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WEATHERING LAYOFFS IN A SMALL COMMUNITY

CASE STUDIES OF DISPLACED POTTERY AND CARPET-MILL WORKERS

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Arthur M. Ross, Commissioner

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Preface

The two studies reported in this bulletin were sponsored by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U.S. Department of Labor. The first, covering the experience of workers laid off between 1957 and 1962 by 13 potteries in an area centered in East Liverpool, Ohio, was conducted by Professor David Levinson of the Department of Economics of Ohio University. The other, covering workers displaced from a large carpet mill in the Northeast in 1960-62, was made by Professor N. Arnold Tolles of the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations at Cornell University.

Originally the studies were conceived as guides to the kinds of problems that might confront employees of plants and industries that are severely affected by import competition, which had been cited as a major cause of declining employment in each case. However, conclusive evidence showing import competition as a major cause of unemployment was not found in either study. But to whatever causes the particular layoffs might properly be assigned—and causes not related to imports were discovered in each case, incidentally—the main emphasis was on the workers' experience following layoff. It is this information which constitutes the material presented here.

Striking parallels in circumstances suggest that the findings may illuminate some of the special problems surrounding large-scale layoffs by factories in smaller, less urbanized communities.

In no area within the scope of either study did 1962 employment exceed 50,000, and in most instances it was less than half that amount. The local economy was generally dominated by manufacturing, of which the establishments in question had been important components. Unemployment typically was far above the prevailing national rate. In short, finding a job in such an economic situation might challenge even highly qualified workers.

Both groups in question, however, included unusually large proportions of older workers, workers with little education, and workers with few skills that would be readily marketable outside the industry in which they had been employed. In addition, they were firmly tied to the community where they had been employed, by extensive home ownership and long residence. Thus, it was to be expected that many of the laid-off workers would have great difficulty finding new jobs. They did. In fact, their layoff appears to have left them isolated both geographically and economically from the generally prosperous American society, many dropping out of the job market entirely.

A Case Study

The Post-Layoff Experience of Displaced Carpet-Mill Workers

by N. Arnold Tolles

Report on a study by the New York State
School of Industrial and Labor Relations,
Cornell University, under a grant from the
U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of
Labor Statistics.

Acknowledgments

This study was greatly facilitated by the cooperation of the American Carpet Institute, the management of the carpet mill which was selected, and the local of the Textile Workers Union of America which represented the workers involved in the layoff. The author is also indebted to the local office of the State Employment Service, and to leaders of the community where the mill was located. Special recognition is due Walter Hauck and Lewis Perl, who assisted the author professionally. Mr. Hauck, who was in 1963 a graduate student at the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, supervised the field work, the coding of the schedules, and most of the machine tabulation, and also assisted in the preliminary analysis of the data. Mr. Perl, a graduate of the School, assisted the author during the summer of 1964 with some additional tabulations and final analysis of the data.

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Summary

In April 1963, at the time of the case study of carpet-mill workers who were laid off when the mill halved its employment between mid-1960 and mid-1962, 1 of every 12 had ceased to look for work and 1 of 4 of those still in the labor force was unemployed. The unemployment rate among these workers was over 5 times the national rate at the time. It was 2½ times the rate prevailing even in the small, economically depressed northeastern community where the carpet mill was located.

The unfavorable employment situation of the carpet-mill workers, compared with other local workers, epitomizes problems confronting jobless workers in areas such as this. There were no other carpet mills within 150 miles of the community, and although manufacturing industries dominated its economy, few of them utilized skills of the kind these workers had acquired at the mill. Most of the workers were middle aged and older persons with comparatively little education or training that would equip them for other kinds of work. These characteristics were especially pronounced among the fairly small number of women in the group studied.

Moreover, many of the carpet-mill workers had spent most of their lives in the community, to which they were tied by extensive home ownership and, frequently, the local employment of a husband or wife. More than three-fourths of them expressed unwillingness to accept a job beyond commuting distance of their homes, even if such a job should be offered.

Given these circumstances, the carpet workers' employment situation in April 1963—bad as it was—was better than it had been during the post-layoff period as a whole. In the 10 to 34 months which had elapsed since they had been laid off, one-fifth of the workers had never secured a full-time job that lasted as long as 3 months. Among those who did find such em-

ployment, half did so within 6 months, but one-eighth of the group required a year or more. Altogether, the workers had spent an average of 19 months in the labor force following layoff and had been unemployed for 9 of these months—45 percent of the time. Individual experience varied widely, however, ranging from no employment at all for 1 of every 8 to continuous employment during every week after layoff for 1 of every 12. The least favorable records were those for women, persons of little schooling, and workers of relatively advanced age.

Nearly all of the reemployed workers had been forced to take up a different occupation and all were working in a different industry. Almost half had worked for at least 2 employers following their layoff.

Thus it is not surprising, particularly in an economically depressed area, that two-thirds of the reemployed were earning less at the time of the interview than they had made at the carpet mill, even though the current average wage was somewhat higher than earnings on the first post-layoff jobs. The average for all post-layoff employment was 7 percent below mill earnings.

Naturally these earnings data relate only to weeks in which the workers were employed. It appears that, for the reemployed group, the weekly income from wages, when spread over the entire period following layoff, was no more than 75 percent of the comparable figure for their last year at the mill. Even the addition of unemployment benefits—in many cases for an extended period—still left them in an inferior income position. And this takes no account of the 1 worker in 8 who had had no employment between the time he was laid off and April 1963.

Yet, less than one-third of these workers had to resort to extreme means (heavy debts, sale of house, etc.) of adjusting to their reduced cir-

cumstances. Demonstrating their self-reliance and frugality, they depended chiefly on accumulated savings, despite the fact that the carpet workers' average earnings during the last year at the mill had been only \$3,150. For

the other two-thirds, their unemployment benefits and what wages they were able to earn, with the frequent supplement of a spouse's earnings, sufficed for the family's living expenses throughout the post-layoff period.

Background of the Study

In line with this study's original objective of exploring the situation of displaced workers in an industry confronted with competition from imported goods, the establishment selected for study was a carpet mill whose principal product was (and is) Wilton carpets. The mill was thus in that part of the domestic industry which the U.S. Tariff Commission had found to be threatened by an increase in imports of Wilton and velvet carpets after 1958, when the last of a series of scheduled cuts in the tariff on these products became effective. It was also known in advance of the study to have experienced a severe decline in employment between 1958 and mid-1962, when the tariff was restored to its 1939 level.

During the 2-year period ending in June 1962, the mill's shipments fell by over 35 percent, and it cut back its average monthly employment of production workers by 46 percent.¹ The largest single reduction in employment occurred in early 1962, when the mill closed its yarn spinning department, while continuing other operations. Otherwise, the mill's employment fell gradually, but irregularly, during the 2-year period. The number of workers separated from mill employment, however, was much larger than the 46-percent net reduction implies, for the mill had a relatively high proportion of intermittent employees, many of whom were hired and separated repeatedly during the period in question.

Since the scope of this study was confined to laid-off workers who were not likely to be rehired by the mill, the intermittent workers were to be excluded. This requirement was satisfied when the company provided its "reemployment roster" as of June 30, 1962. The roster, estab-

lished under a hiring clause in the company's agreement with the Textile Workers Union of America, listed former employees (excluding quits and discharges for cause) who had preference over new applicants for any vacancy in their former type of work. Employees were retained on the list for 2 years following layoff or the length of previous service, whichever was shorter. Thus, the roster automatically excluded short-service or temporary employees but did list all former employees with longer tenure who had been laid off between July 1, 1960, and June 30, 1962, and not rehired during that period. The 794 workers named in the list were considered to be displaced workers as defined for this study.

In addition, the company provided, from personnel records, information about the 794 workers' personal characteristics and skill level on their last job. This information furnished the controls for selecting a sample of 160 laid-off workers for interview. (See appendix A for further information on methodology.) It is also the basis for the data on age, sex, and marital status which are presented in the following section, together with a description of the economy of the mill community,² as background for evaluating the subsequent material on the workers' post-layoff experience.

The bulk of that material was obtained from the sample of 160 workers. The interview schedule (appendix B) called for information on the workers' education and training, their job at the mill (which was supplemented by company data on their weekly and annual earnings), the effect of the layoff on their financial position and living arrangements, and their work and earnings history from the time of layoff to the time of the interview.

¹ The longer (and unpublished) report on the study cautions that although increased import competition might, superficially, appear to have caused the mill's layoffs, "no such simple conclusion is warranted." The material on which this finding is based has been omitted from the discussion of the workers' experience following layoff.

² The data on age, sex, and material status relate to the entire group of 794 workers; the remainder of the data on personal characteristics were obtained from the 160 workers who were interviewed.

Characteristics of the Laid-Off Workers and the Local Economy

The Area's Economy

Between mid-1960 and mid-1962, when the carpet-mill workers in this study were being laid off, unemployment rates in the community where they worked ranged upward from 8½ percent, as shown in the tabulation below, and rates of 13 percent or more were not unusual in the winter months. In fact, in the 3 years preceding the month in which these workers were interviewed, the unemployment rate did not drop below 7 percent. At the time of the interviews, it was over 10 percent. By comparison, the national unemployment rate moved within a range of 4½-6 percent during these 3 years. Thus, the economy of the carpet-mill city was depressed throughout the period when the laid-off workers were seeking alternative employment.

Registered unemployment as percent of civilian labor force

	1960	1961	1962	1963
February -----	---	14.5	13.5	11.3
April -----	---	13.2	11.0	10.4
June -----	9.7	11.4	8.7	---
August -----	9.3	9.6	7.8	---
October -----	8.6	8.5	7.0	---
December -----	12.8	11.0	9.4	---

SOURCE: Bimonthly data compiled by local office of the State Employment Service.

The extent and nature of other job opportunities can be indicated only in a general way, because of the need to avoid disclosing the identity and location of the carpet mill. The city in which the mill is located is in the northeastern United States and had a 1960 population of less than 30,000. In the county surrounding the city, the relative distribution of employment as of mid-March 1962 was as follows:

Industry group	Percent of employees
Total -----	100.0
Agriculture, forestry, and fisheries -----	0.1
Mining -----	(1)
Building construction -----	3.6
Manufacturing -----	65.4
Textile mill products -----	18.8
Apparel and related products -----	11.5
Paper and allied products -----	1.0
Printing and publishing -----	2.4
Leather and leather products -----	3.4
All other manufacturing -----	26.8
Transportation and public utilities -----	3.1
Wholesale trade -----	4.2
Retail trade -----	12.9

Industry group	Percent of employees
Finance, insurance, and real estate -----	3.3
Services -----	8.8

¹ Number withheld in original source to avoid disclosure.

NOTE: Because of rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *County Business Patterns, 1962* (Volume and page withheld to avoid disclosure).

The concentration of employment in manufacturing may be regarded as favorable to the reemployment of the production workers displaced from the carpet mill. The proportion in manufacturing was about double the national ratio. Although nearly one-fifth of the local employment was in textile industries, there was little local demand for labor in the carpet mill section of textiles. Apparel industries, which commanded about 1 employee of every 9 in the area, actually provided better employment opportunities for the former carpet-mill workers. But the presumably favorable distribution of employment should not cause one to lose sight of the fact that this was a small community where the loss of jobs by 800 workers, even spread over a 2-year period, could have a noticeable effect on the unemployment rate.

The Workers' Characteristics

Job loss in such an area might be expected to prompt the unemployed to look elsewhere, but few of the characteristics of the laid-off carpet workers were consistent with this expectation. Indeed, more than 98 percent of the workers in the interview sample were still living in the area in April 1963, which was from 10 to 34 months after the time they had been laid off. Their age, marital status educational level, home ownership and the employment of other family members all tended to tie this group quite firmly to the community.³

The laid-off carpet-mill workers were heavily concentrated in the older age groups. About 55 percent of them were at least 45 years old, com-

³ As indicated in the preceding section (p. 2) the data on age, sex, and marital status relate to the entire group of 794 workers; the remainder of the data on personal characteristics were obtained from the 160 workers who were interviewed.

pared with about 40 percent of the workers in the U.S. labor force in 1960-63. Moreover, as the following tabulation shows, none of the women and only a few of the men were under the age of 25.

<i>Age in 1960</i>	<i>sexes</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
All ages: Number	794	556	238
Percent	100	100	100
14 to 19 years	(¹)	(¹)	---
20 to 24 years	2	2	---
25 to 34 years	14	16	8
35 to 44 years	30	30	30
45 to 54 years	41	35	53
55 to 54 years	13	16	8
65 to 69 years	1	1	---

¹ Less than 0.5 percent.

NOTE: Because of rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

This age distribution was highly unfavorable to the reemployment opportunities of the carpet-mill workers.

The 70 to 30 ratio of men to women in the group studied was quite typical of the carpet industry and of the labor force as a whole. However, an unusually high proportion of both the men and women in the study were married. Almost three-fifths of the men and about one-fourth of the women were married, whereas the comparable figures for the labor force in recent years have been about one-half and one-fifth. Much of the differences may be attributed to the concentration of the carpet workers in the age groups which have the largest proportions of married persons in the labor force.

The prevalence of married workers in the survey group helped to ease the loss of income following layoff, for exactly half of the 160 interviewed workers reported a spouse's earnings as a source of family income in the year preceding their layoff at the mill.⁴ This was an unusually high proportion, since only one-third of the married women in the United States are in the labor force. What made it even more unusual was the fact that only three-tenths of the interviewed workers, compared with four-tenths of U.S. families, had no minor children. Perhaps part of this difference too is attributable to the age distribution of the workers, which would suggest that many of the mothers might have returned to work when their children reached teenage.

⁴ Further information on the workers' income is given on p. 18.

Another part of the explanation for the prevalence of two-earner families is undoubtedly to be found in the educational distribution of the former carpet-mill workers, in view of the established association between income and years of schooling.⁵ Whereas 52 percent of the men and 61 percent of the women in the labor force in March 1962 had completed 4 years of high school,⁶ the corresponding proportions of the laid-off carpet workers were 21 and 7. (See table 1.) Indeed, one-fifth of the carpet workers had had less than 8 years of formal schooling, and another three-tenths—the largest single group—had completed just 8 years. As usual among factory workers, the men had the higher educational level, with three-fifths of the women but less than half of the men having no more than an elementary school education. These proportions were half again as high as those recorded for white persons employed in blue-collar occupations in March 1964.⁷ Thus, scant education may well have put many of the carpet-mill workers at a disadvantage in seeking other factory work.

TABLE 1. YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY DISPLACED CARPET-MILL WORKERS, BY SEX, APRIL 1963 SURVEY

<i>Years of school completed</i>	<i>Both sexes</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
Total: Number	160	116	44
Percent	100	100	100
7 years or less	19	20	18
8 years	31	27	41
9 to 11 years	31	30	34
12 years or more	17	21	7
Not reported	2	3	—

Although about two-fifths of the workers reported some formal job training either in addition to or in the course of their schooling, apparently it had limited current value. Only 12 of the 67 workers who had taken such training said that it had helped them to get or hold any job following their layoff.

Infrequent use of their training may be associated with its source. Few had served an apprenticeship or attended a trade school or technical institute (less than 10 percent in either category)—training which tends to be

⁵ See, for example, Herman P. Miller, "Income in Relation to Education," *American Economic Review*, December 1960, pp. 963-985.

⁶ "Educational Attainment of Workers, March 1964," *Monthly Labor Review*, May 1965, p. 518, also available as reprint 2463.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 528.

widely used.⁸ Similarly, about one-fourth of the reported training had been taken in the Armed Forces—a type of training with restricted carryover value. Moreover, a like proportion of the training had been obtained in high school and was thus not likely to have been taken recently, in view of the study group's age level. Generally, training of recent origin is most useful, and only in the clerical occupations (which were excluded from this survey) is high school training widely applied. It is apparent, then, that formal occupational training, despite its prevalence, provided no very substantial offset to the carpet workers' educational disadvantages.

Their mobility in finding new employment was further restricted by a long history of stable residence and a high frequency of home ownership. Nearly one-half of the group interviewed had been born in the city where the carpet mill was located, and more than three-fourths had been born within the State. Moreover, all but 4 of the 160 persons had lived within 20 miles of the carpet mill for at least 10 years before they were laid off, and over half of them had done so for at least 40 years, as shown below:

<i>Length of residence in area¹ at time of layoff</i>	<i>Distribution of workers Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Total -----	160	100
60 to 64 years -----	5	3
50 to 59 years -----	34	21
40 to 49 years -----	49	31
30 to 39 years -----	30	19
20 to 29 years -----	14	9
10 to 19 years -----	24	15

⁸ See *Formal Occupational Training of Adult Workers; Its Extent, Nature and Use* (U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, Office of Manpower, Automation and Training), Manpower/Automation Research Monograph No. 2, 1964, tables 4 and 8.

<i>Length of residence in area¹ at time of layoff</i>	<i>Distribution of workers Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Less than 10 years -----	1	1
Not reported -----	3	2

¹ Within 20 miles of the carpet mill.

NOTE: Because of rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

Thus, the median length of residence in the area was equivalent to the median age of the group.

By the time of the interview 5 of the 160 persons in the sample were living outside the 20-mile area around the mill, and another 3 failed to respond to the question regarding length of residence. Even if all eight of these were regarded as having moved outside the area, at least three-quarters of the group had continued to live within 20 miles of the carpet mill for 20 years or more. Only 1 person had moved after being laid off at the mill and he still lived in the area.

Stability of residence (as well as the smallness of the community) was reflected in a high rate of home ownership (57.5 percent), which served in turn to make the laid-off workers reluctant to move or to consider a job beyond commuting distance of their homes. Only 5 of the 160 persons interviewed had been employed, and only 23 had looked for a job, outside the local area at any time after their layoff. Indeed, over three-fourths of the group (123) stated that they would be unwilling to accept a job outside commuting distance even if such a job were offered. The most frequent reason (given by 33 persons) was home ownership. Another 16 persons cited the local employment of a husband or wife. Those who were unwilling to consider moving to another area also included persons who were satisfactorily reemployed and a few who were no longer looking for paid employment.

Employment Experience

On all four measures of employment experience used in this study, the laid-off carpet-mill workers had a low score:

1. When they were interviewed in April 1963, about 1 in 12 had left the labor force and

1 in 4 of those still in the labor force was unemployed.

2. Only three-fourths of the interviewed had secured any full-time job lasting at least 3 months at any time since layoff, and one-quarter of these had taken at least 39 weeks to do so.

3. Less than half were still on the first job they had gotten following layoff, and nearly one-fourth had worked for 3 or more employers.

4. Although the "average" former carpet worker had been in the labor force (i.e., working or looking for work) in 19 of the 20 months that had elapsed since layoff, he had been unemployed for 9 of these months, and 1 of every 8 workers had had no employment at all, even a temporary of a part-time job.

On every count, the women's experience was less favorable than the men's. Similarly, the older workers generally had more difficulty than the younger and the workers with less schooling more than the better educated.

Labor Force Status, April 1963

In April 1963, the national unemployment rate for experienced wage and salary workers was 5.5 percent, and the rate in the area where the carpet mill is located was 10.4 percent. In sharp contrast, the rate for the former carpet workers, whether computed for all 160 who were interviewed or for the 146 who were in the labor force, approximated 25 percent (table 2).

Among the carpet workers, as among any group where long-term joblessness is prevalent,

the exact percentage who should be counted as unemployed on a given date is uncertain, especially when jobs are scarce and unemployment has been rising. The problem of determining how assiduously those who have been jobless for an extended period are seeking work is aggravated where, as here, they are members of families with other means of support (an employed member(s), a pension, etc.), are strongly attached to the area, or formerly were relatively high on the community wage scale. The problem here involved 8 of the 37 currently unemployed workers; these 8 reported they had had no job at all since being laid off from the carpet mill. To assign all eight, or even the five who had been out of work for a year or more, to the group who had withdrawn from the labor force would, of course, reduce the unemployment rate, as a percentage of both the entire study group and those in the labor force. Even if one could defend such revisions against the charge that they equate lack of a job with lack of desire for one, they would not alter the conclusion to be drawn from the figures: the incidence of unemployment among the carpet-mill workers was at least three times that among the country's experienced workers and at least twice that among local workers.

TABLE 2. LABOR FORCE STATUS OF DISPLACED CARPET-MILL WORKERS, BY AGE AND SEX, APRIL 1963 SURVEY

Age and sex	Number					Percent					Percent of workers in labor force	
	Total	Employed			Unemployed	Not in labor force	Total	Employed			Unemployed	Not in labor force
		Total	Part-time	Full-time				Total	Part-time	Full-time		
BOTH SEXES												
Total	160	109	3	106	37	14	100	68	2	66	23	9
19 to 38 years	39	38	1	37	1		100	97	3	95	3	
39 to 54 years	96	59	1	58	30	7	100	61	1	60	31	7
55 to 69 years	25	12	1	11	6	7	100	48	4	44	24	28
MEN												
Total	116	89	3	86	17	10	100	76	3	74	15	9
19 to 38 years	33	33	1	32			100	97	3	95	3	
39 to 54 years	68	45	1	44	14	4	100	71	2	70	22	6
55 to 69 years	20	11	1	10	3	6	100	55	5	50	15	30
WOMEN												
Total	44	20		20	20	4	100	45		45	45	9
19 to 38 years	6	5		5	1		100	83		83	17	
39 to 54 years	33	14		14	16	3	100	42		42	48	9
55 to 69 years	5	1		1	3	1	100	20		20	60	20

¹ Includes 6 "unable to work," 4 "doing own housework," and 4 who had retired.

Serious as unemployment was for the carpet workers generally, it was even worse for the women in the group. As table 2 shows, women accounted for not quite three-tenths of the workers interviewed, but for over half of the

unemployed. In each of the three age groups—19 to 38, 39 to 54, and 55 to 69²—for which

² These three age groups are designed to give better representation of younger, middle-age, and older persons in the entire group of laid-off workers than use of the customary 10-year age classes would provide.

data are presented, unemployment was strikingly lower for the men. In the most numerous group—age 39 to 54—the women were unemployed twice as frequently as the men. The overall rate was three times as high for women as for men—46 and 15 percent, respectively.

High unemployment and the nature of job opportunities in the area may help to explain why the women's rates were so much higher than the men's. Nationally, the 1963 rate for men aged 45–54, for example, was 3.6 percent; that for women of the same ages, 4.2.¹⁰ Among the comparable groups of carpet workers, the respective rates were 22.4 and 60.9.¹¹

For the aforementioned reasons, the unemployment rates among the carpet workers may be somewhat overstated, especially for women. And a surprisingly small number of women reported themselves as having withdrawn from the labor force; indeed, the proportion was the same for women as for men (9 percent). The small numbers of younger and older women in the sample (although proportionate to the total number laid off) may make the data for women in these two age groups somewhat unreliable. But even in the larger middle-aged group, nearly half of the women said they were unemployed and still looking for work—a larger proportion than might have been expected in a group of married women who had lost their jobs from 10 to 34 months earlier.

The effects of advancing age on employment status at the time of interview are more clear-cut for women than for men. The younger the woman, the more likely she was to be in the labor force and to be employed and the less likely to be unemployed. The proportion of women employed at the time of interview in the most numerous middle-age group was double that for the oldest women but only half that for the youngest group. The 45-percent average for the women was clearly dominated by the record of the intermediate group.

Among the men, however, although the youngest group also had the most favorable employment and unemployment experience, the relationship of the other two groups differed from the women's pattern. Fewer of the oldest

than of the middle-age men were unemployed. But this was due to their higher rate of labor force withdrawal, rather than to any greater success in finding jobs, for only 55 percent of the oldest men, compared with 71 percent of the middle group, were employed. Again, the experience of the dominant middle group weighed heavily in the overall employment rate of 76 percent.

For all interviewed workers, men and women alike, the proportion employed was 68 percent. Taking just those in the labor force, the comparable figure was 75 percent, which represented 50 percent of the women and 84 percent of the men. Even if these percentages understate the extent of employment because the labor force should exclude a few workers here counted as unemployed, they clearly support the expectation, advanced in the preceding section, that the carpet-mill workers would have great difficulty in finding new jobs.

Employment and Unemployment Since Layoff

It is also apparent that the carpet workers' employment difficulties were persistent and prolonged, as well as prevalent. The evidence is found in data on the length of time required to get a new job, the number and types of jobs held since layoff, and labor force status throughout the period between layoff and interview.

Time Elapsed Before Reemployment. Although only 109 of the 160 carpet workers were at work in April 1963, as table 2 showed, 138—or 86 percent of the total—had obtained some kind of employment at some time between layoff and interview. (See table 3.) Fourteen of these, however, had never had a "substantial" job, that is, a full-time job for pay on which they had been continuously employed for 3 months or more.¹²

¹⁰ See *Manpower Report of the President*, March 1964, p. 200.

¹¹ The 45–54 age group was the largest 10-year cohort studied among both men and women, containing 49 men and 23 women who were in the labor force.

¹² The purpose of this definition was to obtain a stable measure which would reveal the extent to which the workers lacked regular employment and income throughout the post-layoff period (which, incidentally, had a minimum span of nearly 10 months—from June 1962 when the last layoffs occurred to April 1963 when the workers were interviewed. The definition sought to exclude employment at temporary, odd jobs that might have been obtained at random, as well as employment at jobs that soon proved, contrary to the worker's expectations, to be temporary or unsatisfactory. The specification of a 3-month period had the further merit of avoiding subjective definitions of "substantial" by either interviewer or respondent, of being independent of the amount earned on a job, and of exceeding the probable duration of probationary service on any jobs which this group of workers might be expected to obtain.

TABLE 3. SUCCESS AND LENGTH OF SEARCH FOR SUBSTANTIAL JOB¹ BY DISPLACED CARPET-MILL WORKERS BY AGE AND SEX, APRIL 1963 SURVEY

Success and length of search	Both sexes				Men				Women			
	All ages	19 to 38 years	39 to 54 years	55 to 69 years	All ages	19 to 38 years	39 to 54 years	55 to 69 years	All ages	19 to 38 years	39 to 54 years	55 to 69 years
All workers.....	160	39	96	25	116	33	68	20	44	6	33	5
No substantial job from layoff to April 1963.....												
Withdrawn from labor force.....	36	4	20	12	16	-----	8	8	20	4	12	4
In labor force but no job to April 1963.....	14	-----	7	7	10	-----	4	6	4	-----	3	1
Employed at some time between layoff and April 1963, but no substantial job.....	8	-----	6	2	4	-----	2	2	4	-----	4	-----
Employed at some time between layoff and April 1963, but no substantial job.....	14	4	7	3	2	-----	2	-----	12	4	5	3
Obtained substantial job by April 1963.....	124	35	76	13	100	33	55	12	24	2	21	1
Average number of weeks from layoff to first substantial job.....	28.1	27.2	31.3	33.5	27.2	26.7	30.2	33.8	31.4	34.5	34.4	30.0

¹ A job providing continuous, full-time employment for 3 months or more.

