# INCOME, CHILDREN, AND GAINFUL WORKERS IN URBAN SINGLE-FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS

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IN EARLIER articles dealing with the study of family composition in the United States it was demonstrated that in the sample of families analyzed the larger the number of children per family the less favorable was the income status of the family. On the other hand, the larger the number of gainful workers in the family the more favorable was its income status. The present article explores the variations in the pattern of income distribution among the urban single-family households in this sample with respect to both the number of children and the number of gainful workers per family.

To afford a background for this discussion of income variations with respect to children and workers, the distribution of children and adults in families with and without workers is presented in table 1. In the single-family household sample there were relatively fewer children than adults in families without workers, except for families headed by a woman; these latter included less than 7 percent of all children in the sample population. Three-fourths of all children were in families which had only one worker, about one-

\*Bureau of Research and Statistics, Division of Health Studies. [This article, the seventh in a series, is based on findings from the study of family composition in the United States, which utilizes data from schedules of the National Health Survey and is conducted as Work Projects Administration Project Nos. 365-31-3-5, 765-31-3-3, and 65-2-31-44 under the supervision of the Bureau of Research and Statistics. Data are preliminary and subject to revision. For earlier articles, see the Bulletin for April, May, September, October, November, and December 1839.

<sup>1</sup> Sanders, Barkev S., "Children and Income in Urban Single-Family Households," Social Security Bulletin, Vol. 2, No. 11 (November 1939), pp. 3-10, and "Gainful Workers and Income in Urban Single-Family Households," Social Security Bulletin, Vol. 2, No. 12 (December 1939), pp. 20-36.

I Children include persons who have not attained their sixteenth birthday. Gainful workers include all persons who were reported in regular employment, those on work relief, and those seeking work at the time of the canvass. The term family refers to the bio-legal family, unless otherwise specified.

I The families studied are classified by 5 major types, as follows, according to the relationship of the members to the head: (1) Husband-and-wife families.—Families with both spouses, with or without unmarried children; (2) Husband-or-wife families, husband.—Families with only the male spouse, with or without unmarried children; (3) Husband-or-wife families, wife.—Families with only the female spouse, with or without unmarried children; (4) Nonparent families, male.—Families without either spouse, with an unmarried male as the head, with or without unmarried sisters and/or brothers; and (5) Nonparent families, female.—Families without either spouse, with an unmarried female as the head, with or without unmarried spouse, with an unmarried female as the head, with or without unmarried sisters and/or brothers. The head of the family was determined as follows: In husband-and-wife families, the husband was designated as the head; in one-spouse families, the spouse; and in nonparent families, the oldest person.

eighth in families with two workers, and less than one-twelfth in families with three or more workers. The fact that 76 percent of the children in single-family households were in families with one worker should not be construed to mean that the economic security of only 76 percent of the children is governed by the earnings of one worker. The urban study of consumer purchases 4 indicates that more than 90 percent of all families derive the major portion of their incomes from the earnings of the principal income producer in the family. This proportion would probably hold for all family types and not merely for husband-and-wife families, the only type included in the income analysis of the study of consumer purchases.

