

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

W. N. DOAK, Secretary

CHILDREN'S BUREAU

GRACE ABBOTT, Chief

EMPLOYED BOYS AND GIRLS
IN MILWAUKEE

By

ALICE CHANNING



Bureau Publication No. 213



UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1932

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213

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ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

EMPLOYED BOYS AND GIRLS
IN MILWAUKEE

1917



ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

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1917

1. The first part of the report deals with the general situation of the country in 1917. It is noted that the country is in a state of transition, and that the government is endeavoring to bring about a more efficient and economical administration. The report also mentions that the government is endeavoring to bring about a more efficient and economical administration.

2. The second part of the report deals with the financial situation of the country. It is noted that the government has a large deficit, and that it is necessary to raise additional funds. The report also mentions that the government has a large deficit, and that it is necessary to raise additional funds.

3. The third part of the report deals with the industrial situation of the country. It is noted that the industrial production is increasing, and that the government is endeavoring to bring about a more efficient and economical administration. The report also mentions that the industrial production is increasing, and that the government is endeavoring to bring about a more efficient and economical administration.

4. The fourth part of the report deals with the agricultural situation of the country. It is noted that the agricultural production is increasing, and that the government is endeavoring to bring about a more efficient and economical administration. The report also mentions that the agricultural production is increasing, and that the government is endeavoring to bring about a more efficient and economical administration.

5. The fifth part of the report deals with the educational situation of the country. It is noted that the educational system is in a state of transition, and that the government is endeavoring to bring about a more efficient and economical administration. The report also mentions that the educational system is in a state of transition, and that the government is endeavoring to bring about a more efficient and economical administration.

6. The sixth part of the report deals with the social situation of the country. It is noted that the social conditions are improving, and that the government is endeavoring to bring about a more efficient and economical administration. The report also mentions that the social conditions are improving, and that the government is endeavoring to bring about a more efficient and economical administration.

7. The seventh part of the report deals with the foreign relations of the country. It is noted that the country is in a state of transition, and that the government is endeavoring to bring about a more efficient and economical administration. The report also mentions that the country is in a state of transition, and that the government is endeavoring to bring about a more efficient and economical administration.

8. The eighth part of the report deals with the military situation of the country. It is noted that the military is in a state of transition, and that the government is endeavoring to bring about a more efficient and economical administration. The report also mentions that the military is in a state of transition, and that the government is endeavoring to bring about a more efficient and economical administration.

9. The ninth part of the report deals with the naval situation of the country. It is noted that the navy is in a state of transition, and that the government is endeavoring to bring about a more efficient and economical administration. The report also mentions that the navy is in a state of transition, and that the government is endeavoring to bring about a more efficient and economical administration.

10. The tenth part of the report deals with the air force situation of the country. It is noted that the air force is in a state of transition, and that the government is endeavoring to bring about a more efficient and economical administration. The report also mentions that the air force is in a state of transition, and that the government is endeavoring to bring about a more efficient and economical administration.

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
CHILDREN'S BUREAU,
Washington, June 30, 1932.

SIR: Herewith is transmitted a report on the Employed Boys and Girls in Milwaukee.

The investigation upon which this report was based was planned and carried out under the general supervision of Ellen Nathalie Matthews, formerly director of the industrial division of the Children's Bureau, and was one of several studies undertaken to find out the kinds of work open to boys and girls and the effect of age and education upon their occupations and the stability of their employment. Harriet A. Byrne was in charge of the field work, and Alice Channing has written the report.

Thanks are due to the officials of the Milwaukee Vocational School for their cooperation and the use of their records. Acknowledgment is also made of the help given by the public and parochial schools and the officials of the Milwaukee office of the Industrial Commission of Wisconsin.

Respectfully submitted.

GRACE ABBOTT, *Chief.*

Hon. W. N. DOAK,
Secretary of Labor.

v

LETTER FROM THE DIRECTOR

The Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis
has the honor to acknowledge the receipt
of your letter of the 10th instant
concerning the proposed issue of
United States Government Securities
in the amount of \$100,000,000
for the purpose of financing the
public debt of the United States
Government. The Board of Directors
of the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis
has considered your proposal and
has decided to purchase the securities
proposed to be issued in the amount
of \$100,000,000. The purchase
will be made in accordance with the
terms of the issue.

EMPLOYED BOYS AND GIRLS IN MILWAUKEE

INTRODUCTION

This study of employed minors in Milwaukee, Wis., is one of a series of studies of the employment histories of wage-earning boys and girls in different cities. The purpose of these studies is to find out what kinds of jobs are actually held by boys and girls who go to work before they are 18 years old, and the extent to which sex, age at beginning work, and amount and type of education affect their wages and the extent and stability of their employment. To obtain as large a basis for conclusions as possible a series of studies were made in Newark and Paterson (N. J.), and in Rochester and Utica (N. Y.), as well as in Milwaukee. These studies¹ present conditions during a normal period, having been made before the peak of the industrial expansion which antedated the present depression. Two earlier bureau studies of children under 16 employed on work certificates were made in Boston (Mass.), and in Connecticut.² Other studies of selected groups of young workers have been published, chiefly by State and local educational authorities.³

The city of Milwaukee with its diversified industries,⁴ including iron and steel and other metal establishments, hosiery and knitting mills, men's clothing, glove, shoe, candy, paper-box, and other factories, offers a variety of occupational opportunities to minors. The number of employed minors in Milwaukee was sufficiently large to use as a basis for a study of young workers, although the number employed under 16 years of age decreased considerably between 1920 and 1925, the year the study was made, owing to the raising in 1920 and 1921 of the educational requirements of the child labor laws. In 1920 there were 4,617 employment certificates issued in Milwaukee by the State industrial commission to children of 14 and 15 years and 1,190 to children of 16 years who went to work during school hours for the first time;⁵ corresponding figures for the 12 months ended December, 1924, show that 1,926 certificates were issued to children of 14 and 15 years and 1,080 to those of 16 years.⁶

¹ Child Labor in New Jersey—Part 3. The Working Children of Newark and Paterson, by Nettie P. McGill (U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 199, Washington, 1930); Employed Boys and Girls in Rochester and Utica, N. Y. (in preparation).

² The Working Children of Boston, a study of child labor under a modern system of legal regulation, by Helen Sumner Woodbury, Ph. D. (U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 89, Washington, 1922); Industrial Instability of Child Workers, a study of employment-certificate records in Connecticut, by Robert Morse Woodbury, Ph. D. (U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 74, Washington, 1920).

³ For a list of these studies, see list of references, p. 70.

⁴ Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, vol. 4, Population, Occupations, p. 171 (Washington, 1923), and vol. 9, Manufactures, Reports for States, p. 1628 (Washington, 1923).

⁵ Child Labor in Wisconsin, 1917-1922, p. 6. Industrial Commission of Wisconsin, Madison, June 1, 1923.

⁶ For figures for children of 14 and 15 years see Fourteenth Annual Report of the Chief of the Children's Bureau, 1926, p. 15. For children 16 years of age figures were furnished by the Industrial Commission of Wisconsin.

Wisconsin is one of the States in which the employment of children is regulated by relatively advanced legislation. As in many of the States, 14 is the minimum age at which a child may be regularly employed during the hours when school is in session, and since June, 1921, children between 14 and 16 years of age may be employed only when they have completed the eighth grade or have attended school nine years. Unlike the laws of most States which require children to attend school full time unless they are employed, the Wisconsin law allows a child who has reached 14, the legal age for employment, to drop out of the regular full-time day school if he has completed the eighth grade, even though he is not employed. On the other hand, the age up to which employed children in Wisconsin, except indentured apprentices and those employed in certain exempted occupations, as in agriculture, are required to have work certificates is higher than in most States. The requirements for continuation-school attendance in Wisconsin are also relatively high. It is one of the few States which require all boys and girls who are not attending full-time day school (except those who have graduated from high school) to attend continuation school at least eight hours a week up to the end of the term in which they become 18 years of age.⁷ Apprentices, who under the apprenticeship law may be indentured between the ages of 16 and 21, must, like other employed minors, attend continuation school during the first two years of their apprenticeship, regardless of their age when indentured, but they attend only four hours a week.

An attempt was made to include in the present study all the employed minors under 18 in Milwaukee. This study includes all the minors who, at the time of the study, in conformity with the requirements of the Wisconsin continuation school law, were enrolled as part-time day-school pupils in the continuation school, locally called the Milwaukee Vocational School. In addition, high-school graduates under 18 who were or had been employed were located through the high schools they had last attended and were interviewed. An effort was made to find through the school census the boys and girls who were employed but were not attending continuation school as they were legally required to do; this, however, proved to be impracticable.

In order to find out to what extent nonworking eighth-grade graduates between 14 and 16 and unemployed minors between 16 and 18 were using their legal privilege of being excused from regular day-school attendance, information was also obtained concerning minors between the ages of 14 and 18 who had not been employed but had left regular school and who, as they were not high-school graduates, were required to attend continuation school.

In the present study information was sought concerning the ages of young workers at leaving the regular full-time school, the grades they had completed, the types of occupations in which they were employed when they first started to work and at the time the study was made, their wages, the number of positions they had held, the amount of their unemployment, and the relation of their education and their ages to the kinds of occupations they entered and to the wages they received.

⁷ A law requiring half-time attendance at continuation school for children under 16 was passed in 1921 (to be fully operative in 1923) but had not been put into effect in Milwaukee at the time the study was made.

The vocational-school records furnished information regarding the school history of the young workers in both full-time and part-time schools, including the age and date at which they had left full-time school and entered part-time school, and also some information regarding their work histories, such as the date they had first started work and the kind of work in which they were employed. For those under 17 years of age this information was supplemented from records of the Milwaukee work-certificate office of the Wisconsin Industrial Commission. Since according to the law a minor is required to have an employment certificate for each job until he is 17, except in certain occupations such as farm work, these records furnished information about all the jobs for which work certificates were required and in which the child had been legally employed. This information included the date the certificate was issued and the date it was returned, the name of the occupation, and the wages received.

In some cases it was not possible to identify the names of the children at the work-certificate office, and in other cases the records from both sources, the vocational school and the work-certificate office, were incomplete or conflicting. In all cases in which the records were incomplete the young workers were interviewed, at the school, in their homes, or at their places of employment, except for a number who could not be found because they were no longer in attendance at the vocational school or because the address of their homes or places of employment could not be found. For the children who were interviewed information was obtained concerning the number of positions they had had, the duration of their first and last positions, and the extent of their unemployment, points on which it was not possible to get complete accounts from records. It is possible that, because a relatively large number of these individuals whose records from various sources were incomplete had held more than one position and had been unemployed between positions, the amount of their unemployment and the number of changes in their positions may be slightly greater than for the noninterviewed group.

The groups included in the study were as follows:

| | |
|---|--------|
| Total..... | 10,320 |
| Boys and girls who had been employed..... | 9,207 |
| Employed minors, vocational school..... | 8,930 |
| Indentured apprentices, vocational school..... | 231 |
| High-school graduates..... | 46 |
| Boys and girls who had never been employed..... | 1,113 |

The group given the most intensive study comprised 9,207 boys and girls—231 apprentices and 8,930 other employed minors—who had been employed at some time since leaving regular school and who were enrolled in the vocational school,⁸ and 46 high-school graduates. Of the 8,930 enrolled in the vocational school 760 (9 per cent) had recently passed their eighteenth birthdays and were attending part-time school until the end of the term. Of the 9,207 employed boys

⁸ The Milwaukee Vocational School enrollment included besides the part-time day pupils, whose attendance was regulated by law, a number of voluntary pupils who were receiving full-time day instruction in commercial subjects or special vocational training not available at the regular schools, and apprentices up to the age of 21. Figures showing the total number of pupils enrolled in the school the week of the survey were not available; during the school year 1924-25 there were 16,355 day-school pupils and 10,747 night-school pupils enrolled.

and girls included in the study, bureau representatives interviewed 3,819. (Table 1.) The minors for whom records of employment could not be obtained and who were not interviewed because they could not be located (581 in number) have been excluded from all the following discussions on employment. Of the 1,113 minors who had left regular school but had never been employed 243 were boys and 870 were girls.

The 8,447 employed boys and girls under 18, including the apprentices and high-school graduates, are believed to constitute most of the employed minors under this age in the city at the time of the inquiry, although no doubt others were employed in violation of the law who were not enrolled at the vocational school. A general idea of the proportions of those of the various ages who were employed may be obtained by computing the percentage which the minors included in the study were of the minors of corresponding ages found through the school census to be resident in the city. The working children of 14 years included in the study were but 3 per cent of the total number of children of this age living in the city according to school-census figures, but working children constituted 17 per cent of the children 15 years of age. The employed minors of 16 and 17 years were 43 and 55 per cent, respectively, of the minors of these ages resident in the city.⁹

TABLE 1.—*Employed minors and indentured apprentices enrolled in the Milwaukee Vocational School January 31, 1925, and high-school graduates who had been employed at some time since leaving regular school*

| Groups included in study, and sex | Total | Number interviewed | Number not interviewed | |
|--|-------|--------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|
| | | | Work records obtained | Work records not obtained |
| Total..... | 9,207 | 3,819 | 4,807 | 581 |
| Employed minors, vocational school..... | 8,930 | 3,613 | 4,736 | 581 |
| Indentured apprentices, vocational school..... | 231 | 160 | 71 | ----- |
| Employed high-school graduates..... | 46 | 46 | ----- | ----- |
| Boys..... | 4,479 | 2,117 | 2,003 | 359 |
| Employed minors, vocational school..... | 4,228 | 1,937 | 1,932 | 359 |
| Indentured apprentices, vocational school..... | 231 | 160 | 71 | ----- |
| Employed high-school graduates..... | 20 | 20 | ----- | ----- |
| Girls..... | 4,728 | 1,702 | 2,804 | 222 |
| Employed minors, vocational school..... | 4,702 | 1,676 | 2,804 | 222 |
| Employed high-school graduates..... | 26 | 26 | ----- | ----- |

⁹ The school-census figures are as of June, 1924, six months before the date of the study. For school-census figures see Sixty-fifth Annual Report of the Board of School Directors of the City of Milwaukee, Wis., 1924, p. 163.

THE EMPLOYED MINORS OTHER THAN APPRENTICES

The 8,930 employed boys and girls enrolled in vocational school and the 46 high-school graduates included individuals of all ages from 14 to 18, inclusive. The length of the possible work histories (that is, the time between the date of beginning work and the date of the study) ranged from a few days for those who had just left school to four years for those who had left school at the age of 14 and were 18 at the time the inquiry was made.

The girls somewhat outnumbered the boys, partly because they left school at slightly earlier ages than the boys. The proportion of girls and boys among young workers varies considerably from city to city, to judge from studies which have been made in other cities and the number of employment certificates issued to those of each sex. No doubt this depends partly on local custom and partly on the opportunities for work for each sex.¹⁰

More than four-fifths of the young workers enrolled in the Milwaukee Vocational School were at least 16 years of age at the time of the inquiry. Three per cent of each sex were under 15 years of age. (Table 2.¹¹) Practically none of those who had reached the age of 18 had passed his eighteenth birthday more than three months before the date of the study. With one exception the high-school graduates were 17 years of age.

TABLE 2.—Age January 31, 1925, of employed boys and girls enrolled in the Milwaukee Vocational School

| Age Jan. 31, 1925 | Total | | Boys | | Girls | |
|------------------------|--------|-----------------------|--------|-----------------------|--------|-----------------------|
| | Number | Per cent distribution | Number | Per cent distribution | Number | Per cent distribution |
| Total..... | 8,930 | 100 | 4,228 | 100 | 4,702 | 100 |
| Under 14 years..... | 1 | (¹) | ----- | ----- | 1 | (¹) |
| 14 years..... | 255 | 3 | 114 | 3 | 141 | 3 |
| 15 years..... | 1,308 | 15 | 663 | 16 | 645 | 14 |
| 16 years..... | 3,104 | 35 | 1,477 | 35 | 1,627 | 35 |
| 17 years..... | 3,502 | 39 | 1,638 | 39 | 1,864 | 40 |
| 18 years and over..... | 760 | 9 | 336 | 8 | 424 | 9 |

¹ Less than 1 per cent.

TERMINATION OF REGULAR SCHOOLING AND BEGINNING OF WORK EXPERIENCE

Age at leaving school.

More than four-fifths of the boys and girls enrolled in the vocational school for whom the age on leaving regular school was reported (82 per cent of the boys and 86 per cent of the girls) had left school before

¹⁰ See especially the following studies: The Working Children of Newark and Paterson, pp. 16, 56; The Working Children of Boston, pp. 15-16; Part Time School and the Junior Worker in the City of Seattle, Wash., p. 13 (State Board for Vocational Education, Olympia, 1923); Robinson, Claude E.: Child Workers in Two Connecticut Towns, pp. 16-17 (National Child Labor Committee, New York, 1923); Sixteenth Annual Report of the Chief of the Children's Bureau, 1928, p. 21.

¹¹ The figures in Table 2 and the following tables do not include high-school graduates.

they were 16 years of age—36 per cent of the boys and 46 per cent of the girls at the age of 14 or before they were 14.¹² (Table 3.) The children who left school before they were 14 were for the most part within a few months of their fourteenth birthday. Many of them had left school in June and were 14 by the time school opened in the fall. All but five of the high-school graduates were either 16½ or 17 years of age when they left school.

¹² The age at leaving regular school was not reported for 1,909 pupils enrolled in the vocational school, but there is no reason to suppose that it differed from that of the 7,021 pupils for whom the information was obtained.

TABLE 3.—Age at leaving regular school and last grade completed by employed boys and girls enrolled in the Milwaukee Vocational School

| Last grade completed, and sex | Employed boys and girls | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|----------|-----------------------|----------|-----------------------|----------|-----------------------|------------------|-----------------------|---|-----|
| | Total | | Age at leaving regular school | | | | | | | | Age not reported | | | |
| | | | Under 14 years | | 14 years | | 15 years | | 16 years | | | | 17 years and over (number) ¹ | |
| | Number | Per cent distribution | Number | Per cent distribution | Number | Per cent distribution | Number | Per cent distribution | Number | Per cent distribution | Number | Per cent distribution | | |
| Boys..... | 4, 228 | | 157 | | 1, 024 | | 1, 496 | | 537 | | 37 | | 977 | |
| Grade reported..... | 4, 203 | 100 | 157 | 100 | 1, 023 | 100 | 1, 488 | 100 | 530 | 100 | 36 | | 969 | 100 |
| Fifth grade or less..... | 97 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 25 | 2 | 38 | 3 | 9 | 2 | | | 21 | 2 |
| Sixth grade..... | 322 | 8 | 6 | 4 | 76 | 7 | 129 | 9 | 25 | 5 | | | 86 | 9 |
| Seventh grade..... | 538 | 13 | 3 | 2 | 105 | 10 | 246 | 17 | 70 | 13 | 2 | | 112 | 12 |
| Eighth grade..... | 2, 045 | 49 | 134 | 85 | 687 | 67 | 662 | 44 | 144 | 27 | 10 | | 408 | 42 |
| Ninth grade..... | 449 | 11 | 5 | 3 | 78 | 8 | 181 | 12 | 78 | 15 | 7 | | 100 | 10 |
| Tenth grade..... | 246 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 3 | (?) | 71 | 5 | 114 | 22 | 11 | | 46 | 5 |
| Eleventh grade or higher..... | 32 | 1 | | | | | 1 | (?) | 18 | 3 | 6 | | 7 | 1 |
| Commercial..... | 113 | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | 113 | 12 |
| Prevocational..... | 350 | 8 | 4 | 3 | 48 | 5 | 155 | 10 | | 13 | | | 73 | 8 |
| Special class..... | 11 | (?) | | | 1 | (?) | 5 | (?) | 70 | (?) | | | 3 | (?) |
| Grade not reported..... | 25 | | | | 1 | | 8 | | 7 | | 1 | | 8 | |
| Girls..... | 4, 702 | | 296 | | 1, 438 | | 1, 505 | | 512 | | 19 | | 932 | |
| Grade reported..... | 4, 679 | 100 | 294 | 100 | 1, 436 | 100 | 1, 500 | 100 | 505 | 100 | 18 | | 926 | 100 |
| Fifth grade or less..... | 79 | 2 | 5 | 2 | 36 | 3 | 21 | 1 | 6 | 1 | | | 11 | 1 |
| Sixth grade..... | 279 | 6 | 12 | 4 | 87 | 6 | 107 | 7 | 27 | 5 | | | 46 | 5 |
| Seventh grade..... | 553 | 12 | 16 | 5 | 141 | 10 | 240 | 16 | 71 | 14 | | | 84 | 9 |
| Eighth grade..... | 2, 245 | 48 | 236 | 80 | 989 | 69 | 655 | 44 | 99 | 20 | 2 | | 264 | 29 |
| Ninth grade..... | 230 | 5 | 7 | 2 | 54 | 4 | 98 | 7 | 50 | 10 | 2 | | 19 | 2 |
| Tenth grade..... | 231 | 5 | | | 8 | 1 | 94 | 6 | 99 | 20 | 4 | | 26 | 3 |
| Eleventh grade or higher..... | 21 | (?) | 1 | (?) | | | 3 | (?) | 7 | 1 | 4 | | 6 | 1 |
| Commercial..... | 315 | 7 | | | | | | | | | | | 315 | 34 |
| Trade school..... | 636 | 14 | 15 | 5 | 114 | 8 | 238 | 16 | 123 | 24 | 5 | | 141 | 15 |
| Prevocational..... | 78 | 2 | | | 6 | (?) | 38 | 3 | 20 | 4 | | | 14 | 2 |
| Special class..... | 12 | (?) | 2 | 1 | 1 | (?) | 6 | (?) | 3 | 1 | | | | |
| Grade not reported..... | 23 | | 2 | | 2 | | 5 | | 7 | | 1 | | 6 | |

¹ Per cent distribution not shown because number of boys and number of girls was less than 50.

² Less than 1 per cent.

THE EMPLOYED MINORS OTHER THAN APPRENTICES

The tendency of girls to leave school at a slightly younger age than boys has been noted in several other studies of working children. In the Children's Bureau study made in Boston in 1918 the working girls were found to leave school somewhat earlier than the boys, and this was also the case in Newark and Paterson, N. J., in 1925. According to a study made by the National Child Labor Committee in two Connecticut towns, the same tendency existed there.¹³ This tendency is due in part at least to the fact that girls tend to be a little more advanced in school than boys of the same ages and thus finish the educational requirements for leaving school at an earlier age.¹⁴

The requirement of an eighth-grade education for children who leave school before they are 16 tends to keep Milwaukee children in school, especially children who are overage for their grades, longer than would a lower grade requirement. The provision for eighth-grade graduation or nine years' school attendance in Wisconsin has been in effect since June 7, 1921, when it superseded a provision for seventh-grade completion or eight years' school attendance. The eighth-grade requirement was in effect during practically all the 4-year period when the children included in the study were leaving school. A much smaller proportion of Milwaukee children who left school while still under 16 left before they reached 15 than in other cities where the grade requirements were lower and where similar studies were made—44 per cent of the boys and 54 per cent of the girls in Milwaukee as compared with, for example, 80 per cent of the boys and 89 per cent of the girls in Newark and 95 per cent of the children in Boston.¹⁵ A fifth-grade requirement was in effect in Newark and a sixth-grade requirement in Boston at the time those studies were made.

School attainment.

Information as to the grade completed at the time of leaving regular school was obtained for most of the boys and girls who had last attended the regular elementary grades of the public and parochial schools, for most of those who had last attended academic high schools, and for boys who had attended the technical high school. It was not, however, possible to obtain this information for girls who had last been in the Girls' Trade School nor for either boys or girls who had attended prevocational or business schools or commercial classes. The great majority, when they left school for work, were equipped with at least an eighth-grade education or some type of industrial or vocational training, or both. (Table 3.) Two-thirds (66 per cent) of the boys, including 11 per cent who had been in technical high schools, had completed the eighth or a higher grade; in addition, 3 per cent who had last attended commercial classes or business schools were probably eighth-grade graduates. Almost all the remaining number had last attended prevocational schools, which are especially organized to meet the needs of children who fail to adjust themselves to the school work of the regular grades, and these were probably not eighth-grade graduates. Among the girls 58 per cent had com-

¹³ The Working Children of Newark and Paterson, p. 8; The Working Children of Boston, p. 105; Child Workers in Two Connecticut Towns, pp. 16-17.

¹⁴ Figures published by the United States Bureau of Education for boys and girls of 900 city school systems show that the proportion of boys of 14, 15, and 16 years who are overage for their grades is somewhat greater than the proportion of girls of the same ages. Bureau of Education Statistical Circular No. 8 (May, 1927), Table 6.

¹⁵ The Working Children of Newark and Paterson, p. 9; The Working Children of Boston, p. 104.

pleted the eighth or a higher grade, and an additional 7 per cent who had had training in business or commercial classes after they left regular school had also probably completed the eighth grade. A small proportion of the girls had last attended the Girls' Trade School. Many of these, as well as the girls who had been in prevocational and special classes, were probably not eighth-grade graduates.

A slightly larger proportion of the employed boys enrolled in continuation school than of the girls (20 per cent and 14 per cent respectively) had last attended academic high schools; 17 per cent of the boys as compared with 10 per cent of the girls for whom there was information concerning grade or type of school attended, had finished one or more years of academic high school. The greater tendency of boys to attend high schools was also found among children in Newark, N. J.¹⁶ On the other hand, only 9 per cent of the boys but 14 per cent of the girls had attended trade or technical high schools.

