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Women in Industrial Welfare Work

by

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Welfare work has often been described as essentially a woman's profession. The author of the following article, who had direct experience of social work in post-war Germany, has made an attempt, with the aid of the material which the International Labour Office possesses on the subject, to determine the extent to which women are employed in industrial welfare work. After a survey of the historical development of professional welfare work, she describes the different forms which this occupation assumes in various countries, the duties of welfare workers, and the training facilities provided.

THIS article is a contribution to the study of methods of promoting the welfare of workers employed in an undertaking.¹ Women's share in this work is so large and so varied that it deserves separate treatment. There are four main fields of activity for women in this connection: (1) welfare and educational work outside the workplace; (2) care for the well-being of the workers inside the undertaking; (3) efforts to promote co-operative relations at the workplace; and (4) the direct improvement of efficiency.

The following study is limited to voluntary welfare schemes. All services required by law are thus excluded. It should be remembered, however, that certain welfare measures may be

¹ "Industrial welfare" is not confined to industry in the narrow sense of the term, but refers equally to mines, plantations, department stores, transport undertakings, etc.

based on voluntary action in one country and compulsory in another. To take an instance, in many countries ¹ day nurseries must be established in all undertakings employing more than a specified number of women workers, but in other countries their establishment is voluntary. Even within the same country, the limits between voluntary and compulsory welfare measures are constantly changing. The appointment of welfare workers in undertakings, however, is still nearly everywhere left to the employer's discretion. ²

Even voluntary schemes will be considered here only in so far as they are intended to benefit the workers employed in a particular undertaking. This excludes, for example, the work of women engaged in welfare activities for trade unions, political parties, or settlements.

Finally, a distinction must be made between welfare work and personnel administration.

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Welfare work has often been described as essentially a woman's profession. ³ Women play such a prominent part in it that studies of the subject ⁴ are almost exclusively devoted to their achievements in this field. In Great Britain the Association of Industrial Welfare Workers had an almost exclusively female membership when founded in 1913, and only in 1935 (when it had changed its name to "Institute of Labour Management") found it advisable to provide for the needs of male members. ⁵

Unfortunately, however, no precise numerical data are available to show the extent to which welfare work is done by

¹ Argentina, Brazil, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Estonia, India, Italy, Mexico, Peru, Poland, Rumania, the Soviet Union, Uruguay, and Yugoslavia; cf. INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE: *The Law and Women's Work* (Studies and Reports, Series I, No. 4, Geneva, 1939), pp. 52-111.

² In Peru an Act of 30 April 1937 obliges all industrial undertakings employing over 300 persons to appoint a woman welfare worker.

³ "The occupation of welfare superintendent is generally considered as a female employment, and choice of staff is mostly influenced by the need for appointing women with maternal instincts and sufficient sensibility to fit them for a profession which demands a certain amount both of charity and devotion." Cf. INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE: *Occupation and Health* (Geneva, 1934), Vol. II, p. 1217.

⁴ Cf. Frieda WUNDERLICH: *Fabrikpflege* (Berlin, 1926); L. JAHN, E. HÖTTE, and M. GRUNDIES: "Der Stand der industriellen Wohlfahrtspflege", in *Sozialrechtliches Jahrbuch*, Vol. IV (Mannheim, 1933).

⁵ Cf. *Labour Management*, Vol. XVI, No. 174, June 1934, p. 118; Vol. XVII, No. 185, June 1935, p. 108; Vol. XVIII, No. 197, July 1936, p. 117.

women. The extensive and otherwise highly informative special literature of the subject gives in most cases a full description of the machinery of welfare schemes; but the staff responsible for the actual work is hardly ever described in detail. Even in those studies which do give information regarding the staff it is rarely possible to find figures showing the numbers of men and of women employed.

The object of the present article is to draw attention to this question. An outline will first be given of the historical development of the employment of women as welfare workers, and this will be followed by an account of the different forms of welfare work in which women engage.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

Before 1914

In some countries the profession of welfare worker is among the newest of women's occupations; but it would be wrong to suppose that women's entry into this field is a recent development. On the contrary, women have worked there, as initiators or as executives, ever since welfare work has existed. The expression "welfare worker" and many of the methods now used are, it is true, of modern origin; but the essential function is as old as industry itself.

In the early stages of its development welfare work was carried on largely by employers' wives, sisters, and daughters, who cared for sick workers and helped workers' families in times of need; they visited women in childbirth, taught the workers' children to read and write when there was no school near the factory, and instructed women workers and workers' wives in domestic economy. Monographs on individual industries and undertakings sometimes refer particularly to these activities and to the important part women have played in welfare work¹; but the number of cases actually recorded is

¹ Reference may be made as an instance to Mrs. J. J. Colman, who initiated the welfare institutions established by the firm of J. & J. Colman, of Norwich, England, in the 1870's. "It was her dream which inspired these early beginnings. A woman of broad sympathies and a depth of understanding, she identified herself with the welfare of the firm's employees at Carrow Works, Norwich, and established many of the social services.... She early turned her attention to the maintenance of works kitchens where wholesome food could be purchased at moderate prices, and herself served the meal to the hungry workpeople. Day schools and Sunday schools were her chief concern.... Sick visiting was commenced in 1872 and later a woman welfare worker was appointed to co-ordinate all the work which had been commenced." (Irene H. CHARLEY: "The Place of the Nurse in Industry in Great

small in relation to the extent of the work accomplished in many countries, particularly in Sweden, Great Britain, France, Germany, and Switzerland.

