

A Recent History of the Massachusetts Union

Tradeswomen Movement

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For Labor Research with Professor Tom Juravich

Submitted December 1st, 2021

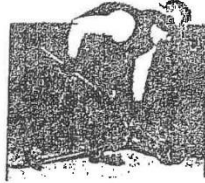
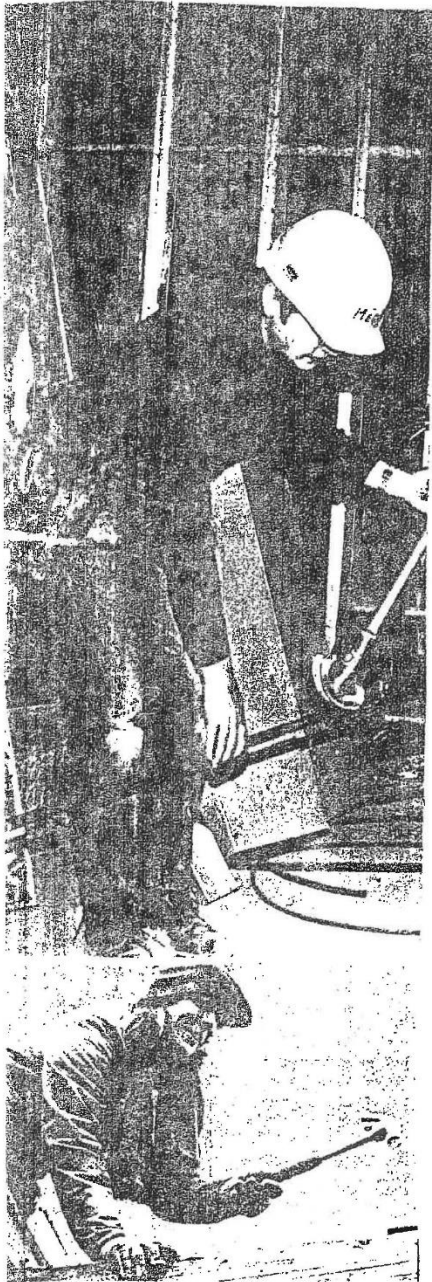
In 1978, President Jimmy Carter signed Executive Order 11246 requiring, among other policies for the advancement of marginalized communities, that 6.9 percent of hours worked on federally funded construction projects be worked by women (The American Presidency Project, 2021). The message was clear: tradeswomen and other marginalized groups of workers should have access to well-paying careers including in the construction industry. In President Carter's speech announcing his Executive Order and the reorganization of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, he establishes an argument for Equal Employment:

“Although discrimination in any area has severe consequences, limiting economic opportunity affects access to education, housing and health care. I, therefore, ask you to join with me to reorganize administration of the civil rights laws and to begin that effort by reorganizing the enforcement of those laws which ensure an equal opportunity to a job” (The American Presidency Project, 2021).

After the Executive Order's landmark policies, programs for the recruitment and training of tradeswomen sprang up and expanded across the country and interested women rushed to vocational programs and tradeswomen job fairs like the IBEW picture from 1979 below:

Women build your own future!

Learn the skills to become a highly
paid construction tradesperson.

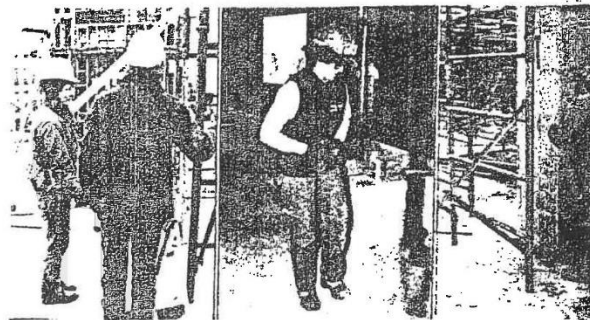


Electrical Construction Women's Conference

Date = Wed. Oct 24th 1979

Time = 8:00 pm

Place = Freeport Hall,
255 Freeport St Dorchester



(IBEW Tradeswomen Conference, 1979)

However, as recently as 2018, the number for Tradeswomen in the national construction workforce hovered at a meager %1.5, far from the goal of the national administration forty years prior (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2019). Despite the efforts of recruitment programs, tradeswomen organizations and the federal government, the barriers to training, integrating, and retaining tradeswomen have proved steep. These barriers, ranging from broad cultural issues to faulty enforcement and industry challenges have blocked tradeswomen's access to skilled construction crafts and economic empowerment offered by these wages and benefits. This paper will look at the challenges women have faced historically and continue to in accessing the exceptional benefits and wages of the union construction industry.