## Variations in Composition of Families at Different Income Levels

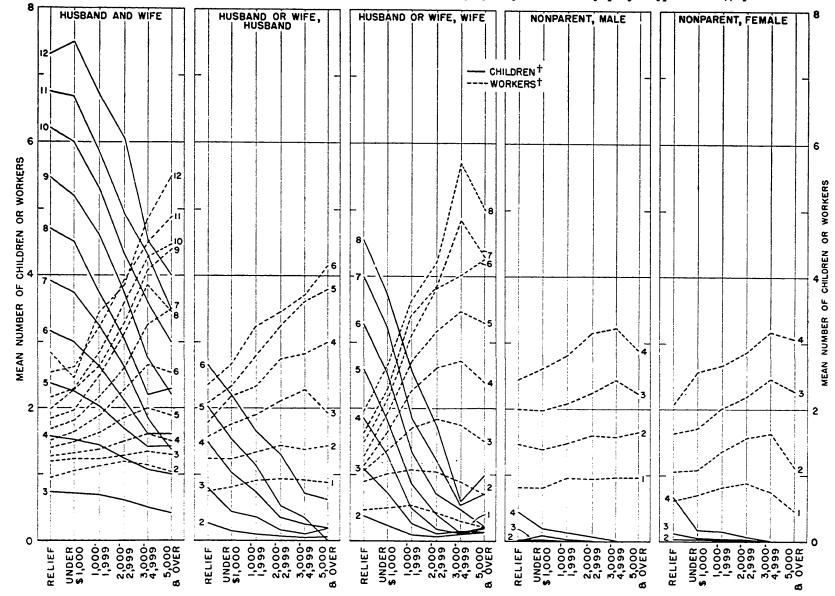
The relationship between income of the families studied and their composition in terms of children and gainful workers may be demonstrated in terms of the differences in the proportions of children, workers, and nonworking adults at the various income levels. Chart I shows, for families of specified type and size, the relation between income group and average number of children and of workers per family.<sup>5</sup>

Among families of a given type and size, those at the higher income levels were found to have a larger number of workers than those at the lower levels. Some exceptions were found among families with annual incomes of \$5,000 and over. This is also the income group in which there is a reversal in the general pattern of decreasing proportions of children in families at higher income

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Family Income and Expenditure in Chicago, 1935-36: Vol. I, Family Income, Bulletin No. 042, April 1938, p. 53; and U. S. Bureau of Home Economics, Family Income and Expenditures, Pacific Region: Part 1, Family Income, Miso. Pub. No. 339, 1939, p. 29, and Family Income and Expenditures, Plains and Mountain Region: Part 1, Family Income, Miso. Pub. No. 345, 1939, p. 25.

<sup>•</sup> The chart is read as follows: the numbers at the left of the solid lines and at the right of the dotted lines indicate the family size. Thus, among 7-person husband-and-wife families, those on relief have on the average about 3.9 children (from the solid line) and 1.7 workers (from the dotted line) per family. In like manner it is found that, of these families, those with annual incomes of \$2,000-2,999 have on the average 2.5 children and 2.5 workers per family.

Chart I.—Mean number of children under 16 and of gainful workers in urban single-family households of specified type and size,† by income status



INCOME STATUS OF FAMILY

† The number on each line (at left for solid lines and at right for broken lines) indicates total size of family.

levels. In husband-and-wife families of larger size the increase in the number of workers per family with rising income level was somewhat sharper than was the decrease in the average number of children per family; in small families the correlation between children and income was more pronounced than that between workers and income. In one-spouse families the inverse correlation between income and number of children was greater than the direct correlation between workers and income. In nonparent families, especially those headed by men, the direct correlation between workers and income was relatively small and did not hold for income groups above \$3,000. while the inverse correlation between income and number of children was more marked than in husband-and-wife families. For almost all types of families the inverse correlation between children and income status was relatively slight in the upper income categories, and in some groups families with incomes of \$3,000-\$4,999 had fewer children

Table 1.-Number of families, persons, and children under 16 years of age in urban single-family households of specified type, and percentage distribution by number of gainful workers per family

[Preliminary data subject to revision]

