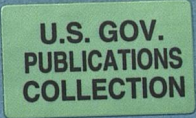


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SELECTIVE FACTORS IN AN EXPANDING LABOR MARKET: LANCASTER, PA.



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F. C. HARRINGTON
Administrator

CORRINGTON GILL
Assistant Administrator

NATIONAL RESEARCH PROJECT

on

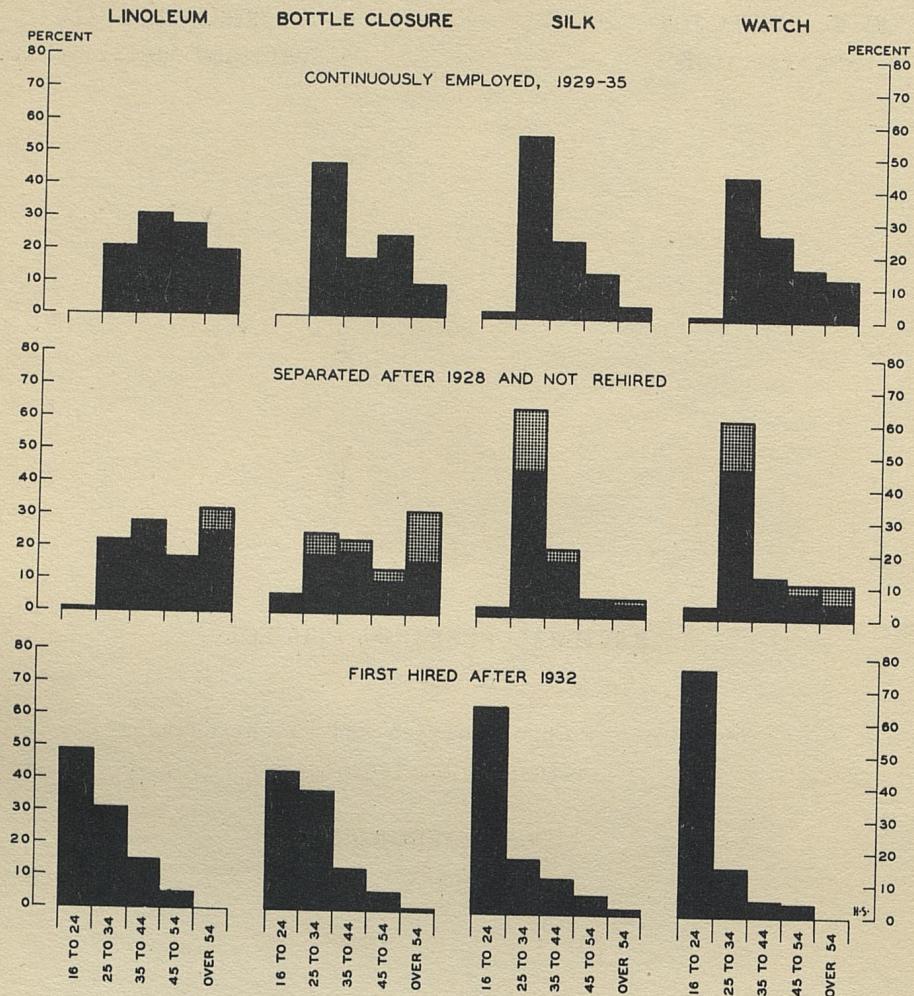
Reemployment Opportunities and Recent Changes
in Industrial Techniques

DAVID WEINTRAUB
Director

Studies of the Effects of Industrial Change on Labor Markets

WORK EXPERIENCE IN THE SAME PLANT, BY AGE OF WORKERS

(Percent of workers in each group)



WPA-NATIONAL RESEARCH PROJECT L-32

The level of employment reached a higher point in 1936 than in 1929 in each of the plants studied except that which makes silk goods. A considerable proportion of the workers in each plant lost employment during the depression and many were not rehired during the recovery years. The chart shows that the decline which occurred in employment between 1929 and 1933 and the subsequent increase affected differently the employment opportunities of workers in the different age groups. The differences in the relation between age and employment experience of workers at the silk and watch plants, where skilled and semiskilled occupations predominate, and at the linoleum and bottle-closure plants, where the work is mostly unskilled, are notable. At the silk and watch plants the workers who maintained employment continuously were older on the average than those who lost their jobs during the depression and were not rehired. At the linoleum and closure plants the workers separated and not rehired were older than those kept on continuously.

In all four plants the workers newly hired during the recovery period were considerably younger than those continuously employed or those who had been separated and not rehired. Furthermore, those who had been separated but rehired were also concentrated in the lower age groups.

A small proportion of the workers separated and not rehired were no longer seeking work in 1936. These were primarily women and older men, and their failure to seek employment does not necessarily indicate that they would not be available for employment should standards of hiring be relaxed. They are shown in the lightly shaded portions of the bars in the chart.

The ages are as of the end of 1936. The chart is based on tables A-19 to A-22 and A-28.

SELECTIVE FACTORS
IN AN EXPANDING LABOR MARKET: LANCASTER, PA.

*A Study of Employment Opportunities in
Four Manufacturing Plants in
Lancaster, Pa., 1928-36*

by

Edward J. Fitzgerald

WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION, NATIONAL RESEARCH PROJECT

Report No. L-4

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

June 1939

**THE WPA NATIONAL RESEARCH PROJECT
ON REEMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES AND RECENT CHANGES
IN INDUSTRIAL TECHNIQUES**

Under the authority granted by the President in the Executive Order which created the Works Progress Administration, Administrator *Harry L. Hopkins* authorized the establishment of a research program for the purpose of collecting and analyzing data bearing on problems of employment, unemployment, and relief. Accordingly, the National Research Program was established in October 1935 under the supervision of *Corrington Gill*, Assistant Administrator of the WPA, who appointed the directors of the individual studies or projects.

The Project on Reemployment Opportunities and Recent Changes in Industrial Techniques was organized in December 1935 to inquire, with the cooperation of industry, labor, and governmental and private agencies, into the extent of recent changes in industrial techniques and to evaluate the effects of these changes on the volume of employment and unemployment. *David Weintraub* and *Irving Kaplan*, members of the research staff of the Division of Research, Statistics, and Finance, were appointed, respectively, Director and Associate Director of the Project. The task set for them was to assemble and organize the existing data which bear on the problem and to augment these data by field surveys and analyses.

To this end, many governmental agencies which are the collectors and repositories of pertinent information were invited to cooperate. The cooperating agencies of the United States Government include the Department of Agriculture, the Bureau of Mines of the Department of the Interior, the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor, the Railroad Retirement Board, the Social Security Board, the Bureau of Internal Revenue of the Department of the Treasury, the Department of Commerce, the Federal Trade Commission, and the Tariff Commission.

The following private agencies joined with the National Research Project in conducting special studies: the Industrial Research Department of the University of Pennsylvania, the National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc., the Employment Stabilization Research Institute of the University of Minnesota, and the Agricultural Economics Departments in the Agricultural Experiment Stations of California, Illinois, Iowa, and New York.

WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION

WALKER-JOHNSON BUILDING
1734 NEW YORK AVENUE NW.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

F. C. HARRINGTON
ADMINISTRATOR

June 15, 1939

Colonel F. C. Harrington
Works Progress Administrator

Sir:

The city of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, is a relatively prosperous and growing industrial community located in the richest agricultural county in the country. As in other communities in the country, employment in Lancaster dropped sharply between 1929 and 1933, but by the fall of 1936 employment in the city had almost regained its 1929 levels. In some of the community's plants it was higher than it had ever been before. Yet the volume of unemployment remained of sizable proportions. Many of those formerly employed were out of work; some had shifted into industries and occupations that did not constitute their usual source of livelihood; many of those working in 1936 had only recently come of working age and had not been in the labor market in 1929. The report transmitted herewith analyzes the experiences of workers who had been employed in four of the city's plants in 1929 or were hired by them during the recovery years since 1933.

The four plants whose work forces were studied produced linoleum, watches, silk, and bottle closures. In each of these plants a majority of the workers became unemployed during the years after 1929. So far as those who kept their jobs are concerned, skill and experience were the important factors in their selection. Where these factors were unimportant because of the low level of skill required by the production process, it was the older worker who became unemployed.

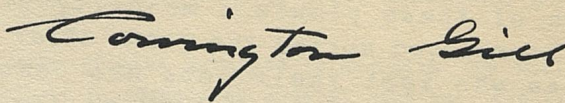
With recovery, employment in the four plants began to rise again. In three of the four plants the number of wage earners employed in 1936 exceeded the 1929 level. Some of the workers who had been laid off in the depression were rehired. In all cases,

however, the number rehired was less than half of those who had been let go. The watch plant, with a high percentage of skilled operations, took back the largest proportion of its former employees. The closure plant, where unskilled operations predominated and where a new process had been introduced, re-employed only a quarter of the workers who had been laid off. In the linoleum and closure plants it was the younger rather than the older worker who was rehired. Of those not rehired, the older workers generally had greater difficulty in finding other employment than did the younger workers.

The other side of this picture is that substantial numbers of workers new to each of the four plants and industries were hired during the recovery period. Most of these were young, many of them new entrants into the labor market. Of those hired since 1933, more than one-fourth in the closure plant, one-third in the linoleum plant, two-fifths in the silk plant, and three-fifths in the watch plant had entered the labor market after 1929. Furthermore, in spite of unemployment within the city affecting some of their own former workers, each of the plants was drawing in commuting labor from the agricultural areas outside the city.

The findings of this study thus throw light on the composition of the reserves of labor that have accumulated during the depression years 1930-32, on its relationship to the volume and incidence of unemployment in the period of recovery, and on the factors that affect the selection of workers retained during a period of depression or employed or reemployed in a recovery period.

Respectfully yours,



Corrington Gill
Assistant Administrator

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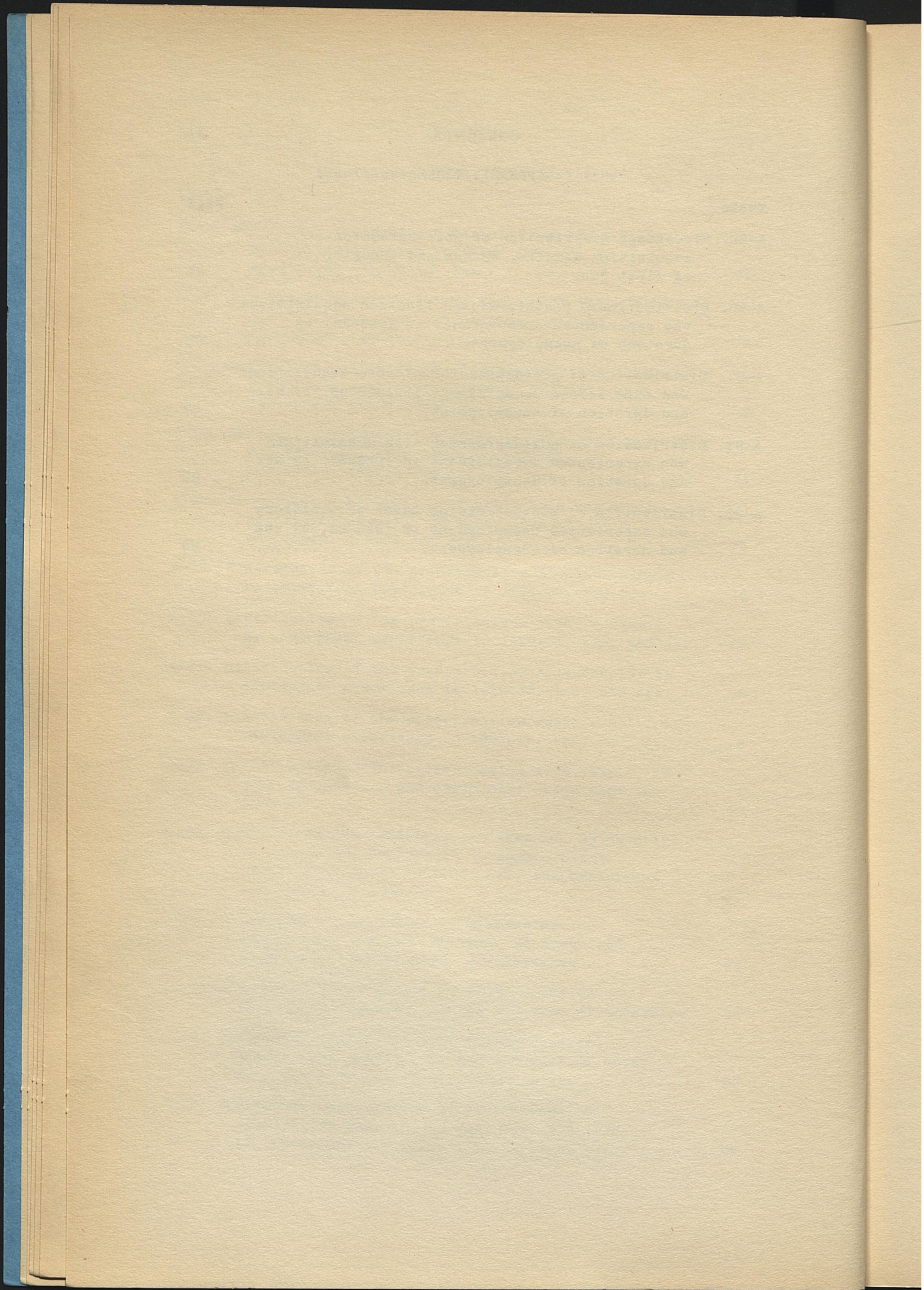
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PREFACE

The labor-market situation studied in this report is characterized by the fact that although the community's industrial enterprises draw their labor principally from the resident population, the surrounding agricultural region has been of great importance in offering the city's plants an opportunity to expand their labor supply by drawing on a reserve larger than that within the city. Between 1929 and 1933 the demand for labor in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, fell off sharply, and Lancaster, like most other communities, faced a severe unemployment problem. Most of the community's industries have, however, recovered rapidly since 1933, and in 1936 employment was almost at predepression heights. The major question posed in this study is: What, under the circumstances, were the reemployment opportunities of those workers who lost their jobs during the depression years of 1929-33?

The labor forces associated with four industrial plants in the city were selected for study. Each of the plants represented a slightly different situation. One had not shared appreciably in the recovery characteristic of the community and in 1936 was employing a labor force far smaller than the one it had employed in the predepression years. Another, though its employment in 1936 was at new heights, had undergone a technological change at the depth of the depression which rendered relatively valueless the experience of many of its former workers. In the two other plants employment was greater than ever before. One of these required predominantly semiskilled and skilled labor, the other semiskilled and unskilled labor.

The selection of workers who are kept, laid off, or hired is based on criteria which individual employers consider important from the standpoint of management controls and efficient production. Some of these criteria have their origin in the attempt to maintain or to establish a given policy of employer-employee relationship; others flow from a desire to accumulate a reservoir of labor attached to the plant; still others are founded on what are believed to be the requirements of the jobs. The preferences of individual employers, the needs of fluctuating production, and the changing technical requirements of the work to be done thus combine to alter the chances for

the reemployment of unemployed workers and to create opportunities for new entrants into the labor market.

The prevailing tendency to substitute machines for heavy unskilled labor as well as for human skills places a premium on speed, dexterity, and alertness and thereby forces age and experience to yield to youth either for greater adaptability or for wage economy. In this study special consideration is therefore given to the roles played in each of the four situations by the factors of age, sex, skill, and experience in the selection of workers who retained or lost their jobs during the depression and of workers who were reemployed during the subsequent recovery.

The study was made and the report prepared by Edward J. Fitzgerald under the direction of Irving Kaplan. Collection of field data for the study was initiated by John B. Knox and completed by Mr. Fitzgerald under the supervision first of Francis M. Vreeland and, later, of H. Paul Douglass. The completed manuscript was edited and prepared for publication under the supervision of Edmund J. Stone.

Acknowledgment is gratefully made to the executives and the personnel departments of the Armstrong Cork Company's two plants, the Hamilton Watch Company, and the Stehli Silk Company, who supplied both the lists of employees from which the samples were drawn and additional information of aid in interpreting the material gathered. A particular debt of gratitude is owed to all the workers who supplied the information upon which this report is based. The use made of the material and the conclusions drawn are solely the responsibility of the National Research Project.

DAVID WEINTRAUB

PHILADELPHIA

June 13, 1939

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE COMMUNITY

Industrial Growth

Lancaster, a city of 60,000 persons, is geographically and economically centered in the county of the same name, one of the richest in the United States, situated in the southeastern part of Pennsylvania. Historically, the city has developed gradually from the county seat of a predominantly agricultural region into an aggressive, though small, industrial community, while continuing to serve as the county's commercial center. Its industries are diversified, in general, prospering, and are, many of them, of national and even international importance. The Armstrong Cork Company, for example, is one of the world's leading linoleum manufacturers and produces twice the amount of linoleum manufactured by any other factory in the country. It is also one of the leading producers of bottle closures. The Stehli Silk Company, producers of broad silk and rayon, has a plant, one of the largest of its kind in America, on the outskirts of the city. The Follmer-Clogg Company is an outstanding producer of umbrellas; the Bearing Company of America produces a large portion of the ball bearings and ball retainers used in the automobile industry; the Hamilton Watch Company is one of America's outstanding producers of quality watches.

Although the growth of the city has not been of the mushroom variety characteristic of such a single-industry center as Detroit, its record of recent industrial development is in marked contrast to that of such cities as Paterson, New Jersey; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and the moribund centers of New England. In these latter communities a decline in industrial activity set in even prior to the industrial depression of the thirties. Lancaster's industrial activity, on the other hand, whether measured by volume or value of goods or by employment, was flourishing and expanding. Its peak was reached in 1929, when the depression interrupted its persistent record of

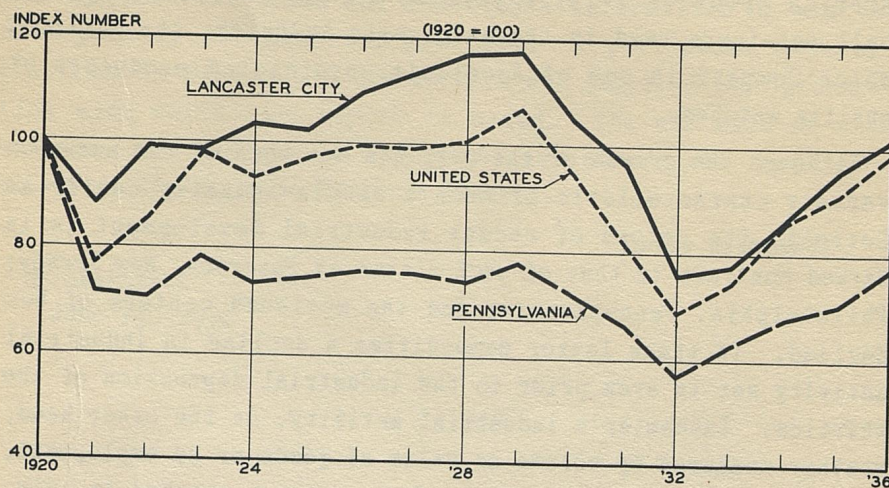
Note.- The author wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to David N. Cohen who prepared the tables, and to Alice Rush who assisted in the preparation of the manuscript.

EXPANDING LABOR MARKET

growth. Yet evidence that it retains that capacity for expansion regarded as an intrinsic attribute of the general American economy is afforded by the fact that by 1937 it was one of the cities that had recovered to about predepression schedules of production.

In the quarter-century between 1904 and 1929 the number of industrial employees reported by Lancaster manufacturing plants to the Pennsylvania Department of Internal Affairs almost doubled.¹ In the 1920-29 decade of mounting prosperity when Pennsylvania as a whole showed a decline of 22 percent in the number of employees in manufacturing industries and when employment in United States manufacturing increased by only 7 percent, employment in Lancaster manufacturing rocketed to a point 17 percent above its 1920 average. The depression reversed this trend temporarily, and industrial employment dropped in 1932 to a point 24 percent below its 1920 average. Thereafter it began again to climb, reaching in 1936 a point above its 1920 average although still markedly below its 1929 record. Moreover, many of its leading factories were employing in December of 1936 a larger force than ever before

Figure 1.- INDEXES OF MANUFACTURING EMPLOYMENT
IN THE UNITED STATES, PENNSYLVANIA,
AND LANCASTER, 1920-36



BASED ON TABLE A-1

WPA - NATIONAL RESEARCH PROJECT L-33

¹In 1904 there were 9,432 employees reported employed in Lancaster's factories; by 1929 the number had grown to 16,625 (*Lancaster* [Lancaster: Lancaster Chamber of Commerce, mimeo.], p. 8).

in their history. By contrast, Pennsylvania manufacturing employment, though it recovered to its 1929 level, was still 23 percent below its 1920 record; United States industrial employment was 8 percent below its 1929 record and 1 percent below its 1920 average.. (Table A-1 and figure 1.)

The Labor Supply

Prior to 1929 the growth in the population of Lancaster city was in no way commensurate with the growth in the demand for labor. In the years between 1900 and 1930, although the city's industrial labor force alone showed an increase of almost 75 percent, its population increased by but 45 percent.² The greater part of this increase was natural. In other words, in meeting the expansion in demand for industrial labor the city's industries relied neither on the immigration movement so basic to the development of many American industrial centers nor on the wholesale internal migration movement by which the surplus agricultural population has more recently fed the increasing labor needs of our cities. The city, despite the high rate of expansion of labor demand, met its needs by methods conditioned by its nature and location.

In the first place, Lancaster, like many other American cities, was able to extend its use of the usual secondary sources within its resident population. In the decade between 1919 and 1929, for example, women workers in its industries increased in number by 26 percent, whereas the number of men increased by 14 percent.³ More important is the fact that the city has been able to tap the labor forces that constantly improving agricultural techniques were releasing in the surrounding farm area without bringing any appreciable proportion of them into the cities as residents.

Lancaster County is a richly endowed agricultural region, one of the most fertile in the country, and under the intensive cultivation of its predominantly Germanic settlers, it has been among the most productive. For over 50 years it led all of the 3,000 counties of the Nation in the value of its farm produce,

²U. S. Census reports a population increase from 41,459 in 1900 to 59,949 in 1930 (table A-2). According to the Pennsylvania Department of Internal Affairs, industrial employees rose from 8,481 in 1899 to 14,806 in 1930.

³Pennsylvania Department of Internal Affairs figures show an increase from 4,390 female workers in 1919 to 5,531 in 1929, and from 9,770 male workers in 1919 to 11,094 in 1929.

and only in 1930 did it yield first place to Orange County, California. In Pennsylvania it leads all counties in the value of both its total crop and its livestock products and produces 90 percent of the tobacco raised in the State.⁴ Fifty-eight percent of its farms, compared with 42 percent of the farms in the country as a whole, are mortgage free.⁵ The economic pressure on the excess farm population to join in the migration flow to more distant industrial centers has thus been less than in many agricultural regions. At the same time an integrated transportation system, with over 200 miles of trolley and bus lines radiating throughout the county, has permitted employment in Lancaster's industries to supplement the basic family income derived from farming.

The importance of this extra supply of labor, both quantitative and qualitative, has been well recognized by the community's enterprises. The Chamber of Commerce, in its bulletin designed to show the attractiveness of Lancaster as an industrial center, points to the fact that Lancaster is able to draw "its labor supply not only from the City and immediate environs but from the entire County." This statement is followed by the announcement that "the open shop generally prevails", and that labor is less "troublesome" and wage rates "generally lower" than in more highly concentrated industrial regions.⁶

It is difficult to estimate the actual extent of the use that has been made of this rural reserve by the industries of the city. It is, however, notable that although Lancaster's manufacturing industries employed in 1930 an average of 14,806 persons, in April of that year only 13,306 persons employed in manufacturing and mechanical industries resided in the city.⁷ When the fact is taken into account that some of these residents commuted to industries located outside the city limits,

⁴*Little Journeys Through "America's Garden Spot"* (Lancaster: Lancaster Chamber of Commerce), pp. 23, 29.

⁵*Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, "Agriculture"* (U. S. Dept. Com., Bur. Census, 1932), vol. II, pt. 1, pp. 47, 390.

