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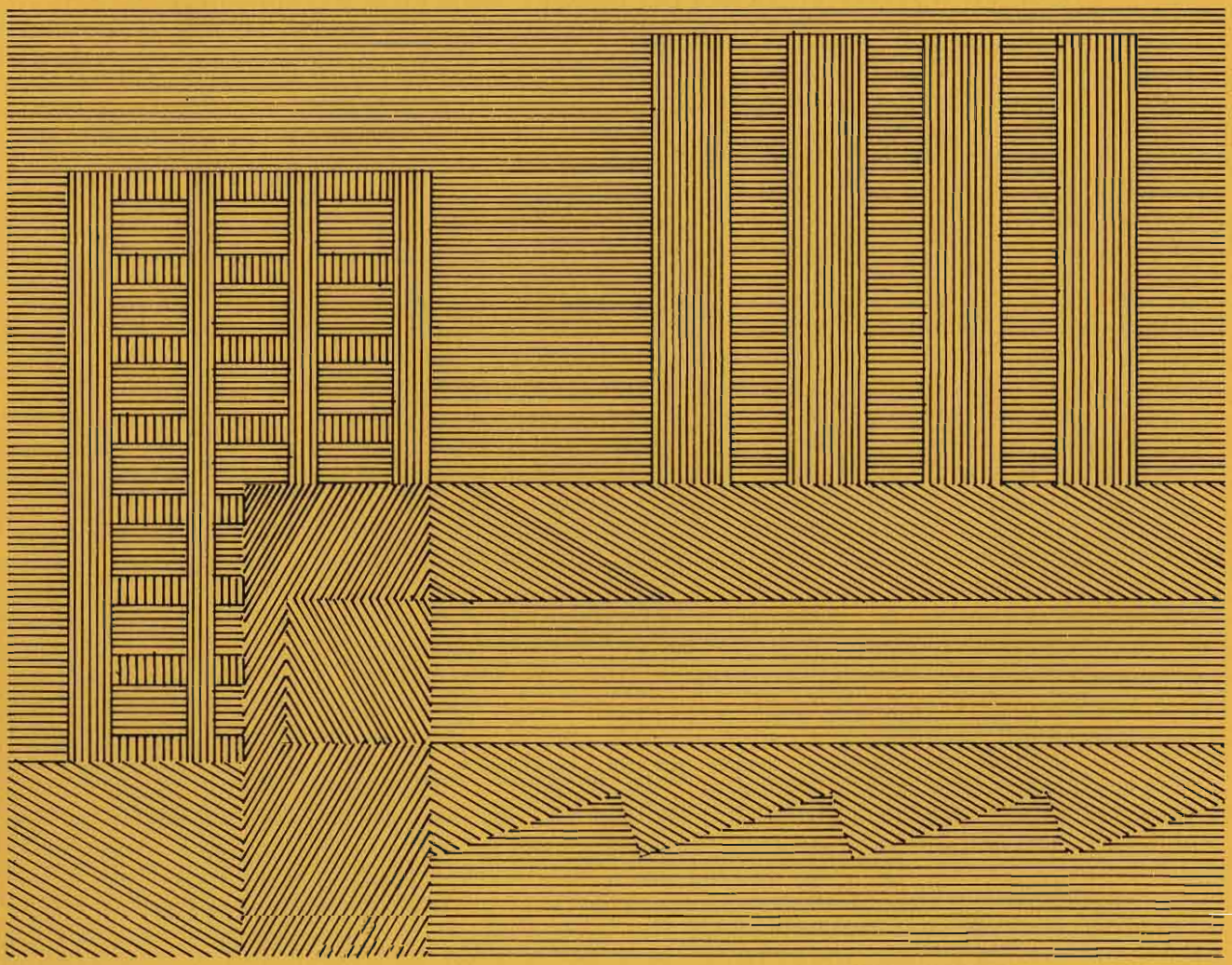

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LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION AND EMPLOYMENT STATUS IN CONNECTICUT, 1970

by

Kenneth Hadden*

INTRODUCTION

For any population to subsist a large number of its members must be engaged in productive activities. In addition to providing for the subsistence of the entire population, participation in the labor market constitutes an important mechanism whereby individuals and families are integrated into the larger society. An analysis of labor force participation and employment will provide general information about the level of living and integration** of any population.

In this report, one of a continuing series of reports on the population of Connecticut, we will describe and analyze labor force participation and employment in Connecticut in 1970. In so doing we will raise and attempt to answer a number of specific questions pertaining to the level of living and integration of Connecticut's citizens. For example, is the full productive capacity of the population being utilized? What, if any, implications does this have for the future growth of the state's economy? Are some population subgroups systematically denied access to employment? If so, what are the characteristics of such under or unemployed groups? Are these groups likely to be denied access to other opportunities of citizens such as minimally adequate levels of nutrition, clothing and shelter?

Before we present information bearing on these and other questions, let us define the major classifications we will be using. These are derived from information collected by the 1970 Census of Population.

1. working age population - this is simply the number of persons 14 years old or over.*** All persons in this broad age group are classified as either in the labor force or not in the labor force.

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** Gibbs and Martin (1964), for example, have used a measure of labor force participation to operationalize the concept of status integration.

*** In some cases the working age population is defined as consisting of persons 16 years old and over; it will be clear from the tables and text which age limit is being used.

2. labor force - persons in the labor force are classified as members of either the military or civilian labor forces:

   a. military labor force - all persons serving on active duty with the U. S. Army, Navy, Air Force, Marine Corps or Coast Guard.

   b. civilian labor force - members of the civilian labor force are classified as either employed or unemployed:

      (1) employed - the employed civilian labor force consists of persons (a) who worked at any time during the reference week (i.e., the week prior to completion of the Census questionnaire) or (b) who did not work during the reference week but who had jobs or businesses from which they were temporarily absent because of illness, vacation, industrial dispute or other personal reason.

      (2) unemployed - persons are classified as unemployed if they were civilians 16 years old or older and (a) not classified as employed, (b) were looking for work during the preceding 4 weeks, and (c) were available to accept a job. Persons temporarily laid-off from a job who did not work during the reference week are classified as unemployed.

3. not in the labor force - all persons not classifiable as members of the labor force (military or civilian, employed or unemployed) are said to be not in the labor force. This category consists mainly of students, housewives, retired persons, volunteer workers for religious, charitable and similar organizations, seasonal workers enumerated in an "off" season, inmates of institutions (e.g., prisons, hospitals), and disabled persons.

At some points in this report we will present detailed information making use of all of the above categories of employment status. At other points, however, we will present only summary measures. Two summary measures of particular importance are: (1) labor force participation rate, which is defined as the percentage of the working age population which is in the labor force; and (2) unemployment rate, which is defined as the percentage of those in the civilian labor force classified as unemployed. And finally, we will on one occasion present information on the number of weeks which persons 16 years old and over worked for pay or profit during 1969.

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION AND EMPLOYMENT: SOME REGIONAL AND TEMPORAL COMPARISONS

Table 1 presents information concerning the labor force status of Connecticut's population in 1940, 1950, 1960 and 1970. Over this 30 year period the state's labor force increased by about 72 percent from 770 thousand in 1940 to well over 1.3 million in 1970. This substantial growth of the labor force occurred as a consequence of two complementary

Table 1: Labor Force Status of the Population of Connecticut: 1940-1970

Labor Force Status	1940	1950	1960	1970
Total, Age 14 & Over	1,375,329	1,553,617	1,824,326	2,237,448
In Labor Force	770,003	881,254	1,071,200	1,324,829
Military Labor Force	1,500	6,593	12,450	15,594
Civilian Labor Force	768,503	874,661	1,058,750	1,309,235
Employed	678,990	827,807	1,010,444	1,262,948
Unemployed	89,513	46,854	48,306	46,287
Not in Labor Force	605,326	672,363	753,126	912,619
Labor Force Participation Rate	56.0%	56.7%	58.7%	59.2%
Unemployment Rate	11.7%	5.4%	4.5%	3.5%

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1962a, U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Final Report PC(1)-8C, "General Social and Economic Characteristics - Connecticut", adapted from Table 53; 1972a, U. S. Census of Population: 1970, Final Report PC(1)-C8, "General Social and Economic Characteristics - Connecticut", adapted from Table 46.

trends. First, the size of the working age population itself grew substantially between 1940 and 1970--over 58 percent. The growth of this population occurred through relatively high fertility levels, particularly during the 1950's, (Steahr, 1973) and through net migration into Connecticut (Hadden, in press). And second, over the 30 year period a steadily increasing proportion of the working age population was in the labor force; the labor force participation rate increased from 56.0 percent in 1940 to 59.2 percent in 1970. As we will see in a subsequent section, this increased labor force participation has been attributable to increases in female participation in the labor force. Of course, the growth of the labor force between 1940 and 1970 could not have taken place had not the state's and, indeed, the nation's economies expanded substantially.

Table 1 indicates that the size of the military labor force in Connecticut grew more than ten-fold between 1940 and 1970. In 1940 only two-tenths of one percent of the labor force was classified as military; this percentage increased to eight-tenths of one percent in 1950, and to 1.2 percent in 1960 and 1970. The military labor force is not uniformly distributed around the state but is, as we will see in a later section, concentrated almost entirely in New London County.

