WORK RELIEF IN GERMANY

BY

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A WORK CENTER FOR WOMEN

This Center is described on pages 54 to 66

FOREWORD

THE author of Work Relief in Germany, Dr. Hertha Kraus, is a graduate of the Training School for Social Workers at the University of Frankfürt, where she took her Ph.D. in 1919. The first four years of her professional career were spent mainly as field director for the Child Health program conducted in Germany by the American Friends' Service Committee. In 1923 she became director of the Department of Public Welfare of the city of Cologne, which was probably the largest administrative task in social work ever entrusted to a woman in Germany. Her work met with recognition on both sides of the Atlantic as an outstanding piece of social engineering.

This work was terminated by the recent political overturn in Germany; and shortly afterward Dr. Kraus made her way to the United States, with which she was familiar through previous visits. Her value as consultant and adviser has already been demonstrated in this country to many social agencies and groups under both private and governmental auspices.

The Russell Sage Foundation asked Dr. Kraus to write some account of her experience in work relief in Germany. Her separation from documentary sources made it unwise to attempt any statistical appraisals; and therefore her report has had to deal with methods, not with extent and cost of programs.

Any effort to develop chronologically the varying changes in legislation which affected the progress of work relief after the World War and the inflation period would have made the account complex beyond readability. Lest the reader find here a lack of detail as to volume of work, and many qualifying phrases as to time and place, the

foregoing explanation is given. Dr. Kraus has sought only to present a detailed picture of the aims of those responsible for work-relief programs carried on in Germany and the undertakings they promoted, using as nearly as possible the American equivalent of German terminology. The text, however, was written by Dr. Kraus in English and is not a translation from a German version.

The report is an inspiring account of work conducted under great stress and scarcity of funds; and should contain many valuable suggestions for those in charge of unemployment relief programs in this country.

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I

SOME EUROPEAN DEVELOPMENTS IN WORK RELIEF

TWO small volumes[1] published in Germany as early as 1927 on the utilization of working capacity as a problem of social service give evidence of the widespread interest of social workers in that country in work relief. These monographs formed the basis of discussion at the Hamburg meeting of the National Social Work Conference in May, 1927. The findings of the Conference were later summarized in a third volume of the same series, entitled Work Relief.[2]

At this meeting, Professor Christian J. Klumker, one of the best-known veterans of German social work, reminded the audience that work relief was no new problem, since generations of social workers in many countries had been puzzling about it and trying to find solutions. There had been outstanding examples of courageous efforts in blazing new trails, and equally conspicuous failures. Any student of work relief and its limitations should not fail, he said, to read about the French efforts of the seventeenth century, German projects in the eighteenth century, and Dutch experimentation in the early part of the nineteenth century.

Through a process of vocational training and by organizing public works an effort was exerted in France to make paupers and unemployed people self-supporting and an asset instead of a liability to the community. Public workshops, in the

[1] Die Verwertung der Arbeitskaft als Problem der Fürsorge: Schriften des Deutschen Vereins für öffentliche und private Fürsorge. Verlag G. Braun, Karlsruhe i. B. 1927.

[2] Arbeitsfürsorge: Schriften des Deutschen Vereins für öffentliche und private Fürsorge. Verlag G. Braun, Karlsruhe i. B. 1927.

form of day centers and workhouses, were supplied to afford a great variety of occupations to anybody willing to work.

The Paris Center (*hôpital général*)[1] gave employment in the early part of the seventeenth century in dressmaking, embroidery, carpet-weaving, hat-making, silk, linen and wool-weaving, tailoring, shoemaking, glass-making, metal-working, cutlery, stone-cutting, locksmith work, and many other trades. This organization sold the products in shops of its own, established industries all over the country, educated children of poor families to be skilled workers, and allowed the foremen of workshops, after a certain length of service, to settle in any community as independent manufacturers.

Foreign superintendents were sometimes imported to teach special crafts; for example, in the French knitting industry, skilled workers from English mills were brought in as teachers. Frequently industries which had been begun in public workshops and workhouses introduced new crafts into the industrial system of the country. The silk industry in Germany was influenced by the teaching of silk-weaving in public workshops, hospitals, and orphanages as part of the effort to utilize the working capacity of clients in the middle of the eighteenth century.

A little later, the free state of Hamburg, Germany, provided an outstanding example of industrial education in training many thousands of children of families on relief to be more or less self-supporting by giving them work in return for maintenance. The institution of the *Barmherzige Spinnanstalt* (charitable spinning center) provided far more than the name indicates, including a well-planned program of general education combined with vocational training along varied lines, closely connected with a work-relief program for both children and adults.

The Dutch Minister of Colonies, General van den Bosch, who reorganized the Dutch colonial service, devoted many

[1] Paultre, Christian, De la repression de la mendicité et du vagabondage en France sous l'ancien régime. Paris, 1906.

years of his life to developing work colonies for the poor. His plan was to reclaim waste land in Holland and settle thousands of pauper families from all over the country upon what would be called today "subsistence homesteads." As early as 1818, he made a nation-wide appeal for voluntary contributions, securing 17,000 contributors to his new agency in four months. He invited local governments and social agencies to enter into agreements with him and consented to take carefully selected families off their relief lists if the community in each instance would agree to continue paying for them a specified monthly sum for a period up to sixteen years.

Later on General van den Bosch accepted dependent children on a similar basis, placing the children in foster families on the new homesteads. He offered to accept 1,000 new families every year for his colonies and also to relieve each one of 30,000 dependent families of a number of their children, placing them on homesteads to give them a chance to become self-supporting. This work was subsidized to some extent by the Dutch government.

The homesteaders worked on the land for only part of their time. They were given an opportunity to make the rest of their living by working in factories established in the neighborhood, and by weaving done at home after competent training. All work was planned carefully and was centrally administered. Each family was visited at least every second day. Everyone had to wear a uniform, attend school and church regularly, and buy the necessities of life in a community store or commissary. Diligent workers had the chance of being promoted and receiving better earnings. Unwilling workers were disciplined and might be transferred to a central workhouse with no land of their own; and might possibly be separated from their families. In 1842 there were over 9,000 persons living in those colonies, about half of them actually working; the other half unable to work. About 2,000 of the latter group were small children; the others were, for the most part, handicapped adults, who

later developed into chronic cases of dependency. When General van den Bosch died in 1844, the future of his work seemed to be fairly secure, yet it took only a few years to prove the economic futility of his project. An overload of debts and a steadily decreasing demand for the products of the farm colonies and factories led in 1850 to the Dutch government's taking over the debts and institutional equipment, the bulk of the land being afterward purchased by a comparatively small group of independent homesteaders.[1]

The last half of the nineteenth century showed no important developments in the European countries in this field. Several factors, in recent years, have, however, contributed to renew the interest of social workers in the possibilities of work relief.

In the years since December, 1923, which marks the end of the post-war inflation, the number of persons unemployed in Germany had increased steadily. By 1925 the number had practically doubled. Most of the unemployed were fairly young, able-bodied men and women with many dependents, people who had always been self-supporting and who did not fit into the existing scheme for treating dependent families. The usual relief methods had been developed primarily to aid the old, the sick, the disabled, and dependent and neglected children; and were peculiarly suited to the demands of these groups, manifestly unable to help themselves in any way. This new group of able-bodied unemployed, on the other hand, were not only able but anxious to prove that they could render service while receiving relief if only given a chance.

The problem of preserving the working capacity of men and women who had been a long time idle began to loom large on the horizon. These people complained that they felt less fit; that when they got work they were unable to meet the normal demands of their former jobs. They were considered slow and inefficient by employers, who soon began

[1] J. J. Westendorp Boerma, Johannes van den Bosch als sociaal Hervormer, de Naatschappy van Weldadigheid, as cited in Verwertung, pp. 189 ff.

asking for men who had been out of work for only a short time, a demand which the placement agencies felt obliged to meet. Presently even the temporary jobs were being given to people who had been idle only a few weeks, while those who had been out of work longer were shut out more and more from all chance of employment and were seen to be losing hope, confidence and skill, dropping finally to the level of unemployables.

The need thus created for funds to take care of the steadily increasing millions of unemployed and their families coincided, however, with the necessity to reduce drastically the general budgets of federal, state, and municipal governments. This came at a time when Germany was just trying to rebuild many community facilities broken down during the World War and the inflation which followed it. Many departments had laid plans for developing projects which seemed essential to the welfare of the community, such as better housing, slum clearance, more public parks and playgrounds, modernized school plants, better roads, and land reclamation. All these projects were brought to a standstill because of lack of funds, while there was no diminution, but instead an increase, in the needs of the penniless unemployed. No wonder that social workers and persons responsible for community planning began to look for new ways to cooperate: the former eager to give the unemployed a chance for service and activity, the latter interested in using the working capacity of these people to carry out a part at least of carefully planned projects.

With this general background, experimentation in using the client's working powers began in 1926 all over Germany. An emergency program of public works introduced by the government as early as 1919 to take care of returned exservice men contributed some of the basic ideas. Others originated from experience gained in highly specialized occupational therapy for veterans.

Some public welfare directors had visions of settling most of the problems of unemployment by elaborate schemes of

work relief similar to the early experiments in France and Holland. They seemed to feel that there was no limit to the possibilities of work relief as long as imaginative people could devise plenty of projects, and public funds were forthcoming to carry them out. Others were more conservative in their plans, realizing that work relief has very definite limitations, in that it must be a philanthropic effort, and is subject to all the economic restrictions applying to the life of a country which is undergoing a depression.

The Hamburg Conference of 1927, alluded to earlier, brought some clarification in thinking through a pooling of experiences and ideas; and thereafter work relief of various kinds, using different methods as described in Section VII, spread rapidly over Germany as a service integrated with the entire relief program.

A strong incentive was given local public welfare agencies to promote work relief, through the passage of the Federal Unemployment Insurance Act, in 1927, under the provisions of which only those unemployed who had been working for wages at least twenty-six weeks during the two years prior to their application were to be eligible for insurance. This not only automatically excluded the long-time unemployed from the benefits of insurance, but it also, in effect, prevented their placement on regular jobs or in public works.

This was because the labor exchanges set up under the Act, although theoretically charged with the duty of finding employment for all unemployed willing to accept jobs, naturally preferred, when jobs were scarce, to fill them with persons who had been receiving benefit, thus reducing the drain on insurance funds, and meeting the preferences of employers. How many ineligibles were thrown back for support on the public welfare departments by this policy was not the exchanges' responsibility.

Officials in charge of welfare departments soon realized that the best service they could offer unemployed people would be to provide means to reinstate them for insurance under the new Act, which might possibly be done by provid-

ing work for at least six months, even if it were "made work" and financed out of relief funds. The plan, of course, meant increased relief expenditures for the group while they were on work relief; but it would mean a saving when they could be transferred to the labor exchanges and receive benefit during a specified period. A prolonged struggle then began between the welfare departments, eager to wipe out increasing discriminations against the worker the longer he was unemployed; and the labor exchanges, equally eager to satisfy employers and to maintain a quick turnover in their load through placing their charges who had qualified for unemployment insurance benefits. Through the efforts of the exchanges, legislation was secured preventing the welfare departments from qualifying their clients for benefit through wholesale transfers from hastily organized work-relief programs. Supplementing the federal ruling, conditions were prescribed under which the transfer might be made, and specifying type of workers to be selected, wages, hours, and general working conditions. The exchanges themselves came to recognize the value of vocational rehabilitation through occupation of this type. It is probably correct to say that on the whole the attention of the labor exchanges proved to be a wholesome check on the development of work relief, and helped to establish its proper place in a well-balanced program of social work. Projects in which the employing agency paid no cash wages and consequently turned over no premiums to the unemployment insurance fund held no interest for the labor exchanges and were not interfered with. This encouraged the independent development of a great variety of work-for-relief projects, mainly educational in aim, where there was no intent to transfer the client to the insurance authority.

Frequent changes in the provisions as to eligibility for insurance were partly responsible for fluctuations in the numbers of people employed on work relief. The status of federal, state and local finances, and the attitude of local communities toward work relief, were other contributing

factors in determining the scope of the various work-relief programs. In some communities business concerns opposed it strongly and with considerable success. This happened particularly in towns where large municipal workshops had been developed and competition was felt or anticipated by industrialists. In other localities contractors and the building trade pointed out inefficiencies and what seemed to them a gross waste of the taxpayers' money. For many years, organized labor continued to oppose some of the policies used, and kept a close watch on working conditions under work relief as compared with those in a normal industry protected by codes and wage agreements. In fact, the entire work-relief program was eyed rather carefully and with a good deal of suspicion by more or less the entire population. The press often took an antagonistic attitude with unfortunate results on public opinion. This scrutiny had its influence on the development of programs and made welfare departments careful in working out details. Never were more than 20 to 30 per cent of the total unemployed population of the country employed in this way, although at times the local average in a few communities was considerably higher because of interest in a particular project. In most municipalities, work relief was carried on as a routine accompaniment to the relief program. A few public welfare departments, such as those in Hamburg, Nürnberg, Gelsenkirchen, Stettin, and Cologne, however, took the lead in experimentation with new methods,which were often adopted afterward in other parts of Germany.

II

UNDERLYING CONCEPTS AND TYPES OF SERVICE DEVELOPED IN GERMANY

WHILE a large number of factors contributed to strengthen the idea of organizing emergency employment, the strongest impetus for widespread experimentation came from observations made by social workers and employment agencies throughout the country. What was going to happen, they asked, to the great majority of the unemployed whose mental and physical reserves were being rapidly used up in prolonged idleness and whose material needs were barely covered by relief allowances? Could they be expected to preserve fully their original capacity for work under such circumstances? Article 163 of the German National Constitution of 1919,[1] which required every citizen to work for his living if he was able to do so, placed the responsibility upon government to provide him with work. If no work could be provided, the unemployed and the disabled were to be cared for by public funds. These principles were repeated in definite form in the Federal Welfare Act of 1924. Its main by-law[2] stated that care for clients should include the preservation of their ability to work, quite as much as specific care for their health. Later the Federal Unemployment Insurance Act of 1927 developed corresponding ideas, creating an additional basis for financing and organizing emergency work, thus stimulating local initiative. This resulted in two independent agencies, on the basis of two independent federal laws, developing work relief side by side, although generally in close local co-operation. These were the state labor exchanges (correspond-

[1] See p. 90.

[2] See p. 90.

ing to the National Re-employment Service in the United States) as part of the federal Unemployment Insurance Bureau functioning under the Act of 1927; and the public welfare departments (part of the municipal government under home rule) functioning under the Federal Welfare Act of 1924.

If the client's capacity for work was actually endangered, as seemed to be indicated by many reports, something was called for beyond the ordinary service of giving direct relief. If incidentally his income and standard of living could be somewhat increased, this product of the new service would certainly be welcome and helpful in many cases. However, this factor was not always felt to be essential in planning for work relief.

Since the giving of cash was the accepted and normal form of direct relief all over Germany, and had been so for several decades, no change in this respect was involved. Some were disposed to feel that work relief might include work tests in instances where the usual kind of investigation could not be depended upon to establish willingness to work. Although never popular, work tests, if applied with understanding, were considered helpful in handling large numbers under great pressure. Since possibilities of relief and service are naturally limited in times of depression, these tests became increasingly accepted as a means of checking waste and safeguarding funds for those clients whose needs were most urgent.

In accordance with the provisions of the Federal Welfare Act of 1924, two main types of work relief were developed:

1. Work-for-wages, in which work performed by the client was paid for at a fixed wage rate, the amount of work thus assigned him being expected to be sufficient to meet the needs of his family.

2. Work-for-relief, in which the client performed a certain amount of work not compensated for on a wage basis, in return for direct relief ("home relief") supplied to his family.

