the sex of the worker, as such, is irrelevant. Such a concept implies the abolition of traditional classification of jobs into men's work and women's work.

So with these standards in mind, the bills before us today appear to be soundly based, with sound objectives, and practical workable administrative provisions because, first, the law is a Federal law, dealing with private business engaged in interstate commerce or having contracts with Government.

No law is needed for the Federal Government, itself, because the civil service law covers Federal employees where the principle has already been enacted. This law, therefore, will merely extend the principle to private industry and commerce whether operating independently or with contractors for the Government.

Second, it is a Federal law, rather than a constitutional provision, because constitutional protections against discrimination are traditionally directed against discrimination by Government and not by individual private citizens, and, therefore, would not be deemed applicable in this case where private behavior of private citizens is concerned.

I might add that since the Supreme Court is so loath to apply the equal protection of the laws clause of the 14th amendment of the Constitution to women, except in cases where the unreasonableness of the differential law in question is so extreme as to constitute in effect irrationality. I just had a little run-in with the Supreme Court on that score with women jurors a few months ago.

Little help can be expected at this time from that quarter, but I am always hopeful about the Supreme Court and perhaps they will moderate their position a little bit. As we all know, they are now moderating it a little bit with respect to reapportionment where, again, the concept of irrationality has played a part.

For the time being, a law is obviously the quickest way to achieve the result we want.

Third, it leaves as the only remaining gap in the picture, the intra-state business, within the State, both public and private, carried on in those 28 States which have not yet enacted equal pay laws and which are beyond the reach of Federal law.

It is to be hoped that public opinion can be rallied to bring into effect equally in every part of the United States the same principle.

I have no doubt that the enactment of this Federal law will enormously accelerate that progress.

Fourth, and this, I think, is a very important matter, the law provides for its administration by the U.S. Department of Labor, the setting up of standards by that body, and the application of those standards to the facts found by that body in each case.

This insures the setting up of the best possible standards in line with the principle so carefully worked out by the Department over the years and with the work done by the ILO, much of whose work in that field is actually the product of help from the Labor Department, itself, or its representatives, who have attended meetings of the ILO in Geneva.

So I can conceive of no more competent or understanding administrative agency than our Labor Department for this task. As I say, the standards are already being worked on and formulated, and I have no doubt they are ready for immediate application.

Then the administrative steps for the application of these standards to individual cases, and their enforcement in appropriate cases where violations are found, are those which are generally accepted as the best practice; as you mentioned, Mr. Chairman, it is modeled after our FEPC laws.

It is also like our SCAD here in New York, except that I think it is perhaps a little bit better. It includes, as the standard best practice indicates is desirable, the preliminary educational methods. Once a violation is found to exist, a conference, conciliation, and attempted persuasion with legal enforcement procedures only coming after persuasion has failed, if it does, beginning, as we already mentioned, with cease and desist orders, double payment, and liquidated damages, subsequent steps to protect employees from retaliatory action or reprisals on the part of the employer, all of which is enormously important on the part of the employee, and finally the opportunity for appeal to a Federal district court.

I noticed when you were asking Mrs. Peterson the question about how the cease and desist orders were to be enforced, I see that on page 7 of the law, subdivision (c) it says:

The Secretary shall have power to petition any United States district court within the jurisdiction of which the violation of this act occurs, where the person resides or transacts business, for the enforcement of any order issued under this section.

I have not gone any more deeply into the question of the operations of that sort of procedure, but it indicates here, I think, to a small extent, what is intended as a part of the enforcement procedures.

As you have said, the Department of Justice, of course, knows all about that and has all of the best answers. I am sure it could fill in any gaps that it might be concerned about.

All of this suggests fairplay and due process for all of the parties concerned, and would seem practical and workable as well.

It follows, as I have said, the general procedural lines of FEPC laws and our own SCAD. The only right lacking in practice is generally found to be an insubstantial one: the right of complaint by the employee.

The employee may, in theory, already have such a right now. I am not familiar with that. But it was felt by yourself, Mr. Chairman, and Mrs. Green, the introducers of the measure, that most employees would hesitate to complain for fear of reprisals, and that their best hope would be reliance upon the strong protecting arm, with its standard setting and investigatory power, of the Labor Department.

In that I heartily concur.

In conclusion, I want to go back to the simple question of fairplay, based on the constitutional principles of equal treatment and due process of law.

Whatever the original reasons for paying women less than men for doing the same work, none of them make sense nowadays and I doubt if they ever did. People should be paid on an equal basis for the work that they do, whether black or white, man or woman, no difference is tolerable.

It is a simple matter of fairplay. Women have suffered from this evil long enough. They are in industry to stay and they deserve to be treated like all other human beings in a land of freedom and equality.

In conclusion, I would like to quote one little remark of a recent case in New York State, which is nothing to be too proud about in its laws on the subject, because it has stated the principle in the labor law and has not provided any effective machinery for its enforcement.

This case, *Wilson v. Hacker*, which had to do with barmaids and barmen, in that case the court stated this, as what it believed was the true principle.

Discrimination on the grounds of sex in the absence of any evidence of incompetence or bad moral character in the particular case must be condemned as a violation of the fundamental principles of American democracy. The right to be free from discriminations on class grounds is one of our fundamental freedoms.

Then the court goes on to quote the Declaration of Human Rights, which Mrs. Roosevelt had a very large part in writing. I might, myself, quote from the Charter of the United Nations, fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

Finally, I will bring into our support, though it is hardly needed, I think, the words of Pearl Buck, who has long been a student of this worldwide movement of women toward human dignity and freedom.

She said:

Free men and free women working on equal terms together in all the processes of life, and what is this but democracy, for in our preoccupation with nations and peoples and races, let us remember again that there is a division still more basic than these in human society.

It is the division of humanity into men and women. Men and women against each other destroy all other unity in life, but when they are for each other, when they work together, the fundamental harmony exists, the foundation on which may be built all that they desire.

Mr. Chairman, thank you very much for giving me this opportunity to come here today and to speak on this subject which is so close to

my heart. I am delighted to hear that you are pushing very hard for the success of these bills.

I hope that your efforts may be successful and that they will be speedily enacted into law. Thank you.

Mr. ZELENKO. Thank you, Judge Kenyon, for your most informative and detailed statement, particularly the legal analysis of the bill. I will call your attention to the fact that during the hearings in Washington—

Mrs. KENYON. Were they attacked? I think they are remarkably good.

Mr. ZELENKO. There was a point raised with regard to section 4 of the bill, which is the prohibition section against differential based on sex, and we felt the bill did not have any language in it to protect the situation where a higher wage of one employee, let us say a man, would be reduced so that the equality required in the bill would be met.

With that in mind, we have drafted a proposed amendment which reads as follows, and which will come at the conclusion or in the body of section 4, which will state:

Nor shall any employer reduce the wage rate of an employee for the purpose of eliminating the differential in wage rates prohibited by this section.

Mrs. KENYON. Mr. Chairman, I could not be more delighted with that. The whole difficulty with equality is that the word in itself imports no standards.

Mr. ZELENKO. The minimum would become the maximum.

Mrs. KENYON. That is right. That is a practical danger, too.

Mr. ZELENKO. We had another thought in mind. We had to protect the menfolks so that they would not come forward with a bill in a year or two to get equality, and we felt that writing this in could at least close a prospective loophole.

Does that language meet with your legal approval?

Mrs. KENYON. I think so. I listened to it quite carefully.

Mr. ZELENKO. I will read it again.

Mrs. KENYON. When the men decide to do that, please let me know because I am for equality.

Mr. ZELENKO. I know that. The language will read:

Nor shall any employer reduce the wage rate of an employee for the purpose of eliminating the differential in wage rates prohibited by this section.

In other words, as I stated before, there shall not be a reduction in a wage to meet the equality, that is, reduce the wage of the man or a woman to meet the lower wage.

The point is that this bill will not be made into a law which will reduce the standards, but it is rather to raise them.

Mrs. KENYON. I think that is splendid. I will let the Continental Can Co. know about it right away, because there was a case decided just about 10 days ago, as you know, against the Continental Can Co. in Pennsylvania, where the wage differential had been written into the union contract.

The court declared that the existence of the law prohibiting unequal pay destroyed that contract in that respect, some. So there may be an immediate question on that score. I better tell them that the new law will cover it and they better do it up rather than down.

Mr. ZELENKO. I am sure the Continental Can Co. will be delighted to hear what took place here, but I do not think it will be persuasive until this becomes law.

Mrs. KENYON. Maybe not.

Mr. ZELENKO. Thank you.

The Chair wishes to make an announcement. Due to traffic conditions, some of our colleagues will not be here until the afternoon session. Also due to traffic conditions, one of the morning witnesses could not make an appearance, and will appear later.

The committee will now stand in recess until 2 o'clock, at which time Miss Bette Davis will be the first witness, followed by Howard Coughlin, Miss Kopelov, Miss Thomson, and perhaps the mayor, who is now scheduled for this afternoon.

We will now recess until 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon, the subcommittee recessed at 11:20 a.m., to reconvene at 2 p.m., the same day.)

#### AFTER RECESS

(The subcommittee reconvened at 2 p.m., Hon. Herbert Zelenko, chairman of the subcommittee, presiding.)

Mr. ZELENKO. The committee will resume.

The first witness for this afternoon will be Miss Bette Davis.

#### STATEMENT OF MISS BETTE DAVIS

Mr. ZELENKO. Miss Davis, we want you to make yourself very comfortable. We welcome you here as one of the great entertainers of our time. It was felt by the committee that there should be a representative of the entertainment world before this committee, representing an important area in the employment of women.

It was felt by the committee that you were the prime example, the epitome of the stage art. We are very happy to welcome you and to hear what you have to say pertaining to this legislation.

If you have a statement, you may present it at this point. I note this is your first appearance before a congressional committee.

Miss DAVIS. It is, yes.

It is an honor to appear before this distinguished body and a privilege to have a chance to speak in favor of H.R. 10226, the Equal Pay Act of 1962.

While preparing my remarks for today, I came upon an interesting statement attributed to the late author, William Beletha. Contrary to male sentimentality and psychology, he wrote, the confrontation of a hostile crowd to a woman is like a tonic. I might add this is the history of my life.

This is certainly not to suggest that I consider this august body to be in any way hostile, but the subject, itself, affects me as a tonic would, for I believe very firmly in the principle of equal pay for equal work without discrimination as to the sex of the person involved.

The only hostility I feel is toward the fact that such a principle is not an accepted part of our daily living. I regard the fact that anyone should find it necessary to plead the principle of equal pay for equal work a matter of profound wonder.

Three or four decades ago, perhaps, but not today in the year 1962. I suppose that when one discusses such a subject, one inevitably finds oneself arguing the place of women in modern day society, and those who deny the principle of equal pay for equal work, their fathers no doubt stood in solemn opposition to women's suffrage, the tag-end regiment which suggested with Sophocles that a woman should be seen and not heard.

In the social history of the American family we are told that gentlemen of the old regime in the South used to say a woman's name should appear in print but twice, when she marries and when she dies.

If that principle were the practice today, you can imagine how one in my position would be affected. That antiquated philosophy from which stems inequality of pay for the same work performed by male and female was epitomized by Mary Carol Davies, in a poem called, appropriately enough, "Doormats."

Women are doormats and have been the years those mats applaud, they keep their man from going in with muddy feet to God.

Gentlemen, you all know full well such days are gone, and the working men and women in our land today who are charged with the full or partial support of their families have all they can do to mind their own muddied feet, muddied, I might add, in carrying out the same responsibilities as any man.

Today, as you are better aware than I, one-third of our Nation's work force is composed of women. No more are they a marginal and relatively small segment of those who work for a living, but rather an important and permanent part of that group and, as such, fully entitled to equal treatment with their male partners, in my opinion.

I am certainly no authority on this subject, but it is quite obvious that with the increasing participation of women in the work force, they are spreading into an evergrowing number of industries and occupations. And because of this, old distinctions between men's and women's work should be a thing of the past.

It is a sad fact that unequal pay between men and women employed by the same employer on the same or comparable job exists at this very minute at almost every occupational level in our modern-day land.

Wage discriminations exist for factory workers and for highly trained professional women and business executives as well. Perhaps I should point out that one of the few professions where such discrimination does not exist is my own, the theater, so I feel I can speak on this subject freely and without self-interest.

In my line of endeavor, a person is paid for the job he or she performs, and the matter of the performer's sex does not enter into it.

In other words, it is value paid for value received.

This is precisely the formula which should be followed in all other lines of endeavor. I appear before you in support of such legislation as will most effectively cause such a formula to be incorporated into the wage structures of American business and industry.

It is my feeling that H.R. 10226 does just this.

I do not intend to produce a lot of facts and figures in support of my position, because I am sure you gentlemen are thoroughly informed of numbers and percentages.

The commonsense arguments for equal pay speak with resounding eloquence. Employers who operate on a fair and equitable basis would

be protected from the unfair competition of those who seek to undercut wage standards by using women as a cheap source of labor, by employing them at lower wage rates than men.

The public would benefit in that greater economic security for everyone would be from the protection granted by equal pay for all workers. Men workers would be the recipients of considerable benefits because equal pay helps to stabilize wage rates, increase job security, by discouraging the replacement of men with women at lower rates.

To me the simple moral argument speaks loudest of all for the injustice of unequal pay for similar or comparable work performed based on the sex of the person doing the work is a black and shameful mark on our traditional American sense of fairplay.

I do not believe that labor laws of the protective type are necessary for a great number of employers, but there are always with us individuals who are slow to catch up with the times.

I see no reason why we should be forced to wait for their hopefully eventual conversion to more progressive ways. It is my feeling that if we are to achieve equal pay in every State in the Union, even though a number of our States already provide for it, we must have Federal legislation to insure it.

When H.R. 10226 is enacted as the law of the land, the immediate effect will be the establishment of a national standard calling for equal pay for comparable work irrespective of sex.

The incorporation of this principle into the law will make it the established public policy. We are in the latter half of the 20th century. We are engaged in our most serious contest for survival since 1776. Major weapons in this contest include standards of work as well as standards of living.

How can we in all candor hold ourselves up as prime example of equitable conditions of work and pay when we still allow discriminatory rates of wages to exist between the sexes?

No longer is it merely a problem of two people of opposite sexes who receive different pay for the same work. Whether we like it or not, the whole world now looks on and with measuring gaze peers into our Nation's pay envelopes. No longer can we afford the luxury of this or any discrimination of this or any other kind.

Democracy, I believe, bleeds a little each time when those who champion it stand idly by in the face of discrimination. The problem is one we all face in common, whatever our role in the fabric of American life. The solution to the problem is to be found only by the establishment by the Congress of the United States of firm standards of equal pay for equal work for all persons regardless of sex.

I appear before you to plead for the passage of H.R. 10226, and I thank you very much for the privilege of being allowed to present these views to you today.

Mr. ZELENSKO. Miss Davis, the Chair wishes to compliment you on a most informative statement, and also to express gratitude at the cogent and precise way you have detailed the necessity for this legislation.

It is as if you have appeared before congressional committees many times. Let us hope we can have your help in other fields.

Miss DAVIS. Sir, if I could, may I be privileged to appear before someone who makes me feel as comfortable as you.

Thank you very much.

Mr. ZELENKO. Have you any questions, Congressman Daniels?

Mr. DANIELS. I do not have any questions, Mr. Chairman, but I want to join with the chairman in complimenting Miss Davis for appearing before this committee today and giving us the benefit of her views on this very important and needed piece of legislation.

Miss DAVIS. Thank you.

Mr. ZELENKO. Miss Davis, we thank you. We know that you have a busy schedule, but this, as we all know, is something of the utmost importance. It has been waiting around for many years. This is the time.

People like yourself, who give of your private time for public service, are to be commended. We thank you again.

Miss DAVIS. Thank you very much.

Mr. ZELENKO. Miss Kopelov.

#### STATEMENT OF MISS CONNIE KOPELOV, ASSOCIATE EDUCATION DIRECTOR, AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

Mr. ZELENKO. Miss Kopelov, the committee is well acquainted with your fine background as associate educational director of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, AFL-CIO.

One of your predecessors was here this morning, Miss Peterson, Assistant Secretary of Labor, and she told us that you will lend much assistance to this committee. I know that will be the case. We will appreciate hearing from you at this time.

Miss KOPELOV. Thank you very much. I think it will be very hard to live up to, to have Esther Peterson as predecessor in the Department and Bette Davis as the previous witness. But I do thank you very much.

My name is Connie Kopelov. I am here representing the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, AFL-CIO, in support of the Zelenko-Green bill, H.R. 10226, the Equal Pay Act of 1962.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America represents some 370,000 workers in the various branches of the men's apparel industries and in the clothing services and retail trades.

The proportion of women employed in these industries is high. Women make up about 75 percent of total Amalgamated membership. In the cotton garment branch of the industry, the figure is even higher.

Throughout nearly 50 years of experience in organizing workers and in labor-management relations, the Amalgamated has been guided by the principle of "equal pay for equal work".

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America has long recognized the necessity for providing that women receive the same pay as men when employed on the same jobs or on jobs requiring comparable skill and training.

Amalgamated conventions have repeatedly adopted resolutions in support of the equal-pay principle. The union has also actively supported both Federal and State legislation recognizing the equal-pay principle.

Most of the workers employed in the men's apparel industries are paid on a piece-rate basis. In Amalgamated shops, piece rates are determined for the type of operation, without regard to the sex of the workers. These rates are set for the job which may then be performed by either a man or a woman.

Although the principle of equal pay for equal work is now thoroughly established in the men's apparel industries under the Amalgamated's jurisdiction, before unionization this was not so.

The notorious sweatshop conditions for the manufacture of men's apparel prior to union organization of the industry were especially hard on women. They were vulnerable to such exploitation and were victimized through the payment of sweatshop wages, employment as homeworkers, and wage rates less than those which prevailed for male workers.

With increased automation and the growing possibility that women can be assigned work heretofore physically difficult for them, the problem of equal pay for equal work could become serious.

An illustration from past history in the shirt manufacturing industry prior to union organization could prove to be relevant today. Shirt pressing was originally done by men because of the physical strength required. It became easier with the introduction of a lighter pressing machine, and large numbers of women were then hired at considerably lower rates to replace the men who had been performing this operation.

After the shirt industry was extensively organized, this practice was ended. Both men and women now do this job and in union shops work at uniform piece rates.

Vigorous activity by American unions has improved the working conditions of all workers, including women workers. However, no matter how successful the labor movement might be in wiping out exploitation of women in unionized industry, this would not solve the problem for millions of unorganized women workers.

The unfair practice of paying women lower wages than men for similar or equal work still exists. It is unjust and should be ended. Federal legislation should be enacted to eliminate this inequitable practice.

Such legislation is needed because the payment of a lower wage to women than to men for the same or similar work has invariably undermined the wages of the men or has resulted in the replacement of men with lower paid women, thus also impairing the living standards of the families of male workers.

Enactment of the equal pay bill would safeguard the living standards of all. Such a law would be in the best interest of the general welfare and would increase consumer purchasing power, thus stimulating full employment.

There are now 24 million women in the work force and they are there to stay. They are not there for "pin money." They are working because they are being forced to assume a continually increasing share of the financial responsibilities of their families. An ever-increasing number of them are actually the "breadwinners" of their families. They want and deserve equal treatment.

The experience of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America with "equal pay for equal work" has been entirely beneficial. We strongly urge this subcommittee to recommend immediate enactment of the Equal Pay Act of 1962.

Mr. ZELENKO. Miss Kopelov, I wish to thank you for this most informative statement. May I ask you this? What are the possibilities of unionization of these many women who are not unionized in the effort to equalize pay?

Those women who are not unionized are working at low wages. Most of the unions these days write into the contracts an equal pay provision. Of course, the enforcement will not be so difficult in the case where they have union contracts with it written into it, but the problem lies in the field where there are no union contracts.

What is the portion of women working in nonunion fields, if you can give it to us, in relation to the total working force of women?

Miss KOPELOV. I am not sure I am entirely correct, but I believe there are 3 to 4 million women in unions, which, as you can see, leaves many millions of women unorganized, outside the labor movement.

We are constantly trying to organize the workers in our industry, many of whom are women. Of course, there are many problems involved which perhaps have been brought to the attention of this committee when it considered other kinds of legislation.

We are constantly working to do this. But there are still gaps in many areas where unionization has not been completed.

Mr. ZELENKO. In these fields where there is no unionization, where these many millions of women are employed, do we have this disparity in the wage between the woman worker and the man worker?

Miss KOPELOV. I think in many areas where there is no union this has been true. I could not give you any figures in terms of our industry, but certainly I think many people have had experience with the white collar field in particular, in which women are paid at a different rate than men for the same job.

Mr. ZELENKO. We will have the president of the Office Workers Union as a witness here. I assume we will hear more detail from him on that subject.

Miss KOPELOV. Much of the men's apparel industry which is outside the union is also based on piecework. There are, however, more hourly workers outside in the shops where the difference might occur.

Mr. ZELENKO. Is there a difference in pay in those situations between the male worker and the female worker?

Miss KOPELOV. Not on piece rates; no.

Mr. ZELENKO. But there are on hourly rates?

Miss KOPELOV. There could be on hourly wages, but I do not have any figures that I could provide. I do not think it is a wide practice in our industry because of the existence of the piece rate system.

Mr. DANIELS. What would be the reason for the disparity in pay between the women and the men in your industry if one does exist?

Miss KOPELOV. I think there would be no particular reason. There is no justified reason for any disparity. Any that might occur would have to take, place I think, in terms of assigning them one operation on an hourly rate and assigning it all to women.

Mr. DANIELS. Your union has been the leader in the area for a great many years; is that true?

Miss KOPELOV. We have found no problem in carrying out the equal pay principle.

Mr. DANIELS. No doubt that has brushed off even into the area of the unorganized field?

Miss KOPELOV. I believe it has.

Mr. DANIELS. You stated there are about 24 million women in the work force today, of which about 4 million are in unions.

Miss KOPELOV. I think that is correct. You may want to refer to a better statistician than I for this.

Mr. DANIELS. What was the source of your information that there are 24 million women in the work force?

Miss KOPELOV. I believe the figure came from a Department of Labor publication.

Mr. DANIELS. Of the 20 million who are not members of organized labor, how many would you say are working for a lesser wage than what their counterparts are receiving?

Miss KOPELOV. I am afraid I could not give you that information.

Mr. DANIELS. Do you know of any particular area where the wage is discriminatory to women?

Miss KOPELOV. Not in our industry. This is not the present problem because we have established these standards which, to a great extent, have been influential outside of our union shops.

For other industries, I am sure there will be witnesses who can give you more of the facts and figures which would be more helpful than any general statement I could make.

Mr. DANIELS. You do not know of your own knowledge, then, what industries they are?

Miss KOPELOV. I am aware of the problems in the white collar industry, where I have seen it. This is more a matter of personal experience. I have seen different rates of pay in offices for men and for women.

Mr. DANIELS. I thank you, Miss Kopelov, for appearing before this committee today and letting us have the benefit of your views with respect to this legislation.

Miss KOPELOV. Thank you. If there is any information I can obtain from our union that you would like to have, I would be glad to.

Mr. ZELENKO. We will be most happy to receive it.

Miss KOPELOV. Your union has not discriminated for many years in its contractual relationship with management in the equalization of pay for equal work. You have reached the stage that this legislation is trying to reach in other areas.

Having reached that stage, have you found any justifiable complaints on the part of management, let us say, that the woman receiving the same pay as the man does not meet the production standards, does not do the work equally as well?

Have you found anything along that line?

Miss KOPELOV. No, we have not had any complaints along these lines. Most jobs, as I said, are piece rate, which means you are paid according to how much you produce.

If you do not produce as much as the next person, whether that person be a man or a woman, you would, of course, earn less as a result.

But we have women moving into some operations, such as cutting, which often are paid not by piece rate but by the hour and we have had no problems.

Mr. ZELENKO. So you would say, from the experience in industry and in your union, that legislation which embodies the principle of equal pay for equal work is fully justified on the merits?

Miss KOPELOV. That is our view. That has been our experience.

Mr. ZELENKO. And that this is not merely a bill to evoke sympathy or to give the woman worker an edge of some kind which she does not truly deserve.

On merit, the woman worker, in the experience in your industry, merits this legislation for her protection, for the protection of the male worker?

Miss KOPELOV. Yes, very definitely.

Mr. ZELENKO. And for the protection of the economy?

Miss KOPELOV. It has certainly worked out very well from management's point of view and from our point of view.

Mr. ZELENKO. We thank you so much.

Miss KOPELOV. Thank you.

Mr. ZELENKO. Miss Ruth Thomson.

**STATEMENT OF MISS RUTH THOMSON, NATIONAL BOARD YWCA  
CONSULTANT ON YOUNG ADULT PROGRAM, ACCOMPANIED BY  
MRS. RICHARD B. PERSINGER, CHAIRMAN**

Miss THOMSON. I would like to bring with me Mrs. Richard Persinger, chairman of our National Board.

Mr. ZELENKO. We welcome both of you.

Miss Thomson is with the National Board of the YWCA and consultant on young adult program.

We are very well aware of your background. We ask you now to present your statement.

If your associate has anything to add, she may follow you.

Miss THOMSON. Thank you very much. I must say it is not often one has the real opportunity to identify themselves with a person like Bette Davis. But, like Bette Davis, this is my first time before a congressional hearing.

So when she said this, I felt a real identification with her.

My name is Ruth Thomson. I appear at this hearing in my capacity as a staff member of the National Young Women's Christian Association and I present this statement on behalf of the National Board of the YWCA.

As a member of the national staff I have particular responsibility for the program of adults and young adults. Since women in these groups are increasingly in the labor force, I am particularly happy to testify on their behalf in favor of H.R. 8898 and H.R. 10226, more generally known as the equal pay for equal work bills.

The Young Women's Christian Association has a long history of support for this type of legislation. It is fully in line with its continuing policy of working for legislation which insures girls and women full rights as citizens; but even more than that, for legislation that in the best sense makes possible a better life for all persons.

We believe the equal pay legislation does just this. To have a wage differential for the same job on account of sex tends to lower the pay of all. From a man's viewpoint and for purely selfish reasons, it seems to me he would support the measure since inequity can and does lead to undercutting the whole pay scale.

Let us look at it another way. The cost of education and training is the same for every individual, boy or girl. Isn't it just as good business to protect an investment in one person as it is in another?

It is no longer possible to raise an argument about whether or not women should work. All statistics indicate our economy must have womanpower.

In 1961, one-tenth of all families in the United States had women as the main wage earner. In about half of these families there are children under 18.

One-third of the labor force is women. Even when they are not the one-tenth who are the main support of the family, they do not work for the luxuries. They must work to insure the education of the children, an adequate income for retirement.

With continually rising costs in these areas, this is not an unimportant contribution to our whole economy. Should children in these families be forced to have less just because the money comes from a mother's need to work rather than a father's? Is it less necessary for these children to have adequate clothing, housing, medical care, and education?

As early as 1945, we in the YWCA were supporting legislation that set forth the principle of equal pay for equal work. Our Nation is built on the basic concept of equality and justice, and yet the evidence of inequality of wages paid women for the same positions and skills required of men is alarming, and could even be considered disgraceful.

Take a plant in Utah, where the hiring wage for women inspectors is \$1.38 an hour—men, \$1.48 an hour. As they become classified as learners, the differential rises to 23 cents, and as qualified inspectors to 34 cents. Yet, they are required and expected to do exactly the same job under the same conditions.

This same factory, for jobs on the lines, hires women at 10 cents per hour less than men, and by the time they are considered qualified workers there is a 16 cents an hour difference.

A printshop in the same area hires women for 35 cents per hour less than men. The men have a chance to earn up to as much as \$1.91 an hour after 5 years on the job. A woman's top rate, no matter how long she stays, is \$1.20. A description of the job does not indicate any difference in the skills required.

Answers to questionnaires sent to a cross-section group of YWCA women in Ohio include such statements as these:

We start the same, but the hospital does not want a woman head technician.

If a man was working in my department, he would be making more than me. He would also be picked for advancement.

From an accountant in a large oil company where men make \$47 more a month than women—

Women are treated very nice in working for ——— except the men there do the same work and are making more money.

There is no opportunity for advancement; the women are stationary.

Men are given more opportunities.

From another report we have this statement:

Our company claimed it had a policy of equal pay for equal work and on the surface it looked that way. But there was a department that was made up of all girls and the jobs were classified to receive a certain pay.

When the plant had to begin laying off some workers, the plantwide seniority system brought some men with seniority into the department where girls were working and some of the girls were laid off.

When the men found out what the wage scale was for the job they raised an awful fuss. They had worked on this same job at a higher rate of pay. We found out that men had been transferred from the department to other jobs and women had been put in at lower pay, but the job had remained the same.

Coming back to the questionnaire used in the Ohio group we find from the field of education—

Men and women are paid the same.

While the present bill specifically exempts persons in such fields as education and social work, it is interesting to note that in many places education particularly has recognized the validity of equal pay for equal work.

A social worker said—

Salary is based on qualifications and number of years in the profession. I have the same qualifications, but have not worked as long, thus my salary is somewhat lower.

Other women in the social work field report that men in executive positions receive higher salaries and more fringe benefits than women in the same positions.

