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(220 households) resided in two-story houses,<sup>69</sup> 4.3 percent (10 households) resided in one-story houses;<sup>70</sup> no family in the survey resided in a straw shack.<sup>71</sup> As I have said, all the households in this survey were the families of cotton mill workers. Of the various occupations of Shanghai industrial workers, cotton mill workers were among the lowest paid.<sup>72</sup> Therefore, if, as this survey showed, cotton mill workers were not residents of straw shacks, it is reasonable to assume that the majority of Shanghai industrial workers were not residents of the straw shack slums.

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Cai's survey reinforces this conclusion. In his survey, which covered not only industrial workers but also included some other occupations such as transportation workers, service workers, and so on, 61 percent (185 households) resided in two-story houses, 34 percent (103 households) resided in one-story houses, and only 5 percent (17 households) lived in straw shacks.<sup>73</sup> Since Cai's survey was more diverse both in area as well as in occupations covered than was Tao's, it must be considered the more representative of the two. Even though there was no detailed information on the occupations of the 5 percent who lived in straw shacks and we do not know if they were factory workers or not, the results of this survey nevertheless reinforces the conclusion that most industrial workers did not live in straw shack slums.

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H. D. Lamson, a professor at the University of Shanghai, and one of the few contemporary sociologists who ever paid attention to the slums in the city, conducted a detailed study of twenty-three straw huts in Yangshupu in 1932. Lamson reported:

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Where occupations were stated, the men were employed as follows: farmers (8), wheelbarrow coolie (5), coolie (3), road building work (2), and factory work (1). This suggests that these straw hut occupants are not predominantly mill operatives. As to the occupation of the women, there are nine classed as farmers, two as factory workers, two do washing, one is a street peddler. The children either do nothing, peddle small things in the streets, or pick up things from rubbish dumps.<sup>74</sup>

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Two things are especially notable about Lamson's report. First, although Yangshupu was the largest industrial district of Shanghai, factory work was nevertheless the least prevalent occupation among

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the slum dwellers Lamson studied. Of course, slums that were not so close to factories were likely to have an even lower proportion of factory workers.

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Second, those who stated their occupation as "farmer" were actually unemployed or virtually unemployed. Yangshupu in the thirties was already a well-established industrial area where little land was available for farming. As early as the beginning of this century, rural life started to disappear in this area and many villagers, due in part to a lack of available land, gave up farming in favor of some type of urban employment.<sup>75</sup> As Lamson wrote, "most of the people living in these miserable huts are 'kiang-pei' or 'kompo' people from north of the Yangtze River. Having no friends or relatives, and being without means, these laborers have drifted to the big city to seek opportunities for employment." The "farmers" of Lamson's study were most likely former peasants but currently jobless in the city.

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Indeed, a large portion of shanty squatters were unemployed. An investigation conducted by the Bureau of Social Affairs of the Municipal Government of Greater Shanghai in 1928 of ten different labor and trade unions found that of 155,069 union members, 10,009 (6.45 percent) were unemployed.<sup>76</sup> In Cai's survey of Shanghai working families in 1929-1930, the unemployment rate was 8.74 percent.<sup>77</sup> Unemployment in the shantytowns must have been much higher than the city's average unemployment rate. During the Civil War period (1946-1949), for example, Shanghai's unemployment rate was about 5 percent,<sup>78</sup> while the unemployment rate in Yaoshuilong was 17.5 percent.<sup>79</sup> Another survey, of Fangualong, discovered something rather amazing: In 1949, 45.05 percent of the total households in this slum were without a single employed family member, and 51.49 percent had only one family member employed.<sup>80</sup>

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A postrevolutionary survey of 202 households in Lane 425, Datong Road, which was part of the former Fangualong slum, found that it was "extremely difficult" for members of the households to get factory employment and many of them were simply unemployed. In the late 1940s there were 91 households, 45 percent of the total households surveyed, without any family member employed. Of the households surveyed, among 404 adults between ages 16 to 45, there were 142 unemployed, or 35 percent of all adults. Among those who had a job,