For admission to both the Boys' Technical High School and the Girls' Trade School at the time of the study, completion of the sixth grade was necessary; the Boys' Technical High School gave courses through the twelfth grade, the Girls' Trade School through the tenth.¹⁷ At the Boys' Technical High School trade instruction was given in machine work and tool making, drafting, plumbing, pattern making, electrical work, carpentry and cabinet making, and printing. The Girls' Trade School offered courses in domestic science, millinery, dressmaking, music, typewriting, and other commercial work. No information could be obtained concerning the number of years of training the boys and girls had had in these schools; 44 per cent of the employed boys from the technical high school had completed the eighth grade and in addition 38 per cent, the ninth or a higher grade. The children, many more of whom were boys than girls, who had attended the prevocational classes had also received instruction in hand or industrial work but no training which would be considered as preparation for any specific trade.

There appeared to be a tendency for the Milwaukee children who went to work under 18 to leave regular school as soon as they legally could. The proportion of those who remained in school after they were 16 was not large (16 per cent), and only a small proportion of those leaving school before they were 16 had completed a grade higher than the eighth. (Table 3.) Only 8 per cent of the girls and 13 per cent of the boys for whom age and grade information was obtained and who left school before they were 16 had completed one or more years of high school. On the other hand, 24 per cent of the boys and 21 per cent of the girls who left school before they were 16 had not graduated from the eighth grade. According to figures published by the Industrial Commission of Wisconsin concerning the school attainments of Milwaukee children under 16 to whom regular work permits were issued during the year ended June 30, 1924, 20 per cent had left school before finishing the eighth grade, but most of these had attended school for nine years.¹⁸ Probably one reason why this proportion was slightly larger for children included in the present study is that some of them had left school before June, 1921, when

¹⁶ The Working Children of Newark and Paterson, pp. 8-9.

¹⁷ Sixty-fifth Annual Report of the Board of School Directors of the City of Milwaukee, Wis., 1924, p. 27.

¹⁸ Wisconsin Labor Statistics, vol. 4, Nos. 1 and 2 (January and February, 1926), p. 4, Table VI. Industrial Commission of Wisconsin, Madison.

the present educational requirements went into effect; another reason is that some of them were at least 15½ years when they left school in June and reached their sixteenth birthday before school opened in the fall.

Since grade information could not be obtained for children in pre-vocational and trade classes and grade or age information for many other employed children was lacking (no information being obtained on one or both of these points for 2,799 children), it is not possible to give representative figures for the amount of retardation among employed minors attending the vocational school, nor can the comparative amount of retardation among employed and full-time school children of the city be learned. Studies which have been made concerning the intelligence of school and working children, including one study of the intelligence of continuation-school pupils in Wisconsin, have demonstrated that although on the whole the intelligence quotients of working children average lower than those of school children of corresponding ages, there is a wide range of mental ability among the working group and that a considerable proportion of children of superior mentality are included among them.¹⁹

In Milwaukee, as in other places where it is the custom for large numbers of children to leave school for work as soon as it is legally possible, the operation of a relatively low age and high grade requirement of the school and child labor laws allows the brighter children who are able to complete the eighth grade by the time they are 14 to leave school and go to work at earlier ages than the children who are backward in school. According to the information available with regard to progress in school for 2,629 boys and 2,908 girls who had last attended regular grades, only 10 per cent of the boys and 8 per cent of the girls who went to work at 14 were overage for their grades. On the other hand, 26 per cent of the boys and 24 per cent of the girls who entered employment at 15 years and 47 per cent of each sex who started work at 16 were retarded in school.²⁰ Relatively more of the children of each sex who began work at 14 were in advanced grades for their ages than the children who were 15 or 16 when they left school.

Interval between regular school and work.

On the whole the boys and girls in the present study did not lose a great deal of time between school and work; that is, during the time school was in session. The interval between the date they left school and the date they went to work, not including the school vacation period, was less than one month for 79 per cent of the boys and for 67 per cent of the girls for whom this information was obtained. For a considerable number, including all those who had last attended commercial classes, the date of leaving school was not learned and

¹⁹ Woolley, Helen Thompson, Ph. D: *An Experimental Study of Children*, pp. 313, 330 (New York, 1926); Hopkins, L. Thomas: *The Intelligence of Continuation-School Children in Massachusetts*, pp. 117-119 (Cambridge, 1924); Stine, J. Ray: *A Comparative Study of Part-time and Full-time Students in the Public Schools of Toledo, Lima, and Fremont, Ohio*, pp. 44-45 (Ohio State Board for Vocational Education, Columbus, 1927); Meerey, Mary: *Continuation Education for Employed Minors in California, California Part-time Youth*, pp. 6, 7 (Los Angeles, 1928); Clark, Ruth Swan: *The Continuation School (Survey, vol. 45 (January 8, 1921), pp. 541-542)*, Sudweeks, Joseph: *Intelligence of Continuation-School Pupils in Wisconsin (Journal of Educational Psychology, vol. 18 (December, 1927), pp. 601-611)*.

²⁰ Retardation has been calculated according to the standards of the United States Office of Education; that is, children of 6 and 7 are expected to enter the first grade, children of 7 and 8 the second grade, etc. They are normally expected to complete one grade each year. Children are therefore considered overage for their grades if they have not entered the sixth grade at the age of 12, the seventh grade at the age of 13, and the eighth grade at the age of 14.

therefore the time elapsing between school and work could not be calculated. There is no reason to suppose, however, that those children lost either more or less time than the others.

The interval between leaving regular school and going to work was on the whole somewhat shorter for the boys and the girls who went to work before they were 16 than for those who began at a later age. This may be because the younger children attended school until they actually found work, whereas many children who became 16 during the school year left school as soon as they reached their sixteenth birthday but did not at once get employment; it is unlikely that it was easier for the younger children to find employment than for the older ones. There were, however, a considerable number of children under 16—209 boys (12 per cent) and 430 girls (20 per cent)—who were neither at school nor at work for at least two months during the time school was in session; a small number let a whole school year elapse (that is, nine or more months) before finally going to work. No doubt one of the reasons why so many children under 16 were neither at school nor at work was the fact that, as was previously noted, those who had completed the eighth grade were not legally required to be attending regular school even though not employed. According to a Children's Bureau study made in 1918 of working children under 16 in Boston, where the child labor law requires children of this age to be in school unless they are employed, the interval between school and work was somewhat shorter than it was for children in the present study. Fifteen per cent of the Boston children as compared with 26 per cent of the Milwaukee children lost as much as a month's school time between leaving school and going to work.²¹

Age at beginning regular work.

Nearly one-third of the working minors whose work records were obtained ²² (28 per cent of the boys and 33 per cent of the girls) entered regular employment after leaving school at the age of 14, the minimum age at which children may go to work on employment certificates during the school term. (Table 4.) A small number of boys and girls started work before they were 14. Most of these were within a few months of their fourteenth birthday; some of them started work in the summer vacation and were 14 by the time school opened in the fall. Before reaching the age of 16 three-fourths of the children, the same proportions of the two sexes, were at work. Practically all the graduates of high school were at least 16 years and 6 months of age when they entered employment. The slightly larger proportion of girls beginning work at 14 is partly due to the somewhat earlier age at which girls complete the grade requirements for leaving school, as has been noted, and is due also, no doubt, to the greater opportunities for work open to them in Milwaukee.

Some of the boys and girls had done part-time work while they were attending school or had worked during summer vacations before leaving school. Twenty-four per cent of the boys and 21 per cent of the girls who were interviewed had been employed at some time before leaving school, usually during the summer vacation. Reliable information on this point was not available for the group of children who were not interviewed.

²¹ The Working Children of Boston, p. 106.

²² Excluding 581 minors whose work records were not obtained.

TABLE 4.—*Time of year and age at beginning regular work of employed boys and girls whose work records were obtained and who were enrolled in the Milwaukee Vocational School*

| Age at beginning regular work, and sex | Employed boys and girls whose work records were obtained | | | | | | |
|--|--|-----------------------|--|-----------------------|------------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| | Total | | Time of year at beginning regular work | | | | |
| | Number | Per cent distribution | June to August | | September to May | | Not reported |
| | | | Number | Per cent distribution | Number | Per cent distribution | |
| Boys..... | 3,869 | | 1,415 | | 2,405 | | 49 |
| Age reported..... | 3,812 | 100 | 1,407 | 100 | 2,402 | 100 | 3 |
| Under 14 years..... | 16 | (1) | 7 | (1) | 9 | (1) | |
| 14 years..... | 1,086 | 28 | 474 | 34 | 612 | 25 | |
| 15 years..... | 1,685 | 44 | 664 | 47 | 1,020 | 42 | 1 |
| 16 years..... | 945 | 25 | 251 | 18 | 694 | 29 | |
| 17 years and over..... | 80 | 2 | 11 | 1 | 67 | 3 | 2 |
| Age not reported..... | 57 | | 8 | | 3 | | 46 |
| Girls..... | 4,480 | | 1,763 | | 2,676 | | 41 |
| Age reported..... | 4,431 | 100 | 1,761 | 100 | 2,669 | 100 | 1 |
| Under 14 years..... | 12 | (1) | 6 | (1) | 6 | (1) | |
| 14 years..... | 1,456 | 33 | 693 | 39 | 763 | 29 | |
| 15 years..... | 1,808 | 41 | 753 | 43 | 1,055 | 40 | |
| 16 years..... | 1,092 | 25 | 299 | 17 | 792 | 30 | 1 |
| 17 years and over..... | 63 | 1 | 10 | 1 | 53 | 2 | |
| Age not reported..... | 49 | | 2 | | 7 | | 40 |

¹ Less than 1 per cent.

The great decrease in the number of Milwaukee children going to work at 14 is shown by comparing these findings of 1925 with those of a survey of Milwaukee Vocational School pupils made in 1918 by the school-attendance department. Seventy per cent of the 6,388 pupils enrolled in the vocational school in 1918 who reported on this subject had begun work at the age of 14, more than twice the percentage of those included in the present study.²³ No doubt the large number of children who started work at 14, according to the survey of 1918, was partly a result of war conditions, but the marked decrease in this group throughout the State since 1921 is also due to the raising of the grade requirement.²⁴

More than three-fifths of the boys and of the girls entered regular employment for the first time during the months when school was in session, from September through May; the remainder in June, July, or August. Many children who leave school in June apparently do not go to work immediately but wait until school vacation is over, as is indicated by figures of the Industrial Commission of Wisconsin for

²³ Annual Report of the Attendance Department. Fifty-ninth Annual Report of the Board of School Directors of the City of Milwaukee, Wis., 1918, p. 92.

²⁴ Child Labor in Wisconsin, 1917-1922, p. 14. Since 1925 there has been another decrease. Among children in the present study who went to work before they were 16 years of age, 42 per cent began work at the age of 14 as compared with 23 per cent in 1928, according to reports made by the Industrial Commission of Wisconsin to the Children's Bureau regarding the number of permits issued to children under 16 who were going to work for the first time. First Regular Employment Certificates Issued to Working Children in 1928, p. 10 (reprint from Seventeenth Annual Report of the Chief of the Children's Bureau, 1929).

work permits issued in 1925, for example. A larger number of first regular permits were issued in September than in any other month during the year; the next largest numbers were issued in October and August.²⁵

Work certificates.

Almost all the boys and girls in Milwaukee for whom work certificates were required under the provisions of the child labor law obtained them for their first position, to judge from the information available for the 3,613 children who were interviewed. Four per cent, however (159 children), who were employed in occupations for which work certificates were required, had failed to get them for their first positions. Of these only a negligible number (4) were under 14 years of age. In this connection it may be noted that most of the children received certificates, as required under the law, for all the positions they held during their work history. A small proportion, however (14 per cent of those interviewed), had failed to get work certificates for one or more of the positions they had held.

Not all the children under 16 who had received work certificates when they first went to work had graduated from the elementary grades; 527 (24 per cent of those under 16 for whom work certificates were required) had not completed this grade. These children had either left school before June, 1921, when lower educational requirements were in effect, or in all probability had fulfilled the legal requirements for a work certificate by nine years' school attendance.

OCCUPATIONS

First occupation.

In the cities in which studies of the employment of young workers have been made, it has been found that the boys and girls were employed chiefly in factories or in various kinds of errand, messenger, delivery, and clerical work. The proportions in these occupational groups vary from city to city depending on the relative importance of the manufacturing, mercantile, and other industrial groups of the several cities, on the kinds of goods produced there, and to some extent also on the ages of the young workers included in the studies.²⁶ According to the study made by the Children's Bureau in Boston the proportion of boys under 16 entering factories and other occupations classified as mechanical was only 21 per cent, in Newark it was 48 per cent, and in the present study 60 per cent. The proportion of girls under 16 entering factories and other mechanical occupations was 50 per cent in Boston, 82 per cent in Newark, and 73 per cent in Milwaukee.²⁷ In these and other cities most of the children not in factories were in errand, messenger, delivery, sales, and clerical work; relatively few were in domestic service. A marked variation in the proportions of children entering manufacturing, mercantile, and other occupational groups in different cities is also shown by figures which give the occupations of children to whom work certificates were issued in cities of 50,000 or more population throughout the country.²⁸

²⁵ Wisconsin Labor Statistics, vol. 4, Nos. 1 and 2 (January and February, 1926), p. 2.

²⁶ For a list of these studies see list of references, p. 70.

²⁷ The Working Children of Boston, pp. 225-229; The Working Children of Newark and Paterson, p. 16.

²⁸ First Regular Employment Certificates Issued to Working Children in 1927, p. 17 (reprint from Sixteenth Annual Report of the Chief of the Children's Bureau, 1928); First Regular Employment Certificates Issued to Working Children in 1928, p. 17 (reprint from Seventeenth Annual Report of the Chief of the Children's Bureau, 1929); First Regular Employment Certificates Issued to Working Children in 1929, p. 17 (reprint from Eighteenth Annual Report of the Chief of the Children's Bureau, 1930.)

TABLE 5.—Occupation and industry of first regular position and age at beginning regular work of employed boys and girls whose work records were obtained and who were enrolled in the Milwaukee Vocational School

| Occupation and industry of first regular position | Boys and girls whose work records were obtained | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|-------------------------------|--------|-----------------------|--------|------------------|-------|-------------------------------|--------|-----------------------|-----|------------------|
| | Boys | | | | | | Girls | | | | | |
| | Total | Age at beginning regular work | | | | Age not reported | Total | Age at beginning regular work | | | | Age not reported |
| | | Under 16 years | | 16 years and over | | | | Under 16 years | | 16 years and over | | |
| Number | | Per cent distribution | Number | Per cent distribution | Number | | | Per cent distribution | Number | Per cent distribution | | |
| Total..... | 3,869 | 2,787 | | 1,025 | | 57 | 4,480 | 3,276 | | 1,155 | | 49 |
| Industry reported..... | 3,638 | 2,618 | 100 | 966 | 100 | 54 | 4,302 | 3,133 | 100 | 1,120 | 100 | 49 |
| Manufacturing and mechanical industries..... | 2,140 | 1,560 | 60 | 557 | 58 | 23 | 2,881 | 2,286 | 73 | 586 | 52 | 9 |
| Semiskilled operatives..... | 1,824 | 1,363 | 52 | 446 | 46 | 15 | 2,863 | 2,273 | 73 | 582 | 52 | 8 |
| Candy..... | 162 | 126 | 5 | 36 | 4 | | 824 | 708 | 23 | 116 | 10 | |
| Clothing..... | 76 | 61 | 2 | 14 | 1 | 1 | 351 | 249 | 8 | 98 | 9 | 4 |
| Electrical equipment..... | 102 | 66 | 3 | 35 | 4 | 1 | 34 | 20 | 1 | 13 | 1 | 1 |
| Metals..... | 451 | 312 | 12 | 136 | 14 | 3 | 51 | 34 | 1 | 17 | 2 | |
| Lumber and furniture..... | 114 | 82 | 3 | 30 | 3 | 2 | 15 | 11 | (1) | 4 | (1) | |
| Paper box..... | 113 | 101 | 4 | 12 | 1 | | 179 | 147 | 5 | 32 | 3 | |
| Shoes..... | 333 | 252 | 10 | 80 | 8 | 1 | 256 | 195 | 6 | 59 | 5 | 2 |
| Textiles..... | 70 | 56 | 2 | 14 | 1 | | 932 | 738 | 24 | 193 | 17 | 1 |
| Other manufacturing and mechanical industries..... | 403 | 307 | 12 | 89 | 9 | 7 | 221 | 171 | 5 | 50 | 4 | |
| Laborers..... | 157 | 105 | 4 | 50 | 5 | 2 | 5 | 5 | (1) | | | |
| Others..... | 159 | 92 | 4 | 61 | 6 | 6 | 13 | 8 | (1) | 4 | (1) | 1 |
| Transportation, trade, and clerical..... | 1,348 | 965 | 37 | 367 | 38 | 16 | 1,033 | 592 | 19 | 418 | 37 | 23 |
| Sales and stock boys and girls and other clerks in stores..... | 193 | 129 | 5 | 63 | 7 | 1 | 288 | 179 | 6 | 100 | 9 | 9 |
| Telephone operators..... | 2 | 1 | (1) | 1 | (1) | | 106 | 17 | 1 | 86 | 8 | 3 |
| Telegraph messengers, and special delivery mail carriers..... | 135 | 116 | 4 | 19 | 2 | | | | | | | |
| Messenger, errand, office, bundle, and cash boys and girls..... | 445 | 343 | 13 | 97 | 10 | 5 | 68 | 51 | 2 | 16 | 1 | 1 |
| Stenographers and typists..... | 13 | 7 | (1) | 6 | 1 | | 237 | 135 | 4 | 99 | 9 | 3 |
| Bookkeepers and cashiers..... | 10 | 3 | (1) | 7 | 1 | | 63 | 40 | 1 | 22 | 2 | 1 |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-----|-----|-------|----|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Other clerical..... | 285 | 195 | 7 | 87 | 9 | 3 | 232 | 142 | 5 | 85 | 8 | 5 |
| Drivers and helpers..... | 95 | 51 | 2 | 41 | 4 | 3 | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| Others..... | 137 | 96 | 4 | 37 | 4 | 4 | 27 | 20 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 1 |
| Occupation not reported..... | 33 | 24 | 1 | 9 | 1 | ----- | 12 | 8 | (1) | 4 | (1) | ----- |
| Domestic and personal service..... | 87 | 59 | 2 | 21 | 2 | 7 | 370 | 245 | 8 | 109 | 10 | 16 |
| Professional and semiprofessional pursuits..... | 28 | 14 | 1 | 14 | 1 | ----- | 18 | 10 | (1) | 7 | 1 | 1 |
| Other industries..... | 35 | 20 | 1 | 7 | 1 | 8 | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| Industry not reported ¹ | 231 | 169 | ----- | 59 | ----- | 3 | 178 | 143 | ----- | 35 | ----- | ----- |

¹ Less than 1 per cent.

The occupational distribution of the Milwaukee children in the present study is very similar to that reported by the census of 1920 for Milwaukee children of the same ages. According to these figures, 59 per cent of the employed boys of 14, 15, and 16 years of age and 67 per cent of the girls of the same ages were in manufacturing and mechanical industries; 24 per cent of the boys and 17 per cent of the girls were in messenger, errand, and clerical work; and the remainder were scattered through various other occupational groups.²⁹

The proportions of the boys under 16 and 16 years of age and over in the present study who began work in manufacturing and mechanical industries were similar (60 per cent and 58 per cent), but more of the girls under 16 than 16 and over entered manufacturing and mechanical industries (73 per cent and 52 per cent, respectively). The great majority of the boys and nearly all the girls in the manufacturing and mechanical occupations were factory operatives; some of the boys were laborers or were helpers to skilled mechanics. (Table 5.)

The first occupations in which the young workers were employed represented practically all the important manufacturing industries of the city. The boys were employed in the metal-working industries, in factories manufacturing electrical supplies, in shoe, furniture, and paper-box factories. The girls were concentrated in the textile, clothing, and candy factories, in which boys were likewise employed, and to a considerably smaller extent in the shoe, paper-box, metal, and electrical industries and in printing establishments. Girls and boys under 16, as well as those who were older, found employment in all these industries when they started work.

Numerically the most important occupations for the boys who began work in nonmanufacturing and nonmechanical occupations were errand and messenger work, miscellaneous clerical work, sales and stock work in stores, and delivering telegrams and special-delivery messages. Less important numerically were the boys employed as drivers' helpers on trucks and wagons. A small number of the boys were laundry operatives, caddy boys, bootblacks, and workers in other occupations classified according to the Bureau of the Census as domestic and personal. About the same proportions of the boys under 16 as of the older boys (13 per cent and 10 per cent, respectively, of the total number employed) were errand and messenger boys; likewise there was but little difference in the proportions of boys of the different ages who were employed as clerical workers, as sales or stock boys, or as helpers to drivers.

The girls in nonmanufacturing industries were chiefly sales and stock girls in stores, clerical workers, typists, stenographers, or miscellaneous clerical workers, were telephone operators, or were domestic workers. The girls under 16 were not so likely as the older girls to be typists, stenographers, or other clerical workers, and few girls under 16 were telephone operators. About the same proportions of the girls under 16 as of the older girls were domestic workers; usually these were employed in private families or in laundries.

Occupation at the time of inquiry.

The occupational distribution of the boys and girls employed at the time of the study was very similar to that at the time they began work. Indeed, the last positions of about one-half of the young workers

²⁹ Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, vol. 4, Population, Occupations, pp. 633-634.

were the same ones in which they had found employment when they started work.

Manufacturing and mechanical occupations.—Fifty-two per cent of the boys under 16 and 59 per cent of those 16 and over were in factory and other mechanical occupations; 74 per cent of the girls under 16 and 60 per cent of those 16 and over were likewise in factory work. As in their first positions, both sexes were engaged in a great variety of occupations in different manufacturing industries at the time of the study. (Table 6.) No doubt the Wisconsin laws prohibiting the employment of minors under 16 or under 18 on or in connection with certain machinery³⁰ excluded a number of these children from factory work, particularly machine work. Employment on machines of minors—particularly those under 16—was, no doubt, lessened, even in occupations not specifically prohibited, by the so-called blanket clause prohibiting the employment of minors in “any place of employment or any employment dangerous or prejudicial to life, health, safety, or welfare.”

TABLE 6.—Occupation and industry of last position and age January 31, 1925, of boys and girls employed on that date whose work records were obtained and who were enrolled in the Milwaukee Vocational School

| Occupation and industry of last position | Boys and girls employed Jan. 31, 1925, whose work records were obtained | | | | | |
|--|---|-------------------|-------------------|--------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | Boys | | | Girls | | |
| | Total | Age Jan. 31, 1925 | | Total | Age Jan. 31, 1925 | |
| | | Under 16 years | 16 years and over | | Under 16 years | 16 years and over |
| Total..... | 3, 280 | 622 | 2, 658 | 3, 814 | 627 | 3, 187 |
| Manufacturing and mechanical industries..... | 1, 855 | 319 | 1, 536 | 2, 364 | 457 | 1, 907 |
| Semiskilled operatives..... | 1, 550 | 282 | 1, 268 | 2, 340 | 452 | 1, 888 |
| Chemicals and allied industries..... | 25 | 6 | 19 | 12 | 4 | 8 |
| Glove factories..... | 37 | 4 | 33 | 78 | 12 | 66 |
| Garment workers..... | 25 | 5 | 20 | 107 | 14 | 93 |
| Sewing..... | 4 | 1 | 3 | 46 | 3 | 43 |
| Other processes..... | 16 | 4 | 12 | 53 | 10 | 43 |
| Process not reported..... | 5 | | 5 | 8 | 1 | 7 |
| Millinery and hat manufacturers..... | 4 | 2 | 2 | 88 | 9 | 79 |
| Other clothing industries..... | | | | 24 | 2 | 22 |
| Electrical equipment..... | 107 | 9 | 98 | 35 | 4 | 31 |
| Bench work, assembling, and finishing..... | 54 | 5 | 49 | 18 | 1 | 17 |
| Machine work..... | 9 | 1 | 8 | 4 | | 4 |
| Other processes..... | 30 | 2 | 28 | 12 | 3 | 9 |
| Process not reported..... | 14 | 1 | 13 | 1 | | 1 |
| Candy factories..... | 84 | 15 | 69 | 514 | 164 | 350 |
| Dipping..... | | | | 90 | 19 | 71 |
| Wrapping, packing, and labeling..... | 7 | 2 | 5 | 319 | 100 | 219 |
| Other processes..... | 71 | 13 | 58 | 89 | 38 | 51 |
| Process not reported..... | 6 | | 6 | 16 | 7 | 9 |

³⁰ The chief prohibitions affecting the children under 16 included in this study are employment on cylinder, boring, or drill presses, stamping machines in sheet-metal and tinware manufacturing, on emory or polishing wheels, and on burnishing machines in leather manufacturing.