Of this same group of YWCA women, 14 percent worked to support or help to support a family, all but 2 percent worked to support themselves, and the 2 percent were working for college money or to supplement the family income even though the family was not entirely dependent on the support.

One national survey indicated that among women workers who live with their families, more than 90 percent contributed regularly to meet family expenses.

One of the very significant points the answers to the same questionnaire reveal is that of women's attitude about themselves. They are paid less and, therefore, this seems to mean they are worth less. This leaves little incentive to produce the best of which one is capable.

The often repeated phrases—"no advancement possibilities," "the man will get the promotion," reflect the value women put on a job and this also often has the effect of making them feel they have less value as persons.

When a company discriminates on the basis of sex it seems to say work done by a woman is not as important. Our experience in working with women and girls has demonstrated repeatedly that latent potentials of creative energy and ability are released with increased conviction about the work of the task at hand and their own worth as individuals.

We believe that an effective aid to release this potential for productive work on the job could be in the recognition of equal value through equal pay.

Yet, to do without the women in the labor force just is not feasible. If women are hired in order to pay less, it does not help the whole question of job security for either group nor does it help the national economy.

Equal base pay does not rule out individual differences that may occur because of better production records, longer tenure, or in certain cases better evaluation of job performance.

So long as these differences are based on an individual's ability and his capacity to produce, it is in line with good job practices and indeed they can be the incentives which make for even better working conditions.

When, however, such differences are based on the sex of the worker, they can and do create resentment, undercutting and, in general, lower morale of a total plant or institution.

In testifying on behalf of the Young Women's Christian Association, I want to make particular mention of the international as well as national implications of equal pay for equal work.

As an organization that works with women in over 70 countries throughout the world, and in a high proportion of the newly developing countries, we are often called upon to explain our country's practices in labor as well as other fields.

In a country where women have played such a vital part in securing high living standards for all workers, all people, it is a bit difficult to defend a practice that denies to those same women equality of compensation when skills and training are equal.

Thirty-one countries have ratified the ILO's Convention concerning equal remuneration for men and women for work of equal value. Our country has not only not endorsed this action, but up to now has not even on a national level recognized its validity.

Is this because we want to say to the world that we hold women's work to be less valuable than that of men's? This is hardly conceivable. I prefer to believe that it merely signifies that we just have not yet caught up with ourselves.

The proposed law states equal pay for equal work—not special favors. The legislation is needed nationally, so that all people will share equally in its benefits.

Mr. ZELENKO. Miss Thomson, the Chair wishes to compliment you upon your statement and particularly upon your personal presentation. It is hard to believe that this is the first time you have appeared before a committee such as this. Of course, we would look forward to such a personal appearance and such a fine statement in the future.

Miss THOMSON. Thank you.

Mr. ZELENKO. Does your associate have anything to add to your statement?

Mrs. PERSINGER. No, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ZELENKO. The YWCA has always exercised great care in choosing its executives, and this is an indication of why.

Mrs. PERSINGER. Mr. Chairman, if I may add one thing, the YWCA for many years has been against the so-called equal rights amendment to the Constitution, which would produce legislation guaranteeing equal pay, yes, but equal treatment of all kinds.

We do not really believe that women are equal in every way. We think they have differences, but not complete equality with men. We do not want to go on record as being for equal rights, because we do believe in protective legislation for women which the law now guarantees and which we believe that the equal rights amendment would destroy.

Mr. ZELENKO. May I say that this oblique flattery of the male members of this committee is deeply appreciated. We also realize that the legislation has merit.

We appreciate the fact that you are cognizant of the problems involved in such an amendment as you just spoke of, whereas this legislation is a progressive step forward which lends itself to enforcement and to equality in fields where there should be equality.

Of course, in fields where there should be differences, those differences should be recognized equally, if there are differences.

Mrs. PERSINGER. Thank you.

Mr. ZELENKO. We wish to thank you ladies for your appearance today.

The Chair wishes to give the opportunity to Judge Daniels to make a statement in regard to the two last witnesses.

Mr. DANIELS. I wanted to join the chairman in complimenting Miss Thomson not only on making an exceptionally fine statement here today, but the presentation of your statement was equally excellent. We appreciate having your views.

Miss THOMPSON. Thank you very much.

Mr. ZELENKO. Our next witness is Mr. Howard Coughlin, president of the Office Employees International Union.

Mr. Coughlin, you are one of the outstanding labor leaders of the country, working in behalf of the workmen and the general economy. Your work in our democracy in general is well known to all of us.

We know that your statement and presentation today will lend much to the passage of this legislation. May I ask you to proceed in any way you wish.

#### STATEMENT OF HOWARD COUGHLIN, PRESIDENT OF THE OFFICE EMPLOYEES INTERNATIONAL UNION, AFL-CIO

Mr. COUGHLIN. Thank you, Chairman Zelenko. The Office Employees International Union is gratified that the House subcommittee has undertaken an investigation to look into a problem that has deeply concerned our organization.

We feel that the intent of H.R. 8898, sponsored by Congresswoman Edith Green, of Oregon, and H.R. 10226, introduced by Congressman Herbert Zelenko, of New York, should be enacted into law.

It is our earnest hope that as a result of the work of this subcommittee legislation will be recommended which will help to accomplish an objective which our union has pursued and attained in collective bargaining.

That is the elimination of the discriminatory wage practices based on sex. The Office Employees International Union actively supported a proposition a number of years ago which called for a tax deduction for the expense of child care for working mothers.

We were happy to see this piece of legislation passed by both Houses of the Congress and signed into law by President Truman.

I would like to add here that I am deeply concerned that possibly this bit of legislation enacted some years ago no longer meets the problem of working mothers. I think that the Congress should give consideration at an early date to the possibility of giving a bigger deduction, a larger deduction, for working women, working mothers.

I think I should say, too, as an aside, Congressmen Zelenko, that we are very pleased that you introduced a bill to give a tax deduction of \$1,500 to teachers. We believe this bill merits the consideration and the support of all who think in terms of the future of this country.

As representative spokesman for over 65,000 white-collar workers throughout the United States, Canada, and Puerto Rico, the Office Employees International Union, AFL-CIO, strongly advocates the elevation of female office workers from the second-class status to which they have been relegated by the Nation's employers, both large and small.

We welcome the committee's investigations, hopeful that these longstanding inequities will be remedied by the Congress.

It should be noted that the principal beneficiaries of legislation prohibiting wage discrimination practices, namely, the workingwomen of the Nation, represent a very substantial part of our working force.

There are today over 22.5 million women in the Nation's labor force, making up one-third of our entire work force. I think I should add that today there are another 1.5 million women who make up part of the work force but are presently unemployed.

In view of the impact of automation in the past 2 years, principally due to the introduction of the transistorized computer, we have more than doubled the unemployment rate of white-collar workers principally made up by female workers in the United States.

Women are playing a most significant role in our national economy and it is indicated that they will play an even greater part in our Nation's future.

The occupations in which women are most frequently employed are the very areas which have demonstrated steady growth in recent years and which the experts predict will continue to assume greater importance as the trend from a blue- to a white-collar work force accelerates.

Typical of these occupational fields in which women predominate include the clerical, retail sales, health services, and teaching.

The pressing need for legislative assistance for our workingwomen is dramatically emphasized when it is realized that women are employed in the work force as the principal or essential income producers not only for themselves but also for dependent family members.

Contrary to some popular misconceptions, these women are not at work to fill idle hours or merely to acquire nonessential luxuries of life, but more often they are not because they are the heads of households, the sole support of the family, for providing needed income for the mounting costs of education, medical care, and housing.

There are today over 21 $\frac{1}{4}$  million women who are heads of their families and who are employed in the work force. Over 7.5 million working mothers are employed to provide support for children under 18 years of age, frequently because of the absence of a male breadwinner.

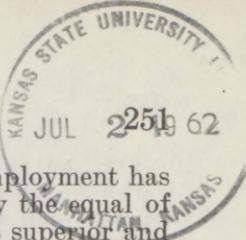
There are presently nearly 5 million mothers at work supporting children between the ages of 6 and 17 years, and worse still, over 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  million working mothers supporting children under 6 years of age.

I think these figures would very definitely refute the contention of some that women work simply for purposes of taking care of their idle hours and providing some nonessential luxuries.

In the nearly 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  million cases where a mother has joined the work force, she has been compelled to do so due to the absence of a husband. In view of the clearly established economic reasons for women workers, can the continuance of wage income discrimination be justified on any grounds?

Studies by the Department of Labor on the subject of output per man-hour indicate that the output of female workers compares quite favorably with that of their male counterparts.

Results of these studies indicate that little variation exists between the sexes in average output per man-hour. The considerable experi-



ence of our organization in the field of white-collar employment has revealed not only that women officeworkers are clearly the equal of their male coworkers, but, indeed, their performance is superior and preferred by employers in numerous clerical classifications.

We have found that in the area of automation in electronic-equipment occupations, female workers have established their ability to perform with outstanding reliability and accuracy.

This reputation for excellent work performance in these occupations of the future has gained management recognition as reflected in a recent survey of employers, indicating no appreciable preference for male employees in their electronic data processing departments.

In spite of the ability of women workers to perform on a par with the male labor force in several employment areas, we nevertheless frequently encounter the widespread policy of wage differentials based on sex.

I might say here again, that in our collective bargaining agreements we have yet to agree on separate rates of pay for males and females performing the same type of work.

The extent of this general acceptance of such a policy was disclosed in a recent study undertaken by the National Office Management Association.

Thirty-three percent of 1,900 companies included in the study frankly reported a double-standard pay scale for male and female officeworkers.

This shocking injustice is apparently not limited to employers in the private sector of the economy. The Nation's largest employer, the Federal Government, has more than a half million women on its payroll.

About 375,000 women are employed as clericals. Unfortunately, the greatest concentration of female employment in the Federal Government is in the lower civil service grades, with women making up only 1 percent of the total work force in the top grades.

This imbalance of female representation within the ranks of Federal employees suggests that women workers are receiving inadequate recognition of their abilities in public service.

We feel that this extensive practice of wage discrimination must be remedied, not only for purposes of correcting prevailing inequities, but also to eliminate the practice of replacing male workers with women at lower wages.

I am sure we will all agree that this is not good for the economy of the country as a whole.

While it is gratifying that the talents of the working women are being recognized by the national economy in the production of goods and services, and thereby the Nation's standard of living has been raised, the task of fully integrating women into the working world will be unrealized as long as existing wage discrimination is tolerated.

Over the years, more and more women have entered the labor force and occupied positions of increasing responsibility.

I might add that the projections indicate that the present figure of 24 million women workers available for employment and 22 million women workers in the work force will increase by leaps and bounds in the coming years.

On their own initiative, they have improved their skills and education in order to take up positions in the business, industrial, and professional world.

Bureau of the Census projections indicate that this trend will be stepped up due to the impact of the low birth rates of the depression years. Added to this influence on the labor force is the continuing steady drain on available manpower asserted by the needs of the Armed Forces.

In order to encourage the continued service of women to the welfare of the country, it is imperative that national legislation be enacted to supplement existing laws in 22 States, making it mandatory that the payment of a wage rate be based on the job and the ability of the individual worker and not on the sex of the worker.

I want to thank you, Congressman Zelenko, and members of your committee, for allowing me to testify in behalf of this much needed legislation.

Mr. ZELENKO. Mr. Coughlin, your statement is most excellent and was nothing less than we expected, for it contained many of the details that are necessary to progress this legislation through the House. It lent itself to what I would call the factual situation involved, so that we could spell out, without any possible contradiction or contrary version, the necessity for the legislation.

I want to thank you for bringing this statement before us.

Mr. Coughlin, one of the prior witnesses, stated that in the white-collar field, and that is the field in which your union is active, there was a disparity of wage between the male and female worker to a large degree.

I assume that would be in the nonunion aspect of the white-collar field.

Mr. COUGHLIN. Without question.

Mr. ZELENKO. We would appreciate it if you could assist the committee by telling us what difficulties you have had in trying to equalize this wage.

Mr. COUGHLIN. We have had a great deal of difficulty in this direction because of the fact that, particularly during the war years, men were replaced in the offices of the country by women who were then available for this type of work, and also taking into consideration the fact that the employers, many employers, were able to get the services of these people for less money than they were paying to their male predecessors.

This is not true, of course, in occupations such as typing and stenography. But it is true of many of the other occupations such as machine operators, bookkeeping machine operators, and programmers, peripheral equipment operators, and console operators.

We find that many employers will take advantage of the labor market to the extent that they will actually go out of their way to send many of these girls to school in order to be able to replace male workers in the new electronic data processing positions with female workers who are newly trained by a number of the companies accomplishing this training.

Mr. ZELENKO. For a lower wage?

Mr. COUGHLIN. For a lower wage. You may remember that when many of these positions were created, and they were new to most of us, it was indicated that only males could perform this type of work,

and originally males were employed in the old IBM tab rooms, and in the old vacuum tube type computer installations, but were subsequently replaced by females who the employer was able to obtain for much lesser rates of pay.

As I said originally, it was not indicated that females would be adaptable for this type of work. However, with the advent of the transistorized computer, which takes up roughly half the size of this desk as opposed to the tremendous size of Univac, Stretch, Irma, those types of computers, it became apparent to all that female workers could do this work not only as well but in some cases faster and more efficiently than their male predecessors and; employers did take advantage of this fact to obtain the services of these girls for lesser salaries.

Mr. ZELENKO. What has been the impact of automation in your particular field?

Mr. COUGHLIN. The impact has been greater in the past 2 years than it was prior to that time.

I might point out that the giant vacuum tube type of computer, such as Univac, required several thousand feet of space to house, it required air-conditioned and moisture-proof surroundings and required possibly several stories of a particular building.

When the transistorized computer was perfected, and it was found that this much smaller machine, of desk size, could perform all of the work of its predecessor computer, and even more, it was more readily adaptable to the displacement of workers.

Let me put that a little more clearly. The giant predecessor required several years to install. It took a long time before the employer was able to put payroll, inventory control, and numerous other functions of the company on the big machine.

The smaller machine did not require all of the time that the predecessor did require, and, as a result, instead of using attrition for purposes of cutting down on the work force, the employers using the transistorized computers laid off workers in wholesale numbers.

I think that if you study the employment figures you will find that we have had an improvement in the employment picture in the overall work force. It has been reduced from some 7 percent to some 5 percent, insofar as unemployed workers are concerned. But in the white-collar field it has increased, in the past 2 years, from approximately 2 percent to 4 percent.

In other words, we now have 4 percent of the white-collar workers of this country unemployed primarily due to the impact of the computer than was true 2 years ago.

Mr. ZELENKO. We do hope that the manpower training bill, which is the work product of this full committee, does assist in some way to provide reemployment for those displaced by automation.

Our distinguished colleague from Pennsylvania, Congressman Holland, pioneered that situation and brought it to fruition and into law within the past several months. We hope it will assist these unfortunate persons who find themselves out of work because of the machine.

Mr. COUGHLIN. I was happy to have testified before the original Patman committee. I testified before the Holland committee over a year ago and was in very close touch with Congressman Holland dur-

ing the retraining bill's appearance before both the House and the Senate.

Mr. ZELENKO. Thank you very much.

Mr. DANIELS.

Mr. DANIELS. On page 4 of your statement, you said a study was made by the National Office Management Association, and it was found that 33 percent of 1,900 companies reported a double standard of pay for male and female office workers.

Was this difference in any particular category of work?

Mr. COUGHLIN. Frankly, I did not study it quite that closely, but I think we can safely assume that it was not true in stenographic or secretarial positions. But it probably was very true in the usual machine-type clerical functions.

Mr. DANIELS. On the same page, the paragraph immediately following has some comment about women employed by the Federal Government, that there are approximately a half million women involved, with most of them in the lower pay scale.

You state that only 1 percent of the women are in the top grade. Would that difference be due to any difference in the law with respect to men and women employed by the Government?

Mr. COUGHLIN. No; I think that the Federal Government is not too much different in that respect than is true of private employers, and that the people who are in charge of personnel in the Federal Government are also vulnerable to the possibility of using males as opposed to females in many clerical occupations.

I think this should be corrected, too. There is a tendency on the part of both private employers and the Federal Government to think in terms of males when they are considering individuals for promotion as opposed to females who are just as capable of filling those particular promotional positions.

Mr. DANIELS. Are you saying that the Federal Government is discriminating against women?

Mr. COUGHLIN. I would say that your own studies published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics would indicate that.

Mr. DANIELS. I might say to you that in many congressional offices in Washington, Congressmen employ as their administrative aid women instead of men. This is true in many offices. Women are receiving the topnotch salary.

Mr. COUGHLIN. You must admit that these make up a very small portion of the total work force employed by the Federal Government.

Mr. DANIELS. I think the difference might be found in the fact that heretofore many men occupied these jobs, whereas today women are fulfilling the rôles formerly filled by men.

I think it is just a matter of time that women will receive due recognition in those jobs.

Mr. COUGHLIN. I agree. I believe that time will take care of the problem, but I do think that it is urgent that we try to take care of the problem legislatively today rather than wait for time to cure all evils.

Mr. DANIELS. I do not wish to appear as opposed to your views. On the contrary, I am very much in favor of the position you have taken here today in favor of this legislation. But I do feel that in the Federal Government women are receiving the same fair treatment as the men are, and that if there is anything on the surface which ap-

pears to be discriminatory, it is just a matter of time before that will be corrected.

Mr. ZELENSKO. May I say, Mr. Coughlin, that I was part of the committee that made a study on that subject. One of the reasons there is a small percentage of women in the top civil service brackets is that the beautiful, young ladies coming into civil service before they reach the top grade usually marry and leave.

Then a woman who is married who wants to start into work starts at a lower grade. So percentage-wise, there are few who work their way up in point of time to the top positions. On the surface it may look like, and I do not doubt that perhaps there might be, some discrimination, because there always is, no matter how hard you try to rectify it.

But the fact is that either the young lady comes in and works up a grade or two and gets married and leaves or the married woman who comes in at one of the lower grades, make up the large body of the women workers.

Very few go right through from the beginning to the top spot, which may account for the small percentage you have spoken about in the top spot of civil service grades.

That may account for the figure. The figure is accurate, but I have given you some of the reasons why this situation exists. I do not say it is the sole reason or the only cause.

But there was a study made and it accounted for the hiatus between the high grade and the low grade.

Mr. COUGHLIN. Congressman Zelenko, I bet if I interviewed every private employer in this country he would probably give me the same reasons for failing to promote women.

However, let me say that I am not an authority on the status of office and clerical workers in the Federal Government. The jurisdiction of our international does not take into account people employed by the Federal Government, or, for that matter, State, county, or municipal organizations either.

However, in some 25 years of representing office and clerical workers, I have found that this problem is exaggerated.

We sort of use a term or set terms to describe the feelings of women, in combating organization and subsequent collective bargaining.

We refer to them as "until" workers. They are always working until they get married, until they have a baby, until the house is paid off, or until they retire.

Eventually, it is until they retire. I think you will find they are in a pretty permanent part of the U.S. work force, and the future will indicate that not only will they be permanently employed by both the private and public sectors of our economy, but they will eventually make up the largest segment of the total work force in the United States.

Mr. ZELENSKO. I would say, Mr. Coughlin, you are most accurate when you say that if you would interview private employers you would get that answer, because testimony before this committee has shown that this "until" business, and the fact that a private employer says that a young lady stops working and a married woman comes back, has been used by private industry as a wage depressant and particularly in your field.

The field of the officeworker, I think, would be among those most benefited by this legislation. But in the civil service there is a different reason or a different motive. I pointed out before the reasons that were given as far as civil service is concerned, but I did not mean to indicate that it included the private employer, who would have a profit motive as such to depress the wage.

In the civil service there would not be that motive.

We did not go into the private employer. We went into the reason that it existed in civil service. But I would say you would be most accurate when you say what you do about interviewing private employers. There the profit motive acting as a wage deterrent discourages the young lady from continuing to work without being offered the equal advancement or equal pay.

It shows the married woman is at an economic disadvantage. She comes back to supplement her family income. We had examples of that in the Northwest where the women must work to sustain their families during the off season when there is no logging.

The wives will work permanently, or perhaps on a seasonal basis. But I would agree with you, as far as the private employer is concerned. As far as the civil service situation is concerned, we did not have the motive there.

But I do hope that this legislation does pass and we feel that it will, most shortly, because the field in which the white-collar worker is concerned is the area for most of the disparity caused by desire for profit and the greed which depresses wages.

You have been a pioneer in your field. I know through your efforts, eventually, the unionization of the officeworker will become a reality as to numbers as well as to the quality of the result achieved by both labor and management.

Thank you very much.

Mr. COUGHLIN. Thank you.

Mr. ZELENKO. Mr. Ruggieri, we welcome your appearance for Mayor Robert F. Wagner, who has informed us he has vital and pressing business on the part of the city, elsewhere.

I know he wanted to come today because he is so vitally interested in this legislation. I know it was only a matter of transcending importance which could keep him from appearing in person.

Mr. RUGGIERI. If he could at all have been here, he would be here. You know he planned to be here.

Mr. ZELENKO. Yes, I do. Would you proceed to present his statement?

**STATEMENT OF HON. ROBERT F. WAGNER, MAYOR, NEW YORK CITY, READ BY BERNARD J. RUGGIERI, ASSISTANT TO THE MAYOR**

Mr. RUGGIERI (reading) :

Mr. Chairman and committee members, this opportunity to testify before your distinguished committee today is most welcome to me because of my deep concern over the fact that Federal legislation prohibiting discrimination in the payment of wages on the basis of sex is so long overdue.

Although approximately one-third of our States, including New York, have such legislation the time is now for the countrywide law that will set the national policy in this vital matter.

One of the fundamental economic concepts of our democratic society is that each worker should be paid on the basis of the values he contributes to the goods and services which he helps to produce.

This principle does not allow for wage payments discriminating on the basis of race, creed, color, or sex. Yet, there continue to be areas in our economy in which women receive lower wage rates than the men who work beside them performing the same or similar tasks.

The payment of wages on a basis other than that of the job performed is harmful to the individual worker and to our economy. According to studies which have been made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U.S. Department of Labor, American industry will have great need for trained, skilled, and experienced workers over the next decade.

These manpower needs must be met if our economy is to meet the increasing competition from all areas of the world, and increase its rate of growth. Discrimination in the payment of wages hampers the development of the type of labor force which we need.

Why develop skills if such skills will not be compensated?

There is little incentive to acquire the knowledge needed for advancement if such knowledge is not recognized in one's pay check. The net result of discriminatory wage rates is serious damage to the morale of those women workers affected and the loss to the economy of the trained and skilled womanpower which is needed.

It is estimated that in the current decade the number of women in the labor force will increase by 25 percent and that by 1970 one out of every three workers will be a woman. We cannot afford the underutilization of such a large proportion of the labor force.

We in the New York City government have realized the importance of equal pay for equal work as the expression of sound economic and social principles. We have and continue to recognize the importance of indicating to all of our employees that their salaries will be determined solely by their training, ability, and experience. Every civil service employee in New York City is paid on the basis of the work performed as indicated by job titles or job descriptions.

We do not have one wage standard for men and another for women in the performance of similar jobs.

The New York City administration not only provides equality in wage rates but also assures equality of employment to its women citizens. Women serve the New York City government not only in clerical and secretarial jobs, traditionally staffed by women, but at the highest professional and administrative levels as well.

Three of the ablest persons in my cabinet are women—the commissioners of the health department, the correction department, and the rent and rehabilitation agency.

On the staff of the mayor's office, women are employed in administrative positions and as special advisers. Women serve on the various commissions and boards that help govern New York City, such as the planning commission, the board of education, and the board of higher education.

Women serve as judges, as deputy commissioners, as school principals, as public relations advisers, to city departments, and in many other capacities.

In no instance does their sex discount the value of their services.

In our State, the labor law (art. 19, ch. 31, sec. 199-a), prohibits discrimination in rates of pay because of sex except for domestic service, farm labor, and work for charitable, religious, scientific, literary, or educational purposes.

I would be all for the reexamination of this law to determine whether in this day and age, under present conditions, even these areas of exception should not be repealed.

But, in any event, the legislation which you are considering undoubtedly will be a long step forward in the full acceptance of our women workers as necessary integral and equal partners in the labor force.

Mr. ZELENSKO. On behalf of the committee, Mr. Ruggieri, I wish to thank you for coming. The committee wishes to extend to the mayor its deep regret that he could not testify in person, though we realize that it must have been a matter of great importance in the city's business.

We know he has been an advocate of this progressive and forward-looking legislation in this area, as he is in all areas.

We hope you will let him know that when he can next lend himself to an appearance before this committee, we will appreciate having him before this subcommittee or the full committee.

Mr. RUGGIERI. Thank you very much.

Mr. ZELENKO. At this time, there will be placed into the record a statement by David Dubinsky, the president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

(Statement of David Dubinsky follows:)

STATEMENT OF DAVID DUBINSKY, PRESIDENT, INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

On behalf of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and its membership of over 443,000, I wish to add my voice to those of others supporting H.R. 8898 and H.R. 10226, which seek to provide equal pay for comparable work for men and women.

Discrimination in employment which is based on sex or any other ground is inimical to the principles of American democracy. Our organization has sought, from its earliest days, to provide the same standards for the determination of rates of pay for all workers, irrespective of their race, nationality, religion, or sex. The attainment of these objectives in the organized sector of the women's garment industry is indicative of the feasibility of these objectives.

Thus the agreements concluded between the many affiliates of the ILGWU and the employers in our industry treat all workers in a given craft or occupation on an equal basis. The great majority of garment workers are paid on a piecework basis; the same piecework rate is paid to all workers in the shop performing identical work. When there is not enough work in the shops, it is divided equitably among all the workers, thus assuring the principle of equality on which our union is founded. Admittedly, workers paid at the same piece rates for identical work may earn differing amounts, with some women earning a larger amount per hour during a given week than some men and vice versa. Whenever such differences arise, they are due to variations in individual proficiency and not to discriminatory practices, because all workers, whether male or female, are paid at the same rate per unit of output.

Parenthetically, I must note that the minimum-wage guarantees, which are also provided in our agreements, also make no distinction between workers except for occupational differences. Thus minimum-wage rates for sewing machine operators may differ from those of finishers or pressers; these, however, are purely occupational differentiations unrelated to sex of workers or to any of their other characteristics.

Women workers are an inherent part of the contemporary labor force in the United States. Over the years, the number of working women has risen steadily, and today they hold one-third of the total number of jobs in the country. In our industry, which produces garments for women and children, women account for 80 percent of the work force. Their participation in gainful pursuits and their work performance speak eloquently of the contribution women make to the Nation's total output of goods and services. The continued existence of discriminatory practices in compensating women workers in the case of some firms creates an undesirable situation by spurring on unfair competition among employers. The very practice is contrary to the basic concept of justice and equality.

Aside from the practice which is demonstrated in our own industry, the experience of 22 States with equal pay legislation demonstrates both its feasibility and practicality. The passage of a Federal statute will induce further legislation on a State level and will properly supplement other protective labor legislation such as the Fair Labor Standards Act (which makes no distinction on the basis of sex in the case of the national minimum wage rates).

I strongly urge the passage, at the earliest possible date, of the proposal embodied in the Equal Pay Act of 1962.

Mr. ZELENKO. We will now stand adjourned until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning. The committee wishes to thank the witnesses and those present for their attendance today.

(Whereupon, at 3:30 p.m., the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m., April 28, 1962.)

## EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK

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SATURDAY, APRIL 28, 1962

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SELECT SUBCOMMITTEE ON LABOR OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR,  
*New York, N.Y.*

The subcommittee met at 10 a.m., pursuant to recess, in room 129, U.S. Courthouse, Foley Square, New York, N.Y., Hon. Herbert Zelenko (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Representatives Zelenko and Daniels.

Also present: Harvey B. Cohen, counsel to the Select Subcommittee on Labor, Mollie Cohen, clerk to the Select Subcommittee on Labor, Howard G. Gamsler, chief counsel for Labor-Management, and Tamara Wall, assistant counsel.

Mr. ZELENSKO. The committee will come to order, please.

In view of the fact that some witnesses are here, we will not keep them waiting, but will proceed to hear them now.

Sitting with the committee today, of course, is my colleague from New Jersey, Mr. Daniels, the ranking member of this subcommittee and the chairman of the recently created Subcommittee on the Effect of the Supreme Court Decision on Integration.

The public will receive a complete report from his committee within the next 2 or 3 weeks. I would not let this moment pass without extending the commendation of the chairman to Mr. Daniels.

I am sure the entire country will voice its approbation of the report. You may have read in the newspapers recently of the action taken by Secretary Ribicoff and the administration with regard to Federal funds in impacted areas.

That is one of the results of the committee headed by Congressman Daniels.

I am sure my colleague will not mind me taking time out from the committee for the extension of those remarks.

The first witness this morning will be a representative from the United Hatters, Cap & Millinery Workers International Union, Mr. Coleman.

Mr. Coleman, we welcome you this morning. We understand Mr. Alex Rose, the president of the union, has a matter of urgent importance involving the union so that he could not be here today, and that you, as one of the ranking officials, will take his place.

We welcome you here and would appreciate your giving us your statement.

**STATEMENT OF GERALD R. COLEMAN, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY  
OF THE UNITED HATTERS, CAP & MILLINERY WORKERS INTER-  
NATIONAL UNION**

Mr. COLEMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

My name is Gerald R. Coleman, and I am the executive secretary of the United Hatters, Cap & Millinery Workers International Union, an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations.

