

Sowing the Seeds of Change: Women and World War II

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Marye Stumph, a white, divorced mother of two, got a job at Vultee Aircraft in 1941 and before long was making three times what she had earned before the war. She enjoyed her work as a machinist: "I could have just gone on and made a career out of that," she said, but "it just ended overnight." She had to work to support her children, and she ended up in traditionally female jobs, first as a switchboard operator and then as a records clerk.¹

Tina Hill, an African American woman, summarized the war's impact on her in one sentence: "Hitler was the one who got us out of the white folks' kitchen." Hill left domestic work for a



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job on the production line at North American Aircraft. She said that being laid off "didn't bother me much. I was just glad that the war was over . . . [and] my husband had a job." Nonetheless, after doing domestic work for a while, when North American called her back, Hill recalled, "Was I a happy soul!"

Charlcia Neuman, a white woman who lived with her husband and teenaged daughter took a defense job at Vultee aircraft. In 1945 she accepted her layoff slip matter-of-factly. "It wasn't discriminatory," she said. "The idea was for the women to go back home. The women understood that . . . I was ready . . . I was tired." And she settled back into domesticity.

These three women's experiences only begin to reflect the tremendously diverse ways in that World War II changed — and didn't change — women's lives. Neuman represented those women who were happy to give up their wartime jobs and return to fulltime homemaking. But many others — like Marye Stumph — had to work and had to find other jobs when their defense work ended. Tina Hill was exceptional as a woman and as a black women.

A COLORED MAID

Experienced cook; neat, capable housekeeper; for couple in small apartment with laundress; Thursday and Sunday afternoons off; go or stay; \$20 a week; best references required in reply. Address Box T 159, care *The Enquirer*.

A RELIABLE woman, plain cooking, housework; 2 children; private room, bath, \$18. Phone EA 6373 or address Box H 155, care *The Enquirer*.

ACCOUNTANT—Individual, income tax; day work only; short hours; best pay. Write Post Office Box 404, Cincinnati.

A GIRL—General housework; plain cooking; family 3; \$18 to experienced person; 2 half days off; stay some nights or live on place. UN 1665.

A GIRL FOR GENERAL HOUSEWORK AND CHILD CARE; STAY. AV 7407.

A MAID—Serving, general housework; excellent salary. AV 1620.

Though World War II increased employment opportunities for African-American women, forty percent still continued in domestic work. (CHS Briol Photograph Collection)



As the nation mobilized to meet the military and civilian needs of the U.S. and its allies, the War Manpower Commission worked to combat lingering public hostility toward working women. (CHS Photograph Collection)



Most “Rosie the Riveters,” regardless of race, found themselves back in the lower-paying, typically female jobs they had held before the war. And, while African American women’s employment became more diversified in the 1940s and many left domestic service for good, two-fifths of all black women workers continued to work in someone else’s kitchen.

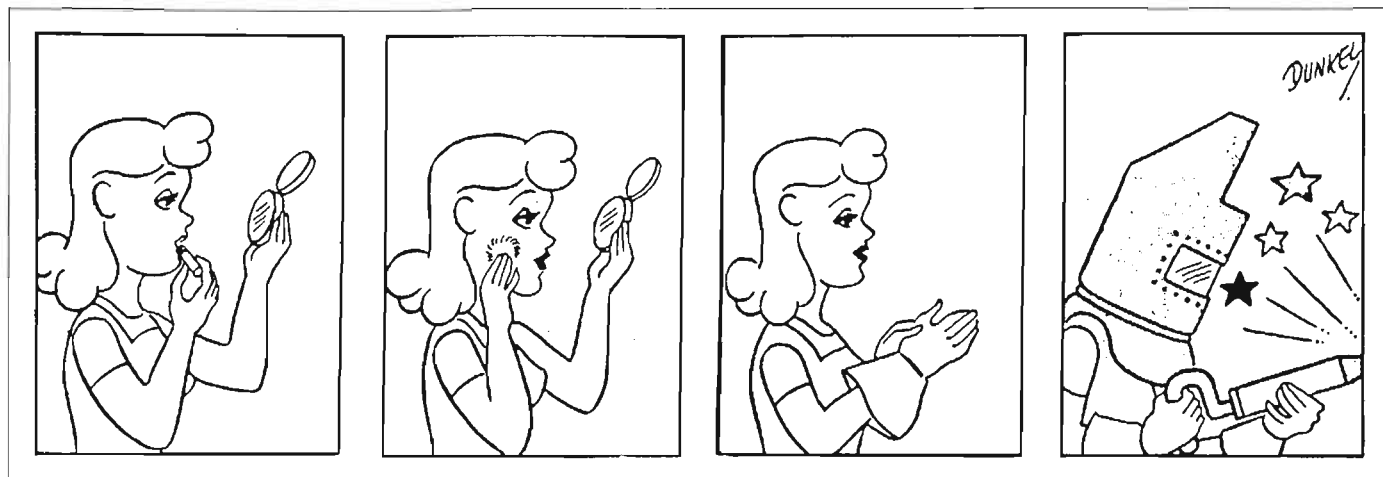
If a single generalization could represent what World War II meant in terms of women’s lives and opportunities, it would emphasize continuity in the short run and change in the longer run. In the short run, the war did not dramatically alter women’s place in society or bring them much closer to equity with men. World War II did, however, sow seeds of change that two decades later would lead to a substantial transformation of women’s roles, rights, and experiences.

