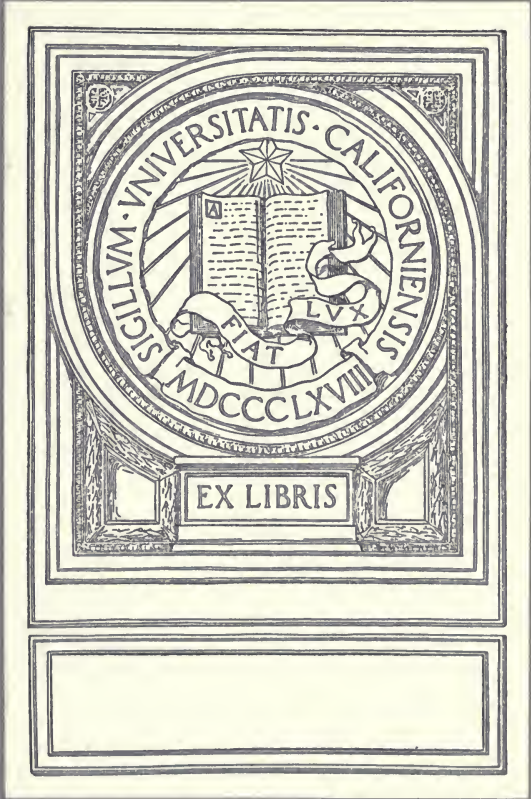


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SEATTLE CHILDREN
IN
SCHOOL AND IN INDUSTRY

WITH

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR INCREASING THE EFFICIENCY
OF THE SCHOOL SYSTEM AND FOR DECREASING
THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC WASTE INCI-
DENT TO THE EMPLOYMENT OF
CHILDREN 14 to 18 YEARS
OF AGE

BY

ANNA Y. REED, PH. D.

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL TO THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

January 15, 1915.

Gentlemen:

There are two questions, not new but often recurring, which had become so persistent that about two years ago I began to discuss means of finding an answer to them. First, "What becomes of boys and girls who leave school early, why do they leave, in what do they engage, and with what success?" and, second, "How can the public school serve this class of pupils better without neglecting the interests of those who remain?" An answer founded upon opinion or based upon superficial observation in a problem so grave, not only has little value, but may be very misleading. Therefore, an investigation to elicit the facts in the problem and a study of the facts in their several relations appeared to be needful.

Obviously the requirements for the conduct of such an investigation center in the breadth of view, intelligent interest and scientific training of the investigator. For one to be interested in humanity and to have knowledge of the educational or industrial field, only partially covers the requirement. To this must be added an instinct for fact getting, keenness of discrimination, and training and aptitude in the use of scientific methods of investigation.

Fortunately for us, Mrs. J. A. Reed, a practical sociologist, proved as an investigator in state work, was available for the conduct of the inquiry and she, under your auspices, has carried on the investigation as a voluntary service.

Mrs. Reed's investigation and study of the conditions involved is now completed and submitted herewith. That this study will help to set us on the

way to ministering more suitably to boys and girls while in school I have no doubt, and it puts very plainly before us another duty not yet adequately met by any organization or body of people.

Each year finds many children between the ages of fourteen and eighteen years leaving our public school system and entering industry with little guidance or supervision of any kind, and there are few to realize that it is often a child's "first job" which makes or mars his future. Gradually it is dawning upon the observant portion of the public that the most critical time in the child's school life is the day on which he leaves it. Then, for the first time, he is entirely released from discipline; then, for the first time, with little help and no experience, he attempts to adjust himself to new conditions and surroundings, and, immature of mind and will and undeveloped in judgment, he is forced to grapple with the great and varied problems which puzzle the mind of the nation. Moreover, the theory that the public schools exist for children who are in attendance, whether attendance ceases at fourteen or eighteen years, whether in the grammar grades or in the high schools, is gradually giving place to the belief that there are educational problems within the shop as well as within the school, and that the protection and supervision of the educator should follow the working child into his new surroundings and help in the solution of the problems involved in his daily life. Expression of this change in sentiment as to the function of the public school is found in the demand for vocational surveys which seek to answer the question, "Shall the educator follow the young wage earner into industry and shall the curriculum of the public schools be expanded to include the educational problems of industry?"

With the hope that we may be enabled to find a way by which the evident need of vocational guidance

may be met through the instrumentality of the school system, I submit this suggestive study and recommend that the report be published.

Respectfully submitted,

FRANK B. COOPER,
Superintendent of Schools.

To the Board of Directors,
Seattle School District No. 1.

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL TO THE SUPERINTENDENT.

November 24, 1914.

Sir:

According to your instructions, an endeavor has been made to study and interpret the vocational problems involved in education and the educational problems involved in industry for the purpose of ascertaining what can be done to establish a closer and more profitable relation between our Public School System and the business interests of our city.

The investigation proper covers a period of twelve months, September 1913, to September 1914. Another two months have been necessary for the classification and presentation of the results.

No paid workers have been employed except for the month of August, when salary to the extent of \$90 was allowed in order to complete home visitation. Lack of assistant investigators has been both an advantage and a disadvantage. On the one hand, it has delayed the completion of the report and has forced the investigator to act entirely upon her own initiative, denying her, in many instances, the valuable suggestions which are the result of varied viewpoints. On the other hand, it has meant uniformity in standards of investigation and the interpretation

of facts in the light of first-hand information, which is impossible when one corps of workers collects material and another interprets it. Personally, I do not regret lack of assistance except in so far as it may detract from the value of the report, but rather I am thankful for the opportunity to study this interesting subject, in all its phases, first hand. Increase in knowledge of educational and occupational life in Seattle, and in understanding of related subjects, has more than compensated me for the expenditure of time and effort.

To those who have welcomed us in their homes, to those who have been associated with us as volunteers and to the employers and employees of Seattle who have co-operated with us in this public service, I desire to express my appreciation and thanks. I am pleased also to acknowledge the courtesies shown me by the teaching corps and by the office force with which I have been associated. Both have contributed in no small degree to the pleasure of this undertaking and to whatever degree of success it may merit.

I thank you, also, and the Board of Education for your co-operation and encouragement and for the patience with which you have awaited the completion of this task.

Special mention for valuable assistance is due Superintendent Quigley and Chief Attendance Officer Ketchum, both of whom have given freely of their time and advice. Should any benefit come to our Seattle children through the medium of this investigation, I trust that these two officials, with each and every person who has assisted, may feel that it is largely due to his, or her, interest and co-operation.

Respectfully submitted,

ANNA Y. REED.

To Mr. Frank B. Cooper,
Superintendent of Public Schools.

FACTS ABOUT SEATTLE.

Seattle, the largest city in the State of Washington and the metropolis of the Pacific Northwest, is located on Puget Sound, about one hundred twenty-five miles, by water, from the Pacific Ocean, in nearly the center of what is known as the Puget Sound country.

The climate is equable with no extremes of heat or cold. The summers are cool and the winters are mild, with very little snow, if any, except in the nearby mountains. The average temperature of winter is 40 degrees, while that of summer is 62 degrees. The average yearly rainfall amounts to 34.62 inches.

Seattle was first settled by the whites in 1852. In 1853 it was laid out as a town and named Seattle after a friendly Indian chief. It became an incorporated town in 1865 and was re-incorporated in 1869.

The United States census for 1900 gave the city a population of 80,671, while that of 1910 gave the population as 237,194, showing an increase of 194 per cent for the decade, while the census for the state at large in 1910 showed an increase of 120 per cent over the census for 1900. The estimate of the United States Census Bureau July 1, 1914, gave the population of the city as 313,029, while the Postal Census of October 1914, estimated it at 329,704.

The population of 1910, according to sex, consisted of 136,773 males and 100,421 females. The number of illiterates was 2,217, of which 1,373 were illiterate males of voting age. Those of native white parentage numbered 105,784, those of foreign born white parentage 60,835, the balance being Chinese, Japanese, Indians, negroes, etc.

The statistics for 1910 show that 102,526 males out of a population of 120,532 over 10 years of age were engaged in gainful occupations; 19,759 females out of a population of 84,496 over 10 years of age were likewise engaged in gainful occupations.

Seattle is primarily a commercial and distributing center. Its seven trans-continental railroads and fifty-eight steamship lines furnish unexcelled transportation facilities both by rail and water and have established the city as the gateway to Alaska and the Orient. The completion of the navigable Government Canal connecting the fresh water lakes, Lake Union and Lake Washington, with Elliott Bay, will increase the water-frontage of the city to more than one hundred forty miles, thus insuring ample anchorage and dockage facilities for a fast growing world-wide commerce.

The reasons are numerous why Seattle should become an important manufacturing and industrial center. The large quantities of raw material, the exceptional transportation facilities, the abundance of material for building purposes, the nearby extensive coal deposits, the adjacent water power, and the ideal sites available for industrial concerns, seem to insure the trend of the city's activity. In 1904 the manufacturing concerns were 467 in number with a total annual product amounting in value to \$25,460,000. Five years later (1909) the number of plants had increased to 751, with a total annual product valued at \$50,569,198.

During the past ten years the city has spent \$5,440,000 in securing and maintaining 28 public parks which have an aggregate area of more than 1,800 acres, 22 playgrounds for children and more than 30 miles of scenic driveways. In 1913 the people of King County authorized the expenditure of \$3,000,000 in the con-

struction of permanent roads in the county outside of Seattle.

Seattle's public day schools had an enrollment of 35,527 pupils for the year of 1914, of which 6,066 were enrolled in the high schools. The number of high school graduates in 1914 was 739, 41 per cent of which were boys. More than 6,400 pupils were enrolled in the free public evening schools of the city during the year of 1914, in which courses are offered the same as in day schools. The building equipment of the school system consists of six high schools and seventy grade schools, which have a total appraised value of over \$6,394,000. More than 1,100 teachers are required in the day schools.

School attendance is compulsory. All text-books and supplies are furnished free to pupils.

In addition to the public school system there are private and denominational schools and business colleges. The Y. M. C. A. offers opportunities for work in business, trade, mechanical and commercial courses, accommodating about 1,000 students per term.

Within the city limits, on a campus of 355 acres, is located the State University of Washington. For the year 1914 the enrollment was 3,340 students. The faculty numbered 177 instructors. The University is amply endowed by the State and owns valuable property in the city's business center.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION AND METHODS OF INVESTIGATION.

The following methods have been employed in conducting the investigation and in securing and classifying the information upon which conclusions and recommendations are based:

Four schedules were used for the purpose of recording the isolated facts. Schedule No. 1 formed the basis of the investigation. It was filled out by teachers, or by the principal in each school for each child in the grammar school or high school who dropped out during the year 1913-14. From these schedules we secured the name, age, nationality, residence and school rating of each child, as well as the teacher's opinion regarding the cause of leaving.

With this information as a guide, personal visits were made to 919 Seattle homes. During these visits information was secured for either or both Schedules II and III. Schedule II was used for children who had left school during 1913-14 only. The facts covered were the economic and educational status of the family, the parents' reason for allowing children to leave school; their point of view as to the industrial outlook and their idea as to home and school responsibility for the success of their children, both as individual workers in industry and as collective members of society. Such working experience as the child might have had either before or after leaving school was also recorded. Schedule III contained the record of all boys and girls in the same or in other homes who had been out of the Seattle Public Schools one or more years. The primary object of this schedule was to ascertain the experience and secure the advice of workers who had been out of school long enough and who had acquired sufficient experience to test their own economic and social value and

the value of the education which they had secured prior to entering industry. The questionnaire included their reasons for leaving school and their present opinion as to the wisdom of so doing; the various occupations entered and their success or failure in each, and how far better preparation might have been secured either through their own or through school initiative.

Schedule IV contained the employer's estimate of the value of the child in industry and such suggestions as employers were able and willing to make for greater efficiency in preparing the young for business life.

In classifying this material one schedule has been checked by the others and every effort has been made to verify facts before accepting them as such. In presenting conclusions and in offering tabulation of facts to support the same, the sources of information have been indicated by reference to schedule numbers.

Detailed studies of each occupation which absorbs a sufficient number of young wage earners to warrant the undertaking are contemplated. For this reason occupational information is not included in this report.

SECTION I.

Children Who Left School, 1913-1914.



SECTION I.

Children Who Left School, 1913-1914.

From Schedule I we received the names of 402 pupils who had left the grammar schools and 822 pupils who had left the high schools during 1913-14. We should be glad to state that such numbers included the entire list of pupils leaving school during the period covered, but our "check" system indicated a number of instances in which teachers and principals had neglected to furnish the school leaving information and approximate accuracy only can be claimed.

Table No. 1 offers a tabulation of the school leaving children classified along the following lines: (1) as to grammar school or high school, and (2) without permits or with permits and the kind.*

Table I. School Leaving 1913-1914.

	School Leaving Permits			Labor Permits			No Permit			Grand Total		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Grades..	33	30	63	22	67	89	140	110	250	195	207	402
High School												
1st year.				11	27	38	171	138	309	182	165	347
2d "					12	12	174	89	263	174	101	275
3d "				1	1	2	116	56	172	117	57	174
4th "							13	13	26	13	13	26
Total...	33	30	63	34	107	141	614	406	1020	681	543	1224

Table II classifies the reasons why 1,224 children left school during the year. The final tabulation is based upon the personal opinion of the investigator after comparing schedules I, II and III.

* The State Laws relative to granting labor and school leaving permits and the tabulation of the various kinds of permits issued by the Seattle Attendance Department are discussed under Section II., p. 27.

Table II. Reasons Why Children Left School.