I appear on behalf of our international union before this subcommittee in support of H.R. 8898 and the Zelenko-Green bill, H.R. 10226—measures which seek to establish equal pay for equal work for men and women engaged in work related to interstate commerce and on certain Government contracts.

It is to the great credit of this subcommittee that hearings on this question are being held for the first time since 1950, with the result that active attention is being given to the elimination of the age-old practice of wage discrimination based upon sex.

This kind of wage discrimination adversely affects men workers as well as women workers. The principle of equal pay for equal work sustains and stabilizes the wage rates in industry by discouraging employers from playing one class of workers off against another and in this fashion reducing the earning power of both.

At the same time, it protects legitimate employers from the sweatshop competition of competitors who seek to undercut wage standards by hiring women at lower wage rates than those earned by men.

Further, women compose an integral and essential part of this country's labor force, constituting more than one-third of the total number of workers.

The elimination of wage discrimination on the basis of sex would increase consumer purchasing power, thereby helping to stimulate national full employment.

Reasons given in the past for sustaining wage discrimination based on sex have been centered on one specious theme: "Men have to support dependents, whereas wages earned by women go for luxuries."

However, the conclusion of many reports regarding the economic responsibilities of working women indicate that well over one-half of the women at work in the United States are in some degree responsible for dependents, in addition to supporting themselves.

See United States Department of Labor, Women's Bureau Bulletin 239, "Women Workers and Their Dependents," page 3.

In 1953, a woman was the head in nearly 4 million of this country's families; this was about one-tenth of all families in the United States.

Labor Law Journal, January 1955, "Federal Equal Pay Legislation," by Alice Leopold. On the basis of American living standards today there is no question that most families require the earnings of two breadwinners to maintain a decent and acceptable standard of living.

While we believe that an equal pay law would play only a small part in correcting the evils of discrimination against women in employment generally—that is, discrimination in hiring and in opportunities for training and advancement—it nevertheless would make a significant

beginning in dealing with the whole problem and would encourage solutions in the larger area.

As to the question of whether an equal pay law can be successfully administered, there seems to us to be little doubt that it can. In our industry, collective bargaining contracts provide for one rate for the job, and no variations in job titles or minor changes in job content are adequate defenses to an employer's claim of a differential in the rate of pay.

Objective standards for determining comparability of work do exist and should be left to the administrative agency concerned to spell them out in detail.

We commend the chairman's bill in that it seeks to establish and maintain the kind of worldwide leadership in the field of women's rights that the United States presently enjoys in the area of legal and political rights.

STATE OF NEW YORK,  
County of New York, ss:

Gerald R. Coleman, being duly sworn, deposes and says that he is the executive secretary of the United Hatters, Cap, and Millinery Workers International Union, a union consisting of about 40,000 workers employed in the hat, cap, and millinery industries of the United States and Canada; and he has read the attached statement and that he believes all the facts stated therein to be true to the best of his knowledge and belief; that he has been authorized by the members of the United Hatters, Cap, and Millinery Workers International Union to sign this statement in their behalf.

GERALD R. COLEMAN,  
*Executive Secretary.*

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 26th day of April 1962.

JAMES X. McNAMARA,  
*Notary Public, State of New York.*

Qualified in New York County. Commission expires March 30, 1963.

Mr. ZELENKO. We want to thank you, Mr. Coleman, and also for the most unusual verification of your statement before a notary public.

Mr. COLEMAN. Normally we do this. We assume this is going to be sworn testimony, and we gave you our usual form.

Mr. ZELENKO. May I tell you that I am well acquainted with the practice of your union in testifying and in submitting evidence before congressional committees.

It is further evidence of the fact that under the leadership of Alex Rose, the United Hatters Union means what it says and will put a verification on any of its statements for it does not make any idly, and it wishes everything it says to be considered seriously and that it speaks only the truth.

This is a practice of your union. The verifications, I will note for the record, are put on every statement. I want to commend you and commend the union for its practice because that verification indicates further evidence of the fact that the union stands behind everything it says at all times.

Mr. COLEMAN. Mr. Zelenko, thank you. I think most of the labor movement follows the same practice. We all stand behind the statements we make.

Mr. ZELENKO. Do you have any questions, Mr. Daniels?

Mr. DANIELS. I have no questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ZELENKO. Thank you very much. Will you extend the regrets of the committee to Mr. Rose that he could not appear in person? I

know you have informed the committee of the important matter responsible for his not appearing.

Thank you very much.

Mr. COLEMAN. Thank you.

Mr. ZELENKO. At this time, the committee will make a part of the record a statement by Hon. Edna F. Kelly, Representative of the State of New York and one of our distinguished colleagues.

Mrs. Kelly was to be here this morning but unfortunately could not appear in person. The statement will be made a part of the record. (Statement of Hon. Edna F. Kelly of New York follows:)

STATEMENT BY HON. EDNA F. KELLY, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Mr. Chairman, I wish to thank you and the other members of the committee for affording me the opportunity of giving testimony on the question of equal pay for equal work by women. My bill, H.R. 236, which is under consideration by the committee was the first bill introduced in Congress on this question and has, over the years, gained additional support so that now there are eight other bills on the same subject pending before this committee.

I compliment Chairman Zelenko for initiating hearings on this important legislation. Of equal importance is his foresight in holding these hearings in New York City where the need to point up the inequality in wages between men and women, for the same work, is greater than in other areas of the country. I must admit however, that I did not expect less of Congressman Zelenko, as I have always considered him to be an outstanding public servant. I well remember during his first year in the House of Representatives his brilliant amendments to the Internal Revenue Code. These amendments plugged up many loopholes in the law and saved the Government countless millions of dollars.

As to the matter before this committee, I urge immediate favorable action. Historically women have been economic stepchildren insofar as wage scales are concerned. The history of women receiving lower wages than men for the same work has lasted too long. This committee now has the opportunity of correcting this inequitable situation.

In the not too distant past the man was the sole support of his family and household. Slowly, at first, women began to help contribute to the household, on an economic basis. Of course, the theory that the man was sole supporter of the family persisted. As time went on more and more women joined the labor force. Due however, to the outdated thinking that the man was the sole supporter and women were working on a supplemental basis, women's wages for equal work were lower than those paid to men. At the present there is a great need for accurate statistics which will reflect the enormity of this injustice. I know that the report of this committee will set forth much of that which is needed.

During the years in which I have been pressing for passage of this legislation, I have met with opposition from industry, labor, and the executive department. The Kennedy administration is, however, supporting equal pay legislation and I believe, time has advanced to the point where it is now acceptable to industry and labor. In addition, the national platforms of both major political parties endorse the principle.

My bill, H.R. 236, after declaring wage differentials between men and women for the same work to be inequities in compensation standards, declares such differentials to be unfair wage practices and prohibits the same.

To insure the payment of proper wages to women, my bill provides that three or more aggrieved female employees may bring legal action on their own behalf and on behalf of others similarly situated to recover the wages of which they were deprived. These actions may be brought in the State or Federal courts.

The second feature of my bill permits three or more female employees to bring action to restrain violations. These actions may similarly be brought in either a State or Federal court.

The bill further provides for the award of counsel fees not in excess of \$1,500 to successful employees.

To finally eliminate these unfair wage differentials I urge this committee to favorably report legislation which not only prohibits unfair wage practices, but

provides adequate means of enforcement of the law. This accomplishment will not come in and of itself. Much hard work is still required as there are still some who, for their own economic motives, are opposed to this legislation.

Mr. ZELENKO. The next witness will be Mrs. Lois L. Higgins, director, Crime Prevention Bureau of Illinois, and president of the International Association of Women Police.

**STATEMENT OF MRS. LOIS L. HIGGINS, DIRECTOR, CRIME PREVENTION BUREAU OF ILLINOIS, AND PRESIDENT, INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF WOMEN POLICE**

Mr. ZELENKO. Mrs. Higgins, we welcome you here. We are well acquainted with your fine background in crime prevention and crime detection, and of your great service in behalf of juveniles throughout the world.

You are a well-known author on this subject. You give much of your own private time to the subject of our children and our adults. We know that you have come from Chicago to New York on your own time to add your words.

I know it will carry much weight with the committee in the consideration of this legislation.

With that, Mrs. Higgins, you may proceed.

Mrs. HIGGINS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Congressman Zelenko, Congressman Daniels, Mr. Cohen, members of the committee, thank you for the very gracious introduction and for the fine comments. I keep thinking that if I live three times as long and work five times as hard maybe I might deserve some of these things you have said.

Mr. ZELENKO. I will repeat what this committee said about the last witness and his organization, that we do not make any blind comments.

Mrs. HIGGINS. Thank you.

In prefacing my remarks, I would like to pay tribute first of all to the Secretary of the U.S. Department of Labor, who, on December 13, 1961, requested the President of the United States to create a Commission on the Status of Women, and the following day this was done.

In rereading what the President said on page 3, he said:

Many of the old legal disabilities have been swept away. Some still remain. But more than their removal is required. Attention must be given to opening up greater employment opportunities for women as well as removing remaining discrimination against them.

And then because of your excellent work, the sponsorship of House bill 10226, and that of Congresswoman Edith Green, H.R. 8898, we are most pleased to appear here today at your invitation to testify on behalf of a very small minority in law enforcement.

That is a group of policewomen. Even prior to that, I should like to enter some statistics into the record that were given to me by the Director of the Women's Bureau, Mrs. Peterson, and her very able assistant, Mrs. Simchak, who is here with us this morning, as to the employment generally of women workers.

These statistics have been given before, but we have been told that the number of women workers is steadily increasing and that it averaged 23.5 million in 1960.

We are told by 1970 that the women workers are expected to reach 30 million. As for occupations of these women workers, while they account for many different occupations and continue to enter new

ones, the largest number, 6.8 million, are in the clerical field, and 3.3 million are service workers; another 2.2 million private household workers, 3.3 million are operatives, mostly factory production workers, 2.9 million professional and technical workers, 1.7 million are sales workers, and 1.4 million are managers.

About one-half million women work for the Federal Government. The ratio of employees is 1 woman to 3 men among all Federal workers, and 1 woman to 2 men among Federal white-collar workers.

Women as a group are employed in the lower grades and have, therefore, substantially lower salaries than men. Only 1 out of 7 women is employed above grade 6, while for men the ratio is 2 out of 3. The average salary of women white-collar employees is less than three-fourths the average of men.

As to the marital and family status of women, in March 1960, slightly less than 1 in 3 married women were in the work force, so they accounted for more than 54 percent actually, more than half of the total number of women workers.

At the same time, 44 percent of the single women and 40 percent of those widowed, separated or divorced were in the work force. Approximately 3 million mothers with children under 6 are workers, many of them part time. This represents about 1 out of every 5 such mothers.

On the other hand, 2 out of every 5 mothers with children under 18 years of age, but none under 6, are in the work force.

As to income and earnings of women workers, I think it is significant that those who worked full time the year-round in 1960 received an average income of \$3,296, while men averaged \$5,435.

Negro women received even smaller incomes, \$2,289. The best paid women were in professional and technical occupations, \$4,358, followed by clerical workers, \$3,575, and managerial workers, \$3,514.

At the same time, several million women workers earned less than \$1 an hour.

May I urge the support of this bill on grounds of good public policy, as contributing to justice, public order, and good citizenship.

The history of this Nation might aptly be written the theme of equality set forth as an ideal in 1776.

The effort to outlaw discrimination on the ground of sex is evidence of the continuing national effort to give more than a rhetorical meaning to the abstract ideal of justice that underlies our institutions.

The justice of not denying to women the "equal treatment of the laws," however, rests not merely upon an abstract ideal.

Two times within the past 45 years, the Nation's women have contributed to victory in times of national crisis. And after both World War I and World War II the contributions of women in the Nation's factories and in the Armed Forces were not forgotten.

Talents displayed in time of war to some extent continued to enjoy the opportunity to find free outlet in time of peace.

It is unfortunate that it has, in the past, at times required a war to make the Nation see what commonsense and experience clearly tell us—

1. There are many lines of endeavor in which women can perform as effectively as men;
2. Justice and sound policy dictate that those who perform identical tasks equally well should receive equal pay.

Passage of these bills to prohibit discrimination on account of sex in the payment of wages by employers engaged in commerce, would implement the national effort to attain a great measure of equality of opportunity and equality under law.

This statement is made by one who has spent her adult life in the endeavor to combat crime by upholding good standards of citizenship.

It is an unhappy fact that the best-paying job that some women can obtain today is that of the so-called call-girl, or high priced prostitute.

Many of the States of our Nation are currently facing a budget crisis. The primary cause of this crisis is to be found in that section of the Social Security Act of the 1930's that established Federal fund matching programs in aid of State-administered unemployment compensation programs and of dependent children.

It is of the second of these fund-matching programs that I wish to speak today.

Under the rules established by the Federal Government for the State administration of aid-to-dependent-children programs, the States have no choice but to match the Federal contribution when qualified applicants apply. The States can only estimate their future budget needs for this program—they cannot control their own expenditures.

The solution to this problem, of course, is to make the applicants for ADC self-supporting—to make them taxpaying, contributing citizens.

A contributing factor to this problem, surely, is the fact that there is a working mother—or a nonworking mother—involved in many cases of child dependency. The mother cannot make a decent living for her often abandoned children, quite often simply because she is a woman and is discriminated against.

One might wish that women often would not be required to support small children—and sometimes cannot find suitable work. But it is a condition that confronts us.

We cannot ignore the fact that the difference between child dependency and juvenile delinquency often is very, very little. The dependent child has a much better chance of becoming a delinquent child than the nondependent child. And the delinquent has a good chance of becoming a criminal.

To the extent that society does not help prevent child dependency it is often to blame for delinquency. One way to prevent dependency is to help the child's father—or mother, if the father is absent—provide effectively for the child.

The fact that women seek equal economic opportunities does not imply a "war between the sexes." Experience proves that many women will marry and withdraw from active employment before they can advance very far—even if there is no discrimination.

Married women who work are usually helping their husbands. This sort of help is becoming increasingly necessary to the support of families. It has become very necessary to many young couples who want to be able to buy a home or to see the man through college or a professional school. The husband will often be the last to complain if his wife can find a suitable job.

The notion that there are only a limited number of jobs and that men and women are competing for these limited jobs is untrue. The

more people there are in our labor force, the more they produce, the greater are our gross national product and disposable family income.

The high family income of recent years has been directly responsible for our current prosperity.

It is an accepted fact today that paying a man decent wages in a productive economy makes him a better customer and helps create a greater demand for goods. If this is so of men, it is also so of women.

Money in circulation has no sex.

By profession the present witness is a criminologist, occupying a job with the Illinois Crime Prevention Bureau and a policewoman since 1937, and I have the honor to be the president of the police-women's organization in the United States—the International Association of Women Police.

Speaking as a policewoman, I think I represent most policewomen in hoping that this bill will obtain favorable consideration. It does not apply to policewomen, who are government workers and as such are specifically exempted from the bill's provisions. But it is a step in the right direction.

I hope that consideration of this bill will be accompanied by effective executive action on the Federal, State, and local levels to see that discrimination on the basis of sex becomes an increasingly rare occurrence in public employment.

The Nation's policewomen realize that police work is predominantly a man's profession and always will be.

Applying the ratio of 8 men arrested in the United States for every woman, we would expect to see 13 women police officers for every 87 male officers. However, there actually is only one policewoman in the country today for every 100 male police officers.

The Nation's women police officers would not wish to apply a mechanical formula to determine the number of women who ought to be employed in police work. But they feel there should be more women police officers than there are—and they should have a greater opportunity for advancement.

There have been women officers in U.S. municipal police departments since 1910. The number of policewomen declined during the depression. But during World War II, the services of women were once more found especially useful in police preventive and protective work with women and young girls.

Many police administrators rediscovered the long-known fact that children and women victims and offenders will often respond much more readily to questioning by a woman than a man.

In many cases, male police officers are happy not to get involved with women offenders, who may make false accusations against the officers. In some departments, female civil service clerks are actually performing the duties of officers in questioning women and children—at clerks' pay.

U.S. crime and delinquency are increasing at a frightening rate—much faster than the population. This increase in crime is largely to be found among the male population. What do these facts mean to us?

Another very obvious fact that does not relate to this year or last year but to every year is that men need female companionship. The

arrest figures demonstrate that women—including the wives and girl friends of criminals—are overwhelmingly anticrime.

The criminal's and the delinquent's wife or girl friend would usually be glad if he never got into trouble with the law. And who could better maintain contact with his wife or girl friend to try to prevent crime than another woman? The criminal's wife might be wary of police but if she will trust anyone, it will be a woman.

There are a few other advantages to the employment of women in police work. One is that the average woman police recruit has usually had a bit more formal education than the average male.

Often she has had college course—or even a degree—in sociology or psychology. Obtaining better qualified officers is a means of raising the professional standards of police as a whole.

In some cities, women are employed as "meter maids" and school-crossing guards. These police employees seem to have a role peculiarly their own and not related to the usual work of trained officers.

Other women are employed as jail matrons and may or may not have officer status. That is custodial care. Duties and qualifications required should influence the pay status of all of these types of employment and not the fact that they are women.

There is a wide range, among municipal police departments, not only in the employment, training, and promotion standards concerning policewomen, but all police officers.

To the extent that the public becomes aware of the need for the professionalization of police work, standards will become higher. Organizations such as the International Association of Women Police, which I have the honor to represent here today, the International Association of Chiefs of Police, of which I am proud to be a member, the National Police Officers Association of America, the International Juvenile Officers Association of America, and the various State organizations of chiefs of police and police officers all are very aware of this problem.

They constantly discuss it at their meetings and try to develop written recommendations. Acceptance of such recommendations, however, depends upon public opinion and support.

The fact, then, that personnel standards concerning policewomen vary considerably from one municipality to the other is an aspect of variation in the field of police work itself.

There is also a considerable disparity between one community and another concerning the opportunities afforded women to obtain employment as police officers, and, having gained employment, to advance in rank or pay.

The U.S. Department of Labor's "Dictionary of Occupational Titles" describes the functions of policewomen as follows:

— POLICEWOMAN (GOVERNMENT SERVICE) 2-66.24

Patrols the streets of a municipality and investigates public places and recreational facilities to protect the morals of female persons and juveniles; investigates cases of juvenile delinquency to determine the reasons underlying their delinquency and submits report to juvenile court magistrate; looks for and takes into custody delinquents or neglected children. In some places takes active part in investigation of major crimes of every description.

In addition to the above duties, many municipalities employ women police in active programs of juvenile delinquency control, or crime

prevention, and in making referrals in appropriate cases to social agencies.

Since policewomen often speak the social worker's language—particularly those who have been selected for their professional qualifications—and have the viewpoint and practical experience of law-enforcement officers, they function well as liaison officers between the police department and other agencies. Women officers, thus, are often in a position to represent the department in its community relations.

Police work is a form of public service that often requires personal sacrifice, long hours of work, and personal danger. Public employment itself is often a thankless task, and police work often is taken for granted. It becomes particularly difficult where the public is indifferent to police efforts to enforce the laws, or becomes actively hostile.

The women in the community, who are very active in school, church, and community groups, take a very active interest in juvenile delinquency and youthful behavior. It would be very helpful if there were more women police capable of discussing these problems, on a person-to-person basis, with women's groups—just as it would be useful if more police administrators and police officers in general joined in the discussion of the problem of rising crime statistics.

Only 21 percent of the municipal police departments to whom a questionnaire was sent by this witness indicated that they provided women officers opportunity for advancement.

This questionnaire was sent to some 1,800 police departments throughout the world. Thirty-nine percent indicated that they did not offer such opportunity; the remainder did not respond to the question. Many cities surveyed did not grant any other rank to policewomen than the initial rank in which they entered the public service. This often means that 20 years after a woman has gone on with the department she retires at the same status at which she entered.

Other cities granted rank varying from sergeant to captain to qualified individuals. The cities that have not provided rank or pay increases for women would seem to offer small incentive for women police to improve their status, academically or professionally, or to raise their work standards.

One reason for the lack of opportunity to advance is that many departments place women officers in specialized units under the command of male officers. There is no separate women's unit with a woman officer in command. Women officers are frequently placed in juvenile control units, or assigned to patrol or to make investigations as members of district units.

As early as 1922, the International Association of Chiefs of Police Convention in San Francisco laid down qualifications for women police and these included at least a high school education with 14 units of college work, or something resembling nursing experience, or a combination of both.

I think that men in general would have had a hard time to meet these qualifications that they set forth for women.

Mr. ZELENSKO. Mrs. Higgins, would you mind if I interrupted at this point to ask a question?

Mrs. HIGGINS. Not at all.

Mr. ZELENSKO. Your statement is magnificent and it brings to the attention of the committee a possible aid toward the solution of our juvenile delinquency and other problems.

What you seem to be setting forth in a most logical and philosophical sense is that if the status of women in police work were equalized and the opportunities were broadened, that this would be a step toward a solution of many of our juvenile delinquency problems, our narcotic addictions, our broken homes, our crime, and the lack of opportunity, as you have set forth in your detailed statement. The discouragement of a woman in police work you feel has an effect upon the crime problem; is that it?

Mrs. HIGGINS. Yes, Congressman Zelenko. In the event the committee would like to go into the duties, functions, and qualifications a little bit more, and since there is not time today to do it, I would respectfully request permission to enter into the record some of the material involving the work, the potentials that we feel might be served by women generally, and especially in the area about which you have just spoken, the history of our work, and perhaps some cases that would bring this out very clearly.

I have been wondering if any studies have every been made, for example, of the number of children brought to the attention of either the coroner's office, unhappily, or hospitals, of very young children for physical abuse by their parent, the other parent who is left in charge, or guardian, babysitter, or whoever happens to be there while the mother is away at work, simply because she was not able to afford to pay someone of a responsible type.

Mr. ZELENSKO. May I call your attention to the fact that there is in the law now certain special exemptions or deductions in a very minute way providing for the working mother to obtain the services of a sitter or guardian.

There is some movement afoot to increase that to assist these people. But that only applies to the head of a household as such. If the mother goes out to work and although she is a necessary worker, not the head of a household, it does not apply directly and there would be no benefit accrued. So that point is well taken.

But I am most interested in the question that I asked, which you answered. This opens up a vista and a view that personally I have not seen before. It makes the utmost sense.

Mrs. HIGGINS. Congressman Zelenko, it is true that there is a great relationship between the status of women and the crime causation picture, especially insofar as adequate supervision, especially insofar as opening of opportunities where women in the police field can do a greater job in depth of investigation, of acting as decoys, of assisting as members of the team.

I would like to say here and now that policewomen should never compete with men in the work. They should, rather, complement the work that men are doing in the department. This is an organization

that has been developed for and by men, and women were only brought into this picture to fill a very specialized need, that of working with other women and children of all ages, but especially boys under 12 and, of course, girls and women of all ages.

But through the years in which they have been employed, it has been noted that they can take a very active part in investigation of the general crime picture. In some cities they handle their own cases from the beginning to the end, only calling upon the male officer to make an arrest, if they feel that they are going to have difficulty with, for example, a large gang.

Mr. ZELENSKO. May I interrupt again to say that my interest goes not so much to the actual police work, but the preventive aspects of the work of policewomen. That I think, offers more hope for us because, as you pointed out, all of these family relationships, if not maintained at a wholesome and understanding level, will breed possible crime and other derelictions.

This is the area where, with encouragement and equalization in the employment of women as police officers, I think they can do a tremendous and untold amount of good toward the progress of a healthy society.

Mrs. HIGGINS. We fully agree with the statements you have made, Congressman, and we are very happy at this moment to have been named as special adviser to the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime. Perhaps in that capacity we will be able to work out something jointly along this line. We do hope so.

Right now we only account for 1 percent of the total population of the whole police force. This is a very tiny group. I know what it means to be a member of the minority.

Mr. ZELENSKO. A minority of one with the right is a majority.

Mrs. HIGGINS. Well, that is true. This seems to be the picture, too, all around the world.

In 1958, I was able to make a global tour because of an Associated Press dispatch that said youthful crime is out of hand all around the world. Of course, I wanted to see for myself if this were true.

We went to study crime, especially youthful crime and crime prevention methods. It seems to be the whole picture around the world.

I gave you yesterday a copy of the policewoman's manual, and I want to give Congressman Daniels a copy also.

In order to study this further, I wonder if I have your approval to enter this particular section in the record? It is a statistical study that was made of 1,800 police chiefs, asking them certain questions, how do you appoint your policewomen, under whose supervision do they work, do they wear uniforms, do they drive squad cars, what kind of background would you like them to have, do they have an opportunity to advance, and so on?

So, pages 92, 93, and 94 contain the information

Mr. ZELENSKO. We will receive all of your material, but in the interest of expense, I do hope you will give us permission to place into the record that which we believe is pertinent.

(Material referred to follows:)

Excerpts from report: "Women in Law Enforcement"

[All figures in percent]

2. Entrance requirements	High school	College	Nonspecific	Registered or practical nurse	Not answering
Policewomen.....	37	16	47		
Police matron.....	33	2	35	4	26

12. Opportunity for advancement	Yes	No	Not answering
Policewomen.....	21	39	40
Police matrons.....	4	49	47

13. Title or rank held by women

Policewomen	Police matrons
Policewoman or patrolwoman only.....	29
Assistant policewoman.....	2
Juvenile officer.....	18
Detective.....	6
Detective lieutenant.....	1
Sergeants.....	14
Detective sergeant.....	2
Lieutenant.....	5
Captain.....	6
Traffic guards, meter maids.....	12
Social investigators.....	1
Matron-clerk.....	2
Deputy sheriff.....	2
	Police matrons..... 95.5
	Policewomen..... 2.5
	Police clerk..... 1
	Sheriff-matron..... 1

14. Advise college	Yes	No	Not answering
Policewomen.....	52	7	41
Police matrons.....	22	12	66

Mr. ZELENSKO. Mrs. Higgins, I know you do not mind these interruptions, and I know, of course, that Congressman Daniels will want to question you.

Your entire statement will be made a part of the record. However, it is so full of prime matter I have preempted your time.

I would appreciate it if you would answer questions now and then come back and touch the highlights of your statement. There are things that you have mentioned that arouse our curiosity and our desire for information. That is why I have done what I have done, and I know you will excuse me.

I hope you will not subject me to any charges in your official capacity as a policewoman.

Mrs. HIGGINS. Not at all. I only want to be as helpful as I can, Mr. Congressman.

Mr. ZELENSKO. Mr. Daniels.

Mr. DANIELS. I think the witness has made a very fine statement.

With reference to your comments as to the utilization of policewomen in connection with crime detection and what they may do to

serve in the prevention of juvenile delinquency, I am very well aware of that because I served as the chief magistrate of my own hometown, the city of Jersey City, and came in close contact with the police as well as the policewomen who served our city.

The policewomen performed a most useful function. I wholeheartedly agree with you that we could use their services to do much greater benefit for the benefit of the community.

Mrs. HIGGINS. Thank you very much, Congressman. We are always glad to have the members of the opposite sex tell us that we are needed. We are like everyone else, I think, in our jobs. We need to be constantly inspired. We need to be told that the work that we are performing is not only useful to the community but to society as a whole.

As you very well know yourselves, it is very difficult to be a public servant these days. That is another aspect of the work. People somehow never think of us in terms of Mr. and Mrs. John Smith. They think of us in terms of police officers and put us in certain categories. So we are glad to have your fine comments.

In closing, I would like to refer you to the thing called Manpower Challenge of the Sixties, and just some statements.

As a nation, we are advancing in scientific and technical know-how at a tremendous rate. It goes on to say we must do a lot of things. But the second thing that is listed here is that we must use all our manpower resources without regard to race, sex, age, or physical handicap.

As a democratic society, everyone must accept his appropriate share of the responsibility for developing our human resources, individuals and organizations alike.

Here are some things that it says as a nation we must do: It says we must end all forms of discrimination in hiring and use of manpower.

On behalf of the ladies in law enforcement, may I say, again, a very frevent and appreciative thank you to you, Congressman Zelenko, and to the members of your committee, and to offer, again, any help that we may bring to you either individually or as an organization.

We certainly wish you God speed in your efforts. Where we, the women of the United States, go from here, is up to you, this illustrious body of lawmakers of our land.

We have every confidence in you and the members of your committee. When it reaches Congress, we have every confidence in them, too.

Thank you.

Mr. ZELENKO. We want to thank you.

Mrs. HIGGINS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

(Documents referred to follow:)

STATEMENT BY LOIS L. HIGGINS, DIRECTOR, ILLINOIS CRIME PREVENTION BUREAU,  
AND PRESIDENT, INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF WOMEN POLICE

May I urge the support of this bill on grounds of good public policy, as contributing to justice, public order, and good citizenship.

The history of our Nation might aptly be written around the theme of equality set forth as an ideal in 1776. The effort to outlaw discrimination on the ground of sex is evidence of the continuing national effort to give more than a rhetorical meaning to the abstract idea of justice that underlies our institutions.

The justice of not denying to women the "equal treatment of the laws," however, rests not merely upon an abstract ideal. Two times within the past 45 years, the Nation's women have contributed to victory in times of national crisis. And after both World War I and World War II the contributions of women in the Nation's factories and in the Armed Forces were not forgotten. Talents displayed in time of war to some extent continued to enjoy the opportunity to find free outlet in time of peace.