When World War II called fifteen million men out of civilian life, American women acquired new responsibilities and unprecedented opportunities. The need to produce enormous amounts of military

and civilian goods for the United States and its allies meant that women were allowed — and even encouraged — to do work that had been previously reserved for men. Public hostility to working women, which had intensified during the Depression, declined markedly during the war. The female labor force grew from twelve million to more than eighteen million women, who constituted more than one-third of all workers. In 1944 thirty-seven percent of all adult women were employed, and nearly fifty percent had been at work outside the home at some time during that year.²

But it was not only the homefront that needed women. As a modern, global war, World War II required a vast and functionally diversified military. The military needed combat soldiers and bombers, but it also needed typists, supply personnel, and nurses — jobs already being done by women in civilian life. Military leaders soon recognized that they could use women because, according to one official, “we have found difficulty in getting enlisted men to per-

War production demanded more workers, and women entered almost every formerly male field of work. (CHS Photograph Collection)



form tedious duties anywhere nearly as well as women." By war's end, about 370,000 women had donned military uniforms.³

In addition, the war created a moral atmosphere of heightened sensitivity to injustice, particularly racial discrimination but also discrimination against women. Like black leaders, the small band of women's rights activists invoked the nation's avowed war aims to demand justice at home. Pointing out that the United States was fighting for freedom and democracy abroad, one feminist insisted, "Surely we will not refuse to our own that which we purchase for strangers with the blood of our sons."⁴

Yet along with these war-induced developments that broadened opportunities for women were equally powerful forces that put a brake on change. First, there was the obvious fact of war — men were soldiers, and women, for the most part, were not. Men's roles became even more highly valued, and this increased the disparities in status between women and men. Although men were called upon to make the ultimate sacrifice, they also received material and psychological advantages that were not available to women.⁵

In addition, while Americans acknowledged the critical need for women's contributions to the war effort, they also cherished conventional gender roles and worried about the effect of women's new activities outside the home on male-female relations and the family. Stable family life took on even greater importance as wartime disruptions contributed to ris-

ing rates of juvenile delinquency, divorce, and illegitimacy. A commentator on juvenile delinquency expressed this tension between the need for women in defense production and concerns about their family responsibilities: "Mothers, proudly winning the war on the production line, are losing it on the home front."⁶

Women themselves demonstrated their attachment to traditional roles: Their employment rose steeply — from twelve million to nineteen million — but so did marriage and birth rates. The Depression with its devastating unemployment had sent marriage and birth rates downward in the 1930s. Although the war separated husbands and wives, fathers and children, it also encouraged family formation. Risks and uncertainties faced by men of draft age led to more and earlier marriages and encouraged childbearing. Moreover, the economic recovery sustained by the war and the postwar benefits offered to veterans made marriage and family life financially possible for most Americans. Thus, the World War II era saw increasing tension between women's traditional roles of wife and mother and their growing roles in the world outside the home.