These two main classifications of work relief will be adhered to in the succeeding chapters. Different names, hard to translate with accuracy, were applied to the variations of these two main types. They had distinct legal bases, were differently financed and their regulations were frequently changed during the course of years. In most communities both types were developed simultaneously, thus allowing for a very diversified work-relief program meeting varying needs of client groups. On the whole work-for-wages was considered the more expensive, but the more satisfactory form as far as individual rehabilitation was concerned. Yet for many groups, work-for-wages could never be organized, and their needs would have been neglected had there not been the possibility of work-for-relief. This was particularly true in the case of the adolescent members of unemployed families, defectives, and those with a manifestly low working capacity.

THE WORK-FOR-WAGES PLAN

A relief worker on wages received pay adjusted to the normal tariffs and wage agreements current in his community. At the same time, however, he was contributing to and being protected by state insurance for health, invalidity, old age, unemployment, and accident. He received his pay envelope just like any other worker, and might be paid on a piecework basis if this was customary for the type of work in which he was engaged. He was free to supplement his income by accepting jobs in his off time, and there was no restriction whatever upon the acceptance of work of any kind by members of his family. If his income did not cover his budgetary needs according to fair relief standards, it could be supplemented by regular or incidental allowances out of home-relief funds as in the case of any other client whose earned income was insufficient for his needs.

Work-for-wages was first developed extensively under the federal program of Emergency Public Works as early as 1919 and was later carried over into the federal unemployment insurance system. As seen from the angle of local govern-

ment, particularly that of municipal public welfare departments, the federal government's provision for emergency public works was closely related to the community's work-relief program, if not a definite part of it. Individual projects had to be planned locally by some department of the municipal government, generally in close co-operation with the Public Welfare Department, and part of the necessary funds had to be provided from local taxes.

All projects receiving state and federal loans had to meet somewhat specific requirements. The federal government, with an eye to greater efficiency and economy, recommended the employment of contractors, who lent the necessary machinery and equipment and also furnished a certain fixed percentage of skilled supervisors and foremen. Except for these specialists, contractors were obliged to hire exclusively men who were sent to them from the Labor Exchange or from the Public Welfare Department. They could discharge only for good reason, and after reporting to the field worker who represented the interest of either agency in the welfare of the clients on the job. Contractors were allowed to pay either by the hour or according to piece rates, which were made part of the advance contract between the municipal bureau in charge and the contractor. Since contractors who specialized in road building were almost entirely dependent on orders from public departments, which called for the employment of clients on a work-relief basis, they were willing to co-operate and conform to some innovations in their contracts. Contractors who were found to be unreliable or not sufficiently co-operative were dropped and in some instances were forced to pay large fines. Members of the labor union's shop committee on the job would know and report to the liaison worker any infringement of contract or lapse in working conditions.

The Emergency Public Works program was so rigidly controlled by the federal and state governments whose funds were being spent that many communities felt the need of using their own means for projects to care for other groups

of the unemployed. The standards of federal or state public works were generally carried over into these programs of purely municipal work relief; but most of the projects were smaller and of a less technical nature, and less skilled supervision was needed for them.

"Shared Work." After several years of planning and financing projects entirely out of work-relief funds, a strong feeling developed that additional jobs might be created in industry and agriculture if some of the money spent on work relief could be used to supplement wages. Several cities began to experiment along these lines. Selected local industries were subsidized on condition that they took on a large number of workers from the relief rolls and continued to employ them for a specified time after the subsidy had ceased. Wages were thus supplemented for a period of from three to six months, in every instance with the understanding that the workers were to be paid full and normal wages, as any other worker on the factory payroll. Such a worker had regular standing and ceased to be a client. It was considered economically sound to contribute toward his pay approximately the same amount on a man-day basis that his maintenance would have cost the relief agency if his status had not been changed. Besides being less expensive to the agency than financing the entire work-relief projects, the specific value of this "shared work" was apparent in the fact that workers were again brought into normal contact with regular employers and in regular plants. This was the closest approach to normal working conditions created under a program of "made work."

The same idea in varying forms was used in England as early as 1924 following the program of Sir Alfred Mond.[1] In Germany it has recently[2] received further application by the

[1] Mond, Alfred Moritz, Remedy for Unemployment: Get the Workers Back to Work! The Author, Llanelly, Wales, 1925.

[2] The same plan has also been developed for farm workers with families. Farmers who are willing to employ such families, preferably with children under fourteen years of age, in addition to their usual number of hands, may, under specific regulations, receive a grant up to 20 marks a month (approximately $5.00) for not more than twelve months per family. In no case can this aid be given on behalf of

federal government, which has placed on farms 200,000 adolescent boys and girls and partly financed their wages (*Landhilfe*).

In some of the mining regions of western Germany shared work was done with the co-operation of the mining companies and municipalities. Portions of great mining dumps, covering acres of land, were cleared and landscaped and sometimes converted into parks and recreation centers for neighboring communities, the mining companies retaining the title to the land. Tools, equipment, and technical supervision for this work were furnished by the mining companies; while work-relief funds were used to pay the workers. In several instances factories which had originally been located in the outskirts of the city had come to lie in the center of a large residential neighborhood, and were a drawback to the community's development. These were moved to new sites, literally piece by piece, and rebuilt, thus releasing the old site for public uses. This, also, was done as shared work and facilities and funds from both industry and city government used for the good of the community.

THE WORK-FOR-RELIEF PLAN

The underlying philosophy involved in work-for-relief differed in different communities, and with it the approach to the program. In some, the emphasis was laid on the client's *obligation* to give work to the community in return for his family's maintenance; in others, his readiness to do so was taken for granted, and the plan presented to him as an *opportunity* to give volunteer service during his enforced leisure.

While in many instances the relief allowance was slightly increased in cash or kind when the client was giving work in return, it was not adjusted to any accepted wage standard but continued on the basis of budgetary needs. The clients working for relief received their allowances through their

more than three employed families on any one farm. See Beilage zum Reichsarbeitsmarktanzeiger vom 10.10 1933 Ziff. 74/33.

relief agencies in exactly the same way as clients receiving home relief but doing no work in return. Yet they were privileged in one respect; while under German law all public relief, theoretically at least, is given as a loan and must be refunded if and when the client is able to do so, no efforts were made to collect these relief loans from clients for the period covered by work relief.

As to the projects worked on, the work-for-relief group was frequently employed side by side with clients working for wages, although generally in separate gangs, under separate foremen. Most of the outdoor jobs were in public parks where the work program was elastic enough to allow more groups to be added if necessary. Usually the work did not require a great deal of material or expensive tools. Men were transferred from one project to another during their working period without hardship, since in work-for-relief carfare and other transportation costs were always provided.

The work-for-relief method was also used in many educational projects set up separately for adults and adolescents. These projects afforded opportunities for choral practice, sports and gymnastics, sightseeing trips, and organized hiking. While the workers generally felt that they got valuable compensation in the form of skill acquired through actual training while working, they were naturally also interested in the recreational aspects. Some groups engaged in simple manual or cultural activities, while others specialized in highly skilled work augmenting their previous working experience.

Out of these local educational activities has developed in recent years the Voluntary Work Service,[1] a separate type of work-for-relief for the younger unemployed up to twenty-five years.

FINANCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

It will be recalled that, as described on page 15, two independent units of government, the labor exchanges and the

[1] See p. 71.

public welfare departments, were engaged in each locality in developing work relief. Both agencies had access to local, state, and federal resources under frequently varying regulations. Both were authorized to function for the unemployed who were covered by unemployment insurance, as well as for those who were not eligible for insurance or had already exhausted their claims.

During the course of years, the various specific forms pursued by work-relief activities and the names growing up around them underwent all too frequent changes. The more progressive public welfare departments realized fairly early the importance of work relief as a permanent feature of community responsibility and so preserved a local nucleus to carry on a minimum of emergency employment out of local funds whether outside funds were available or not. Incidentally some local machinery for selecting and supervising both workers and projects was continued as a definite part of the public welfare agencies and as a recognized means of social service. Federal and state units of government on the whole respected and used these local set-ups, directing their immediate representatives in the local labor exchanges to co-operate with the public welfare departments. This co-operative arrangement enabled the federal government to increase the number of workers and projects very rapidly if additional funds were available.

Municipal budgets carried extra allowances besides their home-relief funds for both work-for-relief and work-for-wages. A comparatively slight amount used in work-for-relief for materials, equipment, weekly bonuses in cash or kind, and carfare, made it possible to employ a large number of clients all through the year.

Provision in the municipal budgets for the group working for regular wages would include total expenditures for a definite number to be employed on the basis of local funds only, and an additional lump-sum allocation in case federal or state funds should enable the local government to increase materially its own employment program. The initial sum

in the budget would make it possible to get at least a start in putting the men to work while the additional funds were being secured. All federal and state grants were made on the basis of project units (on a flat rate per man-day, including wages, material, and overhead) and not on a time basis. The federal government would contribute up to 80 per cent of the total cost of each approved project, given partly as loans and partly as subsidies.

III

GENERAL POLICIES AS TO WAGES AND HOURS

UNDER THE WORK-FOR-WAGES PLAN

GENERAL policies regarding wages in the different types of work relief have already been partly explained. Codes and regular wage agreements drawn up between the trade unions and regional representative bodies of employers' associations frequently included special rates for semi-skilled workers in addition to those for skilled and unskilled, and also some provision for special wage rates for adolescents and handicapped workers. These codes were observed whenever men on work-for-wages were assigned to work for private employers, whether non-profit-making agencies or industrial concerns. The question arose whether these separate agreements with a multiplicity of trade unions should be carried over when the workers were doing work for local government units. Municipal employes in Germany are organized into a sort of industrial union, under which a single body representing the workers makes agreements with the city government covering wages and working conditions for all types of work in the public service, such as municipal gas, water and electrical plants, street railways, street cleaning, the maintenance of parks and highways, janitor and cleaning service for public buildings and other work. As the majority of the relief workers on work-for-wages were employed side by side with regular municipal employes, it seemed more advisable and also fairer to the temporary helpers to use the wage rates of municipal workers for the entire group.

The wage agreements used were comparatively simple, with a uniform wage rate for all skilled labor and with only

slightly lesser amounts for semi-skilled or unskilled workers. Trained clerical and professional workers were classified as skilled, and received the same wages. These wages were continued at the same rate when such workers happened to be employed temporarily on jobs that did not specifically call for skilled work, the main basis for grading them being their training, previous experience and the type of work they had generally engaged in while on work relief. Foremen in each group received the regular basic wage and an additional hourly bonus.

In discussions with representatives of labor during the early periods of organizing emergency employment, there had been agreement by both sides that a reduction of 10 per cent from the regular rates would be desirable, and acceptable, since relief workers nearly always proved for some time to be less efficient than regular workers. This also served to differentiate relief work from regular work, and acted as a stimulus to the men in looking for normal employment. This reduction was regularly applied in all work-for-wages projects except "shared work." In all other respects the recipients of relief wages were protected by the regular specifications of the wage agreement and had full standing and normal privileges.

Since funds for emergency employment were usually small, and the need to give employment to large numbers urgent, there was a strong feeling against allowing clients without dependents to work full time. They were usually employed from thirty-two to thirty-six hours a week. In many instances this applied also to married men without children, while the breadwinners of larger families would be allowed to work from thirty-six to forty-four hours a week. After the frequent cuts in wages which took place during the last few years in Germany, it was found necessary to employ men with six or more dependents as long as forty-eight hours a week, in order to meet the income which their family budget called for. Some projects were given the exclusive use of full-time workers, while others had a working week of thirty-two, thirty-six, forty or forty-four hours.

While wages were always based on hourly rates, projects were permitted to use piece wages if this was more applicable and customary in the line of work handled. As a matter of fact piece work was given preference, since it helped to speed up the work and adjust the workers again to normal working conditions and requirements. In some instances the workers were paid for full time, but allowed, as soon as they had finished the daily minimum requirements for their specific job, either to leave for the day, or else to take part in some of the leisure-time activities organized in connection with the project. This method was especially used to speed up ditch-digging, some of the farm work, and other outdoor jobs, and was quite satisfactory, particularly in handling the younger group who had had practically no working experience and were likely to work very slowly if left to their own devices.

UNDER THE WORK-FOR-RELIEF PLAN

The average working week for clients working in return for maintenance was twenty-one to twenty-four hours. However, when the relief allowance was unusually large, owing to there being many dependents in the family, the breadwinner was often asked to work full time, at least for several months of each year. This was in order to obviate too striking differences in the reward for their labor offered to heads of large and heads of small families respectively, in comparison with wages earned in industry. The labor exchanges constantly reported that fathers of families with six or more dependents refused to accept regular jobs, since they felt that relief allowances, for which they were required to do little work in return, furnished greater security. Because of this the bureaus for work relief handled placement, wages, and hours for this group with particular care, trying out various methods to prevent clients becoming permanent charges on the community.

Groups organized mainly for educational activities, especially groups of juveniles, also stayed in session for longer hours—from forty-four to forty-eight hours—since one of the

main factors in giving them work relief was the desire to keep them off the streets and fill their days in a satisfactory way. This was always the case when they were living away from home, for instance, in camps provided under the Voluntary Work Service; but it also held true in many instances for activities organized through work centers[1] as a basis for special work-relief projects in the home community.

Since relief allowances were usually based on the needs of families no member of which was at work, the importance was recognized of allowing for additional income, in cash or kind, as soon as a client was making a return in service. Additional expense which he would necessarily incur in the way of carfare and extra wear on clothing had also to be considered.

Experience proved that many workers felt the need of extra food as soon as they began to work, even when there had been no previous signs of undernourishment. Many communities found it most satisfactory to serve one meal a day at the place of employment, in the form of luncheon or a hearty breakfast. The food was frequently sent by truck from central kitchens in work centers for women, hospitals, or other institutions. This guaranteed additional food in the most economical way and assured its consumption by the working member of the family. Where the sending and serving of food seemed inefficient or too expensive because of distance, an allowance to provide for luncheon was given instead. Depending on the financial situation in the various localities at different times, the policy of giving a client an additional cash bonus was frequently adopted. In general, it was considered fair for a man who was working out his relief allowance to have a small weekly increase to cover incidentals, since to have some spending-money would help to maintain his self-respect. Twenty to fifty cents a week, in addition to the extra meal every day, sometimes did wonders. It was found that this extra allowance helped to ease difficult family situations, where the wife felt the strain of over-

[1] See pp. 54 ff.

economy so much that she nagged her husband concerning any personal expenditures.

Extra clothing was far more difficult to provide, especially for outdoor jobs during the cold and rainy season. Clients complained with good reason that they were wearing out their working clothes with no chance of getting new ones if any regular job should be obtained. Many were reduced to wearing for rough work their only suits of respectable clothes, carefully preserved up to that time. In the absence of sufficient relief funds to provide each worker with working clothes, various expedients were tried. Those who worked for wages were frequently, on their request, supplied with suitable new working clothes, including heavy shoes, before starting to work. The Welfare Department could buy such clothes advantageously, and let the client have them at cost, the man signing an agreement to pay for them in small amounts to be deducted from his weekly wage. A similar plan was used with the group working for relief, but here clients were sometimes charged with only half the actual cost, the difference being met out of the clothing fund of the Department. Some jobs, such as river work, or the handling of chemical refuse, called for protective clothing like rubber boots or heavy leather aprons. In such instances special clothing was procured by the agency directing the project and lent to workers while on the job.

Clients on all types of work relief were always given the opportunity to keep their clothes in repair below cost or free of charge through the workshops which were part of most of the local programs. Actual cost to the Welfare Department was negligible, except in the case of shoe leather, since most of the material used came from donations of second-hand clothing.