Reasons	Grades			High Schools			Grand Totals		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1. Personal illness.....	7	8	15	91	42	133	98	50	148
2. Family illness.....		11	11	19	5	24	19	16	35
3. Economic pressure.....	91	82	173	132	62	194	223	144	367
4. Moved.....	14	31	45	63	38	101	77	69	146
5. Custom to leave.....	7	9	16				7	9	16
6. Indifferent, trouble, dis- like.....	36	30	66	21	46	67	57	76	133
7. To enter other schools.....		6	6	8	12	20	8	18	26
8. To marry.....		1	1	3	1	4	3	2	5
9. Not pass, too large, dis- couraged, misfit.....	17	8	25	67	80	147	84	88	172
10. Learn trade.....	4	7	11	5	3	8	9	10	19
11. Prefer to work.....	15	9	24	53	17	70	68	26	94
12. Forced by parent.....	4	5	9				4	5	9
13. Other reasons.....				24	30	54	24	30	54
Totals.....	195	207	402	486	336	822	681	543	1224

Very frequently economic pressure or ill health has been the reason given on the school blanks, while visit to the home and conference with the child or parent revealed dissatisfaction of some kind with the school. On the other hand, several instances have been found where parents have stated that children were not interested and did not care to continue in school, while personal interview with the child indicated strong desire for further education had the parents been willing.

Illustrations.

A's mother brought her to the office to secure a labor permit. She stated that A. did not care to attend high school and preferred to go to work. A. agreed to the statement. Interviewed alone at a later date, A. with tears in her eyes said, "I was just perfectly crazy to go to high school, but my step-father said a girl fifteen was old enough to earn her own living."

B. left school in the seventh grade at 15 years of age. The reason given by the teacher was "economic pressure." Personal visitation revealed that this girl was an only daughter in a very nice home. Her

parents were heart-broken to have her leave school with a seventh grade education, but she had failed to be promoted three semesters in succession and was so large that she was ashamed to continue in the grammar school.

C., age 14, eighth A, marked "economic pressure," came to the office for a labor permit. In the course of conversation he admitted that he could go to high school if he desired but it was not worth while. "I can't say the schools stand specially high in my favor although there isn't anything special against them." Later, "Some kids think they ought to get a good teacher every time, but I don't. I've had about three good ones out of every four and I don't make any kick, somebody's got to have the poor ones."

D., age 19, a senior in the high school, marked "not interested," was found to be a boy who was paying his own way and had been forced to leave high school at three different times because he was out of money. He still expects to graduate.

More than one instance was found in which pupils dropped out because they could not dress as well as others. Parents could keep them in school and furnish the necessities and they were anxious to go, but would not do so and feel mortified because they lacked the clothing and spending money furnished other children.

Conclusions.

In the grammar school 173, or approximately 40 per cent, left because of economic pressure and 115, or 28 per cent, because of dissatisfaction of some kind with school. These are the two main factors in grammar school leaving. As economic pressure is a relative term, and as about 30 per cent of those classified under this heading admitted that they disliked school and were glad to be relieved of attending, we are

justified in assuming that "dissatisfaction" is an even more potent factor in school leaving than statistical tabulation indicates.

The real reasons for school leaving seemed to be less understood by high school teachers than by grade teachers. Home investigation revealed that large numbers were discouraged and feared failure. In this connection it is rather interesting to note that of the total number, 347, leaving during the freshman year, 92 dropped out prior to October 15th and 76 more prior to March 15th. There was nothing on the record to indicate what percentage of the 76 were pupils entering in the second semester, but in all we have a total of 168, or approximately 50 per cent who dropped out about the time of receiving their first report. The reason for leaving assigned by the teacher was in many instances either "ill health" or "economic pressure," but the scholarship rating of the same pupils by the same teachers was "failure" or "unsatisfactory" in 101 out of the 168 cases. Visitation in the home confirmed the suspicion that the scholarship record of the pupil was better understood by the teacher and was more nearly in harmony with the child's real reason for leaving than was the reason offered by the teacher. Of the 275 who left during the sophomore year, 102 were rated as failures or unsatisfactory; of the junior year, 32 out of 174, and of the senior year, 11 out of 26. Three of the eleven seniors are expecting to try again and still hope to graduate.

First Positions of Those Leaving 1913-1914.

Tables No. III. and IV. contain tabulated information regarding the lines of work entered by grammar school students. Without assistant investigators it was impossible to carry out this line of inquiry for all high school pupils. Complete occupational information was secured from but 138, 64 boys and 74 girls. Many pupils leaving the high school have not entered

any remunerative line of work and do not expect to do so.

Table III. First Positions 1913-1914. Boys.

Occupation	Grades	High School	Total	Percentage
Delivery and messenger.....	61	24	85	33
Department stores or inside messenger	39	12	51	20
Offices.....	16	18	34	13
Trades.....	17	6	23	9
Laundry.....	2	.....	2	1
Factory.....	11	1	12	5
Farmer.....	1	.....	1	$\frac{1}{2}$
Lumber.....	1	1	2	1
Street trades.....	6	.....	6	2
Chauffeur.....	1	.....	1	$\frac{1}{2}$
Tobacco stripper.....	3	.....	3	1
Newspaper.....	.....	1	1	$\frac{1}{2}$
Elevator.....	.....	1	1	$\frac{1}{2}$
No work at leaving.....	37	.....	37	14
Total.....	195	64	259	.....

Table IV. First Positions 1913-1914. Girls.

Occupation	Grades	High School	Total	Percentage
Department store.....	86	20	106	38
Office.....	25	24	49	17
Factory.....	32	8	40	14
Domestic.....	20	8	28	10
Trade.....	8	4	12	4
Laundry.....	4	.....	4	1
Telephone.....	.....	10	10	4
No work.....	32	.....	32	11
Total.....	207	74	281	.....

Seattle is a commercial rather than a manufacturing center and the above tables indicate very clearly that it is commercial rather than factory lines which absorb the young worker. Department stores claim approximately 38* per cent of the girls, while messenger or delivery service claims about 33 per cent of the boys. Factory work, largely for the cracker and candy companies, employs 14 per cent of the girls, and offices take another 17 per cent. Nine per cent of the boys and 4 per cent of the girls entered upon apprenticeship in skilled trades. We have found noth-

* All percentages are approximate. Fractions have been dropped throughout the study.

ing to indicate that manual trades are discredited as employments nor have we received any expression from children to confirm such a suspicion. The two main factors influencing against trade apprenticeship are (1) the low initial wage compared with the higher remuneration in less desirable lines and (2) the natural tendency of children to experiment with various occupations rather than to become proficient in one. Several excellent examples will serve to illustrate this statement.

A., age 15, left school in the fifth grade in February, 1914, was visited six months after leaving and the following industrial record secured: He had been employed three months and two days out of the six months, had had four different positions and tried three different trades.

B., age 16, out of school two years, left in the seventh grade, had been employed $16\frac{1}{2}$ months out of 24, tried three different trades and was a delivery boy at the time of our visit.

C., with a similar experience gave his reason for changing from each position, "trying to find out which trade is best." In reply to a question as to which was the best he said, "printing." He was a delivery boy at that date.

Thirty-two girls and 37 boys, or 17 per cent of the total number leaving the grades, had not, at the time of our visit, done any work of any kind.

Changes in Position.

Table V. indicates the number of positions held by grade girls and boys who have been out of school from one week to one year. In many instances the home was visited as soon as we received the school leaving report. Had we delayed our visits, it is legiti-

mate to infer that the number holding but one position would have been greatly lessened.

Table V. Number of Positions Held.

	One Position	Two Positions	Three Positions	Four Positions	Five Positions	No Work	Total
Boys.....	101	33	18	5	1	37	195
Girls.....	107	43	22	3	.....	32	207
Total...	208	76	40	8	1	69	402

Initial Wage.

It was possible to make out a complete wage table including all grammar school pupils and the 138 high school pupils from whom industrial histories were secured.

Table VI. Weekly Wage.*

	\$2	\$3-4	\$4-5	\$5-6	\$6-7	\$7-8	\$8-12	Total
Girls:								
Grade.....	.....	26	54	37	73	13	4	207
High school....	1	.....	4	5	20	16	18	74
Boys:								
Grade.....	.....	5	20	40	71	20	.....	156
High school....	.....	2	6	18	12	6	20	64
Total.....	1	33	84	100	176	55	42	501

The average initial wage of grammar school girls is \$5.10 and of high school girls \$7.08; of grammar school boys \$6.07 and of high school boys \$7.76. Comparison of average wage rates for the grammar school and high school pupils might be useful in indicating to parents and children the economic value of continuing their education whenever it is possible.†

Periods of Unemployment.

It was impossible to estimate the time of unemployment in proportion to the time of employment since

* Thirty-nine grade boys employed by the A. D. T. or delivering on commission are omitted.

† The influence of the minimum wage law in this particular is not yet demonstrated.

leaving school for the 402 grammar school pupils because so many initial wage rates were secured immediately after the child left school and follow up visits were not made. An especial effort was made to secure this information for the 138 high school students with the following results:

Table VII. Unemployment—138 High School Students.

	Average Time Out of School	In First Position	Percentage Unemployed at Date	Percentage of time Unemployed	Average Wage
Girls.....	5 5-7 mos.	24 $\frac{1}{4}$ %	35%	27 $\frac{1}{4}$ %	\$7.08
Boys.....	5 9-10 mos.	50 $\frac{1}{2}$ %	16 3-5%	19 $\frac{1}{8}$ %	7.76

From the above statistics it is easy to estimate the economic loss to high school pupils resulting from periods of unemployment. Had we similar statistical information for grammar school pupils it is safe to say that periods of unemployment would be much longer and that in many cases the economic return from the loss of a year of education would be reduced to the minimum.

SECTION II.

School Leaving and Labor Permits.

SECTION II.

School Leaving and Labor Permits.

The *School Laws* of Washington require all children between the ages of 8 and 15 years, or any child between 15 and 16 years of age, not regularly and lawfully engaged in some useful and remunerative occupation, to attend school unless excused on certain specified grounds, one being the completion of the first eight grades of the public school. Children excused from school attendance may not be employed except upon presentation of a school leaving certificate issued by the *School Authorities* to be kept on file by the employer during the period of employment.*

The *Child Labor Laws* of Washington forbid the employment of any male child under the age of 14 years or any female child under the age of 16 years at any labor whatever, in, or in connection with any store, shop, factory, mine or any inside employment not connected with farm or housework without the written permit thereto of a *Judge* of a *Superior Court* of the County wherein such child may live.†

By mutual agreement it has become the custom in Seattle for the School Attendance Department to issue both school leaving and labor certificates. Certificates so granted are issued to the child for a definite period

* Remington & Ballinger Code of Washington, Title 28, Chapter 36.

† Remington & Ballinger Code of Washington, Secs. 2447, 6570, 6571.

to work for a definitely named employer. There is no legal requirement either that the child return the certificate to the Attendance Office when the position is given up or that the employer notify the office that he has ceased to employ the child.

Thus it will be seen that boys who have attained the age of 14 years and have completed the eighth grade may leave school and remain idle or enter the employment of their choice without consultation with the School Department and without legal obligation to the same. Boys who have not completed the eighth grade may not have this privilege until they are 15 years of age, but at that age they may leave school and enter industry irrespective of their educational status and subject only to the requirements of the school law and the minimum wage rulings regarding conditions of labor. Girls are legally entitled to the same prerogatives except that the age at which girls may accept employment without a labor permit is 16 instead of 14.

That portion of the school law which requires children "between 15 and 16 years of age not regularly and lawfully engaged in some useful and remunerative occupation to attend school" is too often a dead letter owing to the fact that the attendance department has no legal method of ascertaining when a child ceases to be employed and should be forced to return to school.

In this section we shall present the facts which we have secured relative to "Permit Children." Our primary object in this discussion will be to indicate as clearly as possible the basis upon which school leaving permits* are issued and to ascertain what

* This is the only class of permits in which the attendance department has the right of refusal. Labor permits may be secured on request provided the school law has been complied with.

constitutes economic pressure and how far it is the controlling factor in granting such permits. In order to carry out our object, and at the same time have as broad a basis for generalization as was possible, we have utilized for tabulation the 186 children from Table VIII. who received school leaving and labor permits in 1913-1914 and 143 additional children who left the grade schools the year previous, 1912-1913, on similar permits. Obviously it would be unfair to include in our study for economic pressure those children who work after school and Saturdays for spending money.

As all of the children under Table VIII., except such as may have been continuously employed on labor permits since prior to September 1913, have been included in the first division of our study we shall not tabulate the same class of information for a similar second group including but 143 new names. Records indicate that were such facts to be summarized they would not differ materially from those already given. The reasons for school leaving, the lines of work entered and the wage scale would be almost identical.

Table VIII. indicates the number of children who have received permits during the year 1913-1914 and the class of permit issued. As this study is dealing with the Seattle schools only, the names of a few children who are attending country schools in King County are omitted.

Table VIII. Permits 1913-1914.

	Boys	Girls	Totals
Labor.....	33	95	128
School leaving.....	31	27	58
Vacation.....	20	18	38
After school.....	29	19	48
Health.....	2	3	5
Total.....	115	162	277

Table IX. Nationality of 329 Permit Children.* †

	Native Born, Native Parents	Native Born, Foreign Parents	Foreign Born, Foreign Parents
United States:			
Whites.....	197		
Negroes.....	4		
Germany.....		34	3
Sweden.....		20	4
Norway.....		13	3
Italy.....		6	2
England.....		6	3
Ireland.....		6	
Wales.....		5	
Austria.....		4	
Russia.....		4	2
Canada:			
English.....		5	
French.....		1	1
Greece.....			1
Turkey.....			1
Holland.....			2
Denmark.....			1
Poland.....			1
Total.....	201	104	24
Grand total.....			329

The main interest in Table IX, is the consideration of how far race and nativity are influencing factors in the desire of parents to secure labor or school leaving certificates. Inasmuch as 61 per cent of the 329 certificates were issued to native born children of native parents and another 31 per cent to native born children of foreign parents, inasmuch as no foreign nationality predominates in the totals, and inasmuch as "custom to leave" is not an important factor in our school leaving table, we would seem to be justified in concluding that nationality plays no part worth mentioning in the desire to secure working papers.

* The remaining tables in this series will be based upon the 186 school leaving and labor permits from Table VIII and the 143 from the year 1912-1913, 329 in all.

† Where parents were not born in the same country, the nationality of the father is the one tabulated.

Table X. Number in Family and Head of Family.