For the 124 who were reemployed on a substantial job, the length of time required to find that job ranged from less than 1 week for 10 workers to 112 weeks for 1 worker (not shown separately in table 3). One-fourth of the workers found substantial jobs within 3 months; at the other extreme, nearly one-fourth required 9 months or more, and one-eighth 1 year or more, as shown in the following tabulation:

Length of search for first substantial job ¹	Number	Percent
Total finding substantial job	124	100
Less than 1 week	10	8
1 to 18 weeks	31	25
14 to 26 weeks	30	25
27 to 39 weeks	24	19
40 to 52 weeks	13	10
53 to 112 weeks	16	13

¹ A job providing continuous, full-time employment for 3 months or more.

NOTE: Because of rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

The median duration of their job search was 6 months. Unfortunately, no comparative national data are available to evaluate whether these periods of time were usual or unusual.

Women in every age bracket were less successful than men in finding a substantial job; 45 percent of all the women but only 14 percent of the men never obtained such a job. The proportion of men who were successful rose with age, but nearly twice as many of the youngest as of the middle-age group of women did not find reemployment in this sense. The figure for the youngest women reflects too few observations to permit more than conjecture; it may suggest that they were less firmly attached to wage employment than the older ones. The ex-

treme variations related to age and sex were found among the men under age 39, none of whom failed to get a substantial job, and among the five women over age 54, only one of whom got such a job.

Being a woman or an older worker also tended to lengthen the time required to find a substantial job. The average time, however, is strongly influenced by a heavy concentration around 30 weeks for both men and women. Both extremes of the fairly narrow range occurred in the youngest age group, where the average for men was 26.7 weeks and that for women, 34.5 weeks. While the women in the middle-age group took approximately the same length of time as the youngest and those in the oldest group took less time than either, the small numbers of women outside the middle-age group preclude generalizations. Among the men, the length of the search for a substantial job was clearly longer for the older workers.

Success in finding a substantial job was also closely related to the workers' educational attainments (table 4). With one exception, more schooling facilitated eventual reemployment on a substantial job for both men and women. Among men, the proportion who obtained such a job rose from 74 percent of those who had not finished elementary school to 96 percent of those who had completed high school, although the latter figure was not significantly higher than that for the men with 9 to 11 years of schooling. Women with this much education, however, were less successful than those who had just 8 years of schooling; otherwise, the

pattern of reemployment rising with education prevailed.

Opposite relationships between education and the length of time required to find a substantial job obtained for men and women. Among the women, the more educated the group, the shorter the time required; the average length of their job search dropped sharply from 38 weeks for those with the least education to 22 weeks for those with the most schooling. Among the men, on the other hand, the time required to find substantial reemployment rose as the group's schooling increased, with an insignificant exception for the group with precisely 8 years of schooling. The least educated men required 25 weeks; those with the most education, 31 weeks. The men's experience may imply that the better educated were more determined and better able to be selective job hunters in a depressed community.

TABLE 4. EDUCATIONAL DIFFERENCES IN SUCCESS AND LENGTH OF SEARCH FOR SUBSTANTIAL JOB¹ BY DISPLACED CARPET-MILL WORKERS, BY SEX, APRIL 1963 SURVEY

Sex and years of school completed	Percent of workers obtaining any substantial job ²	Average number of weeks layoff to substantial job ³	Number of workers reporting	
			Years of school	Weeks layoff to substantial job
Both sexes-----	77	28	157	121
7 years or less-----	68	27	31	21
8 years-----	71	27	49	35
9 to 11 years-----	80	28	50	40
12 years and over-----	92	30	27	25
Men-----	85	30	113	98
7 years or less-----	74	25	23	17
8 years-----	81	24	31	25
9 to 11 years-----	94	29	35	33
12 years and over-----	96	31	24	17
Women-----	53	31	44	23
7 years or less-----	30	38	8	4
8 years-----	56	36	18	10
9 to 11 years-----	47	23	15	7
12 years and over-----	67	22	3	2

¹ A job providing continuous, full-time employment for 3 months or more.

² Percent of number reporting years of school attended; excludes 3 men who did not report years of school.

³ Average of the weeks reported by the number of workers in column 4.

Number and Types of Jobs Obtained. The laid-off carpet-mill workers also showed considerable diversity in other aspects of their reemployment experience—retention of the first job and the number of employers, occupations, and industries represented in their post-layoff history.

Altogether, somewhat less than half of all workers who had found jobs were still working at their first job by the time of the interviews. In 7 out of 10 cases, the first job after layoff was a substantial one, but even so, nearly half of this group were no longer working at the same job when they were interviewed in April 1963. An even larger proportion (three-fourths) of those whose first jobs had not been a substantial one had been separated from their original post-layoff employment by April 1963.

<i>Retention of first jobs following layoff</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
All reemployed workers -----	138	100
Obtained substantial first job ¹ -----	96	70
Retained to April 1963 -----	53	38
Not retained to April 1963 -----	43	31
Obtained other first job -----	42	30
Retained to April 1963 -----	10	7
Not retained to April 1963 -----	32	23

¹ A job providing continuous full-time employment for 3 months or more.

NOTE: Sums of percentages do not equal totals because of rounding.

Since there was no other carpet mill within 150 miles of the community where the displaced workers had been employed and none had found a substantial job that far from home, all of the reemployed workers had gone to work in another industry. (The survey excluded any who had been recalled to the carpet mill.) In fact, more than two-fifths of these former factory production workers found jobs in nonmanufacturing industries, especially construction and the service industries, as shown below:

<i>Industry of first substantial job¹</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Total finding substantial job -----	124	100
Manufacturing -----	73	59
Nonmanufacturing -----	51	41
Construction -----	17	14
Service -----	13	10
Trade -----	8	6
Agriculture -----	8	2
Transportation -----	1	1
Other -----	9	7

¹ A job providing continuous full-time employment for 3 months or more.

One-third of the reemployed workers (including those whose first jobs were not substantial) had worked for more than one industry after layoff; indeed, one-fourth had worked in three or four different industries. Undoubtedly the limited number of different industries in the small local area precluded any greater variety of industrial shifts, even by those persons who worked for several different employers and who performed several kinds of jobs after being laid off by the carpet mill. (See table 5.)

TABLE 5. NUMBER OF EMPLOYERS, KINDS OF JOBS, AND INDUSTRIES REPRESENTED IN POST-LAYOFF JOBS OF DISPLACED CARPET-MILL WORKERS, APRIL 1963 SURVEY

Number of employers, jobs, or industries	Employers		Kinds of jobs ¹		Industries ²	
	Number of workers	Percent of workers	Number of workers	Percent of workers	Number of workers	Percent of workers
			Total	100	138	100
Total	138	100	138	100	138	100
1	62	45	82	59	94	68
2	45	33	11	8	11	8
3	21	15	31	22	28	20
4	7	5	11	8	5	4
5	2	1	2	1	-	-
6	1	1	1	1	-	-

¹ Based on work history records taken by interviewers with job placement experience and edited to discriminate between jobs with differing content.

² Based on 3-digit industry groups as defined in the *Standard Industrial Classification Manual* (U.S. Bureau of the Budget, 1957).

NOTE: Because of rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

The average number of employers was 1.8 per worker during the median period of 23 months elapsed from layoff to interview—tantamount to a different employer every 13 months. Nearly one-third had worked for two employers, about one-sixth for three, and a scattering for four, five, or six different employers. Altogether, 55 percent had worked for more than one employer.

In almost all cases, their new jobs were quite different from their jobs at the carpet mill, and three-fifths of the reemployed workers continued to do the new kind of work wherever they were subsequently employed. Over one-fifth of the reemployed, however, had three different kinds of jobs and one-tenth had four or more.

Work History. As might be inferred from the degree of mobility between employers, kinds of jobs, and industries, as well as from the difficulties in finding a substantial job, the former carpet-mill workers had been unemployed much of the time between their layoffs and the April 1963 interviews. Their experience ranged from no further employment at all for 1 of every 8 workers to continuous employment for 1 of every 12. (See chart.) Apart from these two extremes, relatively few were unemployed for more than 70 percent or less than 20 percent of the weeks after layoff when they were seeking work. The median of the distribution was 47 percent.

Because the layoffs were spread over the July 1960–June 1962 period, the individual work

histories cover a span of time ranging from 39 to 143 weeks. Their average length was 86.3 weeks, as shown in table 6. An average of almost 5 of these weeks were spent out of the labor force, reflecting primarily the withdrawal from the labor force of 14 persons—2 who did not seek employment at any time after layoff and 12 others who ultimately withdrew but first spent varying amounts of time in the labor force. Of the 81.6 weeks in the labor force, nearly 45 were weeks of employment and 37, of unemployment, or about 55 and 45 percent respectively of all weeks spent in the labor force. In other words, the former carpet-mill workers had been unemployed for 9 of the 20 months that had elapsed since they were laid off; an average of almost 5½ months a year.¹³

There being no national benchmark data, the workers' own past experience may serve. The 160 interviewed workers had an average of 6.9 weeks when they received no pay from the carpet mill during the 52 weeks before each was laid off.¹⁴ Their layoff somewhat more than trebled the amount of unemployment experienced in the course of a year.

TABLE 6. AGE DIFFERENCES IN WORK HISTORY OF DISPLACED CARPET-MILL WORKERS THROUGHOUT POST-LAYOFF PERIOD, BY SEX, APRIL 1963 SURVEY

Sex and age group	Total number of weeks	Average number of elapsed weeks			Percent of total elapsed weeks		
		Out of labor force	Unemployed	Employed	Out of labor force	Unemployed	Employed
All ages	86	5	37	44	5	43	52
Men	89	4	34	51	5	38	57
Women	79	6	45	27	8	57	35
19 to 38 years	93	2	26	65	2	28	69
Men	96	(?)	24	72	(?)	25	75
Women	75	11	4	23	15	54	31
39 to 54 years	84	3	40	41	4	47	49
Men	86	3	36	47	4	42	54
Women	90	4	47	30	4	59	37
55 to 69 years	85	14	44	27	16	52	32
Men	88	12	45	30	13	51	35
Women	75	21	39	15	29	52	20

¹ All weeks in which the worker had any paid employment.

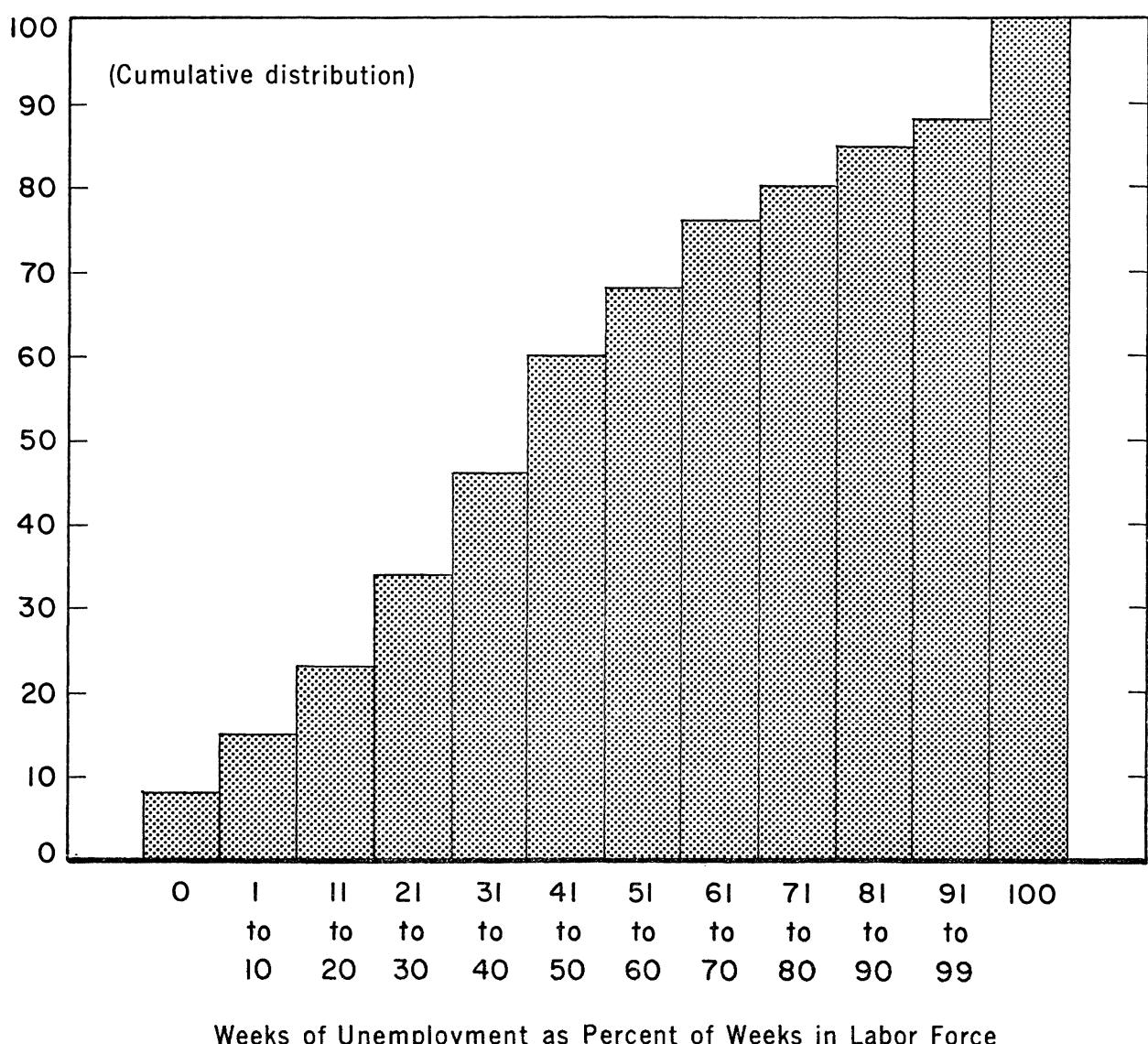
² Less than 1 percent.

¹³ As pointed out earlier (p. 6), a few of the workers counted as unemployed may not have been actually available for work during all the weeks when they were so classified. On the other hand, the amount of unemployment may be understated somewhat because a worker was counted as employed during every week when he had any work, even though he may have been working irregularly or part-time while looking for a steady, full-time job.

¹⁴ Some allowance should probably be made for imprecise recollection by the workers in reporting on their carpet-mill jobs, although in many cases they consulted their own pay records and all were required to account for the entire 52 weeks prior to the layoff.

DISPLACED CARPET-MILL WORKERS
Extent of Unemployment Following Layoff
(April 1963 Survey)

Percent of Workers



In the post-layoff period, unemployment—whether actual duration or the proportion of weeks elapsed since layoff—had generally been lowest among the youngest workers and highest

among the oldest. Part of the advantage of the younger workers stems from the fact that their work histories spanned a longer interval. They had lost their carpet-mill jobs earlier than the

older workers, presumably because they had less seniority, and thus had an earlier chance at existing job opportunities. At extremes of the range, the proportions of weeks unemployed were 25 percent for men under age 39 and 59 percent for middle-aged women. These represented 26.3 and 47.2 weeks of unemployment, respectively. There may be little significance to the fact that the oldest women reported less unemployment than the middle-aged group because of the small numbers involved, but it did represent an exception to the age pattern. The oldest women also provided another exception: they did not have more unemployment than men of the same age.

Employment was another matter. In every age group, the men were employed for a far larger portion of the time after layoff than the women—54 v. 35 percent, on the average. The contrast was least pronounced in the numerically dominant middle-age groups, but even there the percentage was about 1½ times as high for men as for women. There were clear-cut age differentials in post-layoff employment among the men, with the youngest men having been employed 75 percent of the time since lay-off and the oldest men only 35 percent of the time. Among the women, however, the intermediate age group attained the fullest employment (37 percent of elapsed time); the youngest had a slightly poorer record and the oldest women were only about half as successful as the middle-age groups.

Weeks spent out of the labor force represented 5 percent of elapsed time for men and 8 percent for women. The age-sex groups with the fullest employment also had the lowest proportions of time out of the labor force. Conversely, relatively high rates of unemployment and of time out of the labor force tended to be associated. At one extreme were the youngest men, and at the other were the oldest women. Both the youngest and the oldest groups of women had lower proportions of employed time and of weeks looking for work, as well as a higher proportion of time out of the labor force, than the middle-aged women.

One could interpret these findings as suggesting that the women's willingness to seek a new job was a major determinant of the percent of elapsed time during which employment was

actually obtained. Alternatively, the data may be interpreted, particularly for the oldest women, to mean that they found such hopeless prospects of reemployment that they abandoned—at least intermittently—any serious attempt to seek a job. The economist might properly classify them as out of the labor force, whereas the sociologist might well make a convincing case for continuing to count them as long-term unemployed, in order to keep them on the public conscience. However, the numbers involved here are small and hence can be used to suggest that a policy issue of this nature may exist, rather than to support any particular resolution of such an issue.

For both men and women, work history was strongly associated with years of schooling completed. Without exception, the better educated groups were employed for a larger proportion of the time subsequent to layoff than the less well educated (table 7). Among the men, for example, those with less than 8 years of schooling were employed for only 46 percent of the weeks following layoff, in contrast to 68 percent for those with 12 years or more of school. Among the much smaller group of women who were reemployed at all, education had an even more decisive relation to employed time than for the men. The data on men tend to confirm the inference that the better edu-

TABLE 7. EDUCATIONAL DIFFERENCES IN WORK HISTORY OF DISPLACED CARPET-MILL WORKERS THROUGHOUT POST-LAYOFF PERIOD, BY SEX, APRIL 1963 SURVEY

Sex and years of school completed	Average number of weeks				Weeks employed as percent of total weeks	Number of workers
	Total	Employed ¹	Unemployed	Out of labor force		
Total...	86	44	37	5	52	160
Years of school not reported...	83	60	22	—	71	3
Both sexes...	87	44	37	5	51	157
7 years or less...	80	33	41	6	41	31
8 years...	81	35	42	4	43	49
9 to 11 years...	87	47	35	5	54	50
12 years and over...	100	68	28	5	67	27
Men...	89	51	34	4	57	113
7 years or less...	84	38	40	6	46	23
8 years...	79	41	35	3	52	31
9 to 11 years...	92	55	33	4	60	35
12 years and over...	104	71	28	5	68	24
Women...	79	26	46	6	33	44
7 years or less...	68	18	44	6	27	8
8 years...	84	25	55	4	30	18
9 to 11 years...	76	28	40	8	37	15
12 years and over...	83	45	29	9	55	3

¹ All weeks in which the worker had any paid employment.

cated can afford to be—and are—more selective in finding suitable alternative employment. Indeed, the men who had finished high school were the only group whose total duration of un-

employment did not exceed the time taken to obtain their first substantial jobs. Thus, they were apparently able to use temporary jobs to finance their longer search for permanent work.

Workers' Income After Layoff

Considering the employment record of the laid-off carpet-mill workers, it was almost inevitable that they would suffer drastic reductions in wage income for which unemployment compensation could provide only a partial and temporary offset. As in the case of employment and unemployment, the least favorable earnings records were found for women, older workers, and workers with little education.

Current Earnings Position

Among those who were at work when interviewed in April 1963, two-thirds reported they were earning less than they had earned at the carpet mill (table 8). This was to be expected because of the extensive shifts in industry and occupation they had made in order to find jobs in a depressed community. In these circumstances, it is rather surprising that about one-fifth of them were earning more than before layoff.

Women suffered a decrease in earnings after layoff more frequently than men and older workers more frequently than younger. Nine-tenths of the reemployed women, compared with five-eighths of the men, were earning less than they had during the last month in the carpet mill. Even among the youngest workers, four-fifths of the women had lower earnings, compared with less than three-fifths of the men. The ratios in the middle age group, which was numerically largest, approximated those for all reemployed men and women. Among the workers over age 55, the 1 reemployed woman was earning less, as were all but 1 of the 11 men.

No woman of any age reported earning about the same as she had in the carpet mill. One of every 8 men, however, had about the same earnings, with the proportion ranging downward from about 1 of 6 for the youngest men to 1 of 11 for the oldest.

TABLE 8. AGE DIFFERENCES IN PERCENT OF DISPLACED CARPET-MILL WORKERS WITH CURRENT JOBS PAYING LESS, MORE, OR SAME AS CARPET-MILL JOB,¹ BY SEX, APRIL 1963 SURVEY

Sex and age group	Workers with current job		Percent of workers earning—		
	Number	Percent			
			Less	More	Same
All ages.....	109	100	68	22	10
Men.....	88	100	62	25	12
Women.....	21	100	90	10	—
19 to 38 years.....	38	100	60	26	13
Men.....	33	100	58	27	15
Women.....	5	100	80	20	—
39 to 54 years.....	59	100	67	24	8
Men.....	44	100	59	29	11
Women.....	15	100	93	7	—
55 to 69 years.....	12	100	92	—	8
Men.....	11	100	91	—	9
Women.....	1	100	100	—	—

¹ Carpet-mill earnings on which comparisons are based are gross earnings during the week ending nearest the 15th of the month prior to each worker's layoff, as shown on the mill's payroll records.

Current earnings were classified as "same" if they were within 5 percent of mill earnings, "less" if they were less than 95 percent of mill earnings, and "more" if more than 105 percent of mill earnings.

NOTE: Because of rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

None of the oldest group of either men or women was earning more. In the other two age groups, the proportion who had increased their earnings was higher for women age 19–38 and for men age 39–54.

These findings add another dimension to the less favorable employment experience of women and older workers. With respect to women, their post-layoff earnings record represented a widening of the sex differentials in earnings that had existed between carpet-mill jobs, perhaps associated with the skill levels of the jobs they held.

The relationship between education and comparative earnings position also was similar to that observed for various other aspects of employment. Nearly all of the women were earning less when interviewed than they had earned before layoff, regardless of education. Among the men, however, the better educated showed a consistently more favorable comparison between current earnings and those before lay-

off. Thus, only 13 percent of the least educated men were earning more in April 1963 than when they worked at the carpet mill (table 9). By contrast, 43 percent of the men with 12 years or more of schooling had a better paying current job.

TABLE 9. EDUCATIONAL DIFFERENCES IN PERCENT OF DISPLACED CARPET-MILL WORKERS WITH CURRENT JOBS PAYING LESS, MORE, OR SAME AS CARPET MILL JOBS,¹ BY SEX, APRIL 1963 SURVEY

Sex and years of school completed	Workers with current job		Percent of workers earning—		
	Number	Percent	Less	More	Same
Both sexes	2104	100	68	22	10
Men	84	100	62	25	12
7 years or less	15	100	73	13	13
8 years	22	100	64	18	18
9 to 11 years	26	100	58	27	15
12 years or more	21	100	52	43	5
Women	20	100	90	10	—
7 years or less	4	100	75	25	—
8 years	4	100	100	—	—
9 to 11 years	9	100	89	11	—
12 years or more	3	100	100	—	—

¹ Carpet-mill earnings on which comparisons are based are gross earnings during the week ending nearest the 15th of the month prior to each worker's layoff, as shown on the mill's payroll records.

Current earnings were classified as "same" if they were within 5 percent of mill earnings, "less" if they were less than 95 percent of mill earnings, and "more" if more than 105 percent of mill earnings.

² Excludes 2 workers who did not furnish a useable earnings comparison and 3 who did not report years of school completed.

NOTE: Because of rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

Wage Levels on Post-Layoff Jobs

The overall income position of the former carpet workers is depicted more fully in table 10, which provides two measures of carpet-mill

earnings and five of post-layoff income. None of the post-layoff average earnings—on the first job after layoff, the first substantial job, or the most recent job—is more than 95 percent of earnings during the last month at the carpet mill, and the average for all post-layoff employment is only 93 percent of mill earnings. And this counts only the weeks in which the workers were employed. If the earnings are averaged over the entire layoff period the disparity increases to a minimum of 25 percent in comparison with the last 52 weeks at the mill, even though the workers had been unemployed for 7 of those weeks. When, finally, unemployment benefits are added to wages, it appears that the average income of the interviewed workers following layoff was approximately two-thirds of weekly earnings in their last month at the carpet mill.

The lowest earnings on the various post-layoffs jobs were naturally those on the workers' initial jobs. On these jobs, gross weekly wages averaged \$65.19, compared with \$73.75 during the last month of employment in the carpet mill. The reduction, which averaged 11.6 percent, was especially severe for those who had relatively low earnings before layoff. For the lowest paid one fourth of the workers, wages on the first job ranged from \$8 to \$52 a week, compared with \$36 to \$62 at the mill. On the other hand, both limits of the range for the best-paid one-fourth of the workers fell only \$6—from \$81-\$156 to \$75-150.

TABLE 10. PRE- AND POST-LAYOFF WAGE LEVELS OF DISPLACED CARPET-MILL WORKERS, APRIL 1963 SURVEY

Type of wage indicator	Number of workers		Gross weekly wages				
	Total interviewed	Reporting earnings	Mean	Median	Range	First quartile	Third quartile
GROSS WAGES PER WORKER PER WEEK EMPLOYED							
Carpet mill, week ending nearest 15th of month before 1960-62 layoff ¹	160	160	\$73.75	\$70	\$36-\$156	\$62	\$81
First job after layoff	138	135	65.19	65	8-150	52	75
First substantial ² job after layoff	124	123	70.15	65	30-150	54	80
Most recent job, as of April 1963	138	135	67.24	65	6-170	52	78
All jobs, layoff to April 1963	138	135	68.35	66	18-136	54	77
AVERAGE GROSS WAGES PER ELAPSED WEEK							
Carpet mill, 52 weeks before 1960-62 layoff ^{1,3}	160	160	60.53	62	5-97	51	72
All jobs, layoff to April 1963 ⁴	138	135	45.52	40	2-132	24	58

¹ From personnel records of the carpet mill surveyed.

² A job providing continuous, full-time employment for 3 months or more.

³ Gross annual earnings divided by 52. Excludes an unknown amount of additional earnings by 8.8 percent of the interviewed workers who re-

ported some income from jobs outside that mill during the year prior to their carpet-mill layoff and vacation pay for an average of 1.7 weeks during the last 52 weeks at the carpet mill.

⁴ Excludes any vacation pay that may have been received—probably no substantial amount.

Wage levels improved as some workers who at first took part-time or temporary employment found substantial jobs. Wages on the first sub-

stantial job after layoff were only 5 percent less than wages at the carpet mill—\$70.15 and \$73.75, respectively. Indeed, the highest one-

quarter of the wages on such continuing full-time jobs (obtained by 124 of the 160 workers, as previously mentioned) were almost identical with those at the mill. The most pronounced improvement, however, occurred among the lowest paid one-fourth of the workers; none of these earned less than \$30 a week on his first substantial job.