TABLE 6.—Occupation and industry of last position and age January 31, 1925, of boys and girls employed on that date whose work records were obtained and who were enrolled in the Milwaukee Vocational School—Continued

| Occupation and industry of last position | Boys and girls employed Jan. 31, 1925, whose work records were obtained | | | | | |
|---|---|-------------------|-------------------|--------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | Boys | | | Girls | | |
| | Total | Age Jan. 31, 1925 | | Total | Age Jan. 31, 1925 | |
| | | Under 16 years | 16 years and over | | Under 16 years | 16 years and over |
| Manufacturing and mechanical industries—Contd. | | | | | | |
| Semiskilled operatives—Continued. | | | | | | |
| Other food industries..... | 59 | 16 | 43 | 17 | 3 | 14 |
| Metal industries..... | 373 | 82 | 291 | 51 | 6 | 45 |
| Assembling and bench work..... | 82 | 32 | 50 | 7 | 1 | 6 |
| Core making..... | 23 | 1 | 22 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Machine work..... | 83 | 10 | 73 | 7 | 7 | 14 |
| Wrapping, packing, and labeling..... | 30 | 8 | 22 | 13 | 2 | 11 |
| Other processes..... | 79 | 19 | 60 | 14 | 1 | 13 |
| Process not reported..... | 76 | 12 | 64 | 9 | 1 | 8 |
| Lumber and furniture industries..... | 136 | 25 | 111 | 15 | 3 | 12 |
| Paper-box manufacturing..... | 60 | 12 | 48 | 135 | 31 | 104 |
| Printing and publishing..... | 92 | 10 | 82 | 66 | 16 | 50 |
| Shoe manufacturing..... | 327 | 55 | 272 | 264 | 53 | 211 |
| Cutting (hand or machine)..... | 61 | 8 | 53 | 4 | 1 | 3 |
| Stitching..... | 2 | ----- | 2 | 39 | 2 | 37 |
| Other machine work..... | 46 | 10 | 36 | 30 | 6 | 24 |
| Other processes..... | 199 | 34 | 165 | 174 | 41 | 133 |
| Process not reported..... | 19 | 3 | 16 | 17 | 3 | 14 |
| Textile industries..... | 78 | 11 | 67 | 850 | 115 | 735 |
| Coning, knitting, looping, ribbing, spooling, topping..... | 11 | 2 | 9 | 330 | 55 | 275 |
| Mating and inspecting..... | 2 | ----- | 2 | 49 | 3 | 46 |
| Packing, wrapping, and labeling..... | 4 | 1 | 3 | 87 | 7 | 80 |
| Other processes..... | 53 | 7 | 46 | 362 | 48 | 314 |
| Process not reported..... | 8 | 1 | 7 | 22 | 2 | 20 |
| Other manufacturing and mechanical industries..... | 143 | 30 | 113 | 84 | 16 | 68 |
| Laborers..... | 111 | 18 | 93 | 4 | 2 | 2 |
| Others..... | 194 | 19 | 175 | 20 | 3 | 17 |
| Transportation, trade, and clerical..... | 1,256 | 275 | 981 | 1,151 | 86 | 1,065 |
| Sales and stock boys and girls and other clerks in stores..... | 176 | 28 | 148 | 236 | 37 | 199 |
| Telephone operators..... | 3 | 1 | 2 | 200 | ----- | 200 |
| Telegraph messengers and special delivery mail carriers..... | 60 | 31 | 29 | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| Messenger, errand, office, bundle, and cash boys and girls..... | 325 | 102 | 223 | 52 | 12 | 40 |
| Stenographers and typists..... | 18 | 1 | 17 | 265 | 7 | 258 |
| Bookkeepers, cashiers, and accountants..... | 29 | ----- | 29 | 99 | 4 | 95 |
| Other clerical workers..... | 387 | 53 | 334 | 263 | 22 | 241 |
| Drivers and drivers' helpers..... | 100 | 25 | 75 | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| Others..... | 135 | 29 | 106 | 29 | 3 | 26 |
| Occupation not reported..... | 23 | 5 | 18 | 7 | 1 | 6 |
| Domestic and personal service..... | 54 | 13 | 41 | 241 | 73 | 168 |
| Nursemaids and housework (not otherwise specified)..... | ----- | ----- | ----- | 165 | 57 | 108 |
| Others..... | 54 | 13 | 41 | 74 | 16 | 58 |
| Occupation not reported..... | ----- | ----- | ----- | 2 | ----- | 2 |
| Professional and semiprofessional pursuits..... | 47 | 1 | 46 | 23 | 2 | 21 |
| Other industries..... | 11 | 2 | 9 | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| Industry not reported..... | 57 | 12 | 45 | 35 | 9 | 26 |

Metal industries.—In the machine shops and foundries, stove and machinery factories, and the tinware and other metal trades of the city, 373 boys (about one-fourth of the boys who were factory operatives) were employed. Twenty-two per cent of these boys in the metal industries (practically the same proportion as of all the boys employed at the time of the study) were under 16 years of age. The work of many of the boys under 16 in the metal industries was in connection with the assembling of parts, such as gas cocks, faucets, valves, and chains, and in other hand operations. Few of the younger boys (10) were employed in machine processes. A number of the older boys were engaged in core making, and a considerable number (73) were employed in machine operations, feeding the tack machine and working on drill presses, milling, riveting, and other metal-working machines. (Table 6.) Relatively few girls were employed in the metal industries, and practically all of these were at least 16 years of age.

Electrical-supply factories.—About 100 boys and a small number of girls, nearly all of both sexes at least 16, worked in factories manufacturing electrical and radio supplies, assembling parts, inspecting, testing, and in other hand work; a few of them were employed on machines.

Shoe industry.—Shoe factories³¹ employed 327 boys and 264 girls (one-fifth of all the boys and about one-tenth of the girls classified as semiskilled operatives). There appeared to be considerable opportunity for both boys and girls under 16 in shoe factories, as 17 per cent of the boys and 20 per cent of the girls of continuation-school age employed in this industry were in that age group. Children under 16 were employed in many of the varied hand operations common to shoe factories but were not employed to any extent on the machines. The boys of all ages did such hand work as cementing (gluing or pasting), assembling, sorting and inspecting, and floor work (carrying supplies to the workers). Eighty of the 272 boys of 16 and over were employed on machines, including the heeling, tack pulling, buffing, burnishing, polishing, and other machines. A number of boys, chiefly those of 16 years or over, were employed in cutting trimmings and linings, and in other cutting processes; although not apprenticed, they no doubt had a chance to pick up a knowledge of shoe-cutting work, a relatively skilled occupation in which a number of boys were indentured as apprentices. (See p. 60.) The girls of all ages also were employed in numerous simple hand operations, such as cementing, trimming, putting laces in shoes, marking sizes, packing and wrapping; a considerable number of the older girls (80) were employed on machines; some of these did stitching operations which require a certain degree of skill.

Textile industries.—The textile mills, chiefly hosiery, underwear, and other knitting mills, furnished employment to 850 girls (36 per cent of the girls employed as factory operatives) and to a relatively small number of boys (78). The employment of girls under 16 in the textile mills appeared to be less common than in some of the other industries employing girls of continuation-school age; only 14 per cent were under 16. Three hundred and thirty of the girls, including 55 under 16 years of age, were employed in connection with the

³¹ For an account of the opportunities in the shoe industry in Milwaukee see *The Shoe Industry in the series entitled "My Life Work."* Milwaukee Vocational School, Milwaukee.

coning, knitting, looping, ribbing, spooling, and topping machines. A number, practically all of whom were at least 16 years of age, were employed on machines in the silk-throwing department of one of the hosiery mills in such work as winding and twisting. Power sewing and cutting out knit garments, also mating and inspecting, operations usually regarded as requiring considerable experience, were reported by a number of the older girls. Some of the older as well as the younger girls did relatively simple hand operations, such as clipping and trimming threads, marking, packing, wrapping, and labeling.

Candy industry.—In the candy factories there were 514 girls, of whom an unusually large proportion (32 per cent) were under 16. Only a small number of boys (84) were in candy factories. The occupations of more than three-fifths of the girls were packing, wrapping, and labeling. Hand dipping, an occupation which requires considerable judgment, furnished employment to about one-fifth of the older girls but to few of the younger ones. The remaining girls and the boys were employed in other processes connected with the making of candy or in floor work, taking around trays of candy and supplies to and from the workers, and in other miscellaneous work.

Clothing industries.—Two hundred and ninety-seven girls, but few boys, also worked in the glove factories, in men's clothing establishments, and in millinery and hat manufacturing. Only 12 per cent of the girls in these industries were under 16. Many girls of 16 and over were engaged in various sewing operations, both hand and machine. The others in this age group and most of those under 16 did a variety of miscellaneous work, including such simple hand operations as pulling bastings, clipping threads, and carrying work to the operatives.

Paper-box industry.—Paper-box manufacturing was the only other industry in which a considerable number of girls (135), of whom 23 per cent were under 16, were employed. This industry offers a variety of simple hand work, such as closing (putting covers on boxes), nesting (stacking the covers or bottoms of boxes), pasting, gluing, and bending or folding the sides of boxes. A few girls, all of them 16 or over, were employed in machine work. Only a small number of boys were employed in this industry.

Miscellaneous manufacturing industries.—The lumber and furniture industries employed a considerable number of boys (136), especially boys of 16 years and over, in woodworking, upholstering, and other processes. A number of boys (92), chiefly those of 16 years and over, were in the printing and publishing industries. A few of these, although not legally apprenticed, were working as helpers to compositors and typesetters and may have had a chance to learn something of the printing trade. The number of girls in these industries, especially in the manufacture of furniture, was small.

Other occupational groups.—Forty-eight per cent of the boys under 16 and 41 per cent of those 16 years and older were employed in occupational groups other than manufacturing and mechanical. One of the important occupations numerically was errand and messenger work for factories, stores, and offices, occupations open primarily to juvenile workers. Twice as many of the younger as of the older boys (17 per cent and 9 per cent of the total number employed) were engaged in this type of work. A small additional proportion of both

the younger and the older boys were telegraph messengers. Another numerically important group were the boys who did clerical work (9 per cent of the boys under 16, and 15 per cent of the older boys)—work which included filing, billing, and helping in the shipping rooms. A number of the older boys but practically none of those under 16 were bookkeepers, cashiers, or typists. Small proportions of the boys in each age group were sales or stock boys, "jumpers" or helpers to drivers of trucks and wagons. Only 2 per cent of the boys (about the same percentage of the older and of the younger boys) were employed in occupations classified as domestic and personal, in laundries, restaurants, helping janitors, or running elevators; a few were employed in barber shops, where they might have had a chance of learning a trade. A few boys also were employed in blueprinting concerns and in photographic studios—work which, according to the census, was classified as professional or semiprofessional.

About 25 per cent of the girls under 16 as compared with 40 per cent of those 16 and over were in nonmanufacturing occupations. The majority of these girls were in clerical work or were employed in stores or as telephone operators. Occupations as stenographers, typists, bookkeepers, or cashiers were reported by a negligible number of the younger girls but by 353 (11 per cent) of the girls of 16 years and older. Girls under 16 were not eligible as telephone operators; 200 or 6 per cent of the girls 16 and over were engaged in this work. About the same proportion of each age group were sales, stock, transfer, or bundle girls or general clerical workers in stores. Domestic and personal service furnished employment to 6 per cent of the girls at the time of the inquiry, about the same proportion of the older and of the younger children. For the most part the girls worked in private families, but there were a few in steam laundries. Practically none were in hotels or restaurants, work which is prohibited for girls under 17 by ruling of the industrial commission. A few girls were employed in hairdressing and beauty parlors. A small number of the girls, most of whom were at least 16 years of age, worked in photographic places, as assistants in dentists' offices, or as ushers in theaters, or in other occupations classified in the professional group. On the whole, as might be expected, the girls of 16 and over appeared to have a wider range of employment in clerical and mercantile occupations than the younger girls.

Change in occupation.

Among the employed boys and girls for whom satisfactory information as to work history was obtained and who were interviewed were 619 boys and 561 girls who had reached the age of 17 at the time the inquiry was made. A comparison of the first occupations of the boys in this group with the occupations in which they were employed at the time of the study shows that some occupational change had taken place in the interval since they had entered industry, especially in the case of clerical workers and errand and messenger boys. Of the group of boys of 17 years who were under 16 when they began work, 53 per cent were employed in their first jobs as factory operatives and 47 per cent at the time of the interview. On beginning work 9 per cent of the boys and at the time of the study 20 per cent were in clerical work; 12 per cent were in errand and messenger work in their first jobs and only 4 per cent at the time of the study. The girls who began their working

lives in factories tended to leave factories for clerical and other positions when they became older, as is indicated by a comparison of the first and last occupations of the girls who were 17 years of age at the time they were interviewed and had begun work before they were 16. A larger proportion of this group were in factories when they began work than at the time of the study (69 per cent and 56 per cent, respectively), while a correspondingly smaller percentage were clerical workers and telephone operators in their first than in their last positions (22 per cent and 36 per cent, respectively).

There was apparently a much greater tendency for both boys and girls to make minor changes in occupations—that is, to change from hand work to machine work in the same kind of factory or to change from one kind of factory to another—than there was for them to go from one general type of occupation to another, as from factories into offices. Information concerning such minor changes in occupation was obtained for the group of boys and girls interviewed who were between the ages of 15 and 18 at the time of the study and who had had more than one job. Most of them (93 per cent of the boys and 86 per cent of the girls) had made some minor change in occupation. The girls who were in clerical work at the time of the study reported the least change. Twenty-five per cent of these as compared with 10 per cent of girls in factories had done the same kind of work in their first and last occupations.

Relation of school attainment to occupation.

The amount of education of the young workers was of great importance in relation to the kind of work they did. It was the boys and girls who had failed to complete the elementary grades and who had been in prevocational classes who were employed in factory work in great numbers, in both their first and last positions; individuals with more education, especially those who had high-school or commercial training, were much more likely to do clerical or mercantile work. This same influence of schooling on the kind of work has been found true in studies of young workers made in other cities. In a Cincinnati study of working children between the ages of 14 and 18, factory work occupied a larger proportion of children of both sexes from the lower than from the upper grades, and office work a much larger proportion of children from the upper than from the lower grades.³² According to the findings of the study of employed boys of 16, 17, and 18 years of age made in New York State in 1918 for the military training commission, the more education the boys had the more likely they were to go into professional, clerical, and retail business occupations and the less likely they were to go into factories.³³ A correlation between grade completed and type of occupation entered was found in an earlier bureau study made of working children under 16 in Boston and also to some extent in the case of working children under 16 in Newark and Paterson, N. J., according to the more recent study made there.³⁴ The influence of school attainment on occupation was much more marked for the Milwaukee children than for working children in these two other Children's Bureau studies, doubtless because an older group, including boys between 16 and 18, was

³² An Experimental Study of Children, p. 603.

³³ Burdge, Howard G.: Our Boys, a study of the 245,000, 16, 17, and 18 year old employed boys of the State of New York, p. 231. Military Training Commission, Bureau of Vocational Training, Albany, 1921.

³⁴ The Working Children of Boston, p. 246; The Working Children of Newark and Paterson, p. 20.

studied in Milwaukee, and in consequence a considerable number had high-school or some kind of special training.

There was a marked tendency for the boys with a low grade accomplishment to be employed in factory and other mechanical occupations. Of the boys who had not graduated from the eighth grade or had last been in prevocational classes, 60 per cent were employed as factory operatives at the date of the inquiry, as compared with only 31 per cent of the high-school boys and 23 per cent of those who had had business training. Correspondingly smaller proportions of boys from the lower grades and larger proportions of boys from high-school grades and commercial classes were employed in some kind of clerical, messenger, or store work. (Table 7.) Boys with varying amounts of education were employed to some extent in both their first and last positions in the different manufacturing industries; but those who had not completed the elementary school appeared to be less in demand in some industries than in others, at least in occupations classified as semiskilled. In the printing establishments and in factories making electrical supplies boys from prevocational classes and those with less than an eighth-grade education formed less than 23 per cent and 26 per cent, respectively, of the boys of continuation-school age at work in these industries; on the other hand, at the time of the study these boys represented 34 per cent of the boys employed in the shoe factories and 45 per cent of those employed in the metal industries.

The extent to which boys made use of training received in wood-working, machine-shop work, printing, and other courses given in the boys' technical high school is not known, as the kind of work they had done in school and the length of their training could not be learned. About the same proportions of the 281 boys who had attended this school as of all the boys attending continuation school were in the manufacturing and mechanical, clerical, and the other main industry groups in their last positions. A little over one-third of the technical high school boys who were employed as factory operatives—about the same proportion as of all the boys in this group—were in the metal, furniture, and printing industries, yet it might be supposed that in these industries they could find occupations in which they had had some instruction.

The advantage of the boys' commercial training is indicated by the fact that 32 per cent of those with such training compared with 13 per cent without commercial training were clerical workers, bookkeepers, cashiers, typists, stenographers, or other office workers, or were in other work classified as clerical, such as stock and shipping room work in factories. Ten per cent were sales or other store clerks; the remainder who were not in manufacturing and mechanical industries were mostly delivery, errand, or messenger boys.

TABLE 7.—Occupation and industry of last position and last grade completed by boys and girls employed January 31, 1925, whose work records were obtained and who were enrolled in the Milwaukee Vocational School

| Occupation and industry of last position, and sex | Boys and girls employed Jan. 31, 1925, whose work records were obtained | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|----------------------|-----------------------|--------|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|------------|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-------|-------------------------------------|--------------|
| | Total | Last grade completed | | | | | | | | | | | | | Special class (number) ¹ | Not reported |
| | | Less than eighth | | Eighth | | Ninth or higher | | Commercial | | Girls' Trade School | | Prevocational school | | | | |
| | | Number | Per cent distribution | Number | Per cent distribution | Number | Per cent distribution | Number | Per cent distribution | Number | Per cent distribution | Number | Per cent distribution | | | |
| Boys..... | 3,280 | 680 | ----- | 1,640 | ----- | 604 | ----- | 103 | ----- | ----- | ----- | 230 | ----- | 3 | 20 | |
| Industry reported..... | 3,223 | 667 | 100 | 1,614 | 100 | 595 | 100 | 102 | 100 | ----- | ----- | 222 | 100 | 3 | 20 | |
| Manufacturing and mechanical industries..... | 1,855 | 479 | 72 | 918 | 57 | 233 | 39 | 31 | 30 | ----- | ----- | 173 | 78 | 3 | 18 | |
| Semiskilled operatives..... | 1,550 | 399 | 60 | 780 | 48 | 187 | 31 | 23 | 23 | ----- | ----- | 144 | 65 | 2 | 15 | |
| Laborers..... | 111 | 31 | 5 | 49 | 3 | 13 | 2 | 1 | 1 | ----- | ----- | 16 | 7 | 1 | ----- | |
| Others..... | 190 | 47 | 7 | 87 | 5 | 33 | 6 | 7 | 7 | ----- | ----- | 13 | 6 | ----- | 3 | |
| Occupation not reported..... | 4 | 2 | (²) | 2 | (²) | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | |
| Transportation, trade, and clerical..... | 1,256 | 160 | 24 | 643 | 40 | 339 | 57 | 70 | 69 | ----- | ----- | 43 | 19 | ----- | 1 | |
| Sales and stock boys and other clerks in stores..... | 176 | 17 | 3 | 91 | 6 | 55 | 9 | 10 | 10 | ----- | ----- | 3 | 1 | ----- | ----- | |
| Telephone operators..... | 3 | 1 | (²) | 1 | (²) | ----- | ----- | 1 | 1 | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | |
| Telegraph messengers and special delivery mail carriers..... | 60 | 10 | 1 | 42 | 3 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 1 | ----- | ----- | 2 | 1 | ----- | ----- | |
| Messenger, errand, office, bundle, and cash boys..... | 325 | 39 | 6 | 167 | 10 | 89 | 15 | 18 | 18 | ----- | ----- | 12 | 5 | ----- | ----- | |
| Stenographers and typists..... | 18 | ----- | ----- | 3 | (²) | 5 | 1 | 10 | 10 | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | |
| Bookkeepers and cashiers..... | 29 | 2 | (²) | 7 | (²) | 14 | 2 | 5 | 5 | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | 1 | |
| Other clerical..... | 387 | 43 | 6 | 191 | 12 | 126 | 21 | 17 | 17 | ----- | ----- | 10 | 5 | ----- | ----- | |
| Drivers and helpers..... | 100 | 19 | 3 | 56 | 3 | 17 | 3 | 3 | 3 | ----- | ----- | 5 | 2 | ----- | ----- | |
| Others..... | 135 | 25 | 4 | 71 | 4 | 23 | 4 | 5 | 5 | ----- | ----- | 11 | 5 | ----- | ----- | |
| Occupation not reported..... | 23 | 4 | 1 | 14 | 1 | 5 | 1 | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | |
| Domestic and personal service..... | 54 | 20 | 3 | 26 | 2 | 6 | 1 | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | 2 | 1 | ----- | ----- | |
| Professional and semiprofessional pursuits..... | 47 | 7 | 1 | 22 | 1 | 15 | 3 | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | 2 | 1 | ----- | 1 | |
| Other industries..... | 11 | 1 | (²) | 5 | (²) | 2 | (²) | 1 | 1 | ----- | ----- | 2 | 1 | ----- | ----- | |
| Industry not reported..... | 57 | 13 | ----- | 26 | ----- | 9 | ----- | 1 | ----- | ----- | ----- | 8 | ----- | ----- | ----- | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|-------|-----|------------------|-------|------------------|-----|------------------|-----|------------------|-----|------------------|----|-----|----|----|
| Girls..... | 3,814 | 670 | | 1,868 | | 402 | | 272 | | 513 | | 59 | | 10 | 20 |
| Industry reported..... | 3,779 | 661 | 100 | 1,853 | 100 | 398 | 100 | 269 | 100 | 509 | 100 | 59 | 100 | 10 | 20 |
| Manufacturing and mechanical industries..... | 2,364 | 524 | 79 | 1,333 | 72 | 107 | 27 | 38 | 14 | 294 | 58 | 46 | 78 | 8 | 14 |
| Semiskilled operatives..... | 2,340 | 520 | 79 | 1,319 | 71 | 103 | 26 | 38 | 14 | 292 | 57 | 46 | 78 | 8 | 14 |
| Laborers..... | 4 | | | 3 | (²) | 1 | (²) | | | | | | | | |
| Others..... | 20 | 4 | 1 | 11 | 1 | 3 | 1 | | | 2 | (²) | | | | |
| Occupation not reported..... | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Transportation, trade, and clerical..... | 1,151 | 78 | 12 | 389 | 21 | 268 | 67 | 224 | 83 | 181 | 36 | 6 | 10 | 1 | 4 |
| Sales and stock girls and other clerks in stores..... | 236 | 23 | 3 | 101 | 5 | 49 | 12 | 13 | 5 | 48 | 9 | 1 | 2 | | 1 |
| Telephone operators..... | 200 | 25 | 4 | 85 | 5 | 41 | 10 | 17 | 6 | 31 | 6 | 1 | 2 | | |
| Telegraph messengers and special delivery mail carriers..... | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Messenger, errand, office, bundle, and cash girls..... | 52 | 4 | 1 | 23 | 1 | 6 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 14 | 3 | 1 | 2 | | |
| Stenographers and typists..... | 265 | | | 30 | 2 | 77 | 19 | 136 | 51 | 19 | 4 | 1 | 2 | | 2 |
| Bookkeepers and cashiers..... | 99 | 3 | (²) | 39 | 2 | 28 | 7 | 12 | 4 | 16 | 3 | 1 | 2 | | |
| Other clerical..... | 263 | 15 | 2 | 97 | 5 | 62 | 16 | 40 | 15 | 48 | 9 | | | | 1 |
| Others..... | 29 | 6 | 1 | 11 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 1 | (²) | 5 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | |
| Occupation not reported..... | 7 | 2 | (²) | 3 | (²) | 1 | (²) | 1 | (²) | | | | | | |
| Domestic and personal service..... | 241 | 57 | 9 | 119 | 6 | 21 | 5 | 5 | 2 | 29 | 6 | 7 | 12 | 1 | 2 |
| Professional and semiprofessional pursuits..... | 23 | 2 | (²) | 12 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 1 | | | | |
| Other industries..... | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Industry not reported..... | 35 | 9 | | 15 | | 4 | | 3 | | 4 | | | | | |

¹ Per cent distribution not shown because number of boys and number of girls was less than 50.

² Less than 1 per cent.

Even more noticeable among the girls than among the boys was the employment in factories of those from the elementary-school grades and the employment in stores and offices of those who had had the advantage of one or more years in academic high-school or business-school training. Seventy-nine per cent of the girls with less than an eighth-grade education were employed in factories in their last positions, as compared with only 26 per cent of the girls who had finished at least one year of high school. Only 7 per cent of those who had failed to graduate from the eighth grade, as compared with 54 per cent of the high-school girls, were clerical workers or telephone operators; 4 per cent of the former and 14 per cent of the latter were employed in various capacities in stores. The occupational distribution of the eighth-grade graduates was more like that of the girls who had not graduated from elementary school than like that of girls with high-school or special training. (Table 7.) The influence of education on the girls' occupations was more evident in their occupations at the time the inquiry was made than in their first occupations, no doubt because some occupations open to the older girls were not open to younger ones with the same training.

That the girls utilized the commercial training which they had is shown by the fact that the great majority (71 per cent) with this kind of training were employed in some kind of clerical work in their last positions, 51 per cent of them as stenographers or typists. The Girls' Trade School gave commercial training as well as courses in millinery and dressmaking and instruction in domestic science. However, information was not available as to what kind of instruction the girls had had. Not quite three-fifths (57 per cent) of them, a smaller proportion than of eighth-grade graduates, were factory operatives at the time the study was made; one-fifth were engaged in typing, stenography, and other clerical work; the rest were in store work or were telephone operators or in domestic service. More than one-tenth of the employed girls had last attended trade school. The proportions of girls of continuation-school age who had had this kind of training varied from 8 per cent in paper-box factories to 15 per cent in the clothing trades exclusive of the millinery establishments. Forty-five of the 88 continuation-school girls employed in millinery and hat-making establishments had been trained at the Girls' Trade School.

The effect of education and training in the case of the girls is most striking when a study is made of the occupations which those of 17 held at the time of the inquiry. (Table 8.) For example, the proportion of girls who were employed in factories ranged from 79 per cent for those with less than an eighth-grade education to 6 per cent for those with training in commercial work; the proportion employed in clerical work ranged from 4 per cent for those with less than an eighth-grade education to 85 per cent for those with business training. Like the girls, the boys with a low grade attainment tended to go into factories, those who were eighth or ninth grade graduates into clerical occupations, or into stores or other occupations classified under the heading "Trade, transportation, or clerical."