⁶*Lancaster*, Lancaster Chamber of Commerce, p. 11.

⁷Number of persons employed in manufacturing and mechanical industries derived from *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, "Unemployment"* (U. S. Dept. Com., Bur. Census, 1931), vol. I, pp. 44, 286. Of the 14,214 gainful workers in manufacturing and mechanical industries in Lancaster, 720 persons in unemployed classes A and B plus 188 persons estimated to be in unemployed classes C to E have been deducted. This latter figure was obtained by determining the proportion that gainful workers in mechanical and manufacturing industries were of total gainful workers in Lancaster and applying it to persons in classes C to E in all industries in Lancaster.

the presumption that the rural residents formed an appreciable part of the labor supply of the city seems justified.

Unemployment

When the depression interrupted the tendency of Lancaster industries to expand, the community first faced the problem of wholesale unemployment. The situation described above mitigated its effects at least temporarily, since some of the labor supply could subsist upon the farms from which it had been commuting. But in general the effect of unemployment upon the community was similar to that felt in regions less fortunate, though less extreme. In 1930, when industrial employment in Lancaster fell to a point 11 percent below its 1929 level (table A-1), 4 percent of the city's gainful workers were reported involuntarily unemployed. This compares favorably with the 7 percent reported for the country as a whole.⁸ By 1934 the proportion of persons involuntarily unemployed in Lancaster had mounted to 20 percent of the employable population, a figure less than that usually estimated for the United States as a whole but still presenting to the community a real depression problem.⁹ Even in 1936, when pay rolls had again returned almost to predepression levels and in many plants had touched new records, there remained a large residual group of unemployed. Nine hundred and twenty-three cases, or 2,547 persons, were receiving relief in the city area.¹⁰ In 1937, furthermore, 3,404 persons reported themselves totally unemployed or on work relief, and an additional 1,042 reported themselves to be partially unemployed.¹¹ Together, these constituted 17 percent of the gainful workers in the population as reported in the 1930 census. The natural expansion of the labor market, both within and without the city, would have made the creation of such an unemployed group inevitable even with a return to predepression employment records.

According to a statement made by the director of the State Employment Service, depression unemployment affected most

⁸Unemployed includes classes A and B. See *ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 6, 36.

⁹Florence M. Clark, "Unemployment Survey of Lancaster, 1934," *Monthly Labor Review*, Vol. 40, No. 5 (May 1935), pp. 1181-4.

¹⁰Data obtained from unpublished survey of relief cases as of August 19, 1936, made by Lancaster County Emergency Relief Administration.

¹¹*Census of Partial Employment, Unemployment, and Occupations: 1937* (Washington, 1938), vol. III, p. 244.

drastically the unskilled workers, particularly textile workers, and the older workers.¹²

A comparison of unemployment within the city with that in the county as a whole indicates that the city suffered more than the regions surrounding it. Whether this is due to an increase in unpaid labor on the farm, to a discrimination in favor of rural residents in employing, or to the spreading through the county of satellite industrial communities could not be determined.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The onset of the depression, with its violent contraction in the demand for workers, inevitably produced pronounced differences in the work experience of members of the community. Some, it is known, lost employment immediately and up to the date of this study had not been reemployed. Others continued in more or less regular employment. Still others moved from one activity to another. What factors in the industrial situation determined the differentials in their work experience? What part did age, experience, skill, or occupation play in maintaining persons in jobs throughout the depression or in enabling them to secure other jobs? What effect did natural growth of the labor reserve or geographic extension of the labor market have on the reemployment opportunities of pre-depression workers? What were the characteristics of those who were being hired in the recovery period, and how did they differ from those of the persons who had been working before the depression? This study was designed to answer as many of these questions as possible by an analysis of the detailed employment and unemployment histories of Lancaster's industrial workers.

SAMPLING PROCEDURE AND PLAN OF THE STUDY

In order to evaluate the influence of various selective factors in determining employment and reemployment, the labor forces of four of the major plants in the city were selected for study. These plants manufacture linoleum, bottle closures, silk and rayon broad goods, and watches, and together employ

¹²Information obtained in an interview with Mr. Wickert, director of Lancaster State Employment Office, in January 1937.

over one-third of the workers of all manufacturing enterprises in the city. Pay-roll samples were drawn for two groups of production workers associated with each of the four plants.

The first group represents predepression production workers. The sample was drawn from a list of all persons who had been employed in each of the four plants on a specified predepression date. For linoleum, closure, and watch workers the date selected was November 1, 1928, or the nearest available pay-roll date in November. The pay rolls of the silk plant for November 1928 were not available, and the nearest available date, January 1, 1929, was chosen. Samples of these pay-roll lists were then taken by a random selection of the names thereon drawn in the following proportions: linoleum, 25 percent; closure, $66\frac{2}{3}$ percent; silk, $33\frac{1}{3}$ percent; and watch, 25 percent. The proportions chosen differed in order that the number of persons in each sample might be sufficiently large to permit statistical analysis. As finally compiled, the linoleum sample list contained the names of 495 workers, the closure list 219 workers, the silk list 443 workers, and the watch list 258 workers. The purpose of selecting workers in this manner was to secure a sample which would permit a study of the characteristics of the labor forces as they were constituted before the depression and an analysis of their experience through the depression.

The second group represents those production workers who were placed on the pay rolls of the selected plants subsequent to the low point in labor demand in the community. From the active pay rolls of November 1936, lists were compiled of all persons whose attachment to the pay roll had been made subsequent to January 1, 1933. These lists included, in addition to workers whose first attachment occurred after January 1, 1933, some workers with previous experience in the plant who had been separated before November 1936 and subsequently rehired after January 1, 1933. The samples drawn from these lists comprised 314 linoleum workers, 239 closure workers, 265 silk workers, and 224 watch workers. They had been selected at random from the full lists in the following proportions: linoleum, 20 percent; closure, $33\frac{1}{3}$ percent; silk, 50 percent; and watch, 25 percent.

Addresses for the persons on the lists were secured from the company files, from city directories, and from fellow workmen.

The enumerating area was defined to include the entire county of Lancaster, and a corps of trained interviewers called at the workmen's homes in December 1936 and January 1937. The schedules filled in contain information on the social and industrial characteristics of the persons interviewed, a detailed history of their employment and unemployment from January 1, 1926, to the date of enumeration, information on their first job, and information on their longest job prior to 1926 for those who had been in the labor market earlier than that.¹³ Jobs or periods of unemployment of less than 1 month's duration were not counted.

Although it was possible to secure schedules for about 95 percent of the persons on each of the postdepression lists, persons on the predepression sample lists proved more difficult to locate. Some had moved; many of the women had married and changed their names; addresses, particularly those of the silk workers, proved inadequate. Schedules were finally secured for 378 of the 495 persons on the linoleum predepression lists, 164 of the 219 closure workers, 210 of the 258 watch workers, and 337 of the 443 silk workers. Thus 75 percent or more of the persons on each of the predepression sample lists are represented in this study. Deaths or refusal or inability to give information accounted for some of the persons not represented by schedules. A small proportion of each group - 4 percent of the linoleum workers, 5 percent of the closure workers, 3 percent of the silk workers, and 9 percent of the watch workers - were reported to have moved from the enumerating area. In addition, 9 percent of the linoleum workers, 11 percent of the closure workers, 17 percent of the silk workers, and 6 percent of the watch workers proved completely untraceable.¹⁴

Three factors indicate that failure to secure information from these persons does not necessarily reflect removal from the enumerating area. For some of them the company files had contained no addresses. Many of them for whom there were addresses were reported to be living on back roads in the country to which it was impossible to trace them. The majority were women, and a change of name in the preceding 8 years might

¹³For copy of schedule and definitions of terms used see appendix B.

¹⁴For a detailed accounting of the enumeration see table A-3.

account for failure to locate them. When these considerations are coupled with the fact that the county has characteristically not been affected by heavy emigration, the presumption seems justified that the data obtained are not appreciably biased in favor of the geographically more stable workmen.

The following chapter will present the salient features of each industrial situation studied and the characteristics of the workers on the predepression pay rolls. This will be followed by an analysis of the depression experience of these workers. The fourth chapter will contain an analysis of the characteristics of the persons on the November 1936 pay roll who had come on during the recovery period, together with a comparison with the predepression group.

CHAPTER II

PREDEPRESSION LABOR FORCES OF SELECTED INDUSTRIAL SITUATIONS

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SITUATIONS

Each of the four plants whose labor forces were selected for study is representative of an industrial situation in which different factors capable of affecting the experience of the workmen have predominated. In one, technical requirements of the work have precluded the employment of women, whereas in another there has been an increasing tendency to use women. The general level of skill has been different in each of the industries; in two, marked technical changes were introduced in the middle of the depression period, and in the others the changes which were made were small and insignificant. The activity of one of the plants was declining even before the depression; in the other three activity and demand for labor by the end of 1936 was greater than it had ever been. Three of the plants are the only ones in the region producing their particular product; the other is 1 of 14 in the same industrial group. The more detailed differences of the four situations selected are noted below.

Linoleum Workers

In terms of the demand it makes upon the available labor supply, linoleum manufacture is perhaps the most important industry in the community, accounting for about one-fifth of all the male industrial workers employed in the city in the last 15 years. From 1907, when the Armstrong Company first opened its linoleum manufacturing plant in Lancaster, the number of workers employed increased steadily as the company contrived to meet more and more of the country's demand for linoleum. The progress of the company to its present position as the country's "No. 1 producer of linoleum"¹ was accompanied by a steady advance in the technique of manufacture, a development of subsidiary products to meet the competition of cheaper

¹"Armstrong Cork," *Fortune*, Vol. XV, No. 5 (May 1937), p. 102.

flooring materials such as oilcloth, and a vast expansion of Lancaster activity.

The predepression peak in the company's local demand for labor was reached in October of 1929, when there were 2,400 men on its production pay roll. With the depression there was a contraction in demand for the company's products. Inventories were reduced and production radically cut down. Employment fell steadily from its 1929 monthly average of 2,362 employees to its low in 1932 of 1,091 employees, or less than half of the predepression peak. In March and April of 1933 employment was at its lowest, only 37 percent of the 1929 average. Thereafter it increased slightly, with the sharpest gains reported in 1935 when the employment mounted between January and December from 59.7 percent to 86.2 percent of the 1929 average. By the end of 1936 a new high in employment of 2,471 persons was reported. This is 4.6 percent higher than the 1929 average and 3 percent higher than the predepression peak.² Thus the changes in the demand for labor by the linoleum plant followed closely the general cyclical swing of business.

The mass-production method used in the manufacture of linoleum in the Lancaster plant determines the qualitative nature of the labor required. The high degree of mechanization that has been prevalent for a long time now has meant that the vast majority of the workers could be unskilled or semiskilled. There are no educational requirements, and for the small proportion of skilled workers necessary a training and apprenticeship arrangement is maintained. Similarly, the scale of production and the heaviness of the materials used have necessitated the exclusive use of men. As a company policy, however, no Negroes were employed except in service occupations. Hours of work were standardized at 8 per day, 5 days per week. Wages were paid on a time basis, the rates being determined by a complex of factors: skill of the operation, hazards involved, value of materials, and the like.

Until the end of the period covered by this study, unions had been an unimportant factor in the employment history of the linoleum workers. Only one attempt was made to break with the established company policy of paternalism. In 1933 a union affiliated with the National Furniture Workers Industrial Union

²Data were supplied by the Armstrong Cork Company. The figures for each month refer to average daily employment in the production departments.

was organized and speedily achieved a membership reported in excess of 1,000 members. It did not succeed in maintaining this strength, however. The liquidation of the Trade Union Unity League with which the N. F. W. I. U. was affiliated, the loss of leaders through lay-off and firing, and the strategic maneuvering of a company-sponsored workers' association all undermined and reduced its support. Though it applied for and received a charter in the American Federation of Labor in May, 1935, its membership subsequently dropped so low that in November of that year it surrendered its charter.

Closure Workers

The manufacture of closures or bottle stoppers of various types does not demand the same volume of workers needed by the linoleum plant. The closure plant has had, however, a long and important connection with the community's labor market. In 1897 the Armstrong Company purchased the Lancaster Cork Works and has since then carried on much of its closure production in the city.

For a number of years prior to 1930 employment in the closure plant, according to personnel records, did not rise above 375. It declined rapidly during the depression, and in 1932 the average employment was only 185. Thereafter it rose to 578 in 1936, the high point in its history to that date. (Table A-4.)

The low year of employment, 1932, marked also a radical change in production. A large part of the plant was shut down for a brief period, and the cork-stopper manufacture, which had been dwindling in importance, was transferred to Pittsburgh and replaced in Lancaster by the company's newest activity, the manufacture of bakelite closures. At the present time bakelite closures and metal-crown tops are the principal products manufactured in the Lancaster closure plant. Thus changes in the size of the labor demand of the closure plant over the last decade have been affected not only by the force of the depression but also by a shift in the nature of its product.

As in the linoleum plant, the workers used in the closure plant have been predominantly unskilled or semiskilled operators. The production of either cork stoppers, metal-crown tops, or bakelite closures has been, in most stages, mechanized to a degree which requires workmen primarily as attendants or feeders of machines. Punch-press operators predominate,

and the only operation that the personnel office classes as skilled, that of molder, was introduced with the transition to the bakelite closures. For the majority of jobs in the plant, little more than a week of practice is required to bring a new workman up to normal output, according to the personnel manager.

In one important respect, however, the kind of labor required differs from that of the linoleum plant. The lightness of the work permits the use of women workers. These have been primarily used as punch-press operators or checkers. In this respect the tacit policy has developed on the part of the personnel office to give preference in employment to unmarried women. The same policy as in the linoleum plant applies to Negro workers.

No labor union has ever succeeded in establishing itself among closure workers.

Silk Workers

Stehli and Company is the largest of 14 firms in Lancaster County devoted to the manufacture of silk and rayon goods. It employs more than one-third of the silk workers in the county³ and is one of the oldest plants in the county.

The company established itself in Lancaster city in 1897, when one mill with 300 looms was opened. Early in the 1900's another mill was opened in High Point, North Carolina, and in 1907 still another in Paterson, New Jersey. The Paterson mill was closed, however, in 1912 because unsettled labor conditions in that area became a problem. At the same time the Lancaster mill was expanded and in 1913 it was operating over 1,100 looms.

In 1920 Stehli opened a plant in Harrisonburg, Virginia, and in 1925 one in Waynesboro, Virginia, and one in Manheim, Pennsylvania. This last mill, along with the High Point mill, was closed in 1937. Meanwhile the Lancaster mill had been enlarged still further so that in 1934, the last year for which loomage was reported, it had 1,350 looms. It has, throughout the company's history, been Stehli's largest and most important mill.

³*Eighth Industrial Directory of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* (Pa. Dept. Internal Affairs, Bur. Statistics, 1935), pp. 353-4.

Stehli products consist largely of broad silks and dress goods, with an increased emphasis on novelty weaves in the last decade. Products go mainly to the New York markets where, since 1930, the company's main offices have been located.

In recent years the company has responded to the competition of rayon, generally unsettled conditions, and the declining demand for silk. After competing unsuccessfully with rayon fabrics, Stehli began to produce rayon goods late in 1932. Simultaneously, a series of other technological changes were initiated and hastened; all contributed in some degree to a reduction in the amount of labor required per unit of product. Automatic looms which had been introduced in 1931 replaced many of the older types of looms. Cone creels replaced spool creels. By 1936, Pirn and automatic looms together accounted for the great bulk of the plant's product.

Thus two factors - the difficult state of the textile industry generally and the increasing productivity in the Stehli mill - have directed the changes in the labor demand of the Lancaster plant over the last 20 years. Fluctuations in demand are notable from 1920 on. In 1921 the company reported to the Pennsylvania Department of Internal Affairs an average employment of 1,625 persons; in 1924 there were almost 500 less. In 1927 employment was again about 1,600. Thereafter, production, employment, and wages declined rapidly through the depression years. In 1935, according to the company's personnel records, the average number employed was 892 persons. A year later it was 943 (table A-4). Even for 1937 they reported only 1,057 employees to the Pennsylvania Department of Internal Affairs.

In general, the Stehli plant has been able to regard a large portion of the Lancaster labor supply as potential members of its labor force. Its long history in the community and the presence in the region of other silk or textile plants have contributed to the supply of the more skilled workmen it might need, such as weavers, loom fixers, and the like. It has been able, along with all the other community enterprises, to recruit new workers from the general supply for its less skilled occupations. It has, further, no policy restricting the use of workmen because of sex, color, nativity, education, or marital status. In addition, it was able successfully to resist attempts to unionize its workers, at least up to the time when this study was initiated. During the 1934 textile

strike the company claimed it was able to run at full capacity, although there was at least one outbreak of violence at the plant during the strike period. Although other mills in the county were closed down for a time, the Stehli mill remained open.

Watch Workers

Like the other activities, watchmaking has had a long history of association with Lancaster. In 1874 a watchmaking factory was started there by Messrs. Adam and Perry. Their company was reorganized in 1878 into the Lancaster Watch Company and again in 1886 into the Keystone Standard Watch Company. Finally, in 1892 the Keystone Standard was merged with the Aurora Watch Company of Illinois, and the resulting organization was incorporated under the name of Hamilton Watch Company.⁴ Sale of company stock to the amount of \$350,000 provided the initial capital of the corporation. Since then the company has grown steadily. New plants in other sections of the country have from time to time been added and dropped as requirements necessitated. The Lancaster plant has been, in general, the most important of the company's manufacturing establishments.

Between 1928 and 1933 Hamilton also operated the Illinois Watch Company in Springfield, Illinois, employing a number of workers equal to that in the Lancaster plant, but the depression forced the sale of the Springfield plant and about 100 of its 1,200 workers were transferred to the Lancaster plant. From 1929 the Hamilton Company has also operated the Hamilton-Sangamo plant in Springfield, Illinois, manufacturing electric clocks.

Although Lancaster activity expanded steadily until 1929, the depression not only necessitated the sloughing off of some subsidiary plants but also brought sharp reductions in the size of the force employed in Lancaster. The labor force employed by the plant was 1,206 in 1930 and had fallen to 822 by 1933. The subsequent recovery brought with it a marked expansion in production and prosperity. In November of 1936 accumulated back dividends were paid to stockholders, and in December of that year a bonus of 1 week's salary and a 5-cent-per-hour

⁴H. M. J. Klein, Editor in Chief, *History of Lancaster County* (New York: Lewis Publishing Co., 1924), Vol. II, pp. 674-7.

increase was granted to the employees. In 1937 a new wing was added to the plant to permit greater expansion of production, and in that year the plant reported an employed force of 2,007 persons (table A-4).

The Lancaster plant produces a variety of watches of 17 jewels or more and other timing and recording devices. The company has for a long period conducted national advertising campaigns which stress the accuracy and reliability of the Hamilton product. Between 1911 and 1927 it increased its output by 500 percent. Increasing production has been accompanied by a series of small changes in processes, thus permitting a large-scale production. In recent years no radical change has been introduced, although a variety of timing and recording devices have obviated the necessity for inspectors with the degree of skill formerly required. A number of automatic machines have been introduced for the production of some of the watch parts. The result of these gradual changes has been, according to the personnel department, a gradual reduction in the amount of skilled labor required. In general, however, the level of skill of watch workers is higher than that of most other manufacturing employees in the community. If closure and linoleum work may be said to require unskilled workmen predominantly, and silkwork semiskilled workmen, watchmaking requires predominantly semiskilled to skilled workmen.

Because of this fact and because the company has successfully maintained a relatively liberal, paternal attitude toward its workmen, the labor force in the plant enjoys a greater prestige in the community than does that of any other manufacturing group. In addition, the company has required of workers in most departments a high-school education, although formal education contributes little to the mechanical skill needed. An increasing proportion of women are employed, particularly as machine operators, although the principal skilled job in the process, that of assembler, is carried on only by men. As a further policy, the company does not employ married women.

Summary

The nature of the four situations in which the workmen to be studied were involved may be briefly summarized: In none of the plants were there any union restriction on sharing work,

seniority, and the like. Rather did the employers maintain, throughout the period covered, almost complete freedom to exercise whatever personnel policy they chose and to pick and choose without restriction in the available labor supply. All four plants experienced a sharp contraction in production and labor demand during the depression. Linoleum, closure, and watch had, however, recovered and expanded their demand to new heights by the end of 1936. Only the silk plant in which a decline had set in even before the depression failed to recover to predepression levels although some measure of recovery occurred even there. In neither the linoleum nor the watch plant was any marked technical change introduced. The closure plant, however, interrupted production in 1932 to accomplish a transfer from the manufacture of cork stoppers to bakelite closures. In the same year the silk plant introduced the manufacture of rayon fabrics; it also steadily replaced older types of looms with automatic looms. The linoleum and closure plants required predominantly unskilled labor throughout the period covered; the silk plant required mostly semiskilled labor, though the level of skill required was steadily reduced; the watch plant required mostly semiskilled and skilled labor, though again the standards of skill required were reduced by an accumulation of small technical changes.

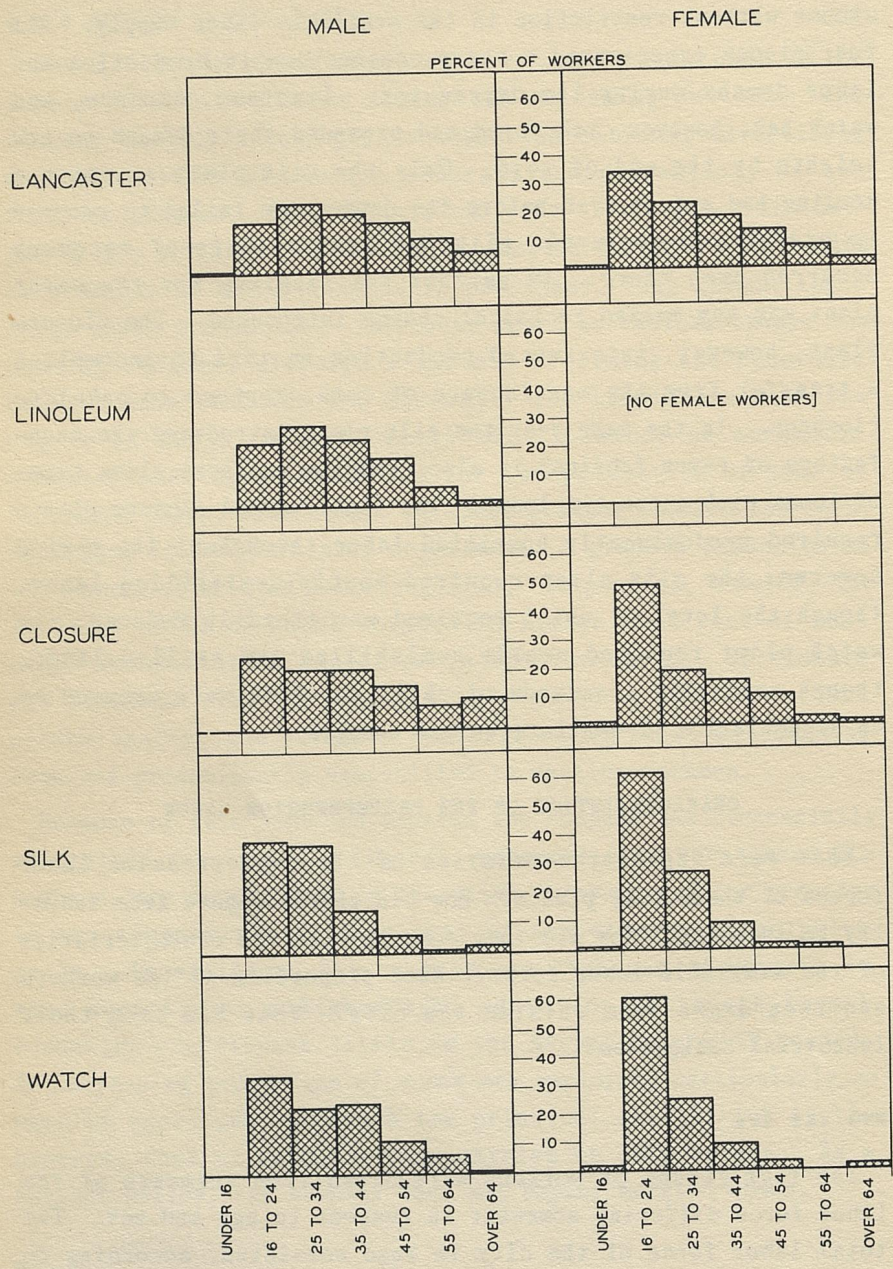
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PREDEPRESSION LABOR

What were the characteristics of the predepression labor forces of these four plants? How did these compare from industry to industry? How did they compare with the characteristics of the available labor force? What proportion of the workers had been drawn from outside the city? What had been their industrial background?