Despite the growth of the military labor force over the three decade period, the labor force was and continues to be overwhelmingly civilian. The civilian labor force accounted for 99.8 percent of the labor force in 1940 and had only dropped to 98.8 percent by 1970. The size of the civilian labor force, of course, grew substantially between

1940 and 1970--from 768.5 thousand to over 1.3 million; this amounted to a 70 percent increase.

While the civilian, military and total labor force have all expanded considerably since 1940, the number of unemployed* has declined sharply--from about 90 thousand in 1940 to slightly over 46 thousand in 1970. Similarly, the unemployment rate dropped steadily and substantially between 1940 and 1970; the high level of unemployment (11.7 percent of the labor force) in 1940 reflects the continued but somewhat lessened effects of the depression; the large decline to 5.4 percent by 1950 reflects the wartime and postwar economic recovery. Since 1950 there appears to have been a small decrease in the unemployment rate--to 3.5 percent in 1970--although this downward trend has not been without periodic reversal.

Information presented in Table 1 indicates that the full productive potential of Connecticut's population is not being utilized, nor has it been during the period under consideration. In addition to the unemployed there are undoubtedly many persons who are "not in the labor force" who would be if employment opportunities were available. It does appear, however, that the population's productive potential was being more fully used in 1970 than at any time since 1940. These two general points lead us to conclude, purely from the labor force point of view, that past economic growth has come to more fully use the labor force available in the state and that present labor "reserves" suggest that additional economic expansion can easily occur.

Table 2 presents information regarding labor force status in 1970 of the United States and of the six New England states. The overall labor force participation rate for the nation was 55.5 percent in 1970. Only two New England states had lower rates--Maine (54.6 percent) and Vermont (55.2 percent). Connecticut had the highest rate--almost three out of every five persons 14 years old or over were in the labor force in 1970. Massachusetts, however, had the largest labor force in New England--almost two and one-half million persons; Connecticut had the second largest labor force (over 1.3 million persons). No other New England state had a labor force as large as one-half million persons.

For the nation 2.4 percent of the labor force (2 million persons) was classified as military in 1970. Two New England states had larger proportions of their labor force classified as military--Maine (2.6 percent) and Rhode Island (7.2 percent). Recent cutbacks in U. S. Navy activities in Rhode Island will undoubtedly reduce both the size and the percentage of its military labor force. Connecticut, Massachusetts and New Hampshire had approximately 1.2 percent of their total labor forces in the military, while only 0.2 percent of Vermont's labor force was military in 1970.

The national unemployment rate reported by the 1970 Census of Population was 4.4 percent. No New England state had an unemployment

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* It should be stressed that the number of unemployed (and the unemployment rate) reported by the U. S. Bureau of the Census refers to unemployment conditions during a short period of time preceding the census enumeration; these figures are fairly changeable and, therefore, undue reliance should not be placed on the <u>precise</u> values reported.

Table 2: Labor Force Status of Population 14 Years Old and Over: U. S. and New England States, 1970

State	Total, 14 and Over	In the Labor Force					Not in Labor Force	LFPR	Unempl. Rate
		Total	Military Labor Force	Civilian Labor Force					
				Total	Employed	Unemployed			
U. S.	149,398,189	82,897,433	1,999,088	80,898,345	80,898,345	3,589,553	66,500,756	55.5%	4.4%
Conn.	2,237,448	1,324,829	15,594	1,309,235	1,262,948	46,287	912,619	59.2%	3.5%
Me.	727,265	396,954	10,488	386,466	370,058	16,408	330,311	54.6%	4.2%
Mass.	4,228,646	2,444,926	28,272	2,416,654	2,323,004	93,650	1,783,720	57.8%	3.9%
N.H.	537,580	313,465	4,059	309,406	298,306	11,100	224,115	58.3%	3.6%
R.I.	715,448	422,313	30,584	391,729	375,677	16,052	293,135	59.0%	4.1%
Vt.	322,007	177,822	361	177,461	169,979	7,482	144,185	55.2%	4.2%
New England Total	8,768,394	5,080,309	89,358	4,990,951	4,799,972	190,979	3,688,085	57.9%	3.8%

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1972a, U. S. Census of Population: 1970, Final Reports PC(1)-C1, C8, C21, C23, C31, C41 and C47, "General Social and Economic Characteristics", U. S. Summary, Table 77, and Individual States, Table 46.

level this high. The highest levels were for Vermont and Maine (4.2 percent) and Rhode Island (4.1 percent). Connecticut and New Hampshire had the lowest rates in the region--3.5 percent and 3.6 percent, respectively.

In summary, Connecticut had the highest labor force participation rate in New England, well above the national level, and the lowest unemployment rate in New England. As a region, New England had a higher labor force participation rate (57.9 percent) than the nation and a lower unemployment rate (3.8 percent).

DIFFERENTIALS IN LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION AND EMPLOYMENT STATUS

The preceding discussion was designed to indicate, in broad terms, what recent trends in labor force and employment have been in Connecticut, and how Connecticut's labor force compares with the nation's and with other New England states. By presenting information for the entire state, however, we have been unable to identify those groups which have disproportionately low (or high) labor force participation rates or unemployment rates. In this section we will present labor force and employment information according to age, sex, marital status, race, rural-urban residence, and town and county of residence in an effort to identify such groups.

Age and Sex

Table 3 presents information pertaining to labor force participation in 1960 and 1970 separately for males and females according to age. Three classes of observations can be made: that differences exist according to sex, that differences exist according to age, and that important changes have occurred with respect to both between 1960 and 1970.

First, males are far more likely to be in the labor force than females. In 1970, three out of every four males of working age were in the labor force; this amounted to more than 814 thousand males. On the other hand, fewer than one of every two females (or about 510 thousand) of working age were in the labor force in 1970. Higher male participation holds in the aggregate and also for every age group. This difference is largely a consequence of the fact that a large number of women are consigned, willingly or not, to careers as housewives; and housewives are considered not to be members of the labor force by most definitions of labor force, including the one used by the Census Bureau.

Second, male labor force participation increases with age through the 30's and declines thereafter. Peak participation occurs in the 35 to 39 age group (with 96.6 percent of males in this group in the labor force) although a participation rate of 90 percent or higher is characteristic of males between 25 and 59 years of age. Before 25, many males are not in the labor force because they are still attending school, and after age 60 retirement and physical disability reduce the participation rate.

Table 3: Labor Force Participation, by Age and Sex: Connecticut, 1960 and 1970

Age Group	Males 1970 Total Population	Males 1970 In Labor Force Number	Males 1970 In Labor Force Percent	Males 1960 Labor Force Partic. Rate	Females 1970 Total Population	Females 1970 In Labor Force Number	Females 1970 In Labor Force Percent	Females 1960 Labor Force Partic. Rate
Total, 14 and Over	1,065,958	814,381	76.4	80.0	1,171,490	510,448	43.6	38.9
14-15	60,697	7,029	11.6	12.6	59,218	3,745	6.3	6.4
16-17	56,981	24,950	43.8	41.7	52,951	19,324	36.5	29.8
18-19	46,512	27,320	58.7	66.9	49,317	25,287	51.3	58.0
20-24	106,367	84,187	79.1	85.3	119,807	70,915	59.2	51.8
25-29	99,253	93,561	94.3	95.0	103,528	45,058	43.5	35.7
30-34	83,767	80,662	96.3	97.2	86,916	36,992	42.6	34.9
35-39	82,378	79,549	96.6	97.3	85,989	42,305	49.2	41.8
40-44	92,478	89,047	96.3	97.0	96,176	53,909	56.1	50.4
45-49	95,793	91,956	96.0	96.0	100,909	60,327	59.8	54.5
50-54	89,213	84,749	95.0	95.0	94,168	56,923	60.4	53.8
55-59	79,911	69,850	92.0	91.7	81,229	45,514	56.0	48.9
60-64	59,119	48,079	81.3	83.6	68,703	29,817	43.4	35.1
65 and Over	117,489	33,442	28.5	32.4	172,579	20,332	11.8	11.4

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1962b, U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Final Report PC(1)-8D, "Detailed Characteristics - Connecticut", Table 115; 1972b, U. S. Census of Population: 1970, Final Report PC(1)-D8, "Detailed Characteristics - Connecticut", Table 164.

Females display a somewhat different age-specific pattern of labor force participation. Their participation has two distinct peaks, one in the late teens and early twenties and another in the 40's and 50's. Low rates of participation at the young and old ages occur for the same reasons as noted above for males. The trough which occurs during the late 20's and 30's is accounted for by child bearing and rearing.

The effect of child bearing and rearing is shown more clearly in Table 4. This table presents participation rates for married women (whose husbands were present) classified according to whether they had young children or not. For women with no children under six years old participation rates were approximately 50 percent. Women who had children under six, however, were only about half as likely to be in the labor force.

Table 4: Labor Force Participation of Married Women with Husband Present, by Presence of Children: Connecticut, 1970

Married Women, Husband Present	Total, 16 and Over	In the Labor Force Number	Percent
Total	672,170	289,409	43.1
No children under 18	288,888	138,896	48.1
With own children under 6	184,961	46,581	25.2
With own children between 6 and 17	198,321	103,932	52.4

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1972b, Census of Population: 1970, Final Report PC(1)-D8, "Detailed Characteristics - Connecticut", Table 165.

The age-specific participation pattern of females, then, differs from that of males in two major respects. First, it is lower at every age, ranging from 5 to 54 percentage points below the corresponding participation rate of males. And second, this lower level of participation for women is further depressed during child bearing and early child rearing years.

