

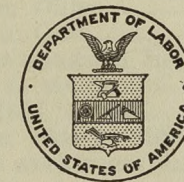
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
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MARY ANDERSON, Director



THE EFFECT
OF MINIMUM-WAGE
DETERMINATIONS IN SERVICE
INDUSTRIES

*Adjustments in the Dry-Cleaning and
Power-Laundry Industries*



BULLETIN OF THE WOMEN'S BUREAU, No. 166

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
WOMEN'S BUREAU,
Washington, August 15, 1938.

MADAM: I have the honor to transmit the report of a study of the effects of minimum-wage laws, undertaken to determine whether such laws attain their objectives when put into operation at a time of business depression or of fundamental changes in an industry.

No other State has put a minimum-wage law into effect under such adverse business conditions as still obtained when New York passed its first wage law and its laundry order in 1933, and no other wage order has been issued when such fundamental readjustments were being made in an industry as were going on in dry cleaning when Ohio made mandatory its order for that industry in 1935.

The findings show conclusively that minimum-wage legislation for women, rightly framed, does not interfere with equal opportunity to work, but does interfere with the unsocial tendency to oppress women workers at the expense of the welfare of the State.

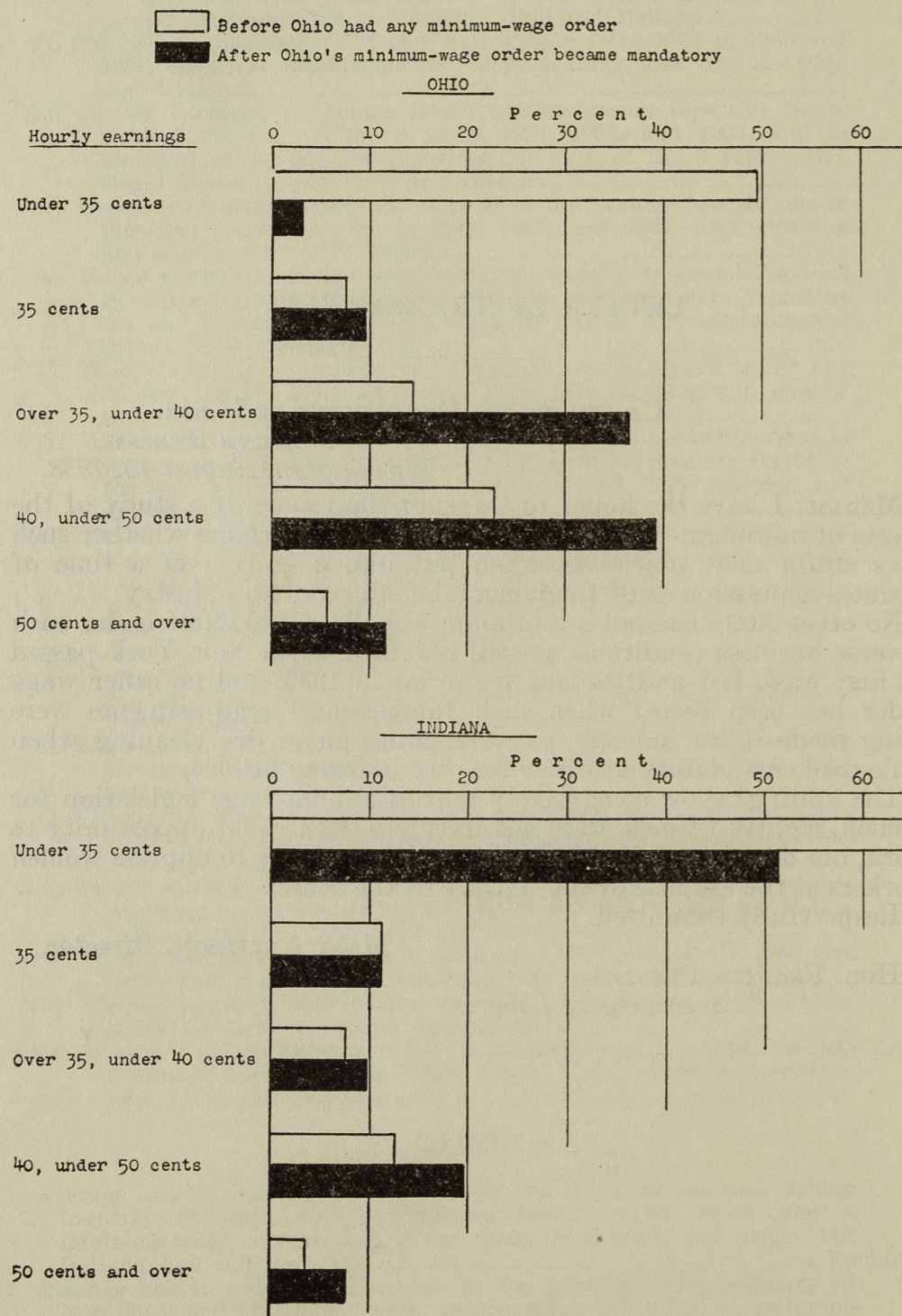
Respectfully submitted.

MARY ANDERSON, *Director.*

HON. FRANCES PERKINS,
Secretary of Labor.

CHART 1.—AVERAGE HOURLY EARNINGS OF WOMEN IN THE DRY-CLEANING AND DYEING INDUSTRY OF OHIO AND OF INDIANA, BEFORE EITHER STATE HAD A MINIMUM-WAGE ORDER AND AFTER OHIO HAD SUCH AN ORDER BUT INDIANA HAD NOT

(See appendix table III.)



THE EFFECT OF MINIMUM-WAGE DETERMINATIONS IN SERVICE INDUSTRIES

Adjustments in the Dry-Cleaning and Power-Laundry Industries

INTRODUCTION

PURPOSE OF STUDY

Does minimum-wage legislation for women, which regulates the wage extremes below which health is put in jeopardy, attain its obvious social objectives under any and all economic conditions? Repeatedly the Women's Bureau and other official agencies have assessed favorably the value to large numbers of women workers of the minimum-wage laws enacted and enforced from 1913 through 1920—years of general business development. But repeatedly the question arises as to whether minimum-wage regulations put into effect in 1933, 1934, and 1935, in response to the demand on the part of the worker, of business, and of society for governmental enactment of wage laws to correct social and economic maladjustments caused by the 1931-33 business depression, actually have served this end. Unquestionably, such legislation must be reviewed as it operates under fluctuations in business conditions and under scientific advancement in industrial processes and commercial practices before its value to women can be distinguished sharply from changes in women's status due to other influences.

Only two States, New York and Ohio, issued mandatory¹ minimum-wage orders between the fall of 1933 and the fall of 1935, and these orders were issued only for the laundry industry in New York and for the laundry and the dry-cleaning and dyeing industries in Ohio. In the decision of the Women's Bureau to assess the results of legislation passed in the depression years, it was deemed advisable to study the experiences in this limited field, for no other period will provide answers to the questions concerning the value of legal-wage enactments as assurance of a living wage to women under such depressed business conditions as prevailed in 1933 and 1934. No other minimum-wage law has been put into effect under such adverse business conditions as those found in New York in 1933 when the State department of labor issued its first directory order for a minimum wage in the power-laundry industry. No other wage order was issued at a time when an industry was undergoing such fundamental equipment and commer-

¹ A few States issued directory orders for certain industries or occupations.

cial readjustments as were occurring in the dry-cleaning industry when the Ohio Department of Industrial Relations issued its mandatory wage order for the industry in 1935. The appraisal of the effect of these two regulations in these two States is a test of this type of regulation under the most severe conditions.

THE PROBLEM OF RELATING EFFECT AND CAUSE

The State of Ohio issued a minimum-wage order for women employed in dry-cleaning and dyeing establishments during a period in which the industry everywhere was undergoing fundamental change. Important developments in industrial cleaning processes occurred at the same time that consumer buying power was curtailed by the business depression of 1931-33. These two forces, scientific and economic, occasioned and made feasible a reduction of cleaning prices far below price levels of earlier years. Together making possible and requiring more efficient plant management, these forces continued in operation in succeeding years and are still operating today.

Wage adjustments were initiated specifically to benefit the woman worker, whereas shifts in industrial processes and commercial practices were instituted without regard to the workers, though they affected employment and working conditions materially. In a review of employment and wage changes taking place over such a period, it is not possible to relate the changes to one specific cause. However, it is feasible to make a comparison of the conditions in two States, Ohio and Indiana, in both of which the same scientific and business adjustments were taking place within the dry-cleaning industry, but in only one of which wage legislation was in effect.

New York issued its directory laundry order in October 1933, to become mandatory August 6, 1934. According to census data, the year 1933 saw a great decline in laundry receipts from those of 1931 within the State, due partly to decreased use of laundry service and partly to price cutting. The total amount paid in wages dropped heavily in the same period. Power laundries in the neighboring State of Pennsylvania suffered a reduction in receipts from 1931 to 1933 almost identical with that of New York, though Pennsylvania laundries began to lose business before the depression was noted in New York, and their workers earned very much less in 1931 than in 1929. In both States laundry business began to recover in 1934, and this upward trend continued in 1935. New York State had placed a legal floor under the wage structure of the laundry industry during this period, but Pennsylvania laundries could pay whatever rates they desired. Did New York's action cause women laundry workers' earnings to increase at a faster pace in that State than they did in Pennsylvania without such aid? Did State action benefit women workers or was it a hindrance in their efforts to earn a better livelihood?

It was through a comparison of employment and wage changes in power laundries in 1933 and 1935 in New York and Pennsylvania, and through a comparison of such changes in the dry-cleaning industry in 1934 and 1937 in the minimum-wage State of Ohio and its neighboring State Indiana, that the Women's Bureau weighed afresh the effect of minimum-wage orders.

SALIENT FINDINGS CONCERNING BENEFIT OF MINIMUM WAGE

When business and equipment changes reduce women's bargaining power to new low levels, do minimum-wage decrees benefit many women?

How many and to what extent?

Do they lead to their displacement by men?

Are the wages of the more skilled women leveled to meet the additional expense of raising the wages of the less skilled?

How is industry affected by minimum wages at such a period?

The detailed statistical analyses appearing on pages 9 to 32, from which the following findings are drawn, afford detailed and conclusive answers to all these questions for the dry-cleaning and power-laundry industries. Each of the conclusions will be found to contribute definitely to the answer to the chief inquiry: Do minimum-wage decrees benefit many women when business and equipment changes reduce their bargaining power to lowest levels?

I. How are service industries affected by minimum-wage orders during a period of business adjustment?

The enactment of State minimum-wage orders causes the officials of service establishments to examine their businesses with a view to meeting the wage increases made necessary by such orders without undue disturbance of the balance between the total wage bill and the total receipts.

In Ohio dry-cleaning establishments available figures indicate practically no change in the proportion wages formed of receipts in 1934 and in 1937, or before and after a minimum-wage order was in effect. As a group, Ohio dry-cleaning establishment managers met these wage increases by improved operating and managerial efficiency and by an increased volume of business. New equipment made possible a greater output of work per employee, and lower prices increased the actual volume of work to be done.

In New York wages of workers in all power laundries consumed slightly more of the receipts in 1935, 15 months after the State minimum-wage order became mandatory, than in 1933. Here too the increase in pay rolls was kept closely in alinement with receipts by a smaller proportionate increase in wage earners employed than in business done.

Minimum-wage orders bring about more efficient business management. They also protect employers who wish to pay a fair wage from the unfair trade practice of price undercutting through wage undercutting.

II. What is the effect of minimum-wage orders during a period of vital business adjustments on the employment of all workers in the service industries?

In Ohio and in Indiana dry-cleaning establishments the increases in volume of receipts from April 1934 to April 1937 were approximately alike. In the minimum-wage State of Ohio the increase in numbers of employees over the 3-year period in iden-

tical dry-cleaning establishments was 11 percent, whereas in the non-minimum-wage State of Indiana it was 24 percent.

In 1935, receipts of New York and Pennsylvania power laundries had been restored to approximately the same extent in comparison with 1929 receipts in the two States.² The total number of wage earners, on the other hand, had increased very slightly (by 1 percent) in the minimum-wage State of New York but had decreased in the non-minimum-wage State of Pennsylvania.

When marked advances in methods of operation occur at the same time that minimum-wage orders are being applied, such application may speed up the adoption of the new labor- and cost-saving equipment, thereby resulting in the employment of a smaller number of workers for a given volume of sales. When no marked changes occur in processes or equipment, little difference takes place in the numbers employed for a given volume of sales in minimum-wage and non-minimum-wage States.

III. What is the effect of minimum-wage orders during a period of vital business adjustment on the proportion of women employed?

In the same establishment or in various establishments the several operations in dry cleaning have been and are being done by either women or men. In both Ohio and Indiana the proportion of women among all employees was practically the same after as before the Ohio minimum-wage law. About 55 percent of the employees in identical Ohio dry-cleaning establishments in April 1934 and in April 1937 were women, and in Indiana in both periods about 53 percent were women.

In the power-laundry industry there has been a distinct demarcation of the work usually done by women from that done by men, the women performing ironing operations and the men the washing operations and collection and delivery. In both New York and Pennsylvania the proportion of women employed in identical establishments in May 1933 dropped very slightly by November 1935—1.6 points and 0.5 of a point, respectively. Laundrymen stated that such slight shifts either way are without any significance and are of continuous occurrence from week to week.

The forces that called for increases in total numbers employed from 1934 to 1937 in Ohio and Indiana dry-cleaning establishments and from 1933 to 1935 in New York and Pennsylvania power laundries obviously did not shift the work between the sexes. Nor did the minimum-wage orders for women in full effect in 1937 in Ohio and in 1935 in New York cause substitution of men for women.

IV. What is the effect of minimum-wage orders in a period of vital business adjustment on employment of individual women?

While the general business trend and the general employment trend in dry-cleaning establishments and power laundries in the

² Because laundry receipts decreased earlier in the depression in Pennsylvania than in New York, it is necessary to make comparisons of receipts and numbers of employees from an earlier date than one immediately preceding minimum-wage order. See discussion on page 24.

States studied were upward, some plants in each State suffered a decline in business for various reasons and some decreased the numbers employed. When a wholesaling business was discontinued, unprofitable receiving branches were closed, a plant was burned, and illness and death or other reason caused shifts in management; when ironing machines kept in partial operation were dismantled, or a new machine was installed requiring a smaller number of operators, some men and women lost employment temporarily.