Sex and Age

The four groups of workers were drawn from segments of the labor force differing somewhat in respect to age and sex. The total labor force of the city in 1930 consisted, according to the enumeration of the U. S. Bureau of the Census, of 70 percent men and 30 percent women. The median age of the men was 38.4 years; that of the women, 31.6 years (table A-5). Among the persons with gainful occupations in the county, women were

Figure 2.- DISTRIBUTION OF THE LANCASTER WORK FORCE AND OF WORKERS EMPLOYED AT END OF 1928, BY SEX, PLANT, AND AGE



BASED ON TABLES A-5, A-6

less numerous, comprising only 25 percent.⁵ The age distribution of the county's gainful workers is not reported.

The linoleum workers, as has been noted, were all men because of the heavy nature of the work. In age they were somewhat younger than the average male worker of the city. On the date of the sample, i. e. at the end of 1928, their median age was 34.5 years. Seventy-five percent of them, compared with only 64 percent of the city's working force, were less than 45 years old. (Tables A-5 and A-6.)

A relatively high proportion, 47 percent, of the closure workers were women. The men that were employed in 1928 were at that time only $1\frac{1}{2}$ years younger than the men in the city's total labor force, and their age distribution corresponds roughly with that of the city's workers. About two-thirds of them were under 45 years of age. The women, however, were appreciably younger than those in the city's total force. Their median age was 24.9 years, and 86 percent of them compared with 76 percent of all the employable women were under 45.

Silk workers were the youngest group and the group in which the highest proportion of women, 60 percent, were found. This is characteristic of silk workers in Pennsylvania where a high proportion of the silk operatives are women. Indeed, that women are not even more numerous in this sample of silk workers is probably due to the fact that throwing, an occupation in which women are used extensively, is not carried on in the Lancaster plant of the Stehli Company. The youthfulness of the silk workers compared with the age either of workers in the city or of the other workers here studied is worthy of note. The median age of the men on the date of the sample, January 1929, was 27.9 years. Seventy-six percent of them were under 35 years of age and only 8.8 percent over 45. The women were even younger, 89 percent of them being less than 35 years old and only 2.5 percent more than 45. Their median age was 23.3 years. The average man was thus $10\frac{1}{2}$ years younger than the average man in the labor market of the city in 1930, and the average woman $8\frac{1}{3}$ years younger. (Tables A-5 and A-6.)

Watch workers were also younger than workers in the city as a whole. Their sex distribution corresponded most nearly to

⁵*Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, "Population" (U. S. Dept. Com., Bur. Census, 1932), vol. III, pt. 2, p. 711.*

Table 1.- SEX AND AGE OF WORKERS IN PREDEPRESSION SAMPLES^a

Sample	Total			Male			Female		
	Num-ber	Per-cent	Median age ^b	Num-ber	Per-cent	Median age ^b	Num-ber	Per-cent	Median age ^b
Linoleum	378	100.0	34.5	378	100.0	34.5	0	0	-
Closure	164	100.0	31.4	87	53.0	36.9	77	47.0	24.9
Silk	337	100.0	24.6	136	40.4	27.9	201	59.6	23.3
Watch	210	100.0	27.4	134	63.8	31.8	76	36.2	23.2

^aBased on table A-6.

^bBased on age at about end of 1928, the date of the sample. See chap. I for more exact dates.

that of the city's total labor force. Women constituted but 36 percent of the group. Eighteen percent of the men and 4 percent of the women were over 45 years old. The men were on the average over $6\frac{1}{2}$ years younger and the women over 8 years younger than the average employable in the city in 1930. (Tables A-5 and A-6.)

Geographical Source

Foreign.- As in the city as a whole, most of the workers in each of the four industrial groups were native-born. Of the city's population only 5 percent was foreign-born; only 6 percent of its working force was foreign-born.⁶ In the county only 2 percent of the population was foreign-born. Linoleum, relatively the heavy industry of the four, is the only one which employed foreign-born workers proportionately in excess of these averages, though even here the proportion was low. Eight percent of its workers was foreign-born. In all the other groups the proportion of foreign-born corresponds roughly to that in the community. Among closure and silk workers only 2 percent, and among watch workers only 4 percent were foreign-born. (Tables A-7 and A-8.)

Moreover, the workers in each of the industries were largely indigenous to the area. This was particularly true of the silk workers with their large proportion of young female workers. Only 13 percent of the silk workers had been born outside Lancaster County. Of the linoleum workers three-quarters were

⁶*Ibid.* (1933), vol. IV, p. 1401.

indigenous to Lancaster County, of the closure workers 79 percent, and of the watch workers 72 percent. (Table A-8.)

Rural.— The existence of a large potential reserve in the predominantly agricultural regions outside the city limits has been noted as an important factor in the labor market of Lancaster industries. Three of the groups here considered contained a significant proportion of commuting labor. Seventeen percent of the watch workers, 27 percent of the linoleum workers, and 42 percent of the silk workers were commuting from outside the city in 1928. Only 7 percent of the closure workers were drawn from without the city limits. That the closure workers were, as we have noted, in general an older group and had, as we shall see, a relatively long attachment to the plant in which they were employed may account for the relatively small use that closure manufacture made of the nonurban labor supply in the predepression period.

In addition to those workers born in the county who commuted to its central labor market for employment, all four groups contained a sizable proportion of workers who had been born in the county but had moved to the city. Thus, though at the end of 1928 a quarter of the linoleum workers were living outside the city of Lancaster, 46 percent had been born in the county surrounding the city. Similarly one-quarter of the closure workers, one-fifth of the watch workers, and almost two-thirds of the silk workers had been born outside of Lancaster city but in Lancaster county.

By 1936 some of the workers in each group except that of watch workers had moved from the city into the rural sections of the county. Four percent more of the linoleum workers, 5 percent more of the closure workers, and 3 percent more of the silk workers were living outside the city in the winter of 1936-37, when the enumeration was made, than in 1928.

Industrial Background

Although an analysis of the complete work history of many of the workers who had entered the labor market prior to 1926 is precluded by the skeletal nature of their recorded history prior to 1926, four related questions may be answered regarding the experience of the workers prior to the end of 1928, the date of the sample. What proportion of each group studied comprised recent entrants into the labor market, and what had

been their experience between entrance and the date of the sample? What proportion of the workers of each group had started out to work in the industry with which they were associated at the end of 1928,⁷ and what other industries had provided initial experience to any appreciable portion of the groups? What proportion of the persons who had entered the labor market prior to 1926 reported their longest, that is their most significant pre-1926 experience to have been in the industry in which they were employed on the date of the sample, and what other industries were important to any appreciable portion of them? Finally, what proportion of each group reported experience in any other industry in the 3 years preceding the date of the sample, and what other industries, if any, were important in this respect to any sizable group of the workers?

On the basis of the material related to these questions and analyzed in the succeeding pages, the following generalizations on the background of the four groups of workers seem justified: Silk workers had the most specialized industrial experience, linoleum workers the most varied. The major difference seems to have been in the first jobs of the workers. Fewer of the silk workers and more of the linoleum workers than of the other workers reported first jobs in industries other than the one with which they were associated at the end of 1928. A majority of the workers in all the groups except linoleum reported the industry of their longest pre-1926 job to have been in their usual industry. In addition, few of the workers of any group reported experience in other industries during the 3 years prior to the date of the sample. In other words, although some in every group had had experience in other industries, most of that other experience had been remote in their background. No predilection for workers with any specified industrial background was indicated by the material. In three of the industries, however, workers with first experience in agriculture were prominent among the men.⁸ Only the watch workers failed to show this agricultural experience to any notable degree. The more detailed analysis of industrial background follows.

⁷The industry in which the worker was employed on the date of the sample will be referred to as his "usual" industry.

⁸Since "first job" as referred to on the schedule includes only paid employment after leaving school permanently, the number of first jobs reported in agriculture is less than a looser definition would have included.

Recent Entrants Into the Labor Market.— Six percent of the linoleum workers, 10 percent of the closure workers, 15 percent of the watch workers, and one-fifth of the silk workers had entered the labor market less than 3 years before the date of the sample.⁹ Most of these workers entered without intervening experience into the plants in which they were working at the end of 1928. Of the 21 linoleum workers represented by the above percentage, 13 had come into linoleum work without previous experience, 4 had had experience in one other industry, 3 in two other industries, and 1 in three other industries. Nine of the 17 closure workers who were recent entrants into the labor market entered the closure factory without previous experience, 5 had had a job in one other industry, 2 had had experience in two other industries, and 1 had had four other jobs, lasting from 2 to 9 months. Fifteen of the 31 watch workers had come into the watch plant without any previous employment, 12 had had one other job, and 4 had had two other jobs. Fifty-two of the 66 silk workers who had come into the labor market in 1926 or later were employed by the silk plant without previous experience. Two more had had experience in other textile plants, seven had had employment in one unrelated industry, and five in two.

Thus it would appear that for the predepression pay roll studied silk had drawn more of its force from recent entrants into the labor market than had any of the three other industries. In addition, the great bulk of these new entrants were completely inexperienced when they first secured employment in the silk plant.

First Jobs.— In terms of the first jobs held by all workers, both those who had entered before and those who had entered after 1926, the linoleum workers would seem as a group to have had most experience outside their industry and the silk workers least. Only 7 percent of the linoleum workers had begun work in linoleum. The single industry in which a large number had first been employed was agriculture, in which 21 percent had first had jobs; 11 percent of them had first been employed in one of the metal-working industries and 9 percent had been first in trade as errand boys, grocery clerks, and the like. No other single industry had provided initial experience for more than a few of the linoleum workers. (Table A-9.)

⁹Compare totals in tables 1 and A-10.

About two-thirds of the closure workers had had first experience in an industry other than closure. The women of the group reported more first jobs in closure than did the men. Of the men, 24 percent had been first employed in closure work, 18 percent in agriculture, and the remainder in a variety of industries, no single one predominating. Of the women, 45 percent reported first employment in the closure plant, 19 percent in a candy factory, and 8 percent in an umbrella factory. (Table A-9.)

More than half the women and almost a third of the men among the silk workers reported their first industrial experience to have been in a silk mill. An additional 10 percent of the women had been first employed in other textile mills, bringing the total proportion of the women who had started in silk or other textile mills up to 68 percent. No significant proportion of the women reported first employment in any other single industry. In addition to the 32 percent of the men who had started out in silk mills, 3 percent had been first employed in other textile mills, and 21 percent had been first employed in agriculture. (Table A-9.)

Among watch workers the proportion of workers who had first started to work in their usual industry was about the same as among closure workers. Twenty-eight percent of the men and 39 percent of the women had first been employed in watch manufacturing. An additional 12 percent of the men had first been employed in trade as sales clerks or errand boys. Only 7 percent of them, compared with the much higher proportion of men in the other industries, reported agriculture as the industry of their first job. Most of the women who had not been first employed in watchmaking had had first jobs in one of three industries: textiles, candy, or trade. Of all the women, 20 percent reported first jobs in textiles, 9 percent in candy factories, and 10 percent in trade. (Table A-9.)

Longest Pre-1926 Jobs.- Thirty-eight percent of the linoleum workers who had been in the labor market before 1926 reported that the industry in which they had had their longest job before that date had been linoleum. Most of the remainder reported that their longest attachment had been in the same industry as their first job. Twenty-three percent reported longest pre-1926 employment in an industry, not linoleum,

different from that of their first job. No one industry other than linoleum seems to have been the industry of longest experience for any appreciable proportion of the workers, except agriculture, which provided the longest job for 13 percent of the workers.

Half the closure workers in the labor market before 1926 (43 percent of the men and 59 percent of the women) had had their longest pre-1926 experience in closure work; 21 percent of the men and 9 percent of the women reported the longest job in an industry, not closure, different from that of their first.

Two-thirds of the male and 69 percent of the female watch workers reported their longest pre-1926 job to have been in the watch factory. This same tendency was evidenced among the silk workers. Sixty percent of the men and 70 percent of the women in the labor market before 1926 reported that their longest employment prior to 1926 had been in the silk industry. (Table A-10.)

Jobs Between January 1926 and Date of Sample.- With the exception of the linoleum workers, few of the persons studied showed attachment to any industry other than their usual one in the 3 years preceding the date of the sample. Of these, no significant proportion reported attachment to any particular industry. Of the linoleum workers who had been in the labor market prior to 1926, 18 percent reported experience in another industry in the 3 years preceding the date of the sample; of the closure workers, less than 10 percent reported such experience; of the silk workers, 3 percent; and of the watch workers, 2 percent. Coupling these persons with the more recent entrants into the labor market who had had other experience before entering their usual industry, it would appear that 19 percent of the linoleum workers, 12 percent of the closure workers, 9 percent of the watch workers, and only 6 percent of the silk workers had been employed in another industry some time in the 3 years preceding the date of the sample.

Summary and Comparisons

Certain basic similarities link the four groups of pre-depression workers. All contained a high proportion of younger workers, the average worker in each group being younger than

the average employable in the city. All contained a high proportion, between 92 and 98 percent, of native-born workers. More than 20 percent of each group, and almost two-thirds of the silk workers, had been born in the rural regions surrounding the city and had either migrated to the city or were, in 1928, commuting to work. In terms of the employment reported by them, most of the workers in each group, with the possible exception of the linoleum workers, had had little important experience outside the industry to which they were attached just before the onset of the depression. Agriculture had been the one pursuit important in the background of any sizable proportion of the males in any group.

The linoleum workers, all male, were older than any of the other industrial groups, though somewhat younger than the males in closure work. They were also, as a group, the ones with the most varied industrial experience prior to their attachment to the sample industry. Over 90 percent of them had begun work in an industry other than linoleum, and almost 20 percent of them had been in another industry within the 3 years preceding the sample date.

The closure workers were almost equally divided as to sex. The men were slightly older than the linoleum workers and slightly younger than the average employable male. The majority of the women were under 25 years of age. Over 90 percent of the group were living in the city. The important recorded experience of most of them had been either exclusively or predominantly in the closure plant. Only about one-tenth of them had been employed elsewhere between January 1926 and November 1928.

The silk workers were the youngest group, the majority of the men being less than 30 years old and the women less than 25. Most of the force had been born outside the city, and over 40 percent of them were commuting from outside the city. Industrially, they were the group with the most specialized experience. This was particularly true of the women.

The watch workers were slightly older and slightly more varied in their industrial experience than the silk workers. They were drawn more from the urban supply of workers than any group except the closure workers.

CHAPTER III

DEPRESSION EMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCE AND SELECTIVE FACTORS

What were the selective factors that operated in determining the distribution of employment and unemployment since 1929 among the workers described in chapter II? In the first part of this chapter the employment and unemployment record of each of the four groups is viewed and compared with that of the others in order that the differences in experience may be seen in their relation to the general differences in each situation. In the second part the distribution of the work among the persons included in each of the four groups is considered with a view to determining what relationship existed between depression employment experience and the age and sex of workers. In the final part the depression employment experience is considered in relation to the duration of continuous attachment to the plant of interest.

EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT, 1929-35

The closure workers, for whom a contraction in activity in the closure plant was further complicated by a change in the product, suffered most unemployment during the 7 years following 1928. This was attributable not only to a decline in the demand for their time by the closure plant but also to a failure to find other employment. Predominantly unskilled to semiskilled operators with little experience in other industries, they were less successful than any of the other groups in finding other employment. The silk workers, on the other hand, faced with a like situation in their own plant, suffered least unemployment. An important factor in this was apparently the presence in the region of other silk and textile mills in which they secured employment, for work in their own mill declined steadily after 1928. Though three of the plants, linoleum, closure, and watch, showed increases in activity in the recovery years 1934 and 1935, only the watch workers as a group seemed to have achieved an appreciable recovery in employment in their own plant.

Withdrawal From the Labor Market

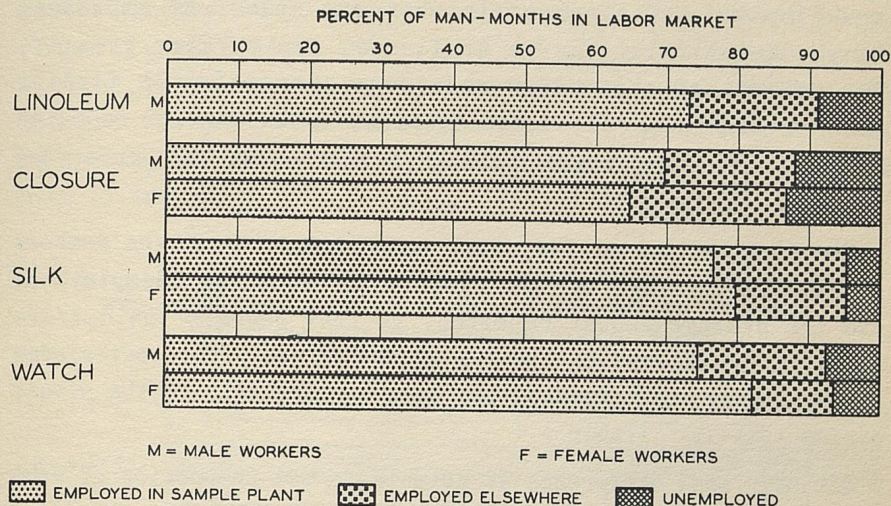
In each year for which employment experience of the four groups of workers is known some of the workers reported themselves as not seeking work for the full year, others for part of the year. Since such withdrawal from the labor market is presumed to have been voluntary, though it undoubtedly reflected, at least in part, the inability to find employment, detailed analysis of the not-seeking-work status is not attempted here. An accounting of the amount of time each group spent out of the labor market in each year will be found in tables A-11 to A-14. Here it is necessary to note only that women withdrew from the labor market to a greater extent than did men, and that it was in general the older workers among both men and women who reported themselves as not seeking work. Workers in all groups except closure reported similar proportions of time out of the labor market, with the proportions increasing toward the end of the period covered. The men in closure work reported more time out of the labor market than did the men in any other group. This is to be accounted for, in great part, by the higher proportion of older men in the closure group.

Unemployment

Of their employable time in the years after 1928 the closure workers were unemployed and in search of employment more than was any other group.¹ After 1929, when they were unemployed 3 percent of their time, employment for this group steadily declined until 1933, when they were unemployed 21 percent of their employable time. Thereafter a few persons dropped out of the labor market, more secured employment, and unemployment declined somewhat. In 1935, however, the closure workers were still reporting 14 percent of their time unemployed though employment in their plant had increased to new heights. The women in the closure group reported more unemployment than the men, although more of them retired from the labor market after losing jobs than did the men. At the high point of unemployment, 1933, the women were unemployed 24 percent of their employable time and the men 18 percent. (Table A-16.)

¹Total time minus time reported as "unemployed not seeking work" is defined as employable time. All subsequent percentages of employment and unemployment are figured on the basis of employable time.

Figure 3.- DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYABLE MAN-MONTHS, 1925-35,
OF WORKERS EMPLOYED AT END OF 1928, BY PLANT,
SEX, AND EMPLOYMENT STATUS



BASED ON TABLES A-15 TO A-18

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Unemployment of linoleum workers mounted from 2 percent in 1929 to almost 14 percent in 1932. It declined again with the increase in linoleum and other manufacturing activity, and by 1935 only 9 percent of the group's employable time was unemployed. (Table A-15.)

The watch workers showed marked differences in the employment records of the men and the women. Unemployment for the men mounted to a high point in 1932 and 1933 when almost 16 percent of the employable time was unemployed. Thereafter it declined to but 3 percent in 1935. Little of this decline is to be accounted for by withdrawal of persons from the labor market. Although the women reported but 10 percent of their time unemployed at the low point of employment in 1933, they were still unemployed 8 percent of their time in 1935. (Table A-18.)

In view of the already noted fact that activity in the silk mills tended to be relatively lower than that in any of the other three plants, the employment record of the silk workers at first glance appears contradictory. They reported less unemployment than any other group. In the year when their reported unemployment was greatest, 1935, it accounted for only 7 percent of their employable time. Two factors help to explain this apparent anomaly. One is that short work weeks

were prevalent in the silk mill in the years studied, and though this would permit the report "employed" by the silk workers, such a report might cover less actual employment than implied. The second is that the number of employees in the Stehli mill, as we shall see, did decline greatly, but members of this group were most successful in finding other employment. The women among the silk workers reported slightly more unemployment than did the men in the years 1933 to 1935. (Table A-17.)

The distribution of the total unemployment among the members of each group, that is, the proportion reporting unemployment and the average amount reported, further reveals the differences in the depression history of the groups. For convenience in tabulating, this measure has been applied only to the 5-year period 1931-35. (Table 2.)

Although some difference is notable in the proportion of each group that experienced unemployment in these 5 years, the major difference between the groups is in terms of the amount of unemployment suffered by the unemployed persons.

Table 2.- DISTRIBUTION OF PREDEPRESSION WORKERS WHO EXPERIENCED UNEMPLOYMENT IN 1931-35, BY SAMPLE INDUSTRY, SEX, AND DURATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT^a

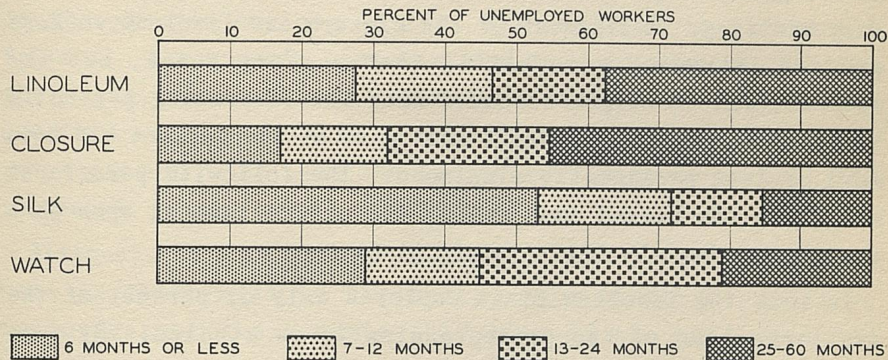
Number of months unemployed	Lino-leum ^b	Closure			Silk			Watch		
		Total	Male	Fe-male	Total	Male	Fe-male	Total	Male	Fe-male
Workers who experienced unemployment										
Percent	31.7	32.3	32.2	32.5	25.2	30.9	21.4	29.5	33.6	22.4
Number	120	53	28	25	85	42	43	62	45	17
1-3	18	4	3	1	29	18	13	7	6	1
4-6	15	5	4	1	16	7	9	11	6	5
7-12	23	8	2	6	16	8	8	10	8	2
13-18	15	7	3	4	6	3	3	10	6	4
19-24	4	5	3	2	5	4	1	11	9	2
25-30	11	6	4	2	2	0	2	3	3	0
31-36	10	1	0	1	4	2	2	4	4	0
37-42	8	3	1	2	3	0	3	3	1	2
43-48	5	7	4	3	1	1	0	1	1	0
49-54	3	4	3	1	1	0	1	1	1	0
55-60	8	3	1	2	2	1	1	1	0	1
Median number of months	14.1	21.5	22.5	20.0	6.0	5.6	6.3	14.3	15.0	13.3
Mean number of months	20.4	25.3	25.0	25.6	12.0	10.7	13.2	16.9	16.9	16.9

^aFor total number of workers in sample see table 1.

^bMale workers only.

One-quarter of the silk workers reported some unemployment in this period, and one-half of those unemployed experienced less than 6 months of unemployment. Seven of the 85 workers reporting some unemployment were unemployed more than 3 years. Proportionally fewer women than men reported unemployment, but the unemployment reported by the women was longer than that of the men. Whereas the average unemployment reported by the men was over $10\frac{1}{2}$ months, that reported by the women was over 13 months.