PROTECTION FOR BOTH GROUPS

Although the average gross income of workers on work-for-wages was approximately 30 to 40 per cent above the home-relief allowance which they would have received if not work-

ing, the net income in many instances was only a little above the relief scale. Charges for compulsory state insurance for health, old age and unemployment, as well as income tax payments,[1] were deducted before payment, and took a considerable slice off the total amount. In addition, workers on work-for-wages had to pay their carfares and any other expenses involved in going to work. When the margin between net income and home-relief allowance for any group seemed too small, an effort was made in most cities to transfer this group to another classification which called for longer working hours.

In case of illness and absence from the job, benefit from health insurance was paid automatically to the work-for-wages group in place of wages, but there was always some delay involved, and frequently the first three days of absence were not taken care of at all. Persons on work-for-relief, being ineligible for insurance, were continued on home relief and given medical attention as part of their relief allowances. Workers incapacitated by illness were laid off only after several weeks of sick leave, and were usually given a chance to return after recovery. All workers, including those on work-for-relief, were protected in case of accident by state insurance on a non-contributory basis. This protection was found to be important, since the percentage of accidents was always comparatively high, due to the lack of skill and ordinary precautions of workers who had been out of touch with working conditions for a long time.

[1] Beginning in Germany at a rate of 10 per cent of any earnings of more than 100 marks (approximately $25) a month.

IV

THE BUREAU FOR WORK RELIEF

RELATION TO LABOR EXCHANGES

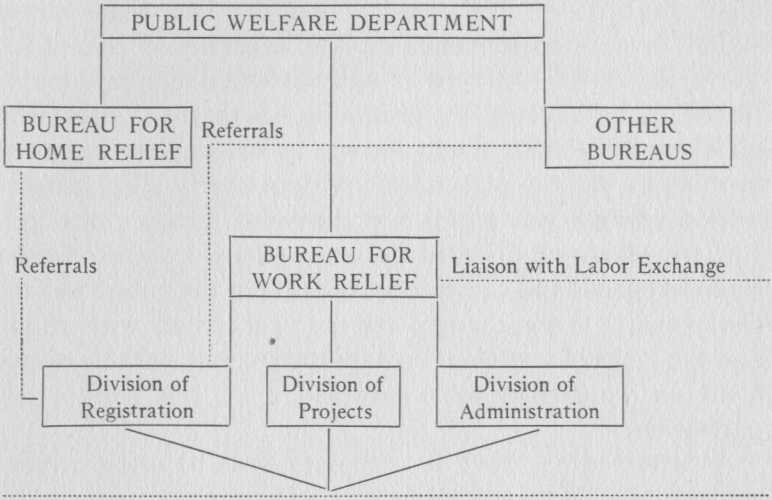
FOR a number of years Germany has had municipal labor exchanges in many communities for the voluntary registration of people desiring work. When the Federal Unemployment Insurance Act went into effect in 1927, all local labor exchanges were taken over from municipal administrations, and given the double function of registering and advising the unemployed as to possible openings; and of handling the benefits for the much smaller group covered by the insurance scheme as described in Section II.[1] Unemployed persons drawing maintenance from the Public Welfare Department of their communities would still continue to register at the labor exchanges. Those who drew neither relief of any kind nor insurance benefits were also encouraged to register once a month at least at the Labor Exchange in order to keep in contact with the labor market and receive vocational advice.

This registration of practically all the nation's unemployed supplied a uniform basis of vocational classification for all Germany. The training and work experience of each registrant were carefully recorded in compliance with regulations of the Federal Unemployment Insurance Bureau and were taken into account before any job was offered. When an employer sent in a request for a highly specialized type of worker, the Labor Exchange was responsible for choosing the person best adapted to meet the requirements. The more efficient exchanges made every effort to send on jobs

[1] Later, the labor exchanges were also authorized to handle a certain type of emergency relief, largely financed by the federal government, for certain groups of unemployed who had exhausted their right to insurance benefits (*Krisenfürsorge*).

only applicants who were well qualified to fill them. Both workers and employers learned to be extremely careful in describing the special ability and experience which were offered on the one side and required on the other. This high standard of performance had (as has been earlier stated) a decided influence on the selection of clients for work-relief jobs. As long as most of the unemployed continued to be covered by insurance, so that the insurance division of the Labor Exchange was quite as much interested in them as was the placement division, nearly all placing in work-for-wages was handled exclusively by the exchanges. But after large numbers of the unemployed exhausted their claim to benefit and came under the care of the public welfare departments the exchanges felt less concerned with them, and the tasks of vocational rehabilitation and suitable placement on work-relief jobs devolved upon the welfare departments.

Accustomed as these departments were to using a case-work approach to the client's problems, they had always demanded careful consideration of individual factors in each placement, such as the condition of the client's health, his more or less urgent need for increased income, or for vocational readjustment, as well as the maintenance of his self-respect and courage. From this standpoint, the labor exchanges had not been equipped to give satisfactory service. Their tendency had been to consider primarily which applicant had the best qualifications for the job. This was an entirely proper attitude for them to take as far as regular jobs and the normal labor market were concerned; but the jobs created under the program of work relief were *not* regular jobs. They were intended as a means for service to a certain type of client in need, and to the community. To secure the handling of made work in this spirit and with the least possible waste, many welfare departments found it necessary to organize, as a part of their local set-up, central bureaus of work relief to supplement the local labor exchanges.



WORK-RELIEF PROJECTS

Emergency Public Works	*Aid to Municipal Departments*	*Aid to Private Social Agencies*	*Co-operation with Private Industry*	*Special Projects Managed by Bureau for Work Relief*
Parks	Highways	Surveys	Moving factories	Work Centers for Men and Women
Playgrounds	Street cleaning	Clerical work	Dump removal	Farm Centers
Land reclamation	Schools	Extension of services	Low-cost housing	Centers for Handicapped Juveniles
Rivers and harbors	Hospitals		Beautification of rights-of-way	Voluntary Work Service
	Museums		"Shared work" in factories	Work Shelters for Transients and Homeless
	Libraries			Co-operative Day Centers for Unemployed
	Public Welfare Department			Clerical Unit

BUREAU FOR WORK RELIEF IN RELATION TO PUBLIC WELFARE DEPARTMENT

Although this report is concerned only with the administration of work relief as an important activity of public welfare departments during the last few years, the general set-up of a typical Public Welfare Department should be explained. This Department usually handles relief and social service for both families and single people of the community through a number of district offices, which are directed by a central Bureau for Home Relief. There are no separate government units, as in the United States, to handle separate classifications of the needy; the same staff handles all types of problems, and no discrimination is made as to the immediate cause of need. The clients may be old, disabled, or chronically diseased; they may be veterans or widows, or destitute mothers with families; they may be persons temporarily or permanently unemployed.

While practically all the relief needs of the clients are thus taken care of directly by the district offices, the welfare departments maintain a number of special bureaus, clinics and institutions at headquarters to provide additional facilities and services. The heads of some of the special bureaus act as consultants to the district staff or are in charge of centralized functions which supplement the district services. Occurring most frequently as specialized activities are: bureaus for foster care, protective work, housing, the homeless, institutional care of aged and chronic invalids, convalescent care, hospital social service, and legal aid. To this traditional set-up was added during the past few years the Bureau for Work Relief. This Bureau carried out three main functions, for which corresponding special subdivisions were frequently set up:

1. Division of Registration, for the registration, selection and vocational guidance of employable clients of the Public Welfare Department.

2. Division of Projects, for planning suitable work-relief projects conforming to the needs of clients.

3. Division of Administration, for the management of

work centers[1] under the immediate guidance of the Welfare Department, and for general administration of projects.

FUNCTIONS OF THE DIVISION OF REGISTRATION

The Division of Registration acted as the Welfare Department's liaison agency with the Labor Exchange, and conferred regularly with it on matters of general policy, as well as on individual cases. The practice of having clients register in a routine way with both the Bureau for Work Relief and the Labor Exchange was developed as a matter of principle.

In the main, clients were referred to the Division of Registration from the Bureau for Home Relief, although clients with special vocational needs were accepted and registered on reference from other divisions of the Welfare Department, from private agencies, or from the Labor Exchange.

A typical Bureau for Work Relief had separate subdivisions for registering men and women, with special workers assigned to the care of adolescents and of the handicapped. Complete records were kept, based on careful vocational information obtained through interviews which covered training, experience in looking for jobs, preferences as to type of work, ability or disability along certain lines, and work history, with special attention to irregularities which might influence working ability. The interviewer discussed with the applicant possible lines of educational training which might make it easier for him to find another job, and recorded his reactions. The record further mentioned his general appearance, apparent state of health, and any health handicaps which might influence re-employment. No attempt was made to cover social history in any detail, since the Bureau for Home Relief in referring him sent a duplicate of its own record of the client.

Every employer, under the German law, is obliged to give to each employe leaving his service, a written statement concerning his qualifications and the duration of the job he is leaving. The worker is expected to preserve these "dis-

[1] Described on pp. 54ff.

charge papers," and to be able to present a complete file of them when registering for a new job. Any document missing from the file raises, of course, the suspicion that the reference in it was unfavorable, or that the interval of alleged employment covered by the dates had been spent in some less reputable way. Persons registering at the Bureau for Work Relief and the Labor Exchange were always asked for these papers which, when complete and favorable, furnished a check on the data needed, and made it easier to place the registrants in regular work.

A physician was detailed by the public health authority to each work-relief bureau, and clients reporting health handicaps might be sent to him for an examination at the interviewer's discretion. While routine medical examination of all registrants could not be provided on account of its prohibitive cost, an examination was given whenever a question arose as to the physical fitness of a client for a job, or if there was some indication of poor health.

All workers receiving either relief or unemployment insurance benefits were encouraged to report at least twice a week regularly at the Labor Exchange, as the most likely way of keeping in contact with the labor market and of finding a new job. A record was made of each return visit, so that regularity in reporting could easily be checked.

Following the first complete and prolonged interview at the Bureau for Work Relief, appointments were made at fixed intervals of from two to four weeks, for subsequent vocational interviews at the Bureau, during which workers and clients would discuss the latter's efforts to find work and the experiences encountered in their search, as well as the type of work relief most suitable to meet their specific needs when an opening occurred.

After the first interview, the Bureau "cleared the case" with the Labor Exchange and collected additional information, usually through a personal interview with the placement worker at the Exchange. In this consultation, suggestions as to the value of supplementary training for the client

were particularly sought. For instance, the Labor Exchange might suggest that a general houseworker, to be more useful, should have some experience in sewing and mending, or in caring for children; or that a gardener should be able to state in his application that he understood rock-gardening; or that a clerk could be more readily placed in a small shop when he was able to do bookkeeping and placard writing, as well as selling. In many instances the Exchange would recommend temporary relief employment, in order to facilitate regular placement later on.

FUNCTIONS OF THE DIVISION OF PROJECTS

The main function of the Division of Projects was to interest various municipal departments and government agencies in the community in planning suitable projects. The services of work-relief clients were also furnished to private agencies, care being taken that any such assignments were supplementary to the regular work of these agencies, and that no normally employed workers were supplanted by those on work relief.

In carrying on these activities, the Division of Projects needed and received complete and prompt information from the Division of Registration about the registrants, particularly as to their ages, and the vocational groups represented. It was necessary that workers in the Division should know how many clerks, stenographers, accountants, architects, masons, carpenters, bakers, houseworkers, or unskilled workers, among others, needed to have opportunities found for them; and how many of these were juveniles, young workers, or elderly people. The work involved what might be termed a permanent campaign for openings and useful projects. Those in charge were constantly having formal interviews and informal talks with experts in all fields toward this end. Knowing the workers available for all kinds of jobs, and understanding the limitations and the basic regulations of work relief, the Division's staff soon became expert in fitting registered workers to jobs available.

This required not only a knowledge of the workers' experience, but also judgment as to the potential ability of these people to adapt the skill they possessed to related, but different, lines of work; this in turn involved acquaintance with particular types of work and related trades and processes. Thus it often became possible to make substitutions from other trades, when workers in some particular line could not be supplied from registrants at the Bureau for Work Relief. The staff of this Division, through long experience, acquired the ability to discriminate between projects which were really sound, and others which might hinder placement of the unemployed in later regular jobs.

After projects had been discussed and informally accepted by executives of the Bureau for Work Relief, the Division of Projects drew up final plans in co-operation with experts and specialists, to be submitted to municipal committees, or to state and federal authorities when part of the funds were being provided by them. Many of the smaller projects, calling mainly for wages and needing very little equipment or material, were authorized directly by the Bureau for Work Relief, and financed by work-relief funds in the annual budget of the Department.

FUNCTIONS OF THE DIVISION OF ADMINISTRATION

Although the bulk of the placements, as has been said, were made with other municipal departments and agencies, public and private, welfare departments in many cities felt the need of organizing projects under their own immediate management.

A separate division of the Bureau for Work Relief—the Division of Administration—was usually placed in charge of these projects, which included, besides outdoor work, some workshops and work centers with specialized functions. The policy of keeping some projects under the direct management of the Bureau proved to have two major advantages: first, the clients who needed special services, such as supervision and training, special diets, or rest periods, could be

better cared for if they were employed directly under the Welfare Department than if they were outside it; and, second, the management of these centers gave the Bureau first-hand information concerning the problems likely to occur. The lessons thus learned could be applied to the solution of the problems arising in outside projects. Centers under the direct management of the Division of Administration were also helpful in studying individual workers transferred from other jobs where their work had been reported to be unsatisfactory.

The Division was also responsible for handling payrolls on all work-relief jobs under the Bureau, and for other administrative functions insofar as they were not carried out by the departments and agencies immediately charged with them.

A special corps of technical experts and personnel workers attached to the Division of Administration gave field supervision to all projects, attempting to clear up any misunderstandings or friction that might arise between the relief worker and supervisor on the job. They also checked up regularly on timekeepers. It was important that at least one or two of these personnel workers be women to keep in contact with projects where women workers were chiefly employed. Usually the same social workers would give part of their time to the project-planning unit in order to develop special projects for women.

The personnel workers reported back to the Division of Registration upon the performance of individual workers. Meetings with superintendents and foremen on the various projects were frequently arranged in order to imbue them with the spirit and purposes of the work as well as to inform them about current policies and problems and to secure their intelligent and wholehearted co-operation.

V

PERSONNEL PRACTICES

SELECTION AND ASSIGNMENT OF WORKERS

CLIENTS of the Public Welfare Department considered capable of working were asked to register with the Bureau for Work Relief at the time of their application for relief or other services. Often they could not be placed immediately, although a strong point was made of placing urgent cases without delay. The projects were usually flexible enough to allow slight increases in the numbers employed, and there was a natural turnover, due to sickness or the clients' finding regular work. Moreover, openings for new groups could always be made by dropping workers who had been actively employed for some time, in order to give others a chance. Since funds and possibilities for sound projects were both limited, the policy was to lay workers off at regular intervals, frequently in large groups, which involved complete replacement of personnel on a given project. Extending work opportunities to a larger number of clients was not, however, the only reason for this procedure. It served also to sustain the interest of the workers in finding regular jobs and in maintaining all contacts that might lead to normal employment.

Because of the shortage of regular jobs, it was found that the optimum for work-relief clients was about six months' full employment during the year, including both relief work and regular jobs. Often it was impossible to provide even this; and in practice, sometimes only those clients who had had less than six months' work during the previous two years were given an opportunity for work relief. However, many were put on work-relief jobs who lacked only one or

two months of regular work to complete the minimum requirement for unemployment insurance benefit, which many preferred. Aside from considerations such as these, selection of clients was made on the basis of need for this particular service, preference being given to those who had been unemployed for a long period, to unemployed juveniles, and to handicapped persons likely to become permanent charges. Middle-aged workers were also frequently given preference, since their chances of finding regular jobs were so slight as to be practically negligible.