That said, there are signs of progress. Massachusetts Building and Construction Trade Unions in Massachusetts have reached a milestone: As of 2018, %10 of Building Trades Union Apprentices in Massachusetts are tradeswomen (Policy Group on Tradeswomen's Issues, 2020). Though this percentage only reflects the tradeswomen in the process of their 3-to-5-year apprenticeships, the progress and potential of this new union Tradeswomen Movement across Massachusetts, and the accompanying tradeswomen organizations and advocacy groups, reflect intention and strategy breaking down the barriers barring women from the construction industry.

Studying these techniques and the work done by recent tradeswomen, academics, advocacy groups and union officials could prove crucial to the advancement and retention of tradeswomen across the nation. As many of the interviewed tradeswomen in this paper will attest; this tradeswomen progress will not persist unless it is supported and empowered. Tradeswomen movements in the past have gained

similar traction. Following President Carter's Executive order, some states found their tradeswomen percentages climb as high as %6 percent (Moir and Skidmore, 2021). But lessons from past Tradeswomen Movements in the United States indicate that unless these real, systemic barriers to tradeswomen are addressed, the retention of tradeswomen will remain stagnant and disproportionately affected by the regular boom and bust of the construction industry.

There are many resources and advocacy groups, notably Massachusetts' Policy Group on Tradeswomen's Issues (PGTI), that have done extensive work outlining the problems limiting tradeswomen from joining and flourishing in the construction industry. This paper will utilize the research and testimony of PGTI and other tradeswomen organizations to identify several of the obstacles facing today's union tradeswomen and the strategies employed by the modern Massachusetts Union Tradeswomen Movement to combat them. It will also, most importantly, illuminate these trials and triumphs through the lived experiences of Massachusetts Union Tradeswomen themselves.

The path into the construction trades, particularly for union trades, is historically challenging and selective for a variety of factors, both from industry and from culture. The process into union trades have proved prohibitively difficult for generations of women. The experience and paths of these tradeswomen vary greatly by generation, trade and entry into their craft.

Renee Dozier, a 20-year union tradeswoman Electrician with the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 103 (IBEW 103) initially undertook four years of college for a Bachelor's degree in Criminal Justice before beginning her apprenticeship

as a union electrician. From a young age, Renee realized her capability for tradeswork, “I was eight years old. I put my day bed together and [my mother] came. She was like, ‘oh, okay, you finished’ and my stepfather came in to tighten the bolts. And he said ‘she did a good job.’ And that’s when I knew, ‘I can create something by hand’” (Dozier, 2021).

Later, Renee found work as a single mother assisting her father’s contracting work in residential projects around Greater Boston. From there, she applied to IBEW 103 and after months of doggedly following up with union leadership, was accepted as an apprentice into the union. Once in, Renee confronted the challenges, physical and otherwise, that her apprenticeship threw at her, “On my first day of work, I remember going to the job and the, the foreman tell me to bring this 1000 foot reel of wire up to the top floor with no showing me how to do it, or how to get it done? Like no body mechanics or anything. Yeah, I said, ‘Screw it. I’ll do it. You got the right one’” (Dozier, 2021) After years as an apprentice, then as a journeywoman electrician, Renee has recently been promoted to “Business Agent” in IBEW 103, a full-time staff role representing 103’s members and pursuing initiatives to advance and secure work for the union.