When such business or equipment changes are inaugurated as a minimum-wage order is put into effect in the plant, the minimum-wage order sometimes is given as the cause of the temporary misfortune of the individual workers affected.

The few women who were dismissed from Ohio's dry-cleaning establishments during the period of minimum-wage application were interviewed; all who desired employment had found it, more than three-fourths of them at higher wages than before dismissal.

While the application of minimum-wage orders in service industries may serve as the immediate occasion for dismissal of a relatively few employees by some firms, the more deep-seated cause of such dismissal usually is found to be a generally bad business situation in the particular establishment that had required adjustment even before there were minimum-wage orders.

V. What is the effect of minimum-wage orders on women who are employed at the lower earnings levels in service industries?

Almost half of the women employees in Ohio dry-cleaning establishments were paid less than 35 cents an hour before the enactment of minimum-wage legislation. After 35 cents became the legal minimum, the mass of women working for less than 35 cents had their rates raised to 35 cents, some to 40 cents or more. At the later date, nearly three-fifths of the women in Indiana's dry-cleaning establishments still were earning less than 35 cents an hour; in fact, the proportion earning below 30 cents had increased materially from 1934 to 1937.

New York's wage order fixed a minimum rate of 31 cents for laundries in the New York City area and of 27½ cents in the remainder of the State. Before the order was in effect, 84 percent of the women in the metropolitan area earned less than 31 cents an hour. After the order had been mandatory for 15 months, 45 percent earned 31 cents an hour and 38 percent earned between 31 and 35 cents. In 21 other New York cities, more than three-fourths of the women employees earned less than 27½ cents before the minimum-wage order. After the order had been in effect 15 months, 28 percent earned 27½ cents and 45 percent earned between 27½ and 31 cents.

Minimum-wage orders in service industries raise very materially the level of rates paid to women workers.

VI. Are the wages of the more skilled women leveled to meet the additional expense of raising the wages of the less skilled?

Before any minimum-wage order was in effect in Ohio dry-cleaning establishments, 23 percent of the women employees

earned 40 cents but under 50 cents an hour and 6 percent earned 50 cents or more. After the mandatory minimum-wage order had been in effect $2\frac{1}{4}$ years, more than 35 percent received 40 but under 50 cents, and 11 percent received 50 cents or more.

Before any minimum-wage order was in effect in New York's power laundries, only 3 percent of the women received 35 and under 40 cents an hour, and only 3 percent received 40 cents and over. After the mandatory minimum-wage order had been in effect 15 months, the proportions of women receiving these higher rates more than doubled.

Women in the higher-earnings brackets in the service industries receive increases in rates of pay at the same time that the rates of less-skilled women are being increased by minimum-wage orders.

VII. Is the total amount in the weekly pay envelope increased by minimum-wage orders that have increased the rates of pay?

After the mandatory minimum wage had been in effect in Ohio for $2\frac{1}{4}$ years, women's average week's earnings in dry-cleaning establishments were more than 20 percent above the pre-minimum-wage level. In Indiana establishments, during the same period, they had increased by 10 percent.

The average (midpoint) of the week's earnings of women in New York power laundries moved up \$2.55 in 1935, after the minimum-wage order was in effect. In Pennsylvania there was an increase in the corresponding average of \$2.25. In New York in November 1935 average earnings of women were \$13.15 a week; in Pennsylvania, \$10.65 a week.

The increase in wage rates following upon minimum-wage orders causes material increases in total earnings of women workers.

VIII. To sum up in answer to the chief inquiry: When business and equipment changes in service industries reduce women's buying power to low levels, do minimum-wage decrees benefit women?

Even when women's bargaining power is at its lowest ebb, minimum-wage orders, rightly framed, increase the rates of pay and total earnings of the mass of women employed in service industries.

They do not cause any substitution of men for women.

They do not decrease the total numbers of women employed.

Some individuals whose misfortune it is to be employed in establishments whose business is unprofitable may suffer dismissal at the time minimum-wage orders are put into effect; but their number is small and in a period of business increase they are readily employed elsewhere.

IX. And finally: Why is minimum wage needed for women more than for men in the service industries?

Indiana has no minimum-wage law for women. From April 1934 to April 1937 the average hourly earnings of men in identical dry-cleaning establishments increased by 19 percent, whereas those of women in the same establishments increased but

10 percent. In Ohio dry-cleaning establishments, where the law established a minimum below which women must not be paid, the average of women's rates increased in this period by 14 percent and the average of men's rates by about 8 percent.

The wage scale in the service industries is lower for women than for men. A minimum wage for women does not bring a wage for the same work equal to that of men, but it does apply a force to women's lower wage scale that brings it somewhat nearer the level of that of men.

Minimum-wage legislation for women, rightly framed, does not interfere with equal opportunity to work. It does interfere with the unsocial tendency to oppress women workers at the expense of the welfare of the State.

EFFECT OF MINIMUM WAGE IN THE DRY-CLEANING AND DYEING INDUSTRY

The effect of the minimum-wage order in the dry-cleaning and dyeing industry must needs be reviewed against the background of vital changes taking place in the industry—not only in Ohio and Indiana but in all States—during the period within which the order was put into operation in the State of Ohio.

CONDITIONS THROUGHOUT THE INDUSTRY

New equipment introduced.

Through 1929 the cleaning and dyeing industry experienced continuous expansion, a sales expansion equaling 278 percent in 10 years, according to the United States Census. Reduced volume of sales occurred in 1931, followed by sharp price cutting and continued sales losses in 1933. During this period and later, noninflammable chlorinated hydrocarbons were substituted for the highly inflammable petroleum hydrocarbons as solvents of grease and loose dirt in cleaning. The introduction of the synthetic solvent brought with it newly designed equipment. Small machines, called "open plants," were built for small establishments, while closed and automatic plants were put on the market for large-volume work.

The automatic system requires only that the articles to be cleaned be put into the machine and that they be taken out after they have been cleaned and dried. The cleaning fluid is added electrically, the washer is turned electrically, goods pass to the extractor and then to the dryer automatically. In the open machine the fluid and the clothes are put in by hand and the clothes are taken out without being subjected to hot-air drying.³ Obviously the amount of work per tender that can be done on the automatic machine exceeds that which can be done on the open machine or with the old-model machines. But the "spotting," or removal of water soluble stains, is a separate garment hand-process following the machine cleaning. Pressing also continues to require handling each garment separately, though the new press-bed machine and the steam iron have been substituted for the more exhausting older equipment.

Shifts in proportion of sales to employees.

Though chlorinated hydrocarbon costs approximately twice as much as the inflammable petroleum solvent, the technical changes described so increased the volume that could be handled per employee in a given time, both in machine cleaning and in pressing, that operating costs decreased noticeably. In order to get a greater

³ Experiments of the Drs. Smyth show that no health hazard is induced by concentrations of carbon tetrachloride in the air breathed of 100 parts per million or 0.01 percent. The closed dry-cleaning machine keeps the concentration below this figure, but care must be taken to provide ventilation where open machine is used.—Journal of the American Medical Association, November 21, 1936: "Safe Practices in the Industrial Use of Carbon Tetrachloride," by Henry Field Smyth, M. D., and Henry F. Smyth, Jr., Ph. D.

amount of business, prices of cleaning were cut practically in two. Had this not been done, the increase in unit volume made possible by more efficient equipment would have materially decreased the number of employees in the industry from 1929 to 1935. The increase in total physical volume brought about by greatly reduced prices made possible, throughout the industry, the retention of approximately the same number of workers as before. Sales per wage earner decreased by about one-third, as did total money receipts for dry cleaning. Total wages paid per employee decreased to about the same extent, so that the total pay roll was the same proportion (38 percent) of receipts in both 1929 and 1935. Thus did the industry as a whole adjust to the conditions resulting from a marked business depression.

Small units a factor in industry.

Another factor that must be taken into account when considering the effect of minimum wage in this industry is that the cleaning of garments and other textiles has always lent itself to small-unit operation, often carried on by a family. In 1929 more than half the establishments reported by the census did a business of less than \$20,000⁴ and averaged fewer than four wage earners. Though large in numbers, the business and employees of these establishments comprised less than 18 percent of the total. Only 393 establishments did a business of \$100,000 or over, but these gave employment to 38 percent of the workers and did about 40 percent of the business. While no figures are available for later years, there is evidence that the proportion of small establishments has not decreased. The non-inflammable fluids made it possible for "press shops," that is, shops doing sponging and pressing only, to install the open machine. But the same factor of noninflammability has caused power laundries to install the large cleaning and drying machine and operate a cleaning unit as an adjunct to the laundry, thus offsetting to some extent the press-shop influence in the industry.

As has been stated on page 2, with such material changes in an industry, each bearing on the employment and earnings opportunities of women and men, only a comparison of working conditions in neighboring States, sharing the same equipment and business changes but the one having a mandatory minimum-wage decree and the other without any legal wage control, could yield facts from which conclusions could be drawn as to the changes after minimum-wage determinations. For this reason, the Women's Bureau surveyed working conditions in dry-cleaning establishments in the minimum-wage State of Ohio and in the neighboring State of Indiana that has no minimum-wage law.

SCOPE OF SURVEY

Places covered.

All dry-cleaning and dyeing establishments in 62 cities and towns in Ohio and in 51 cities and towns in Indiana were visited by field investigators of the Women's Bureau. In Ohio these cities included all but five of those of 25,000 or more population, not far from one-half of those of 10,000 but under 25,000, 29 percent of those of 5,000

⁴ No information as to those doing less than \$5,000.

but under 10,000, and 16 percent of the towns of under 5,000. In Indiana all cities of 25,000 or over were included, all but one city of 10,000 and under 25,000, and well over half those of 5,000 but under 10,000. In both States the smaller towns to be visited were chosen with the aid of the Dry Cleaners Association.

Data secured.

Data concerning the number and sex of the employees in each occupation, the hours they worked and amounts they earned, and the receipts from the business done by the establishment were requested of each firm for a pay-roll period in April of 1934, of 1935, and of 1937. The first period antedated the minimum-wage order in this industry in Ohio, the second period was 3 months after the minimum-wage order had been made mandatory, and the third was after the decision of the United States Supreme Court assured the country of the constitutionality of minimum-wage laws for women. April was chosen because, according to unpublished figures from the Ohio Division of Labor Statistics, the record of employment in the industry of 1935 showed April to be an active business month.

Type of establishment included.

The Department of Industrial Relations, State of Ohio, defined "Cleaning and Dyeing Trade" as follows: "1. Cleaning, dyeing, pressing, or processing incidental thereto, for compensation, of clothing (including hats), household furnishings, rugs, textiles, fur, leather, or fabric of any kind whatsoever; 2. the collecting, sale, resale, or distribution at retail or wholesale of cleaning, dyeing, and pressing service by cleaning, dyeing, pressing establishments, laundries, department stores, hotels, or by any other type of establishment, or institution."

It was necessary, therefore, that there be included in this survey not only establishments using mechanical power in cleaning or dyeing, such as are covered by the United States Census, but pressing shops that only sponge and press garments, and distribution shops that serve as collection and distribution centers only and send all cleaning and pressing elsewhere to be done.

In Ohio, of 388 establishments visited in 1937, 76 percent performed all processes of garment dry cleaning, 22 percent did nothing but pressing or finishing, and 2 percent were collection and distribution shops only. In Indiana, 70 percent of the firms in business in 1937 carried on all dry-cleaning processes, 28 percent were press shops, and the few others were retail outlets only. Forty-four percent of the establishments in Ohio and 72 percent of those in Indiana were family shops; that is, one or more members of the owner's family worked at cleaning or pressing or as sales clerk. In both States the proportion of family shops in 1934 and 1935 was approximately the same as in 1937.

Firms operating for 3 years.

Obviously, only firms in business when the survey was made in 1937 could be included. Of the 388 Ohio firms visited, 315 were in business in 1935 and only 298 were in business in 1934. Of the 290 visited in Indiana, only 184 were operating in 1934. To what extent these 30 percent and 58 percent increases in numbers of firms over 3 years

approximate the real increases in established firms cannot be ascertained, as there is no record of the number of firms that went out of business in any year considered. Consequently, the exact changes in employment within the industry will remain unknown. However, the shiftings in individual firms are indicative of the fundamental trends taking place in the industry during this period.

Lack of records.

In 1937 about 47 percent of the dry-cleaning firms in Ohio employed less than 5 workers, exclusive of family members; 28 percent employed 5 and under 10 workers, and about 10 percent employed 10 and under 15. Only 11 percent had 20 employees or more. In Indiana over 60 percent of the firms employed fewer than 5 persons in 1937 and less than 7 percent employed 20 or more. Pay-roll-record keeping is at a minimum in many of these small establishments, especially when they are largely family enterprises. Among the 388 Ohio firms visited, there were 154 that had no records for 1 or more of the 3 years covered by the survey. Of the 290 Indiana establishments visited, 161 had no records for 1 or more years. The numbers employed in any one of the no-record firms were negligible; the importance of this absence of records, therefore, is far less than would appear from the number of firms involved. Oral statements as to numbers employed were accepted from these firm members, but it is recognized that even where only three or four persons may be concerned, memory may be inaccurate, so such statements were always tabulated separately from pay-roll records. No oral statements of earnings or hours were accepted.

CHANGES IN NUMBERS OF EMPLOYEES, 1934 TO 1937

Changes in total numbers employed, and volume of sales.

Dry-cleaning firms do not keep records of the actual numbers of each kind of garment cleaned or pressed. Lack of information on physical volume handled during the period studied is not a serious omission, however, for so many firms installed new equipment, to increase total physical volume as well as the volume that could be handled per employee, that a detailed comparison of numbers employed with volume changes would be of little value.

The Bureau attempted to determine the dollar volume of business done by each firm during the period for which pay rolls were obtained, not for purposes of direct comparison but as a general guide to business conditions. There is no question that there was a material increase in sales from April 1934 to April 1937. In firms reporting sales that employed no members of the family, the increase in sales was over 40 percent in both Ohio and Indiana. The proportionate increase in numbers employed in these firms was much smaller than the increase in sales, due unquestionably to more efficient machinery and management methods. In the Ohio establishments, which averaged 22 workers in April 1934, the increase in total numbers employed in April 1937 was 11 percent; in Indiana, where the establishments averaged 18 workers in 1934, their number increased by 24 percent in 1937. The family shops in Ohio and Indiana added respectively 22 percent and 16 percent to the numbers they employed. Unquestionably, paid service was substituted for a part of family service as business improved.

