

Labor Hall of Fame

Frances Perkins and the flowering of economic and social policies

Only through the free and open discussion of differing points of view could the truth emerge and human needs and problems be solved; Frances Perkins always employed those ideals in conducting the public's business for the public's benefit

GORDON BERG

In late February 1933, Frances Perkins received a call to visit President-elect Franklin Delano Roosevelt at his home in New York City. She anticipated that he would invite her to become Secretary of Labor. Before she accepted, she had to know if he would support her ideas. Those ideas have changed and improved the quality of life of all Americans.

Before Frances Perkins would accept the Cabinet appointment, she told President-elect Franklin Delano Roosevelt, "I don't want to say yes to you unless you know what I'd like to do and are willing to have me go ahead and try."¹

She then read Roosevelt her list. It contained much of what would become the New Deal's most important social welfare and labor legislation: direct Federal aid to the States for unemployment relief, public works projects, maximum hours of work, minimum wages, child labor laws, unemployment insurance, social security, and a revitalized public employment service. "Are you sure you want these things done?" she asked. "Because you don't want me for Secretary of Labor if you don't."

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Roosevelt never hesitated. He was convinced that Perkins was the most qualified person for the job. "Yes," he said. "I'll back you." With that, Perkins accepted the post and served as Secretary of Labor during the 12 years of the Roosevelt Administration, 1933-45. She was the first woman to serve as a Cabinet member, and her tenure was longer than any Secretary of Labor.

Who was this woman in whom Roosevelt had such confidence? How did she become an expert in the field of labor affairs? To answer these questions brings into focus the life of one of America's most remarkable women. It is a dedicated life filled with hard work and perseverance.

Striving for social change

Perkins' social and moral attitudes developed during the early decades of the 20th century, a time when women were increasingly active in the era's many important social crusades. She met and worked with many of the leaders of these movements, and by combining the lessons she learned from them with her own unique talents and strengths, she was able to choose her life's work and make a success of it.

Born in Boston on April 10, 1880, Perkins had roots dating back to the Massachusetts Bay Colony of the mid-17th century. After a rather strict upbringing, she entered Mount Holyoke College in the fall of 1898. Although she

New Labor Hall of Fame

This is one of several articles, commissioned by Friends of the Department of Labor, about members of the Labor Hall of Fame, which honors posthumously Americans who have contributed most to enhance the quality of life of American workers. The Labor Hall of Fame is an activity of Friends of the Department of Labor, an independent membership organization established in 1987 "to support the traditional programs and goals of the U.S. Department of Labor, and to generally support the cause of improved labor-management relations."

The first four persons elected to the Labor Hall of Fame, were:

Samuel Gompers (1850–1924), the first president of the American Federation of Labor.

John R. Commons (1862–1945), a pioneer in making the field of labor economics a respectable area of study.

Cyrus S. Ching (1876–1967), the first director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service.

Frances Perkins (1880–1965), Secretary of Labor during the economic recovery period of the Depression, who helped establish numerous landmark social programs, including the Social Security Act.

Elected to the Labor Hall of Fame on April 12 were:

John L. Lewis (1880–1969), propagator of unionism in industry and longtime president of the United Mine Workers.

A. Philip Randolph (1889–1979), founder of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and respected civil rights leader.

George Meany (1894–1980), founding president of the AFL-CIO.

James P. Mitchell (1900–1964), popular Secretary of Labor from 1953 to 1961, and a proponent of progressive management in industry and Government.

A panel composed of national leaders from unions, industry, academia, and government, and chaired by Monsignor George Higgins, makes the selection to the Labor Hall of Fame. Former Secretary of Labor W. J. Usery, Jr., chairs Friends of the Department of Labor. The Hall of Fame is housed in the north lobby of the Frances Perkins Building, 200 Constitution Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20210. Friends of the Department of Labor invites Hall of Fame nominations. They may be submitted to Friends of the Department of Labor, Box 2258, Washington, DC 20013.

liked the sciences, a course in American colonial history with Professor Annah May Soule proved far more important in her later life.