Finally, Table 3 reveals that between 1960 and 1970 labor force participation rates of males were relatively constant while rates of females increased at almost every age group. The major exception to this trend occurs in the late teens; among the 18-19 year old females there was a fairly large decline in participation. This may reflect an increasing tendency for females to continue their education beyond high school, thereby delaying entry into the labor force by several years.

We observed earlier that total labor force participation increased slightly between 1960 and 1970, from 58.7 to 59.2 percent. Table 3 indicates that this increase is solely attributable to increased participation of females in the labor force; between 1960 and 1970 male participation declined by 3.6 percentage points, from 80.0 to 76.4

Table 5: Unemployment, by Age and Sex: Connecticut, 1970

Age Group	Males			Females		
	Civilian Labor Force	Unemployed Number	Unemployed Rate	Civilian Labor Force	Unemployed Number	Unemployed Rate
Total, 14 and Over	798,955	25,463	3.2%	510,280	20,824	4.1%
14-15	7,007	427	6.1	3,745	333	8.9
16-17	24,930	2,272	9.1	19,324	1,887	9.8
18-19	26,192	1,804	6.9	25,287	1,385	5.6
20-24	76,770	3,999	5.2	70,867	3,026	4.3
25-29	90,406	2,858	3.2	45,029	1,834	4.1
30-34	78,894	1,910	2.4	36,948	1,474	4.0
35-39	78,433	1,805	2.3	42,294	1,672	4.0
40-44	88,666	1,931	2.2	53,907	1,884	3.5
45-49	91,778	1,974	2.2	60,318	2,188	3.6
50-54	84,648	1,920	2.3	56,918	1,817	3.2
55-59	69,808	1,520	2.2	45,504	1,400	3.1
60-64	48,007	1,395	2.9	29,807	799	2.7
65-74	27,161	1,388	5.1	16,501	877	5.3
75 and Over	6,255	260	4.2	3,831	248	6.5

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1972b, Census of Population: 1970, Final Report PC(1)-D8, "Detailed Characteristics - Connecticut", Table 164.

percent, while female participation increased 4.7 percentage points, from 38.9 to 43.6 percent. To a fairly small extent, then, male labor appears to have been substituted by female labor.

Turning now to a consideration of unemployment according to the age and sex of civilian labor force members, Table 5 reveals that unemployment rates for males are generally lower than those for females. This reflects the fact that very often a women is a "marginal" member of the labor force. Many women have husbands, fathers or sons who are employed and are the primary wage earners in the family; as a consequence many unemployed women may feel less pressure to take a job than a male would. And despite apparent advances made in recent years, it is likely that males are still given preferential treatment in hiring for many jobs; this would tend to depress male unemployment at the expense of females. Finally, there are generally fewer and less varied job opportunities for women which, of course, makes it less likely that a woman will succeed in finding a job.

Aside from the fact that female unemployment rates are higher than male rates at all ages except 18 to 24 and 60 to 64, both sexes display similar age specific patterns of unemployment. Rates are relatively high in the teens and early twenties, reach low points during the forties and fifties, and go up again after 65. Unemployment is high at the early ages because careers have not been established and the search for a desirable job generally entails shifts from one job to another. Young people, in addition, are highly mobile (Hadden, in press) and their geographical movement often entails job shifts as well. By the thirties, career patterns have been established, mobility has declined and unemployment rates are low; for males unemployment rates were below 2.5 percent for all ages between 30 and 59, while for females unemployment rates were 4.0 percent or less for all ages between 30 and 64. After age 65 employment becomes relatively difficult to obtain and, as a consequence, unemployment rates decrease.

Finally, Table 6 presents the proportions of all those who worked during 1969 who worked for the entire year (i.e., at least 50 weeks) according to age and sex. Once again males are in an advantageous position relative to females; more than two out of every three males who worked in 1969 worked all year, while fewer than half of all female workers worked for the entire year.* These figures, which are consistent with and are parallel to those reported for participation and unemployment, similarly reflect the "marginality" of females in the labor force: women are less likely to be in the labor force than males and when they are in the labor force are more likely than males to be unemployed and are less likely than males to work on a year-round basis.**

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* Since almost 87 percent of all males 16 and over worked at some time during 1969, this means that about six of every ten males 16 and over worked for the entire year; correspondingly only 54 percent of all females 16 years old and over worked at some during the year and only slightly more than two females in ten worked for the entire year.

** They are also less likely than men to work 35 hours or more a week; in 1970, fewer than one male (16 or over) in five worked part-time, while three females in five were so employed.

Table 6: Numbers Working and Percent of Workers Who Worked 50-52 Weeks in 1969, by Age and Sex: Connecticut, 1970

Age Groups	Males		Females	
	Total Working	Percent Who Worked 50-52 Weeks	Total Working	Percent Who Worked 50-52 Weeks
Total, 16 and Over	868,958	68.8%	604,283	43.3%
16-21	111,899	21.0	106,221	20.3
22-24	61,183	54.5	53,382	38.5
25-29	96,208	74.6	57,715	37.8
30-34	81,809	81.3	43,667	38.9
35-39	80,357	82.6	47,612	42.9
40-44	89,962	82.2	58,724	49.6
45-54	178,816	81.6	125,880	56.4
55-59	71,342	79.2	49,041	59.4
60-64	51,511	74.6	34,274	56.9
65 and Over	45,871	47.8	27,767	41.2

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1972b, Census of Population: 1970, Final Report PC(1)-D8, "Detailed Characteristics - Connecticut", Table 167.

The proportion of workers working year around is low during the teen years, increases thereafter reaching a peak of almost 83 percent during the late 30's for males and of almost 60 percent during the late 50's for females, and decreases after age 65. A higher proportion of male workers worked year-round than females at every age; the smallest differences exist at the extremes of the age distribution when female concern with and involvement in child bearing and child rearing is at a minimum.

Marital Status

Table 7 presents labor force participation rates separately for males and females who were 16 years old or older in 1970 according to marital status. For males, the highest participation rates are observed for those who are married and living with their wives (89.1 percent); as we noted earlier, the male is generally the primary wage earner in a family. Participation rates are also relatively high for divorced men (77.7 percent) and married men who are not living with their wives (71.8 percent); like married men living with their wives, men in these marital categories very often have financial obligations which extend beyond themselves (e.g., alimony, child support). Single men have somewhat lower participation rates (63.2 percent) largely because many men in this category are young and still attend school. The lowest participation rates for males is observed for widowers (36.9 percent); most widowed males are in the older age groups and are subsisting on some form of retirement income rather than wages or salaries from current employment.

Table 7: Labor Force Participation, by Marital Status and Sex for the Population 16 Years Old and Over: Connecticut, 1970

Marital Status	Male			Female		
	Population 16 and Over	Number	Percent	Population 16 and Over	Number	Percent
Total	1,005,261	807,352	80.3	1,112,272	506,703	45.6
Single	246,669	155,812	63.2	226,879	131,865	58.1
Married, Spouse Present	672,817	599,592	89.1	672,170	289,409	43.1
Married, Spouse Absent	32,770	23,517	71.8	41,284	21,001	50.9
Widowed	31,260	11,543	36.9	136,913	40,170	29.3
Divorced	21,745	16,888	77.7	35,026	24,258	69.3

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1972b, Census of Population: 1970, Final Report PC(1)-D8, "Detailed Characteristics - Connecticut", Table 165.

Contrary to what we observed for males, we see that married women living with their husbands have a relatively low rate of labor force participation (43.1 percent). This, again, is consistent with the view that husbands are generally the primary income earners in families while wives are secondary or "marginal" labor force members due to their diverse familial obligations. We should note, however, that there has been a substantial increase in the participation of this group of women since 1960 when the rate was 34.4 percent (Stockwell and Ridgeway, 1965, Table 5). This increase reflects fertility declines during the 1960's (Steahr, 1973) with a consequent decrease in child care obligations as well as a possible increasing reliance upon various "day care" services. In general, there appears to be a trend toward more than one labor force member per family.

The highest labor force participation among females is observed for divorcees (69.3 percent) which suggests a requirement for income above any that they might be receiving from their ex-husbands, as well as a need for extra-familial relationships. The situation seems to differ somewhat for married women living apart from their spouses since their participation rate is lower (50.9 percent). Single women have a participation rate (58.1 percent) only slightly below that of single men (63.2 percent) suggesting that sexual differentiation with respect to labor force participation occurs largely as a consequence of marriage; in fact, an overall glance at Table 6 reveals that male and female labor force participation rates differ substantially only for the two "married" categories. Finally, like widowers, and for the same reasons, widows have the lowest participation rate among females (29.3 percent).

Race

Table 8 presents detailed information concerning labor force participation of whites, Negroes and Spanish language individuals according to age and sex. This information is so detailed, in fact, that we will not attempt to discuss it in depth, but restrict ourselves to major patterns and differentials.

First, very little difference exists in the overall labor force participation between the three groups. Negroes had the highest rate (61.6 percent), followed closely by whites (59.1 percent) and Spanish language persons (58.5 percent). The differential was wider in 1960, when the white participation rate was 58.5 percent and the non-white rate was 63.1 percent (Stockwell and Ridgeway, 1965, Table 7).

Second, the male-female differences in labor force participation noted in a preceding section hold for all three groups, although the differential for Negroes is somewhat smaller than for the other two groups. This is a consequence of higher participation rates for Negro females (52.6 percent) than for either white (43.0 percent) or Spanish language females (40.3 percent).