Figure 4.- DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS EMPLOYED AT END OF 1928 WHO EXPERIENCED UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE PERIOD 1931-35, BY PLANT AND DURATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT



BASED ON TABLE 2

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At the other extreme, almost one-third of the closure workers reported some unemployment, and the majority of these reported more than 20 months of unemployment. Almost one-third of the workers reporting unemployment reported themselves unemployed for more than 3 of the 5 years. There was little difference between the men and the women in this respect.

Similar proportions (about 30 percent) of both linoleum and watch workers reported some unemployment in the period, but the unemployed linoleum workers tended to be unemployed longer than the unemployed watch workers. Of the unemployed linoleum workers, 20 percent were unemployed for more than 3 years, whereas less than 10 percent of the unemployed watch workers were unemployed for so long a period. The unemployed watch worker, man or woman, was unemployed for an average of 16.9 months; the unemployed linoleum worker, an average of 20.4 months:

Employment in the Sample Plants

In terms of employment and reemployment in the factory to which they had been attached at the end of 1928, the linoleum and watch workers, in whose factories depression fluctuations in demand for labor had not been complicated by technical change, showed the best record; the closure workers showed the worst. The silk workers, though their average amount of employment for the period is higher than that of the linoleum and watch workers, showed a tendency to get less and less employment in their mill after 1928. Only the watch workers showed an appreciable tendency to an increase in their employment in their factory in the later years, though all four of the plants reported increases in the amount of labor used in 1934 and 1935. Employment of the closure and linoleum workers studied increased somewhat in the recovery years, but the increase was so slight compared with the increasing pay rolls of the company as to indicate that many of the workers had been more or less permanently displaced. The following paragraphs summarize the demand made during the period 1929-35 upon each group of workers by their sample plant.

In 1929 the linoleum plant employed only 91 percent of the available time of the predepression force studied. By 1930 this had dropped to 82 percent of the time and thereafter it declined steadily until in 1933 only 64 percent of the available time was employed. In 1934 and 1935, as employment in the plant showed a general increase, the proportion of the time of these workers that was used mounted to 68 percent and then to 70 percent. (Table A-15.)

The predepression closure workers studied were far less in demand by the plant to which they had been attached in 1928. In 1929 work in the closure plant demanded only 88 percent of their available time. The demand on such time dropped in 1930 to 82 percent and fell thereafter until it reached its low point, 54 percent, in 1933. This was the year following the change to bakelite closures. Although employment in the factory mounted decisively in the succeeding 2 years, by 1935 only 3 percent more of the available time of the workers studied was commanded by the closure plant. In every year but 1929 the company commanded more of the available time of the male closure workers studied than they did of the time

of the women. In the low year, 1933, the difference was greatest, 60 percent of the men's and 47 percent of the women's employable time being employed. By 1935, 61 percent of the men's and 53 percent of the women's employable time was employed. (Table A-16.)

The watch workers, as a group, showed the effects of depression contraction in activity to about the same degree that the linoleum workers did. Employment of their available time in the watch plant reached the same low level that that of workers in the linoleum plant did, but it recovered to a greater degree. In 1929, 94 percent of their employable time was employed; in 1930, 89 percent; and by 1933, only 64 percent. Thereafter it mounted until, in 1935, 74 percent of the group's employable time was employed in its sample factory. The women's time was used to a greater extent than the men's. In 1933, 74 percent of their employable time, compared with 60 percent of the men's, was employed in the watch factory. By 1935 the proportions were 78 percent and 72 percent respectively. (Table A-18.)

Although the silk workers showed the best record of employment in their mill in the early years of the depression, employment of their employable time in the mill declined steadily year by year until in 1935 it accounted for only 60 percent of their time. Use of the women's time was greater than use of the men's in each year to 1932. Thereafter it declined more rapidly than that of the men's time, and in 1935 only 58 percent of the women's time was employed, compared with 62 percent of the men's. As has already been noted, it is probable that these proportions cover a good deal of part-time work and are higher than an actual accounting of the hours in each month spent at work would show. As an indication of the tendency for employment to decline, however, they may be regarded as valid.

Employment Outside the Sample Plants²

Employment in plants other than the ones to which the workers had been attached before the depression played an important role. Among the closure workers it mounted from less than one-tenth of the employable time in 1929 to over one-fourth

²This discussion is based on data in tables A-15 to A-18.

in 1934; among the silk workers it accounted in 1935 for a third of the employable time and among the watch and linoleum workers for as high as 23 percent of the employable time.

Since the groups varied in respect to the amount of employment that they received from their own plants during this period, comparisons are best drawn on the basis of the amount of employable time spent outside the sample plant. On this basis the silk workers would appear to have been most successful, and the closure workers least successful.

During the 7 years 1929-35 the linoleum workers successfully disposed of 60 percent of their employable time out of linoleum in the depths of the depression and over 70 percent in the predepression and recovery years.

The watch workers were employed 84 percent of their employable time which was not employed by the watch plant in 1929, but their success decreased with the deepening of the depression and the increase in the amount of time spent out of the watch plant. In 1932 they were employed in other plants only 57 percent of the time when they needed such other employment. By 1935 they were employed 82 percent of their available time. In the depression years 1931-33 the women were more successful than the men in finding other employment when necessary; the men appear to have been more successful in the recovery years and in the years of relative prosperity, 1929 and 1930.

In almost every year the silk workers were more successful than any other group in finding other employment when they needed it. In their least successful year, 1932, they were employed in other plants or industries 72 percent of their available time not spent in the Stehli mill. On the whole there was little difference between the men and the women.

In their best years the closure workers did not succeed in disposing of as much as three-quarters of the employable time not used by the closure plant. In 1932 they disposed of only little more than half such time. There is no persistent difference between the experience of the men and the women.

The relatively high degree of success in disposing of employable time evidenced by the silk workers is in large part attributable to the presence of other silk and textile mills in the region, a condition not obtaining for any of the other

groups studied. Work in other silk mills accounted for about a quarter of the other employment reported by the silk workers studied. No single industry supplied other employment to any appreciable proportion of any of the other groups. Even agriculture, in which many of the men had had past experience, gave employment to relatively few when they were not employed in their usual industry.

SEX, AGE, AND EMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCE, 1929-35

An analysis of the age and sex of workers who had certain defined types of experience in the years following the date of the sample reveals a definite relationship between the age and sex of the workers in each industry and the employment and unemployment they experienced. The relationship between sex and employment experience appears to have been similar for all four groups. The men were, in general, more likely than the women to have maintained employment or to have been rehired. They were also more likely to find other employment than the women.

Although a definite relationship between age and employment experience also was evident, the nature of the relationship varied according to the group. It was constant only in one respect: The workers who found employment outside their particular industry tended to be younger than the average worker of their group; among those who did not find other work there was a higher proportion of older workers and of the youngest workers. In terms of the relationship that developed between each industry and its workers, however, a different and distinct age pattern was apparent for each.

For purposes of analyzing the relationship between sex and age and employment experience, the following groups of workers within each industrial sample were distinguished: Those who maintained continuous attachment to their industry, those whose attachment was broken and who were not subsequently rehired within the period studied, and those whose attachment was broken and who were subsequently rehired. Each of the latter two groups has been further differentiated into those who found other employment and those who did not.

The differences shown by the four groups studied in respect to the type of experience of members of the group bear out the

Table 3.-- PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PREDEPRESSION SAMPLES, BY SEX AND EMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCE
IN 1929-35^a

Employment experience	Lino- leum ^b	Closure			Silk			Watch		
		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Had continuous employment in sample plant	46.6	31.1	36.8	24.7	34.4	41.2	29.9	41.0	43.3	36.8
Did not have continuous employment in sample plant	53.4	68.9	63.2	75.3	65.6	58.8	70.1	59.0	56.7	63.2
Subsequently rehired ^c	22.7	18.3	17.2	19.5	19.6	22.1	17.9	27.6	27.6	27.6
Had no intervening employment ^d	9.8	12.2	9.2	15.6	12.8	9.6	14.9	16.2	15.7	17.1
Seeking work	9.3	10.4	9.2	11.7	6.8	6.1	6.0	11.9	13.4	9.2
Not seeking work	0.5	1.8	0	3.9	6.0	1.5	8.9	4.3	2.3	7.9
Had intervening employment	12.9	6.1	8.0	3.9	6.8	12.5	3.0	11.4	11.9	10.5
Not subsequently rehired ^c	30.7	50.6	46.0	55.8	46.0	36.7	52.2	31.4	29.1	35.6
Had no other employment ^d	7.4	23.2	18.4	28.6	16.9	5.1	24.9	9.5	5.2	17.1
Seeking work	4.8	7.3	5.8	9.1	4.1	3.6	4.5	1.4	1.5	1.3
Not seeking work	2.6	15.9	12.6	19.5	12.8	1.5	20.4	8.1	3.7	15.8
Had other employment	23.3	27.4	27.6	27.2	29.1	31.6	27.3	21.9	23.9	18.5

^aFor total numbers distributed see table 1.

^bMale workers only.

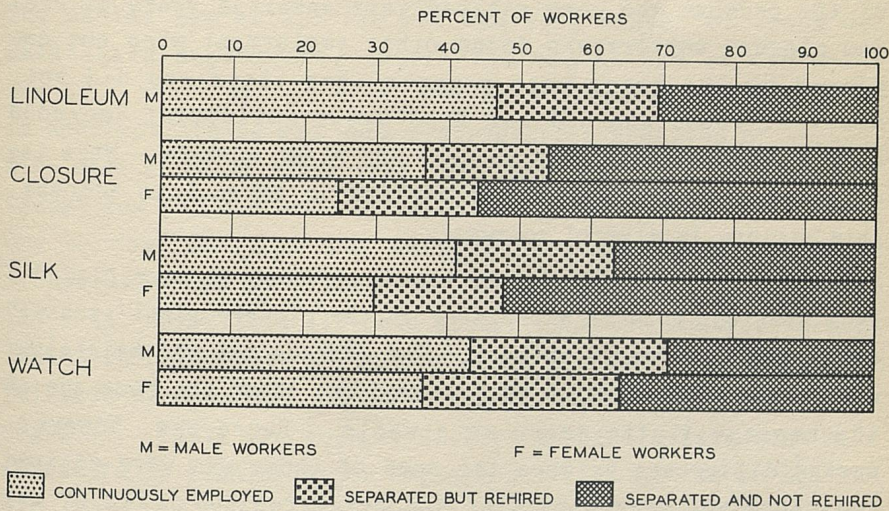
^cDuring period 1929-35.

^dVery few workers in this category reported themselves as both seeking and not seeking work during a period of unemployment. Where this occurred, the workers were classified according to their later status.

findings at the beginning of this chapter. The linoleum workers reported 46 percent of their group to have had continuous employment in the linoleum plant after November 1928; 23 percent of them reported that they had become separated from the plant but had subsequently been rehired; and 31 percent had become finally separated.³ The closure plant employed continuously after November 1928 only 31 percent of the force studied. Eighteen percent were separated but subsequently rehired, and 51 percent were finally separated. More men than women were retained, and more women than men were finally separated. The watch plant retained continuously 41 percent of its force (more men than women) and rehired 28 percent (like proportions of men and women). It failed to rehire 31 percent, more women than men being finally separated. The silk plant employed continuously 34 percent of the force studied (more men than women), rehired 20 percent (again, more men than women), and did not rehire 46 percent (slightly more than one-third of the men and over half the women). (Table 3.)

Among the linoleum workers, those who reported continuous employment in the linoleum plant after the date of the sample

Figure 5.- DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS EMPLOYED AT END OF 1928, BY SEX AND EMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCE IN 1929-35 IN SAMPLE PLANT



BASED ON TABLE 3

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³ Finally separated is defined as not rehired by the sample plant before the end of December 1935.

were older, on the average, than the group as a whole. The median age at the end of 1936 of the group which had maintained employment was 44.5 years; of the group as a whole, 42.7. Forty-eight percent of those who were kept continuously employed were 45 years old or more, whereas 43 percent of the whole group had reached this age. In rehiring workers it had let go, the company rehired primarily the younger workers. The median age of those it rehired was 37.6 years; the median age of those it did not rehire, 44.7. Seventy-seven percent of those it rehired were under 45 years of age; half of those it did not rehire were over 45. Thus it would seem that although the older linoleum workers stood a better chance of maintaining employment during the depression, once they lost employment their chance of being rehired was less than was that of the younger workers. Their chance of finding other employment was also less. Two-thirds of those who found other employment were less than 45 years old. Half of those who did not find other employment were over 45 years of age. (Table A-19.)

Age played a different role in the experience of the closure workers. In this group the younger workers seem to have been favored in every respect. The average worker with continuous employment in the closure plant was 2 years younger than the average worker in the whole group, and, whereas only 43 percent of the whole group were less than 35 years old, two-thirds of the persons who were rehired were under 35 years of age. The closure workers who found other employment when not employed by the plant were younger than those who did not. However, those who did not find other employment included a high proportion of both younger and older workers. When the difference in the sex of the workers is taken into account, this picture is altered somewhat.

The age of the male closure workers seemed to have played a less distinct role in experience in the closure plant than did the age of the female workers. The average man who maintained continuous employment or was rehired was about the same age as the average in the group as a whole. There was, however, marked difference between the ages of those who were rehired and those who were separated and never rehired. Ten of the 15 men who were rehired were under 35 years of age, and 13 were under 45. On the other hand, 63 percent of those not rehired were more than 45 years old. Seventeen of the 19 women who

maintained continuous employment were under 45 years of age, compared with only 78 percent of the group as a whole. Again, the most marked difference is to be noted between those who were rehired after separation and those who were not rehired. Thirty percent of those not rehired were over 45 years of age, whereas but 2 of the 15 who were rehired were over 45. In terms of finding other employment, the younger male workers seem to have had the most success. Nineteen of the 31 men who found other employment were less than 45 years old, whereas 15 of the 24 who did not find other employment were over 45. The women who found other employment were, on the average, slightly older than those who did not. (Table A-20.)

It would thus appear that, with the contraction in work opportunities and the shift in the product of the closure plant, it was the women who tended to lose out more than the men, and the older workers rather than younger workers. On the return to predepression schedules of production, most of those who were rehired were the younger workers. Further, most of those who were able to find other employment when separated from the closure plant were young.

Among the silk workers it was the younger workers who seemed less favored by the silk plant. The persons who maintained continuous employment throughout the depression years were slightly older on the average than the group as a whole. The median age of all the men was 34.3 years; of those who maintained employment, 34.6. The median age of the women was 32.1 years and of those who maintained employment 32.8. In addition, those who were rehired after a period of separation were slightly older than those who were finally separated, though few persons over 45 years of age were rehired. Sixty-one percent of those who were rehired were under 35 years of age, whereas 67 percent of those finally separated were under 35. From this it would appear that the younger workers tended to constitute a reserve which was used in a period of relative prosperity, pushed off with contraction, and easily replaced. Again the younger workers appear to have been more fortunate in finding other employment. Six of the 20 men who did not find other employment were over 45 years of age, whereas but 8 of the 60 who did find other work were over 45. Of the women who found other employment, 77 percent were less than 35 years old, whereas but 66 percent of those who did not find other employment were less than 35. (Table A-21.)

Among the watch workers the older persons were even more definitely favored, which probably reflects the greater skill and experience requirements for their work. The median age of those who were continuously employed was 36.8 years, whereas of the group as a whole it was 34.6 years. The median age of those subsequently rehired was 36.4 years; of those finally separated, 32.5. The men and the women differed slightly in respect to the influence of age on their experience. The distribution of the ages of the men who remained continuously employed tended to be similar to that of the group as a whole, whereas the women continuously employed were older than the women in the group as a whole. Eighteen percent of those continuously employed were over 45 years of age, compared with 13 percent of the total group of women. In rehiring, the tendency of the plant to give preference to its older workers was more evident for the men as well as for the women. Twenty-three of the 37 men rehired were over 35 years old, and only 20 of the 39 men not rehired were over 35. Eight of the 21 women rehired and 3 of the 27 not rehired were over 35 years of age. Thus it would appear definitely that in respect to maintaining employment in the watch factory, the older worker, and it may be presumed the more skillful worker, was in a favored position. The younger worker not only was more likely to have been pushed out during the depression contraction but he was also less likely to be rehired. He shared with the workers from the other industries, however, the advantage in finding other employment. Eighty-four percent of the watch workers who found other employment when they needed it were under 45 years of age. Less than two-thirds of those who did not find other employment when separated from the watch factory were under 45 years of age. Seventeen of the 28 men who did not find other employment were over 45 years old, whereas only 9 of the 48 who did find other employment were in this higher age group. Among the women the difference is less marked. Eight of the 26 who did not find other employment and 3 of the 22 who did were over 35 years of age. (Table A-22.)

**OCCUPATION OF SILK WORKERS AND THEIR EMPLOYMENT
EXPERIENCE, 1929-35**

A definite relationship can also be seen between the occupations which the silk workers held at the end of 1928 and

their subsequent employment experience. Among the other industrial groups the diversity of occupations and the relatively small number of workers in any one occupational group, or in any combination of occupations related in terms of skill or other characteristics, precludes analysis of the importance of the occupation of the predepression job to depression experience. Among the silk workers, however, it is possible to distinguish a large group of workers, the weavers and loom fixers, and to compare their employment experience with that of other silk workers.

The weavers and loom fixers are in general the more skilled of the workmen included in the silk sample. They comprise 139, or 41 percent, of the 337 predepression silk workers studied. Comparison of their experience in the period 1929-35 with that of the other silk workers indicates that, although more of their number than of the others lost employment in the plant in that period, once separated, these more skilled workmen had a better chance of being rehired or of finding other employment than did the others.

Of the weavers and loom fixers, 32 percent maintained their employment in the plant throughout the period. Of those who became separated, one-third were subsequently rehired, and about half were not rehired but found other employment. In all, 18 percent of those who once lost their jobs were not successful either in being rehired or in finding other employment before the end of 1935. Of the other silk workers, although 36 percent held their jobs throughout the period, only one-quarter of those who were separated were subsequently rehired, and only 42 percent were not rehired but found some other employment. Almost one-third of those who were once separated remained unemployed through the remainder of the period studied.

In general the men in either group fared better than the women. Of the male weavers and loom fixers, 39 percent maintained employment, compared with only 17 percent of the women. Forty-one percent of the men and 23 percent of the women were rehired after having been separated. Only 5 percent of the men, compared with 40 percent of the women, who were once separated were unsuccessful in being reemployed or in finding other employment.

The differences between the experiences of the men and women in other silk occupations are of a similar pattern. Almost half the men and one-third of the women maintained employment. Of those separated, 29 percent of the men and 26 percent of the women were rehired, and although 19 percent of the men once separated neither were reemployed nor found other employment, 34 percent of the women were thus completely unemployed, although most of them did not seek work.

From these measures it would appear that although in the situation studied the more skilled workmen had no advantage in maintaining employment, they did have an advantage in being reemployed when there was a rise in activity and in finding other employment. Further, the already noted disadvantage of the women was not, in this situation, compensated for to any marked extent by the possession of skill. (Table A-23.)

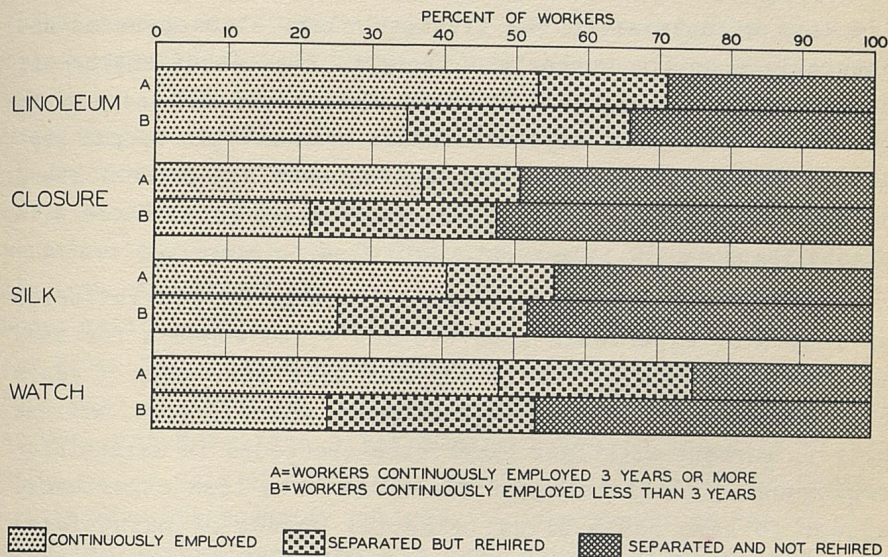
LENGTH OF PREVIOUS ATTACHMENT TO PLANT AND DEPRESSION EXPERIENCE⁴

Analysis of the histories of the workers in the 7 years following the date of the sample reveals that the length of previous attachment to the plant at which the worker was then employed was a definite factor in his subsequent experience. The influence of this factor varied somewhat with each industrial group studied, but in at least one respect it was persistent for all groups of workers: The more experienced workers tended to be represented in higher proportions among those who maintained employment through the depression years than did the less experienced workers. The more detailed measures of the relationship between previous employment experience and depression experience are revealing.

For purposes of analyzing this factor, groups of workers within each industrial group were distinguished as in the preceding section: workers who were continuously employed after the date of the sample, those who were rehired after a period of lay-off, and those who were finally separated. Analysis was made of these groups which were subdivided into workers who had had 3 years or more of continuous employment in their sample plant up to the end of 1928 and those who had had less continuous employment up to that time.

⁴This discussion is based on data in table A-24.

Figure 6.- DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS EMPLOYED AT END OF 1928,
BY DURATION OF CONTINUOUS EMPLOYMENT IMMEDIATELY
PRIOR TO 1929 AND EMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCE
IN 1929-35 IN SAMPLE PLANT



BASED ON TABLE A-24

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Among the linoleum workers, those men who had had less than 3 years of continuous experience in the plant prior to the date of the sample (end of 1928) were far less likely to have maintained employment than the more experienced workers. Once separated, however, the more experienced worker was less likely to be rehired and also less likely to find other employment. Of the workers who had had 3 years or more continuous employment with the linoleum plant, 53 percent were employed at the plant throughout the 7 years following the date of the sample. Only a little more than one-third of the less experienced linoleum workers kept their jobs. Of those workers with 3 years or more of experience who were fired or laid off, however, only 39 percent were subsequently rehired, compared with 48 percent of the less experienced group. Thus it appears that with the contraction of activity the linoleum plant kept on a higher proportion of its more experienced workers, and with the revival of activity took back its less experienced workmen in preference to its more experienced ones. Though the groups are too small to permit a useful age distribution of these workmen, the tendency to rehire its less experienced

workmen is probably connected with the previously noted tendency to rehire younger in preference to older workers. Since skill is not an important factor in most of the linoleum workers' jobs, greater experience could not offset this tendency.

A long attachment to the linoleum plant also operated unfavorably upon the worker's ability to find other employment once he became separated. Of those workers who had had 3 years or more of employment at the linoleum mill and who became separated while still needing and wanting work, 37 percent found no other employment. Of the less experienced group faced with this situation only 17 percent could find no other employment.

Among the closure workers the difference in the influence of length of experience upon the men's and women's fortunes is also of interest. Half the men with more than 3 years experience were kept on throughout the 7 years covered, whereas only 15 percent with less experience succeeded in maintaining employment. In the case of the women, the less experienced appear to have had a slightly better chance of maintaining employment. Twenty-nine percent of those with less than 3 years of continuous experience in the plant prior to 1929 were kept on continuously thereafter, whereas but 22 percent of the more experienced women were kept on. The use of women for less skilled work undoubtedly had its influence. When these differences are considered in relation to the previously noted differences in the ages of workmen in the various categories of employment experience, it appears that although the closure plant kept on its more experienced workmen in skilled jobs, in general it tended to maintain in employment its younger workers in preference to its older ones. With the revival of activity, a less experienced worker was more likely to be rehired than a more experienced one, man or woman. Only one-fifth of those workers with 3 years or more of previous experience who had become separated were rehired, compared with one-third of the less experienced workers. Here again it appears that in an industry with generally low skill requirements and one in which in addition a change in production had occurred, experience was not a sufficiently strong factor to compensate for the tendency to reemploy younger workers.