man affectly land	Families		Pers	ons	Children		
Type of family <sup>1</sup> and number of workers	Num- ber 3	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	
All types	532, 262	100.0	1,735,535	100.0	495, 168	100.0	
No workers	37, 905	7. 1	70, 256	4. 1	15, 213	3. 1	
1 worker	357, 125		1,093,977	63. 0	376, 346	76. 0	
2 workers	93, 767	17. 6		18.9	62, 930	12.7	
3 or more workers	43, 465	8. 2	242, 527	14.0	40, 679	8. 2	
Husband and wife	415, 155	100. 0	1,496,506	100.0	457, 331	100.0	
No workers	11, 940	2. 9		1.9	4, 259	. 9	
1 worker	201, 154	70, 1		65. 9	358, 895	78. 5	
2 workers	76, 932	18. 5		18. 6	57, 203	12. 5	
3 or more workers	35, 129	8, 5	203, 563	13. 6	36, 884	8. 1	
Husband or wife, hus-	İ				l		
band	20, 291	100.0		100.0	5, 123	100.0	
No workers	2, 593	12. 8	3,026	7. 8	110	2. 1	
1 worker	12, 984	64. 0	18, 805	48. 2	2, 939	57. 4	
2 workers	2,702	13, 7	8, 308	21.3	1, 135	22, 2	
3 or more workers	1, 922	9. 5	8, 875	22. 7	939	18, 3	
Husband or wife, wife.	67, 884	100, 0	161, 438	100.0	32, 430	100.0	
No workers	18, 155	26, 7	31, 913	19.8	10, 804	33, 3	
1 worker	33, 092	48, 8	67, 175	41.6	14, 435	44. 8	
2 workers	11, 152	16. 4	35, 836	22. 2	4, 412	13.6	
3 or more workers	5, 485	8. 1	26, 514	16.4	2,779	8. 6	
Nonparent, male	13, 458	100, 0	17,048	100.0	122	100. 0	
No workers	1,681	12. 5	1, 885	11. 1	7	5.7	
l worker	10, 252	76, 2	10, 967	64.3	33	27. 1	
2 workers	1, 111	8. 2	2, 587	15. 2	45	36, 9	
3 or more workers.	414	3. 1	1,609	9. 4	37	30. 3	
Nonparent, female	15, 474	100, 0	21, 520	100.0	162	100. 0	
No workers	3, 536	22. 0	4, 212	19. 6	33	20, 4	
l worker	9, 643	62. 3	11, 254	52. 3	44	27, 1	
2 workers	1, 780	11. 5	4, 097	19.0	45	27. 8	

Table 2.—Mean family size and mean number of children under 16, gainful workers, and nonworking adults in urban single-family households, by family [Preliminary data subject to revision]

	3600-	Mean number per family				
Type of family	Mean family size	Ohildren Gainful workers !		Non- working adults		
All types	3. 26	0.93	1.80	1.03		
Husband and wife. Husband or wife, husband Husband or wife, wife Nonparent, male Nonparent, fomalo	8. 60 1. 92 2. 38 1. 27 1. 39	1. 10 . 25 . 48 . 01 . 01	1. 36 1. 28 1. 13 1. 05 . 98	1. 14 . 89 . 77 . 21 . 40		

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For definition of gainful workers see footnote 2 in text.

<sup>3</sup> The number of nonworking adults is slightly understated, since the assumption was made that all gainful workers are adults.

per family than those with incomes of \$5,000 and over.

In husband-and-wife families the correlation between the level of the family income and the average number of children or workers was most marked for large families. In one-spouse families, and more so in nonparent families, the inverse correlation between average number of children and the economic status of the family was, on the whole, stronger in the smaller families. In almost all family types the correlation between average number of workers and income level was most marked in the large families. One-spouse and nonparent families headed by a woman showed a much greater tendency than did husbandand-wife families to have a smaller number of workers in families with incomes of \$5,000 and over than in families with incomes of \$3,000-\$4,999. In these families with female heads the average number of workers per family often decreased after the \$2,000-\$2,999 income level.

These relations suggest that a larger proportion of families in the intermediate income groups than in the highest income category had more than one income producer, an inference which is confirmed by an analysis of the number of nonworking adults. The average number of nonworking adults was, in general, greater in the higher income groups.6 The average size of family and composition of the family in terms of average number of children, workers, and non-

For definitions of types of families, see footnote 3 in text.
 Excludes families with unknown number of children and/or workers.

In the analysis of family composition with respect to workers, children, and nonworking adults, it was assumed that all gainful workers are adults, since children constitute a negligible proportion of gainful workers. This method results in a slight understatement of the average number of nonworking adults.

working adults are given for each family type in table 2.

### Variations in Income Status With Specific Numbers of Workers and Children

Chart I indicates the patterns of association between the number of workers and children, and the family income status, in terms of average number of children and workers. Table 3, on the other hand, indicates the interrelationships between family composition and income status for families with specific numbers of workers and children. Percentage distributions of families by income level are given only for husband-and-wife families in single-family households comprising three and four, and five and six persons.