The occupations of the 46 graduates of high schools, not included in these figures, were also significant in this connection. Only 2, 1 boy and 1 girl, were in factories; all the rest were in clerical, mercantile, or other nonfactory occupations. Seventeen of the girls were stenographers and two were teachers.

TABLE 8.—Occupation and industry of last position and last grade completed by interviewed boys and girls 17 years of age, employed January 31, 1925, who were enrolled in the Milwaukee Vocational School

| Occupation and industry of last position, and sex | Interviewed boys and girls 17 years of age | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|--|----------------------|-----------------------|--------|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|------------|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|---|-------------------------------------|--------------|
| | Total | Last grade completed | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | Less than eighth | | Eighth | | Ninth or higher | | Commercial | | Girl's Trade School | | Pre-vocational school (number) ¹ | Special class (number) ¹ | Not reported |
| | | Number | Per cent distribution | Number | Per cent distribution | Number | Per cent distribution | Number | Per cent distribution | Number | Per cent distribution | | | |
| Boys..... | 619 | 152 | ----- | 280 | ----- | 143 | ----- | 16 | ----- | ----- | ----- | 25 | 1 | 2 |
| Industry reported..... | 612 | 149 | 100 | 277 | 100 | 143 | 100 | 16 | (²) | ----- | ----- | 24 | 1 | 2 |
| Manufacturing and mechanical industries..... | 334 | 107 | 72 | 150 | 54 | 50 | 35 | 4 | ----- | ----- | ----- | 21 | 1 | 1 |
| Semiskilled operatives..... | 275 | 88 | 59 | 126 | 45 | 38 | 27 | 3 | ----- | ----- | ----- | 18 | 1 | 1 |
| Laborers..... | 13 | 6 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | 2 | ----- | ----- |
| Others..... | 45 | 13 | 9 | 20 | 7 | 10 | 7 | 1 | ----- | ----- | ----- | 1 | ----- | ----- |
| Occupation not reported..... | 1 | ----- | ----- | 1 | (³) | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| Transportation, trade, and clerical..... | 252 | 37 | 25 | 116 | 42 | 85 | 59 | 12 | ----- | ----- | ----- | 2 | ----- | ----- |
| Sales and stock boys and other clerks in stores..... | 31 | 2 | 1 | 14 | 5 | 14 | 10 | 1 | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| Messenger, errand, office, bundle, and cash boys..... | 38 | 5 | 3 | 17 | 6 | 16 | 11 | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| Other clerical workers..... | 121 | 14 | 9 | 57 | 21 | 42 | 29 | 8 | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| Telephone operators..... | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| Others..... | 60 | 16 | 11 | 26 | 9 | 13 | 9 | 3 | ----- | ----- | ----- | 2 | ----- | ----- |
| Occupation not reported..... | 2 | ----- | ----- | 2 | 1 | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| Domestic and personal service..... | 12 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 2 | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | 1 | ----- | ----- |
| Other industries..... | 14 | 1 | 1 | 7 | 3 | 5 | 3 | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | 1 |
| Industry not reported..... | 7 | 3 | ----- | 3 | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | 1 | ----- | ----- |

¹ Per cent distribution not shown because number of boys and number of girls was less than 50.

² Not shown because number of boys was less than 50.

³ Less than 1 per cent.

TABLE 8.—Occupation and industry of last position and last grade completed by interviewed boys and girls 17 years of age, employed January 31, 1925, who were enrolled in the Milwaukee Vocational School—Continued

| Occupation and industry of last position, and sex | Interviewed boys and girls 17 years of age | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--|----------------------|-----------------------|--------|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|------------|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|--------------|
| | Total | Last grade completed | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | Less than eighth | | Eighth | | Ninth or higher | | Commercial | | Girl's Trade School | | Pre-vocational school (number) | Special class (number) | Not reported |
| | | Number | Per cent distribution | Number | Per cent distribution | Number | Per cent distribution | Number | Per cent distribution | Number | Per cent distribution | | | |
| Girls..... | 561 | 103 | | 226 | | 74 | | 71 | | 79 | | 4 | | 4 |
| Industry reported..... | 557 | 101 | 100 | 225 | 100 | 73 | 100 | 71 | 100 | 79 | 100 | 4 | | 4 |
| Manufacturing and mechanical industries..... | 287 | 80 | 79 | 140 | 62 | 15 | 21 | 4 | 6 | 42 | 53 | 4 | | 2 |
| Semiskilled operatives..... | 283 | 79 | 78 | 138 | 61 | 14 | 19 | 4 | 6 | 42 | 53 | 4 | | 2 |
| Laborers..... | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Others..... | 4 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | |
| Occupation not reported..... | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Transportation, trade, and clerical..... | 242 | 15 | 15 | 73 | 32 | 56 | 77 | 66 | 93 | 31 | 39 | | | 1 |
| Sales and stock girls and other clerks in stores..... | 39 | 4 | 4 | 17 | 8 | 10 | 14 | | | 8 | 10 | | | |
| Messenger, errand, office, bundle, and cash girls..... | 3 | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | |
| Other clerical workers..... | 155 | 4 | 4 | 33 | 15 | 42 | 58 | 60 | 85 | 15 | 19 | | | 1 |
| Telephone operators..... | 40 | 5 | 5 | 21 | 9 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 7 | 7 | 9 | | | |
| Others..... | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 | (³) | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | 1 | | | |
| Occupation not reported..... | 1 | | | 1 | (³) | | | | | | | | | |
| Domestic and personal service..... | 24 | 5 | 5 | 11 | 5 | 2 | 3 | | | 5 | 6 | | | 1 |
| Other industries..... | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 | (³) | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | |
| Industry not reported..... | 4 | 2 | | 1 | | 1 | | | | | | | | |

³ Less than 1 per cent.

WAGES

First wage.

Various factors may influence the wages of young workers on beginning work, especially their ages, their occupations, and their school attainment. The earning capacity of the Milwaukee children depended at least partly on their ages. The median beginning wage for boys 14 years and under when they began work was \$9.50 a week; for boys of 15 years, \$10; and for boys of 16 years and over, \$12. The girls' median wage was \$9 for those 14 and under; \$9.50 for those of 15; and \$11, for those of 16 and over. (Table 11.)

TABLE 9.—Age at beginning regular work and first regular weekly wage of employed boys and girls whose work records were obtained and who were enrolled in the Milwaukee Vocational School

| First regular weekly wage, and sex | Employed boys and girls whose work records were obtained | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------|----------------------------------|-------------|----------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| | Total | Age at beginning regular work | | | | | | | | Age not re- ported |
| | | Under 15 years | | 15 years | | 16 years | | 17 years and over | | |
| | | Num- ber | Per cent distrib- ution | Num- ber | Per cent distrib- ution | Num- ber | Per cent distrib- ution | Num- ber | Per cent distrib- ution | |
| Boys..... | 3,869 | 1,102 | ----- | 1,685 | ----- | 945 | ----- | 80 | ----- | 57 |
| Wage reported..... | 3,519 | 1,002 | 100 | 1,537 | 100 | 860 | 100 | 74 | 100 | 46 |
| Cash wage only..... | 3,446 | 983 | 98 | 1,509 | 98 | 844 | 98 | 72 | 97 | 38 |
| Less than \$6..... | 102 | 45 | 4 | 34 | 2 | 17 | 2 | 4 | 5 | 2 |
| \$6, less than \$8..... | 554 | 234 | 23 | 252 | 16 | 55 | 6 | 6 | 8 | 7 |
| \$8, less than \$10..... | 945 | 331 | 33 | 442 | 29 | 161 | 19 | 7 | 9 | 4 |
| \$10, less than \$12..... | 831 | 222 | 22 | 372 | 24 | 219 | 25 | 10 | 14 | 8 |
| \$12, less than \$14..... | 535 | 96 | 10 | 216 | 14 | 200 | 23 | 17 | 23 | 6 |
| \$14, less than \$16..... | 283 | 31 | 3 | 123 | 8 | 107 | 12 | 16 | 22 | 6 |
| \$16, less than \$18..... | 87 | 14 | 1 | 36 | 2 | 34 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| \$18 and more..... | 109 | 10 | 1 | 34 | 2 | 51 | 6 | 11 | 15 | 3 |
| Cash plus other..... | 47 | 13 | 1 | 17 | 1 | 11 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 5 |
| Other only..... | 15 | 3 | (1) | 5 | (1) | 3 | (1) | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| No wage..... | 11 | 3 | (1) | 6 | (1) | 2 | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| Wage not reported..... | 350 | 100 | ----- | 148 | ----- | 85 | ----- | 6 | ----- | 11 |
| Girls..... | 4,480 | 1,468 | ----- | 1,808 | ----- | 1,092 | ----- | 63 | ----- | 49 |
| Wage reported..... | 4,162 | 1,357 | 100 | 1,671 | 100 | 1,031 | 100 | 60 | 100 | 43 |
| Cash wage only..... | 4,040 | 1,322 | 97 | 1,618 | 97 | 1,006 | 98 | 58 | 97 | 36 |
| Less than \$6..... | 228 | 89 | 7 | 88 | 5 | 42 | 4 | 3 | 5 | 6 |
| \$6, less than \$8..... | 904 | 380 | 28 | 370 | 22 | 142 | 14 | 5 | 8 | 7 |
| \$8, less than \$10..... | 1,254 | 478 | 35 | 557 | 33 | 216 | 21 | 2 | 3 | 1 |
| \$10, less than \$12..... | 802 | 234 | 17 | 303 | 18 | 245 | 24 | 15 | 25 | 5 |
| \$12, less than \$14..... | 599 | 102 | 8 | 210 | 13 | 254 | 25 | 22 | 37 | 11 |
| \$14, less than \$16..... | 189 | 25 | 2 | 70 | 4 | 84 | 8 | 6 | 10 | 4 |
| \$16, less than \$18..... | 49 | 10 | 1 | 16 | 1 | 17 | 2 | 5 | 8 | 1 |
| \$18 and more..... | 15 | 4 | (1) | 4 | (1) | 6 | 1 | ----- | ----- | 1 |
| Cash plus other..... | 83 | 27 | 2 | 36 | 2 | 16 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| Other only..... | 15 | 4 | (1) | 6 | (1) | 3 | (1) | ----- | ----- | 2 |
| No wage..... | 24 | 4 | (1) | 11 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| Wage not reported..... | 318 | 111 | ----- | 137 | ----- | 61 | ----- | 3 | ----- | 6 |

¹ Less than 1 per cent.

Under the Wisconsin minimum wage law the industrial commission has the power to issue orders fixing the minimum-wage rate for minors.³⁵ The rate in effect during most of the 4-year period when the minors of the present study were entering employment was 16 cents an hour for inexperienced employees in all occupations.³⁶ On the basis of a 48-hour week this would be equivalent to a wage rate of \$7.60 a week, a rate lower than the median wage of both boys and girls in this study. The great majority of the children who were paid in cash reported wages of at least \$8 a week (77 per cent of the boys and 68 per cent of the girls under 16 and 91 per cent of the boys and 82 per cent of the girls of 16 or older). The cash wages of only a small proportion were less than \$6 a week (3 per cent of the boys of all ages and 6 per cent of the girls). In addition to those who were paid entirely in cash there were 2 per cent who received some form of maintenance as part or all of their compensation. (Table 9.) It should be borne in mind that the initial wages of these Milwaukee boys and girls do not represent the wages of any one year. The children entered employment at different dates over a 4-year period, and during this period, as a result of the business depression of 1921 to 1922, there was considerable fluctuation in wages.³⁷

Wage at the time of inquiry.

The wages of the boys and girls at the time of the inquiry also depended to a large extent on their ages and to a lesser extent on the length of time they had been at work. The boys' wages varied from less than \$5 to \$36 a week; the girls' wages, from less than \$5 to \$45. The median weekly wages for the boys who were paid in cash ranged from \$9 a week for those of 14 years to \$15 for those of 18 years. As is generally the case, the girls' wages averaged less than those of boys of the same ages, the median ranging from \$8.50 for those of 14 years to \$13.50 for those of 18.

The majority of the young workers of 16 and 17 years were earning a wage higher than that set by the minimum-wage scale for experienced workers which on the basis of 20 cents an hour for a 48-hour week for minors of 16 and of 25 cents an hour for minors of 17 would be \$9.60 and \$12, respectively. (See footnote 36, below.) Sixty-four per cent of the boys of 16 and 17 years and 52 per cent of the girls of these ages received weekly wages of \$12 or more, including 19 per cent of the boys and 10 per cent of the girls whose wages were at least \$16. (Table 10.)

³⁵ Wisconsin Stat. 1927, sec. 104.01-104.12.

³⁶ Order No. 1, Revised Aug. 1, 1921. This order, which was in effect during most of the period when the children included in this study were employed, provided for the following hourly wage rates (these applied to all occupations, except for special orders for work in fruit and vegetable canneries, in which few of the minors in this study were engaged; see Minimum Wage, pp. 1, 2, bulletin of the Industrial Commission of Wisconsin, 1924.): Minors of 14 and 15 years—not less than 16 cents an hour the first year and not less than 20 cents an hour the succeeding year; minors of 16 years—not less than 16 cents an hour the first 6 months and not less than 20 cents an hour after the first 6 months; minors of 17 and 18 years—not less than 16 cents an hour the first 3 months, not less than 20 cents an hour the second 3 months, and not less than 25 cents an hour thereafter.

³⁷ For the fluctuation in wages and number of employees in Wisconsin factories see Wisconsin Labor Market, published by the Industrial Commission of Wisconsin, vol. 3, No. 11 (November, 1923), chart, p. 3.

TABLE 10.—Age and weekly wage January 31, 1925, of boys and girls employed on that date whose work records were obtained and who were enrolled in the Milwaukee Vocational School

| Boys and girls employed Jan. 31, 1925, whose work records were obtained | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-------------------|----------------|-----------------------|----------|-----------------------|----------|-----------------------|----------|-----------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| Weekly wage Jan. 31, 1925, and sex | Age Jan. 31, 1925 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Total | Under 15 years | | 15 years | | 16 years | | 17 years | | 18 years and over | |
| | | Number | Per cent distribution | Number | Per cent distribution | Number | Per cent distribution | Number | Per cent distribution | Number | Per cent distribution |
| Boys..... | 3, 280 | 94 | 528 | 1, 156 | 1, 252 | 250 | | | | | |
| Wage reported..... | 3, 168 | 89 | 100 | 507 | 100 | 1, 125 | 100 | 1, 210 | 100 | 237 | 100 |
| Cash wages only..... | 3, 104 | 88 | 99 | 494 | 97 | 1, 108 | 98 | 1, 183 | 98 | 231 | 97 |
| Less than \$6..... | 30 | 1 | 1 | 12 | 2 | 12 | 1 | 4 | (1) | 1 | (1) |
| \$6, less than \$8..... | 152 | 21 | 24 | 66 | 13 | 41 | 4 | 24 | 2 | | |
| \$8, less than \$10..... | 444 | 36 | 40 | 156 | 31 | 173 | 15 | 67 | 6 | 12 | 5 |
| \$10, less than \$12..... | 698 | 18 | 20 | 146 | 29 | 325 | 29 | 182 | 15 | 27 | 11 |
| \$12, less than \$14..... | 715 | 8 | 9 | 62 | 12 | 282 | 25 | 313 | 26 | 50 | 21 |
| \$14, less than \$16..... | 510 | 2 | 2 | 38 | 7 | 147 | 13 | 275 | 23 | 48 | 20 |
| \$16, less than \$18..... | 221 | | | 7 | 1 | 57 | 5 | 124 | 10 | 33 | 14 |
| \$18 and more..... | 334 | 2 | 2 | 7 | 1 | 71 | 6 | 194 | 16 | 60 | 25 |
| Cash plus other..... | 41 | 1 | 1 | 11 | 2 | 10 | 1 | 15 | 1 | 4 | 2 |
| Other only..... | 18 | | | 1 | (1) | 5 | (1) | 11 | 1 | 1 | (1) |
| No wage..... | 5 | | | 1 | (1) | 2 | (1) | 1 | (1) | 1 | (1) |
| Wage not reported..... | 112 | 5 | | 21 | | 31 | | 42 | | 13 | |
| Girls..... | 3, 814 | 116 | 511 | 1, 326 | 1, 528 | 333 | | | | | |
| Wage reported..... | 3, 700 | 105 | 100 | 490 | 100 | 1, 278 | 100 | 1, 501 | 100 | 326 | 100 |
| Cash wages only..... | 3, 626 | 100 | 95 | 474 | 97 | 1, 245 | 97 | 1, 485 | 99 | 322 | 99 |
| Less than \$6..... | 80 | 12 | 11 | 20 | 4 | 33 | 3 | 13 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| \$6, less than \$8..... | 309 | 29 | 28 | 124 | 25 | 110 | 9 | 43 | 3 | 3 | 1 |
| \$8, less than \$10..... | 651 | 40 | 38 | 165 | 34 | 295 | 23 | 128 | 9 | 23 | 7 |
| \$10, less than \$12..... | 862 | 13 | 12 | 92 | 19 | 345 | 27 | 357 | 24 | 55 | 17 |
| \$12, less than \$14..... | 844 | 6 | 6 | 50 | 10 | 258 | 20 | 436 | 29 | 94 | 29 |
| \$14, less than \$16..... | 540 | | | 12 | 2 | 138 | 11 | 302 | 20 | 88 | 27 |
| \$16, less than \$18..... | 205 | | | 4 | 1 | 38 | 3 | 129 | 9 | 34 | 10 |
| \$18 and more..... | 135 | | | 7 | 1 | 28 | 2 | 77 | 5 | 23 | 7 |
| Cash plus other..... | 52 | 4 | 4 | 10 | 2 | 26 | 2 | 9 | 1 | 3 | 1 |
| Other only..... | 13 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | (1) | 7 | (1) | 1 | (1) |
| No wage..... | 9 | | | 3 | 1 | 6 | (1) | | | | |
| Wage not reported..... | 114 | 11 | | 21 | | 48 | | 27 | | 7 | |

¹ Less than 1 per cent.

The importance of age as a factor in determining earnings is shown by the last wages of the boys and girls who started work at different ages but whose work histories were of the same duration. For example, the median wage of boys whose work histories were between one and two years was \$11 for boys starting work at 14 years, \$12.50 for those starting work at 15, and \$13.50 for those starting work at 16. Similarly, the median wages of the girls with work histories of between one and two years ranged from \$10.50 for those beginning work at 14 to \$12.50 for those beginning work at 16. (Table 11.)

The boys and girls who had started work between two and three years before the study were earning higher wages than those of the same ages who had just started work. The median wage in the last job of boys with a work history of between two and three years who had started work at 14 and were 16 at the time of the study was \$14 as compared with \$12, the median wage of boys starting work at 16 who had been at work less than a year. The effect of a long work history on wage is shown perhaps more clearly by the wages of the group of boys who were 17 years old at the time of the study. The boy of 17 with a work history of two or three years was likely to earn more than a boy of the same age who had just gone to work. Of the group of 17-year-old boys who were interviewed and whose work histories were of two or more years' duration, 54 per cent as compared with 39 per cent of those who had started work less than two years before the study were earning \$15 or more a week. Likewise, the girls of 17 who had been in industry two or more years reported higher wages than those of the same age group who had been in industry less than one year. However, a long work history in itself did not mean a high wage; the age of the workers appears to be the more important factor.

TABLE 11.—Median weekly cash wage in first regular position, median weekly cash wage in last regular position by length of work history, and age at beginning regular work of employed boys and girls whose work records were obtained and who were enrolled in the Milwaukee Vocational School

| Age at beginning regular work, and sex | Median wage in first regular position | Median wage ¹ in last regular position of boys and girls who had worked— | | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|---|---------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| | | Less than 1 year | 1 year, less than 2 | 2 years, less than 3 | 3 years and more |
| BOYS | | | | | |
| 14 years and under..... | \$9.50 | \$9.50 | \$11.00 | \$14.00 | \$16.50 |
| 15 years..... | 10.00 | 10.50 | 12.50 | 15.00 | ----- |
| 16 years and over..... | 12.00 | 12.00 | 13.50 | ----- | ----- |
| GIRLS | | | | | |
| 14 years and under..... | 9.00 | 8.50 | 10.50 | 12.50 | 14.00 |
| 15 years..... | 9.50 | 9.00 | 11.50 | 13.00 | ----- |
| 16 years and over..... | 11.00 | 10.50 | 12.50 | ----- | ----- |

¹ Not shown where number of children was less than 50.

Difference between first and last wage.

Most of the individuals who had been in industry at least a year had had increases in pay varying from less than \$1 to \$10 a week or more. The increases in wage were no doubt due partly to the fact that the individuals were older at the time of the study than when they started work, and partly to the length of their work experience. The median increase in the weekly wage, from the first to the last position, was between \$3 and \$4 for both boys and girls. The longer the possible work history, the greater the increase in wage. The wages of only 25 per cent of the boys who had been between one and two years in industry, but of 57 per cent of those who had been in industry two years or longer, had increased \$5 or more a week. Similarly, only 21 per cent of the girls with the shorter work histories

but 48 per cent of those with work histories of two or more years were earning as much as \$5 a week more in their last positions than at the beginning of their work histories. (Table 12.) The wages of Cincinnati boys and girls 18 years of age who had been four years in industry—that is, for a longer period than the boys and girls included in the present study—had more than doubled since they began work, according to the Cincinnati study made during the period between 1911 and 1916 before wages were affected by the war.³⁸

TABLE 12.—*Change between first and last wage and length of work history of interviewed boys and girls employed one year or more who were enrolled in the Milwaukee Vocational School*

| Change between first and last wage, and sex | Interviewed boys and girls employed 1 year or more | | | | | | | |
|---|--|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| | Total | | Length of work history | | | | | |
| | | | 1 year, less than 2 | | 2 years, less than 3 | | 3 years or more | |
| | Number | Per cent distribution | Number | Per cent distribution | Number | Per cent distribution | Number | Per cent distribution |
| Boys..... | 1, 264 | | 861 | | 366 | | 37 | |
| Change reported..... | 1, 156 | 100 | 794 | 100 | 331 | 100 | 31 | (1) |
| Increase..... | 859 | 74 | 528 | 66 | 300 | 91 | 31 | |
| Less than \$1..... | 52 | 4 | 44 | 6 | 7 | 2 | 1 | |
| \$1, less than \$2..... | 95 | 8 | 78 | 10 | 15 | 5 | 2 | |
| \$2, less than \$3..... | 109 | 9 | 84 | 11 | 24 | 7 | 1 | |
| \$3, less than \$4..... | 92 | 8 | 58 | 7 | 33 | 10 | 1 | |
| \$4, less than \$5..... | 104 | 9 | 63 | 8 | 40 | 12 | 1 | |
| \$5, less than \$10..... | 293 | 25 | 164 | 21 | 117 | 35 | 12 | |
| \$10 and more..... | 114 | 10 | 37 | 5 | 64 | 19 | 13 | |
| Decrease..... | 150 | 13 | 139 | 18 | 11 | 3 | | |
| No change..... | 147 | 13 | 127 | 16 | 20 | 6 | | |
| Change not reported..... | 108 | | 67 | | 35 | | 6 | |
| Girls..... | 1, 122 | | 647 | | 385 | | 90 | |
| Change reported..... | 1, 022 | 100 | 591 | 100 | 353 | 100 | 78 | 100 |
| Increase..... | 771 | 75 | 391 | 66 | 308 | 87 | 72 | 92 |
| Less than \$1..... | 55 | 5 | 36 | 6 | 15 | 4 | 4 | 5 |
| \$1, less than \$2..... | 86 | 8 | 59 | 10 | 25 | 7 | 2 | 3 |
| \$2, less than \$3..... | 116 | 11 | 73 | 12 | 37 | 10 | 6 | 8 |
| \$3, less than \$4..... | 99 | 10 | 57 | 10 | 38 | 11 | 4 | 5 |
| \$4, less than \$5..... | 82 | 8 | 40 | 7 | 33 | 9 | 9 | 12 |
| \$5, less than \$10..... | 258 | 25 | 110 | 19 | 119 | 34 | 29 | 37 |
| \$10 and more..... | 75 | 7 | 16 | 3 | 41 | 12 | 18 | 23 |
| Decrease..... | 114 | 11 | 90 | 15 | 20 | 6 | 4 | 5 |
| No change..... | 137 | 13 | 110 | 19 | 25 | 7 | 2 | 3 |
| Change not reported..... | 100 | | 56 | | 32 | | 12 | |

¹ Not shown because number of boys was less than 50.

Relation of occupation to wage.

There were practically no differences, in either the first or the last positions of the boys in this study, between the wages of those who worked in factories and those who worked in stores and in clerical

³⁸ An Experimental Study of Children, pp. 552, 602.

occupations (not including errand or messenger boys).³⁹ (Tables 13 and 14.) As compared with 30 per cent of the boys of the present study who were factory operatives, 32 per cent of the sales and other store clerks, and 31 per cent of the clerical workers received \$15 or more in their last positions. The wages of laborers and errand and messenger boys were somewhat lower; only 6 per cent of the errand and messenger boys (including telegraph messengers, who were seldom over 16 years of age) and 18 per cent of the laborers received as much as \$15 a week. The wages of the factory operatives varied but little in the different manufacturing industries, although wages in the electrical-supply industry appeared to be slightly higher on the whole than wages in the shoe, metal, and other manufacturing industries. A number of boys (59) received some form of maintenance as part of their compensation; in many instances these boys helped their parents in stores or in other occupations.

The similarity of wages in factory, store, and clerical occupations is clearly shown in the case of boys who were interviewed and were 17 years of age when the inquiry was made. (Table 15.) More than four-fifths of the clerical workers (other than errand boys) and about the same proportion of the factory operatives reported wages of at least \$12 in their last positions; more than one-third—about the same proportions of clerical and factory operatives—had wages of \$16 or more.