By April 1963, however, 55 percent of the workers were no longer employed at their first jobs, whether they had been substantial or not, as indicated in the preceding section. Reflecting these further shifts, the better wages rose, but the poorer wages did not—and even fell in some cases. The \$78 floor for the highest paid one-quarter of the workers was only \$3 a week below their corresponding carpet-mill wage, and the highest individual wage was \$14 a week above the highest reported by the carpet mill. The lowest wage, on the other hand, was only \$6, compared with \$36 at the mill, and the top demarcation line of the lowest-paid one-quarter was still \$10 below the corresponding prelayoff wage. In short, the current situation of the lowest paid workers was no better than it had been when they got their first job after they were laid off.

Combining all of the jobs held by each worker after layoff compresses the range of average earnings, in comparison with the other measures of post-layoff earnings. In comparison with wages in the carpet mill, however, both extremes of the range were about \$20 lower. The lowest average individual earnings per week of post-layoff employment were only half as much as the lowest earnings before layoff (\$18 vs. \$36) and the highest were similarly reduced. The comparative ranges for the middle half of the workers were \$54-\$77 for all post-layoff jobs and \$62-\$81 for the carpet-mill jobs, again demonstrating that the workers who had earned more at the mill fared better after layoff. The average wage for the 138 workers who had had any employment following layoff was \$68.34, or about 7 percent below the average just before layoff for the whole group of 160 interviewed workers.

Age and Sex Differentials

Average earnings, like the proportions of workers whose individual earnings after layoff were more or less than in the carpet mill, varied in relation to the workers' age, sex, and education. Men had much higher post-layoff earnings than women in every age category, and men as a group earned about 40 percent more, whether on their first, most recent job, or on all post-layoff jobs combined. (See table 11.) The older workers of both sexes generally had lower earnings on post-layoff jobs; for example, the average for all such jobs was \$72.30 for those under age 39, \$68.70 for those in the 39-54 group, and \$56.80 for those over age 54.

TABLE 11. AGE DIFFERENCES IN POST-LAYOFF WAGE LEVELS OF DISPLACED CARPET-MILL WORKERS, BY SEX, APRIL 1963 SURVEY

Sex and age group	Gross wages per worker per week employed			Wages on most recent job as percent of wages on—		Number of workers represented
	First job after layoff	Most recent job as of April 1963	All jobs, layoff to April 1963	First job	All post-layoff jobs	
All ages.....	\$65.20	\$67.20	\$68.30	103	98	1 135
Men.....	\$69.70	\$72.10	\$73.50	103	98	103
Women.....	50.70	51.90	51.10	102	102	32
19 to 38 years.....	65.70	73.50	72.30	112	102	1 38-39
Men.....	67.70	75.60	74.90	112	101	1 32-33
Women.....	55.00	62.30	57.80	113	108	6
39 to 54 years.....	65.30	66.80	68.70	102	97	1 81-82
Men.....	73.00	73.70	75.90	101	97	1 57-58
Women.....	50.00	50.90	50.50	102	101	24
55 to 69 years.....	58.40	53.50	56.80	92	94	15
Men.....	60.20	56.80	59.80	94	95	13
Women.....	46.50	32.00	38.00	69	84	2

¹ Excludes 3 of the 138 reemployed workers who did not provide useable earnings information for all jobs held after layoff. Data of first job relate to 32 males in age group 19-38, and 58 males in age group 39-54. Data on other jobs relate to 93 males in age group 19-38, and 57 males in age group 39-54.

However, on the first jobs after layoff, average earnings were virtually indistinguishable between the youngest and the middle groups of workers, reflecting the contrasting positions of the youngest men and women, with the young men earning less, and the young women more, than their seniors. Men in the middle age group might be presumed to have acquired more skill during their longer experience, and perhaps this gave them a wage advantage over the younger men. However, it will be recalled, they found jobs less quickly and experienced more unemployment than the younger group, and other studies have shown older men some-

what more reluctant to accept—and employers somewhat more reluctant to offer—lower wages than they were earning on a job from which they were laid off.¹⁵

The probable explanation for the different age-earnings relationship among women goes in another direction. Among the married women, the middle-aged were more likely than the younger to have passed the most time-consuming stage of child rearing and consequently to have developed a stronger attachment to the labor force as their teen-age children began to command a larger share of the family's budget. In addition, the older women were more likely to have an aged dependent in the household. Conversely, the younger women's higher opportunity cost of returning to work may have kept them unemployed or out of the labor force until they were able to find a job that paid more than the middle-aged women would accept. Finally, comparatively more of the younger women were married and thus presumably more dependent on a husband's income.

The young women forged further ahead on subsequent jobs, and the young men had outstripped their seniors on their most recent jobs. The youngest men and women had the most substantial increase (12 percent for the 19-38 group) in wages from their first to their most recent jobs, and the earnings of the oldest group declined by 8 percent. This pattern was most dramatic in the case of men. Whereas the first-job earnings of the youngest men averaged \$5 below those of the 39- to 54-year-old men, the youngest men were earning \$2 a week more in their latest jobs. Among the women, the youngest already had the highest earnings, as indicated previously, and they showed larger improvements. Thus, the market value of younger workers apparently improved while that of their seniors was declining. Employers in the area may have found that extensive skill and experience in carpet-mill work had limited value in other employments. Furthermore, the youngest workers may have been more adaptable than the middle-age, and especially the oldest.

¹⁵ *The Older American Worker—Age Discrimination in Employment Research Materials* (U.S. Department of Labor, June 1965), p. 18.

With respect to earnings over the entire period subsequent to layoff—including the first job, the most recent job, as well as any intervening jobs—the age pattern was more distinct than the sex differentials. For women, the overall average was slightly less than earnings of the most recent job, whereas for men it was slightly more. Among the women, this reflected chiefly the already mentioned improvement on the latest job among the youngest age group, whose latest job earnings exceeded their overall average by 8 percent. The middle aged women's earnings were about the same on their latest job as their average on all jobs, and the oldest were earning only 85 percent as much on their latest job as they had averaged throughout the layoff period. The same pattern was characteristic of the men, but at a lower level, reflecting the deteriorating position of the older men on their latest job.

Some of the foregoing age-sex differentials are undoubtedly associated with differences in the educational attainments of the several categories of workers. As has been indicated, the older workers tended to have least schooling, and the women's educational level was lower than the men's. And average weekly earnings on post-layoff jobs, by whatever measure, progressed from low to high in concert with rising educational levels. Considering all post-layoff jobs together, the men's average earnings ranged from \$65 a week for the least educated to \$77.60 for those with 12 years or more of

TABLE 12. EDUCATIONAL DIFFERENCES IN POST-LAYOFF WAGE LEVELS OF DISPLACED CARPET-MILL WORKERS, BY SEX, APRIL 1963 SURVEY

Sex and years of school completed	Gross wages per worker per week employed			Number of workers reporting	
	First substantial job ¹	Most recent job as of April 1963	All jobs, layoff to April 1963	Substantial job	Any post-layoff job
Both sexes—	\$70.20	\$66.40	\$68.30	123	135
Men-----	74.50	72.60	75.40	100	104
7 years or less---	68.40	63.80	65.00	16	18
8 years-----	74.90	66.60	74.00	25	26
9 to 11 years---	75.30	78.10	75.60	33	34
12 years and more	76.90	78.90	77.60	23	23
Not reported-----		66.30	61.80	3	3
Women-----	49.20	51.40	50.40	23	31
7 years or less---	47.20	45.60	46.40	4	5
8 years-----	51.60	48.40	49.50	10	13
9 to 11 years---	47.40	54.90	52.40	7	10
12 years and over	47.00	58.70	54.70	2	3

¹ A job providing continuous, full-time employment for 3 months or more

schooling. (See table 12.) The comparable range for the women was \$46.40 to \$54.70; the best educated women earned considerably less than the least educated men. Among both men and women, the wages of the least educated had deteriorated, being lower on their most recent than on their first substantial job, while those who had more than 8 years of schooling had improved their earnings, with the women scoring the largest gains.

Average Income After Layoff

Since the interviewed carpet-mill workers were unemployed for 45 percent of the elapsed time from layoff to April 1963, and about 13 percent of their last year of employment at the carpet mill, it seems desirable to heed the remark that "Workers live by the year" by considering income per elapsed week rather than per week of employment. During the year before layoff, time not worked reduced the average pay of the 160 interviewed workers from \$73.75 per working week to \$60.53 per elapsed week (table 10). After layoff from the carpet mill, even the 135 reemployed workers had experienced so much unemployment that their wage incomes were reduced from \$68.35 per week of employment to only \$45.52 per elapsed week between layoff and April 1963. The combined effect of lower wages on the job and the drastically reduced number of working weeks was, therefore, to cut the average weekly wage income after layoff by nearly 30 percent.

The effect of lost time was especially severe for those who earned relatively little even when employed. One worker's average wage income

between layoff and April 1963 amounted to only \$2 a week. Whereas the lowest paid one-fourth of the reemployed workers earned up to \$54 per week of employment, the comparable figure was only \$24 per elapsed week—less than half of the corresponding amount during the year prior to the carpet mill layoff.

The drastic reductions in wage income, just described, were those suffered by the more fortunate workers who did succeed in obtaining some employment after being laid off from the carpet mill. Excluded were 22 less fortunate workers who had no post-lay off wage income at all.

Unemployment Benefits

Nearly all of the laid-off carpet-mill workers were eligible for unemployment benefits. These were available, of course, only to jobseekers in weeks when they had no earnings and only after a waiting period following loss of the job at the carpet mill or a subsequent job. Altogether, 147 of the 160 interviewed workers received benefits—for 25.7 weeks, on the average—at some time between layoff from the carpet mill and the April 1963 interviews. Only 144 of the beneficiaries reported the amount received; their average benefit was \$38.27. (See table 13.)

Benefits were received in only 5 of every 8 weeks of unemployment, on the average. Workers with comparatively short-term unemployment fared better on this score, of course, for large percentages of those who were jobless for long periods exhausted their benefit rights, even though the State in which they had been employed temporarily extended benefits

TABLE 13. DISPLACED CARPET-MILL WORKERS' POST-LAYOFF EXPERIENCE WITH UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE BENEFITS,
APRIL 1963 SURVEY

Weeks of Unemployment, ¹ of carpet-mill layoff to April 1963	Number of workers interviewed	Average number of weeks of—		Benefit weeks as percent of unemployed weeks	Number of workers exhausting benefit rights	Average weekly benefit amount
		Unemployment	U.I. benefits			
Number of workers represented.....	160	146	147	146	56	144
All durations.....	160	41	26	63	56	\$38.27
Less than 1 week.....	13					
2 but less than 21 weeks.....	33	11	9	83	2	\$39.62
22 but less than 27 weeks.....	22	24	21	87	4	39.28
28 but less than 42 weeks.....	30	34	28	82	12	37.73
43 but less than 53 weeks.....	20	47	35	73	11	37.35
56 but less than 78 weeks.....	29	64	36	56	17	37.96
82 but less than 130 weeks.....	12	102	35	34	9	36.50
Not reported.....	1		26		1	38.00

¹ Discrete intervals indicate no observation in the omitted range.

² Excludes 7 workers who reported they did not qualify for benefits at the

time of layoff for the following reasons: Not unemployed long enough (2); self-employed (1); no benefit rights (1); disability (1); and maternity (1).

during the 1961-62 recession. The surprisingly low rates of exhaustion among those unemployed for over three-fourths of a year may be attributable to their establishing a new benefit year during recurrent period of employment which separated several spells of unemployment. Nevertheless, two of every five beneficiaries did exhaust their benefit rights.

They were, however, fortunate to have been employed in a State where benefit amounts are comparatively liberal. The average benefit exceeded 50 percent of the average wage in the carpet mill. As is common under State unemployment insurance laws, the benefit formula favored the lower wage workers. The uniformity of the average benefit among the several classes of beneficiaries, however, may also indicate a substantial concentration at the maximum benefit level.

For the whole group of 160 interviewed workers, the median weekly income obtained from the combination of unemployment benefits and wages amounted to \$48 per elapsed week from layoff to April 1963. This was equivalent to 68 percent of median carpet-mill earnings during the month just prior to layoff (\$70) and to 77 percent of median carpet-mill earnings during the year prior to layoff (\$62). For the least fortunate one-quarter of the group (including the 22 workers who obtained no post-layoff employment) the combined weekly income was \$28 or less per week or 55 percent of the lowest quartile amount obtained from wages alone during the year before layoff (\$51). For the most fortunate one-fourth, the combined benefit and wage income was \$66 or more; that is, 92 percent of the top quartile carpet-mill wages per elapsed week during the year before layoff (\$72).

Workers' Adjustments to Their Post-Layoff Situations

In view of the severe income loss which was associated with their layoff, the former carpet-mill workers' adjustments to reduced circumstances depended importantly on certain elements of their previous economic position. Their assets and some existing supplements to income were to provide a substantial cushion against the financial effects of the layoff on the family's budget.

Economic Position Prior to Layoff

Altogether, two-thirds of the group interviewed (106 of 160) stated that they had received "other money" besides the carpet-mill paychecks during the last year of their employment in the mill.

Income from supplemental sources contributed substantially toward meeting the family living expenses even prior to layoff. Half of the group had other sources of income which covered 20 percent or more of their living expenses (i.e., 80 percent or less covered by their own wages) and nearly one-fourth met half or more of their current expenses from other sources of income. On the other hand, two-fifths of the group relied on their individual carpet-mill paychecks to cover more than 95

percent of the living expenses of themselves and/or their families as shown below.

Aside from the displaced workers' own wages, by far the most important source of income during their last year of employment at the mill had been the wages of a wife or husband, reported by half the workers (table

TABLE 14. SOURCES OF MONEY INCOME SUPPLEMENTS TO WAGES OF DISPLACED CARPET-MILL WORKERS DURING YEAR BEFORE LAYOFF, APRIL 1963 SURVEY

Source of income	Number of workers ¹	Percent
	160	100
All workers interviewed ² -----	160	100
Wages of other family members-----		
Spouse-----	85	53
Children-----	80	50
5	5	3
Property income-----	23	14
Rents-----	18	11
Dividends-----	4	2
Farm Income-----	1	1
Social insurance benefits-----	20	12
Pensions-----	7	4
Respondent's-----	2	1
Others in family-----	4	2
Not specified-----	1	1
Unemployment benefits-----	7	4
Others in family-----	2	1
Not specified-----	5	3
Disability benefits-----	6	4
Respondent's-----	2	1
Others in family-----	3	2
Not stated-----	1	1
Welfare payments-----	1	1
All other-----	11	7

¹ Some respondents are counted more than once since they reported supplemental income from more than one source.

² Includes those who reported no supplemental income.

14). Some of the spouses may not have earned much, but 50 of the carpet workers (36.5 percent of the 137 workers who were married) stated that their wives/husbands were "usually employed" during the year before they, themselves, were laid off.

Next in importance as a source of supplemental income was the ownership of income-yielding assets, noted by one-seventh of the carpet-mill workers. This fraction actually understates the true value to the workers of property ownership because it does not include the implicit income enjoyed from ownership of their own homes, and the workers did not regard interest on savings accounts as money income. Informal evidence collected during the study continually stressed the frugality of local residents, and the importance to them of accumulating savings accounts. When faced with the loss of wages, many of those workers not only had some continuing property incomes but also could meet part of their current expenses by borrowing on or disposing of some of these assets.

A high proportion of these workers had an asset in home ownership. In the year prior to layoff, nearly three-fifths (92 of 160) of the carpet-mill workers had owned their own homes—a remarkably high rate for individuals whose own earnings averaged only about \$3,150 a year. Of course, home ownership was facilitated by multiple wage earnings and by income from property, and probably a majority of the homes were mortgaged. However, home ownership not only continued to provide the workers with secure shelter, but also enabled them perhaps to defer some expenses or even to borrow money more easily. Had they not been able to sustain the required mortgage payments they might have been evicted; but, as will be seen, this did not occur. At the same time, the workers' important economic stake in the ownership of the homes they occupied helped to make them disinclined to seek employment outside the local area.

The only other source of supplemental income mentioned with much frequency was social security benefits from both the State and Federal governments. Subject to some duplication, one-eighth of those interviewed cited pen-

sions,¹⁶ unemployment benefits, and disability benefits as a means of meeting family living expenses, even before they were laid off. Most of these benefits were being received by other members of the family, rather than by the carpet-mill workers themselves.

Major Adjustments to Loss of Wage Income

In view of the carpet workers' large contributions to family living expenses, unemployment benefits were of course a vital means of adjusting to reduced income during their often prolonged search for new jobs. In addition, the wages of other family members assumed greater importance, and savings were frequently withdrawn. A variety of other means of meeting expenses were also used, although infrequently.

<i>Appropriate share of living expenses covered by workers' earnings¹</i>	<i>Workers reporting</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
All interviewed workers -----	160	100
Less than 30 percent -----	4	2
30 percent to 45 percent -----	9	6
50 percent -----	24	15
60 percent to 70 percent -----	13	8
75 percent -----	17	11
80 percent -----	12	7
85 percent to 95 percent -----	13	8
More than 95 percent -----	67	42
Not specified -----	1	1

¹ Discrete intervals indicate no observation in the omitted range.

Social Security Benefits. Unemployment insurance benefits far outranked any other method of meeting the decrease in wage income. Although unemployment benefits were discussed in the preceding section of this report, their frequency is repeated in table 15 to show how crucial a role they played in tiding the carpet workers' families over the post-layoff period.

Not only the former carpet-mill workers but also their wives and husbands received unemployment benefits in 18 cases. This fact is related to the prevalence of multiple-earner families and to the depressed economic conditions in the area.

Eighteen of the laid-off workers also received disability benefits on their own behalf and five reported that another member of the family

¹⁶ Although most of the pensions enumerated in both tables 14, and 15 were old-age and survivor benefits under the Federal program and were received on the account of another member of the family, some of the schedules were not entirely definitive as to what was meant by "social security" or "pensions". An occasional nongovernment pension may have been included.

did so. Comparison with the data in table 14 indicates that disability benefits were received much more frequently by the workers studied in the period after layoff than in the preceding year.

Pensions also furnished aid in 5 cases—fewer than in the prelayoff period.

TABLE 15. METHODS OF MEETING POST-LAYOFF LIVING EXPENSES USED BY DISPLACED CARPET-MILL WORKERS, APRIL 1963 SURVEY

Method of meeting expenses	Workers reporting each method ¹	
	Number	Percent
All workers interviewed ²	160	100
Social insurance benefits:		
Unemployment benefits:		
Respondent's	147	92
Others in family	18	11
Disability benefits:		
Respondent's	18	11
Others in family	5	3
Pensions	5	3
Wages of other family members:		
Spouse	100	62
Children	9	6
Disposal of assets:		
Savings withdrawal	58	36
Real estate sold	3	2
Life insurance cashed	2	1
Stocks sold	1	1
Savings bonds cashed	1	1
Borrowing money:		
Nonrelatives as lenders	12	7
Relatives as lenders	8	5
Gifts:		
Surplus food ³	15	9
Welfare payments	9	6
Miscellaneous:		
Living quarters shared ⁴	7	4
Property income	2	1
All other	18	11

¹ Numbers and percentages subject to duplication because of use of more than one method by individual respondents.

² Some respondents are counted more than once since they made more than one kind of financial adjustment.

³ Under Federal food stamp plan. Used as part of welfare relief in the 9 cases which are listed on the next line.

⁴ Additional to the sharing of living quarters prior to carpet mill layoff.

Wages of Other Family Members. Second only to unemployment benefits in frequency, the wages of a wife or husband were reported as a resource for meeting living expenses by 100 carpet-mill workers, or nearly three-fourths of these married persons in the group interviewed. The increased numbers of spouses of the laid-off workers who sought employment illustrate the operation of what has been called the "additional worker theory"—namely, that decreased demand for labor will increase the supply. In the situation studied, the confirmation of that theory was quite conclusive because identical individuals and their families were studied for periods before and after a major layoff (decrease in labor demand). Whereas 80 of the carpet workers' wives or husbands had con-

tributed earnings toward family living expenses before the layoff, 100 had done so in the post-layoff period. It did not follow that the additional workers would all obtain full-time or any employment. Indeed, in the year before the carpet-mill workers were laid off, only 50 of the 80 spouses with earnings were "usually employed." In the post-layoff period, 18 of the 100 wives/husbands with earnings had received unemployment benefits. Thus, the only question is whether the true increase in the labor force of second workers incident to the carpet-mill layoffs was from 50 to 82 or from 80 to 100.

The number of children whose earnings contributed to meeting living expenses was also greater after the carpet-mill workers were laid off. However, even in the post-layoff period, only 9 percent of the former carpet-mill workers had children working.

Disposal of Assets

The third most frequent method used to adjust to the layoff situation was to withdraw past savings, and 58 of the interviewed workers had done so at some time between losing their carpet-mill jobs and April 1963. The frequent availability of this source of ready funds attests to the frugality of the carpet-mill workers, as already mentioned. Further evidence of this frugality is the fact that one-fourth of those who had withdrawn their savings after layoff (15 of 58) had restored their previous savings balances by April 1963, since there were net withdrawals at the time of interview by only 43 of these interviewed. (See table 16.) Only 3 had withdrawn all of their pre-layoff savings and only 17 had let their savings balances fall below 45 percent of the pre-layoff amount.¹⁷

Apart from withdrawing savings, the layoff carpet-mill workers very seldom disposed of assets to meet living expenses. Although 18 of the interviewed group had received income from ownership of rental property before layoff and only 2 continued to obtain substantial income from rents, only 3 had sold real estate. These

¹⁷ Exact accuracy is not claimed for these findings, since understandably, savings bank books were not inspected. However, the broad findings were developed during extensive interviews with cooperative respondents and, moreover, are consistent with general information collected in the local area regarding the workers' savings habits.

TABLE 16. WITHDRAWAL OF SAVINGS BY DISPLACED CARPET-MILL WORKERS FOLLOWING LAYOFF, BY SIZE OF NET REDUCTION, APRIL 1963 SURVEY

Status of Savings	Number of workers	Percent of workers		
		Total	With some withdrawals	With net withdrawals
Total.....	160	100		
No savings withdrawn.....	102	64		
Some savings withdrawn.....	58	36	100	
Balance restored by April 1963.....	15	9	26	
Balance not restored by April 1963.....	43	27	74	100
Net reduction in savings account between date of carpet-mill layoff and April 1/63:				
100 percent.....	3	2	5	7
75 to 99 percent.....	10	6	17	23
55 to 74 percent.....	1	1	2	2
45 to 64 percent.....	12	7	21	28
25 to 44 percent.....	9	6	16	21
1 to 24 percent.....	8	5	14	19

¹ Workers who reported some savings withdrawn to meet living expenses after carpet-mill layoff but not reporting any net withdrawal of savings at time of interview, April 1963.

NOTE: Because of rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

facts appear to illustrate the fall in both rents and the saleable value of real estate which occurs in an area which becomes severely depressed.

Infrequently Used Methods of Post-Layoff Adjustment

In view of the sharp decline in wage incomes which followed their layoffs, the carpet-mill workers' relatively infrequent resort to the more extreme measures of adjustment to straightened circumstances is quite noteworthy. Less than two-fifths of them disposed of any assets, as just mentioned, and nearly all of those who withdrew savings still had reserves. In fact, in response to a separate question, nearly two-thirds of the workers interviewed reported that their living expenses had been entirely covered by unemployment benefits plus the wages of themselves and other members of their families.

Particularly notable is the infrequent resort to borrowing or charitable relief. About one-eighth of the laid-off carpet-mill workers had borrowed money to meet current expenses, and only 8 had borrowed money from anyone except persons related to them. Although 15 workers had received government-provided surplus food, part of these benefits had been received independently of welfare relief. As for welfare

relief itself, only 9 of the 160 workers had been thrown back on such public charity. This study did not attempt to assess the adequacy of standards of the local welfare system and thus no statement can be made as to whether relief was granted under relatively generous or harsh conditions. Nevertheless, the fact that only 1 in 18 of the laid-off carpet mill workers had been "on welfare" at any time prior to interview indicates that they had by no means become a group of paupers.

Finally, it is well recognized that "doubling up" of living quarters is a reliable indicator of low or declining levels of living. Yet only 7 of the displaced carpet-mill workers had resorted to this method of coping with severely inadequate income. Since no survey of housing conditions was included in this study, no judgment is expressed as to whether or not the carpet-mill workers were already housed in sub-standard living quarters before they were laid off. It does not appear, however, that crowding was frequently increased after layoff.

Additional data on the ownership of homes, farms, and businesses tend to support the evidence that the layoffs of 1960-62 had not led to widespread poverty—at least up to the time of interview in April 1963. The former carpet-mill workers did not lose the homes they had owned prior to layoff. On the contrary, 97 of them owned the houses they occupied in April 1963 as compared with 92 during the year before they lost their carpet-mill jobs. Of the 14 workers who had owned any part of a farm or business enterprise, either before or after layoff, only 1 lost each ownership after layoff. In no case, among the persons interviewed, did a former carpet-mill worker attempt to meet the problem of unemployment by embarking on a farm or business enterprise. Neither was there any evidence that former carpet-mill workers attempted to meet the problem of the loss of a usual job by obtaining more than one substitute job. On the contrary, whereas 14 persons had worked on a second job during the year before layoff, only 7 of them had done so at any time after layoff. The depressed state of general economic conditions in the local area did not encourage either the launching of new enterprises or "moonlighting."

Elsewhere in this report, comment is made on the fact that the former carpet-mill workers, while often moving between different employers, occupations, and industries, had not often sought employment outside the local area as a method of adjusting themselves to their post-layoff situation. Furthermore, the fact that the weekly earnings on the new job they did obtain averaged within 8 percent of their previous carpet-mill earnings suggests that these former carpet-mill workers were under no great pressure to work for sharply reduced wages.

The prolonged unemployment which customarily followed the layoffs of 1960-62, undoubtedly led to severe economic distress in some cases. Nevertheless, the infrequent use of the more extreme methods of adjusting to the layoffs suggests that, in combination, unemployment benefits, continued employment of the workers, spouses, and the frugality and independence of the workers themselves cushioned the shock of the layoffs remarkably well, and prevented widespread, acute economic distress.

Appendix A. Methodology

As explained in the Background section of this report, the 794 workers within the scope of the study had been laid off by the carpet mill at various times between the middle of 1960 and the middle of 1962. Timing of the layoffs is given in table A-1. The 794 constituted the mill's reemployment roster as of June 30, 1962, which listed all employees laid off and not recalled in the preceding 2-year period who had preferential hiring rights under the mill's agreement with the Textile Workers Union of America.

For each person on the roster, the company provided the name, address, marital status, social security number, sex, date of birth, date of first hiring and date of termination, and, for both the first and last jobs, occupational title, and divisional and departmental identification. The company also coded each job title into 1 of 15 grades of skill.