Work-relief projects in which the federal and state governments participated were operated under uniform regulations, and the percentage of the various types of unemployed which could be assigned to them was definitely fixed. As a rule 10 per cent of the total number of jobs were reserved for unemployed persons who were still living on their own resources; about 50 per cent were assigned to those drawing insurance benefits; and the remaining 40 per cent were available for those drawing public relief. In projects financed exclusively by municipal departments, the policy was to exclude those who were still drawing insurance benefits, and to give the borderline cases and those on relief a better chance.

In placing juveniles whose home conditions were distinctly unfavorable and whose continued idleness was felt to be a special risk, practically the only consideration was the individual's need for employment and organized recreation. This attitude extended also to the handicapped, especially mental cases, who were given a chance at work relief, without strict regard to their economic needs if an opening could be found for them. The special bureaus of the Public Welfare Department in charge of feebleminded, crippled, the deaf, dumb and blind clients often used the facilities of work relief for their clients, both juveniles and adults, and registered them with the Bureau for Work Relief as soon as they were considered ready for placement. Private agencies, hospitals and sometimes families themselves would also refer defectives not previously known to the Welfare Department,

and if an investigation showed that the main service needed was some specially selected type of work relief, these people were considered eligible. Not infrequently clients were reported for placement who were unable to hold regular jobs because of chronic diseased conditions, or alcoholism, and suitable openings were found for them in carefully selected projects. The same consideration was given to a number of ex-convicts and to young prostitutes who had received prolonged treatment in hospitals.

After the program of work relief had been fairly well established in a community, the value of sheltered employment for different types of clients became so evident to social workers that they began to use work relief as a means of treatment for the most varied family problems. Special efforts were made to have the Division of Registration supplied with all available information, to be sure that no points would be overlooked in placing workers so as to render the service best adapted to their special needs. Staff conferences between placement workers and visitors brought out many interesting points for constructive co-operation.

The Division of Registration was always informed with dispatch of any new openings in connection with the work projects, especially if these were to be enlarged, or if a large turnover in personnel was impending. In its card index of applicants the clients were classified by vocations and age. In addition a system of special signals was developed, through which any reasons for preferential treatment of an applicant were evident at a glance.

Because of the number of previous interviews and the complete information on hand about each client, it was not usually necessary to call him to the Bureau for an interview in notifying him of his assignment to work. He was directed by mail either to report for work at a designated place and time, or to call at the Labor Exchange for assignment when this agency insisted on handling all placements in order to safeguard its monopoly, as the only employment bureau in the community (since under recent legislation, practically all

commercial bureaus had been discontinued, as well as non-commercial bureaus maintained by social agencies and trade unions). To meet the exigencies of this act, the Public Welfare Department usually had an agreement with the Labor Exchange under which it could function with sufficient freedom and at the same time comply with the regulations. However, after the Department had made a selection of applicants for jobs, final authorization by the Exchange was usually no more than a formality.

When, however, work-relief jobs were partly financed by federal or state funds, the Labor Exchange had always to be used as the ultimate placement agency, the Bureau for Work Relief still, however, making the actual selection, after considering the social and personality needs of the client to be placed. The Division of Registration really functioned in this case as though it were a social service department under the Labor Exchange, although it remained part of the municipal set-up and was totally independent of the federal rules and regulations governing that body.

It should be clearly understood that both agencies carefully considered social needs in the selection of workers. The labor exchanges were on the whole more easily impressed by the client's own story and his urgent requests for placement, and frequently overvalued the importance of the number of his dependents. The Bureau for Work Relief, being in close contact with the Bureau for Home Relief, and more strictly interested in the social implications of the cases, would usually have better "background" material to consider the real needs of a client. The Labor Exchange, considering chiefly qualifications, preferred to place applicants who were fully capable, while the Bureau for Work Relief stressed the urgent need of clients for employment and the necessity of building up working capacity.

On the whole, both agencies agreed that the principles of selecting workers for jobs created and financed under a program of emergency employment differed from those used in selecting workers for regular jobs. Both felt that ways and

means should always be found to give preference to the needier applicants as long as there were not enough jobs for all.

When a relief client was assigned to work relief, the Division of Registration automatically notified the Bureau for Home Relief at once, indicating date and place of employment, type of work, and the future basis of remuneration, whether wages or increased relief. If wages were to be paid, relief was continued up to the date of the first pay check.

As a rule only one member of a family at a time was employed on work relief. In cases of rather large families with unemployed adolescents, exceptions to this rule were allowed. The general custom, however, was for only one member to draw wages, the others being on work-for-relief only.

TRANSFER AND DISMISSAL

In case a client did not report for work, the Bureau for Work Relief was immediately notified and made a prompt follow-up, generally through the Bureau for Home Relief. If the client had a legitimate reason, the matter was adjusted; if not, or if he indicated that he did not feel qualified to do the work assigned, he was usually given a second chance in another line of work or in a different location. On his refusal to accept a second job, there were various ways of handling the matter. If he was without dependents, or if the family's standard of living indicated that he had some income unknown to the Bureau for Home Relief, he might either be dropped from relief, or his relief cut 50 per cent according to the provision under paragraph 13 of the by-law of the Federal Welfare Act of 1924.[1] In extreme cases the client could be brought into court and tried for non-support, and if found guilty sentenced to the house of correction.

The length of each worker's assignment was usually fixed when he began work, and he was dismissed when the time had elapsed. If he had established his eligibility for unem-

[1] See Appendix, p. 92.

ployment insurance, the case was closed by the Welfare Department. Other clients were continued under the care of the Bureau for Home Relief and automatically referred back to the Bureau for Work Relief for reassignment. Many clients returned of their own accord and applied for reinstatement. Occasionally the field worker decided that a prolongation of his work period was desirable, because some special problem had not been satisfactorily worked out. In such instances, permission was obtained from the director of the Bureau for Work Relief or of the Welfare Department to make a reassignment. However, this was an infrequent procedure except for adolescents, mental patients, the seriously handicapped, and middle-aged workers and the heads of large families, when it was evident that these could not find regular employment.

A general change in the personnel of one of the working groups would occasion some difficulty when it included foremen and some supervisors and specialists whose continuous services on a particular work project were needed to maintain reasonable efficiency. Directors of work centers and projects were particularly anxious to keep these valuable workers as long as possible, and tactful handling of such situations was needed. The Bureau for Work Relief often resorted to the logical expedient of financing outside of the work-relief program the positions which were absolutely essential for carrying on the work, and of placing holders of these positions on the Bureau's regular payroll, perhaps as only temporary help, but entirely separate from the relief workers. If, due to restrictions in the Bureau's resources, this could not be done, these men would often be placed in a small group of so-called "special cases," exempt from the regular turnover, who could not be laid off unless substitutes could be found with similar qualifications among the clients still to be placed. Even such substitutes were assigned so as to overlap the assignments of the older men by several weeks or months during which time the new men acted as assistants to the experienced ones until quite able to carry responsibility alone.

The method of limiting work periods was also applied to the group working for relief only, the laid-off men being continued on home relief.

Yet there cannot be any doubt that lay-offs involved considerable hardships for many, ameliorated only a little by the spirit of comradeship for their fellow-sufferers, who were in this way enabled to have their chance at the needed work-relief jobs.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR ADVANCEMENT

In order to build up morale a progressive system was worked out which permitted people working for relief only or doing lower grades of work to raise their status so as to receive more responsible jobs or transfers from work-for-relief to work-for-wages. Sometimes it was found possible to transfer especially good workers to regular paid jobs on the municipal payroll. A good record on work relief was always a valuable asset to an applicant for a job. As a way of recognizing superior work, an especially conscientious worker was sometimes allowed to stay on the job an extra two or three weeks beyond his allotted time.

Every worker received a certificate stating the exact time he had worked and the kind of work he had done. A good reference of this sort being both specific and reliable was helpful to the holder in looking for regular jobs. Any man whose work proved to be a little above the average was reported to the Bureau for Work Relief, and his name placed in a special file. In later discussions between the Bureau and the Labor Exchange, attention was called to him and his standard of work, and this recommendation had great weight in the matter of his placement by the latter agency, constituting, in fact, one of the most effective services which the Bureau for Work Relief could render a former worker.

After several months of regular work many clients were actually better fitted than before for jobs in their own lines so that their chances for finding them were improved. If clients had been continued indefinitely on work relief, they

might have had too little incentive to look seriously for normal work, while several surveys of laid-off men proved that a considerable percentage found employment immediately after discharge and did not return for relief.

VI

PLANNING AND SELECTION OF PROJECTS

PRINCIPLES DEVELOPED

WHEN the Division of Projects came into being, the municipal departments had gradually become familiar with the possibilities which work relief offered them, and no special efforts were required to get them to send in their plans and requests. It was customary for heads of municipal departments to meet regularly, and this gave them a chance to find out informally whether new projects were needed, and which of these it was planned to develop in the near future. The greater part of the Division's work, therefore, was concerned with discovering projects outside the city administration.

In this area administrative bodies and agencies able to make use of relief workers were not so familiar with the plan, and repeated visits were often necessary to convince them of its value. Great possibilities for employment existed in connection with railroads, the postoffice, and other governmentally managed utilities. The state divisions of forestry and of waterways could frequently be persuaded to use relief workers to great advantage. Contact with professional associations and civic groups in the community, and with their national and state headquarters, was also helpful, since they were likely to have suggestions for work that might be done. Even though they might be unable to accept responsibility for organizing it themselves, they were usually willing to co-operate and to give expert advisory services without charge. Contact was made with local chambers of commerce and similar agencies as well as with outstanding leaders of industry, when these were persons of experience

and vision. Such museums, art centers, and universities as were part of the municipal administration were usually already well informed and anxious to take part in organizing work relief and getting the services of relief workers; those under private auspices were visited and "cultivated" by the Division of Projects.

In explaining the opportunities and aims of work relief several principles were always stressed as being of the utmost importance:

1. The work plan should be extraordinary, that is, it should meet a need which otherwise could not be met, then or in the near future, out of regular funds and under normal working conditions.

2. The plan should allow for a maximum expenditure of wages and minimum investment in materials and machinery.

3. The work should preferably help to increase the workers' future chances for employment, and eventually decrease current public expenditures.

4. The results should benefit the whole community or its underprivileged groups; in short, should involve some economic or cultural return.

Reflecting the general tendency to develop national production in Germany, projects such as land reclamation and subsistence gardening were preferred as contributing directly or indirectly toward increasing the national output of farm products. No objection was felt to using relief workers on private property, as long as this was to the community's profit. Greater difficulties were involved in protecting regular labor from the competition of work-relief labor. Municipal departments had to be watched and admonished not to attempt to save their own budgets by substituting relief labor for part of their own legitimate staff. The bureaus for work relief maintained vigorously that work which was really essential for carrying on normal activities of public administration, including social work and the handling of relief, should be kept entirely separate and carried on regular payrolls. For this reason all projects, and in

many instances individual placements, were carefully tested to see that they were non-competitive. Clerical jobs in municipal offices, nursing and medical work in hospitals, and teaching in public schools, were not acceptable as work-relief projects, unless they were over and above the regular routine work of the institution. The labor exchanges co-operated by exerting all possible influence to awaken consciousness of the dangers involved, and so to safeguard the already narrow scope of normal employment. In the course of time, and after several years of relief experience on a nation-wide scale, there came to be general agreement that the principles listed above were fundamental to a sound program of work relief.

TYPES OF PROJECT

Most of the projects undertaken answered one of three purposes: they served for the beautification of the community as part of long range city planning; or they increased facilities for education and recreation, frequently extending these services to new groups; or, last but not least, they added to resources for social service, filling more or less evident gaps in the community set-up and meeting increased needs under emergency conditions.

Since practically every German community has a municipal bureau for city planning, there was usually no lack of projects of this first type. The staff of the Bureau for Work Relief were familiar with many spots both on public and private property where improvements were called for, some of them small projects, requiring only a few man-days, others needing careful planning and utilization of large groups of men for months or possibly years. Such projects were clearing waste land and dumping grounds, wrecking abandoned structures, or beautification of railroad rights-of-way. Many hours of work were spent in improving slum sections and other unsightly neighborhoods, especially on the outskirts of the towns. Wherever feasible, the material gathered in such operations was salvaged and stored for use on other work-relief projects.

Among projects designed to promote education and recreation, the extension of public parks and playgrounds occupied the foreground. Museums and historical associations used relief workers to conserve and record historic landmarks of the neighborhood. Extensive excavations of Roman and other ancient relics were undertaken in some regions, affording opportunity not only for manual labor but for "white-collar" workers as well, in cleaning, photographing, and recording with great care and in much detail the objects recovered. Some agencies were interested in working out for educational purposes, exhibits such as those on housing, alcoholism, or venereal disease. Artists and skilled workers made models, reliefs, charts, and graphs; while workers of another type managed traveling exhibitions. It was possible to secure relief workers, capable of lecturing with lantern slides, to interpret and summarize the findings to the public schools and interested neighborhood groups.

Unemployed actors were organized in touring companies; orchestras were formed from unemployed musicians; unemployed teachers and lecturers were used to address groups. Many openings were found for activities of this kind in tenement neighborhoods, hospitals, children's homes, homes for the aged, and prisons. Open air performances were given in public parks during the summer. Story-tellers were provided for children's centers and playgrounds, and were always welcome. Libraries used aids in repairing and cleaning books.

In large public parks and forest reserves skirting the cities, outdoor workers built *Jugendherbergen* (hostels developed in connection with the Youth Movement[1]) and rustic day shelters, constructed simple foot bridges and park benches, cut new trails, and opened up additional picnic grounds and camp sites. Within the city limits, many of the waste lots in crowded areas were turned into emergency playgrounds to protect children from street risks.

Projects organized to supplement and increase the com-

[1] See footnote two on p. 72.

munity's welfare facilities depended naturally upon local conditions. Stress was laid on the necessity of a preliminary survey covering the combined activities and needs of public and private agencies. Needs more or less common to all communities were found to be additional shelters for homeless men, women, and families. There was also great demand for neighborhood centers for the homeless and unemployed during the day, with low cost cafeterias selling clean and well-cooked food at cost. These non-profit-making restaurants also supplied the extra meals furnished to work-for-relief groups. They were sometimes attached to new shelters and inexpensive lodging houses, or to newly opened recreation centers in public parks.

As part of the welfare program of many communities, day centers were provided in public parks or in the forests nearby which were used regularly in summer by the day nurseries and public schools of the poorest quarters, pupils being transported to them daily, and continuing their regular work in the open air instead of using the school plant. The construction of all these additional facilities was organized under the work-relief program, which contributed both actual labor and salvaged material needed for the simple shelters, toilet facilities, and dressing rooms.

Not only were additions to physical equipment for public welfare provided in these ways through work relief, but the actual services offered were strengthened by supplying additional personnel on a work-relief basis. In some communities visiting housekeepers were sent at the request of social workers to families where the mother was absent temporarily or unable to manage, or were assigned to help aged persons in heavy household tasks. Laundry work was done for handicapped families or single men unable to pay for commercial laundering, or to handle the washing themselves. Social workers used work-relief aides to escort groups of children to and from clinics and recreation centers, and to take them on various trips.

In order to protect regular employment in the building

trades, strict regulations were issued by the federal government against the use of work-relief funds for large-scale municipal housing projects, although their use for emergency housing and the erection of temporary shelters was permitted. Under this exception, many projects were developed to help unemployed and especially evicted families to get decent shelter within their limited means. In the government's program of organizing subsistence homesteads in close vicinity to the cities, while the actual building was done by groups of homesteaders under expert supervision, their work was supplemented by the use of relief workers to assist on the projects.