Official policy and propaganda reflected efforts to resolve the conflicting goals of recruiting women to the war effort and preserving women's primary commitments in the home. Policy statements, propaganda, and advertising accentuated gender differences, and appeals to women to assume new responsibilities carried two conditions: they were to do so

The Office of War Information (OWI) used drawings to reassure Americans that women would keep their femininity doing "men's" jobs. (CHS Photograph Collection)

only for the duration, and they were to retain their primary identities and duties as homemakers and mothers.

These messages were embedded in the propaganda and advertising intended to recruit women to the military and defense production. Military pro-

paganda stressed gender differences, proclaiming that military women retained their "femininity," and even "developed new poise and charm." The Army advertised that it needed women's "delicate hands" for "precision work at which women are so adept," and that it needed women for hospital work because



"there is a need in a man for comfort and attention that only a woman can fill."

Some servicewomen did land assignments generally considered to be men's work. They repaired motor vehicles, served on non-combat flight crews, and trained men to be pilots. In fact, once the WAVES got underway, no pilot went into combat without having received some training from a woman. Yet the vast majority of military women performed jobs similar to those women held in the civilian economy, working as secretaries and clerks, in hospitals, or as storekeepers. And, because of racial segregation, black women had even fewer opportunities to break out of traditional female fields. Thus, women entered the last bastion of male exclusivity on terms that maintained traditional gender roles. Nonetheless,

Official government policy discouraged mothers of young children from working, warning that children in group day care would face a host of problems in their emotional development.

(CHS Ransohoff Photograph Collection)

their wartime service won them a permanent place in the defense establishment, thus sowing the seeds for more substantial change in the 1960s and beyond.⁸

In the civilian economy, women broke into nearly every formerly male field of work, replacing men in aircraft factories, ordnance plants, and shipyards and filling men's shoes as musicians (most symphonies hired their first women during the war), airplane pilots, engineers, scientists, college professors, and even Santa Clauses. Large numbers of working-class women won the benefits of union representation for the first time, as the number of women in labor unions grew from 800,000 to three million.

Operating to contain these dramatic changes, materials used to recruit women to wartime work — like military propaganda — stressed gender differences and traditional female roles. One magazine article featuring women workers said, "You'll like this girl. She does a man's work . . . servicing airplanes, but she hasn't lost any of her feminine sweetness and charm." An ad designed for the dual purpose of promoting women's employment and selling laundry starch insisted, "A woman can do anything if she knows she looks beautiful doing it." And a cosmetics ad conceded that lipstick could not win

the war, "But it symbolizes one of the reasons why we are fighting. . . the precious right of women to be feminine and lovely." The theme of femininity pervaded the factory itself. Women welders were called welderettes, and factories routinely held beauty and popularity contests for women workers.⁹

Especially towards the end of the war, the theme of femininity was joined by the theme that women's employment was temporary. A vacuum cleaner ad praised women on the assembly line, but promised that at war's end, "Like you Mrs. America, Eureka [the vacuum manufacturer] will put aside its uniform and return to the ways of peace. . . ." In May 1945, the *Bo's'n's Whistle*, house organ at Kaiser Shipyards, issued a clear message to its female employees in an article titled, "'The Kitchen' — Women's Big Post-War Goal." The article began, "Brothers, the tin hat and welder's torch will be yours! We, the women, will give them back to you with best regards. . . . [W]hen the war finally is won the thing we want to do is take off these unfeminine garments and button ourselves into something starched and pretty."¹⁰

Ads that looked into the postwar future also touched on anxieties about the employment of



The FEPC worked for fair employment practices during wartime, but when victory brought the agency's demise, women lost the formerly "men-only" jobs they had held. (CHS Briol Photograph Collection)



Women lost most wartime employment gains, but by 1950, growing numbers of married and middle-income white women worked outside the home in non-traditional and traditional jobs. (CHS

Marsh Photograph Collection)

mothers and sent strong messages to women workers about their real responsibilities. A 1944 ad in the *Saturday Evening Post* showed a woman in work overalls and a child asking, "Mother, when will you stay home again?" The ad promised that mother "will stay home again, doing the job she likes best — making a home for you and daddy, when he gets back."¹¹