Students were required to visit a factory and survey its working conditions. For Perkins, going through several textile and papermill plants was her first glimpse of the modern industrial process. The things she saw, the conditions under which the workers labored, made her aware of their needs. The social education of Frances Perkins had begun.

Following her graduation in 1903, Perkins did volunteer work among the factory girls of Worcester, MA. In 1904, she took a teaching job at Ferry Hall, a girls' prep school in Lake Forest, IL. While there, she met Dr. Graham Taylor, head of Chicago Commons, one of the city's famous settlement houses. From him, Perkins learned the social meaning of trade unionism and also met other social reform leaders, including Jane Addams, Ellen Gates Starr, and Grace Abbott. By 1907, Perkins had worked at the Commons, lived at Hull House, and was firmly committed to social work.

For the next 25 years, Perkins' career, first as a social worker and later as a civil servant, was at the center of social reform activities. As the only paid staff member of the Philadelphia Research and Protective Association, Perkins surveyed the city's roominghouses, improved methods of investigation and counseling, and pressured city authorities

to enact stricter lodginghouse licensing. She studied economics and sociology at the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce and accepted a fellowship at the New York School of Philanthropy.

After Perkins arrived in New York City, her hectic pace intensified. She studied for a master's degree at Columbia University and surveyed the Hell's Kitchen section of the West Side for Pauline Goldmark, head of the School of Philanthropy. During one of her surveys, she visited Timothy J. McManus, a State senator and the notorious Tammany Hall boss of Hell's Kitchen. Perkins needed his help for a slum family she had visited. McManus was moved by her arguments. Perkins received the help she needed and learned a valuable political lesson—machine politics could be helpful in enacting social welfare legislation. It was a lesson the pragmatic young social worker would soon put to use.

In 1910, Perkins became general secretary of the National Consumers' League in New York City. Organized by Lillian Wald of the Henry Street Settlement House, the league spread information about harmful industrial conditions and lobbied for protective legislation. Its national director, Florence Kelley, helped Perkins become a recognized expert on industrial conditions by assigning her to make extensive surveys of unsanitary cellar bakeries, unsafe laundries, and

overcrowded textile sweatshops. She taught Perkins to look behind the immediate conditions and search for the real causes of safety and health problems in industry. These surveys gave Perkins the statistics she needed to back up her moral conviction regarding the need for protective social and labor legislation.

On March 25, 1911, Perkins witnessed the tragic holocaust of the Triangle Shirtwaist Co.² In less than an hour, 146 people—most of them young girls—had died. Perkins saw them leap from the eighth floor of the Asch Building because the doors were locked. She saw their charred remains lining the sidewalk and vowed that this horror would not be allowed to happen again.

The tragedy of the Triangle fire spurred the city's social reform agencies into action. They formed a Committee on Safety, and Perkins served as executive secretary from 1912 to 1917.

Perkins had met Al Smith, assemblyman from New York City, in early 1911. He taught Perkins the realities of practical politics, and she educated him on the need for reform. They joined forces, and their long and fruitful relationship helped change the course of American social history.

Health and safety legislation

The New York State Factory Commission, created by the New York State legislature in response to the Triangle fire, reviewed the entire scope of job safety and health conditions in New York. Between 1911 and 1915, the commission rewrote the New York industrial code and the legislature enacted 36 new laws protecting workers on the job, limiting the hours of women and children, and compensating victims for on-the-job injuries.

Perkins testified several times while serving as an investigator on the staff of the commission's director of investigation from 1912 to 1913. But she did much more than document dangerous working conditions: she insisted that the commissioners experience them. Perkins arranged for them to see children shelling peas in a cannery at 4 a.m. At dawn, they stood at the gate of a ropeworks as women filed out after working most of the night. Perkins and the legislators went into the workers' homes, where they heard, as she had so often heard, of the hardships workers faced on the job. Those experiences helped motivate the lawmakers to push for strong protective legislation. For Perkins, safe working conditions and reasonable hours of labor were basic human rights which society should guarantee through practical, morally sound legislation.

On September 26, 1913, Perkins married Paul C. Wilson, an economist and assistant secretary to John Purroy Mitchell, New York City's reform mayor. The marriage was the source of both great happiness and great heartbreak for Perkins.