Women's and men's employment changes.

In this period of better business, more employment, and more efficient machinery, what effect had these forces, plus a minimum-wage law in Ohio, on women's employment?

There is nothing inherent in the several operations carried on by workers in dry-cleaning establishments that demands woman's or man's special capabilities, nor has tradition assigned the tasks to one or the other sex. In 13 percent of the Ohio establishments only women were employed in 1934, in 6 percent there were no women. These proportions shifted to 10 percent and 4 percent, respectively, by 1937. In Indiana 16 percent and 17 percent employed only women in 1934 and 1937, respectively, and 13 percent and 8 percent had no women in these years. In the larger establishments the entry clerk who marks, tags, or enters and bills the garments to be cleaned is in most cases a woman, but may be a man. The operator of the cleaning machine is in most cases a man but may be a woman, while the proportion of women is greater in spotting. The pressers and finishers are women in about two-thirds of the cases. Both seamstresses and men tailors work in these shops. Velvet steaming, hat reblocking, glove cleaning, knit-goods blocking, are done by either sex. The final operations of inspecting, bagging, and shipping are more often carried on by women but may be done by men.

In Ohio and Indiana, for all firms covered, the proportion of women among all employees was practically the same in April 1937 as in April 1934. In Ohio, of the 3,162 employees in 298 establishments in 1934, and of the 4,105 in 388 establishments in 1937, 55 percent were women; and in Indiana, of the 1,020 employees in 184 establishments in 1934, and of the 1,842 in 290 establishments in 1937, about 53 percent were women. When identical establishments only are considered, the proportion of women still was about 55 percent in both years in Ohio, but it declined by one point in Indiana (from 52.3 percent in 1934 to 51.3 percent in 1937).

The forces that called for increases in total numbers employed from 1934 to 1937 in Ohio and Indiana dry-cleaning establishments obviously did not appreciably shift the work between the sexes. Nor did the minimum-wage orders for women in full effect in 1937 in Ohio interfere with the slightly higher ratio of women to men in that State as compared with the ratio in the non-minimum-wage State of Indiana. (See tables I and II.)

Effects on individual women's employment.

Though the trend of business and employment of both sexes was upward, were not a number of individual women affected adversely by the Ohio minimum-wage order?

Not all dry-cleaning plants in either Ohio or Indiana had increased business. Some discontinued their wholesaling business, inefficient stores were closed, a few devoted their attention to developing a laundry branch, death and illness in family establishments lessened output. Consequently, in neither State did all plants increase the numbers employed. In Indiana, 7 percent employed fewer people in 1937 than in 1934 and 45 percent employed the same number. In the first group, 8 of 13 firms lost some women employees; in those whose total employment remained the same, 3 firms increased their

women and 2 dropped one or more women. In Ohio 18 percent of the plants (52) reported a decrease from 1934 to 1937 in total numbers employed and about three-fourths of these decreased their numbers of women. Thirty percent (85 firms) reported no change in total employment, though 8 of the 85 had increased and 7 had decreased the numbers of women employed. Of the remaining 154 plants (53 percent), which increased the total employment, only 7 reduced the numbers of women. The Ohio plants that decreased the numbers of women in 1937 as compared with 1934 ranged in size from 6 establishments employing but 1 woman in 1934 to 2 establishments having more than 100 in that year.

In every instance of a decrease in numbers of women, whether in 1935 or in 1937, the employer in Ohio was asked why each woman was dismissed. When the employer pleaded ignorance, fellow employees were questioned. In 11 firms employers stated, and in 2 other firms employees stated, that as they recalled the situation some women had not been kept on after minimum-wage rates went into effect. Four of these establishments had employed but 1 woman and four others fewer than 4 women, though one large chain dismissed 17 store clerks; in fact, a large proportion of the women reported to be dismissed for this cause were women who tended retail outlets. In the 13 firms there was some belief that a number totaling 45 women (of 1,745 women employed in the same firms in 1934) had lost employment through the minimum-wage order.

The names and addresses of these 45 women were secured. Every effort was made to locate the women, and 31 were found and interviewed. The statements of these women as to the conditions under which they resigned or were dismissed, together with the statements of employers, indicate that a number of causes other than the minimum-wage order had a part in bringing about individual employment shifts. One firm was closing out unprofitable retail outlets and was dismissing retail clerks as a matter of course. Another employer said: "When the court made me pay back wages, it closed me up." In still another firm, the dismissed employees reported: "We all liked to work for him but he always seemed short of cash." And in still another, testifying against the employer because he did not pay the minimum caused several girls to leave either voluntarily or involuntarily. In some instances the girls did not regard themselves as permanent employees.

It may be said in passing that of the 31 women interviewed whose dismissal was reported by employer or fellow employee as due to the minimum-wage order, all but 3 had found employment after such dismissal. Eleven went back to dry cleaning, several with their old employers; 5 went into laundry departments of their dry-cleaning establishments; and 12 entered other pursuits. Six had lost no time in getting jobs and 15 others had lost less than 2 months. Twenty-two were paid higher wages in the new job than in their earlier employment. *It would not appear that this group had been injured by the minimum-wage order, whether or not that was the real cause of their change in position and wage.*

The three who had not been reemployed made the following statements: Mrs. A. had not looked for work again, as she had two sons living with her who were liberal providers. Mrs. B. said: "I was

in the employer's confidence and those girls whose names you have were laid off because they were the most inefficient people anybody ever employed. I was not laid off. I quit in 1935 under doctor's orders and have not been able to work since;" and Mrs. C. said that she had taken the job when her husband was unemployed, and that they want her back, but her health is poor.

In a period of general business activity in the industry, apparently not even an individual experienced woman need have remained unemployed had she chosen to continue working.

CHANGES IN HOURLY EARNINGS, 1934 TO 1937

Ohio's fair wage standard.

The Ohio Minimum Fair Wage Standard for women and minors in dry-cleaning and dyeing occupations follows: 35 cents an hour or \$14 a week for a full workweek of 40 hours for all but store clerks, and 35 cents an hour or \$16.80 a week for a full workweek of 48 hours for store clerks. Time and one-half, or 52½ cents an hour, must be paid for overtime. Women whose earning capacity has been impaired may be licensed to work for 80 percent or more of the minimum fair wage standard, but such licenses may be issued to not more than 5 percent of the employees in any establishment.

How did rates vary in Ohio in a busy month without any minimum-wage order, in the same month shortly after the order became mandatory, and in the same month after more than 2 years of operation under the minimum-wage order? While most of the women employees in dry-cleaning and dyeing establishments are paid on an hourly basis, average hourly earnings of all others are given also in the following analysis in order to include any who may have worked on a piece-rate basis or who may have been paid the overtime rate.

Comparison of earnings in identical firms over the 3 years and in any firm reporting for any of the 3 years.

As has been stated, of the 388 Ohio firms scheduled in 1937, 298 were in business in 1934 but only 173 of these had records of numbers employed for all 3 years. Furthermore, not all of these had records of hours worked for any year and only 106 had such records for all 3 years. Comparison can be made between hourly earnings of the employees in the 106 Ohio firms that had records for these 3 years and also in all firms having records for any 1 year; that is, for 114 firms in 1934, 160 in 1935, and 249 in 1937. A glance at table III will indicate that either comparison reveals the same trends in hourly earnings of women.

The lower-paid group in Ohio.

In April 1934 almost half of all women in Ohio dry-cleaning and dyeing establishments with hour records earned less than 35 cents an hour, but in April 1935, 3 months after the minimum-wage order of 35 cents became mandatory, only 4 percent earned less than 35 cents. The hundreds who worked for less than 35 cents in 1934 had their rates raised to 35 cents, some to 40 cents, in 1935. Only something over one-fifth (22½ percent) earned 35 and under 40 cents in 1934, but in 1935 two-thirds had such earnings. Only 15 percent were paid the exact minimum wage of 35 cents in 1937.

The higher-paid group in Ohio.

Earnings received by women in the higher-wage brackets remained in those brackets in 1935. In both 1934 and 1935, 29 percent earned 40 cents or more, but April 1937 showed an advance to some women who had been raised to the minimum-wage rate in 1935. In 1937 less than one-half, in contrast to two-thirds in 1935, were paid 35 and under 40 cents, 35½ percent were earning 40 and under 50 cents, and 11 percent were earning 50 cents and over. A comparison among identical firms shows even greater proportions of the women in the higher brackets. (See table III and chart 1.)

Not only did the minimum wage almost eliminate payments of less than 35 cents an hour to women in the industry, but after 2 years of operation identical firms showed that women earning 40 cents and more had increased from 30 percent in 1935 to 51 percent in 1937.

Comparison of hourly earnings in Indiana.

Did the women in Indiana enjoy similar increases in hourly earnings? As in Ohio, the proportions earning specific amounts differ but little whether the base for comparison is identical firms or the total numbers of firms reporting in the various years.

In April 1934, more than two-thirds of the women workers in Indiana dry-cleaning and dyeing establishments earned less than 35 cents an hour. This proportion shifted but slightly in April 1935, when the payment of less than 35 cents was almost eliminated in Ohio by that State's minimum-wage order. In April 1937, nearly three-fifths of the women in Indiana dry-cleaning establishments still were earning less than 35 cents; in fact, the proportion earning less than 30 cents had increased materially. There was practically no shift over the 3-year period in the proportion earning 35 and under 40 cents, the figures being about one-sixth in the various establishments and roughly one-fifth in identical establishments. In other words, while Ohio women who had been paid less than 35 cents were advanced, very few Indiana women in the lower brackets had higher hourly rates in 1935 and 1937 than in 1934.

In the case of earnings of 40 cents and over, in Indiana the proportion of women increased from 16½ percent in identical firms in 1934 to 27 percent in 1937, whereas in Ohio the shift was from 29 percent in 1934 to 51 percent in 1937.

The same general equipment changes and price changes, with resultant shiftings in occupational demands and volume of business, took place in Indiana as in Ohio. Yet in the latter State rates of less than 35 cents to women were practically eliminated, while Indiana firms continued to employ over half their women at these wages. At the same time the proportion of women in the higher-earnings brackets increased by 11 points in Indiana but by 22 points in Ohio.

Can there be any question that the minimum-wage orders in Ohio furnished the power to force upward the hourly earnings in the lower-wage brackets and did not hinder material increases in the proportion whose earnings reached into the higher-wage brackets? (See tables III and IV.)

Comparison of changes in men's and women's hourly earnings.

In neither State were men's rates of pay in dry-cleaning and dyeing establishments subject to wage orders. In Ohio, the median or mid-

point in men's hourly earnings in identical firms was 48.8 cents in 1934 and 52.5 cents in 1937, an increase of 7.6 percent. In these identical firms the midpoint of women's earnings increased by 14 percent, from 35 cents to 40 cents. In identical firms in Indiana men's median earnings increased from 35 cents to 41.7 cents from April 1934 to April 1937, or 19 percent, whereas women's median earnings increased but 10 percent, or from 30 cents to 33 cents. It appears, therefore, that the minimum-wage order caused firms in Ohio to increase the hourly earnings of their women employees, allowing a smaller relative increase to men, whereas in Indiana men were the greater beneficiaries of wage increases over the 3-year period.

Even so, Ohio women employed in the same occupations in which men are employed still earn materially less than men do. In April 1937 the median earnings of women cleaners and spotters were 46.1 cents, of men cleaners and spotters 54.2 cents. Women pressers and finishers had a median of 40 cents and men of 59.8 cents. Women markers and checkers had median earnings of 40 cents, while men markers and checkers earned 45 cents. While the same occupational classification does not indicate that the work done by men and women is identical in all particulars, the main task is the same and the skills required are equal.

A minimum wage for women does not give them a wage equal to that of men, but only applies a force to their lower wage scale that lifts it a little nearer to the level of men's earnings on the same types of work. (See table V.)

CHANGES IN HOURS WORKED, 1934 TO 1937

At the time of the survey the Ohio hour law limited women's work-week to 50 hours. The minimum-wage order does not specifically limit the hours a woman may work but rather places a penalty on overtime by exacting time and one-half rates for hours in excess of 48 for store clerks and in excess of 40 for all other women workers in cleaning and dyeing establishments.

In actual operation, during April, a busy month, no attempt was made to limit the hours of operatives to 40, for in 1937 less than 10 percent of the women operatives, as compared with 12 percent in 1934, worked exactly 40 hours. In fact, the proportion working 44 to over 50 hours was 42 percent, as compared with 20 percent in 1934. In the retail outlets of dry-cleaning establishments, however, the tendency was to decrease the hours that they were kept open. In 1934, 64 percent of women store clerks worked 48 hours; in 1937 only 24 percent worked these hours, the largest proportion working between 44 and 48 hours.

A comparison of hours worked by men and women in identical establishments in Ohio in 1937 indicates that a larger proportion of women (28 percent) than of men (19 percent) worked short time, that is, less than 40 hours. Approximately equal proportions—about 10 percent—worked 40 hours. Seven percent of the women exceeded their legal limit of 50 hours, but as many as 27 percent of the men, not covered by the hour law, worked more than 50 hours.

When comparison is made with Indiana it is obvious that the Ohio type of order does prevent overlong hours for many women. In Indiana in 1937, 20 percent of the operatives, as compared with

10½ percent in Ohio, worked at least 50 hours, and an additional 21 percent, as compared with 8 percent in Ohio, worked 48 and under 50 hours. (See table V.)

CHANGES IN WEEKLY EARNINGS, 1934 TO 1937

Comparison of women's weekly earnings in Ohio and Indiana.

Increased rates of pay and longer hours of employment brought about weekly earnings in April 1937 materially in excess of earnings in April 1934. In all Ohio firms having records the increase in women's average earnings in the 3 years was over 20 percent, and in identical firms the increase was about 23 percent. In Indiana the increase in the 3 years in women's average earnings in all firms was 10 percent, in identical firms 16½ percent.