FLEXIBILITY OF PROGRAM

Initial emphasis upon careful and comprehensive planning of the whole work-relief program was replaced, as time went on, by a more realistic attitude. For example, having once set up men's workshops using manual and skilled workers, women's workshops for housework and trade training, and work centers for clerical employment, the bureaus for work relief found it more advantageous for these centers to keep a little of their own work on hand, but to hold themselves in readiness to send out squads to work elsewhere as orders could be obtained. Under this plan, the men's shop would send out building squads or men to do gardening or transportation of materials. The women's workshop had supplementary cleaners for jobs in city offices and institutions, visiting housekeepers for individual family service, and cooking squads to take charge of new feeding-stations. Clerical workers would be sent out, singly or in groups, as bookkeepers, statisticians, stenographers, photographers, designers, poster and placard writers, and cataloguers.

Meanwhile a certain amount of work was necessary to keep the centers themselves in successful and continuous operation; while some of the outside orders were for work which could be done at irregular periods in the center itself.

In this way employment could be furnished in the slack periods between outside jobs.

This method of filling outside orders had many advantages. Each group sent out was under the direction of a foreman selected from the group; and this gave opportunity to find and recognize leadership and skill among the workers. The plan utilized the abilities of the individual workers more efficiently; it promoted better care of tools and equipment and effective use of salvaged material; and finally, it made the best use of the time of supervisors and technical experts, since it enabled them to oversee a number of projects at the same time, no one of which would have been big enough to warrant the assignment of specialists for its direction.

VII

SPECIAL PROJECTS

AFTER considering these general principles of work relief in Germany, it may be helpful to the reader to visualize a few special work-relief projects, organized somewhat differently from those commonly found in America and supplementing the types of projects more familiar to Americans.

WORK CENTER FOR WOMEN

Let us now visit a large house on the outskirts of a town. It is one of the women's work centers organized under the work-relief program of the Public Welfare Department. In this particular city, it happened to be part of some disused military barracks; elsewhere it might be an old school, or a part of a hospital, or a vacant office building. Large groups of women gather there daily, some with babies in arms, some leading toddlers. The largest groups arrive at nine o'clock and at noon, but there is coming and going all through the day, from seven in the morning till the closing hour at seven in the evening.

All these women are unemployed and looking for real jobs. Some are unmarried; others married but with husbands ill, or in prison; some are widows or deserted wives. Most of them have a child or children to maintain, but many can make arrangements to leave the children at home. Generally, mothers of only one or two children are admitted to the work centers; since a larger family requires the mother's presence in the home. They represent all age groups and represent many occupations: houseworkers, factory girls, cooks, laundresses, dressmakers, milliners, saleswomen, wait-

resses, stenographers, bookkeepers, practical nurses, kindergartners, teachers, musicians, artists, with factory girls and houseworkers predominating. Most of them have been out of work for a long time and a trained observer would notice signs of undernourishment, weariness, and depression. Some might have picked up jobs if they had been less discouraged and a little more active and efficient.

Many of these women regret that they never had a chance to improve their work by additional training, and unskilled as most of them are in the practice of thrifty home management, all are oppressed with the problem of eking out a living on their meager relief income. They have been told at the women's division of the Bureau for Work Relief that they will gather much useful information about how to deal with this problem in the Work Center to which they have just been assigned; that they and their little ones will have a well-cooked, ample meal free of charge each day; and that useful work combined with training will be provided them for a period of from three to six months. They have been assured that their relief allowance is to be continued while they attend the Center, with the addition of carfare and a small weekly bonus of 25 to 50 cents.

Everyone leaves outer clothing, bags, and parcels at the check-room near the main entrance. Mothers then take to the day nursery at the rear of the house the children they have brought along, the social worker having previously certified that they cannot be cared for at home while the mother is absent. In the day nursery the children will enjoy sunny and well-kept rooms full of toys, and the playground in the yard. They will be quite safe, well fed and happy, while mother is working.

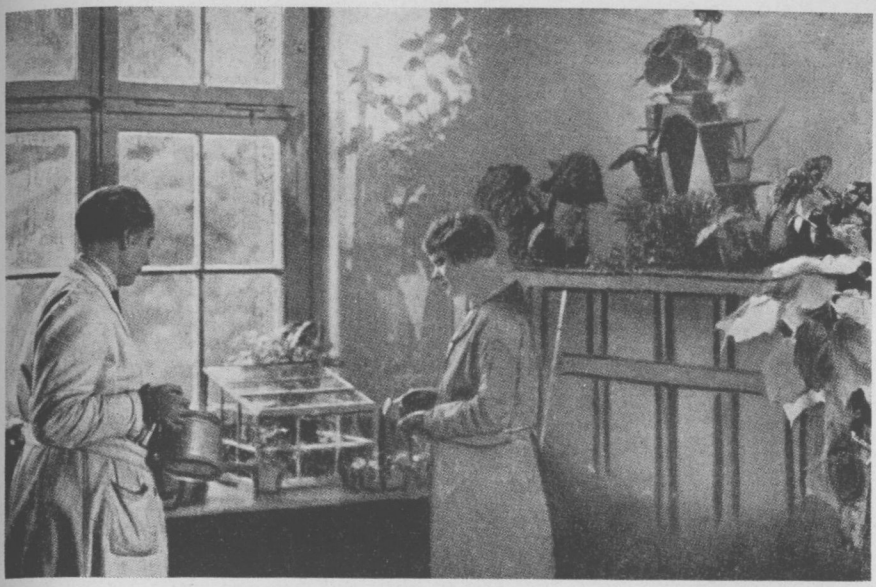
The newcomers begin to look around. This seems to be a big and confusing place, with many large rooms and long corridors. Flowers and plants are everywhere, and some exhibits of interesting toys and colorful embroideries are displayed in showcases. The furniture looks homelike, however, and not at all institutional. It gives the effect of having been

picked up at odd times, by someone with good taste and an eye for bargains. An appetizing odor of coffee and cookies is wafted out from a large room on the ground floor, where some women who look ill seem to be resting and chatting among themselves.

Another door reveals a room with long lines of brooms, mops, pails, and other household utensils, arranged in beautiful order. Why, of course, all these halls and stairways, and those hundreds of shining windows and floors have to be cleaned! It means a great deal of work to keep everything spick-and-span like this, with five to eight hundred women in and out every day, not to mention the children. And that hot meal that was promised! A lot of work is required in the kitchen to feed all these people only once a day; and there seem to be some groups who get additional food as well. Who is going to wash all the dish towels, the women wonder, and the neat caps and uniforms, the bibs and aprons for the youngsters, and the baby clothes? Who cares for all these flowers, and what about the children? Twenty babies and some eighty children from two to six years, need more than just parking space while mothers are working.

Their questions can be simply answered: they themselves are going to keep the house in order and prepare the food; and they will find it useful and interesting work, which will help them in the management of their own homes. Every day a few new workers are added to the Center's family; but every few weeks one group will complete its training, and a new group, numbering a hundred or more, will come in. When they first arrive the head worker takes them on a trip of inspection and explains the arrangement and order of work to them. One division is to take care of general housekeeping and cleaning, one of kitchen and storerooms, one serves in the dining room, one in the laundry, one does sewing and mending, one gardening, one cares for the children, and one attends to the general office work and bookkeeping.

There is a regular system of transfers from one division to the next, so that each woman receives a varied training,



Tending house-plants and birds

The camp for young and expectant mothers

IN THE WORK CENTER FOR WOMEN

Making novelties

Wood-working

IN THE DAY CENTERS FOR JUVENILES

unless she wishes to specialize, in which case she may secure permission to remain in one division. The program is elastic and can be adjusted to individual needs and preferences. Most of the newcomers are first placed at general housekeeping, in the kitchen and in the sewing rooms, since these departments need the largest staffs. Workers for the children's department have to be selected with special care; preference being given to trained baby-nurses, kindergartners, nursery maids, and mothers who have already proved themselves to be particularly reliable while working in other divisions.

When all newcomers have been assigned to their divisions, they are introduced to their respective superintendents and the regular routine is begun. This includes three different lines of activity: first, caring for the immediate and daily needs of the Center, and of its members, both adults and children; second, instructing the workers in groups and as individuals, to give them a full understanding of their jobs, and to point out what may be adapted to their personal use; and, third, taking care of a number of special and some outside jobs that may be attached to the Center as a passing or a permanent feature.

A few special courses are held in skilled occupations not connected with homemaking, such as the manufacture of straw hats and making over mattresses. Speed classes in stenography and typing are also held at the Center. Workers with previous experience are selected from the divisions to receive this special training.

In the Center we have been visiting, the facilities were constantly used for the benefit of other institutions, clothing and institutional supplies being washed and repaired. Mending and laundering were also done for clients not working at the Center, who were selected because of physical incapacity, old age, or pressure of work on mothers of very large families. Some 300 boys working on an allotment garden project in the neighborhood received their midday meal from the Center's kitchen, which was served in a dining-room temporarily put up in the yard.

The Center's favorite special job was the care of a day camp for expectant and young mothers, run by the Health Bureau of the Public Welfare Department as a stay-at-home camp. Thirty mothers were invited here for a rest period of five days a week for four consecutive weeks, reporting at 9:30 a.m. and remaining until 5:30 p.m. with the privilege of bringing any small children who could not be cared for at home. In summer they spent most of the day in a quiet garden reserved exclusively for their use, resting in deck chairs and discussing their common problems. In winter they used the best room of the Work Center, which was arranged as an attractive living room. The babies and other children were cared for together with the children of the working mothers in the day nursery. They were given three meals daily, and the kitchen staff took great pride in preparing for them tempting and delicious meals. During their resting weeks, the mothers brought all their laundry and mending to be done by the Center, so that they were relieved of worry about having it ready on time. They were encouraged to do fancy-work, or prepare layettes for the expected baby, and the forewomen in the sewing rooms gave such instruction and assistance as the women might need. The gardening group sent their gayest flowers and took pleasure in devising floral decorations for the mothers' rest room. All the divisions would usually unite in preparing little presents for the "good-by party" after the four weeks were up; and, of course, the little Hanses and Gretchens were allowed to carry away some of their pet playthings, for the toy shop was always ready to replace them with new ones.

There was no limit to the number of outside requests for the Work Center's services coming in all the time; and never any lack of work for any one of the divisions. Outside jobs helped to make the work varied enough to be both instructive and interesting; and were a constant challenge to the ingenuity and imagination of the workers.

Each division had a certain part of the house assigned to it as its special headquarters; although its work might cover

the whole building. The women met in the division quarters for the daily assignment of jobs, and for short lectures and discussions. In the housekeeping division, for instance, such topics as selection of proper cleansing materials, care of household apparatus, and proper treatment of upholstered furniture might be discussed. They were instructed how to make small repairs around the house, and to keep metal fittings in order, by means of a demonstration outfit of electrical fixtures and a complete set of household tools which each member was taught to use. The upkeep of the entire plant furnished many possibilities for illustrative talks while the actual cleaning was going on. Many a general houseworker found out incidentally that she really knew very little about housework, and even experienced workers enjoyed adding to their store of useful information. The women took the utmost interest in redecorating rooms or rearranging them for new purposes. Although limited in budget the Work Center took pride in overcoming its poverty, and succeeded in looking bright and cheerful in spite of it. Practically all the furniture had come from some basement or garret in very bad shape and had been renovated at the Center after having been discarded for years. The city's hospitals and schools, many offices, and some factories and department stores had contributed many things they did not want themselves, and the Center had gratefully accepted all kinds of odd contributions, sure that they could somehow be made useful. Good furniture for the workshops or children's rooms could be made from wooden boxes, and it was fascinating work to transform unnoticed or unattractive objects into desirable additions to the furnishings of the Center. Most of them came to be the worse for wear after several months of hard usage, and had to be repaired and repainted, but that was good practice for the new groups of women workers anxious to learn. Every room had its own color scheme, and bright-colored paint was the only material extravagantly used in the Work Center.

The women in the kitchen and storerooms were the busiest of all, and certainly the most pressed for time. They had to

furnish one midday meal for everybody, including the group of boys on work relief; two meals for workers on special diets and for most of the children; and three meals for mothers in the health camp and their children, a total of from 1100 to 1600 meals a day. All these meals had to be well planned and carefully discussed with the workers in the kitchen, the recipes being fully explained. The women on kitchen duty took turns in preparing the different courses. Groups of four or five at a time were allowed to go to market with the superintendent and assist in the selection of perishable foods. Preparation of special diets for some of the workers and the camp mothers, and for small children of different ages, gave opportunity for helpful explanations of the principles of nutrition.

Many women did not take kindly to new ideas and to sharing in the more responsible part of the kitchen work, preferring dish washing, the preparation of vegetables, and other routine jobs. No great effort was made to combat these rooted habits of mind, and there were generally enough women of this kind to perform the work involving the most drudgery, as a matter of preference.

Meals were served by a subdivision in charge of the dining-rooms. The children ate in their own playrooms, the mothers' group in the health camp, the work-relief boys in their hall in the yard, the workers receiving special diets in a small room set aside for the purpose, and all the others in large dining-rooms adjoining the garden, eating at small tables, nicely set with tablecloths and napkins, and decorated with flowers during most of the year. Since most of the women worked only twenty-four hours a week, there were usually two shifts, from nine to one, and from one to five. The morning shift had their lunch when they were through with work, after one o'clock, and the afternoon shift before they started work, between twelve and one. Since working hours had to be somewhat flexible, especially in the house-cleaning division and among the kitchen workers, some meals had to be served outside of these hours.

No effort was made to work according to efficient large-scale methods; there was an abundance of labor, and instruction in the household type of efficiency was made the main objective. In the laundry, for example, everything was hand washed, air dried, and mangled and ironed. Fancy ironing could be practiced on comparatively few items, but there was a constant demand for highly starched collars and shirts for old men's homes. All the household linen of the Center had to be taken care of, amounting every week to a large number of dish towels, napkins, dusters, tablecloths, smocks, aprons, caps and clothes for kitchen and dining-room workers and nursery staff, bed linen for babies, rompers, aprons and handkerchiefs for runabouts. Also the sewing rooms sent in to be washed a great variety of second-hand clothes and new white garments which had been made there.

The division for sewing and mending took up an entire floor and was more specialized than any of the others. In one room only plain sewing was done—simple white garments for use in the institutions of the Welfare Department. As this type of work corresponded to factory work outside, some power machinery was used here to give practice to workers who might eventually find outside jobs in this trade. Other workshops specialized in remodeling. To them every worker was allowed to bring once a week her own material—or material given by the Center—and make her own clothes under skilled supervision. Here women were taught the best way to make over old-fashioned garments. They were also taught dry-cleaning, so as to keep both old and new garments in the best possible order.

An adjoining shop of particular interest to the workers was devoted entirely to tailoring. Here the women turned old overcoats, and men's garments were made into boys' trousers, thus meeting an urgent need in many families. Girls learned to make nice jackets for themselves or their friends out of old-fashioned coats or other heavy material.

For the most part, however, the workshops were used for

the general work of the Center. If, for instance, the Welfare Department obtained goods for new dresses, the women working together made them up in the workrooms. This output was then sent to a little shop in the Work Center which was opened once a week to the women employed there, and the garments were sold for a nominal charge covering approximately the cost of the new material. The city institutions also placed with the Center regular orders for the kinds of goods that their own staff ordinarily produced. They were glad to be relieved of some of this production, using the time gained for better service to their clients or a much-needed rest for some of their overworked staff members. The Work Center was glad to accept such outside orders because of their special value for instruction and because they did not add to the expenses of the Center in any way.

Women who had special skill in sewing were sometimes trained for jobs in related industries. Not long ago the hat industry complained that they could not find any skilled workers to manufacture straw hats. The jobs were only seasonal ones but the wages were good and a certain number of openings were guaranteed to efficient workers. After some conferences with the local labor exchange, the Manufacturers' Association, the Chamber of Commerce, the trade unions and the Welfare Department, it was agreed to cooperate for a training experiment. A special class for hat sewers was organized in the Work Center for Women, some of the best workers being selected for it. The manufacturers furnished material, machinery (on a loan basis) and even the salary of an experienced instructor who had to be imported from another city. The Work Center assumed full responsibility for the maintenance of the workers in training and continued them as members of the Center. After a training period of ten weeks practically all the class were placed and were able to hold good jobs. A similar experiment was worked out in making quilts and repairing rugs.