Deb Gilcoine, a Union Painter for 44 years with International Union of Painters and Allied Trades, District 35, (IUPAT DC 35), spoke of her journey to the trades, beginning with Boston Trade High School which she attended after it began accepting women with a wave of desegregation in Boston public schools that took place in the 70’s. Attending a Trade School that had previously barred women presented challenges to Gilcoine; when she initially applied for the auto mechanics program, the teacher

bluntly rejected her, saying, as Gilcoine painfully remembers, “my office is in the back of the shop and I can’t see what’s going on the floor. I can’t stop the boys from doing anything” (Gilcoine, 2021). Deb was directed to the Painting trade where she completed her schooling. After graduation, Deb was urged to apply to the Painter’s union by a teacher from school and was accepted in 1977. Shortly after, Deb found herself working on a massive de-leading job at Harvard University, which had “demanded they have diversity on their job sites” (Gilcoine, 2021).

Jenaya Pina Nelson joined the Laborers Union, Local 223 based in Boston, Massachusetts in 1998 and has been an active member of her local for over 23 years. A mother of 4 children, Jenaya persisted as a union laborer despite the difficulties presented to parents by the construction industry. Early work hours, typically starting at the jobsite by 6am, and extensive overtime for tight project schedules create significant barriers to tradeswomen mothers. In her time, Jenaya has seen many women “who left the trades, took care of kids, and came back five, ten years later. Whatever their situation is, [childcare] is huge” (Nelson, 2021). Jenaya, like each of the other tradeswomen interviewed for this paper, found herself able to continue work in the construction industry only because of the extensive support and availability of family for her children’s care.

Savy Francis, the youngest tradeswomen interviewed and an 8-year member with Pipefitters Local 537, began her career in 2013 after enrolling in the Building Pathways pre-apprenticeship program that exposed her to multiple union crafts and skills before the application process. Savy’s class in Building Pathways, “Cycle 3” was entirely composed of women and spent the weeks of the program touring union training

halls, learning foundational hands-on skills, and hearing from guest speakers like journeyman Pipefitter Julie Hemingway. Hearing Hemingway's story and practical advice was impactful for Savy, as was the encouragement of Pipefitter's 537 business agents and trainers, who ultimately inspired her to pursue her current career in Pipefitting. (Francis, 2021).

Building Pathways was created in 2015 by the former head of the MetroBTC (Boston Building Trades Council), later Mayor of Boston and now Secretary of Labor, Marty Walsh, with the intent to prepare people of color and women for entry into union apprenticeship programs (Moir and Skidmore, 2021). Since then, Building Pathways has established 40 percent of its participants have been women and 80 percent of graduates have entered union apprenticeship (Moir and Skidmore, p.192, 2021).

Despite the different backgrounds of the tradeswomen interviewed and the successes their careers represent, there are many existing challenges and barriers to tradeswomen in the construction industry. Far from the vision of President Carter nearly 40 years prior, working as the sole female on a jobsite, or as one of a handful in recent years, has remained standard. On one job, Jenaya mentioned, "There was probably a good 200 guys on the job. And I could honestly say there might have been four of us. So not that big of a deal. Common to me. Very common to me" (Nelson, 2021).

While each of the tradeswomen made a point to speak of the kindness and aid offered by union leaders and male allies, there was also discussion of the dynamics of being a tradeswomen in a male-dominated industry. Deb Gilcoine mentioned the rare occasion of violence between male and female coworkers but spoke more on the

curiosity and distancing that takes place between unsure men on the jobsite and their tradeswomen partners. Harassing language and identifying boundaries of harassment present a real challenge to tradeswomen. As Deb points out, if tradeswomen refute rough language on the jobsite, they run the risk of being labeled as “too sensitive” or fragile, potentially to the detriment of their reputation and work (Gilcoine, 2021). But at the same time, it is crucial for the few women on the jobsite to take pains to establish clear lines of comfort and safety (Gilcoine, 2021). When men toe these lines, either in direct challenge or out of ignorance, the reaction of male bystanders, union officials and tradeswomen allies are crucial to providing sufficient support for tradeswomen retention. Several unions, such as Ironworkers Local 7 have implemented specific worksite culture programs like the “Be That One Guy” intervention program to create a culture of solidarity against harassment. (Engineering News Record, 2020)