Number in Family	Father	Mother	Step-father	Other Relatives	Non-family Group	Total
1	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	6
2	4	16	.....	3	1	24
3	14	22	2	1	1	40
4	29	18	4	1	1	53
5	50	17	4	.....	2	73
6	32	12	2	.....	.....	46
7	24	8	1	.....	1	34
8	12	5	.....	1	.....	18
9	12	1	.....	.....	.....	13
10	13	1	1	.....	.....	15
11	3	1	.....	.....	.....	4
12	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
13	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	2
Total.....	196	101	14	6	12	329

No separate tabulation was made to indicate whether fathers were dead, divorced or had deserted, but the percentage (36 per cent) of families where the father is not at the head is larger than in any other study to which we have had access. Desertion we are convinced is a much more formidable cause of school leaving than it has been found to be in eastern cities. Orphanage, too, either partial or complete, plays a much larger part than is conceded by most cities. It is interesting to note that families with step-fathers at the head are $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the total while the federal investigation covering several cities reported $3\frac{7}{10}$ per cent. About the same percentage of children are classified as self supporting or in non-family groups. Large families, that is, families consisting of more than six members, which is also the average number in families, are common.

Table XI. Age and Grade on Receiving Permit † Retardation of Working Children. Boys.

Age	Grade							High School				Grand Total
	3d	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	Total	9th	10th	11th	Total	
12	.....	1	2	*2	3	2	10	1	.....	.....	1	11
13	.....	1	5	11	*7	7	31	1	.....	.....	1	32
14	1	.....	12	18	8	*20	59	5	.....	.....	5	64
15	1	.....	5	12	13	12	43	*3	.....	.....	3	46
16	.....	1	2	4	5	8	20	1	.....	1	2	22
Total..	2	3	26	47	36	49	163	11	.....	1	12	175

* Normal.

Table XII. Age and Grade on Receiving Permit † Retardation of Working Children. Girls.

Age	Grade							High School				Grand Total
	3d	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	Total	9th	10th	11th	Total	
12	.....	1	3	.....	1	.....	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	5
13	.....	1	3	4	*1	2	11	.....	.....	.....	.....	11
14	.....	2	2	2	11	*15	32	9	.....	.....	9	41
15	1	1	.....	6	12	38	58	*17	9	.....	26	84
16	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	6	7	2	*3	1	6	13
Total.	1	5	8	13	25	61	113	28	12	1	41	154

* Normal.

Table XIII. Summary of Age and Grade on Receiving Permit.

Grade	Boys						Girls						Grand Total	Percentage
	12	13	14	15	16	Total	12	13	14	15	16	Total		
3	.....	.....	1	1	.....	2	.....	.....	1	.....	1	3	1
4	1	1	.....	.....	1	3	1	1	2	1	.....	5	8
5	2	5	12	5	2	26	3	3	2	.....	8	34	10
6	2	11	18	12	4	47	.....	4	2	6	1	13	60
7	3	7	8	13	5	36	1	1	11	12	.....	25	61
8	2	7	20	12	8	49	.....	2	15	38	6	61	110
H. S.	1	1	5	3	2	12	.....	.....	9	26	6	41	53
Total.....	11	32	64	46	22	175	5	11	41	84	13	154	329	100%

† Seventh Grade at 13 years, normal; sixth or below at 13 years, retarded; eighth or above at 13 years, above normal.

Table XIV. Summary of Retardation.

	Normal		Retarded		Ahead		Total	Per Cent
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent		
Boys.....	32	18 2-7	123	70 2-7	20	11 3-7	175	100
Girls.....	36	23 29-77	96	62 26-77	22	14 22-77	154	100
Total.....	68	.....	219	.....	42	.....	329	.....

Inferences along several lines, according to the interest of the reader, may be readily drawn from the statistical information contained in Tables XI., XII., XIII. and XIV. The one who may be interested in sex comparison will note that the girls make a slightly better scholastic showing than the boys: the other, more interested in the average educational status

will note that 16 per cent of the total number were high school pupils at the date of leaving and 33 per cent were in or had completed the eighth grade. Comparison with general statistical information on this subject indicates that the scholastic record of permit children in our city is much higher than the average for the country. Cincinnati's survey for 1911-1912 reports 2,366 working certificates issued during that year. Approximately 2 per cent were granted to high school pupils and 18 per cent to eighth grade pupils. Comparison with the same city for percentage of retardation was useless as the Cincinnati basis of computing retardation allows a leeway of more than a year while ours does not.*

Occupation of Parents.

Turning to the occupation of parents, we find very little which has any bearing on our subject. Occupations are not more hereditary in Seattle than in other sections of the country, while the seasonal character of many industries is a much more important factor in school leaving than in many other localities. Frequently economic pressure due to unemployment of adults because of illness or slack work necessitates the granting of a temporary permit until the father secures employment.

Table XV. Occupation of 210 Fathers and Step Fathers.

Occupation	Number	Per Cent
Independent business.....	37	18
Skilled trades.....	42	20
Laborers.....	71	34
City employees or commercial lines.....	23	11
Miscellaneous.....	37	18
Total.....	210	100

* Woolley, Helen T.: Facts about the Working Children of Cincinnati and Their Bearing Upon Educational Problems, 1913.

Economic Status of the Family.

The economic status of the family is the real basis for deciding whether a child under 15 years of age who has not completed the eighth grade shall receive a school leaving permit or be refused the same. The Attendance Department in Seattle has never made a scientific study of what constitutes economic pressure. However, the information presented in Tables XVI. to XXII. and the comparison of this information with the results of scientific investigation elsewhere, indicate clearly that our chief attendance officer has estimated very accurately, even if intuitively, the meaning of "economic pressure."

Certain rules have been observed in collecting and tabulating our material which will be enumerated in order that those who desire to compare Seattle statistics with those of other cities may better understand our view point and our interpretation of economic pressure.

1. In estimating family resources we have used the statistics given at the time of visitation. No effort was made to secure the annual income.

2. The same rule has been followed with reference to rent and to the child's income.

3. Only members of the family living at home have been considered. "Family resources" equals the sum of the full earnings of all who live at home.

4. No deductions of any kind were made for illness, rent, assessments, taxes, carfare, lunches, etc.

We regret our inability to make this section of our survey conform strictly to the Federal methods of investigation and tabulation. It was our original intention to do so but home ownership in Seattle during recent years has meant financial obligation in the shape of assessments, taxes, and special improvements which approaches, equals and often exceeds the average expenditure for rent. For this reason the Fed-

eral system did not seem to meet Seattle needs nor would its results have been fairly representative of Seattle conditions.*

We were not able to secure the assessment, taxation and repair figures for all of the home owners but we did find in many instances that the financial burden was very heavy and that "to save the home" was often the real reason for school leaving. Under these circumstances it seemed best not to deduct rent but to tabulate separately the economic status of home owners and renters.

5. The economic condition of the family is a vital consideration in granting school leaving permits but need not be such in granting labor permits. Therefore, Tables XVI., XVII. and XVIII. will classify separately the economic status of the 58 families in which children received school leaving permits. Tables XIX., XX. and XXI. will present statistics for labor permits which may be used for comparison if desired.

Table XVI. Family Resources—Fifty-eight School Leaving Permits.

	Total Weekly Income							Average Weekly Income
	\$5-10	\$10-15	\$15-20	\$20-25	\$25-30	\$30-35	Total	
Owners.....	2	6	1	5	4	1	19	\$14.00
Renters.....	5	14	9	7	2	2	39	17.00
Total.....	7	20	10	12	6	3	58	.....

Table XVII. Child's Wage in Relation to Resources—Fifty-eight School Leaving Permits.

	Weekly Per Capita, Less Child's Wage						Child's Average Wage
	Child's Wage Only	\$1 or Less	\$1-2	\$2-3	Over \$3	Average	
Owners.....	2	1	11	3	2	\$1.60	\$5.55
Renters.....	3	6	11	13	6	2.10	5.90
Total.....	5	7	22	16	8	.....	.....

* The Federal system measures the financial resources by the per capita income remaining after rent is paid and often the expenses of illness and death and the income from children under sixteen is deducted. Vol. VII, p. 80.

Table XVIII. Rent in Relation to Resources—Thirty-nine School Leaving Permits.

Weekly Rent	Number of Families	Average Rent Per Family Per Week	Average Income Per Family	Percentage of Rent of Income
\$1.25	1			
\$1.25-2.50	18	\$3.50	\$17.00	20%
\$2.50-3.75	11			
Over \$3.75	9			

Fifty-eight families is hardly a sufficient basis to warrant definite conclusions but in passing over the subject it may be well to note a few items which alone are of little value but which if taken in conjunction with other facts may prove both interesting and useful.

1. Thirty-three per cent of the 58 families securing school leaving permits were home owners. Of the seven cities included in the Federal investigation the highest percentage of home owners was 37 and the average 24.

2. Of the 19 home owners, 12 or 63 per cent, were of foreign birth. Real estate dealers, who make a business of handling small homes on the monthly payment plan, agree that a large percentage of sales are made to the foreign population. One dealer, who has been in business in Seattle for over 20 years, is at this date carrying \$150,000 of investments in small homes. Payments are met regularly and only twice in 20 years has foreclosure been necessary. Foreigners in his estimation are much more willing to make personal sacrifice in order to become home owners.

3. Comparison of the family resources of home owners and renters shows the renters to be earning, on an average, \$3.00 or 21 per cent more per week than are home owners. Those who buy do not have the largest income. In the Federal investigation the reverse was found to be true.

4. Table XVIII. indicates the amount per week paid for rent and the percentage which rent forms of the total income. The lowest rent is \$1.25 and the highest \$5.60; the average \$3.50 or 20 per cent of the total income. This is a higher percentage on the average than is reported by other cities. The Federal investigators found 88.1 per cent of the families paying less than 20 per cent, practically 75 per cent less than 15 per cent, and nearly 50 per cent less than 10 per cent. Renters as a rule had comfortable homes. A very small percentage was classed as "poor."

5. The average percentage of the family income contributed by the child is $39 \frac{9}{14}$ for home owners and $34 \frac{12}{17}$ for renters. This percentage is nearly double that of the average contribution made by children elsewhere. Twenty-two per cent in Columbia, S. C., is the highest average reported by the Federal investigators. Without this contribution by the child 58 per cent of the families under consideration would have \$2.00 or less per week per capita for entire living expenses.

Although methods of deciding what constitutes a reasonable standard of living vary somewhat in different cities there seems to be a general agreement that no per capita income is *sufficient* which is less than \$1.50 per week after rent has been deducted and after bills for illness and death have been met. Moreover it is universally conceded that families having a weekly income of less than \$2.00 per capita, after the above deductions have been made and after the contribution made by the child has been deducted, are *justified* in asking for financial assistance from the child on the basis of "economic pressure." All investigators have reported a few families who *do* keep children in school at a much lower per capita income than \$1.50 to \$2.00. In Seattle we have found a considerable number.

In deciding how far "economic pressure" has been a legitimate factor in granting school leaving permits

it must be remembered that our statistics have been tabulated without deductions for rent, illness or death and that had such deductions been made, many of the 24 families now above the "economic pressure" line would have fallen below. Losses from illness and death were frequently the cause of "economic pressure."

Labor Permits and Economic Pressure.

Although "labor permits" have not been included in our study on economic pressure, it may be interesting for purposes of comparison to know something of the same facts relative to families where children who are exempt from school leaving certification have secured the working certificate only. Doubtless a part of these children have had school leaving certificates the year previous and the material conditions of the family have not changed. On the other hand, in many instances it is obvious that necessity has played no legitimate part in influencing children to enter industry prior to the completion of the public school course. Attention has been called in Section I. to various causes which are largely responsible for such cases.

Table XIX. Family Resources—Two Hundred Seventy-one Labor Permits.

	Total Weekly Income								Average Weekly Income
	\$5-10	\$10-15	\$15-20	\$20-25	\$25-30	\$30-35	Over 35	Total	
Owners..	18	12	6	32	20	4	13	105	21
Renters..	36	44	36	22	10	11	7	166	19
Total...	54	56	42	54	30	15	20	271	.....

Table XX. Child's Wage in Relation to Resources—Two Hundred Seventy-one Labor Permits.

	Weekly Per Capita, Less Child's Wage						Child's Average Wage
	Child's Wage Only	\$1 or Less	\$1-2	\$2-3	Over 3	Average	
Owners..	12	4	20	24	45	\$3.00	\$6.60
Renters..	14	12	24	50	76	3.07	5.63
Total...	26	16	44	74	121	.....	.....

Table XXI. Rent in Relation to Resources—One Hundred Sixty-six Labor Permits.

Weekly Rent	Number of Families	Average Rent Per Family Per Week	Average Income Per Family	Percentage of Rent of Income
\$1.25	4			
\$1.25-2.50	76			
\$2.50-3.75	60	\$3.80	\$19.00	20%
Over \$3.75	26			

Table XXII. Summary of Three Hundred Twenty-nine Labor and School Leaving Permits.

Class of Permit	Percentage of 271 Labor and 58 School Leaving Permits		Average Weekly Income(*)		Percentage of Income Contributed by Child		Average Rent and Percentage of Income	Weekly Income Less Child's Below Standard	Average Total Weekly Income \$20 or Less
	Owners	Renters	Owners	Renters	Owners	Renters			
School Leaving	33%	67%	\$14.00	\$17.00	39%	34%	\$3.50 20%	58%	63%
Labor...	38%	62%	19.50	19.00	33%	34%	3.80 20%	32%	56%

* In drawing general conclusions from the 329 cases, the average income of renters is undoubtedly larger than that of owners. Eight home owners in the labor section have weekly incomes of \$40-\$60 while no renters happen to have incomes similarly high.

In concluding how far economic necessity is a factor in the labor of children under 16 years of age, we have the following facts which hold good for our entire list of 329 permits, including both grammar grades and high school:

1. Average rent is uniform at 20 per cent of the average income for all classes of permits. This rental is high in comparison with other cities.