This information, classified by sex, age, and skill level of the last job, was used as a control in selecting a sample of the laid-off workers to be interviewed. The population of 794 was distributed into 12 sampling cells made up of 3 age groups (19 to 38, 39 to 54, and 55 to 69) and 3 skill groups (as measured by earnings) for each sex. The sample of 160 for interview was obtained by a random drawing, after shuffling, of one-fifth of the names in each cell. Additional names were drawn (and interviews subsequently conducted) to provide substitutes for any unusable schedules and to supplement, should it be necessary, the number of observations from the smaller cells (e.g., low-age, high-skill women).¹⁸

The interview schedule was developed by the director of the study after consultation with representatives of the company, the union, and State and local officials of the State Employ-

ment Service, as well as with officials of the U.S. Department of Labor and the U.S. Bureau of the Budget who subsequently gave it formal clearance.

All interviewing was completed during April 1963, so that the observations would have an approximately uniform time reference. That month was chosen as a period which would not encompass an unduly long interval from the time of the first layoffs in the summer of 1960 and yet be sufficiently removed from the last layoffs in the late spring of 1962 to permit observation of more than the initial readjustments by the laid-off workers.

The interviews were conducted in the homes of the selected workers by a part-time staff of 13 trained interviewers. Ten of the interviewers were drawn from the staff of the local office of the State Employment Service who were employed on this work during evenings and on weekends.

After interviews were completed, the company compiled and furnished, for each person in the interview sample, the gross earnings from employment at the mill (a) during the week ending nearest the 15th day of the month prior to date of termination and (b) during the 12 months preceding that date.

TABLE A-1. TIMING OF THE 1960-62 LAYOFFS OF PRODUCTION WORKERS AT THE SURVEYED CARPET MILL

Time of layoff	Workers laid off	
	Number	Percent
Total	794	100
1960:		
3d quarter.....	17	2
4th quarter.....	136	17
1961:		
1st quarter.....	168	21
2d quarter.....	35	4
3d quarter.....	118	15
4th quarter.....	31	4
1962:		
1st quarter.....	237	30
2d quarter.....	52	6

¹⁸ The data in this report are based exclusively on the balanced 20-percent sample of the population.

SOURCE: Reemployment roster of the surveyed carpet mill, as of June 30, 1962.

Other information utilized in the study included data provided by the company on its average employment, labor turnover, and production at the mill; U.S. shipment of carpets, provided by the American Carpet Institute; and local unemployment rates and background information from the local office of the Employment Service.

All of the data presented in this report were processed and analyzed at the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations.

Although the interview sample consists of 20

percent of the population from which it was drawn and was selected to insure full representation of certain characteristics that tend to be associated with differentiations in employment experience, many of the resulting statistics necessarily are based on a small number of observations. Like all such statistics, the sample data are strictly accurate only when used to describe the group studied and are subject to relatively large amounts of error if used as estimates for the population represented by the study group.

Appendix B. Worker Interview Schedule

—Layoff Survey
Budget Bureau NO.
Approval Expires _____

Page 1
*Serial _____

WORKER INTERVIEW SURVEY (Revised)

I. Identification and Postcard Information

*NAME _____ *SEX _____ *MARITAL _____
*ORIGINAL ADDRESS _____ *TEL _____
CURRENT ADDRESS _____ TEL _____

INTERVIEW: _____ TIME _____ DAY _____ DATE _____ SCHEDULED BY _____ INTERVIEWER _____

REMARKS _____

RESCHEDULE: _____ TIME _____ DAY _____ DATE _____ SCHEDULED BY _____ INTERVIEWER _____

REMARKS _____

UNABLE TO SCHEDULE OR RESCHEDULE _____

REASON _____

CONFIRMED

CALL BACKS (1) _____ TIME _____ DAY _____ DATE _____ SCHEDULED BY _____ INTERVIEWER _____

REASON _____

(2) _____ TIME _____ DAY _____ DATE _____ SCHEDULED BY _____ INTERVIEWER _____

REASON _____

*Prior to interview, enter these items, First line on p. 2 and line 1, col. (b) on p. 3

Instructions for Opening of Interview

If "Postcard Return" is checked "Yes" on page 2:

- A. All the information received from the respondent on the postcard will be entered prior to the interview.
- B. Following is a Sample Statement of the Interviewer in such cases:

PROFESSOR TOLLES ASKS ME TO THANK YOU FOR REPLYING TO THE LETTER HE MAILED YOU ON FEBRUARY 28. THAT WAS MORE THAN A MONTH AGO. NOW HE WANTS TO BE SURE THE ANSWERS YOU SENT HIM ARE UP TO DATE. LET'S CHECK OVER THE ANSWERS ON THE POSTCARD YOU RETURNED TO HIM.

Hand respondent blank copy of the double postcard form.
(Be Sure to retrieve the postcard before the end of the interview)

As the question are repeated, the interviewer will circle on page 2 each item which is found to have been correctly reported. Draw a line through each item which was missing or which needs to be amended and enter the new or revised information, but do not circle the new or revised answers.

If "Postcard Return" is checked "No" on page 2:

- A. Remainder of page 2 will be blank and items are to be filled in at the beginning of the interview.
- B. Sample Statement:

PROFESSOR TOLLES DOES NOT HAVE ANY RECORD OF A REPLY FROM YOU TO THE LETTER HE MAILED YOU ON FEBRUARY 28. HE HAS ASKED ME TO SEE YOU PERSONALLY, SO AS TO COMPLETE HIS RECORDS. LET'S CHECK OVER THE QUESTIONS ON THE POSTCARD HE SENT YOU.

(Show the respondent the blank card)

*Postcard Return: YES _____ NO _____

1. Are you working for pay at the present time?

YES, FULL-TIME _____

PART-TIME _____

NO _____

2. If you DO NOT have a paid job, are you:

UNABLE TO WORK (Sick or disabled) ? _____

DOING HOUSEWORK in your own home? _____

GOING TO SCHOOL? _____

RETIRED? _____

ACTIVELY LOOKIN FOR WORK? _____

IF you DO have a paid job at present:

3. Do you earn more or less each week than you usually earned when you worked at ____?

NOW EARN MORE _____

EARN LESS _____

ABOUT THE SAME _____

4. How many weeks have you worked on your present job? WEEKS _____

Please answer the following questions whether you now have a paid job or not:

5. How many weeks did you have a paid job during each of the years, 1960 to the present time (including your former job at ____)?

1960, WEEKS _____

1961, WEEKS _____

1962, WEEKS _____

1963, So far, WEEKS _____

6. If a course were available to retrain you for another job, with temporary pay, would you be interested?

(NOTE: This is NOT an offer of any training course.)

YES _____

NO _____

DON'T KNOW _____

*Prior to interview, record serial number on this and every sheet used.

CODE SYMBOLS

Column (c)—Status	Column (j) First source of information, leading to each job. (If "F" or "P" in col. (c)). Use only ONE symbol.	Column (k) Reason for termination of the job (if "F" or "P" in col. (c)).
F—Full-time employment	RP—Relatives or friends working in the plant	T—Temporary job
P—Part-time employment	RN—Relatives or friends NOT in the plant	Q—Quit (voluntary)
S—Self-employed	DP—Direct application at the plant	L—Laid off
U—Unable to work	RE—Recall, previous employer	O—Other reason for termination (specify here) :
H—Housework, own home	ES—Employment Service (SES)	_____
E—Education (School)	N—Newspaper or Radio	_____
R—Retired	LU—Labor union	_____
LW—Looking for work (Unemployed)	PA—Private employment Agency	_____
O—Other (specify and explain here) :	O—Other job lead (specify here) :	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

II. Worker History since Layoff

7. You were laid off from the —— mill in * ____ mo. * ____ yr. Is that right?

YES _____ NO _____

Now we want to get a more complete record of just what happened to you after you were laid off. First about your former —— job —— How many hours a week did you usually work at —— (Enter (g) & "F" or "P" under (c)).

*	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)	(k)
P e r i o d	Beginning of Period Mo.-Yr.	End of Period Mo.-Yr.	S t a t u s	Type of Industry	Kind of Work (Job Title)	Usual Gross Weekly Earnings	Usual Hours Per Week	Location of Work City-State	Travel Miles	Job Infor- mation	Rea- son for End
1.	XXXXXX	*		Carpet Mfg.	XXXXXXXXXXXX					XXX	XXX
2.											
3.											
4.											
5.											
6.											
7.											
8.											
9.											
10.											
11.											

(Continue the record on any further sheets as needed.) OTHER SHEETS?

*Prior to interview, enter layoff date on first line to text and on numbered line 1, col. (c).

Period shown on line 1 refers to the —— jobs, fill in, during interview, the blank spaces under columns (c), (f), (g), and (i).

Lines 2ff are to account for every subsequent change in status (col. (c)).

Last numbered line as used will represent respondent's status at time of interview.

III. Employment at _____

A. Last 2 years before Designated Layoff—"Usual" Job

8. You have said how much you usually earned at (7-line 1 col. (f))

(a) WAS YOUR "USUAL" JOB AT — SAY DURING YOUR LAST TWO YEARS THERE—THE SAME JOB AS THE ONE YOU HAD JUST BEFORE YOU WERE LAID OFF? YES ----
NO ----

(b) If "No": WHAT WAS YOUR "USUAL" JOB?
JOB TITLE _____ DEPARTMENT _____

9. (a) WAS YOUR "USUAL" JOB AT — ALSO the MOST SKILLED WORK YOU HAVE EVER DONE FOR PAY ANYWHERE SINCE YOU FIRST STARTED TO WORK? YES ----
NO ----

(b) If "No": WAS THE MOST SKILLED WORK DURING YOUR LIFE DONE ON A JOB AT —? YES ----
NO ----

(c) If "No" under (b) WHAT WAS THE MOST SKILLED JOB YOU HAVE HAD?
Product or Service of Employer _____
Kind of Work you did? _____
When that job began? Mo. _____ Yr. _____ . Ended? Mo. _____ Yr. _____

B. Last Year (52 weeks) before Designated Layoff

10. DURING THE LAST YEAR YOU WERE AT —:

(a) HOW MANY WEEKS DID YOU HAVE SOME WORK FOR PAY? WEEKS _____

(b) HOW MANY WEEKS WERE YOU LAID OFF WITHOUT ANY PAY? WEEKS _____

(c) DID YOU HAVE ANY FULL WEEKS OF PAID VACATION?

Yes _____ WEEKS _____

No _____ WEEKS XXX

WEEKS 52

(Check here if respondent does not remember: _____)

IV. Most Recent Job After Layoff, Compared with Last Job at —

Now think of the job you had at — just before you were laid off.

Think also of the (job you now have) (last job you have had) I would like your own opinion of those two jobs.

11. WHICH WAS THE MORE SKILLED JOB—YOUR LATEST JOB OR THE JOB YOU HAD AT MOHAWK JUST BEFORE — LAID YOU OFF?

Recent job required more skill _____

Recent job required less skill _____

(Check here if doesn't know: _____)

The two jobs required about the same skill _____

12. WHICH JOB DID YOU LIKE THE BEST? CONSIDERING EVERYTHING ABOUT THE WORK WHICH WAS THE BETTER JOB?

(is)
Recent job (was) Better than — job _____

(is)
Recent job (was) Worse than — job _____

The two jobs were about the same to respondent _____

13. There are many things that can make a job a good one or a bad one. The wages you get each week are one thing, but not the only thing. Look at this card, for instance. Here is a list of things that may be better or worse. Let's consider each thing on this list. You've already told me about the wages. We'll check that off.

- (a) ARE YOUR RECENT WAGES HIGHER OR LOWER THAN THOSE YOU GOT ON YOUR LAST JOB AT —?
- Better _____
Worse _____
About the same _____

Now what about the place where you did your work on each of these jobs?

- (b) WHICH JOB HAD THE BETTER WORKING CONDITIONS? WAS THERE ANY DIFFERENCE IN THE HEAT OR LIGHT, OR WHETHER YOU COULD WHILE WORKING, OR SUCH THINGS?
- Recent better _____
Recent worse _____
About the same _____

IV. 13. (continued)

How about the way you were told to do the two jobs? On some jobs you're left pretty free to do the work your own way. On other jobs you have to do it just as you are told. Sometimes you are not told enough about how to do it.

- (c) WAS THE SUPERVISION ON THE JOB AT THE LAST PLACE YOU WORKED BETTER OR WORSE THAN IT WAS AT —?

Recent better -- _____

Recent worse -- _____

About the same _____

- (d) WAS THE WORK YOU DID MOST RECENTLY MORE INTERESTING WORK FOR YOU THAN THE WORK YOU DID ON YOUR LAST JOB AT —

Recent better -- _____

Recent worse -- _____

About the same _____

Then there is the question of the fairness of an employer in his treatment of you and the other workers. Some employers are very fair to the workers, whether they can do much for them or not. Sometimes a company, or a worker's foreman, may play favorites or not give the workers as good a break as they could.

- (e) WHICH EMPLOYER TREATED YOU MORE FAIRLY—YOUR LAST EMPLOYER OR —?

Recent better -- _____

Recent worse -- _____

About the same _____

In some places the people in the shop are more friendly than in other places.

- (f) DID YOU LIKE THE OTHER WORKERS BETTER AT THE LAST PLACE YOU WORKED THAN AT —?

Recent better -- _____

Recent worse -- _____

About the same _____

- (g) WHICH JOB GAVE YOU MORE STEADY WORK—YOUR MOST RECENT JOB OR YOUR — JOB?

Recent better -- _____

Recent worse -- _____

About the same _____

- (h) HAVE YOU HAD A BETTER CHANCE TO GET AHEAD (Advancement) ON YOUR MOST RECENT JOB OR ON THE JOB YOU HAD AT —?

Recent better -- _____

Recent worse -- _____

About the same _____

IV. 13. (continued)

Jobs these days carry fringe benefits in addition to the paycheck—things like holidays with pay, paid vacations, higher rates of pay for overtime work, pensions, savings plans and so forth. Think of all such things together.

- (i) DID YOUR MOST RECENT JOB GIVE YOU BETTER FRINGE BENEFITS THAN YOUR LAST — JOB?

Recent better -- _____
 Recent worse -- _____
 About the same _____

Sometimes you can earn good pay on a job, but only by working longer hours than you want or at bad times of the day for you.

- (j) DID YOU LIKE THE TIME OF THE WORK SHIFT YOU HAD AND THE NUMBER OF HOURS OF WORK BETTER ON YOUR MOST RECENT JOB THAN THE LAST JOB YOU HAD AT —?

Recent better -- _____
 Recent worse -- _____
 About the same _____

14. Now let's look back over the list on that card

WHICH OF THOSE THINGS IS THE MOST IMPORTANT TO YOU
 THE THING YOU MOST WANT TO KNOW ABOUT ANY JOB?

Rank: 1 is whatever is most important.
 (Worker to select at least 1, 2, 3)

WHICH IS THE NEXT
 MOST IMPORTANT TO YOU?

- (a) Wages -----
 (b) Physical conditions -----
 (c) Freedom from unnecessary supervision -----

WHICH IS THE THIRD
 THING YOU WANT TO KNOW
 ABOUT ANY JOB?

- (d) Interesting work -----
 (e) Fairness of your employer -----
 (f) Friendly fellow workers -----
 (g) Steadiness of work -----
 (h) Chance for advancement -----
 (i) Fringe benefits -----
 (j) Shift and Hours -----

ARE ANY OTHER THINGS
 ON THIS LIST IMPORTANT
 TO YOU? HOW IMPORTANT?

V. Living and Working Arrangements, at present and while employed at _____

Professor Tolles wants to report how much the —— layoff changed the lives of you workers who lost your jobs. So he needs to know a few things about how you live and work now and how things were with you when you were working at the mill.——

15. The beginning for everybody is being born in the first place.

WHERE WERE YOU BORN? City, or town or County _____
State (if in U.S.A.) _____
Country (present name, if possible) _____

16. HOW LONG HAVE YOU LIVED IN OR NEAR _____

SAY, WITHIN 20 MILES OF THE —— MILL? Years _____

17. IN ALL THE TIME SINCE YOU BECAME 21 YEARS OLD, HOW MANY TIMES HAVE YOU MOVED? Number _____

(Means "How many times changed "residence" or the place you slept most of the time?"")

18. If married (compare page 1, line 1),

(a-1) HAS YOUR WIFE (OR HUSBAND) MOVED SINCE YOU WERE LAID OFF FROM THE —— MILL? (Date shown, p.3.
line 1, col. (b)) Yes _____
No _____

OR

(a-2) If not married

SINCE THE MONTH YOU WERE LAID OFF FROM (date shown, p.3, line 1, col. (b)), HAVE YOU CHANGED THE PLACE WHERE YOU SLEEP MOST OF THE TIME?

Yes _____
No _____

(b) If Answer to (a) is "Yes,"

DID YOU MOVE YOUR HOME (residence) MORE THAN 20 MILES AT ANY TIME SINCE YOU WERE LAID OFF FROM —— ?

Yes _____
No _____

(c) If answer to (b) is "Yes,"

WHEN WAS IT THAT YOU MOVED YOUR HOME (residence) BY MORE THAN 20 MILES?

Month _____
Year _____

V. (continued)

19. (a) DO YOU NOW OWN THE PLACE WHERE YOU LIVE? (or, if married
the place where your wife (husband) lives)

(Means ownership wholly or partly)

Yes _____

No _____

(b) If answer to (a) is "Yes,"

IS (OR WAS) THIS PLACE CLOSE ENOUGH TO WHERE
YOU WORK (OR DID WORK, MOST RECENTLY) SO THAT
YOU CAN (OR COULD) GO FROM YOUR HOME TO YOUR
WORK (commute) EVERY DAY?

Yes _____

No _____

(c) BEFORE YOUR LAYOFF FROM —, DID YOU THEN
OWN YOUR OWN HOME?

(Means ownership at any time within 2 years of
layoff)

Yes _____

No _____

(d) WAS THE PLACE YOU OWNED BEFORE THAT LAYOFF
CLOSE ENOUGH TO THE — SO THAT YOU
COULD GO TO WORK FROM YOUR HOME (commute)
EVERY DAY?

Yes _____

No _____

20. If a person owns a farm or business of his own that may make
a difference as to where he lives.

(a) DO YOU OR YOUR WIFE (HUSBAND) NOW OWN A FARM OR ANY
BUSINESS OF YOUR OWN?

(Includes farm or business of wife or husband. Also
includes part ownership.)

Yes _____

No _____

(b) DID YOU OWN ANY FARM OR BUSINESS BEFORE YOU
WERE LAID OFF FROM —?

(Includes farm or business of husband or wife.
Also includes part ownership)

Yes _____

No _____

V. (continued)

21. (a) DOES YOUR WIFE (HUSBAND) WORK FOR MONEY PAY AT THE PRESENT TIME?

Yes _____

No _____

Not Married _____

If answer to (a) is "No",

(b) IS SHE (HE) LOOKING FOR WORK RIGHT NOW?

Yes _____

No _____

Not Married _____

Whether answer to (a) is "Yes" or "No,"

(c) DID YOUR WIFE (HUSBAND) USUALLY HAVE A JOB FOR MONEY PAY BEFORE YOU WERE LAID OFF FROM — ?

Yes _____

No _____

Not Married _____

22. ABOUT HOW MUCH OF THE LIVING EXPENSES OF YOURSELF (and "your family", if any) WERE COVERED BY YOUR OWN — PAYCHECK DURING THE YEAR BEFORE YOU WERE LAID OFF FROM — ? (Approximate percent is sufficient)

%

23. BESIDES YOUR — PAYCHECK, DID YOU (AND YOUR FAMILY) HAVE ANY OTHER MONEY COMING IN, DURING YOUR LAST YEAR AT — ?

Yes _____

No _____

If answer is "Yes",

WHERE DID YOU (AND YOUR FAMILY) GET ANY OTHER MONEY, DURING YOUR LAST YEAR AT — ?

Check all sources stated

- (a) ANOTHER JOB OF YOUR OWN? _____
- (b) A JOB OF YOUR WIFE (HUSBAND)? _____
- (c) MONEY EARNED BY YOUR CHILDREN _____
- (d) RENT FROM PROPERTY YOU (and/or your wife (husband)) OWNED? _____
- (e) ANY OTHER SOURCE WE HAVE NOT MENTIONED? _____

If (e) is checked, state the source here:

V. (continued)

24. How is it now?

Check all
sources
given

- (a) DO YOU WORK AT MORE THAN ONE JOB? _____
- (b) DOES YOUR FAMILY LIVE PARTLY ON MONEY
YOUR WIFE (HUSBAND) EARNS? _____
- (c) DOES YOUR FAMILY GET SOME MONEY FROM ANY
OF YOUR CHILDREN WHO WORK? _____
- (d) DO YOU (and/or wife (husband)) RECEIVE MONEY
FROM RENTING PROPERTY _____
- (e) DO YOU (AND YOUR FAMILY) NOW HAVE ANY OTHER
SOURCE OF MONEY WE HAVE NOT MENTIONED _____

If (e) is checked, state the source
here:

VI. Family Adjusted Since — Layoff

After you lost your job at —, I suppose you must have had many problems in meeting your living expenses. I have just a few more questions about how the layoff affected you (and your family).

First let's check on just what your family is and was before you were laid off from —.

- 25. (a) DO YOU HAVE ANY CHILDREN WHO ARE NOW NOT YET
18 YEARS OF AGE? IF SO, HOW MANY?**

None _____

Number _____

(Regardless of whether the children are dependents)

- (b) DURING THE YEAR BEFORE YOUR — LAYOFF, DID
YOU THEN HAVE CHILDREN WHO WERE THEN UNDER 18?
IF SO, HOW MANY?**

None _____

Number _____

(Regardless of whether the children are dependents)

- 26. (a) HOW MANY PERSONS DO YOU (AND YOUR WIFE -or
husband) NOW SUPPORT?**

None _____

Number _____

("Support" means more than half their living expenses provided by the wife and/or husband. Includes any children, regardless of age, as well as any others actually supported. Exclude from the number the respondent and spouse).

- (b) HOW MANY PERSONS DID YOU (AND YOUR WIFE-or husband)
SUPPORT DURING THE YEAR BEFORE YOUR — LAYOFF?**

None _____

Number _____

(See explanation under 26 (a))

- 27. HAVE YOU RECEIVED ANY UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS SINCE
YOUR — LAYOFF? (Refers only to —
unemployment compensation benefits.)**

Yes _____

No _____

If answer to above question is "No", skip to (f); If "Yes", ask (a) to (e), as required:

- (a) FOR HOW MANY WEEKS SINCE YOUR — LAYOFF?**

Weeks --- _____

- (b) HOW MUCH WAS YOUR USUAL WEEKLY BENEFIT?**

\$ _____

- (c) HAVE THESE BENEFITS STOPPED BY NOW?**

Yes _____

No _____

If answer to (c) is "Yes", ask (d) and (e) :

VI. (continued)

27. (continued)

(d) WHEN DID THESE BENEFITS STOP?

Month _____

(e) WHY DID THESE BENEFITS STOP?

Year _____

Check one reason

I got a paid job _____

My benefit rights were used up _____

Other reasons (If checked,
specify reason here): _____

If answer to first question under 27 is "No":

(f) WHY DIDN'T YOU RECEIVE ANY UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT?

28. APART FROM UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS, HOW HAVE YOU (AND YOUR WIFE—or husband) MANAGED TO MEET YOUR LIVING EXPENSES, SINCE THE TIME YOU WERE LAID OFF FROM—?

Check each method used

(a) Nothing used, except wages of respondent (and/or wife or husband), plus respondent's own unemployment benefits? _____

(b) Any unemployment benefits of any other members of family? _____

Drew out previous savings? _____

If this item is checked, ask:

ABOUT WHAT PERCENT OF THE SAVINGS YOU HAD AT THE TIME OF YOUR MOHAWK LAYOFF HAS BEEN DRAWN OUT? (Accept approximate percent or a rough fraction which interviewer will convert to a percentage) _____ %

(d) Borrowed money? (exclude time-payment purchases) _____

(e) Sold property? (Include added mortgage or sale of part ownership) _____

(f) Got money from other members of the family who lived in home of the respondent? (Whether given or lent?) _____

(g) Got money from relatives who did not live with respondent? (whether given or lent) _____

(h) Got money from other individuals? (Not relatives, whether given or lent) _____

(i) Shared living quarters with others, not previously shared? _____

(j) Received assistance from any welfare agency? _____
(Whether a government or a private agency and whether relief was in money or in kind)

(k) Received surplus food? (whether as part of general welfare relief or any special surplus food distribution plan) _____

VI. (continued)

28. (continued)

- (l) Assisted by receipt of disability benefits? _____
- (m) Assisted by receipt of workmen's compensation benefits? _____
- (n) Any other source of assistance? _____
if checked, specify source here:

VII. Availability for Employment

You have answered questions about the time in the past when you were looking for work. Now Professor Tolles needs a little more information about just how you stand right now—not only whether you are looking for a job but what kind of a job you most want, if you do want one.

First let's check over your answers about looking for work. If respondent has a job at present ("F" or "P" in question 7, 1st line, col. (c)) ask:

- 29. (a) EVEN THOUGH YOU HAVE A JOB NOW, ARE YOU
ACTIVELY LOOKING FOR A BETTER ONE?**

Yes _____

No _____

If answer to (a) is "Yes", ask:

**ARE YOU LOOKING ONLY FOR A FULL-TIME JOB OR
WOULD YOU THINK A PART-TIME OR SEASONAL JOB
MIGHT BE BETTER THAN YOUR PRESENT JOB? (check one)**

F _____

P _____

S _____

If respondent does not have a job when interviewed, ask

- (b) to (h) as may be appropriate:
**(b) ARE YOU FULLY ABLE TO WORK AND ACTIVELY LOOKING FOR
A JOB RIGHT NOW?**

Yes _____

No _____

If "Yes", check what kind of job: FF ____ : P ____ : S ____

If answer to (b) is not a positive "Yes", ask (c):

- (c) DO YOU FEEL IT'S NO USE LOOKING FOR WORK BECAUSE
THERE ARE NO JOBS OPEN, BUT THAT YOU WOULD TAKE A
JOB IF YOU COULD FIND ONE?**

Yes _____

No _____

If "Yes", check what kind of a job: F ____ ; P ____ ; S ____ :

If answer to (b) or (c) is "No", ask:

- (d) ARE YOU NOW RECOVERING FROM A TEMPORARY DISABILITY
AND PLAN TO LOOK FOR WORK WHEN YOU DO RECOVER?
(Includes both illness and physical injury)**

Yes _____

No _____

If (d) is not applicable, ask:

VII. (continued)

29. (continued)

(e) HAVE YOU A PERMANENT DISABILITY WHICH MAKES YOU UNABLE TO TAKE A PAYING JOB?

Yes _____

No _____

If (e) is not applicable, ask:

(f) ARE YOU NOW NEEDED AT HOME SO MUCH THAT IT IS NO USE LOOKING FOR A PAYING JOB?

Yes _____

No _____

If "Yes", specify why needed _____

(g) HAVE YOU STOPPED LOOKING FOR A JOB BECAUSE OF YOUR AGE? (Retired)

Yes _____

No _____

(h) IS THERE ANY OTHER REASON WE HAVE NOT MENTIONED WHY YOU ARE NOT LOOKING FOR A JOB AT THIS TIME?