Some unions, like the Painters Union as Deb described, also require members to “self-solicit” work. Suddenly, the importance of approval and appearance of tradeswomen takes on new dimensions; to work in the construction industry, where layoffs are common between projects and specific phases, tradeswomen must contend alongside their union brother and sisters to be hired by contractors who very often bring along their own “core crews” between jobs. The risk of being seen chatting on the job or seeming weak possesses real threats to the consistency and stability of tradeswomen’s work. From several of the tradeswomen interviewed, this competitive dynamic amidst a male-dominated field has played a significant role in the separation and disenfranchisement of union tradeswomen.

There was a distinct difference in the stories of the tradeswomen between being the single woman on a jobsite or as one of multiple tradeswomen. Conversations between women on job sites tended to be supportive, usually sharing the Women's bathroom code or pertinent information, but also short. When asked about the difference between being the sole female on a jobsite versus working alongside multiple women, Jenaya's pointed to key issues facing tradeswomen, "...it was kind of awkward because I didn't know how to react at first. Because, you know, like I said, if there was another female in the job, it was like, you know, you don't want to get caught talking or feel like you know, 'you guys are doing the girl thing'" (Nelson, 2021). The line between being supportive or being *chatty* is dangerous to tradeswomen and the worksite relationships they keep. Regardless of the gregarious conversation of male union members or the solidarity and cooperation required by their trades, the dangers for tradeswomen of gaining a negative reputation or seeming ill-equipped for work are real and present threats.

In understanding the gains of tradeswomen in recent history in Massachusetts Building Trades Unions, the tradeswomen interviewed also had stories to tell of the male allies and supervisors they encountered and the difference their solidarity has made on worksite culture. Savy Francis, member of Pipefitters 537 spoke on the profound effects of her elder union peers and foreman's support, most notably as she worked pregnant well into her third trimester, " I always had an apprentice or somebody working with me just in case something happened. And the guys were just very helpful" (Francis, 2021). Savy. with a smile, recalled cooling off on a hot day on the job by pouring water on herself and the reaction of her nearby plumber friend who scrambled

to her aid, insisting that her water had broken. Though the experiences of tradeswomen vary greatly, the support Savy experienced from male foremen, supervisors and her union brothers seemed significant and hopeful for the future.

Similarly, Jenaya with the Laborers union related a story around properly flagging a jobsite, “I remember being on a job and the guys were like, ‘Oh, she can't do overtime, because she can't tag a crane.’ And I tell the story all the time, this guy was like, ‘Jenaya, be here at 6:30am and I'm going to show you how to tag a crane.’ He came with a tiny little pocket booklet of all the symbols to tag a crane. And he physically showed me how to do them so it wasn't just me looking at sketching. By the time the boss came around, he purposely had me tagging a crane in front of the other guys” (Nelson, 2021).

Working on a jobsite with a sizeable amount of women is a rare opportunity, but the stories offered by the interviewed tradeswomen showed glimpses of the transformative potential of working on multi-tradeswomen sites. When asked if Jenaya could identify a moment she felt the Tradeswomen Movement of Massachusetts “changed,” her answer was specific:

“...to be honest with you. I think I didn't notice it until about seven years ago. I was working at Edward M. Kennedy Institute. And there were 14 females on the job. Unbelievable. I couldn't even believe it. 14 females, different trades. laborers, carpenters, pipe fitters, electricians. I was like, ‘wow’, but it was a high-profile job. As I started speaking to different females, I realized a lot of these government funded jobs were gearing up the numbers. Even the schools like

Harvard. A lot of these colleges, Harvard, MIT, Northeastern; they were setting the numbers, it was a priority. It was a main priority. It was set into their project labor agreement that “this is what we want” (Nelson, 2021).