As welfare services developed, more and more women were employed. Mines and foundries, factories, stores, and transport undertakings, provided their employees with canteens, living quarters, sick and lying-in hospitals, kindergartens, and schools. All these institutions required a largely female staff for the domestic, nursing, welfare and educational work involved.

Industrial development led in some cases not only to an extension of these institutions but also to a widening of the scope of welfare work. In addition to facilities outside the actual undertaking, provision began to be made for the well-being of employees while at work. Women were thus brought into the factories with duties requiring knowledge of nursing and welfare. These social workers were particularly sought after in undertakings which employed women and children; and in these cases their duties included looking after women and juvenile employees at the workplace, giving advice to women workers in difficulties whether occupational or private, care of pregnant women workers, etc. In almost every instance they also collaborated in welfare institutions outside the undertaking.

Until the outbreak of war in 1914, however, this branch of social work had appeared in very few countries, and was nowhere widely developed. For example, in 1914 there were in all only about 25 women workers of this sort in Great Britain and about 20 in Germany.¹

1914-1918

It was the war which caused this branch of welfare work to develop. In Great Britain, France, and Germany, thousands of women and girls flocked into the munition factories. Many

Britain", in Congress Papers of the Congress of the International Council of Nurses, London, 1937, p. 99.)

The names of female members of the Cadbury family (chocolate factory, Bourneville, England) and the Krupp family (steel works, Essen, Germany), and those of Mrs. Boucicault and Mrs. Louise Cognacq-Jay, who helped to develop the welfare institutions of the Paris department stores Bon Marché and Samaritaine, are also widely known.

¹ Cf. Elizabeth D. NEWCOMB: "Industrial Welfare Work in Great Britain", in *International Labour Review*, Vol. V, No. 4, April 1922, p. 556; Frieda WUNDERLICH: *op. cit.*, p. 3.

had absolutely no previous experience of factory work, and being untrained they were exposed to dangers threatening their lives and health and to the difficulties of an unfamiliar occupational existence. They needed help in entering and settling down in industry, during the actual work, and in their personal life outside the factory. As the authorities of the belligerent countries soon realised, to protect these women was a national necessity for demographic reasons. In Great Britain, at the desire of the War Office, women were engaged to supervise the welfare of female workers in munition factories from 1916 onward. France followed the British example. Albert Thomas, then Minister of Munitions, sent a group of women workers to Great Britain to study the methods adopted in the munition factories there; and on their return steps were taken to appoint women supervisors (*surintendantes*) in France. In Germany, in 1917, the Prussian and Bavarian War Offices issued instructions that factory welfare workers should be appointed in Government establishments. In all three countries many private undertakings, either voluntarily or under official pressure, followed the example of the Government and appointed women welfare workers. The duties of these persons were only in part connected with matters of welfare. They looked after the health of the women workers, organised canteens and day nurseries, and advised women on health questions, the education of their children, and personal problems of all kinds. But they also had duties within the undertaking which pertained rather to personnel management; these included assistance in the engagement of employees and the allocation of workplaces, and supervision of working conditions from the hygienic and psychological points of view. At the end of the war there were 752 factory welfare workers in Germany¹, and the number in Great Britain² was estimated at 1,000.

1918-1928

The occupation of industrial welfare worker, which had gained recognition during the war, persisted afterwards, although in the first decade after the war the number of welfare workers actually employed in factories decreased heavily in France and Germany along with the decline in the employment

¹ Frieda WUNDERLICH : *op. cit.*, p. 6.

² Elizabeth D. NEWCOMB : *loc. cit.*

of women in industry.¹ Many employers regarded welfare workers in the factory as an unnecessary expense; and the employees were not interested in retaining in the works women whom they regarded as acting solely in the interests of the employer. In these countries, therefore, the number of women engaged in welfare work in the factory fell to minute proportions, though the number employed in subsidiary welfare institutions for employees continued to grow.

In France the years after 1918 saw the development of the "equalisation funds" (originally organisations for spreading the cost of family allowances) into important centres of welfare work for the employees of affiliated undertakings. The funds supplemented the payment of cash allowances by nursing, education, and general welfare work, for employees and their families. For this a large staff of nurses and welfare workers was required; and the increase in the number of funds and the growth of these activities brought about a steady rise in the number of women engaged as nurses, visitors, and teachers.²

In Great Britain, on the other hand, many of the welfare workers taken on in the exceptional circumstances of the war were subsequently retained in their posts inside the undertakings.³ While in France welfare work was directed towards the economic security, health, and general culture, of the family, and thus formed a part of the general policy of safe-

¹ In France there were only 48 factory welfare workers in 1928 (*Première Conférence internationale du service social*, Paris, 1928, Vol. III, p. 134); in 1938 there were about 300 (Baroness de BRIMONT: "L'œuvre des surintendantes françaises", in *Le Rempart*, 7 October 1933). In Germany there were about 110 factory welfare workers in 1925 (Ludwig SCHMIDT-KEHL: *Die deutsche Fabrikpflegerin*, Berlin, 1926, p. 7), and about 170 in 1932 (L. JAHN, E. HÖTTE, and M. GRUNDIES: *op. cit.*, p. 186).