³⁹ According to figures for the wages of minors published in 1923 by the Industrial Commission of Wisconsin, the wages of minors in the mercantile establishments reporting were lower than those in factories. Wisconsin Labor Statistics, vol. 1, Nos. 5 and 6 (May and June, 1923), p. 4.

TABLE 13.—Occupation, industry, and weekly cash wage in first regular position of employed boys and girls whose work records were obtained, who reported cash wages only, and who were enrolled in the Milwaukee Vocational School

| Occupation and industry of first regular position, and sex | Employed boys and girls who reported cash wages only and whose work records were obtained | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|--|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| | Total | Weekly cash wage in first regular position | | | | | | | | | |
| | | Less than \$8 | | \$8, less than \$10 | | \$10, less than \$12 | | \$12, less than \$15 | | \$15 and more | |
| | | Number | Per cent ¹ | Number | Per cent ¹ | Number | Per cent ¹ | Number | Per cent ¹ | Number | Per cent ¹ |
| Boys..... | 3,446 | 656 | 19 | 945 | 27 | 831 | 24 | 641 | 19 | 373 | 11 |
| Industry reported..... | 3,407 | 650 | 19 | 936 | 27 | 818 | 24 | 634 | 19 | 369 | 11 |
| Manufacturing and mechanical industries..... | 2,029 | 403 | 20 | 569 | 28 | 439 | 22 | 377 | 19 | 241 | 12 |
| Semiskilled operatives..... | 1,742 | 355 | 20 | 499 | 29 | 372 | 21 | 325 | 19 | 191 | 11 |
| Candy..... | 154 | 64 | 42 | 44 | 29 | 20 | 13 | 19 | 12 | 7 | 5 |
| Clothing..... | 72 | 18 | 25 | 23 | 32 | 16 | 22 | 8 | 11 | 7 | 10 |
| Electrical equipment..... | 100 | 10 | 10 | 30 | 30 | 27 | 27 | 22 | 22 | 11 | 11 |
| Metals..... | 424 | 70 | 17 | 105 | 25 | 101 | 24 | 84 | 20 | 64 | 15 |
| Lumber and furniture..... | 111 | 22 | 20 | 35 | 32 | 25 | 23 | 15 | 14 | 14 | 13 |
| Paper box..... | 111 | 32 | 29 | 45 | 41 | 17 | 15 | 8 | 7 | 9 | 8 |
| Shoes..... | 323 | 54 | 17 | 94 | 29 | 65 | 20 | 81 | 25 | 29 | 9 |
| Textiles..... | 67 | 6 | 9 | 27 | 40 | 10 | 15 | 20 | 30 | 4 | 6 |
| Other manufacturing and mechanical industries..... | 380 | 79 | 21 | 96 | 25 | 91 | 24 | 68 | 18 | 46 | 12 |
| Laborers..... | 144 | 24 | 17 | 41 | 28 | 32 | 22 | 26 | 18 | 21 | 15 |
| Others..... | 143 | 24 | 17 | 29 | 20 | 35 | 24 | 26 | 18 | 29 | 20 |
| Transportation, trade, and clerical..... | 1,262 | 214 | 17 | 350 | 28 | 357 | 28 | 230 | 18 | 111 | 9 |
| Sales and stock boys and other clerks in stores..... | 175 | 27 | 15 | 44 | 25 | 33 | 19 | 49 | 28 | 22 | 13 |
| Telephone operators..... | 1 | | | | | | | 1 | | | |
| Telegraph messengers and special delivery mail carriers..... | 128 | 14 | 11 | 42 | 33 | 40 | 31 | 27 | 21 | 5 | 4 |
| Messenger, errand, office, bundle, and cash boys..... | 435 | 95 | 22 | 146 | 34 | 136 | 31 | 47 | 11 | 11 | 3 |
| Stenographers and typists..... | 12 | | | | | 6 | | 5 | | 1 | |
| Bookkeepers and cashiers..... | 10 | | | | | 3 | | 6 | | 1 | |
| Other clerical..... | 279 | 18 | 6 | 73 | 26 | 93 | 33 | 62 | 22 | 33 | 12 |
| Drivers and helpers..... | 76 | 21 | 28 | 17 | 22 | 16 | 21 | 10 | 13 | 12 | 16 |
| Others..... | 123 | 35 | 28 | 25 | 20 | 25 | 20 | 18 | 15 | 20 | 16 |
| Occupation not reported..... | 23 | 4 | | 3 | | 5 | | 5 | | 6 | |

¹ Not shown where number of boys and number of girls was less than 50.

TABLE 13.—Occupation, industry, and weekly cash wage in first regular position of employed boys and girls whose work records were obtained, who reported cash wages only, and who were enrolled in the Milwaukee Vocational School—Continued

| Occupation and industry of first regular position, and sex | Employed boys and girls who reported cash wages only and whose work records were obtained | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|--|----------|---------------------|----------|----------------------|----------|----------------------|----------|---------------|----------|
| | Total | Weekly cash wage in first regular position | | | | | | | | | |
| | | Less than \$8 | | \$8, less than \$10 | | \$10, less than \$12 | | \$12, less than \$15 | | \$15 and more | |
| | | Number | Per cent | Number | Per cent | Number | Per cent | Number | Per cent | Number | Per cent |
| Boys—Continued. | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Industries reported—Continued. | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Domestic and personal service..... | 70 | 20 | 29 | 14 | 20 | 14 | 20 | 16 | 23 | 6 | 9 |
| Professional and semiprofessional pursuits..... | 26 | 7 | | 1 | | 7 | | 6 | | 5 | |
| Other industries..... | 20 | 6 | | 2 | | 1 | | 5 | | 6 | |
| Industry not reported..... | 39 | 6 | | 9 | | 13 | | 7 | | 4 | |
| Girls..... | 4,040 | 1,132 | 28 | 1,254 | 31 | 802 | 20 | 685 | 17 | 167 | 4 |
| Industry reported..... | 4,002 | 1,121 | 28 | 1,240 | 31 | 794 | 20 | 682 | 17 | 165 | 4 |
| Manufacturing and mechanical industries..... | 2,754 | 748 | 27 | 1,045 | 38 | 554 | 20 | 332 | 12 | 75 | 3 |
| Semiskilled operatives..... | 2,740 | 745 | 27 | 1,042 | 38 | 550 | 20 | 328 | 12 | 75 | 3 |
| Candy..... | 780 | 281 | 36 | 330 | 42 | 128 | 16 | 36 | 5 | 5 | 1 |
| Clothing..... | 328 | 111 | 34 | 102 | 31 | 70 | 21 | 37 | 11 | 8 | 2 |
| Electrical equipment..... | 33 | 3 | | 9 | | 10 | | 8 | | 3 | |
| Metals..... | 50 | 10 | 20 | 14 | 28 | 16 | 32 | 7 | 14 | 3 | 6 |
| Lumber and furniture..... | 15 | 3 | | 5 | | 3 | | 3 | | 1 | |
| Paper box..... | 173 | 49 | 28 | 80 | 46 | 26 | 15 | 16 | 9 | 2 | 1 |
| Shoes..... | 248 | 69 | 28 | 77 | 31 | 60 | 24 | 38 | 15 | 4 | 2 |
| Textiles..... | 902 | 152 | 17 | 362 | 40 | 190 | 21 | 155 | 17 | 43 | 5 |
| Other manufacturing and mechanical industries..... | 211 | 67 | 32 | 63 | 30 | 47 | 22 | 28 | 13 | 6 | 3 |
| Laborers..... | 4 | 1 | | | | 3 | | | | | |
| Others..... | 10 | 2 | | 3 | | 1 | | 4 | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|-----|-----|----|-----|----|-----|----|-----|----|----|-----|
| Transportation, trade, and clerical..... | 963 | 159 | 17 | 155 | 16 | 227 | 24 | 333 | 35 | 89 | 9 |
| Sales and stock girls and other clerks in stores..... | 248 | 75 | 30 | 44 | 18 | 49 | 20 | 65 | 26 | 15 | 6 |
| Telephone operators..... | 106 | | | | | 14 | 13 | 73 | 69 | 19 | 18 |
| Messenger, errand, office, bundle, and cash girls..... | 66 | 19 | 29 | 27 | 41 | 14 | 21 | 5 | 8 | 1 | 2 |
| Stenographers and typists..... | 229 | 14 | 6 | 22 | 10 | 62 | 27 | 95 | 41 | 36 | 16 |
| Bookkeepers and cashiers..... | 62 | 6 | 10 | 12 | 19 | 16 | 26 | 24 | 39 | 4 | 6 |
| Other clerical..... | 222 | 38 | 17 | 42 | 19 | 65 | 29 | 63 | 28 | 14 | 6 |
| Others..... | 25 | 6 | | 5 | | 7 | | 7 | | | |
| Occupations not reported..... | 5 | 1 | | 3 | | | | 1 | | | |
| Domestic and personal service..... | 267 | 208 | 78 | 37 | 14 | 8 | 3 | 13 | 5 | 1 | (?) |
| Professional and semiprofessional pursuits..... | 18 | 6 | | 3 | | 5 | | 4 | | | |
| Industry not reported..... | 38 | 11 | | 14 | | 8 | | 3 | | 2 | |

² Less than 1 per cent.

TABLE 14.—Occupation, industry, and weekly cash wage in last position of boys and girls employed January 31, 1925, whose work records were obtained, who reported cash wages only, and who were enrolled in the Milwaukee Vocational School

| Occupation and industry of last position, and sex | Boys and girls employed Jan. 31, 1925, who reported cash wages only and whose work records were obtained | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| | Total | Weekly cash wage in last position | | | | | | | | | |
| | | Less than \$8 | | \$8, less than \$10 | | \$10, less than \$12 | | \$12, less than \$15 | | \$15 and more | |
| | | Number | Per cent ¹ | Number | Per cent ¹ | Number | Per cent ¹ | Number | Per cent ¹ | Number | Per cent ¹ |
| Boys..... | 3,104 | 182 | 6 | 444 | 14 | 698 | 22 | 903 | 29 | 877 | 28 |
| Industry reported..... | 3,073 | 182 | 6 | 438 | 14 | 690 | 22 | 894 | 29 | 869 | 28 |
| Manufacturing and mechanical industries..... | 1,784 | 106 | 6 | 246 | 14 | 360 | 20 | 531 | 30 | 541 | 30 |
| Semiskilled operatives..... | 1,506 | 82 | 5 | 207 | 14 | 307 | 20 | 461 | 31 | 449 | 30 |
| Candy..... | 82 | 10 | 12 | 8 | 10 | 19 | 23 | 25 | 30 | 20 | 24 |
| Clothing..... | 64 | 1 | 2 | 16 | 25 | 14 | 22 | 17 | 27 | 16 | 25 |
| Electrical equipment..... | 107 | 5 | 5 | 9 | 8 | 18 | 17 | 38 | 36 | 37 | 35 |
| Metals..... | 358 | 18 | 5 | 58 | 16 | 71 | 20 | 97 | 27 | 114 | 32 |
| Lumber and furniture..... | 133 | 6 | 5 | 17 | 13 | 27 | 20 | 37 | 28 | 46 | 35 |
| Paper box..... | 57 | 4 | 7 | 11 | 19 | 9 | 16 | 17 | 30 | 16 | 28 |
| Shoes..... | 319 | 19 | 6 | 42 | 13 | 60 | 19 | 97 | 30 | 101 | 32 |
| Textiles..... | 77 | 2 | 3 | 7 | 9 | 17 | 22 | 31 | 40 | 20 | 26 |
| Other manufacturing and mechanical industries..... | 309 | 17 | 6 | 39 | 13 | 72 | 23 | 102 | 33 | 79 | 26 |
| Laborers..... | 101 | 8 | 8 | 25 | 25 | 28 | 28 | 22 | 22 | 18 | 18 |
| Others..... | 177 | 16 | 9 | 14 | 8 | 25 | 14 | 48 | 27 | 74 | 42 |
| Transportation, trade, and clerical..... | 1,193 | 65 | 5 | 184 | 15 | 314 | 26 | 339 | 28 | 291 | 24 |
| Sales and stock boys and other clerks in stores..... | 161 | 8 | 5 | 18 | 11 | 33 | 20 | 50 | 31 | 52 | 32 |
| Telephone operators..... | 2 | | | | | | | 1 | | 1 | |
| Telegraph messengers and special delivery mail carriers..... | 59 | 2 | 3 | 16 | 27 | 24 | 41 | 14 | 24 | 3 | 5 |
| Messenger, errand, office, bundle, and cash boys..... | 322 | 30 | 9 | 82 | 25 | 112 | 35 | 78 | 24 | 20 | 6 |
| Stenographers and typists..... | 16 | | | | | 6 | | 2 | | 8 | |
| Bookkeepers and cashiers..... | 29 | | | | | 5 | | 11 | | 13 | |
| Other clerical..... | 381 | 6 | 2 | 42 | 11 | 89 | 23 | 131 | 34 | 113 | 30 |
| Drivers and helpers..... | 82 | 9 | 11 | 10 | 12 | 15 | 18 | 17 | 21 | 31 | 38 |
| Others..... | 123 | 8 | 7 | 13 | 11 | 26 | 21 | 32 | 26 | 44 | 36 |
| Occupation not reported..... | 18 | 2 | | 3 | | 4 | | 3 | | 6 | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|-------|-----|----|-----|----|-----|----|-------|----|-----|----|
| Domestic and personal service..... | 43 | 7 | | 6 | | 10 | | 9 | | 11 | |
| Professional and semiprofessional pursuits..... | 45 | 4 | | 2 | | 6 | | 14 | | 19 | |
| Other industries..... | 8 | | | | | | | 1 | | 7 | |
| Industry not reported..... | 31 | | | 6 | | 8 | | 9 | | 8 | |
| Girls..... | 3,626 | 389 | 11 | 651 | 18 | 862 | 24 | 1,076 | 30 | 648 | 18 |
| Industry reported..... | 3,608 | 385 | 11 | 647 | 18 | 858 | 24 | 1,072 | 30 | 646 | 18 |
| Manufacturing and mechanical industries..... | 2,299 | 230 | 10 | 525 | 23 | 615 | 27 | 587 | 26 | 342 | 15 |
| Semiskilled operatives..... | 2,279 | 229 | 10 | 524 | 23 | 611 | 27 | 581 | 25 | 334 | 15 |
| Candy..... | 491 | 80 | 16 | 154 | 31 | 150 | 31 | 82 | 17 | 25 | 5 |
| Clothing..... | 284 | 40 | 14 | 69 | 24 | 60 | 21 | 76 | 27 | 39 | 14 |
| Electrical equipment..... | 34 | | | 3 | | 10 | | 11 | | 10 | |
| Metals..... | 50 | 1 | 2 | 7 | 14 | 18 | 36 | 13 | 26 | 11 | 22 |
| Lumber and furniture..... | 15 | 1 | | 3 | | 3 | | 5 | | 3 | |
| Paper box..... | 132 | 16 | 12 | 39 | 30 | 41 | 31 | 30 | 23 | 6 | 5 |
| Shoes..... | 261 | 17 | 7 | 57 | 22 | 74 | 28 | 70 | 27 | 43 | 16 |
| Textiles..... | 838 | 57 | 7 | 151 | 18 | 194 | 23 | 248 | 30 | 188 | 22 |
| Other manufacturing and mechanical industries..... | 174 | 17 | 10 | 41 | 24 | 61 | 35 | 46 | 26 | 9 | 5 |
| Laborers..... | 4 | | | 1 | | 2 | | | | 1 | |
| Others..... | 16 | 1 | | | | 2 | | 6 | | 7 | |
| Transportation, trade, and clerical..... | 1,107 | 47 | 4 | 93 | 8 | 223 | 20 | 458 | 41 | 286 | 26 |
| Sales and stock girls and other clerks in stores..... | 207 | 27 | 13 | 27 | 13 | 51 | 25 | 79 | 38 | 23 | 11 |
| Telephone operators..... | 198 | | | 1 | 1 | 7 | 4 | 96 | 48 | 94 | 47 |
| Messenger, errand, office, bundle, and cash girls..... | 52 | 1 | 2 | 21 | 40 | 19 | 37 | 10 | 19 | 1 | 2 |
| Stenographers and typists..... | 261 | 3 | 1 | 10 | 4 | 48 | 18 | 105 | 40 | 95 | 36 |
| Bookkeepers and cashiers..... | 99 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 18 | 18 | 53 | 54 | 20 | 20 |
| Other clerical..... | 261 | 9 | 3 | 26 | 10 | 70 | 27 | 106 | 41 | 50 | 19 |
| Others..... | 25 | 4 | | 1 | | 10 | | 8 | | 2 | |
| Occupation not reported..... | 4 | | | 2 | | | | 1 | | 1 | |
| Domestic and personal service..... | 180 | 102 | 57 | 29 | 16 | 17 | 9 | 19 | 11 | 13 | 7 |
| Professional and semiprofessional pursuits..... | 22 | 6 | | | | 3 | | 8 | | 5 | |
| Industry not reported..... | 18 | 4 | | 4 | | 4 | | 4 | | 2 | |

¹ Not shown where number of boys and number of girls was less than 50.

The girls who worked in factories received lower wages than those who were in store or clerical work in both their first and their last positions. In the last positions, wages of \$12 or more were reported for 40 per cent of the factory operatives, 46 per cent of the sales and other store clerks, 65 per cent of the clerical workers, and practically all the telephone operators. Low wages were paid to girls employed in the candy and paper-box industries, approximately three-fourths of whom received less than \$12 a week. In the textile industries, which employed more of the older girls, wages were somewhat better, but in this industry also many were earning low wages, nearly one-half receiving less than \$12 a week. The girls who earned the lowest wages did housework in private families, most of them being paid less than \$10 a week. However, their wages were undoubtedly supplemented in many cases by meals or some form of maintenance, although this fact did not appear on the records from which the information was obtained.

The tendency of girls to receive better wages in clerical than in factory work is shown more clearly by the wages of the interviewed girls who were 17 years of age when the study was made. The wages of 65 per cent of the factory workers and 80 per cent of the clerical workers were \$12 or more a week. Low wages were more common in factory than in clerical work; 13 per cent of the girls of 17 in factories but only 1 per cent of those in clerical work were earning less than \$10 a week. However, about the same proportion (21 and 20 per cent, respectively) were earning \$16 and more. (Table 15.)

TABLE 15.—Occupation, industry, and weekly wage in last position of interviewed boys and girls 17 years of age employed January 31, 1925, who were enrolled in the Milwaukee Vocational School

| Occupation and industry of last position, and sex | Interviewed employed boys and girls 17 years of age | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--------------|-------------------------------|---------|-------------------|
| | Total | Weekly wage in last position | | | | | | | | No wage | Wage not reported |
| | | Less than \$10 | \$10, less than \$12 | \$12, less than \$14 | \$14, less than \$16 | \$16, less than \$18 | \$18, less than \$20 | \$20 or more | Cash plus other or other only | | |
| Boys..... | 619 | 41 | 87 | 143 | 142 | 60 | 48 | 65 | 18 | 1 | 14 |
| Manufacturing and mechanical industries..... | 334 | 25 | 38 | 74 | 79 | 34 | 27 | 42 | 8 | | 7 |
| Semiskilled operatives..... | 275 | 18 | 28 | 61 | 69 | 31 | 26 | 33 | 3 | | 6 |
| Laborers..... | 13 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 | | | 1 | 1 | | 1 |
| Others..... | 45 | 4 | 7 | 10 | 8 | 3 | 1 | 8 | 4 | | |
| Occupation not reported..... | 1 | | | 1 | | | | | | | |
| Transportation, trade, and clerical..... | 252 | 13 | 45 | 62 | 58 | 22 | 17 | 22 | 7 | 1 | 5 |
| Sales and stock boys and other clerks in stores..... | 31 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 10 | 5 | | 2 | 2 | | |
| Messenger and errand boys..... | 38 | 4 | 13 | 12 | 9 | | | | | | |
| Other clerical workers..... | 121 | 2 | 19 | 34 | 27 | 16 | 11 | 10 | | | 2 |
| Others..... | 60 | 4 | 9 | 11 | 12 | 1 | 5 | 10 | 5 | 1 | 2 |
| Occupation not reported..... | 2 | | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 |
| Domestic and personal service..... | 12 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 3 | | |
| Other industries..... | 14 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 3 | | | | 1 |
| Industry not reported..... | 7 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | | | | | | 1 |
| Girls..... | 561 | 53 | 102 | 149 | 118 | 66 | 25 | 27 | 13 | | 8 |
| Manufacturing and mechanical industries..... | 287 | 36 | 64 | 61 | 62 | 25 | 14 | 20 | 1 | | 4 |
| Semiskilled operatives..... | 283 | 35 | 63 | 61 | 61 | 24 | 14 | 20 | 1 | | 4 |
| Others..... | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | | |
| Transportation, trade, and clerical..... | 242 | 10 | 33 | 83 | 51 | 40 | 10 | 6 | 6 | | 3 |
| Sales and stock girls and other clerks in stores..... | 39 | 7 | 3 | 17 | 2 | 2 | | | 6 | | 2 |
| Telephone operators..... | 40 | | 1 | 6 | 11 | 20 | 1 | | | | 1 |
| Clerical workers..... | 158 | 2 | 29 | 59 | 36 | 18 | 8 | 6 | | | 1 |
| Others..... | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | |
| Occupation not reported..... | 1 | | | 1 | | | | | | | |
| Domestic and personal service..... | 24 | 7 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 1 | | 6 | | |
| Other industries..... | 4 | | | 2 | 2 | | | | | | |
| Industry not reported..... | 4 | | 1 | 1 | | | | 1 | | | 1 |

Relation of school attainment to wage.

There is no definite evidence that the amount of education the boys had had affected their wages during the first years of their working lives. The boys with some high-school training were older than the eighth-grade graduates when they began work, and probably, chiefly for this reason, they received somewhat better wages in both their first and last positions. Moreover, the wages of the group of boys of 17 years of age who were interviewed did not vary with their school attainment; that is, there was almost no difference in wage in the last positions between those with some high-school or commercial training and those with only the elementary schooling. Wages of less than \$12 a week were reported by 23 per cent of the ninth-grade graduates and commercial-school boys and by 28 per cent of the boys who had not completed the eighth grade or had last attended prevocational classes. Wages of \$16 or more a week were reported by 25 per cent of those who had completed the ninth grade and the same percentage of the boys from a grade lower than the eighth. (Table 16.) The wages of all but 2 of the 20 boys who had graduated from high school were at least \$16; 2 of them were earning as much as \$30 a week.

TABLE 16.—*Last grade completed and weekly cash wage in last position of interviewed boys and girls, 17 years of age, employed January 31, 1925, receiving cash wage only who were enrolled in the Milwaukee Vocational School*

| Weekly cash wage in last position, and sex | Boys and girls 17 years of age employed Jan. 31, 1925 | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|----------------------|--------|------------------|------------|---------------------|---------------|-------|--------------|
| | Total | Last grade completed | | | | | | | |
| | | Less than eighth | Eighth | Ninth and higher | Commercial | Girls' Trade School | Prevocational | Other | Not reported |
| Boys..... | 586 | 145 | 264 | 135 | 14 | | 25 | 1 | 2 |
| Less than \$10..... | 41 | 13 | 15 | 11 | | | 2 | | |
| \$10, less than \$12..... | 87 | 28 | 31 | 21 | 3 | | 4 | | |
| \$12, less than \$14..... | 143 | 27 | 76 | 31 | 2 | | 5 | | 1 |
| \$14, less than \$16..... | 142 | 40 | 54 | 38 | 2 | | 7 | 1 | 1 |
| \$16, less than \$18..... | 60 | 8 | 33 | 16 | 2 | | 1 | | |
| \$18, less than \$20..... | 48 | 13 | 22 | 8 | 3 | | 2 | | |
| \$20 and more..... | 65 | 16 | 33 | 10 | 2 | | 4 | | |
| Girls..... | 540 | 100 | 212 | 71 | 71 | 79 | 4 | | 3 |
| Less than \$10..... | 53 | 17 | 19 | 4 | | 8 | 3 | | 2 |
| \$10, less than \$12..... | 102 | 26 | 36 | 11 | 10 | 17 | 1 | | 1 |
| \$12, less than \$14..... | 149 | 11 | 64 | 23 | 22 | 29 | | | |
| \$14, less than \$16..... | 118 | 28 | 40 | 17 | 22 | 11 | | | |
| \$16, less than \$18..... | 66 | 10 | 30 | 9 | 11 | 6 | | | |
| \$18, less than \$20..... | 25 | 4 | 9 | 5 | 3 | 4 | | | |
| \$20 and more..... | 27 | 4 | 14 | 2 | 3 | 4 | | | |

The girls' wages, on the contrary, appear to have been materially affected by their school attainment. There was a considerable difference between both the beginning and the last wages of girls from the ninth and higher grades and from commercial schools and those of girls from the elementary grades and the trade school. No doubt this was partly due to the fact that the girls who had attended high schools were older when they began work than were the eighth-grade graduates. The better earning capacity of the girls with the higher

school attainment is shown conclusively by the wages of the girls who were 17 years of age at the time they were interviewed. (Table 16.) Only 3 per cent of the ninth-grade and commercial-class girls, as compared with 14 per cent of those who had not graduated from the eighth grade or who had been in trade school, reported wages of less than \$10 in their last positions. The wages of 82 per cent of the girls from the higher grades, as compared with 57 per cent of those from grades lower than the eighth, were \$12 weekly. The wages of the eighth-grade graduates were higher than those of girls who had failed to graduate, but not so high as those of girls who had been to high school. Eighteen of the 26 girls who had graduated from high school were earning between \$15 and \$25 a week at the time they were interviewed or in their last positions.