Since the participation rate of Negro males (72.2 percent) is below those of white males (76.6 percent) and Spanish males (77.8 percent), it appears that the higher overall participation rate of Negroes is attributable solely to the high participation of Negro women.

Several interesting age-specific differences in participation are

Table 8: Labor Force Participation, by Age and Sex, of Whites, Negroes and Spanish Language Persons: Connecticut, 1970

Age and Sex	Whites			Negroes			Spanish Language		
	Population 14 and Over	In Labor Force Number	In Labor Force Percent	Population 14 and Over	In Labor Force Number	In Labor Force Percent	Population 14 and Over	In Labor Force Number	In Labor Force Percent
Total	2,112,564	1,247,928	59.1%	116,591	71,814	61.6%	45,211	26,434	58.5%
Males	1,008,530	972,693	76.6	53,396	38,563	72.2	21,864	17,020	77.8
14-19	153,564	56,272	36.3	10,172	2,883	28.3	3,828	1,291	33.7
20-24	99,424	78,754	79.2	6,373	5,035	79.0	2,916	2,397	82.2
25-29	92,164	87,338	94.8	6,581	5,784	87.9	3,276	3,113	95.0
30-34	77,588	75,001	96.7	5,595	5,102	91.2	2,854	2,623	91.9
35-39	77,038	74,760	97.0	4,912	4,391	89.4	2,360	2,233	94.6
40-44	87,680	84,649	96.5	4,469	4,073	91.1	2,037	1,858	91.2
45-49	91,550	88,127	96.3	3,986	3,583	89.9	1,397	1,293	92.6
50-54	85,776	81,686	95.2	3,261	2,887	88.5	1,017	933	91.7
55-59	73,202	67,616	92.4	2,497	2,030	81.3	728	593	81.5
60-64	57,043	46,567	81.6	1,906	1,383	72.6	488	369	75.6
65 and Over	113,501	31,923	28.1	3,644	1,412	38.7	963	317	32.9
Females	1,104,034	475,235	43.0	63,195	33,251	52.6	23,347	9,414	40.3
14-19	151,059	45,895	30.4	9,971	2,377	23.8	4,287	1,135	26.5
20-24	109,802	64,625	58.9	9,413	5,996	63.7	3,841	1,870	48.7
25-29	94,902	40,133	42.3	7,886	4,521	57.3	3,614	1,246	34.5
30-34	79,198	32,398	40.9	7,141	4,313	60.4	2,554	1,105	43.3
35-39	79,765	38,403	48.1	5,772	3,703	64.2	2,238	1,140	50.9
40-44	90,838	50,484	55.6	4,976	3,220	64.7	1,863	1,028	55.2
45-49	96,088	57,282	59.6	4,575	2,893	63.2	1,352	857	63.4
50-54	90,336	54,217	60.0	3,639	2,582	71.0	1,040	424	40.8
55-59	78,147	43,832	56.1	2,893	1,569	54.2	828	329	39.7
60-64	66,247	28,533	43.1	2,322	1,219	52.5	629	172	27.3
65 and Over	167,652	19,428	11.6	4,607	858	18.6	1,101	108	9.8

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1972b, Census of Population: 1970, Final Report PC(1)-D8, "Detailed Characteristics - Connecticut", Table 164.

revealed in Table 8. First, whites enter the labor force during their teens more frequently than either Negroes or Spanish language persons; this holds for both males and females. This difference tends to disappear thereafter, however. Second, Negroes are more likely than either whites or Spanish language persons to remain in the labor force beyond normal retirement age; this, too, holds for both sexes. Similarities between the three groups persist, however.

The tendency for male participation to reach a peak during the 30's and 40's, with lower rates both before and after, holds for all three groups. And the earlier observed pattern of peak participation during the early twenties and again in the late forties or early fifties for women also holds for all three groups.

Table 9 presents unemployment information for whites, Negroes and Spanish language individuals classified according to age and sex. White unemployment (3.4 percent) was well below Negro (5.8 percent) and Spanish (5.7 percent) levels. This differential has been widely observed through time and from one area of the nation to another. It reflects the existence of racial and ethnic discrimination in the job market which appears to have diminished during the 1960's; in 1960, white unemployment was 4.4 percent and non-white (a group which was almost entirely Negro) unemployment was 8.9 percent (Stockwell and Ridgeway, 1965, Table 11). So the differential for whites and Negroes narrowed from about 4.5 percent in 1960 to 2.4 percent in 1970. The difference in unemployment also reflects differences in educational background which has an obvious impact on employability; differential educations, however, also arise in part from racial and ethnic discrimination.

Male unemployment rates are below female rates for all three groups; the largest sex differential is observed among Spanish language persons (2.5 percent) and the smallest is observed among whites (0.8 percent). The sex differentials generally hold when we make comparisons by age; nonetheless, several exceptions exist. For all three groups young females had lower unemployment rates than young males; this may reflect a tendency among males to "shop around" for a position they could remain in for their working lives, while females may be more content to continue with an undesirable job with the expectation that they will be out of the labor force within a few years. And elderly Negro and Spanish females have lower unemployment levels than their male counterparts; this could indicate that the need for supplementary incomes at post-retirement ages is greater among the low income Negro and Spanish groups than among the relatively high income white population (Hadden, Groff and Bolduc, in press).

Finally, we can note that the earlier observed age-specific pattern of unemployment--high at the younger ages, low throughout the 30's, 40's and 50's, and high again after normal retirement age--holds for all three groups.

Rural-Urban Residence

Table 10 presents information concerning labor force participation

Table 9: Unemployment, by Age and Sex, for Whites, Negroes and Spanish Language Persons: Connecticut, 1970

Age and Sex	White			Negro			Spanish Language		
	Civilian Labor Force	Unemployed Number	Unemployed Percent	Civilian Labor Force	Unemployed Number	Unemployed Percent	Civilian Labor Force	Unemployed Number	Unemployed Percent
Total, 14 and Over	1,233,093	41,957	3.4%	71,435	4,160	5.8%	26,212	1,485	5.7%
Male	758,022	23,365	3.1	38,188	2,002	5.2	16,803	801	4.8
14-19	55,118	4,131	7.5	2,877	350	12.2	1,264	170	13.4
20-24	71,618	3,651	5.1	4,876	308	6.3	2,325	136	5.8
25-34	157,699	4,266	2.7	10,760	492	4.6	5,690	251	4.4
35-44	158,065	3,397	2.1	8,398	327	3.9	4,034	150	3.7
45-54	169,552	3,592	2.1	6,456	302	4.7	2,211	65	2.9
55-64	114,073	2,788	2.4	3,409	121	3.5	962	5	0.5
65 and Over	31,897	1,540	4.8	1,412	102	7.2	317	24	7.6
Female	475,071	18,592	3.9	33,247	2,158	6.5	9,409	684	7.3
14-19	45,895	3,358	7.3	2,377	238	10.0	1,135	143	12.6
20-24	64,581	2,577	4.0	5,992	439	7.3	1,865	232	12.4
25-34	72,458	2,614	3.6	8,834	673	7.6	2,351	116	4.9
35-44	88,874	3,094	3.5	6,923	446	6.4	2,168	120	5.5
45-54	111,490	3,760	3.4	5,475	237	4.3	1,281	55	4.3
55-64	72,345	2,090	2.9	2,788	104	3.7	501	14	2.8
65 and Over	19,428	1,099	5.7	858	21	2.4	108	4	3.7

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1972b, Census of Population: 1970, Final Report PC(1)-D8, "Detailed Characteristics - Connecticut", Table 164.

Table 10: Labor Force Participation by Age, Sex and Rural-Urban Residence: Connecticut, 1970

Age and Sex	Urban			Rural Non-Farm			Rural Farm		
	Population 14 and Over	In Labor Force Number	In Labor Force Percent	Population 14 and Over	In Labor Force Number	In Labor Force Percent	Population 14 and Over	In Labor Force Number	In Labor Force Percent
Total, 14 and Over	1,750,036	1,041,288	59.5%	475,823	276,509	58.1%	11,856	6,972	58.8%
Males	825,164	628,726	76.2	234,957	180,920	77.0	6,104	4,735	77.6
14-15	45,309	5,256	11.6	15,069	1,695	11.2	319	78	24.5
16-19	80,319	41,048	51.1	22,575	10,885	48.2	549	337	56.3
20-24	86,399	68,038	78.7	19,538	15,802	80.9	430	347	80.7
25-34	139,027	132,415	95.2	43,329	41,165	95.0	664	643	96.8
35-44	129,216	124,542	96.4	44,897	43,327	96.5	743	727	97.8
45-54	143,537	137,088	95.5	40,323	38,516	95.5	1,146	1,101	96.1
55-64	106,923	93,717	87.6	27,001	23,217	86.0	1,106	995	90.0
65 and Over	94,167	26,622	28.3	22,225	6,313	28.4	1,097	507	46.2
Females	424,872	412,562	44.6	240,866	95,649	39.7	5,752	2,237	38.9
14-15	44,439	2,815	6.3	14,458	891	6.2	321	39	12.1
16-19	81,118	36,470	45.0	20,730	8,005	38.6	420	136	32.4
20-24	99,883	60,146	60.2	19,539	10,540	53.9	385	229	59.5
25-34	144,719	64,776	44.8	45,052	16,920	37.6	673	354	52.6
35-44	136,962	74,505	54.4	44,525	21,332	47.9	678	377	55.6
45-54	154,208	94,796	61.5	39,750	21,964	55.3	1,119	490	43.8
55-64	121,245	62,342	51.4	27,723	12,584	45.4	964	405	42.0
65 and Over	142,298	16,712	11.7	29,091	3,413	11.7	1,192	207	17.4

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1972b, Census of Population: 1970, Final Report PC(1)-D8, "Detailed Characteristics - Connecticut", Table 164.

of the urban, rural non-farm, and rural farm populations* classified by age and sex. Labor force participation in urban areas (59.5 percent) was slightly higher than in either rural non-farm (58.1 percent) or rural farm (58.8 percent) areas. This occurs because of relatively high female participation in urban areas; the fact that traditionally female occupations (e.g., clerical and sales) are concentrated in urban as opposed to rural areas probably accounts for this differential.