The following discussion presents an analysis of the relationships which were found to exist in the urban single-family household sample surveyed in the winter of 1935-36. The associations described are a qualitative statement of the interrelations in the proportions of children and workers in the family and family income. Thus, the statement that there is an inverse correlation between children and family income indicates that the examination of this cross section of the population showed that families with larger proportions of children were more frequently found in the low income groups. Analysis of this cross section indicated another association; namely, that under certain circumstances a larger number of workers per family is associated with a smaller family income. This statement does not imply, of course, that if the supplementary workers of a given family were to withdraw from the labor market the annual income of the family would increase. Rather, it indicates that the wife or young adult children of families in which the principal wage earner is receiving low wages are, in general, more likely to be in the labor market than those of families in which the earnings of the principal wage earner are relatively high. Such differentials as the time interval between successive births, the number of children born to parents at the various socio-economic levels and the number who survive, the length of time children from different groups are kept at school, and the age at which persons seek work when the family does not require supplementary earnings, account largely if not entirely for the associations illustrated in tables 3 and 4.

The principal relationships between income and family composition in families of three to six persons, illustrated by table 3, may be summarized as follows:

(1) With respect to workers, the most pronounced difference in income status was found between families with no workers and those with one worker. After the first worker the improve-

Table 3.—Number and percentage distribution of income of urban husband-and-wife single-family households of selected size with specified number of gainful workers and children under 16

[Preliminary data subject to revision]

		Income status of family						
Number of workers and children	Number of fami- lies <sup>1</sup>	Relief and under \$1,000	\$1,000- 1,990	\$2,000- 2,999	\$3,000 and over			
	3 and 4-person families							
No workers	1, 525	67. 6	23. 6	4. 7	4. 1			
	567	55. 7	31. 4	6. 2	6. 7			
	589	71. 1	20. 0	4. 4	3. 6			
	369	80. 2	15. 7	3. 0	1. 1			
1 worker	135, 983	37. 1	46. 2	11. 0	4. 8			
No children	15, 182	31. 6	43. 7	15. 2	9. 5			
1 child	72, 616	37. 1	46. 9	11. 7	4. 3			
2 children	48, 181	38. 9	46. 0	11. 0	4. 1			
2 workers	37, 790	34.7	44. 1	14. 2	7. 0			
No children	24, 718	30.4	45. 1	15. 0	8. 6			
1 child	10, 720	41.4	43. 1	11. 5	4. 0			
2 children	2, 360	49.4	39. 4	8. 6	2. 6			
3 workers	9, 032	27. 1	43. 4	18, 8	10. 7			
	8, 656	26. 4	43. 4	19, 1	11. 1			
	371	41. 7	43. 1	12, 7	2. 5			
	5 and 6-person families							
No workers	523 81 261 152	84. 9 74. 1 86. 2 94. 7	11. 0 19. 8 10. 7 5. 3	1. 5 1. 2 1. 9	1.7 4.9 1.2			
1 worker	41, 502	46.9	40. 1	9. 2	3.8			
	284	21.8	38. 0	20. 1	20.1			
	1, 746	20.0	42. 6	16. 5	11.9			
	5, 276	37.0	43. 4	13. 0	6.6			
	24, 327	47.2	41. 0	8. 7	3.1			
	9, 869	55.4	35. 8	6. 8	2.0			
2 workers No children 1 child 2 children 3 children 4 children	11, 726	42. 5	42. 0	10. 5	8.0			
	1, 016	26. 7	44. 9	15. 7	12.7			
	3, 551	33. 7	46. 3	13. 4	6.6			
	4, 536	44. 0	41. 9	10. 2	3.9			
	2, 282	56. 8	35. 8	5. 4	2.0			
	341	65. 1	29. 1	3. 5	2.3			
3 workers	8, 983 2, 894 4, 200 1, 606 101	33. 1 26. 4 32. 7 44. 4 57. 5	44. 1 43. 9 45. 5 41. 0 37. 6	15. 6 19. 1 15. 4 10. 8 4. 9	7. 2 10. 6 6. 4 3. 8			
4 workers	4, 492	24. 3	42. 2	20. 2	13. 3			
	3, 222	21. 9	41. 3	21. 5	15. 3			
	1, 203	20. 5	44. 9	17. 4	8. 2			
	65	47. 7	41. 6	9. 2	1. 5			
w orkers	784	18. 8	41, 3	23. 2	16. 7			
No children	737	17. 4	40, 8	24. 3	17. 5			
1 child	46	41. 3	47, 8	6. 5	4. 4			