There is no evidence that among the closure workers the length of previous attachment to the closure plant had any influence upon the capacity of the worker who needed it to

find other employment. About 40 percent of the more and 30 percent of the less experienced workers who sought other employment did not find it.

Among the silk workers, the relationship of prior experience to depression experience differs in one respect from that which held among the closure workers: the women as well as the men who maintained employment in the plant tended to be those with longer experience. Forty-five percent of the men and 37 percent of the women who had been employed at the plant continuously 3 years or more prior to the date of the sample were kept on through the following 7 years. Only one-third of the less experienced men and 22 percent of the less experienced women maintained their employment in the plant. Though few of any group of the silk workers were rehired, there is apparent some bias in favor of the less experienced workers. Of the 50 men with more than 3 years experience in the silk plant prior to the date of the sample who had been laid off or fired, but 15 were subsequently rehired. A like number of the 30 men with less experience who had been separated were rehired. Similarly among the women, though the difference is less marked, 15 of the 69 more experienced women who had been separated, compared with 21 of the 72 less experienced women in this situation, were rehired.

Among the men the length of previous attachment to the silk plant appeared to have no influence upon their capacity to find other employment. Twenty-one percent of those needing employment in each group could not find it. Among the women, however, those with longer attachment had a harder time finding other employment. One-third of those who had had longer predepression experience in the silk mill and who sought other employment could not find it; 18 percent of the less experienced women in the same situation failed to find other jobs.

The watch workers comprised the one group among whom the experienced workers were persistently favored above the less experienced workers. Not only were those with longer experience represented in higher proportions among those who kept their jobs through the depression years, but they were also represented in higher proportions among those who, once separated, were subsequently rehired. The relationship of this to the higher level of skill required in watch working generally is apparent. Almost half of both the men and the women with

more than 3 years attachment to the watch plant prior to the date of the sample were kept on in employment at the plant through the following 7 years, whereas only 29 percent of the less experienced men and 19 percent of the less experienced women were retained. Twenty-six of the 51 more experienced men who became separated from the plant were subsequently rehired, compared with 11 of the 25 less experienced men in this situation; 14 of the 26 more experienced women who had been separated, compared with 7 of the 22 less experienced women, were subsequently rehired.

In finding other employment the person whose attachment to the watch plant had been longer was, however, at a disadvantage. Of the 45 men with longer attachment to the watch plant who sought other employment, only 28 found it, whereas 20 of the 23 men with shorter attachment who sought other work found it. Eight of the 20 women with longer attachment to the watch plant who sought other employment failed to find it, but each of the 10 women with shorter attachment who sought other employment found it.

It thus appears that whereas for each of the four groups of workers a long predepression attachment to their plant tended to increase the chances for continuing employment during the depression, such long attachment operated adversely, once the worker became separated, for all groups except the generally more skilled watch workers. Even for this group it tended to make the chance of finding employment outside the watch industry less good. Except where skilled workers were in demand, the factor of long experience could not offset the related greater age of the workers who reported longer experience.

CHAPTER IV

THE WORKERS HIRED IN THE RECOVERY PERIOD

As we have seen in the preceding chapter, many of the pre-depression workers in each industrial group studied lost their connection with their plants during the depression. Some were subsequently rehired as the plant's activity increased over its depression depths. Others appear to have been more or less permanently displaced, and though they remained in the labor market, many of them were unemployed. Yet in all four of the plants employment was increasing, and in three of them (linoleum, closure, and watch) it was at new heights by 1936. What workers were being employed by the plants in the years of recovery, 1933 and after? What were their characteristics? How did these compare with the characteristics of those pre-depression workers who had not been rehired by their plants or of those who were seeking work?

Examination of the characteristics and background of workers who were on the November 1936 pay rolls of the plants and who had come onto these pay rolls after 1932 reveals that all four of the plants were hiring a high proportion of workers new to the company. Most of them were young workers. Many were recent entrants into the labor market. No particular industries except agriculture and trade appear to have been important in the background of any sizable portion of the groups. Among those hired who were not relatively recent additions to the labor market, a large proportion had been unemployed for long periods prior to their entrance onto the pay roll from which they were selected for study.

GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

Most of the workers in the four postdepression samples were native-born. Foreign-born workers comprised but 9 percent of the linoleum workers, none of the closure workers, 3 percent of the silk workers, and 2 percent of the watch workers. Such a low percentage of foreign-born workers is, as we have seen, characteristic of the community's working force. In addition, the majority of the workers hired by each of the four plants

had been born within the county. Although 25 percent of the closure workers had been born outside the county, most of the persons represented by this percentage had had long residence in the county prior to appearance on the pay roll of the plant. In this group, as in the silk and linoleum groups studied, there is no indication that the plants were importing or transferring workers from other regions during the recovery period (table A-25). Only among the watch workers was there a small proportion with experience in other watch plants who came to take employment in the Hamilton plant in Lancaster. Of the 51 watch workers born outside the community, 13 had been employed in other watch factories. Nine of these reported that they had been transferred or had shifted to Hamilton's Lancaster plant from the Illinois Watch Company after that plant (owned by Hamilton) had closed down.

In terms of employing workers from outside the city who commuted to work in the plant, however, the four plants were still hiring proportions comparable to those of the predepression samples. Twenty-six percent of the linoleum workers, 16 percent of the closure workers, 31 percent of the silk workers, and 24 percent of the watch workers were commuting to work from the regions surrounding the city. From this it would appear that the labor market of the city's industries, even after depression unemployment had increased the employable forces within the city, was still the county as a whole.

PREVIOUS ASSOCIATION WITH THE PLANTS

All four of the plants drew the major portion of their workers hired in the recovery years from persons with no previous experience in their sample plants.¹ Among the silk workers 66 percent had not previously had experience in the sample plant (three-quarters of the men and slightly more than half the women). Among the linoleum workers two-thirds, among the watch workers 80 percent, and among the closure workers 83 percent of the workers hired were new entrants on the pay roll. A higher proportion of the women than of the men hired

¹The majority of the workers in each group except linoleum, and 46 percent of the linoleum group, entered the labor market as late as 1926 (table A-27). The possibility exists that some of the other, older workers had had employment in their sample plants prior to 1926. (This would not necessarily have been recorded on the schedule - see table A-26, fn. a.) Such employment, however, would be so remote in the worker's background as to have little value in his search for work, and the possibility may therefore be disregarded.

by the watch plant were new acquisitions; among the closure workers the proportion was approximately the same for men and women. (Table A-26.)

These differences would appear to indicate that though all four of the plants could and did meet their expanded demand for labor in the recovery period by tapping the reserves of untrained labor available in the community, it was in the closure plant, where a marked change in production method and product had taken place, that the most pronounced emphasis upon newer workers was evident. In the watch plant, where the highest proportion of older, and presumably more skilled, workmen of the predepression force had been maintained, the next most pronounced emphasis upon newer workers in hiring was evident. The silk plant, where semiskilled occupations predominated, appears to have placed somewhat less emphasis upon hiring new workers, particularly among the women who constituted an easily available trained reserve of semi-skilled workers.

AGE AND SEX²

Age rather than experience appears to have been one of the most important factors in the hiring of workers during the recovery period. The workers of every group were younger than the workers in the labor market as a whole and considerably younger than the predepression worker who had not been re-employed. Whereas a third of the city's workers (36 percent of its males and 24 percent of its females) were over 45 years old, not one of the groups hired contained more than 10 percent of persons over 45 (tables A-5 and A-28). The great majority of the persons hired in every industry were less than 35 years old. In the closure, silk, and watch plants this was true of both the persons new to the plant and those who had previously been attached to it. The males in closure work and the linoleum workers tended to be somewhat older than the workers in either of the other industrial groups, but the difference was not great.

The median age of the men hired by the linoleum plant was 29.4 years; 69 percent of the workers were under 35 and more than a third of them were under 25. Of the 30 workers over 45

²This discussion is based on tables 4 and A-28.

Table 4.- SEX, AGE, AND TYPE OF ACCESSION OF WORKERS IN POSTDEPRESSION-ACQUISITION SAMPLES^a

Type of accession ^b and sample	Total			Male			Female		
	Num-ber	Per-cent	Me-dian age ^c	Num-ber	Per-cent	Me-dian age ^c	Num-ber	Per-cent	Me-dian age ^c
Total									
Linoleum	296	100.0	29.4	296	100.0	29.4	0	0	-
Closure	228	100.0	27.7	117	51.3	30.2	111	48.7	25.0
Silk	248	100.0	26.0	143	57.7	24.7	105	42.3	27.7
Watch	215	100.0	23.6	92	42.8	26.6	123	57.2	22.7
New workers									
Linoleum	201	100.0	25.4	201	100.0	25.4	0	0	-
Closure	189	100.0	26.8	98	51.9	29.9	91	48.1	24.4
Silk	163	100.0	22.8	107	65.6	22.3	56	34.4	24.1
Watch	172	100.0	22.4	68	39.5	23.6	104	60.5	22.0
Rehired workers									
Linoleum	95	100.0	36.1	95	100.0	36.1	0	0	-
Closure	39	100.0	30.7	19	48.7	31.5	20	51.3	30.0
Silk	85	100.0	31.6	36	42.4	34.4	49	57.6	29.6
Watch	43	100.0	34.3	24	55.8	38.3	19	44.2	32.1

^aBased on table A-28.

^bFor definitions of types of accession see appendix B.

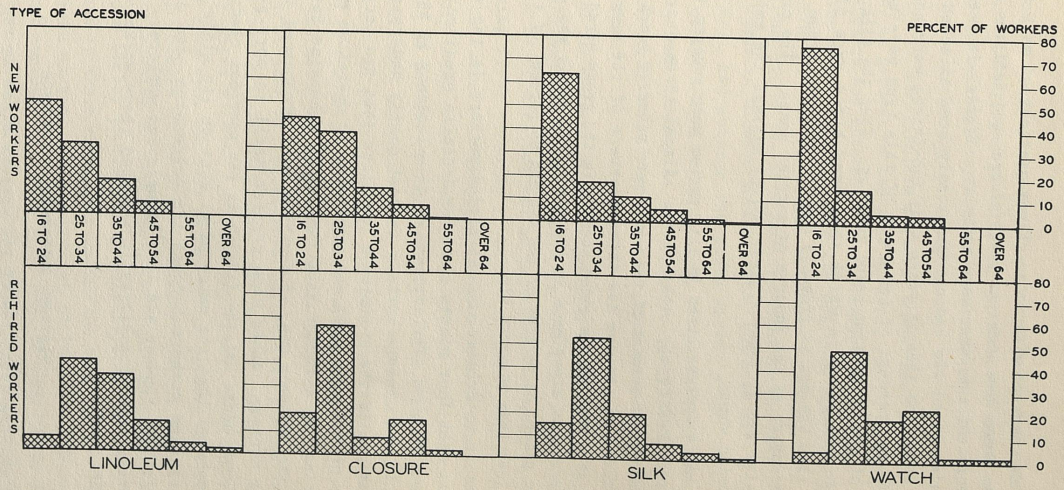
^cBased on age at about end of 1936, when the enumeration was made.

years of age who were hired, 19 had previously been employed by the firm. Eighty percent of the workers new to the plant were under 35 years old and almost half of them were under 25.

Among the persons hired for closure work the men were older than the women. The median age of the former was 30.2 years, of the latter 25.0. This difference corresponds generally to the difference in the ages of workers in the community as a whole, though both men and women are appreciably younger than the average employable in the city. Seventy percent of the men and almost 90 percent of the women hired for closure work were under 35 years old. Over 40 percent of the men were between 25 and 35 years of age; most of the women were under 25. Seven of 19 workers over 45 years old who were hired had previously been employed with the plant.

The men who were hired for silk work were on the average 3 years younger than the women, their median age being 24.7

Figure 7.- DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS HIRED AFTER 1932, BY PLANT, TYPE OF ACCESSION, AND AGE



BASED ON TABLE A-28

years as compared with 27.7. Three-quarters of both the men and the women were under 35 years of age, and half the men and 40 percent of the women were under 25. Eighty-six percent of the males hired who had not previously been attached to the plant were less than 35 years old; two-thirds were under 25. Seventy-one percent of the women of this type were under 35 years of age, 55 percent being under 25. That the silk workers are the one group in which the women hired were slightly older than the men is probably due to the greater use made by this industry of the reserve of married women. The other two companies had at least a tacit policy against the employment of married women.

The watch workers hired in this period were younger than the workers hired by any other plant. Almost three-quarters of the men and 92 percent of the women were under 35 years of age, 46 percent of the men and three-quarters of the women being under 25. Most of the older workers in the group hired had had some previous experience in the plant. Of those who were new to the plant, 84 percent of the men and 96 percent of the women were less than 35 years old.

Thus it is evident that in hiring workers in the recovery period, all four plants showed a definite predilection for younger workers. The evidence of this tendency in the hiring of silk and closure workers is most easily understandable. The change in the production technique that had occurred in these plants made skill and experience in operation even less important as a factor than they might otherwise have been. That the tendency was, if anything, more pronounced among the watch workers, among whom greater skill is more generally required, bears out the finding in the previous chapter where it appeared that the watch plant kept on its older and more experienced workers through the depression, and only discharged its younger and less experienced workers. With the recovery rise in activity it replaced these workers by even younger ones.

PREVIOUS EMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCE

As we have seen, few of the workers hired in the recovery period had had any previous experience in their sample plant. Most of them were young. In addition, a high proportion

of those in every group were recent entrants into the labor market, and many, particularly of the silk and watch workers, came to the recovery pay rolls without any previous experience in the labor market except unemployment.

A third of the linoleum workers, 29 percent of the closure workers, 42 percent of the silk workers, and 59 percent of the watch workers had entered the labor market after 1929. Except among the silk workers, where the men were slightly younger on the average than the women, the women tended to show higher proportions of new entrants into the labor market than the men. Of the women in closure work a third, compared with a quarter of the men, had entered the labor market after 1929. Two-thirds of the women in watch work, compared with about half the men, had entered it after 1929. Over half the women in watch work had not been in the labor market before 1933. (Table A-27.)

Some of the workers in each industrial group studied reported no employment experience except in the sample plant before the date of enumeration and no experience in that plant before being first hired by it in the recovery years 1933-36. The watch workers included the highest proportion of these completely inexperienced persons, 32 percent (26 percent of the males and 36 percent of the females). Those hired by the silk plant included 19 percent of such persons (18 percent of the men and 20 percent of the women). The linoleum workers included 12 percent, and the closure workers 9 percent (4 percent of the males and 14 percent of the females).

The first jobs of the workers in the four groups in part reflect the proportions that came to the pay roll in the recovery years without previous employment experience. In addition they show the high percentage of persons in the group of young workers whose primary identification was with the plant or industry of interest. The silk and watch workers included a higher proportion of workers who had first found employment in their respective industries than did the closure or linoleum workers. Fifty percent of the silk workers had been first employed in a silk mill, most of them in the sample plant. An additional 6 percent had been first employed in other textile or clothing mills. Forty-two percent of the watch workers had found first employment in the watch industry. Only 17 percent of the linoleum workers and 16 percent of the

closure workers had been first employed in the sample mill. In every group the women more than the men tended to report first employment in the industry of interest. (Table A-29.)

Those who had not found first employment in the industry of interest tended to have been scattered through a variety of other industries, with little distinctive pattern apparent in their histories. Fourteen percent of the linoleum men, 7 percent of the closure men, 13 percent of the silk men, and 5 percent of the men in watch work had first been employed in agriculture. Trade had provided initial experience for 10 percent of the linoleum workers, 18 percent of the closure workers, 16 percent of the watch workers, and but 7 percent of the silk workers. Most of these persons had been employed as messengers or salespersons. Food-products manufacture was the industry of first employment reported by 20 percent of the women in closure work. The general pattern of the first jobs, as well as that of the changes in subsequent experience, indicates that in the majority of cases necessity and opportunity rather than choice determined the employment history of most of the workers studied. (Table A-29.)

All four groups showed a heavy record of unemployment, particularly during the depression years. The groups showed no marked differences in this respect. Of the linoleum workers who were in the labor market any time during the decade 1926-35, 55 percent had had some unemployment, the average unemployed person having been unemployed for a total of 18 months. More than 50 percent of those unemployed had been seeking work a year or longer. Of those who had entered the labor market before 1931, 27 percent reported some unemployment in the years 1926-30. The average unemployed person was unemployed for 10 months during this period; half of those unemployed had been unemployed for more than 6 months. Fifty-one percent of the linoleum workers had been unemployed between 1931 and 1935, half of them for over 11 months, and the average person for 16 months. (Table A-30.)

Sixty percent of the persons hired by the closure plant had been unemployed some time during the preceding 10 years, the average unemployed person being unemployed for $1\frac{1}{2}$ years, and half the unemployed being unemployed for over 1 of the 10 years. Fifty-five percent of those in the labor market

at some time during 1931-35 were unemployed in that period for an average of 16 months, most of them for over 11 months. Of those who had entered the labor market before 1931, 29 percent had been unemployed, between 1926 and 1930, for an average of 11 months, half of them for just under a half-year. (Table A-31.)

More than half the silk workers who had been in the labor market prior to 1936 had been unemployed for slightly less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ years. Over 50 percent of them had been unemployed more than 1 year. In the 5 years that included the depression, 49 percent had been unemployed for an average of 15 months, half of them for slightly less than 1 year. In the years covering the prosperity period, 19 percent of those then in the labor market had been unemployed for an average of 11 months, most of them for 8 months or more. (Table A-32.)

Of the watch workers who had entered the labor market prior to 1936, 56 percent had had some unemployment during the 10 preceding years; the average unemployed person was unemployed for 14 months, and half of the unemployed were without work for over 9 months. In the years 1931-35, 54 percent had been unemployed for an average of 13 months, most of them for more than 8 months. Of those who entered before 1931, 18 percent had been unemployed some time during the 5 years preceding 1931 for an average of 11 months, most of them over 9 months. (Table A-33.)

In general, more of the men than of the women had had some unemployment. This is to be accounted for by the fact that the women more often did not consider themselves to be in the labor market until they were employed and tended to report themselves out of the labor market when unemployed.

SUMMARY

The evidence of the histories of the workers hired in the postdepression years shows that in all four of the plants, the important factor in the selection of workers was their youth. Seventy percent or more of the workers in each group were under 35 years of age, and a high proportion were under 25. Only a small proportion of the workers hired by any plant had had any previous experience in the sample plant. Many had had no industrial experience. This emphasis upon the young in

preference to the experienced workman was particularly notable among the watch workers. Since this industry is regarded as requiring more skilled labor than the other three, and since no spectacular change in production technique, reducing the skill requirements, is reported to have occurred in recent years, it would appear that the policy previously noted of holding on to its older and more experienced workers through the depression years had been operative to a sufficient extent to permit concentration upon younger workers when hiring in the recovery period. To this must be added the probability that an accumulation of small technical changes in production technique had reduced skill requirements to as great an extent as, though in less spectacular fashion than, a marked or radical change might have reduced them.

The closure plant, though its emphasis upon youth was less notable than that of the other plants, appears to have had even less interest than the other plants in the experience of the persons it hired. Of the persons hired, the smallest proportion with previous experience in the sample plant was reported by the closure workers. The major part of its force seems to have been drawn from persons with experience in other industries but with a heavy record of depression unemployment.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The city of Lancaster is a prospering though small industrial community located in the center of one of the richest agricultural areas in the country. Its numerous and diversified industries draw upon both the city itself and the surrounding rural region for their labor forces. The depression halted for a time the expanding tendency in production and labor demand that had been characteristic of the city. Unemployment in the city mounted, though not so rapidly as in less favored communities, and in 1934 one-fifth of the city's employable population was unemployed. Although production was almost back to its predepression levels by 1936, there still remained a large residual of unemployed workers or new entrants into the labor market who had not been able to find jobs in any industry.

In one of the four plants whose labor forces were selected for study there had occurred a marked change in the nature of the productive process during the depression years. The shift in the closure plant from the manufacture of cork closures to the manufacture of bakelite closures probably did not change the level of skill requirements for the majority of the occupations in the plant, since the skills generally required in the manufacture of either product are low. To the extent that experience may have been a factor in operation, this shift may be presumed to have reduced the value of those workers who had been long associated with the manufacture of cork closures and to have placed them in potential competition with less experienced workmen. In the silk plant a similar, though less marked, change occurred with a shift in 1932 to the production of rayon cloth, although experience in the manufacture of silk also has value in the manufacture of rayon cloth. In the linoleum and watch plants, though no marked technical change was introduced in the period under consideration, there were a series of small changes which probably reduced by at least a small extent the skill required of workmen.

The predepression workers covered by this study were mostly native-born persons indigenous to the region. As to sex, the

linoleum workers were all male, the silk workers predominantly female, the closure workers about equally divided, and the watch workers about two-thirds male. These differences were doubtless influenced by the nature of the work in the four plants. In the watch and silk plants, for example, women are generally used in the less skilled occupations and men in the more skilled ones. In the linoleum plant the heavy nature of the work precludes the use of women, and in the closure plant the more exacting or the more skilled occupations are usually reserved for men, the women being used primarily as punch-press operators or inspectors.

All four of the groups were composed of workers younger, on the average, than the average employable person in the city's labor force. Of the men the closure workers were the oldest, though still younger than the average man with a gainful occupation in the city. The male silk workers were the youngest. The women were more uniform in age but generally considerably younger than the men employed.

Fewer of the linoleum workers than of any other group had had their first jobs in the industry in which they were employed at the end of 1928. The opposite was true of the silk workers. Except for the watch workers, an appreciable proportion of the men in all groups had first been employed in agriculture. The small proportion of the watch workers with agricultural experience probably reflects the fact that a relatively large number of skilled workmen are employed in the watch plant. In terms of reported experience subsequent to first jobs, few workers showed any experience outside the industry in which they were employed at the end of 1928. A third of the linoleum workers, half the closure workers, and about two-thirds of the silk workers who had been in the labor market prior to 1926 reported their longest job which began before 1926 to have been in the industry of interest. A fifth of the linoleum workers and only about a tenth or less of the other workers had been employed in any other industry in the 3 years preceding 1929.

EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT AND SELECTIVE FACTORS

The depression brought a sharp contraction in the labor demand of the four important Lancaster industries whose labor forces were studied. Employment after 1929 fell rapidly from its predepression peak to a point where only half as many

linoleum workers and two-thirds as many silk, watch, and closure workers were in demand by the plants studied. In 1933 three of the plants began again to increase their demand for labor; by 1936 they were employing more workers than ever before. The silk plant, on the other hand, though its demand for workers increased somewhat in the recovery years, had not regained its predepression level of employment by 1936.

The histories of the workers analyzed in this study provide evidence regarding the nature of the selective process that operated in the distribution of the changing number of employment opportunities in the four plants. The increased size of the labor reserve, augmented by new accessions to the labor market and by the unemployed workers from other pursuits, permitted the exercise of a considerable degree of selectivity in choosing workers when the demand for labor was rising after the depression. This opportunity to pick and choose was most marked where skill requirements were already low or where a leveling of skill requirements by technological change had occurred.

With the contraction of job opportunities that followed the prosperous twenties, the majority of the workers in each of the four groups studied sooner or later became separated from their plant. The linoleum plant provided continuous employment for 47 percent of its predepression force, the watch plant for 41 percent, the silk plant for 34 percent, and the closure plant for only 31 percent. The linoleum and watch workers who maintained continuous employment in their plants were on the average older than those who did not; they also had a longer record of continuous attachment to the plant. On the other hand, the closure workers who maintained employment were the younger workers and also, among the women, the less experienced. Here, obviously, the change in the product tended to reduce the emphasis on experience and to substitute an emphasis on youth. Among the silk workers, in general a young group, there seemed to be no pronounced bias in favor of or against the younger or older persons within the group, or for or against more or less experienced persons. There is evidence, however, that the persons in skilled occupations tended to have greater job security throughout the depression period.