The couple agreed she would retain her maiden name for professional purposes. Perkins feared she might lose some of the stature she had gained if she changed it. In December

1916, a daughter, Susanna, was born. Both Perkins and Wilson continued their active careers.

But in 1918, Wilson showed the first symptoms of an illness which lasted until his death in 1952. Through the long years of his confinement, Perkins worked diligently to meet both her family and her professional obligations. Always a very private person, she sought to protect her husband and daughter from the press and public. In this, she was largely successful and continued to carry on her active public service career.

After Al Smith became governor of the State of New York in 1919, he appointed Perkins to the State Industrial Commission, despite strong opposition from manufacturers' associations. When Smith was again elected governor in 1922 after 2 years out of office, he reappointed Perkins to her old post. She was also an active member of the Industrial Board of the State Labor Department. By 1926, when Smith appointed her chairman of the Industrial Board, she had become a recognized expert in labor law. Judge Benjamin Cardozo, who sat on a court upholding many of her decisions, said that she had made new laws with some of her rulings. Years later, Supreme Court Justice Cardozo would hold Roosevelt's old Dutch bible and administer the oath of office to Frances Perkins as Secretary of Labor.

Smith ran for the Presidency in 1928 and lost. Roosevelt was narrowly elected Governor of New York. Although Roosevelt did not retain many of Smith's assistants, he appointed Perkins Industrial Commissioner of New York. She was the first woman to hold such a position in the United States. During the next 15 years, their partnership altered the basic fabric of American life.

The New Deal

This, then, was the woman President Roosevelt entrusted with the awesome responsibility of helping to restore public confidence and to put people back to work. Much had to be done and done quickly. The first 100 days of the Roosevelt Administration are legendary. Before adjourning on June 15, 1933, Congress had enacted 15 major laws. Perkins was at the center of this feverish activity.

Among the programs enacted during Perkins' first year in office were: the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, which spent millions of dollars on food, shelter, and other human needs; the Civilian Conservation Corps, which paid young men, ages 18 to 25, \$30 a month to work in flood-control programs, reforestation, soil conservation, and highway construction; the Civil Works Administration, which created 4 million temporary jobs; the National Recovery Administration, which regulated minimum wages, maximum hours, and child labor; and the Public Works Administration, which undertook large-scale construction of schools, hospitals, and river-control projects.

Although Perkins was deeply involved in creating and implementing the Administration's massive relief and employment programs, she simultaneously worked

to reorganize the Department of Labor to make it a more effective and efficient Government agency. She improved conditions in the Bureau of Immigration and increased the responsibilities of the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

The Social Security Act of 1935 was probably the most enduring contribution Perkins made as a Government official. As a member of the Committee on Economic Security, she worked tirelessly to create a practical Social Security program which the Congress would pass. She made hundreds of speeches supporting Social Security. Its enactment, on August 14, 1935, helped change the economic and social structure of American life. Her belief that working people had a right to benefits during unemployment and in their old age was made the law of the land by this act. Her leadership, and the dedicated work of many others, helped remove the threat of starvation, eviction, and destitution from the doorstep of every worker's home.

Federal labor policies

If Social Security was Frances Perkins' pride, the Fair Labor Standards Act must have been her joy. She had long advocated minimum wage and maximum hour legislation. The collapse of labor standards during the Depression made some type of government action imperative. Many among Roosevelt's advisers were uncertain of the constitutionality of Federal labor standards legislation. To lay the groundwork for Federal standards she believed inevitable, Perkins instructed the Labor Department to work with State governments to create a body of consistent laws and standards. She set up a Division of Labor Standards and was the first Labor Secretary to show real interest and concern for State labor agencies. She made an effort to attend meetings with State representatives and considered those sessions very useful in developing workers' compensation and safety and health standards.

During his 1936 campaign for reelection, Roosevelt promised to support a Federal labor standards bill. The measure passed the Senate but died in the House Rules Committee. Perkins and Roosevelt would not let it rest. Compromises were made and pressure was applied. The Fair Labor Standards Act finally became law on June 25, 1938.