In Ohio about 19 percent of all women employed in 1937, as compared with 7 percent in 1934, had week's earnings of \$20 or more. Fifty-nine percent had earnings of over \$14 but under \$20 a week, in contrast to 38 percent with such earnings in 1934. Only 3 percent of all women employed earned \$14, the official minimum for operatives, in either 1935 or 1937. Obviously, the minimum fixed by wage order did not become even a usual amount. And it was so far from becoming a maximum amount that over three-fourths of all women workers earned more than \$14 a week in 1937.

In contrast to these figures are the following, from the non-minimum-wage State of Indiana: Less than 11 percent of Indiana women in dry-cleaning work earned \$20 or more in the week of April 1937, only 39 percent earned over \$14 but under \$20, and 7 percent earned \$14. Amounts below \$14 were earned by 44 percent of the women in Indiana in contrast to 19 percent of those in Ohio, and even this 19 percent was due primarily to the fact that the hours worked by these women were less than 40. (See table VI.)

Increased weekly earnings due largely to increased rates.

The increase in weekly earnings in Ohio is due to higher wage rates far more than to an increase in hours of employment. Not only is this fact borne out by the changes in hourly earnings already discussed, but from table VII may be seen the extent to which the weekly earnings increased when the same hours were worked in the three comparative periods in identical firms. Women operatives who worked just 40 hours had an increase in week's average earnings from April 1934 to April 1937 of 17½ percent; those who worked fewer hours had a percentage of increase almost as high, and considerable increases are indicated for those who worked over 40 hours. Store clerks in these establishments who worked 48 hours had an increase in average weekly earnings of 20 percent, and those who worked shorter hours enjoyed an increase of 21 percent. (See table VII.)

Occupational earnings.

In identical Ohio establishments, in April of all 3 years, spotting and cleaning, that is, removing spots or stains by hand and tending the cleaning machine, yielded the highest week's earnings received by women. In 1937, women engaged in these tasks averaged \$19.65, as compared with \$16.10 in 1934, an increase of 22 percent. In the

establishments reporting actual hours worked, 72 percent of these employees earned 40 cents and more, not far from one-half earning at least 50 cents.

The pressers and finishers were the largest group of women workers. Their median earnings were \$17.05 in 1937, as compared with \$13.70 in 1934 and \$14.65 in 1935. In 1937 equal proportions, 41.4 percent, earned 40 and under 50 cents and earned 35 and under 40 cents. Inspectors and markers and checkers also had median earnings of over \$17 in 1937, while seamstresses and store clerks averaged \$16.65 and \$16.25, respectively. The midpoint in earnings of each occupation represented a gain of 19 percent or more from 1934 to 1937.

While the earnings of women in the several occupations in Indiana held the same relative position as did those in Ohio, that is, cleaning and spotting was the highest-paid occupation and sales clerks were the lowest-paid group, Ohio earnings exceeded Indiana earnings in every occupational group where comparisons can be made. In identical establishments in Indiana, in 1937, women pressers' and finishers' median earnings were \$15.80, whereas in Ohio such earnings were \$17.05; Indiana markers and checkers averaged \$14.55, compared with \$17.25 in Ohio; Indiana store clerks \$13.85, compared with \$16.25 in Ohio.

Comparison of men's and women's weekly earnings.

In neither State did the week's earnings of women equal the earnings of men in the same occupations, primarily because women's hourly rates were lower, as is shown on page 17. In Ohio, men spotters and cleaners had median earnings of \$27.15, women spotters and cleaners of \$19.65; men pressers and finishers had median earnings of \$26.50, women of \$17.05; men markers and checkers of \$21.30, women markers and checkers of \$17.25.

In Indiana also, men's wages were always higher than women's wages. But while the median earnings of women pressers and finishers increased by only 19 percent from April 1934 to April 1937, those of men pressers and finishers increased by 40 percent. In these identical establishments, median earnings of all women increased by 14½ percent, while men's median increased by 30 percent over the 3-year period. (See table VIII.)

EARNINGS IN BORDER-CITY ESTABLISHMENTS COMPARED WITH ESTABLISHMENTS ELSEWHERE IN OHIO

The location of establishments close to neighboring States was regarded by some persons as a factor wielding an important influence on wages in border cities. Separate tabulations were made, therefore, of the data from establishments in Cincinnati, Hamilton, Portsmouth, Steubenville, East Liverpool, Martins Ferry, Marietta, and Bellaire, called "border cities" for purposes of comparison, to determine whether wage rates across the border had affected industries in these areas in Ohio. The dry-cleaning establishments in these 8 border cities with pay rolls reported in 1937 numbered 46. Only 26 of these had records for all 3 years and only 34 had 1935 pay-roll records.

The women employees in firms from which records were obtained in 1934 showed 65½ percent in the border cities, compared to 47½ percent in places elsewhere in Ohio, earning less than \$14 a week. By April 1935 the proportion first mentioned had been reduced to 28 percent and by April 1937 it was 16 percent, in favorable contrast to other Ohio cities, where as many as 21 percent still were earning less than \$14 in 1937. The proportion earning \$14—the legal minimum—was but 2 percent in the border cities, as compared with 4 percent in other places. In the border cities in 1937 the largest group of women workers, 57 percent, earned between \$14 and \$18. In other places in the State there was a somewhat wider distribution of weekly earnings in the higher-earnings brackets.

When hourly earnings are compared, which in this industry correspond to rates, it is found that while 70 percent in the border cities earned less than the minimum of 35 cents in 1934, this proportion was reduced to less than 4 percent by 1935 and continued at a low proportion in 1937. About 12 percent earned the minimum rate in 1935 and in 1937, but over 80 percent earned more than the minimum. While the proportion in the higher-earnings brackets in 1937 was smaller in the border cities than elsewhere, it was more than double the proportion with such earnings in 1934 and represented a marked increase in earnings for many women. (See table IX.) It is evident that dry-cleaning establishments in these cities adjusted to the wage minimum as imposed by law to the advantage of all employees as they did in towns and cities in other parts of the State.

ADJUSTMENT OF OHIO DRY-CLEANING AND DYEING INDUSTRY TO MINIMUM WAGE AND OTHER CHANGES, 1934 TO 1937

As has been stated on page 10, the increase in physical volume of cleaning that could be handled by each employee, accompanied as it was by price decreases, made no change in the proportion that total pay rolls formed of total sales in dry-cleaning plants in the United States from 1929 to 1935 though the dollar sales per person decreased by one-third. This was equally true in Ohio, though the minimum wage brought about such a marked advance in women's rates and earnings.

In order that the family shop may not confuse the picture—obviously, numbers and earnings of family members are not included in pay-roll data—these shops have been separated from those operated in each of the 3 years without family assistance in the following comparisons.

In the 75 Ohio dry-cleaning and dyeing nonfamily establishments reporting sales for April 1934, April 1935, and April 1937 there was a 40½-percent increase in dollar sales in 1937 over 1934. The total pay roll increased about 36 percent. These establishments were able to keep their sales-volume increases just a little above their pay-roll increases. The increase in numbers employed was but 10 percent, however, for by larger volume per man-hour and longer hours of work the 40½-percent increase in dollar sales was handled by a relatively small staff increase.

The family establishments—those in which relatives of the proprietors worked at other than clerical tasks for one or more of the three

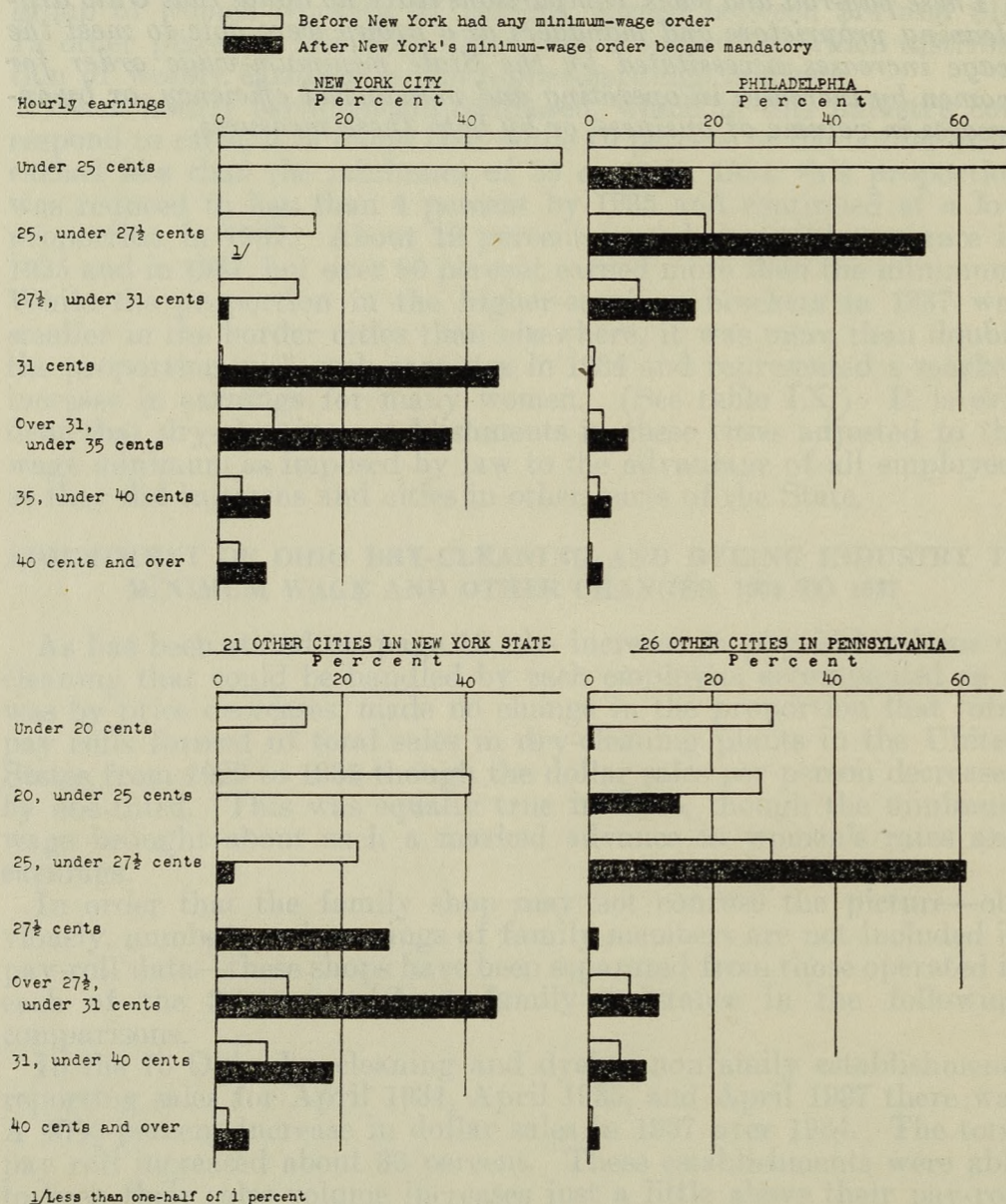
years—also enjoyed an increase of more than 40 percent in dollar volume of sales from April 1934 to April 1937. Their pay rolls increased in about the same proportion while employment increased about 22 percent. The greater relative increase in pay roll and employment in family shops undoubtedly is due to the fact that less work is done by wife or daughter when sales are better.

Shops doing pressing only were later excluded from the figures given above, but the volume of business and size of pay roll was too small to affect the results given.

These pay-roll and sales comparisons leave no doubt that Ohio dry-cleaning proprietors and managers as a group were able to meet the wage increases necessitated by the State minimum-wage order for women by increases in operating and managerial efficiency, or by increases in volume of business, or by both these measures.

CHART 2.—AVERAGE HOURLY EARNINGS OF WOMEN IN THE POWER-LAUNDRY INDUSTRY OF NEW YORK AND OF PENNSYLVANIA, BEFORE EITHER STATE HAD A MINIMUM-WAGE ORDER AND AFTER NEW YORK HAD SUCH AN ORDER BUT PENNSYLVANIA HAD NOT

(See appendix table XII.)



EFFECT OF MINIMUM WAGE IN THE POWER-LAUNDRY INDUSTRY

The history of minimum wage in New York's laundry industry is divided into two periods, one prior to June 1, 1936, the date on which the United States Supreme Court declared unconstitutional the New York minimum-wage law of April 1933, and the other after the favorable decision of that court on March 29, 1937, in the Washington minimum-wage case.

New York passed its first minimum-wage law in April 1933. This law defined a fair minimum wage as one "fairly and reasonably commensurate with the value of the service or class of service rendered," and an oppressive and unreasonable wage as one "which is both less than the fair and reasonable value of the services rendered and less than sufficient to meet the minimum cost of living necessary for health." Under this statute the New York Department of Labor held hearings in the laundry industry and issued a directory wage order, effective October 2, 1933, to become mandatory August 6, 1934. An indictment of a Brooklyn laundry manager for noncompliance followed in November 1934. This man sued for a writ of habeas corpus in April 1935, but it was denied by the Supreme Court of New York in June, the court declaring the law constitutional. The case was taken to the Court of Appeals in March 1936, when the decision of the State Supreme Court was reversed and the law was held unconstitutional. The case was at once appealed to the United States Supreme Court, which sustained the New York Court of Appeals in June of that year.

It is obvious, therefore, that a cloud of uncertain legality hung over the New York laundry minimum-wage order almost from its inception and must have affected complete and continuous compliance with minimum-wage decrees of the New York power-laundry industry. However, new wage orders for the laundry industry following the favorable decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Washington case were not recommended by the New York Department of Labor until January 1938. Only the earlier period of the State's experience, therefore, will serve to indicate the effect of a wage order on labor conditions when the industry is struggling to lift itself out of its first real business depression. The Women's Bureau undertook a study of labor conditions in the power-laundry industry in New York State and, for comparative purposes, in Pennsylvania, at three dates—May 1933, November 1933, and November 1935, respectively before the issuance of any minimum-wage order in New York, immediately after the issuance of the directory order, and somewhat more than a year after the order became mandatory.

GENERAL CONDITIONS IN THE LAUNDRY INDUSTRY IN NEW YORK AND PENNSYLVANIA

New York power-laundry business increased in volume from 1929 to 1931, but from 1931 to 1933 a heavy decrease in receipts occurred,

due in part to decreased use of laundry service and in part to price cuts.⁵ This decrease was somewhat smaller in New York City, where hotel and apartment-house living lessens the ease with which laundry can be done at home, than throughout the State. By 1935 recovery of receipts was 4 percent in the metropolis but over 10 percent for the entire State. (See table X.)

