UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
W. N. DOAK, Secretary
CHILDREN'S BUREAU
GRACE ABBOTT, Chief

CHILDREN OF WORKING MOTHERS IN PHILADELPHIA

PART 1. THE WORKING MOTHERS

By

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Bureau Publication No. 204

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1931

, Washington, D.C. - - - - - - - - Price 10 cents

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
CHILDREN'S BUREAU,
Washington, January 10, 1931.

SIR: This report on working mothers in Philadelphia is the first part of a study of the relationship between child welfare and the employment of mothers undertaken at the request of the Child Health Society of Philadelphia. The second part will contain the findings about the children of these working mothers.

This study was made under the general supervision of Ellen Nathalie Matthews, director of the industrial division of the Children's Bureau. Mary Skinner was in charge of the field work, and the report was written by Clara M. Beyer.

The social agencies and school officials of Philadelphia gave the Children's Bureau valuable assistance in obtaining the material for the report.

Respectfully submitted.

GRACE ABBOTT, *Chief.*

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

CHILDREN OF WORKING MOTHERS IN PHILADELPHIA

INTRODUCTION

PURPOSE AND METHOD OF STUDY

The employment of married women has increased greatly since 1890. The number of married women employed in industries, other than agriculture, increased 50 per cent between 1890 and 1900, 121 per cent between 1900 and 1910, and 29 per cent between 1910 and 1920.[1] In 1890 approximately 1 in 30 married women 16 years of age and over was gainfully employed in nonagricultural occupations; in 1920, 1 in 14 was so employed.

Of late years the growing recognition of the importance of home life and of adequate care and supervision in the rearing of children has aroused interest in the relation between the employment of mothers and child welfare. The desire for facts as to this relation has given rise to this study in Philadelphia, which was undertaken by the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor at the request of the Child Health Society of Philadelphia.

The principal object of the inquiry was to ascertain the relationship between the employment of mothers and the welfare of their children. At the same time it was hoped that the information obtained would throw light upon the extent to which mothers of young children in a modern industrial community are gainfully employed, either at home or away from home, the trends and causes of such employment, and the relation between the mother's employment and the father's occupation, earnings, and contribution to the family support.

The field survey was made between January and September, 1928. It consisted first of a house-to-house canvass of all families living in 11 selected districts. The number of families visited totaled 20,366. Twenty-one families were away for the summer at the time their homes were visited, and 21 others were unwilling to furnish representatives of the bureau the desired information. In 7,976 families there was either no mother or no children under 16 living in the home, and in 121 families there were foster children only. In the remaining 12,227 families the mother was living at home with one or more of her own children or stepchildren under 16 years of age. For these families information was sought as to employment of the mothers after marriage, the number of years they had been employed, their race and nationality, age, number of years married, marital status at the time of interview, and the number and ages of their children. If the mothers had worked in the six months preceding the inquiry, information was sought also as to the regularity of their work in that period, the nature of their occupations, and related facts.

[1] Women in Gainful Occupations 1870 to 1920, pp. 76-77. U. S. Bureau of the Census Monograph 9. Washington, 1929.

Second, for approximately 1,000 families visited in the house-to-house canvass in which the mothers had been employed for at least three days a week for five of the preceding six months detailed information was obtained relating to the economic status of the family, the nature and duration of the mother's work, the reasons for her employment, her household activities, and the health, education, conduct, and general welfare of her children. To have comparative material as to the general standards of child care in families of the same economic status and of the same nationalities in which the mothers had not been employed after marriage, this information was also obtained for an equal number of nonworking mothers living in the same neighborhoods. In addition to interviewing the mother, representatives of the bureau consulted social-agency records, court records, and, for children of school age, school records for children of both working and nonworking mothers.

To study the effect upon the children of the employment of the mother within as well as outside the home, similar detailed information was obtained for approximately 500 mothers who had been doing industrial work in their homes regularly for at least 15 hours a week in five of the six months preceding the study and for an equal number of the neighbors of these women who had not been so employed. These mothers lived both in the districts in which the study of women employed outside the home was made and in other parts of the city in which industrial home work was common.

Part 1 of this report consists of an analysis of the information obtained through the canvass for the 12,227 families in which the mother was living at home and had one or more children under 16 living with her.

Part 2, to be published later, will contain a discussion of the more extensive information obtained for approximately 1,500 families in which the mother had worked steadily in the six months preceding the study and for an equal number of families in which the mother had not been employed since marriage who were included in the study as a control group. In this section of the report special attention will be given to the relation of the mothers' employment to the welfare of their children.

DISTRICTS SELECTED FOR STUDY

Eleven districts in different parts of Philadelphia were selected for study as samples of the various types of wage-earning neighborhoods of the city. The districts were chosen to represent families of different races and nationalities and of different economic levels. Residential districts of varying degrees of prosperity were selected. One was essentially an industrial district, and others had an occasional factory and frequent neighborhood stores. An attempt was also made to select districts in which women were employed in different kinds of industries. Such social resources of the districts as the facilities offered for the care of children while the mother was working were also considered in the selection of the districts.

In Philadelphia, as in other large cities, people of the same race and nationality tend to settle in the same sections of the city. Nine of the districts were predominantly white and two predominantly negro. In four of the white districts native-born families predomi-

nated, and in the other five foreign-born families were in the majority. In three of the five districts in which the population was mainly foreign born Poles predominated; in one, Russians and Jews; in one, Italians. In three of the four districts in which the great majority were native born, English-speaking immigrants were the largest element among the foreign born—the English, Scotch, and Welsh in one, the Irish in two; in the other, Italians and Poles were more largely represented. The native-born mothers in these districts were in many instances of the second generation of the nationality that predominated among the foreign born.

A comparison of the race and nativity of the mothers interviewed in the 11 districts with those of the city as a whole indicates that they were fairly representative, in these respects, of the city's wage-earning population. The proportions of negro women and foreign-born white women were somewhat greater than those for the city as a whole at the census of 1920.[2] Eighty-four per cent of the mothers were white and 16 per cent were negro. Of the white mothers almost equal proportions were of native and foreign birth—53 per cent as compared with 47 per cent. The principal nationalities and racial groups represented among the foreign-born women were those that are most important among Philadelphia's adult foreign-born population—Poles, Russians, and other Slavs, Italians, Irish, Germans, English, Scotch, and Welsh.[3]

For detailed descriptions of the districts surveyed see Appendix A, pages 30 to 35.

[2] Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, vol. 3, Population, p. 867. United States Bureau of the Census. Washington, 1922.
[3] Ibid., p. 853.

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PART 1.—THE WORKING MOTHERS

EXTENT OF EMPLOYMENT OF MOTHERS

Among wage earners in the districts visited in Philadelphia the employment of the wife after marriage was not exceptional. In the 12,227 families visited in the house-to-house canvass in which the mother was at home and had at least one child under 16 years of age, 6,070 mothers (50 per cent) had been employed after marriage; 1,999 (16 per cent) had been employed at least 10 months in the year before the study; and 2,711 (22 per cent) at least six months, not always the six months immediately before the interview.

On the whole the mothers had been employed during recent years. Of those who had terminated their employment or were temporarily out of work at the time of the inquiry, 60 per cent had worked at some time since January 1, 1925.

Most of the mothers who had worked after marriage had been employed prior to, as well as during, the year of the survey. Many had worked for a considerable part of their married lives. More than two-fifths of those reporting employment after marriage had worked at least 30 per cent and one-fourth at least 50 per cent of the time. (See Table 2.) A small proportion had worked almost all of their married lives. The survey revealed no evidence that the depression in the textile and other industries resulting in unemployment among the men wage workers in Philadelphia in the year of the survey had resulted in a great increase in the number of women workers.

Fairly comparable data are available with reference to the employment of white mothers a decade earlier. In a study made by Gwendolyn S. Hughes in 1918–19 information was obtained as to the employment status of 7,359 white mothers with husbands and one or more children 16 years of age or under living at home in six industrial sections of Philadelphia.[1] The neighborhoods included in this survey were of much the same character as those canvassed in the Children's Bureau study.

At the close of the war, during which many married women went into industry for the first time, the Hughes study showed that 14 per cent of the married women with children 16 years of age or under in the six districts had worked within the year preceding the interview.[2] Nine or ten years later 21 per cent of a corresponding group of mothers included in the Children's Bureau study had been employed during the year. In other words, where 1 in 7 of the married women with husbands and 1 or more young children at home were employed in the period immediately following the war, less than a decade later under peace conditions more than 1 in 5 were employed, an increase of approximately 7 per cent.

[1] Hughes, Gwendolyn S.: Mothers in Industry, p. 25. New Republic (Inc.), New York, 1925. The Children's Bureau canvassed only families in which there were 1 or more children under 16 years of age. Doctor Hughes's study included a few mothers with a 16-year-old child, but probably not enough of these were included to affect the findings materially.

[2] Ibid., p. 25.

The discussion that follows shows race and nationality, age, number of years married, marital status, and number and age of children for the total number of mothers employed after marriage and for those employed in the six months preceding the interview. Additional information for the latter group is contained in the section on the nature of the employment of mothers in the six months preceding the interview (see p. 18).

RACE AND NATIONALITY OF MOTHERS

Of the 6,070 employed mothers, 4,486 (74 per cent) were white and 1,569 (26 per cent) were negro. (Table 1.) Two thousand three hundred and eighty-four (23 per cent) of the white and 1,115 (57 per cent) of the negro mothers had been employed in the six months preceding the inquiry. Employment was more usual among the negro than among the white mothers. Of the 12,227 families included in the study, 1,960 (19 per cent) of all the white and 861 (44 per cent) of all the negro mothers were employed when visited. The white mothers had been employed for considerably shorter periods than the negro; one-fifth of the employed white mothers, compared with nearly one-half of the employed negro mothers, had been employed at least 50 per cent of their married life. A somewhat smaller proportion of the white than of the negro mothers (54 per cent compared with 78 per cent) who were not employed at the time of the interview had worked at some time since January 1, 1925.

Differences in nationality carrying with them different standards of living and different attitudes and customs also markedly affected the extent of employment among mothers. Among the native-born white mothers 41 per cent, and among the foreign-born white mothers 47 per cent, had been employed after marriage. The proportion varied from 31 per cent of the Irish and 35 per cent of the Italian to 60 per cent of the Polish, Russian (other than Jewish), and Lithuanian mothers included in the inquiry.

Current employment among the foreign born showed a similar variation. Less than a fifth of all the Irish and Italian mothers canvassed had worked within the six months preceding the interview, as compared with about one-third of the Poles and more than one-third of the Russians (other than Jews) and Lithuanians. Of the foreign-born group as a whole 27 per cent had been working in the six months before they were interviewed.

The percentage of time employed after marriage was slightly less for the native-born white mothers than for the foreign-born mothers, 18 per cent of the former compared with 21 per cent of the latter having worked 50 per cent or more of the time since their marriage. (Table 2.) However, the amount of time that the mothers of the different nationalities had worked varied greatly. The English, Scotch, and Welsh and Italian mothers had been employed about the same proportions of their married lives as the native-born white mothers. Among the other mothers the percentage who had been employed at least half the time after marriage ranged from 45 per cent of the Jewish to 14 per cent of the Irish. Forty-six per cent of the negro mothers had been employed at least half the time.

TABLE 1.—*Race, nationality, and employment history of mothers having children under 16 years of age in 11 districts of Philadelphia*

Race and nationality of mother	Mothers having children under 16 years of age									
	Total	Employed since marriage							Not employed since marriage	
		Total		Employed in 6 months immediately preceding date of interview		Not employed in 6 months immediately preceding date of interview		Not reported whether employed in 6 months immediately preceding date of interview		
		Number	Per cent [1]	Number	Per cent [1]	Number	Per cent [1]		Number	Per cent [1]
Total	12,227	6,070	50	3,509	29	2,555	21	6	6,157	50
Race reported	12,212	6,058	50	3,501	29	2,551	21	6	6,154	50
White	10,243	4,486	44	2,384	23	2,098	20	4	5,757	56
Native	5,427	2,209	41	1,082	20	1,125	20	2	3,218	59
Foreign born	4,801	2,270	47	1,300	27	968	20	2	2,531	53
Polish	1,190	716	60	376	32	339	28	1	474	40
Italian	704	246	35	131	19	115	16	1	458	65
Irish	682	210	31	123	18	86	13	1	472	69
Russian	881	444	50	299	34	145	16	----------	437	50
Jewish	426	169	40	129	30	40	9	----------	257	60
Other	455	275	60	170	37	105	23	----------	180	40
English, Scotch, and Welsh	284	134	47	68	24	66	23	----------	150	53
German	284	143	50	78	27	65	23	----------	141	50
Lithuanian	187	113	60	67	36	46	25	----------	74	40
Other	351	157	45	78	22	79	23	----------	194	55
Nationality not reported	238	107	45	80	34	27	11	----------	131	55
Jewish	136	52	38	38	28	14	10	----------	84	62
Other	102	55	54	42	41	13	13	----------	47	46
Nativity not reported	15	7	----------	2	----------	5	----------	----------	8	----------
Negro	1,966	1,569	80	1,115	57	452	23	2	397	20
Chinese	3	3	----------	2	----------	1	----------	----------	----------	----------
Race not reported	15	12	----------	8	----------	4	----------	----------	3	----------

[1] Per cent not shown where number of mothers is less than 50.