It is unfortunate that it has, in the past, at times required a war to make the Nation see what commonsense and experience clearly tell us—

(1) There are many lines of endeavor in which women can perform as effectively as men;

(2) Justice and sound policy dictate that those who perform identical tasks equally well should receive equal pay.

Passage of these bills to prohibit discrimination on account of sex in the payment of wages by employers engaged in commerce, would implement the national effort to attain a greater measure of equality of opportunity and equality under law.

This statement is made by one who has spent her adult life in the endeavor to combat crime by upholding good standards of citizenship.

It is an unhappy fact that the best paying job that some women can obtain today is that of the so-called call girl, or high-priced prostitute.

Many of the States of our Nation are currently facing a budget crisis. The primary cause of this crisis is to be found in that section of the Social Security Act of the 1930's that established Federal fund matching programs in aid of State-administered unemployment compensation programs and of dependent children. It is of the second of these fund-matching programs that I wish to speak today.

Under the rules established by the Federal Government for the State administration of aid-to-dependent-children programs, the States have no choice but to match the Federal contribution when qualified applicants apply. The States can only estimate their future budget needs for this program—they cannot control their own expenditures.

The solution to this problem, of course, is to make the applicants for ADC self-supporting—to make them taxpaying, contributing citizens.

A contributing factor to this problem, surely, is the fact that there is a working mother—or a nonworking mother—involved in many cases of child dependency. The mother cannot make a decent living for her often abandoned children, quite often simply because she is a woman and is discriminated against.

One might wish that women often would not be required to support small children—and sometimes cannot find suitable work. But it is a condition that confronts us.

We cannot ignore the fact that the difference between child dependency and juvenile delinquency often is very, very little. The dependent child has a much better chance of becoming a delinquent child than the nondependent child. And the delinquent has a good chance of becoming a criminal.

To the extent that society does not help prevent child dependency it is often to blame for delinquency. One way to prevent dependency is to help the child's father—or mother, if the father is absent—provide effectively for the child.

The fact that women seek equal economic opportunities does not imply a "war between the sexes." Experience proves that many women will marry and withdraw from active employment before they can advance very far—even if there is no discrimination. Married women who work are usually helping their husbands. This sort of help is becoming increasingly necessary to the support of families. It has become very necessary to many young couples who want to be able to buy a home or to see the man through college or a professional school. The husband will often be the last to complain if his wife can find a suitable job.

The notion that there are only a limited number of jobs and that men and women are competing for these limited jobs is untrue. The more people there are in our labor force, the more they produce, the greater are our gross national product and disposable family income.

The high family income of recent years has been directly responsible for our current prosperity.

It is an accepted fact today that paying a man decent wages in a productive economy makes him a better customer and helps create a greater demand for goods. If this is so of men, it is also so of women.

## MONEY IN CIRCULATION HAS NO SEX

By profession the present witness is a policewoman, and has the honor to be the president of the policewomen's organization in the United States (the International Association of Women Police).

Speaking as a policewoman, I think I represent most policewomen in hoping that this bill will obtain favorable consideration. It does not apply to policewomen, who are Government workers and as such are specifically exempted from the bill's provisions. But it is a step in the right direction.

I hope that consideration of this bill will be accompanied by effective executive action on the Federal, State, and local levels to see that discrimination on the basis of sex becomes an increasingly rare occurrence in public employment.

The Nation's policewomen realize that police work is predominantly a man's profession and always will be.

Applying the ratio of 8 men arrested in the United States for every woman, we would expect to see 13 women police officers for every 87 male officers. However, there actually is only 1 policewoman in the country today for every 100 male police officers.

The Nation's women police officers would not wish to apply a mechanical formula to determine the number of women who ought to be employed in police work. But they feel there should be more women police officers than there are—and they should have a greater opportunity for advancement.

There have been women officers in U.S. municipal police departments since 1910. The number of policewomen declined during the depression. But during World War II, the services of women were once more found especially useful in police preventive and protective work with women and young girls. Many police administrators rediscovered the long known fact that children and women victims and offenders will often respond much more readily to questioning by a woman than a man. In many cases, male police officers are happy not to get involved with women offenders, who may make false accusations against the officers. In some departments, female civil service clerks are actually performing the duties of officers in questioning women and children, at clerk's pay.

U.S. crime and delinquency are increasing at a frightening rate—much faster than the population. This increase in crime is largely to be found among the male population. What do these facts mean to us?

Another very obvious fact that does not relate to this year or last year but to every year is that men need female companionship. The arrest figures demonstrate that women—including the wives and girl friends of criminals—are overwhelmingly anticrime.

The criminal's and the delinquent's wife or girl friend would usually be glad if he never got into trouble with the law. And who could better maintain contact with his wife or girl friend to try to prevent crime than another woman? The criminal's wife might be wary of police but if she will trust anyone it will be a woman.

There are a few other advantages to the employment of women in police work. One is that the average woman police recruit has usually had a bit more formal education than the average male. Often she has had college courses—or even a degree—in sociology or psychology. Obtaining better qualified officers is a means of raising the professional standards of police as a whole.

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There is a wide range, among municipal police departments, not only in the employment, training, and promotion standards, concerning policewomen, but all police officers. To the extent that the public becomes aware of the need for the professionalization of police work, standards will become higher. Organizations such as the International Association of Women Police, which I have the honor to represent here today, the International Association of Chiefs of Police, the National Police Officers Association of America, the International Juvenile Officers Association of America, and the various State organizations of chiefs of police and police officers all are very aware of this problem. They constantly discuss it at their meetings and try to develop written recommendations. Acceptance of such recommendations, however, depends upon public opinion and support.

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One reason for the lack of opportunity to advance is that many departments place women officers in specialized units under the command of male officers. There is no separate women's unit with a woman officer in command. Women officers are frequently placed in juvenile control units, or assigned to patrol or to make investigations as members of district units.

As early as 1929 policewomen were studying the programs of their colleagues in various cities. The following report of Martha Randall, Portland, Oreg., gives a suggested program for women's bureaus in police departments.

#### A SUGGESTED PROGRAM

1. To maintain a service bureau for women desiring information and help in matters where the police may act and serve.
2. To investigate and improve conditions endangering the welfare of children, girls, and women.
3. To deal socially and legally with all matters relating to women and children coming into the custody of the police, whether offenders or victims of offenses. These shall include lost children; fugitives from parents or guardians; juvenile fugitives from institutions; and females of whatever age coming into the custody of police who are unable to give proper account of themselves and against whom no charge is placed. Care must be provided for such persons pending investigation. Where no legal cause for detention of the said person exists she shall,

upon proper identification, be turned over to parents, guardians, or institutions, as the case may be.

4. To secure physical examination in indicated cases for communicable disease.
5. To investigate cases involving the criminal exploitation of women and girls and boys under the age of 11 years.
6. To cooperate with the proper officials in the prosecution of all cases of sex offenses involving women and children.
7. To adopt such legal measures as may be necessary to correct or eradicate conditions tending to cause or contribute to delinquency.
8. To investigate all cases originating in woman's bureau, or reported by other branches of the department, for the purpose of security information to be used as evidence and of obtaining such facts as will assist rehabilitation.
9. To give advice of a constructive nature and to encourage the reference of inquiries concerning the welfare of women and children. Give assistance to women or girls who are strangers without funds or employment, or refer them to the proper agency.
10. To make investigations and accompany women and girls to court. Adult offenders on probation may be paroled to them.
11. To make special investigations of neighborhood conditions—hotels, public dance halls, cabarets, grills, skating rinks, and other places of public assembly; to be vigilant in locating and reporting conditions that contribute to vice or delinquency; to devise and follow plans for correcting domestic difficulties between husband and wife; and to adjust irregularities between parents and children.

At the recent 1960 seminar sponsored by the International Association of Women Police, Springfield College, Springfield, Mass., 70 women participated in 10 workshops under the general direction of Policewoman Audrey Langdon Meade, Joliet, Ill., past president of the Illinois Policewomen's Association.

The following recommendations embody the thinking of present-day policewomen, and it now remains to be seen what the next steps will be.

Translating thought into action will not be difficult if police administrators and the general public are convinced of the valuable service available to them through dedicated policewomen the world over.

RECOMMENDATIONS FROM WORKSHOP STUDY GROUPS, INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF WOMEN POLICE SEMINAR, SPRINGFIELD COLLEGE, SPRINGFIELD, MASS., SEPTEMBER 12-14, 1960

1. That the president, Dr. Lois Lundell Higgins, and officers of the International Association of Women Police appoint a committee to study the recommendations of this workshop and that final acceptance be approved by officers of the association.
2. That a committee of at least two be appointed to represent the International Association of Women Police with the National Probation and Parole Association (as suggested by Sherwood Norman of that organization) for the furthering of understanding in that area.
3. That this or a separate committee be further delegated to study the recommendations of the White House Conference to assist members in effecting these recommendations in their own communities.
4. That this or a separate committee be delegated to keep informed on the publications and workings of the Children's Bureau, Washington 25, D.C.—particularly in the area of police services—with Mr. Lynn Swanson, police consultant, to further improve the membership's knowledge and use of such facilities.
5. That this or a separate committee be delegated to represent the international association with the U.S. Women's Bureau as represented at this seminar ably by Miss Hazel B. Hansen, to direct and promote the knowledge of the membership in this area.
6. That policewomen endeavor to obtain authorization from their various departments to be participating members (liaison officers) with the community councils of their respective cities, if not already so doing.

*Problems of administration workshop*

(Lt. Marilyn O'Regan, Chicago, Ill., and Lt. Jeanne Coolidge, Rochester, N.Y.)

7. That police departments having jurisdiction and responsibility in areas of sufficient population consider the formation of a women's bureau to be assigned

all matters pertaining to children, young girls, and adult women; and that such a bureau be under the direction and supervision of a woman officer of rank comparable to other units of similar responsibility.

8. That policewomen be utilized in positive and preventative police work and not be restricted to assignments in that capacity and that clerks, stenographers and switchboard operators, etc., not be called on to perform specific police duties (i.e., searching of prisoners, accompanying, interviewing, processing and/or aiding in investigation).

9. That police departments having women's bureaus comprised of sufficient personnel afford women officers the opportunity of promotion through civil service means.

*Specialized services of policewomen*

(Annette Fosdick, Milford, Conn., and Ferne Alexander, Toronto, Canada)

10. That where a woman is employed as a law-enforcement officer, sundry clerical work be removed from her duties to the greatest possible degree.

11. That the opportunities for education, advancement, and promotion in rank be made available to the policewoman on the same basis as her male counterpart so that all will be qualified, well-rounded law enforcement officers with experience in all phases of police duty before being assigned to specialized fields.

12. That because policewomen possess the following natural attributes—patience, attention to detail, natural curiosity, intuition, well-developed powers of observation and sensitivity—the following phases of police duty be considered the areas in which they may best serve: youth work, criminal investigation, interrogation and interviewing, undercover work, surveillance, and public relations.

*Detention services for women and children*

(Dorothy Heller, Colorado Springs, Colo., and Gloria Rampenthal, Freeport, Ill.)

13. That more adequate detention facilities be provided for women in local police stations.

14. That separate detention facilities be provided for juveniles in local police stations.

15. That children be interviewed as soon as possible when being in lock-up custody, jail or detention of any kind and disposition be effected as quickly as possible.

16. That children be held in shelter care and not be housed in the same building with adult offenders and/or delinquents.

*The policewoman's role in criminal investigation*

(Momi Lum, Honolulu, Hawaii, and Louise Crooks, Ottumwa, Iowa)

17. That policewomen assist to the fullest extent of their abilities when detailed or requested, and further that they indicate a willingness to assist in the complete investigations, evaluations and final dispositions on complaints regarding women and children as violators or victims.

18. That policewomen seek authorizations at the local level to obtain knowledge and techniques in the skills required to participate in criminal investigations by attending municipal, county, State, National, and international seminars, conferences or training programs to broaden their scope in the modern and scientific techniques in the criminal investigations.

*Qualifications, education, and training of policewomen*

(Santina Eaton, Westboro, Mass., and Geraldine Miller, Oak Park, Ill.)

Qualifications: Age 21 to 35; good moral character; physical fitness; and emotional stability.

Important attributes: Dependability, sense of humor, keen powers of observation, ability to evaluate, understanding and tolerance, and ability to work with people.

Education: College degree or minimum of 2 years of college.

Suggested courses: Social studies, psychology, criminology, juvenile delinquency control, seminars or courses, public relations, and public speaking.

Training: Recruit, in-service training, and training for special services.

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HISTORICAL BACKGROUND  
OF  
POLICEWOMEN'S SERVICE

LOIS HIGGINS



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## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF POLICEWOMEN'S SERVICE

Lois Higgins

Lois Higgins, LL.D., is Director of the Crime Prevention Bureau, Chicago, and served for more than thirteen years as a policewoman with the Chicago Police Department. She has contributed articles on the work of policewomen to this and other professional journals and holds appointment as an Instructor at the Institute of Social Administration, Loyola University, Chicago. In her present paper Mrs. Higgins relates the development of the policewomen's service in this country.—  
EDITOR.

As early as 1880 the movement for women police was promulgated by such national bodies as the Federation of Women's Clubs, the National League of Women Voters, the National Women's Christian Temperance Union; and by local associations and clubs, including social agencies operating in the protective field; and by social hygiene groups.<sup>1</sup> Also active were the Men's City Clubs of Chicago and Philadelphia. According to Mrs. J. E. Barney in her reports of the work in prisons, jails, police, and alms homes,

During the last half of the nineteenth century, women's organizations manifested an interest in securing the appointment of women for the special handling of women and girls held in custody by law enforcing agency—police, sheriffs, superintendents of jails, detention homes, institutions for the insane, and any publicly controlled institutions. The records show that in 1845 two such appointments were made, through the interest of the American Female Society and two matrons were appointed in New York City at the City Prison (The Tombs) and four on Blackwell's Island—the first prison matrons in this country. Particularly active in the field of organizations to secure women in the service, was the Women's Christian Temperance Union. Their early records report that in the 1870's prominent members of that group in Portland, Maine, visited the women prisoners and attended court, and in 1877 they employed a paid visitor. Soon one-half of her salary was paid by the city. The next year the city paid her salary in full, and she became a police matron.<sup>2</sup>

The significance of these early appointments of police matrons is important because they were the first mark of official recognition of the idea that women prisoners should be handled by women.

Chloe Owings, in her book, *Women Police*, traces the history of subsequent appointments of matrons as follows:

Through the efforts of this same organization (referring to the Women's Christian Temperance Union) other cities appointed police matrons in the following order: Jersey City, New Jersey, 1880; Chicago, Illinois, 1881; Boston,

1. These groups included the Chicago Juvenile Protective Association, Cleveland Women's Protective Association, Detroit Girl's Protective League, Girl's Service Club of New York, American Social Hygiene, Cincinnati Social Hygiene Society, Missouri Social Hygiene Association.

2. Reports of Mrs. J. K. Barney, National Superintendent of the Department of Work in Prisons, Jails, Police and Alms Homes. National W.C.T.U., Evanston, Illinois.

Massachusetts, 1883; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Baltimore, Maryland; St. Louis, Missouri; Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1884; Detroit, Michigan; Denver, Colorado; Providence, Rhode Island; San Francisco, California, 1885; Lowell, Massachusetts; Cleveland, Ohio, 1886.

The Program of the various state and local committees in this department of the National Association was "Push the matter of police matrons in every city; commence at once and continue until successful."

In 1888 the state of Massachusetts passed a law directing the appointment of police matrons in all cities of 20,000 or over. In the same year, due to the efforts of the Women's Prison Association, New York State passed a similar act.<sup>3</sup>

The earliest appointment of a policewoman, as distinguished from a police matron,<sup>4</sup> was in 1893, when an appointment made by the Mayor of Chicago, provided for the widow of an officer. Mrs. Marie Owens was carried as a "patrolman" for thirty years, or until her retirement on pension. She visited courts and assisted detective officers in cases involving women and children.<sup>5</sup>

In 1905 in Portland, Oregon, during the Lewis and Clark Expedition, a woman was given police powers to deal more authoritatively and effectively with problems involving girls and young women who were being threatened with poor social conditions and undesirable influences. The woman selected for this work was Mrs. Lola Baldwin whose previous position was that of Secretary with the National Traveler's Aid Association. Her work and its results were so effective, that, immediately afterwards, Portland organized a Department of Public Safety for the Protection of Young Girls and Women. Mrs. Baldwin was the first director of this division. Her incumbency outlasted those of six chiefs of police and five mayors. This Division later became a division of the police bureau by charter.<sup>6</sup> The women were known simply as "workers" or "operatives" rather than "police."

In 1909, the Florence Crittenton Circle of Grand Forks, North Dakota, advocated the need of policewomen to cope with social conditions contributing to delinquency. Following their request for such appointment, the City Council, in May 1910, passed an ordinance creating the position of police matron. "This position carried with it duties which at present are considered to be in the realm of policewomen."<sup>7</sup>

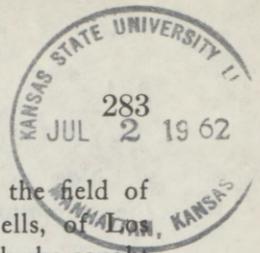
3. *Women Police*, Chloe Owings, p. 99.

4. Matron usually refers to women who give custodial care. Policewomen carries a broader definition of duties in police work.

5. *Women Police*, Chloe Owings, p. 99 Footnote.

6. *Municipal Police Women*, Sophia Hall, University of Wisconsin Extension Division, Municipal Information Bureau. Information Report No. 22, April 1922, page 14.

7. Mrs. Pearl Blough, Proceedings International Association of Police Women, 1916.



Outstanding among the women whose contribution to the field of women police was invaluable is Mrs. Alice Stebbins Wells, of Los Angeles. She is outstanding because of the manner in which she sought and secured her appointment to the police force, and because, following her appointment, she pioneered under the preventive-protection principles which she had used so effectively in both theology and social work. Besides her work in Los Angeles, she participated in a national movement for policewomen's services and was a leader when the movement had reached its peak. For these reasons, her work deserves particular mention here.

Maude Darwin, writing about policewomen in America pointed out that:

Mrs. Alice Stebbins Wells, a graduate theological student and social worker in Los Angeles, in 1910 of private organizations engaged in protective and preventive work for women and children, would yield more efficacious social results, if these agents were public officers invested with police powers. She accordingly addressed a petition, containing the signatures of 100 influential citizens, to the city mayor asking for her appointment as a police officer.<sup>8</sup>

Mrs. Wells was appointed to the Los Angeles Police Department in the year 1910. Although Mrs. Marie Owens and Lola Baldwin preceded her as far as their work was concerned, one having been a "patrolman" the other a "worker" or "operative" Mrs. Alice Wells became known as the first regularly rated "policewoman."

Commenting on this appointment, the *Bulletin* of the City Club of Chicago contained a statement to the effect that:

Her chief duties comprised the supervision, and the enforcement of laws concerning dance halls, skating rinks, penny arcades, picture shows, and other similar places of public recreation. Among her activities were the supervision of unwholesome bill-board displays, search for missing persons, and the maintenance of a general information bureau for women seeking advice on matters within the scope of police departments . . .

Although ranking with the plain clothesmen, Mrs. Wells was permitted some functions not delegated to the men officers. She was consulted in writing, or in person on the purposes, scope, and possible value of the work of women officers, and was given an office where she was free to keep an office hour.<sup>9</sup>

The position of women police officers in Los Angeles was placed under Civil Service in 1911, and during the latter part of 1912, there were three women officers and three police matrons.

8. "Policewomen and the Work in America," Maude E. Darwin, *Nineteenth Century*, June, 1914.

9. *The City Club Bulletin*, City Club of Chicago, 315 Plymouth Court, Chicago, Illinois, October 31, 1912.

Chloe Owings describes the reaction on the part of the press following the appointment of Alice Wells to the Los Angeles Police Department:

The appointment of Mrs. Wells attracted wide newspaper comment because of the fact that she was an educated woman, a social worker, and had deliberately sought and secured the opportunity to work in a police department. Naturally, many journalists presented the situation in a half-comic manner and pictured the woman police officer in caricature as a bony, muscular, masculine person, grasping a revolver, dressed in anything but feminine apparel, hair drawn tightly into a hard little knot at the back of the head, huge unbecoming spectacles, small stiff round disfiguring hat, the whole presenting the idea in a most repellant and unlovely guise. This conception, however, was not universally held, and many groups of earnest women, searching for a solution of social problems greeted the idea of women police with favor, and Mrs. Wells was soon overwhelmed with requests for lectures and advice.<sup>10</sup>

Still active in its efforts to extend the movement for women police service, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, through its president, Mrs. Sara Dow, in 1911, arranged a most extensive speaking schedule. In communicating with Chloe Owings, Mrs. Wells reported that this schedule was carried out to the exact letter. In thirty days, there were lectures in thirty-one cities.

The extension of the movement for women police, and the efforts made in its behalf were bringing results. These results could be seen in the report of the International Association of Policewomen which stated that in 1912, 1913, and 1914, seventy-three cities in the United States and Canada invited Mrs. Wells to one hundred thirty-six audiences.

These cities were located all the way from Dallas, Texas, to Toronto, Canada, and from Los Angeles, California, to New York City. The list of persons and groups who arranged these lectures, included every sort of women's group from the Current Event Class of the Evanston, Illinois, Women's City Club and the Woman's Tax Payer's League of Cincinnati, to the General Federation of Women's Clubs and the National Suffrage Association; Baptist, Christian, Congregational, Presbyterian, Unitarian, and Methodist Churches; Councils of Jewish Women, many men's clubs, civic associations, social workers' clubs, various schools and universities, and the International Association of Chiefs of Police, at its meeting in Grand Rapids, Michigan. From 1910 to 1915 at least 16 cities had appointed women officers to their police departments.<sup>11</sup>

The movement for women police had by this time not only extended to positions of "policewomen" but had also made itself felt in several

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10. *Women Police*. Chloe Owings, p. 103, Footnote.

11. *Proceedings of the International Association of Police Women*, 1916. Information Report No. 68, New York State Bureau of Municipal Research; U. S. Census, 1918.

cities sufficiently to warrant an executive position. Chloe Owings supplies the information.

At this time (1915) there was at least one woman supervisor of women police in a department; one superintendent of a division of women police; one "senior policewoman"; one inspector; one superintendent of a Women's Protective Division, and even one woman chief of police.

The Mayor of Milford, Ohio, a community of some 1,500 inhabitants, in 1914, appointed a woman chief of police, Mrs. Dolly Spencer. At that time gambling conditions were beyond the control of the Mayor. Mrs. Spencer, who was the general adjuster of all kinds of social problems in the small town, went "after the boys and took them out of the gambling joints to her own home." Here they were joined by their parents. By a series of small raids, she temporarily stopped gambling in Milford. She held her position as chief of police for two years, or until a new mayor took office, when the appointment was not continued.<sup>12</sup>

Various attempts to prevent juvenile delinquency were made by the new women police, such as that reported by the International Association of Policewomen:

Police officer Nellie McElroy, of Rochester, New York, had decided in 1914, that the publicity of court proceedings for girls should be avoided if possible. The responsibility of preventing future delinquency was met by a system of voluntary probation which contained all the elements of official probation. In 1916 at least fourteen cities had instituted a system of voluntary probation by women police.<sup>13</sup>

This method of working with girls carried with it much of the practice which later became known as "supervision." The movement was significant, also, in its recognition of the damage done to children and adolescents in unnecessary court hearings with attendant newspaper publicity.

Policewomen, in the early stages of the movement, found many duties which were not always associated with police work as such, but which demanded a large portion of their attention. "For example, in a community in Iowa in 1916, a woman with police powers handled all cases of women and children involving matters within the scope of police. In addition to this work, she was overseer of the Poor, Truant Officer, Relief Agent, Supervisor of the Garden Club, and Juvenile Court Agent. She had a full-time assistant and the necessary office and clerical help."<sup>14</sup>

By 1917, the movement had spread to thirty cities. The greatest impetus followed World War I, when the service was extended to two hundred and twenty towns and cities in the United States. Some of the

12. *Women Police*, Chloe Owings, p. 105.

13. *Proceedings of the National Association of Police Women*, 1916.

14. *Ibid.*

factors which contributed to this expansion were the social and economic freedom of women, their new political status, and their active participation in public affairs. The Law Enforcement Division of the Commission on Training Camp Activities, which was charged with the duty of seeing to it that the environments of training camps were kept free from unwholesome and unhealthy conditions which traditionally surround them, brought out boldly the inadequacy of facilities existing at the time, and the subsequent report of the commission demanded decent detention quarters in communities; the examination of sex offenders, scientific case work, more and better recreation, and proper supervision of commercial amusements and entertainment.<sup>15</sup>

Jane Deeter Rippin, in her report of 1918 to the National Conference of Social Work, stated:

The permanent results of the Committee on Preventive Work for Women and Girls, the Section on Women and Girls of the Law Enforcement Division, and the Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board cannot be statistically measured. Much of the actual effort which today is directed toward securing women police owes its origin directly to the influence of the activities organized and vigorously fostered and developed by these groups which sought to develop community responsibility through local committees. Through the actual demonstration of case work by trained workers, representative citizens, in many communities learned for the first time of the delinquency which existed in their midst and city and county officials have at least been convinced to some extent that a protective and not a detective program was or might be, effective in the hands of the right women officers.<sup>16</sup>

It was at this point that many social workers realized that much of this service lay naturally in the province of the police department. The strategic position of the department as the first line of social defense, was an advantage over the courts and the private social agencies which, in most instances, could not intervene until cases became actually acute.

The distribution and extent of appointments by the various cities, and the states through which these appointments were scattered, indicate the rapidity with which the movement gained recognition between the pioneer development in Oregon in 1905 and the first authoritative book on the subject, published in 1925. The overall distribution was as follows:

Number of States	38
Number of Cities	148
Number of states in which program was introduced in more than one city	27

15. "Woman's Era in the Police Department," Helen D. Pigeon, Executive Secretary, *IA of P Annals of the American Academy*, May 1929, pp. 249-254.

16. "Specific Problems in Camp Communities," Jane Deeter Rippin, *Proceedings of National Conference of Social Work*, 1918.

The distribution of these appointments according to dates is shown in the following listings:

One city	1905	(representing 1 state)
One city	1907	(representing 1 state)
Two cities	1910	(representing 2 states)
Six cities	1912	(representing 4 states)
Ten cities	1913	(representing 9 states)
Ten cities	1914	(representing 8 states)
Seven cities	1915	(representing 7 states)
Nine cities	1916	(representing 8 states)
Thirteen cities	1917	(representing 9 states)
Seventeen cities	1918	(representing 10 states)
Five cities	1919	(representing 3 states)
Seven cities	1920	(representing 5 states)
Nineteen cities	1921	(representing 13 states)
Seventeen cities	1922	(representing 11 states)
Nine cities	1923	(representing 8 states)
Twelve cities	1924	(representing 10 states)
One city	1925	(representing 1 state)

#### ADMINISTRATION OF WOMEN POLICE WITHIN DEPARTMENTS

Since the inception of women police, several forms of organization with Departments have been tried. In some communities the organization was an outgrowth of special planning; in others it was not preceded by planning, and was therefore fitted into an already existing place. The forms of organization which were most widely adopted and which proved, to some degree to be successful, are listed by Chloe Owings as follows:

- (a) The creation in the police department—in large cities—of a definite Woman's Division, whose work is supervised by one woman director, responsible to the head of the department. In some smaller cities where there are two or more women, one of them, has at times, been given the direction of the work.
- (b) The placing of all women police in an already existing division, such as that of the detective or special service division, and where their work is supervised by a man officer.
- (c) The assignment of women police by some directing officer of the department to the different precincts, districts, or departmental bureaus, and where their work is directed by the officer in command.

Still two other plans have been followed at times: First, that in which the police department has paid in part or full, women working under private organizations and has given them limited police powers and second, the granting of police powers to persons called policewomen, employed by private organizations and who work in conjunction with the police.<sup>18</sup>

According to the first plan, a Woman's Division, or a Woman's Bureau, the policewoman in charge, called a Director, Superintendent,

18. *Women Police*, Chloe Owings, pp. 251-252.

or Supervisor, was usually given the same rank and the corresponding salary, powers, and privileges, as the men of equal rank. For example, Elenore Hutzel of Detroit, besides being Director of the Woman's Bureau, was a deputy inspector of police, as was Henrietta Additon of New York. In charge of Women's Bureaus in Cleveland and Portland were policewomen whose rank was that of a Captain. Mina Van Winkle was a Lieutenant while her successor, Rhoda Milliken, has been given the rank of Captain, and the policewomen under her command in supervisory posts, have been designated as Lieutenants, Sergeants, and Corporals, ranks which carry definite allocated duties.

Several cities have given the rank of sergeant to those policewomen within the bureaus who had charge of certain aspects of the work. In general the establishment of a Woman's Bureau has come about through an amendment to the city charter, or an ordinance, defining its functions, the qualifications of its personnel, and the size of the staff, so that changes in the administration would not endanger either its effectiveness or its personnel.