The ambivalence about employed mothers appeared in government actions on day care. Official policy discouraged mothers with small children from taking jobs. A Children's Bureau publication, for example, warned mothers that group care for children under two would result in "slower mental development, social ineptness, weakened initiative, and damage to the child's capacity . . . to form satisfactory relationships." The Women's Bureau advised employers to question women closely about provisions for their children's care. FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover insisted that parental neglect caused "perversion" and "crime." Of mothers, he said: "She already has her war job. Her patriotism consists in not letting quite understandable desires to escape for a few months from a household routine or to get a little money of her own tempt her to quit it. *There must be no absenteeism among mothers.* . . . Her patriotic duty is not on the factory front. It is on the home front."¹²

Yet government officials also recognized that some mothers needed to work and that defense production in areas of severe labor shortages depended upon the employment of mothers. The Census Bureau estimated that 2.75 million women with 4.5 million children were at work outside the home. Ultimately the federal government spent around \$50 million to match state and local funds for the establishment of 3,000 day care centers around the country. At peak usage, they accommodated 130,000 children of employed mothers and perhaps 600,000 during the course of the war. But this represented a tiny percentage of the children whose mothers worked outside the home.¹³

The federal day care program was just one of several policy changes adopted by government, trade unions, and employers that helped accommodate women's employment. These policies attacked



many of the old attitudes and practices that discriminated against women, and, to a lesser extent, they addressed the severe difficulties faced by women attempting to combine employment with their customary domestic responsibilities. For example, the principle of equal pay for equal work gained national attention during the war. Several large unions won equal pay clauses in contract negotiations, and in cases where labor-management disputes came to the National War Labor Board, it had the power to mandate equal pay for equal work. In a key case brought by the United Electrical Workers, the board issued a landmark ruling on equal pay. But — like the day care program — the board was dismantled as soon as the war ended, and its ruling was not enforced.¹⁴

Wartime government policy also challenged the historical discrimination against African American women. Before the war, three-fourths of black women workers were confined to domestic service or farm work. The sheer need for workers caused some employers to stop discriminating against blacks, but government policy also attacked race discrimination. Threatened by a massive march on Washington, the federal government established the Fair

Colleges and universities changed admission policies during the war to admit more women, successfully bolstering enrollment. (*Cincinnatian*, CHS Printed Works Collection.)

Employment Practices Commission (FEPC), and several states followed suit. Black women filed around one-fourth of all race discrimination claims with these commissions, but neither black women nor black men ever achieved systematic enforcement of these policies (in part because the government was loath to disrupt production by cancelling contracts with offending employers). Like day care and the War Labor Board, the FEPC did not survive the war's end.¹⁵

As these policies ended, so did women's employment in the high paying, formerly male jobs they held during the war. Within two years after war ended, women's share of the labor force had declined from thirty-six to twenty-eight per cent. Women who continued to work were bumped back into female jobs. A former welder who became a cashier related her experience: "It kind of hurt . . . you were back to women's wages again . . . practically in half." A former electrician's helper at forty-eight dollars a week found work as a saleswoman for twenty-eight dollars

a week. Some women, seeing the handwriting on the wall, left defense industries even before they were laid off. A shipyard worker left her job before the war ended, assuming that "when the boys come back after the war, they'd just automatically make a place for them." Explaining her decision, she recalled, "I thought there wouldn't be any of those soldier boys lining up to be grocery clerks, and that's what I decided to be."¹⁶

Wartime advertising helped steer women back to "women's jobs." One ad pictured a factory woman's ID badge alongside the words, "When it becomes a souvenir. . . . What then . . . Stay home . . . do nothing? . . . Like our fighting men you've earned the right to choose work you enjoy. . . ." And then this ad for Smith-Corona got to the point: "A surprising number of war workers are going to learn to type."¹⁷

Women reacted to displacement in a variety of ways. Some, like Charlcia Neuman, wel-



When the GI Bill offered veterans a college education, an advantage not open to most women, GIs flocked to colleges and universities. (CHS Briol Photograph Collection)



comed it, or like Tina Hill and Marye Stumph accepted it as inevitable. "Women do not expect or want to hold jobs at the expense of returning soldiers," declared the Women's Trade Union League. Women overwhelmingly supported veterans' claims to jobs based on seniority awarded for the years of their wartime service.¹⁸