TABLE 2.—*Race, nationality, and percentage of time employed since marriage of employed mothers having children under 16 years of age in 11 districts of Philadelphia*

Race and nationality of mother	Mothers employed since marriage												
	Total	Percentage of time employed											
		Total reported	Less than 10		10, less than 30		30, less than 50		50, less than 70		70 or more		Not reported
			Number	Per cent [1]	Number	Per cent [1]	Number	Per cent [1]	Number	Per cent [1]	Number	Per cent [1]	
Total	6,070	4,817	1,250	26	1,519	32	840	17	542	11	666	14	1,253
Race reported	6,058	4,813	1,250	26	1,517	32	838	17	542	11	666	14	1,245
White	4,486	3,811	1,105	29	1,289	34	669	18	367	10	381	10	675
Native	2,209	1,862	632	34	599	32	299	16	186	10	146	8	347
Foreign born	2,270	1,945	471	24	689	35	370	19	180	9	235	12	325
Polish	716	639	140	22	290	45	113	18	49	8	47	7	77
Russian	444	376	75	20	104	28	76	20	41	11	80	21	68
Jewish	169	136	21	15	27	20	26	19	13	10	49	36	33
Other	275	240	54	23	77	32	50	21	28	12	31	13	35
Italian	246	204	72	35	68	33	31	15	19	9	14	7	42
Irish	210	181	57	31	62	34	37	20	14	8	11	6	29
German	143	122	29	24	32	26	20	16	14	12	26	21	21
English, Scotch, and Welsh	134	105	38	36	31	30	17	16	10	10	9	9	29
Lithuanian	113	101	12	12	38	38	31	31	8	8	12	12	12
Other	157	137	35	26	48	35	25	18	12	9	17	12	20
Nationality not reported	107	80	13	16	16	20	20	25	12	15	19	24	27
Jewish	52	42	6	------	9	------	9	------	6	------	12	------	10
Other	55	38	7	------	7	------	11	------	6	------	7	------	17
Nativity not reported	7	4	2	------	1	------	------	------	1	------	------	------	3
Negro	1,569	1,001	145	14	227	23	169	17	175	17	285	28	568
Chinese	3	1	------	------	1	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	2
Race not reported	12	4	------	------	2	------	2	------	------	------	------	------	8

[1] Per cent not shown where number of mothers is less than 50.

AGE

As a group the mothers included in the study were young. Almost a third were under 30 years of age, and three-fourths were under 40. (Table 3.) The negro mothers were the youngest, the native-born white mothers were a little more mature, and the foreign born were considerably older. Forty-nine per cent of the negro mothers were under 30 years of age, compared with 38 per cent of the native-born white mothers and 17 per cent of the foreign-born mothers, whereas 15 per cent of the negro, compared with 21 per cent of the native-born white and 35 per cent of the foreign-born, were over 40 years of age.

The marked difference in age between the native and foreign born white mothers is undoubtedly attributable to the cutting down of immigration in recent years. The immigrant group was made up largely of the women who came to this country as adults before the war and the daughters they brought with them who have since grown up and married. The negro population of Philadelphia has a much larger proportion of persons in the age period 15 to 45 years than the white population. In this Philadelphia is similar to most Northern cities.[3] Migration from the South appeals to the younger and more venturesome negroes; they move northward, leaving the children and the older members of the family behind.[4] The result has been, as is usually the case among newer immigrant groups, a disproportionate number of persons in the intermediate age groups.

Among the native white mothers included in the preliminary survey who had not been employed, the age variation was about the same as in the group of working mothers; 37 per cent of the former and 38 per cent of the latter were under 30 years of age. Of the foreign-born mothers who had worked after marriage, however, 14 per cent were under 38 years of age, as compared with 21 per cent of those who had never been gainfully employed during their married lives. More than two-thirds of the negro mothers who had not worked after marriage were under 30 years of age, but less than half of those who had been at work were in this younger group. Probably one reason so many of the young negro mothers did not work is because most of them—relatively more than of the white mothers—had young children. (See p. 14.)

NUMBER OF YEARS MARRIED

The majority of the mothers included in the study had been married 10 years or more. No doubt on account of the fact that they were older (see above) the white mothers had been married longer than the negro mothers, 68 per cent of the white and 54 per cent of the negro having been married 10 years or more and 23 per cent of the white and 15 per cent of the negro 20 years or more. The foreign-born mothers had been married somewhat longer than the native-born white mothers. (Table 4.)

[3] Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, vol. 2, Population, pp. 170–183, 301. U. S. Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1922.

[4] See Rural Depopulation in Certain Tidewater and Piedmont Areas of Virginia, by Wilson Gee and John J. Corson, 3d, pp. 32–33, 67–68 (Institute of Research in the Social Sciences, University of Virginia, 1929) and The Recent Northward Migration of Negroes, by Joseph A. Hill, pp. 34–46, in Publications of the American Sociological Society, vol. 18.

TABLE 3.—*Race, nativity, age, and employment history of mothers having children under 16 years of age in 11 districts of Philadelphia*

Employment history and age of mother	Mothers having children under 16 years of age											
	Total		White						Negro		Chinese	Race not reported
			Total		Native		Foreign born		Nativity not reported					
	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution		Number	Per cent distribution		
Total	12,227		10,243		5,427		4,801		15	1,966		3	15
Age reported	11,795	100	9,962	100	5,286	100	4,663	100	13	1,825	100	1	7
Under 25 years	1,427	12	1,034	10	829	16	203	4	2	393	22		
25 years, under 30	2,316	20	1,814	18	1,201	23	611	13	2	499	27		3
30 years, under 35	2,701	23	2,324	23	1,272	24	1,049	22	3	376	21		1
35 years, under 40	2,350	20	2,059	21	896	17	1,160	25	3	289	16		2
40 years, under 45	1,486	13	1,342	13	542	10	799	17	1	143	8	1	
45 years and over	1,515	13	1,389	14	546	10	841	18	2	125	7		1
Not reported	432		281		141		138		2	143		2	8
Employed since marriage	6,070		4,486		2,209		2,270		7	1,569		3	12
Age reported	5,779	100	4,330	100	2,138	100	2,187	100	5	1,442	100	1	6
Under 25 years	628	11	382	9	316	15	65	3	1	246	17		
25 years, under 30	1,108	19	721	17	474	22	247	11		384	27		3
30 years, under 35	1,375	24	1,065	25	522	24	542	25	1	310	21		
35 years, under 40	1,264	22	1,007	23	401	19	605	28	1	255	18		2
40 years, under 45	717	12	584	13	212	10	371	17	1	132	9	1	
45 years and over	687	12	571	13	213	10	357	16	1	115	8		1
Not reported	291		156		71		83		2	127		2	6
Not employed since marriage	6,157		5,757		3,218		2,531		8	397			3
Age reported	6,016	100	5,632	100	3,148	100	2,476	100	8	383	100		1
Under 25 years	799	13	652	12	513	16	138	6	1	147	38		
25 years, under 30	1,208	20	1,093	19	727	23	364	15	2	115	30		
30 years, under 35	1,326	22	1,259	22	750	24	507	20	2	66	17		1
35 years, under 40	1,086	18	1,052	19	495	16	555	22	2	34	9		
40 years, under 45	769	13	758	13	330	10	428	17		11	3		
45 years and over	828	14	818	15	333	11	484	20	1	10	3		
Not reported	141		125		70		55			14			2

TABLE 4.—*Race, nativity, number of years married, and employment history [1] of mothers having children under 16 years of age in 11 districts of Philadelphia*

Employment history and number of years married	Mothers having children under 16 years of age												
	Total		White							Negro		Chinese	Race not reported
			Total		Native		Foreign born		Nativity not reported				
	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution		Number	Per cent distribution		
Total	12,227		10,243		5,427		4,801		15	1,966		3	15
Number of years married reported	11,802	100	10,004	100	5,288	100	4,704	100	12	1,791	100	1	6
Less than 5	1,362	12	1,079	11	773	15	303	6	3	283	16		
5, less than 10	2,666	23	2,130	21	1,380	26	747	16	3	534	30		2
10, less than 15	2,946	25	2,524	25	1,319	25	1,203	26	2	420	23		2
15, less than 20	2,246	19	1,964	20	876	17	1,086	23	2	280	16	1	1
20, less than 25	1,434	12	1,300	13	524	10	776	16		134	7		
25 or more	1,148	10	1,007	10	416	8	589	13	2	140	8		1
Not reported	375		229		131		96		2	136		2	8
Never married [1]	50		10		8		1		1	39			1
Employed since marriage	6,070		4,486		2,209		2,270		7	1,569		3	12
Number of years married reported	5,771	100	4,353	100	2,137		2,211	100	5	1,412	100	1	5
Less than 5	507	9	355	8	267	12	87	4	1	152	11		
5, less than 10	1,171	20	774	18	514	24	260	12		396	28		1
10, less than 15	1,575	27	1,218	28	563	26	655	30		355	25		2
15, less than 20	1,242	22	983	23	407	19	574	26	2	257	18	1	1
20, less than 25	732	13	609	14	220	10	389	18		123	9		
25 or more	544	9	414	10	166	8	246	11	2	129	9		1
Not reported	258		126		66		58		2	124		2	6
Never married [1]	41		7		6		1			33			1
Not employed since marriage	6,157		5,757		3,218		2,531		8	397			3
Number of years married reported	6,031	100	5,651	100	3,151	100	2,493	100	7	379	100		1
Less than 5	855	14	724	13	506	16	216	9	2	131	35		
5, less than 10	1,495	25	1,356	24	866	27	487	20	3	138	36		1
10, less than 15	1,371	23	1,306	23	756	24	548	22	2	65	17		
15, less than 20	1,004	17	981	17	469	15	512	21		23	6		
20, less than 25	702	12	691	12	304	10	387	16		11	3		
25 or more	604	10	593	10	250	8	343	14		11	3		
Not reported	117		103		65		38			12			2
Never married [1]	9		3		2				1	6			

[1] For mothers never married the employment history is for the period since birth of first child.

The mothers who had not worked after marriage had not been married so long as the mothers who had worked. Thirty-seven per cent of the white mothers who had not been employed had been married less than 10 years compared with 26 per cent of the mothers who had been employed; 71 per cent of the negro mothers who had not worked and 39 per cent of those who had worked had been married less than 10 years. Forty-four per cent of the native white and 28 per cent of the foreign-born mothers who had not worked had been married less than 10 years, as contrasted with 36 per cent of the native white and 16 per cent of the foreign born who had been employed and had been married less than 10 years. Only 6 per cent of the negro mothers who had not worked, compared with 18 per cent of those who had, had been married 20 years.