Several reasons have been advanced for the successful work in cities having Women's Bureau or Divisions. These cities include Detroit, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Washington, D. C., Seattle, Portland, Madison, Berkeley, and others. The success of these Bureaus or Divisions can be attributed to such factors as the following: (1) The women in charge have been competent women, highly qualified for their positions along lines of education, experience, executive ability and whose personality and adaptability have brought added merit to the department. (2) Following their appointments, these directors or heads of divisions, have been allowed the opportunity to recruit qualified women, and have been allowed, as well as encouraged by Superior Officers to institute training programs for the women police, which would add to their effectiveness as members of the department. (3) They have been free to organize, develop, and put into operation a preventive program in which prevention is emphasized as a specific function, especially in relation to women, adolescents, and young children.

In spite of the success which has been a logical outcome of such a program, there are very few cities having a Women's Division, as compared to other forms of organization. While there has been little or no publicly organized opposition to such a program, it cannot be assumed that none exists. The fact that so very few cities have adopted this form of organization seems to indicate apathetic response, passive indifference, or reluctance to change an already existing program.

A booklet published recently by the Federal Security Agency contains the following statement:

During the last World War, the women's bureau was the generally accepted organizational pattern, both in theory and practice. Early leaders of the movement almost universally advocated the centralization of all policewomen's work into one bureau, fearing that if the women were dispersed through the various police divisions, a large part of their value as preventive-corrective agents might be lost. These fears seem to have had considerable foundations, as there have been a number of examples of such dispersal which resulted in definite curtailment of the usefulness of policewomen.

The fact that some of the most successful crime prevention work in the country is at present being done by women's bureaus would seem to point to the desirability of some centralization, at least to deal with cases of girls, and women, either within or without the framework of the larger crime prevention units just discussed.<sup>19</sup>

As early as 1922, the Police Chiefs themselves seemed to think that a woman's bureau would offer the best type of service. At its Annual Meeting, the Association of Chiefs of Police passed the following resolution:

Policewomen attached to the department shall be under the direct supervision of the Chief of Police as a unit in the department, and where there is a sufficient number, at least one of them shall be a ranking officer in the department.<sup>20</sup>

From a practical standpoint, each community must decide for itself, after sufficient experiment, study, and research on a city-wide or community-wide basis, whether or not it desires to have its police department remain an agency designed for strictly punitive measures, or whether it desires a police department which has as its objective, not only the maintaining of law and order and the apprehension of criminals, but that is also preventive in character. The tendency at the present time is to attempt, by the use of all the means at hand, to coordinate the two conceptions, thereby making use of all instruments and social studies that are adaptable to the prevention and treatment of crime.

#### THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF POLICEWOMEN

The history of the policewomen's movement would not be complete without mentioning the International Association of Policewomen, which had its inception at the National Conference of Charities and Corrections.<sup>21</sup> Alice Stebbins Wells, only five years after her appoint-

19. *Techniques of Law Enforcement in the Use of Policewomen with Special Reference to Social Protection*, Federal Security Agency, Division of Social Protection, p. 62.

20. *Proceedings*, Annual Meeting of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1922.

21. Now the National Conference of Social Work.

ment in Los Angeles, and spurred by her vital interest in organization, took the liberty and initiative of contacting the Secretary of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections. She requested a place on the program in which she and others might present and discuss the subject of women police and their relation to the total program. The police-women were permitted a place in the conference program and, while in attendance there, they organized on May 17, 1915, the National Association of Policewomen. The first president was Alice Stebbins Wells.

Prior to initiating this organization, she had sought, enlisted, and gained the support and approval of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, which provided assistance in formulating the constitution of the Association, which was patterned after their own organization. The objects of the Association were:

To act as a clearing house for compilation and dissemination of information on the work of women police, to aim for high standards of work and to promote the preventive and protective service by police departments. The suggestions made at the time of the first meeting were:

- (1) Work of women police officers should be largely preventive and protective.
- (2) Need of trained women is urgent.
- (3) Courses of instruction or Institutes of Social Sciences, in Schools of Special Work, with field work in the police departments are needed.
- (4) Proper legislation should be secured for the appointment of women police.
- (5) Women's divisions should be established within the police department and officered by a woman with rank not lower than a captain.
- (6) Careful records should be kept and monthly reports of work should be made to the department.
- (7) Simple civilian clothes of dark color, preferably navy blue, should be worn on ordinary duty; certain special duty might require uniform.
- (8) Exchange of women officers by municipalities would provide for enlarged experience and would make for standardization of work and methods.<sup>22</sup>

When the International Association of Chiefs of Police, at its convention in 1922, passed a resolution that policewomen were essential to a modern police department, the movement was given new impetus. For the next few years interest on the part of the public was great and expansion of the service moved quickly.

By 1922, women police had earned a significant place in the field of social work, as is evidenced by the subjects discussed by them in a conference held in Providence, Rhode Island, that year. Discussions covered the work of the women police in cooperation with probation departments and with institutions caring for delinquents; their methods of

22. *Proceedings, International Association of Policewomen, 1916.*

work and their contribution to general child welfare and protective and preventive social measures in relation to delinquency.<sup>23</sup>

The International Association of Policewomen, during the years of its activity, contributed much to the general well being of women police, because of its centralized interests, its constant search for better standards, and its desire to correlate the functions and duties within the scope of women police. The central office of the association was located in Washington, D. C. The office provided lecturers, literature of interest to policewomen and, in addition, contributed magazine articles interpreting the work of women police.

England recognized the value of the program when Lady Astor sent for Lieutenant Mina Van Winkle, then its president, to assist the English women interested in saving the principle of women officers in police departments, which was being threatened in the Geddes Report.<sup>24</sup>

Had the International Association of Policewomen continued to function it is possible that the continued alliance between the National Conference of Social Work and the Women Police would have resulted in a constructive cooperative program. After 1932, the Association was unable to continue. Commenting on this, Captain Rhoda Milliken writes:

The Association was unable to continue service after 1932 when the president who was also its largest financial sponsor died. There is a movement on foot now, to organize a new association with a field secretary who will be able to assist in developing training and recruiting all over the country as well as serve as consultant to individual departments. One of our greatest needs, we feel, is the further development of training and in direction of young people who are good material into the proper channels of training.<sup>25</sup>

In a communication from the new Chief of the Crime Prevention Division of the Seattle, Washington, Police Department, Captain Irene S. Durham writes,

While I was in Los Angeles I met Mrs. Imra Wann Buwalda.<sup>26</sup> She is quite interested in reviving the International Association of Policewomen and so is Captain Rhoda Milliken of Washington, D. C. I also had the pleasure of visiting with her, and she too has plans for the revival of this association.<sup>27</sup>

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23. Survey, July 1922.

24. *Report of the Committee on National Expenditures*, Feb. 12, 1922 (England).

25. Communication from Rhoda Milliken, Director, Women's Bureau, Washington, D. C., May 6, 1945.

26. Consultant on Policewomen, Federal Security Agency, Division of Social Protection.

27. Communication from Irene Durham, Chief Crime Prevention Division, Seattle, Washington, December 12, 1946.

In still another communication, Mrs. Imra Wann Buwalda writes from Pasadena, California:

It is a great pity that the International Association of Policewomen was a "depression casualty." It should be revived or a new one formed. I made some moves in that direction and hope that Rhoda Milliken and some of the rest of you will go on with it.<sup>28</sup>

The latest group action taken in regard to Policewomen, their services and their potentialities became effective on April 12, 1945, under the National Women's Advisory Committee on Social Protection of the Federal Security Agency. This group, consisting of thirty national voluntary organizations comprising twenty-three million women, passed the following resolution which is appreciative and hopeful at the same time:

Whereas, the qualified policewoman has for thirty-five years demonstrated her ability in helping to prevent the juvenile delinquent from becoming a commercial prostitute, as well as her unique service in removal or mitigation of outstanding environmental "moral hazards" leading to delinquency and crime, through discovery and identification in her case and patrol work and through the presentation and interpretation of them to the community for united action, and

Whereas, there are still rising rates of juvenile delinquency and of crimes committed by women, as well as an increase in rates of venereal disease infections, and a shift from the professional to the amateur "good-time" girl as the major source of such infections,

Therefore, Be It Resolved that the Women's Advisory Committee of the Social Protection Division hereby endorse the program of the Division to aid the local law enforcement administrators in problems relating to the recruitment, training, effective use, and public support of qualified policewomen.<sup>29</sup>

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28. Communication from Imra Wann Buwalda, Pasadena, California, December 5, 1946.

29. Meeting of Federal Security Agency, Division of Social Protection, May 23, 1945, Hotel Statler, Washington, D. C.

### *About the Author . . .*

LOIS LUNDELL HIGGINS, A.B., M.S.W., LL.D., Director of the ILLINOIS CRIME PREVENTION BUREAU, is internationally acclaimed for outstanding work in the field of crime prevention and delinquency control. Dr. Higgins has been widely credited with having alerted the nation to the mounting menace of drug addiction, with testimony given before the U. S. House of Representatives Ways and Means Sub-Committee, April 1951, and also before the Special Committee to Investigate Organized Crime in Interstate Commerce of the U. S. Senate, June 1951.

A tireless lecturer, she has appeared on numerous radio and television programs and has addressed professional and lay groups throughout this nation. She has conferred with Police Chiefs throughout Europe and the West Indies recently.

Her articles on narcotics, juvenile crime, pornographic materials, crime prevention and control, police problems, etc., have appeared in many magazines and journals. Winner of numerous academic, civic, professional awards, she is honored by a long list of "first woman to."

She is an active member of the International Assn. of Chiefs of Police; an associate member of the Illinois Assn. of Chiefs of Police (member of Legislative committee); honorary member of the Indiana, Arkansas, North and South Carolina Law Enforcement Officers Assn. of the Kentucky and Arkansas Fraternal Order of Police; Chairman of the Advisory Board of the National Police Officers Assn. of America; member of the American Assn. of University Women; Kappa Gamma Pi, National Honor Society; International Federation of Catholic Alumnae; American Congress of Corrections; and appears in American Catholic Who's Who.

She is the happily married wife of Frank J., a civil service employee, and proud mother of Frank Jr., student at Holy Cross College, Worcester, Mass., and Mary Lois, student at Nazareth Academy, La Grange Park, Illinois.

## INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF WOMEN POLICE

Elected May 22, 1956, San Diego, California on the  
date of the Formation of the International Association

<i>President</i> .....	Lois Lundell Higgins, Director Illinois Crime Prevention Bureau, Chicago, Illinois
<i>1st. Vice-Pres.</i> .....	Janet Hickey, Policewoman, San Jose, California Past Pres. California Women Peace Officers Assn.
<i>2nd Vice-Pres.</i> .....	Antoinette Reynolds, New Orleans, La. (Sgt. P.W.)
<i>3rd Vice-Pres.</i> .....	Florence Allen, Santa Monica, California (P.W.)
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<i>Treasurer</i> .....	Capt. Hazel Witt, Cleveland, Ohio (Capt. P.W.)
<i>Sgt.-at-Arms</i> .....	Sgt. Alma Taylor, Jacksonville, Fla. (Sgt. P.W.)
<i>Historian</i> .....	Annette Fosdick, Milford, Conn. (P.W.)
<i>Parliamentarian</i> .....	Sgt. Jeanne Coolidge, Rochester, N. Y. (Sgt. P.W.)
<i>Chaplain</i> .....	Capt. Elizabeth Brown, Portland, Oregon (Capt. P.W.)



# Mrs. Alice Stebbins Wells

President International Association of Policewomen

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

## PIONEER POLICEWOMAN

Lecturer on Police and  
Social Questions

### Topics

- The Need of Policewomen and Their Work
- Equal Suffrage from a Policewoman's Standpoint
- Vocational Training as a Crime Preventive
- The Teaching of Social Hygiene
- Side Lights on the Social Question
- Police Work as a Profession

I can say nothing but good of women's work in my department. Since the first policewoman was appointed in Los Angeles, I have urged constantly the appointment of additional women. We have three now and will have more.

Their work has passed the experimental stage and I would not, if I could, dispense with their services.—

Extract Speech by Chas. E. Sebastian, Chief of Police, Los Angeles, California, delivered before International Association of Chiefs of Police, Washington, D. C. Mr. Sebastian is now mayor of Los Angeles.

Mrs. Wells is no academic speaker, and speaks from a fund of knowledge acquired through actual experience, and she is so earnest and of such a sweet and attractive personality as she presents her message concerning several grave problems, and why there should be policewomen, that sooner or later the civilized world must answer. Just hear her once and the average person will be converted to the philosophy of her arguments.—*The Citizen (Ottawa, Canada)*, January 17, 1913.

REPRINTED BY THE NEWLY-FORMED  
INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF WOMEN POLICE  
JUNE 15, 1956



Dr. Lois Lundell Higgins, newly elected President of the INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF WOMEN POLICE, and Mrs. Alice Stebbins Wells, the world's "first regularly rated civil service policewoman" - founder and first President of the International Association of Policewomen (1915) meet at the 29th Annual Conference of California Peace Officers.

SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA  
May 22, 1956

## Publication No. 1

## International Association of Policewomen

## THE POLICEWOMEN MOVEMENT, PRESENT STATUS AND FUTURE NEEDS\*

*Mrs. Alice Stebbins Wells, Policewoman, Los Angeles, California;  
President, International Association of Policewomen 1916*

Last year it was my privilege to present a program of this Conference on the need for policewomen and a general outline of their work. This year I am to present briefly, The Policewomen Movement: Present Status and Future Needs. It is now conceded by nearly all reasonable people that there is a type of police work which cannot and should not be done by men, and there is undone in any city which has not policewomen a vast amount of preventive police work in the interest of women and children.

Let us understand from the onset the meaning of the word policewoman. It is a distinct, definite term, just as the term policeman is a definitely understood term; both are municipal police officers. Night watchmen and private guards may be called special officers, but they are not called policemen. Neither should every woman who happens to be given police power for any reason whatever be called a policewoman. Yet, because the idea still has active news value, that is what occurs. Quite a proportion of the time which I devote to the general work is spent in investigating and verifying, if possible, the reports of women appointed. Often these erroneous reports are accompanied by interesting amplifications which sound plausible. For instance: about three years ago there appeared a detailed statement regarding the appointment of thirty policewomen in Berlin, Germany, which went on to tell, with gentle humor, how secure the men felt, irrespective of their presence, because all the men had to do was to keep in front of the women instead of behind them in case the women attempted to shoot. But a letter from the head of the Royal Prussian Police System, Division 4, assures

\*No. 82. Reprints of Reports and Addresses of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1916 Meeting at Indianapolis.

5-18-56

To Dr. Lois Ruedell Higgins with grateful  
tribute to <sup>the</sup> successful work, good fellowship and  
high esteem she has brought to us as policewomen.  
Sincerely with all good wishes Alice Stebbins 4/22/50

me that Berlin has no policewomen, and goes into details as to the work of the two women social workers upon whom the Berlin police department depend for assistance.

Any survey of policewomen given by me either here or elsewhere refers, unless otherwise designated, to regular policewomen who are in the pay of the police department and give all their time to it.

During the now nearly six years since Los Angeles appointed the first regular policewoman, twenty states have come into line. As this is a total unexpected by many people, I will call the list of states rather than cities, as heretofore: Maryland, California, Colorado, Texas, Pennsylvania, Washington, New York, Arizona, Ohio, Wisconsin, Illinois, Alabama, Indiana, North Dakota, Massachusetts, Nebraska, Louisiana, New Jersey, Missouri, Minnesota, Montana.

Several states which would be in this column if hard work could have accomplished it, were ruled out because the lack of suffrage for women was construed as prohibiting the giving of police power to women. But the lack of the vote or other prohibitive clauses did not deter in all states, for during these years seven states have passed special legislation to make possible the appointment of policewomen.

This ought to convince the most skeptical that policewomen have come and have come to stay. The exact scope and nature of their work is yet to be fully determined, partly because in any line of work the possibilities and limitations can only be arrived at through a long process of experience over wide and varied fields; and because police work itself is facing a through-going change in its spirit and application, and the work of women in the department is most closely related to the preventive side of police work, where the greatest development will take place.

The work of policewomen began conservatively. It began with woman's desire to care for the children and the young people amid modern conditions, just as she has always done for them since the world began. Thus policewomen began by concerning themselves with the places of amusements where the young gather—the dance halls, the skating rinks, the picture shows, the parks and the streets—through the curfew and other minor laws, and will continue to do so. Also from the beginning women have come to them for help. The power of the policewomen to counsel and protect fills a real need in the lives of many troubled women.

As appreciation for the work grows, so that the number of women in each city is increased, it will be found that women can be used helpfully in many additional ways. I will not attempt to enumerate these, but will give one striking instance among the

many which will illustrate an intolerable condition, yet one unthought of by the public, and to be remedied only by the use of policewomen.

I refer to the occasions when men officers, especially detectives and plain clothes men, must, in their round of duty, go to the homes of women and compel them to accompany them at once to the station. Sometimes this may be proper; but often it may occur at any hour of the day or night, when they would find women totally unprepared for men visitors. Yet the officers' duty is such that no matter what state of dress or undress the woman may be in, they must keep her under personal observation. If they trusted her to prepare for the street she might succeed in making her escape; she might attempt self-destruction; she might destroy evidence; she might signal confederates, or do any one of a dozen things to defeat the law. The women have sometimes escaped when officers have been considerate enough to withdraw. The loss of a prisoner means a serious neglect of duty and the officer cannot take the chance.

To be sure, many women who have committed minor offenses through unfortunate association and have come under the ban, would not resort to desperate means. But the officer cannot safely discriminate, and in modern life such experience might come to almost any one.

This experience is unjust and unnecessary humiliation for both the officers and the women. It is a demoralizing custom, shocking to those who are modest and self-respecting, and one which pushes still lower those who are inclined that way. It shows at a glance the unreasonable position in which the officers are placed. This is a net loss to society which can be remedied only by supplying enough women police in every department to help to deal with all situations, and by having it just as clearly understood, as it now is, that men shall not search women's apartments alone or question young girls about moral indiscretions.

To summarize, police work will be viewed from many new angles when men and women together work out ways through which the police department will take in the community its rightful place.

As to the second half of my subject, "Its Future Needs," I can express the greatest of these in four words: women trained for work. The time has passed in which any large and important work can be carried on satisfactorily unless a large proportion of those upon whom it must depend have been especially selected and fitted for the work.

When we realize that police work is unlike other work previously done by women, we at once realize that there is no ready-made body from which to draw. When we see that every city and town in the world large enough to have an organized

police department should include women, even the blind can see how enormous is the task of finding and equipping women to fill the rapidly growing demand, if the work is to be done upon a high plane of sympathy and of constructive service.

Any system of training schools built up to equip women for police work must be extremely practical, especially in the initial stage. I want to emphasize this because it is a factor not realized by the laity, that there is no set of workers in any important branch of public or private service which esteems book learning so little as a preparation for its work as do police officers. You can understand somewhat their point of view when you remember that through all the long past they have had no other way to learn except by the slow process of contact, by practical experience every step of the way from the first day on the beat to the highest position of trust within the department.

Any policewoman who makes good must have the confidence and co-operation of the men in the department. Without this her work would be superficial and hampered. Therefore, from this standpoint as well as from every other, she should be able to get with her scholarship practical experience. This is true especially if she is to apply for work outside her own city.

Municipalities at present adjust themselves to the lack of training by placing women in the department under civil service, to learn their work after appointment, just as men have always done. Small cities have not even this advantage, as they have neither a wide range of field work, nor always suitable women as candidates. But at its best this method is archaic. Police work is quite as honorable inherently as is law or medicine. But it stands today, in point of training facilities, where they stood a century ago. Until very recently our universities and other educational institutions were strangely oblivious to the fact that they could serve the public interests by helping train policemen, just as they are equipping doctors, lawyers, ministers and civil engineers. The next twenty-five years will see as great a change in police work as the past century has brought to the professions named.

The beginning is evident in the very excellent New York and Chicago police schools; the growing desire of universities to meet this need, as evidenced in the offers of Northwestern University and of Minnesota State University, and the classes already carried on by the University of California, and also the interest of the schools of civics and philanthropy, whose purpose it is to better equip all civic and social workers. But the policewomen represent an acute and imperative need. The call for their service is widespread and they are not hampered by inertia and the tradition which impedes men's advancement. Beginning later in police history, women start at an advantage.

I have calls from small cities saying, "If we can get the appropriation for policewomen, can you find us a trained woman for the place?" I have letters from young women asking for places, but I cannot recommend one, except in rare occasions when an experienced policewoman, for any reason, wishes to make a change. No matter how well fitted temperamentally or in general experience an applicant may be, cities do not wish to hire her, knowing she must acquire all her training at their expense after arrival.

The larger centers, such as Los Angeles, Seattle, Minneapolis, Chicago, Baltimore and other cities which now have well established departments of policewomen, must be willing to act as training centers for those both within and without the city who wish to fit themselves for this work. Provision should also be made in such training courses for sociological students, volunteer workers and others who wish to seriously study crime problems. Women who complete the course will constitute an eligible list for the city or for other municipalities.

The schools of civics and philanthropy have a work to do here as elsewhere. There is a place for those, whether men or women, who will study police work in all its social relations. They are needed in the constructive task of readjusting police work to the changing order. But comparatively few can take complete courses in schools of civics and philanthropy, and not all who would make excellent police officers could meet the advanced educational requirements for entrance as regular students. Under the present circumstances it is as impracticable to look to graduates from schools of civics and other training courses to supply the need for policewomen, as it would be for the public school system to try to recruit its entire teaching force from post-graduates of colleges and universities.

Let me repeat that the main dependence must be placed upon the practical training which can be given in the departments of policewomen now existing in numerous cities. Every well-trained policewoman should have some studies in sociology as part of her training. Fortunately every city progressive enough to have policewomen and to train them has also some educational institution which can or will direct their studies.

One final suggestion which I feel to be very pertinent to a plan for training is that of correspondent courses. Police work is as nearly reducible to an exact science as are a dozen other kinds of important work, including the professions earlier named. Many worth-while people would undertake the work if they could continue their regular occupations while acquiring all but the actual field service. Women already started who are trying to work out their problems alone in isolated fields need help. I know

such a correspondence course would be in demand, for I already have requests for help of that kind.

The important question remaining is, through what medium can this work of correlation be accomplished? Various agencies will contribute to it. The International Association of Policewomen came into existence for the exact purpose of helping to establish and maintain a high standard both of work and of workers, and to advance as members of the police department its general service to the community. It was organized at a conference of policewomen, held one year ago, during the Baltimore session of the National Conference of Charities and Correction and has made a commendable growth during the year, despite the very wide area over which policewomen are scattered. In connection with this present session of the National Conference our International Association of Policewomen had just concluded its second annual conference, which was a marked success. Policewomen from 14 states assembled—9 of them from cities which thought the conference important enough to send them as delegates representing the city, all expenses paid. Our total membership represents 22 states and Canada. For an organization a few days less than one year old we feel it to be a showing of which we may well be proud. During the coming year we will endeavor to develop training facilities, help find and place women, furnish accredited information, and in other ways help the work of policewomen achieve a worthy place among the many forces working for the common good.

International Association of Women Police  
is organized

On May 22, 1956 at San Diego, California, during the Annual Conference of California Peace Officers, a new association came into existence.

Policewoman Janet Hickey, San Jose, California, Extension Chairman of the Women Peace Officers Association of California had mailed 275 letters and questionnaires to chiefs and sheriffs throughout the United States, enlisting their interest and approval for their policewomen to attend the organization meeting. The response was gratifying, with 235 women returning applications. The following states responded:

Arizona, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Nevada, New Hampshire, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Washington, Washington, D. C., and Hawaii. Letters from several foreign countries have been received indicating interest.

After the women present had indicated their desires to organize, a nominating committee was appointed as follows:

Chairman

Policewoman Dolores Sutter  
Police Department  
Gilroy, California

Policewoman Margaret Jenne  
Police Department  
Gilroy, California

Policewoman Florence Allen  
Police Department  
Santa Monica, California

Policewoman Vaughn Morrissy  
Crime Prevention Bureau  
160 North La Salle Street  
Chicago 1, Illinois

Policewoman Janet Hickey  
Police Department  
San Jose, California

Policewoman Adelaide Noffke  
Police Department  
Minneapolis, Minnesota

The Chairman of the Nominating Committee presented a slate of officers. They were elected unanimously, as follows:

## PRESIDENT...

Lois Lundell Higgins, A.B., M.S.W., LL.D.  
Director, Crime Prevention Bureau of Illinois  
160 North La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois

## 1st Vice President...

Policewoman Janet Hickey  
San Jose Police Department, California

## 2nd Vice President...

Sergeant Antoinette Reynolds  
New Orleans Police Department, Louisiana

## 3rd Vice President...

Policewoman Florence E. Allen  
Santa Monica Police Department, California

## SECRETARY...

Policewoman Agnes Callaghan  
Alexandria Police Department, Minnesota

## TREASURER...

Captain Hazel Witt  
Cleveland Police Department, Ohio

## SERGEANT-at-ARMS...

Sergeant Alma Taylor  
Jacksonville Police Department, Florida

## HISTORIAN...

Policewoman Annette Fosdick  
Milford Police Department, Connecticut

## PARLIAMENTARIAN...

Sergeant Jeanne Coolidge  
Rochester Police Department, New York

## CHAPLAIN...

Captain Elizabeth Brown  
Portland Police Department, Oregon

Janet Hickey called upon Alice Stebbins Wells, first "regularly rated civil service policewoman" (L. A. 1910) in the world, to address the group. Mrs. Wells appealed for the reactivation of the International Association of Policewomen which she founded in 1915 and which existed until 1932. It gave great impetus to the policewomen's movement.

When Dr. Lois Higgins, the newly elected President took the chair, she too expressed the hope that policewomen of other countries might share the opportunity of an organization which has among its objectives "to exchange ideas and promote study so that women may serve their departments and their communities more effectively and with high professional standards."

Following the discussion, it was duly moved and seconded that the organization become International and that the new officers take whatever steps were necessary to continue the organization, development and extension of the association.

It is hoped that the association will extend to women in law enforcement, through bulletins and other means, educational and training material to guide them in their daily work. With the exchange of ideas throughout the country, higher professional standards and better understanding should develop.

FORTY-SIX YEARS LATER

Foreword - Lois Lundell Higgins, A.B., M.S.W., LL.D.  
 President  
 International Association of Women Police  
 Director  
 Illinois Crime Prevention Bureau  
 160 North La Salle Street  
 Chicago 1, Illinois

It is a privilege to reprint, with permission, this address of ALICE STEBBINS WELLS, first policewoman, civil service status, in the WORLD. Her appointment, Los Angeles, California, 1910, brought about by her own efforts awakened not only national, but international comment. Her lectures in those early years gave great impetus to the policewomen movement. Her plea for a better understanding of the police departments by the public - and her arraignment of the social evils in the light of practical experience, were a distinct gain to the advancing forces of moral order.

Today, FORTY-SIX YEARS after Mrs. Wells became the world's first policewoman, we can read the following lecture with mingled feelings. It is obvious that our present day work presents many of the problems to which Mrs. Wells addressed herself in 1916.

This then, Alice Stebbins Wells, is a tribute to you. We appreciate you as the first policewoman - as the founder and first president of the International Association of Policewomen, in existence from 1915 to 1932, which accomplished so much to "fix standards, to secure proper training, to inspire appointment of qualified women, to establish Women's Bureaus in Departments, to work for the general improvement of the service and to promote such service internationally."

May you live long and share with us the wisdom, counsel and advice so necessary to us and to the re-activated International Association of Women Police. As the FIRST policewoman you were and still are a shining example of what every policewoman should strive to become!

*Lois Lundell Higgins*  
*August 4, 1956*

# WOMEN POLICE SERVICE

LOIS HIGGINS



*Reprinted from the*

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Lois Lundell Higgins, A. B., M. S. W., LL. D.

DIRECTOR

Illinois Crime Prevention Bureau

CRIME PREVENTION CO-ORDINATOR

Chicago Municipal Court

PRESIDENT

International Association of Women Police

## WOMEN POLICE SERVICE

Lois Higgins

Lois Higgins, M.S.W., LL.D., who is the assistant director of the newly organized Chicago Crime Prevention Bureau, has been a policewoman in the City of Chicago since 1937 and is an Instructor, Institute of Social Administration, Loyola University, Chicago. In the November-December, 1948, issue of this Journal appeared an article by J. R. Leevy "The Role of the Police Matron." Mrs. Higgins and others have felt that his article, which did not fully define the term "police matron," may have lead readers to the impression that policewomen and police matrons performed identical duties. In her present article the function of these two groups are differentiated and attention is given to the broader aspects of a policewoman's work.—EDITOR.

Matrons were first appointed in the United States in New York City in 1845. Since that time, the plan of appointing women to be responsible for women who are held in custody by public departments has become an accepted plan of procedure. The work of matrons, as distinguished from that of policewomen, centers around the direct supervision of women held in custody. It includes such duties as accompanying the woman when it is necessary for her to leave the detention quarters during the period of detention; to keep the detention quarters clean and orderly; to minister to the physical well-being of the woman in custody; to furnish chaperonage in court. This is a necessary and important part of the work of the police department, but is quite distinct from the work of the policewomen which includes active law enforcement duties, investigative or patrol work prior to arrests, and preparation of cases for court. Duties of policewomen also include the investigation of many non-court cases in which proper referral to the agency best suited to assist the individual involved is of primary importance. This pre-supposes a knowledge of these agencies in the community as well as their policies of intake.