Naturally, employment was affected by these shifts in business volume, though to a far less extent than might have been expected. In the State of New York, where receipts were reported as having decreased by 31 percent from 1931 to 1933, employment decreased by only 12 percent. Wages, however, decreased by about 28 percent. Obviously, the policy of power laundries was to dismiss as few employees as possible but to keep total wage payments in close relation to money intake. In 1931 wages were 42 percent of receipts, in 1933 they were 43.9 percent. With the upturn in business in 1935, the increase in wage earners was closely related to the increase in business receipts, but the wage increase exceeded slightly the receipts increase. In 1935, therefore, wages comprised 44.4 percent of receipts as compared with 41.6 percent in 1929 and 42 percent in 1931.

A comparison of these New York State totals with Pennsylvania power-laundry totals for the same period indicates that the New York minimum-wage order was exerting some influence over the industry in New York in 1935.

Pennsylvania laundries suffered a loss in business before the depression was noticed in New York, for in 1931 a 13-percent decrease in receipts is noted, with decreases also in number of establishments, number of wage earners, and amount of pay roll. The loss of business from 1931 to 1933 was almost identical with that in New York, and undoubtedly from similar causes. This longer and deeper depression in Pennsylvania was counteracted, however, by a larger pickup in business from 1933 to 1935 than occurred in New York. As a consequence, 1935 receipts in Pennsylvania and New York bear roughly the same relation to 1929 receipts: In each State, receipts in 1935 were approximately 25 percent less than receipts in 1929.

Pennsylvania's laundry pay rolls decreased in 1931 and again in 1933 almost to the same degree as did receipts; but when the upturn came, the increase in total wages was not quite equal to the increase in receipts, whereas in New York the pay-roll increase was larger than the receipts increase. In 1935 Pennsylvania's wages were 42.2 percent of receipts, as compared with 44.4 percent in New York State.

A detailed view of the part the New York minimum-wage decree played in protecting women laundry workers as these business adjustments were occurring is presented in the following pages by an examination of the wage and employment changes in this period in power laundries in New York State as compared with power laundries in Pennsylvania.

⁵The decrease is given in the census report as 31 percent, but the report explains that "due to the fact that some of the firms reported in 1931 had failed to do so in 1933, this percent undoubtedly is too large." That the decrease nevertheless was very great is indicated by the fact that a survey by the Women's Bureau in 1934 of power laundries in 22 cities east of the Mississippi found that laundry receipts declined by 25.3 percent in the 4 years from 1929 to 1933.

SCOPE OF STUDY

The Women's Bureau study covered conditions in 131 New York power laundries employing over 7,500 persons, and in 116 Pennsylvania power laundries employing about 7,000 persons, in November 1935. (See table XI.) The New York Department of Labor had made a survey of the wages and hours in the industry in that State in May 1933, prior to the calling of a wage board to consider the establishment of a minimum wage for the industry. On October 2, 1933, the directory order became effective, under which failure to comply with the wage provisions called for publicity as the principal means of enforcement. In November the department requested all laundries to submit pay rolls in order that it might observe the extent to which employers were complying with the wage provisions of this directory order. While compliance was reported by 73 percent of the laundries reporting throughout the State, in power laundries in the New York metropolitan area the percent of compliance was slightly less than this.⁶ A mandatory order, under which failure to comply with the minimum-wage provisions became a misdemeanor, was issued on August 6, 1934. The Department of Labor called for a second filing of pay-roll records in November 1935, 15 months after the mandatory order went into effect.

With pay rolls for the three periods described available in the files of the New York department, the United States Women's Bureau considered it inadvisable to duplicate this material by its usual form of field survey. Instead it requested the State department of labor to furnish it with wage data for identical firms reporting in May and November 1933 and in November 1935 in the following areas: New York City area, including New York City, Yonkers, White Plains, Richmond, New Rochelle, Mount Vernon, and Hempstead; Buffalo, with a population of over 500,000; Albany, Rochester, Syracuse, and Utica, cities in the 100,000 and under 500,000 population group; Schenectady and Troy, in the 50,000 and under 100,000 group; 4 cities in the 25,000 and under 50,000 group; and 10 places of less than 25,000 population. This request was granted.

In Pennsylvania the Women's Bureau agents visited power laundries and secured data from those that had records over this 3-year period. Cities in this State were chosen to correspond as closely as possible in the type of laundry work required to that handled by laundries in cities in New York State that had been included in the survey. The Pennsylvania survey included power laundries in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, with populations of over 500,000; in Scranton, Erie, and Reading, cities of 100,000 and under 500,000; in eight cities of 50,000 and under 100,000; in seven cities of 25,000 and under 50,000; and in seven places of less than 25,000.

In all laundries included in the study the numbers of all employees and of women employees in May 1933, in November 1933, and in November 1935 were secured, as were the earnings and hours worked of women employees. Wherever there appeared, in the New York

⁶New York Department of Labor, Division of Women in Industry, Report of the Industrial Commissioner, July 2, 1934, pp. 24-26.

Department of Labor records, a decrease in the proportion of women employed over this period, the laundry in which the decrease occurred was visited and any changes taking place in the specific laundry that may have affected the shift were ascertained.

CHANGES IN NUMBERS OF WOMEN EMPLOYED, 1933 TO 1935

About three-fourths of the employees in power laundries are "productive workers," that is, workers employed in actual laundering operations. The work done by women productive workers usually is distinct from the work done by men productive workers. The men are in the washing department, preparing the wash liquids and tending washing machines. The women are in the ironing departments, ironing the washed clothes. There is some overlapping of the sexes in the minor occupations of marking and sorting incoming articles for identification and in sorting the finished work for delivery.

The next most numerous group of workers employed by power laundries are routemen, who collect and deliver laundry bundles, often selling the laundry service. This work is done by men, as is the power-plant and other mechanical work. General laboring work about a power laundry usually is done by men, also, though occasionally a woman is employed at such tasks. Office workers are not included in this comparison.

In spite of this sharp demarcation of women's work and men's work in power laundries, there are differences from laundry to laundry in the proportions of the sexes employed. The type of laundry work done determines the relative number of ironers required per washer or per routeman. Where damp-wash and partially-ironed service to families is an important part of the laundry's business, very few ironers are required. When linen service to hotels, apartments, restaurants, doctors' offices, and office buildings is added, for each washer a number of operatives on flat-work ironers would be needed. And when garments are finished by hand, the number of hand ironers naturally increases.

The New York State Department of Labor reports New York City as having 1,440 hand laundries, as compared with 428 power laundries. Unquestionably much of the shirt and collar and women's garment work reaches these hand laundries, so the power laundries require fewer hand ironers than such laundries require in cities where the hand laundry is almost nonexistent. Only power laundries were included in this study. In the New York City area women comprised 59 percent of the workers in 81 power laundries in 1933; in other New York localities women were 69 percent of the workers in 50 laundries. In Philadelphia women comprised 63 percent of the staff in 50 laundries in 1933, and elsewhere in Pennsylvania they were 66 percent of the staff in 66 laundries. In each case the office workers were excluded.

When business began to pick up and employees were taken on in 1934 and 1935 in individual power laundries, men were reemployed at a somewhat faster rate than women. The result was that in the New York City area in November 1935, women comprised a smaller percentage of the staff (1½ points less) than in May 1933. In in-

dividual establishments outside metropolitan New York the proportion was 0.7 of a point less. In Pennsylvania power laundries also a similar slight shift had occurred.

An examination of this situation revealed that in actual numbers more power laundries in New York State had increased the proportion of women than had decreased such proportion, and that the same condition existed in Philadelphia. Though these shifts in proportion of the sexes appeared to be merely such adjustments as might occur in the normal course of daily business of any establishment, agents of the Women's Bureau visited in person all New York laundries whose records showed a percentage decrease of more than two points in 1935 from the proportion of women in May 1933 or November 1933, to examine thoroughly the conditions that may have led to this shift.

The results of these personal interviews concerning business and equipment changes or adjustments following the minimum-wage decree reveal clearly that minimum-wage laws do not operate in a vacuum; that they become a factor of much or of little importance in individual establishments depending on the business conditions at the particular time in each particular establishment.

Fifty power laundries in New York State were visited in person by the Bureau's investigators. Of this number only five reported making any shifts in operating staff from May 1933 to November 1935 because of the minimum-wage order. The shifts made by these five firms, and the reasons for such shifts, were as follows:

Laundry No. 1.—Business decreased by 12.8 percent. Women decreased by 26 percent (15 women); men, 1 added.

"After minimum wage became effective it was too expensive to spread the work so much, as the hourly rate was higher when short time was worked,⁷ so some of the women were laid off and those remaining worked fuller time. The men did not change, because a certain number are necessary to get out the work and deliver it whether sales go up or down."

Laundry No. 2.—Business decreased by 8.7 percent. Women decreased by 20 percent (9 women); men remained as before.

"In May 1933 had three flat-work ironers employing 18 women part time. When minimum wage came in, one flat-work ironer was closed down. Could do all the work on two ironers in 40 hours with 12 women. As minimum-wage law made me pay higher hourly wage for short time, it was too expensive to keep a lot of girls for 20 or 25 hours."

Laundry No. 3.—Business increased by 23 percent. Women increased by 25 percent (11 women); men increased by 52 percent (13 men).

"Because of the minimum-wage law, we replaced a few women with men because we could work men longer without bothering with an overtime rate. The men were hired for general work and worked wherever needed."

Laundry No. 4.—"Business increased steadily" by about 36 percent from November 1933 (no report for April 1933). Women increased by 82 percent (45 women); men increased by 32 percent (13 men).

"Put in men as classifiers and assemblers in place of women because of the strict hour provisions relating to women under the minimum-wage law, which required the payment of time and a half for overtime. Manager found it more profitable to pay men a slightly higher rate and work the longer hours as needed, paying time and a quarter, than to keep women."

In spite of this shift, women advanced in this case from 57 percent of the total in November 1933 to 65 percent in 1935.

⁷ New York order called for 34½ cents an hour for less than 37 hours, and 31 cents for 40 to 45 hours, in New York City area.

Laundry No. 5.—Gross sales declined, amount not stated. Women decreased by 15 percent (9 women); men remained as before.

"Had substituted men on flat-work ironer because of arbitrary provisions as to undertime and overtime of minimum-wage decree." [Agent's note: No evidence of such change in record up to May 1935.]

In 21 of the New York power laundries visited, a shift in numbers of women was of such a transitory nature that a later week in November 1935 showed the same or a larger proportion of women than were employed in May 1933.

In several other laundries, while changes had occurred in this 2½-year period, the owner or manager was unaware of any condition that could have influenced the proportion of women. As one employer stated: "A change of 5 or 6 percent in numbers has no significance, as it is probably due to fluctuation in business."

In 13 laundries, managers recognized that certain changes had taken place within their establishments that may have shifted the proportion of women employed as compared with men. These changes, illustrations of adjustments that may be taking place daily in various laundries quite without regard to wage orders, were as follows:

Temporary factors.

"Laundry had a fire in September 1935. Men continued to collect washing, and to wash it, but it had to be sent to other laundries to be ironed, as the presses were burned."

"Strike of routemen interfered with business, so could run only one flat-work ironer instead of two as before."

Management changes.

"New manager in 1934 let out a whole lot of employees to save money."

"New manager eliminated one flat-work ironer and its crew of women as business did not require use of so many."

Character of business changed.

"Increase in family-bundle service made it necessary to supply helpers to washmen."

"Laundry is now doing hand laundry on wholesale basis for small laundries, increasing staff of both men and women, adding few men for shirt finishing and as press operators."

"Laundry has gradually been doing less mangle work, which means reduction in women."

"Wet-wash department installed, adding five or six men, and other changes brought about increased use of men."

New equipment installed.

"Two new shaking machines have been installed, which has eliminated about 12 girls."

"New shirt unit and handkerchief ironer saved work of one girl."

"New equipment installed that increased the efficiency of each unit. Substitution to get greater speed."

One firm reported a partial substitution of men for women on presses "because they were faster." A second firm remarked that as their business increased they were adding men to their ironing department.

From the foregoing statements, it is obvious that 4 out of 50 laundries had put men on women's ironing work or on marking and sorting. While only two of these related their action to the overtime provisions of the minimum-wage order, the effort to use men as ironers marks a departure from traditional laundry practice. Whether these workers will prove as satisfactory as women and not more costly in spite of minimum wage, further experience alone will indicate.

CHANGES IN EARNINGS, 1933 TO 1935

New York's minimum-wage standard.

The New York minimum-wage order for women and for minors under 21 years of age employed in laundry occupations, effective October 2, 1933, established minimum rates of 31 cents an hour in the New York City area and of 27½ cents an hour in the remainder of the State for a basic week of 40 hours. In both cases overtime rates, required for work beyond 45 hours in any one week, were set at one and one-half times the basic minimum. A 10-percent hourly bonus, making the rate 34¹/₁₀ cents an hour in the metropolitan area and 30¹/₄ cents an hour elsewhere, was set for a week of less than 37 hours. This order became mandatory on August 6, 1934.⁸

How did earnings shift in the New York City area and in other places from May 1933, before there was any minimum-wage order, to November 1933, when the directory order had been in effect 1 month, and to November 1935, when the mandatory order had been in effect 15 months?

The lower-paid operatives in New York.

In power laundries where records were obtainable for May 1933, November 1933, and November 1935, more than 55 percent of the women workers, whether in the metropolitan area or elsewhere in the State, earned less than 25 cents an hour in May 1933. In the New York City area, 84 percent of the women earned under 31 cents an hour. In 21 other cities in the State, 78 percent of the women earned less than 27½ cents an hour, and about 90 percent earned less than 31 cents, in May 1933. By November 1933 the women earning less than 25 cents had almost disappeared from the pay rolls of up-State laundries, and in the New York City area the proportion with such earnings had dropped from well over one-half to somewhat less than one-eighth. By November 1935 no woman operative was earning under 25 cents an hour in the laundries covered.

Table XII indicates that by November 1933, under the directory order, some shifting from lower to higher rates had taken place, but that the mandatory order and a longer period of adjustment were required before the payment to women of less than 31 cents an hour in the New York City area and of less than 27½ cents in the other parts of the State was practically eliminated. Under the mandatory order, in 1935, 83 percent of these women earned 31 and under 35 cents an hour in the metropolitan area, and 73 percent earned 27½ and under 31 cents in the other places.