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Excludes families in which one or more of the following factors are unknown: income, number of workers, and number of children.

ment in income status with each additional worker was less marked.

- (2) The inverse correlation between number of children and amount of family income seemed to be such that, although the greatest decrease was often found between families without children and those with one child, in general the drop in income was greater with each added child after the first.
- (3) The inverse correlation between number of children and family income was strongest in families with no workers or with a large proportion of workers.
- (4) The difference in income status between families with one worker and families without workers was greatest in those with many children.

The percentage distributions with respect to income of three-four and five-six person families of specified child-size and worker-size were examined to determine the variations in representation of families in a specified income category as the child-size and worker-size of the family were varied. The following patterns were observed:

- (1) The percentage of families on relief or with incomes of less than \$1,000 increased fairly regularly with increasing number of children. The rate of increase was greatest for families with no workers; it usually was least in families with one worker and tended to become more pronounced as the proportion of workers in the family increased. Families with one worker and with children were present relatively less often in this income group; the proportion of families with two workers was higher than the proportion of families with one worker. No consistent relationship was apparent for families with more than two workers.
- (2) In the income group \$1,000-\$1,999 the rate of decrease in the proportion of families as the number of children increased was most marked in families without workers. Among families with workers the changes in relative proportions were small. The greatest difference in the percentages in this category occurred when families without workers and families with one worker were compared. The difference between

Table 4.—Estimated mean income of urban husband-and-wife single-family households of selected size with specified number of children under 16, by number of gainful workers

Size of family and number of workers		Number of children								
	None		1		2		3		4	
	Number of families	Mean in- come	Number of families	Mean in-	Number of families	Mean in-	Number of families	Mean in- come	Number of families	Mean in- come
		Nonrellef families								
4-person families: No workers 1 worker 2 workers 3 workers 4 workers	2, 107	\$1,748 2,328 2,000 2,008 1,846	83 6, 622 5, 002 316	\$1, 855 1, 964 1, 623 1, 436	181 40, 217 1, 974					
		Relief and nonrelief families								
4-person families: No workers 1 worker 2 workers 3 workers 4 workers	6, 213 7, 547	\$1, 464 2, 183 1, 880 1, 972 1, 757	7, 550 5, 897 366	\$1, 515 1, 820 1, 497 1, 348	369 48, 176 2, 360	\$938 1,448 1,221			J	
	Nonrelief families									
6-person families: 1 worker 2 workers 3 workers 4 workers 5 workers	95 332	\$2, 343 2, 324 2, 583 2, 637	104 467 1, 102 889	\$2, 490 1, 867 1, 894 1, 921	751 1,207 1,153 48	\$1,822 1,628 1,567 1,398	1,627 917 74	\$1, 627 1, 899 1, 127	6, 649 249	\$1, 890 1, 211
	Relief and nonrelief families									
6-person families: 1 worker 2 workers 3 workers 4 workers 5 workers	109 374 846 671	\$2, 153 2, 160 2, 426 2, 507	190 541 1, 319 1, 044	\$2, 267 1, 711 1, 724 1, 763	903 1,678 1,507 62	\$1,660 1,454 1,401 1,277	2, 138 1, 888 97	\$1,444 1,216 1,064	9, 869	\$1, 21; 1, 110

the proportions of one and two-worker families or of two and three-worker families in this income group were slight but were relatively more pronounced among families with many children.