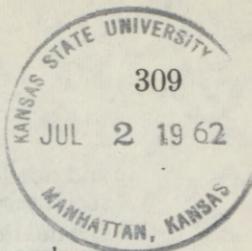
A glance at the qualifications for women police set up by the police chiefs themselves will show the high standard that is sought for women police. As far back as 1916 the International Association of Policewomen recognized the need for, and advocated certain minimum standards for policewomen. At the Twenty-Ninth Convention of the Chiefs of Police in San Francisco in 1922, these early educational requirements were further defined and standardized. They were unanimously adopted as a basis for the appointment of women police officers. These standards, as they were set up and approved by both the International Association of Policewomen and the International Association of Chiefs of Police, included:

1. Graduation from a four-year course in a standard high school or the completion of at least fourteen college entrance units of study

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Now Director

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- and not less than two years' experience, retent and responsible in social service or educational work ;
2. Graduation from a recognized school for trained nurses requiring a residence of at least two years; or
  3. Completion of at least seven college entrance units of study or two years in a standard high school and not less than two years of responsible commercial work involving public contacts and responsibilities, tending to qualify the applicant to perform the duties or possessing the equivalent of a college education through experience such as secretarial work.<sup>1</sup>

Matron duty has been imposed on some women police from time to time by their superior officers, but the trend is away from this practice since the recognition of a more specialized type of service from a policewoman is indicated. The latest publication of the National Advisory Police Committee on Social Protection of the Federal Security Agency contains a statement relative to the functions and duties of the two groups: "Matrons and women employed as police stenographers, clerks, and telephone operators are not generally included in the classification of policewomen."<sup>2</sup> This statement places police matrons in a category occupied by women untrained for police work as such, although employed in the same department.

The exact expression of the duties of policewomen, in forms other than patrolling, has always been somewhat vague and undefined. As a result of this lack of definition, the office of the women police officers has been the outlet for an assortment of miscellaneous duties. In small communities where the policewoman is the only public servant, she must make her own adjustment to the total program of the department and develop her activities to meet the needs and emergencies of her own locality, regardless of any possible definition of functions and duties.

Out of this confusion of definition one point is clear, that is, a policewoman is an official of the police department. As such, she is responsible for the prevention and detection of crime and for the enforcement of the law. She is expected to conform to the rules and regulations of the department, and she also shares in the salary, powers, and privileges of the department. It is a matter of opinion as to the type of organization which has best recognized and made use of policewomen. Some authorities consider that the best results have been obtained when the women in the department are organized in a single unit known as the Woman's Bureau, or Women's Division, under the direction of a woman of rank, who is responsible to the Chief of Police. These authorities have

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1. Proceedings of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1922.  
2. Techniques of Law Enforcement in the Use of Policewomen, p. 2.

offered two principal reasons for their opinions: (1) The plan offers the women their own headquarters with facilities for proper detention, and (2) it prevents their being parceled out among the various districts or precincts, where they are sometimes used as clerks, switchboard operators, or matrons. It insures their use in a comprehensive, constructive program directed toward the prevention of crime and toward the protection of women and children. These functions can best be emphasized when the organization is in one unit. In 1943, according to the information received in connection with a study by this writer, there were eight such bureaus in the various cities covered.<sup>3</sup>

Other authorities, while not in active opposition to the establishment of Women's Bureaus in a department, feel that women work best under a Crime Prevention Division, or an already existing Division of the Department, headed by a male Captain or Lieutenant, who is responsible directly to the Chief of Police.

In addition to these differences of opinion relative to the organization of policewomen within the police department, there are further differences relative to whether or not the work of the policewoman is essentially a form of social case work.

The White House Conference on Child Health and Protection offers a statement to the effect that "the Police should not undertake the intensive and continuous direction of children's cases." If this statement is construed as referring to the officer, whether man or woman, who does not have professional training in social work, it serves to confirm the findings of the present study. However, the idea of the woman police officer was conceived in a spirit, and with a purpose, very different from the spirit and purpose that governed the regular police force. Responsibility for the legal aspects of cases that require authoritative handling comes, automatically, within the jurisdiction of the police. It must be kept in mind, however, that the treatment of these cases requires understanding and skill; that the stress and strain attendant in every contact with the law, or on an actual arrest, is likely to form an indelible impression on the immature mind of a child. It is, therefore, extremely important to have these cases handled by women who understand the traumatic character of the experience and who appreciate the effect that it can have on the life of a child.

The point of view and method of professional case work then become the tools that can be of greatest service to the police officer, whether man

3. Berkeley, California; Baltimore, Maryland; Detroit, Michigan; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Madison, Wisconsin; Seattle, Washington; Metropolitan Department, Washington, D. C.

or woman. This is true because, as has been previously stated, at no time is the child more in need of careful study and sympathetic understanding than during his first conflict with the law. The delinquent, using the term in its legal sense, may be no different inherently from many young people his age. He should not be considered different until such a difference is proven. While this difference is being proven or denied, there may be need for some modification of legal procedures and, at the same time, need for the maintenance of necessary disciplinary measures. It is at this point that the policewoman with training in social work should be able to lessen the trauma of the experience and, at the same time, protect the child from further delinquencies.

The following statement, taken from a Lecture given to the members of the Police Department at Washington, D. C., has direct bearing on this phase of the problem.

The police have been largely neglected in attempts to modify legal procedure in children's cases and to build up specialized agencies for dealing with juveniles. Only in some communities do the police deal with children by other than the conventional methods used in dealing with adults.

Proposals to improve police administration include organization which will provide technical direction, establishment of training schools, and the development of special department for dealing with juvenile problems or for crime prevention. The instruction of all police officers should include information necessary to enable them to deal intelligently with ordinary problems of child welfare with which they come in contact and to recognize the more serious problems requiring special attention. However, the preventive work of police departments is a growing activity. The effectiveness of cooperation of the police service with agencies such as Boy's and Girl's Clubs.

Such experience shows that it is important for each police department to establish and maintain a department or detail to specialize in work with children. This should be an independent detail and should include both men and women.

A socialized police force will be one of the greatest helps in community protection of children. Not only will a policeman of the right sort be a neighborhood friend who can talk to children in their own language and inspire respect for law and authority, but by working in cooperation with social agencies he can do much to safeguard the interests of children. Qualified policewomen whose duties include assistance in the enforcement of laws for child protection should be on the staff of every police department.<sup>4</sup>

These discussions, including the statement from the White House Conference group, indicate that, while case work as a specialized division of social work is not within the province of the policewoman, she must nevertheless be conscious of the fact that she is dealing with human beings and with the various factors in society which under certain con-

4. Facts About Juvenile Delinquency, Leonard M. Dub, M.D. (The Washington Police Academy), p. 7.

ditions hinder their adaption and adjustment to society and to its laws. From this standpoint, her work has at least one characteristic that is common to all social work; it inquires into causes. In carrying on the investigation and attempting the remedy, the policewoman can analyze the individual's situation and attempt to arrive at some conclusion regarding causal factors. She may go still further and take on the responsibility for referring the individual to the social agency that is equipped to offer the service needed. Persons in police work sometimes fail to see the possibility for treatment such as this because the problem of law enforcement is, for them, the dominant one. It becomes easy to negate the reaction such an experience with the law might be causing the individual involved.

When this happens, that is when the person in authority loses sight of human reactions to punishment, he may also lose sight of the fact that, while punishment may force a person to conform, or may even lead him to want to conform, it cannot make him capable of conforming. The capacity to conform may be entirely lacking in some persons. When this is true, punishment will have no appreciable effect on the person concerned. In other persons, the capacity may be there but it has, perhaps, never been developed. If this is true, treatment has to follow the line of education rather than punishment, and the police officer who is successful, on a constructive level, is the one who uses a social rather than a legal approach to the individual who needs his help.

Actually there should be no conflict between police work and social work. The apparent dilemma arises from the fact that the two areas of endeavor are similar in aim and purpose but different in philosophy and method. The needs of the human beings who come into contact with the workers in each field are similar. The ultimate aim of the workers is similar, that is, the rehabilitation of a human being. The difficulty of fusion arises from the fact that the approach and method must of necessity be different. One approach is designed according to law, and the rules and regulations of legal procedure must be followed. A certain amount of elasticity characterizes the other, because the individual is the all-important focus, and the case worker is to a certain extent autonomous in handling a given situation. However, in spite of the restrictions within which police work must be carried on, there is a growing realization of late that crime prevention work is, in a certain measure, social work, and that its function must extend to meeting problems which cannot be handled merely by an "arrest." In meeting these

problems, a sympathetic approach is required. This approach combines understanding with whatever punitive measures may be necessary and attempts to help the individual to understand and conform to the laws that carry sanctions. This kind of an approach can be combined with the essentials of police science and can be adapted to the role that the police officer must play in society.

The possibilities for the adaptation of this approach to police work are perhaps most obvious in the area of juvenile delinquency and in cases where adults contribute to the delinquency of a minor. Such an approach is very often essential to the successful handling of a situation in which a father is found guilty of crime and where mother and children are deserted during his absence. These situations cannot be handled as mere "cases" to be solved through the possible arrest of the guilty party. They are problems which involve community as well as police responsibility. This means that they must be handled ultimately through an attempt to deal, not just with the person who is involved, but with the community in which that person lives. At this point, police work becomes social work, and the point of view of social work needs to be merged with the point of view of police work.

Crime prevention work builds up a special technique, especially for the proper handling of children's cases. There are two distinct sets of factors which must be considered in the work of crime prevention and, more specifically, in work with juveniles. There are first the conditions that operate within the individual from the outside. Removing temptations and situation provocative of crime, and guarding young people against criminal tendencies and influence are objective; emotional drives and desires and deprivations and hostilities are subjective. If policewomen are to take into consideration these internal and external factors, they must adopt the individualized approach to the offender and must attempt to reconcile that approach to the authoritative approach which is theirs by virtue of the power given to officers of the law. The reconciliation is sometimes difficult because of the fact that, unlike the social worker in the non-authoritative setting, the policewoman acts under legal rather than moral obligation. The caseworker *may* act; the policewoman *must* act. This obligation to act according to prescribed procedures when, from a humanitarian standpoint, the action seems severe or perhaps unwise, is one of the major difficulties that the policewoman has to face. She knows that this action is open to misunderstanding by those who witness it, and for that reason, constant interpretation of the total program is necessary.

## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

LOIS LUNDELL HIGGINS, A. B., M. S. W., LL. D. Director of the ILLINOIS CRIME PREVENTION BUREAU, 160 North La Salle Street, Chicago 1, Illinois.

She is the happily married wife of Frank J., a civil service employee, and proud mother of Frank Jr., student at Holy Cross College, Worcester, Mass. and the University of Vienna, North Austria, and Mary Lois, student at Nazareth Academy, La Grange Park, Illinois.

Internationally acclaimed for outstanding work in the field of Crime Prevention and Delinquency Control, Dr. Higgins has been widely credited with having alerted the nation to the mounting menace of drug addiction, with testimony given before the U. S. House of Representatives Ways and Means Sub-Committee, April 1951, and also before the Special Committee to Investigate Organized Crime in Interstate Commerce of the U. S. Senate, June 1951.

She served as assistant director at the inception of the Bureau in 1949, and became director in March of 1951 (simultaneously serving as Crime Prevention Coordinator for the Municipal Court, a post to which she was appointed in 1950.)

A graduate cum laude from Mount Mary College, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, she serves on the College Board of Governors. She is an active member of the International Assn. of Chiefs of Police; the only woman member of the Illinois Assn. of Chiefs of Police (member of Legislative Committee, and chairman of its Committee on Crime Prevention and Youth Problems); honorary member of the Indiana, Arkansas, North and South Carolina Law Enforcement Officers Assn. of the Kentucky and Arkansas Fraternal Order of Police; Chairman of the Advisory Board of the National Police Officers Assn. of America; member of the American Assn. of University Women; Kappa Gamma Pi. National Honor Society; International Federation of Catholic Alumnae; American Congress of Corrections; member Board of Directors, Federation for Crime Prevention and Delinquency Control; appears in American Catholic Who's Who. She is an honorary member "Our Lady of the Bell", Denver, Colorado. Dr. Higgins organized the Chicago Policewomen's Association and served as its first President at the same time serving on the Executive Board of the Illinois State Policewomen's Association. She is a member of the Chicago Youth Commission by appointment of His Honor, the Mayor of Chicago, and a member of the Mayor's Advisory Committee on Juvenile Delinquency.

A tireless lecturer, she has appeared on numerous radio and television programs and has addressed professional and lay groups throughout this nation. She has conferred with Police Chiefs in Europe and the West Indies.

She is a frequent lecturer at In-Service Training Schools; Institutes for Peace Officers and has participated in Workshops and Seminars for practitioners in the field of law enforcement, crime prevention and delinquency control. The first woman to be admitted to the Southern Police Institute, University of Louisville, she returned to become its first woman lecturer upon invitation of Director David A. McCandless. First woman to receive a diploma from Western Reserve University **SCIENCE IN LAW ENFORCEMENT Institute**, she also holds a certificate from New York University Institute on **YOUTH AND CRIME**.

Her articles on Narcotics, Juvenile Crime, pornographic materials, Crime Prevention and Control, Police Problems, have appeared in many magazines and journals. Winner of numerous academic, civic, professional awards, she is honored by a long list of "first woman to."

Among the awards she has received are the following: Honorary Degree, Doctor of Laws, Mount Mary College, Milwaukee, Wisconsin (1949); Sheriff's Award for Civic Accomplishment (December 1951); "Chicagoland's Woman of Distinction for 1952" (named by the Women's Advertising Club of Chicago); Metropolitan Amateur Athletic Association Award (May 1953); Crime Prevention Council Citation (March 1953) for her efforts and accomplishments in the field of crime prevention and delinquency control; Crime Prevention Star; (1956); National Police Officers Association Gold Star (March 1951). Past Commanders Club of the American Legion - American Boys Camp Organization Award, (May 1956).

A Testimonial of Appreciation from the Illinois Assn. of CHIEFS of Police for work on its Legislative Committee (assisting in successful passage of law creating the first Police Academy for Illinois in cooperation with University of Illinois).

U. S. Congressional Record Citation (April 7, 1954) for her work in the battle against narcotics on a city, state and national level.

On the occasion of a recent appearance in Houston, Texas, the Governor forwarded a citation naming her an honorary Texan, while the Chamber of Commerce gave her a scroll naming her an honorary Houstonian. Harris County Sheriff C. V. Buster Kern, presented her with a plaque in recognition of her appointment as a Deputy Sheriff of Harris County.

**INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF WOMEN POLICE**  
**Elected May 22, 1956, San Diego, California on the**  
**date of the Formation of the International Association**

- President* . . . . .Lois Lundell Higgins, Director  
 Illinois Crime Prevention Bureau, Chicago, Illinois
- 1st. Vice-Pres.* . . . .Janet Hickey, Policewoman, San Jose, California  
 Past Pres. California Women Peace Officers Assn.
- 2nd Vice-Pres.* . . . .Antoinette Reynolds, New Orleans, La. (Sgt. P.W.)
- 3rd Vice-Pres.* . . . .Florence Allen, Santa Monica, California (P.W.)
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- Treasurer* . . . . .Capt. Hazel Witt, Cleveland, Ohio (Capt. P.W.)
- Sgt.-at-Arms* . . . .Sgt. Alma Taylor, Jacksonville, Fla. (Sgt. P.W.)
- Historian* . . . . .Annette Fosdick, Milford, Conn. (P.W.)
- Parliamentarian* .Sgt. Jeanne Coolidge, Rochester, N. Y. (Sgt. P.W.)
- Chaplain* . . . . .Capt. Elizabeth Brown, Portland, Oregon (Capt. P.W.)

## THE FEMININE ARM OF THE LAW—WOMEN IN CRIME

(Speech by Dr. Lois Lundell Higgins, president of International Association of Women Police, Sept. 30, 1958)

The old saying, "Never underestimate the power of a woman," is particularly apropos, especially when one speaks of the "feminine arm of the law."

The feminine arm of the law—the hand that rocks the cradle, and sometimes shoots a wicked .38—is reaching out to do what it can for a world in trouble. And it has learned to grasp, and to hold, many things.

Oh, there is no evidence, at this time, that the ladies of the law are about to take over police departments. They probably never will. But they will become a more and more vital part of every department. Today they represent only about 1 percent of the total personnel; and it is true that they do not spend all their time chasing criminals, shooting it out with gunmen, or throwing attackers over their heads in the best judo fashion. Neither, as a rule, do they take on traffic duty full time—although some ride motorcycles and collect coins from the traffic meters. (These are sometimes known by the curious name of Meter Maids.) Still, they are busy all the time, and they are truly policewomen.

The first officer of the law, you know, was not a man. According to some of our best teachers the first officer was an angel with a fiery sword, who escorted our first parents, Adam and Eve, out of the garden of Eden. There are other angels, however, guardian angels, for instance. And, if any one is going to compare women, especially policewomen, to any kind of angels, let it be guardian angels.

Guardian angels, we are told, protect children from various dangers, watch over their welfare, and do all they can to prevent young men and women from becoming criminals.

There is something of the guardian angel in every policewoman. But that is not all she is made of. One of the first policewomen in history was a country girl who roused a nation and led a great army to a tremendous victory—Joan of Arc. A woman with ideals, and a purpose, and a great sense of duty, is not easily stopped. She can be a guardian angel. She can also be like the angel with the fiery sword—if she has to.

As president of the International Association of Women Police, I am happy and proud to greet you on the occasion of this, our first biennial meeting, held on the premises of this great University of Purdue, at Lafayette, Ind. It is a joy to renew acquaintance with some of you and look forward eagerly to meeting those of you whom I have not yet been privileged to meet.

You do not look like the concept most people have of policewomen. You are nattily dressed. You are wearing makeup, and you use the subtlest of perfumes. You also wear the newest style hats. You are not the hard-faced, primly costumed characters drawn by the cartoonists. Just for one session we may see you step forth in a police uniform, if you possess one (which many of you do not, working all of the time in "soft clothes.") You are smart, attractive, well-groomed, elegant, and—best of all—completely feminine.

And there actually is something of the look of angels about you.

## HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT

Though still a minority in law enforcement, policewomen have made vast strides since 1910 when Alice Stebbins Wells of Los Angeles, Calif., became the world's first "regularly rated" civil service policewoman. It was not easy for Alice Wells. Armed with 100 signatures of influential citizens, she visited the mayor and commissioner of police, asking for the privilege of serving the community as a police officer. She presented her case well and was appointed. The press enjoyed the innovation. Listen to their reaction.

"The appointment of Mrs. Wells attracted wide newspaper comment because of the fact that she was an educated woman, a social worker, a theologian and had deliberately sought and secured the opportunity to work in a police department. Many journalists presented the situation in half comic manner and pictured the woman police officer in caricature as a bony, muscular, masculine person, grasping a revolver, dressed in anything but feminine apparel, hair drawn tightly into a hard little knot at the back of the head, huge unbecoming spectacles, small, stiff, round disfiguring hat, the whole presenting the idea in a most repellent conception and unlovely guise. This, however, was not universally held and many groups of earnest women, searching for a solution of

social problems greeted the idea of women police with favor and Mrs. Wells was soon overwhelmed with requests for lectures and advice.

During the next few years she appeared in 73 cities in the United States and Canada and by 1915 at least 16 cities had appointed women to their police force. Stimulated by and parallel with, the spread of the policewomen's movement came the recognition of crime prevention as a major police function. The advent of women into the departments brought into existence the crime prevention bureaus and juvenile bureau. Women brought a social viewpoint to police work. Where this viewpoint functions properly through the various prescribed bureaus, units or divisions it acts as a socializing agency—not a social service agency—to the entire police force, resulting in a more intelligent attitude on the part of police toward men, women, and children.

By 1929 there were some 600 policewomen in the United States—still such a small number that they were a rarity. But by 1940 the picture had changed and the census that year listed 1,713 women employed in police and detective work. This included all women in private detective service as well as those on public departments.

#### TODAY—UNITED STATES

Today there are more than 2,500 policewomen serving in at least 150 cities in the United States. In addition, there are more than 2,000 women serving as deputy sheriffs and in the Federal Departments with police functions, such as the Bureau of Customs and the Bureau of Immigration. Though women are also engaged in the custodial, clerical, and administration phases of police service, who are not "police officers" in any sense, the number of policewomen amount to about 1 percent of the total police profession. This number will grow greatly in the future, due to success of professional policewomen and because of the essential character of the duties they perform.

#### TODAY—OUTSIDE UNITED STATES

In my studies and visits abroad I learned of at least 3,000 policewomen outside of the United States. This number also will increase rapidly. One of the reasons for this anticipated increase is the training program of the International Association of Chiefs of Police so ably directed by Col. Russel Snook which includes lectures on police work for women. (It was a pleasure for me to address groups here at Purdue University on two occasions, including 25 police officials representing 13 countries and 4 continents.) Recently, too, high ranking foreign police officials have visited me and were deeply impressed with our service.

It has been my privilege while appearing in over 100 cities and 28 States, in the United States, as well as in extensive foreign travel (and a recent around-the-world tour) to interview Governors, mayors, police administrators—and hundreds of men in the rank. I queried them about the service of policewomen. Here is the general reaction:

The policewoman is an accepted, recognized and honored member of the great and new police profession all over the world. Competent, well-groomed, efficient, attractive, she is highly respected by citizens and police administrators alike. Her work is not a 40-hour week that begins regularly and ends with a large paycheck. It calls for selfless, educated women who can and do minister to the world's socially ill. It is not easy nor is it glamorous. It is rugged work that frequently requires high physical, mental, and emotional qualities. Routine work is not exciting, and success by its very nature is not too thrilling.

There is occasionally the spectacular news item describing a sensational arrest or depicting a policewoman shooting it out with a criminal, flinging an adversary to the ground in the best judo fashion, or noting her work in widely publicized sex or murder cases. But usually the policewoman is concerned with the everyday problems of normal families and requires much more than physical prowess, efficiency on the target range, or the black belt (mark of high achievement) gained as jiu jitsu champion. These are certainly important professional skills but it is my personal conviction that the gun or jiu jitsu skill is not her most important protection, but that her femininity is her most powerful and most useful weapon. Her conduct and behavior must be exemplary. Like Caesar's wife, she must be above reproach.

In large cities the functions of the policewoman are broad in scope, including not only law enforcement, but crime prevention and the protection of youth. In smaller communities, the policewoman may be called upon to serve in many

capacities—counselor, guide, social service, recreation adviser, custodian of women and children for the police and numerous others, it can be said that the work falls into the following: Intake; law enforcement; investigation of particular cases or complaints; patrol.

#### INTAKE

Usually the intake desk in large cities is handled by a sergeant and a policewoman. The responsibility of these officers is to screen complaints that reach the desk by telephone or in person. Cases accepted for police action are assigned to the proper department for handling that type of offense.

The interesting part of this desk is that thousands of persons interviewed do not have police problems and they are referred to a community social agency. Others are counseled briefly and sent happily on their way. However, the fact that thousands find their way to the office of a policewoman—sincerely believing that they can be assisted—is a good indication for the whole service.

Those cases that are accepted as police cases are frequently sex crimes, neglect of or cruelty and abuse of children. These are processed through the prosecuting attorney's office and then through the proper court, if a warrant is issued. When defendants are young boys and the facts warrant it, they are referred to the juvenile authorities for disposition. Policewomen are continually scheduled to work with the specialized bureaus handling such matters.

The problem for policewomen in sex cases is not prosecution. Even public opinion is usually articulate in such offenses. The problem becomes one of how to prevent sex crimes.

#### HOW TO PREVENT SEX CRIMES

For those of us who work daily with the victims and defendants, it is discouraging indeed. We frequently face a problem of men who are released for enforced psychiatric care but who (1) cannot pay for such service or who (2) refuse to cooperate with the agency which will arrange for it free. The community is thus at a loss and the individual offender roams the streets.

Those who are sentenced to prison are released at some future time, as a rule, and return to the community. There is no assurance that the offender has been cured of his uncontrollable sex impulses; there is not even assurance that he has had the help of a psychiatrist while "doing his time" because so few prisons are fortunate in having a sufficient number of these professionals. The problem then is that these characters have already committed serious sex crimes and the policewoman tries to prevent a repetition of this act before a crime is committed. Frequently they are able to apprehend them before they do serious harm to other victims. This takes more than just casual surveillance. It takes knowledge of the police district, gaining the confidence of the citizens, especially women and young people so that they are "on guard" and watchful at all times. Policewomen point out through use of case histories that crimes have been and may again be committed, that women and children of any age and in any neighborhood and at any hour of the day and night, may become the next victims. They alert the residents to the necessity for helping to protect themselves when they must be on the streets alone. Policewomen feel that the public has a right to know about such crimes in order that they may help in preventing them.

#### MISSING PERSONS

Every year we hunt for thousands of missing women, girls and young boys. Most of these are runaways—cases of persons who have been hard hit emotionally through some situation in their homes, school, or elsewhere. In this field we face a sad state of affairs. Policewomen are first and foremost officers of the law and their first duty is to police work, however much they would like to take on "social casework" in their jobs. Many times they have only one contact with the person, before turning the case over to the appropriate agency for followup and treatment. We are certain that if only a welfare worker could get out to the home, if she has any skill at all, she can gain the cooperation of a difficult mother whose daughter "ran away from home last week" and became sexually delinquent and is now on the way to becoming more delinquent if some interest is not shown by the agency immediately. We are very thankful that the churches are taking an interest in cases (which in the early days were the concern of the church before they became the concern of the police or some other agency). It is encouraging to know that volunteers of the church groups can visit troubled people and assure them that counseling service is available for them at a particular place.

## PATROL

In a community fortunate enough to have a sufficient number of policewomen not busy on other assignments, patrol work is indeed crime prevention work. A complete knowledge of protective legislation is necessary and they have usually been briefed in this work and given a manual for reference. Most areas have a theater ordinance, a curfew law, a hotel ordinance, dance hall ordinance and other legislation which control places of commercial recreation through license, thus assuring society that young people are safe and off the streets. Policewomen frequently find violations in these places and take them into court for disposition. A fine and the trouble involved helps to keep licenses in line. In one city recently, three different hotels were fined \$100 for permitting young people under 17 years of age to register.

## POLICEWOMEN AND MINORITY PROBLEMS

Some people wonder if there is any great difficulty involved where a community presents racial problems. What community in the world is free of prejudice and bias? Policewomen—like their fellow officers—are taught that they may, as individuals, have prejudices, or feelings concerning any thing. However, when they enter police service, they take an oath to uphold law and order; they swear to carry out the duties according to the mandate supplied by their governments.

It has been said that "the treatment of minority groups by officers of the law is an index to the mores and attitudes of the whole community toward such groups." The police officer in explosive situations plays a very important role—and a difficult one. On one hand, as a person she is a product of the same social experiences to which all of us are exposed. It is likely, therefore, that she has absorbed some of the prejudices and antipathies toward minority groups that are so tragically widespread in our society. As a person she would be almost superhuman if she were not in some degree influenced by these prejudices. However, it must be stated again, that as an officer of the law and as a member of the police profession, she stands as the symbol of the impartial authority of society. There rests with her the task of peacefully mediating antagonism and conflicts between various segments of the community—and it must begin with herself.

In some cases, the private views of an individual police officer might be of such a nature as to make questionable her capacity for fairness or impartiality. She must not compromise the discharge of her public duty. This entails a capacity to distinguish between her own rights as a private citizen to her private convictions, and her responsibilities as a police officer.

Books on police administration state emphatically that "policewomen are an integral part of a modern police department." Perhaps that is the reason why we have said so frequently "Policewomen are here to stay."

## MEMBER OF THE LAW ENFORCEMENT TEAM

So—she may not be in uniform. She may not be the cop on the corner. She may not necessarily be directing traffic, or calling from the patrol box. But she is part of the police force. She is part of the law enforcement team. She will tell you that in the United States, though women account for over half the population, they account for only 11 percent of the crime. Therefore, she will observe and rightly so, I believe, that her concern should be more and more in the direction of protective rather than detective work. However, proudly she will relate the story about the blonde on the corner—a policewoman decoy—who "hung around" for several weeks in old disreputable clothing, made friends with the "wrong people" and finally "made enough buys" to bring in over 100 of the highest dope peddlers in the city. Or she might relate her own experience of acting as a "decoy" to keep an appointment when a poison-pen writer called a fashionable society woman for a date. Wearing a mink coat, and driving the woman's Cadillac car, she kept the appointment and arrested the letter writer. He was identified by many other women whom he had annoyed and threatened since being released from the penitentiary. Or she might even tell you about the time she made an appointment with the abortionist doing a million-dollar business, got on the table, allowed the operator to start to give her gas and then said, "I am a police officer. You are under arrest." Whereupon her partners came through the door to her assistance, and she breathed a sigh of relief—and success. She had

put one more of these traffickers in human life out of business. But this was dangerous business for the policewoman decoy.

So far as I am concerned, I have the best job in the world. If I had the past 20 years to live over again, knowing the personal disadvantages of being a policewoman, knowing the threats on my life—and knowing, too—the crushing and bitter blows that sometimes occur in our work, I would still choose to be a lady of the law and be glad of the opportunity to serve.