The explanation of the difference in the effect of school accomplishment on the wages of girls and boys lies no doubt in the difference in the wages paid the two sexes for factory and for store or clerical work. Both boys and girls with some high-school and commercial training tended to go into clerical and store work, but the wages for boys in offices and stores were no better than in factories, whereas for girls wages in offices and stores tended to be higher than in factories. If inquiry could be made 5 or 10 years after all the boys and girls had started work, the relation of educational advantages to wages might be more evident in the case of boys as well as girls.

The evidence brought out in other studies concerning the advantage of educational attainment in the matter of wages is conflicting. In Newark completion of the eighth or a higher grade meant a somewhat better wage than was received by children with a lower school accomplishment.⁴⁰ In Cincinnati there was no relation between wages and school attainment during the first four years of a child's working life; boys and girls in that study who had completed only the fifth grade at 14 had as good an earning capacity as those who had completed the eighth grade. The Cincinnati study, however, did not include children who had gone further than the eighth grade. In Cincinnati it was found that wages paid boys who went into office work were but slightly better than those for factory work. For girls wages in stores and offices were somewhat less than in factories. Children from the upper grades in Cincinnati as well as in Milwaukee tended to enter stores and offices rather than factories.⁴¹

REGULARITY OF EMPLOYMENT

The regularity of a child's employment is affected, of course, not only by his own temperament and desires but by circumstances over which he has no control, such as a general industrial depression or seasonal employment. It should be remembered that some individuals in the present study had begun work as early as 1921 and may have been affected by the unemployment situation in Wisconsin caused by the industrial depression of 1921-22. Information concerning the amount of time unemployed, the duration of positions and number of changes was obtained through interviews for 1,937 of the boys and 1,676 of the girls included in the study.

⁴⁰The Working Children of Newark and Paterson, p. 32.

⁴¹An Experimental Study of Children, pp. 602-603, 735.

Length of work history.

The median length of the possible work history for the interviewed group—that is, the period between the date of beginning work and the date of the inquiry—was between 15 and 18 months for the boys and between 18 and 21 months for the girls, or about the same as for the group which was not interviewed. The length of the possible work histories of about one-third was less than one year for both boys and girls, and a very small proportion (2 per cent of the boys and 5 per cent of the girls) had possible work histories of three or more years. The work histories of the boys and girls who were 16 and 17 years of age at the time of the study were naturally longer than those of the younger children, but a considerable proportion of these, too, who had not begun work until they were 16, had work histories of less than a year. (Table 17.)

TABLE 17.—Length of work history and age January 31, 1925, of interviewed employed boys and girls who were enrolled in the Milwaukee Vocational School

| Length of work history, and sex | Interviewed employed boys and girls | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|---|----------|-------------------------------|----------|-------------------------------|----------|-------------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|
| | Total | | Age Jan. 31, 1925 | | | | | | | | |
| | | | Under 15 years (num- ber) ¹ | 15 years | | 16 years | | 17 years | | 18 years and over | |
| | Number | Per cent distribu- tion | | Number | Per cent distribu- tion | Number | Per cent distribu- tion | Number | Per cent distribu- tion | Number | Per cent distribu- tion |
| Boys..... | 1,937 | | 37 | 299 | | 717 | | 777 | | 107 | |
| Length of work history reported..... | 1,909 | 100 | 36 | 293 | 100 | 713 | 100 | 760 | 100 | 107 | 100 |
| Less than 3 months..... | 84 | 4 | 8 | 25 | 9 | 42 | 6 | 9 | 1 | | |
| 3 months, less than 6..... | 264 | 14 | 19 | 86 | 29 | 126 | 18 | 31 | 4 | 2 | 2 |
| 6 months, less than 9..... | 135 | 7 | 4 | 40 | 14 | 62 | 9 | 28 | 4 | 1 | 1 |
| 9 months, less than 12..... | 162 | 8 | 4 | 40 | 14 | 89 | 12 | 27 | 4 | 2 | 2 |
| 12 months, less than 18..... | 326 | 17 | 1 | 55 | 19 | 129 | 18 | 132 | 17 | 9 | 8 |
| 18 months, less than 24..... | 535 | 28 | | 47 | 16 | 197 | 28 | 266 | 35 | 25 | 23 |
| 24 months, less than 36..... | 366 | 19 | | | | 68 | 10 | 243 | 32 | 55 | 51 |
| 36 months, less than 48..... | 35 | 2 | | | | | | 24 | 3 | 11 | 10 |
| 48 months and more..... | 2 | (?) | | | | | | | | 2 | 2 |
| Length of work history not reported..... | 28 | | 1 | 6 | | 4 | | 17 | | | |
| Girls..... | 1,676 | | 33 | 211 | | 655 | | 672 | | 105 | |
| Length of work history reported..... | 1,664 | 100 | 33 | 208 | 100 | 654 | 100 | 666 | 100 | 103 | 100 |
| Less than 3 months..... | 83 | 5 | 12 | 22 | 11 | 41 | 6 | 8 | 1 | | |
| 3 months, less than 6..... | 219 | 13 | 14 | 76 | 37 | 104 | 16 | 24 | 4 | 1 | 1 |
| 6 months, less than 9..... | 136 | 8 | 6 | 36 | 17 | 69 | 11 | 25 | 4 | | |
| 9 months, less than 12..... | 104 | 6 | 1 | 13 | 6 | 60 | 9 | 30 | 5 | | |
| 12 months, less than 18..... | 230 | 14 | | 38 | 18 | 82 | 13 | 102 | 15 | 8 | 8 |
| 18 months, less than 24..... | 417 | 25 | | 22 | 11 | 203 | 31 | 173 | 26 | 19 | 18 |
| 24 months, less than 36..... | 385 | 23 | | 1 | (?) | 95 | 15 | 237 | 36 | 52 | 50 |
| 36 months, less than 48..... | 84 | 5 | | | | | | 67 | 10 | 17 | 17 |
| 48 months and more..... | 6 | (?) | | | | | | | | 6 | 6 |
| Length of work history not reported..... | 12 | | | 3 | | 1 | | 6 | | 2 | |

¹ Per cent distribution not shown because number of boys and number of girls was less than 50.

² Less than 1 per cent.

Unemployment.

The great majority of the individuals of the present study were actually employed on the date the study was made (the last week of January, 1925). About one-fifth, however, were temporarily out of work. It is probable that the number unemployed in January was somewhat larger than it would have been at some other time of the year since the total number of persons at work in Milwaukee manufacturing industries in January, 1925, was smaller than in the other months of the same year.⁴² Many of those unemployed at the time of the study had not been out of work for more than one or two months; about 3 per cent of the total number had been unemployed for six months or more.

That young workers have but little unemployment during the first years of their work experience has been indicated in several recent studies as well as in earlier studies of employed children in various cities. Working children of Newark and Paterson, N. J., according to the Children's Bureau study made in 1925, had been employed for most of the first year or two of their working lives. This is true of employed children in New Britain and Norwich, Conn., as is shown in a study made by the National Child Labor Committee in 1928. The New York State Department of Education found that boys attending continuation schools in 1926 were employed most of the time but that this was not true of the girls. Earlier studies also, both the one made in Connecticut and that made in Boston, show but little unemployment among either boys or girls. The study of Cincinnati children begun in 1911 is especially significant in this connection because it covered the first four years of the child's working life, a longer period than that included in any of the other studies mentioned. Three-fourths of the Cincinnati children were found to have been employed in each of the four years for 50 or more weeks out of the 52.⁴³ The present study of employed Milwaukee minors confirms the conclusion that both boys and girls who leave school before they are 16 are employed during the greater part of the first years of their working lives.

For the boys and girls with work histories of a year or more, the great majority of whom were at least 16 years of age at the time they were interviewed, the percentage of time they had been out of work was calculated. Children who had a work history of less than a year were not included in this calculation because many of them had such short work histories that they had little chance to be unemployed. Sixty-three per cent of both the boys and the girls for whom the information was obtained had been unemployed less than one-tenth of their work histories. Only a small proportion (8 per cent of the boys and 11 per cent of the girls) had been unemployed for one-half or more of the time they might have worked. (Table 18.)

Because Milwaukee boys and girls were somewhat older and had longer work histories than young workers in other studies made by the Children's Bureau, the information with regard to unemployment in the different studies is not exactly comparable. Nevertheless, the

⁴² Wisconsin Labor Market, vol. 6, No. 11 (November, 1926), p. 1.

⁴³ The Working Children of Newark and Paterson, p. 37; Child Workers in Two Connecticut Towns, p. 33; Statements of New York State Department of Education released Feb. 18, 1929 (boys), and July 8, 1929 (girls); The Working Children of Boston, p. 191; Industrial Instability of Child Workers, p. 34; An Experimental Study of Children, p. 55

proportion that had been out of work one-fifth or more of the time was almost the same in Milwaukee and in Newark for children who had gone to work before they were 16 and whose work histories were from one to two years. This percentage was 24 for Newark and 29 for Milwaukee. However, very short periods of unemployment were more common and very long periods of unemployment somewhat less common in Newark than in Milwaukee.⁴⁴

Unlike many State child labor laws, the Wisconsin law does not require that children under 16 at work on employment certificates shall attend school on full time when they are temporarily unemployed. No doubt this is one explanation of the fact that some children were unemployed and out of school not only for a large percentage of their work histories but for considerable periods of time between positions. About 10 per cent of the Milwaukee minors—almost the same percentage of boys and of girls—had been out of work as long as six months at a time between positions.

The girls in Milwaukee reported little if any more unemployment than the boys.⁴⁵ In Newark it was found that there was little difference between boys and girls in the matter of unemployed time. In Boston and likewise in Cincinnati, however, girls were found to have considerably more unemployment than boys. A great deal more unemployment for girls than for boys, among the children attending continuation schools, was reported by the New York State Department of Education.⁴⁶

The study of employed children between 14 and 18 in Cincinnati, all of whom had a work history of at least four years, showed a striking increase in steadiness of employment from year to year.⁴⁷ In the study of Connecticut children under 16 who had work histories of less than two years it was also found that unemployment decreased as the children remained longer in industry.⁴⁸ Among the Milwaukee boys and girls who were interviewed there was the same tendency for those who had longer work histories to have relatively less unemployment than those with shorter work histories. For example, 22 per cent of the boys with a work history of between one and two years as compared with 12 per cent of those with a work history of two or more years had been out of work for 30 per cent of the time, a difference in percentages large enough to be significant. Likewise 23 per cent of the girls with the shorter work histories as compared with 14 per cent of those with work histories of two years or longer had been unemployed 30 per cent or more of the time. (Table 18.)

⁴⁴ *The Working Children of Newark and Paterson*, p. 37.

⁴⁵ However, the number of girls who were enrolled at the vocational school but had never been employed exceeded that of boys. (See p. 64.) These minors are not included in any of the above figures.

⁴⁶ *The Working Children of Newark and Paterson*, p. 36; *The Working Children of Boston*, p. 191; *An Experimental Study of Children*, p. 603; statement of New York State Department of Education released July 8, 1929.

⁴⁷ The proportion of children who were employed 52 weeks each year was 56 per cent the first year, 64 per cent the second year, and 77 per cent the third year. The children were employed somewhat less steadily the fourth year than the third, but according to the report this was probably because of disturbed industrial conditions. *An Experimental Study of Children*, p. 559.

⁴⁸ *Industrial Instability of Child Workers*, p. 31.

TABLE 18.—Length of work history and percentage of time unemployed of interviewed boys and girls employed one year or more who were enrolled in the Milwaukee Vocational School

| Percentage of time unemployed, and sex | Interviewed boys and girls employed one year or more | | | | | | | |
|--|--|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|------------------|-----------------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| | Total | | Length of work history | | | | | |
| | | | 1 year, under 2 | | 2 years, under 3 | | 3 years and over | |
| | Number | Per cent distribution | Number | Per cent distribution | Number | Per cent distribution | Number | Per cent distribution |
| Boys..... | 1, 264 | | 861 | | 366 | | 37 | |
| Unemployment reported..... | 941 | 100 | 648 | 100 | 264 | 100 | 29 | (1) |
| None..... | 288 | 31 | 207 | 32 | 78 | 30 | 3 | |
| Less than 5 per cent..... | 197 | 21 | 115 | 18 | 71 | 27 | 11 | |
| 5 per cent, less than 10..... | 105 | 11 | 75 | 12 | 25 | 9 | 5 | |
| 10 per cent, less than 20..... | 109 | 12 | 70 | 11 | 35 | 13 | 4 | |
| 20 per cent, less than 30..... | 64 | 7 | 38 | 6 | 23 | 9 | 3 | |
| 30 per cent, less than 40..... | 57 | 6 | 40 | 6 | 17 | 6 | | |
| 40 per cent, less than 50..... | 42 | 4 | 34 | 5 | 6 | 2 | 2 | |
| 50 per cent and more..... | 79 | 8 | 69 | 11 | 9 | 3 | 1 | |
| Unemployment not reported..... | 323 | | 213 | | 102 | | 8 | |
| Girls..... | 1, 122 | | 647 | | 385 | | 90 | |
| Unemployment reported..... | 948 | 100 | 563 | 100 | 318 | 100 | 67 | 100 |
| None..... | 290 | 31 | 171 | 30 | 102 | 32 | 17 | 25 |
| Less than 5 per cent..... | 211 | 22 | 100 | 18 | 96 | 30 | 15 | 22 |
| 5 per cent, less than 10..... | 94 | 10 | 55 | 10 | 25 | 8 | 14 | 21 |
| 10 per cent, less than 20..... | 110 | 12 | 65 | 12 | 33 | 10 | 12 | 18 |
| 20 per cent, less than 30..... | 58 | 6 | 40 | 7 | 15 | 5 | 3 | 4 |
| 30 per cent, less than 40..... | 52 | 5 | 37 | 7 | 14 | 4 | 1 | 1 |
| 40 per cent, less than 50..... | 27 | 3 | 15 | 3 | 12 | 4 | | |
| 50 per cent and more..... | 106 | 11 | 80 | 14 | 21 | 7 | 5 | 7 |
| Unemployment not reported..... | 174 | | 84 | | 67 | | 23 | |

¹ Not shown because number of boys was less than 50.

The age at which the children began work was found to have no relation to the amount of their unemployment, provided the length of their work histories is taken into consideration. The children with work histories of the same lengths who started work at 14, 15, and 16 years of age had about the same percentages of unemployment.

The boys with the higher school attainment tended to have less unemployment than boys from the lower school grades; the school attainment of the girls did not appear to be related to the amount of their unemployment. Among the boys 52 per cent of those with less than an eighth-grade education, 67 per cent of those who had graduated from the eighth grade, and 70 per cent of those who had finished one or more years of high school or had had commercial-school training had been out of work less than one-tenth of their possible work histories. Correspondingly smaller proportions of those from the upper than from the lower grades had been unemployed for long periods. (Table 19.) The girls, however, who had graduated from the eighth grade or from high-school grades or had had commercial-school training appeared to have about as much unemployment as those who had failed to graduate from elementary school. Perhaps this was because girls from high schools and commercial schools

entered clerical and store occupations and girls from the lower grades entered factories where the demand for their work was greater than in offices and stores. Since the graduates of high school all had work histories of less than one year their experience is not significant in this connection.

TABLE 19.—Percentage of time unemployed and last grade completed by interviewed boys and girls employed one year or more who were enrolled in the Milwaukee Vocational School

| Last grade completed, and sex | Interviewed boys and girls employed 1 year or more | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|--|-------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|--------------|-----------------------|
| | Total | Percentage of time unemployed | | | | | | | | | | Not reported | |
| | | Total reported | Less than 5 per cent | | 5 per cent, less than 10 | | 10 per cent, less than 20 | | 20 per cent, less than 30 | | 30 per cent and more | | |
| | | | Number | Per cent ¹ | Number | Per cent ¹ | Number | Per cent ¹ | Number | Per cent ¹ | Number | | Per cent ¹ |
| Boys..... | 1,264 | 941 | 485 | 52 | 105 | 11 | 109 | 12 | 64 | 7 | 178 | 19 | 323 |
| Less than eighth..... | 344 | 251 | 103 | 41 | 27 | 11 | 27 | 11 | 22 | 9 | 72 | 29 | 93 |
| Eighth..... | 649 | 489 | 269 | 55 | 57 | 12 | 66 | 13 | 30 | 6 | 67 | 14 | 160 |
| Ninth or higher..... | 168 | 128 | 74 | 58 | 15 | 12 | 10 | 8 | 5 | 4 | 24 | 19 | 40 |
| Commercial..... | 36 | 24 | 16 | ----- | 2 | ----- | 1 | ----- | 1 | ----- | 4 | ----- | 12 |
| Prevocational..... | 61 | 45 | 21 | ----- | 4 | ----- | 4 | ----- | 6 | ----- | 10 | ----- | 16 |
| Other..... | 2 | 1 | 1 | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | 1 |
| Not reported..... | 4 | 3 | 1 | ----- | ----- | ----- | 1 | ----- | ----- | ----- | 1 | ----- | 1 |
| Girls..... | 1,122 | 948 | 501 | 53 | 94 | 10 | 110 | 12 | 58 | 6 | 185 | 20 | 174 |
| Less than eighth..... | 212 | 183 | 89 | 49 | 19 | 10 | 26 | 14 | 9 | 5 | 40 | 22 | 29 |
| Eighth..... | 542 | 466 | 258 | 55 | 44 | 9 | 56 | 12 | 28 | 6 | 80 | 17 | 76 |
| Ninth or higher..... | 110 | 88 | 42 | 48 | 8 | 9 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 7 | 27 | 31 | 22 |
| Commercial..... | 104 | 85 | 46 | 54 | 9 | 11 | 11 | 13 | 4 | 5 | 15 | 18 | 19 |
| Trade school..... | 141 | 117 | 64 | 55 | 13 | 11 | 12 | 10 | 8 | 7 | 20 | 17 | 24 |
| Prevocational..... | 3 | 3 | 1 | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | 3 | ----- | 2 | ----- | 4 |
| Not reported..... | 10 | 6 | 1 | ----- | 1 | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | 1 | ----- | 4 |

¹ Not shown where number of boys and number of girls was less than 50.

School attainment has been found to be related to unemployment in several other studies, children from the upper grades having a somewhat better record with regard to unemployment during their first years at work than those from the lower grades. According to the Cincinnati study there was less unemployment among both boys and girls who had completed the eighth grade than among those who had completed only the fifth grade. The Newark study also showed that there was somewhat less unemployment among the boys who had completed the eighth grade than among those from the lower grades.⁴⁹

It might be expected that unemployment would have a detrimental effect on wages, but there was no marked relation between wages and unemployment, possibly because the number of individuals who had been unemployed for a great deal of time was small and a little unemployment would not be likely to affect wages. Among the boys there was no association of unemployment with low wages; neither did unemployment affect the extent to which wages had increased since the boys started work. Among the girls, however, there was a slight indication that those who earned very low wages and those who re-

⁴⁹ An Experimental Study of Children, p. 602; The Working Children of Newark and Paterson, p. 38.

ceived the smaller wage increases since starting work had had more unemployment than those whose wages were higher. For example, 25 per cent of the girls who received less than \$10 in their last positions, as compared with only 11 per cent of those who earned between \$10 and \$12 a week and 9 per cent of those who received \$12 and more a week, had been out of work for the relatively large proportion of 30 per cent or more of their work histories.

Duration of first position.

At the time of the inquiry the first positions of most of the individuals who were interviewed were ended; only 19 per cent, about the same proportion of boys and of girls, were still working for their first employer.⁵⁰ In Milwaukee, as in other cities where the employment of young workers has been studied, most of the boys and girls had held their first positions but a short time. Sixty-two per cent of the boys whose first positions were ended and 59 per cent of the girls had kept them for less than three months; 27 per cent of the boys and 23 per cent of the girls, less than one month. A considerable proportion, however (20 per cent of the boys and 22 per cent of the girls), had kept their first positions for six months or longer. (Table 20.)

The Milwaukee children who went to work before they were 16 kept their first positions, which had terminated by the date of the inquiry, an even shorter time than children who went to work at the same ages in Newark, N. J. According to the Children's Bureau study made there, 48 per cent of both boys and girls as compared with 60 per cent of the boys and 56 per cent of the girls of Milwaukee stayed in their first positions less than three months. The duration of the first positions of working children of Boston, all of whom had likewise started work before they were 16, was somewhat similar to the duration of the first positions of Milwaukee children, the positions of 49 per cent of the boys and 60 per cent of the girls in Boston having lasted less than three months. Little difference in the duration of the first positions of boys and girls was found either in Milwaukee or in Newark; in Boston, however, the girls kept their positions a shorter time than the boys.⁵¹

No conclusions, however, could be reached in this study as to whether or not children who began work before they were 16 kept their first positions a longer or a shorter time than those who began work when they were older. A smaller proportion of the Milwaukee children who started work before they were 16 than of those who began after they had reached this age were still employed in their first positions at the time the study was made (14 per cent as compared with 33 per cent). This comparison, of course, must be considered in the light of the fact that the children who were under 16 on starting work had had a longer opportunity to work than the children who were 16 and 17 years old on beginning work.

⁵⁰ The duration of a position is defined as the length of time the child stayed with 1 employer irrespective of the number of different occupations in which the child was employed.

⁵¹ The Working Children of Newark and Paterson, p. 39; The Working Children of Boston, p. 361.

TABLE 20.—Age at beginning regular work and duration of first regular position of interviewed employed boys and girls who were enrolled in the Milwaukee Vocational School

| Duration of first regular position, and sex | Interviewed employed boys and girls | | | | | | | | Age not report- ed |
|--|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------|----------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| | Total | | Age at beginning regular work | | | | | | |
| | | | 14 years and under | | 15 years | | 16 years and over | | |
| | Number | Per cent distrib- ution | Number | Per cent distrib- ution | Number | Per cent distrib- ution | Number | Per cent distrib- ution | |
| Boys | 1, 937 | | 563 | | 874 | | 474 | | 26 |
| Terminated positions..... | 1, 564 | | 509 | | 718 | | 317 | | 20 |
| Duration reported..... | 1, 380 | 100 | 440 | 100 | 659 | 100 | 278 | 100 | 3 |
| Less than 2 weeks..... | 159 | 12 | 42 | 10 | 70 | 11 | 45 | 16 | 2 |
| 2 weeks, less than 1 month..... | 213 | 15 | 66 | 15 | 95 | 14 | 52 | 19 | |
| 1 month, less than 3..... | 478 | 35 | 139 | 32 | 244 | 37 | 95 | 34 | |
| 3 months, less than 6..... | 256 | 19 | 88 | 20 | 115 | 17 | 53 | 19 | |
| 6 months, less than 9..... | 110 | 8 | 32 | 7 | 63 | 10 | 15 | 5 | |
| 9 months, less than 1 year..... | 81 | 6 | 34 | 8 | 37 | 6 | 10 | 4 | |
| 1 year and more..... | 83 | 6 | 39 | 9 | 35 | 5 | 8 | 3 | 1 |
| Duration not reported..... | 184 | | 69 | | 59 | | 39 | | 17 |
| Position not terminated..... | 356 | | 51 | | 151 | | 150 | | 4 |
| Termination not reported..... | 17 | | 3 | | 5 | | 7 | | 2 |
| Girls | 1, 676 | | 576 | | 681 | | 401 | | 18 |
| Terminated positions..... | 1, 358 | | 528 | | 557 | | 261 | | 12 |
| Duration reported..... | 1, 238 | 100 | 485 | 100 | 511 | 100 | 236 | 100 | 6 |
| Less than 2 weeks..... | 135 | 11 | 56 | 12 | 45 | 9 | 30 | 13 | 4 |
| 2 weeks, less than 1 month..... | 155 | 13 | 59 | 12 | 57 | 11 | 39 | 17 | |
| 1 month, less than 3..... | 436 | 35 | 139 | 29 | 207 | 41 | 88 | 37 | 2 |
| 3 months, less than 6..... | 238 | 19 | 97 | 20 | 89 | 17 | 52 | 22 | |
| 6 months, less than 9..... | 109 | 9 | 41 | 8 | 51 | 10 | 17 | 7 | |
| 9 months, less than 1 year..... | 72 | 6 | 38 | 8 | 31 | 6 | 3 | 1 | |
| 1 year and more..... | 93 | 8 | 55 | 11 | 31 | 6 | 7 | 3 | |
| Duration not reported..... | 120 | | 43 | | 46 | | 25 | | 6 |
| Position not terminated..... | 308 | | 48 | | 123 | | 134 | | 3 |
| Termination not reported..... | 10 | | | | 1 | | 6 | | 3 |

The school attainment of the child appeared to make little difference in the length of time he kept his first position, either among the whole group of boys and girls or among those who had started work when under 16 and had in most cases left their first positions before the date of the study. Among boys who went to work before they were 16 and whose first positions were terminated, 63 per cent of those with less than an eighth-grade education and 55 per cent of those who had had some high-school or commercial training had stayed with their first employer less than three months. Correspondingly smaller proportions of those from the lower than from the upper grades had kept their first positions six months or more, but statistical analysis shows that the differences in proportions are not large enough to be conclusive. There was no relation between the last grade completed by the girls who went to work under 16 and the duration of their first positions. (Table 21.)