There was always a small group in the division of sewing and mending who specialized in rug weaving, using the left-

overs of the entire division for making rag rugs. This was one of the branches of work especially suitable for occupational therapy.

Conforming to the general aim of the Center in interesting women in homemaking activities, and encouraging them to develop their own capabilities, a good deal of fancy work was also made: the women often put hand work on dresses for themselves and the children, designed and made pillow and table covers, curtains, wall coverings, and various other furnishings for the home. Most of the products of this shop were used immediately in the operations of the Center and helped to make it homelike and attractive. The superintendent in charge of the work was an artist and especially gifted in stirring the creative abilities of her group. The material used was simple and inexpensive, often leftovers from other workshops in the same division. It was emphasized that all objects made should be practical, suitable, and useful besides being good looking and conforming to good taste. Bizarre effects and knick-knacks were discouraged.

One of the early developments of fancy work was a workshop for toys. Especially popular near Christmastime, it was also a favorite throughout the year. Some of the most difficult women—the unbalanced, the complaining, the unhappy—found their place in making toys for little children of the Center. There was never a lack of demand for stuffed animals and dolls with unbreakable heads; raffia toys, such as balls and reins; wooden miniature villages; and puppets for marionette shows. Some of the women who had become especially interested in making box furniture while they were in the housekeeping division specialized in making bright-colored doll houses, doll carriages, and even rocking horses in the toy shop. Most of the products were used in the Center, but some were passed on to children's homes and hospitals and around Christmastime all the visitors of the family welfare division would carry off big packages for their families.

Other personality problems of the Work Center were

solved with some success in the division of gardening, which was particularly effective in the case of young prostitutes. A comparatively small garden for raising flowers and vegetables was made in one corner of the yard, but several rooms were turned over to the division and used as a plant hospital. Many unhealthy plants from the homes of the workers, or from offices and institutions, found their way to these rooms and developed health and beauty under special care. Flowers were also raised from seeds and slips, and window boxes were filled several times a year. Hardly a day passed that there was not something blooming in the halls and rooms of the Center. Holidays were made special events, with careful and appropriate decorations, especially for the mothers' camp and the day nurseries. Municipal parks contributed plants and cuttings and the botanical gardens were used regularly for instructing the group of women working in this division. A worker who understood raising canary birds contributed a couple, and this was the beginning of a successful venture in the breeding of songbirds as another occupation for somewhat difficult women, at the same time adding one more homelike touch to the Center's rooms. Most of the birds raised found their way into homes for the aged and day nurseries.

Since children in the care of the Center were of all ages up to six years—including at least 20 babies at a time, with from 50 to 100 school children added during vacation time—varied facilities were necessary to care for the little visitors. The pediatrician in charge of the district in which the Center was situated visited it practically every day. All the children were inspected regularly by her, but private doctors could be called in an emergency. The baby work was in charge of a highly qualified trained baby nurse who used some nursery maids and hand-picked mothers as aides. All babies got a bath and a complete change of clothes as soon as they were brought in. They were fed regularly according to formulas prescribed or were nursed by their mothers who were allowed to leave their work and report to the nursery at stated times.

Older children spent the day in small groups in playrooms and in the yard, supervised by a trained kindergartner assisted by suitable aides. These children had a dressing-room of their own and a washroom with individual towels, washcloths, and tooth brushes, and the gentle art of brushing teeth twice a day was taught with never-ending patience. The unfortunate influence of unemployment and difficult home conditions on both the mental and physical development of small children was carefully studied. It was the aim of the day nurseries to build them up as much as possible during their stay and to do all they could to correct defects. Superintendents of the day nurseries and the kindergarten had regular sessions with mothers to discuss general problems of education and development.

All children received at least two meals a day, depending on the working time of the mothers. Those who stayed all day because the mothers had a full-time job or were resting in the health camp had three meals. The effect of proper food, good care, and well-planned activities on these children was so extraordinary that all the mothers were aware of it. This proved to be a great help in the Center's general program of rehabilitation.

During vacations the children of school age were organized into small groups and clubs. They spent most of their time outside the Center sightseeing and hiking or playing games in a neighborhood playground.

The general office and bookkeeping department of the Center kept a good number of former business women occupied with jobs which they understood and enjoyed doing. The Center had its own budget and collected fees and reimbursements from many different places for services rendered. Most of the income was derived from the budget for work relief of the Public Welfare Department. There was no effort made to make the Center an entirely self-supporting unit because this would have meant competing with regular business and eliminating most of the educational features of the work.

Social workers bent on a worthwhile program of work relief as one phase of case work favor the use of a center of this type, subsidized regularly within moderate limits. Such a work center will be a faithful helpmeet for welfare agencies and institutions, and will develop into a training center and workshop buzzing with life, as well as an agency for the building of character.

The organization of such a center is comparatively easy everywhere. Practically any building with a sufficient variety of large and small rooms could be used. The Work Center might be attached to an existing institution; in this event full charge would have to be taken of the kitchen and the laundry with the privilege of using a number of vacant rooms for the purposes of the center alone. Should a day work center of this type be connected with an institution already functioning, it might be possible to use the original staff of the institution as superintendents and forewomen of the new work center's divisions.

The importance of a suitable staff for the whole development cannot be emphasized too strongly: the head worker should be a professional person, either a social worker or a home economist, with a great deal of practical ability but also with imagination and vision. All the superintendents of divisions should be most carefully chosen from women who are not only specialists in their field but who are sincerely interested in human beings. The work center can function only as long as it is not a cut and dried proposition—a matter of routine shifting of more or less unwilling workers to different jobs. Instead, it must be a co-operative band joyfully united in a fascinating experiment aimed at recovery and rehabilitation.

FARM CENTER

The operation of a farm within commuting distance of the city, as a work-relief project, has offered many possibilities for training and rehabilitation. For this purpose, usually a farmstead in bad condition was taken over, with the idea of

gradually building it up into a model farm. One such development was started on land formerly used as a hospital for aged and sick horses, and abandoned for some years. The mere work of getting such a place in shape for agricultural use was a project in itself and offered a varied program of activity for the workers.

The farm, which included about two hundred acres, was so divided that it furnished suitable occupation for different types of workers—adults and juveniles, healthy and handicapped. A visit to it showed groups of men working on truck gardens, and others in an area given over to practical work on subsistence gardens. About eighty mental patients, most of them out of mental hospitals on probation, had work provided for them in the orchards and adjoining fields. Grading of land and reclamation was done by a group of boys under a foreman of their own. Some twenty women were employed in the kitchen and in general housework, while twelve young girls had full charge of the cows, pigs, poultry, dairy and laundry, in this way qualifying themselves in a practical way to become "hired girls" in farm homes. They, together with the woman farmer in charge of them, actually lived on the farm, as did the matron, the farm superintendent and his man-of-all-work. All the other workers, both men and women, continued to live with their families in the city and to commute daily.

The routine of farm work and a number of special projects, which were adjusted to the varying needs of the Bureau for Work Relief and other divisions of the Welfare Department, afforded a variety of helpful occupations for two to three hundred workers throughout the year. One ample meal a day was served to all commuting workers, and all had the privilege of buying milk and other products of the farm at special rates. This took care of a good deal of the produce, while the remainder was used in the kitchens of the other work centers of the Department. Some canning was done by the farm kitchen, and meat was preserved for year-round consumption. A grove on the grounds adjacent to a pond

was used as a day camp for groups of clients, mostly tuberculous men; while groups of volunteers connected with the Welfare Department, as well as professional workers, enjoyed visiting the farm as a conference meeting ground. It was also used by relief workers from other work centers, especially by boys and girls who were being given sightseeing trips and games as part of their daily program.

One of the most valuable services of the farm, apart from the actual work relief which it furnished, was the opportunity it offered for experimentation in the raising of different kinds of crops, especially the rarer varieties of vegetables or those requiring special technical knowledge for their successful production. Demand in cities for strawberries out of season, asparagus, tomatoes, brussels sprouts, cauliflower, and so forth, was not adequately met by commercial truck-gardens. The city markets were usually supplied from farms nearby which, as a rule, continued in the old way to raise the ordinary crops, not giving enough attention to the raising of the rarer vegetables, and not making any scientific study of intensive farming. Such intensive and experimental farming, therefore, was of special value to the men and boys who, although they might never work on farms, might still have allotment gardens or home gardens. They learned the cultivation of the more difficult and more useful crops, which they might not have learned otherwise, and were at least able to increase the value of their own gardens. In preparing clients for an extensive program for subsistence homesteads, also, the use of the experimental farm as part of the work-relief set-up was especially valuable and practicable.

On the whole, the farm proved to be a most useful project in the general plan for work relief, serving as it did the various needs for health building, recreation, and productive and experimental work.

CENTERS FOR HANDICAPPED JUVENILES

Among those registering at the Bureau for Work Relief were many adolescent boys and girls with little or no working

experience. It was quite evident that a large number of these could not be placed on regular jobs, even if such jobs could be found, unless some training was given them and concentrated efforts made to build them up. Many had attended special classes because of mental or physical defects. Frequently they had been unable to take advantage of the full school course; many had not even an elementary education. It was recognized that there was greater danger of demoralization for young people of this type than for the average young unemployed person during long periods of loafing; and more likelihood of their becoming permanent charges on the community in one way or another. The educational facilities offered by their own homes were practically negligible and not infrequently they were being treated as a burden and a special problem to their families.

Formerly, under "normal" conditions many of these defective juveniles would doubtless have found their way into institutions, there to be given expensive special training, a great deal of which, as experience with this group has shown, is never used after their return to the community. The recent lean years have stimulated the adoption of a more realistic program; and instead, special types of work relief have been developed for such groups.

Many communities organized day centers for handicapped boys and girls where a program of productive work combined with educational activities was carried out. All work was planned with a view to adjusting the juvenile workers to normal working conditions and to getting them ready for real jobs as far as possible.

Separate day centers were established for boys and girls in various parts of the town. Some were located in settlement houses or in other buildings which had a variety of workshops and living rooms that were not used to full capacity during the day time. Adolescents selected by the Bureau for the training afforded in these day centers were asked to report daily for full time work. Relief was continued as usual to those who had been on relief before and was supple-

mented by carfare and two or three meals a day, served at the Center. Good work was encouraged by paying small bonuses after the first month or two of regular attendance. When sharing the work of the Center with more than average responsibility, they received a small daily wage.

All work was carried on in small groups under supervision, with frequent changes in occupation. The routine of the day was ordinarily started with a common period of activities, including some music, shared by all. At the close of this morning session, the members broke up into different divisions to do the work assigned to each unit in and outside of the Center. No futile occupations were allowed. All the young workers were encouraged to feel the importance of real work done accurately and well, and to know the general satisfaction of carrying some responsibility.

While part of the group was always kept busy looking after the Center's own needs as well as cleaning house and getting meals, there was also a variety of outside Center activities, depending on the neighborhood and the type of clients employed. The girls were assigned to sewing and mending, toy making or helping in the care of children in the neighborhood day nursery. Boys were frequently placed in workshops outside and worked on metal, wood, or leather goods, following their inclination and ability to some extent. Some groups were regularly trained to be office boys and developed some skill in packing and mailing goods. Most boys did gardening or work on the land: some worked in public parks, some in gardens of institutions and some on the work-relief farm, in groups of not more than 20 each, with a leader from the Boys' Center.

All boys and girls were given a chance to repair their clothes and shoes while working and possibly to supplement their outfit by adding some much-needed pieces. They were taught moreover how to take care of their clothes in the most efficient way—were even taught the craft of shoe-repairing. A good bit of time was also devoted to improving the manners and the general attitude of the young people. They

were encouraged to acquire better taste and made more presentable to possible employers as well as to their families and friends. As a matter of fact, this type of training might have been completed in the public schools but it had not been entirely satisfactory, possibly owing to the overcrowding of classes and the very slow development of many of these adolescents. In the long run the results of this special bit of training were quite remarkable and placement workers in the Labor Exchange used to comment on its help in placing the boys and girls later on.

Head workers of these centers had had experience in psychiatric social work, and tried to work out quite individual programs for building up each young client. The Day Center provided them with effective means for such a program, allowing for a sufficient variety of undertakings, some change in environment, and group life easily adjusted to changing needs.

All the young workers were allowed to stay on more or less indefinitely, but were encouraged to accept jobs whenever there was a chance for real work. After they left they were allowed to return to the Center during periods of unemployment, and those working were invited to join in some of the week-end and holiday activities. In this way the staff kept in touch with practically all the group and learned fairly regularly about their later development while employed.

A comparatively small number were found to be so deficient that institutional care had to be provided for them. On the other hand, a number of boys and girls already committed to institutions for feebleminded and for cripples were released on probation and transferred to the Work Center for further adjustment, usually with excellent results. Experience proved that work centers for handicapped juveniles met a very definite need in the treatment of borderline cases.

VOLUNTARY WORK SERVICE

Although in the early part of the depression the young worker had more chance of finding a job than the average

adult, long-time unemployment of normal young people began to be acknowledged several years ago as a growing and special problem. A startling increase in juvenile delinquency and other obvious effects of lack of occupation and lack of hope for a better chance led to many experiments in using the enforced leisure of the adolescents for some productive purpose. Many were enrolled to take additional school work, especially in vocational schools, but on the whole this did not meet the needs of the less stable group among the young unemployed who did not wish to go back to school. Some means had to be found to furnish an outlet for physical activity and at the same time add training and other valuable experience.

After a good deal of experimentation, a type of work relief was developed which proved to be peculiarly suited to this group, and which met with a great deal of enthusiasm all over the country: this was the Voluntary Work Service.[1] Begun back in 1925, the movement spread rapidly as soon as the federal government in 1931 began backing it by special grants, at the same time standardizing the regulations and requirements. Any young unemployed person from sixteen to twenty-five years was eligible for the service whether or not he was drawing relief or insurance. Generally 40 per cent of the group would come from persons still covered by unemployment insurance, another 40 per cent from those drawing public relief, while up to 20 per cent were accepted without special need for material relief.

All workers were organized in camps either out of town, with full lodging and all meals provided, or on a day camp basis in or near the home town, in which instance young workers were allowed to continue to live with their families.

The whole plan was strongly influenced by the tradition and ideals of the Youth Movement.[2] Each camp was ex-

[1] Corresponding somewhat to the Civilian Conservation Camps in the United States.

[2] A movement for a more simple, rational and co-operative way of life, begun in Germany about 1900 by and for young people. It inculcated love of nature and abolition of class distinctions, and looked toward the establishment of a vaguely

pected to work toward an ideal way-of-life and a community spirit expressed by simplicity, discipline, and helpful co-operation.[1] Approximately six hours a day were devoted to actual work on worthwhile projects, frequently land or forest reclamation or gardening, while from two to four hours a day were reserved for an educational program fitting the needs and the interests of the individual camp. Considerable time and effort were devoted to beautifying the living quarters and the entire camp site as a co-operative project.

While the work carried on was somewhat the same as in work centers for adults or for handicapped juveniles, the leisure-time program included some instruction in civics and the various crafts, as well as sports, singing, and hiking. Success depended on the type of leadership provided. From the very beginning the government had encouraged private agencies, those interested in character-building and experienced in boys' and girls' work, to take part in the organizing of such camps. As a matter of fact the government regulations called in each case for a partnership of agencies and these were responsible for the set-up: one agency (either public or private) to provide the work project and technical supervision and a second agency to co-operate in providing physical care, education, and general supervision of the camps. The government grants were allocated on a day basis with a full understanding of the type of expenditure they were supposed to cover, and for a limited number of workers accepted for each project.

defined better social order. (See Work Camps for America: The German Experience and the American Opportunity, Osgood Nichols and Comstock Glaser, No. 27, The John Day Pamphlets.)