The higher-paid operatives in New York.

In the New York City area only 7 percent of the women power-laundry operatives had hourly earnings of 35 cents or more in May 1933; in November 1935 about 16 percent earned such amounts. In 21 other New York cities combined, 10 percent of the women operatives earned 31 cents or more in May 1933; by November 1935 24

⁸ The new directory order, effective March 14, 1938, and made mandatory August 22, 1938, makes certain increases in rates—for example, for New York City, \$14 for a week of 40 hours or less, 35 cents for over 40 to 45 hours—establishes a system of zones, and makes other changes.

percent had such earnings. Obviously, the level of earnings was lifted for almost all women workers during this period.

Comparison of hourly earnings in Pennsylvania.

Did the women laundry operatives in Pennsylvania enjoy the same increases in hourly earnings from 1933 to 1935? Table XII offers an answer to this question also.

Both in Philadelphia and in 26 other Pennsylvania cities combined, 87 percent of the operatives earned under 27½ cents an hour in May 1933. By November 1935, 71 percent and 76 percent, respectively, still had earnings at this low level, whereas less than 1 percent of the women in New York State were paid such amounts. The fact that the N. R. A. code for power-laundry operatives of February 16, 1934, fixed 25 cents an hour as a minimum for the largest cities in Pennsylvania unquestionably lessened the number paid below 25 cents in November 1935, but it did cause a concentration at 25 cents.

Nor were the women who had earned the higher amounts in Pennsylvania laundries noticeably better off in 1935, for in Philadelphia only 5.5 percent earned 35 cents and over as compared with 16 percent in the New York City area. In 26 other Pennsylvania cities only 11 percent earned 31 cents and over, in contrast to 24 percent earning such amounts in the 21 New York cities.

Can there be any question as to the effect of the New York minimum-wage order on women's hourly earnings?

Hours worked.

The effect of the requirement of an overtime rate of time and one-half is very noticeable in the hours worked by women laundry operatives in New York. As has been stated, the time and one-half rate began after 45 hours. In the New York City area in May 1933, before any wage order, 48 percent of the women laundry operatives worked 46 hours or more; 36 percent worked 37 and under 46 hours, and 16 percent worked less than 37 hours. In November 1935 only 12 percent worked 46 hours or more, and 75 percent worked 37 and under 46 hours. There was little change in the proportion working under 37 hours. (See table XIII.)

In 21 other New York cities there had been much short-time work prior to the mandatory minimum-wage order. This was decreased considerably in 1935, and hours of 37 and under 46 were worked by 63.5 percent of the operatives as compared with 34.5 percent in May 1933. Forty-six hours or more were worked by only 10 percent of the women in November 1935 as compared with 27 percent in May 1933.

In Pennsylvania, laundries were permitted by law to operate 54 hours. That only 13 percent of the women workers were employed 46 hours or more in November 1935 is a clear indication that such long hours are not necessary to the successful operation of a laundry. In fact, Pennsylvania women laundry workers were faced with the problem of undertime rather than overtime, for in November 1935 as many as 28 percent of the women operatives, in contrast to 17 percent of those in New York State, worked under 37 hours.

Changes in weekly earnings in New York and Pennsylvania.

Increased rates of pay and shorter hours of work for New York women laundry operatives brought increased weekly earnings in 1935

over 1933. In the New York City area the median or midpoint of the week's earnings moved up from \$11.10 in May 1933 to \$12.25 in November 1933, and to \$13.50 by November 1935. In that metropolitan area the proportion of women earning less than \$12 a week (the minimum wage for a 40-hour week, set in October 1933, was \$12.40) decreased from 61 percent in May 1933 to 12 percent in November 1935. The proportion earning \$13 or more increased from 28 percent to 64 percent in the same period. (See table XIV.)

In 21 other New York localities, the midpoint in week's earnings advanced from \$9.30 before the minimum-wage order to \$11.85 at a date 15 months after the order became mandatory. Though before the wage order went into effect 71 percent of the women operatives in the laundries reporting earned under \$11 (the minimum set for a 40-hour week), only 21 percent earned under \$11 in November 1935. A material increase occurred in the proportion in each 1-dollar group from \$12 a week up.

In Pennsylvania the midpoint in the week's earnings in power laundries was \$2.20 less than that in New York in May 1933 and \$2.50 less than in New York in November 1935. At the latter date 36 percent of the women in Pennsylvania laundries earned less than \$10, as compared with 8.5 percent in New York State; and 57 percent in Pennsylvania earned less than \$11 a week, while in the neighboring minimum-wage State only 12 percent had such earnings. The proportions in the upper brackets were materially greater for the women in New York State; 29 percent, as compared with 10½ percent in Pennsylvania, earned \$14 and over.

When week's earnings are related to actual hours worked, the importance of the minimum-wage order in raising earnings for New York women laundry operatives is emphasized further. Women working 41 and under 46 hours in the New York City area had median earnings of \$13.75 a week in 1935, as compared to the \$11.20 median for Philadelphia operatives working the same hours. In the 21 places elsewhere in New York the week's earnings for these hours were \$12.60, as compared to \$11.15 in the 26 other localities in Pennsylvania.

The effect of time and one-half rates for hours in excess of 45 carried in the New York order also is apparent in table XV. For women in the New York City area who worked 46 hours or more, average earnings were \$15.30; in other places in the State the average was \$13.70. In Philadelphia women employed 46 hours or more averaged but \$12.20, and in other places in the State \$12.40.

Earnings according to occupation.

The Women's Bureau transcribed earnings by occupation for women workers in Pennsylvania laundries in the three periods under consideration. Comparable data were not available in New York for 1935, but the New York Department of Labor did secure occupational data in September 1937. A comparison of median earnings for all women in the Women's Bureau 1935 survey and all women in New York State's 1937 survey shows a difference of only 2 cents an hour in the New York City area and of 1 cent an hour elsewhere in New York State. There is value in the comparisons in table XVI of the occupational earnings in New York and Pennsylvania in May 1933 and of those in Pennsylvania in November 1935 and New York in

September 1937, but it must be borne in mind that New York has a slight advantage in these comparisons.

In the New York City area in 1937 the hand ironers' median earnings were the highest, at 35 cents an hour, the sorters and classifiers following with a median of 34 cents, and press operators having practically the same. Flat-work operators had a median of about 32 cents. In Philadelphia the sorters and the press operators earned 27½ cents and 27 cents an hour, respectively. Occupational earnings in other Pennsylvania cities varied little from those in Philadelphia, but the up-State cities in New York had average earnings in the various occupations of 30 to 32 cents, as compared to an occupational range in the metropolitan area of 32 to 35 cents.

APPENDIX—TABLES

TABLE I.—Number of establishments visited in 1937 and number in business in 1934 and 1935, with number of men and women they employed—DRY CLEANING AND DYEING, Ohio and Indiana

Year	Ohio						Indiana					
	Total number of establishments	Total number of employees	Establishments employing men		Establishments employing women		Total number of establishments	Total number of employees	Establishments employing men		Establishments employing women	
			Number of establishments	Number of men	Number of establishments	Number of women			Number of establishments	Number of men	Number of establishments	Number of women
<i>All establishments visited</i>												
1934.....	298	3,162	260	1,405	281	1,757	184	1,020	154	488	160	532
1935.....	315	3,228	276	1,465	296	1,763	215	1,208	185	590	191	618
1937.....	388	4,105	348	1,838	372	2,267	290	1,842	241	866	267	976
<i>Establishments with pay-roll records for the year specified¹</i>												
1934.....	176	2,760	164	1,200	173	1,560	66	644	63	289	60	355
1935.....	210	2,970	198	1,298	205	1,609	86	829	84	388	81	441
1937.....	312	3,893	290	1,729	305	2,164	228	1,688	207	796	209	892
<i>Establishments without pay-roll records for the year specified</i>												
1934.....	122	402	96	205	108	197	118	376	91	199	100	177
1935.....	105	321	78	167	91	154	129	379	101	202	110	177
1937.....	76	212	58	109	67	103	62	154	34	70	58	84

¹ Records for all 3 years were reported by 234 establishments.

TABLE II.—Changes in employment of men and women from 1934 to 1935 and 1937, identical establishments—DRY CLEANING AND DYEING, Ohio and Indiana¹

Year	291 Ohio establishments					181 Indiana establishments				
	Total employees	Men employees		Women employees		Total employees	Men employees		Women employees	
		Number	Per cent of change from 1934	Number	Per cent of change from 1934		Number	Per cent of change from 1934	Number	Per cent of change from 1934
1934.....	3,144	1,399	-----	1,745	-----	1,004	478	-----	526	-----
1935.....	3,133	1,413	+1.0	1,720	-1.4	1,062	519	+8.6	543	+3.2
1937.....	3,495	1,565	+11.9	1,930	+10.6	1,249	608	+27.2	641	+21.9

¹ As the number of employees covered by the Bureau's survey was approximately the same as that reported by the U. S. Census, these survey figures were used throughout the report.

TABLE III.—Hourly earnings of women in all establishments reporting hours worked for any of the 3 years 1934, 1935, and 1937, and in identical establishments reporting for each of the 3 years—DRY CLEANING AND DYEING, Ohio and Indiana

Hourly earnings (cents)	Ohio						Indiana					
	Number of women with hours worked reported			Percent distribution			Number of women with hours worked reported			Percent distribution		
	1934	1935	1937	1934	1935	1937	1934	1935	1937	1934	1935	1937
<i>All establishments reporting for any year</i>												
Number of establishments.....	114	160	249				32	44	91			
Total women.....	1,273	1,388	1,889	100.0	100.0	100.0	212	255	428	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 35.....	620	55	81	48.7	4.0	4.3	146	171	247	68.9	67.0	57.8
35, under 40.....	286	928	929	22.5	66.9	49.2	35	43	71	16.5	16.9	16.6
40, under 50.....	294	310	671	23.1	22.3	35.5	24	32	83	11.3	12.5	19.4
50 and over.....	73	95	208	5.7	6.9	11.0	7	9	27	3.3	3.5	6.3
<i>Identical establishments reporting for each year</i>												
Number of establishments.....	106	106	106				26	26	26			
Total women.....	1,247	1,246	1,395	100.0	100.0	100.0	187	193	223	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 35.....	614	47	45	49.2	3.8	3.2	121	121	115	64.8	62.7	51.5
35, under 40.....	97	211	136	7.8	16.9	9.7	21	27	25	11.2	14.0	11.2
Over 35, under 40.....	180	610	506	14.4	49.0	36.3	14	11	22	7.5	5.7	9.9
40, under 50.....	283	287	544	22.7	23.0	39.0	24	25	44	12.8	13.0	19.7
50 and over.....	73	91	164	5.9	7.3	11.8	7	9	17	3.7	4.7	7.6

TABLE IV.—Hourly earnings of men and women in the various occupations in identical establishments in 1934, 1935, and 1937—DRY CLEANING AND DYEING, Ohio and Indiana

Occupation	Women						Men					
	1934		1935		1937		1934		1935		1937	
	Number	Average hourly earnings ¹ (cents)	Number	Average hourly earnings ¹ (cents)	Number	Average hourly earnings ¹ (cents)	Number	Average hourly earnings ¹ (cents)	Number	Average hourly earnings ¹ (cents)	Number	Average hourly earnings ¹ (cents)
<i>74 Ohio establishments reporting hours worked</i>												
All employees.....	1,072	35.0	1,042	36.0	1,157	40.0	694	48.8	682	50.0	729	52.5
Cleaners and spotters.....	66	40.0	63	44.0	61	46.1	278	50.0	274	50.0	277	54.2
Pressers and finishers.....	399	35.0	380	36.5	419	40.0	201	50.0	197	50.3	213	59.8
Tailors and seamstresses.....	160	34.8	160	36.0	194	38.0	47		39		41	
Inspectors.....	29		28		35		3		5		9	
Markers and checkers.....	174	35.0	175	36.0	194	40.0	48		62	40.0	59	45.0
General workers.....	15		13		13		44		31		33	
Supervisors.....	13		11		9		11		12		14	
Other production workers.....	26		25		41		62	44.0	56	42.4	80	42.2
Sales and store clerks.....	190	28.5	187	35.1	191	35.1			6		3	
<i>15 Indiana establishments² reporting hours worked</i>												
All employees.....	149	30.0	162	30.0	175	33.0	109	35.0	115	35.0	117	41.7
Cleaners and spotters.....	7		9		9		47		46		54	30.0
Pressers and finishers.....	52	33.3	63	35.0	61	35.0	40		48		42	

¹ The median or midpoint, with half the earnings below and half above the amount shown; not computed where base less than 50.

² All occupations but those shown had too few reported for the computation of average earnings.

TABLE V.—Hours worked in the week reported by women on production and by women sales and store clerks, all establishments reporting for any of the 3 years 1934, 1935, and 1937—DRY CLEANING AND DYEING, Ohio and Indiana

Hours worked	Ohio						Indiana					
	Number of women with hours worked reported			Percent distribution			Number of women with hours worked reported			Percent distribution		
	1934	1935	1937	1934	1935	1937	1934	1935	1937	1934	1935	1937
<i>Women other than sales and store clerks</i>												
Total.....	1,050	1,153	1,557	100.0	100.0	100.0	209	250	412	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 32.....	145	192	184	13.8	16.7	11.8	28	29	30	13.3	11.6	7.2
32, under 40.....	326	355	349	31.0	30.8	22.4	81	67	40	38.8	26.8	9.7
40.....	129	119	151	12.3	10.3	9.7	14	14	20	6.7	5.6	4.9
Over 40, under 44.....	241	207	223	23.0	18.0	14.3	45	55	56	21.5	22.0	13.6
44, under 48.....	167	159	358	15.9	13.8	23.0	23	52	94	11.0	20.8	22.8
48.....	19	17	36	1.8	1.5	2.3	4	4	45	1.9	1.6	10.9
Over 48, under 50.....	11	36	92	1.0	3.1	5.9	5	13	43	2.4	5.2	10.4
50 and over.....	12	68	164	1.2	5.9	10.5	9	16	84	4.3	6.4	20.4
<i>Women sales and store clerks</i>												
Total.....	223	235	332	100.0	100.0	100.0	3	5	16	(¹)	(¹)	(¹)
Under 40.....	30	49	44	13.4	20.9	13.2	2		10			
40.....	10	13	40	4.5	5.5	12.0						
Over 40, under 44.....	5	23	16	2.2	9.8	4.8			1			
44.....	10	15	25	4.5	6.4	7.5	1					
Over 44, under 48.....	24	81	110	10.8	34.5	33.1		1	1			
48.....	143	50	81	64.1	21.3	24.4		4	1			
Over 48.....	1	4	16	.4	1.7	4.8			3			

¹ Percents not computed.