2. The generally accepted average weekly per capita income absolutely essential to cover the necessities of living is from \$1.50 to \$2.00 after deductions have been made for illness, death and rentals. The average in Seattle for all *School Leaving Permits* falls below this standard. Considered from another point of view, 58 per cent of the school leaving certificates and 32 per cent of the labor certificates are granted to families in which the weekly per capita income

falls below this universally accepted standard of living. Were the expenses incident to illness, death and rentals to be deducted, this percentage in both classes would be much larger. From this point of view there is a margin of about 50 per cent in which parents by securing a labor permit may use a child as a source of income although not forced to do so because of economic pressure. Parents are not always responsible. Very frequently a child prefers to go to work either because of dissatisfaction with school or because of desire for more abundant spending money. In Seattle children themselves have voiced greater dissatisfaction with the schools than have the parents of the same children when visited in their homes. In the Federal report about two-fifths of the children were found to have left school of their own choice. School leaving permits do not allow this same exercise of personal judgment or desire on the part of parent and child.

The lowest per capita income for all classes without deductions, except the child's wage, is 55 cents and the highest \$12.40.

Average weekly income for average family is another legitimate method of estimating the influence of economic pressure. Twenty dollars per family is the usual minimum accepted. Reference to Table XXII. shows the average for each group composing the 329 to fall below this requirement. The same table shows that if families are grouped according to total weekly income 56 per cent of the labor certificates and 63 per cent of the school leaving certificates are held by families with weekly incomes of \$20 or less.

3. The percentage of family income contributed by Seattle children is above 30 per cent in all averages. Elsewhere in the country it approaches 20 per cent. This is interesting in view of the fact that child labor here receives so high a financial reward in comparison with other cities reporting.

SECTION III.

**Educational and Occupational Experience of
Boys and Girls Up to 21 Years of Age Who
Have Been Out of the Seattle Schools
More Than One Year.**

SECTION III.

Educational and Occupational Experience of Boys and Girls Up to 21 Years of Age Who Have Been Out of the Seattle Schools More Than One Year.

From the third set of blanks we have 202 girls and 223 boys who furnished complete replies to both the educational and vocational questionnaire. Workers were never interviewed at their places of business. Frequently employers offered to extend this courtesy but for many reasons it seemed best to seek employees in their homes or elsewhere after business hours.

Table XXIII. Reasons Why Children Leave School—202 Girls—223 Boys.

Cause	Girls	Boys	Total	Percentage
Illness.....	15	2	17	4
Economic pressure.....	54	46	100	23
Too old, dislike, trouble, not promoted, etc.....	71	69	140	33
Forced by parent.....	7	13	20	4
Learn trade.....	4	16	20	4
Spending money or preference for work	51	77	128	30
Total.....	202	223	425	

The following are typical replies as to why these more experienced youths left school:

“Preferred to work but would like to go back now.”

“Was not compelled and had never been sorry until just now.” (Age 17.)

“The teacher was too bull headed.” (Age 16.)

“Did not have the money to buy clothes and pay dues.” (Age 19.)

“I did not like school but am sorry I left now.” (Age 18.)

“I would have stayed had I known what I know now of the necessity for so doing.”

"Wasn't getting anything from high school."

"Couldn't get credit."

"To try and find out what was the best line of work. I may go back."

"Wanted to work for something definite."

"Wanted to do something to bring in the money."

"Could not keep up with the high school expenses."

"Four years is too much time to put in with nothing to show for it."

"Could not get along with the principal."

"Yes, compelled to leave and was glad of it."

"Left at my own choice—was discouraged."

"Because I wanted to but I do not know enough to get along and am going back." (Age 16.)

"I grew tired of what I was doing and left. I would do differently now." (Age 19.)

"I did not realize I was making a mistake to leave." (Freshman, out six months.)

"Because of certain studies."

"Did not care for school and did not want to waste time."

"Prefer a good trade." (This is an interesting statement in view of the fact that this boy stuck to his trade only six weeks and at the time of writing was a delivery boy—age 16.)

Comparison of Table II. with Table XXIII. indicates that the reasons for school leaving have been fairly uniform covering a period of five years. Detailed knowledge of the point of view of the older child at date of leaving compared with his point of view after even a brief competition in business, indicates that many are finding "dissatisfaction" to be a most trivial excuse and are realizing too late that lack of education is a serious handicap in adult life. With the older as with the younger group "economic pressure" has been one of the leading factors in school leaving. It is not, however, in either case entitled to the prominence which is commonly assumed.

Table XXIV. Number of Years Since Leaving and Number of Positions Held.

Years Out	Number of Positions—Girls							Number of Positions—Boys						
	1	2	3	4	5	5 Plus	Total	1	2	3	4	5	5 Plus	Total
1.....	15	12	6	7	.....	.....	40	13	15	8	2	1	2	41
2.....	16	12	10	2	4	.....	44	10	17	11	5	1	10	54
3.....	6	10	12	.....	5	.....	33	4	9	6	1	.....	11	31
4.....	4	9	6	3	1	1	24	12	6	4	1	3	.....	26
5.....	2	10	5	4	1	.....	22	4	7	4	2	2	1	20
5 plus.....	7	14	13	4	.....	1	39	8	12	8	4	5	14	51
Total...	50	67	52	20	11	2	202	51	66	41	15	12	38	223

Table XXV. Summary of Number of Positions and Percentage.

	One Position		Two Positions		Three Positions		Four Positions		Five Positions		Total	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Boys....	51	23	66	30	41	18	15	7	50	23	223	100
Girls....	50	25	67	33	52	25	20	9	13	6	202	100
Total...	101	24	133	31	93	21	35	8	63	15	425	100

In comparing Table XXV. with Table V. it must be remembered that the 402 included under Table V. represent a complete school leaving group covering a definite period—one day to one year—while the 425 included under Table XXV. represent a group composed of but a small part of those leaving school during a period of approximately one to five years. The first group includes grammar school pupils only, the second both grammar and high school pupils. The first includes very young children fresh from school supervision with neither the judgment nor the experience necessary to warn them of the dangers of frequent changes, the second includes only those who have remained in industry, many of whom acknowledge that most of their changes were made in the early years of their industrial experience. It would be natural to expect a higher percentage of stability in the second group, and also natural to expect increase in stability as age and experience increase. Moreover it is unlikely that all actual changes have been given in the replies of older workers.

Table XXVI. Age, Grade and Retardation of Industrial Group. Girls.

Age	Grade							High School					Grand Total
	3	4	5	6	7	8	Total	9	10	11	12	Total	
12	2	.....	*4	2	1	9	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	9
13	*3	3	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6
14	1	.....	4	5	19	29	1	1	.....	.....	2	31
15	1	3	3	12	33	52	*12	4	3	.....	19	71
16	5	1	21	27	5	*9	.....	.....	14	41
17	5	5	7	7	*2	*3	19	24
18-21	2	1	3	3	3	2	9	17	20
Total.....	4	3	16	25	83	131	28	24	7	12	71	202

* Normal.

Table XXVII. Age, Grade and Retardation of Industrial Group. Boys.

Age	Grade							High School					Grand Total
	3	4	5	6	7	8	Total	9	10	11	12	Total	
10-12	.....	.....	1	*1	1	1	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4
13	.....	.....	.....	2	*2	1	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5
14	1	.....	2	6	9	*22	40	8	2	.....	.....	10	50
15	.....	1	3	7	9	28	48	*14	4	1	.....	19	67
16	.....	.....	.....	1	2	17	20	8	*13	2	.....	23	43
17	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	6	9	8	.....	*4	21	27
18-21	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	1	3	3	4	6	11	24	27
Total.....	1	1	6	17	25	76	126	42	31	9	15	97	223

* Normal.

Table XXVIII. Summary of Age and Grade at Date of Leaving.

Grade	Boys							Girls							Grand Total	Per-cent-age
	10-12	13	14	15	16	16-21	Total	10-12	13	14	15	16	16-21	Total		
3	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1-5
4	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	1	2	.....	1	1	.....	.....	4	5	1
5	1	.....	2	3	.....	.....	6	.....	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	3	9	2
6	1	2	6	7	1	.....	17	4	.....	4	3	5	.....	16	33	8
7	1	2	9	9	2	2	25	2	3	5	12	1	2	25	50	11
8	1	1	22	28	17	7	76	1	3	19	33	21	6	83	159	37
H. S.	.....	.....	10	19	23	45	97	.....	.....	2	19	14	36	71	168	39
Total.	4	5	50	67	43	54	223	9	6	31	71	41	44	202	425	.....

Table XXIX. Summary of Retardation—Industrial Group.

	Normal		Retarded		Ahead		Total	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Boys.....	63	28	136	61	24	10	223	100
Girls.....	58	28	126	62	18	9	202	100
Total.....	121	28	262	61	42	10	425	100

Tables XXVI., XXVII., XXVIII., and XXIX. for the Industrial Group correspond to Tables XI., XII., XIII. and XIV. for the group receiving School Leaving or Labor Permits. Each group includes both grammar grades and high school. The industrial group includes ages up to 21 years and the permit group to 16 years only. Hence we would expect to find a higher percentage of high school pupils in the former. One, again, is composed of all children in a definite group, while the other is in a sense composed of selected cases. Bona fide "economic pressure" is a much larger factor in the permit group. These facts must be taken into consideration in making comparisons as to age and grade of leaving.

First Positions and Changes in Position.

Table XXX. First Position and School Grade—Boys 223.

First Position	5th Grade or Less	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Total	Per Cent
Delivery and messenger.....	2	3	7	18	7	1	.....	1	39	17
Clerks.....	1	2	1	11	3	7	.....	4	29	13
Street trades.....	.....	.....	3	2	1	2	1	.....	9	4
Apprentice.....	1	3	6	13	9	6	3	1	42	18
Office.....	.....	1	.....	8	4	3	1	4	21	9
Factory.....	3	1	3	2	1	2	.....	.....	12	5
Laborer.....	.....	.....	1	4	3	2	.....	.....	10	4
Farmer.....	.....	.....	.....	2	2	.....	1	1	6	2
Sailor.....	1	.....	.....	3	1	.....	.....	.....	5	2
Lumberman.....	.....	.....	.....	2	1	.....	.....	.....	3	1
Automobile.....	.....	.....	1	1	1	.....	.....	2	5	2
Miscellaneous.....	.....	7	3	10	9	8	3	2	42	20
Total.....	8	17	25	76	42	31	9	15	223	.....

Table XXXI. First Position and School Grade—202 Girls.

First Position	5th Grade or Less	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Total	Per Cent
Department store.....	2	2	2	25	9	5	3	3	51	25
Office.....	.....	.....	.....	6	2	16	1	6	31	15
Factory.....	1	3	3	12	4	.....	.....	.....	23	11
Domestic.....	3	1	5	10	.....	1	1	.....	21	10
Trade.....	1	3	1	10	1	.....	.....	1	16	8
Laundry.....	.....	1	3	3	1	.....	.....	1	9	4
Telephone.....	.....	1	3	5	5	1	.....	1	16	8
Miscellaneous.....	.....	4	5	3	1	.....	1	.....	14	7
None immediately after leaving.....	.....	1	3	9	5	1	1	1	21	10
Total.....	7	16	25	83	28	24	7	12	202	.....

Table XXXII. Changes in Positions—223 Boys.

Original Line of Work	Number in Each Original Line		Number of Different Positions of All Kinds						Number of Different Lines of Work					Number in Original Work	Number in Original After Others	Number in Different Lines	Out of Work	Total
	1	2	3	4	5 or More	Total	1	2	3	4 or More	Total							
Delivery or messenger	4	18	8	3	6	39	9	17	4	9	39	9	4	4	20	6	39	
Clerk.....	9	7	6	3	4	29	8	9	6	6	29	8	6	3	14	4	29	
Street trades.....	2	2	2	1	2	9	2	2	3	3	9	2	2	5	5	2	9	
Apprentices.....	16	7	10	3	6	42	22	7	7	6	42	21	7	2	18	1	42	
Office.....	21	5	7	4	1	21	10	5	2	4	21	8	2	2	11	1	21	
Factory.....	3	4	3	2	2	12	5	3	2	2	12	4	2	7	1	12		
Labors.....	4	2	1	.....	3	10	4	5	1	1	16	3	4	3	10	1	16
Farmer.....	6	1	1	.....	2	6	.....	2	1	3	6	.....	1	6	5	1	6
Sailor.....	5	3	1	.....	1	5	.....	3	1	1	5	.....	1	5	5	.....	5
Lumber.....	3	.....	1	.....	1	3	.....	2	.....	1	3	.....	.....	3	.....	.....	3
Auto.....	4	1	.....	.....	.....	5	5	.....	.....	.....	5	.....	.....	5	.....	.....	5
Miscellaneous.....	42	4	4	2	19	42	6	13	7	16	42	4	7	26	12	42		
Total.....	223	66	41	15	50	223	71	68	33	51	223	64	15	117	27	223		

Table XXXIII. Changes in Positions—202 Girls.

Original Line of Work	Number in Each Original Line	*Number of Different Positions of All Kinds						†Number of Different Lines of Work					Number in Original Work	Number in Original After Others	Number in Different Lines	Out of Work	Total
		1	2	3	4	5 or More	Total	1	2	3	4 or More	Total					
Department store....	51	9	20	11	4	7	51	16	20	7	8	51	16	2	27	6	51
Office.....	31	15	8	6	2	2	31	21	5	2	3	31	20	2	5	4	31
Factory.....	23	7	8	7	1	.....	23	16	7	.....	.....	23	15	1	3	4	23
Domestic.....	21	3	11	4	2	1	21	4	13	4	.....	21	3	.....	14	4	21
Trade.....	16	4	6	3	3	.....	16	8	2	6	.....	16	7	.....	5	4	16
Laundry.....	9	2	2	3	2	.....	9	3	2	2	2	9	3	.....	3	3	9
Telephone.....	16	8	5	2	3	.....	16	9	5	1	1	16	7	.....	0	3	16
Miscellaneous.....	14	1	4	7	1	1	14	1	3	8	2	14	1	.....	8	5	14
None after leaving....	21	1	3	8	5	4	21	1	6	8	6	21	1	3	8	9	21
Total.....	202	50	67	52	20	13	202	79	63	38	22	202	73	8	79	42	202

* Number of positions—every change in position whether to same or other line.