² These funds, which began as services voluntarily established by employers, have subsequently — by an Act of 11 March 1932 — become compulsory institutions. But their nursing, welfare and educational activity is on a voluntary and not on a statutory basis, so that the persons employed by the funds for these duties may be regarded as engaged in industrial welfare work within the limits of this article.

A recent report of the Equalisation Fund for the Paris Area gives an idea of the welfare activities of the funds and of the extent to which women are employed by them: "The social service of the Equalisation Fund of the Paris Area is in the hands of visiting nurses, who go into families which have requested their services and give the benefit of their experience in all matters relating to the physical and mental health of the children and the welfare of the home. This service, which started in 1921 with 5 visiting nurses, now has 108.... Besides the 108 visiting nurses, the social service has 18 dispensary nurses and 43 teachers of domestic economy."

³ Elizabeth D. NEWCOMB (*loc. cit.*) estimates the number of women social workers employed inside undertakings in Great Britain in 1921 at 600.

guarding the family and maintaining the population, in Great Britain its objects were more directly economic. In the previous decades, employers had based their welfare work mainly on philanthropic, religious and humanitarian feelings ; but economic reasons now began to predominate in justifying expenditure on welfare schemes. The line of thought thus adopted was that which had characterised personnel policy in the United States during the war and still more in the post-war years. In the English-speaking countries supporters of welfare work in the factory now based their arguments chiefly on the increase in productivity resulting from enlightened labour management, and were mainly interested in this branch of welfare work.¹

The effect of this development on the employment of women as welfare workers in the English-speaking countries was twofold : the growing interest taken in questions of industrial welfare and labour management led to a wider appreciation of the value of industrial welfare work, and this brought about a rapid increase in the employment of women in this field ; on the other hand, there was a tendency to employ men instead of women wherever nursing and welfare work gave place to personnel management schemes.

Since 1928

This process is still continuing. In Great Britain industrial welfare work was specifically a woman's occupation as long as it was concerned mainly with welfare activities of the old type, but with the advance of labour management schemes the proportion of male employees has continued to rise.²

In the United States, where welfare work has never been so important a factor in industrial relations as it was, and to some extent still is, in certain other countries, women predominate only in the restricted field of welfare activities in the narrow sense of the term.³

¹ The shift of interest is reflected in the fact that in Great Britain the Association of Industrial Welfare Workers changed its name in 1931 to Institute of Labour Management.

² The Institute of Labour Management stated in October 1937 : " We are moving towards a balanced membership, as we now have 117 corporate men members, nearly equally divided between labour and staff management." (*Labour Management*, Vol. XX, No. 212, Jan. 1938, p. 2.)

³ For instance, of 2,022 welfare workers covered by L. M. TATTERSHALL in a study on " Nurses in Commerce and Industry " (*The Public Health Nurse*, Dec. 1930, quoted in INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE : *Occupation and Health*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 1220), 1,833 were women and 189 men.

In general, it may be said that in all countries women are employed wherever welfare, nursing and educational duties are required in connection with but outside the undertaking. Inside the undertaking until a few years ago women were to be found as welfare workers mainly in the English-speaking countries. In 1928 there were also professional women welfare workers employed in undertakings in Austria, Belgium, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Switzerland; but in all these countries women were slow in entering this field of activity.¹

Since 1928 industrial welfare work for women on a professional basis has developed widely in Italy. From 1921 to 1928 only about 20 firms in all had appointed women welfare workers. But from 1928 on the Fascist Party took over the training of women for industrial welfare work, particularly with a view to the campaign against tuberculosis, the work of explaining the operation of social insurance, and efforts to increase output. In addition, women welfare workers are expected to help in the inculcation of the Fascist spirit in undertakings. Reports are published twice a year on the activity of these workers.²

In Germany, too, the profession of woman welfare worker in the factory has been encouraged afresh under the National-Socialist State, and a new phase of development opened in 1934. The Women's Department of the German Labour Front now has a special branch for the training of women welfare workers and the organisation of propaganda in favour of further expansion of welfare work in undertakings.³

¹ Details on this subject may be found in the publications of the International Association for the Study and Improvement of Human Relations and Conditions in Industry. See *Report of the Proceedings of the International Industrial Welfare (Personnel) Congress, Flushing, June 1925*, and *Report of the First Triennial Congress, Cambridge, July 1928*.

² The reports appear in a periodical entitled *L'assistenza sociale nell'industria* (issued by the Fascist Confederation of Industrial Employers), which encourages welfare work by means of pictures and printed matter; according to this publication (July-Aug. 1938, p. 59), at the end of June 1938 there were 170 women welfare workers engaged in 905 undertakings with 663,949 employees.

³ According to a report of the National Women's Leader dated 10 September 1937 (*Völkischer Beobachter*, 11 Sept. 1937), there were women welfare workers or factory nurses in 550 undertakings in September 1937. Since that date propaganda for the appointment of welfare workers has been continued without relaxation.