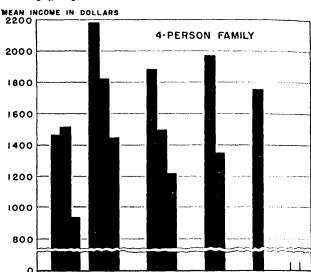
- (3) An inverse correlation was found between the proportion of families in the income group \$2,000-\$2,999 and the number of children in the family. The inverse relation was clearest for families without workers. Among families with workers the inverse relation between the proportion of families in this income group and the number of children in the family became intensified as the child-size of the family increased. When the number of children in the family was held constant, a direct correlation was noted between the number of workers per family and the proportion of families in this income group. The relation was most pronounced for families with no workers and families with one worker. Beyond the one-worker families the correlation was not consistently direct for all combinations of number of persons per family and child-size of family.
- (4) There was a marked decrease in the proportion of families in the highest income groups the larger the number of children in the family; the most marked decrease was noted among families without workers. Irrespective of the number of children in the family, the greatest increase in the proportion of families in this income group was noted between families with one worker and those with two. However, when the number of children per family was introduced as a factor, the proportions in this income group decreased after the first worker.

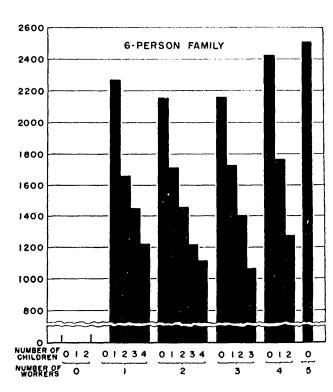
The indicated relationships probably arise from the large difference between average annual earnings of the principal income producer in a one-worker family and those of the principal income producer of a family with several workers. It is reasonable to suppose that the latter's earnings are so small, probably because of his occupation or the uncertainty of his employment or both, that even when his income is supplemented by earnings of other workers the total family income is less than that of a family with one worker.

In general, it was found that families with a specified number of children had a consistently better status than families with one more child. The most extreme differences in income status as between families with one child and families with one more child were observed, on the one hand,

between families with one child and those with none, and, on the other, between families in which the number of children approaches the total family size and families with one less child. With respect to workers, the relationship is less consistent. The difference in income status as be-

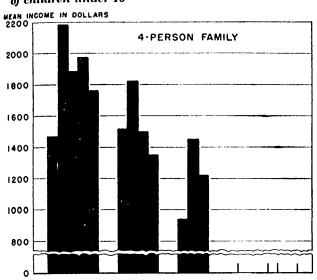
Chart II.—Estimated mean income of urban husbandand-wife single-family households of selected size with specified number of children under 16, by number of gainful workers

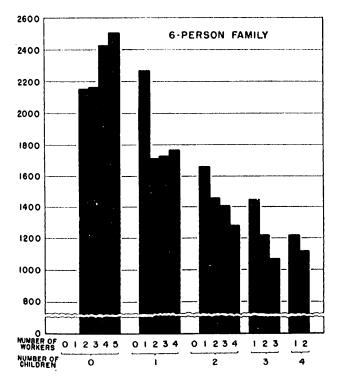




tween families of a particular worker-size and families of the same size but with one more worker was most pronounced in comparing families without workers and those with one worker. Families with a large number of workers had the smallest representation in the relief categories and

Chart III.—Estimated mean income of urban husbandand-wife single-family households of selected size with specified number of gainful workers, by number of children under 16





the largest in the intermediate income groups. Families with one worker had, in general, the largest proportion in the highest income groups.

The interrelationships among the three variables—number of workers, number of children, and income—are presented in table 4, in terms of average income of families. Estimated mean incomes of four and six-person husband-and-wife families are shown separately for all and for non-relief families. The method used in estimating the mean income of relief families was described in the third article of this series. A comparison of the estimated income for relief families of different sizes with a recent study of income of relief families in Rhode Island 8 tends to confirm these estimates, insofar as the relation between family size and income is concerned.

Both for all families and for nonrelief families, a progressive decrease in estimated average income was found with increasing number of children in the family except for four-person families without workers, in which those with one child had a higher mean income than those with no children. Among the nonrelief families there was a definite tendency for the inverse correlation between number of children and family income to become intensified among families with many gainful workers (see chart II). This tendency was somewhat less pronounced in relief and nonrelief families combined than in nonrelief families only.