TABLE 21.—Duration of first terminated regular position and last grade completed by interviewed employed boys and girls beginning work under 16 years of age who were enrolled in the Milwaukee Vocational School

| Duration of first terminated regular position, and sex | Employed boys and girls beginning regular work under 16 years of age | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--|----------------------|-----------------------|--------|-----------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|------------|-----------------------|--------------|-----------------------|--------|--------------|-----------------------|
| | Total | Last grade completed | | | | | | | | | | | Not reported | |
| | | Less than eighth | | Eighth | | Ninth, tenth, and eleventh | | Commercial | | Trade school | | Other | | |
| | | Number | Per cent distribution | Number | Per cent distribution | Number | Per cent distribution | Number | Per cent distribution | Number | Per cent distribution | Number | | Per cent distribution |
| Boys..... | 1,437 | 356 | | 797 | | 146 | | 39 | | | | 95 | | 4 |
| Terminated positions..... | 1,227 | 302 | | 698 | | 114 | | 35 | | | | 75 | | 3 |
| Duration reported..... | 1,099 | 277 | 100 | 619 | 100 | 97 | 100 | 32 | (1) | | | 71 | 100 | 3 |
| Less than 1 month..... | 273 | 83 | 30 | 148 | 24 | 21 | 22 | 5 | | | | 15 | 21 | 1 |
| 1 month, less than 3..... | 383 | 92 | 33 | 212 | 34 | 36 | 37 | 9 | | | | 34 | 48 | 1 |
| 3 months, less than 6..... | 203 | 54 | 19 | 115 | 19 | 16 | 16 | 5 | | | | 12 | 17 | 1 |
| 6 months, less than 1 year..... | 166 | 38 | 14 | 92 | 15 | 15 | 15 | 11 | | | | 9 | 13 | 1 |
| 1 year and more..... | 74 | 10 | 4 | 52 | 8 | 9 | 9 | 2 | | | | 1 | 1 | |
| Duration not reported..... | 128 | 25 | | 79 | | 17 | | 3 | | | | 4 | | |
| Position not terminated..... | 202 | 52 | | 95 | | 32 | | 4 | | | | 18 | | 1 |
| Termination not reported..... | 8 | 2 | | 4 | | | | | | | | 2 | | |
| Girls..... | 1,257 | 219 | | 681 | | 87 | | 104 | | 150 | | 14 | | 2 |
| Terminated positions..... | 1,085 | 202 | | 583 | | 72 | | 94 | | 126 | | 6 | | 2 |
| Duration reported..... | 996 | 188 | 100 | 542 | 100 | 64 | 100 | 84 | 100 | 112 | 100 | 6 | (1) | |
| Less than 1 month..... | 217 | 43 | 23 | 123 | 23 | 16 | 25 | 15 | 18 | 17 | 15 | 3 | | |
| 1 month, less than 3..... | 346 | 66 | 35 | 177 | 33 | 25 | 39 | 24 | 29 | 51 | 46 | 3 | | |
| 3 months, less than 6..... | 186 | 37 | 20 | 104 | 19 | 11 | 17 | 22 | 26 | 12 | 11 | | | |
| 6 months, less than 1 year..... | 161 | 28 | 15 | 86 | 16 | 10 | 16 | 19 | 23 | 18 | 16 | | | |
| 1 year and more..... | 86 | 14 | 7 | 52 | 10 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 14 | 13 | | | |
| Duration not reported..... | 89 | 14 | | 41 | | 8 | | 10 | | 14 | | | | 2 |
| Position not terminated..... | 171 | 17 | | 98 | | 15 | | 10 | | 23 | | 8 | | |
| Termination not reported..... | 1 | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | |

¹ Not shown because number was less than 50.

The kind of occupations which the boys and girls entered when they first began work appeared to make but little difference in the length of time they remained with their first employers, although the duration of the first positions of the individuals in the principal occupational divisions varied slightly. The boys who entered factories as operatives tended to remain a somewhat shorter time than those who went into clerical, errand, sales, or stock work. For example, 63 per cent of the boys who were factory operatives, as compared with 51 per cent of those who did clerical, errand, sales, or stock work, kept their first positions less than three months. Eighteen per cent of those in factories as compared with 29 per cent of those in the other types of work enumerated stayed in their first positions for the relatively long periods of six or more months. Among the boys whose first positions lasted an especially short time were boys who carried messages for the telegraph companies. The girls who were factory workers remained in their first positions about the same length of time as girls who were clerical workers. Some of the girls in sales, stock, or other store work remained but a very short time; 24 of 74 reporting duration in this type of work stayed less than one month, no doubt because they had taken temporary jobs during busy weeks in department stores. Domestic workers were also inclined to hold their first positions but a short time.

Duration of last position.

After boys and girls have been some time in industry they apparently settle down to steady work in one position, to judge from the fact that the duration of the positions in which the Milwaukee children were employed at the time of the inquiry was much longer than the duration of their first terminated positions. The length of time they had been employed in their present position up to the time of the study depended largely on the length of the time they had had an opportunity to work since leaving school. A small group of boys and girls had been employed for the whole of their work history, usually a short one, in one position, and were still employed at the time of the study. There were 1,124 boys and 1,016 girls who had had two or more positions, were employed in January, 1925, and reported the duration of the positions they were holding. Of this number over half, 53 per cent of the boys and 57 per cent of the girls, had held their present positions six or more months, including 33 per cent and 39 per cent, respectively, who had been in their present positions for at least one year and were still employed.

Changes in position.

The number of times an individual changes positions is one indication of his stability or lack of stability as a worker, at least when the length of his possible work history is also taken into consideration. Several changes in positions during the first few years of a child's working life may be an indication of initiative and ability to progress, since he may change from an inferior position to another in which the wage or the chance of promotion is better. That some changing may, indeed, be desirable is indicated by the fact that the boys and girls of this study who had changed positions several times had greater increases in wages between the time of beginning work and the time of the study than those who had had but one or two positions. It is when a child changes his positions repeatedly and when the changing

is accompanied by unemployment that he should be regarded as unstable.

The number of positions which the boys and girls had held since leaving school, as might be expected, depended to a large extent on the length of time they had had an opportunity to work prior to the date of the inquiry. (Table 22.) About one-fourth of the minors who were interviewed (26 per cent of the boys and 27 per cent of the girls) had held but one position; a very few (8 boys and 2 girls) had held as many as 10 positions. For boys who had work histories of less than one year the average number of positions held was 1.6, but it was 2.9 for those with work histories of between one and two years and 3.9 for those with work histories of two or more years. For girls the average number of positions was 1.6, 2.7, and 3.4, respectively, for corresponding groups. As has been explained (p. 3), the number of positions which this group of interviewed boys and girls had held may be slightly higher than for the whole group of employed children on account of the method used in selecting the interviewed group.

TABLE 22.—Length of work history and number of positions held by interviewed employed boys and girls who were enrolled in the Milwaukee Vocational School

| Number of positions held, and sex | Interviewed employed boys and girls | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|------------------|-----------------------|------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| | Total | Length of work history | | | | | | | | Length not reported |
| | | Under 1 year | | 1 year, under 2 | | 2 years, under 3 | | 3 years and over | | |
| | | Number | Per cent distribution | Number | Per cent distribution | Number | Per cent distribution | Number | Per cent distribution | |
| Boys..... | 1,937 | 645 | 100 | 861 | 100 | 366 | 100 | 37 | (1) | 28 |
| 1..... | 501 | 341 | 53 | 123 | 14 | 28 | 8 | 1 | ----- | 8 |
| 2..... | 584 | 226 | 35 | 279 | 32 | 65 | 18 | 5 | ----- | 9 |
| 3..... | 380 | 50 | 8 | 229 | 27 | 86 | 23 | 11 | ----- | 4 |
| 4..... | 214 | 23 | 4 | 116 | 13 | 66 | 18 | 6 | ----- | 3 |
| 5..... | 122 | 2 | (2) | 60 | 7 | 51 | 14 | 5 | ----- | 4 |
| 6..... | 72 | 2 | (2) | 36 | 4 | 29 | 8 | 5 | ----- | ----- |
| 7..... | 30 | 1 | (2) | 7 | 1 | 20 | 5 | 2 | ----- | ----- |
| 8..... | 17 | ----- | ----- | 4 | (2) | 11 | 3 | 2 | ----- | ----- |
| 9..... | 9 | ----- | ----- | 2 | (2) | 7 | 2 | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| 10 or more..... | 8 | ----- | ----- | 5 | 1 | 3 | 1 | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| Girls..... | 1,676 | 542 | 100 | 647 | 100 | 385 | 100 | 90 | 100 | 12 |
| 1..... | 449 | 306 | 56 | 110 | 17 | 25 | 6 | 3 | 3 | 5 |
| 2..... | 532 | 174 | 32 | 232 | 36 | 104 | 27 | 18 | 20 | 4 |
| 3..... | 352 | 53 | 10 | 164 | 25 | 105 | 27 | 30 | 33 | ----- |
| 4..... | 178 | 7 | 1 | 80 | 12 | 72 | 19 | 17 | 19 | 2 |
| 5..... | 90 | 2 | (2) | 37 | 6 | 41 | 11 | 9 | 10 | 1 |
| 6..... | 47 | ----- | ----- | 19 | 3 | 22 | 6 | 6 | 7 | ----- |
| 7..... | 17 | ----- | ----- | 4 | 1 | 10 | 3 | 3 | 3 | ----- |
| 8..... | 5 | ----- | ----- | 1 | (2) | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | ----- |
| 9..... | 4 | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | ----- |
| 10 or more..... | 2 | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | 1 | (2) | 1 | 1 | ----- |

¹ Not shown because number of boys was less than 50.

² Less than 1 per cent.

Since the number of positions depends largely on the length of the possible work history, a classification was made in order to relate the number of positions to the number of years of possible work history. Boys and girls whose work history was less than one year in length are

excluded from the discussion of stability because many of them had started work but a few months before the inquiry was made and their experience during the first few months of work, when adjustments must often be made, would not necessarily be an indication of their stability as workers. Individuals who changed positions less often than once in each 12 months of their work history are classified in class A; those who changed positions once but not twice in each 12 months of work history are classified in class B; and those who changed positions two or more times in each 12 months are classified in class C.⁵²

The group of individuals who changed positions less often than once a year (class A)—that is, those who shifted positions relatively seldom—comprised 18 per cent of the boys and 26 per cent of the girls. The largest number of individuals were in class B, the group of those who changed positions on the average of once for each year of work history (48 per cent of the boys and 51 per cent of the girls). A considerable proportion shifted more often. (Table 23.)

TABLE 23.—Average number of positions per year during work history and length of work history for interviewed boys and girls employed 1 year or more who were enrolled in the Milwaukee Vocational School

| Average number of positions per year, and sex | Interviewed boys and girls employed 1 year or more | | | | | | |
|---|--|------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| | Total | Length of work history | | | | | |
| | | 1 year, less than 2 | | 2 years, less than 3 | | 3 years and more | |
| | | Number | Per cent distribution | Number | Per cent distribution | Number | Per cent distribution |
| Boys..... | 1,264 | 861 | 100 | 366 | 100 | 37 | (1) |
| Class A, less than 1 position..... | 233 | 123 | 14 | 93 | 25 | 17 | ----- |
| Class B, 1 position, less than 2..... | 609 | 420 | 49 | 172 | 47 | 17 | ----- |
| Class C, 2 or more positions..... | 422 | 318 | 37 | 101 | 28 | 3 | ----- |
| Girls..... | 1,122 | 647 | 100 | 385 | 100 | 90 | 100 |
| Class A, less than 1 position..... | 291 | 110 | 17 | 129 | 34 | 52 | 58 |
| Class B, 1 position, less than 2..... | 568 | 337 | 52 | 199 | 52 | 32 | 36 |
| Class C, 2 or more positions..... | 263 | 200 | 31 | 57 | 15 | 6 | 7 |

¹ Not shown because number of boys was less than 50.

The individuals who change positions seldom may not necessarily work steadily throughout their work histories, as they may hold their positions but a few weeks and be unemployed the rest of the time. On the other hand, individuals who frequently change positions may work fairly steadily, as they may begin work in their new positions immediately on ending their old positions. The Milwaukee boys and girls, however, who had seldom changed positions had, on the whole, little unemployment in comparison with those who shifted positions more frequently. Eighty-one per cent of the boys who changed positions less than once in each year (class A) but only 42 per cent of those who changed positions two or more times a year (class C) had been unemployed less than one-tenth of their possible work histories. On

⁵² A similar classification was made in *The Working Children of Boston* (see p. 194 of that study) and also in *The Working Children of Newark and Paterson* (p. 40 of that study).

the other hand, 11 per cent of the boys who seldom changed positions (class A) as compared with 32 per cent of those who changed positions frequently (class C) had been out of work 30 per cent or more of the time. Among the girls there was also a marked association of unemployment and shifting of positions. (Table 24.)

TABLE 24.—Average number of positions per year during work history and percentage of time unemployed for interviewed boys and girls employed one year or more who were enrolled in the Milwaukee Vocational School

| Average number of positions per year, and sex | Interviewed boys and girls employed 1 year or more | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|--|-------------------------------|-------------|----------|-----------------|----------|------------------|----------|------------------|----------|------------|--------------|----------|
| | Total | Percentage of time unemployed | | | | | | | | | | Not reported | |
| | | Total reported | Less than 5 | | 5, less than 10 | | 10, less than 20 | | 20, less than 30 | | 30 or more | | |
| | | | Number | Per cent | Number | Per cent | Number | Per cent | Number | Per cent | Number | | Per cent |
| Boys..... | 1,264 | 941 | 485 | 52 | 105 | 11 | 109 | 12 | 64 | 7 | 178 | 19 | 323 |
| Class A, less than 1 position..... | 233 | 216 | 171 | 79 | 4 | 2 | 10 | 5 | 8 | 4 | 23 | 11 | 17 |
| Class B, 1 position, less than 2..... | 609 | 451 | 250 | 55 | 51 | 11 | 54 | 12 | 30 | 7 | 66 | 15 | 158 |
| Class C, 2 or more positions..... | 422 | 274 | 64 | 23 | 50 | 18 | 45 | 16 | 26 | 9 | 89 | 32 | 148 |
| Girls..... | 1,122 | 948 | 501 | 53 | 94 | 10 | 110 | 12 | 58 | 6 | 185 | 20 | 174 |
| Class A, less than 1 position..... | 291 | 268 | 191 | 71 | 13 | 5 | 16 | 6 | 7 | 3 | 41 | 15 | 23 |
| Class B, 1 position, less than 2..... | 568 | 478 | 247 | 52 | 53 | 11 | 56 | 12 | 29 | 6 | 93 | 19 | 90 |
| Class C, 2 or more positions..... | 263 | 202 | 63 | 31 | 28 | 14 | 38 | 19 | 22 | 11 | 51 | 25 | 61 |

According to the findings of the study made in Cincinnati, there was a tendency for children to become steadier workers the longer they remained in industry.⁵³ Milwaukee children also appeared to become more steady with their longer work experiences, those with the longer opportunities to work having relatively fewer changes in positions than those with the shorter possible work periods. For example, 14 per cent of the boys with work histories of between one and two years as compared with 27 per cent of those with work histories of two or more years were in the group of those who changed positions least often (class A). Similarly 37 per cent of those with work histories of between one and two years but only 26 per cent of those with longer work histories were in the group of those who changed positions the most often (class C). This tendency was even more marked among the girls than among the boys. (Table 23.)

Whether Milwaukee boys and girls change positions more or less often than working children in other cities in which the Children's Bureau has made studies is not clear because longer work histories were obtained for the children in Milwaukee than for those in the other cities, and children with the longer work histories tended to change positions less often than those who had been at work a shorter time. The children who were employed on work certificates in Con-

⁵³ According to this study the average number of positions held by boys in the 4 successive years of their work histories was 2.2 positions the first year, 1.9 the second year, 1.7 the third year, and 1.5 the fourth year. For girls there was a similar decrease according to the consecutive year of work history. An Experimental Study of Children, pp. 565, 568.

necticut are more nearly comparable with the Milwaukee children than those in the other studies, because all the Connecticut children for whom figures on shifting of positions are given had work histories of 21 to 24 months in length. Thirty-one per cent of the Connecticut boys, as compared with 18 per cent of the Milwaukee boys, changed positions less than once in each year (that is, were in the group of those who changed positions least often). However, nearly as large a proportion of Connecticut as of Milwaukee boys changed positions repeatedly (that is two or more times a year)—27 per cent and 33 per cent, respectively. The industrial situation in Connecticut before the war when the study was made and that in Milwaukee between 1921 and 1925 may not have been similar, and may have affected the amount of shifting in positions of the individuals included in the two studies. Girls were found to change positions somewhat less frequently than boys in both Milwaukee and Connecticut.⁵⁴

The children who had a relatively high school attainment had some advantage in the matter of stability at work over those who had a lower school attainment. (Table 25.) The boys who had less than an eighth-grade education or had last attended prevocational school were somewhat more likely to be in the group who changed positions repeatedly than were those who were eighth-grade graduates or had been to high school; 46 per cent of the former as compared with 28 per cent of the latter had changed positions on the average of at least twice a year (class C). Similarly, among the girls 34 per cent of those who had not graduated from the eighth grade as compared with 23 per cent of those who had been to trade school, 21 per cent of those who had graduated from the eighth or a higher grade, and 16 per cent of those who had had commercial training were in the group of those who had changed positions two or more times a year (class C). These findings correspond with those of the Cincinnati study, in which it was also revealed that the upper-grade children had a somewhat better record for steadiness of employment than the lower-grade children, the number of shifts in position being somewhat greater for fifth-grade than for eighth-grade children.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ *Industrial Instability of Child Workers*, p. 23.

⁵⁵ *An Experimental Study of Children*, pp. 602-603.

TABLE 25.—Average number of positions per year during work history and last grade completed by interviewed boys and girls employed one year or more who were enrolled in the Milwaukee Vocational School

| Last grade completed, and sex | Interviewed boys and girls employed one year or more | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|--|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| | Total | Average number of positions per year | | | | | |
| | | Class A, less than 1 position | | Class B, 1 position, less than 2 | | Class C, 2 or more positions | |
| | | Number | Per cent ¹ | Number | Per cent ¹ | Number | Per cent ¹ |
| Boys..... | 1,264 | 233 | 18 | 609 | 48 | 422 | 33 |
| Less than eighth grade..... | 333 | 54 | 16 | 124 | 37 | 155 | 47 |
| Eighth grade..... | 636 | 117 | 18 | 341 | 54 | 178 | 28 |
| Ninth grade or higher..... | 167 | 37 | 22 | 86 | 51 | 44 | 26 |
| Commercial..... | 36 | 9 | | 19 | | 8 | |
| Prevocational..... | 61 | 10 | 16 | 25 | 41 | 26 | 43 |
| Other..... | 2 | | | 2 | | | |
| Not reported..... | 29 | 6 | | 12 | | 11 | |
| Girls..... | 1,122 | 291 | 26 | 568 | 51 | 263 | 23 |
| Less than eighth grade..... | 204 | 36 | 18 | 98 | 48 | 70 | 34 |
| Eighth grade..... | 533 | 149 | 28 | 273 | 51 | 111 | 21 |
| Ninth grade or higher..... | 109 | 35 | 32 | 50 | 46 | 24 | 22 |
| Commercial..... | 104 | 26 | 25 | 61 | 59 | 17 | 16 |
| Trade school..... | 141 | 40 | 28 | 68 | 48 | 33 | 23 |
| Prevocational..... | 3 | 1 | | 2 | | | |
| Other..... | | | | | | | |
| Not reported..... | 28 | 4 | | 16 | | 8 | |

¹ Not shown where number of boys and number of girls was less than 50.

THE APPRENTICES

The apprenticeship law in Wisconsin is an attempt to adapt the old apprenticeship system to modern industrial conditions and to make it possible for minors to get adequate training in skilled trades. Under the provisions of the law, minors between 16 and 21 may be trained in certain trades or businesses under a written contract or indenture.⁵⁶ The period of training varies with the trade and is from one to five years. The industrial commission has the duty of investigating and declaring what occupations and industries should come under the terms of the law and has the power to issue rules and regulations to carry it out.⁵⁷ The apprenticeship agreement must state the number of hours to be spent in work and the number of hours to be spent in instruction. During the first two years the period of instruction must be at least four hours per week; and if the apprenticeship is for a period longer than two years, the total hours of instruction must be not less than 400.⁵⁸

The 231 apprentices included in the study were boys between the ages of 16 and 18, an older group than the main group of boys in attendance at the vocational school, since under the law no boy may be apprenticed until he reaches the age of 16. Many apprentices over 18 attended the vocational school but were not covered by the present study.⁵⁹ No apprenticed girls under 18 were enrolled at the vocational school. There is nothing in the law to prevent the apprenticeship of girls, but at the time of the study the industrial commission had not worked out apprenticeship requirements for any of the trades which girls generally enter except dressmaking and millinery.

TERMINATION OF REGULAR SCHOOLING AND BEGINNING OF WORK EXPERIENCE

The majority of the boys who were indentured as apprentices at the time the study was made had left school before they were old enough to become apprentices and had entered other kinds of employment first. Sixty-two per cent left school before they were 16, including 18 per cent who left before they were 15. The proportion of apprentices leaving school under 16, however, was smaller than of the main group of boys, 81 per cent of whom had left school when under this age. (Table 24.)

⁵⁶ "The term apprentice shall mean any minor, 16 years of age or over, who shall enter into any contract of service express or implied, whereby he is to receive from or through his employer in consideration for his services * * * instruction in any trade, craft, or business. Every contract or agreement entered into by an apprentice with his employer shall be known as an indenture * * * and shall be in writing * * *." Wisconsin Stat. 1927, sec. 106.01.

⁵⁷ Wisconsin Stat. 1927, sec. 106.01. See also Administration of Child Labor Laws, Part 4—Employment-Certificate System, Wisconsin (U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 85), pp. 74-76.

⁵⁸ Wisconsin Stat. 1927, sec. 106.01.

⁵⁹ The number of apprentices included in the study constitute but a small proportion of the number indentured in Milwaukee or in the State. During the school year 1924-25 the total number of apprentices of all ages enrolled in the Milwaukee Vocational School was 1,097. In June, 1924, the Industrial Commission of Wisconsin reported 2,050 indenture agreements in force throughout the State. During the 2 years ended June 30, 1924, 1,414 new indentures had been entered into and 339 apprentices had been graduated; during the 2 years ended June 30, 1926, 1,683 new indentures had been entered into and 430 apprentices graduated. Biennial Report, Industrial Commission of Wisconsin, 1922-1924, p. 51 (Madison, 1925); 1924-1926, p. 47 (Madison, 1926).

As compared with three-fourths of the main group of boys in attendance at the vocational school, one-half of the apprentice group started their working lives before they reached the age of 16. Only 12 per cent of the apprentices as compared with 29 per cent of the other boys went to work at 14 or under.

In school attainment the boys who became apprentices were somewhat superior to the other boys attending the vocational school under the requirements of the compulsory part-time school law. Only 19 per cent of those in the apprentice group were from prevocational classes or had left school before they had graduated from the elementary grades, as compared with 31 per cent of the other boys for whom either the grade or type of school last attended was reported. (Table 26.) At least one year's high-school or business training was reported by 35 per cent of the apprentices as compared with 20 per cent of the other boys. More than three-fourths of the apprentices are known to have finished at least the eighth grade before leaving school. Relatively few of the apprentices had been to business schools; 9 per cent compared with 16 per cent of the other boys had last attended the technical high school which gave instruction in connection with some of the trades to which the boys were afterward indentured.

TABLE 26.—Age at leaving regular school and last grade completed by indentured apprentices enrolled in the Milwaukee Vocational School

| Last grade completed | Indentured apprentices | | | | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------|----------|----------|-------------------|------------------|
| | Total | Age at leaving regular school | | | | |
| | | Under 15 years | 15 years | 16 years | 17 years and over | Age not reported |
| Total (boys)..... | 231 | 38 | 91 | 71 | 7 | 24 |
| Less than seventh..... | 4 | | 3 | 1 | | |
| Seventh..... | 38 | 2 | 16 | 17 | | 3 |
| Eighth..... | 96 | 27 | 36 | 22 | 2 | 9 |
| Ninth..... | 36 | 6 | 17 | 7 | 1 | 5 |
| Tenth..... | 35 | | 14 | 18 | 3 | |
| Eleventh or higher..... | 3 | 1 | | 1 | | 1 |
| Commercial..... | 4 | 1 | | | | 3 |
| Prevocational..... | 4 | | 2 | | 1 | 1 |
| Not reported..... | 11 | 1 | 3 | 5 | | 2 |

The interval between the time of leaving regular school and entering employment was about the same for the boys in the apprentice group as for the other boys. Neither were they more prompt than the other boys in entering vocational school. (See p. 10.) Twenty-four per cent of the boys who were apprenticed at the time the inquiry was made had lost at least a month's school time between leaving school and going to work; 57 per cent lost at least a month's school time between leaving regular school and entering vocational school. The boys in this group who were not apprenticed on beginning work were, like the other boys, subject to the work-certificate provisions of the law and thus automatically came to the attention of the vocational-school officials when they obtained their work permits. Boys who begin their working lives as apprentices are not required to have work certificates; however, they are required to register at the vocational school at the time the indenture papers are made out.

OCCUPATIONS

Because of the minimum-age requirement of the apprenticeship law few boys who began work before they were 16 were apprenticed in their first positions; 84 of the 117 boys who began work after they reached the age of 16, however, started their working lives as apprentices. The occupations which the apprenticed boys entered were very similar to those reported for the main group of boys. Of the 96 boys who later became apprentices and for whom industry was reported, 49 were employed in their first positions in factory and other mechanical occupations, chiefly as factory operatives; 30 were in clerical, store, delivery, or errand work; and the remainder were in miscellaneous occupations.

The majority of the boys who were apprenticed when the inquiry was made were indentured as soon as they reached the age of 16; 177 (76 per cent) were indentured at 16 years and 23 (10 per cent) before they reached their sixteenth birthday, in spite of the provisions of the law. The remaining 31 (13 per cent) were indentured after they had reached their seventeenth birthday.