Although the rise in the demand for workers by all four of the plants studied was accompanied by some rehiring of those predepression workers who were pushed out by the depression

contraction, interesting differences were observed both in the extent to which the various plants reemployed their former employees and in the characteristics of the workers who were reemployed. As a group, the watch workers fared best and the closure workers worst in regaining employment in their plant. Although almost half the watch workers who had been laid off were subsequently reemployed, only about a quarter of the closure workers succeeded in getting back into the closure plant. The relationship between these differences and the differences in the circumstances of the two plants seems clear. The watch plant, with its preponderance of skilled and semiskilled occupations, had greater need for its previous employees. The closure plant, with its greater proportion of unskilled jobs and with a new process for which experience on the old job was relatively valueless, could to a greater extent select its workers on other bases.

This interpretation is supported by an analysis of the characteristics of the persons rehired by the four plants. Only among the watch workers was it the older rather than the younger worker, the more experienced rather than the less experienced, who was rehired. In the other groups the workers rehired were on the whole appreciably younger than the workers not rehired. Also, the less experienced were rehired in greater proportions than the more experienced. The tendency of the silk plant to reemploy higher proportions of its more skilled workmen raised slightly the age of the group rehired but not sufficiently to overcome the more pronounced tendency to take back the younger workers in preference to the older ones.

In finding employment outside the plant of his predepression attachment, the older worker experienced greater difficulty than the younger. The person whose previous connection with the plant had been longer, moreover, was at a disadvantage compared with the person with shorter experience in the plant. While many of these former workers thus remained unemployed, new workers were being taken on by the four plants, especially during the recovery period 1933-36. In all four plants a high proportion of the workers hired had had no previous employment experience in any industry. Those hired were, on the average, younger than those already in the labor market and far younger than those predepression workers who had been laid off by their plants and were still without jobs at the time of the study.

APPENDIXES

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Unless otherwise specified, the tables in appendix A are based upon the samples described in chapter I, pp. 9-13.

For definitions of terms used in the tables see appendix B.

APPENDIX A

TABLES

Table A-1.- MANUFACTURING EMPLOYMENT OF THE UNITED STATES, PENNSYLVANIA, AND LANCASTER, 1920-36

Year	Total wage and salary employees of manufacturing industries				Industrial wage and salary employees in Lancaster, Pennsylvania ^a	
	United States ^b		Pennsylvania ^c		Number	Index (1920=100)
	Number	Index (1920=100)	Number	Index (1920=100)		
1920	9,530,420	100.0	1,464,003	100.0	14,160	100.0
1921	7,361,783	77.2	1,048,471	71.6	12,484	88.2
1922	8,192,635	86.0	1,034,839	70.7	14,046	99.2
1923	9,415,506	98.8	1,146,203	78.3	13,982	98.7
1924	8,859,179	93.0	1,077,038	73.6	14,658	103.5
1925	9,239,677	96.9	1,093,854	74.7	14,484	102.3
1926	9,500,151	99.7	1,112,914	76.0	15,505	109.5
1927	9,448,759	99.1	1,106,395	75.6	16,049	113.3
1928	9,562,858	100.3	1,088,162	74.3	16,562	117.0
1929	10,191,795	106.9	1,137,142	77.7	16,625	117.4
1930	9,062,117	95.1	1,057,383	72.2	14,806	104.6
1931	7,731,218	81.1	973,310	66.5	13,647	96.4
1932	6,559,893	68.8	835,929	57.1	10,775	76.1
1933	7,101,911	74.5	920,968	62.9	11,017	77.8
1934	8,210,384	86.1	991,994	67.8	12,214	86.3
1935	8,694,522	91.2	1,032,444	70.5	13,518	95.5
1936	9,408,457	98.7	1,132,691	77.4	14,380	101.6

^a While the scope of the word "industrial" cannot be ascertained, it is believed that only manufacturing industries are referred to. Data for 1920-24 were supplied by the Pennsylvania Dept. Internal Affairs, Bur. Statistics, to the Lancaster Chamber of Commerce; data for 1925-36 were obtained from the same source by the National Research Project.

^b Preliminary estimates based on U. S. Census data, prepared by Daniel Carson of the National Research Project. The figures include data for the electric light and power industry and manufacturers' sales organizations not already included in the Census of Manufactures; they exclude data for logging camps and steam- and electric-railroad repair shops. The figures have been adjusted to the trend indicated by the Census of Occupations for 1920 and 1930.

^c Data for 1920-31 from each annual volume of *Report on Productive Industries, Public Utilities, and Miscellaneous Statistics* (Pa. Dept. Internal Affairs, Bur. Statistics); for 1932-35 from letter of March 22, 1937 by Henry W. Van Pelt, Director, Bur. Statistics, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Dept. of Internal Affairs, Harrisburg, Pa., addressed to H. Magdoff of the National Research Project; for 1936 from letter of October 20, 1936 from Frank W. Ziegler, Statistician, Bur. Statistics, to Mr. Carson.

Table A-2.- GROWTH OF POPULATION OF LANCASTER, PENNSYLVANIA, 1800-1930^a

Year	Population	Increase over preceding census year	
		Number	Percent
1800	4,292		
1810	5,405	1,113	25.9
1820	6,633	1,228	22.7
1830	7,704	1,071	16.1
1840	8,417	713	9.3
1850	12,369	3,952	47.0
1860	17,603	5,234	42.3
1870	20,233	2,630	14.9
1880	25,769	5,536	27.4
1890	32,011	6,242	24.2
1900	41,459	9,448	29.5
1910	47,227	5,768	13.9
1920	53,150	5,923	12.5
1930	59,949	6,799	12.8

^aFrom Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1830, "Population" (U. S. Dept. Com., Bur. Census, 1931), vol. 1, p. 931.

Table A-8.- STATEMENT OF THE ENUMERATION^a

Item	Linoleum				Closure			
	Predepression (25-percent sample)		Postdepression (20-percent sample)		Predepression (66.7-percent sample)		Postdepression (33.3-percent sample)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total on sample list	495	100.0	314	100.0	219	100.0	239	100.0
Schedules secured	378	76.4	296	94.3	164	74.9	228	95.4
Schedules not secured	117	23.6	18	5.7	55	25.1	11	4.6
Deceased	40	8.1	0	0.0	14	6.4	0	0.0
In institution	2	0.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Unable to supply information	3	0.6	1	0.3	1	0.4	0	0.0
Refused	8	1.6	3	1.0	3	1.4	1	0.4
Removed from enumerating area	21	4.2	5	1.6	12	5.5	2	0.8
Not located	43	8.7	9	2.8	25	11.4	8	3.4

Item	Silk				Watch			
	Predepression (33.3-percent sample)		Postdepression (50-percent sample)		Predepression (25-percent sample)		Postdepression (25-percent sample)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total on sample list	443	100.0	265	100.0	258	100.0	224	100.0
Schedules secured	337	76.1	248	93.6	210	81.4	215	96.0
Schedules not secured	106	23.9	17	6.4	48	18.6	9	4.0
Deceased	9	2.0	0	0.0	6	2.3	0	0.0
In institution	1	0.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Unable to supply information	0	0.0	1	0.4	0	0.0	0	0.0
Refused	7	1.6	2	0.7	3	1.2	3	1.3
Removed from enumerating area	14	3.2	4	1.5	23	8.9	2	0.9
Not located	75	16.9	10	3.8	16	6.2	4	1.8

^aSample is based on a random selection of names from lists based on pay-roll records of the respective plants. The method used to compile the list is discussed in chap. I.

Table A-4.- NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES IN THE FOUR SELECTED PLANTS,
1921-36

Year	Linoleum ^a	Closure ^a	Silk ^b	Watch ^c
1921	1,527	201	1,625	694
1924	2,164	345	1,152	938
1927	2,686	361	1,611	1,208
1928	2,050	329	n. a.	1,032
1929	2,362	n. a.	1,329	n. a.
1930	1,994	338	1,148	1,206
1931	1,392	285	n. a.	n. a.
1932	1,091	185	n. a.	n. a.
1933	1,280	278	1,110	822
1934	1,449	462	n. a.	n. a.
1935	1,839	463	892	n. a.
1936	2,141	578	943	n. a.
1937	n. a.	n. a.	1,057	2,007

^aData for 1921-27 were supplied to the National Research Project by the Pa. Dept. Internal Affairs, Bur. Statistics. Data for subsequent years represent an average of monthly figures supplied by the personnel department of the Armstrong Cork Co. The closure figure for 1928, however, is for November only. The company's monthly figures are averages of daily employment figures.

^bData for 1921, 1924, 1927, 1930, 1933, and 1937 were supplied to the National Research Project by the Pa. Dept. Internal Affairs, Bur. Statistics. The 1929 figure refers to January 1 of that year, and was obtained from the pay-roll records of the Stehli Silk Co. The 1935 and 1936 figures are estimates of the personnel department of the company.

^cExcept for the 1928 figure, which refers to November only and which was obtained from the pay-roll records of the Hamilton Watch Co., data were supplied to the National Research Project by the Pa. Dept. Internal Affairs, Bur. Statistics.

n. a. Data not available.

Table A-5.- DISTRIBUTION OF GAINFUL WORKERS IN LANCASTER CITY
10 YEARS OLD OR OVER, BY SEX AND AGE, 1930^a

Age	Total		Male		Female	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	26,692	100.0	18,726	100.0	7,966	100.0
10-15	181	0.7	111	0.6	70	0.9
16-24	6,055	22.7	3,351	17.9	2,704	33.9
25-34	6,396	24.0	4,568	24.4	1,828	23.0
35-44	5,363	20.1	3,921	20.9	1,442	18.1
45-54	4,333	16.2	3,290	17.6	1,043	13.1
55-64	2,816	10.5	2,201	11.8	615	7.7
65 or over	1,536	5.8	1,280	6.8	256	3.2
Unknown	12	*	4	*	8	0.1
Median age	36.3		38.4		31.6	

^aAdapted from *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, "Population"* (U. S. Dept. Com., Bur. Census, 1933), vol. IV, p. 1406.

*Less than 0.05.

Table A-6.- PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PREDEPRESSION SAMPLES,
BY SEX AND AGE^a

Sex and age ^b	Linoleum	Closure	Silk	Watch
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
15 or under	0	0.6	0.3	0.5
16-24	22.5	36.6	52.2	43.8
25-34	28.8	20.1	31.1	23.8
35-44	23.5	18.3	11.3	19.0
45-54	16.9	12.8	3.3	8.1
55-64	6.4	5.5	0.9	3.8
65 or over	1.9	6.1	0.9	1.0
Male	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
15 or under	0	0	0	0
16-24	22.5	25.3	39.0	34.3
25-34	28.8	20.7	37.5	23.1
35-44	23.5	20.7	14.7	24.6
45-54	16.9	14.9	5.9	11.2
55-64	6.4	8.1	0.7	6.0
65 or over	1.9	10.3	2.2	0.8
Female	-	100.0	100.0	100.0
15 or under	-	1.3	0.5	1.3
16-24	-	49.3	61.2	60.6
25-34	-	19.5	26.9	25.0
35-44	-	15.6	8.9	9.2
45-54	-	10.4	1.5	2.6
55-64	-	2.6	1.0	0
65 or over	-	1.3	0	1.3

^aFor total numbers distributed and median age see table 1.^bAge at about end of 1928, the date of the sample. See chap. I for more exact dates.Table A-7.- POPULATION OF LANCASTER COUNTY AND CITY,
BY RACE AND NATIVITY, 1930^a

Race and nativity	Lancaster County		Lancaster city		Lancaster County exclusive of Lancaster city	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	196,882	100.0	59,949	100.0	136,933	100.0
Native white	189,867	96.5	55,873	93.2	133,994	97.9
Native parentage	177,276	90.1	48,468	80.9	128,808	94.1
Foreign parentage	7,029	3.6	4,397	7.3	2,632	1.9
Mixed parentage	5,562	2.8	3,008	5.0	2,554	1.9
Foreign-born white	4,369	2.2	2,778	4.6	1,591	1.2
Negro	2,593	1.3	1,281	2.2	1,312	0.9
Other races	53	*	17	*	36	*

^aFifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, "Population" (U. S. Dept. Com., Bur. Census, 1932), vol. III, pt. 2, pp. 677, 688.

*Less than 0.05.

Table A-8.- PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PREDEPRESSION SAMPLES, BY RESIDENCE AT DATES OF BIRTH, SAMPLE, AND ENUMERATION AND BY SEX^a

Sex and place of residence	At date of birth				At date of sample ^b				At date of enumeration ^b			
	Lino- leum	Clo- sure	Watch	Silk	Lino- leum	Clo- sure	Watch	Silk	Lino- leum	Clo- sure	Watch	Silk
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Lancaster city	29.6	52.5	50.0	24.6	73.3	92.7	83.3	57.6	69.6	87.8	83.3	54.9
Rest of Lancaster Co.	46.3	26.8	22.4	62.6	26.7	7.3	16.7	42.4	30.4	12.2	16.7	45.1
Rest of Pennsylvania	11.4	13.4	17.6	7.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rest of United States	4.8	4.9	5.7	3.6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Foreign	7.9	2.4	4.3	2.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Male	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Lancaster city	29.6	47.1	50.0	18.4	73.3	90.8	88.1	41.9	69.6	85.1	88.8	40.4
Rest of Lancaster Co.	46.3	25.3	16.4	72.0	26.7	9.2	11.9	58.1	30.4	14.9	11.2	59.6
Rest of Pennsylvania	11.4	17.3	21.6	5.9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rest of United States	4.8	5.7	6.0	2.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Foreign	7.9	4.6	6.0	1.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female	-	100.0	100.0	100.0	-	100.0	100.0	100.0	-	100.0	100.0	100.0
Lancaster city	-	58.4	50.0	28.9	-	94.8	75.0	68.2	-	90.9	73.7	64.7
Rest of Lancaster Co.	-	28.6	32.9	56.2	-	5.2	25.0	31.8	-	9.1	26.3	35.3
Rest of Pennsylvania	-	9.1	10.5	6.0	-	0	0	0	-	0	0	0
Rest of United States	-	3.9	5.3	4.4	-	0	0	0	-	0	0	0
Foreign	-	0	1.3	2.5	-	0	0	0	-	0	0	0

^aFor total numbers distributed see table 1.

^bThe sample was compiled as of the end of 1928; the enumeration was made at the end of 1936.

Table A-9.- PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PREDEPRESSION SAMPLES,
BY SEX AND INDUSTRY OF FIRST JOB^a

Sample industry and industry of first job	Total	Male	Female
Linoleum	100.0	100.0	-
Linoleum	7.4	7.4	-
Food products manufacturing	6.6	6.6	-
Textile and clothing manufacturing	7.7	7.7	-
Metal products manufacturing	10.6	10.6	-
Other manufacturing	24.1	24.1	-
Agriculture	21.4	21.4	-
Trade	9.0	9.0	-
Other	13.2	13.2	-
Closure	100.0	100.0	100.0
Closure	34.1	24.1	45.5
Food products manufacturing	14.0	9.2	19.5 ^b
Umbrella manufacturing	4.9	2.3	7.8
Other manufacturing	23.2	31.0	14.2
Agriculture	9.8	18.4	0.0
Other	14.0	15.0	13.0
Silk	100.0	100.0	100.0
Silk	47.2	31.6	57.7
Other textile and clothing manufacturing	7.1	2.9	10.0
Other manufacturing	22.5	27.2	19.4
Agriculture	9.2	21.3	1.0
Other	14.0	17.0	11.9
Watch	100.0	100.0	100.0
Watch	32.4	28.4	39.5
Food products manufacturing	7.6	6.7	9.2 ^b
Textile and clothing manufacturing	9.5	3.7	19.7
Other manufacturing	25.7	33.6	11.9
Trade	11.5	11.9	10.5
Agriculture	4.3	6.7	0.0
Other	9.0	9.0	9.2

^aFor total numbers distributed see table 1.

^bAll were employed in a candy factory.

Table A-10.- PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PREDEPRESSION SAMPLES, BY SEX AND INDUSTRY OF LONGEST JOB WHICH BEGAN BEFORE 1926^a

Sex and industry of longest job which began before 1926	Linoleum	Closure	Silk	Watch
Total				
Number	357	147	271	179
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Sample industry	38.4	50.3	65.3	66.5
Other industries	61.6	49.7	34.7	33.5
Male				
Number	357	77	120	121
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Sample industry	38.4	42.9	60.0	65.3
Other industries	61.6	57.1	40.0	34.7
Female				
Number	0	70	151	58
Percent	0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Sample industry	-	58.6	69.5	69.0
Other industries	-	41.4	30.5	31.0

^aExcludes workers not in labor market before 1926.

Table A-11.- PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL MAN-MONTHS OF PREDEPRESSION LINOLEUM WORKERS, 1929-35, BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS^a

Year	Total	Employed	Unemployed	
			Seeking work	Not seeking work
All years	100.0	89.3	8.7	2.0
1929	100.0	97.3	1.9	0.8
1930	100.0	93.8	4.8	1.4
1931	100.0	88.1	10.3	1.6
1932	100.0	84.2	13.4	2.4
1933	100.0	85.4	12.4	2.2
1934	100.0	88.0	9.4	2.6
1935	100.0	88.7	8.5	2.8

^aBased on 378 (male) workers, representing a total of 4,536 man-months per year.

Table A-12.- PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION ON TOTAL MAN-MONTHS
OF PREDEPRESSION CLOSURE WORKERS, 1929-35,
BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND SEX^a

Sex and year	Total	Employed	Unemployed	
			Seeking work	Not seeking work
Total, all years	100.0	76.6	10.9	12.5
1929	100.0	93.6	3.0	3.4
1930	100.0	88.5	4.4	7.1
1931	100.0	79.7	9.2	11.1
1932	100.0	69.0	17.7	13.3
1933	100.0	66.0	17.2	16.8
1934	100.0	69.2	13.1	17.7
1935	100.0	70.0	11.7	18.3
Males, all years	100.0	80.9	11.0	8.1
1929	100.0	94.6	4.0	1.4
1930	100.0	93.1	4.4	2.5
1931	100.0	84.7	10.0	5.3
1932	100.0	73.8	18.3	7.9
1933	100.0	72.1	16.0	11.9
1934	100.0	74.0	12.2	13.8
1935	100.0	74.0	12.2	13.8
Females, all years	100.0	71.7	10.8	17.5
1929	100.0	92.5	1.7	5.8
1930	100.0	83.3	4.5	12.2
1931	100.0	74.0	8.4	17.6
1932	100.0	63.6	17.1	19.3
1933	100.0	59.1	18.6	22.3
1934	100.0	63.7	14.2	22.1
1935	100.0	65.5	11.2	23.3

^aBased on 87 male workers, representing a total of 1,044 man-months per year, and 77 female workers, representing a total of 924 man-months per year.

EXPANDING LABOR MARKET

Table A-13.- PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL MAN-MONTHS
OF PREDEPRESSION SILK WORKERS, 1929-35,
BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND SEX^a

Sex and year	Total	Employed	Unemployed	
			Seeking work	Not seeking work
Total, all years	100.0	84.6	4.1	11.3
1929	100.0	95.5	0.9	3.6
1930	100.0	91.5	2.5	6.0
1931	100.0	87.3	3.8	8.9
1932	100.0	83.4	5.1	11.5
1933	100.0	80.6	5.7	13.7
1934	100.0	77.9	5.2	16.9
1935	100.0	75.7	5.5	18.8
Males, all years	100.0	94.6	4.6	0.8
1929	100.0	97.9	1.2	0.9
1930	100.0	96.6	2.9	0.5
1931	100.0	94.4	5.6	-
1932	100.0	93.1	6.9	-
1933	100.0	94.4	4.4	1.2
1934	100.0	92.8	5.7	1.5
1935	100.0	93.0	5.4	1.6
Females, all years	100.0	77.8	3.8	18.4
1929	100.0	93.9	0.8	5.3
1930	100.0	88.0	2.3	9.7
1931	100.0	82.5	2.6	14.9
1932	100.0	76.9	3.8	19.3
1933	100.0	71.3	6.6	22.1
1934	100.0	67.7	4.9	27.4
1935	100.0	64.0	5.5	30.5

^aBased on 136 male workers, representing a total of 1,632 man-months per year, and 201 female workers, representing a total of 2,412 man-months per year.

Table A-14.- PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL MAN-MONTHS
OF PREDEPRESSION WATCH WORKERS, 1929-35,
BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND SEX^a

Sex and year	Total	Employed	Unemployed	
			Seeking work	Not seeking work
Total, all years	100.0	84.3	6.4	9.3
1929	100.0	94.6	0.8	4.6
1930	100.0	89.8	2.0	8.2
1931	100.0	85.0	7.4	7.6
1932	100.0	77.8	12.4	9.8
1933	100.0	75.7	12.5	11.8
1934	100.0	82.6	5.7	11.7
1935	100.0	84.8	4.2	11.0
Males, all years	100.0	89.7	7.2	3.1
1929	100.0	97.8	0.7	1.5
1930	100.0	95.5	2.1	2.4
1931	100.0	88.9	8.9	2.2
1932	100.0	81.8	15.3	2.9
1933	100.0	80.7	15.3	4.0
1934	100.0	89.9	5.6	4.5
1935	100.0	93.0	3.0	4.0
Females, all years	100.0	74.9	5.0	20.1
1929	100.0	88.8	1.1	10.1
1930	100.0	79.6	1.9	18.5
1931	100.0	78.1	4.8	17.1
1932	100.0	70.6	7.5	21.9
1933	100.0	66.8	7.6	25.6
1934	100.0	69.8	5.7	24.5
1935	100.0	70.3	6.5	23.2

^aBased on 134 male workers, representing a total of 1,608 man-months per year, and 76 female workers, representing a total of 912 man-months per year.

EXPANDING LABOR MARKET

Table A-15.- PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYABLE MAN-MONTHS
OF PREDEPRESSION LINOLEUM WORKERS, 1929-35,
BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS^a

Year	Total man-months in labor market	Percent of total man-months in labor market			
		Employed			Un- employed
		Total	In sample plant	Elsewhere	
All years	31,119	91.2	73.0	18.2	8.8
1929	4,499	98.1	90.8	7.3	1.9
1930	4,473	95.1	82.1	13.0	4.9
1931	4,462	89.6	71.2	18.4	10.4
1932	4,426	86.3	65.1	21.2	13.7
1933	4,435	87.3	64.2	23.1	12.7
1934	4,417	90.3	67.7	22.6	9.7
1935	4,407	91.3	69.6	21.7	8.7

^aBased on 378 (male) workers.

Table A-16.- PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYABLE MAN-MONTHS
OF PREDEPRESSION CLOSURE WORKERS, 1929-35,
BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND SEX^a

Sex and year	Total man-months in labor market	Percent of total man-months in labor market			
		Employed			Unemployed
		Total	In sample plant	Elsewhere	
Total, all years	12,054	87.5	67.5	20.0	12.5
1929	1,901	96.9	88.0	8.9	3.1
1930	1,829	95.2	81.6	13.6	4.8
1931	1,750	89.6	72.9	16.7	10.4
1932	1,707	79.5	57.5	22.0	20.5
1933	1,638	79.3	54.3	25.0	20.7
1934	1,620	84.1	56.0	28.1	15.9
1935	1,609	85.6	57.4	28.2	14.4
Males, all years	6,717	88.0	69.7	18.3	12.0
1929	1,030	95.9	86.9	9.0	4.1
1930	1,018	95.5	81.7	13.8	4.5
1931	988	89.5	74.8	14.7	10.5
1932	961	80.1	60.6	19.5	19.9
1933	920	81.8	59.5	22.3	18.2
1934	900	85.9	59.8	26.1	14.1
1935	900	85.9	60.9	25.0	14.1
Females, all years	5,337	86.9	64.8	22.1	13.1
1929	871	98.2	89.5	8.7	1.8
1930	811	94.9	81.4	13.5	5.1
1931	762	89.8	70.4	19.4	10.2
1932	746	78.8	53.6	25.2	21.2
1933	718	76.0	47.4	28.6	24.0
1934	720	81.8	51.2	30.6	18.2
1935	709	85.3	52.9	32.4	14.7

^aBased on 87 male workers and 77 female workers.