With respect to number of workers, the lowest incomes—for each family size—were found in families with no workers, and the highest incomes in those with only one worker. Among families with children, the estimated mean income generally decreased with the addition of each worker after the first. The relative drop in estimated mean income was greatest between families with so many workers that either the mother of children under 16 or a child was in the labor market, and families of the same size and number of children but with one less gainful worker (see chart III).

The apparent differences between tables 3 and 4 may be attributed to the fact that the criteria

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Sanders, Barkev S., and Kantor, Anne C., "Income of Urban Families and Individuals in Single-Family Households," Social Security Bulletin, Vol. 2, No. 9 (September 1939), pp. 27-28. In the estimate given in table 4 of the present article, it is assumed that the income for relief families varies only with respect to size and not with the composition of the family. On this basis the average income of 4-person families reporting relief was assumed to be \$790, and that of 6-person families \$800.

Myors, Dorothy W., One Family in Five. Providence Council of Social Agencies, 1939, p. 34, table XA.

used in evaluating "favorable" income in table 3 are qualitative. In table 4 the criterion is a quantitative estimate of the net result of various socio-economic forces expressed in terms of mean income. Differing proportions of workers and of children in families of the same size may result in different treatment with respect to relief. There is an indication that, even though the income of a family is low enough to warrant aid, the presence of a large number of gainful workers is prejudicial to a family's receiving relief. reverse may often be true in families with a large number of children. The highest income group contains relatively few families in which most of the members are gainful workers, especially among families with children. It seems clear that in families with children the presence of secondary wage earners commonly is the result of inadequate earnings on the part of the primary wage earner. It would also seem that the earning opportunities of workers from a family in which the father's income is inadequate also lie in the low-paid field.

#### Family Income in Relation to Age of Head

The inverse relationship between number of gainful workers and family income for families of specified size and number of children persisted when the age of the family head was taken into consideration. In the previous articles on family income in relation to number of children and number of workers, it was shown that the age of the family head was one of the significant variables. Indexes were constructed of the relative income distributions of families of specified type, size, number of children, and number of workers, segregated according to age of family head, using as a base the proportion of all single-family households in each income group. From these indexes the following relationships were found for husbandand-wife families:

(1) In general, the income status of the family tended to be progressively higher with each age group up to age 54, and in some instances up to age 64. There were, however, patterns of variations which reflect not merely differential birth rates of families in the various socio-economic levels but also differential timing of births. For instance, in families without children the improvement in income status continued at least through age 59 and for some family sizes through age 64, while in families with a relatively large propor-

tion of children the improvement in economic status of families often continued only to age 44. There was thus some tendency in larger families for the direct correlation between age of head and income status of the family to be reversed in an earlier age group in families with children. There was a general tendency for families with heads in the intermediate age groups, especially those with a large number of workers, to be in the intermediate and high income categories, while families with aged heads more often tended to be in the lowest and in the highest income groups.

- (2) When size of family was introduced as a factor and number of children and workers was held constant among families with younger heads. the smaller families were found to have the more favorable income status. Among those with older heads, the larger families had the more favorable status, at least for families with heads in ages 45-59. These patterns reflect the interaction of numerous factors, such as the effect of differential birth rates, timing of births, and employment of maximum or less than maximum available members of the family. Income status tended to be more favorable for larger families, except for those without workers. Since the number of workers and children was held fixed, variations in size meant an increase in the number of nonworking adults, which accounts for the slight direct correlation which was found between family size and economic status.
- (3) Families with a larger number of children showed a progressively less favorable income distribution. This was most marked in families with older heads.
- (4) On the whole, there was an inverse correlation between the proportion of workers in the family and the level of the family income. However, variations in the patterns of this relationship appeared when age of the family head and number of children in the family were introduced as factors. Thus, the inverse correlation held for families with younger heads. For families with heads aged 60 and over the correlation was direct among families without children and tended to be inverse for families with children. When the family-size factor was taken into account, the inverse correlation between number of workers and familyincome level appeared to be more pronounced for four and five-person families than for six-person families. Even among groups of families for

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which the correlation between workers and income was direct, families with many workers were relatively rare in the highest income group.