MARITAL STATUS

The composition of the 12,227 families in the 11 districts throws light on the extent of the mother's employment as related to the presence or absence of the father as breadwinner and to the number of children. In nine-tenths of the homes visited (91 per cent of the white and 83 per cent of the negro) the father, mother, and children were living together at the time of the inquiry. (Table 5.) In 5 per cent of the white and in 6 per cent of the negro families the father was dead; in the remaining families the father was absent from home for some other reason. The proportion of fathers who had deserted their families or who were divorced or separated was not learned for the whole group of families who were visited during the house-to-house canvass.[5]

TABLE 5.—*Whereabouts of husband and race and employment history in six months immediately preceding date of interview of mothers having children under 16 years of age in 11 districts of Philadelphia*

Race of mother and whereabouts of husband	Mothers having children under 16 years of age						
	Total		Employed in 6 months immediately preceding date of interview		Not employed in 6 months immediately preceding date of interview		Not reported whether employed in 6 months immediately preceding date of interview
	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	
White	10,243		2,384		7,855		4
Whereabouts of husband reported	10,109	100	2,330	100	7,775	100	4
At home	9,212	91	1,764	76	7,444	96	4
Away	405	4	297	13	108	1	
Dead	492	5	269	12	223	3	
Not reported	124		47		77		
Never married	10		7		3		
Negro	1,966		1,115		849		2
Whereabouts of husband reported	1,869	100	1,052	100	815	100	2
At home	1,555	83	787	75	767	94	1
Away	203	11	167	16	35	4	1
Dead	111	6	98	9	13	2	
Not reported	58		36		22		
Never married	39		27		12		
Chinese	3		2		1		
Race not reported	15		8		7		

[1] In 252 of the 2,196 families for whom more detailed information was obtained the fathers were away from home. Of the 252 fathers 38 per cent had deserted; 40 per cent were divorced, legally separated, or living apart without court action; and the remainder were away for miscellaneous reasons, some of them being in hospitals or penal institutions. (See Part 2.)

Among the white families visited in the house-to-house canvass, 19 per cent of the mothers whose husbands were at home and 63 per cent of the mothers whose husbands were away or dead had been working in the six months preceding the canvass. The removal of the father from the family group by death, desertion, or other reason appeared to have precipitated many of these mothers into wage-earning. Although in Pennsylvania the mothers' pension and workmen's compensation laws in many cases partly relieve widows of the burden of the support of the family, nevertheless 55 per cent of the white widows included in the study were working in the six months preceding the date of the interview, more than half of this group as the only wage earner in the family. An even larger proportion of the white working mothers whose husbands were living away from home (60 per cent) were the only wage earners in the family. This is not surprising, however, as many of the husbands had probably deserted, and women whose husbands have deserted are not eligible for mothers' aid under the Pennsylvania law.[6]

The need for supplementing the husband's earnings was apparently more pressing among the negro women than among the white. In more than half the negro families in which the husband was at home, and in more than four-fifths of the homes in which he was away from home, the wife was working—larger proportions for both groups than were found among the white. Negro widows seemed to receive less benefit from relief agencies, State or private, than did the white, for 88 per cent were working—a larger percentage even than of the negro mothers whose husbands had deserted or were divorced or were away from home for some other reason, 82 per cent of whom were working.

NUMBER AND AGE OF CHILDREN

The typical family in the districts canvassed had one or two children under 16 years of age; 40 per cent had three or more. Seventy-one families had eight or more children of school or preschool age.

The negro families were appreciably smaller than the white; only 34 per cent of the former, compared with 41 per cent of the latter, had more than two children under 16 years of age. (Table 6.) This difference is partly accounted for by the fact that the negro mothers were younger than the white mothers and had been married for shorter periods. Another factor is the high death rate among negro babies in Philadelphia over a period of years. Although the negro birth rate is consistently higher than the white, the death rate for infants [7] and for the negro population as a whole is almost double that for the white population.[8] Apparently, then, many negro families are small because of the excessively high death rates rather than because of low birth rates.

[6] Pa., Stat. 1920, sec. 16,722.
[7] Birth, Stillbirth, and Infant Mortality Statistics, 1926, part 1, p. 21. U. S. Bureau of the Census. Washington, 1929.
[8] Mortality Statistics, 1926, part 1, p. 7. U. S. Bureau of the Census. Washington, 1929.

TABLE 6.—*Race of mother, number of children under 16 years of age, and employment history of mothers having children under 16 years of age in 11 districts of Philadelphia*

Race of mother and number of children under 16 years of age	Mothers having children under 16 years of age				
	Total	Employed since marriage		Not employed since marriage	
		Number	Per cent [1]	Number	Per cent [1]
White	10,243	4,486	44	5,757	56
1 child	3,228	1,534	48	1,694	52
2 children	2,805	1,217	43	1,588	57
3 children	1,931	801	41	1,130	59
4 children	1,133	481	42	652	58
5 or more children	1,136	445	39	691	61
Number not reported	10	8		2	
Negro	1,966	1,569	80	397	20
1 child	811	665	82	146	18
2 children	486	394	81	92	19
3 children	271	208	77	63	23
4 children	204	156	77	48	24
5 or more children	192	144	75	48	25
Number not reported	2	2			
Chinese	3	3			
Race not reported	15	12		3	

[1] Per cent not shown where number of mothers is less than 50.

The size of the family varied with nationality as well as with race. Native-born white mothers averaged fewer children than did the foreign born. Among the latter group the Italian mothers had the largest families, closely followed by the Polish, Russian (other than Jewish), and Irish; those having the smallest number of children were the German, Lithuanian, and Jewish families. The majority of both white and negro mothers (58 per cent and 62 per cent, respectively) who were visited during the house-to-house canvass had children under school age.

The size of the family and the age of the children seemed to have a direct bearing on whether or not the mother was employed after marriage. Mothers who had been employed after marriage had not only fewer but also older children then mothers who had not been employed. Fifty per cent of the white mothers and 44 per cent of the negro mothers who had worked after marriage had no children under 6 years of age. The corresponding percentages among the mothers who did not work were 37 for the white and 15 for the negro. Apparently the tendency is for the mother with a number of children, particularly if the children are of preschool age, to stay at home and care for them.

This conclusion is further justified by the relationship shown between the number of children and the percentage of time worked after marriage. The mothers with only one child under 16 years of age had worked more steadily than the mothers with two or more children; the mothers with two children had worked more steadily than those with three or more, and so on up the scale. This progression held for mothers of both races. (Table 7.)

TABLE 7.—*Race of mother, number of children under 16 years of age, and percentage of time employed since marriage of mothers having children under 16 years of age in 11 districts of Philadelphia*

Race and percentage of time employed since marriage	Mothers having children under 16 years of age												
	Total	Number of children under 16											
		Total reported	1		2		3		4		5 or more		Not reported
			Number	Per cent (1)	Number	Per cent (1)	Number	Per cent (1)	Number	Per cent (1)	Number	Per cent (1)	
White	10,243	10,233	3,228	32	2,805	27	1,931	19	1,133	11	1,136	11	10
Employed since marriage	4,486	4,478	1,534	34	1,217	27	801	18	481	11	445	10	8
Percentage of time employed:													
Less than 10 per cent	1,105	1,104	303	27	304	28	213	19	142	13	142	13	1
10 per cent, less than 20	689	687	215	31	175	25	141	21	90	13	66	10	2
20 per cent, less than 30	600	600	177	30	164	27	112	19	81	14	66	11	
30 per cent, less than 40	362	361	135	37	109	30	57	16	32	9	28	8	1
40 per cent, less than 50	307	307	128	42	81	26	51	17	27	9	20	7	
50 per cent or more	748	747	347	46	204	27	112	15	41	5	43	6	1
Not reported	675	672	229	34	180	27	115	17	68	10	80	12	3
Not employed since marriage	5,757	5,755	1,694	29	1,588	28	1,130	20	652	11	691	12	2
Negro	1,966	1,964	811	41	486	25	271	14	204	10	192	10	2
Employed since marriage	1,569	1,567	665	42	394	25	209	13	157	10	144	9	2
Percentage of time employed:													
Less than 10 per cent	145	145	48	33	40	28	25	17	15	10	17	12	
10 per cent, less than 20	107	106	47	44	22	21	10	9	15	14	12	11	1
20 per cent, less than 30	120	120	36	30	36	30	23	19	14	12	11	9	
30 per cent, less than 40	72	72	31	43	19	26	8	11	6	8	8	11	
40 per cent, less than 50	97	97	35	36	25	26	19	20	12	12	6	6	
50 per cent or more	460	460	213	46	123	27	55	12	27	8	32	7	
Not reported	568	567	255	45	129	23	68	12	57	10	58	10	1
Not employed since marriage	397	397	146	37	92	23	63	16	48	12	48	12	
Chinese	3	3			1		1		1		1		
Race not reported	15	15	8		5				1				

(1) Per cent not shown where number of mothers is less than 50.

Similarly the extent of the employment of the mothers in the six months prior to the inquiry varied directly with the size of the family; the smaller the family the larger the percentage of mothers who were employed. (Table 8.) This was true for all groups—native and foreign born, white and negro—but the decrease in employment with increase in the number of children varied from group to group. Whereas 27 per cent of the white mothers—24 per cent of the native born and 32 per cent of the foreign born—with one child under 16 were working, the trend of employment of white mothers with two, three, or four children was downward, reaching 18 per cent—14 per cent of the native born and 20 per cent of the foreign born—of those with five or more children. The proportion of negro mothers who were working ranged from 63 per cent of those with one child to 46 per cent of those with five or more children.

TABLE 8.—*Race of mother, number of children under 16 years of age, and employment history in six months immediately preceding date of interview of mothers having children under 16 years of age in 11 districts of Philadelphia*

Race of mother and number of children under 16 years of age	Mothers having children under 16 years of age						
	Total	Employment history in 6 months immediately preceding date of interview					
		Total reported	Employed		Not employed		Not reported
			Number	Per cent [1]	Number	Per cent [1]	
White	10,243	10,239	2,384	23	7,855	77	4
1 child	3,228	3,226	873	27	2,353	73	2
2 children	2,805	2,804	656	23	2,148	77	1
3 children	1,931	1,930	405	21	1,525	79	1
4 children	1,133	1,133	248	22	885	78	
5 or more children	1,136	1,136	201	18	935	82	
Number not reported	10	10	1		9		
Negro	1,966	1,964	1,115	57	849	43	2
1 child	811	811	508	63	303	37	
2 children	486	486	276	57	210	43	
3 children	271	271	143	53	128	47	
4 children	204	203	99	49	104	51	1
5 or more children	192	192	88	46	104	54	
Number not reported	2	1	1				1
Chinese	3	3	2		1		
Race not reported	15	15	8		7		

[1] Per cent not shown where number of mothers is less than 50.

Still more striking are the indications of the influence that the presence of children of preschool age exerts in keeping mothers from gainful employment. Twenty per cent of the white mothers with one child under 6, 13 per cent of those with two children, and 9 per cent of those with three or more children were employed in the six months preceding the interview. (Table 9.) Although the native-born white mothers with one or more small children more frequently stayed at home than the foreign-born mothers, the contrast between these two groups was not so marked as between foreign-born mothers of different nationalities. For instance, 48 per cent of the Russian mothers (other than Jewish) with no children under 6 were working in the six months

preceding the inquiry. This percentage dropped to 30 for the mothers with one child under 6, and to 17 for those with three or more children. Among the Polish mothers, 42 per cent of those with no children under 6 were working. The percentages employed decreased to 27 per cent of those with one child, 17 per cent of those with two, and 11 per cent of those with three or more under the age of 6. On the other hand, only one-fourth of the Irish and Italian mothers who had no children under 6 were employed, and as one or more children of preschool age were added to the family group, the proportion of mothers employed dropped rapidly to 5 per cent of the Irish and 11 per cent of the Italian mothers with three or more children in this age group. Among the negro mothers, decrease in employment with an increase in the number of preschool children was quite pronounced; 73 per cent of the negro mothers with no children under 6 years of age, 56 per cent of those with one child, 40 per cent of those with two, and 28 per cent of those with three or more were working within the six months preceding the interview.

TABLE 9.—*Race of mother, employment history in six months immediately preceding date of interview, and number of children under 6 years of age of mothers having children under 6 years of age in 11 districts of Philadelphia*

Race of mother and number of children under 6 years of age	Mothers having children under 6 years of age						
	Total	Employment history in 6 months immediately preceding date of interview					
		Total reported	Employed		Not employed		Not reported
			Number	Per cent [1]	Number	Per cent [1]	
White	5,914	5,913	988	17	4,925	83	1
1 child	3,382	3,381	675	20	2,706	80	1
2 children	1,794	1,794	238	13	1,556	87	
3 or more children	712	712	65	9	647	91	
Number not reported	26	26	10		16		
Negro	1,223	1,221	568	47	653	53	2
1 child	645	644	360	56	284	44	1
2 children	364	364	146	40	218	60	
3 or more children	204	204	57	28	147	72	
Number not reported	10	9	5		4		1
Chinese	3	3	2		1		
Race not reported	9	9	5		4		

[1] Per cent not shown where number of mothers is less than 50.