EXPANDING LABOR MARKET

Table A-17.- PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYABLE MAN-MONTHS
OF PREDEPRESSION SILK WORKERS, 1929-35,
BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND SEX^a

Sex and year	Total man-months in labor market	Percent of total man-months in labor market			
		Employed			Unemployed
		Total	In sample plant	Elsewhere	
Total, all years	25,100	95.4	78.4	17.0	4.6
1929	3,901	99.0	92.8	6.2	1.0
1930	3,802	97.3	87.9	9.4	2.7
1931	3,685	95.8	83.2	12.6	4.2
1932	3,578	94.3	79.9	14.4	5.7
1933	3,492	93.4	73.8	19.6	6.6
1934	3,359	93.7	66.5	27.2	6.3
1935	3,283	93.3	59.9	33.4	6.7
Males, all years	11,332	95.4	76.6	18.8	4.6
1929	1,617	98.8	89.2	9.6	1.2
1930	1,624	97.1	83.1	14.0	2.9
1931	1,632	94.4	78.4	16.0	5.6
1932	1,632	93.1	77.4	15.7	6.9
1933	1,613	95.5	75.9	19.6	4.5
1934	1,608	94.2	70.3	23.9	5.8
1935	1,606	94.5	61.6	32.9	5.5
Females, all years	13,768	95.4	79.8	15.6	4.6
1929	2,284	99.2	95.4	3.8	0.8
1930	2,178	97.5	91.5	6.0	2.5
1931	2,053	96.9	87.0	9.9	3.1
1932	1,946	95.3	81.9	13.4	4.7
1933	1,879	91.5	72.0	19.5	8.5
1934	1,751	93.3	63.0	30.3	6.7
1935	1,677	92.1	58.2	33.9	7.9

^aBased on 136 male workers and 201 female workers.

Table A-18.- PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYABLE MAN-MONTHS
OF PREDEPRESSION WATCH WORKERS, 1929-35,
BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND SEX^a

Sex and year	Total man-months in labor market	Percent of total man-months in labor market			
		Employed			Unem- ployed
		Total	In sample plant	Else- where	
Total, all years	16,009	92.9	76.9	16.0	7.1
1929	2,404	99.1	94.3	4.8	0.9
1930	2,313	97.8	88.8	9.0	2.2
1931	2,328	92.0	77.4	14.6	8.0
1932	2,274	86.2	67.6	18.6	13.8
1933	2,222	85.8	64.3	21.5	14.2
1934	2,225	93.6	70.6	23.0	6.4
1935	2,243	95.2	73.6	21.6	4.8
Males, all years	10,911	92.5	74.5	18.0	7.5
1929	1,584	99.3	92.9	6.4	0.7
1930	1,570	97.8	87.4	10.4	2.2
1931	1,572	90.9	75.7	15.2	9.1
1932	1,562	84.3	64.2	20.1	15.7
1933	1,544	84.1	60.3	23.8	15.9
1934	1,536	94.1	68.4	25.7	5.9
1935	1,543	96.9	71.7	25.2	3.1
Females, all years	5,098	93.7	82.2	11.5	6.3
1929	820	98.8	97.1	1.7	1.2
1930	743	97.7	91.8	5.9	2.3
1931	756	94.2	81.0	13.2	5.8
1932	712	90.4	75.1	15.3	9.6
1933	678	89.8	73.6	16.2	10.2
1934	689	92.5	75.6	16.9	7.5
1935	700	91.6	77.7	13.9	8.4

^aBased on 134 male workers and 76 female workers.

Table A-19.- DISTRIBUTION OF THE PREDEPRESSION LINOLEUM SAMPLE, BY EMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCE IN 1929-35, AND AGE

Age ^a	Total		Had continuous employment in sample plant		Did not have continuous employment in sample plant																					
					Total		Subsequently rehired ^b								Not subsequently rehired ^b											
							Had no intervening employment ^c				Had intervening employment				Had no other employment ^c				Had other employment							
							Total		Seeking work		Not seeking work		Total		Seeking work		Not seeking work		Total		Seeking work		Not seeking work			
Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent			
Total ^d	378	100.0	176	100.0	202	100.0	86	100.0	37	100.0	35	100.0	2	#	49	100.0	116	100.0	28	100.0	18	#	10	#	88	100.0
18-24	2	0.5	0	0	2	1.0	1	1.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2.0	1	0.9	1	3.6	1	-	0	-	0	0
25-34	96	25.4	36	20.5	60	29.7	34	39.5	10	27.0	9	25.7	1	-	24	49.0	26	22.4	0	0	0	-	0	-	26	29.5
35-44	118	31.2	55	31.2	63	31.2	31	36.0	17	46.0	16	45.7	1	-	14	28.6	32	27.6	5	17.8	4	-	1	-	27	30.7
45-54	86	22.8	50	28.4	36	17.8	16	18.6	7	18.9	7	20.0	0	-	9	16.4	20	17.2	3	10.7	2	-	1	-	17	19.3
55-64	52	13.8	27	15.4	25	12.4	4	4.7	3	8.1	3	8.8	0	-	1	2.0	21	18.1	8	28.6	8	-	0	-	13	14.8
65 or over	24	6.3	8	4.5	16	7.9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	0	0	16	13.8	11	39.2	3	-	8	-	5	5.7
Median age		42.7		44.5		41.2		37.6		40.0		40.3		#		34.8		44.7		61.3		#		#		41.7

^aAge at about end of 1936, when the enumeration was made.
^bDuring period 1929-35.
^cSee table 3, fin. d.

^dMale workers only.
^ePercentage distributions and medians not calculated for fewer than 25 cases.

Table A-20.- DISTRIBUTION OF THE PREDEPRESSION CLOSURE SAMPLE, BY EMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCE IN 1929-35, SEX, AND AGE

Sex and age ^a	Total		Had continuous employment in sample plant		Did not have continuous employment in sample plant																					
					Total		Subsequently rehired ^b								Not subsequently rehired ^b											
	Total		Had no intervening employment ^c				Had intervening employment				Had no other employment ^c				Had other employment											
			Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent				
Total	164	100.0	51	100.0	113	100.0	30	100.0	20	†	17	†	3	†	10	†	83	100.0	38	100.0	12	†	26	100.0	45	100.0
16-24	7	4.3	0	0	7	6.2	2	6.7	1	-	1	-	0	-	1	-	5	6.0	1	2.6	0	-	1	3.9	4	8.9
25-34	33	35.4	24	47.1	39	34.5	18	50.0	12	-	9	-	3	-	6	-	21	25.3	9	23.7	3	-	6	23.1	12	26.7
35-44	34	20.7	9	17.6	25	22.1	6	20.0	6	-	6	-	0	-	0	-	19	22.9	6	15.8	3	-	3	11.5	13	28.9
45-54	27	16.5	13	25.5	14	12.4	2	6.7	0	-	0	-	0	-	2	-	12	14.5	4	10.5	1	-	3	11.5	8	17.8
55-64	14	8.5	4	7.8	10	8.9	1	3.3	1	-	1	-	0	-	0	-	9	10.8	3	7.9	2	-	1	3.8	6	13.3
65 or over	19	11.6	1	2.0	18	15.9	1	3.3	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	-	17	20.5	15	39.5	3	-	12	46.2	2	4.4
Males, total	87	100.0	32	100.0	55	100.0	15	†	8	†	8	†	0	0	7	†	40	100.0	16	†	5	†	11	†	24	†
16-24	3	3.4	0	-	3	5.5	2	-	1	-	1	-	0	-	1	-	1	2.5	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	-
25-34	26	29.9	12	37.5	14	25.4	8	-	4	-	4	-	0	-	4	-	6	15.0	0	-	0	-	0	-	6	-
35-44	15	17.3	4	12.5	11	20.0	3	-	3	-	3	-	0	-	0	-	8	20.0	1	-	1	-	0	-	7	-
45-54	18	20.7	11	34.4	7	12.7	1	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	-	6	15.0	2	-	1	-	1	-	4	-
55-64	9	10.3	4	12.5	5	9.1	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	5	12.5	1	-	1	-	0	-	4	-
65 or over	16	18.4	1	3.1	15	27.3	1	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	-	14	35.0	12	-	2	-	10	-	2	-
Females, total	77	100.0	19	†	58	100.0	15	†	12	†	9	†	3	†	3	†	43	100.0	22	†	7	†	15	†	21	†
16-24	4	5.2	0	-	4	8.9	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	4	9.3	1	-	0	-	1	-	3	-
25-34	37	48.0	12	-	25	43.1	10	-	8	-	5	-	3	-	2	-	15	34.9	9	-	3	-	6	-	6	-
35-44	19	24.7	5	-	14	24.1	3	-	3	-	3	-	0	-	0	-	11	25.6	5	-	2	-	3	-	6	-
45-54	9	11.7	2	-	7	12.1	1	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	-	6	13.9	2	-	0	-	2	-	4	-
55-64	5	6.5	0	-	5	8.6	1	-	1	-	1	-	0	-	0	-	4	9.3	2	-	1	-	1	-	2	-
65 or over	3	3.9	0	-	3	5.2	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	3	7.0	3	-	1	-	2	-	0	-
Median age																										
Total	38.5		36.7		39.2		32.2		†		†		†		†		43.2		52.5		†		55.0		40.0	
Males	44.7		45.0		44.5		†		†		†		†		†		53.3		†		†		†		†	
Females	34.3		†		35.0		†		†		†		†		†		37.3		†		†		†		†	

^aAge at about end of 1936, when the enumeration was made.
^bDuring period 1929-35.

^cSee table 3, fn. d.
^dPercentage distributions and medians not calculated for fewer than 25 cases.

Table A-21.- DISTRIBUTION OF THE PREDEPRESSION SILK SAMPLE, BY EMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCE IN 1929-35, SEX, AND AGE

Sex and age ^a	Did not have continuous employment in sample plant																											
	Total		Had continuous employment in sample plant		Subsequently rehired ^b												Not subsequently rehired ^b											
					Total				Had no intervening employment ^c				Had intervening employment				Total				Had no other employment ^c				Had other employment			
	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent
Total	337	100.0	116	100.0	221	100.0	68	100.0	43	100.0	23	#	#	20	#	23	#	155	100.0	57	100.0	14	#	#	43	100.0	98	100.0
16-24	10	3.0	2	1.7	8	3.6	3	4.5	3	7.0	0	-	3	-	0	-	5	3.2	2	3.5	0	-	2	4.7	3	3.1		
25-34	201	59.6	65	56.0	136	61.5	37	56.1	22	51.2	13	-	9	-	15	-	99	63.9	35	61.4	5	-	30	69.7	64	65.3		
35-44	82	24.3	29	24.4	54	24.4	21	31.8	14	32.5	6	-	8	-	7	-	33	21.3	12	21.0	5	-	7	16.3	21	21.4		
45-54	29	8.6	16	13.8	13	5.9	4	6.1	3	7.0	3	-	0	-	1	-	9	5.8	3	5.3	2	-	1	2.3	6	6.1		
55-64	11	3.3	4	3.4	7	3.2	1	1.5	1	2.3	1	-	0	-	0	-	6	3.9	3	5.3	2	-	1	2.3	3	3.1		
65 or over	4	1.2	1	0.9	3	1.4	0	0	0	0	0	-	0	-	0	-	3	1.9	2	3.5	0	-	2	4.7	1	1.0		
Males, total	136	100.0	56	100.0	80	100.0	30	100.0	13	#	11	#	2	#	17	#	50	100.0	7	#	5	#	2	#	43	100.0		
16-24	2	1.5	1	1.8	1	1.3	-	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	2.0	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	2.3		
25-34	71	52.2	26	50.0	43	53.7	17	56.7	7	-	5	-	2	-	10	-	26	52.0	2	-	2	-	0	-	24	55.8		
35-44	37	27.2	15	26.8	22	27.5	10	33.3	4	-	4	-	0	-	6	-	12	24.0	1	-	1	-	0	-	11	25.6		
45-54	15	11.0	8	14.3	7	8.7	2	6.7	1	-	1	-	0	-	1	-	5	10.0	1	-	1	-	0	-	4	9.3		
55-64	7	5.2	3	5.3	4	5.0	1	3.3	1	-	1	-	0	-	0	-	3	6.0	1	-	1	-	0	-	2	4.7		
65 or over	4	2.9	1	1.8	3	3.8	0	0	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	3	6.0	2	-	0	-	2	-	1	2.3		
Females, total	201	100.0	60	100.0	141	100.0	38	100.0	30	100.0	12	#	18	#	6	#	105	100.0	50	100.0	9	#	41	100.0	55	100.0		
16-24	8	4.0	1	1.7	7	5.0	3	8.3	3	10.0	0	-	3	-	0	-	4	3.8	2	4.0	0	-	2	4.9	2	3.6		
25-34	130	64.7	37	61.6	93	65.9	20	55.5	15	50.0	8	-	7	-	5	-	73	69.5	33	66.0	3	-	30	73.2	40	72.8		
35-44	45	22.4	13	21.7	32	22.7	11	30.6	10	33.3	2	-	6	-	1	-	21	20.0	11	22.0	4	-	7	17.1	10	18.2		
45-54	14	6.9	8	13.3	6	4.3	2	5.6	2	6.7	2	-	0	-	0	-	4	3.8	2	4.0	1	-	1	2.4	2	3.6		
55-64	4	2.0	1	1.7	3	2.1	0	0	0	0	0	-	0	-	0	-	3	2.9	2	4.0	1	-	1	2.4	1	1.8		
Median age																												
Total	32.9		33.6		32.5		33.1		33.4		#	#	#		32.3		32.6		#		#	31.5		32.2				
Males	34.3		34.6		34.1		33.8		#		#	#	#		34.2		#		#		#	31.2		33.5				
Females	32.1		32.8		31.8		32.5		33.0		#	#	#		31.6		32.0		#		#	31.2		31.4				

^aAge at about end of 1926, when the enumeration was made.
^bDuring period 1929-35.

^cSee table 3, fn. d.
^dPercentage distributions and medians not calculated for fewer than 25 cases.

Table A-22.- DISTRIBUTION OF THE PREDEPRESSION WATCH SAMPLE, BY EMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCE IN 1929-35, SEX, AND AGE

Sex and age ^a	Total		Had continuous employment in sample plant		Did not have continuous employment in sample plant																					
					Total		Subsequently rehired ^b								Not subsequently rehired ^b											
	Total		Had no intervening employment ^c				Seeking work		Not seeking work		Had intervening employment		Total		Had no other employment ^c		Had other employment									
			Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent						
Total	210	100.0	86	100.0	124	100.0	59	100.0	34	100.0	25	100.0	9	#	24	#	66	100.0	20	#	3	#	17	#	46	100.0
16-24	5	2.4	1	1.2	4	3.2	1	1.7	0	0	0	0	0	-	1	-	3	4.5	1	-	1	-	0	-	2	4.4
25-34	104	49.5	38	44.2	66	53.2	26	44.8	12	35.3	6	24.0	6	-	14	-	40	60.8	10	-	0	-	10	-	30	55.2
35-44	45	21.4	22	25.6	23	18.6	14	24.1	10	29.4	9	36.0	1	-	4	-	9	13.6	1	-	0	-	1	-	8	17.3
45-54	33	15.7	14	16.3	19	15.3	12	20.7	8	23.5	8	32.0	0	-	4	-	7	10.6	3	-	1	-	2	-	4	8.7
55-64	14	6.7	9	10.4	5	4.0	2	3.5	2	5.9	2	8.0	0	-	0	-	3	4.6	1	-	1	-	0	-	2	4.4
65 or over	9	4.3	2	2.3	7	5.7	3	5.2	2	5.9	0	0	2	-	1	-	4	6.1	4	-	0	-	4	-	0	0
Males, total	134	100.0	58	100.0	76	100.0	37	100.0	21	#	18	#	3	#	16	#	39	100.0	7	#	2	#	5	#	32	100.0
16-24	2	1.5	1	1.7	1	1.3	0	0	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	2.6	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	3.1
25-34	52	38.8	20	34.5	32	42.1	14	37.9	5	-	4	-	1	-	9	-	18	46.1	0	-	0	-	0	-	18	59.2
35-44	34	25.4	17	29.3	17	22.4	9	24.3	6	-	6	-	0	-	3	-	8	20.5	0	-	0	-	0	-	8	25.0
45-54	26	19.4	12	20.7	14	18.4	9	24.3	6	-	6	-	0	-	3	-	5	12.6	2	-	1	-	1	-	3	9.4
55-64	12	8.9	7	12.1	5	6.6	2	5.4	2	-	2	-	0	-	0	-	3	7.7	1	-	1	-	0	-	2	6.3
65 or over	8	6.0	1	1.7	7	9.2	3	8.1	2	-	0	-	2	-	1	-	4	10.3	4	-	0	-	4	-	0	0
Females, total	76	100.0	28	100.0	48	100.0	21	#	13	#	7	#	6	#	8	#	27	100.0	13	#	1	#	12	#	14	#
16-24	3	4.0	0	0	3	6.3	1	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	-	2	7.4	1	-	1	-	0	-	1	-
25-34	52	68.4	18	64.3	34	70.8	12	-	7	-	2	-	1	-	5	-	22	81.5	10	-	0	-	10	-	12	-
35-44	11	14.5	5	17.9	6	12.5	5	-	4	-	3	-	0	-	1	-	1	3.7	1	-	0	-	1	-	0	-
45-54	7	9.2	2	7.1	5	10.4	3	-	2	-	2	-	0	-	1	-	2	7.4	1	-	0	-	1	-	1	-
55-64	2	2.6	2	7.1	0	0	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	0	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
65 or over	1	1.3	1	3.6	0	0	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	0	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
Median age																										
Total	34.6		36.8		33.8		36.4		40.0		42.2		#		#		32.5		#		#		#		32.0	
Males	36.8		39.7		37.9		40.0		#		#		#		#		35.6		#		#		#		33.3	
Females	31.7		32.8		31.2		#		#		#		#		#		30.2		#		#		#		#	

^aAge at about end of 1936, when the enumeration was made.
^bDuring period 1929-35.

^cSee table 3, fn. 4.
^dPercentage distributions and medians not computed for fewer than 25 cases.

Table A-23.- DISTRIBUTION OF THE PREDEPRESSION SILK SAMPLE, BY SEX, OCCUPATION,
AND EMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCE IN 1929-35^a

Employment experience	Total				Male				Female			
	Weavers and loom fixers		Others		Weavers and loom fixers		Others		Weavers and loom fixers		Others	
	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent
Total	139	100.0	198	100.0	97	100.0	39	100.0	42	100.0	159	100.0
Had continuous employment in sample plant	45	32.4	71	35.9	38	39.2	18	46.2	7	16.7	53	33.3
Did not have continuous employment in sample plant	94	67.6	127	64.1	59	60.8	21	53.8	35	83.3	106	66.7
Subsequently rehired ^b	32	23.0	34	17.1	24	24.7	6	15.4	8	19.0	28	17.6
Had no intervening employment ^c	16	11.5	27	13.6	11	11.3	2	5.1	5	11.9	25	15.7
Seeking work	10	7.2	13	6.5	9	9.3	2	5.1	1	2.4	11	6.9
Not seeking work	6	4.3	14	7.1	2	2.0	0	0	4	9.5	14	8.8
Had intervening employment	16	11.5	7	3.5	13	13.4	4	10.3	3	7.1	3	1.9
Not subsequently rehired ^b	62	44.6	93	47.0	35	36.1	15	38.4	27	64.3	73	49.1
Had no other employment ^c	17	12.2	40	20.2	3	3.1	4	10.2	14	33.3	36	22.7
Seeking work	8	5.7	6	3.0	3	3.1	2	5.1	5	11.9	4	2.5
Not seeking work	9	6.5	34	17.2	0	0	2	5.1	9	21.4	32	20.2
Had other employment	45	32.4	53	26.8	32	33.0	11	28.2	13	31.0	42	26.4

^aOccupation in the sample silk plant in January 1929.

^bDuring period 1929-35.

^cSee table 3, ftm. d.

Table A-24.- DISTRIBUTION OF PREDEPRESSION SAMPLES, BY DURATION OF CONTINUOUS EMPLOYMENT IN SAMPLE PLANT IMMEDIATELY PRIOR TO 1929, SEX, AND EMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCE IN 1929-35

Sex and employment experience	Continuous employment in sample plant immediately prior to 1929							
	Linoleum		Closure		Silk		Watch	
	3 years or more	Less than 3 years	3 years or more	Less than 3 years	3 years or more	Less than 3 years	3 years or more	Less than 3 years
Total	243	135	103	61	200	137	148	62
Had continuous employment in sample plant	129	47	38	13	81	35	71	15
Did not have continuous employment in sample plant	114	88	65	48	119	102	77	47
Subsequently rehired ^a	44	42	14	16	30	36	40	18
Had no intervening employment ^b	24	13	9	11	20	23	25	9
Seeking work	22	13	7	10	13	10	22	3
Not seeking work	2	0	2	1	7	13	3	6
Had intervening employment	20	29	5	5	10	13	15	9
Not subsequently rehired ^a	70	46	51	32	89	66	37	29
Had no other employment ^b	28	2	29	9	34	23	12	9
Seeking work	16	2	10	2	11	3	3	0
Not seeking work	10	0	19	7	23	20	9	8
Had other employment	44	44	22	23	55	43	25	21

See footnotes at end of table.

Table A-24.- DISTRIBUTION OF PREDEPRESSION SAMPLES, BY DURATION OF CONTINUOUS EMPLOYMENT IN SAMPLE PLANT IMMEDIATELY PRIOR TO 1929, SEX, AND EMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCE IN 1929-35 - *Continued*

Sex and employment experience	Continuous employment in sample plant immediately prior to 1929							
	Linoleum		Closure		Silk		Watch	
	3 years or more	Less than 3 years	3 years or more	Less than 3 years	3 years or more	Less than 3 years	3 years or more	Less than 3 years
Males, total	243	135	54	33	91	45	99	35
Had continuous employment in sample plant	129	47	27	5	41	15	48	10
Did not have continuous employment in sample plant	114	88	27	28	50	30	51	25
Subsequently rehired ^a	44	42	6	9	15	15	26	11
Had no intervening employment ^b	24	13	3	5	7	6	16	5
Seeking work	22	13	3	5	6	5	15	3
Not seeking work	2	0	0	0	1	1	1	2
Had intervening employment	20	29	3	4	8	9	10	6
Not subsequently rehired ^a	70	46	21	19	35	15	25	14
Had no other employment ^b	26	2	12	4	6	1	7	0
Seeking work	16	2	4	1	4	1	2	0
Not seeking work	10	0	8	3	2	0	5	0
Had other employment	44	44	9	15	29	14	18	14

Females, total	0	0	49	28	109	92	49	27
Had continuous employment in sample plant	0	0	11	8	40	20	23	5
Did not have continuous employ- ment in sample plant	0	0	38	20	69	72	26	22
Subsequently rehired ^a	0	0	8	7	15	21	14	7
Had no intervening employment ^b	0	0	6	6	13	17	9	4
Seeking work	0	0	4	5	7	5	7	0
Not seeking work	0	0	2	1	6	12	2	4
Had intervening employment	0	0	2	1	2	4	5	3
Not subsequently rehired ^a	0	0	30	13	54	51	12	15
Had no other employment	0	0	17	5	28	22	5	8
Seeking work	0	0	6	1	7	2	1	0
Not seeking work	0	0	11	4	21	20	4	8
Had other employment	0	0	13	8	26	29	7	7

^aDuring period 1929-35.

^bSee table 3, ft. d.

Table A-25.- PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF POSTDEPRESSION-ACQUISITION SAMPLES, BY DATES OF BIRTH AND ENUMERATION AND BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE

Place of residence	Linoleum	Closure	Silk	Watch
	At date of birth			
Total				
Number	296	228	248	215
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Lancaster city	38.2	47.4	36.7	49.8
Rest of Lancaster Co.	48.6	27.6	47.6	27.0
Rest of United States	3.7	25.0	12.9	21.4
Foreign	9.5	0	2.8	2.3
	At date of enumeration ^a			
Total				
Number	296	228	248	215
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Lancaster city	74.0	84.2	68.5	75.8
Rest of Lancaster Co.	26.0	15.8	31.5	24.2
Rest of United States	0	0	0	0
Foreign	0	0	0	0

^aEnumeration was made at the end of 1936.