Yes _____

No _____

If, "Yes", specify the reason _____

30. How about a possible return to (mill)?

(a) Check here if respondent has already been recalled by mill: _____

(b) DO YOU EXPECT TO BE RECALLED TO A JOB BY _____
(formerly _____) ? _____

Yes _____

No _____

If "Yes":

WHEN DO YOU THINK YOU MAY BE RECALLED?

Months from date of interview?

Mos.

VII. (continued)

31. If respondent is looking for work or expects to look for work in the future, ask:

- (a) WHAT KIND OF A JOB WOULD YOU MOST PREFER TO HAVE IN THE FUTURE?

WOULD THAT BE WORK IN A FACTORY?

Yes _____

No _____

WHAT OTHER KINDS OF JOBS WOULD YOU BE WILLING TO DO? (List three, if possible, in order of preference, indicating whether it constitutes factory work in each case.)

- (b) _____ Factory work? Yes _____
No _____
- (c) _____ Factory work? Yes _____
No _____
- (d) _____ Factory work? Yes _____
No _____

32. If respondent is or recently has been looking for work (whether presently employed or not), ask:

HAVE YOU BEEN ACTIVELY LOOKING FOR A JOB OUTSIDE THE ____ AREA—SO FAR AWAY THAT YOU COULD NOT GO TO WORK EVERY DAY FROM THE PLACE WHERE YOU NOW LIVE? (i.e. outside the commuting area)

Yes _____

No _____

VII. (continued)

33. SUPPOSE A JOB WERE OFFERED TO YOU, WHICH PAID ABOUT THE SAME WAGES AS YOUR USUAL JOB AT — BEFORE YOUR LAYOFF BUT WHICH WAS SO FAR AWAY FROM YOUR PRESENT HOME THAT YOU COULD NOT GO TO WORK FROM THE PLACE YOU NOW LIVE, (outside the commuting area) WHAT WOULD YOU DO ABOUT SUCH A JOB OFFER?

check one

- (a) Already has taken such a job since—
layoff _____
- (b) Definitely would take such a job _____
- (c) Perhaps would take it that; would depend
on (specify what) _____
- (d) Would not take it, because: _____

VIII. Education and Training

When a worker is laid off his chance of getting another good job partly depends, as you know, on the education and training he has had or can get. So now I have a few questions about your own education and training.

34. WHAT IS THE HIGHEST GRADE OF REGULAR SCHOOL YOU COMPLETED?

- (a) Never attended regular school
check _____

If attended regular school, give highest grade number:

- (b) Elementary _____
or _____
High School _____
or _____
College _____

35. HAVE YOU HAD ANY SPECIAL JOB TRAINING, IN ADDITION TO REGULAR SCHOOL AND IN ADDITION TO TRAINING BY ANY FOREMAN OR FELLOW WORKER?

Yes _____
No _____

Regardless of initial answer to #35, show respondent the card, labelled "Kinds of Special Job Training" and ask #36

36. Let's check over some of the kinds of special job training the workers have had. Please look at this card.

HAVE YOU HAD ANY OF THESE KINDS OF SPECIAL JOB TRAINING?
(check below under #37)

If "Yes" for any kind as listed on card, ask:

VIII. (continued)

37. DID YOU GET THAT KIND OF TRAINING BEFORE OR AFTER
YOU WERE LAID OFF FROM — — — OR BOTH BEFORE
AND AFTERWARD?

(a) APPRENTICESHIP (Leading to a journeyman's skill)?	Check each kind in one or both spaces	
(b) TECHNICAL TRAINING IN HIGH SCHOOL OR JUNIOR COLLEGE? (Examples: Auto Mechanic, Electrical, Home Economics, Agriculture)	<u>Before</u>	<u>After</u>
(c) TECHNICAL TRAINING IN A PRIVATE TRADE SCHOOL?	_____	_____
(d) TECHNICAL TRAINING WHILE IN THE ARMED FORCES?	_____	_____
(e) BUSINESS OR COMMERCIAL TRAINING IN HIGH SCHOOL OR JUNIOR COLLEGE? (Clerical, Stenographic, Bookkeeping, etc.)	_____	_____
(f) BUSINESS OR COMMERCIAL TRAINING IN A PRIVATE SCHOOL?	_____	_____
(g) BUSINESS OR COMMERCIAL TRAINING WHILE IN THE ARMED FORCES?	_____	_____
(h) EMPLOYER'S TRAINING COURSE? (Check only if the course required attendance for 6 weeks or more)	_____	_____
(i) CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOL TRAINING?	_____	_____
(j) OTHER? (not incidental training on the job) If (j) is checked, specify kind of training here: _____	_____	_____

If any of the items in #37 have been checked, ask #38 and #39.

38. (a) DID ANY SPECIAL JOB TRAINING HELP YOU TO GET OR KEEP
THE MOST-SKILLED JOB YOU HAD AT —

(Note: "Most skilled job" has been identified under #9 (a) above)	<u>Check one</u>
(Very helpful)	_____
(Some help)	_____
(No help)	_____
(Don't know)	_____

If "very helpful" or "some help" has been checked, ask:

(b) WHICH KINDS OF TRAINING WERE HELPFUL?

Letter(s): _____

List, by letter—(a) etc. as shown in #37

VIII. (continued)

39. (a) DID ANY SPECIAL JOB TRAINING HELP YOU TO GET OR
KEEP ANY JOB SINCE YOU WERE PAID OFF FROM —?

Check one

(Note" Answer to #7 above,
shows any jobs since
— layoff)

(Very helpful
(Some help
(No help
(Don't know

If "very helpful" or "some help" has been checked, ask:

- (b) WHICH KINDS OF TRAINING WERE HELPFUL?
List, by letter—(a), etc.—as shown in #37

Letter(s)

Question #6 on the postcard we checked over asked about a possible training course to fit you for a job, or a better job than you have now. Professor Tolles wants me to ask that question again so that he can be sure how you feel about any training course for workers who were laid off from the —mills. (The interviewer should make very clear that the asking of the following questions does not imply any specific retraining plan and that the answer does not constitute any application for admission or preference for admission in any subsequent possible plan.)

40. (a) IF THERE WERE A PLAN AT PRESENT FOR TRAINING WORKERS FOR NEW JOBS AND FOR PAYING THE WORKER SOMETHING WHILE HE WAS LEARNING, WOULD YOU BE INTERESTED?

Check one:
Yes _____
Perhaps _____
No _____
Doesn't know _____

If (a) is answered "Yes" or "Perhaps", ask (b) :

- (b) WHAT KIND OF TRAINING WOULD YOU WANT?

If (a) is answered "Perhaps", ask (c) :

- (c) You say you might or might not be interested.

WHAT WOULD YOUR OWN INTEREST DEPEND ON?

(Describe) _____

If (a) is answered "No", ask (d) :

- (d) WHY ARE YOU NOT INTERESTED?

(Describe reason) _____

A Case Study

Displaced Pottery Workers' Adjustment to Layoff

by David Levinson

**Report on a study of the Department
of Economics, Ohio University,
under a grant from the
U.S. Department of Labor,
Bureau of Labor Statistics.**

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A Case Study of Displaced Pottery Workers' Adjustment to Layoff

Summary

When this study of pottery workers was made in late 1962 and 1963, about 1 in every 7 who had lost their jobs at least 6 months earlier was still looking for work. At the time, such long-term unemployment affected less than 1 percent of the U. S. labor force. It is likely that more of the pottery workers would have been unemployed had not 2 women of every 5 and 1 man of every 6 left the labor force. Most of these women said they were "doing their own house-work" and nearly all of these men said either that they had retired or that they were unable to work.

For those who had found jobs—about three-fourths of the men and less than half of the women—the search had been prolonged, consuming at least 6 months for a majority of the women and about one-fourth of the men. Many of the employed reported lower wage rates than in the pottery, although a majority said that their new jobs required at least as much skill. In addition, a sizable number had taken jobs outside the town where they had worked in the pottery.

A majority, on the other hand, said that their new jobs provided steadier employment than they had had in the pottery. The last year of pottery employment had typically afforded work in no more than 4 of every 5 weeks. This circumstance undoubtedly helps to explain the high proportion of women among those laid off—nearly half of the total, or almost twice the relative number employed in manufacturing as a whole.

Many of the employment difficulties experienced by the pottery workers, particularly the

women, were associated with advanced age. Two-thirds of the men and three-fourths of the women were at least 45 years old, far more than in the U. S. labor force. But only 1 of every 8 pottery workers was old enough to qualify for full retirement benefits under Old-Age and Survivors Insurance, and eligibility for benefits under a recently negotiated industry pension plan required 1 year's service between December of 1962 and 1966, when benefits were to become payable. Retirement does not, then, appear to have been a practicable alternative to employment for any great number of the pottery workers.

Many of them had little education, training, or experience to fit them for other employment. Half had worked at the pottery for at least 15 years, and over four-fifths had held unskilled or semiskilled jobs. About half had never gone beyond grade school, and less than one-tenth had any job training for work outside the pottery. Most of them were either unwilling to take training or had reservations about it, frequently citing advanced age or ill health as a barrier.

These reasons were also often given by the four-fifths of the pottery workers who said either that they would not move or would be reluctant to do so in order to accept a job at the same rate of pay they had earned in the pottery. Homeownership and other reasons associated with longtime residence in the area were, however, far more prevalent.

During the period when these workers were being laid off, the areas where they lived and worked were generally characterized by rela-

tively high unemployment rates or persistent unemployment. Much of the industry throughout the area is heavy manufacturing (steel, metal products, and machinery); and mining and construction also account for a sizable proportion of employment. Thus, not only were jobs scarce at the time, but many of those that were available were beyond the physical capacity or the skill of the older men and were foreclosed to the women. Although there were other potteries in the area, employment in the industry was generally not expanding. As an example of declining employment opportunities, one of the largest potteries claimed that mechanization had increased its physical production per man-hour about 55 percent between 1948 and 1962.

Against this economic background, over one-third of the men and over half of the women who had been laid off by the potteries 6 months or more before the survey began had, at the time of the survey, exhausted their unemployment benefits. This occurred despite the fact that one-third of all those who drew benefits were on the rolls for 26 weeks or more.

The desperation of the older pottery workers is vividly summed up in the following comment by one of the participants in the study:

... At one time [our town] was the pottery center of the world and now, on every corner, empty buildings, business going out, simply because of no work, and the workers cannot buy.... the sad part of it is that most of these people are like myself; they spent all their lives in pottery, and now they are too old to get other work. And there is no other work here.... As for me, I am 59 years old, too young to get social security and too old for lots of jobs.

Background of the Study

The 13 potteries that had laid off the workers covered in this study were all located in the so-called tri-State area—the panhandle of West Virginia and the adjacent areas of Ohio and Pennsylvania. Ten of the thirteen were within a 35-mile radius of East Liverpool, Ohio, and five were either in that city or across the Ohio River in Chester or Newell, West Virginia.

East Liverpool is the location of the national office of the United States Potters Association (USPA), of which all the potteries were members. The USPA accounted for over half of the 1962 output of earthenware, or semivitreous ceramic dinnerware, manufactured for household use (industry 3263, as defined in the *Standard Industrial Classification Manual* by the U.S. Bureau of the Budget).¹ East Liverpool also houses the national headquarters of the International Brotherhood of Operative Potters (IBOP), the union with which the USPA deals.

Seven of the potteries were still operating at the time of the survey (designated in this report as undissolved potteries and identified merely as companies A through G to avoid disclosing their identity). These companies were asked for lists of the names and addresses of the production and maintenance workers laid off since May 1959, and not recalled by the summer of 1962. The earlier date was chosen because it marked the signing of a collective bargaining agreement between the USPA and the IBOP which established a priority claim to a 32-hour workweek by employees on the payroll as of July 1, 1958—the basic work force. Under the agreement, other employees—the extra list—were to be laid off in any week in which the basic work force would otherwise be employed less than 32 hours.

Only 2 of the 6 dissolved potteries (identified as companies S, T, W, X, Y, and Z), that is, those that had either shut down or gone out of business between 1958 and 1962, were able to supply a list of their former production and maintenance workers. One of these two, Company Z, shut down in the last quarter of 1962, while the study was in progress. For the other four dissolved companies, much of the neces-

¹ This industry has declined in physical volume of output by more than 40 percent between 1950 and 1960. [*The Relationship Between Imports and Employment*, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, April 1962. Processed, 148 pp.] The statements of management officials interviewed indicate that the causes of the decline were some combination of import competition, plus domestic competition from plasticware and glassware.

sary information was obtained from former local union officers who had been involved in the shutdowns and other knowledgeable persons suggested by the national union. Additional information was found in court records of bankruptcy proceedings.

Altogether, a list of 2,194 names and addresses of former employees of the 13 potteries was compiled. Beginning in the fall of 1962, the first part of a 2-part questionnaire (appendix A) was mailed to these persons with two follow-up mailings to those who had not returned the questionnaire. Similarly, within a period ranging from 1 to 5 months of the time part I of the questionnaire was returned, part II was mailed and three follow-up mailings were made to nonrespondents. The mailing operation was completed in June 1963. At that time, a sample of the nonrespondents was selected for personal interviews, which were conducted during the summer of 1963. The methodology is described in greater detail in appendix A, which also gives some information about the characteristics of

the nonrespondents. A total of 1,468 responses were obtained to part I of the questionnaire and 1,303 to part II.

Nearly all of the respondents who completed questionnaires omitted the requested information for one or more items. These persons are included, in the tables in this report, in the "unreported" category.

The questionnaires sought information about the workers' personal characteristics, their jobs at the potteries, their experience following the layoff—both during the period of unemployment and on the subsequent job (if any)—and some information, largely attitudinal, about their reactions to their changed employment status.² These categories provide the organizational framework for this report.

² The director of the study also interviewed the chief operating managers of 7 of the firms, the chief officers of the Potters union, and certain other officials. The focus of the interviews was management and union efforts to maintain business and thus preserve job opportunities in the industry. The findings of that part of the study are not presented in this report, which is restricted to the information obtained from the workers themselves.

Personal Characteristics

In age, sex, marital status, and education, the composition of the study group of pottery workers differed appreciably from that of the labor force of the U.S. at the time of the study. The pottery workers included more married women, more persons age 45 or over, and more persons with scant education—characteristics associated with the lack of occupational and geographic mobility. Prevalent homeownership in locations close to the pottery as well as long residence in or near the place where they worked also tended to give the pottery workers strong roots in the community.

Age, Sex, and Marital Status

Nearly half of the respondents to part I of the questionnaire were women. By contrast, women accounted for only one-third of both the U.S. labor force and total employment in the pottery and related products industry in 1962-63. As indicated later, there is some evidence that the pottery industry in the tri-State area has been a major source of factory work for women.

There were significant differences³ in the proportion of men and women between the dissolved and undissolved potteries. In fact, women outnumbered men among the workers laid off by potteries still in operation, as shown in the following tabulation:

Status of pottery	Both Sexes		Men		Women	
	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent
Total -----	1,468	100	762	100	706	100
Dissolved -----	1,155	79	648	85	507	72
Undissolved -----	313	21	114	15	199	28

Perhaps the men employed by the undissolved potteries had, by virtue of greater continuity of employment, achieved higher seniority than the women or were less vulnerable to layoff because they had held more skilled jobs. A series of layoffs prior to shutting down would then leave comparatively more men to be displaced when the pottery closes.

In recent years, about two-fifths of the men and women in the labor force have already

³ Unless otherwise indicated or obviously inappropriate, the chi-square test of significance at the 5-percent level was used throughout this report.

passed their 45th birthday. Among the pottery workers, on the other hand, this age group encompassed nearly two-thirds of the men and three-fourths of the women (table 1). About two-fifths of the total were 55 or older, and about one-eighth had attained age 65. Although younger workers were more likely to be beyond the scope of this survey because they had moved away (appendix A), the potential overrepresentation of older workers is probably not large enough to negate the conclusion that the laid-off pottery workers might be expected to experience prolonged unemployment. The older women, in particular, were likely to have a difficult job search.

Because so many of the women had reached the age when married women are most apt to work, it is not surprising that more of them were married than is the case in the labor force as a whole—64 percent, as compared with 56 percent. (In addition, children under the age of 18 were reported less frequently by the married women among the pottery workers than by those in the labor force—40 percent vs. 55 percent.) The smaller difference in the proportion of married men (81 percent of the pottery workers but 77 percent of the labor force) may be traceable to underrepresentation of men under the age of 25.

Education and Training

While women in the labor force as a whole have higher educational attainments than men, the reverse is true among blue-collar workers, probably because the men tend to hold the more skilled jobs. The pottery workers were in exception in this respect. Whereas about one-

TABLE 1. CURRENT AGE OF DISPLACED POTTERY WORKERS, BY SEX, 1962-63 SURVEY

Current age	Both sexes		Male		Female	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total ¹ -----	1,468	100	762	100	706	100
14 to 19 years-----	2	(1)	1	(1)	1	(1)
20 to 24 years-----	44	3	42	6	2	(1)
25 to 34 years-----	148	10	109	14	39	6
35 to 44 years-----	257	18	122	16	135	19
45 to 54 years-----	440	30	197	26	243	34
55 to 61 years-----	278	19	123	16	155	22
62 to 64 years-----	123	8	65	9	58	8
65 years and older-----	169	12	100	13	69	10
Unreported-----	7	(1)	3	(1)	4	(1)

¹ Because of rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

² Less than 0.5 percent.

TABLE 2. YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY DISPLACED POTTERY WORKERS, BY SEX, 1962-63 SURVEY

Years of school completed	Both sexes		Male		Female	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total-----	1,468	100	762	100	706	100
No formal schooling-----	3	(1)	2	(1)	1	(1)
Grades 1 to 5-----	70	5	48	6	22	3
Grades 6 to 8-----	641	44	326	43	315	45
Grades 9 and 10-----	318	22	157	21	161	23
Grades 11 and 12-----	364	25	194	26	170	24
First 2 years of college-----	8	(1)	7	(1)	1	(1)
Other (as school for handicapped)-----	11	(1)	8	(1)	8	1
Unreported-----	53	4	25	3	28	4

¹ Less than 0.5 percent.

NOTE: Because of rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

third of the men and two-fifths of the women employed as blue collar workers in March 1964, had not gone beyond elementary school,⁴ among the pottery workers more than two-fifths of both the men and the women were in this category (table 2).

Moreover, an even smaller number of the women than of the men pottery workers had vocational training for occupations outside the pottery—only 37 women, compared with 76 men. Because of the correlation between education and training, it is unlikely that many of either the men or women with other training were among the least educated.⁵ In either case, the training may have had little current applicability, since three-fifths of the handful who had training had completed it prior to 1950.

Such levels of education and vocational training do not suggest any great occupational mobility.

Homeownership and Residence

Residential patterns among the pottery workers also typify a relatively immobile group. A majority of them lived less than 4 miles from the pottery where they were employed, and only 7 percent lived more than 10 miles away, with the distance inversely related to the size of the pottery community. The per-

⁴ *Formal Occupational Training of Adult Workers: Its Extent, Nature, and Use* (U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, Office of Manpower, Automation and Training, 1964). Manpower/Automation Research Monograph No. 2, pp. 5-6.

⁵ "Education Attainment of Workers, March 1964," *Monthly Labor Review*, May 1965, p. 523, also available as Reprint 2463.

centage who owned their own homes—somewhat higher on the average than in the Nation as a whole—also varied inversely with the size of the community. There was, however, no such relationship between length of residence in the area and size of community.

The average pottery worker appears to have lived about 80 percent of his life in or near the community where the pottery was located (table 3 compared with table 1). That more of the women had lived there longer than the men was largely due to their greater concentration in the upper age groups. It may also reflect the married woman's commitment to the location of her husband's job and probably more stable employment patterns for non-pottery workers, to whom many of these women were married.

Like the age distribution, the data on length of residence may be biased by the greater probability of outmigration among younger persons. This inference is supported by data for Crooksville, the smallest pottery town covered in the

study, Steubenville, the largest town included, and the East Liverpool area, the center of the industry.⁶ There were few marked differences in length of residence between Steubenville and Crooksville, but both showed significantly longer residence than East Liverpool. Most of the layoffs among Steubenville pottery workers had occurred over 2½ years before the study began and those in Crooksville had occurred 2 years earlier. In East Liverpool, on the other hand, over four-fifths of the layoffs did not take place until the study was in progress, and more of the younger workers may still have been in the area. Length of residence in the area therefore appears to be largely a function of the age distribution of the pottery workers remaining in the area.

Similarly, the data on homeownership may overstate the extent of ownership if one assumes that the workers who were not homeowners were more likely to have moved out of the area and therefore to be excluded from the study. Some 60 percent of the men and 70 per-

TABLE 3. DURATION OF DISPLACED POTTERY WORKERS' RESIDENCE IN OR NEAR COMMUNITY OF POTTERY JOB, BY SEX AND SELECTED COMMUNITIES, 1962-63 SURVEY

Duration of residence	Both sexes		Male		Female		Crooksville, Ohio		Steubenville, Ohio		East Liverpool, Ohio, area	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
	Total	1,468	100	762	100	706	100	90	100	63	100	641
Less than 1 year	2	(1)	2	(1)	5	(1)					3	(1)
1 to 5 years	19	1	14	2	19	3					6	1
6 to 10 years	50	3	31	4	19	3					26	4
14 to 24 years	200	14	129	17	71	10	6	7	3	5	103	16
25 to 34 years	244	17	133	18	111	16	10	11	7	11	103	16
35 to 44 years	343	23	159	21	184	26	15	17	16	25	167	26
45 to 54 years	332	23	147	19	185	26	31	34	17	27	122	19
55 to 64 years	193	13	98	13	95	14	21	23	11	17	83	13
65 years or more	60	4	33	4	27	4	7	8	7	11	19	3
Did not live in (near) community	7	(1)	5	(1)	2	(1)					3	(1)
Unreported	18	1	11	1	7	1			1	2	6	1

¹ Less than 0.5 percent.

cent of the women reported owning their homes, with the difference probably traceable in part to the greater prevalence of elderly unmarried women. It might also reasonably be assumed that families with working wives are more likely to buy a home. (Only 31 percent of the men pottery workers reported that their wives were working at the time of their layoff, whereas it will be recalled that 64 percent of the women workers were married.)

The extent of homeownership—averaging 65

percent—varied inversely with the size of the community in which the pottery workers had been employed, ranging from 79 percent in Crooksville to 42 percent in Steubenville. It

* According to the 1960 Census of Population, Crooksville had a population of about 3,000—somewhat over one-tenth of the total in Perry County, Ohio. The Steubenville-Weirton Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (Jefferson County, Ohio, and Brooke and Hancock Counties, West Virginia) had almost 168,000 inhabitants, with about three-fifths of the total in the Ohio portion of the area. The population of Columbiana County, Ohio, in which East Liverpool is located, was about 107,000, and the city itself had some 22,000 inhabitants.

TABLE 4. DISTANCE TRAVELED TO POTTERY JOB BY DISPLACED POTTERY WORKERS, BY SEX AND SELECTED COMMUNITIES,
1962-63 Survey

Distance traveled	Both sexes		Male		Female		Crooksville, Ohio		Steubenville, Ohio		East Liverpool, Ohio, area	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total-----	1,303	100	676	100	627	100	87	100	53	100	583	100
Less than $\frac{1}{2}$ mile-----	226	17	107	16	119	19	38	44	6	11	65	11
$\frac{1}{2}$ mile but less than 1 mile-----	111	9	51	7	60	10	8	9	-----	-----	16	3
1 mile-----	245	19	134	20	111	18	26	30	1	2	83	14
2 to 3 miles-----	255	20	129	19	126	20	7	8	5	9	181	31
4 to 5 miles-----	180	14	96	14	84	13	2	2	27	51	89	15
6 to 10 miles-----	162	12	87	13	75	12	2	2	11	21	97	17
11 to 25 miles-----	63	5	36	5	30	5	2	2	1	2	26	5
More than 25 miles-----	30	2	25	4	5	(1)	-----	-----	-----	-----	12	2
Unreported-----	28	2	11	2	17	(1)	3	2	2	4	14	2

¹ Less than 0.5 percent.

was 62 percent in the East Liverpool area. This assumes that the workers identified with a large-city pottery resided in that city and those identified with a smalltown pottery did not reside in a nearby city—an assumption which seems to be supported by the information on the distance traveled to work at the pottery.

In traveling to work, the median distance reported was 2-3 miles, although somewhat more of the women than of the men traveled less than 1 mile (table 4). The convenience of the pottery

location may help to explain the high proportion of women among the workers. In Crooksville, 5 out of every 6 workers traveled no more than 1 mile; these workers lived "within the shadow" of the pottery. In Steubenville, on the other hand, only about 1 worker in 8 lived that close to the pottery, and about 3 of every 4 lived at least 4 miles away. In East Liverpool, which is a fairly small city, the workers tended to live closer to the pottery than in Steubenville, but not so close as in Crooksville.

The Pottery Job

Given the respondents' personal characteristics, it is not surprising that half of them had been employed in the pottery from which they were laid off for at least 15 years. (See table 5.) Somewhat more of the women than of the men reported long service. This may reflect both the women's greater concentration in the upper middle age brackets and the possibility that intermittent employment in the pottery impelled the men who were in a position to do so to seek steadier work elsewhere. The data on length of employment represent the number of years the respondents regarded themselves as attached to their pottery jobs, not necessarily full years of employment in the pottery.

The prevalence of long-service employees is consistent with the fact that 85 percent of the men and 72 percent of the women had worked at potteries that had been dissolved, voiding whatever seniority protection they might have acquired. The median length of service for the

former employees of dissolved potteries fell in the 15-19 years class, whereas for those of the undissolved companies it was in the 6-9 year class, and 1½ times as many of the former group had 10 or more years' service.

These differences in length of service are also related to the somewhat higher skill level of the pottery jobs for those who had worked at dissolved potteries, although the larger proportion of women laid off by the undissolved potteries may also be a factor. Altogether, few of the laid-off workers had held skilled jobs. Nearly one-fifth had worked at unskilled jobs and almost two-thirds at semiskilled occupations (table 6). Far more women than men were found in the latter category.

Apparently many of the semiskilled women had been employed in jobs ranking fairly close to the bottom of the wage hierarchy, for four-fifths of them had reportedly earned less than \$1.75 an hour in the last few months on their

TABLE 5. POTTERY JOB TENURE OF DISPLACED POTTERY WORKERS, BY SEX AND OPERATING STATUS OF POTTERY, 1962-63 SURVEY

Pottery job tenure	Both sexes		Male		Female		Dissolved potteries		Undissolved potteries	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total.....	1,468	100	762	100	706	100	1,155	100	313	100
Less than 1 year.....	58	4	43	6	15	2	27	2	31	10
1 to 2 years.....	110	8	63	8	47	7	50	4	60	19
3 to 5 years.....	141	10	81	11	60	9	101	9	40	13
6 to 9 years.....	129	9	77	10	52	7	104	9	25	8
10 to 14 years.....	274	19	119	16	155	22	223	19	51	16
15 to 19 years.....	280	19	119	16	161	23	235	20	45	14
20 to 29 years.....	234	16	116	15	118	17	194	17	40	13
30 to 69 years.....	167	11	91	12	76	11	155	13	12	4
40 years or more.....	62	4	47	6	15	2	60	5	2	(1)
Unreported.....	13	(1)	6	(1)	7	1	6	(1)	7	2

¹ Less than 0.5 percent.