The difference felt by Jenaya on the Edward Kennedy Institute project, under a Project Labor Agreement (a pre-project collective bargaining agreement detailing workforce goals, grievance procedure, jurisdiction and etc.) where developers, end-users and unions monitored enforcement themselves is important. Project Labor Agreements are a core tactic of the current Massachusetts Union Tradeswomen Movement in groups like PGTI because self-enforced goals, monitoring and enforcement are bedrock in combatting the historic weakness in workforce enforcement by the government (Moir et al., p. 15, 2011)

President Carters’ 1978 Executive Order demanding a significant share of tradeswomen work hours on federally funded projects, while noble, has become emblematic of the problems that continue to plague workforce diversity initiatives and in particular, the construction industry. As detailed in *Unfinished Business: Building Equality for Women in the Construction Trades*,

“...EO 11246.. (as well as other regulatory requirements for equal employment opportunity) rest on the broad and ambiguous principle of “good faith efforts” by the covered parties rather than objective and measurable outcomes of the reduction of discriminatory practices.”

To make matters worse, the federal agency responsible for enforcement of these tradeswomen hours on federally funded projects, the Office of Federal Contract

Compliance (OFCCP) “has had such a light presence in the industry that it is unknown to many stakeholders” (Moir and Skidmore, 2021).

It deserves to be said, as discussed in *Organizing for Power: Boston* that the progress made in racial diversity in the construction industry following this wave of Equal Employment programs was significant (Moir and Skidmore, 2021). Increased enforcement of civil protections for people of color, government-backed diversity initiatives and changes in the labor market allowed large numbers of people of color into the construction industry. Between the late 1960s and 2020, the participation of people of color in the construction industry rose by approximately 27% (Moir and Skidmore, 2021).

The progress of integrating the hundreds of thousands of interested tradeswomen into construction, however, was stunted. The regular boom and bust cycle of construction, which often finds workers working intense, overtime hours on projects and then in stretches of unemployment as more work is secured, found women “the last to be hired and the first to be laid off” (Gilcoine, 2021). With government enforcement effectively non-existent, tradeswomen were left to the whims of the male-dominated construction industry and female rates remained low.

Compounding the challenges of government-enforcement workforce goals, many women have found themselves subject to “checkerboarding”. As described in *Unfinished Business: Building Equality for Women in the Construction Industry*, “They [tradeswomen] have been sent out to worksites solely to fulfill a requirement to fill a quota for women and, in the case of women of color, often to fill both the gender and

race quota. When the quota was filled or the hours counted, they were laid off regardless of their skills or work history” (Moir et al., 2011) Part of the effects of checkerboarding or other schemes to satisfy workforce requirements is a serious lack in consistency and skill-building that comes from repeated work on a set jobsite. Deb Gilcoine also mentioned having seen tradeswomen laid off from jobs once they’d reached journeyman status in their union, due to exploitative contractors seeking workers with apprentice pay rates.

Acknowledging this glaring vacuum of accountability, the Policy Group on Tradeswomen’s Issues along with building trade unions, contractors and community allies developed concrete tactics for workforce diversity enforcement as part of a larger “Supply and Demand” strategy (Moir and Skidmore, p. 195, 2011). Using Access and Opportunity Committees created within the union-negotiated University of Massachusetts: Boston Project Labor Agreement, tradeswomen advocates, union leaders and contractors were able to come together and intensively monitor tradeswomen percentages and provide the necessary enforcement. As a result, “...the first project under the UMass Boston PLA, the Edward Kennedy Integrated Sciences Complex (ISC), attained what no other project in Boston ever had. Women worked 10 percent of the work hours on the ISC every month of the 24 month it took to build it” (Moir and Skidmore, p.193, 2011)

Jenaya describes the connections she forged with the other women on the Edward Kennedy ISC project:

“All the women were completely amazing. They had no problem saying ‘hey,’...we actually got together one with one day and all went out at night, which was a way for us to [connect] outside of work... It was super important. And it was awesome. And that right there made me feel really, really good. But before that, it was kind of like the awkward silence like, ‘Hi’” (Nelson, 2021).