Table A-26.- PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF POSTDEPRESSION-ACQUISITION SAMPLES, BY SEX AND TYPE OF ACCESSION^a

Sex and type of accession ^b	Linoleum	Closure	Silk	Watch
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
New workers	67.9	82.9	65.7	80.0
Rehired workers	32.1	17.1	34.3	20.0
Males, total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
New workers	67.9	83.8	74.8	73.9
Rehired workers	32.1	16.2	25.2	26.1
Females, total	-	100.0	100.0	100.0
New workers	-	82.0	53.3	84.6
Rehired workers	-	18.0	46.7	15.4

^aFor total numbers distributed see table 4. The schedule used (see appendix B) shows first job, longest job which began before 1926, and all jobs in the period 1926-36. See chap. IV, fn. 1.

^b"New workers" refers to those persons who acceded to the pay roll of the sample plant for the first time sometime after 1932. "Rehired workers" refers to those persons who had been on the pay roll of the sample plant before 1933, but who were subsequently separated and then rehired after 1932.

Table A-27.- PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF POSTDEPRESSION-
ACQUISITION SAMPLES, BY SEX AND YEAR OF ENTRY
INTO LABOR MARKET^a

Sex and year of entry into labor market	Linoleum	Closure	Silk	Watch
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Before 1926	54.4	46.5	46.8	29.7
1926	2.7	4.8	3.2	2.8
1927-29	10.1	19.8	7.7	8.4
1930-32	13.2	16.2	15.3	11.2
1933-35	15.9	10.1	24.2	39.5
1936	3.7	2.6	2.8	8.4
Males, total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Before 1926	54.4	53.9	42.6	43.4
1926	2.7	6.0	3.5	2.2
1927-29	10.1	16.2	6.3	5.4
1930-32	13.2	11.1	14.0	10.9
1933-35	15.9	9.4	28.7	27.2
1936	3.7	3.4	4.9	10.9
Females, total	-	100.0	100.0	100.0
Before 1926	-	38.8	52.4	19.5
1926	-	3.6	2.9	3.3
1927-29	-	23.4	9.5	10.6
1930-32	-	21.6	17.1	11.4
1933-35	-	10.8	18.1	48.7
1936	-	1.8	0	6.5

^aFor total numbers distributed see table 4.

Table A-28.- PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF POSTDEPRESSION-ACQUISITION SAMPLES, BY SEX, AGE, AND TYPE OF ACCESSION^a

Type of accession ^b and age	Linoleum ^c	Closure			Silk			Wash		
		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
16-19	6.4	3.9	6.0	1.8	21.0	25.9	14.3	20.0	17.4	21.9
20-24	28.7	35.1	22.2	48.7	26.2	25.9	26.7	41.9	28.3	52.0
25-34	33.8	40.3	41.9	38.7	29.0	25.9	33.3	21.8	27.2	17.9
35-44	20.9	12.3	16.2	8.1	14.5	13.2	16.2	7.4	13.0	3.3
45-54	8.1	7.5	12.0	2.7	6.1	4.9	7.6	7.9	11.9	4.9
55-64	1.4	0.9	1.7	0	2.4	2.8	1.9	0.5	1.1	0
65 or over	0.7	0	0	0	0.8	1.4	0	0.5	1.1	0
New workers	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
16-19	9.5	4.8	7.1	2.2	31.9	34.6	26.8	25.0	23.5	26.0
20-24	39.3	38.6	23.5	54.9	31.9	33.6	28.6	51.2	38.6	60.6
25-34	30.8	37.1	39.8	34.1	17.2	17.8	16.1	15.1	23.5	9.6
35-44	14.9	13.2	17.4	8.8	11.1	7.5	17.8	4.6	8.8	1.9
45-54	5.5	5.8	11.2	0	5.5	2.8	10.7	4.1	7.4	1.9
55-64	0	0.5	1.0	0	1.8	2.8	0	0	0	0
65 or over	0	0	0	0	0.6	0.9	0	0	0	0
Rehired workers	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
16-19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
20-24	6.3	17.9	15.8	20.0	15.3	2.8	24.5	4.7	4.2	5.3
25-34	40.0	56.4	52.6	60.0	52.9	50.0	55.1	48.8	37.4	63.2
35-44	33.7	7.7	10.5	5.0	20.0	30.5	12.2	18.6	25.0	10.5
45-54	13.7	15.4	15.8	15.0	7.1	11.1	4.1	23.3	25.0	21.0
55-64	4.2	2.6	5.3	0	3.5	2.8	4.1	2.3	4.2	0
65 or over	2.1	0	0	0	1.2	2.8	0	2.3	4.2	0

^aFor total numbers distributed and median ages see table 4. Ages are those at about end of 1936, when the enumeration was made.

^bSee table A-26, fn. b.

^cMale workers only.

Table A-29.- PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF POSTDEPRESSION-ACQUISITION SAMPLES, BY SEX AND INDUSTRY OF FIRST JOB

Sample industry and industry of first job	Total	Male	Female
Linoleum	100.0	100.0	-
Linoleum	16.9	16.9	-
Food products manufacturing	6.4	6.4	-
Textile and clothing manufacturing	6.1	6.1	-
Metal products manufacturing	6.8	6.8	-
Other manufacturing	19.3	19.3	-
Agriculture	13.8	13.8	-
Trade	10.1	10.1	-
Building and construction	8.1	8.1	-
Other	12.5	12.5	-
Closure	100.0	100.0	100.0
Closure	15.8	11.1	20.8
Food products manufacturing	13.6	7.7	19.8
Textile and clothing manufacturing	10.1	5.1	15.3
Metal products manufacturing	6.1	9.4	2.7
Other manufacturing	18.4	22.2	14.4
Agriculture	6.6	6.9	6.3
Trade	18.0	20.5	15.3
Other	11.4	17.1	5.4
Silk	100.0	100.0	100.0
Silk	50.0	36.4	68.6
Other textile and clothing manufacturing	5.6	4.9	6.7
Other manufacturing	21.0	27.2	12.4
Trade	7.2	9.1	4.7
Agriculture	7.7	13.3	-
Other	8.5	9.1	7.6
Watch	100.0	100.0	100.0
Watch	42.3	39.1	44.7
Other manufacturing	29.3	30.5	28.4
Trade	16.3	16.3	16.3
Agriculture	2.3	5.4	-
Other	9.8	8.7	10.6

^a For total numbers distributed and median ages see table 4. Ages are those at about end of 1936, when the enumeration was made.

^b See table A-26, fn. b.
^c Male workers only.

EXPANDING LABOR MARKET

Table A-80.- DISTRIBUTION OF POSTDEPRESSION LINOLEUM ACQUISITIONS^a WHO EXPERIENCED UNEMPLOYMENT IN 1926-35, BY DURATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Number of months unemployed	Period		
	1926-35	1926-30	1931-35
Total in labor market ^b	285	213	285
Workers who experienced unemployment	55.1	26.8	50.9
Percent	157	57	145
Number			
1-3	20	12	22
4-6	22	18	23
7-12	36	13	36
13-18	24	7	18
19-24	13	2	15
25-30	15	1	10
31-36	7	1	6
37-42	5	3	6
43-48	5	0	3
49-54	2	0	3
55-60	4	0	3
61-66	2	-	-
67-72	0	-	-
73-78	1	-	-
79-84	1	-	-
85 or over	0	-	-
Median number of months	12.6	6.3	11.1
Mean number of months	18.1	10.0	15.8

^aMale workers only.

^bEleven linoleum workers entered the labor market in 1936.

Table A-81.- DISTRIBUTION OF POSTDEPRESSION CLOSURE ACQUISITIONS WHO EXPERIENCED UNEMPLOYMENT IN 1926-35, BY SEX AND DURATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Number of months unemployed	Period and sex								
	1926-35			1926-30			1931-35		
	Total	Male	Fe- male	Total	Male	Fe- male	Total	Male	Fe- male
Total in labor market ^a	222	113	109	176	94	82	222	113	109
Workers who experienced unemployment	60.4	64.6	56.0	29.0	29.8	28.0	55.4	58.4	52.3
Percent	134	73	61	51	28	23	123	66	57
Number									
1-3	22	10	12	9	5	4	19	7	12
4-6	18	11	7	23	11	12	21	13	8
7-12	28	17	11	4	3	1	26	18	8
13-18	9	4	5	5	3	2	12	5	7
19-24	13	8	5	4	2	2	12	7	5
25-30	15	8	7	2	1	1	16	9	7
31-36	11	7	4	2	2	0	6	1	5
37-42	3	1	2	1	1	0	3	1	2
43-48	5	3	2	1	0	1	2	2	0
49-54	6	2	4	0	0	0	4	2	2
55-60	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	1	1
61-66	1	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
67-72	1	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
73-78	0	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
79-84	0	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
85-90	1	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
91 or over	0	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
Median number of months	12.3	12.0	13.1	5.7	6.0	5.4	11.5	10.8	12.9
Mean number of months	18.9	18.6	19.4	10.7	11.4	9.8	16.3	15.9	16.8

^aSix closure workers entered the labor market in 1936.

Table A-82.- DISTRIBUTION OF POSTDEPRESSION SILK ACQUISITIONS WHO EXPERIENCED UNEMPLOYMENT IN 1926-35, BY SEX AND DURATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Number of months unemployed	Period and sex								
	1926-35			1928-30			1931-35		
	Total	Male	Fe- male	Total	Male	Fe- male	Total	Male	Fe- male
Total in labor market ^a	241	136	105	152	80	72	241	136	105
Workers who experienced unemployment	51.0	61.0	38.1	19.1	20.0	18.1	49.0	59.6	35.2
Percent	123	83	40	29	16	13	118	61	37
Number	19	15	4	4	3	1	21	17	4
1- 3	19	11	8	8	5	3	20	11	9
4- 6	21	16	5	8	6	2	20	13	7
7-12	17	13	4	4	1	3	19	16	3
13-18	17	11	6	2	0	2	15	10	5
19-24	9	4	5	2	1	1	9	5	4
25-30	8	6	2	1	0	1	5	3	2
31-36	6	5	1	0	0	0	4	4	0
37-42	3	1	2	0	0	0	3	2	1
43-48	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
49-54	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
55-60	1	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
61-66	1	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
67-72	1	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
73-78	1	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
79 or over	0	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
Median number of months	13.4	12.3	17.0	8.4	8.5	13.5	11.9	12.3	11.2
Mean number of months	17.2	15.7	20.3	11.0	8.2	14.4	15.1	14.4	16.5

^aSeven silk workers entered the labor market in 1936.

Table A-83.- DISTRIBUTION OF POSTDEPRESSION WATCH ACQUISITIONS WHO EXPERIENCED UNEMPLOYMENT IN 1926-35, BY SEX AND DURATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Number of months unemployed	Period and sex								
	1926-35			1928-30			1931-35		
	Total	Male	Fe- male	Total	Male	Fe- male	Total	Male	Fe- male
Total in labor market ^a	197	82	115	93	48	45	197	82	115
Workers who experienced unemployment	56.3	62.2	52.2	18.3	16.7	20.0	54.3	61.0	49.5
Percent	111	51	60	17	8	9	107	50	57
Number	19	11	8	3	1	2	19	11	8
1- 3	25	7	18	4	2	2	26	8	18
4- 6	24	8	16	3	1	2	21	7	14
7-12	15	10	5	4	1	3	17	11	6
13-18	6	1	5	2	2	0	3	0	3
19-24	10	5	5	0	0	0	12	7	5
25-30	5	5	0	1	1	0	4	4	0
31-36	3	3	0	0	0	0	2	1	1
37-42	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
43-48	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
49-54	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
55-60	2	0	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
61-66	0	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
67-72	1	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
73-78	1	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
79 or over	0	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
Median number of months	9.4	12.1	8.0	9.5	12.5	8.0	8.9	11.6	7.8
Mean number of months	14.2	15.9	12.8	11.4	14.2	8.9	13.1	14.3	12.0

^aEighteen watch workers entered the labor market in 1936.

OCCUPATIONAL HISTORY SCHEDULE

NAME	ENUMERATOR	DATE	CLEARANCE DATA
ADDRESS	SCHEDULE No.		

AGE	SEX	RACE	PLACE OF BIRTH	MARK- TAL STA- TUS	SCHOOL GRADE COM- PLETED	AGE LEAVING SCHOOL	H-1 USUAL OCCUPATION	H-2 USUAL INDUSTRY	H-3 YEARS AT USUAL	PRESNT EMPLOYMENT STATUS
A	B	C	D	E	F	G				I
			YEARS IN CITY			AGE BEGAN WORK				
			YEARS IN U. S. A.							

TOTAL TIME UNEMPLOYED	TOTAL SEPARATIONS	TOTAL EMPLOYER SHIFTS	TOTAL OCCUPATIONAL SHIFTS	TOTAL INDUSTRY SHIFTS	AVERAGE LENGTH OF SERVICE PER JOB	AVERAGE LENGTH OF SERVICE PER EMPLOYER
J	K	L	M	N	O	P

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY PRIOR TO 1926

PERIOD BEGIN- NING	END- ING	JOBS (OR UNEMPLOYMENT) OF MORE THAN ONE MONTH'S DURATION				CHARACTER OF EMPLOYMENT
MO. YR.	MO. YR.	OCCUPATION	INDUSTRY	NAME AND LOCATION OF EMPLOYER	REASON FOR CHANGE	
		FIRST JOB				
		LONGEST JOB				

EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT HISTORY 1926-1936

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SCHEDULE AND DEFINITIONS OF TERMS USED

SCHEDULE

DEFINITIONS OF TERMS USED

Predepression Workers: Predepression workers is a phrase used to designate those workers who had been on the active pay rolls of the plants studied in November 1928 or, in the case of the silk plant, in January 1929.

Postdepression Workers: These are workers who were on the active pay roll of the company in November 1936, and whose attachment was made subsequent to the low point in labor demand in the community, that is, subsequent to January 1, 1933. These were of two types.

(a) *New Acquisitions:* Persons whose first accession to the pay roll after 1932 was, so far as could be determined from the employment history (Form #20), their first accession to that plant's pay roll.

(b) *Rehired Workers:* Persons whose first accession to the pay roll after 1932 had been preceded, according to the employment history (Form #20), by a period of employment in that plant which began before 1933.

Age: Unless otherwise indicated, age refers to the age on the last birthday prior to the date of enumeration.

Place of Birth: For foreign-born persons, the country of birth was recorded; for native-born, the State of birth; for persons born in Lancaster County, the place was recorded.

Usual Industry: Persons interviewed were asked to indicate what industry they considered their usual one. This was variously interpreted to be longest, last, or best. In cases of doubt it was entered as longest job, and of two work experiences of equal length, the most recent was entered as the usual. However since the sampling process identified persons with a particular plant, this concept, though recorded, was not used, and the industry from which the person was sampled was regarded as his usual industry or sample industry.

Employment: Continuous paid service for 1 month or more, whether full-time or part-time, constituted employment. When a person was working on his own account (i. e., self-employed) for 1 month or more, he was considered to be employed.

Unemployment: Unemployment was divided into two categories, seeking work and not seeking work. Time spent unemployed seeking work includes time of persons able and willing to work but unable to secure employment. Time spent unemployed not

seeking work includes time of persons either unable or unwilling to work. Time spent in Government emergency work, which includes employment on work relief, Public Works projects, or Works Program projects, whether financed by the city, the State, or the Government, was considered as time unemployed seeking work. Periods of less than 1 month's duration were not counted.

First Job: The first job was defined as the first full-time paid job after leaving school permanently. Summer jobs between school sessions and any jobs held while the individual was out of school for a period of only 1 year or less were not counted as the first job.

Longest Job: The longest job was defined as the longest job beginning prior to 1926 for persons who had entered the labor market before that time. For persons who had entered the labor market during or after 1926, it was the longest job they had ever held.

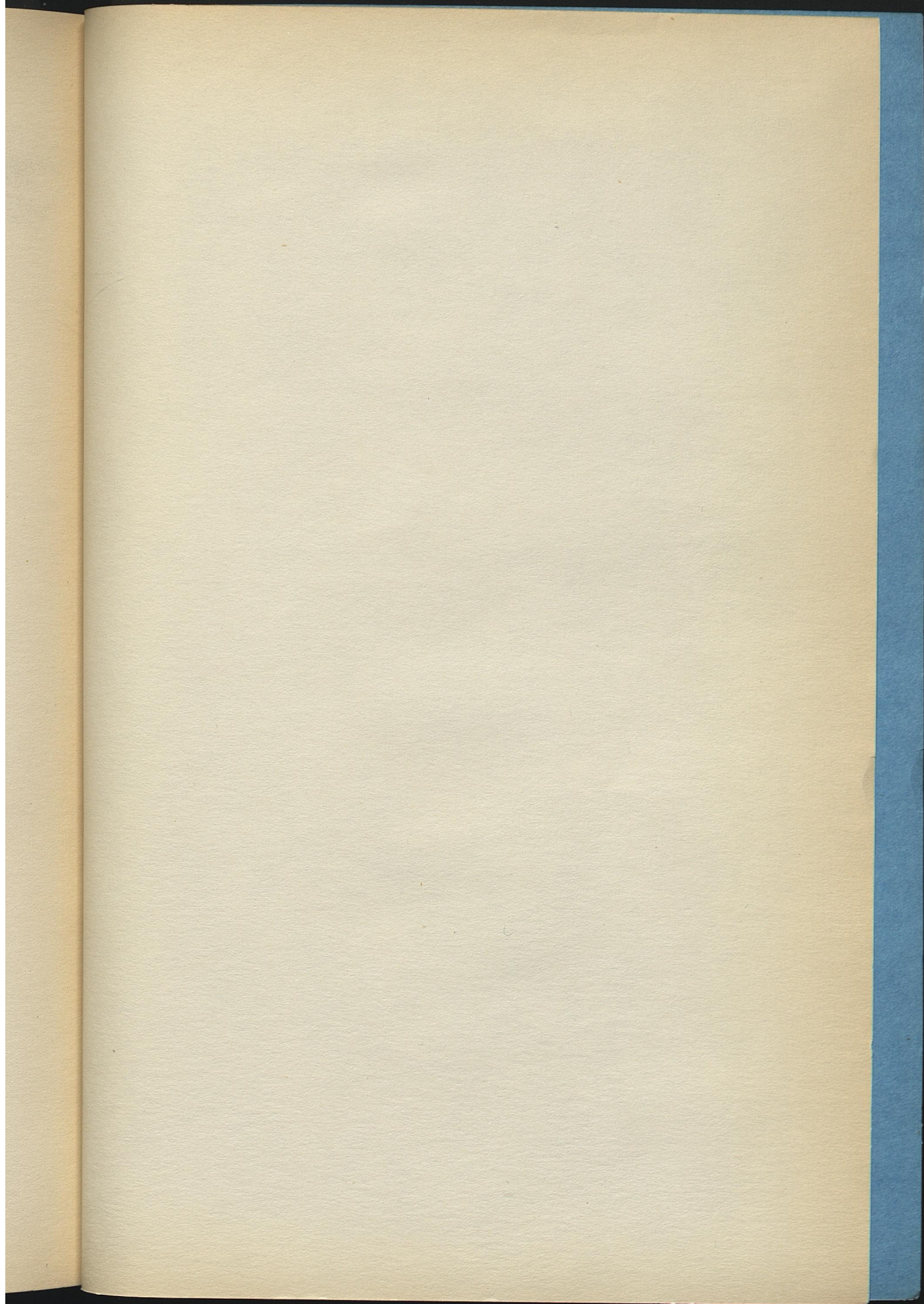
Time in Labor Market: Date of entry into labor market was counted as the date when the person first began to work or to seek work; unless the person specifically indicated otherwise, the date when he left school was taken to be the date at which he began his search for work. Time spent in the labor market includes all employable time, whether employed or unemployed seeking work. Intervening periods when the person was unemployed not seeking work were not counted as time in the labor market.

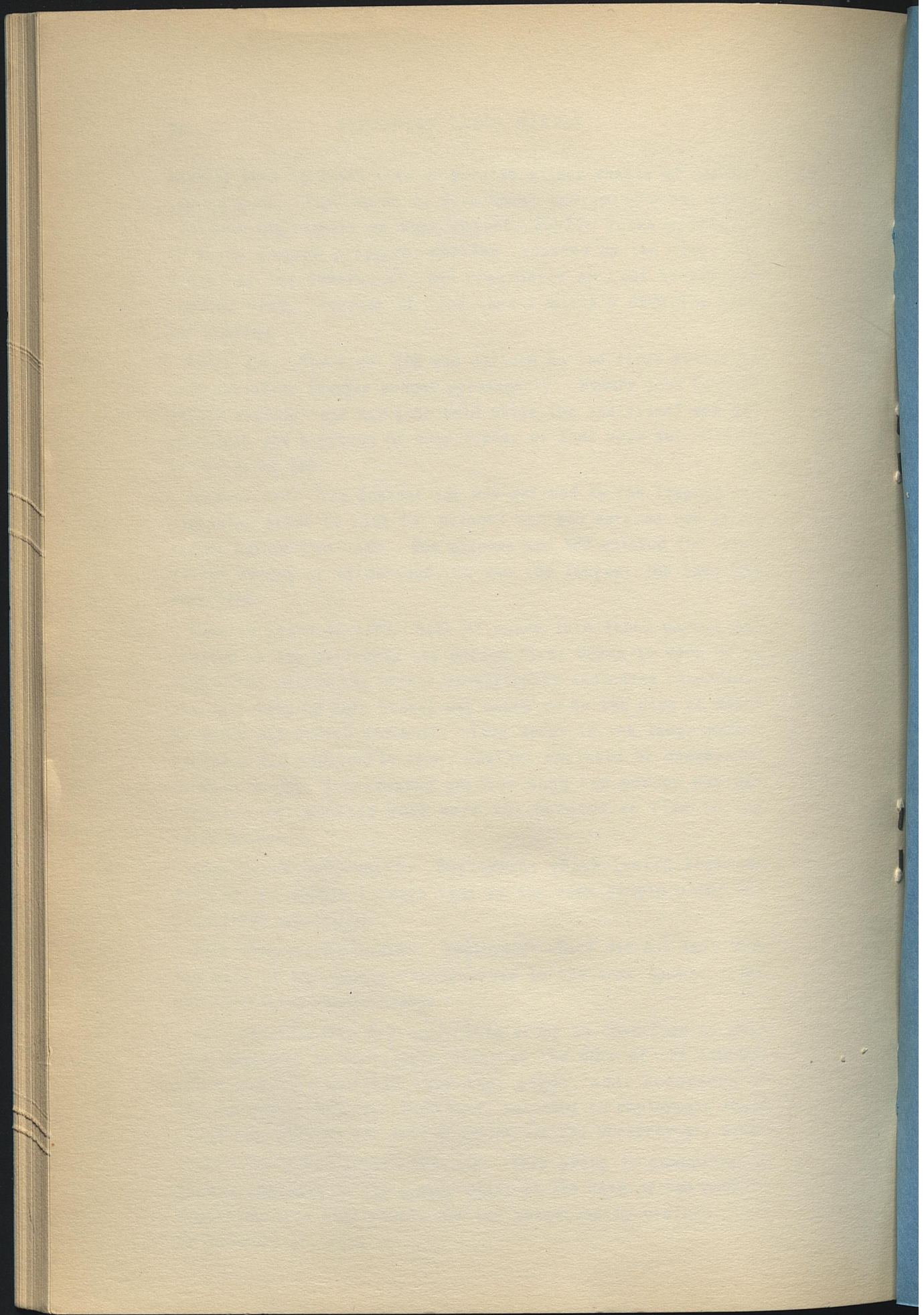
Continuous Employment: Employment which lasted from the date of the sample through 1935 in the same sample plant was considered continuous.

Noncontinuous Employment: Employment which did not last from the date of the sample through 1935 in the same sample plant was considered noncontinuous.

(a) *Subsequently Rehired:* This group is comprised of persons employed in the sample plant at the date of the sample, subsequently separated from that plant, and, according to the employment history (Form #20), returned to employment there at anytime between the date of separation and December 31, 1935.

(b) *Not Subsequently Rehired:* This group is comprised of persons employed in the sample plant at the date of the sample, separated from that plant, and not subsequently rehired there by December 31, 1935.





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