The facts available seem to indicate clearly that mothers of large families and mothers of small children tend to devote themselves to the care of their homes and children rather than seek gainful employment. However, 2,122 (61 per cent) of the 3,509 mothers had more than one child, and 639 (18 per cent) had four or more. These children were often at the age when they required constant care and supervision. Many mothers who were gainfully employed had children under 6 years of age—1,040 had one child, 386 had two, 101 had three, 20 had four, and 1 even had five children not old enough to go to school.

NATURE OF EMPLOYMENT OF MOTHERS IN SIX MONTHS PRECEDING INQUIRY

Of the 12,227 mothers interviewed in the study 3,509 (29 per cent) reported employment in the six months preceding the interview; 23 per cent of the white mothers and 57 per cent of the negro mothers were in this group. For this group of mothers somewhat more extensive information was obtained than for the total number interviewed as to their status as breadwinners and as to duration, regularity, and kind of work in the 6-month period. The information that follows relates to this group of 3,509.

MOTHER'S STATUS AS BREADWINNER AND MARITAL STATUS

Such facts as were obtained for the working mothers visited in the house-to-house canvass concerning the father's presence or absence from the home and the status of the mother as chief wage earner indicate that the economic situation was a contributing factor in the decision of the mother to carry the triple burden of mother, housekeeper, and wage earner. Five hundred and eighty-one (18 per cent) of the mothers who had been employed in the six months prior to the inquiry were the sole support of their families, and 297 (9 per cent) were the chief but not the sole support. (See Table 10.) The remaining 2,373 (73 per cent) reporting were not the chief bread winners in their families, but doubtless many of them found it almost as essential to work as did the mothers who had no other means of support.[1] A slightly smaller proportion of white than of negro mothers (17 and 21 per cent, respectively) were the sole support of their families.

Three-fourths of the white mothers and an equal proportion of the negro mothers who had been employed in the six months preceding the inquiry had husbands at home. The extent to which the whereabouts of the husband was a factor in the mother's employment varied considerably among the different nationalities. For the white mothers the percentage who had husbands at home was 69 for the native born and 81 for the foreign born. The English-speaking foreign born had the smallest percentages (60 for the Irish and 65 for the English, Scotch, and Welsh), and the Italians had the highest (91 per cent). These differences are probably due in part to the differences in the age of the mothers of the various nationalities. The English, Scotch, and Welsh, and the Irish mothers who were working were much older than the Italian mothers. More than half of the English-speaking foreign born were over 40 years of age as compared with a third of the Italians. In the older groups of working mothers it is reasonable to expect a larger percentage of widows and of women forced to work because of the incapacity of their husbands

[1] The occupational distribution of the fathers was obtained for the smaller group of families included in the intensive study (Part 2 of this report). Twenty-two per cent of the husbands of 624 white working mothers were employed as laborers, 23 per cent as semiskilled factory operatives, and 27 per cent in skilled trades in manufacturing industries. Six per cent were employed in clerical occupations, 4 per cent were proprietors or managers of stores, and 1 per cent were employed in professional occupations. The remainder were in miscellaneous occupations, a number being employed as drivers, chauffeurs, and teamsters. The majority of the husbands in the negro families were laborers or semiskilled operatives in factories or were employed in domestic and personal service. Evidently most of the fathers, both white and negro, were in occupations of a low wage level.

than in a group of younger married women. Then, too, the fact that more of the Italian, Polish, and Russian (other than Jewish) than of the native-born and English-speaking foreign-born mothers who were working had husbands at home may indicate that the husbands of English-speaking mothers, presumably in most cases not handicapped by language difficulties, were better able to support their families than were immigrants from non-English-speaking countries; or it may mean that work among married women was more customary among the newer immigrant groups. Probably all three reasons applied.

In 410 of the 878 families in which the mother was the sole or chief support the father was living but was away from home; in 307 families he was dead; and in 126 he was at home but contributed little or nothing to the family. (Table 10.) Among all the native white mothers the absence of the husband was more common than among the foreign-born mothers. (Table 11.) Among the latter the absence of the father was usually due to death, except for the English, Scotch, and Welsh, and Russians (other than Jews). The reverse was true for the native-born mothers; for every two native white women whose husbands were dead, three had husbands who had deserted, were divorced, or were away for other reasons. The proportion of negro mothers whose husbands were living but were away from home was still larger.

TABLE 10.—*Whereabouts of husband and race and status as chief breadwinner of mothers employed in six months immediately preceding date of interview; mothers having children under 16 years of age in 11 districts of Philadelphia*

Race of mother and whereabouts of husband	Mothers employed in 6 months immediately preceding date of interview								
	Total	Status as chief breadwinner							
		Total reported	Chief and only		Chief but not only		Not chief		Not reported
			Number	Per cent [1]	Number	Per cent [1]	Number	Per cent [1]	
Total	3,509	3,251	581	18	297	9	2,373	73	258
Husband at home	2,554	2,393	65	3	61	3	2,267	95	161
Husband away	465	448	293	65	117	26	38	8	17
Husband dead	367	348	196	56	111	32	41	12	19
Whereabouts not reported	88	27	1	------	3	------	23	------	61
Never married	35	35	26	------	5	------	4	------	------
White	2,384	2,209	367	17	232	11	1,610	73	175
Husband at home	1,764	1,642	51	3	49	3	1,542	94	122
Husband away	297	285	172	60	90	32	23	8	12
Husband dead	269	256	137	54	90	35	29	11	13
Whereabouts not reported	47	19	1	------	2	------	16	------	28
Never married	7	7	6	------	1	------	------	------	------
Negro	1,115	1,036	213	21	65	6	758	73	79
Husband at home	787	748	14	2	12	2	722	97	39
Husband away	167	162	121	75	27	17	14	9	5
Husband dead	98	92	59	64	21	23	12	13	6
Whereabouts not reported	36	7	------	------	1	------	6	------	29
Never married	27	27	19	------	4	------	4	------	------
Chinese	2	1	------	------	------	------	1	------	1
Race not reported [2]	8	5	1	------	------	------	4	------	3

[1] Per cent not shown where number of mothers is less than 50.
[2] Includes 2 mothers with husband at home, 1 with husband dead, 4 whereabouts of husband not reported, and 1 never married.

TABLE 11.—*Whereabouts of husband and race and nationality of mothers employed in six months immediately preceding date of interview; mothers having children under 16 years of age in 11 districts of Philadelphia*

Race and nationality of mother	Mothers employed in 6 months immediately preceding date of interview									
	Total	Whereabouts of husband								Mother never married
		Total reported	At home		Away		Dead		Not reported	
			Number	Per cent [1]	Number	Per cent [1]	Number	Per cent [1]		
Total	3,509	3,386	2,554	75	465	14	367	11	88	35
White	2,384	2,330	1,764	76	297	13	269	12	47	7
Native	1,082	1,054	724	69	200	19	130	12	22	6
Foreign born	1,300	1,275	1,039	81	97	8	139	11	24	1
Polish	376	366	314	86	25	7	27	7	9	1
Russian	299	298	252	85	19	6	27	9	1	----
Jewish	129	128	106	83	5	4	17	13	1	----
Other	170	170	146	86	14	8	10	6	----	----
Italian	131	129	118	91	4	3	7	5	2	----
Irish	123	121	73	60	13	11	35	29	2	----
German	78	78	63	81	6	8	9	12	----	----
English, Scotch, and Welsh	68	63	41	65	13	21	9	14	5	----
Lithuanian	67	65	50	77	7	11	8	12	2	----
Other	78	78	63	81	6	8	9	12	----	----
Nationality not reported	80	77	65	84	4	5	8	10	3	----
Jewish	38	38	34	----	1	----	3	----	----	----
Other	42	39	31	----	3	----	5	----	3	----
Nativity not reported	2	1	1	----	----	----	----	----	1	----
Negro	1,115	1,052	787	75	167	16	98	9	36	27
Chinese	2	1	1	----	----	----	----	----	1	----
Race not reported	8	3	2	----	1	----	----	----	4	1

[1] Per cent not shown where number of mothers is less than 50.

Desertion or divorce was primarily a problem of the younger working mothers. Although less than half the employed white mothers were under 35 years of age, two-thirds of those whose husbands were living but away from home were under that age. On the other hand, absence of the husband from the homes of the women 35 years of age and over was in most instances due to death; three-fourths of the white widows who were employed were at least 35 years old. In general the same situation was found among the negro women. Working mothers under 35 years of age without husbands were usually divorced or deserted, or the husband was away from home for some other reason; those over 35 were more often widowed.

DURATION AND REGULARITY OF WORK

Considering their triple functions of mother, home maker, and wage earner, it is significant that more than three-fourths of the mothers employed away from home in the six months preceding the study had had full-time employment; two-thirds of this group had been employed at least five of the six months. The proportion who had worked steadily would have been larger if employment had been available. For instance, about one-fourth of the mothers who were textile operatives had been working irregularly, owing to the general depression in the textile industry.

The working week varied from one to seven days and the working day from one to seven or more hours. The majority of white mothers employed away from home were regular full-time workers; that is, they worked five and a half or six days a week and a full working day of at least seven or eight hours. (Table 12.) The majority of the negro mothers worked less than a full week, but as a rule full time on the days they did work. Seventy-one per cent of the white mothers and 46 per cent of the negro usually worked a 5½ or 6 day week. The remainder of the white mothers (29 per cent) and the majority of the negro mothers (54 per cent) were customarily employed only irregularly or on certain days, ordinarily not exceeding three days each week.

TABLE 12.—*Customary regularity of work and race of mothers employed away from home in six months immediately preceding date of interview; mothers having children under 16 years of age in 11 districts of Philadelphia*

Customary regularity of work	Mothers employed away from home in 6 months immediately preceding date of interview							
	Total		White		Negro		Chinese	Race not reported
	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution		
Total	2,749		1,731		1,012		1	5
Total reported	2,624	100	1,639	100	980	100	1	4
Full week	1,618	62	1,168	71	447	46	1	2
7 or more hours a day	1,315	50	932	57	380	39	1	2
Less than 7 hours a day	298	11	234	14	64	7	------	------
Hours not reported	5	(1)	2	(1)	3	(1)	------	------
Part week	1,006	38	471	29	533	54	------	2
7 or more hours a day	735	28	320	20	413	42	------	2
Less than 7 hours a day	243	9	142	9	101	10	------	------
Hours not reported	28	1	9	1	19	2	------	------
Not reported	125		92		32		------	1
7 or more hours a day	12		5		7		------	------
Less than 7 hours a day	4		3		1		------	------
Hours not reported	109		84		24		------	1

[1] Less than 1 per cent.

Part-time work has sometimes been proposed as a solution of the problem of the mother who must support and at the same time care for her family. It is interesting to note, therefore, the extent to which mothers in Philadelphia had resorted to this method of combining their functions as wage earner and home maker. Although the majority of both white and negro mothers worked full time (that is, at least seven hours a day), 23 per cent of the white mothers and 17 per cent of the negro mothers employed away from home who reported on this point were working part time—most of them working at least four hours a day for six days a week.

EMPLOYMENT AT HOME OR AWAY FROM HOME

Mothers in Philadelphia who must earn or supplement the family income are apparently finding fewer and fewer opportunities to do sufficiently remunerative work in their homes. They have gone more and more into outside work. This exodus is shown by a comparison

of the findings of the study made in 1918–19 and those of the Children's Bureau in 1928. In the earlier period 14 per cent of the white married women worked away from home, compared with 7 per cent who worked at home.[2] Nine years later 17 per cent of the mothers of young children worked away from home and 6 per cent worked at home or in a family business closely associated with the home. If married women without children had been included in the Children's Bureau study, the percentage working away from home would undoubtedly have been still larger, as these women do not have to provide care for children during working hours, and the better-paid work is outside the home.

Table 13 shows the place of employment of the mothers employed in the six months preceding the inquiry.