Connecting off-campus, on a job that enforced equal employment goals, afforded the group of tradeswomen a level of protection from the scrutiny of co-workers and project managers and allowed them to begin building relationships and support. From the stories of the interviewed tradeswomen, the importance of these bonds and the solidarity created by these intentional connections cannot be understated. Though building connections and friendships comes second-hand to Jenaya, the strength of these friendships with other pioneering tradeswomen have grown and persisted to this day.

The significance of this success and the “demand” component of PGTI laid the groundwork for replicating this internally policed strategy across the Commonwealth with willing developers. Most notably, the Massachusetts Gaming Commission (MGC) after the Expanded Gaming Act in 2011 which urged equal employment initiatives in the construction and maintenance of Massachusetts casinos, partnered with PGTI for a series of initiatives and projects around workforce diversity (Barringer, p.32 2019). Utilizing the same Access and Opportunity and internal enforcement strategy, the Encore Casino in Boston Harbor exceeded the President Carter %6.9 threshold with %7.2 tradeswomen and the MGM Casino in Springfield with %7 (Barringer, p.32 2019).

The Encore project in Boston Harbor had over 500 tradeswomen working in total, which is the largest recorded concentration on any single construction work site anywhere in the country (Moir et al., p.197, 2011).

The supply component of PGTI's strategy (more of which can be read in the group's manual *Finishing the Job*) relies on these end-user partnerships and AOC committees, but also contains intentional programs to help increase the number of tradeswomen and their competitiveness as skilled tradespeople. As a result of the partnership with the MGC, a "Build a Life MA" marketing campaign was created to create a website and advertising throughout Greater Boston featuring real tradeswomen and their stories to grow a database of interested women around the city. As the list of names grew, Susan Moir, former Director of Research and one of the chief architects of the Policy Group on Tradeswomen's Issues advocacy group, worked to involve and engage tradeswomen in the supply process around Greater Boston; "We've never wanted to do servicing. We've always wanted to do organizing" (Moir, 2021).

To do so, "Tradeswomen Tuesdays" was launched. Led by a panel of union tradeswomen from the "Tradeswomens' Speakers' Bureau", interested women attend monthly sessions where they hear informal, personalized testimony from women like themselves who work in the union construction industry. Of the tradeswomen interviewed in this paper, all except one are members of the Tradeswomen Speakers Bureau and have become practiced relaying their experiences to incoming women and in supporting their endeavors to join a trade. In addition to providing a stream of women eager to apply to union trade apprenticeships, Susan spoke to the larger importance of Tradeswomen Tuesday:

"You have to have a leadership development strategy. It's not just getting women into jobs, but it's really, you know, providing them with opportunities to use their voice... We're at 10.25% women and apprenticeship right now, it will not be sustained. But how will we sustain the momentum? How will we keep the brakes on regression? And what role will the women play in that? As I think about Tradeswomen Tuesday's, it's a critical piece of this" (Moir, 2021).

From the success of Tradeswomen Tuesday, the Build a Life MA marketing campaign and these larger, self-enforced projects employing larger concentrations of tradeswomen are unprecedented signs of networking and growth in the tradeswomen community. Chief among the successes is the Boston Union Trade Sisters Facebook page on social media. Boasting over 500 union tradeswomen, the Facebook page has taken off since its creation in February of 2021 and is moderated by a group of union tradeswomen of all different trades. The team of page administrators are Savy Francis with Pipefitters 537, Jenaya Pina Nelson with Laborers 223, Hieu Nguyen with Carpenters 327, Michelle Wright with Carpenters 328 and Heather Cabral with Electricians (IBEW) Local 103 (Francis, 2021).

The significance of this self-organized tradeswomen page is substantial. As Susan Moir said, "It's the network of women who are going to keep us at %7, or 8% [percentage of tradeswomen] when we fall back from the %10 in the crash. We're... going to have enough juice in the industry to see that the women are not laid off first" (Moir, 2021). Considering the "Last to Call, First to Lay Off" historical pattern for tradeswomen during economic downturns, self-organized tradeswomen pose potential strength in banding together and mustering political capital to ensure workforce goals

are maintained and enforced, but also that community and labor allies remain at the table. In addition, while PGTI and other advocacy efforts center tradeswomen in their work, they are oftentimes run by full time staff and attended by full time compliance officers and contractors whose duties and experiences vary greatly from women on the jobsite. This new network stands apart for its sheer quantity of Boston-based tradeswomen, the safe communication space it provides and its self-organized structure.