As usual, female participation rates are well below those of males in all three types of areas and at all ages. And the previously observed age-specific patterns of participation--a single peak during the 30's and 40's for males and a double peak during the early 20's and again during the 40's and 50's for females--holds for the three residence groups.

The rural farm population differs from the other two in having substantially higher participation rates at the young (under 25) ages and the older (over 65) ages for both males and females. This indicates that persons living on farms enter the labor force earlier and leave it later than persons not living on farms. Young non-farm persons are more likely to remain in school than their counterparts living on farms (U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1972a, Table 51); this, of course, keeps young non-farm people out of the labor force. Elderly persons living and working on farms are less likely to be prevented from working by compulsory retirement rules that require many non-farm workers to leave the labor force during their 60's. And finally, the lower economic position of the farm population (Hadden, Groff and Bolduc, in press) probably encourages people to enter the labor force earlier and to remain in it longer than is the case among the non-farm populations.

Table 11 presents unemployment rates for the populations of the three types of residences classified by sex. The major pattern which emerges here is that urban unemployment is highest (3.6 percent) and rural farm is the lowest (2.6 percent); and while female unemployment is higher than male, both sexes show this same pattern across residence types. The high urban groups with relatively high levels of unemployment--Negroes, Spanish language persons, and females--are disproportionately represented in the urban labor force. The unemployment level of the farm population is probably low because of the higher incidence of self-employment on family farms; as long as the farm is in operation, even if the farm is economically marginal and the farmer is seeking non-farm employment, he will be defined as employed.

Counties and Towns

Table 12 presents labor force and employment status data for Connecticut counties in 1970 for the population 16 years old and over.

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* The urban population consists of people living in places of 2500 or more; the rural population is classified as "farm" if a person lived on 10 or more acres of land from which farm products valued at $50 or more were sold in 1969 or less than 10 acres from which farm products valued at $250 or more were sold in 1969; those not classifiable as urban or rural farm are classified as rural non-farm.

Table 11: Unemployment, by Sex and Rural-Urban Residence: Connecticut, 1970

Sex	Urban			Rural Non-Farm			Rural Farm		
	Civilian Labor Force	Unemployed Number	Unemployed Percent	Civilian Labor Force	Unemployed Number	Unemployed Percent	Civilian Labor Force	Unemployed Number	Unemployed Percent
Total, 14 and Over	1,032,688	37,603	3.6%	269,585	8,501	3.2%	6,962	183	2.6%
Male	620,218	20,684	3.3	174,012	4,665	2.7	4,725	114	2.4
Female	412,470	16,919	4.1	95,573	3,836	4.0	2,237	69	3.1

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1972b, Census of Population: 1970, Final Report PC(1)-D8, "Detailed Characteristics - Connecticut," Table 164.

Table 12: Labor Force Status of the Population 16 Years Old and Over for Counties: Connecticut, 1970

County	Total, 16 and Over	In the Labor Force					Not in Labor Force	Labor Force Participation Rate	Unemployment Rate
		Total	Military Labor Force	Civilian Labor Force Total	Civilian Labor Force Employed	Civilian Labor Force Unemployed			
Fairfield	554,037	340,513	416	340,097	329,037	11,060	213,524	61.5%	3.3%
Hartford	570,876	364,393	591	363,802	352,294	11,508	206,483	63.8	3.2
Litchfield	99,998	62,293	93	62,200	59,250	2,950	37,705	62.3	4.7
Middlesex	78,808	49,124	104	49,020	47,336	1,684	30,684	61.6	3.4
New Haven	525,746	322,003	355	321,648	309,480	12,168	203,743	61.2	3.8
New London	157,536	97,123	13,893	83,230	80,030	3,200	60,413	61.7	3.8
Tolland	71,023	42,033	37	41,996	40,757	1,239	29,020	59.2	3.0
Windham	58,479	36,573	83	36,490	34,772	1,718	21,906	62.5	4.7

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1972a, U. S. Census of Population: 1970, Final Report PC(1)-C8, "General Social and Economic Characteristics - Connecticut", Table 121.

Six counties had participation rates varying only slightly between 61.2 and 62.5 percent; Tolland County had the lowest participation rate (59.2 percent) at least partially because of the large number of young adults at the University of Connecticut who are not in the labor force and the number of residents of Mansfield Training School and inmates of the prison in Somers who are similarly not in the labor force. Hartford had the highest rate (63.8 percent) because of the disproportionately high participation of females (48.3 percent as compared with 38.9 percent for females in Connecticut); many of these females are employed at clerical positions in government and in corporate offices located in Hartford.

There was relatively little variation in unemployment rates from county to county; six counties had rates ranging only from 3.0 to 3.8 percent. Two counties had relatively high levels of unemployment, Litchfield and Windham (4.7 percent). These counties encompass the least developed areas of the state--the northeast and northwest.

Finally, as we observed earlier, most (about 90 percent) of the 15 thousand military personnel living in the state were located in New London County.

Figure 1 shows cartographically the towns which had "low" labor force participation rates in 1970 (less than 55 percent of the population 16 years old and over in the labor force), "medium" rates (55-65 percent), and "high" rates (over 65 percent). Fourteen towns had participation rates below 55 percent in 1970. Towns with very low rates generally have large institutionalized populations (e.g., hospitals, prisons, colleges). For example, the state's largest training school is located in Southbury (participation rate of 39.0 percent); Mansfield (43.7 percent) contains a training school and the University of Connecticut; and Somers (48.1 percent) contains a state prison facility.

At the other end of the distribution, 43 towns had labor force participation rates in excess of 65 percent in 1970. Many of these towns appear to have been fairly recently suburbanized, particularly in the central and southern portions of the state. Three towns had participation rates over 70 percent--Voluntown (71.5), Ledyard (71.5) and Canaan (70.6).

Figure 2 indicates the locations of towns having high unemployment rates (greater than 5.0 percent), medium (2.0 to 5.0 percent), and low (under 2.0 percent) unemployment rates. Towns with high rates of unemployment tend to be located in the relatively undeveloped northeastern and northwestern sections of the state. Towns with low unemployment rates, on the other hand, tend to be located in the suburban areas in Fairfield county and in the Hartford and New Haven metropolitan areas.

The labor force participation rates and unemployment rates of all Connecticut towns are presented in Appendix I; these rates are presented for both males and females.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A number of questions were raised in the introduction to this report. Some of these questions have been answered in the course of