TABLE 13.—*Race, nativity, and place of employment of mothers employed in six months immediately preceding date of interview; mothers having children under 16 years of age in 11 districts of Philadelphia*

Race and nativity	Mothers employed in 6 months immediately preceding date of interview								
	Total	Place of employment							
		Total reported	At home		Away from home		Close by or connected with home [1]		Not reported
			Number	Per cent [2]	Number	Per cent [2]	Number	Per cent [2]	
Total	3,509	3,434	260	8	2,749	80	425	12	75
White	2,384	2,331	185	8	1,731	74	415	18	53
Native	1,082	1,045	52	5	900	86	93	9	37
Foreign born	1,300	1,285	133	10	831	65	321	25	15
Nativity not reported	2	1	------	------	------	------	1	------	1
Negro	1,115	1,094	73	7	1,012	93	9	1	21
Chinese	2	2	------	------	1	------	1	------	------
Race not reported	8	7	2	------	5	------	------	------	1

[1] Includes 416 mothers working in own or relative's store, shop, or business in or very near dwelling, and 9 mothers in domestic and personal service close by or connected with home.
[2] Per cent not shown where number of mothers is less than 50.

Neither the size of the family nor the age of the children seems to have any effect in determining whether the mother works at home or away from home. The only factor apparently exerting a real influence in keeping the wage-earning mother at home is custom. Eighty-one per cent of the Jewish mothers, 66 per cent of the Italian mothers, and 43 per cent of the German mothers who were gainfully employed within the six months preceding the interview worked in the home or in a family business closely connected with the home. In contrast, only 8 per cent of the Negro mothers, 9 per cent of the English, Scotch, and Welsh mothers, 14 per cent of the Irish, 14 per cent of the native-born white mothers, and 18 per cent of the Polish mothers who were employed worked at home or near-by.

[2] Mothers in Industry, pp. 33–34.

OCCUPATIONS

The 3,509 mothers working in the six months preceding the interview were gaining a livelihood in many different industries and in many different occupations. Forty-seven per cent were in domestic and personal service, 33 per cent were in manufacturing and mechanical industries, 15 per cent were in trade, 2 per cent were clerical workers, 1 per cent were in transportation, and 1 per cent were in professional service. Their occupational distribution was strikingly like that of all married women in Philadelphia in 1920. The census of that year showed that 43 per cent of all employed married women 15 years of age and over were in domestic and personal service, 34 per cent were in manufacturing and mechanical industries, 11 per cent were in trade, 8 per cent were clerical workers, 4 per cent were in professional service, and 1 per cent were in transportation.[3] The differences in the census figures for 1920 and the figures for 1928 obtained in the present study may be due more to the fact that in the census enumeration married women include only those who are living with their husbands, widowed and divorced women being grouped with the single, and to a difference between mothers and married women who are childless than to a real change in the occupational grouping, and as such throw light upon the occupations of mothers as opposed to those of married women without children. The census figures were for all employed married women, whereas the present study was confined to mothers of children under 16 years of age, including widows and women living apart from their husbands. Married women who are childless, particularly the younger ones, may be expected to do much the same type of work as single women. According to the 1920 census, 24 per cent of the employed single women in Philadelphia, as compared with 8 per cent of the married women, were clerical workers; 9 per cent and 4 per cent, respectively, were in professional occupations.[4]

Factory work and domestic service were the principal occupations of mothers who worked away from home. (Table 14.) Shopkeeping (that is, work in the family store), industrial home work, and laundering were the leading occupations of women working in or in connection with their homes.

[3] Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, vol. 4, Population, Occupations, pp. 851-852. United States Bureau of the Census. Washington, 1923.
[4] Id.

TABLE 14.—*Industry and occupation, race, and nativity of mothers employed away from home in six months immediately preceding date of interview; mothers having children under 16 years of age in 11 districts of Philadelphia*

Industry and occupation	Mothers employed away from home in 6 months immediately preceding date of interview									
	Total		White				Negro		Chinese	Race not reported
			Native		Foreign born					
	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution		
Total	2,749	-------	900	-------	831	-------	1,012	-------	1	5
Industry and occupation reported	2,724	100	884	100	827	100	1,007	100	1	5
Agriculture	7	(1)	-------	-------	4	(1)	3	(1)	-------	-------
Manufacturing and mechanical	966	35	444	50	411	50	109	11	-------	2
Factory workers	916	34	429	49	383	46	102	10	-------	2
Textiles	434	16	252	29	176	21	4	(1)	-------	2
Clothing	172	6	37	4	62	7	73	7	-------	-------
Cigar and tobacco factories	86	3	17	2	57	7	12	1	-------	-------
Food industries	44	2	29	3	15	2	-------	-------	-------	-------
Metal industries and electrical supplies	39	1	22	2	16	2	1	(1)	-------	-------
Other	136	5	71	8	55	7	10	1	-------	-------
Not reported	5	(1)	1	(1)	2	(1)	2	(1)	-------	-------
Dressmaking and tailoring	46	2	13	1	27	3	6	1	-------	-------
Other	4	(1)	2	(1)	1	(1)	1	(1)	-------	-------
Transportation	23	1	17	2	2	(1)	4	(1)	-------	-------
Trade	104	4	81	9	19	2	4	(1)	-------	-------
Professional service	32	1	23	3	2	(1)	7	1	-------	-------
Domestic and personal service	1,517	56	258	29	381	46	874	87	1	3
Employees in restaurants, hotels, and institutions	226	8	84	10	78	9	63	6	-------	1
Laundry operatives	112	4	25	3	39	5	48	5	-------	-------
Cleaners and other workers in private families	863	32	57	6	84	10	721	72	-------	1
Cleaners in buildings	268	10	76	9	171	21	20	2	-------	1
Other	46	2	16	2	8	1	21	2	1	-------
Not reported	2	(1)	-------	-------	1	(1)	1	(1)	-------	-------
Clerical	75	3	61	7	8	1	6	1	-------	-------
Not reported	25	-------	16	-------	4	-------	5	-------	-------	-------

[1] Less than 1 per cent.

NATIONALITY AND RACE

National customs appeared to be a determining factor in the type of work that the mothers performed. For example, shopkeeping, as owner, partner, or assistant, was the occupation of three-fourths of the Jewish, one-third of the Russian (other than Jewish), and one-fourth of the German and Italian mothers, but of few of the native-born women or of the English-speaking immigrants. Industrial home work was performed largely by Italians; 39 per cent reported this occupation. The only others showing a significant proportion of mothers in this work were Germans (12 per cent) and Jews and Lithuanians (5 per cent). Laundry work at home was confined almost exclusively to Germans and Irish.

Similarly, native background influenced to a certain extent the kind of work that the mothers performed away from home. Factory work

furnished employment to foreign born and native born alike, almost half of each group being engaged in some process of manufacturing, but here the resemblance ceased. Almost all the foreign-born mothers who were not in factories were in personal and domestic service, but fewer native-born white mothers were engaged in this employment. Trade, transportation, clerical, and professional work was limited almost entirely to the native-born whites. (Table 14.)

Further differentiations in occupation according to nationality were found within the foreign-born group. The majority of the English, Scotch, and Welsh, Poles, Jews, and Italians worked in factories. Irish, Russians (other than Jews), Germans, and Lithuanians were more often in domestic and personal service than in any other type of work—the Irish and Russians as cleaners in offices, stores, and other buildings; the Germans as day workers in private families; and the Lithuanians as hotel and restaurant employees.

Race even more than nationality was a determining factor in place and kind of employment. Ninety-three per cent of the negro mothers who had been employed in the six months preceding the interview worked away from home. Seventy-eight per cent were in personal and domestic service, 65 per cent as cleaners or other day workers in private families. Only 9 per cent worked as operatives in manufacturing and mechanical industries, and the number in trade, transportation, clerical, and professional service was negligible.

REGULARITY OF EMPLOYMENT

The fact that white mothers worked much more regularly than negro mothers (see p. 21) is attributable in large measure to the type of work performed. Work in factories, hotels, restaurants, and laundries, the cleaning of offices and stores, and selling, clerical, and professional work is usually regular,[5] and the women who work in these occupations must adjust themselves to the demands of the occupation. These industries and occupations furnished employment to a large proportion of white mothers, and these women have had to accept regular hours in order to obtain employment. On the other hand, negro mothers found employment in cleaning, laundering, and doing other work for private families only on certain days of the week. As a consequence, less than a third of the negro mothers engaged in this work were regularly employed for five or more days a week. That occupation rather than race was the largest determining factor in the irregularity of employment is further evidenced by the fact that the negro mothers who had succeeded in obtaining employment in factories, hotels, restaurants, and laundries apparently worked as regularly as white mothers in these occupations.

The occupations of the mothers who worked only part time (that is, less than seven hours a day) differed somewhat from the occupations of those who worked full time. (Table 15.) Of the 379 white women who did part-time work, 33 were in manufacturing and mechanical industries, 295 in domestic and personal service—49 as waitresses and other hotel and restaurant workers, 39 as workers in private families, and 191 of the remainder as cleaners in offices, stores, and other buildings—23 in stores, 15 in offices, and 9 in the professions. Of the 166 negro part-time workers 155 were in domestic

[5] For definition of regular work see p. 21.

service—123 as laundresses, cleaners, or general houseworkers in private families.

TABLE 15.—*Race, and industry and occupation of mothers employed away from home for full or part day in six months immediately preceding date of interview; mothers having children under 16 years of age in 11 districts of Philadelphia*

Industry and occupation, and race of mother	Mothers employed away from home in 6 months immediately preceding date of interview						
	Total		Full day		Part day		Not reported
	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	
White	1,731		1,257		379		95
Industry and occupation reported	1,711	100	1,245	100	376	100	90
Manufacturing and mechanical	855	50	771	62	33	9	51
Domestic and personal service	639	37	316	25	295	78	28
Employees in restaurants, hotels, and institutions	162	9	103	8	49	13	10
Cleaners and other workers in private families	141	8	97	8	39	10	5
Cleaners in buildings	247	14	47	4	191	51	9
Other	88	5	69	6	15	4	4
Not reported	1	(1)			1	(1)	
Other	217	13	158	13	48	13	11
Not reported	20		12		3		5
Negro	1,012		800		166		46
Industry and occupation reported	1,007	100	796	100	166	100	45
Manufacturing and mechanical	109	11	101	13	3	2	5
Domestic and personal service	874	87	680	85	155	93	39
Employees in restaurants, hotels, and institutions	63	6	45	6	13	8	5
Cleaners and other workers in private families	721	72	568	71	123	74	30
Cleaners in buildings	20	2	7	1	12	7	1
Other	69	7	59	7	7	4	3
Not reported	1	(1)	1	(1)			
Other	24	2	15	2	8	5	1
Not reported	5		4				1
Chinese	1	(1)	1	(1)			
Race not reported	5		4				1

[1] Less than 1 per cent.

Manufacturing and mechanical industries offered relatively few opportunities for part-time employment; 62 per cent of the white mothers who worked full time, as compared with 9 per cent of the part-time white workers, were in factory work. Stores, offices, and professional service [6] gave employment to practically the same percentage of part-time as to full-time working mothers, but the total number employed in these occupations was small. The only occupations that met the needs of an appreciable number of mothers for employment at hours which interfered the least with their home duties were the heavy, unskilled, low-paid jobs of scrubbing, washing, and cleaning. Little more than one-tenth of the white mothers who did full-time work, but almost two-thirds of the white mothers who did

[6] Professional service includes ushers and cashiers in theaters, school and music teachers, social workers, nurses, and similar workers.

part-time work, did these types of domestic service. Practically all the negro women who did part-time work were day workers in private families or office cleaners. That women considered this kind of domestic work undesirable is evidenced by the small proportion of women whose family circumstances allowed them choice in the matter of working hours who were doing it. Many women, however, undertook the physically hazardous task of combining housework and care of the children during the day with four or five hours of scrubbing or cleaning at night.

MOTHER'S STATUS AS BREADWINNER

The mothers who were the sole support of their families had a somewhat different occupational distribution from that of other working mothers. Almost all were employed away from home because necessity forced them to seek out the better-paying jobs. Half the white mothers who were the sole support of their families worked in factories, one-third in domestic and personal service, 7 per cent in trade and transportation, and 6 per cent in clerical work. Many of these women represented a different occupational level from that of the mothers who were the chief breadwinners, but not the sole support, of their families. The latter were more often found in domestic and personal service, particularly as night cleaners in stores, offices, and other buildings, and less frequently in trade, transportation, or clerical work.