FORMS OF PROFESSIONAL WELFARE WORK

An idea of the extent and variety of women's activity in industrial welfare work may be obtained from a review of the different professions involved. Unfortunately, occupational statistics do not show how many of the persons belonging to these professions may be regarded as engaged in industrial welfare work.

The occupations from which the women who take part in welfare work are recruited include some where the main requirement is knowledge of a certain type and others where the essential qualification is a suitable attitude towards the persons with whom the worker will have to deal. The first group consists of technical assistants, laboratory workers, and the large domestic and commercial staff which welfare institutions require; the second consists mainly of nurses, teachers, and welfare workers proper.

A census of the women engaged in various occupations within the limits of industrial welfare work should of course extend to all the occupations concerned. Owing to the great number and variety of these occupations, however, the following remarks will deal only with a few characteristic examples, and will be confined to the second of the groups mentioned. In this group two types of occupation may be distinguished: occupations exercised by specialists in a narrow field, and complex occupations involving activities in different fields.

The duties of both the specialised and the complex occupations are examined below. Training for them is dealt with only in so far as it is deliberately adapted to industrial welfare work. This applies more particularly to the complex occupations, for in training specialists there is no need at the outset to consider, for instance, whether an infants' nurse is to work in a public children's hospital or in a factory children's home, whether a midwife will attend confinements in a private nursing home or in a factory lying-in hospital, or whether a kindergarten teacher will work in a Government or a factory school.

Specialised Occupations

Health.

The number of women engaged in specialised health occupations, and working within the field of industrial welfare, is very large.

Women have long acted as medical and infants' nurses in industry. This occupation was one of the first in countries where other welfare activities have since made their appearance, and is always prominent in countries where industrial welfare work is still in a rudimentary stage. Usually women are first employed as nurses in connection with but outside the undertaking, and only somewhat later in the factory itself. But the beginnings of nurses' work inside the undertaking lie several decades back.¹

When duties inside the undertakings are assumed, the nurse's functions are modified, and include first aid in cases of accident, partial responsibility for health conditions, supervision of eating and washing rooms, and the training of workers in matters of health. The nurse is still engaged in a specialised occupation; but it now requires adaptation to industrial requirements at the training stage. In Great Britain, where the number of nurses employed in industry was about 1,000 in 1932, special training facilities for industrial nurses have been provided in recent years.²

In the United States, too, the demand for industrial nurses, and therefore also for the appropriate training facilities, is steadily increasing. Consequently, the schools of nursing are obliged either to include training for industrial nurses in the general courses or to establish special courses for the new branch.³ The National Organisation for Public Health Nursing already has a special industrial nursing section.

In many cases the duties of the factory nurse extend to family welfare, organisation of spare time, and general educational work, so that a specialised occupation is converted into one of the complex type.⁴

¹ For instance, as early as 1868 the firm of Moët & Chandon, of Epernay, France, established a health service, and appointed both a doctor and a works nurse, who visited homes and rendered first aid in cases of accident at the works. In Great Britain the firm of J. & J. Colman, Norwich, appointed an "industrial nurse" about 1875.

² Irene H. CHARLEY : *loc. cit.*, pp. 103-104.

³ Philip STEPHENS : "The Industrial Nurse : Her Qualifications from the Point of View of the Physician in Industry", in *Public Health Nursing*, Vol. 28, No. 9, Sept. 1936, p. 610.

⁴ Instances in A. D. LAZENBY : "The Place of the Nurse in Industry", in *Public Health Nursing*, Vol. 28, No. 11, Nov. 1936, pp. 713 *et seq.* ; Philip STEPHENS : *loc. cit.* ; Phoebe BROWN : "The Industrial Nurse's Part in the Prevention of Sickness", in *Public Health Nursing*, Vol. 30, No. 2, Feb. 1938, pp. 85 *et seq.*

Other specialised occupations connected with health are those of midwives and monthly nurses in factory lying-in hospitals. Women doctors are also engaged by many large undertakings for their female employees. Here again, while there are many cases in which the work does not differ in any material way from that of the same occupations outside the limits of industrial welfare work, there is evidence that under the influence of the surroundings in which it is carried on the specialised occupation exceeds its original bounds and becomes a complex one. For instance, factory doctors take over duties connected with social welfare and vocational guidance; and it may be mentioned that the first woman who began factory welfare work in Italy in 1921 as a "factory secretary" was a doctor.¹

Education.

Specialists belonging to the educational profession are also commonly employed in industrial welfare work. When attention began to be paid by employers to health questions, educational work was instituted as well. The women who first looked after and taught children in nurseries and schools for miners' and factory workers' families were, of course, not properly trained. But to-day large numbers of qualified kindergarten and other teachers are employed. Specialists in scientific subjects, manual training, cooking, dressmaking, the care of infants, gymnastics, etc., teach the children of employees of undertakings in every continent. It is not only in countries where public education is undeveloped that employers provide schools for the children of their workers. For instance, the firm of Philips at Eindhoven in the Netherlands, where there has been public education for many years, established special schools for the children of employees from the north of the country because "they considered that the children of such workers should be provided with an education more likely to be free from religious bias than that given at the communal schools".²

Teachers are also employed in adult education schemes as

¹ *Première Conférence internationale du service social, op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 70.