† Number of different lines—change to entirely different lines of work.

Tables III. and XXX. for boys and IV. and XXXI. for girls indicate the number and percentage of the whole entering each different line of work. Statistics speak for themselves in both series. Fifty per cent variation for boys is found in delivery and messenger service where the younger group comprises 33 per cent of the whole as against 17 per cent in the older group. Personally I believe this variation to be more apparent than real. Younger boys just leaving school nearly always record their first position even if employed for but a few weeks, while boys who have been at work for three or four years frequently forget to mention their first weeks of employment as messenger or delivery boys. Investigators have been instructed to secure this information but have not always been successful.

The same percentage of variation is found in skilled trades where 18 per cent of the older group is tabulated against 9 per cent of the younger. Several theories might be offered in explanation. One of the most logical, and one supported by facts, is that the second group comprises a larger number of older and more advanced students for whom it is much easier to secure positions as apprentices. The general public would doubtless be surprised to find so small a percentage of either group engaged in street trades. School principals, however, know that a large part of the newsboys in Seattle are school boys who, when they drop out of school permanently, usually enter other lines of work.*

The percentage of girls from each group entering each occupation is singularly uniform. The highest percentage from both groups enter department stores, the second go to offices, the third to factories, while the percentage entering both skilled trades and do-

* A study is in preparation which will indicate the source of supply for newsboys, the influence of street work on educational progress and also in future industrial occupation.

mestic service is exactly the same. The percentage of high school girls entering the telephone service is increasing. This is doubtless due to the great improvement in conditions of service, the excellent moral and physical surroundings, permanency of employment, steady promotion, sick benefits, insurance and pension systems.

Of the 202 girls 81, or 40 per cent, were in their original line of work at the date of interview, 79 or 39 per cent, in different lines and 42, or 21 per cent, were out of work.

Of the 223 boys 79, or 35 per cent, were in their original lines of works, 117, or 52 per cent, were in different lines and 27, or 12 per cent, were looking for work.

With both sexes the highest percentage of occupational stability accompanied greater age and longer business experience. It is also of interest to note that the highest percentage of stability is found in those lines of work which require some definite training in order to secure and hold positions. Sixteen per cent of the total number is a high percentage of unemployment in view of the fact that this group is more or less select in composition and doubtless represents an individual type above, rather than below, the average.

In reply to the question, "Are you satisfied with your present position?" 90 girls said "Yes" and 70 said "No"; 95 boys said "Yes" and 101 said "No." This means that over 50 per cent were either out of work or were dissatisfied with their work.* In many cases "dissatisfaction" was not based on legitimate criticism. The positions were desirable, the conditions of service favorable, the prospect for permanency good and remuneration all that could be expected considering education, native ability and personality.

* It is interesting to note that about the same percentage of pupils leave school because of "dissatisfaction."

Reasons for Changes of Positions.

A few quotations from the reasons for leaving positions or for dissatisfaction although retaining the position, will illustrate better than anything else the real causes of this constant shifting in occupations.

Boy 19 who had been employed in four different lines of work. "Would like to try something different."

Boy 20 who was trying to learn a trade. "Too hard and not lucrative."

Boy 17 who was in a hardware store. "No, because I ought to have a good position."

Boy 18 left school at 15 in the sixth grade. Had tried seven different lines, four of which were skilled trades. "To reach such a position as would be good."

Boy 15 eight grade, out of school one year. "Don't like work any better than school."

Boy 16 who has had four positions in one year. "Didn't get on with the office man."

Boy 19 left school in seventh grade at 14 years. Has tried seven lines and is unemployed at present. "For reasons too numerous to mention here."

Boy 19 left school in the eighth grade. Has tried to learn three different trades and after deciding that printing is the best is now a delivery boy. "To find out which trade is best."

Boy 16, eight grade, out of school one year. Has changed position four times. "My employer wanted me to change and I wanted to change, too."

Boy 17, mother says he is too lazy to do good work. Lost three good positions in a few weeks. "I got fired."

Very common reasons are "Lack of education," "Could not get adjusted to the house," "Laid off" and "No future."

As the above quotations indicate, the reasons given by young boys for the constant change in positions are truly "too numerous to mention here." Psychological interpretation, however, is not difficult for one who is accustomed to dealing with boys from 14 to 21 years of age.

Reasons given by girls differ somewhat and are much more easily grouped or classified. There are three main reasons directly traceable to the following sources: (1) the girl herself, (2) the character of employment, (3) legislative enactment.

Under (1) we have:

- "Just to get a change."
- "To rest up a bit."
- "No reasons especially."
- "To get a little rest."
- "To have a change in work."
(Present position excellent. The girl, 17, had made five changes.)
- "Didn't like the place."
- "For want of a change."
- "Too young."
- "Lack of education."

Under (2) we have a second group of reasons which center about the character of employment and are usually beyond the control of employees, although at times "slack work," "laid off" and "rush over" are only polite terms for concealing "inefficiency" on the part of the girl. The following are examples:

- "Season over.
- "Relief only."
- "Christmas rush."
- "Irregular work."
- "Laid off."

Under (3) we have such legislative enactments as have been placed on our statute books for the avowed purpose of benefiting female employees. Legislation of this class, worthy in motive and good in theory, frequently defeats the very object for which it was initiated, or benefits one class of female workers to the disadvantage of another class. The Eight Hour Law and the Minimum Wage Law stand out prominently in this respect. Both laws have cost many good honest girls their positions. The influence of the Minimum Wage Law will be discussed in its relation to education in another section of the report. The influence of the Eight Hour Law is felt in various ways by different classes of female workers. It reads as follows:

"No female shall be employed in any mechanical or mercantile establishment, laundry, hotel or restaurant in this State more than eight hours during any day. Provided, however, that the provisions of this section in relation to the hours of employment shall not apply to, nor affect, females employed in harvesting, packing, curing, canning or drying any variety of perishable fruit or vegetables, nor to females employed in canning fish or shellfish."*

* Sec. I, Chapter 37, Laws of 1911.

Very frequent illustrations of the workings of this law are brought to our attention by women and girls who benefit by or who suffer from its operation. Enumerated and classified they offer a series of very definite facts which are worthy of public attention. An instance representing each type is given.

Mrs. C., a widow with three children, does day work whenever she can secure it. She is also regularly employed as a janitress in one of our office buildings. She cleans 24 rooms each evening after 5 p. m. and receives \$1.00 per room per month.

The Eight Hour Law has had no influence on this class of worker. Such women may continue to sacrifice themselves and their families as before.

Miss P., employed in one hairdressing establishment, may not work more than eight hours for this house. She frequently goes to a second similar establishment and does evening work. When window displays are to be given, Miss P. prefers to return in the evening and assist in her own store and regrets the fact that she must go to a second store while an alien is brought in to work in her place when overtime is necessary.

The Eight Hour Law does not protect such girls from excessive hours nor does it force them to protect themselves.

Miss B. is employed as a stenographer in a garage. She reports for duty at 7:30 a. m. and remains until 6 p. m. Her salary is \$12.00 a week.

This girl is not protected by the Eight Hour Law. A stenographer in a garage may work as many hours as she pleases for \$12.00.

Miss. M. is employed as a stenographer in one of our large mercantile houses. Her salary is \$12.00 a week. She works from 9 a. m. to 6 p. m.

This girl works for a house included under the law. Her employer is fined if she exceeds eight hours. She has benefited by the law.

Miss K. is employed as a stenographer by a real estate firm for \$85.00 a month. She works as many hours as she and her employer agree.

Real estate offices are not included under the law. This class of employee is exactly where she was before the passage of the law or possibly worse off, as fewer positions are open to her.

Miss S. is employed as a stenographer by a large business house. Her work is of such a nature that letters frequently must be written after 5 p. m. Her salary is \$90.00.

This house is included under the Eight Hour Law. The salary is sufficient to attract male employees and the employer does not wish to risk violation of the law. Miss S. lost her position to a man. She is worse off than she was before the passage of the law.

A large number of similar instances serve to emphasize the following facts:*

1. That the Eight Hour Law for women is "class" legislation—class according to the character of the house rather than according to the character of employment. The stenographer is protected in the mercantile house, but the stenographer in the garage is exactly where she was before the passage of the law. That is, the Eight Hour Law does not uniformly apply to all women workers in all employments. Moreover, it does not uniformly apply to the low salaried women in all classes of employment.

2. That the woman of ability who is able to hold a position in which the salary is sufficient to attract men is in danger of losing her position provided it be with a house included under the law. If with a house not included under the law she too is exactly where she was before the passage of the law or possibly worse off because the number of positions open to her type of ability are lessened. That is, the high salaried women are brought into unequal competition with men. Handicapped by the law, in some cases they lose their positions and in others are forced into houses where the law is not operative.

3. That the main object of the law—to protect the health of woman as an individual and by protecting her protect posterity—is defeated in all cases where women and girls accept day work from one employer and night work from another. Waitresses, janitresses, stenographers and others have many opportunities for this sort of thing and it is a much more common practice than the casual observer might think. Such women are not benefited by the law. In fact they are frequently

* No effort is here made to offer a complete summary of facts relative to the Eight Hour Law.

worse off than before as the second employer rarely knows what service has been rendered the first and is less likely to consider the girl's condition than would be the case had she worked continuously for one employer.

4. The only real uniform advantage accruing to women workers is in the case of low salaried women in certain lines of work who, because of the character of the work and the large numbers employed, can neither be displaced by boys nor by machinery. Boys have to some extent taken the place of women, and machinery is more and more doing so. Even in the mercantile lines there are prophecies of a day when mail orders will supplant counter sales and many clerks will be entering other occupations.

It seems fair to conclude that the Eight Hour Law has benefited *some* women in *some* lines of work, but on the whole has been a serious handicap to the woman of ability who realizes that the positions at the top are not often filled by "time servers." Many women feel that if we are to have such a law it should be made uniform for every woman whose ability has not received a certain salary recognition—say \$10.00 to \$12.00 a week—and that women who have received such recognition should be allowed to use their own judgment as to both hours and salary, reaching the top if possible. It is also suggested that uniform protection for low salaried women will continue to be impossible unless women themselves are obligated by law to take the same responsibility for their health as does the employer. Why not fine the woman who works over eight hours as well as the employer? This would be peculiarly applicable to women who serve two employers. Another suggestion is the alteration of the law to permit a maximum number of hours per week with a more flexible day limit.

Whatever the reasons for changing positions may be, one thing is certain—employers are not inclined to encourage the employment of boys and girls whose application blanks indicate frequent changes in occupation. The employers of Seattle have allowed us the privilege of examining hundreds of application blanks, some filled out by successful and some by unsuccessful applicants. It has been very common to find the reason for failure to employ expressed as follows: "Too many changes." It is always comparatively easy to get a first trial, sometimes a second and possibly a third, but by the time the fourth position is sought, business men say frankly that it costs the house too much to train a boy with almost certainty that he will not stay.

The following record is an excellent example of the type of worker not wanted by business men:

A., age 15, completed eighth grade at 14 years. Took his first position August 4, 1913, and his fifth on May 15, 1914.

Firm	Occupation	Wage	Time	Why Leave
1	Wrapper.....	\$6.00	Aug. 4, '13, to Sept. 27, '13...	Better place
2	Printing office.....	6.00	Sept. 27 to Jan. 10, '14.....	Slack work
3	Candy store.....	6.00	Jan. 12 to April 10.....	Don't know
4	Shoe store.....	6.00	April 27 to May 15.....	Better place
5	Hardware apprentice.....	26½ per Mo.	May 15 to June 1.....	.....

Handicaps in Securing Promotions.

In reply to the question, "What has hindered you most in securing better positions and better wages?" we have chosen the following answers as best characterizing the group:

Age 19, eleventh grade, been out two and one-half years, tried three different lines and was anxious to find his right place in industry.

"Lack of advanced education in one particular line and not knowing how to find the right line to follow."

- Left school at 11 years in the third grade in country. Entered city school for one year at 14 years. Has done odd jobs always and had no work at date of interview. "I had no trade and no proper schooling."
-
- Age 17, left school in seventh grade at 15 years of age. Is a messenger boy. "I haven't fitted myself for anything better than I am doing."
-
- Age 17, left school in eighth grade two years ago. Has done odd jobs and lost two positions as trade apprentice. "Ignorance and inexperience. I have failed at two trades."
-
- Age 20, tenth grade, in very good line and doing well. "I do not know. I have never thought of it until you asked this question."
-
- Age 20, eighth grade, tried several lines and attends night school. "Don't know. Just can't seem to get ahead."
-
- Age 18, left school in sixth grade. "Don't like work of any kind. Employers expect too much."
-
- Girl 18, seventh grade, poor school record. "Don't care to work very hard and don't have to."
-

Many girls and boys summarized their replies in two or three words:

“No technical training.”

“Incompetence.”

“Lack of concentration.”

“Lack of pull.”

“Nothing.”

“The class of unemployed.”

“Age.” (A very common reason.)

“Lack of education.” (The highest percentage of all.)

Qualities Which Contribute to Success.

“What qualities have been most helpful to you in advancing?” was rarely answered thoughtfully or intelligently by the younger workers. Girls, as a rule, did not attempt to reply. The older boys gave some excellent replies.

“Ability to see what to do and be willing to do it.”

“Hard work.”

“Industry.”

“Staying by the same job.”

“Determination to succeed.”

“Paying attention to what I was told.”

“Observation of those ahead of me.”

“Increasing my knowledge by watching better men.”

“Making a daily plan for work and study and following it.”

“I do not know what qualities are needed. If I did I would go back to school and try to learn them.”
(Age 15, out of school six months.)

Suggestions for the School System.

There are some valuable hints for educators in replies to the question, “Were you to return to school what can you suggest that would be most helpful in making you a more efficient worker?”