In one-spouse families with the husband as the head, the observations were scanty, but on the whole they conformed to the general pattern, except that the inverse correlation between children and income was more pronounced and the correlation between workers and income less pronounced than in husband-and-wife families.

In one-spouse families with the wife as the head, the patterns are somewhat different from those in husband-and-wife families:

- (1) The most favorable income status was found for families with aged heads.
- (2) Economically the most favored families were those without workers. Some of these families were probably headed by widows whose incomes were assured before the death of their late husbands. Families with one worker had the least favorable economic status, and in those with a high proportion of workers the economic status tended to be better. The economic status of families without workers was at least as favorable as that of husband-and-wife families of comparable size without workers.
- (3) With increasing family size, the relative proportions of families on relief and in the highest income groups tended to increase.
- (4) There was some indication of an inverse correlation between income and number of children for the age groups in which there were sufficient observations to justify generalizations.

A positive relation between number of workers and income was evident for nonparent families without children. The number of families with children was too small to warrant conclusions.

#### Summary

The statistical relationships found in the present analysis of the sample of urban single-family households are:

- (1) The correlation between aggregate family income and children was inverse for families of all sizes—more so for families of larger size—while the correlation between family size and number of workers was direct, especially in husband-and-wife families of six or more members. There was also an indication that with improved economic status the number of nonworking adults was larger.
  - (2) The presence or absence of one worker was

the most important factor in determining the income status of the family. Among one-spouse families with a woman as head, those without workers had the most favorable income status and those with one worker the least favorable; the reverse was true, with some slight variations, for all other family types.

- (3) In general, the correlation between income status and number of children was inverse; the intensity of this relation appeared to be greater in families without workers and greatest in those with a high proportion of workers.
- (4) Larger families tended to have a more favorable income status, except for those with a high proportion of children. In large families the direct correlation between workers and income was stronger than the inverse correlation between children and income, but in small families the reverse was true.
- (5) In families of specified size and number of children there was no consistent direct correlation between number of workers and income. In husband-and-wife families with workers, the net correlation between number of workers and income for specified size of family and number of children was, on the whole, inverse. The inverse correlation between income status of the family and number of children was not changed when the number of workers per family was held constant. The intensity of the correlation was greatest, however, in families with a high proportion of workers and in those with no workers.
- (6) In one-spouse families with workers and with a woman as head, there was, in general, a direct correlation between income and number of workers when size of family and number of children were held constant.
- (7) The main correlations for worker-size, child-size, and income were not greatly affected when age of family head was introduced as a factor, although there were certain variations that are of sociological significance.
- (8) In general, families headed by older persons had a more favorable income status than those with younger heads. This relation held through age 54, and sometimes through age 64.

The most conspicuous finding from this analysis has been that the direct correlation demonstrated earlier between family income and number of workers disappears entirely or in fact becomes reversed when number of children per family is

introduced as a factor. However, the inverse correlation between children and income persists for each worker-size. It would seem, therefore, that the correlation between children and income is the stronger factor. Moreover, the correlation between workers and income, ignoring the number of children, is in effect a description of what takes place when children are replaced by workers. That is, for families of a given size the greater the proportion of workers in the family the smaller the possible proportion of children in it, and consequently the greater the likelihood of a favorable income distribution.

The apparent anomaly of an inverse correlation between proportion of workers in the family and family-income status has at least a threefold explanation:

(1) The definition of gainful worker used here

includes not only persons actually occupied but also those who are seeking work, many of whom are only nominally in the labor market. The correlation between income and gainful workers will be explored further in future articles, with respect to such factors as employment status and occupation of the worker.

- (2) There are wide variations in the earning power of workers in different occupational groups,
- (3) Families with low incomes tend to have a larger proportion of their members in the labor market than do families with higher incomes. This would suggest that insufficient income of the chief breadwinner is one of the important factors which determine the number of workers per family and that the earnings of the secondary workers in these families also tend to be relatively small.

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