The trades which the boys were learning at the time of the inquiry were varied. The largest numbers of the boys had been apprenticed to machinists or to mechanics in the building trades such as plumbers, plasterers, electricians, carpenters, or cabinetmakers, or sheet-metal workers. Among other trades represented were pattern makers, and moulders, bakers, printers and lithographers, shoe cutters, glove cutters, meat cutters, and stone cutters. (Table 27.) A small proportion of the boys (5 per cent) who were apprenticed were employed by relatives. A few boys had been apprenticed in more than one trade. Several (6) who were reported as apprentices in their first positions had dropped out before the study was made and before their apprenticeships were completed; these are not included in the group of 231 who were indentured at the time the study was made.

TABLE 27.—Occupation to which apprenticed and age January 31, 1925, of indentured apprentices enrolled in the Milwaukee Vocational School

| Occupation to which apprenticed | Indentured apprentices | | | |
|--|------------------------|--------------------|----------|-------------------|
| | Total | Age Jan. 31, 1925 | | |
| | | 16 years, under 17 | 17 years | 18 years and over |
| Total (boys) | 231 | 76 | 151 | 4 |
| Plumber | 44 | 13 | 31 | ..... |
| Sheet-metal worker | 6 | 2 | 4 | ..... |
| Electrician | 4 | ..... | 4 | ..... |
| Cabinetmaker | 3 | 2 | 1 | ..... |
| Others in building and hand trades | 8 | 1 | 7 | ..... |
| Machinist | 51 | 20 | 29 | 2 |
| Shoemaker and shoe cutter | 29 | 17 | 12 | ..... |
| Pattern maker | 23 | 9 | 13 | 1 |
| Draftsman | 14 | 1 | 13 | ..... |
| Baker | 8 | 3 | 5 | ..... |
| Knitting-machine adjuster | 5 | 1 | 4 | ..... |
| Moulder | 4 | 1 | 3 | ..... |
| Glove cutter | 5 | 1 | 4 | ..... |
| Commercial artist | 4 | 1 | 3 | ..... |
| Jeweler | 3 | ..... | 3 | ..... |
| Meat cutter | 3 | 1 | 2 | ..... |
| Other occupations | 16 | 3 | 12 | 1 |
| Occupation not reported | 1 | ..... | 1 | ..... |

The school attainment of the apprentices was somewhat higher than that of the other boys who were employed in manufacturing and mechanical occupations. The proportion of boys apprenticed at the time of the study who had had at least one year's high-school or some business-school training was larger than that of the other boys who were employed in factory and other mechanical occupations at the time of the study. The proportion of apprentices with this amount of training was not, however, so large as that of the other vocational-school boys who were employed in clerical work (other than messenger).

WAGES

Apprentices are paid according to a wage scale which varies with each trade, which is part of the written contract between the apprentice and the employer, and which is approved by the industrial commission.⁶⁰ Apprentices' wages are exempted from the provisions of the minimum wage law. At the time of the study most of the boys were in the first year of their apprenticeship, only one-third of them having served for as long as 12 months. Their wages, as would be expected, were relatively low in comparison with the wages of the boys 16 and 17 years of age in other employment. (See p. 29.) However, most of the apprentices (90 per cent) whose wages were reported at the time of the study received \$8 or more a week; that is, more than would be required for beginners 16 and 17 years of age in other work at the rate of 16 cents an hour for a 48-hour week. (See footnote 36, p. 30.) Only 23 per cent of the apprentices received as much as \$12 a week, which on the basis of 25 cents an hour for a 48-hour week would be required under the minimum wage law for minors of 17 after the first six months. The wages reported varied somewhat with the trade, wages being somewhat higher for machinists and pattern makers than for those in the building trades.⁶¹ (Table 28.)

TABLE 28.—Occupation and weekly wage in last position of indentured apprentices enrolled in the Milwaukee Vocational School

| Occupation to which apprenticed | Indentured apprentices | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------|---|-------------------------------|-------------------|
| | Total | Weekly wage in last position | | | | | | | | | Cash plus other or other only | Wage not reported |
| | | Less than \$8 | \$8, less than \$9 | \$9, less than \$10 | \$10, less than \$11 | \$11, less than \$12 | \$12, less than \$13 | \$13, less than \$14 | \$14 and more | | | |
| Total (boys)..... | 231 | 18 | 33 | 38 | 27 | 25 | 20 | 10 | 11 | 2 | 47 | |
| Machinist..... | 51 | | | 14 | 1 | 14 | 10 | 6 | 1 | | 5 | |
| Plumber..... | 44 | 10 | 16 | 7 | 7 | | 1 | | 1 | | 2 | |
| Others in building and hand trades..... | 21 | | | 2 | | 3 | | 2 | | | 14 | |
| Shoemaker and shoe cutter..... | 29 | | 12 | 6 | 10 | | | | | | 1 | |
| Pattern maker..... | 23 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 7 | 2 | 1 | | | 6 | |
| Draftsman..... | 14 | | | 2 | 5 | 1 | 5 | | | | 1 | |
| Knitting-machine adjuster..... | 5 | | | | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | | 2 | |
| Other trades..... | 43 | 7 | 2 | 4 | 3 | | 1 | | 8 | 2 | 16 | |
| Occupation not reported..... | 1 | | | 1 | | | | | | | | |

⁶⁰ The Apprenticeship Law with Explanations. Industrial Commission of Wisconsin, Oct. 1, 1928, pp. 29, 39, 41.

⁶¹ In 1926 the industrial commission reported that the average wage paid apprentices during their first year was 27 cents an hour, the second year 32 cents, the third year 40 cents, the fourth year 45 cents, and the fifth year 50 cents an hour. Biennial Report, Industrial Commission of Wisconsin, 1924-1926, p. 47.

The initial wages of the apprentices who were not indentured in their first positions were higher than the wages of boys who were indentured on beginning work in spite of the fact that the boys who were learning a trade were considerably older than the others. Only 4 of the 73 boys who were apprenticed on beginning work and whose cash wages were reported, as compared with 50 of the 90 in other occupations, received as much as \$10 a week in their first positions; 21 of the apprentices, but 17 of the other boys also, had initial wages of less than \$8 a week. Some of the boys made considerable sacrifice in wage when they started to learn a trade, and were earning less at the time of the study than on beginning work. Of the 98 apprentices who were interviewed and whose work histories were at least a year in length, 29 were earning less at the date of the inquiry than when they started work, although the wages of some of them had no doubt increased since the beginning of their apprenticeship period.

REGULARITY OF EMPLOYMENT

The length of the possible work history of the 160 boys who were apprenticed at the date of the study and who were interviewed was about the same as that of the main group of boys in attendance at the vocational school. Although the boys in the apprentice group were in general older than the other boys when the inquiry was made, they had also left school later and had begun work later. The length of their work histories ranged from less than a month to three years, the median being between 15 and 18 months. About three-fifths (99) had held two or more positions since beginning work, including 25 boys who had had four or more different positions. Only three had been apprenticed more than once. About two-fifths of the boys apprenticed at the time of the study had been employed all their working time as apprentices. The possible work history in the case of these boys was somewhat shorter than in the case of the boys who had held other types of jobs before being apprenticed, and they were older on beginning work.

The length of time that the boys had been indentured when the inquiry was made varied from two weeks to two years. One-third had been apprenticed to their present employer less than six months; another third between six months and a year, and the remaining third between one and two years. (Table 29.) The duration of the apprenticeships of boys who had never done any other kind of work was somewhat longer than the duration of the apprenticeship positions of the boys who had been otherwise employed before they were indentured. None of the boys, however, had completed his term of apprenticeship up to the time the study was made, the term required varying with the trade from one to five years.

TABLE 29.—Duration of present position and number of positions held by interviewed indentured apprentices enrolled in the Milwaukee Vocational School

| Duration of present position | Interviewed indentured apprentices | | | | |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|---|----|-------|-----------|
| | Total | Number of positions during work history | | | |
| | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 3 or more |
| Total (boys)..... | 160 | 61 | 59 | 15 | 25 |
| 2 weeks, less than 1 month..... | 5 | 2 | 1 | ----- | 2 |
| 1 month, less than 3..... | 14 | 2 | 8 | 1 | 3 |
| 3 months, less than 6..... | 35 | 14 | 13 | 4 | 4 |
| 6 months, less than 9..... | 25 | 14 | 6 | 2 | 3 |
| 9 months, less than 1 year..... | 28 | 10 | 11 | 2 | 5 |
| 1 year and more..... | 53 | 19 | 20 | 6 | 8 |

The majority of the boys in the apprentice group had been in other types of work before they were apprenticed and had changed their positions at least once. Among the group who were interviewed there was a considerable amount of shifting, although not so much as among the main group of boys enrolled in the vocational school in conformity with the requirements of the continuation school law. Of the apprentice group with a work history of at least one year, 31 per cent as compared with 18 per cent of the main group of boys had changed positions less than once for each year (class A). Fifty per cent of the apprentices and 48 per cent of the other boys had changed positions at least once but less than twice for each year of their work history (class B), and 19 per cent of the apprentices, as compared with 33 per cent of the others, two or more times a year (class C).

Unemployment among the boys who were apprenticed when the study was made was less common than among the main group of boys, but there were a number of apprentices who had been out of work before they were indentured. After they were indentured they were not considered for purposes of this study as unemployed if they were kept on the employer's pay roll, even if they were laid off from time to time on account of slack work.⁶² More than four-fifths of the apprentices, as compared with about three-fifths of the main group of boys whose work history was as long as a year, had been out of work less than 10 per cent of the time. One-fourth of the other boys but less than one-tenth of the apprentices had been out of work as long as 20 per cent of the time. Many of those who entered miscellaneous types of employment on beginning work kept their first positions but a short time. Among 85 boys who were not apprenticed in their first jobs, 30 reported that they left their positions within three months and 55 within six months after beginning work.

⁶² Some indentures especially provide for the seasonal nature of the trade. For example, the clause used in the standard schedule of training for the bricklayer's trade provides that the term of apprenticeship shall be 4 years, each year to consist of the building season. The Apprenticeship Law with Explanations, Industrial Commission of Wisconsin, Oct. 1, 1928, p. 52.

THE UNEMPLOYED MINORS

Children who have reached 14 and who have completed the eighth grade are permitted in Wisconsin to leave the regular full-time day schools even if they have not obtained employment. (See p. 2.) Until they are 18 years of age, however, they are subject to the same continuation-school requirements as employed minors. Among the boys and girls from 14 to 18 years, inclusive, enrolled in the compulsory continuation-school classes of the Milwaukee Vocational School were 1,113, about one-tenth of the total number, who had not been employed since leaving regular school. About three-fourths of them were girls, many of whom, no doubt, were making no effort to find a paid occupation but were helping with the housework at home. These children who had left regular school and had never been employed, however, formed but a very small proportion of the children of corresponding ages living in the city. Those included in the study were but 2 per cent of the boys and girls of 14 years, 5 per cent of those of 15 and 16 years, and 4 per cent of those of 17 years, found according to school-census figures to be resident in the city.⁶³

Both the boys and the girls who had not been employed since leaving regular school were a much younger group than those who had entered industry; this fact probably indicates that within a year or so after leaving school these children, especially the boys, seek employment. About one-half the unemployed children, as compared with less than one-fifth of the employed (approximately the same proportions of each sex), were under 16 at the time the inquiry was made. Sixteen per cent of the boys and girls who had not been employed, as compared with 3 per cent of the employed group, were 14 years of age or younger. (Table 30.)

TABLE 30.—Age January 31, 1925, and period between leaving school and that date for boys and girls never employed who were enrolled in the Milwaukee Vocational School

| Period between leaving school and Jan. 31, 1925 | Boys and girls never employed | | | | | |
|---|-------------------------------|-------------------|----------|----------|----------|-------------------|
| | Total | Age Jan. 31, 1925 | | | | |
| | | Under 14 years | 14 years | 15 years | 16 years | 17 years and over |
| Boys..... | 243 | 1 | 39 | 185 | 77 | 41 |
| Less than 3 months..... | 10 | | 1 | 3 | 6 | |
| 3 months, less than 6..... | 14 | | 2 | 4 | 6 | 2 |
| 6 months, less than 12..... | 127 | 1 | 30 | 46 | 36 | 14 |
| 12 months, less than 18..... | 15 | | | 6 | 4 | 5 |
| 18 months, less than 24..... | 5 | | | 2 | 3 | |
| 24 months and more..... | 4 | | | | 2 | 2 |
| Period not reported..... | 68 | | 6 | 24 | 20 | 18 |
| Girls..... | 870 | 4 | 131 | 282 | 263 | 190 |
| Less than 3 months..... | 13 | | 4 | 4 | 5 | |
| 3 months, less than 6..... | 49 | | 19 | 15 | 13 | 2 |
| 6 months, less than 12..... | 387 | 2 | 71 | 166 | 105 | 43 |
| 12 months, less than 18..... | 88 | | 8 | 27 | 28 | 25 |
| 18 months, less than 24..... | 74 | | 2 | 18 | 31 | 23 |
| 24 months and more..... | 86 | | 1 | 2 | 22 | 61 |
| Period not reported..... | 173 | 2 | 26 | 50 | 59 | 36 |

* Includes 1 still in school.

⁶³ Percentages computed from school-census figures. Sixty-fifth Annual Report of the Board of School Directors of the City of Milwaukee, Wis., 1924, p. 163.

Most of the children who had never been employed had left school at least six months before the study was made. The girls had been out of school longer than the boys. Three-fourths of the boys and more than one-half of the girls had been out of school between six months and a year. Fourteen per cent of the boys as compared with 36 per cent of the girls had been out of school for a year or longer before the time of the study. Among the 337 girls who had left school when they were 14 years of age or younger were 98 who had been out of school and unemployed for at least 18 months. No doubt many of the boys and girls who had not been employed up to the time of the study were intending to get work later, like the boys and girls who had found employment before the date of the study but had been unemployed for many months after leaving school.

The children who left school and did not go to work were more dilatory about entering the vocational school than the working children, although the children who went to work frequently let at least a month's school time pass between leaving regular school and entering vocational school. The boys who did not get employment were apparently less interested in attending part-time school than the girls; at least they lost more time than the girls before they entered the vocational school. Seventy-six per cent of the boys as compared with 49 per cent of the girls lost at least two months of the school year after leaving regular school and before entering vocational school; 32 per cent of the girls and 34 per cent of the boys let at least three months of school time pass before entering vocational school. These figures show that it is difficult to get children to vocational school promptly when they do not come to the attention of the official issuing work certificates. The school-attendance officers who have the duty of enforcing the continuation school law are notified by the regular-school authorities when the children leave regular school, but it requires considerable time to follow up those children who are not employed on work certificates and are not attending any school. How many minors under 18 years were not at work and not attending part-time school is, of course, not known, but in 1920, when a study of the Wisconsin employment-certificate system was made by the Children's Bureau, school-attendance officials stated that they believed there was a considerable number of children whom they did not succeed in locating.⁶⁴

The boys and girls who had never been employed had left school at about the same ages as the other regular pupils at the vocational school who had gone to work, about four-fifths of those reporting age, before they were 16. As in the case of the employed children, relatively more girls than boys left school at the age of 14 or when still younger. (Table 31.) The school attainment of the nonemployed children when leaving school compared favorably with that of those who entered industry. Relatively more of the nonworking boys than of the working boys had had at least an eighth-grade education and about the same proportions had completed at least one year of academic high school or had commercial training. The proportion of boys who had left school before completing the eighth grade was somewhat smaller among the nonworking than among the working boys. About the same proportions of nonworking as of working girls

⁶⁴ Administration of Child Labor Laws, Part 4—Employment-Certificate System, Wisconsin, p. 86.

had completed the eighth grade or one or more years of high school, or had been to the Girls' Trade School. The proportions of nonworking and working girls who left school before completing the eighth grade were also the same. The difference in school attainment between boys and girls in the nonworking group may have been due to the fact that the girls drop out of school to help at home, while the boys do not leave school as a rule until they have either completed the eighth grade or found work. According to the available grade information, a smaller proportion of unemployed boys than of employed boys of 14 and 15 years were retarded (13 per cent and 22 per cent, respectively), but about the same proportions of employed and unemployed girls of 14 and 15 were overage for their grades. The reason, therefore, that they did not go to work as the other children did within a few weeks or months after they left school is obviously not because of their educational accomplishment or general intelligence.

TABLE 31.—*Age at leaving regular school and last grade completed by boys and girls never employed who were enrolled in the Milwaukee Vocational School*

| Last grade completed, and sex | Boys and girls never employed | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|----------|----------|----------|-------------------|------------------|
| | Total | | Age at leaving regular school | | | | | Age not reported |
| | Number | Percent distribution | Under 14 years | 14 years | 15 years | 16 years | 17 years and over | |
| Boys..... | 243 | | 19 | 48 | 66 | 31 | 7 | 72 |
| Grade reported..... | 234 | 100 | 19 | 47 | 65 | 31 | 5 | 67 |
| Fifth grade or less..... | 2 | 1 | | | | | 1 | 1 |
| Sixth grade..... | 9 | 4 | 1 | | 5 | | | 3 |
| Seventh grade..... | 19 | 8 | | | 8 | 5 | 1 | 5 |
| Eighth grade..... | 133 | 57 | 15 | 39 | 33 | 11 | | 35 |
| Ninth grade..... | 21 | 9 | 1 | 4 | 5 | 4 | | 7 |
| Tenth grade..... | 17 | 7 | | 1 | 6 | 5 | 1 | 4 |
| Eleventh grade or higher..... | 2 | 1 | | | 1 | 1 | | |
| Commercial..... | 2 | 1 | | | | | | 2 |
| Prevocational..... | 25 | 11 | 2 | 3 | 6 | 3 | 2 | 9 |
| Special class..... | 4 | 2 | | | 1 | 2 | | 1 |
| Grade not reported..... | 9 | | | 1 | 1 | | 2 | 5 |
| Girls..... | 870 | | 99 | 238 | 234 | 102 | 17 | 180 |
| Grade reported..... | 841 | 100 | 96 | 234 | 230 | 99 | 17 | 165 |
| Fifth grade or less..... | 27 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 9 | 4 | | 4 |
| Sixth grade..... | 52 | 6 | 8 | 16 | 15 | 5 | | 8 |
| Seventh grade..... | 88 | 10 | 8 | 26 | 31 | 4 | | 19 |
| Eighth grade..... | 425 | 51 | 74 | 144 | 105 | 28 | 3 | 71 |
| Ninth grade..... | 39 | 5 | | 10 | 11 | 12 | | 6 |
| Tenth grade..... | 49 | 6 | | 4 | 19 | 15 | 5 | 6 |
| Eleventh grade or higher..... | 8 | 1 | | | | 1 | 5 | 2 |
| Commercial..... | 18 | 2 | | | 1 | | | 17 |
| Trade school..... | 109 | 13 | 2 | 24 | 33 | 21 | 4 | 25 |
| Prevocational..... | 19 | 2 | | 3 | 5 | 5 | | 6 |
| Special class..... | 7 | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 4 | | 1 |
| Grade not reported..... | 29 | | 3 | 4 | 4 | 3 | | 15 |

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The 8,447 employed boys and girls between 14 and 18 included in the present study are believed to embrace most of the minors of these ages in the city of Milwaukee in January, 1925, who were employed or had been employed since leaving regular school. Information was obtained for all the employed boys and girls enrolled in compliance with the law in the Milwaukee Vocational School, as the continuation school is called locally (including those who had recently passed their eighteenth birthdays and were attending part-time school until the end of the term), and all the apprenticed boys under 18. All the employed high-school graduates under this age who could be found were also included in the survey. More than four-fifths of the main group of employed minors, all the apprentices, and all the graduates of high school were 16 years of age or older at the time the inquiry was made.

The operation of the Wisconsin law, which requires completion of the eighth grade or nine years' school attendance before a child can be employed, tends to keep children in school longer in Milwaukee than in cities where similar studies have been made in which the grade requirements are lower. The tendency, however, of the employed children in Milwaukee appeared to be to leave school for work as soon as they could legally. More than one-third of the boys and nearly one-half the girls had left school before they were 15 and more than four-fifths of each sex before they were 16. About one-fourth of those who left school before they were 16 and who reported the grade completed had not even graduated from the eighth grade. Most of these children presumably had left school prior to the date the eighth-grade requirement went into effect, or had attended school nine years. However, there was a noteworthy proportion of each sex who had achieved an education above that of the eighth grade; 14 per cent had finished at least one year of academic high school. In addition, 16 per cent of the children had received some kind of special training in trade, technical, or commercial classes, though they were not all eighth-grade graduates. Most of the children began work soon after leaving school; about one-fourth, however, had lost one or more months of the school term between the date they left school and the date they started work.

As in other cities for which similar information is available, the occupations which the majority of boys and girls entered when they began work were in the manufacturing and mechanical industries, chiefly as factory operatives; a considerable proportion did clerical, errand, messenger or delivery work, or sales and stock work in stores. The occupational distribution of the boys and girls at the time the inquiry was made was similar to that at the time when they began work; however, individuals who were 16 years of age and older appeared to have a greater choice of occupations in both their first and last positions than the younger children. More than one-half the

boys who were under 16 at the time the study was made and nearly three-fifths of those who were 16 and over were in factory and other mechanical occupations; about three-fourths of the girls under 16 and three-fifths of those who had reached the age of 16 were factory workers. Both boys and girls under 16 were more restricted than those who were older as to the kind of occupations in which they were employed in factories, partly on account of the legal regulations prohibiting the employment of children under 16 from work on many of the machines. A larger proportion of the older than of the younger boys were clerical workers, and more than twice as many of the older as of the younger girls were clerical or store workers or telephone operators.

The wages of the young workers depended both on their ages and on the length of time they had been at work. When the study was made, the median weekly wage ranged from \$9 for boys of 14 years to \$15 for boys of 18, and from \$8.50 for girls of 14 to \$13.50 for girls of 18. Both at the time of beginning work and at the time of the inquiry their wages were, on the whole, higher than those which would be required under the minimum-wage regulations for a 48-hour week. However, there was a small proportion of both boys and girls whose wages were very low; that is, less than \$8 a week.

The length of time they had had an opportunity to work (that is, the time between the date of beginning work and the date of the study) ranged from a few days to four years. For the interviewed group the median was between 15 and 18 months for the boys and between 18 and 21 months for the girls. The average number of positions for the boys with work histories of between one and two years was 2.9 and for the girls 2.7; for those whose work histories were two or more years the number of positions was 3.9 for the boys and 3.4 for the girls.

Most of these Milwaukee boys and girls, like the young workers in other cities, had been employed for the greater part of their working lives up to the time the inquiry was made; nearly two-thirds of those with possible work histories of a year or longer had been out of work less than 10 per cent of the time. About one-tenth of both boys and girls, however, had been out of work 50 per cent or more of their possible working time. There was a slight tendency for the boys and girls with the longer work histories to work more steadily than those whose work histories were shorter; that is, the boys and girls with a work history of between one and two years were unemployed a somewhat greater percentage of the time and shifted positions relatively more often than individuals whose work histories were two years or longer. This tendency toward increased stability as the period of employment becomes longer corresponds to the findings of the study of children employed on work certificates in Connecticut, and of the study of Cincinnati children whose work histories were all at least four years in length. That young workers keep their first positions but a short time was demonstrated in this as well as in other studies. The present study also indicates that after a few changes young workers tend to settle down to steady work in one position.

Much larger proportions of both boys and girls with some high-school or business training than of those with only an elementary-school education were employed in clerical and store positions. The individuals with less than an eighth-grade education and also those who

had graduated from elementary school were concentrated in the manufacturing and mechanical industries, chiefly as factory operatives in both their first and last positions. Education, however, had little effect on the wages of the boys (that is, when their ages are taken into consideration); the girls with high-school or commercial training had somewhat better wages than those with a lower school accomplishment. The explanation of the difference between the boys and girls in this respect is that the wages paid boys in factories were at least equal to those paid for clerical or store work, whereas the wages of the girls who were clerical workers were a little higher than for those who were factory workers. The relation of school attainment to stability of employment was not very clear, although boys, at least, with the higher school accomplishment appeared to work somewhat more steadily and shift positions less than those with an inferior education. On the whole, the advantage of an education for workers who enter industry early, as these children did, is indicated by an ability of the individual with a superior or specialized training to select his occupation, such as clerical in preference to factory work, rather than by ability to earn higher wages or by stability of employment, at least during the first years of his working life.

Up to the time they became indentured the work experience of the apprentices did not differ to any extent from that of the other employed boys. They were slightly older on starting work and slightly higher in school attainment. The majority were not apprenticed on beginning work and were employed in much the same types of occupation as the other boys. Like the main group of boys, they held their first positions but a short time and were subject to a certain amount of unemployment. After they were indentured they had the advantage of steady employment and a potentially large earning capacity, although their wages at the time of the inquiry were low. The proportion who completed their apprenticeships—an important factor in the value of the apprenticeship system—is not known, since most of them had been indentured little more than a year.

One of the facts brought out by this study is that a large group of children, 1,113 in January, 1925, had left full-time school but had never been employed, owing largely to the fact that the law permits a child who has reached 14 and completed the eighth grade to leave school even though not employed. One-half of these children were under 16 at the date of the inquiry; three-fifths of them had left school at least 12 months before. This large group of unemployed children, as well as the considerable number of other children who had worked part of the time since leaving school but reported long periods of unemployment, indicates the value of the laws in other States which require children, if not employed, to attend school full time, and suggests the need of a better coordination in this respect between the school laws and the child labor laws of Wisconsin. The situation in regard to these unemployed children has been improved since this study was made. All children between 14 and 16 who have left regular day school (whether employed or unemployed) must now attend continuation school half time instead of only 8 hours a week.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ The law requiring half-time attendance was passed in 1921 (Wis., acts of 1921, chs. 414, 513) to be fully operative in 1923, but it had not been put into effect in Milwaukee at the time the study was made.

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