² Cf. INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE: *Studies on Industrial Relations: II* (Studies and Reports, Series A, No. 35, Geneva, 1932), p. 106.

a part of industrial welfare work. It is impossible here to give even an approximately complete review of the different kinds of educational activities which are carried on in this way. A great many factories, mines, department stores, transport undertakings, etc., give employees and their dependants opportunities to pursue a general education. Teachers of domestic economy give instruction in cooking, dressmaking, and house-keeping; others teach languages and general subjects, or music and folk dancing; and there are also teachers of gymnastics, sport, gardening, and home nursing. Most of this work is probably done by women, since subjects related to domestic economy, health, and the upbringing of children, are the commonest feature in the educational curricula of undertakings in the most widely different countries. In addition, this branch of education is provided not only for women employees but also for the female dependants of employees in undertakings which do not employ women. In the chief undertakings of the French and German mining and iron and steel industries, for example, educational facilities for the wives of employees are an old established tradition.

The librarians of factory libraries must also be mentioned among the specialised employees engaged in educational activities as a part of industrial welfare work. Though the number of women employed in this way is not large, they constitute a group which should not be passed over in forming an idea of the variety of occupations in which women engage in this field.

Finally, women are occasionally responsible for the vocational training of employees. In many cases this training is given at the workplace, and full-time teachers are not employed. But for the last twenty years special teachers have been used to train saleswomen in the big American department stores, and among the staff managers in British and the women instructors in German department stores there are many whose previous experience and principal activity justify their classification as teachers. These women are responsible for the occupational training of the saleswomen, and give classes in languages, salesmanship, and knowledge of the goods sold.

As in the case of industrial nurses, the occupation of teachers employed in industry often develops into one embracing social welfare in general.

Complex Occupations

We have seen that the performance of special duties in industrial welfare work repeatedly leads to their combination with other duties. But practical needs have led to the development of a new type of occupation, a complex type, the characteristic feature of which is that, unlike those described above, it consists in the performance of various distinct functions. This is the profession of industrial welfare worker, a profession closely related to that of welfare workers in general but deriving special characteristics from its preoccupation with problems of employment.

The occupations take different forms, but it is characteristic of them all that they in some way combine functions of social welfare and of education. In Great Britain these duties are performed by persons known as "industrial welfare workers", "social secretaries", "welfare superintendents", "welfare supervisors", "girl supervisors", "labour managers", "visiting nurses", "personnel managers", and "staff managers". In the United States the terms used are "labour manager", "personnel manager", "personnel director", "industrial nurse", and simply "nurse". In Belgium and France such general terms as "social assistant" and "social worker" are used, sometimes also "visiting nurse" and more frequently still "woman supervisor" (*surintendante*); this last term has generally been adopted as the occupational description of the factory welfare worker.

In Germany the expressions "sister", "factory sister", "adviser" (*Vertrauensdame*), "nurse", or "social secretary", were used in the first stages. The title "factory nurse" is particularly often met with, even where the undertaking is not strictly speaking a factory at all. In mines and the heavy industries the terms "works welfare worker" and "works nurse" are the commonest. The Committee for Industrial Social Work put the expression "industrial social worker" into circulation, and the Women's Department of the German Labour Front has made this the official title for those women social workers who are responsible for attending to the "education and vocational efficiency of workers at the workplace".¹ This definition involves a distinction between the social workers

¹ Cf. *Aus der Arbeit der Deutschen Arbeitsfront*, 1 July 1937.

whose duties lie in the fields of labour management and of social welfare respectively. For the latter the title "works nurse" or "industrial nurse" was chosen.

In Italy the earlier expressions "*segretaria di fabbrica*" (factory secretary) and "*sopraintendenta*" (woman superintendent) have been replaced by the term chosen by the Fascist Party "*assistenta sociale nell'industria*" (industrial social assistant).

In industrial welfare work women have opened up for themselves a field of activity in which, though they are not alone, their share is extraordinarily great when compared with that of men. In many countries—for instance, in Germany and Italy—the training for this profession is specially adapted to women's needs. In other countries industrial welfare work has not deliberately been reserved for women to the same extent but it is in practice a woman's profession, and the men who engage in it are the exceptions.

In France, for instance, the profession of safety engineer¹ has not become established, but that of woman supervisor has spread, and the activity of women in this field has become characteristic of all welfare work done in French undertakings. The position is similar in the Netherlands, Belgium, Sweden, and Switzerland, where male welfare workers are seldom found.

Women do not so completely dominate the profession of factory welfare worker in Great Britain and the United States. The English language, in which such expressions as welfare worker and personnel manager are common to men and women alike, makes it difficult to tell from the reports on welfare work in individual undertakings whether a man or a woman employee is meant.

Duties of Welfare Workers.

The profession of industrial welfare worker takes two main forms. The first is that of the social worker who attends to the needs of the families of employees, but has no place in the undertaking itself. In the earliest stages of industrial welfare work this was the only type, and even to-day a census would still show a large proportion of women in the employment of factories, railway companies, equalisation funds, etc., as

¹ Cf. E. MAUREL : *L'ingénieur social dans l'entreprise* (Paris, 1929), pp. 215-218.

"factory nurses", "welfare workers", or "social workers", whose nursing, educational or other welfare work is carried on exclusively outside the undertaking.