But when management violated women's seniority rights and hired nonveterans, some women protested bitterly. "[W]omen didn't stop eating when the war stopped," declared women who worked at a Ford plant in Memphis. Another woman complained, "[W]e have women laid off with seniority . . . and every day they hire in new men off the street. They hire men, they say, to do the heavy work. . . . During the war they didn't care what kind of work we did." When Ford laid off women with as many as twenty-seven years of seniority, 150 women picketed with signs that read, "The Hand That Rocks the Cradle Can Build Tractors, Too." A worker enraged by her union's failure to protect women's seniority rights told a reporter, "We are making the bullets now, and

we will give the [union executive] board members a blast that will blow them out of their shoes."¹⁹

Despite these pockets of resistance, women overall failed to hold onto their wartime gains. Yet the war did set in motion changes that would increase substantially women's economic opportunities a couple of decades later. Women's labor force participation began to rise again after the initial postwar decline, and by 1950, it had reached the wartime peak. The war had promoted greater acceptance of work outside the home for married women, and in the postwar period, married women entered paid employment in growing numbers. By 1950 one-fourth of all married women worked outside the home, and they constituted more than half of all female workers. Before the war, black and working-class wives were the most likely to earn wages. But in the postwar years, white women from middle-income families provided the fastest growing segment of the female labor force.

Their wartime experiences changed women's views of themselves. Discovering the ability

Both female and male veterans took advantage of the GI bill but the vast majority of student veterans were male. (CHS Briol Photograph Collection)

to do what had always been considered "men's work" increased women's self-confidence and instilled a taste for challenges. A shipyard electrician, Pat Koehler, said, "It was a breakthrough because we knew we could do things." Another shipbuilder, Kathryn Blair, realized "from that experience that I could always manage."²⁰

The sheer need for womanpower contributed to greater sensitivity about discrimination. Moreover, the entrance of large numbers of women into unions gave them an institutional structure in which to push for economic justice. The war also energized middle-class advocates for women's rights. Consequently, with the notorious exception of Japanese American women, whose fundamental rights were stripped away, most women enjoyed modest gains in their status under the law.

Women's organizations mounted successful campaigns in thirteen states to make women eligible for jury service, leaving just eight states (in the South and Southwest) that still denied women that right. A state judge in North Carolina directly linked women's wartime activities to changing attitudes about their rights. Commenting on the state's law excluding women from jury service, he declared, "The disqualification of sex is outmoded. Women are in the Army, Navy and Marine Corps. They work in factories, shops. . . ." ²¹

Middle-class women's organizations joined coalitions with labor unions, and they secured equal pay for equal work laws in sixteen states by 1956. Efforts for a federal law failed, but the wartime activity and success in the states helped to keep the issue of equal pay alive until Congress finally passed a national equal pay law in 1963.²²

The war also prompted a small group of feminists to press harder for an equal rights amendment to the Constitution, which they had first proposed in 1923. Congress considered the amendment for the first time, and in 1946, a majority of the Senate voted for the ERA. Although the vote fell short of the required two-thirds majority, the fact that the ERA went that far encouraged supporters to continue their efforts. They kept the Equal Rights Amendment alive to become the single most important rallying point of

the revived feminist movement of the 1960s and 1970s.²³

The area of higher education provides a final example of short-term reversal in women's opportunities and long-term change. The war expanded women's access to colleges and universities. To compensate for declining enrollments as young men entered the military, colleges and universities admitted women for the first time or increased the quotas allotted to them. At the peak of the war, women constituted about half the enrollments — up from about forty percent in 1940.²⁴

In terms of absolute numbers, female enrollments in higher education grew after the war, but they declined relative to those of men. In fact, by 1950, women's share of undergraduate degrees was lower than it had been before the war. At the start of the decade, women received forty-one percent of all baccalaureate degrees. By 1950 they accounted for just twenty-four percent of all graduates, and their share of post-graduate degrees likewise declined.²⁵

The major reason for this slump in women's educational attainment relative to that of men was the Serviceman's Readjustment Act of 1944, the so-called GI Bill of Rights, which provided funds for tuition and support to any qualified veteran. As they were discharged from the military, veterans inundated college campuses so that at their peak enrollment in 1947, veterans constituted nearly one-half of the 2.3 million college students.²⁶

Female as well as male veterans took advantage of the GI Bill, but the vast majority of student-veterans were men. Most women not only failed to benefit from government subsidies, but they also found it difficult to gain admission to crowded colleges that gave preference to veterans. For example, the percentage of women among Cornell University students dropped from more than fifty percent during the war to just twenty percent in 1946. As World War II veterans completed their education, women's share of college degrees rose, but even by 1960, women claimed just one-third of all degrees, still less than their share in 1940.²⁷