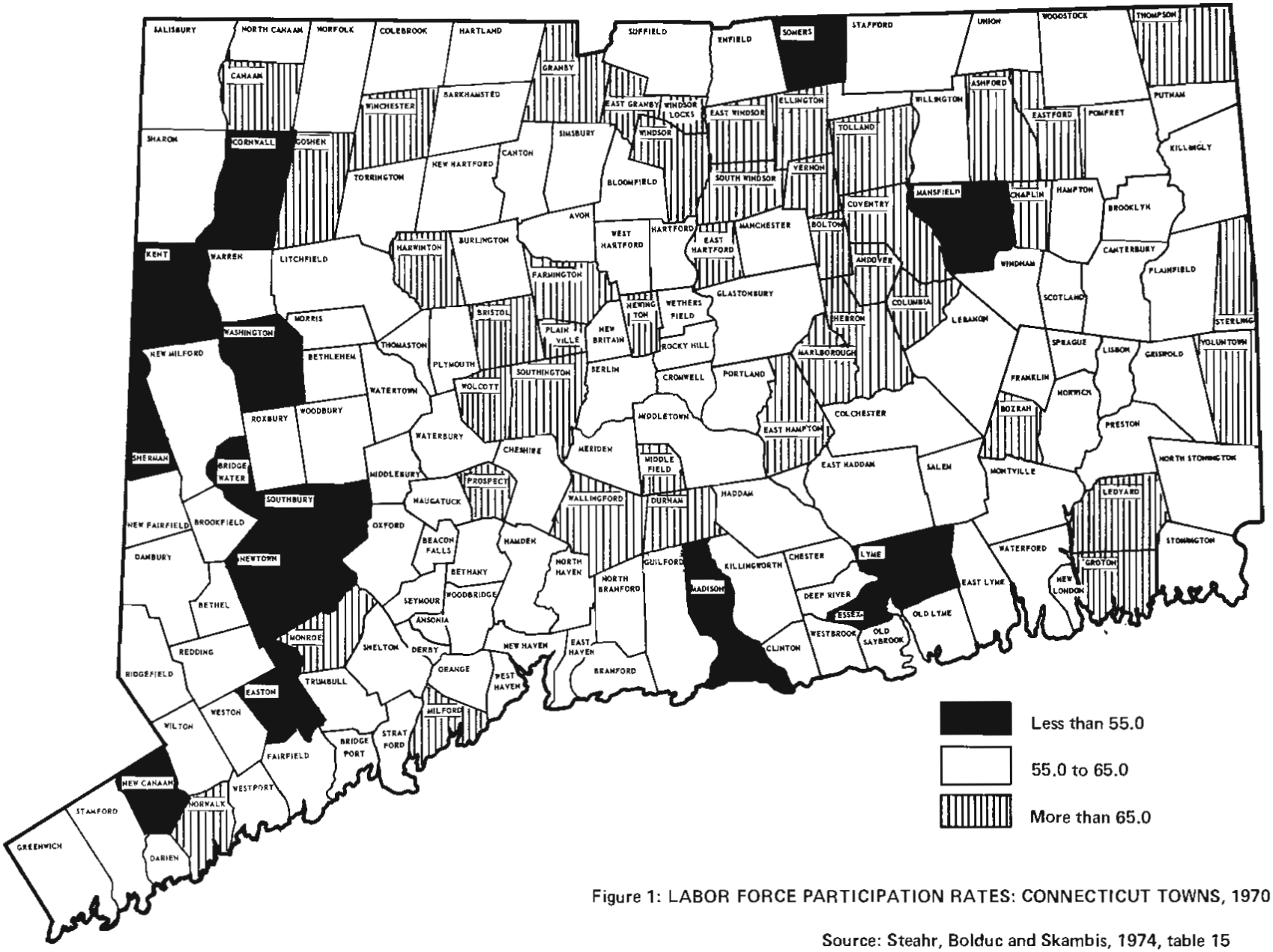

Figure 1: LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES: CONNECTICUT TOWNS, 1970

Source: Steahr, Bolduc and Skambis, 1974, table 15

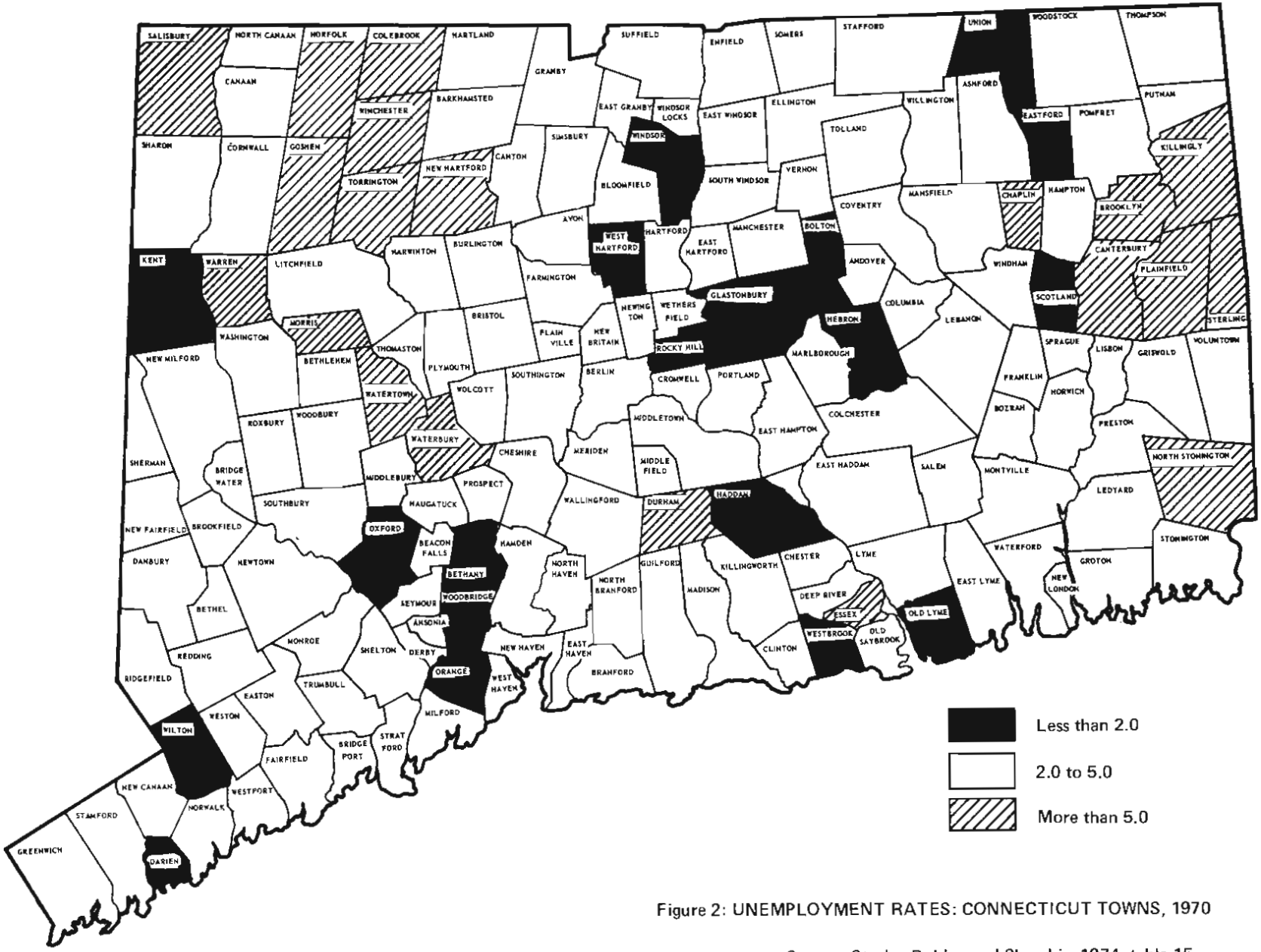

Figure 2: UNEMPLOYMENT RATES: CONNECTICUT TOWNS, 1970

Source: Steahr, Bolduc and Skambis, 1974, table 15

describing Connecticut's labor force and employment situation, but others have not. In this closing section we will address ourselves to all of the questions in the course of which we will summarize the major findings of the foregoing analysis.

Productive Capacity of the Population

We observed earlier that, in terms of the labor force, Connecticut's economy is not as productive as it might be. Of the 2.1 million Connecticut residents 16 years old and over in 1970, only about 1.3 million or 62 percent were in the labor force; and of the latter, some 46 thousand (3.5 percent) were unemployed. Most of the 800 thousand persons 16 and over in 1970 who were not in the labor force were not for one of the following reasons (See U. S. Bureau of Census, 1972a, Table 53; 1972b, Table 165):

a. confinement to institutions, such as hospitals and prisons accounts for about 32 thousand persons;

b. enrollment in school or college accounts for more than 132 thousand persons;

c. serious illnesses, physical or mental impairments or handicaps among those between 16 and 64 account for 49 thousand persons;

d. retirement or beyond normal retirement age (65 years old) accounts for an additional 218 thousand persons;

e. there were some 332 married women living with their husbands between 16 and 64 in 1970 who were not in the labor force, most of whom are probably housewives and/or mothers.

These five "categories" account for more than 750 thousand of the approximately 800 thousand Connecticut residents who were 16 or older in 1970 and who were not in the labor force. Many of these persons, of course, could not participate in the labor force if they wished and if there were employment opportunities available; confinement in an institution, disability, and old age generally preclude such participation. On the other hand, many persons who are above age 65, who are enrolled in school, or who are housewives could work if the demand existed. The elderly, students, and housewives differ with respect to their employment capacities to be sure; nonetheless, these groups do constitute a huge reserve labor force, supplementing the unemployed, which could be called on, even in the fairly short run, if necessary.

In summary, the involvement of Connecticut's population in the state's economy has increased consistently since 1940; labor force participation rate has increased while the unemployment rate has declined. The potential labor supply still greatly exceeds the demand, however. It is conceivable, in fact, based on figures presented above, that the state's labor force at the present time could be increased by 25 to 35 percent if the demand for labor increased by a corresponding magnitude.*

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* We are, of course, ignoring such complications as the meshing of occupational skills of potential workers with the job requirements of any new positions which might develop.

Access to Labor Opportunities

In 1970 there were some one and one-quarter million employed civilians (both full-time and part-time) in Connecticut indicating that there were about that many job opportunities available. The question to which we direct ourselves now is: do all persons of working age have access to these opportunities, or are some segments of the population relatively restricted in their access to these job opportunities?*

On the basis of information presented above, it seems possible to speak of two types of restriction: voluntary and involuntary. Groups which have relatively low labor force participation rates may be said to be voluntarily restricting their access to labor opportunities** since, by definition, these groups have high proportions of persons who are neither working nor looking for work. On the other hand, groups which have relatively high unemployment rates may be said to be involuntarily restricted in their access to labor opportunities since they are seeking work but are not able to secure work.

These dimensions, which are not independent of each other, have been summarized in Table 13. The major population subgroups may be classified in Categories I through IV as follows.

Table 13: Access to Labor Opportunities According to Labor Force Participation Rate and Unemployment Rate*

Unemployment Rate	Labor Force Participation Rate: Low	Labor Force Participation Rate: High
Low	Voluntary Restriction II	No Restriction - High Access I
High	IV Voluntary and Involuntary Restriction	III Involuntary Restriction

* "High" and "Low" rates refer to relative levels; for example, we have taken overall rates for the state and simply classified groups in I through IV according to whether they are above or below the state levels.

Category I includes white males who are middle-aged; persons in this group generally have very high access to job opportunities and are subject to relatively little voluntary or involuntary restriction of that access.