The other type is that of the factory welfare worker who has nothing whatever to do with welfare institutions outside the undertaking. Her field of action is inside the works, where it is her duty to promote the wellbeing of employees at the workplace itself. She attends to the provision of better ventilation and lighting, rest rooms for breaks in work, dressing rooms, washing facilities, etc., and to improving the appearance of the workplace. Reports on the activity of individual welfare workers indicate that women tend to show particular initiative in this field. Welfare work inside the undertaking also includes the selection and initiation of new employees, supervision of juvenile and women workers, first aid in cases of accident, and the promotion of a good atmosphere in the undertaking.

The services of these women are also used for the adjustment of disputes, particularly in times of unrest, when the welfare workers are regarded as mediators between employers and workers. In France, the woman supervisor's importance to the undertaking from this point of view has been emphasised in the last few years.¹ In the United States, too, reference has often been made recently to the valuable part played by welfare workers in the establishment of good relations between employees and management.²

In the English-speaking countries, the appointment of welfare workers inside the undertaking has been favoured for many years, and in other countries too this method is gradually spreading, because it is regarded as a particularly effective means of increasing the productivity of labour. Nevertheless, though efficiency experts prefer welfare work inside the undertaking and encourage its extension, a glance at the duties actually performed and the instructions issued to welfare workers shows that their activity is at present in most cases a mixture of internal and external duties.

The profession of welfare worker, seen as a whole, thus belongs at present to a transitional type between the two

¹ Cf. André LAVARDON : " Le rôle de la surintendante d'usine en temps d'agitation sociale ", in *La journée industrielle*, 23 Feb. 1937.

² Cf. Ordway TEAD : " New Duties in Personnel Work ", in *Personnel Journal*, Vol. 16, No. 2, June 1937, p. 42 ; Harold B. BERGEN : " Factors in Present-day Industrial Relations ", in *Personnel*, Vol. 14, No. 2, Nov. 1937, pp. 46 *et seq.*

mentioned above. According to the size and character of the undertaking, the social, economic and cultural conditions obtaining outside it, and the views of the employer and the welfare worker, the relative importance attached to the work shifts towards welfare activity proper or towards management.

Training.

The first industrial welfare workers, who came from such specialised professions as nursing, teaching, or domestic science, had no particular training for industry, and obtained the many-sided knowledge and skill required for their complex occupation through experience alone. This practical method of training is still most common in the countries where welfare work inside undertakings has not yet passed beyond the rudimentary stage. Elsewhere special methods of training have been worked out. Welfare workers must first of all be fitted by their character to perform the necessary functions inside the undertaking with self-reliance and yet in accordance with the particular conditions prevailing. Secondly, they must have technical knowledge in widely different fields, since it is typical of the profession that duties of many sorts must be performed by a single person. They are expected to have studied economic and social questions, to be familiar with the organisation and technique of the operations performed in the undertaking, and to possess psychological and educational training and detailed knowledge regarding health, welfare, social insurance, domestic economy, applied psychology, law, and other subjects.

In Europe, training for industrial welfare workers is in general closely related to that of persons taking up other social work. In the United States, on the other hand, the curricula of training institutions for social workers give hardly any space to preparation for industrial welfare work. Of the 33 institutions belonging to the American Association of Schools of Social Work, only Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania, includes industrial relations as a subject of instruction, and only this one college mentions "personnel worker in industry" among the occupations of its graduates.¹

Persons who desire to become staff managers or labour managers in the United States usually train either at the

¹ Cf. A. SALOMON : *Education for Social Work* (Zürich, 1937), pp. 222-255.

universities (which have special departments of "organisation and management" etc. as part of their business schools) or at special schools of business administration or engineering.¹ The scope of the training varies from one institution to another, as regards both the curriculum and the period covered. "Labour problems", "industrial relations", and "industrial management", are common blanket expressions for the subjects which the future personnel manager is expected to study. The following are the individual courses: Principles of Business Administration, Philosophy of Human Relations in Industry, Political Economy, Business Finance, Major Social Problems, Business English, Contracts, Agency and Sales, Principles of Accounting, Personnel Administration, Office Management, Principles and Methods of Training Employees, Psychology of Business, Industrial Processes, Factory Organisation and Management, Markets and Marketing Methods, Theory of Accounting, Trusts, Pools, and Monopolies, Personnel Management, Money and Credit, Labour and Employment Management, Business Ethics, Salesmanship, Statistical Methods, and other subjects in the field of economics, industrial psychology, and scientific management.

There are also schools founded and maintained by employers in co-operation with scientific institutions for the purpose of training industrial welfare workers. These are really advanced vocational schools, specially adapted to the needs of the employers who support them; they are provided, for example, to train personnel managers for department stores and other retail establishments. A compilation of the results of enquiries concerning the previous training of the managerial staff of 14 typical large department stores in the State of Ohio showed that, of the 14 heads of the training departments of these stores, 8 had been through schools of this type.² In other cases the employees responsible for personnel administration were drawn from business life or from the educational profession, and obtained their specialisation through practice.

In the European countries, where the training of industrial welfare workers is closely connected with training for social

¹ Cf. Lee GALLOWAY: "Training in Personnel Relations in American Colleges and Universities", in *Report of the Proceedings of the International Industrial Welfare (Personnel) Congress, Flushing, June 1925*, op. cit., pp. 403 et seq.