The last of the New Deal's major social measures, this act was also one of its most far reaching. It covered 12 million workers and immediately raised the pay of 300,000 people and shortened hours for a million more. Most workers involved in interstate commerce or producing goods for interstate commerce were covered by the law. Child labor, a major concern of Perkins since her days as a social worker, was prohibited in many industries.

Perkins' greatest trial during her term of office came not from management or labor, but from Congress. The attack was not on her ability, but on her integrity. The issue centered on Harry Bridges, an Australian and leader of a long and bitter longshoremen's strike on the west coast in 1934. The Labor Department and the Federal Bureau of Investiga-

tion, investigating allegations of Communist influence in the strike, could find no evidence to justify deporting Bridges as an undesirable alien. But a vicious whispering campaign, aimed at forcing Bridges out of the country and Perkins out of office, began in mid-1938.

A special House Committee on Un-American Activities held hearings, and its chairman, Martin Dies, publicly called for Perkins' resignation. Hate mail poured into the Labor Department. The ordeal lasted more than 6 months. Through it all, Perkins continued to meet every engagement, fulfilled her duties as Secretary, and stood firm in her decision not to order Bridges deported. In the end, the House Judiciary Committee confirmed Perkins' opinion by reporting that sufficient evidence had not been presented to warrant Bridges' deportation. The official proceedings were closed, but the ugly scars remained.

Social legislation of the 1930's forever changed the position of the American worker. While the Federal Government was instrumental in creating these laws and indispensable for putting them into operation, Perkins often advocated more involvement for the individual States. She believed that programs such as unemployment insurance should be administered by a Federal-State system. At the National Conference for Labor Legislation in February 1934, she said: "The fundamental power to make regulations with regard to welfare . . . lies with the sovereign States."³ While many New Dealers have been seen as "big Government" people, Perkins rarely favored the Federal Government dictating or making policy for the States. The closer the decisionmaking process was to the people, the better Perkins liked it.

The outbreak of World War II dramatically shifted much government attention from domestic to foreign and military affairs. But Perkins still fought some important, although less historic, battles on the homefront. She counseled Roosevelt against FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover's plan to fingerprint and keep a dossier on every citizen. The idea went against her firm belief that privacy was the basis of individual liberty. The internment of more than 100,000 Japanese-Americans—two-thirds of them U.S. citizens—horrified her. Even at the height of the war, Perkins opposed extraordinary measures for total national mobilization. She believed that the social regimentation which might result was a step toward treating people like cattle. Her trust in the innate intelligence of the people to make sound decisions and to act on them never wavered.

During her years in office, Perkins' steadfast commitment to principles of law and morality won her many admirers from all walks of life. In her work, however, her loyalties were few and well defined. In a letter to Justice Felix Frankfurter, written just after her resignation as Secretary of Labor, she said: "I came to work for God, F.D.R., and the millions of forgotten plain, common working men."⁴ Friend or foe, powerful or powerless, they were all treated squarely and honestly by Frances Perkins.

When Roosevelt died in April 1945, Perkins submitted her resignation as Secretary of Labor. She was 65, but had no intention of otherwise retiring. In October, President Harry S Truman sent her as a Government representative to the International Labour Organization meeting in Paris. Perkins certainly deserved to go, because it was she who originally urged Roosevelt in 1934 to submit legislation—which was accepted by Congress—authorizing the President to apply for membership to the ILO.

On September 26, 1946, Truman appointed Perkins to the Civil Service Commission. During her 7 years as a commissioner, the principle guiding all her work was that the Commission "is concerned only with the question as to whether the applicant is a suitable person for the post for which he applies."⁵ She opposed any questions on applications which pried into a person's private life. She believed that the right

to privacy was a basic human right, the basis of liberty in a democratic society.

Frances Perkins ended her government career in 1952. She still had no thought of retirement, however. For 2 years, she lectured and held seminars at the University of Illinois. In the spring of 1955, she returned to New York City, where she began her illustrious career.