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* The concern here is with the number of opportunities and their "allocation" and not with qualitative aspects of these opportunities.

** Since persistent unemployment may cause individuals to remove themselves from the labor force, this restriction of access may not be truly voluntary.

Category II (Voluntary Restriction) includes no really sizable population subgroup; it does include elderly black and Spanish language females and rural farm females. These groups tend not to participate in the labor force because of their age and sex; most of those who do participate tend to be employed for two reasons: first, those who are unable to find work are likely to remove themselves from the labor force; and second, due to very low income levels and to widowhood, these groups may work for relatively low wages in occupations not subject to compulsory retirement.

Category III (Involuntary Restriction) primarily includes black and Spanish language males. These groups have relatively high labor force participation rates but at the same time have relatively high unemployment rates. Black and Spanish males, often the only or primary wage earners in a family, are generally either working or looking for work. Their success in finding work, however, is considerably less than for their white counterparts; these differences may be attributed to such factors as differential education and training, and racial or ethnic discrimination.

Category IV (Voluntary and Involuntary Restriction) includes females, teenagers and young adults, and the elderly (males and whites in particular). The low labor force participation of these groups can be explained in terms of alternative opportunities (e.g., education for teenagers and young adults, child rearing and housekeeping for females) or disabilities and infirmaties of age. Among those who do seek work unemployment levels are relatively high; this probably reflects a combination of factors such as: (a) "shopping around" for jobs which might prove satisfactory as careers among the young, (b) a reluctance on the part of employers to hire the elderly and women (especially women with young children), and (c) a relatively passive orientation toward job seeking since these groups tend not to consist of primary wage earners.

In short, all population subgroups with the exception of middle-aged white males are to some degree restricted in their access to labor opportunities. In the closing section we will briefly discuss the major consequences of this restricted access.

Consequences of Restricted Access to Labor Opportunities

Employment outside the home has two major consequences; employment generally provides one with an income and employment often constitutes an important source of contact outside the home and family. Restriction of access to labor opportunities will generally result in restricted access to income and may result in limited access to non-familial social contacts.*

It has been shown that the groups identified above as having restricted access to employment also have relative low income levels

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* The question of importance of contact outside the home and family has not been systematically investigated and only scanty information bearing on the issue exist. We will not, therefore, deal further with this question.

(Hadden, Groff and Bolduc, in press). However, the calculation of these income levels explicitly excludes persons without incomes, so presumably the income differentials between the high access middle-aged white male group and those with restricted access are actually being understated. Unfortunately, it is not possible to specify the magnitude of the differences in income between the high access and restricted access groups except in general terms: in the aggregate, those groups with restricted access to employment opportunities have lower incomes than do those with high access to employment opportunities.

The importance, in economic terms, of restricted access to employment will generally hinge upon whether or not a person is dependent upon such employment for his or her livelihood. That is, the economic deprivation resulting from restricted access to employment opportunities will generally be far greater for, say, a black male with a family to support than for a teenager living at home or for a married woman whose husband is employed. In short, restricted access to employment opportunities will generally have more severe consequences among primary wage earners than among individuals who are secondary or marginal wage earners.

The direct and indirect consequences of income differences between primary wage earners with high access to job opportunities and those with restricted access are many and diverse. It is probably true that these differences at least partially account for differences (between whites and non-whites,* for example) in such matters as home ownership, value of homes, infant mortality, and life expectancy. Differences in these fundamental areas of human existence may be summarized as follows:

a. In 1970 about 23 percent of Connecticut households having Negro heads were owner occupied as compared with 65 percent ownership among white households (U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1972c, Tables 2 and 6).

b. Among those whites and Negroes who did own and reside in their own homes in 1970, the value of the homes was higher on the average among whites; the median value of one-family homes owned and occupied by families with a Negro head was $21,000 as compared with $25,500 for all owner occupied homes in Connecticut (U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1972c, Tables 4 and 6).

c. In Connecticut in 1970 non-white infants were about twice as likely as white infants to die during the first year of life; the non-white infant mortality rate was 30.2 (that is, 30.2 deaths occurred to non-white infants under age one per 1000 live births) while the corresponding figure for whites was 15.6 (Connecticut State Department of Health, 1970, Table VIII).

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* The preceding analysis and discussion indicate that the white population generally has high access and that the non-white population has restricted access to labor opportunities (relative to the white population).

d. The life expectancy of whites is substantially higher than that of non-whites; this is true in Connecticut as it is for the nation as a whole. As of 1969-71, the life expectancy at birth of white males was 69.1 years, for non-white males 63.3 years, for white females 75.4 years, and for non-white females 69.7 years (Steahr, 1973b, Tables 5-8).

It is probable that differences exist as well in other important areas (e.g., diet and nutrition, clothing, quality of education, quality of employment opportunities). The point here is that systematic differences exist between white and non-white in important areas ranging from housing to life chances; these differences depend in large part on differential incomes which, in turn, depend in part* on differential access to employment opportunities.

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* With specific reference to white-non-white income differences, there is strong evidence that factors other than access to jobs are very important; for example, whites are paid more than blacks even when their ages, educations and occupations are the same (Seigel, 1965).

Appendix Table I: Labor Force Participation Rates and Unemployment Rates, by Sex for Towns and Counties: Connecticut, 1970

County and Town	Percent in Labor Force Total	Male	Female	Unemployment Rates Total	Male	Female
FAIRFIELD COUNTY	61.4	81.1	43.9	3.3	3.1	3.5
Bethel	62.6	83.2	44.4	3.8	3.5	4.2
Bridgeport	60.1	77.5	45.3	4.7	4.5	4.9
Brookfield	61.5	82.8	41.6	3.3	3.2	3.3
Danbury	62.5	79.3	47.6	4.6	4.9	4.1
Darien	57.1	82.5	34.2	1.6	1.4	2.0
Easton	53.9	77.9	31.3	2.3	2.1	2.7
Fairfield	60.8	80.8	41.6	3.0	2.7	3.6
Greenwich	58.5	80.8	39.8	2.4	2.3	2.7
Monroe	66.7	87.4	46.9	3.2	3.4	3.0
New Canaan	54.6	81.1	31.6	2.4	1.7	4.0
New Fairfield	58.7	82.2	36.3	3.5	2.6	5.6
Newtown	52.6	70.2	35.9	2.4	2.2	2.7
Norwalk	65.6	84.7	48.9	2.8	2.9	2.7
Redding	59.9	82.5	39.0	3.6	3.3	4.1
Ridgefield	57.5	80.2	36.5	2.2	1.6	3.4
Shelton	61.8	82.2	42.5	2.8	2.4	3.5
Sherman	51.2	71.6	32.5	2.1	3.1	0.0
Stamford	64.5	83.5	48.1	2.4	2.7	2.0
Stratford	63.6	82.1	47.0	3.4	3.2	3.9
Trumbull	63.7	85.6	43.6	3.4	3.0	4.1
Weston	56.9	82.2	33.3	2.3	1.9	3.1
Westport	60.7	82.4	41.4	2.9	2.4	3.7
Wilton	59.0	81.8	38.5	1.9	2.0	1.7
HARTFORD COUNTY	63.8	81.1	48.2	3.2	3.0	3.5
Avon	61.7	81.2	43.4	2.4	2.2	2.8
Berlin	64.2	81.0	48.4	3.9	4.0	3.7
Bloomfield	64.8	83.0	48.3	2.2	2.2	2.1
Bristol	65.2	82.7	49.2	4.1	3.4	5.3
Burlington	62.0	84.8	40.0	2.8	2.7	3.0
Canton	64.4	87.2	42.2	3.0	3.0	3.0
East Granby	66.5	84.1	47.9	2.0	2.3	1.5
East Hartford	68.4	86.4	51.8	2.1	2.1	2.1
East Windsor	66.9	82.8	51.0	3.1	2.7	3.8
Enfield	64.6	86.0	44.3	3.1	2.8	3.6
Farmington	66.5	85.1	49.9	2.8	3.2	2.4
Glastonbury	63.1	85.9	42.1	1.7	1.5	2.2
Granby	66.4	85.8	47.4	2.2	2.1	2.5
Hartford	62.4	75.1	51.6	4.5	4.7	4.4
Hartland	60.5	86.3	34.4	2.4	2.3	2.9
Manchester	63.6	83.7	46.0	2.5	2.5	2.4
Marlborough	66.4	92.7	40.9	4.5	4.9	3.6