² B. F. TIMMONS: *Administration of Personnel Functions in Ohio Department Stores* (Columbus, 1928), quoted in M. STAERK: *Die Personalpolitik der Warenhäuser in den Vereinigten Staaten* (Lachen, 1930), p. 59.

workers in general, various methods have been developed. Characteristic forms will be illustrated by instances from Great Britain, France, Germany, and Italy.

In Great Britain welfare workers in general are trained in schools of social work attached to the universities, and industrial welfare workers may attend the same schools. This form of training was recommended in 1917, when women welfare supervisors were required for the munitions industry, and was retained after the war.¹ General rules laid down by the Joint University Council for Social Studies determine the course of training and admission to examinations.²

The individual universities have a wide degree of liberty as far as the programme of study and the examinations are concerned. At some, Representative Advisory Committees were established during the war as links between academic instruction and practice.³ As questions of industrial psychology and supervision play a very important part in welfare work inside undertakings, these two subjects receive particularly thorough attention in the special lectures for future industrial welfare workers given at the universities, and in the work required of these students. The bigger firms, however, employ experts in these branches and the welfare worker in that case acts as a liaison officer rather than as a specialist.⁴ The programmes of several colleges (the London School of Economics and the Universities of Birmingham, Bristol, Glasgow, and Leeds) refer expressly to special facilities for the training of "industrial welfare workers", "factory welfare workers", and "labour managers".⁵

Apart from the universities, private institutions — particularly the Industrial Welfare Society and the Institute of Labour Management — also devote attention to the initial and subsequent training of industrial welfare workers. Both these bodies are represented on the Joint University Council for Social Studies, and their activities include issuing periodicals, organising lectures, and distributing information. The Institute

¹ *Report upon the Selection and Training of Welfare Supervisors in Factories and Workshops* (London, 1917), quoted in E. MACADAM: *The Equipment of the Social Worker* (London, 1925), p. 113.

² JOINT UNIVERSITY COUNCIL FOR SOCIAL STUDIES: *University Training for Labour Management and Industrial Welfare* (London, 1932).

³ E. MACADAM: *op. cit.*, pp. 119-120.

⁴ E. MACADAM: *op. cit.*, p. 117.

⁵ A. SALOMON: *op. cit.*, pp. 163-184.

of Labour Management is a continuation of the Association of Industrial Welfare Workers, which began to concern itself with raising the standard of training of industrial welfare workers as soon as it was established in 1913, and after the end of September 1920 made membership dependent on proof of thorough training (candidates must hold "the diploma or certificate of one of the approved training courses").¹

In France the training of women supervisors (*surintendantes*) forms part of the training system for social workers in general. Since 1917 there has been a special school in Paris, founded by the *Association des surintendantes d'usines et de services sociaux* as a private institution for the training of social workers and more particularly of factory supervisors. At first this school made its own rules for admission and examinations, but later the Government issued uniform regulations with regard to the training of social workers, and these apply to the Supervisors' School, which has become an approved institution.

Training is governed by the provisions of a Decree of 12 January 1932, as amended by a second Decree of 18 February 1938. The latter fixed the period of study (previously two years) at three years, to which a two-year period of practical work must be added. Instruction is partly theoretical and partly practical, and includes the subjects prescribed by the Government for all social workers' schools, namely the background of social life, economic life and its disorders, physical life and its disorders, mental and spiritual life and its disorders, and social service in theory and practice. In accordance with the character of the Supervisors' School, special importance is there attached to knowledge and experience in the field of welfare work in undertakings. The pupils who have passed the final examination receive a State diploma as social welfare workers (*assistantes de service social*). This general diploma in welfare work was originally the only one which future supervisors could obtain; but since 1938 pupils of the Supervisors' School who specialise in industrial welfare work have been able to sit for a second diploma as "supervisors of technical education", which constitutes a special qualification for welfare work in undertakings.

The Supervisors' School is the one special institution for

¹ Cf. *Labour Management*, Vol. XVI, No. 174, June 1934, p. 112.

the training of factory supervisors, but it is possible to prepare for the occupation at other schools of social work.

The Association of Supervisors, which by founding the Supervisors' School made an important contribution to the training of candidates for the occupation, also co-operates in the further training of persons actually practising it. Questions relating to the profession are discussed at the annual meetings of the Association.

In Germany, the local branches of the War Office established short courses of training for nurses in munition works in 1917. After the war the schools of social work included training for industrial welfare workers in their programmes. Until 1933 the usual training included study of general welfare subjects, educational methods, and social questions, followed by practical factory welfare work or in some cases a short period as a factory worker. A few of these schools had special courses for factory nurses.

From 1926 onward the Bielefeld Committee for Industrial Welfare Work¹ provided trained factory nurses with special preparation for labour management work. The members of this Committee attached special importance to knowledge of technical methods and of industrial psychology, and therefore required that every future labour management worker should have several months' experience as a factory hand.