In May 1955, Perkins delivered a lecture at Cornell University. A few months later, she was asked to join the faculty of the university's prestigious School of Industrial and Labor Relations. In the spring of 1960, she was invited to become a member of the scholarly Telluride Association at Cornell. As in the past, Perkins was the first woman ever to live at Telluride House. Telluride and her work at Cornell made her last years happy and personally fulfilling. She died on May 14, 1965. □

—FOOTNOTES—

¹ George Martin, *Madame Secretary: Frances Perkins* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1976), p. 240.

² Martin, *Madame Secretary*, p. 84.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 421.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 375.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 477. (From a decision by Perkins in a U.S. Civil Service Commission case.)

A similar labor policy framework

The 1930's and 1940's were decades in which trade unions and collective bargaining grew rapidly throughout North America. Labor legislation, and in particular the Wagner Act that had been passed in the United States in 1935 and inspired the model of that name, provided the impetus. It became United States labor policy for the first time to encourage unions and collective bargaining. A policy similar to the one embodied in the Wagner Act was adopted in Canada in the mid-1940's under pressure from the growing labor movement and the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, a social democratic party formed in the 1930's. Although employers in both countries at first opposed the expansion of unionism, the combined leverage of militant unions, determined governments and public opinion sympathetic to unions and collective bargaining apparently convinced them of the need to reach an accommodation with organized labor. . . .

—ROY J. ADAMS

"North American Industrial Relations:
Divergent Trends in Canada and the United States,"
International Labour Review,
Vol. 128, No. 1, 1989, pp. 47-48.

Research Summaries



Wages and benefits in pulp, paper, and paperboard mills

According to a survey conducted by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, straight-time earnings of production and related workers in pulp, paper, and paperboard mills averaged \$12.92 an hour in September 1987.¹ This was one of the highest averages among manufacturing industries included in the Bureau's industry wage survey program.² Pay levels, however, varied by type of establishment, averaging \$14.38 in pulp mills, \$13.30 in paperboard mills, and \$12.72 in paper mills.

Contributing to these wage levels were such factors as the concentration of highly skilled workers from the machine rooms and maintenance departments, where occupational earnings frequently topped \$13 an hour, and the prevalence of labor-management agreements, which covered more than nine-tenths of the industries' production workers. The United Paperworkers International Union (AFL-CIO) was the predominant union, except in the Pacific States, where most workers were covered by agreements with the independent Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers.

Average hourly pay in pulp, paper, and paperboard mills in September 1987 was 26 percent higher than the \$10.22 reported by a similar survey conducted in July 1982.³ This increase, averaging 4.6 percent annually,⁴ compares with a 25-percent rise (4.3 percent a year) in wages and salaries for all nondurable goods manufacturing industries between June 1982 and September 1987, according to the Bureau's Employment Cost Index.

In contrast to rising wages, production worker employment in the three industries fell by 7 percent (1.4 percent annually) between the two surveys, from 150,200 workers in July 1982 to 139,777 in September 1987.

Among six regions for which data could be presented, average hourly earnings ranged from \$14.49 in the Pacific States to \$11.12 in the Middle Atlantic region. In the Southeast region, where three-tenths of the production workers were employed, hourly earnings averaged \$13.52.

Nearly three-fifths of the production workers covered by the survey were in nonmetropolitan areas, where occupational pay averages were generally higher than in metro-

politan areas.⁵ Regionally, the proportion of workers in nonmetropolitan areas ranged from seven-tenths in New England to three-tenths in the Middle Atlantic region.

Fifty-two occupations, accounting for almost one-half of the production work force, were selected to represent the wage structure and manufacturing activities in the three industries. General maintenance mechanics, who perform the work of two or more maintenance trades rather than specializing in one trade or one type of maintenance work, constituted the largest and highest paid occupation studied separately; the 9,555 workers in the job averaged \$16.50 an hour. Other skilled maintenance occupations, including electricians, machinists, millwrights, and pipefitters, had pay averages of at least \$14.73 an hour. At the other end of the wage distribution were the 1,166 janitors, who averaged \$10.38 an hour. In the machine room, where paper is manufactured, average hourly earnings ranged from \$15.29 for paper-machine tenders to \$11.97 for fifth hands, who assist in removing finished paper rolls from paper machines. (See table 1.)