Appendix Table 1: Continued

County and Town	Percent in Labor Force Total	Male	Female	Unemployment Rates Total	Male	Female
New Britain	62.4	78.5	48.1	4.4	4.0	5.1
Newington	65.1	82.5	49.1	2.5	2.4	2.7
Plainville	65.7	85.9	47.1	3.2	2.8	3.8
Rocky Hill	61.0	66.2	54.8	1.3	1.4	1.2
Simsbury	64.4	86.6	43.7	2.4	1.8	3.4
Southington	65.6	85.5	46.7	3.2	2.8	4.0
South Windsor	66.5	87.6	45.5	2.1	1.5	3.1
Suffield	64.7	83.7	46.1	3.5	2.4	5.5
West Hartford	58.7	78.1	43.3	1.8	1.6	2.2
Wethersfield	63.9	81.7	48.4	2.0	2.1	1.8
Windsor	67.0	82.7	52.7	1.8	2.1	1.5
Windsor Locks	66.9	85.1	49.9	2.3	2.2	2.6
LITCHFIELD COUNTY	62.0	79.9	45.7	4.7	4.2	5.7
Barkhamstead	61.2	75.0	47.3	3.4	4.7	1.2
Bethlehem	55.7	73.8	39.7	4.2	3.6	5.2
Bridgewater	54.4	78.7	34.1	2.6	3.9	0.0
Canaan	70.6	80.5	61.4	3.3	3.0	3.6
Colebrook	61.4	75.6	47.4	5.6	5.5	5.7
Cornwall	52.2	68.1	37.8	3.9	2.1	6.9
Goshen	65.1	84.6	45.9	6.2	5.6	7.3
Harwinton	65.4	86.0	44.4	3.3	3.0	3.8
Kent	54.3	75.2	35.2	1.4	2.2	0.0
Litchfield	57.3	74.9	41.3	3.7	3.1	4.7
Morris	62.0	84.3	40.4	7.4	3.3	15.9
New Hartford	63.1	84.3	43.5	5.5	4.5	7.5
New Milford	63.4	83.6	44.9	2.6	2.0	3.6
Norfolk	56.8	75.2	40.3	5.0	6.2	2.9
North Canaan	63.0	80.7	48.0	4.6	5.7	3.0
Plymouth	64.6	80.7	49.1	4.2	3.3	5.6
Roxbury	55.3	74.7	35.8	3.2	3.1	3.3
Salisbury	55.5	73.7	39.2	6.3	5.3	8.1
Sharon	57.0	75.1	42.0	4.0	4.8	2.9
Thomaston	59.7	76.5	44.3	4.8	2.5	8.4
Torrington	63.7	81.0	48.6	6.3	5.9	6.9
Warren	56.4	83.0	34.1	5.1	4.4	6.4
Washington	54.9	72.4	39.4	2.2	2.7	1.3
Watertown	62.5	78.8	47.2	5.5	4.5	6.9
Winchester	65.7	82.1	51.0	5.2	5.0	5.5
Woodbury	61.5	82.8	42.0	2.3	1.5	3.7
MIDDLESEX COUNTY	61.4	78.1	45.8	3.4	3.1	4.0
Chester	61.9	73.9	50.7	4.4	4.9	3.8
Clinton	62.2	83.4	42.7	3.9	4.3	3.1

Appendix Table 1: Continued

County and Town	Percent in Labor Force Total	Male	Female	Unemployment Rates Total	Male	Female
Cromwell	64.5	77.8	52.2	3.2	2.3	4.6
Deep River	62.0	81.5	44.1	3.7	2.1	6.5
Durham	69.5	87.6	52.0	5.2	4.8	6.0
East Haddam	62.2	81.3	43.9	3.0	2.6	3.8
East Hampton	65.5	83.6	48.3	2.4	2.4	2.5
Essex	52.8	70.2	37.8	5.4	2.6	10.1
Haddam	61.9	82.8	42.3	1.1	0.6	1.9
Killingworth	57.3	78.4	37.9	3.1	2.4	4.5
Middlefield	67.2	87.1	48.2	3.3	3.6	2.7
Middletown	60.1	72.5	48.0	3.4	2.8	4.1
Old Saybrook	60.1	80.2	42.1	4.4	5.2	3.0
Portland	61.5	81.1	43.2	3.3	3.3	3.4
Westbrook	59.6	81.2	39.5	1.7	2.1	1.1
NEW HAVEN COUNTY	61.2	78.7	45.6	3.8	3.2	4.6
Ansonia	62.0	79.9	46.3	3.2	2.5	4.4
Beacon Falls	64.5	83.0	47.3	2.7	2.4	3.2
Bethany	63.2	84.3	42.7	1.3	0.6	2.6
Branford	62.9	83.7	44.2	2.4	2.4	2.3
Cheshire	58.5	78.0	39.4	2.7	1.7	4.8
Derby	63.7	78.9	49.6	3.9	4.1	3.5
East Haven	63.1	82.1	45.5	3.4	3.2	3.8
Guilford	61.8	85.2	41.1	2.0	1.6	2.6
Hamden	61.2	78.5	46.4	2.7	2.3	3.2
Madison	53.6	77.5	32.1	2.3	1.2	4.8
Meriden	61.9	80.5	45.5	4.3	3.9	4.9
Middlebury	60.7	80.2	43.6	2.4	2.4	2.4
Milford	65.6	83.9	48.9	3.5	2.5	5.1
Naugatuck	64.3	80.7	49.5	3.8	3.0	5.1
New Haven	57.8	71.8	45.6	4.5	4.3	4.8
North Branford	63.9	87.2	41.4	2.9	3.3	1.9
North Haven	63.0	84.5	43.3	2.2	2.1	2.4
Orange	60.1	80.8	40.8	1.6	1.1	2.7
Oxford	63.7	83.2	44.4	1.7	0.8	3.3
Prospect	65.1	88.7	43.1	2.7	3.5	1.1
Seymour	63.4	83.0	45.0	3.3	2.8	4.0
Southbury	39.0	49.5	29.3	3.5	2.1	5.7
Wallingford	65.7	84.4	48.3	3.1	2.7	3.8
Waterbury	60.7	77.0	46.8	5.7	4.5	7.3
West Haven	62.5	79.9	46.9	3.5	3.3	3.9
Wolcott	66.4	83.1	50.3	4.1	2.1	7.1
Woodbridge	59.4	81.9	38.5	1.9	1.8	2.1
NEW LONDON COUNTY	61.5	83.2	39.8	3.8	3.2	5.0
Bozrah	67.2	87.0	45.5	3.7	3.5	4.1
Colchester	60.3	77.2	44.0	2.1	2.0	2.2

Appendix Table 1: Continued

County and Town	Percent in Labor Force Total	Male	Female	Unemployment Rates Total	Male	Female
East Lyme	57.9	82.3	35.9	3.6	2.2	6.5
Franklin	63.7	83.4	45.3	3.8	1.4	7.9
Griswold	58.8	81.5	38.4	3.6	3.1	4.4
Groton	65.7	90.2	37.1	4.6	3.7	6.0
Lebanon	62.1	82.8	41.0	2.5	2.4	2.6
Ledyard	71.5	91.3	38.1	4.0	2.7	6.2
Lisbon	60.3	84.5	36.9	4.5	4.0	5.4
Lyme	48.2	76.6	23.0	3.6	4.8	0.0
Montville	63.3	86.0	41.3	3.9	3.2	5.1
New London	61.7	83.4	40.5	4.1	3.6	4.7
North Stonington	59.9	85.6	36.6	6.8	3.3	14.1
Norwich	57.6	76.2	41.5	4.1	3.4	5.0
Old Lyme	58.8	82.0	38.2	1.7	1.4	2.4
Preston	61.0	83.0	39.6	2.0	2.0	1.9
Salem	60.7	76.3	44.7	4.1	3.3	5.5
Sprague	59.8	78.9	42.4	3.0	2.4	4.1
Stonington	59.4	80.3	41.3	4.3	3.3	6.0
Voluntown	71.5	91.2	51.9	4.0	2.3	7.0
Waterford	58.5	79.3	39.7	2.9	3.0	2.6
TOLLAND COUNTY	59.2	73.9	44.5	3.0	2.7	3.3
Andover	67.9	84.5	52.3	2.3	3.1	1.1
Bolton	65.3	85.4	46.7	1.4	0.5	3.0
Columbia	65.4	87.5	44.6	3.1	2.5	4.4
Coventry	65.9	85.7	46.4	4.5	4.4	4.7
Ellington	66.7	85.6	48.2	3.0	2.5	3.8
Hebron	68.5	89.3	47.3	1.5	1.0	2.4
Mansfield	43.7	47.5	39.9	2.3	2.1	2.6
Somers	48.1	54.5	38.8	4.1	3.6	5.0
Stafford	63.4	81.9	46.2	2.8	2.5	3.3
Tolland	66.2	89.7	42.8	2.3	2.5	2.0
Union	59.8	82.0	39.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Vernon	65.6	85.7	47.2	3.2	3.2	3.2
Willington	59.5	74.5	43.3	3.5	2.0	6.1
WINDHAM COUNTY	62.6	79.8	47.5	4.7	3.9	5.9
Ashford	65.9	78.7	52.3	3.8	3.3	4.5
Brooklyn	59.2	76.7	42.9	5.3	4.6	6.5
Canterbury	62.6	83.3	42.3	5.1	4.7	6.0
Chaplin	65.4	85.1	46.7	5.6	4.3	7.8
Eastford	65.4	83.4	47.0	1.0	0.0	2.8
Hampton	58.4	74.2	42.8	4.9	3.9	6.8
Killingly	62.8	79.9	47.7	5.6	4.0	7.9
Plainfield	62.7	82.1	44.9	6.4	6.5	6.3

Appendix Table 1: Continued

County and Town	Percent in Labor Force Total	Male	Female	Unemployment Rates Total	Male	Female
Pomfret	60.0	79.1	41.4	2.6	2.6	2.8
Putnam	62.7	78.0	50.3	4.1	3.1	5.2
Scotland	58.9	77.0	41.4	1.5	2.4	0.0
Sterling	65.1	84.0	45.7	5.6	5.0	6.6
Thompson	66.3	80.4	53.2	2.3	2.6	2.0
Windham	62.9	78.5	49.8	4.8	3.3	6.8
Woodstock	58.1	83.0	40.1	4.1	2.9	5.7

Source: Steahr, Bolduc and Skambis, 1974, Table 15.

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