[1] The present German government has continued Voluntary Work Service quite extensively. Recent regulations, which are dated December, 1933, include the following provisions:

"Each applicant, if accepted for Voluntary Work Service, shall bind himself by his signature to an uninterrupted period of service of six months. He shall solemnly vow to devote his entire energy, throughout his period of service, to help build up the National Socialist State; to obey his leaders and to work conscientiously; to be a faithful comrade to all engaged co-operatively in honorable service for their country; to prove himself, by disciplined behavior and blameless conduct at all times, worthy of being a member of the Voluntary Work Service and of wearing its uniform as a garb of honor."

Camp leaders for day camps as well as for regular camps were provided through the service of character-building agencies, social agencies and young people's associations throughout the country. When the program of the Voluntary Work Service was first started, suitable aides and sub-leaders were picked from the rank and file of the workers, and the training thus received frequently resulted in developing their capacity for leadership in future projects. Regional training institutes for leaders and sub-leaders of the Service were first organized by interested agencies and also subsidized by the government later on. Even social workers experienced in group work were found to be deficient in many of the skills which are essential in running work camps for large numbers, while leaders with technical training frequently had great difficulty in understanding the background of the young workers and many of the social problems of rehabilitation.

When the workers lived in regular camps their previous relief or insurance benefits were exchanged for full maintenance, including working clothes, and pocket money of approximately 15 cents a week. They were allowed to stay in camp for twenty weeks, a period which could be prolonged up to forty weeks in special cases. Leaders who had been approved as such by the state Unemployment Insurance Bureau, and had taken a special course in one of the recognized training institutes, were allowed to continue up to two years, and received an additional monthly allowance of approximately $15.

Workers in day camps who continued to stay with their families or who lived in lodging houses or furnished rooms were paid a cash allowance in addition to the meals and clothes furnished by the work camp, adjusted so that the total expense per day to the government was the same in both cases.

No doubt the character-building influence of a total change of environment with regular camp life was a good deal stronger than that of the day camp. Nevertheless, com-

munity life in a large crowd, for the most part under primitive conditions, was found to offer many problems difficult to solve even for the best qualified leaders. Day camps were preferred by a large proportion of the young workers and their families, particularly in the case of girls. This was partly because their presence was needed or desired in the home, partly on account of the increased chances in the towns for picking up regular jobs; and partly because the cash allowance given day camp workers was applied to rent and other necessary expenses of family living.

After some experimentation most social workers and camp leaders came to prefer a combination of day camp and regular camp. It was found to be advantageous to start the work service with a session of one or two weeks in a regular camp in order to overcome habits of prolonged idleness, then to return home and be enrolled for a period in a day camp, at the end of which they would again return to the regular camp for another one or two weeks. This afforded them an opportunity to summarize their experiences at the day camp and to enjoy the recreation to be found only in the country. To make an arrangement of this type really workable and economically sound, the relation of day camps to regular camps has to be carefully worked out, with a suitable number of day camps using one regular camp as a basis for transfers.

WORK SHELTERS FOR TRANSIENTS AND HOMELESS

The responsibility of the social service agencies to the transient or drifting population, especially to homeless men, has been interpreted somewhat differently in Germany and in the United States. This arises partly from the fact that German laws governing legal residence are much simpler than those of this country; and partly because the status of the men composing these groups seems to be different in the two countries.

It is an ancient and approved practice in Germany for skilled young workers, after completing their technical education, to take a few years (*wanderjahre*) of traveling about

the country in order to gain experience in their special line, and a broader background, before settling down in the locality of their choice. In normal times these younger workers usually found little difficulty in picking up odd jobs at their trade, as there was no prejudice on the part of craftsmen against giving them employment. Such itinerant workmen, who were for the most part young single men, formed, of course, a different class from the vagabonds or the perennially homeless men. It was comparatively easy for social service agencies to draw a clear line of distinction between the two classes, in meeting the exigencies which befell them both.

According to the original German plan, free shelters were provided by the Public Welfare Department in most of the larger communities, in which men were allowed to stop for brief periods, usually for from one to three nights and then told to "move on." These shelters provided only the more rudimentary necessities—large dormitories, bathing facilities, monotonous food—and were used only by the lower type of vagrants and by men in extreme need. In addition, there were in many places inexpensive hostels run by trade unions, the Salvation Army and other private non-profit agencies, where self-respecting men could live.

Several decades ago some groups of social workers began to realize that the old methods of dealing with vagrants were not adequate. As long as they were driven from one shelter to another, they never could hope for an opportunity to find steady work; and therefore public responsibility toward these men needed to be extended to give them an opportunity to renounce their nomadic form of life and get back to normal settled employment if they had the wish and the capacity to do so. With this idea in mind, some progressive social agencies organized outside the cities two different types of work centers for transients: the *Wander-Arbeitsstätte,* or Transient Work Shelters, where men were allowed to stay for from two to four weeks, and the *Wanderkolonie,* where they were expected to stay for several months at a time. In

the first type of shelter, the men received full maintenance, frequently some new equipment and clothes, and earned at least enough money to pay their fare back to their homes. The second, however, in its months of harboring the men under stable conditions, aimed to help them to build up better health, to establish working habits, and possibly so to readjust their attitude toward life and fortify their morale that they would come to prefer regular work to wandering.

In many instances this latter kind of rural center developed into a farm colony for those who were incapacitated, tired of the road, or too old to continue a roving life. Such men enjoyed the company of their mates which the shelters afforded, and did not want to return to the towns. These farm or labor colonies were usually situated on moors or very poor land where woodland had to be cleared, swamps drained, or other reclamation projects carried on. This furnished occupation suited to a varied number of unskilled workers.

The greatest problem of the colonies soon came to be overcrowding in winter, when there was the least work to be done, and a scarcity of capable workers in summer, when they were most needed. The burden of feeding the winter population soon became overpowering, while in the summer it was sometimes necessary to hire men to do the absolutely necessary work of the farm.

In the Transient Work Shelters there was the added difficulty of finding jobs that would stand constant change in workers. Only the simplest kind of work seemed practicable, such as cutting up wood for fuel and sorting used papers and rags to be sold to paper mills.

In 1908 a federal law was passed authorizing the states, with the aid of federal funds, to organize farm colonies as state institutions. Although some of the southern states and a few Prussian provinces took advantage of this law and provided a fairly complete set of such institutions, the idea did not carry a general appeal, and no action was taken upon it by most of the states. Towns, municipalities, and the smaller government units, however, have assumed quite gen-

erally the burden of caring for transients through the provision of shelters for temporary care.

Since the World War, and particularly during the depression, there has been an enormous increase in the homeless population of Germany. In recent years this has included not only the young traveling craftsmen of former times, and ordinary vagrants, but all kinds of men out of employment. Many wandered from place to place over the country looking for work, becoming constantly more run down and discouraged, and unwilling or unable to go back to their families. The municipal shelters became overcrowded, new ones had to be built, and there was a general realization that something had to be done to take care of this ever-increasing class of unemployed men, drifting into the low-type lodging houses and shelters.

The system of registration and classification of the homeless unemployed was instituted about 1924. As might have been expected, this showed within a few years not only such an increase in the younger age groups as to constitute a serious problem of adolescent care, but also a very great increase among middle-aged men who, seeing no chance for work in their home towns, hoped to find better luck moving about. Registration also brought to light that among these drifting men were many skilled workers and business men, some professional people, a few artists, and many others who had never been accustomed to heavy manual labor. To send all of these to farm colonies would have broken the last vestiges of their morale, and would not have been of the slightest use in fitting them to take up any kind of work which they might hope to find later. To meet their problem in any adequate way implied increasing their working capacity and preserving their self-respect; and this necessitated placing them, individually and on a case-work basis, on types of work relief related to their experience and varied enough to conform to their ability and their physical fitness.

It was by no means taken for granted that all the men who drifted into the shelters and cheap lodging-houses should be

continued in these places and treated differently from the rest of the client population. Many had families in the same community and these were always encouraged to return to live again with their relatives. Others were established in furnished rooms, through cash grants extended them for the purpose by the Bureau for Homeless Men which was part of the Public Welfare Department in all the larger cities. When the men became settled in this way they were given the same opportunities for home or work relief as other clients.

The men who remained in the shelters underwent a sorting process by which they were grouped and classified. Separate shelters, or at least separate parts of the same shelter, were reserved for the younger men, and efforts were made regularly through the medium of the social service agencies of their own towns to connect them again with their families. In many cases they were encouraged to join the Voluntary Work Service.[1]

With the addition of a varied assortment of men to the transient shelters and colonies, it was found necessary to provide more diversified work than formerly. Rag and paper sorting was continued for men who preferred such work, or were better fitted for it than for any other. In many cases shelters developed tailoring, shoemaking and other workshops; in others, land for gardening was rented.

The care given in the shelters and colonies filled a great need; but an effective program was not developed until there was made available to transients and homeless the entire program of work-relief projects, since only then could the variety of vocations necessary to meet their needs be provided. When relief agencies finally realized this, and got away from the idea of segregation, homeless men received their first real chance for rehabilitation.

Once this idea had been accepted, agencies began to use for their placement the Bureau for Work Relief which was already a part of local public welfare departments. The regular channel of application and reference was in this case

[1] See p. 71.

not the Department's Bureau for Home Relief, but its Bureau for Homeless Men.

Farm colonies are still being used as part of the work-relief program but are reserved almost exclusively for men whose personal and physical handicaps make prolonged care necessary. On the whole, there is available at the present time a greater variety of shelters for homeless men than at any previous time, all managed by public or private social agencies, and all accepting both paying and free guests. The first-named group pay for food and lodging out of whatever income they may have from unemployment insurance, small pensions, or earnings; the second have been placed in the shelters by the Bureau for Homeless Men, the Public Welfare Department making itself responsible for their shelter and food for a limited time. These placements are made individually, and with some regard to habits of cleanliness and general background and education.

Many of the shelters now offer in addition to minimum rates in the dormitory, the privacy of single rooms, or rooms for two, three, or four persons, at varying price levels. The resident unemployed, as well as the transient population, show an increasing preference for these shelters as against rooming with private families; and many single men earning small wages make their homes more or less permanently in the shelters as well. Such preference is doubtless due, in part at least, to the raising of the shelter standards of housing and living, and to the educational and social facilities provided there. The self-respect of the guests has been assured by a fixed weekly or daily rate for room and for meals which must be paid, either by the individual out of his own earnings or by the Welfare Department which provides him with some form of ticket or voucher to be presented in lieu of cash.

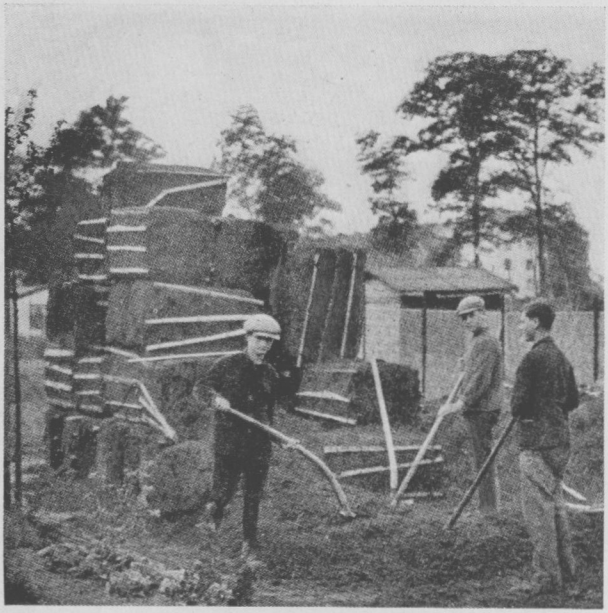
CO-OPERATIVE DAY CENTERS FOR UNEMPLOYED

Social and recreational centers for the informal use of the unemployed of both sexes have come into being since the depression in Germany in response to what seemed an urgent

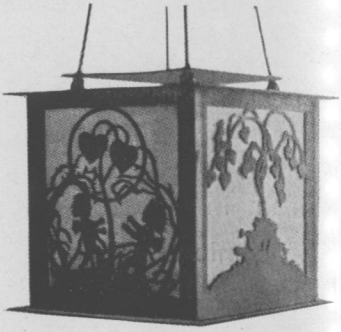
Kitchen in one of the smaller centers

Truck used to carry meals to men on the job

Toy-making at the Work Center for Women



At the Farm Center



Lantern from the Metal-Working Shop

SOME PRODUCTS OF EMERGENCY EMPLOYMENT

need. Their inception and growth were spontaneous rather than deliberately planned, although such centers offered a certain amount of work relief by using the services of the unemployed in their construction and in part of their management.

The need for these centers first became apparent through the demands of men who had been dropped from work-relief jobs. They would frequently return to the agencies to ask if there was any place where they might spend the day and get urgent repairs to their clothes, their small household equipment or their tools. Many of these men had crowded homes, others lived in the shelters. Without the smallest funds for amusement, the street was their only release from the monotony of long days in cramped lodgings.

With the idea of starting gathering places which would supply these idle people with certain practical assistance in the way of equipment for self-help, and also with a little diversion and an outlet for their creative energies, the welfare departments got into touch with various private agencies and made a co-operative study of all facilities available for such an undertaking.

The first step was to secure proper locations for centers. Because of the co-operation of various organizations this was not usually a problem. Some centers were located in settlement houses, some in the parish houses of churches, and some in school buildings, where an entire floor or several large rooms could often be spared. In other cases small institutions transferred their inmates to other places and turned their buildings over to the Welfare Department. Where no suitable places could be found, vacant portions of large factories were borrowed, and these proved to be altogether satisfactory.

With quarters secured, the next step was remodeling and equipping them to meet the needs of the large groups of men and women who would be coming and going all through the day. One large room was always required as a sort of general meeting place, where individuals and groups could freely

loaf, talk, and play cards or other table games. Besides this large, usually central hall, there were a number of rooms for special purposes, such as workshops for mending clothing and shoes, a carpenter shop with benches and sufficient tools to permit the repairing of simple furniture and household articles, a place for painting furniture, and a number of rooms to be used for occasional meetings of clubs and classes. There was always a great demand for gymnasium and game rooms, also for a room equipped with a piano and large enough to accommodate a good-sized chorus, which could also be used by unemployed musicians for practice between chorus meetings.

The operation of such centers was usually delegated to some private agency in the neighborhood interested and willing to co-operate with the Welfare Department, assisted by representatives of the unemployed and their house committee. Although most of the social agencies were unfamiliar with work of this character, they were keenly aware of the needs of unemployed men and women and hopeful that the centers would bring a satisfaction not to be found in any other way to apparently objectless lives. Every effort was made to arouse the creative forces of the people who used the centers. There were no requirements for admission. All were welcome and free to use the facilities offered and to come as often or as infrequently as they wished, discipline being enforced by the house committee of the clients.

The staff of each center was usually composed of one or two trained workers assigned by the responsible social agency, who acted as head workers; a number of men and women on work relief as superintendents of divisions, as specialists and as house workers; and a larger group of volunteers from the unemployed who were regular guests of the center and were willing to accept some responsibility in its management. In many instances a few volunteers from outside the ranks of the unemployed would co-operate by giving their services in lecturing or friendly visiting for a few hours each week.

Those who wished to attend with any regularity were

given an opportunity to enroll as members and receive a guest card. This membership entailed no obligations and was entirely free of charge. Its chief purpose was to entitle the holder to preferential place at such parties, holiday celebrations and other treats as might overcrowd the rooms; since it seemed only fair that those who showed continued interest in the center should be especially privileged to enjoy such occasions.