Contrasted with these mothers who bore the brunt of family support were the great majority (72 per cent) who were not the chief breadwinners but who for one reason or another were at work to supplement their husbands' earnings. These women were more often employed at home or in connection with the home business than were the chief breadwinners; one-third found it possible to carry on work that did not necessitate leaving their children for any length of time. They did not accept full-time employment so frequently, nor did they work so many days a week, as the women who were the sole support of their families.

Less variation appeared in the occupational grouping of the white mothers who were not the main support of the family and yet worked away from home than in that of the chief breadwinners. Almost the same proportions were in factories, but textiles absorbed a larger percentage of the mothers who were not the chief breadwinners than of the more necessitous mothers. Trade and professional service gave employment in equal proportions to the two groups. About the same percentages worked in domestic and personal service, but there was a marked contrast in the type of work which they performed. About half the women who were not chief breadwinners were cleaners in stores, offices, and other buildings, as compared with a fifth of the mothers who were the sole support of the family and a third of those who had some assistance. The fact that this work could be done at night when the father could stay with the children made it appeal to mothers who needed to supplement the family earnings; but, on the other hand, the low wages paid made it undesirable for the woman who had no other means of support for herself and family.

Employment of negro mothers followed the same general trends as did employment of white mothers except that the differences were

less pronounced. The mothers who were not the chief breadwinners showed only a slight tendency to work at home rather than away, but they worked less regularly and for shorter periods of time. The chief breadwinners were more often factory operatives than the other mothers, but few among them were so employed. Almost 80 per cent of both groups of wage-earning negro mothers were in domestic and personal service. The mothers without aid in family support were more often in hotels and restaurants than were the others, but the vast majority were day workers. Differences in other occupational groups were negligible.

CONCLUSIONS

This inquiry indicates a growing tendency in Philadelphia for mothers to be gainfully employed outside the home. In the selected areas of the city included in this study 21 per cent of the white mothers with husbands and one or more children under 16 years of age living at home were employed in 1928, compared with 14 per cent for a similar group of mothers who lived in wage-earning neighborhoods of similar character who were employed in 1918–19. (See p. 5.) In the earlier period 14 per cent of the white married mothers worked away from home compared with 7 per cent who worked at home, whereas in 1928, 17 per cent of the mothers with children under 16 years of age worked away from home compared with 6 per cent who worked at home. This difference would undoubtedly have been even greater had married women without children been included in the later, as they were in the earlier, group, for these women are logically the first to be employed away from home.

The employment of mothers is affected by various factors, among the most important of which are race, nativity, nationality, and age and number of children. Of the 6,070 mothers interviewed who had one or more children under 16 years of age and had worked after marriage, 4,486 (74 per cent) were white and 1,569 (26 per cent) were negro; 51 per cent of the white mothers were foreign born. Work was less frequent among the native-born white mothers than among the foreign born and negro. However, some of the foreign-born groups—notably the Irish, Italians, and Jews—showed a marked disposition for the mother to stay at home with her children. When it became essential that she earn or supplement the family income, she ordinarily took up work that she could do at home or in close proximity to her home, such as industrial home work or neighborhood storekeeping. As a group, the foreign-born mothers were more often employed and worked for longer periods of time than the native-born white women. Work of negro mothers was general; as a rule the only ones who were not employed were those with a number of young children requiring constant care.

Apart from economic necessity, apparently the outstanding consideration in determining whether or not a mother went to work was the age and number of her children. The proportion of mothers employed varied directly with the number of children and with the presence of children of preschool age. The indications are that mothers of children who require constant supervision and mothers of large families do not go to work except as a last resort. Then they try to obtain work at night or at hours that interfere the least with their duties as mothers. Mothers who must earn to keep the family together, however, will work even if the children are neglected. It is a choice between food and clothing for the children and their adequate supervision.

APPENDIX A.—EMPLOYMENT OF MOTHERS IN THE DIFFERENT DISTRICTS

The following section contains a description of the districts surveyed and a discussion of mothers' employment by districts. Nine of the 11 districts were predominantly white and 2 predominantly negro. To clarify the picture, white mothers only will be considered in the 9 districts predominantly white and negro mothers only in the 2 remaining districts. The boundaries of the districts are inserted in footnotes for the information of interested persons in Philadelphia.

Tables I to IV, pages 36 to 39, summarize the facts relating to mothers' employment by districts.

District 1 (Kensington) [1]

Kensington is an old, highly industrialized section of Philadelphia with factories scattered among the residences. The English, Scotch, and Welsh settled here originally to be near the mills in which they worked. Their descendants, together with recent immigrants from their homeland, made up the greater part of those interviewed in this study. Mothers in this district have worked in the mills from generation to generation. Girls brought up in the same tradition have continued their factory work after marriage and while their children were growing up. Most of the mothers in Kensington who were employed worked in factories, chiefly in the hosiery, woolen, carpet, and other textile mills.

The largest proportion of white mothers employed after marriage and also the largest proportion employed in the six months preceding the interview were found in this district, in which most of the mothers were native born. (See Table II, p. 37.) Fifty-seven per cent of the mothers interviewed had been employed after marriage, 29 per cent in the six months preceding the interview. The prevalence of employment among mothers in this district no doubt was partly due to real necessity, in addition to custom. A relatively large proportion (29 per cent) of the working mothers were widowed, divorced, or deserted, so that it was probably essential that they support their families.

Eighty-one per cent of the working mothers were employed away from home. Sixty-eight per cent of these were employed in factories—56 per cent in textiles, and a few in clothing, food, metal, and leather manufacturing. Twenty-one per cent were in domestic and personal service, mostly as day workers in private families. Although the percentage of factory workers in this industrial district was above the average for all sections, the proximity of industry did not appear to be an important factor in determining the extent of the employment of mothers. Two other important industrial sections had appreciably higher proportions of factory workers in general and even of textile workers. The indications are that in itself the presence of a factory within a block exerted no pull upon the mothers unless the family situation was such that their work was more or less essential. If they were accustomed to work or needed to work, they found employment wherever available, preferably near home.

Working mothers in Kensington, in common with other native-born mothers, did not make a practice of working regularly after marriage. Those who had husbands at home worked periodically according to family needs. Of the mothers who had worked after marriage one-third had been employed less than a year and about one-half less than two years. More than one-fourth had worked five years or more, many of these being dependent upon their earnings and having no choice but to work regularly.

The tendency in this district, as in the other districts in which native-born mothers predominated, was for the mothers to go to work only after their children had reached school age. More than half of these mothers who had

[1] This district consists of two sections, one north and the other south of Lehigh Avenue. The boundary line of the northern section began at the intersection of Kensington Avenue and Indiana Street, continued southwest on Kensington Avenue to Lehigh Avenue, west to Front Street, and north to Clearfield Street. The northern boundary line was irregular, going east on Clearfield Street as far as B Street, then south to Cambria and east to D Street, where it turned north again and continued to Indiana Avenue, thence east to Kensington Avenue. All this territory was in ward 33. The southern section of the district lay in ward 19, and included the territory bounded by Kensington Avenue on the east between Huntingdon and York Streets, York on the south, Palethorp Street on the west, and Lehigh Avenue on the north as far as Front Street, then south and west on Huntingdon Street around the hospital grounds to Kensington Avenue.

worked after marriage had no children under 6, and one-third had only one child under 6. On the other hand, two-fifths of the mothers who had not worked after marriage had no children under 6 and one-third had only one child of this age.

The average family among the working mothers contained 2 children under 16 years of age as compared with 2.4 among the mothers who did not work. This difference in size of family, which was found in the other districts in which native-born mothers predominated, as well as in Kensington, is undoubtedly due in part to the greater proportion of broken homes among the working mothers and in part to the tendency for the mothers with larger families and younger children to go to work only as a last resort.

District 2 (West Philadelphia) [2]

Although 44 per cent of the white mothers in all districts had been employed after marriage, in West Philadelphia, where almost all the mothers were native born, only one-third had worked after marriage. Seventeen per cent were employed at the time of the interview, three-fourths of them away from home. Mothers who worked in this district were more often saleswomen, telephone and telegraph operators, and clerical and professional workers than were those working in other districts. Practically one-third of the outside workers were doing work of one kind or another that is generally considered more socially desirable than factory employment or personal and domestic service. Relatively fewer factory workers (21 per cent) were found in this district than in other sections, and the percentage (43) of domestic workers was lower than the average for all districts.

This district was typical of the sections in which native-born mothers predominated in the percentage of working mothers who were not living with their husbands (including those whose husbands were dead)—28 per cent as contrasted with 14 per cent in the sections in which the foreign born predominated. It was also typical of the size of families in the former as opposed to the latter districts; working mothers averaged 2.1 children per family and nonworking mothers 2.4, whereas the average for working mothers for districts in which the foreign born predominated ranged from 2.4 to 2.7 and for nonworking mothers from 2.4 to 3 children per family.

District 3 (Southwest Philadelphia) [3]

The district covered in Southwest Philadelphia is a residential section in the extreme southwestern part and was selected as characteristic of another type of neighborhood whose inhabitants were chiefly native born. In economic level it more nearly approached West Philadelphia than any other section, and it was also much like it and South Philadelphia in the nationalities of its foreign-born population. The chief difference was that Italians and Poles were more largely represented and English-speaking immigrants less.

One-third of the mothers canvassed in this district had been employed after marriage, and less than one-fifth (17 per cent) in the six months preceding the interview, the proportions being practically the same as those in West Philadelphia. Native-born mothers predominated, but some Italians and Poles were also found. A larger percentage of mothers in Southwest Philadelphia than in West Philadelphia were employed in factories and a smaller percentage in trade, clerical work, and the professions, a difference that may be attributed to the presence of the newer immigrant groups.

The size of the families in the two districts was much the same. The proportion of broken homes showed little variation. The striking similarities found in

[2] Two separate districts in West Philadelphia north of Market Street were included in the study. The smaller section was in ward 24, just across the Schuylkill River north of Haverford Avenue, the eastern boundary line being formed by the Pennsylvania Railroad tracks, which curve northeast to Thirty-fourth Street. Here the line ran south to Fairmount Avenue, west to Thirty-eighth Street, and south again to meet Haverford Avenue. The larger section occupied part of two wards, 24 and 44. It extended from Fortieth to Fifty-second Street and consisted for the most part of a strip two blocks wide between Brown Street and Westminster Avenue. In the northwest corner the boundary line extended one block north to Cathedral Cemetery and two blocks east to Fiftieth Street. In the southeast corner the line ran south from Brown Street on Forty-second Street, east to Lancaster Avenue, then southeast on the avenue to Fortieth Street, where, turning northward, it formed a straight eastern boundary as far as Westminster.

[3] Two separate sections in ward 40 were included in the study, the Pennsylvania Railroad tracks passing through the centers of both. The boundary line of the larger area ran along Sixtieth Street from Eastwick to Kingressing, then turned south to Sixty-fourth Street, thence east to Woodland Avenue, north to Sixty-second Street, east to Eastwick, and north to Sixtieth. The boundary of the southern and smaller area followed Sixty-eighth Street from Dicks to Woodland Avenue, then south to Seventieth, east to Elmwood, again east on Seventieth Street to Dicks, then north to Sixty-eighth Street.

these districts—one an old section near the center of the city and close to industries of all kinds and the other quite far removed in opportunities for employment—indicate that the determining factor in mothers' employment is not the proximity of industry.

District 4 (South Philadelphia) [4]

The section of South Philadelphia chosen for study is an old residential district peopled largely by native Americans of Irish stock and by Irish immigrants. The neighborhood appeared to be less prosperous than either West or Southwest Philadelphia. In nationality representation it was almost an exact counterpart of West Philadelphia, having in general the same proportion of native-born whites, the same proportion of Irish and other English-speaking immigrants, and in general the same mixture of other foreign born. It is possible, therefore, to contrast the employment of mothers of the same nationalities under different economic circumstances.

The extent of employment of married women with young children was greater in South Philadelphia than in West and Southwest Philadelphia, but less than in the other districts studied. Of the white mothers canvassed, 38 per cent had been employed after marriage, 20 per cent within the six months preceding the interview. Two hundred and forty-four worked away from home. The lower economic level of the mothers in South Philadelphia, as contrasted with those in West Philadelphia, is reflected in the occupations of these mothers employed outside their homes. Forty-four per cent were in manufacturing and mechanical industries, the largest numbers in textiles, but an appreciable number in cigar and tobacco, clothing, food, leather, and other factories. Another 44 per cent were in domestic and personal service, more than half as charwomen. Only 9 per cent were in trade, clerical, or professional work. On the other hand, in West Philadelphia only 21 per cent of the mothers were in factories, and an unusually large proportion (34 per cent) were in the so-called "white-collar" jobs.