Drama in the courtroom and the theater is as nothing compared to the drama of the police station. Ask any policewoman. She seldom leaves her job until it is time for her to retire on a pension.

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[Reprint from Law and Order, August 1960]

#### GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY OF WOMEN IN POLICE SERVICE

(By Lois Lundell Higgins, A.B., M.S.W., LL.D., president, International Association of Women Police)

In the 50 years since Mrs. Alice Stebbins Wells was given Los Angeles policewoman's badge No. 1, a Gamewell patrol box key, book of rules, a first aid book, and became a full-fledged police officer, writers on the subject of women police have increasingly been wont to say, "Policewomen are here to stay."

The initial response to her appointment, however, was widespread public curiosity. Chloe Owings, in *Women Police*, reports the reaction of the press:

"The appointment of Mrs. Wells attracted wide newspaper comment because of the fact that she was an educated woman, a social worker, a theologian and had deliberately sought and secured the opportunity to work in a police department.

"Many journalists presented the situation in half comic manner and pictured the woman police officer in caricature as a bony, muscular, masculine person, grasping a revolver, dressed in anything but feminine apparel, hair drawn tightly into a hard little knot at the back of the head, huge unbecoming spectacles, small, stiff, round disfiguring hat, the whole presenting the idea in a most repellent conception and unlovely guise. This, however, was not universally held and many groups of earnest women searching for a solution of social problems, greeted the idea of women police with favor. Mrs. Wells was soon overwhelmed with requests for lectures and advice."

When Mrs. Wells first broached to a group of prominent Los Angeles citizens the idea that women would be particularly well suited as regular members of municipal police departments, to do protective and preventive work among juveniles and women offenders, she was introducing a new concept into police work.

"How could you make an arrest?" they asked her. "I don't want to make arrests," she replied, "I want to keep people from needing to be arrested, especially young people."

Chicago's first civil service policewoman was Mrs. Anna Loucks, who began her career on August 3, 1913, and saw 23 years of service.

"We were a curiosity then," she told a group of us in 1950. As she reminisced, she drew out some yellowish newspaper clippings showing her smiling face peering out under an ostrich plume hat.

"My home station was Town Hall at Addison and Halsted Streets. I did everything that the men did and I carried a .32 police positive. Oh my, no, I didn't use it to shoot anyone—just to scare criminals. I shot it in the air once to stop an automobile, to help me take a prisoner to the station—and once to frighten a criminal. We handled all kinds of people—kids, the insane—and we patrolled the dance halls and beaches." Describing beach wear of that era, "The ladies wore sailor suits on the beaches then. They had to be no more than 3 inches above the knee, had to have a high neck and long sleeves. If we'd had them the way they are today—we would have fainted."

Mrs. Loucks went on to say that her salary was \$75 a month "in those days."

#### CRIME PREVENTION AND JUVENILE BUREAU BEGUN BY WOMEN

Stimulated by and parallel with the spread of the policewoman's movement came the recognition of crime prevention as a major police function, along with the two more commonly accepted functions of the repression and deterrence of crime. The advent of women into the departments helped bring into existence

the crime prevention bureaus and juvenile bureaus. Women brought a "social viewpoint" for the first time to police work.

When the 1960 version of lady law officers assemble for their golden anniversary at Springfield College, Springfield, Mass., in September, it is doubtful that they will resemble the caricature described above. They will not be the hardfaced, primly costumed characters drawn by the cartoonists. Probably some of them do not even possess a police uniform, for most policewomen work in "soft clothes."

If policewomen are here to stay, it is not because they have tried to compete against men in work that always has been and always will be predominantly a man's job. It is because they have brought to their work talents that are peculiarly feminine—usually a highly developed interest in human relationships—and have accentuated, rather than subordinated, their femininity.

This is not to say that men are not as capable as women in crime prevention and juvenile work. In fact the assignment of high-ranking police officers to such functions is welcome proof of how right Alice Stebbins Wells was in pointing out the need for such an emphasis.

#### MEMBERS OF A TEAM

Policewomen serve, as they always have served, as members of a team. If it is accepted today that they perform a useful function, it is because they have proven themselves, over the years, as individuals, often under a particular necessity to function well. They could not exist at all, as a profession, without the approval of their commanding officers. They would be the first to admit that they have benefited greatly by the sympathy and cooperation of their male colleagues. As an organization, the International Association of Women Police is proud of its close and friendly relations with the International Association of Chiefs of Police.

Certainly we know that there would be no seminar or meeting at all in Springfield, Mass., on September 12-14, but for the cooperation of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, a cosponsor of this seminar, as it was of the one held in 1958 at Purdue University.

Let us, then, assume that "policewomen are here to stay." The question remains, "Where do we go from here?"

#### WHERE DO WE GO?

Mounting statistics on juvenile offenders and on juvenile delinquency, with which policewomen principally deal, and the present number of women police, suggest the answer: We confidently expect that the coming years will see a continued increase in the employment of women officers, a greater emphasis on special education and training, and increased understanding of the particular functions they are best able to perform.

Nobody needs to tell us that mounting juvenile delinquency in our country since World War II has reached the stage of a national scandal.

Figures on female offenders, too, have their story to tell. We can be thankful that women are not as criminally inclined as men. Extreme feminists who claim that there are no important nonbiological differences between men and women might have difficulty explaining this. In a recent year, for instance, 2,091,565 men were arrested in 1,586 U.S. cities as compared to 248,439 women. Comparative statistics on individual crimes, too, are revealing: only 672 women, for example, were arrested for robbery in this year as compared to 14,296 males.

We are convinced by these figures that women are not as greatly involved in major types of crime as men. Women, of course, are alone capable of certain crimes, as men alone are capable of others. And probably arrests for prostitution each year far outnumber arrests for rape.

However, taking the problem of male versus female criminal tendencies as a whole, and without trying to impose a mechanical formula on anything so specialized as police work, one observation may perhaps be permitted. If the same sex ratio were to be applied to the relative number of male and female officers as applies to arrests, we should have had to raise the woman officer figure, to have had 21,200 municipally employed policewomen in a recent year (1950), as opposed to the 169,969 policemen. Actually, the number of municipal policewomen was 2,368.

No more than did Alice Stebbins Wells, does the policewoman usually measure her effectiveness by the number of arrests she might make. Indeed, it is quite possible she will probably, ordinarily, make no arrests at all.

## POLICEWOMEN—POLICE MATRONS

Policewomen are sometimes confused with police matrons. In fact, policewomen have sometimes been assigned to duty as matrons—in charge of supervising women offenders held in police custody, accompanying them to court, and ministering to the physical well-being of women prisoners in their detention quarters.

However, the U.S. Employment Service Dictionary of Occupational Titles is admirably concise in describing the duties of policewomen:

"Policewoman (government service), 2-66.24. Patrols the streets of a municipality and investigates public places and recreational facilities to protect the morals of female persons and juveniles; investigates cases of juvenile delinquency to determine the reasons underlying their delinquency and submits report to juvenile court magistrate; looks for and takes into custody delinquent or neglected children. In some places takes part in investigation of major crimes of every description."

Policewomen, however, ordinarily engage in enforcement, investigative, or patrol duties, and prepare cases for court. They may also investigate cases that are not, under our juvenile procedure, brought into court. Such investigations imply a knowledge of community social agencies to whom such cases can be referred.

Police matrons were first employed in 1845 in New York City. Today it is an accepted procedure to appoint women to take charge of women prisoners. Most of our larger jails today have matrons. In some parts of the United States, sheriff's wives find themselves elected ex officio matrons, when their husbands are sworn into office.

## EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

It required a special city ordinance in 1910 before Mrs. Wells could be appointed to the Los Angeles Police Department. When she reported for duty to the old headquarters on West First Street, near the present hall of justice, the sergeant quickly put on his coat. Patrolmen apologized for language used in handling drunks.

Like the men, she worked a 7-day week, excepting 15 days a year vacation. Her duties were principally with juveniles. Mrs. Wells and the male officers who worked with her on juvenile cases were the forerunners of the present Los Angeles Juvenile Division, which employs most of the Los Angeles policewomen. She also served as a leading advocate of the introduction of women personnel:

"As my appointment had been widely heralded both in this country and in many others, photographs and magazine articles were requested and invitations came from other cities for help in starting similar work. I realized that children everywhere had an equal right to whatever increased protection police departments could furnish \* \* \*. It seemed my duty to give such aid as I could \* \* \*. I was myself so in earnest about spreading the idea of the protection of youth and crime prevention \* \* \* which was my sole purpose of journeying—that the leaders in every city visited also took it seriously and sponsored the lectures \* \* \*. Audiences were large, often crowding the auditorium. The newspapers gave a surprising amount of space and favorable support. For all this the city of Los Angeles paid nothing. I paid by forfeiting my salary with accompanying pension rights through leaves of absence for a total of 2 years \* \* \* while I took a chance on making salary and expenses of the trips from lecture fees.

"Soon policewomen began to be appointed throughout the country. Within 6 years (1916) policewomen had been appointed in at least 20 States, and in some other countries. Thus it was that New York, Chicago, Boston, Detroit, Washington, D.C., San Francisco, London, Toronto, Melbourne, Shanghai, and scores of other cities followed our example."

Exceptional ability and personal attributes are required in any field which women are entering for the first time. (And wherever a department has decided to try out women police, it is the first time.) The policewoman's conduct and behavior, like that of her male colleagues, must be exemplary. As August Vollmer has remarked, the citizen expects a police officer:

"To have the wisdom of Solomon, the courage of David, the strength of Samson, the patience of Job, the leadership of Moses, the kindness of the Good Samaritan, the strategy of Alexander, the faith of Daniel, the diplomacy of Lincoln, the tolerance of the Carpenter of Nazareth, and, finally, an intimate

knowledge of every branch of the natural and biological, and social sciences. If he had all these he might be a good policeman."

As far back as 1922, the International Association of Policewomen, the original association founded by Alice Wells, recognized the need for minimum standards for policewomen.

At the 1922 convention of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, the following educational standards were recommended:

1. Graduation from a 4-year course in a standard high school or the completion of at least 14 college entrance units of study and not less than 2 years' experience, recent and responsible, in social work or educational work;

2. Graduation from a recognized school for trained nurses requiring a residence of at least 2 years; or

3. Completion of at least seven college entrance units of study or 2 years in a standard high school and not less than 2 years of responsible commercial work involving public contacts and responsibilities, tending to qualify the applicant to perform the duties or possessing the equivalent of a college education through experience such as secretarial work.

#### QUALIFICATIONS

It is doubtful that so high a specialized educational standard was required for men at that time (or even at the present time). The above standards actually were only suggested. There never has been any general agreement in this country (or indeed in any other country except perhaps the United Kingdom) as to what qualifications a policewoman should have. However, a survey conducted by the author in 1957 of the U.S. police departments and sheriffs' offices known to employ women police, revealed that 37 percent required high school graduation, 16 percent required at least some college training, and 47 percent did not specify what training was required. College courses suggested for policewomen included social studies, psychology, police science, and criminology.

Temperamentally, the policewoman should be "dignified and sensible, tactful, and sympathetic. Her personal appearance should be good—neat and attractive, as well as commanding respect. The essence of what a policewoman herself needs in order to qualify her for her job is a sense of balance. In speech, she should not cheapen herself by taking on the language of hardened offenders. Both in her professional life and her private life, a policewoman must be on her guard against behavior which is or might only appear to be indiscreet. She should not be reluctant to ask advice."

Public authority should not be wielded by an uncouth woman even less than by a boorish and undignified man. Policewomen, as well as other officers the citizen encounters, have it in their power to create a favorable public image of police operations. The slightest slip by any public servant, and especially by police personnel, always attracts widespread attention. On the other hand, citizens who have been courteously helped at the rare moments in their lives that they desperately needed the help of police, become highly appreciative.

#### APPOINTMENT

About 61 percent of appointments were made on the basis of a civil service test or merit system. Thirty-eight percent did not answer. It was occasionally reported that widows of police officers had preference. When an age limit was prescribed it fell almost entirely in the 21- to 35-year bracket, but 32 percent did not specify an age limit.

#### TRAINING

About 62 percent of the departments circularized in 1957 reported that in-service training was required of policewomen, 20 percent required no training, and 18 percent did not respond. An earlier survey conducted by the author in the late 1940's indicated that training generally followed the course given male recruits, with special added material for women. Some metropolitan police departments enrolled policewomen at public expense in certain useful courses in local universities. Some, by requiring college degrees, social work, or other training, assumed that the recruit already possessed the desired specialized knowledge. We suspect that most police administrators will admit that the recruiting and training of suitable personnel of whatever sex is a major task.

The International Association of Women Police, in collaboration with the International Association of Chiefs of Police and other bodies, encourages

special university courses and institutes in criminological subjects as a means of improving the professional background and caliber of police personnel. By sponsoring these Biennial seminars, we try to improve the effectiveness and professional capabilities of women law enforcement officers. While the oldtime police officer often possesses wonderful qualities—the fruit of long experience that theoretical training obtained in our colleges cannot provide—all will recognize that standards are rising in every field of endeavor today. If police work is to enjoy public confidence and respect, standards must rise there too. We might take our model the FBI, in which college training and even a law degree are prerequisites to employment. It would, of course, be utopian to expect similar standards in some of our police departments at present. It might be inferred, however, that at least some of the high repute the FBI enjoys is a reflection of the high quality of their personnel.

The International Association of Policewomen, founded by Mrs. Wells in 1915, unfortunately became a depression casualty in 1932. However, during its 17 years of activity it published a series of useful bulletins and proceedings, in which the writings of such authorities as Louis Brownlow, Henrietta Addition, Mina Van Winkle, Eleanor L. Hutzel, Rhoda Milliken, Elizabeth Lossing, Helen D. Pigeon, and Jessie Binford appeared. Among its distinguished supporters were Edith Abbott, Carrie Chapman Catt, Mrs. Harold L. Ickes, Roscoe Pound, August Vollmer, and Lady Astor of England.

In 1956 the association was reorganized at San Diego, Calif., at which time the author became president. Officers elected in 1958 at Purdue University and currently serving with her are:

Janet Hickey, 1st vice president, San Jose, Calif.; Jeanne Coolidge, 2d vice president, Rochester, N.Y.; Antoinette Reynolds, 3d vice president, New Orleans, La.; Grace L. Hayes, secretary-treasurer, Chicago, Ill.; Alma H. Taylor, sergeant at arms, Jacksonville, Fla.; Annette B. Fosdick, historian, Milford, Conn.; Elizabeth B. Brown, parliamentarian, Portland, Ore.; Eleanor Stickley, chaplain, South Bend, Ind.

Among the author's treasured possessions are several letters from Mrs. Wells wishing the reorganized association well in its future endeavors. She was somewhat unhappy that we had chosen to change the name. The author flew to Washington and discovered that the original charter was still in good order. (There had been some question that there might have been an old claim for debt involved, so we had changed the name. The organization, however, had no outstanding debts, and there was no real necessity, after all, to rename it.)

Mrs. Wells died in 1957. In her later years she spent much time preparing exhibits for the Los Angeles Police Museum, which she donated to the city.

#### DUTIES

In some cities, policewomen perform various traffic duties, escorting school-children across streets and collecting coins from parking meters. This type of work, however, seems to fall more into the subordinate category of crossing guards and "meter maids" than into general police work. Policewomen may also be assigned to full- or part-time duty as matrons, secretaries, radio dispatchers, clerks, or fingerprint classifiers. If they have undergone special training for police duties, this type of employment would seem to be a misuse of their talents.

#### ADVANCEMENT SLOW

The chances are at present that the policewoman will have difficulty advancing in rank. Only 21 percent of departments queried responded that advancement was possible; 40 percent did not respond; 39 percent answered "No." In about 6 percent, the woman officer may attain the rank of captain; in 5 percent, of lieutenant; in 14 percent, of sergeant; and in 6 percent, of detective. (Some of these overlap.)

A good reason for this lack of opportunity is that only the larger and more "favorably disposed departments" have special women's bureau with women in charge. Only 27 percent indicated that policewomen were employed in separate divisions and 68 percent had no such divisions.

Even where policewomen have been accepted as contributing members of the law-enforcement team, it can be seen this acceptance often still is not sufficiently complete to enable the competent woman to rise to a supervisory position within her special sphere of activity. Of course, in some smaller cities the department is not probably sufficiently specialized to call for a woman's unit.

The association held the first in its series of seminar-meetings at Purdue University on September 30 and October 1-2, 1958, cosponsored by the International Association of Chiefs of Police with official greetings from President Eisenhower, many of the State Governors, and officials of other police bodies. Those who attended will recall it as a pleasant and profitable meeting. We know that the meeting at Springfield, Mass., on September 12-14 will attract a splendid attendance.

All women police personnel whether or not they are members of the association (upon registration) are welcome to participate in the golden anniversary tribute to women in police service.

Mr. ZELENKO. The next witness will be Miss Anita Pollitzer, past national chairman, National Woman's Party.

#### STATEMENT OF ANITA POLLITZER, PAST NATIONAL CHAIRMAN, NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

Mr. ZELENKO. We welcome you, Miss Pollitzer. We had the honor of having before us in Washington Mrs. Duffy Miller. So we are very happy to have you before us. Let us say that one of the objectives of the National Woman's Party is about ready for fruition in this legislation.

Miss POLLITZER. I hope so. May I say I come from your district, Mr. Zelenko, and we are very proud of your social viewpoint.

Mr. ZELENKO. The Chair is most appreciative of your comment.

Miss POLLITZER. I will begin with a word about Mrs. Miller's activities because it fits in so perfectly in this work that you are considering today.

So often we hear people say, "Why legislation on equal pay?" I think a very recent case of why legislation occurred in Pennsylvania. It was reported in the New York Times and other papers, I assume, of April 18, when a labor contract with the Continental Can gave less wages to women than men in the 38 women concerned in the Glass Blowers' Union. But due to an equal pay bill in Pennsylvania, and I make the point because of the similarity in legislation, the Supreme Court ruled, on April 17, that that was not a waiver against the women's right for equal pay because the State had put in equal pay legislation, and, therefore, the women would receive equal pay legislation.

This is the Times article in my hand. It seems to me that is the irrefutable answer to "Why legislation?" It is hard for me to realize that I worked in suffrage, which we won in the United States by Federal amendment 41 years ago, and ever since that time we have been working for equal pay legislation in the different States and for Federal legislation which would give women equal rights as a principle in the United States.

Mr. Zelenko, you and perhaps eight or nine other Members of the Congress are among our sponsors whom we honor in connection with the Federal principle of equal rights for women.

Even if you have equal pay, women have to get the chance to get the jobs, they have to have equal responsibility and everything else. But this is a tremendous step in the right direction.

Only yesterday someone was arguing with me vociferously about why women should not have equal pay for equal work, and they really believed that we were in the Dark Ages.

Mr. ZELENKO. Who was arguing, a man or a woman?

Miss POLLITZER. A man, yes.

But fortunately he was not representative of all the 1962 men. It really seems incredible when we hear the figures and know the figures of how many women work for the support of their families, work because their husbands are ill, work because they must work to keep the family going.

Incidentally, the man who was arguing with me has a wife who works and has seven children. They couldn't get along if she didn't work.

It is much harder for her to get a job probably than it would be for him, because of the prejudice that exists against the women and all the trite things they say, some of which may be true. But, nevertheless, if she is equally qualified, she should have a chance to fill her needs, what is in her heart and her responsibilities.

When I saw the statement of the Attorney General recently about presenting a better and a truer picture of the real democracy that we try to be before the other nations of the world, I thought immediately how could we do it in a more real way that to say there should be no discrimination because of sex, race, creed, and right down the line, and mean it.

There are certain equal pay bills that are now on the statute books which have been placed there in the different States. I realize, however, that this is Federal legislation. But you will be establishing a tremendous principle by this Federal pronouncement on equal pay which will be followed rapidly, I think, in many States, in many areas of the world.

In the 1938 Fair Labor Standards Act, the National Woman's Party worked for the equality provisions because it is absolutely equal and wasn't put in absolutely equal, but came out that way. It is a perfect model for labor legislation in the United States. Where it mentions employer and employee, in no place does it discriminate on the sex of the worker, but makes its statements on the kind of job. That is a wonderful first step. This is for the higher brackets, not for minimum standards, but for all things.

I think I will not take more of your time, but I will just say that we wish this legislation Godspeed. We are very proud of the zeal and earnestness with which, apparently, it is being pushed in Congress. We hope for the real honor of the United States, as well as the millions of women workers in the country.

I might say the men, too, because nothing succeeds like success, and there are some people you can't teach. The only way is to say, "Well, we are sorry, but it is a pronouncement of equality, and this is what our Nation stands for."

I thank you very much.

Mr. ZELENKO. Miss Pollitzer, the committee is most appreciative of your contribution.

As the Chair stated before, we are happy that you will find one of your objectives about to be reached. We are quite sure that this will become law. It requires continued effort, though, which will be maintained.

Miss POLLITZER. Splendid.

Mr. ZELENKO. Congressman Daniels.

Mr. DANIELS. I wish to join with the chairman in complimenting the witness in appearing here this morning, giving her time and expressing her views.

Miss POLLITZER. We have given about 41 years to the complete objective and we are so very happy to see this part about to be realized. Thank you very much.

(The statement follows:)

STATEMENT OF ANITA POLLITZER, HONORARY CHAIRMAN, NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

I appear here for the National Woman's Party of which I am an honorary chairman, as well as for myself, a constituent of Congressman Zelenko from the Columbia University area of New York City, for the equal pay legislation, before your committee.

It would seem self-evident that in the economic world, the ability and services of women should be equally rewarded but this is not true today. One way of helping the situation is by the passage of equal pay legislation such as the measures you are considering now.

A clear illustration is the case that came before the Pennsylvania Supreme Court a little over a week ago, when on April 17, the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania ruled that a labor union could not make a contract for lower wages for women because of the Pennsylvania State law requiring equal pay for women for the same work. Thirty-eight women employees of the Continental Can Co., members of the Glass Bottle Blowers Association were to be paid lower wages than the men. However, in view of the Pennsylvania law saying that women workers should receive the same pay as men for the same type of work, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court ruled that the union's contract did not constitute a waiver on the women's claim to equal pay, since the State law forbade discrimination in wages because of sex.

One of those who played a big part in securing the equal pay law in Pennsylvania, was Mrs. Emma Guffey Miller, Democratic national committeewoman of Pennsylvania and chairman of the National Woman's Party, who recently appeared before your committee in Washington in behalf of these equal pay bills.

I cite this recent case as an illustration of how important equality legislation can be. I realize that in the legislation considered today, we are dealing with interstate commerce and commerce with other nations. In this field, the model for the Nation, in the elimination of sex discriminations in labor legislation, is the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, dealing with minimum standards, for which equality provisions the National Woman's Party worked while that measure was before Congress.

The earnings of women employed in industry are important to the support of themselves and their families, and their work certainly should be paid for on the nature of the work and not on the sex of the worker.

Forty-one years ago women in this country won the right to vote through an amendment to the U.S. Constitution by the adoption of the Federal suffrage amendment, completing political equality for women throughout the United States. The Woman's Party then began to draft and to have introduced equality measures in the various State legislatures, including equal pay measures. Among those enacted into law were bills, in Maryland, New Jersey, and New York, providing equal pay and other equal conditions in the teaching field.

There is pending before Congress a constitutional amendment which when ratified will establish the principle of equal rights for men and women in all fields. I am glad to say that among the many sponsors of this fundamental legislation are Congressmen Zelenko, Griffiths, St. George, Weis, Multer, Dwyer, and Rivers, all of whom have sponsored equal pay bills before your committee.

The Attorney General has just expressed the hope that the United States will endeavor to present a truer picture of our Nation to the countries of the world and certainly securing equal rights for men and women in all fields will not only help the women of this land but will present a picture of a nation which has faith in the "dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women," a principle to which we as a nation have subscribed.

Mr. ZELENKO. The Chair will place into the record at this time a telegram received from Rebecca Simonson, vice president of the American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO.

(The telegram follows:)

NEW YORK, N.Y., April 28, 1962.

HON. HERBERT ZELENKO,  
Chairman, Select Labor Subcommittee, House Education and Labor Committee,  
U.S. Courthouse, New York, N.Y.:

We wholeheartedly approve the principle enunciated in the equal pay bill before your committee. While the provisions of the bill will not apply directly to my organization and profession the fulfillment of the principle of equal pay is matter of continuing deep concern to the American Federation of Teachers. Our organization has fought and continues to fight in communities across the country for a professional level of pay which shall be the same for men and women. The incidence of pay inequality of this kind is diminishing, but wherever it exists it represents in our eyes the most serious breach not only of sound and just salary scheduling but of good education practice. As for those who would benefit directly under the law we affirm the importance of this measure not only on behalf of their welfare and of common humanity but on behalf of the economy and welfare of our country on the whole.

REBECCA SIMONSON,  
Vice President, American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO.

Mr. ZELENKO. Mr. Baldanzi, president of the United Textile Workers has not appeared yet, nor has Mr. David Sullivan, president, Building Service Employees International Union. The Honorable Bessie Buchanan, we understand, is on the way down.

The Chair will declare a 10-minute recess.

(Thereupon, a short recess was taken.)

Mr. ZELENKO. The committee will be in order.

The committee will now recess until 2:15, when Mr. Sullivan will appear as a witness.

(Thereupon the committee was recessed, to reconvene at 2:15 p.m., the same day.)

#### AFTERNOON SESSION

Mr. ZELENKO. The committee will come to order, please.

Unfortunately, we have not been able to locate Assemblywoman Buchanan. We had somebody call at her residence, but she is not home. I would assume that she must have some transcending reason for not being here. We do hope that no harm has befallen her.

Nevertheless the committee must proceed.

The last witness of the day is Mr. David Sullivan, president of the Building Service Employees International Union.

We welcome you here, Mr. Sullivan, as one of the outstanding labor leaders of the country, whose concept of labor-management relationships has been followed, whose voice has been heard and listened to by labor and management, and who is a trade unionist in the real democratic sense.

I mean democratic not as a party but as a generic concept.

So, we welcome you, Mr. Sullivan. We know your contribution will be of importance to this committee.

May I state that you are the last witness before the committee goes into executive session next week, so you are, in effect, the anchor man.

You may proceed.

STATEMENT OF DAVID SULLIVAN, PRESIDENT, BUILDING SERVICE  
EMPLOYEES' INTERNATIONAL UNION, AFL-CIO

Mr. SULLIVAN. Thank you very much, Congressman.

I am David Sullivan, general president of Building Service Employees' International Union, AFL-CIO. We represent almost 300,000 members who are employed throughout the United States and Canada in connection with maintenance and operation of buildings, institutions, sports and recreational facilities.

I am pleased to have been able to accept the committee's invitation to appear before you this afternoon and to present you with a statement on our position with reference to H.R. 10226 and H.R. 8898.

There is widespread support of the principle that it is just and proper to compensate equal work with equal pay.

It is only when the worker's sex is introduced into the discussion that some reluctance to apply the principle appears. This reluctance usually stems from opinions about need, and those who oppose equal pay for women will say that, for one reason or another, a woman doesn't have the same needs as a man and so doesn't need to be paid as much.

This question of need is one on which I wish to offer testimony. I will also briefly discuss the importance of the bill as it relates to public and private services, and to our members employed in them.

I want not only to support the bill under consideration but also to suggest that you give serious consideration to extending its coverage as far as possible. The alteration I am going to suggest would mean a great deal to the members of building service unions, and to other persons employed in hospitals, colleges and universities, and other nonprofit institutions.

By way of introduction, I would like to note that of the almost 300,000 members of our international union, almost 28 percent are women. Some of the jobs in which our members work—in commercial buildings, in hospitals and universities, in the public service, and in many other enterprises—are of such a nature that men and women can compete for them on equal basis. Others are not.

Despite the fact that ours is largely a male organization, and that there can be internal competition for jobs between members of the opposite sexes, we are, and have always been, in support of the principle that women should receive the same pay as men if they perform the same work.

We have written this principle into many of the collective bargaining agreements that we have negotiated. For example, the contract between Building Service Local 250 and the Affiliated Hospitals of San Francisco states:

There shall be no distinction between the wages paid to men and the wages paid to women for the performance of comparable quality and quantity of work on the same or similar operations.

This contract, incidentally, is the largest hospital contract in the world in the sense of covering the largest number of employees.

It is also common for our agreements to say that there shall be no discrimination on the basis of "race, color, national origin, creed, marital status, or sex."

We have not been content merely with the statement of general principles, but have struggled to write these principles into specific wage structures. We have met with considerable success in this effort.

A recent survey of union wage rates paid in office buildings and hotels in cities over 100,000 population shows that, in the overwhelming majority of such structures which employ both male and female elevator operators, women are paid the same wage as men as a result of union effort.

Another survey conducted by our research department in city and county hospitals shows that great progress has been made here, too.

For example, in the larger cities, nurses' aids tend to be paid the same rate as the orderlies. In the smaller communities where the influence of unionism is somewhat less, there is often a differential. Also, remember that this is the situation in public hospitals. In the majority of hospitals—private voluntary hospitals—the differentials are much greater.

The Building Service Employees' International Union, as well as most of organized labor, has been working to put the equal pay principle into practice for many years, and it is appropriate that the Canadian Department of Labor should cite as a simple fact—

Where women are organized and take an active part in labor matters, their chances of obtaining better working conditions, including equal pay for equal work, are greatly improved.