Two jobs—guards and truckdrivers—were surveyed for the first time by BLS in pulp, paper, and paperboard mills. Their average hourly earnings were \$11.22 and \$11.40, respectively.

In September 1987, nine-tenths of the production workers were paid time rates, under formal plans providing single rates for specific job categories. Many mills had several job categories, each with its own pay scale, falling within one BLS occupational definition. Some of the pay determinants were the type of pulpmaking process, grade of paper or paperboard manufactured, and size of machine used to make paper and paperboard. For example, hourly earnings in the pulpmaking department usually were higher for workers using the sulphate process rather than the sulphite process, pay generally averaged 25 to 50 percent higher for workers producing newsprint and groundwood paper than for those producing boxboard, and pay levels were progressively higher as the width of the papermaking machinery used increased from 100 inches or less to 301 inches or more.⁶

Seven-tenths of the production workers were assigned to rotating shifts. Employees alternated between day, evening, and night shifts, typically changing shifts every 7 days.

Table 1. Number of production workers and average hourly earnings¹ in pulp, paper, and paperboard mills, by selected characteristics, United States and selected regions,² September 1987

Characteristic	United States ³		New England		Middle Atlantic		Southeast		Southwest		Great Lakes		Pacific	
	Number of workers	Average hourly earnings	Number of workers	Average hourly earnings	Number of workers	Average hourly earnings	Number of workers	Average hourly earnings	Number of workers	Average hourly earnings	Number of workers	Average hourly earnings	Number of workers	Average hourly earnings
All production workers ⁴	139,777	\$12.92	20,145	\$11.42	12,236	\$11.12	41,508	\$13.52	12,286	\$14.13	32,321	\$12.30	16,112	\$14.49
Type of mill: ⁵														
Pulp mills.....	5,283	14.38	—	—	—	—	3,967	14.53	—	—	—	—	1,316	13.90
Paper mills.....	99,912	12.72	18,969	11.52	11,075	11.30	21,192	13.49	5,587	13.88	28,674	12.41	10,753	14.41
Paperboard mills.....	34,582	13.30	1,176	9.79	1,161	9.40	16,349	13.31	6,699	14.34	3,647	11.42	4,043	14.89
Type of community:														
Metropolitan areas ⁶	57,546	12.41	5,614	10.83	8,743	11.21	12,529	13.17	4,302	13.40	17,208	11.90	8,058	14.07
Nonmetropolitan areas.....	82,231	13.28	14,531	11.65	3,493	10.90	28,979	13.67	7,984	14.52	15,113	12.76	8,054	14.90
Size of mill:														
100-249 workers.....	11,906	10.57	3,957	9.48	1,461	9.20	880	9.16	521	11.86	3,556	11.20	1,259	14.43
250-999 workers.....	68,168	13.09	7,873	11.36	7,878	11.50	18,650	13.73	7,084	14.17	12,696	12.05	10,182	14.29
1,000 workers or more.....	59,703	13.21	8,315	12.40	—	—	21,978	13.51	4,681	14.32	16,069	12.75	4,671	14.93
PULP														
Woodyard and wood preparation:														
Crane operators.....	879	14.48	33	12.94	51	11.81	502	15.14	117	14.78	107	12.78	40	14.50
Barkers, drum.....	241	12.33	41	11.30	14	10.96	98	12.75	37	12.65	25	12.02	14	13.12
Pulpmaking:														
Cooks, batch digester.....	433	15.67	11	13.02	14	11.40	196	15.83	56	17.06	59	14.26	69	16.59
Cooks, continuous digester.....	370	15.50	32	13.11	34	12.72	87	16.57	57	17.69	52	34.48	80	16.19
Screen tenders.....	312	13.48	41	12.26	22	10.79	102	14.50	20	13.66	48	12.74	59	14.41
Bleach-plant operators.....	517	15.01	42	12.15	38	11.64	177	16.05	52	16.62	90	13.13	73	16.25
Pulp testers.....	832	12.13	103	11.46	47	10.87	358	12.21	62	12.12	165	12.07	60	13.44