Economic distress was evidenced in this district by the absence of a larger proportion of fathers (30 per cent) from the homes of mothers who were employed when interviewed. The average number of children among mothers who had worked in the six months preceding the interview was 2.4 and among those who were not employed 2.8. The families in this district also contained more than the average number of children under 6 years of age. The presence of these small children may have dictated to some extent the hours of the mothers' work and accounted, at least in part, for the high percentage who were employed as charwomen, work in which hours are more easily adjusted to family needs.

District 5 (Nicetown) [5]

Nicetown is a relatively new residential district typical of the sections occupied by industrial workers. The foreign-born nationalities of this district were varied. Poles were the largest single group among the foreign born, but they were not so numerous as to affect the extent and nature of mothers' employment, as in Richmond and Frankford.

Three-fifths of the working mothers were foreign born. Although half the mothers had been employed after marriage—more than one-fourth in the six months preceding the interview—they had not worked so long as in the other sections in which the foreign born were in the majority but in duration of employment approached more nearly the districts occupied chiefly by the native born. The mothers who worked away from home—three-fourths of them were in this group—were mostly in domestic and personal service—day workers in private

[4] This section was situated south of Grays Ferry Avenue in the central part of ward 36. It comprised about 30 city blocks. The northern boundary line was Grays Ferry Avenue from Napa Street to Twenty-eighth, where it crossed the railroad tracks and continued along Federal to Twenty-fourth Street. The eastern boundary line followed Twenty-fourth Street to the south side of Wharton Square, there swinging eastward and surrounding the two city blocks between Reed and Dickinson Streets and Twenty-fourth and Twenty-second Streets. This made a small, practically separate area west of Twenty-fourth Street and contiguous to the larger area only at the junction of Twenty-fourth and Reed Streets. The boundary of the larger area continued from this junction point west on Reed Street to Twenty-sixth Street, then south to Tasker, west on Thirtieth, north to Wharton, west to Napa, and north to Grays Ferry Avenue.

[5] The territory covered in Nicetown was roughly triangular in shape, the lower point of the triangle falling at the intersection of Hunting Park Avenue and Clarissa Street. One side of the triangle ran northeast along Hunting Park Avenue to Broad and then up Broad to Cayuga Street, and another side ran northwest along Clarissa Street, then up Pulaski and Wayne Avenues to Wayne Junction Station. The northern border of the Nicetown district followed an irregular line down Germantown Avenue to Lehigh Avenue, then northward to Cayuga, and east to Broad Street. The section east of Germantown Avenue lay in the northwestern part of ward 43, and the section on the west side in ward 38, except for a very small area near Wayne Junction that lay in ward 22.

families, laundry workers, and charwomen. Half the factory workers were in textile mills, and the next largest group were workers in metal and electrical supplies.

The reasons for mothers' employment in Nicetown were not so obvious as in some of the other sections. One-fifth of those who had worked within six months preceding the inquiry had lost their husbands through death or desertion and so had assumed the burden of family support. Of the remainder, it is likely, to judge from the general appearance of the neighborhood, that a significant proportion found their earnings necessary for the upkeep of the family.

The size of the family was about the average for foreign-born working and nonworking mothers, falling approximately half way between those in Frankford and in Richmond. More than half the mothers who had worked after marriage had children of preschool age. The mothers who had not combined gainful employment with household duties had more young children than the working mothers.

District 6 (Northern Liberties) [6]

Northern Liberties, a congested area near the center of the city in which the families were crowded into three and four story tenements, presents a picture of the employment of mothers among the poorer Jews and Russians. Many of the native born were of Jewish or Russian extraction, so that the customs of these two peoples were reflected in the employment of mothers in the district as a whole. Four day nurseries within the area selected for canvass were provided to care for children of working mothers.

Two-thirds of the mothers included in the house-to-house canvass were foreign born—one-third Jews, one-fifth Russians (other than Jews), one-seventh Poles, and a scattering of other peoples, mostly Slavic. Although the employment of married women was less general than in most of the other districts in which the foreign born predominated, nearly half the mothers who had children under 16 had worked after marriage; more than one-fourth had been employed in the six months preceding the interview. These mothers as a group had worked more regularly after marriage than the other white mothers included in the study; 44 per cent, as contrasted with 30 per cent of all white mothers, had worked five or more years after marriage, and 19 per cent had worked at least 10 years.

In spite of the fact that the population was made up largely of Jews and Russians, among whom the women tend to work at home or in business in connection with their homes, 73 per cent of the mothers in this district were employed away from home. Forty-seven per cent of the outside workers were in factories—mostly clothing or cigar and tobacco factories. A few were in textile, food, leather, and paper-box factories. Forty-four per cent were in domestic and personal service, chiefly as cleaners in offices, stores, and other buildings, and as hotel and restaurant workers. Nineteen per cent of the working mothers were proprietors of stores or were assistants or partners in stores, work shops, or other business enterprises maintained by their relatives.

This was the only district in which the mothers who were employed averaged as many children per family (2.4) as did the mothers who were occupied chiefly with household duties. Many of these families had one or more children under 6 years of age. For a foreign-born group the percentage of homes in which the father or a stepfather was not present (27 per cent) was unusually large and probably accounted for the degree to which mothers of nationalities not ordinarily found at work outside their homes were forced into the industrial field. It was no doubt poverty here, as in Richmond and South Philadelphia, that necessitated the work of mothers of relatively large families, irrespective of national custom and the needs of the children for a mother's care.

District 7 (Richmond) [7]

The part of Richmond chosen for survey is a thickly populated residential section of the poorer class of Poles. The streets are narrow and dirty, and the

[6] This district covered sections of wards 12, 13, and 16. The boundaries were long and irregular. With Eighth and Poplar Streets as the northwest corner, the bounday line may be described as following a course south on Eighth Street to Noble, east to Sixth, north to Buttonwood, east to Fourth, north to Green, then making a little jutty eastward to Galloway, north to Fairmont Avenue, and back to Fourth Street, continuing thence northward to Poplar, southeast on Poplar to Second Street, north to Girard Avenue, west to Randolph, south to Poplar, and west again to Eighth Street.

[7] This district consisted of about 14 city blocks in the southern part of ward 45. The ward line, Allegheny Avenue from Richmond to Almond Street, formed a part of the boundary line, which then turned northeast on Almond Street, continued to Tioga, thence southeast to Edgemont Street, southwest to Westmoreland, following the railroad tracks there to Richmond Street, where a right-hand turn brought it back to Allegheny Avenue.

houses are small and often in a bad state of repair. The general atmosphere was that of neglect and poverty. Mothers for the most part found employment in factories.

Employment of mothers among the Poles is illustrated by the findings in Richmond and Frankford and to a lesser extent in Nicetown. Fifty-four per cent of the mothers living in the Richmond district were Polish.

More than half the mothers living in this section had worked after marriage, and more than one-fifth had been employed in the six months preceding the interview. They found employment away from home for the most part (78 per cent) in factories—in the near-by mills of Kensington and in cigar, tobacco, and other factories throughout the city. Gainful employment was not a new experience to these women. Many of them had worked ever since they were married. Large families were the rule in this district. In fact there were more children per family (2.7) among these working mothers than in any other, and more even than among nonworking mothers in most districts. Three children were more common than either one or two, and 14 per cent of the working mothers had five or more children under 16.

Death or desertion of the father was not an important factor in forcing these mothers of large families to go to work. On the contrary, the husbands were living at home more often than in any of the other districts except Passayunk. It was no doubt their low earnings, which did not meet the necessities of life, that led the mother to find some way to supplement the family income.

District 8 (Frankford) [8]

The Frankford district is predominantly a Polish district, which makes possible comparison of the employment of mothers in this section and the Richmond section. Frankford is industrial to a great extent, ranking in this respect next to Kensington among the sections studied. It has a number of large textile mills, a chocolate factory, a leather works, and some metal industries, all of which employ women.

In Frankford, as in Richmond, the employment of married women was the rule rather than the exception, more than half the mothers having been employed after marriage and more than one-fourth in the six months preceding the interview. Most of them worked away from home. Eighty-two per cent of the mothers who worked outside their homes were factory workers, as compared with 78 per cent in Richmond, the largest percentages of factory workers found in the districts canvassed. Although the amount and kind of employment were much the same as in Richmond, there were indications that the economic pressure was not so great in Frankford. The mothers did not work so regularly nor had they worked for as many years as those of Richmond. Working mothers and mothers who did not work had fewer children (2.4 and 2.6 per cent, respectively) than did the corresponding groups in Richmond. Furthermore, the children of the employed mother were less often under 6 years of age. Apparently mothers of large families and mothers of small children were financially better able to stay at home and care for them in this district than were the mothers of the same nationality in Richmond.

District 9 (Passayunk) [9]

The mothers in the Passayunk district were employed to much the same extent (45 per cent) as were mothers in other districts. Sixty-six per cent were born in Italy, and many of the others were of Italian parentage. In contrast to the mothers in the other districts only 29 per cent worked away from home, and these were usually employed in manufacturing and mechanical industries. More than half the mothers were industrial home workers, and almost one-fifth were small shopkeepers. Their work in either case enabled them to keep in touch with their children, of whom there were often five or more, the average per family for working

[8] The boundary line of this district from its southwest corner at Frankford Creek and Church Street followed the creek to Orthodox Street, then turned north to Stiles Street, east to Tucker, south to the creek, again following the water to the United States Arsenal on Bridge Street. Here a straight turn north was made to Torresdale Street, then west to Orthodox, south to the first line of the railroad tracks, then west along the tracks to Church Street, and south to the creek. Within this territory Melrose and Millnor Streets between Church and Orthodox and Duncan Street between Melrose and Bermuda were omitted from the canvass, but Stiles Street between Orthodox and Tucker Streets, which formed a part of the boundary line, was included.

[9] This district in southeast Philadelphia consisted of four blocks between Eighth and Tenth Streets and Morris and Mifflin in the heart of the Italian settlement.

mothers being 2.6 and for the nonworking 3. Italian mothers were rarely the chief breadwinners; more than 90 per cent of the mothers in this district had husbands at home.

District 10 (Girard College District) [10]

A district in the neighborhood of Girard College was chosen for study. Here the population was predominately negro and represented relatively poor negro families.

Of the 767 mothers interviewed who had children under 16 years of age, 83 per cent had been employed after marriage, and 62 per cent had been employed in the six months preceding the interview. Practically all were employed away from home. Ten per cent of the outside workers were in factories, mostly clothing factories. Eighty-eight per cent were in domestic and personal service—a few in hotels, restaurants, and laundries, but the vast majority doing cleaning and other day work in private families.

These negro mothers apparently had worked regularly after marriage. One-half had worked 5 years or more, and one-fourth 10 years or more, of their married lives. Working mothers in the district averaged 2.1 children, whereas those who were not employed averaged 2.4 per family. The negro mothers who had not been employed after marriage had with few exceptions one or more small children who required their constant care; more than half of them had two or more children under 6 years of age. Most of these also had husbands at home.

District 11 (West Philadelphia) [11]

The negro district in West Philadelphia represented negro families who were, on the whole, on a comparatively higher economic level than those in the Girard College district. It is possible, therefore, to study the part that economic conditions play in the employment of negro mothers by comparing the findings in the Girard College and the West Philadelphia district.

In West Philadelphia less than three-fourths of the mothers had worked after marriage, a little more than half working in the six months preceding the interview. The Girard College district showed 10 per cent more employed in each group.

Most of the 277 negro mothers in the West Philadelphia district who were employed in the 6-month period worked away from home. The occupational distribution was much the same in the two districts. Domestic and personal service absorbed the great majority of mothers in both. West Philadelphia had a few more dressmakers and professional workers than the poorer negro section, but these workers formed such a small part of the whole group that they have no particular significance.