TABLE VI.—Week's earnings of women in all establishments reporting for any of the 3 years 1934, 1935, and 1937—DRY CLEANING AND DYEING, Ohio and Indiana

Week's earnings	Ohio						Indiana					
	Number of women with earnings as specified			Percent distribution			Number of women with earnings as specified			Percent distribution		
	1934	1935	1937	1934	1935	1937	1934	1935	1937	1934	1935	1937
Total.....	1,556	1,600	2,150	100.0	100.0	100.0	351	437	890	100.0	100.0	100.0
Average week's earnings ¹	\$13.85	\$15.20	\$16.70				\$13.15	\$13.70	\$14.50			
Under \$10.....	187	171	141	12.0	10.7	6.6	48	57	116	13.7	13.0	13.0
\$10, under \$12.....	192	103	98	12.4	6.4	4.5	70	74	110	19.9	16.9	12.4
\$12, under \$14.....	443	248	179	28.4	15.5	8.3	104	101	162	29.6	23.1	18.2
\$14.....	35	53	70	2.2	3.3	3.3	27	36	60	7.7	8.2	6.7
Over \$14, under \$16.....	275	398	397	17.7	24.9	18.5	65	86	158	18.5	19.7	17.8
\$16, under \$18.....	196	311	486	12.6	19.4	22.6	19	40	107	5.4	9.2	12.0
\$18, under \$20.....	113	147	375	7.2	9.2	17.4	10	25	83	2.8	5.7	9.3
\$20, under \$25.....	87	124	322	5.6	7.8	15.0	5	13	78	1.4	3.0	8.8
\$25 and over.....	28	45	82	1.8	2.8	3.7	3	5	16	.9	1.2	1.8

¹ The median or midpoint, with half the earnings below and half above the amount shown.

TABLE VII.—Week's earnings and hours worked of women on production and of women sales and store clerks, identical establishments reporting for each of the 3 years 1934, 1935, and 1937—DRY CLEANING AND DYEING, Ohio and Indiana

Year	Women other than sales and store clerks										
	Number of establishments reporting	Women with hours worked reported		Under 40 hours		40 hours		Over 40, under 50 hours		50 hours and over	
		Number	Average week's earnings ¹	Number	Average week's earnings ¹	Number	Average week's earnings ¹	Number	Average week's earnings ¹	Number	Average week's earnings ¹
<i>Ohio</i>											
1934	106	1,025	\$13.95	454	\$11.65	128	\$14.25	431	\$15.90	12	(2)
1935	106	1,024	15.10	477	12.85	100	15.00	381	16.75	66	\$20.20
1937	106	1,173	17.20	367	13.60	100	16.75	568	17.90	138	20.65
Percent of increase in earnings, 1937 over 1934			23.3		16.7		17.5		12.6		(3)
<i>Indiana</i>											
1934	26	187	\$12.60	99	\$11.30	14	(2)	71	\$14.40	3	(2)
1935	26	193	13.25	82	11.30	12	(2)	85	14.50	14	(2)
1937	26	223	15.50	28	(2)	9	(2)	145	15.60	41	(2)
Percent of increase in earnings, 1937 over 1934			23.0		(3)		(3)		8.3		(3)
Year	Women sales and store clerks										
	Number of establishments reporting	Women with hours worked reported		Under 48 hours		48 hours		Over 48, under 50 hours		50 hours and over	
		Number	Average week's earnings ¹	Number	Average week's earnings ¹	Number	Average week's earnings ¹	Number	Average week's earnings ¹	Number	Average week's earnings ¹
<i>Ohio</i>											
1934	38	222	\$13.70	78	\$13.10	143	\$13.75	1	(2)		
1935	38	222	15.45	169	15.15	49	(2)	3	(2)	1	(2)
1937	38	222	16.20	160	15.85	54	16.50	1	(2)	7	(2)
Percent of increase in earnings, 1937 over 1934			18.2		21.0		20.0		(3)		(3)
<i>Indiana</i>											
1934	11	3	(2)	3	(2)						
1935	11	6	(2)	1	(2)	5	(2)				
1937	11	2	(2)	2	(2)						
Percent of increase in earnings, 1937 over 1934			(3)		(3)		(3)				

¹ The median or midpoint, with half the earnings below and half above the amount shown.
² Not computed; base less than 50.
³ Not obtainable.

TABLE VIII.—Week's earnings of men and women in the various occupations in identical establishments in 1934, 1935, and 1937—DRY CLEANING AND DYEING, Ohio and Indiana

Occupation	Week's earnings of women						Week's earnings of men					
	1934		1935		1937		1934		1935		1937	
	Number of women	Average earnings ¹	Number of women	Average earnings ¹	Number of women	Average earnings ¹	Number of men	Average earnings ¹	Number of men	Average earnings ¹	Number of men	Average earnings ¹
172 Ohio establishments												
All employees	1,545	\$13.85	1,505	\$15.25	1,679	\$16.95	1,181	\$20.90	1,191	\$22.55	1,302	\$25.90
Total on production	1,239	14.00	1,231	15.10	1,410	17.20	1,175	20.95	1,178	22.60	1,286	26.00
Cleaners and spotters	92	16.10	88	16.90	89	19.65	456	21.90	459	23.70	485	27.15
Pressers and finishers	594	13.70	586	14.65	642	17.05	371	20.60	382	22.20	398	26.50
Tailors and seamstresses	203	13.40	206	14.75	256	16.65	79	21.90	76	23.90	78	28.85
Inspectors	36		39		48		7		7		11	
Markers and checkers	236	14.10	236	15.55	277	17.25	63	17.70	81	17.90	80	21.30
General workers	26		24		28		81	15.05	64	15.85	75	16.15
Supervisors	21		21		22		38		37		47	
Other production workers	31		31		48		80	20.00	72	20.75	112	21.15
Sales and store clerks	306	13.70	274	15.60	269	16.25	6		13		16	
64 Indiana establishments												
All employees	351	\$13.15	358	\$13.60	428	\$15.05	284	\$17.25	309	\$17.75	345	\$22.35
Total on production	300	13.00	308	13.60	373	15.15	282	17.35	307	17.80	344	22.40
Cleaners and spotters	19		18		21		108	17.80	112	18.45	132	21.00
Pressers and finishers	141	13.25	151	13.40	158	15.80	115	16.75	129	17.60	134	23.50
Tailors and seamstresses	43		39		67	13.90	8		7		11	
Inspectors	40		38		38		1		2		2	
Markers and checkers	43		46		71	14.55	5		5		5	
General workers	8		8		11		24		27		27	
Supervisors	3		2		1		9		10		13	
Other production workers	3		6		6		12		15		20	
Sales and store clerks	51	13.50	50	13.65	55	13.85	2		2		1	

¹ The median or midpoint, with half the earnings below and half above the amount shown; not computed where base less than 50.

TABLE IX.—Week's earnings and hourly earnings of women in Ohio border cities and in other Ohio cities, in 1934, 1935, and 1937—DRY CLEANING AND DYEING, Ohio and Indiana

Week's earnings	Ohio border cities ¹						Other Ohio cities					
	Number of women with earnings reported			Percent distribution			Number of women with earnings reported			Percent distribution		
	1934	1935	1937	1934	1935	1937	1934	1935	1937	1934	1935	1937
Establishments reporting earnings.....	26	34	46				147	171	259			
Total women.....	461	435	497	100.0	100.0	100.0	1,095	1,165	1,653	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under \$10.....	71	40	22	15.4	9.2	4.4	116	131	119	10.6	11.2	7.2
\$10, under \$12.....	65	21	18	14.1	4.8	3.6	127	82	80	11.6	7.1	4.9
\$12, under \$14.....	166	59	38	36.0	13.6	7.6	277	189	141	25.3	16.3	8.5
\$14.....	5	14	8	1.1	3.2	1.6	30	39	62	2.7	3.3	3.8
Over \$14, under \$16.....	63	150	139	13.7	34.5	28.0	212	248	258	19.4	21.3	15.6
\$16, under \$18.....	46	74	142	10.0	17.0	28.6	150	237	344	13.6	20.4	20.8
\$18, under \$20.....	21	30	65	4.6	6.9	13.0	92	117	310	8.4	10.0	18.7
\$20, under \$25.....	17	33	48	3.7	7.6	9.7	70	91	274	6.4	7.8	16.6
\$25 and over.....	7	14	17	1.5	3.2	3.4	21	31	65	1.9	2.7	3.9

Hourly earnings	Ohio border cities ¹						Other Ohio cities					
	Number of women with hours worked reported			Percent distribution			Number of women with hours worked reported			Percent distribution		
	1934	1935	1937	1934	1935	1937	1934	1935	1937	1934	1935	1937
Establishments reporting hours worked.....	17	23	35				97	137	214			
Total women.....	417	386	452	100.0	100.0	100.0	856	1,002	1,437	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 35 cents.....	293	14	21	70.2	3.7	4.7	327	41	60	38.2	4.1	4.2
35, under 40 cents.....	50	255	252	12.0	66.1	55.8	236	673	677	27.6	67.2	47.1
40, under 50 cents.....	63	85	132	15.1	22.0	29.2	231	225	539	27.0	22.5	37.5
50 cents and over.....	11	32	47	2.7	8.2	10.4	62	63	161	7.3	6.3	11.2

¹ For list of cities see p. 19.TABLE X.—Comparison of number of establishments, number of wage earners, amount of pay rolls, and receipts in 1929, 1931, 1933, and 1935—POWER LAUNDRIES, New York and Pennsylvania¹

Year	Laundries		Wage earners (average for year)		Pay rolls		Receipts		Wages per wage earner	Receipts per wage earner	Percent wages were of receipts
	Number	Percent of change from date preceding	Number	Percent of change from date preceding	Amount	Percent of change from date preceding	Amount	Percent of change from date preceding			
<i>New York State</i>											
1929.....	776		31,391		\$35,173,329		\$84,480,552		\$1,120.49	\$2,691.23	41.6
1931.....	778	+0.3	32,725	+4.2	35,652,025	+1.4	84,967,707	+0.6	1,089.44	2,596.42	42.0
1933 ²	613	-21.2	28,826	-11.9	25,724,000	-27.8	58,595,000	-31.0	892.39	2,032.71	43.9
1935.....	727	+18.6	31,684	+9.9	28,798,471	+12.0	64,806,585	+10.6	909.50	2,046.70	44.4
<i>Pennsylvania</i>											
1929.....	365		13,034		12,294,858		28,695,641		943.29	2,201.60	42.8
1931.....	337	-7.7	12,492	-4.2	10,920,291	-11.2	24,951,396	-13.0	874.18	1,997.39	43.8
1933 ²	291	-13.6	10,949	-12.4	7,526,000	-31.1	17,116,000	-31.4	687.37	1,563.25	44.0
1935.....	319	+9.6	12,209	+11.5	8,885,695	+18.1	21,053,597	+23.0	727.80	1,724.43	42.2
<i>New York City</i>											
1929.....	372		20,666		24,421,757		58,490,608		1,181.74	2,830.28	41.8
1931.....	397	+6.7	22,330	+8.1	25,349,344	+3.8	60,521,847	+3.5	1,135.21	2,710.34	41.9
1933.....	339	-14.6	20,724	-7.2	19,427,000	-23.4	43,731,000	-27.7	937.42	2,110.16	44.4
1935.....	377	+11.2	21,987	+6.1	20,647,114	+6.3	45,518,283	+4.1	939.06	2,070.24	45.4
<i>Philadelphia</i>											
1929.....	134		5,884		5,704,037		13,257,961		969.41	2,253.22	43.0
1931.....	123	-8.2	5,856	-0.5	5,223,454	-8.4	11,831,262	-10.8	891.98	2,020.37	44.1
1933.....	112	-8.9	5,667	-3.2	4,046,000	-22.5	9,081,000	-23.2	713.96	1,602.44	44.6
1935.....	121	+8.0	6,238	+10.1	4,613,192	+14.0	10,828,333	+19.2	739.53	1,735.87	42.6

¹ U. S. Bureau of the Census. Fifteenth Census, 1930. Manufactures: 1929, vol. II, pp. 1394, 1395, 1396; Census of Manufactures: 1931. Power Laundries, Dry-Cleaning and Redyeing Establishments, 1933. Pp. 4, 5, 6; Census of Manufactures: 1933. Power Laundries, Cleaning and Dyeing Establishments, Rug-Cleaning Establishments. 1935. Pp. 3, 4, 5, 6; Biennial Census: 1935. Power Laundries. 1937. Pp. 6, 8.² 13.8 percent of the New York establishments that had reported in 1931, and 5.6 percent of those in Pennsylvania, failed to supply information for the census of 1933. Their omission reduced the number of wage earners and the receipts by respectively 9 percent and 9.6 percent in New York and respectively 3 percent and 2.3 percent in Pennsylvania. To what extent these plants were closed down is not known. The census report explains that because of the omission of these plants in 1933 the amount shown as decrease in receipts from 1931 to 1933 "undoubtedly is too large."