Recovery, caustic, and acidmaking:														
Recovery operators (sulphate).....	415	16.13	28	14.27	14	11.76	190	16.61	62	16.62	37	13.83	48	16.34
Caustic operators (causticisers) (sulphate).....	305	14.52	26	11.96	—	—	148	14.72	65	15.16	10	13.30	36	14.80
PAPER AND PAPERBOARD														
Stock preparation:														
Head stock preparers, group I.....	846	13.93	70	13.40	91	11.07	200	14.98	69	13.41	301	12.97	95	17.60
Head stock preparers, group II.....	820	13.10	261	11.42	154	11.48	132	14.44	52	19.68	148	12.81	48	16.55
Machine room:														
Paper-machine tenders.....	3,371	15.29	704	13.04	409	12.56	589	17.57	264	17.45	913	14.26	412	18.96
Backtenders.....	3,364	14.09	722	11.86	409	11.90	598	16.05	272	16.42	879	13.22	400	17.25
Third hands.....	3,169	13.05	626	11.28	392	11.16	576	14.69	274	14.65	849	12.24	368	15.90
Fourth hands.....	2,840	12.38	418	11.48	331	10.75	567	13.22	276	13.61	847	11.76	325	14.17
Fifth hands.....	2,221	11.97	285	11.55	191	10.86	581	11.93	246	12.53	557	11.37	285	13.42
Finishing, roll:														
Rewinder operators.....	2,024	12.20	466	11.39	238	10.32	124	13.31	63	12.56	909	12.72	160	12.55
Rewinder helpers.....	1,272	11.22	334	10.59	97	10.30	64	11.98	38	11.16	643	11.44	56	12.44
Laboratory:														
Paper testers.....	1,856	12.20	325	11.04	232	11.04	351	12.80	235	13.16	443	11.79	173	13.86
MISCELLANEOUS⁷														
Guards.....	421	11.22	135	10.72	27	10.38	115	12.01	—	—	85	11.54	—	—
Janitors, porters, and cleaners.....	1,166	10.38	212	9.61	185	9.68	268	10.43	40	8.79	348	11.16	80	11.23
Maintenance electricians.....	3,603	15.55	529	14.10	242	12.35	923	16.05	469	17.56	726	14.18	571	17.24
Maintenance machinists.....	1,192	14.73	215	13.72	119	13.18	331	15.51	31	16.28	350	14.07	127	16.86
Maintenance mechanics, general.....	9,555	16.50	933	12.89	569	13.36	4,264	17.07	1,880	17.98	584	13.43	646	18.13
Maintenance pipefitters.....	2,641	15.19	338	13.97	199	12.02	744	15.99	120	16.44	722	14.22	464	17.05
Millwrights, pulp and paper.....	4,392	15.07	665	14.21	340	12.12	1,028	15.79	198	16.32	1,203	13.83	837	17.18
Oilers.....	1,366	13.23	139	11.96	127	11.32	411	13.81	76	14.23	354	12.13	191	15.15
Power-truck operators.....	5,180	11.75	559	10.54	564	10.20	1,176	11.84	416	12.00	1,452	11.61	766	13.48
Truckdrivers.....	532	11.40	73	10.51	92	10.63	131	11.52	49	11.02	131	11.78	34	13.64

¹ Excludes premium pay for overtime and for work on weekends, holidays, and late shifts.

² The regions used in this study include *New England*—Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont; *Middle Atlantic*—New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania; *Southeast*—Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia; *Southwest*—Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas; *Great Lakes*—Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, and Wisconsin; and *Pacific*—California, Nevada, Oregon, and Washington.

³ Includes data for regions in addition to those shown separately.

⁴ Includes data for approximately 12,000 workers in converted paper products departments of

paper and paperboard mills.

⁵ Data for pulp mills are limited to workers in separate pulpmaking establishments; data for paper and paperboard mills include workers in pulpmaking departments of these mills.

⁶ Metropolitan Statistical Areas, as defined by the U.S. Office of Management and Budget through October 1984.

⁷ Includes workers in converted paper products departments of paper and paperboard mills.

NOTE: Dashes indicate that no data were reported or that data did not meet publication criteria.