This is actually an understatement, as perhaps befits a Government publication. It comes, incidentally, from a pamphlet called "Equal Pay for Equal Work" published by the Canadian Department of Labor in 1959.

It is no secret, however, that not all of the labor force is unionized, and even though unionization can have, and does have, an indirect effect on wages paid in unorganized establishments, it is clear that Government assistance is needed if the principle is to become common practice.

It is true, of course, that some 22 States have passed State laws in support of the principle. But the more important fact is that 28 States have not passed such laws, and many of these are States in which unionism is relatively weak and in which no meaningful wage floors have been established to protect the low-wage workers. Moreover, even in some of the 22 States that have taken action, the law is not sufficiently wide in its coverage to have a really statewide effect.

For this reason, it seems clear that Federal action is needed to support both the unions and the States, and whatever forward-looking employers may themselves have put the principle into practice.

I would like now to turn to the question of coverage as it relates to the bill under consideration.

The coverage test in the bill duplicates that found in the old Fair Labor Standards Act dating back to 1938. We would hope that a broader test would be substituted so that coverage would be at least as wide as that provided for under the National Labor Relations Act or the Fair Labor Standards Act as recently amended. In its present form it excludes many establishments in which the proportion of female employees is high.

Our union is particularly sensitive to the question of coverage, since we organize and negotiate in fields often forgotten when Federal and State legislation is considered.

Thus, social insurance laws, labor-management relations laws, and minimum-wage legislation often fail to cover, in whole or in part, the stores, commercial buildings, hospitals, State and local government agencies, and other areas in which our members are employed.

In order to be brief, we will refer here only to the situation in what are usually termed nonprofit institutions. These are the colleges and universities, the cemeteries, the hospitals, youth and social service agencies, and similar organizations which render such important services to the community.

In many of these, and in hospitals in particular, the wages in particular, the wages are extremely low to begin with, and where the female worker is discriminated against, her wages are low indeed.

In the past two decades or so the Building Service Union has made tremendous progress in boosting wages and improving conditions in nonprofit institutions and in bringing the principle of equal pay into practice. But this has been, and is, a very difficult endeavor, and we have found that Federal and State laws generally do not aid us.

The employees of nonprofit institutions are generally not covered by State equal-pay laws.

Clearly, there is a need to broaden the coverage provisions of the State laws. It is our hope that the Congress will also see the need to broaden the Federal equal-pay law, especially by covering nonprofit institutions. Such congressional action might serve to obviate the necessity for much State action in the field.

I would like now to turn briefly to the question of need. Those who argue that a woman does not need to be paid as much because she has lesser financial needs usually think in terms of the working wife or the young graduate still living with her parents. They ignore completely the fact that thousands of workingwomen are single women and widows, or are the wives of disabled or unemployed husbands.

When the argument comes from management circles, it is never coupled with the idea that men ought to receive increased wages because their responsibilities are greater. In fact, it is clear that the argument is advanced solely to reduce labor costs, and in this area at least, really has nothing to do with need or lack of equality of the sexes.

Need can be variously defined. We in the Building Service Union would argue that whenever a woman is willing to go out to work, there is a real need for her earnings. Even in the case where the husband is employed, the working wife needs to work in order to maintain a higher standard of living for the family. Today, the difference between a below-average and an above-average family income is often the contribution made by the working wife.

In this connection, I call your attention to one of the conclusions reached by the National Manpower Council at its 1957 meetings at Arden House. After due deliberations, the Council reported:

The second major finding which emerged from the conference is that the new pattern of work outside the home for wives and mothers has had, by and large, desirable social and economic consequences.

In the Building Service Employees' International Union, we are intensely aware of the needs of our female members, whether married or unmarried, whether young or old. These women are employed in a wide range of occupations.

Some of our women clean office buildings after the office staffs have departed for the day. They do hard physical work in buildings and areas of the city usually dark and deserted, and they leave their jobs at midnight or later.

Some are social workers, where the training required for the job is identical with that required of the male, and where the emotional strain that goes with the job is as wearing as the physical strain that is a part of other jobs.

Some of them work as nurses' aids or in other capacities at hospitals, often doing very hard physical work. Some spend hard days cleaning rooms and making beds in hotels. Some prepare and serve food at universities, or at elementary and high schools. But whether they work at desks or clean the offices after the desks are vacated, whether they work in hospitals or theaters or universities or motels, whether they work for private industry, or for nonprofit institutions, or for State or local government—they work because they need to work. They need the money, and they need the other benefits that come with working. And in most cases they need the social security credits that build up with a work career.

They work hard, at difficult and trying jobs, and often under difficult conditions. They do a full day's work for a day's wages. These women would not be working if there were not a real need. Each has her own reasons, but you can be sure, gentlemen, that none are frivolous. Our women work because they have to, and they are entitled to the same pay as the men when they do the same work.

The Secretary of Labor, the secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, and many other persons and organizations have offered this committee excellent reasons for passing the bill under consideration.

There is no point in repeating those reasons here, except perhaps to say that we are fully in support of Mr. Goldberg and Mr. Schnitzler on these matters.

We do, however, want to summarize the reasons why we are in support of this measure:

First, we believe an equal-pay law should be padded at the Federal level in order to establish the principle itself, and to indicate that our Nation is dedicated to putting the principle into practice.

Second, the law will definitely raise the wages of some underpaid female workers, and consequently will partially redress an injustice.

Third, the law is necessary in order to support the effort made by some States to enforce the principle, and in order to extend the principle to those States which have been backward in this respect.

Finally, the Federal law will be useful in supporting the actions of the labor movement on behalf of equal pay for women. While the Building Service Employees' International Union, and the labor movement generally, have made substantial contributions to getting the principle accepted, Federal action is needed to extend the principle to those areas and industries not yet reached by unionism, and also to make certain that nonunion employers competing with union employers who accept the principle of equal pay will not be at an advantage simply because they do not have to accept the principle.

In conclusion, I wish to thank the committee for permitting our union to make this presentation. We hope and believe that a Federal

equal-pay law will be passed by the Congress before this session is concluded.

We hope that such a law will have the broadest possible coverage provisions, and especially ask that consideration be given to covering nonprofit institutions.

We are in support of the bill, believing that extending protection to as many women as possible at this time will eventually aid all women.

Mr. ZELENKO. Mr. Sullivan, I wish to thank you for presenting this most excellent statement, and your summary, of course, will be a summary of all of the testimony.

I should like to address myself to one phase of your statement, where you state that you do hope that this would be extended to nonprofit institutions. May I say that as an author of one of the bills, and I speak for the majority of the committee, I am deeply in sympathy with the need for such protection to women in nonprofit institutions. However, I would like to point out to you that in this bill we do not except nonprofit institutions. Under the Federal law, however, we are restricted to the commerce clause which enables us to pass legislation only where there is a direct impact on interstate commerce or the production of goods in connection therewith.

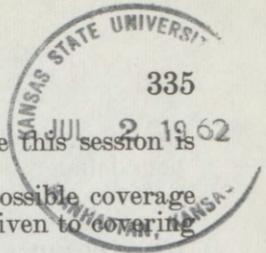
Now, should there be any nonprofit institutions that are involved in that situation, I would say to you that most certainly they are covered. We did not make any exceptions for nonprofit institutions except in the case of the U.S. Government, which we feel is covered by civil service law, and labor organizations where the labor organization is not in the status of an employer. As far as we have been able to meet this desire on the part of the Chair, who is also the author of the bill, and the desire which you expressed and which other unions have expressed, to have those women who are exploited in certain nonprofit institutions covered, we are restricted by an application of the commerce clause.

But you will find from the bill that we do not exempt nonprofit institutions except in the case where I have indicated, that is, the U.S. Government or labor organizations not acting as employers. We are bound by the restrictions of Federal law. But that does not preclude me from evidencing my sympathy based both on feeling and logic.

You have made another request, that this legislation be passed as quickly as possible. The Chair will make the announcement again that it made earlier in the hearing. This subcommittee is going into executive session on Tuesday morning. We do hope to pass the bill out favorably, with certain minor amendments which were taken up during the course of the hearings. One of them was a protection in this respect, in the process of equalizing, the higher wage should not be lowered in order to make the equality.

Secondly, consider the possibility of having the enforcement of this law under the Labor Department rather than the Justice Department, without derogating the wonderful work of the Justice Department, but paying particular attention to the specialized abilities of the Labor Department attorneys in enforcing the law.

I believe, although I cannot speak for the full committee, Mr. Sullivan, that the point which you urge about nonprofit institutions might be contained in the report with an expression on the part of



the committee, specifically spelling out the restrictions that we are bound under, the commerce laws.

If the subcommittee reports favorably, the full committee will convene in executive session Thursday, our regular meeting day, at which time certain migratory labor bills will be voted on favorably, we hope, as unfinished business, and this bill will then be taken up. If all goes well, it may be, that 1 week from this time, we might be ready for floor action.

We intend, if possible, to see whether we can garner a two-thirds vote of the House possibly in an informal discussion with Members. Otherwise, we will be before the Rules Committee and use whatever procedures we can to expedite the passage of this bill.

Those are the concluding remarks of the Chair, and if you have anything further to say we would like to hear you.

Mr. SULLIVAN. First of all, Congressman, I agree with you that the present bill as set up, under law could not cover the nonprofit institutions if not engaged in interstate commerce. We are aware of that. But we feel this is something that is vital, and, of course, eventually it is the hope that as a result of the first step that you are making here, on behalf of our organization, I want to extend to you our sincere thanks, to the members of the committee, on this progressive step in trying to do something which in our judgment is badly needed, to give the recognition of the principle of equal pay to women. It has been delayed too long. This committee, I believe, should be congratulated on the speed and manner in which they have been conducting the hearings, and also, I am sure they will get the full support of not only organized labor but all segments of society. This is a very vital and important situation which confronts the Nation. We look upon our women today entirely differently maybe on the basis of what it used to be in the older days. Women are performing tasks, far superior, in some instances, in due respect to my own sex, the male. We don't ask women today in war to participate in the front firing lines. Women are holding high office. The excuse of saying, "Because you are a woman and perform the same type of employment you shouldn't get the same and equal pay" is simply outdated and outmoded in this day and age of 1962.

As far as nonprofit institutions, as I said, this is the beginning. This is the beginning of this bill, I am sure, and not the end of it. Every year we hope that improvements will be made in legislation through Congress. We are certainly very grateful to have this opportunity to come here and to join with all the others who are interested in doing what is right, not right for ourselves, but right for the country.

This is a vital issue today. This country needs to look at its social welfare, to look at its labor laws, and to see to it that all people, regardless of who they are, or race, creed, or color, are treated on the same and equal basis. There can be no justification that women who perform the same duties and the same work do not get the same pay as men.

Mr. ZELENKO. May I say that the Chair could not agree with you more. We do hope that this legislation, if it becomes law, will have the salutary effect that you do hope it will have on the various and several States. May I say this also, that absent this law the only bodies that acted on behalf of the equalization principle and considered the work

of the women as equal to that of the man have been the labor unions, many of them such as yours, the progressive and democratic unions which have written into their contracts the protection that this legislation will finally bring about to all of the women workers. When we realize that there are 20-odd million women in industry and only a small segment of them belong to unions which have afforded this protection, it is clear that the exploitation which goes on in the nonunion field is of tremendous deteriorating effect on the economy and on the morale of the people.

This legislation has to supply the gap and the protection that has not been afforded to the women who have not been given the protection of contracts such as your union has put into effect.

With that, we wish to thank you again.

The hearings are concluded.

(Thereupon, at 2:30 p.m., the hearings were concluded.)

(The following material was submitted for the record:)

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STATEMENT BY CAROLINE DAVIS, DIRECTOR, UAW WOMEN'S DEPARTMENT, ON BEHALF OF THE UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AIRCRAFT & AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA

For over 25 years the United Automobile, Aircraft & Agricultural Implement Workers of America (UAW) has been in the forefront of the effort to establish firmly in its labor contracts the important and basic principle that workers must be guaranteed equal pay for equal work.

We believe that our union has expanded as much or more of its resources in money, manpower, and energy toward this end, has conducted more classes, held more meetings and issued more pamphlets, posters, and leaflets on the subject of equal pay for equal work than any other organization or institution in the United States.

It was on the basis of strong representations by the UAW in a case involving General Motors Corp., that the National War Labor Board, on September 26, 1942, established the equal pay for equal work rules as a precedent for industries working on Government contracts during the Second World War. At that time the Board held: "This is not a new principle. It was enunciated by the War Labor Board set up in 1917 to deal with industrial problems arising during the First World War \* \* \* The Board has directed the parties to include in their new agreement a provision that wages for women shall be the same as for men where they do work of comparable quality and quantity in comparable occupations."

This decision was responsible for an award of back pay to thousands of women working for GM who had been victimized by being given less pay than was given men for comparable work. In one instance alone approximately 1,000 women at the General Motors Melrose Park, Ill., plant received back pay awards amounting to more than \$600,000.

The Chrysler Corp. has agreed in its contract with the union to establish the principle of equal pay for equal work throughout the corporation.

The contract with the Ford Motor Co. also contains an equal pay for equal work provision.

Hundreds upon hundreds of UAW contracts contain a similar provision.

In one situation, at Bendix, the union was put in the impossible position of appearing to be both for and against equal pay for equal work. In this case, male union members, because they feared the competition of women working for less than the contract rate for men, attempted to reserve certain jobs in the plant for themselves. This led to the establishment of men's classifications and women's classifications for the same jobs in different locations in the plant at different rates of pay. Dr. George W. Taylor, defining the problem, set down objectively and unemotionally what every impartial observer of the industrial scene believes is the classic formula for establishing wage rates on jobs:

"What is obviously needed in this situation is a reevaluation of the job classification on the basis of job content. The job classifications should not be divided on the basis of male and female classifications. They should be evaluated on the

basis of skill, effort, and job content and classified into various grades of work with appropriate rates for each classification. The rates for each type of job should be made available to every employee on the job whether male or female. In other words, the female classifications for all departments should be eliminated as such."

At the end of the war, an important aspect of UAW's bargaining involved the negotiation of additional wage increases for women over and above the agreed upon general wage increase for the purpose of equalizing wage rates which traditional discriminatory practices had rendered grossly unequal. In one situation, a very long strike was prolonged by a full week for the sole purpose of securing an additional 15 cents an hour for women workers beyond the 18½ cents that was provided for all the workers in the plant.

The UAW would be gratified to be able to assert that, after 2½ decades of struggle, it has, by hard, courageous, and unstinting effort, finally succeeded in eliminating unequal pay for equal work from the industries under contract with it.

But fact is, this is not so.

While the vast majority of our contracts contain equal-pay-for-equal-work clauses, this principle in some of the plants where our members work is, unfortunately, still tarnished by wage differentials based on sex. The differentials today are substantially less than they were in years gone by, when they very often amounted to 25 or 35 percent of the prevailing man's wage. But they still exist in some locations, depriving women of their due, denying justice, creating irritations, suspicions, and resentments. They exist, we should point out, despite the fact that our union, in bargaining power, in resources, in willingness to defend the rights of our members, has worked as hard in this area as any in the United States.

Pay differentials for comparable work still exist in our industries in spite of the acknowledged leadership which the UAW has given to end the immoral economic practice of discriminating against women in their wage payments.

The power and resources available to a voluntary organization simply are not adequate to the task of dealing across the total economy with a problem which is rooted in tradition, that is reinforced by strongly held prejudices, and whose continuance is encouraged by an economic incentive which induces the least moral, the least sensitive, and least responsible of employers to take competitive advantage of competing employers who recognize the injustice of unequal pay for equal work.

Voluntary organizations and individual citizens should no more bear the total responsibility of defending the rights of women against wage discrimination than they should be saddled with the burden of defending against price discrimination. We have our antitrust laws and our Interstate Commerce Act; we have outlawed discrimination in Government agencies; we forbid unequal justice in the courts. We must take similar action to guarantee against wage discrimination by adopting a universal rule of equal pay for equal work.

It is the Federal Government's responsibility to insure equal justice especially where the interests of a population are involved which is as large as the women's population in the United States. Twenty-two States have acknowledged this responsibility, but the fact is, neither the separate States nor the individual unions are, by themselves, equal to this task.

The UAW, for the most part, is organized in the States where there are equal pay laws and most of our own contracts provide for equal pay for equal work.

Yet recently the UAW, in preparation for this testimony, made a sample survey of the plants where our members work and in 18 of the 53 locations studied there were differentials in rates of pay for substantially similar work, with women receiving from 8 to 15 cents per hour less than men. Company resistance to the equal pay for equal work principle is essentially the reason for this.

The wage rate differentials that continue to exist represent a residue of unresolved argument after 25 years of bargaining in which the union and its members have applied their energy and resources to grinding the inequity away. Twenty-five years of direct application to the problem have reduced the differential substantially from its original dimensions, but the disparity and the injustice, though reduced, nevertheless remain.

Progress is still being made, but the inroads on inertia, the resistance offered by the prejudices of management, not always as official policy, very often, in

fact, as an obdurate personal eccentricity, even the prejudices of male union members, result in a rate of advance which is far too slow and which indicates that it will be many years under present conditions before this evil, and it is an evil, will be eliminated, if at all. Continuous improvement, moreover, is put into jeopardy by the persistence of substantial unemployment and the unremitting pressure of automation on factory and clerical employment. This experience is proof that the usual dog-eared citations of arguments against an equal pay law are, in fact, frivolous.

Education, unless reinforced by the compulsion of law, will not serve to persuade employers or convince workingmen who are under the illusion that they are enjoying a special privilege in men's jobs or rates, to recognize or accept that the injustice of wage discrimination must be corrected.

It bears repeating that, willing though the American union movement may be to enforce a rule of morality on American industry, the task of enforcing equal pay for equal work through unions alone is beyond the ability of voluntary organizations to accomplish. At the same time, once the injustice of unequal pay for equal work is recognized, it is manifestly an impropriety for the community to place on voluntary organizations the burden of enforcing a rule which public morality demands.

It is increasingly evident that collective bargaining alone is not the ultimate answer to this difficult problem. It requires the establishment of public policy through enactment of law.

During the two generations equal pay laws have been pending before the Congress, every argument for them has been made, and the Members of Congress are very likely familiar with them. Nevertheless they bear repeating:

1. Unequal pay is immoral in that it deprives women of what is rightfully theirs. When this kind of immorality exists in other contexts, society deals with it as the evil which it is and outlaws it. For example, railroads and other common carriers may not discriminate against one shipper in favor of another by charging one higher or a lower schedule of prices. Businesses are protected from price discrimination on the part of wholesalers and manufacturers. Obviously, there is no more justification for a dual wage system based on sex than there is for a dual price system based on sex.

2. The inequity is an irritation and a bar to effective employer-employee relations. The wage differential is a source of uneasiness and insecurity to the men on the job inasmuch as the incentive to the employer to shift work to the low-cost women's classifications is a continuing threat to the jobs of men. Where the dual wage system prevails there is an inevitable latent volatile instability, which is a hazard and an injury to employer and employee alike.

3. The inequity assesses a penalty upon the workers in the economy who are already as a rule paid the lowest rates, yet these workers have responsibilities that are no less burdensome than those of other workers.

4. Unequal pay results in the uneconomic use of manpower and womanpower in that dual wage classifications interfere with what should be an occupational mobility that allows each person in the plant to work at the job he or she is most capable of performing.

5. An unfair competition in wage costs inevitably results, put an undesirable pressure on standard wages, and creates disadvantages for those employers who do accept the moral responsibility to establish a single wage level for the same work.

The declaration of purpose in the equal pay bill makes each of these arguments. But the bill cannot convey in its legalistic language the personal hurt and abuse which the victims of injustice feel.

There would be no question that the Congress would enact this legislation promptly if each legislator could experience only for a moment the bitterness a woman feels working day by day beside a man who does nothing that she does not do, and yet who receives 8, 9, 10, 15 cents an hour more than she; and, in plants where progress equal to that of the UAW has not been made, perhaps a third more pay.

No one, however, in stating the moral, social, economic, and political case against unequal treatment of women, has improved on the original classic statement by John Stuart Mill almost 100 years ago in his essay on the subjugation of women.

"When we consider the positive evil caused to the disqualified half of the human race by their disqualification \* \* \*," Mill wrote, "one feels that, among

all the lessons which men require for carrying on the struggle against the inevitable imperfections of their lot on earth, there is no lesson which they more need than not to add to the evils which nature inflicts, by their jealous and prejudiced restrictions on one another."

The Congress, by the enactment of the equal pay bill, is in a position now to discharge a long overdue obligation of conscience and national need. The American community is surely overready to accept it.

The fact is, unequal pay is a form of cheating whose victims include widows and orphans who too often already have too little to maintain a decent standard of life in the United States. The immediate personal quality of the injury to women and children is so great as to entitle the legislation to the highest priority. The deprivation is not theoretic either in the hurt to the workers affected or to the Nation's economy. Each day until the equal pay bill is passed and provision is made for its enforcement, hundreds of thousands of women will be paid less than they are entitled to and they need, and their dependents will be injured by the deprivation of food, clothing, and shelter their mothers have earned.

Surely, this is a burden that should be lifted without delay from the conscience of the Nation.

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COUNTRY MUSIC ASSOCIATION, INC.,  
Nashville, Tenn., March 28, 1962.

HON. ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG,  
Secretary of Labor, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SECRETARY GOLDBERG: The enclosed article appeared in our local newspaper yesterday.

As a woman who has been fighting the battle of equity for women for 15 years, I wanted to congratulate you and thank you for taking this stand.

I am sure millions of women across the country will appreciate your interest and efforts in their behalf.

Sincerely,

Mrs. JO WALKER, *Executive Secretary.*

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[From the Nashville Banner, Mar. 27, 1962]

#### GOLDBERG TELLS HOUSE UNIT WOMEN SHOULD GET EQUAL PAY

WASHINGTON.—Women should get the same pay as men for performing the same jobs as a matter of equity, says Secretary of Labor Arthur J. Goldberg.

Goldberg, testifying Monday before a House Labor Subcommittee, said women should receive equal pay as an "elementary rule of equity."

He told the committee that an equal pay bill it is considering is a modest measure, calling only for equal pay rates for the same jobs and not setting any minimum salaries.

Later Assistant Secretary of Labor Esther Petersen testified that in 1960 the average annual wage for men was \$5,417 while the average for women was \$3,293. She added:

"Not only the individual womanworker but the effective functioning of our whole economy is handicapped by the lingering notion that women are inferior workers, are not worth as much as men to an employer, and are working only for short periods until they marry and depend on their husbands for economic support."

Representative Edith Green, Democrat, Oregon, said that on a recent trip to Russia she was asked more questions about discrimination against women in the United States than about racial discrimination.

The bill before the committee would establish job evaluation standards to determine if women are being paid less for the same job. If an employer could not be persuaded to remedy the situation, hearings could be held and employees discriminated against could collect the difference in wages plus an equal amount in damages.

Also, the employer would be ineligible for Government contracts. However, there are no criminal penalties included in the bill.

GREENSBORO, N.C., *March 27, 1962.*

HON. ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG,  
*Secretary of Labor, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: Please emphasize your "equal pay bill" to the maximum. It is long past due.

In our town, as in many others no doubt, discrimination based on sex is so very evident it makes me sick. I am a woman responsible for my own keep and on the pitiful wages paid women it is almost impossible to make a decent living. There are very few women I know, working in various occupations, who make sufficient salaries to completely support themselves. The fact that a woman is the sole breadwinner has no effect on the employer whatsoever. His mind is closed to the fact that it is the man's responsibility to make the living and he could care less about the single girl, widow, divorcee, or what have you, who has to make her own way. But, when employing a man in the same fields, he automatically knows that right from the start, his salary will be \$10 or \$20 more on the week because he's a man.

My own personal experience with jobs and job hunting has been most disgusting and the attitudes of employers relative to the salaries they pay women seem unjust.

Respectfully,

MILDRED H. MILLS.

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OFFICE OF THE COUNTY PURCHASING AGENT,  
 COUNTY OF NUECES,  
*Corpus Christi, Tex., March 27, 1962.*

HON. ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG,  
*Secretary of Labor, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. GOLDBERG: My sincere thanks to you and Esther Peterson for your efforts for an elementary rule of equity, requiring that women should get equal pay with men for equal work.

I am a widow with two children to support, and have been forced into the business world. I have had to do a better job than the men I have replaced, but have been paid less because I am a woman. I just want to let you know that what you are doing is greatly appreciated by me and many.

Very truly yours,

COSTOLENE JOHNSON.

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BOSTON, MASS., *March 26, 1962.*

MR. ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG,  
*U.S. Secretary of Labor,  
 Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. GOLDBERG: If you would be kind enough to answer the following question for me I would more than appreciate it.

Do you think a firm should differentiate between male and female employees insofar as salaries are concerned. I refer to nonunion office help. For example, I work for a good firm but the powers that be seem to think that male employees rate more pay than female employees even though both do their work satisfactorily. The male employees where I work get higher raises than the female employees even though both merit the same increases, and ability or seniority does not seem to enter into the picture when increases are given.

I talked this matter over with the boss for whom I am secretary, and where I have been employed for many years for the same company, and he told me there were many inequities in life and this matter of differentiating between male and female employees was one of them. I stated that this need not be so as it was up to the bosses to see that there was equity for all, and each employee whether male or female should be compensated according to their ability, faithfulness, and seniority also should enter into the matter.

Do you agree with me that there should be no discrimination between male and female employees insofar as salaries are concerned, and that both should receive the same consideration when the work of both is comparable and each merits it? To me, the idea of an employer discriminating between male and female employees (salarywise) is most unfair and unjust and I would like your honest opinion on the matter.

Your early advice or opinion would be much appreciated as I think my bosses are wrong, and as I said before I do work for nice people and a good company and my only gripe is the way they differentiate between male and female personnel.

Thank you so much for your reply to this letter.

Yours very truly,

ELIZABETH S. JOHNSEN.

SENATE RESOLUTION NO. 50 OF THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF ALASKA  
RELATING TO PENDING CONGRESSIONAL LEGISLATION ON EQUAL PAY FOR WOMEN

*Be it resolved by the senate in second legislature, second session, assembled:*

Whereas Alaska, since its first year as a Territory and now as a State, has shown a continuing interest in and concern for equal rights for women; and

Whereas the first evidence of this interest was shown in 1913 when the first act of the first Territorial legislature was the extension of suffrage to women several years ahead of the national enactment of female suffrage; and

Whereas in 1949, the Alaska Legislature provided that both sexes would receive equal pay for equal or comparable work; and

Whereas the Legislature of the State of Alaska is continuing the pioneer work of its Territorial predecessor in guaranteeing equal rights: Be it

*Resolved by the senate in second legislature, second session, assembled,* That it respectfully urges the Congress to favorably consider further Federal action to guarantee equal rights and opportunities for women and to act favorably this year on H.R. 3796 as it relates to equal pay for women for equal or comparable work; and be it further

*Resolved,* That copies of this resolution be directed to the Honorable Ralph J. Rivers, author of H.R. 3796, for distribution to the members of the Select Subcommittee on Labor of the Committee on Education and Labor of the U.S. House of Representatives, and to the other members of the Alaska delegation in Congress.

Passed by the senate March 26, 1962.

FRANK PERATROVICH,  
*President of the Senate.*

Attest:

EVELYN K. STEVENSON,  
*Secretary of the Senate.*

Certified true, full, and correct:

EVELYN K. STEVENSON,  
*Secretary of the Senate.*

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY FUND,  
*New York, N.Y., April 11, 1962.*

Hon. HERBERT ZELENKO,  
*Committee on Education and Labor,*  
*U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.*

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I am terribly sorry that I was away when your letter of March 22 came to my office.

I am exceedingly interested in your hearings on the bills introduced by yourself and Congresswoman Green. I feel that if passed they would cover a long-needed reform in our wage structure.

I would like very much to be able to testify during the course of your hearings. My difficulty is that I must be present at an all-day meeting of the board of trustees of the Twentieth Century Fund at Princeton on the 27th, and I have committed myself to serve on a committee of the ADA annual convention in Washington on the 28th.

I am certain that your hearings are going to be very productive and trust that they will lead to favorable action by the Congress.

Very sincerely yours,

ISADOR LUBIN.

UNITED CHURCH WOMEN,  
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE U.S.A.  
*New York, N.Y., April 19, 1962.*

HON. HERBERT ZELENKO,  
*Committee on Education and Labor,  
House Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.*

MY DEAR MR. ZELENKO: Thank you very much for your invitation of April 9 to testify at the hearings on April 27 and 28 in relation to the equal pay for equal work bills. United Church Women has long had a deep concern for this issue, and we are gratified that the matter is coming before Congress.

It is a matter of regret that it is not possible for us to testify at the hearings to be held at this time.

Sincerely yours,

ELEANOR FRENCH,  
*Director, Christian Social Relations.*

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COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS OF AMERICA,  
*Indianapolis, Ind., April 25, 1962.*

Congressman HERBERT ZELENKO,  
*House Office Building, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ZELENKO: As a representative of some 4,000 female workers, I strongly urge your favorable consideration of H.R. 10226, "equal pay for equal work." The impact of a fair and sensible approach to this problem will correct a longstanding inequity between wage earners and will tend to boost the economy of our country.

Sincerely,

MAE MANN, *CWA State Director.*