“Character consideration is more important than children think. Couldn’t teachers do more to show children the right point of view?”

“More patience with dull children. I always knew the teacher did not like dull boys.”

“Help boys to see the value of education before it is too late.”

“A thorough brief business course to show us all what will be expected when we go to work.”

“Teach us to do every little thing well.”

“Give us a better foundation in common branches.”

“A better foundation to build on.”

“Better spelling and arithmetic.”

“A simplified application of economics.”

“Closer application and ability to think for ourselves.”

“Something to show girls how to use money.”

“I wish I knew. I have not done well so far.”

“Make girls more independent.”

“To teach things that count in business. Character is neglected.”

“More thoroughness in teaching and developing the reasons why.”

<p>Boy 18, who says he is honest and has lots of grit but has no education for anything and his work life is a failure.</p>	<p>“To help us to see what we are adapted to and make a study of it.”</p>
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There are many lessons for our school boys and girls which might be learned from the experience and advice of these older workers who have seen the serious side of business life and who are realizing their needs after the opportunity to meet them has slipped away. Over and over again, in instance after instance, we were told that another opportunity would

meet a different response on their part. Might not our public school teachers find a message for their charges in the testimony of these experienced workers so ably expressed in the words of Kipling?

“I wish myself could talk to myself as I left 'im a year ago:
I could tell 'im a lot that would save 'im a lot on the things that 'e ought to know.”

The same question, “What can the schools do to make more efficient workers?” was put to many employers who deal with large numbers of young employees. Employers' replies are almost identical with those of the workers themselves. Capital and labor, employer and employee, no matter what their point of view, are unanimous in asking for greater emphasis along three definite lines:

1. Academic—accuracy, rapidity and neatness in arithmetic, writing and spelling.
2. Character—honesty, industry and ability to follow instructions.
3. Personality—hygiene, proper business dress, courtesy and refinement in speech and manner.

Supplemental Education.

In view of the fact that a large percentage of the group under consideration acknowledges “lack of education” to have been the most serious handicap in advancing, it is well to inquire what opportunities Seattle offers for such youths to make up educational loss when the need is realized, and how many are seriously interested in taking advantage of such opportunities.

The Board of Education under the State Law of 1909 has established and is operating Public Evening Schools during six months of each year. The registration for 1914 to date is approximately 3,000 in high

school courses, 500 in grammar schools and 700 foreigners learning to read and write the English language or preparing for citizenship. Private Evening Schools charging tuition are maintained by various institutions such as Business Colleges, Schools of Engineering, and the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. Day courses are also offered by the same institutions for those who during short periods of unemployment desire to increase their ability and knowledge. Registration in correspondence schools is not uncommon. Churches and other philanthropic agencies also provide for special lines of educational work in free evening school if the demand is sufficient.

No attempt has been made to investigate in detail the classes maintained by agencies other than the Public School System. We have tried, however, to ascertain through interviews with the boys and girls included under the various sections of this study and by means of interviews with, and investigation of, the present registration at the Broadway night school what the character of the demand for supplementary study is, the object in view, the type of pupils who avail themselves of such opportunities and their satisfaction with the instruction received.*

The following facts are offered as the result of this study:

1. Boys and girls do not often register in evening schools immediately after leaving day schools. †Public evening registration for 1913-1914 was 6,444. Of this number 199 or 3 per cent were under 16 years of age, 101 were in the elementary schools and 98 in the high school.

Under Group I., comprising the 402 children who had been out of grammar school less than one year,

* It was impossible to include all the evening schools in this study. The Broadway was chosen because it registers approximately 50 per cent of the total attendance. It carries all courses offered in any of the schools and some not offered elsewhere.

† This is a mere statement of fact. The desirability of pupils under 16 registering in evening schools, is discussed on page 65.

only 9 boys and 7 girls were attending night school. Of the 425 under Group III. who had been out of school from one to five years, 93 boys and 40 girls were attending Public Evening School, 5 boys were attending private evening school and one was taking a correspondence course. From the same group only three had attended during the first year after leaving day school

Two explanations are offered for these facts. The first comes from the students themselves who testify that they rarely realize until a year or two after leaving, the competition to be met with in business life and the disadvantage of educational shortage. The second is offered by the investigator who suggests that evening work done by children under 16 is not advisable from either the mental or physical, and in some instances we might add, the moral point of view. A portion of this younger group is doubtless strong enough physically and sufficiently developed mentally to attend evening school advantageously, and were it possible to handle such pupils in classes apart from adults and more along the lines of grammar school organization, we are confident that a considerable number from 15 to 17 would be interested to complete the requirements for high school admission. This would be especially true were we to introduce a system similar to that of some cities in England where the chief attendance officer forwards every Saturday morning to the organizer of the evening schools a complete list of pupils who have left the day schools during the current week. On the following Monday a visitor from the department of evening schools visits the home and talks over the occupation to be entered and tries to interest the child and his parents in the line of advanced study best calculated for his future progress. One visitor, who combines vocational guidance with evening school attendance to approximately

100,000 population, is bringing most satisfactory returns for the expenditure involved.

While engaged in this investigation we have made an experimental beginning of a similar system from which we have obtained results indicating the utility of continuing and expanding the system. Schedule No. 1 which gave us our basis for home visitation last year has been reprinted and enlarged and has been sent out through the Superintendent's office with instructions to fill out and send in a blank for every pupil, other than transfers, who leaves school. Up to November 16, 1914, we have received 110 of these school leaving blanks from the high schools and 121 from the elementary school. All blanks are carefully checked to detect any violation of school or labor laws and whenever there seems to be especial need, we are visiting the homes for the purpose indicated above.* The fact that we are always welcome, that advice is frequently followed, and more than all, the fact that parents who have been visited are passing on the information to others who have not been visited and these latter in turn are coming voluntarily to the office, are undeniable indications of the demand for this line of educational supervision. From September 1, 1914, to November 1, 1914, the writer has held office consultation with 201 parents or children along the lines of vocational information and continued educational progress. The information acquired by the office in this way is immensely valuable and we believe the advantage to the child is proven by the steady increase in demand for consultation. Were we able to visit all the school leaving cases and continue our friendly interest and educational oversight we could doubtless accomplish much for both the individual and society.

2. Personal ambition rather than educational status is the controlling motive governing registration. Total

* Results of visitation for the year 1914-1915 are not included in this report. Whenever possible we have made the visit because of personal interest rather than to secure material for the report.

evening registration for 1913-1914 was 6,444. About 30 per cent pursued elementary courses and 70 per cent high school courses. The legitimate interpretation to be given this statistical information is not that 70 per cent of the evening school pupils have had a complete grammar school education and are pursuing secondary academic education, but that large numbers of mature persons who have chosen to increase their professional knowledge or mechanical skill rather than to continue definite academic courses, and who have the foundation necessary to do so advantageously, are permitted to register under high school instruction. The investigator knows of many instances in which adults, who have not even reached the upper grammar grades, are pursuing high school technical courses with the best of results. Our conclusion, which we believe to be entirely justified by facts, is that a very large percentage of the instruction given in our evening schools is beneficial to those who have not secured the fundamentals of an education in youth, but who, because of personal ambition rather than high or low academic status, desire to become more efficient as individuals and more intelligent as members of our social fabric.

3. The object of registration in evening courses is: (1) general culture, (2) to acquire command of the English language, (3) to increase wage earning capacity either in the present occupation or in other lines.

4. The satisfaction of students with the instruction offered and their estimate of the value received in proportion to the effort accompanying evening attendance, is one of the most interesting phases of the study and one of the most difficult to present with accuracy and clearness.

In general, classes for foreigners and special classes seem to be giving very good satisfaction. There is

considerable dissatisfaction with the purely academic lines of work and in some instances with commercial instruction. Doubtless much of this criticism is justified. It is traceable to a combination of circumstances which requires more careful analysis and more detailed explanation than is possible in this investigation. A few general conclusions are cited:

(1) Pupils registering for English and special classes are usually more mature, more uniform in ability, more earnest in purpose and more regular in attendance.

(2) Teachers of such classes are more uniformly well prepared for their specialty and the character of their task does not afford the same temptation to "fill in time."

(3) Academic classes usually include a heterogeneous mass of adults and children ranging over all the elementary grades, the serious and the frivolous, those who are forced to attend by parents or attendance officer, those who have no more scholarly motive than the courting of the opposite sex, and those who are genuinely anxious to complete their elementary education and secure high school promotion.

Classes of this character are to be found in both elementary and high school. They are at best a difficult proposition and require high class pedagogical ability combined with personal interest supported by fresh mental and physical vigor. When we consider that nearly all of our instructors have already rendered full day school service, or are gaining their first practical experience, we need not be surprised that students complain as to the value of the work, and that many who would like to give serious attention to this class of evening study become discouraged, feel that

their time is being wasted and drop out; or before entering, learn from friends of their dissatisfaction and do not attempt to attend.

Until we have more complete grading of age and ability in our academic classes, until we have better supervision of actual results*, until we have the same pedagogical interest in, and responsibility for, evening school pupils that we have for day school pupils, it does not seem that our evening schools will be able to render the service in this particular line which might be rendered, nor judging by our investigation, the service for which there is a genuine demand.

Correspondence with other cities shows that our problem in this respect is a national problem, and more than that, letters from the other side of the water indicate that the problem is of more than national extent. The larger cities of England and Scotland are wrestling with the same difficulties. Experiments of various kinds are reported, some of which might contain suggestions for Seattle. They are at the disposal of the Superintendent and the Board, but are not included here as hardly within the province of this report.

5. The Relation of Evening Study to Day Employment is another interesting phase of the subject and is of considerable importance in connection with the object of attendance and the satisfaction of employees with their positions. We have secured full information relative to this question from 729 women and 805 men attending the Broadway Evening School. The results of this investigation are presented in Tables XXXIV. and XXXV.

* A supervisor of evening school was recently appointed by the Board.

Table XXXIV. Relation of Evening Study to Day Employment—
728 Women.

Day Occupation	Totals	Domestic Science	General Culture	Physical Training	Commercial	Trade(*)
Factory.....	9	1	1	.....	5	2
Housework(†)....	192	11	44	7	28	102
Laundry.....	6	.....	1	.....	3	2
Office.....	284	19	71	33	123	38
Sales clerk.....	63	7	10	6	29	11
Student.....	5	.....	4	.....	1	.....
Teacher.....	53	11	16	13	5	8
Telephone.....	35	5	7	4	16	3
Trade.....	40	3	15	5	6	11
Miscellaneous....	41	5	15	4	11	6
Total.....	728	62	184	72	227	183

* Largely millinery and dressmaking for home use.

† Includes housewives and domestics.

Table XXXV. Relation of Evening Study to Day Occupation—
805 Men.

Day Occupation	Totals	Trade	Culture	Gymnasium	Mechanical	Store	Office
Apprentice.....	34	1	10	.....	18	.....	5
Factory.....	32	1	10	1	7	2	11
Farmer.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
Laborer.....	27	.....	11	.....	6	1	9
Laundry.....	6	1	2	.....	1	.....	2
Messenger.....	18	2	5	1	4	1	5
Newsboy.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
Office.....	215	13	38	15	17	10	122
Salesman.....	51	2	13	4	3	15	14
Skilled work.....	224	19	53	3	101	15	33
Store.....	73	3	17	.....	5	17	31
Student.....	22	.....	11	.....	2	.....	9
Teacher.....	9	.....	1	2	5	.....	1
Miscellaneous....	92	7	36	5	13	8	23
Total.....	805	49	207	31	184	69	265

Interesting conclusions may be drawn from these tables as well as from the material presented earlier in this report. Page 19, and Table II. indicate that approximately 50 per cent of the children who leave school before completing the grammar school course do so because of "dissatisfaction" either real or unreal. Page 44 and Table XXIII. indicate that this percentage of dissatisfaction has not varied greatly during a five-year period. A subsequent paragraph tells us that the same percentage of these same children are "dissatisfied" in business life. Pages 48 to 51 state that 48 per cent of the 425 who have been out

of school from one to five years have given up their original line of work, 38 per cent have remained in it and 14 per cent are unemployed. Table XXXIV. shows the following facts regarding the two occupations absorbing the largest number of beginning female wage earners, department stores and office work. Registration for commercial courses is 227 with only 123 employed in the same lines during the day, and 104 who are in entirely different lines attempting to make a change. Evening registration for salesclerks is 63, with 29 of that number attempting to change to office work. Moreover, although the registration is smaller, 50 per cent of the telephone operators and the same percentage of laundry workers are also striving to become office workers.

Fifty per cent of "dissatisfaction" carried from the schools into industry means frequent change in positions, the growth of pessimism, chronic discontent and finally many failures and unemployment.* An additional item of interest along this same line was obtained recently while investigating the need of an evening class for sales clerks employed in our department stores.† One-third of the saleswomen in one of our stores have been trained for office work, and one-half of the women from the same store who are registered in evening classes are taking courses in stenography preparatory to changing their occupation. Allowing for the fact that there are doubtless a number of instances in which girls have made unfortunate initial choices and would do better to change, we are still fairly close to the inevitable 50 per cent of discontent and the all too common feeling that any task is less arduous than the one at hand, that any occupation is more agreeable, of higher social standing

* It is hard to make a similarly accurate study for men because the lines of work seem to be more closely related. Commercial registration for girls means stenography and typewriting, for men it has a broader significance.

† Such course was established by the Board October 1, 1914.

and more remunerative than the one in which we are engaged. Is it not this same feeling which causes the average parent to prefer almost any occupation for his child rather than the one in which he is engaged? The fact that such large numbers employed in one line are trying to prepare for other lines rather than industriously and hopefully striving to perfect themselves in their present occupation, opens up the whole question of vocational guidance in selecting original positions and then encouraging efficiency rather than change. The waste of energy, time and money in continuing our present system is serious, while the effect of constant discontent on the individual and his usefulness must not be underestimated.