The GI Bill helped stimulate the great postwar expansion of higher education that we have

come to call the democratization of higher education, and this eventually benefited women. Although they lagged behind men, in absolute numbers women's college enrollments increased markedly every decade, including the 1940s. College education expanded women's skills and aspirations, made them less willing to accept limitations on what they could do, and increased their openness to feminist ideas. College-educated women played central roles in the resurgence of feminism in the 1960s.²⁸

Throughout the World War II era, the continuity of women's lives was more striking than the changes that occurred. The need for women's contributions to the war effort did promote increasing rights and public opportunities for women and it energized advocates of women's rights, but two countervailing forces were even more powerful. The first was simply the power of traditional attitudes and historic arrangements that assigned women to the caretaking of the family and defined women primarily by their domestic roles as wives and mothers. The demands of war were simply not great enough to challenge these conventions.

The second powerful countervailing force was the eternal tendency of war to elevate men's status and value. In wartime, the battlefield — the domain of men — always took economic and ideological precedence. The war reinforced assumptions of male superiority, because it was men who directly confronted the enemy and were most responsible for the nation's survival. War put a premium on men's lives, increased their prestige, cast them in heroic roles, and gave them advantages, such as a college education, not available to most women.

Yet the war did open to women some doors that were not completely closed when peace came. Women who stayed in the labor force, particularly those organized in labor unions, formed a critical link between women's wartime experiences and the resurgence of feminism in the 1960s. World War II's greatest impact on women's status and opportunities was in sowing the seeds of change: a growing acceptance of work outside the home for married women; increased attention to sex discrimination in the workplace; the great expansion of higher education that at

first put women at a disadvantage in relation to men but eventually provided a spark to feminism, and the shot in the arm that the war gave to the small and struggling women's rights movement. All of these changes would eventually work a deeper transformation in women's consciousness, ambitions, and opportunities in the 1960s and beyond.

1. The experiences of Marye Stumph, Tina Hill, and Charlcia Neuman are described in Sherna Berger Gluck, *Rosie The Riveter Revisited: Women, The War, and Social Change* (Boston, 1987).

2. D'Ann Campbell, *Women at War with America: Private Lives in A Patriotic Era* (Cambridge, MA, 1984), 72, 83.

3. Arguments for women's military service can be found in U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Military Affairs, *Hearings on H.R. 6293*, 1 and 4 May 1942, pp. 6-7; U.S. Congress, Senate, *Congressional Record*, 77th Cong., 2d sess., 17 March 1942, 2583, 2588; Mattie E. Treadwell, *The United States Army in World War II*, vol. 8, *The Women's Army Corps* (Washington, D.C., 1954), p. 20. While military officials stressed expediency, representatives of women's organizations emphasized women's right to full participation in all the responsibilities of citizenship.

4. Jane Norman Smith to Alice Paul, December 7, 1942, Smith Papers, Folder 119, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College; "Should Congress Approve the Proposed Equal Rights Amendment?" *Equal Rights* 31 (September-October 1945): 1.

5. Margaret Randolph Higonnet, et al, *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars*, (New Haven, CT), 4-17; Susan M. Hartmann, "Prescriptions for Penelope: Literature on Women's Obligations to Returning World War II Veterans," *Women's Studies* 5 (1978): 223-39.

6. Sidonie Matsner Gruenberg, ed., *The Family in a World at War* (New York, 1942), 1-20; Francis Merrill, *Social Problems on the Home Front* (New York, 1948), 25-48.

7. "The WAAC—The Girl Who Wouldn't Be Left Behind," *The Aframerican Woman* 3, nos. 1-2 (Summer-Fall 1942): 7; "WAC Public Relations Policies," 24 June 1944, Field Memos File, WAC Historical File, Record Group 165, National Archives; Posters and Newspaper Clippings File (1940-45), Records of the Recruiting and Advertising Section Relating to the Navy Recruiting Program, 1940-45, Record Group 24, National Archives; Office of War Information, *Women in the War for the Final Push to Victory* (1944), Records of the Women's Advisory Commission of the War Manpower Commission, Record Group 211, National Archives. See also films No. 208-160, 208-42, 111-M-933, 111-M-1000, 111-M-958, and 111-M-1030, Records of the Office of War Information.