TABLE XI.—Change in proportion of women employed from 1933 to 1935, identical establishments—POWER LAUNDRIES, New York and Pennsylvania

Month	Total employees		Women employees		Total employees		Women employees	
	Number	Percent of change from 1933	Number	Percent of total	Number	Percent of change from 1933	Number	Percent of total
	New York State (131 laundries)				Pennsylvania (116 laundries)			
May 1933.....	7,096	-----	4,383	61.8	6,765	-----	4,348	64.3
November 1933.....	7,377	+4.0	4,554	61.7	6,827	+0.9	4,346	63.7
November 1935.....	7,561	+6.6	4,552	60.2	7,011	+3.6	4,474	63.8
	New York City area (81 laundries)				Philadelphia (50 laundries)			
May 1933.....	5,252	-----	3,114	59.3	3,882	-----	2,434	62.7
November 1933.....	5,489	+4.5	3,266	59.5	3,959	+2.0	2,451	61.9
November 1935.....	5,729	+9.1	3,305	57.7	4,075	+5.0	2,536	62.2
	21 other New York localities (50 laundries)				26 other Pennsylvania localities (66 laundries)			
May 1933.....	1,844	-----	1,269	68.8	2,883	-----	1,914	66.4
November 1933.....	1,888	+2.4	1,288	68.2	2,868	-0.5	1,895	66.1
November 1935.....	1,832	- .7	1,247	68.1	2,936	+1.8	1,938	66.0

TABLE XII.—Hourly earnings of women in all establishments reporting hours worked for any of the 3 dates in 1933 and 1935¹—POWER LAUNDRIES, New York and Pennsylvania

Hourly earnings (cents)	Number with hours worked reported			Percent distribution			Number with hours worked reported			Percent distribution		
	May 1933	November 1933	November 1935	May 1933	November 1933	November 1935	May 1933	November 1933	November 1935	May 1933	November 1933	November 1935
	New York State						Pennsylvania					
Number of establishments.....	100	131	131	-----	-----	-----	65	87	87	-----	-----	-----
Total women.....	3,171	4,505	4,549	100.0	100.0	100.0	2,314	3,214	3,118	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 20.....	501	89	-----	15.8	2.0	-----	876	13	37	37.8	.4	1.2
20, under 25.....	1,260	313	-----	39.7	6.9	-----	581	44	461	25.1	1.3	14.8
25, under 27½.....	573	268	37	18.1	5.9	.8	562	2,536	1,793	24.3	78.9	57.5
27½.....	2	928	348	.1	20.6	7.7	-----	9	37	-----	.3	1.2
Over 27½, under 31.....	393	1,050	610	12.4	23.3	13.4	171	349	430	7.4	10.9	13.8
31.....	8	587	1,512	.3	13.0	33.2	11	23	11	.5	.7	.4
Over 31, under 32½.....	102	327	690	3.2	7.3	15.2	40	53	71	1.7	1.6	2.3
32½, under 35.....	133	432	682	4.2	9.6	15.0	25	84	107	1.1	2.6	3.4
35, under 40.....	109	320	347	3.4	7.1	7.6	36	73	109	1.6	2.3	3.5
40 and over.....	90	191	323	2.8	4.2	7.1	12	30	62	.5	.9	2.0
	New York City area						Philadelphia					
Number of establishments.....	58	81	81	-----	-----	-----	18	30	32	-----	-----	-----
Total women.....	2,079	3,217	3,302	100.0	100.0	100.0	1,105	1,636	1,542	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 25.....	1,157	382	-----	55.7	11.8	-----	757	7	258	68.5	.5	16.7
25, under 27½.....	324	167	1	15.6	5.2	(2)	208	1,293	834	18.8	79.0	54.1
27½, under 31.....	268	1,061	46	12.9	33.0	1.4	88	200	263	8.0	12.2	17.1
31.....	5	572	1,488	.2	17.8	45.1	9	17	7	.8	1.0	.5
Over 31, under 35.....	181	635	1,243	8.7	19.7	37.6	23	72	95	2.1	4.4	6.2
35, under 40.....	76	250	266	3.7	7.8	8.1	18	32	52	1.6	2.0	3.4
40 and over.....	68	150	258	3.3	4.7	7.8	2	15	33	.2	.9	2.1
	21 other New York localities						26 other Pennsylvania localities					
Number of establishments.....	42	50	50	-----	-----	-----	47	57	55	-----	-----	-----
Total women.....	1,092	1,288	1,247	100.0	100.0	100.0	1,209	1,578	1,576	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 20.....	158	2	-----	14.4	.2	-----	360	12	11	29.8	.7	.7
20, under 25.....	446	18	-----	40.9	1.4	-----	340	38	229	28.1	2.4	14.5
25, under 27½.....	249	101	36	22.8	7.8	2.9	354	1,243	959	29.3	78.8	60.9
27½.....	-----	350	348	-----	27.2	27.9	-----	4	23	-----	.3	1.5
Over 27½, under 31.....	127	567	564	11.6	44.0	45.2	83	154	181	6.9	9.8	11.5
31, under 40.....	90	209	234	8.2	16.2	18.8	62	112	144	5.1	7.1	9.1
40 and over.....	22	41	65	2.0	3.2	5.2	10	15	29	.8	1.0	1.8

¹ New York establishments identical for November 1933 and November 1935.² Less than one-half of 1 percent.

TABLE XIII.—Hours worked in the week reported by women in all establishments reporting hours worked for any of the 3 dates in 1933 and 1935¹—POWER LAUNDRIES, New York and Pennsylvania

Hours worked	Number with hours worked reported			Percent distribution			Number with hours worked reported			Percent distribution		
	May 1933	November 1933	November 1935	May 1933	November 1933	November 1935	May 1933	November 1933	November 1935	May 1933	November 1933	November 1935
	New York State						Pennsylvania					
Total	3,171	4,505	4,549	100.0	100.0	100.0	2,314	3,214	3,118	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 37	747	1,129	775	23.5	25.0	17.1	895	1,369	883	38.6	42.6	28.3
37, under 41	390	1,377	1,117	12.3	30.6	24.6	354	834	879	15.3	25.9	28.2
41, under 46	740	1,808	2,139	23.3	40.1	47.0	509	989	958	22.0	30.8	30.7
46 and over	1,294	191	518	40.8	4.2	11.4	556	22	398	24.0	.7	12.8
	New York City area						Philadelphia					
Total	2,079	3,217	3,302	100.0	100.0	100.0	1,105	1,636	1,542	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 37	327	689	443	15.8	21.4	13.5	333	540	357	30.1	33.1	23.1
37, under 41	235	1,012	725	11.3	31.5	22.0	236	500	474	21.4	30.6	30.7
41, under 46	518	1,341	1,739	24.9	41.7	52.7	283	589	488	25.6	36.0	31.6
46 and over	999	175	395	48.1	5.4	11.9	253	7	223	22.9	.5	14.5
	21 other New York localities						26 other Pennsylvania localities					
Total	1,092	1,288	1,247	100.0	100.0	100.0	1,209	1,578	1,576	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 37	420	440	332	38.5	34.2	26.6	562	829	526	46.5	52.6	33.3
37, under 41	155	365	392	14.2	28.3	31.4	118	334	405	9.8	21.2	25.7
41, under 46	222	467	400	20.3	36.3	32.1	226	400	470	18.7	25.3	29.8
46 and over	295	16	123	27.1	1.3	9.9	303	15	175	25.1	1.0	11.1

¹ New York establishments identical for November 1933 and November 1935.

TABLE XIV.—Week's earnings of women in identical establishments in 1933 and 1935—POWER LAUNDRIES, New York and Pennsylvania

Week's earnings	Number of women with earnings as specified			Percent distribution			Number of women with earnings as specified			Percent distribution		
	May 1933	November 1933	November 1935	May 1933	November 1933	November 1935	May 1933	November 1933	November 1935	May 1933	November 1933	November 1935
	New York (131 laundries)						Pennsylvania (116 laundries)					
Total	4,383	4,554	4,552	100.0	100.0	100.0	4,348	4,346	4,474	100.0	100.0	100.0
Average week's earnings ¹	\$10.60	\$12.00	\$13.15				\$8.40	\$10.40	\$10.65			
Under \$5	197	130	71	4.5	2.9	1.6	621	183	161	14.3	4.2	3.6
\$5, under \$10	1,641	758	316	37.4	16.6	6.9	2,359	1,636	1,466	54.3	37.6	32.8
\$10, under \$11	593	524	162	13.5	11.5	3.6	460	903	915	10.6	20.8	20.5
\$11, under \$12	491	861	541	11.2	18.9	11.9	348	927	747	8.0	21.3	16.7
\$12, under \$13	449	1,142	1,032	10.2	25.1	22.7	230	305	503	5.3	7.0	11.2
\$13, under \$14	338	446	1,099	7.7	9.8	24.1	106	131	212	2.4	3.0	4.7
\$14, under \$15	242	255	592	5.5	5.6	13.0	75	87	156	1.7	2.0	3.5
\$15 and over	432	438	739	9.9	9.6	16.2	149	174	314	3.4	4.0	7.0
	New York City area (81 laundries)						Philadelphia (50 laundries)					
Total	3,114	3,266	3,305	100.0	100.0	100.0	2,434	2,451	2,536	100.0	100.0	100.0
Average week's earnings ¹	\$11.10	\$12.25	\$13.50				\$8.65	\$10.65	\$10.90			
Under \$5	124	87	44	4.0	2.7	1.3	347	88	87	14.3	3.6	3.4
\$5, under \$10	951	553	155	30.5	16.9	4.7	1,257	758	740	51.6	30.9	29.2
\$10, under \$11	452	372	87	14.5	11.4	2.6	291	574	503	12.0	23.4	19.8
\$11, under \$12	377	412	115	12.1	12.6	3.5	208	611	454	8.5	24.9	17.9
\$12, under \$13	345	890	775	11.1	27.3	23.4	149	188	329	6.1	7.7	13.0
\$13, under \$14	286	375	982	9.2	11.5	29.7	63	83	136	2.6	3.4	5.4
\$14, under \$15	209	218	519	6.7	6.7	15.7	39	41	99	1.6	1.7	3.9
\$15 and over	370	359	628	11.9	11.0	19.0	80	108	188	3.3	4.4	7.4
	21 other New York localities (50 laundries)						26 other Pennsylvania localities (66 laundries)					
Total	1,269	1,288	1,247	100.0	100.0	100.0	1,914	1,895	1,938	100.0	100.0	100.0
Average week's earnings ¹	\$9.30	\$11.55	\$11.85				\$8.20	\$9.90	\$10.40			
Under \$5	73	43	27	5.8	3.3	2.2	274	95	74	14.3	5.0	3.8
\$5, under \$10	690	205	161	54.4	15.9	12.9	1,102	878	726	57.6	46.3	37.5
\$10, under \$11	141	152	75	11.1	11.8	6.0	169	329	412	8.8	17.4	21.3
\$11, under \$12	114	449	426	9.0	34.9	34.2	140	316	293	7.3	16.7	15.1
\$12, under \$13	104	252	257	8.2	19.6	20.6	81	117	174	4.2	6.2	9.0
\$13, under \$14	52	71	117	4.1	5.5	9.4	43	48	76	2.2	2.5	3.9
\$14, under \$15	33	37	73	2.6	2.9	5.9	36	46	57	1.9	2.4	2.9
\$15 and over	62	79	111	4.9	6.1	8.9	69	66	126	3.6	3.5	6.5

¹ The median or midpoint, with half the earnings below and half above the amount shown.

TABLE XV.—*Week's earnings and hours worked in November 1935—POWER LAUNDRIES, New York and Pennsylvania*

Place	Number of establishments reporting	Women with hours worked reported		Under 37 hours		37, under 41 hours		41, under 46 hours		46 hours and over	
		Number	Average week's earnings ¹	Number	Average week's earnings ¹	Number	Average week's earnings ¹	Number	Average week's earnings ¹	Number	Average week's earnings ¹
New York City area	81	3,302	\$13.50	443	\$10.25	725	\$12.65	1,739	\$13.75	395	\$15.30
Philadelphia	32	1,542	10.65	357	8.35	474	10.35	488	11.20	223	12.20
21 other New York localities	50	1,247	11.85	332	9.70	392	11.65	400	12.60	123	13.70
26 other Pennsylvania localities	55	1,576	10.30	526	8.05	405	10.35	470	11.15	175	12.40

¹ The median or midpoint, with half the earnings below and half above the amount shown.

TABLE XVI.—*Hourly earnings of women in certain occupations in 1933, in 1935 (Pennsylvania), and in 1937 (New York)—POWER LAUNDRIES, New York and Pennsylvania¹*

Place and date	All employees ²		Flat-work operators		Press operators		Hand ironers		Sorters and classifiers ³		Packers ⁴		Menders	
	Number	Average hourly earnings ⁵ (cents)	Number	Average hourly earnings ⁵ (cents)	Number	Average hourly earnings ⁵ (cents)	Number	Average hourly earnings ⁵ (cents)	Number	Average hourly earnings ⁵ (cents)	Number	Average hourly earnings ⁵ (cents)	Number	Average hourly earnings ⁵ (cents)
<i>New York State</i>														
May 1933	1,248	25	635	24	157	26	129	25	112	26	46	15	15	25
September 1937 ⁶	3,420	32.6	1,131	31.7	814	33.6	541	33.6	261	32.3	57	34.3	50	32.0
<i>Pennsylvania</i>														
May 1933	2,310	21.8	800	18.9	499	21.5	341	25.1	262	26.2	67	22.8	36	25.0
November 1935	3,114	25.0	1,025	25.0	582	26.8	468	25.0	453	27.3	75	25.0	61	25.0
<i>New York City</i>														
May 1933	414	24	273	22	50	25	48	25	7	25	12	25	4	25
September 1937 ⁶	2,251	33.4	791	31.9	547	33.9	358	35.0	97	34.0	36	34.0	25	34.0
<i>Philadelphia</i>														
May 1933	1,102	20.6	433	18.0	291	20.2	199	25.1	99	27.0	21	27.0	14	27.0
November 1935	1,542	25.0	582	25.0	316	27.0	254	25.0	255	27.5	19	27.5	30	27.5
<i>Other New York localities</i>														
May 1933	834	25	362	25	107	26	81	26	105	26	34	26	11	26
September 1937 ⁶	1,169	30.7	340	30.1	267	31.7	183	30.7	164	31.0	21	31.0	25	31.0
<i>Other Pennsylvania localities</i>														
May 1933	1,208	22.9	367	20.9	208	23.7	142	25.2	163	25.8	46	25.8	22	25.8
November 1935	1,572	25.0	443	25.0	266	25.0	214	26.6	198	27.0	56	25.0	31	27.0

¹ Figures for New York from published reports of Industrial Commissioner; those for May 1933 are rates, not earnings.

² Totals exceed details, since only comparable occupations are shown separately.

³ Markers and sorters for Pennsylvania; sorters for New York 1937 figures.

⁴ Checkers and packers for Pennsylvania.

⁵ The median or midpoint, with half the earnings below and half above the amount shown. Not computed for numbers below 50.

⁶ Week ending Sept. 4.