TABLE 6. SKILL LEVEL OF POTTERY JOBS,¹ DISPLACED POTTERY WORKERS, BY SEX AND OPERATING STATUS OF POTTERY, 1962-63 SURVEY

Skill level of pottery job ¹	Both sexes		Male		Female		Dissolved potteries		Undissolved potteries	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total.....	1,468	100	762	100	706	100	1,155	100	313	100
Unskilled.....	266	18	160	21	106	15	208	18	57	18
Semiskilled.....	935	64	431	57	504	71	728	63	208	66
Skilled.....	151	10	101	13	50	7	127	11	26	8
Both unskilled and semiskilled ²	82	2	18	2	14	2	23	2	4	1
Both semiskilled and skilled ²	13	(2)	10	1	8	(2)	11	1	2	(2)
Clerical, custodial, and other.....	21	1	18	2	8	(2)	23	2	16	5
Unreported and unidentifiable.....	50	3	24	3	26	4	35	3		

¹ Reported job titles assigned to skill level on basis of *Dictionary of Occupational Titles*, 2d edition. (Washington, Social Security Administration, 1949).

² Less than 0.5 percent.

³ Workers who reported they alternated between different jobs.

NOTE: Because of rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

pottery jobs. (See table 7.) Less than one-fourth of the men, on the other hand, reported such low wages, and over two-fifths of them earned \$2 or more an hour. Some of the wage-rate data apply to periods as much as 5 years prior to the 1962-63 survey. The wage distribution for men, however, is reasonably consistent with the average hourly earnings of production workers in the pottery and related products industry in 1960-62, when four-fifths of the layoffs took place. In those years, the industry average rose from \$2.12 to \$2.21.⁷

Women also worked fewer weeks during their last year on the pottery job, even allowing for the fact that twice as many women as men either did not report or said they did not remember how many weeks they had worked. For men who reported such information, the median fell in the 41-45 week class; for women, in the 31-35. (See table 8.) Thus, at least the latter fell considerably short of year-round employment.

The difference in the steadiness of employment for men and women may be related to the fact that dissolved potteries, which accounted for more of the men than of the women, provided about 15 weeks more of work than the undissolved, on the average. One could argue that a decision to shut down might have followed a period of slack work during which the men would have been less vulnerable to

TABLE 7. HOURLY WAGE RATES ON POTTERY JOBS, DISPLACED POTTERY WORKERS, BY SEX, 1962-63 SURVEY

Hourly wage rates	Both sexes		Male		Female	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total.....	1,303	100	676	100	627	100
Less than \$1.25.....	16	1	6	(1)	10	2
\$1.25 to \$1.49.....	166	13	6	(1)	160	26
\$1.50 to \$1.74.....	472	36	158	23	319	51
\$1.75 to \$1.99.....	241	19	179	27	62	10
\$2.00 to \$2.24.....	138	11	112	17	26	4
\$2.25 to \$2.49.....	81	6	71	11	10	2
\$2.50 to \$2.74.....	40	3	36	5	4	(1)
\$2.75 to \$2.99.....	20	2	19	3	1	(1)
\$3.00 or more.....	62	5	62	9		
Other (as, on salary).....	14	1	12	2	2	(1)
Unreported.....	53	4	20	3	33	5

¹ Less than 0.5 percent.

⁷ Employment and Earnings Statistics for the United States, 1960-65, (BLS Bulletin 1812-3, December 1965), pp. 117-118.

TABLE 8. WEEKS WORKED BY DISPLACED POTTERY WORKERS IN LAST YEAR ON POTTERY JOB, BY SEX AND OPERATING STATUS OF POTTERY, 1962-63 SURVEY

Weeks worked in last year on pottery job	Both sexes		Male		Female		Dissolved potteries		Undissolved potteries	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total.....	1,303	100	676	100	627	100	1,035	100	268	100
1 to 10 weeks.....	51	4	11	2	40	6	24	2	27	10
11 to 20 weeks.....	119	9	50	7	69	11	32	8	37	14
21 to 25 weeks.....	105	8	42	6	63	10	31	8	24	9
26 to 30 weeks.....	90	7	45	7	45	7	78	8	12	5
31 to 35 weeks.....	67	5	33	5	34	5	53	5	14	5
36 to 40 weeks.....	111	9	76	11	35	6	89	9	22	8
41 to 45 weeks.....	113	9	73	11	40	6	107	10	6	2
46 to 50 weeks.....	161	12	98	15	63	10	140	14	21	8
More than 50 weeks.....	204	16	131	19	73	12	172	17	32	12
Unreported ¹	282	22	117	17	165	26	209	20	73	27

¹ Includes those not answering, or not remembering, and those with under 1 year of employment.

TABLE 9. WAGES EARNED BY DISPLACED POTTERY WORKERS IN LAST YEAR ON POTTERY JOB, BY SEX AND OPERATING STATUS OF POTTERY, 1962-63 SURVEY

Wages in last year on pottery job	Both sexes		Male		Female		Dissolved potteries		Undissolved potteries	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total.....	1,303	100	676	100	627	100	1,035	100	268	100
Less than \$500.....	58	5	3	(1)	55	9	37	4	21	8
\$500 to \$1,000.....	128	10	31	5	97	16	93	9	35	13
\$1,000 to \$1,500.....	143	11	51	8	92	15	107	10	36	13
\$1,500 to \$2,000.....	131	10	55	8	76	12	104	10	27	10
\$2,000 to \$2,500.....	158	12	60	9	98	16	131	13	27	10
\$2,500 to \$3,000.....	113	9	67	10	46	7	96	9	17	6
\$3,000 to \$4,000.....	195	15	179	27	16	3	175	17	20	8
\$4,000 to \$5,000.....	95	7	91	14	4	(1)	89	9	6	2
More than \$5,000.....	25	2	24	4	1	(1)	22	2	3	1
Unreported ²	257	20	115	17	142	23	181	18	76	28

¹ Less than 0.5 percent.

² Includes those not answering, or not remembering, and those with under one year of employment.

NOTE: Because of rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

temporary layoff. On the other hand, it might also be argued that management was making a maximum effort to save the enterprise and thus would have offered steadier employment to its women employees as well as the men.

Whatever the explanation, the combination of more intermittent employment and lower wage rates reduced women's wages in their last year on the pottery job far below those of men. Again, allowance must be made for the fact that more of the women than of the men did not report, but this difference is probably not great enough to alter the conclusion. Among those who reported their annual earnings, the median earnings class for men is \$3,000-\$3,999 and for women only \$1,000-\$1,499 (table 9). Fortunately, many of these women were married and thus presumably their earnings represented secondary income for their families.

The male-female differential in annual earnings may also be related to the larger proportion of women associated with undissolved potteries. The median earnings class for former employees of dissolved potteries was \$500 more than for those of the potteries that were still in operation.

From the data on annual earnings, hourly wages, and weeks of work, it may be inferred that the median workweek for men ranged from 41 to 45 hours. For women, on the other hand, the median appears to have been between 22 and 25 hours.

In summary, the loss of the pottery job was more costly to the men than the women, and likewise for the workers laid off at dissolved potteries as compared with the former employees of undissolved potteries.

Unemployment

The timing of the job loss accentuated its impact on the pottery workers, coming as it did during a period generally characterized by less than full employment. (See table 10.) Moreover, during the years in question, several of the pottery areas—Steubenville—Weirton, Cambridge, East Liverpool—Salem, for example—generally were classified as areas of substantial or substantial and persistent unemployment.⁸

In addition, except for entry jobs, few of the other industries in the region would appear to afford much opportunity for workers whose main—or only—experience had been in the pottery industry. The following distribution of employment in March 1962 for the Steubenville—Weirton area and for Columbian County (East Liverpool) exemplifies the situation:

	Number of employees, mid-March, 1962	
	Steubenville— Weirton	Columbian County
All industries	46,782	17,490
Agricultural services, forestry and fisheries		5
Mining	1,022	303
Contract construction	882	427
Manufacturing	30,501	8,917
Food and kindred products	385	
Stone, clay, and glass products		2,399
Primary metal industries	22,204	630
Fabricated metal products	1,486	1,358
Machinery		2,937
Transportation and other public utilities	2,496	768
Wholesale trade	1,061	442
Retail trade	5,640	3,864
Finance, insurance, and real estate	1,083	668
Services	3,936	2,064
Other		32

NOTE: Total excludes employment on railroads and self-employment; however, it includes industries for which data are not shown separately, as does the total for manufacturing. Dashes indicate data withheld to avoid disclosure of employer's identity.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *County Business Patterns*, First Quarter 1962, East North Central States, part 4B, table 2.

In these circumstances, it is noteworthy that less than half of the elderly pottery workers left the labor force when they lost their jobs. Some 70 percent of the men and 40 percent of the women age 65 and over looked for a job (table 11.) Most of the younger men and women who did not immediately search for another job said either that they expected to be recalled to the pottery job or that they

⁸ See pertinent issues of *Area Labor Market Trends* and *The Labor Market and Employment Security* (U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Employment Security).

TABLE 10. LAYOFF DATES OF DISPLACED POTTERY WORKERS, BY OPERATING STATUS OF POTTERY, 1962-63 SURVEY

Layoff dates	Total		Dissolved potteries		Undissolved potteries	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	1,468	100	1,155	100	313	100
Second half, 1957	10	1	10	1		
First half, 1958	190	13	190	16		
Second half, 1958	2	(1)	2	(1)		
First half, 1959	37	2	11	1	26	8
Second half, 1959	91	6	85	7	6	2
First half, 1960	108	7	85	7	23	7
Second half, 1960	250	17	211	18	39	12
First half, 1961	68	5	39	3	29	9
Second half, 1961	58	4			58	18
First half, 1962	162	11	74	6	88	28
Second half, 1962	465	32	448	09	17	5
Unreported	27	2			27	9

¹ Less than 0.5 percent.

² These persons did not report the information in question; their layoff dates were somewhere between May 1959 and about December 1962.

NOTE: Because of rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

believed there were no job opportunities. Even though not actively looking for a job, these workers might reasonably be classified as in the labor force and unemployed, under definitions used by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.⁹ Thus, it appears that about 95 percent of the younger men and 92 percent of the younger women remained in the labor force. The figure for women is lower because some of them "took up housework," perhaps a reflection of a tendency for secondary earners to withdraw from the labor force if upon the loss of a job they see little alternative employment opportunity.

Extent of Unemployment

A small number of women and somewhat more men were spared a job search; they had another job immediately. Few of the workers who had to look for a job found one quickly. Nevertheless, half of the men who got a job did so within 18 weeks, and half of the women within 25 weeks (table 12). About a tenth of both the men and women searched for a job for a year or more before they succeeded, and nearly half of them had not found a job at the

⁹ See "Technical Note" in each issue of *Employment and Earnings and Monthly Report on the Labor Force*, under Concepts, unemployed persons. U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

time of the survey. As expected, more of the younger workers found jobs and had a shorter search. Age differentials on this score were somewhat larger among the women.

The unsuccessful group of jobseekers and the groups with a short search are inflated by the inclusion of the employees of Company Z, most of whom had been laid off in late 1962 and had thus lost their jobs only a few weeks before they responded to the questionnaire. When the Company Z respondents are excluded, the percentage of unsuccessful jobseekers falls to 17 for the men and 40 for the women. Similarly, the percentage of jobseekers who spent half a year or more in their search rises from 17 to 27 percent of the men and from 19 to 26 percent of the women. For more than two-fifths of the men and two-thirds of the women, then, the conventional 26 weeks of benefits under unemployment insurance would have been inadequate to cover the entire period of unemployment.

The success and duration of the job search also differed between workers who had been laid off by dissolved potteries (again excluding Com-

pany Z) and those laid off by potteries that continued in operation. The search lasted longer for the former group, where the median for those reporting success fell in the 26-51 week class, compared with the 9-18-week class for the displaced employees of undissolved potteries. This undoubtedly reflected greater competition for jobs following a plant shutdown in a small community. But one-third of the ex-employees of the undissolved potteries did not find a job, compared with one-fourth of those of the dissolved potteries. Again, this difference may be related to the larger number of women in the former category. It may also indicate that a pottery in operation, to the extent that it has a choice, lays off its least efficient workers.

The length of time elapsing in the search for another job was significantly related to the worker's age, education, and the skill level of his pottery job, but it was more closely related to the time when he lost his job and the location of the pottery where he had worked. The following tabulation, which shows the contingency coefficient derived from the chi-square test of

TABLE 11. LABOR FORCE STATUS UPON LAYOFF, DISPLACED POTTERY WORKERS, BY SEX AND AGE, 1962-63 SURVEY

Labor force status and sex	All ages ¹		Under 45 years		45 to 64 years		65 years and over	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
BOTH SEXES								
Total	2,1468	100	451	100	841	100	2169	100
Looked for work	1,220	83	403	89	717	85	96	57
Had another job	30	2	9	2	20	2	1	1
Did not look for work	217	15	39	9	104	12	71	40
Expected recall to pottery	70	4	17	4	40	5	12	7
Believed no job opportunity	3	(*)	2	(*)	1	(*)		
Retired	46	3			7	1	39	23
Physically disabled	23	2	4	1	10	1	8	5
Took up housework	24	2	8	2	14	2	2	1
Moved away	47	3	6	1	30	3	10	6
Other	4	(*)	2	(*)	2	(*)		
MEN								
Total	2762	100	274	100	385	100	2100	100
Looked for work	676	89	258	94	347	90	69	69
Had another job	23	3	7	2	16	4		
Did not look for work	62	8	9	3	22	6	30	30
Expected recall to pottery	17	2	4	1	8	2	5	5
Believed no job opportunity	2	(*)	2	1				
Retired	23	3			3	1	20	20
Physically disabled	10	1	1	(*)	4	1	4	4
Took up housework	8	1	1	(*)	6	1	1	1
Moved away	2	(*)	1	(*)	1	(*)		
WOMEN								
Total	706	100	177	100	456	100	69	100
Looked for work	544	77	145	82	370	81	27	39
Had another job	7	1	2	1	4	1	1	1
Did not look for work	155	22						
Expected recall to pottery	53	7	13	7	32	7	7	10
Believed no job opportunity	1	(*)			1	(*)		
Retired	23	3			4	1	19	27
Physically disabled	13	2	3	2	6	1	4	6
Took up housework	24	3	8	4	14	3	2	3
Moved away	39	5	5	3	24	5	9	13
Other	2	(*)	1	1	1	(*)		

¹ Includes respondents who did not report age (3 men and 7 women).

² Includes 1 man who did not report labor force status.

³ Less than 0.5 percent.

NOTE: Because of rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

significance between the indicated characteristic and duration of job search (excluding ex-employees of Company Z), indicates the closeness of the relationships:

<i>Characteristic¹</i>	<i>Number of pairs</i>	<i>Contingency of characteristics coefficient</i>
Age -----	758	.31
Education -----	734	.24
Skill level of pottery job -----	723	.19
Date of loss of pottery job -----	738	.34
Location of pottery -----	756	.45

¹ Based on data underlying tables 1, 2, 6, 10, and B-2, respectively. None of these circumstances, however, had a particularly strong influence on the length of the job search. The highest correlation was found with respect to the location of the pottery. This may imply that even elderly workers with little education or skill can get jobs fairly quickly if they live in an area where job opportunities are relatively plentiful or, conversely, that even young, well-educated, and highly skilled workers will suffer prolonged unemployment unless they leave an area where few jobs are available.

Unemployment Benefits

Following the loss of their pottery jobs, over 80 percent of the respondents received unemployment compensation, with the proportion being somewhat (but not significantly) higher for women than for men with the exception of those age 65 and over (table 13). More women said they received benefits than had reported an active search for work, tending to support the classification among the unemployed of workers who said they expected recall to the pottery or were not looking for work because they believed there were no job opportunities.

Among those who did not receive unemployment insurance benefits, the reason given by three-fifths of the men but less than one-fifth of the women was that they got another job. A majority of the women, but only one-fifth of the men, said they had no accrued benefits. Similarly, about twice as many women as men (25 and 13 percent) drew no benefits because they had retired or were unable to work, mirroring differences in the age distributions and, presumably, the need to work.

Not only did markedly fewer women than men draw no benefits because of finding a job, but the women also stayed on the benefit rolls longer than the men. Among those who reported the precise duration of benefits, the median fell in the 13-18-week class for men and in the 19-25-week class for women (table 14). The difference was especially pronounced among workers reporting the receipt of benefits

for a period of 26-38 weeks. The maximum duration of benefits in the States where the laid-off workers had been employed is 26 weeks for Ohio and West Virginia and 30 weeks for Pennsylvania, although all three were among the States which had extended benefit programs during the 1958-59 and 1961-62 recessions.¹⁰ A number of the pottery workers obviously benefited from such programs, but no attempt was made to measure the prevalence of extended benefits.

About three-fourths of the employees of Pottery Z had lost their jobs so recently that they were still receiving benefits at the time of the survey, but only 2 percent of the workers formerly employed by other companies were still on the benefit rolls (table 15). For a majority of the latter group (not quite half the men but over two-thirds of the women), payments had been terminated because they had exhausted their benefits. Among the men, however, a somewhat larger number reported that the reason for termination of benefits was re-employment; slightly more than half had either been recalled by the pottery or had found another job. Among the women, these reasons were given only half as often.

Similarly, the women received lower benefits than the men, with the median amounts falling in the \$21-\$25 and the \$31-\$35 class, respectively, among those who reported, as shown in table 16. (The unusually large percentage who did not report may indicate that many of the respondents regarded this as highly personal information.) Moreover, 70 percent of the women, but only 20 percent of the men received less than \$26 a week. In part, the male-female differential may be traceable to variations in benefit formulas among the three States. Certainly, the effect of differences in benefit ceilings stands out clearly in the State benefit distributions for men, and the median benefit amounts differ, being \$21-\$25 in West Virginia, \$26-\$30 in Ohio, and \$31-\$35 in Pennsylvania. Such differences are the root of a longstanding complaint by unemployed pottery workers who have been employed in potteries in the West Virginia part of the East Liverpool area.

¹⁰ Harry Malisoff, *The Financing of Extended Unemployment Insurance Benefits in the United States* (Kalamazoo, Mich., The Upjohn Institute for Employment Research, April 1963).

TABLE 12. DURATION AND SUCCESS OF JOB SEARCH BY DISPLACED POTTERY WORKERS, BY SEX, AGE, AND POTTERY EMPLOYER GROUP AND OPERATING STATUS, 1962-63 SURVEY

Sex, age, and pottery employer group and operating status	All jobseekers		Percent of jobless who—									Did not report
	Number	Percent	Did not find job	Found job	Less than 5 weeks	5-8 weeks	9-18 weeks	19-25 weeks	26-51 weeks	52-103 weeks	104 weeks or more	
ALL POTTERIES Both sexes												
All ages	1,220	100	46	51	12	6	10	5	8	7	2	3
Under 45 years	403	100	38	57	16	9	11	5	7	7	2	4
45 to 64 years	717	100	46	51	11	4	11	5	9	8	2	3
65 years and over	96	100	71	27	6	2	5	6	3	4	2	2
Men	676	100	38	59	18	7	11	6	7	8	2	3
All ages	258	100	33	64	21	11	10	6	6	7	3	3
Under 45 years	347	100	36	61	18	5	13	6	9	8	2	3
45 to 64 years	69	100	67	32	9	3	6	7	3	4	1	1
Women	544	100	55	41	5	3	10	4	10	7	2	3
All ages	145	100	48	46	8	5	12	4	10	6	2	6
Under 45 years	370	100	56	41	4	3	9	4	10	8	3	3
45 to 64 years	27	100	81	15	—	—	4	4	4	4	—	4
POTTERIES OTHER THAN COMPANY Z Both sexes												
All ages	794	100	28	67	13	6	14	7	12	11	3	4
Under 45 years	232	100	15	81	19	10	17	8	11	12	4	4
45 to 64 years	486	100	29	67	12	5	14	7	14	12	3	4
65 years and over	73	100	66	29	7	3	3	7	4	5	—	5
Men	415	100	17	79	21	8	15	9	11	13	3	4
All ages	144	100	8	89	24	14	15	8	9	14	5	3
Under 45 years	219	100	14	82	21	5	17	9	13	13	3	4
45 to 64 years	50	100	60	36	10	4	4	8	4	6	—	4
Women	379	100	40	55	5	4	13	6	13	10	3	5
All ages	88	100	27	67	9	3	20	8	14	9	3	6
Under 45 years	267	100	41	55	4	4	12	6	14	11	4	4
45 to 64 years	23	100	78	13	—	—	4	4	4	4	—	9
COMPANY Z Both sexes												
All ages	426	100	78	21	11	5	4	(1)	1	—	—	(1)
Under 45 years	171	100	72	27	13	7	3	2	2	—	—	1
45 to 64 years	231	100	83	17	9	3	(1)	(1)	(1)	—	—	(1)
65 years and over	23	100	74	22	9	—	13	—	—	—	—	4
OTHER DISSOLVED POTTERIES Both sexes												
All ages	553	100	26	70	12	5	10	8	15	15	4	4
Under 45 years	137	100	12	82	14	9	14	9	12	18	6	6
45 to 64 years	351	100	24	72	13	3	11	8	18	15	5	4
65 years and over	63	100	68	30	8	2	3	10	3	5	—	2
UNDISSOLVED POTTERIES Both sexes												
All ages	241	100	34	62	15	9	22	6	6	4	1	4
Under 45 years	95	100	21	76	24	11	21	7	7	3	2	3
45 to 64 years	135	100	40	56	10	8	24	5	4	4	1	4
65 years and over	10	100	60	30	—	10	—	—	10	10	—	10

¹ Less than 0.5 percent.

NOTE: Sums of individual items may not equal totals because of rounding.

ing and because some totals include persons not shown separately since they did not report age.

Financial Adjustments to Unemployment

Among the respondents who drew unemployment benefits and those who did not but who were looking for jobs (a total of 1,169 on part II of the questionnaire), one-fifth indicated that they drew on personal savings during their period of joblessness.¹¹ The proportion was

¹¹ Information on financial adjustments to unemployment was not requested of the respondents who said that they did not look for work upon losing their pottery jobs.

about the same for single and married persons, but was twice as high for men as for women (26 and 13 percent of the respective groups of 578 and 591). Only two-thirds of those who used savings reported on the amount; the median for this group was \$300-500. Likewise, 16 percent did not report whether they had exhausted their savings, but 38 percent said that they did and 46 percent that they did not.

About 6 percent of the designated respondents reported that they borrowed money, but

TABLE 13. INCIDENCE OF RECEIPT OF UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS AND REASONS FOR NONRECEIPT AMONG DISPLACED POTTERY WORKERS, BY SEX AND AGE, 1962-63 SURVEY

Sex and age	Both sexes				Men				Women			
	All ages	Under 45 years	45 to 65 years	65 years and over	All ages	Under 45 years	45 to 65 years	65 years and over	All ages	Under 45 years	45 to 65 years	65 years and over
All workers: ¹												
Number-----	1,468	451	841	169	762	274	385	100	706	177	456	69
Percent-----	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Percent of workers who:												
Received benefits-----	81	78	85	70	79	76	82	74	84	83	88	64
Did not receive benefits-----	18	21	14	29	20	22	17	25	16	19	11	35
Number of nonrecipients-----	264	94	119	49	154	61	67	25	110	33	52	24
Percent of nonrecipients reporting:												
Total, all reasons-----	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Got job-----	42	52	50	6	60	67	73	12	17	24	19	-----
No accrued benefits-----	34	37	35	27	20	21	18	24	54	67	58	29
Retired-----	11	-----	3	53	9	-----	1	52	14	-----	4	54
Not able to work-----	7	2	8	12	4	-----	4	8	11	6	12	17
Other reasons, including moved away-----	6	8	5	2	7	11	2	4	4	3	7	6

¹ Includes small number of persons (about 1 percent of each category) who did not report whether they received benefits.

NOTE: Sums of individual items may not equal totals because of rounding and because some totals include persons not shown separately since they did not report age.

about one-fourth of these did not report the amount borrowed. Among the few who did, the median amount was \$300-500.

Some 16 percent drew on other nonroutine sources of income or made unusual budgetary adjustments during their unemployment. Most frequently (about 6 percent), these persons reported, "We got help from private people outside our household." About one-fourth of the total reported receiving noncash public assistance, such as free food. No more than 2 percent reported each of the following: "We moved to cheaper housing," "We sold our property," or "We got cash assistance from a public or private welfare agency."

The comparative infrequency of extraordinary consumption or dissaving patterns supports the view that these pottery workers had

become so inured to layoffs that they adjusted to recurring spells of unemployment in quite routine fashion.

TABLE 14. WEEKS OF UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS DRAWN BY DISPLACED POTTERY WORKERS, BY SEX, 1962-63 SURVEY

Weeks of unemployment benefits drawn	Both sexes		Male		Female	
	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent
Total-----	1,189	100	599	100	590	100
Have just applied-----	17	1	12	2	5	(1)
1 or 2 weeks-----	30	3	24	4	6	1
3 or 4 weeks-----	99	8	59	10	40	7
5 to 8 weeks-----	184	16	104	17	80	14
9 to 12 weeks-----	115	10	65	11	50	9
13 to 18 weeks-----	129	11	71	12	58	10
19 to 25 weeks-----	101	9	54	9	47	8
26 to 38 weeks-----	226	19	82	14	144	24
39 or more weeks-----	181	15	87	15	94	16
"Full amount due"-----	86	7	33	6	53	9
Unreported-----	21	2	8	1	13	2

¹ Less than 0.5 percent.