8. Susan M. Hartmann, "Women in the Military," in Mabel E. Deutch and Virginia C. Purdy, *Clio Was A Woman: Studies in the History of American Women* (Washington, D.C., 1980), 198-200; Susan M. Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond: American Women in the 1940s* (Boston, 1982), 40-41.

9. Hildegard Fillmore, "Little Girl on a Big Plane," *McCall's* 70 (April 1943): 104; *Ibid.* (August 1943): 62, 87, and (March 1943): 31.
10. *Ibid.* 71 (July 1944): 31, and 70 (June 1943): 67; Amy Kesselman, *Fleeting Opportunities: Women Shipyard Workers in Portland and Vancouver During World War II and Reconversion* (Albany, NY, 1990), 109.
11. Maureen Honey, *Creating Rosie the Riveter: Class, Gender, and Propaganda during World War II* (Amherst, MA, 1984), 125.
12. Children's Bureau, "Policy of the Children's Bureau on the Care of Infants Whose Mothers Are Employed," December 1, 1944, Field Service Reports, Office of the Assistant Executive Director for Field Services, Records of the War Manpower Commission, Record Group 211, National Archives; *When You Hire Women*, Women's Bureau, Special Bulletin No. 14 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1944); Hoover quoted in Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York, 1988), 74.
13. Howard Dratch, "The Politics of Child Care in the 1940s," *Science and Society* 38 (Summer 1974): 175-77; Federal Works Agency, Bureau of Community Facilities, "Summary of Information on the Child Care Program Receiving Assistance under the Lanham Act," Papers of the Child Care Centers Parents Association, folder 6, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.
14. "National War Labor Board Policy on Equal Pay for Equal Work for Women," September 1945, Records of the Women's Bureau, 56-A-284, Box 1, National Archives. Citations for Women's Bureau records reflect their arrangement at the time of research. These records are now arranged in the customary manner.
15. Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond*, 60, 80-81; Karen Anderson, "Last Hired, First Fired: Black Women Workers during World War II," *Journal of American History* 69 (June 1982): 82-97.
16. Mary Elizabeth Pidgeon, "Women Workers and Recent Economic Change," *Monthly Labor Review* 65 (December 1947): 668; "Facts on Women Workers," May 31, 1947, 2, mimeographed publication of the Women's Bureau; Kesselman, *Fleeting Opportunities*, 112-13, 116-17.
17. Honey, *Creating Rosie the Riveter*, 121.
18. Ruth Milkman, *Gender at Work: The Dynamics of Job Segregation by Sex during World War II* (Urbana, IL, 1987), 106.
19. *Ibid.*, 115-16; Nancy Gabin, *Feminism in the Labor Movement: Women and the United Auto Workers, 1935-1975* (Ithaca, NY, 1990), 117-26.
20. Kesselman, *Fleeting Opportunities*, 133.
21. American Civil Liberties Union, "The Case for Equality in State Jury Service," May 1, 1966, 6, ACLU Records Microfilming Corporation of America, reel 24.
22. *The Legal Status of Women in the United States of America*, Women's Bureau Bulletin 157 (Washington, D.C., 1953), pp. 99-100; Dorothy Cobble, "Recapturing Working-Class Feminism: Union Women in the Postwar Era," in Joanne Meyerowitz, ed., *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960* (Philadelphia, 1994), 57-83.
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24. United States Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstracts of the United States, 1952* (Washington, D.C., 1953), 260-62; John M. Blum, *V Was for Victory: Politics and Culture during World War II* (New York, 1976), 141-44; Geoffrey Perrett, *Days of Sadness, Years of Triumph: The American People, 1939-1945* (New York, 1973), 371-73; "University Deans' Survey," *Journal of the National Association of Deans of Women* 7 (October 1943): 39.
25. National Manpower Council, *Womanpower* (New York, 1957), 197.
26. *Statistical Abstracts of the United States, 1949* (Washington, D.C., 1949), 122-23.
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28. Ethel Klein, *Gender Politics: From Consciousness to Mass Politics* (Cambridge, MA, 1984), 110-11.



One impact of World War II on women's status and opportunities was an increased acceptance of work outside the home for married women. (CHS Photograph Collection)