General culture, physical culture and special courses leading to efficiency in homemaking should be encouraged no matter what the day occupation. But when we realize the great army of office workers already in the field and estimate the additional number clamoring for admission who are at the same time unable to offer personal qualities, educational qualifications or technical skill sufficiently superior to the average to hope to attain high rank, we pause to consider to what extent our public school system is responsible for such conditions, or if not responsible, what it might do in a remedial way.

Our public day schools offer just one practical course looking toward efficiency as wage earners in the business world. This course is not in the line which employs the largest number of young girls, nor is it in the line in which there is the greatest dearth of even semi-trained workers. The question arises—has not our school system followed the line of least resistance in establishing courses looking toward clerical positions only, and is it not unconsciously encouraging pupils to enter an occupation in which, according to present indications, there will soon be

nothing like positions sufficient to go around? Are we not, as it were, doing worse than merely neglecting vocational guidance? Are we not actually tempting girls to ignore proper vocational considerations? Probably the greatest fault lies with our day school system, but it might be possible and would doubtless be useful, if during the period of evening registration, conferences were to be held and information freely given regarding the industrial situation and the desirability of changing or continuing in present occupations. Too many are constant experimenters always with the hope of bettering their condition, while experimentation is based on the most superficial knowledge of the various occupations and the real advantages offered by each.

6. What demand for advanced education seems to be unmet by evening schools? Adults of both sexes have been found in considerable numbers who would be glad to take advantage of an ungraded day school. This demand arises from the seasonal character of many of our industries. Those who are out of employment for two, three or four months would comprise the larger part of the registration and the school would probably not be in session more than four or five months of the year.

Initial and Final Wage and Relation of Same to Changes in Position.

Table VI. indicates that the initial weekly wage of high school girls and boys is respectively \$1.98 and \$1.69 higher than the corresponding weekly wage for grammar school pupils.*

* The operation of the minimum wage law has practically forbidden continued differentiation in initial wage according to educational status and age. It is impossible at the present time to secure more than \$6.00 even for the high school graduate, while the same sum is required by law for every minor without reference to intellectual status. If fixing the minimum at both ends tends to make the legal minimum the actual maximum, financial incentive for prolonging school life will be entirely removed and intelligence, measured by advancement in school, will cease to be a determining factor.

In constructing the tables for this section of the report we had hoped that there would be sufficient evidence to indicate the average initial wage relative to final wage, the number changing positions within the same occupation relative to those changing to an entirely different line, the predominating motives for change and the financial effect of the same. That there is not more conclusive evidence along these lines, has been somewhat of a disappointment. For example, there is nothing to indicate why all those originally employed in automobile work have retained their positions, while sailors, farmers and lumbermen have all changed, and there is nothing to indicate whether the character of the industry has been a controlling influence for or against permanency. We offer the material for what it is worth. The reader may find some suggestion for further study or some generalization indicating, if not proving, facts.

Table XXXVI. Weekly Wage—202 Girls.

Initial Occupation	Initial Wage					Final Wage in Original Line					Final Wage in Different Line					Grand Total						
	Up to and including \$5	\$6 to 10	\$11 to 15	\$16 to +	Total	Up to and including \$5	\$6 to 10	\$11 to 15	\$16 to 20	\$21 to +	Total Em- ployed	Total Unem- ployed	Total	Up to and including \$5	\$6 to 10		\$11 to 15	\$16 to 20	\$21 to +	Total Em- ployed	Total Unem- ployed	Total
Department store....	37	13	1	...	51	2	12	2	1	1	18	3	21	1	18	3	3	2	27	3	30	51
Office.....	4	18	8	1	31	...	9	8	3	2	22	1	23	...	2	1	1	1	5	3	8	31
Factory.....	11	12	...	...	23	1	11	3	1	...	16	3	19	...	1	1	...	...	3	1	4	23
Domestic service....	19	2	...	...	21	1	2	...	...	3	7	...	4	...	14	...	...	...	14	3	17	21
Trades.....	9	7	...	...	16	...	3	2	2	...	7	...	7	...	5	...	...	...	5	4	9	16
Laundry.....	2	7	...	...	9	Laundry	3	3	...	3	3	3	6	...	3	3	...	...	3	3	3	9
Telephone.....	...	16	...	...	16	...	7	...	...	7	7	...	7	...	3	3	...	...	6	3	9	16
Miscellaneous.....	3	8	2	1	14	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	4	3	...	...	8	5	13	14
No occupation immediately.....	...	...	...	...	21	1	3	...	...	...	4	9	13	...	4	3	...	...	8	...	8	21
Total.....	85	83	11	2	202	5	51	15	7	3	81	20	101	4	54	14	4	3	79	22	101	202

Table XXXVII. Weekly Wage—223 Boys.

Initial Occupation	Initial Wage					Final Wage in Original Line					Final Wage in Different Line					Grand Total						
	Up to and including \$5	\$6 to 10	\$11 to 15	\$16 to 20	Total	Up to and including \$5	\$6 to 10	\$11 to 15	\$16 to 20	\$21 to 25	Total Em-ployed	Total Unem-ployed	Total	Up to and including \$5	\$6 to 10		\$11 to 15	\$16 to 20	\$21 to 25	Total Em-ployed	Total Unem-ployed	Total
Delivery and messenger	11	26	1	1	39	1	12	...	...	...	13	2	15	2	3	8	6	1	20	4	24	39
Clerk	5	18	4	2	29	...	3	2	5	1	11	3	14	...	3	7	2	2	14	1	15	29
Street trades	3	6	...	...	9	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	4	...	2	1	...	...	5	...	5	9
Apprentice and skilled trades	31	8	3	...	42	6	7	2	5	3	23	...	23	2	3	8	4	1	18	1	19	42
Office	3	13	4	1	21	...	2	4	2	2	10	...	10	1	5	4	...	1	11	...	11	21
Factory	2	8	2	...	12	...	1	2	1	...	4	...	4	...	5	2	...	...	7	...	8	12
Laborer	...	3	2	5	10	...	...	...	...	...	7	...	7	...	...	2	1	...	...	3	...	10
Farmer	2	3	1	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	7	...	7	...	2	2	1	...	5	1	6	6
Salor	...	2	3	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	2	1	5	...	5	5
Lumber	...	2	3	3	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	...	3	...	3	3
Auto	1	2	2	...	5	...	1	2	1	1	5	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5
Miscellaneous	11	19	8	4	42	...	2	...	1	1	4	5	9	...	6	6	8	6	26	7	33	42
Total	69	108	30	16	223	7	28	18	17	9	79	12	91	7	30	43	25	12	117	15	132	223

The average initial wage of boys and girls in this group is respectively \$7.83 and \$6.26*, the average final wage \$11.90 and \$9.29†, or an increase of 52 per cent for boys and 48 per cent for girls.

The total number of girls in their original line of work, irrespective of the number of positions held and including those unemployed at the date of investigation, is 101. The number who have changed occupations is the same, 101. The number out of work in each group is respectively 20 and 22. The number of boys in their original line is 79, the number changing 117 and the numbers unemployed 12 and 15 respectively.

Comparison of initial wage with the final wage of each group for each sex, those who change and those who retain positions, shows that girls lost approximately 40 cents per capita per week by changing from one occupation to another, while boys gain approximately 60 cents. These statistics, as has been said, are not proof of any fact. They are, at best, mere indications that a larger percentage of boys change occupations and by so doing better their condition than is the case with girls. Our knowledge of Seattle industries, as yet superficial, indicates that there are more and better opportunities for boys to test their ability and better their condition through change than there are for girls. It is also well to recall that the largest percentage of young boys are found in the messenger service from which a change is imperative, while the largest percentage of young girls is found in our department stores in which there is the best of opportunity for advancement.

* This average is nearer the average of the high school than the grammar school group on page 23. Two explanations are suggested: (1) Many of the number are high school pupils and (2) doubtless the initial wage in this group is not as uniformly the first wage as it is for the younger group.

† This average wage is approximately the same as the minimum wage established for four industries. For those who desire, the full findings of the wage commission are available in the Report for 1914.

SECTION IV.

Minimum Wage and Vocational Efficiency.

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Minimum Wage and Vocational Efficiency.

Inasmuch as studies of this type are closely related to studies carried on by minimum wage boards; inasmuch as wage legislation and vocational education are two of the interesting and important problems of the day; inasmuch as each day that passes brings before us in some new form or old the intimate relation which exists between wage standards and standards of efficiency; and inasmuch as the ultimate results of the wage law cannot be judged apart from its action and reaction on the educational system, it has seemed logical to indicate in this report how the Minimum Wage Law and the subsequent rulings of the Commission are affecting the children of Seattle educationally, and how they are emphasizing the need of some action on the part of the educator by which efficiency may be substituted for "cost of living" as the basis of remuneration for industrial service.

By legislative enactment the State of Washington in 1913 established what is known as the "Minimum Wage Law for Women and Minors." The avowed purpose of this law was "to establish such standards of wages and conditions of labor for women and minors employed within the State of Washington as shall be held hereunder to be reasonable and not detrimental to health and morals, and which shall be sufficient for the decent maintenance of women."* A minor was "defined to be a person of either sex under the age of 18 years."† This law was approved by the Governor on March 24, 1913, and under its operation the following rulings have been adopted by the commission.

* Section 3, Chapter 174, Laws of 1913.

† Section 8, Chapter 174, Laws of 1913.

1. For mercantile establishments, to be effective June 27, 1914, a minimum weekly wage of \$10 for adult workers; an apprenticeship system allowing \$6 for the first six months and \$7.50 for the second six months after which the full minimum of \$10 must be paid. Minors of either sex may not be employed for less than \$6.

2. For manufacturing establishments, to be effective August 1, 1914, a minimum weekly wage of \$8.90 for adults with \$6 as the minimum for minors.

3. For laundry and dye works, to be effective August 24, 1914, a minimum weekly wage of \$9 for adults with the same \$6 provision for minors.

4. For telephone and telegraph establishments, to be effective September 7, 1914, a weekly minimum of \$9 to be paid after nine months of service.

One searches this statute in vain for any suggestion of competency in relation to remuneration or any hint that educational systems could or should be valuable assistants in raising the standards of efficiency and thereby increasing the wage scale. In establishing rulings for apprentices in the various lines, the true meaning of "apprenticeship" has been entirely lost sight of, the nature of the various employments and the varying degree of skill or technical knowledge required in each has been ignored, and a flat rate of \$6 has been agreed upon for all alike.* Furthermore, application blanks, issued to those seeking apprenticeship, inquire only into length of service and cost of living. The educational side of apprenticeship is ignored by statute and by commission. No questions are asked as to the opportunity offered to secure the industrial training actually essential to efficiency, no

* This statement is based upon the rulings which have been published. As a matter of fact the commission is quietly experimenting with some variations.

questions regarding the determination of the applicant to become an apprentice in the true sense of the term, nor is there anything to indicate that the applicant has any personal responsibility for self-improvement. There is no system of educational reports and no systematic effort on the part of the commission to find out why certain apprentices fail to make good while others succeed. Conclusion of the period of apprenticeship is determined by the time "put in" not by the advancement of the apprentice. It might be said, and it is unquestionably true, that employers will discharge incompetent apprentices long before the year expires, but this does not solve the problem for the incompetent. This office has placed some of these border line incompetents as many as four or five times since the law became effective, and it has been impossible for some to keep a position for longer than three weeks at a time. In fact, so accustomed have we become to the requirements of certain industries that we are asking those who come to us for advice to let us know at the end of the first week exactly the volume of work passing out through their hands. We can tell with considerable accuracy whether the apprentice will be retained or dismissed.

The investigation undertaken by the Board of Education deals with the child from the educational point of view, attempting to ascertain the degree of efficiency carried from school life into industry and the prospect for future advancement. It covers the period from September 1913, to September 1914. The minimum wage law went into effect June 27, 1914. It deals with the cost of living, the hours of service and the physical and moral surroundings of employees.

From the dates above it will be seen that nearly ten months of the year given to the school study had elapsed before the first ruling of the commission became effective, but the influence of the law was appreciable in the school office as soon as it had become a

certainly. The usual foresight of business houses in anticipating legislative effect was not lacking in this instance and the problem of adjustment to the new legislation was well on toward solution before the law became effective. It is legitimate, therefore, to say that our study, our educational facts and conclusions have been influenced to some extent by the minimum wage law during about six months of the period covered. This influence was not apparent so much in the wage scale as in loss of position due to reorganization of the working force. These facts have tended to make our study somewhat more complicated although much more interesting and more beneficial, we trust, to both educator and student of social legislation.*

The first immediate result of the attempt to establish a uniform wage scale based on the cost of living was loss of position for large numbers of Seattle workers of all ages who were near the border line of incompetency. The business men of Seattle who, prior to the enactment of this law, had carried on their pay rolls scores of "industrial boarders" were now compelled by law to establish a uniform standard of efficiency to correspond to a uniform wage standard. The weeks following the passage of the law were weeks of experimental readjustment and constant shifting of positions. Dozens of sub-averages were thrown out of employment, but in spite of many prophecies to the contrary, no one age or class of women workers bore the brunt of this industrial reorganization. This office

* Our study of "Telephone Operating as an Occupation for Girls" was completed early in May, 1914, and an outline of the same published for the benefit of school girls who were considering entering this occupation during the summer months. Telephone operating is a semi-skilled occupation. We found a graduated wage scale well calculated to encourage efficiency and permanency and an excellent sick benefit, pension and insurance system. The ruling of the Wage Commission, effective in September, has forced an entire reorganization of the system giving all the advantage to the beginner and discouraging efficiency and permanency. Before our complete study is published it will have to be revised as it is already out of date. Doubtless we shall not undertake this for several months as we sincerely hope that the Wage Commission, with more experience and a better understanding of the character of the system, will call another conference for the modification of the present orders.

was besieged by all ages of female workers, by the young who were in need of training, by the old whose usefulness was waning but whose children were dependent upon their employment, by the slow who had failed to acquire speed, as well as by the girl of ability whose gravest fault was lack of the maturity of judgment so essential to success in certain occupations.* The age of the victim has depended almost entirely upon the character of employment and the essentials of successful service. It is one problem for the laundry worker, a second problem for the department store employee, a third for the telephone operator and a fourth for the factory worker. No one has yet taken a census of the "scrap heap." Possibly we have come as near to it as any institution because of the fact that throughout the entire summer our attention was called to the effect of the law every day, and oftentimes every hour of the day.