NOTE: Because of rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

TABLE 15. CURRENT RECEIPT OF UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS AND REASONS FOR BENEFIT TERMINATION AMONG DISPLACED POTTERY WORKERS, BY SEX, AGE, AND SELECTED EMPLOYER GROUP, 1962-63 SURVEY

Employer groups, current benefit status, and reason	Both sexes				Male				Female			
	All ages	Under 45 years	45 to 65 years	65 years and over	All ages	Under 45 years	45 to 65 years	65 years and over	All ages	Under 45 years	45 to 65 years	65 years and over
ALL POTTERIES												
Total receiving benefits after layoff:												
Number	1,189	353	713	118	599	209	314	74	590	144	399	44
Percent	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Still receiving benefits	28	29	28	28	29	32	30	20	27	24	27	49
Not receiving benefits:												
Benefits exhausted	42	36	43	55	32	26	28	62	52	49	54	52
Employed:												
Found job	24	29	24	11	34	36	36	15	14	18	14	5
Recalled by pottery	4	5	4	(1)	4	5	4	3	4	4	4	3
Other reasons	2	2	(1)	5	1	(1)	(1)	3	2	1	(1)	9
Current status unreported	(1)	(1)	(1)						(1)	1	(1)	
POTTERIES OTHER THAN COMPANY Z												
Total receiving benefits after layoff:												
Number	767	203	484	77	367	117	197	51	400	86	287	26
Percent	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Still receiving benefits	2	1	2	1	1	2	(1)	2	3	1	3	
Not receiving benefits:												
Benefits exhausted	58	46	59	83	47	39	43	80	68	55	70	88
Employed:												
Found job	32	41	31	13	44	49	49	16	21	31	20	8
Recalled by pottery	6	8	5	1	7	9	7	5	7	4	4	4
Other reasons	2	3	2	1	1	2	1	2	3	5	2	
Current status unreported	(1)	(1)	(1)						(1)	1	(1)	

¹ Less than 0.5 percent.

ing and because some totals include persons not shown separately since they did not report age.

NOTE: Sums of individual items may not equal totals because of round-

TABLE 16. WEEKLY UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS OF DISPLACED POTTERY WORKERS, BOTH SEXES AND MALES, BY STATE, 1962-63 SURVEY

Weekly unemployment benefit	Both sexes								Males							
	Total		Ohio		West Virginia		Pennsylvania		Total		Ohio		West Virginia		Pennsylvania	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	1,067	100	571	100	414	100	82	100	582	100	260	100	227	100	45	100
\$15 or less	67	7	21	4	45	11	1	1	15	3	4	1	11	5		
\$16 to \$20	110	10	40	7	67	16	3	4	18	3	3	1	14	6	1	2
\$21 to \$25	162	15	69	12	87	21	6	8	27	5	6	2	19	8	2	4
\$26 to \$30	146	14	97	17	42	10	7	9	49	9	25	10	23	10	1	2
\$31 to \$35	253	24	88	15	142	34	23	28	202	38	64	25	131	58	7	16
\$36 to \$40	75	7	39	7			36	44	60	11	34	13			26	58
\$41 or more	80	7	80	14					77	14	77	30				
Unreported	174	16	137	24	31	7	6	7	84	16	47	19	29	13	8	18

¹ NOTE: Because of rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

The New Job

At the time of the response to part I of the questionnaire, which extended from October 1962 through March 1963, one-third of the men and one-fourth of the women were still looking for work (table 17). This category includes a small number who qualified the answer that they were employed, suggesting that they were looking for a full-time job while doing casual or part-time work or that they were tempo-

rarily away (perhaps laid off) from their current job.

The situation was appreciably better among the workers who had worked at potteries other than Company Z, which, it will be recalled, had not shut down until late 1962. Nearly three-fourths of these men and over two-fifths of these women were at work. About 15 percent

of both the men and the women had either retired or reported that they were unable to work, including a sizable number of women in the 45-64 age group. An additional one-fourth of the women reported they were "doing own housework." But about 1 of every 8 men and 1 of every 6 women were still looking for work, implying an unemployment rate of more than twice the national rate during the years 1958-62. Most of the difference may be attributable to the high proportion of workers age 45 and over among the pottery workers, even though many of those who had reached age 65 had left the labor force. Of those still in the labor force, about three-fourths were in this age group, compared with about two-fifths of the U.S. labor force. Nationally, this group has accounted for 75-80 percent of all long-term unemployment (15 weeks or more) in recent years.¹²

¹² See "Long-Term Unemployment in the 1960's," *Monthly Labor Review*, September 1965, p. 1073.

As for the former employees of Company Z, only 25 percent of the men and 7 percent of the women had found new jobs in the 2-5 month interval between layoff and answering the questionnaire. Two-thirds of the men and more than two-fifths of the women were still seeking work. But over half of the women had left the labor force.

There was little further change in the overall employment situation by the time the workers answered part II of the questionnaire—from 1 to 5 months after completing part I.¹³ Only 3 percent had changed from *not working* to *working*, and 4 percent from *working* (including the qualified answers) to *not working*.

In fact, three-fifths of the respondents who were working had been on their current jobs (or businesses) for a year or more.

¹³ Information for both parts of the questionnaire was obtained simultaneously from 68 workers through personal interview, as indicated in appendix B.

TABLE 17. CURRENT LABOR FORCE STATUS OF DISPLACED POTTERY WORKERS BY SEX, AGE, AND POTTERY EMPLOYER GROUP, 1962-63 SURVEY

Pottery employer group and current labor force status	Both sexes				Male				Female			
	All ages	Under 45 years	45 to 64 years	65 years and over	All ages	Under 45 years	45 to 64 years	65 years and over	All ages	Under 45 years	45 to 64 years	65 years and over
ALL POTTERIES												
Total: Number	1,468	451	841	169	762	274	385	100	706	177	456	69
Percent	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Working	44	52	46	11	54	61	59	15	32	38	35	4
Qualified answer ¹	2	1	2	1	2	1	3	2	2	2	2	1
Not working	55	47	52	83	44	38	33	84	66	60	64	94
Total not working or qualifying answer: Number	829	217	456	151	352	108	158	85	477	109	298	66
Percent	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Looking for work	49	63	53	15	70	89	83	21	34	38	38	8
Believe no job opportunity	1	1	2	(²)	1	(²)	3	1	2	1	1	2
Retired	16	—	7	68	20	—	6	73	13	—	7	62
Unable to work	5	4	6	4	5	4	7	5	5	5	6	3
Doing own housework	27	28	32	11	(²)	3	(²)	1	46	55	48	24
Other status or unreported	2	4	(²)	1	6	1	1	1	1	1	(²)	2
POTTERIES OTHER THAN COMPANY Z												
Total: Number	947	258	560	124	467	151	241	72	480	107	319	52
Percent	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Working	58	74	61	10	72	85	80	14	45	57	47	6
Qualified answer	2	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	2	2	2	2
Not working	40	24	36	87	26	13	17	83	53	41	51	92
Total not working or qualifying answer: Number	398	68	216	111	132	22	47	62	266	46	169	49
Percent	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Looking for work	31	41	39	7	42	64	63	13	26	30	31	—
Believe no job opportunity	1	1	1	1	2	—	4	1	2	(²)	—	2
Retired	27	—	11	77	41	—	13	77	20	—	10	76
Unable to work	8	9	10	4	10	14	15	5	7	7	9	2
Doing own housework	31	41	38	9	(²)	5	23	—	45	61	49	18
Other status or unreported	2	7	—	3	—	—	—	3	(²)	—	—	2

¹ Answers suggesting that respondent was on temporary layoff or was looking for full-time job while doing casual or part-time work.

² Less than 0.5 percent.

NOTE: Sums of individual items may not equal totals because of rounding and because some totals include persons not shown separately since they did not report age.

Tenure in current employment	Workers ¹	
	Number	Percent
Total	602	100
3 years or more	89	15
2 years but under 3 years	85	14
1½ years but under 2 years	59	10
1 year but under 1½ years	128	21
6 to 11 months	76	13
1 to 5 months	112	19
Under 1 month	12	2
Unreported	41	7

¹ Excludes 63 workers who had been recalled to their pottery jobs; includes all others working at the time of response of part I of questionnaire, whether for an employer or self-employed.

Since 65 percent of them still held the first job they had gotten after leaving the pottery, tenure on the current job tended to be correlated with the date of separation from the pottery job.¹⁴

Nearly three-fourths of the employed workers had gotten their new jobs through leads from friends or relatives or by direct application to the employer, as shown in the following tabulation:

Source of job lead	Workers ¹	
	Number	Percent
Total	582	100
Friend or relative	223	38
Application at plant (shop, office)	195	34
Former employer	52	9
Contact initiated by new employer	33	6
State employment service	20	3
Labor union of which a member	19	3
Newspaper advertisement	14	2
Other ²	22	4
Unreported	4	(*)

¹ Excludes 63 workers recalled to their pottery jobs and 19 engaged exclusively in self-employment.

² Includes 18 workers employed on casual basis.

³ Less than 1 percent.

These findings, in common with those of numerous other sources, show little reliance on the public employment service, presumably for the conventional reasons. In situations like that observed here, however, even intensive placement efforts apparently would be unavailing without action to develop jobs and surmount age barriers.

Type of Employment

Of the 665 persons who were working (including the 26 who gave qualified answers), all but 3 percent were working for an employer (on a casual basis in a few instances, such as housework by the day). Only 20 respondents were solely dependent on self-employment in a

¹⁴ The contingency coefficient of the chi-square test of 553 paired items was 0.60.

business or on a farm. An additional 19 persons were operating such an enterprise, as well as working for an employer. Of these 39, 25 were farming and 11 were operating a retail establishment of some kind—in all but two instances within 25 miles of the pottery community. These findings support Haber's proposition that "displaced workers become self-employed only in special instances."¹⁵ Few of the respondents in this study appeared to have either the resources or the capacity for profitable self-employment.

Besides the 19 persons who worked for an employer as well as themselves, 30 others reported holding two jobs. Specific secondary jobs (like "pumping gas at a gas station") were reported by 16; 8 indicated some kind of casual employment, and 4 used the term "odd jobs" to describe their secondary employment. Thus, although the extent of dual jobholding was slightly higher than that customarily observed in the periodic surveys of multiple jobholding,¹⁶ the subjects of this study were overwhelmingly dependent upon holding a single job.

Of the 645 persons who were working for an employer, 35 percent held a job with the same occupational title as that from which they were separated. Half of these (63 in number) had been recalled to their pottery jobs—by a successor company, in some cases. Some 17 percent of the 645 had different jobs, although in the clay-products industry, which includes the manufacture of earthenware. The remainder (nearly half) were working in some other industry. Among the men, 13 percent were working at a different job in the clay-products industry and 52 percent were working in another industry. For the women, the respective percentages were 24 and 41. These differences may reflect the nature of job openings or a more extensive job search by the men.

The three potteries (S, T, and X) that were outside the area within 35 miles of East Liverpool accounted for 259 of the laid-off pottery workers who had found jobs with an employer. These potteries had all been dissolved and had been located beyond convenient commuting dis-

¹⁵ *The Impact of Technological Change* (Kalamazoo, Mich., The Upjohn Institute for Employment Research, September 1963), p. 37.

¹⁶ See, for example, "Multiple Jobholders in May 1963," *Monthly Labor Review*, March 1964, pp. 249-257.

tance of other potteries (at least those in the study). Only half as many of these workers had the same job or another job in the clay-products industry—26 percent compared with 52 percent of the total. For the former employees of the 10 other potteries, the comparable figure was 68 percent. Thus, in areas where pottery or similar jobs were available, fully two-thirds of the workers went back to work at jobs with which they had some familiarity.

Those who took jobs in other industries most commonly reported they were working as laborers. Other occupations mentioned frequently were janitor (custodian), aide or kitchen worker in a hospital, store clerk, domestic or related work, guard, gas station attendant, bartender, and truckdriver (or cab-driver). A significant number of respondents reported various jobs that suggest conventional factory operations. Finally, hospitals, asylums, and similar types of institutions seemed to provide large number of jobs for these workers.

In their own opinion, a majority of the workers (51 percent) had jobs that required about the same skill as their pottery jobs.¹⁷ Some 24 percent said they needed less skill, 21 percent more, and 4 percent said they could not compare the skills. The comparisons reported by men and women did not differ significantly. Since large numbers of the former pottery workers had held unskilled or semiskilled jobs, little decline might have been expected in the skill level of their new jobs.

There was, however, some decline in the wage rates on the new jobs, although the median wage classes were the same as for the pottery jobs. Somewhat more of the men who had earned \$2.50 or more an hour in the pottery had found new jobs than the lower paid men, but there was not much of a tendency for men to maintain their relative wage standing.¹⁸ The principal shift in the distribution of the men's wage rates was from the \$1.50-\$2.24 brackets toward the lower end of the wage scale (table 18). Among the women, a marked increase in

¹⁷ Their answers were not related to the skill classifications of their pottery jobs (table 6) because it is doubtful that their judgment of skill differentials would coincide with the standards underlying the *Dictionary of Occupational Titles*, which was used to classify the pottery jobs.

¹⁸ Direct comparisons for 817 men showed a contingency coefficient of 0.52 in the chi-square test of significance.

the proportion earning less than \$1.25 an hour occurred at the expense of the \$1.25-\$1.74 brackets, but again relative standing generally was not maintained.¹⁹

Individual comparisons for those who reported their wages on both jobs showed that 40 percent were earning less on the new job, and 32 percent were earning more. The most extreme deterioration in wages occurred among respondents identified with the three potteries (S, T, and X) outside the East Liverpool area, who, it will be recalled, had more frequently found jobs outside the clay-products industry. Wage reductions were nearly 1½ times more numerous among this group, being reported by 57 percent of those who were employed. The disproportionate wage cuts may indicate inferior job opportunities in the less urbanized areas of the region, especially for workers who lack experience in the kind of work that is to be had.

Lower wage rates on the new job did not necessarily entail a proportionate reduction in weekly earnings. As the following tabulation shows, three-fourths of both the men and women reported working at least 40 hours a week on the new job:

Weekly hours of work	Workers ¹	
	Number	Percent
Total -----	552	100
More than 42 -----	130	24
41-42 -----	7	1
40 -----	280	51
35-39 -----	34	6
30-34 -----	25	5
20-29 -----	20	4
10-19 -----	7	1
Less than 10 -----	5	1
Unreported -----	44	8

¹ Excludes a few employed workers who responded to part I but not part II of questionnaire; see appendix B.

NOTE: Because of rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

Especially for the women, the new jobs represented a substantially longer workweek. In fact, when asked about the comparative steadiness of their current employment and their pottery jobs, only 10 percent of both men and women answered less steady; 57 percent replied more steady.

¹⁹ Correlation was not tested separately for women, but the contingency coefficient of comparisons for a combined total of the 317 men (see preceding footnote) and 168 women was slightly lower (0.48) than that for men alone.

TABLE 18. HOURLY WAGE RATES ON CURRENT JOB AND ON POTTERY JOB FOR REEMPLOYMENT DISPLACED POTTERY WORKERS, BY SEX, 1962-63 SURVEY

Hourly wage rates	Current job						Pottery job					
	Both sexes		Male		Female		Both sexes		Male		Female	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	552	100	362	100	190	100	552	100	362	100	190	100
Less than \$1.25	68	12	21	6	47	25	10	2	46	1	6	3
\$1.25 to \$1.49	61	11	38	11	23	12	55	10	4	1	51	27
\$1.50 to \$1.74	115	21	55	15	60	32	157	28	66	18	91	48
\$1.75 to \$1.99	94	17	64	18	30	16	114	21	95	26	19	10
\$2.00 to \$2.24	58	11	48	13	10	5	72	13	63	17	9	5
\$2.25 to \$2.49	34	6	32	9	2	1	36	7	33	9	3	2
\$2.50 to \$2.74	26	5	25	7	1	(1)	26	5	25	7	1	(1)
\$2.75 to \$2.99	17	3	17	5			14	3	14	4		
\$3.00 or more	29	5	28	8	1	(1)	43	8	43	12		
Other (as, on salary)	28	5	18	5	10	5	4	(1)	4	1		
Unreported	22	4	16	4	6	3	21	4	11	3	10	5

¹ Less than 0.5 percent.

NOTE: Because of rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

The location of their new jobs was, however, somewhat less convenient for a sizable number of the reemployed. One-third of the men and one-fourth of the women were working outside the community where they had worked in the pottery (table 19). Generally, the distances from the pottery job were not great. Less than 10 percent had gone more than 50 miles afield. As might have been expected, this group was predominantly comprised of men.

Naturally, then, there were few pronounced differences in the distances traveled to work at the new job and at the old job. (See table 20.) Most notably, the percentage of men traveling over 10 miles nearly doubled. There was also some increase in the proportion of women traveling 6-25 miles. Individual comparisons disclosed a moderate tendency for those who traveled relatively long distances to the pottery

TABLE 19. COMPARATIVE LOCATION OF CURRENT JOB AND POTTERY JOB, DISPLACED POTTERY WORKERS, BY SEX, 1962-63 SURVEY ¹

Comparative job location	Both sexes		Male		Female	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	645	100	409	100	236	100
Same city	449	70	272	67	177	75
Outside of city:						
25 miles or less	111	17	69	17	42	18
25-50 miles	25	4	22	5	3	1
50-100 miles	33	5	27	7	6	3
More than 100 miles	23	4	16	4	7	3
Unreported	4	(1)	3	(2)	1	(2)

¹ Distances are as-the-crow-flies. They were calculated by applying a compass to an ordinary highway map.

² Less than 0.5 percent.

to do likewise on their new jobs and for those who lived closer to the pottery to have a new job not far from home.²⁰

²⁰ The contingency coefficient of the chi-square test of significance between 524 paired items was 0.66.

TABLE 20. COMPARATIVE DISTANCE TRAVELED TO WORK ON CURRENT JOB AND POTTERY JOB, DISPLACED POTTERY WORKERS, BY SEX, 1962-63 SURVEY

Distance traveled	Current job						Pottery job					
	Both sexes		Male		Female		Both sexes		Male		Female	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	552	100	362	100	190	100	552	100	362	100	190	100
Less than $\frac{1}{2}$ mile	85	15	47	13	38	20	109	20	69	19	40	21
$\frac{1}{2}$ mile but less than 1 mile	55	10	36	10	19	10	63	11	36	10	27	14
1 mile	97	18	67	19	30	16	122	22	81	22	41	22
2-3 miles	86	15	58	16	28	14	74	13	51	14	23	12
4-5 miles	50	9	29	8	21	12	60	11	37	10	23	12
6-10 miles	68	12	39	11	29	15	65	12	44	12	21	11
11-25 miles	58	11	43	12	15	8	30	5	21	6	9	5
More than 25 miles	32	6	30	8	2	1	20	4	18	5	2	1
Unreported	21	4	13	4	8	4	9	2	5	1	4	2

NOTE: Because of rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

Attitudes and Aspirations

As a supplement to the factual information about the "before and after" situation of the laid-off pottery workers, some attempt was made to assess reactions of a less tangible or more personal nature to their changed status.

Dissatisfaction with their present employment situation was evident in their responses to questions about their interest in job training and their willingness to move if they were offered a job comparable to their pottery work. With respect to training, about three-fourths of the men and two-thirds of the women expressed interest, although a sizable proportion of this group had reservations, as shown in the following tabulation:

<u>Interest in training</u>	<u>Both sexes</u>		<u>Male</u>		<u>Female</u>	
	<u>Num- ber</u>	<u>Per- cent</u>	<u>Num- ber</u>	<u>Per- cent</u>	<u>Num- ber</u>	<u>Per- cent</u>
Total -----	1,303	100	676	100	627	100
Yes -----	549	42	321	48	228	37
Yes, with reservations --	406	31	197	29	209	34
No and unreported ---	848	27	158	23	190	30

NOTE: Because of rounding, sums of items may not equal totals.

By far, the most frequent reason underlying the reservations about training was advanced age. Other commonly specified reasons were health, and possible location of the training program.

Most frequently (on the order of 175–200 of those interested), the former pottery workers expressed a desire for any kind of training that would lead to successful employment. Specific occupations in which training was most often desired included mechanic and practical nurse (frequency order of 30–40), machinist and electronic work (20–30), and welder, carpenter, home appliance repairman, electrician, and plumber (10–20).

Substantial, although smaller, proportions of the workers said they would be willing to move out of the area in order to get a job at the same rate of pay received in the pottery. Only a fourth of the men and a tenth of the women were willing without reservations, and about a third of both men and women expressed reservations, as shown below:

<u>Willingness to accept job elsewhere at pottery rate-of-pay</u>	<u>Both sexes</u>		<u>Male</u>		<u>Female</u>	
	<u>Num- ber</u>	<u>Per- cent</u>	<u>Num- ber</u>	<u>Per- cent</u>	<u>Num- ber</u>	<u>Per- cent</u>
Total -----	1,303	100	676	100	627	100
Yes -----	249	19	183	27	63	10
Yes, with reservations --	419	32	234	35	185	30
No and unreported ---	638	49	259	38	379	60

Thus, about two-fifths of the men and three-fifths of the women were not willing to move (including those who did not report, which was assumed to indicate unwillingness).

Since the reasons for their unwillingness to move given by this group in some instances could be classified only by inference, the following array of the frequency with which different reasons were reported must be regarded as an approximation:

<u>Reason for reservation</u>	<u>Frequency class</u>
Homeownership -----	150–200
Considerations of distance, location, or climate -----	125–150
Wages would be too low -----	50–75
Cannot afford to move -----	50–75
Spouse works within area of present residence -----	50–75
Present job (or work) is satisfactory -----	50–75
Preference for not leaving present area of residence-----	50–75
Poor health -----	50–75
Retired -----	50–75
Disadvantaged by advanced age -----	50–75
Contingent upon type or physical conditions of work -----	50–75
Children in school in area of present residence -----	25–50
Steadiness of proposed job -----	25–50
Cost of living at new job location -----	25–50

As indicated, the most prominent reason for unwillingness to move was homeownership. This, as well as a good many of the other reasons shown, suggests a lack of sensitivity even to a somewhat higher wage that might be earned elsewhere. Although it is uncertain that these workers would have the same reaction to a bona fide job offer as to a hypothetical question, it seems reasonable to infer that jobs must be brought to the worker, rather than vice versa, if many of the unemployed pottery workers are to find employment.

In comments which the respondents were invited to make at the end of the questionnaire, many of them expressed grievances against pottery management, the Government, city officials and other functionaries, the Potters' union, certain kinds of pottery employees, and the employment situation in the area. Very few indicated an optimistic outlook.

The following sampling of these comments is believed to be representative, although it may be somewhat biased toward the more interesting and dramatic:

Jobs at the potteries

When I was laid off I only had 12 years of seniority. Now the — (pottery) has decorators (a highly skilled job classification) laid off with 20 years of seniority (female, age-class—65 and over, married).

When an order is gotten by the potteries, there is a grand rush "to get it out." Then there is more unemployment for everyone because many are hired for a short period; but then all but a few are laid off (male, age-class—45-54, married).

We people of the former — (pottery) cannot understand the company's reason for liquidating its business because of foreign imports and labor costs when the other potteries around here, in Salem, Sebring, East Palestine, Lincoln, Ill.; and more are working to capacity (male, age-class—45-54, married).

Employment at the — (pottery) at — (city) is very satisfactory. I have been receiving premium hours almost ever since the — (pottery) started to operate. The supervision has been very good, and we all look forward to a very prosperous future (male, age-class—62-64, married).

I go to — (city) to work at my trade every day in the pottery there—84 miles away (female, age-class—55-61, married).

The work at most of the potteries, especially — (pottery), is very uncertain. One month you have good work and all at once you are laid off. One year you may work 3 months, the next 9 or 10. You never know what to expect (male, age-class—62-64, married).

They should pass a law for social security people to be laid off first. At the pottery . . . half of the people who had most seniority were drawing social security. . . . I realize it may be hard for people to live on social security, but they . . . have a certain amount of income that they can depend upon. . . . We have nothing when our unemployment compensation expires (female, age-class—35-44, married).

Seventy percent of the pottery workers have their wives working. At least 30 percent of the wives work in potteries. Lack of seniority in a slack period causes a layoff which amounts to about 30 percent of the workers. This group will not average over 20 hours a week over a 12-month period (male, age-class—65 and over, married).

At present the employees at — (pottery) are from out of town, from an area of 15 to 20 miles. The women of — (this city) are unemployed. I think they should hire local help (female, age-class—62-64, not married).

I am working at — (pottery). We are working overtime most every week. Stop it (the overtime work)

and put more people to work (male, age-class—62-64, marital status unreported).

If people past 65 would retire, it would create many jobs in the pottery industry. In my trade alone there are many past 70 still working. I am still a young man (44) but I have tried many places other than pottery work and they tell me I am too old (male, age-class—35-44, married).

I'm laid off again due to a new automatic packer put in use at the — (pottery). So I probably will have to use up the rest of my savings (male, age-class—45-54, married).

. . . due to a machine called a hot press which puts out more ware than the decal girls did by hand. This machine has replaced six decal machines which operated with seven girls for each decal machine (female, age-class—55-61, married).

. . . due to foreign imports, mainly Japanese ware (this city) is nothing compared to what it was. We used to have around 35 potteries (in the general area) but now we have only 6. So you can see what Japanese imports have done to our community. I think the Government should pay a quota to all industries hurt by Japanese imports (male, age-class—45-54, married).

Last year, 1962, I worked at four different jobs and in three different States to make \$6,000. Three of those jobs were kiln-placing. The other was with the steel company. I don't like to work this way, but because of the insecurity of the potteries, I have to work this way or just quit looking for work and draw unemployment compensation (male, age-class—45-54, not married).

Pottery Jobs and the Rule of Seniority

I am a gold stamper. There is no job of this kind at present. Under the seniority of the Potters' union I must stick to my own trade. If no stamping, no work. Do you think this rule is right? I have worked there about 7 years, and yet a new employee can come in and get a job in preference to me. I am a member in good standing, yet (male, age-class—62-64, married).

In my opinion, the main trouble is seniority in the pottery industry. Prior to 1958, any journeyman or person who served his apprenticeship after 6 months of work in any plant was considered a steady employee. According to the union contract, anyone hired (thereafter) was considered a temporary employee and was not entitled to an equal amount of work regardless of his term of employment. This discouraged many qualified persons from seeking work in the pottery industry. The result was, that in the case of a heavy onslaught of orders, the plants were forced to hire unqualified and unfit workers to fill the orders. . . . No person is going to do his best and keep a place going, when he has nothing to look forward to but the street when there is the slightest slowdown. The workers themselves are at fault, as well as the potteries (male, age-class—35-44, not married).

Employment Conditions Generally

When the jobs of 200-250 persons are taken out of a small town like — (city), the effect is bound to be bad. Many of these persons are past middle age, and few possess skills in other lines of work. . . . In this community coal mining used to be a major industry. Automation has cost most of these jobs. . . . Quite a bit of money coming in is derived from pensions, social security, etc. The younger men find work in Zanesville, Newark, and as far away as Columbus.

The pottery industry is limping along, with little or no workers being added. . . . The chinaware industry was told, at the time the tariff cuts started, that if the tariff hurt, there would be relief of some sort. The tariff did not hurt us, it murdered us (male, age-class—62-64, married).

As it is now, if you don't work in a steel mill, you work in a pottery. These firms are the only half-way decent jobs around this vicinity, and the work isn't steady (male, age-class—20-24, married).

. . . I wouldn't complain now if I could just find any work. I'd work any hours. Of course, we live on what my husband makes, but with four children at home I can't find any job except for 2 days a week. In order to have anything extra, a wife has to work (female, age-class—35-44, married).