The regulations now in force were issued by the Women's Department of the German Labour Front through its branch for "personnel work in undertakings", and provide for the vocational and ideological training of the industrial welfare worker. The requirements as regards vocational training correspond in general to those already laid down by the Bielefeld Committee. The following is recognised as sufficient preliminary training: either five years' work in an undertaking, if possible as representative (*Vertrauensfrau*) of the Women's Department of the German Labour Front, or training in social education as an approved social service nurse, vocational teacher, youth organiser, or officer of the Women's Labour Service. Candidates for the occupation of labour management worker who fulfil one of these requirements receive from the Women's

¹ See I. GANZERT and E. HEIMANN: *Soziale Betriebsarbeit* (Neue Blätter für den Sozialismus, 1930, Heft 5); and G. B. MORTON: *Les problèmes sociaux du travail féminin dans l'industrie allemande* (Geneva, 1936), pp. 137 et seq.

Department a further training course of five to six months. This begins with four to six weeks in the Women's Labour Service. Then comes three months' practice in an undertaking, when the future welfare worker acts as a factory hand and receives the corresponding wages. Next the candidate has a fortnight's experience attached to a personnel management worker in action. Finally she is sent by the National Centre of the Women's Department of the German Labour Front to a training camp for a fortnight. A certificate from the National Women's Leader then entitles her to act as a personnel management worker, and the Women's Department places her at the disposal of undertakings for employment. Since 1934 there have been annual national conferences for the further training of persons already acting as personnel management workers. Apart from the vocational training, the "permanent political preparation and training" — acquisition of the National-Socialist outlook — constitutes a very considerable part of the whole course, since "devotion to National-Socialism is a fundamental condition".¹

In Italy, as in Germany, the training of industrial welfare workers includes not only vocational but also ideological training, in order to enable the welfare worker to represent and inculcate the Fascist spirit. Both forms of education are provided by the Fascist Women's High School for Social Work in Rome, founded by the Fascist Party in 1928.² The pupils are sent to the school from the Women's Fasci, and the Party bears the expense of training. This lasts for ten months. Persons who have passed the secondary school leaving examination or hold a teacher's diploma may enter the school; women without these qualifications may be accepted if they pass an entrance examination. The following are among the subjects taught: Fascist Legislation and Culture, Labour Legislation, Political and Corporative Regulations, Economics, Social Work and Professional Ethics, Social Pedagogy, Social Diseases, Social Medicine, Health Administration, Social Insurance, Assistance, and Provident Institutions, Hygiene and Labour, Anatomy, Physiology, Hygiene in General and in Regard to Labour, Nursing (Theory and Practice), Psychiatric

¹ Cf. pamphlets of the German Labour Front on personnel management work.

² Cf. G. GOBBI: "Sviluppi del servizio sociale in Italia", in *L'assistenza sociale nell'industria*, July-Oct. 1936, p. 33.

Social Work, History of Art, Cooking for Factory Kitchens, Religion, and Physical Education.

The theoretical instruction is supplemented by visits to institutions representing all branches of social work.¹

The pupils receive a diploma at the end of the period of training and are then referred to the Fascist Confederation of Industrial Employers for appointments.

These four examples show the widely different ways in which the same problem — the training of welfare workers for undertakings — may be solved in different countries, and how powerfully the methods of training for personnel management work are influenced by the psychological and political peculiarities of the various nations.

The British method of training reflects the individualistic attitude of the English. There is no uniform scheme, and no rigid regulations; the unrestricted adaptation of institutions to changing needs is the favourite course; centralisation and advance planning are deliberately rejected; improvisation and free growth are preferred. "We pride ourselves that we are not a logical people", says a writer on this subject.² The training is therefore least standardised in Great Britain, and wide scope is left for individual organisation by the different universities and by independent institutions.

In France there is also a belief in individual development, but with it goes a love of uniform planning from a central point. The education of social workers, including factory supervisors, is therefore governed by the State on a uniform basis for all training institutions. But within these general regulations there is room for the establishment of different sorts of training facilities of an individual character.

The example of Germany shows how training may be given at various institutions and yet be standardised rigidly by the introduction of uniform supplementary courses. This combination of centralised and decentralised training is characterised by a methodical amalgamation of the forms tried before 1933 and the uniform scheme desired by the National-Socialist State. Another typical feature of the German method is that behind the vocational training thus organised stands the uniform political ideology of National-Socialism, which pervades

¹ A. SALOMON : *op. cit.*, p. 204.

² E. MACADAM : *The New Philanthropy* (London, 1934), p. 286.

in every detail the training and later the occupational activity of the personnel management worker.

The Italian system is the most highly centralised. In Italy only a modest beginning had been made before 1928, and so the Fascist Party was free to introduce a centralised training scheme corresponding to its political outlook. There was no need to work out a special system so that the old might be combined with the new, as was the case in Germany. Consequently one institution in Rome undertakes the occupational and the ideological training of industrial welfare workers throughout the country.

CONCLUSION

Industrial welfare work includes a variety of occupations which offer rich possibilities of employment for women. It is hard to say in which of its branches women now play the most important part; and it is impossible to predict what new duties they will undertake in the future. Women's work is particularly prominent wherever the stress is laid on the social welfare of workers and their families. But even in countries where the development has been in the direction of personnel administration, and men tend to be employed for the work, a wide field for women still lies open. It may be stated with confidence that both in the countries where industrial welfare work is highly developed and where women have already obtained a firm footing in the occupation and in the countries still in process of creating the economic and technical conditions which necessitate industrial welfare work the services of women in this field are indispensable.