Savy Francis, one of the original creators of the page, says the communication it has opened is different than before. “A lot of these sisters are going to like another job site. And they're asking the group, ‘Oh, who's on this job site? How's the parking?’ They're not asking, ‘what's the code to the bathroom?’ like before. They're like, ‘hey, aren't you so and so, and we speak on the Boston union trade sisters page?’” (Francis, 2021). Jenaya Nelson recounts an experience in the elevator at a jobsite where two women nervously approached her, lighting up in excitement to realize she was “Jenaya from the Boston Union Trade Sisters Page” (Nelson, 2021). In addition to the Facebook page where women network and support each other while sharing helpful, construction-related advice, the small council of administrators also host monthly events to bring union sisters together in the community. Susan Moir, involved in the tradeswomen movement for decades, recounts the moment she saw this Boston Union Trade Sisters page and scrolled through its membership list, crying with pride because of how few women she recognized. Susan shared, “A year ago, I would have known each of them” (Moir, 2021).

While local organizing and networking among tradeswomen has grown in prominence and power in recent years around Greater Boston, national outreach and cooperation has grown as well. Launched in 2002, Tradeswomen Build Nations is an official program of North America's Building Trades Unions (NABTU) that convenes a conference for union tradeswomen in a different city of the United States each year (Tradeswomen Build Nations, 2021). Deb Gilcoine can recall the power she felt gathering at the 2017 "Women Build Nations" conference (the name of the conference has since changed to "Tradeswomen Build Nations") citing it as "one of the best things [she] ever did" (Gilcoine, 2021). During the conference, the General President of the Ironworkers international union (the national, umbrella organization for the Ironworkers union) heard from hundreds of union tradeswomen on the difficulties of childcare and as a direct result implemented a Paid Maternity Leave Policy for the Ironworkers union guaranteeing "six months of pre-delivery... benefits and six to eight weeks of post-delivery benefit" and highlighted "the challenges of physical work associated with the ironworking trade create unique health challenges that can jeopardize a pregnancy" (Iron Workers and Contractors Announce Paid Maternity Leave Benefit, 2017). The benefits of concerted efforts connecting tradeswomen locally and nationally have begun to bear fruit but like the retention of tradeswomen, will require institutional support and planning to achieve the empowerment and growth it offers.

In addition to the other methods and strategies employed by the advocacy and community branches of the tradeswomen movement, there is also work being done to promote tradeswomen and entry into union trades at the high school and vocational level in Massachusetts. "Massachusetts Girls in Trades" is an organization led by a

steering committee comprised of union staff, advocacy groups and vocational school administrators that hosts virtual events, career fairs and more to promote careers in union trades to young women in vocational schools (Massachusetts Girls in Trades, 2021). As identified the group, as well as the advocacy leaders who also hold positions in organizations like PGTI, is the importance of young women gaining construction skills early but also of illuminating the career potential of union wages and benefits.

In the year 2020, Massachusetts hitting the milestone of %10 tradeswomen apprentices became national news. Several members of the PGTI community received the Mark H. Ayers award from NABTU on their work advancing the cause of union tradeswomen (New England Real Estate Journal, 2019). But still, as outlined in this paper, the history of Tradeswomen Movement has proved the transition, integration, and retention of tradeswomen into the construction industry will be fraught with challenges. The testimony and experiences in this paper highlight large, systemic barriers to women's integration and equality in the construction industry, but also to the personal triumphs and empowerment of career tradeswomen and the organizations that support them.

The Policy Group on Tradeswomen's Issues (PGTI) use a simple mantra to open each of their meetings. In its words is the work exhibited by Massachusetts union tradeswomen and the spirit that will required to attain the equality and empowerment of women in the construction industry:

There is no silver bullet. We are in this together. We will never, never give up.

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