I see no future for a young man in this area. The older workers have trades and there is no chance to get into one. The older tradesmen have enough work for themselves, but not enough to put on apprentices (male, age-class—25-34, married).

I can't make enough on either one of my jobs alone to support my family. . . . I've been trying to sell my house, hoping it will help me over until I can find something more secure (male, age-class—45-54, married).

Wages around — (city) for both men and women are very low, and you more or less have to take a job wherever you can get it, no matter what the wages, as you have to live; and if you don't take the work, someone else will (male, age-class—35-44, married).

Unemployment is more or less what a person makes it. With few exceptions, if a person is ambitious enough to always be willing to learn something new, he can always find work—perhaps not what he wants right now, but take a substitute job and work yourself into something more suitable. . . . When the pottery closed, there were many who had never worked any place else. These people were hit very hard. Some of them were never able to adapt themselves to another occupation (female, age-class—35-44, not married).

. . . I've been everywhere I know of to go looking for work. So far, nothing. You have to have experience or they won't even talk to you. I've been as far as Port Clinton, Ohio; Pascanda, Md.; up in Pennsylvania, and as far as Tennessee. They all say the same thing—we have people laid off. Come back in the spring. Maybe we can use you. . . . I have a little over \$300

left to draw out, and then—nothing. And it won't take long for it to go. I can's even meet all my expenses (female, age-class—35-44, not married).

Work around — (city) is scarce, especially if you are past 35 years of age. — (company) is our biggest plant, but they hire so many women. Also they hire, layoff, hire, and layoff so often. The State hospital, where I work, is a mainstay, but wages there are low. It used to be a farmers' and older peoples' job, but now young people have to use it to keep a family. . . . The last 3 or 4 years at the pottery, we were off work so much that I used all my savings. So when the plant finally shut down for good, all I had left was what I had in my dinner bucket (male, age-class—35-44, married).

Where I am now employed is far below the — (pottery) in many respects. First, it is nonunion and working conditions are not as good as they were at — (pottery). . . . There is no chance for advancement (female, age-class—45-54, married).

Older Workers

The main trouble I ran into when I became unemployed was the factories around here have an age limit and if you are over 35, it was impossible to get hired. . . . They seemed to say that in all these pension plans, they had made it too expensive to hire anyone over this age limit. . . . Pity the poor guys that are in their forties, if they get out of a job by a factory going out of business, unless they are exceptionally well-trained in some trade that has a shortage of men (male, age-class—62-64, married).

I found out that the older man does not have much of a chance in industry here. The older man who loses his job, as the potters did, has to take inferior jobs that the young men won't have, such as janitor or driving trucks, etc. I am working for half as much as I made in the pottery. Even the retraining programs here are not taking the older men . . . It is tragic to work your whole life as a skilled worker in an industry and when you get over 50 years old, they go out of business. Thousands of us potters have had that experience (male, age-class—55-61, married).

If we could get some kind of factory work at — (city)—that would hire men over 50 who are still able to do a day's work. I made three trips per week for 5½ months to one particular pottery in town, and I had three trades. . . . When they hired, they hired from 18 to 22 years old, with no experience. Their explanation was that insurance on older men was too high. My work at present is seasonal, and I'll be out of work until spring opens up (male, age-class—55-61, married).

Many were not hired back when the — (company) took over. Many were new help who had never worked in a pottery. After all these years, the pottery union finally has a pension plan, but it is too late for me even though I have worked 40 years. I'm sure I am

not alone. I don't know what men over 45 are going to do to exist (male, age-class—55-61, married).

Work is very hard to get in — (city), for the older women. There is a need for some kind of factory here—maybe a garment factory would be the answer. The only thing that is offered to us is domestic work (female, age-class—55-61, not married).

I am 58 years old and my husband is 55 years old, and they say we are too old and they don't want us. What are we going to do until we are 62 years old? Why don't they bring social security down to 55 years old so that we can have something to live on (female, age-class—55-61, married).

Young Persons and Employment

There just isn't enough employment to take care of the high school student just graduated, or otherwise. My oldest son, age 20, left town to get employment, in a larger city. My youngest 18½ graduated last year, has been unable to get employment thus far (female, age-class—35-44, married).

Most of the young people with whom I am acquainted are still looking for jobs, and most of them are married. Everywhere you go it is the same old story, everything is slow and people are laid off. . . . This leads me to believe there is only one alternative, and that is to take some special training and learn a good trade, but without government help I feel this is impossible, for the people I know just don't have enough money (male, age-class—20-24, not married).

Working Away From Home

. . . . We own our own house in Middlebourne, which is 108 miles from — (city). So I rented a room in — (city) and "batched" there, coming home every weekend—because we could not sell our property here and get enough for it to buy there. Besides, we always raised our own garden and preserved much of our food . . . (male, age-class—55-61 married).

— (pottery), where I work now, I could quit anytime. I would like to get something at home. By the time I pay my room and board, it's just about the same as unemployment compensation. —(home city) hasn't enough jobs for men (male, age-class—35-44, married).

We had to cash in our insurance to help carry us over the slack period after — (pottery) shut down. . . . Have worked the last few weeks in Pittsburgh—over 100 miles per day. . . . This is only temporary work. . . . Home still up for sale. Hoping to get somewhere to get steady employment (male, age-class—45-54, married).

Attraction of Industry

It seems to me that it would make more sense to bring the industry to the people than to have the people

go to the industry, especially since most of them wish to live where they are now living (male, age-class—55-61, married).

This area at one time was the pottery center of the world. . . . With companies which are looking for sites, this section had a lot of possibilities to move ahead—it just needs some push by a few go-getters. . . . The money going overseas to help others is for the birds. We need help in this area and need it now (male, age-class—35-44, married).

Resentment Against City Functionaries

We have a town here that wants you to pay a city wage tax, but they won't help you find employment. (male, age-class—35-44, married).

We have one of the highest rates of boys-in-trouble with the law there is. The record shows that most of these boys are not working or have never worked because they cannot find jobs. . . . What is our Chamber of Commerce doing? A big flat nothing. There is no new business coming into our area; only the old ones moving out with empty buildings like a ghost town, which is actually what it is slowly becoming. . . . I have looked for work and am offered a babysitting job at the rate of \$10-15 per week, for 8 hours' work. This area consists of beer taverns, stores, and restaurants, and gas stations—everyplace to spend your money, but no place to make money (female, age-class—45-54, married).

Years ago the old Chamber of Commerce which was under the thumb of the pottery manufacturers would not allow other industry to come in here. The Chamber today is made up, I think, of some very good men that could not be kept under a thumb. They are interested in a variety of things, as well as potteries. I'm sure they do all they can to bring in new industries (female, age-class—55-61, not married).

— (city) is a distressed area if there ever was one, and the Chamber of Commerce wants to keep it that way so that they can pay \$1.00 for labor for what little work there is (male, age-class—45-54, married).

Social Security

I have been to the hospitals, laundries, lunchrooms, and hotels, but no one seems to need anyone in — (city). I have also asked the other potteries in West Virginia. My unemployment will run out in June. What am I supposed to do then? I can't get my social security for 7 years (female, age-class—55-61, not married).

Unemployment compensation

Why can the State of Ohio pay a pottery worker with three dependents \$40 a week and the State of West Virginia pay a worker \$17 a week doing the same work with the same number of dependents? . . . Since

I left the —— (pottery) in 1959, I have not worked for 21 months and have worked at two different potteries up to this present time (male, age-class—20-24, married).

The unemployment situation in this area is poor for the amount of population we have. If you don't have a high school education and are over the age of 40, you are out of luck. . . . The unemployment compensation in West Virginia is very low compared to Ohio. \$32 is the most you can get in 1 week. I know a man who is unemployed in Ohio, who never made the amount I did last year, but still he gets more unemployment than I do (male, age-class—35-44, married).

As for the unemployment office in —— (city), I have signed for work at this office four different times in the past 10 years and have never received a call at any time for a job. I am skilled at a variety of jobs but never was called. Anyone you talk to who has been unemployed will tell you it's a waste of time to go to the unemployment office unless it is to sign up for benefits. I really think this office for unemployment is a waste of the taxpayers' money as far as —— (city) is concerned, unless you are a woman looking for work. I understand they do get work for friends (male, age-class—35-44, not married).

Training

. . . Massillon, Canton, and Youngstown, and some others have retraining programs. Why isn't there one set up here to take care of the people around here? I understand these programs are set up for people when automation takes over their jobs. But what about us, where a foreign country takes over our jobs and we can't do anything about it? Do we have to go to Japan

or Germany to find work? (Male, age-class—55-61, married.)

I've tried every place around here and they say they don't need anybody. I've tried at two potteries, the state road, and have my application in with the —— (county) board of education for a janitor's job. They all have the same answer, "We don't need anybody." I'd certainly like to get into some training program (male, age-class—45-54, married).

There are still things I can learn to do, but we live too far to go to trade school in Canton in bad weather. And there is no bus to take you. I don't drive, and my husband doesn't drive at night in bad weather (female, age-class—55-61, married).

. . . The good paying jobs around —— (city) are for people with experience. I have tried to get a better paying job, but the first thing they ask you is how much experience do you have . . . If they don't give people like me a chance to get experience, how do we get it? So we don't have any choice but to take a job in the pottery where wages are low. One sure thing, if there were a school around here where we could go learn a trade, I would be one of the first through the door (male, age-class—25-34, married).

I have already applied for practical nurses' training in Pittsburgh, Pa. The man came to interview me, but since I have no income except my unemployment compensation, which will be out in a few weeks, I told the man to hold my application until I might be able to enter training. That was in November 1962; and up to now conditions are no better, so I may have to give up the idea (female, age-class—45-54, not married).

I am starting today, March 25, 1963, to take nurses' aid training at a Government training course (female, age-class—45-54, not married).

Appendix B.

Methodology

Mailings of part I of the questionnaire (appendix B) revealed that 393 of the 2,194 former pottery employees whose names and addresses were compiled (as described in Background of the Study, pp. 54-55) either could not or would not respond—the nonviables. This left a group of 1,801 viable respondents, that is, persons who presumably were available at the address of record and who had not indicated that they would not cooperate in the survey. Of this group, 401 proved to be nonrespondents to part I of the questionnaire, but 68 of these ultimately became respondents (to both parts of the questionnaire) as a result of personal interviews with a sample of the part I nonrespondents. Thus, 1,468 were respondents to the part I questionnaire. But 165 of these did not respond to part II of the questionnaire, for which the information is accordingly limited to 1,303 respondents.

Nonrespondents

Many of the reasons for not completing the questionnaire given by the nonviable group applied also to the sample of nonrespondents selected for personal interview. In fact, if such reasons had been established through the mail survey rather than by personal interview, all of the nonrespondents would have been classified as nonviable. The circumstances of the two groups are shown in table A-1.

In both cases, the largest single reason for nonresponse was a deficiency of some kind in the mailing address of record which could not be remedied by diligent inquiry.

The list of nonviables, but not of nonrespondents, included a large number of persons who were outside the scope of the survey. While some of the nonviables who had quit may have done so in contemplation of layoff, it was decided that further pursuit would be too complicated and would be unlikely to salvage more than a few of these subjects.

Nearly all of the 100 nonviables who refused to participate because their pottery job had been temporary are traceable to 3 of the 13 potteries. This suggests that for some com-

panies the mailing list included workers on the extra list, whereas for other companies the mailing lists apparently included only those who had been in the basic work force.

It appears unlikely that failure to obtain completed questionnaires from either the nonviables or the nonrespondents produced any gross distortion in the study's representation of the various potteries that had made the layoffs. With respect to pottery employer, the coefficient of correlation between viables and nonviables is .857; that is, the pottery which accounted for the largest number of viables also accounted for the largest number of nonviables, and so forth. Similarly, the coefficient between the 1,468 respondents and the 401 nonrespondents to part I from which the personal interview sample was selected was .854. Furthermore, the coefficient of correlation between the 165 part II nonrespondents and the 1,303 part II respondents was .903.

Distribution of Respondents

The distribution of the part I—respondents by pottery from which separated, as well as the organizational status of the pottery and the period in which most of the separations occurred, as shown in table A-2. The distribution for part II respondents is so similar that it is not presented separately.

For purposes of identifying the part I respondents by the location of the potteries from which they were separated, one should locate the city of East Liverpool on the eastern edge of Ohio and the two towns directly across the Ohio River in West Virginia—Chester and Newell. This city and these towns in combination are designated here as the East Liverpool area. Five of the potteries in this study are (or were) located in that area, and about 43 percent of the respondents are identifiable with it. Within a radius of approximately 35 miles of East Liverpool are five more potteries and 26 percent of the respondents of the study. A circle of these dimensions centered on East Liverpool would encompass such prominent steel-producing cities as Youngstown,

Pittsburgh (or its western-most suburbs), and Weirton; Wheeling lies just outside the perimeter. Farther away from East Liverpool to the southwest can be located three more of the potteries, which accounted for 31 percent of the respondents in this study. All of these were dissolved; two were in small cities and the third in a town.

Personal Interviews

For the customary interviews of nonrespondents, limited finances dictated that the 165 part II nonrespondents be abandoned because a good

deal was known about them from their responses to part I of the questionnaire. The information on their work status, shown in table A-3, led to this decision. The additional information that might have been obtained in part II of the questionnaire presumably would have been minimal for about 36 percent of the nonrespondents: those who reported unable to work, retired, doing own housework, recalled to pottery, and the "other" category (as "in Armed Forces"). Moreover, it was believed that some of the married women who reported, looking for work, might prove on further investigation to be doing their own housework or

TABLE A-1. CIRCUMSTANCES OF NONVIALIBILITY OR NONRESPONSE, 1962-63, SURVEY OF DISPLACED POTTERY WORKERS

Circumstances	Nonvialibility established by mail survey, 1962-63		Nonresponse to personal interview, summer 1963	
	Number of persons	Percent	Number of persons	Percent
			893	100.0
Total	893	100.0	114	100.0
Person could not be located ¹	109	27.7	48	37.7
Deceased	27	6.9	4	3.5
Beyond scope of survey	119	30.2	7	6.1
Quit, rather than laid off	67	17.0		
Retired, rather than laid off	18	4.6		
Not a production or maintenance worker at pottery	28	7.1		
Listed by 2 potteries as former employee	6	1.5		
Not interested because:				
Pottery job was temporary or part-time	100	25.4	17	14.9
Person had retired or was unable to work	16	4.1	6	5.3
Person at work ²	12	3.1	15	13.2
No reason specified	7	1.8	8	7.0
Not at home on each call by interviewer			11	9.6
Other	3	9	3	2.6

¹ Excludes 68 persons who completed both parts of the questionnaire during the interview.

² Includes: moved, leaving no forwarding address, mail unclaimed, insufficient address, unknown at address, traveling abroad or in Armed Forces, address beyond territorial jurisdiction of interviewer.

³ All of these persons had been recalled to the pottery.

⁴ This group regarded the questionnaire as too personal.

NOTE: Dashes indicate information not available or not applicable. Because of rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

TABLE A-2. DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS TO PART I OF QUESTIONNAIRE, BY POTTERY FROM WHICH SEPARATED, MODEL PERIOD(S) OF SEPARATIONS, AND STATUS OF POTTERY, 1962-63 SURVEY OF DISPLACED POTTERY WORKERS

Status and designation of pottery	Modal period(s) of separations	Respondents to part I separated from designated pottery					
		Both sexes		Men		Women	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total		1,468	100.0	762	100.0	706	0.0
Undissolved potteries:							
Company A	6/59, 11/60	43	2.9	1	0.1	42	5.9
Company B	None	21	1.4	10	1.3	11	1.5
Company C	None	19	1.2	4	0.4	15	2.1
Company D	12/60, 11/61	37	2.5	23	3.0	14	1.9
Company E	5-6/62	123	8.3	55	7.2	68	9.6
Company F	6/61, 11-12/61	58	3.9	13	1.7	45	6.3
Company G	11-12/60	12	0.8	8	1.0	4	0.6
Dissolved potteries:							
Company S	1-2/61, 4-5/61	90	6.1	43	5.5	47	6.6
Company T	5/58	111	7.5	65	8.5	46	6.5
Company W	10/59, 1/60	63	4.2	23	3.0	40	5.6
Company X	6-7-8/60	255	17.3	166	21.7	89	12.6
Company Y	12/60-1/61	115	7.8	56	7.3	59	8.3
Company Z	10-12/62	521	35.4	295	38.7	226	32.0

NOTE: Because of rounding, sums of items may not equal totals.

not actively searching for work because they believed there was no job opportunity. Further support for abandoning any attempt to interview part II nonrespondents was obtained incidentally in the process of collecting information on the part II questionnaire. At that time, it was learned that, of the 165 nonrespondents, 6 had moved away; 6 refused to cooperate, 2 without explanation, 2 because they were working, and 2 because they had been recalled to the pottery; 2 were deceased; 1 had retired; and 1 had entered the Armed Forces.

For these reasons, available funds were used to investigate the 401 nonrespondents to part I of the questionnaire, about whom nothing was known. Pilot interviews suggested that: (a) fewer than half of the nonrespondents would have telephones and would thus be exceedingly difficult to contact and (b) two-thirds would not respond to a personal interview. Based on standard procedures, resources would permit interview calls upon about 175 of the total of 401 nonrespondents.

A sample of 182 persons was chosen at random, and these names were allocated among eight interviewers. With one exception, each of the 182 persons could be identified with 1 of the 8 cities chosen as bases of operation for the interviews: Canonsburg, Pa., and seven cities in Ohio—Cambridge, Coshocton, Crooksville, East Palestine, Salem, Steubenville, and of course, East Liverpool. The survey director, Professor Levinson, was one of the interviewers. Each of the other seven was associated with one of the remaining cities. All were male public school teachers who had been recommended to the survey director by their respective superintendents of public schools.

The interviews were conducted in the summer of 1963, when the interviewers were free of their school duties.

As previously indicated, 114 of the 182 in the interview sample did not complete the questionnaire, for reasons presented in table B-1. The 68 who did respond to the questionnaire constituted 37.4 percent of the sample of 182. This percentage is consistent with the response rate that might have been predicted had an attempt been made to contact personally all 401 nonrespondents. Applying the appropriate mathematical formula enables one to say with confidence of 95 percent accuracy that between 32.1 and 42.9 percent of the 401 would have responded affirmatively.²¹ In short, one can be highly confident that between 129 and 172 of the 401 persons would have filled out the questionnaire.

TABLE A-3. INFORMATION FROM PART I OF QUESTIONNAIRE ON WORK STATUS OF PART II NONRESPONDENTS, 1962-63 SURVEY OF DISPLACED POTTERY WORKERS

Work status	Both sexes		Male		Female	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total.....	165	100	86	100	79	100
Unable to work.....	5	3	1	1	4	5
Retired.....	24	14	14	16	10	13
Doing own housework.....	16	10			16	20
Looking for work.....	27	16	15	17	12	15
Believe there is no job opportunity.....	2	1			2	2
Recalled to pottery.....	13	8	6	7	7	9
Working.....	76	46	48	56	28	35
Other.....	1	1	1	1		
Unreported.....	1	1	1	1		

NOTE: Because of rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

²¹ L. Katz, "Confidence Intervals for the Number Showing a Certain Characteristic in a Population when Sampling Is Without Replacement," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, Vol. 48 (1953), pp. 256-261.

Appendix B. Survey Questionnaire

Budget Bureau No. 44-603
Approval expires September 1, 1963

QUESTIONNAIRE - PART I

This is strictly a confidential survey. Nobody except the person who mailed this to you will see your answers. Please return this questionnaire in the enclosed, self-addressed, stamped envelope before _____.

A. YOUR EMPLOYMENT AT THE CHINA COMPANY:

1. How many years altogether did you work at that company? _____ years

2. In your last two years at that company, what was your usual occupation (or job title)? _____

3. When were you finally laid off from that company? _____ Month _____ Year

B. AFTER YOU WERE LAID OFF FROM THE CHINA COMPANY FOR THE LAST TIME:

4. Did you look for another job? _____ Yes _____ No _____

a. If "No," please explain why you didn't. _____

b. If "Yes," how many weeks did it take you to find another job, if you found one? _____ Weeks (Check here if you never found one _____)

5. Did you get unemployment compensation after your layoff from the Company? _____ Yes _____ No _____

If "yes," (a) how many weeks of benefits did you draw? _____ Weeks

(b) why did your benefits stop? (Check one:)

_____ I found a job or entered my own business.

_____ My benefits were used up.

_____ Other reason (specify). _____

6. If you didn't get unemployment compensation, explain why. _____

7. Are you working now? _____ Yes _____ No _____

8. If you are not working now, check the answer that applies to you:

_____ I am not able to work.

_____ I am retired.

_____ I am doing housework in my own home.

_____ I am actively looking for work.

_____ Other reason (specify). _____

C. GENERAL INFORMATION:

9. Age: Please check your correct age group:

14-19 _____ 25-34 _____ 45-54 _____ 62-64 _____
20-24 _____ 35-44 _____ 55-61 _____ 65 and over _____

10. What is the highest grade of school you completed? _____ Grade _____

11. Sex (check one) _____ Male _____ Female _____

12. Check one: Are you married? _____
Other (single, widowed, separated, divorced)? _____

13. How many minor children (under 18 years of age) do you have? _____ Children _____

14. How many years have you lived in or near (within
commuting distance) of _____? _____ Years

D. THE KIND OF WORK YOU ARE DOING NOW: (Please answer these questions if you are
doing any kind of work for pay or income.)

15. Do you work for an employer? _____ Yes _____ No _____

a. If "Yes," your occupation (or job title) _____

b. Name of company _____

c. City (or town) _____ State _____

d. How did you get the information to apply for this job? (Check one:)
from the state Employment Service (Unemployment Office).

_____ from the _____ Company.

_____ from the labor union you belong to.

_____ from a friend or relative.

_____ you somehow heard about the job and went to the company and applied.

_____ other (specify). _____

16. Do you have your own business or farm? _____ Yes _____ No _____

a. If "Yes," what kind of business is it? _____

b. Its location (City, Town, or County) _____

17. How long have you been in your present job or business? _____ Months _____

18. Is this your first job or business since you left the _____ company? Yes _____ No _____

19. Do you earn income from any other kind of work besides the job or business that you checked
above? _____ Yes _____ No _____

If "Yes," please specify what kind it is. _____

QUESTIONNAIRE - PART II

This is the second half of the questionnaire that was sent to you before. All your answers still remain confidential. Please return it in the enclosed, self-addressed, envelope before.

E. WHILE YOU WERE STILL EMPLOYED AT THE CHINA COMPANY:

1. About how far did you travel from home to work (one way) ? _____ Miles
2. Did you own your own home in or near _____
(that is, within commuting distance of the company) ? _____ Yes _____ No _____
3. Think about the wages you earned in your last few months with the company before you were finally laid off, and answer either a or b — below:
 - a. If you were on an hourly rate, about how much was it? _____ \$ _____ Per Hour
 - b. If you were on a piece rate, what is your best guess of how much it figured out to on an hourly-rate basis? _____ \$ _____ Per Hour
4. Think about your last twelve months with the company before you were finally laid off, and answer a and b — below:
 - a. Check the bracket below that shows the total number of weeks that you worked at the company on either part-time or full-time work:

1 to 5 weeks	21 to 25 weeks	41 to 45 weeks
6 to 10 weeks	26 to 30 weeks	46 to 50 weeks
11 to 15 weeks	31 to 35 weeks	51 to 52 weeks
16 to 20 weeks	36 to 40 weeks	

Check here if you don't remember or if you were with the company less than a year. _____
 - b. For the same twelve months, check the bracket below that shows the total wages (before any deductions) that the company paid you:

less than \$500	\$3000 to \$3500	\$6000 to \$6500
\$500 to \$1000	\$3500 to \$4000	\$6500 to \$7000
\$1000 to \$1500	\$4000 to \$4500	\$7000 to \$7500
\$1500 to \$2000	\$4500 to \$5000	\$7500 to \$8000
\$2000 to \$2500	\$5000 to \$5500	more than \$8000
\$2500 to \$3000	\$5500 to \$6000	

Check here if you don't remember or if you were with the company less than a year. _____

5. (This question is to be answered only by men, not women.)

If you were married at that time, was your wife usually working for a wage or other income? _____ Yes _____ No _____

Not married _____

F. **PERIOD OF UNEMPLOYMENT:** Please answer this section if you became unemployed after you lost your job at the _____ Company. If you were not unemployed (like, you got another job right away or you decided to retire), skip this section and move on to section G — below.

6. If you got unemployment compensation, about how much was your weekly benefits? ----- \$ _____ Per Week
7. Leaving out unemployment compensation, how did you (and your family) meet living expenses: (Please check:)
- _____ We used our savings ----- About how much? ----- \$ _____
If savings were used, do you or your family have any left? Yes _____ No _____
- _____ We borrowed money ----- About how much? ----- \$ _____
- _____ We moved to cheaper housing.
- _____ We got cash assistance from a public or private welfare agency.
- _____ We got some other kind of public assistance, such as free food.
- _____ We got help from private people outside our household.
- _____ We sold our property.
- _____ Any other (specify). _____

G. **THE JOB OR OTHER WORK YOU HAVE NOW:** Please answer this section only if you are working now. If you are not working, check here _____, skip the rest of this page, and move on to section H — on the next page.

8. How far do you now travel from home to work (one way)? ----- Miles
9. Do you own your own home in or near the city or place where you work now (within commuting distance of your work)? ----- Yes _____ No _____
10. What is your best guess of your usual wages (or other income) that you are earning lately? ----- Per Hour
11. What is your best guess of the average hours-per-week that you have been working during the past few months? ----- Hours Per Week
12. Is your present job (or work) more steady employment than the job you used to have at the Company? (Check one:)
- More Steady _____ Less Steady _____ About the Same _____ Don't Know _____
13. Does your present job (or work) require more skill than the job you used to have at the Company? (Check one:)
- More Skill _____ Less Skill _____ About the Same _____ Don't Know _____
14. (This question is to be answered only by men, not women.)
- If you are married, does your wife usually work for a wage or other income at this time? ----- Yes _____ No _____
Not Married _____

H. SOME GENERAL QUESTIONS: Whether you are working now or not, please answer the questions below.

15. If you were offered a job in another part of the country at about the same pay as your old pottery job, would you take it? (Check one:)

Yes, definitely.

Maybe, it depends (specify on what). _____

No (explain why not). _____

16. In addition to regular school, did you ever take any special training such as apprenticeship, a trade school or business school course? _____ Yes _____ No _____

a. If "Yes," what kind of training was it? _____

b. When did you take it? _____ Year _____

17. If there were a plan for training workers for new jobs, and paying them something while learning, would you be interested? (Check one:)

Yes. What kind of training would you like to get? _____

Maybe, it depends (specify on what). _____

No (explain why not). _____

Don't know.

18. If you wish to, use the rest of this page and the back of it to say anything you want to about employment and unemployment problems in and around _____.

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