A few individual cases have been selected as indicative of the type of problems which have been brought to our attention by those who have sought our advice.

M., age 17, the oldest in a family of 11 children, had been employed in a factory at \$4.50 to \$5.50, piece work. Lost her position in July. Applied to the school office for advice. Has been placed in five different positions and been discharged from all. After careful consideration of the girl's ability, the character of the various positions held, and reports from her employers as to the causes of

* Advice regarding vocational opportunities and placement in industry for our own school children has been our main interest. At no time have we attempted the functions of an employment bureau. Unemployed men and women frequently ask for school leaving permits for children because they, or their older children, are without work. Where it has been possible to aid the adult worker and thus keep the child in school we have gladly done so.

A considerable number of young women who, attracted by the minimum wage, have come to Seattle from outside the State have applied at the office for placement, and have offered remuneration if we would use our influence to secure positions. We do not refuse to give vocational information to any who seek it, but we have not considered it within our province to make personal effort for others than our Seattle girls and boys.

failure, we believe this girl to be incapable, without special training, of earning the minimum wage.

Mrs. S., deserted by her husband, has six children, all under 15 years of age. It has been impossible to place either mother or child. The mother is too old and too untrained for the adult minimum, the child too young and too untrained for the \$6 minimum.

Miss B., age 22, an employee of one of our stores for some time, honest and loyal but never very competent, had received \$8 prior to establishment of minimum of \$10. Lost her position and has been without work for several months. Recently returned to same firm and begged for position back at \$8. The law was explained and as tears rolled down her cheeks she cried out, "..... the minimum wage or any law that refuses me a chance to earn my living."

C., age 16, has two sisters, 18 and 19 years of age. They were employed in department stores at \$8.50 and \$9.00 respectively and had promised the younger sister a chance to go through the high school. Both older girls are unemployed and the younger sister has left school and accepted a position at \$6.00.

D., a high school graduate, had been encouraged to complete her course on the promise of entering employment more advantageously after graduation. She was obliged to take laundry work at the same wage as the girl who had not completed grammar school.

C., age 14, has had trouble with his eyes, and is temporarily unfitted for study. A small grocery store will employ him at \$3.50 per week and lunches. The child made application for a permit to accept the same. When the employer learned that the wage was fixed by law, he refused to give employment and the boy is unable to secure any work for which he is physically fitted at the \$6.00 minimum. His home is a shack on the beach, the family are very poor and the child is wasting his time unemployed.

S., B., M. and A., all high school girls, 17 years of age, employed for the summer as "shakers out" in a laundry in order to earn sufficient to provide clothing for their next school year. All four reported loss of position to the office the same day, just one week before the laundry minimum became effective. Boys 13 and 14 years of age received labor permits to fill the vacant positions.

Mrs. H., a deserted wife with two children whom the writer placed about three years ago, has been making a brave effort to give both children a complete grammar school education. She entered upon her work entirely untrained and was not a very desirable worker. Sympathy for the woman played a considerable part in her employment and she was receiving \$9.00. Lost her position and was unable to find anything at the adult minimum. The oldest boy, who has never been absent nor tardy and who lacks three months of grammar school graduation, has been forced to leave school.

The second immediate effect of the minimum wage has been the difficulty experienced by beginning workers in securing opportunities of any kind in the in-

dustrial world. This is the more important result in connection with our public school system because it places upon it, as it were, responsibility for fitting its charges to become efficient factors of the economic age in which they live. Responsibility for the "industrial boarder" of the future is placed upon society unless through its system of public education it can entirely eradicate the sub-average worker. More than this, not only must the school system raise the standard of efficiency for the future worker, but it must offer to those who have retained their positions, opportunities in evening schools for continued progress. Mercantile stores have already asked for this class of assistance for their employees and the demand was responded to by the Board of Education.

Classes in mercantile efficiency, to which none but bona fide mercantile employees were admitted, were established October 1, 1914. Employees have not taken very much interest in the classes, and unless attendance increases it will probably be advisable to discontinue evening continuation work and substitute day classes in part time schools for unemployed girls.

Our study convinces us that there is a ceaseless hunt for talent in almost every occupation. The most pressing task of employers is to find and keep those who can be promoted, and in general there is plenty of opportunity for those who are qualified to do a line of work which the world needs and who are willing to do it.

One hesitates at this time to attempt to foretell what may be the ultimate outcome of this legislation because so much depends upon the wisdom and intelligence of the wage boards, and upon the support of public opinion. We shall have taken a long step in the solution of this problem if we can realize that the work of wage boards must go hand in hand with the work of school boards; that the work of school

boards must go hand in hand with the work of business boards; that the teacher supervisor must cooperate with the factory and the mercantile supervisor; that learners must always be subsidized by someone until they are able to earn a living wage, and that children who enter industry must be fitted to do the work which industry demands in the way that industry says, rather than to do the work of their unguided preference according to the methods of their choice. The net result of this law for the present is the unemployment of those who cannot in quantity and quality of work measure up to the minimum wage standard.

This brings us to the question of unemployment and the extent to which responsibility for the making of unemployables may be placed upon our educational system.

SECTION V.

**State School and Child Labor Laws and the
Making of Unemployables.**

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State School and Child Labor Laws and the Making of Unemployables.

We have shown in a previous section that not over 40 per cent leave school because of economic necessity and that many who remain would not do so unless compelled by law. We have shown also that our state law requires children between the ages of 15 and 16 years, who have not completed the eighth grade, to be either in school or at work, but makes it especially difficult to enforce the law because labor permits are issued to the child rather than to the employer. Under our law it is not uncommon to find young children who either have or have not completed the grammar school both out of work and out of school. They may lose or give up a position and take with them when leaving their labor permit, and as has been stated before there is no uniform legal method by which attendance officers are informed of such facts.

Our statistics throw considerable light on the evils of the present system. Of the 402 boys and girls who left our grammar schools in 1913-1914, 67, or 17 per cent of the whole, had had no employment at the date of our visit nor was employment in sight when they left school. The high school pupils who entered industry had been idle on an average of one-fourth of the time covering a period of six months. During the months of January and February, 1914, the writer knew personally of 614 girls under 21 years of age who were unemployed, and whose applications were on file in five or six different business houses. Some of these girls had tried a number of different occupations and still had given no serious thought to the subject of vocational efficiency. While visiting homes

we found 214 unemployed girls and 189 unemployed boys. Only three of the 214 girls were doing anything for self-improvement although a large number admitted that loss of position was due to incompetency.*

During the last two months, September and October, 1914, we have had calls from 39 girls under 19 years of age who have been out of school for some time but are untrained for any useful work and have done nothing since leaving school to improve either their economic or intellectual status. During the same two months, 43 boys between the ages of 15 and 18 have called, and 26 more have been reported as "idlers" by parents who hoped that we might use some influence to keep them at work.

As a result of the present state education law, children unhindered and uncontrolled enter upon a career of drifting which tends to create an army of misfits, unfits and unemployables. Not only is the individual harmed, but there is also a great social and economic loss to the community. In too many instances we "buy the milk of education at great cost, mourn the cost and end by spilling the milk." It is the tabulated effects of this neglect of the working child during his most critical years which has aroused us to realization of the fact that close relation between the elementary school and industry is far more vital to the ultimate welfare of society than is a correspondingly close relation between the secondary school and the college. It is far less important to follow the child to college and the professions than to apprenticeship and industry. Municipalities, states and nations are awakening to the fact that we can no longer issue a labor permit to a child, who because of economic necessity or childish preference leaves

* This class of unemployed might be induced to attend an ungraded day school such as was mentioned on page 73 or if under 18 might be forced to do so by law.

school, and then forget that there is such a child until he is sentenced by our courts to become a permanent charge on society. This is the problem of our investigation: Shall society through the educational system give a helping hand to these children as they start out on their industrial career, and shall a serious and concerted effort be made to prevent the industrial and social waste resulting from random choice of jobs and the early formation of "Vocational Hoboes"?

The years between 14 and 18 are the years of educational loss. If the public investment for children up to 14 years is to make good, must not the schools find some way to hold on to them during the next two or three years?

If these questions be answered in the affirmative, it then becomes the second object of our investigation to suggest what can be done to establish a closer and more profitable relation between school and industry.

SECTION VI.

Conclusions and Recommendations.

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Briefly stated, the fundamental facts secured from the investigation are:

1. There are two main reasons which have not changed much in five years for school leaving—economic pressure and dissatisfaction. The latter plays the more important part and carried over into business life is a serious handicap in success. Our conclusions in this respect are similar to those of other cities.
2. Department stores and offices are receiving the largest percentage of our young girls, messenger service and offices the largest percentage of boys. Two of these employments offer opportunities for rise and development superior to almost any other occupations receiving children. The contrary is the case in the child employing industries in most of our eastern cities.
3. Occupational instability is a universal and a serious problem. It is increasingly common from 14 to 18 years of age and contributes its full share toward creating an army of unemployables.
4. Wasted time and irregular financial returns are the outgrowth of the above and lead to great economic and social waste.
5. The initial wage scale is higher in Seattle than in any other city reporting along similar lines. Heretofore it has increased according to the age, ability and educational status of the child. The minimum wage law is tending to give equal remuneration to all without reference to qualifications, but is also tend-

ing to eliminate from service many who under the old conditions were receiving the lowest wage.

6. Occupational efficiency is not what it should be, nor is it by any means commensurate with the wage established by law.

7. The greatest handicaps in securing and retaining positions are lack of thorough training in the fundamentals of academic education, failure to understand the importance of personal responsibility and neglect of supplemental study upon which future progress depends.

8. School leaving permits are granted on much higher educational requirements and much closer financial margin than in other states. In Seattle fifty-eight school-leaving-labor permits have been granted on a total elementary school enrollment of 30,016. This is one-sixth of one per cent of the total. Cincinnati reports 3 per cent of the elementary enrollment granted the same class of permits.

9. Although occupational incompetency is a common complaint, the character of Seattle occupations is such that we have found nothing in our study to indicate that trade schools would serve a useful purpose in our community. Training for occupational efficiency, in part time or continuation schools, would be useful to the child, to business and to society.

Recommendations.

I. For Legislative Action:

(1) That our Compulsory Attendance Law be so amended that all children who have not completed the eighth grade shall be obliged to attend school until they are 16 years of age, unless granted school leaving permits.

(2) That the present provision requiring children either to be at work or to attend school be retained

with the age limit raised from 16 to 18 years. This would provide educational supervision for all children up to 18 years of age, whether in school or in industry, and if a follow-up system were established, it would overcome many evils of our present system.

(3) That our Child Labor Law be amended so that labor permits be issued in duplicate and employers be required to return their copy to the issuing office whenever the child concerned leaves their service. Permits should be re-issued for each change in position. In this way attendance officers would be able to enforce the law absolutely and the beginning of delinquency would be more easily detected and checked.

II. For the Educational System:

(1) That some system be devised whereby a closer relation may be established between the work of the attendance office, the evening schools and the industrial life of our children. The experience of the past year indicates that no one of these departments can attain its greatest efficiency without the co-operation of the others.

(2) That a course in mercantile efficiency be offered in the commercial department of one of our high schools, or in more than one if necessary. That this course be organized along the lines of a part time school combining the theoretical and academic instruction essential to efficiency with practical experience in counter sales. The department handling this course should keep in close touch with business houses so that over supply in proportion to the demand may be avoided. Very valuable suggestions for the organization of such a course have been secured from Seattle and other cities and are on file in the office.

(3) That trade training in sewing be offered in one of our high schools. Several very fine young girls have completed our present high school course in sewing only to be refused trade positions because they

could not handle a power machine. This need not be an expensive proposition and we believe, from the facts ascertained, would bring good return on the investment. It would probably require lengthening the school day for trade students and the installation of one power machine.*

(4) That training for domestic service as a profession be encouraged in the elementary schools and that day continuation schools for young girls who have entered such service be maintained. We have secured an abundance of information on domestic service which will be classified for publication later, but which could be used in its present form for ascertaining our immediate needs and the best methods of organization.

(5) That part time schools be established as occasion arises, or part time attendance be permitted for those individuals whose industrial choice indicates the advantage of combined academic knowledge and practical experience. Part time schools should have industrial supervisors who act as a connecting link between school and industry. If legislation is needed in order for part time pupils to draw their full share of the state appropriation, this should be included under "legislative recommendations."

(6) Organization for the winter months of an ungraded school for the benefit of students mentioned on page 94.

(7) The present prevocational schools are interesting and holding many children who otherwise would drop out. Parents are uniformly pleased with the results and a large number of boys and girls, for whom there is no room, have expressed a desire to

* Information has been secured regarding the cost of a power machine and also regarding the cost of an electrical attachment for the ordinary machine. In some factory lines, previous experience in machine operating is not required; in others, especially since the minimum wage became effective, it is essential. We have investigated the subject sufficiently to feel that, for the present at least, one machine would be sufficient for the city system.

attend. Increasing provision for this type of school would seem to be desirable.

(8) The collection and dissemination of vocational information for the benefit of parents, teachers and children and for the purpose of ascertaining when and how the schools can co-operate with industry in increasing the efficiency of the child. If further expansion of vocational service is approved, the following methods are suggested as the result of our experimental efforts during the year:

(a) That parents and children be encouraged to consult with teachers regarding their occupational interests. That they be asked to notify teachers as soon as possible when it becomes necessary to leave in order that the schools may co-operate with them in studying their individual needs and abilities relative to the character of the various positions obtainable.

(b) That a follow-up system be inaugurated whereby the schools may be informed of the child's progress in industry and his educational record be supplemented by the record of his industrial efficiency. Records of this class should include changes in position, increase in wages, causes of failure, qualities leading to success, efforts for supplemental education, suggestions from employers and many other items.

(c) The system suggested on page 65 would greatly increase the efficiency of our public service.

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