While assigned to evening and night shifts, workers almost always received cents-per-hour differentials over fixed day-shift rates, most commonly between 10 and 20 cents on evening shifts and between 20 and 40 cents on night shifts.

Work schedules of 40 hours per week were predominant in the industries, covering almost half of the production workers. Workweeks of 42 hours covered two-fifths, and 48-hour workweeks one-tenth, of the workers. Workweeks longer than 42 hours were most common in the Middle Atlantic region, where two-fifths of the workers were in mills scheduling 48-hour workweeks.

Virtually all of the mills provided paid holidays to their production workers. Over three-fourths of the workers received between 11 and 13 paid holidays. The most liberal holiday provisions were reported in the Pacific region, where three-fourths of the workers received 14 or 15 days.

All production workers covered by the survey were in mills that provided paid vacations. Typically, provisions were 1 week after 1 year of service, 2 weeks after 3 years, 3 weeks after 8 years, 4 weeks after 15 years, 5 weeks after 20 years, and 6 weeks or more after 25 years.

Virtually all production workers were in establishments providing life, hospitalization, surgical, basic, and major medical insurance and retirement pension plans. In addition, over nine-tenths of the workers were offered sickness and accident insurance, four-fifths were offered dental insurance, and about one-fourth were offered vision care. Most of the life insurance and pension plans were financed entirely by the employer. Health maintenance organization (HMO) membership was available to about three-tenths of the workers nationwide.

The use of temporary help and the contracting out of various services also were studied during the current survey. Slightly more than one-third of the production workers were in mills regularly using temporary help services in lieu of new hires. The number of production workers in mills contracting out various services to outside firms varied by the type of service contracted out. Trucking was, by far, the activity most commonly contracted out: mills employing slightly more than seven-tenths of the production workers used contract truckers. More than half of the production

workers were in mills that contracted out machine maintenance, while more than two-fifths each were in mills that used janitorial and engineering/drafting services.

A comprehensive bulletin, *Industry Wage Survey: Pulp, Paper, and Paperboard Mills, September 1987*, Bulletin 2324, may be purchased from the Bureau of Labor Statistics, Publications Sales Center, P.O. Box 2145, Chicago, IL 60690, or the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402. The bulletin provides additional information on occupational pay and employee benefits. □

—FOOTNOTES—

¹ Earnings data exclude premium pay for overtime and for work on weekends, holidays, and late shifts. Cost-of-living pay increases (but not bonuses) were included as part of the workers' pay. Excluded were performance bonuses and lump-sum payments of the type negotiated in the auto and aerospace industries, as well as profit-sharing payments, attendance bonuses, Christmas or yearend bonuses, and other nonproduction bonuses.

The Bureau's survey included establishments employing 100 workers or more and primarily engaged in manufacturing (1) pulp from wood or other materials such as rags, linters, wastepaper, or straw; (2) paper (except building paper) from woodpulp and other fibers; and (3) paperboard, including paperboard coated on the paperboard machine, from woodpulp and other fibers. Logging camps operated by pulp mills and not separately reported were also included. Excluded were paper mills that primarily manufacture building paper, which is used as an interlining in construction.

² Of 20 manufacturing industries studied regularly, including durable goods industries, paper and allied products ranked sixth in September 1987, according to data from the Bureau's monthly employment and earnings series. Other industries in the program with higher average hourly earnings were petroleum and coal products, tobacco manufactures, transportation equipment, chemicals and allied products, and primary metals.

³ For an account of the earlier survey, see *Industry Wage Survey: Pulp, Paper, and Paperboard Mills, July 1982*, BLS Bulletin 2180 (1983). The 1982 average is not strictly comparable with the 1987 level, because the latter includes earnings from converted paper products departments of paper and paperboard mills. After adjusting for this difference, the earnings increase over the 5 years was 28 percent.

⁴ Or 4.8 percent by the adjustment in the previous footnote.

⁵ Metropolitan Statistical Areas, as defined by the U.S. Office of Management and Budget through October 1984.

⁶ For purposes of the study, machine widths were grouped into five categories: 100 inches or less; 101 inches–150 inches; 151 inches–200 inches; 201 inches–300 inches; and 301 inches or more.