In addition to the smaller percentages employed, the higher economic standards in West Philadelphia are further indicated by the shorter periods of time after marriage that the mothers had worked; 38 per cent had worked less than two years and 63 per cent less than five, as contrasted with 28 and 51 per cent, respectively, in the vicinity of Girard College. Then, too, mothers who had worked in this section had smaller families. Half had only one child, the average family for the district being two children. The smaller family is reflected in the number of children of preschool age. Slightly less than half the working mothers in each district had no children under 6, but 84 per cent of those in West Philadelphia had no more than one child in this age group, as compared with 75 per cent in the Girard College section. Although the great mass of negro women are accustomed to gainful employment from childhood, in both West Philadelphia and the Girard College district evidence of a tendency to give up such work when their children are small or as soon as family circumstances permit was found in this study.

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[10] This district lay just north of Girard College grounds. The northern boundary was Montgomery Street between Twenty-fourth and Twentieth Streets; the eastern, along Twentieth Street to Jefferson Street; and the southern, along Jefferson from Twentieth to Twenty-six Street. The western boundary line ran north on Twenty-six Street to Columbia Street, then east to Twenty-fourth Street, and north again to join the starting point at Montgomery and Twenty-fourth Streets. The northeastern and northwestern sections of wards 29 and 47, respectively, were thus represented.

[11] This district of West Philadelphia, occupied chiefly by negro families, included two small areas north of Market Street, principally within ward 34. The smaller one extended into ward 44, being bounded on the east by Lindenwood Street, on the north by Race, on the west by Vodges, and on the south by Market. The second area was farther west, the southern boundary being still on Market Street, the eastern on Fifty-seventh Street, and the western on Sixtieth. Vine Street constituted the northern boundary from Fifty-seventh Street to Fifty-eighth Street, then the line ran south one block and continued on Race Street west to Sixtieth.

APPENDIX B.—TABLES SHOWING EMPLOYMENT OF MOTHERS IN THE DIFFERENT DISTRICTS

TABLE I.—*Race and nationality of mothers having children under 16 years of age in specified districts of Philadelphia*

Race and nationality of mother	Mothers having children under 16 years of age																					
	Tota		Kensington		Southwest Philadelphia		South Philadelphia		West Philadelphia (white)		Richmond		Passayunk		Northern Liberties		Frankford		Nicetown		West Philadelphia (negro)		Girard College	
	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution
Total	12,227		1,286		1,240		1,789		1,776		385		354		1,848		891		1,084		616		958	
Race reported	12,212	100	1,280	100	1,239	100	1,788	100	1,774	100	384	100	354	100	1,847	100	890	100	1,084	100	616	100	956	100
White	10,243	84	1,260	98	1,237	100	1,662	93	1,547	87	384	100	354	100	1,620	88	882	99	1,027	95	82	13	188	20
Native	5,427	44	944	74	833	67	1,140	64	1,043	59	93	24	107	30	409	22	308	35	389	36	43	7	118	12
Foreign born	4,801	39	313	24	404	33	519	29	500	28	291	76	246	69	1,207	65	574	64	638	59	39	6	70	7
Polish	1,190	10	43	3	63	5	12	1	3	(1)	209	54			176	10	396	44	286	26			2	(1)
Italian	704	6	10	1	145	12	145	8	20	1	2	1	233	66	11	1	44	5	88	8	6	1		
Irish	682	6	58	5	64	5	231	13	234	13	4	1	1	(1)	9	(1)	10	1	60	6	4	1	7	1
Russian	881	7	27	2	29	2	32	2	111	6	5	1	4	1	507	27	42	5	80	7	10		34	4
Jewish	426	3	19	1	11	1	21	1	58	3			1	(1)	281	15	1	(1)	8	1	7	1	19	2
Other	455	4	8	1	18	1	11	1	53	3	5	1	3	1	226	12	41	5	72	7	3	(1)	15	2
English, Scotch, and Welsh	284	2	97	8	33	3	38	2	52	3					24	1	11	1	24	2	3	(1)	2	(1)
German	284	2	38	3	13	1	20	1	22	1	6	2	2	1	117	6	23	3	37	3	1	(1)	5	1
Lithuanian	187	2	1	(1)	12	1	8	(1)	20	1	61	16			48	3	36	4	1	(1)				
Other	351	3	16	1	32	3	21	1	23	1	2	1			185	10	8	1	51	5	10	2	3	(1)
Nationality not reported	238	2	23	2	13	1	12	1	15	1	2	1	6	2	130	7	4	(1)	11	1	5	1	17	2
Jewish	136	1	7	1	7	1	4	(1)	7	(1)					97	5	3	(1)			3	(1)	8	1
Other	102	1	16	1	6	(1)	8	(1)	8	(1)	2	1	6	2	33	2	1	(1)	11	1	2	(1)	9	1
Nativity not reported	15	(1)	3	(1)			3	(1)	4	(1)			1	(1)	4	(1)								
Negro	1,966	16	18	2	2	(1)	126	7	227	13					227	12	8	1	57	5	534	87	767	80
Chinese	3	(1)	2	(1)																			1	(1)
Race not reported	15		6		1		1		2		1				1		1						2	

[1] Less than 1 per cent.

TABLE II.—*Race and employment history of mothers having children under 16 years of age in certain specified districts of Philadelphia*

Race of mother and district of residence	Mothers having children under 16 years of age									
	Total	Employment since marriage							Not employed	
		Total employed		Employed in 6 months immediately preceding date of interview		Not employed in 6 months immediately preceding date of interview		Not reported whether employed in 6 months immediately preceding date of interview		
		Number	Per cent[1]	Number	Per cent[1]	Number	Per cent[1]		Number	Per cent[1]
White	10,243	4,486	44	2,384	23	2,098	20	4	5,757	56
Kensington	1,260	716	57	370	29	346	27	----------	544	43
Southwest Philadelphia	1,237	415	34	209	17	205	17	1	822	66
South Philadelphia	1,662	632	38	333	20	298	18	1	1,030	62
West Philadelphia	1,547	517	33	264	17	252	16	1	1,030	67
Richmond	384	196	51	83	22	113	29	----------	188	49
Passayunk	354	159	45	82	23	77	22	----------	195	55
Northern Liberties	1,620	746	46	436	27	310	19	----------	874	54
Frankford	882	468	53	241	27	227	26	----------	414	47
Nicetown	1,027	509	50	277	27	231	22	1	518	50
Other districts	270	128	47	89	33	39	14	----------	142	53
Negro	1,966	1,569	80	1,115	57	452	23	2	397	20
West Philadelphia	534	391	73	277	52	114	21	----------	143	27
Girard College	767	638	83	473	62	163	21	2	129	17
Other districts	665	540	81	365	55	175	26	----------	125	19
Chinese	3	3	------	2	------	1	------	----------	------	------
Race not reported	15	12	------	8	------	4	------	----------	3	------

[1] Per cent not shown where number of mothers is less than 50.

TABLE III.—*Whereabouts of husband and race of mothers employed in six months immediately preceding date of interview; mothers having children under 16 years of age in specified districts of Philadelphia*

Race of mother and district of residence	Mothers employed in 6 months immediately preceding date of interview									
	Total	Whereabouts of husband								
		Total reported	At home		Away		Dead		Not reported	Mother never married
			Number	Per cent[1]	Number	Per cent[1]	Number	Per cent[1]		
White	2,384	2,330	1,764	76	297	13	269	12	47	7
Kensington	370	349	247	71	65	19	37	11	20	1
Southwest Philadelphia	209	205	151	74	26	13	28	14	3	1
South Philadelphia	333	330	232	70	48	15	50	15	3	----------
West Philadelphia	264	260	187	72	43	17	30	12	1	3
Richmond	83	80	71	89	1	1	8	10	3	----------
Passayunk	82	79	72	91	3	4	4	5	3	----------
Northern Liberties	436	433	314	73	65	15	54	12	2	1
Frankford	241	236	205	87	16	7	15	6	4	1
Nicetown	277	271	214	79	23	8	34	13	6	----------
Other districts	89	87	71	82	7	8	9	10	2	----------
Negro	1,115	1,052	787	75	167	16	98	9	36	27
West Philadelphia	277	268	210	78	36	13	22	8	3	6
Girard College	473	434	309	71	79	18	46	11	29	10
Other districts	365	350	268	77	52	15	30	9	4	11
Chinese	2	1	1	------	------	------	------	------	1	----------
Race not reported	8	3	2	------	1	------	------	------	4	1

[1] Per cent not shown where number of mothers is less than 50.

TABLE IV.—*Place of work, industry and occupation, and race of mothers employed in six months immediately preceding date of interview; mothers having children under 16 years of age in certain specified districts of Philadelphia*

Place of work and industry and occupation	Mothers employed in 6 months immediately preceding date of interview																												
		District of residence																											
		White mothers																				Negro mothers							
		Kensington		Southwest Philadelphia		South Philadelphia		West Philadelphia		Richmond		Passayunk		Northern Liberties		Frankford		Nicetown		Other districts		West Philadelphia		Girard College		Other districts			
	Total	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Chinese mothers	Race not reported
Total	3,509	370	----	209	----	333	----	264	----	83	----	82	----	436	----	241	----	277	----	89	----	277	----	473	----	366	----	2	8
Place of work reported	3,434	358	100	197	100	318	100	263	100	82	100	81	100	429	100	238	100	276	100	89	100	273	100	466	100	356	100	2	7
Away from home	2,749	290	81	160	81	244	77	203	77	78	95	24	30	312	73	184	77	205	74	31	35	242	89	433	93	338	95	----	5
Agriculture	7	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	1	1	----	----	3	1	----	----	----	----	----	----	1	(1)	2	1	----	----
Manufacturing and mechanical	966	198	55	41	21	108	34	42	16	61	74	17	21	146	34	151	63	78	28	13	15	16	6	42	9	51	14	----	2
Transportation	23	1	(1)	5	3	4	1	9	3	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	1	(1)	1	(1)	2	1	----	----
Trade	104	16	4	14	7	11	3	29	11	----	----	3	4	16	4	1	(1)	6	2	4	4	2	1	2	(1)	----	----	----	----
Professional service	32	3	1	4	2	3	1	11	4	----	----	2	2	2	(1)	----	----	----	----	----	----	4	1	2	(1)	1	(1)	----	----
Domestic and personal service	1,517	61	17	83	42	107	34	7	33	17	21	1	1	137	32	24	10	112	41	10	11	217	79	378	81	279	79	1	3
Employees in restaurants, hotels, and institutions	226	15	4	27	14	23	7	24	9	3	4	----	----	50	12	6	3	11	4	3	3	16	6	29	6	18	5	----	1
Cleaners and other workers in private families	863	27	8	5	3	17	5	28	11	3	4	----	----	23	5	6	3	29	11	3	3	173	63	309	66	239	67	----	1
Cleaners in buildings	268	11	3	39	20	60	19	22	8	10	12	1	1	59	14	8	3	36	13	1	1	7	3	11	2	2	1	----	1
Other	158	8	2	12	6	7	2	13	5	1	1	----	----	5	1	4	2	35	13	3	3	21	8	29	6	19	5	1	----
Not reported	2	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	1	(1)	----	----	----	----	----	----	1	(1)	----	----
Clerical	75	7	2	10	5	9	3	20	8	----	----	----	----	9	2	4	2	6	2	4	4	2	1	2	(1)	2	1	----	----
Not reporting occupation	25	4	1	3	2	2	1	5	2	----	----	----	----	2	(1)	1	(1)	3	1	----	----	----	----	4	1	1	(1)	----	----

At home	260	20	6	14	7	19	6	13	5	2	2	43	53	35	8	9	4	27	10	3	3	30	11	28	6	15	4	----	2
Manufacturing and mechanical	165	12	3	11	6	15	5	3	1	2	2	43	53	25	6	7	3	24	9	1	1	10	4	7	2	5	1	----	----
Domestic and personal	87	8	2	3	2	4	1	10	4	----	----	----	----	9	2	2	1	3	1	2	2	19	7	15	3	10	3	----	2
Other	8	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	1	(1)	----	----	----	----	----	----	1	(1)	6	1	----	----	----	----
Close by or connected with home[2]	425	48	13	23	12	55	17	47	18	2	2	14	17	82	19	45	19	44	16	55	62	1	(1)	6	1	2	1	1	----
Not reported	75	12	----	12	----	15	----	1	----	1	----	1	----	7	----	3	----	1	----	----	----	4	----	7	----	10	----	----	1

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[1] Less than 1 per cent.

[2] Includes 416 mothers working in own or relative's store, shop or business in or very near dwelling, and 9 mothers in domestic and personal service close by or connected with home.