The guests managed their own affairs as nearly as possible and any manifestation of initiative on their part was welcomed. When any new type of entertainment or educational feature was planned, an effort was made to find a responsible manager for it among the group of guests or among those of some neighboring center. Only as a last resort would the Bureau for Work Relief be asked to delegate a suitable person to take over the responsibility. Usually a house committee was appointed from among the guests and would take the initiative in asking for classes and other special features.

The executive staffs of emergency neighborhood centers of this type would usually meet once or twice a month to discuss experiences and exchange ideas. The bureau of the Welfare Department responsible for this section of the work would try to make all the necessary contacts to supplement or facilitate the work with directors in charge of adult education, the opera, museums, motion pictures and other means of education or entertainment, all organizations and individuals, in a word, who might be willing to lend or give equipment or take charge of parts of programs.

Once the centers were equipped and their work under way, there was not the slightest doubt of their popularity and usefulness. There was, of course, great variety depending upon the neighborhoods, in the types of guests at the different centers, and of the facilities for which they asked. Most of the men were interested in manual work and especially in repairing their own clothes and shoes. Some of the centers provided small laundries to take care of this work for the single men, which were frequently placed in charge of a

group of girls from the Women's Work Center. Some of the centers had kitchens on an entirely co-operative basis, guests taking turns in the work. But in others it seemed necessary to maintain some continuity in the kitchen staff, and in these relief workers were used. In most instances one midday meal was provided at very little cost. Coffee, soup, simple sandwiches or home-made cake might be sold for a cent or two for each item, the price being intended to cover only the actual cost of the material.

In some centers a large number of skilled workers were found who showed eagerness to develop technical interests. Draftsmanship and machinery designing were among the subjects of instruction often asked for and given. The inventive skill of people was encouraged in devising improved methods of repairing their own belongings, and making "something out of nothing." In this way a spirit of co-operation was maintained, and one guest was usually glad to offer any special ability he possessed to assist a neighbor. There was nearly always at least one artist willing to work out designs in colors, and other specialists ready to give working suggestions.

Although ordinarily each guest worked or played "on his own," whenever the growing centers were in need of additional equipment, such as chairs, tables, blackboards, lamps, bookshelves and desks, or of some special service, all guests were expected to contribute their efforts. As books got out of condition, they were repaired and rebound and this work proved to be popular.

Most of the centers were glad to receive discarded furniture and other useful gifts, and occasionally put advertisements or news stories in the papers asking for such articles. In consequence each center usually possessed a storeroom with a varied assortment of things from which the needs of the workshops could be filled. A constant demand was for paints and varnishes, and a head worker would frequently get large contributions of such materials by calling up shops and merely stating the need.

Recreational features were as varied as occupational ones.

The large hall was kept as a social room rather in the manner of a European neighborhood restaurant. There was, however, little temptation to waste money, as alcoholic drinks were not allowed, and the food was better and less expensive than in restaurants. Most married women were glad to have the men of their families use the centers instead of frequenting bar rooms. Nor were the rooms lacking in attractions. Some of the social rooms were equipped with radio sets, and motion picture apparatus was occasionally lent for special occasions. Frequent lectures on a great variety of subjects and illustrated by lantern slides seemed to appeal especially to men. Some centers developed good troupes of amateur actors, and all had excellent choruses. The actors and musicians of one center exchanged services with other centers when occasions arose, and public concerts were given from time to time, in which all the choruses of the different centers of a city took part. Once in awhile a chorus was asked to sing over the radio (in Germany a government monopoly), for which they were paid, and these occasions were a source of pride to members of the chorus, who usually put aside a part of the money earned to provide additional musical facilities for their center.

In the general hall of each center a suggestion box was placed, and all visitors were invited to deposit any criticism or suggestion in it.

Attendance at the centers was usually considerably larger in winter than in summer, when the men were interested in other things, such as outings, visits to places of interest, swimming and gardening. Many centers rented land, not too far out of town, where those interested in gardening might get some experience under skilled supervision.

The centers were used to a much greater extent by men than by women. Unemployed women appeared to have more capacity to spend their leisure satisfactorily than had men. They seemed to be more welcome in the homes of relatives and friends, probably because they could give a hand with whatever housework was going on; while unemployed men, and especially boys, were evidently looked upon

as a bother around the home, and were sent out of it for their idle hours.

Women who frequented the centers never wanted to make use of the same rooms as the men. Many older women liked to meet regularly, bringing their needlework and having a social hour. They were glad of instruction or helpful suggestions, especially in regard to remodeling clothes. Still larger numbers liked to join the sewing circles which were open to the women of the neighborhood, to come and go as they pleased. They were allowed to bring their own work to these circles and were given help, especially in cutting and designing garments by an expert leader assigned for this purpose.

A different kind of leadership and entertainment was, of course, needed for the younger women, and only especially good social workers seemed to have the ability to interest the young girls and keep them together for any length of time. For young people of both sexes, the centers performed a valuable service as recruiting stations for Voluntary Work Service. Many youngsters who dropped into the centers with no idea of taking up any regular work, became so interested in what they saw and heard about work relief for young people that they would often apply for it and be accepted.

These centers were of only slight value as projects for emergency employment since they offered opportunities to only a few workers for the actual work of remodeling and furnishing the centers and to a few others to help in their management. The main value lay in offering some form of outlet in the way of creative life and recreation for involuntarily idle people. By keeping up the morale and the manual skill of people who had been laid off work relief to make place for others, the centers were, however, of distinct assistance in the work-relief program. They gave opportunity to form co-operative groups among the unemployed; and many self-help undertakings not directly under the centers' management originated there or were carried on in close co-operation with them.

VIII

POSSIBILITIES AND LIMITATIONS OF WORK RELIEF

EXPERIENCE in over ten years of more or less intensive emergency employment in Germany, including the early period of Emergency Public Works, has helped to clarify some of the problems involved and, in certain respects, to shape the policy.

The selection of projects considered suitable for emergency employment has become more careful, and most communities have found it necessary to do long-range planning so as to be able to choose quickly the right kind of project from a great number whenever the opportunity to begin more work opens. This planning has been continued even when, due to financial difficulties, the actual number of workers employed has been few.

On the whole, the most valuable projects have been those that helped to prepare people for certain changes in living which seemed the inevitable outcome of the world economic situation. Work relief has taught workers to be less dependent on regular incomes and a little better able to help themselves in periods of greatly decreased means, so that their standards need not drop too sharply. Ideas of self-help and co-operation have spread; and the technique of such movements has been practiced as part of many work-relief schemes. Workers have learned the usefulness and the joy of gardening, in some cases raising vegetables for their own family needs, and in others going back to the land, possibly accepting farm jobs, instead of office or mill work. Many have been prepared to live in subsistence homesteads, where they may miss the comforts of city life, but will be far less depend-

ent on regular wages and more protected from the dangers of industrial crises. They have recaptured the idea that there may be a great deal of usefulness in old and discarded articles, and have discovered that with skill and time applied, many such things can be remodeled and put to new uses.

From the point of view of preserving purchasing power it may be questioned whether this new attitude is economically sound and helpful in the program of national industrial recovery. There can be little doubt, however, about its value to individual families, living on reduced means and trying to remain self-respecting, active and useful members of a community. The ideals of simple life and mutual help have been especially stressed in all kinds of voluntary work service, particularly in the work camps.

An increased tendency is to be observed in Germany for government to share with agriculture and industry the responsibility for putting people back to normal work. With all due attention to the possible dangers involved in subsidizing business to help re-employ more workers, "shared work"[1] still seems to contain a sound idea, if the selection is handled wisely and the methods of co-operation and supervision are carefully worked out so as to secure the ultimate benefit of reduced cost to the consumer or the community. Of course, only those industries should be encouraged to accept additional workers which show evidence that an increase in their production would be desirable from a nation-wide point of view; in other words, that there is some likelihood that the output will be consumed. Germany has had of late years, and still has, a shortage in low-cost housing, and has not been self-supporting in producing basic foodstuffs. Increase in production in both these areas has met a real demand and can be continuously encouraged with a fair degree of safety.

Experience has also helped to demonstrate more clearly just what work relief can reasonably be expected to do and

[1] See p. 19.

wherein it has very definite limitations. At its minimum level it should be understood to represent the preferred type of relief for able-bodied clients of working age, because it will preserve better than can home relief, important personality values. If sufficiently developed to provide a variety of jobs for carefully selected workers, it may grow into a definite service, as part of planned social treatment. It will develop the client's capacity for work and possibly his vocational ability, and will help him to make necessary adjustments through self-help enterprises and more productive use of his leisure time. Along with these individual services to the client, work relief has proved to be a means of transforming a considerable part of relief funds into visible community assets of value to both the client and non-client population.

On the other hand, work relief can certainly not take the place of a socially intact system of home relief, nor is it a substitute for regular employment under normal conditions of production.

Because work relief must not be allowed to compete with regular employment, the working capacity of the entire unemployed population is never utilized in times of prolonged depression. Many unemployed people, as well as whole groups of dependent families, unable to provide the necessities of life for a variety of reasons, will need direct relief for their maintenance. The most spectacular, or carefully planned work-relief program, no matter how wide its range, cannot be a substitute for an equally well planned program for home relief, to be efficiently administered on the basis of comprehensive social legislation.

Nor can relief work, however successful, be a substitute for steady progress toward the end it is designed to further: the return of employables to normal employment. Government and relief agencies, backed by public opinion, will still find it necessary to put forth their best efforts toward stimulating an increase in work and a better distribution of work opportunities.

APPENDIX

LEGAL BASIS FOR EMERGENCY EMPLOYMENT

I. EXCERPT FROM THE NATIONAL CONSTITUTION OF 1919 (REICHSVERFASSUNG (R V), ARTICLE 163)

With recognition of the principle of personal freedom, every German has the moral obligation to use his mental and physical capacity as may be demanded for the benefit of the community. Every German should be given a chance to acquire a maintenance through gainful work. As far as he cannot be assigned to suitable work, the necessities of life shall be provided. Details of this shall be taken care of in a federal law.

II. EXCERPTS FROM THE FEDERAL WELFARE ACT OF 1924 (VERORDNUNG ÜBER DIE FÜRSORGEPFLICHT (R F V), 13. FEBRUAR, 1924)

Par. 19. In selected cases aid for persons capable of work may be given by assigning them to suitable employment of benefit to the community; or relief may be granted, dependent on the client's performing some such work. The latter may only be required if it does not create obvious hardship or if no law is opposed to it.

Par. 20. Any able-bodied person who becomes dependent upon public aid for his own maintenance or for the maintenance of his dependents because of moral lack . . . may be committed to a suitable institution or workhouse if he has repeatedly declined to accept work or to support his dependents . . . Commitment is not permissible if and when it should mean extraordinary hardship. Commitment must not be to a penitentiary.

EXCERPTS FROM BY-LAW TO FEDERAL WELFARE ACT OF 1924 (REICHSGRUNDSÄTZE ÜBER VORAUSSETZUNG, ART UND MASS DER ÖFFENTLICHEN FÜRSORGE (R G R), 4. DEZEMBER, 1924)

Par. 1. Social Service has the responsibility of supplying maintenance to the needy. In discharging this responsibility it shall take into consideration individual needs.

As far as possible it shall assist the client to self-support.

Par. 2. Social Service shall not wait for needs to become critical before acting. It may initiate aid without specific application.

It shall meet the needs thoroughly and in such a way as to prevent temporary problems from becoming bases of permanent dependency.

Par. 3. In order to prevent imminent dependency, Social Service may organize preventive help especially to safeguard health and the capacity for work . . .

Par. 4. Social Service shall promote and may subsidize agencies for serving persons in need, especially for the occupation of handicapped persons; provided such agencies lessen the need for individual relief, work economically and utilize public funds in an effective manner.

Par. 5. All persons shall be considered in need who are not able to provide in whole or in part the necessities of life for themselves and their dependents by their own efforts and means, nor are able to get such necessities from other sources, especially from their relatives.

Par. 6. The necessities of life comprise

a. Sustenance, especially shelter, and fuel, food, clothing and general care;

b. Care for the sick, and aid in the re-establishment of the capacity for work;

c. Special care for mothers before and after childbirth;

Also:

d. Education and vocational training for minors;

e. Vocational training for the blind, deaf, dumb and crippled;

f. If necessary, burial for the dead.

Par. 7. Every client, even if not fully capable of work, shall utilize such capacity as he has in working to provide the necessities of life for himself and his dependents. As far as possible Social Service shall give him opportunity to do so . . .

Whether or not it is fair to ask a client to accept particular work shall be determined by considering his age, state of health, home conditions, and, so far as possible, his vocational training and

experience. This shall be done with special care if help is given by assigning work to him or if help is made dependent upon his accepting work. (Par. 19 R F V)

Women shall not be requested to perform gainful work if in doing so the regular care and education of their children will be adversely affected. At the same time other duties of women shall also be considered, particularly the conduct of their homes and the care of dependent relatives.

Par. 13. In case of indolence or decided and obvious lack of management, the extent of actual need is to be thoroughly reinvestigated and relief should be reduced to the barest necessities. The same may be done in case of clients who repeatedly refuse to meet the reasonable requests of the social agency.

In case of indolence or decided and obvious lack of management, relief for the client may be reduced to maintenance in an institution and home relief discontinued except for his family.

If relief is reduced to barest necessities, efforts shall be made to prevent, as far as possible, this measure affecting adversely his family or other clients with whom he may be living in a common household.

III. EXCERPTS FROM THE FEDERAL UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE ACT OF 1927 (GESETZ ÜBER ARBEITSVERMITTLUNG UND ARBEITSLOSENVERSICHERUNG, 16. JULI, 1927 (A V A V G)

Par. 91

1. Aid to every unemployed person under twenty-one years of age . . . and to others drawing "crisis"[1] relief is dependent upon the clients' doing some work, as far as opportunity allows.

2. The unemployed shall be assigned only to jobs

   a. Which could not otherwise be done at all, or not at the time, or not to the same extent;

   b. Which are for the benefit of the community, and especially for the benefit of needy groups;

   c. Which are suitable for the clients, in respect to their age, their health and their home conditions;

   d. Which do not retard their being placed at regular work;

   e. Which will not be of disadvantage to them in future employment.

[1] Krisenfürsorge, see note, p. 30.

3. Routine work which calls for continuous employment shall not be handled as work for relief.

4. Incidental expenses incurred by the clients in the course of employment shall be suitably reimbursed to them by the agency profiting from their work.

5. The local Labor Exchange . . . shall regulate the details of employing clients for relief. It shall select the work and determine the maximum working time. The maximum working time demanded of any client shall be in suitable proportion to the average relief of all clients during the same period. . . .

Par. 92

1. Any unemployed person who refuses without sound reason to take part in free vocational training, instituted to better qualify him for finding work, shall be dropped from unemployment insurance and "crisis" relief for a period of four weeks following his refusal.

Par. 139

1. The State Unemployment Insurance Bureau may use its funds for allowing loans or subsidies in order to promote measures suitable for decreasing unemployment, especially such measures as will create additional jobs for the unemployed. . . . Financial help may be given only to such projects as are of productive value to the nation, especially to those which are likely to increase the national output of foodstuffs and raw materials. Subsidies and loans may not be granted to gainful enterprises. . . .

4. The State Unemployment Insurance Bureau may determine maximum wages for emergency employment as far as they are subsidized out of insurance funds. It may also select the collective wage agreement to be applied for such work. . . . In all other respects the unemployed assigned to emergency employment jobs shall work under the conditions of regular work.

Par. 140

2. The central executive committee of the federal Unemployment Insurance Bureau may allow state and local insurance agencies to promote and subsidize additional measures suitable to prevent or end unemployment if they are apt to decrease the expenditures for the unemployed.