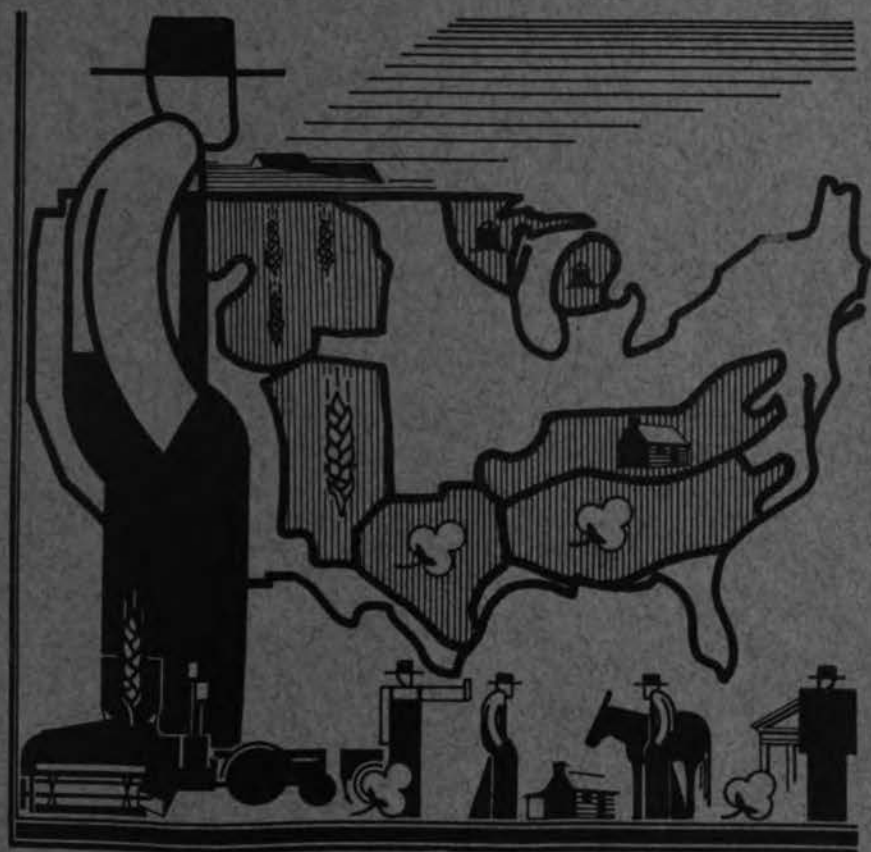


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SIX RURAL PROBLEM AREAS

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SIX RURAL PROBLEM AREAS RELIEF - RESOURCES - REHABILITATION

An Analysis of the Human and Material Resources in
Six Rural Areas with High Relief Rates

BY

P. G. BECK

AND

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OF THE RURAL RESEARCH UNIT

RESEARCH MONOGRAPH

I

WASHINGTON

1935

FEDERAL EMERGENCY RELIEF ADMINISTRATION

HARRY L HOPKINS, *Administrator*

Division of Research, Statistics and Finance
CORRINGTON GILL

Research Section
HOWARD B. MYERS

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL
FEDERAL EMERGENCY RELIEF ADMINISTRATION

Washington, D. C., September 20, 1935.

Sir: I have the honor to transmit herewith a report dealing with relief, resources, and rehabilitation in six rural high relief rate areas. The nature of the problems involved in these areas indicates the necessity for a fundamental readjustment of people and natural resources if the factors responsible for the relief situation are to be mitigated.

The survey was made during the summer of 1934 under the direction of Dwight Sanderson, Coordinator of Rural Research, June 1934—December 1934; E. D. Tetreau, Research Analyst; J. O. Babcock, Associate Research Analyst; and P. G. Beck, Associate Research Analyst.

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Dr. Harold C. Hoffsommer, Associate Professor of Sociology, Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Auburn, Alabama—Eastern Cotton Belt.

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This report was prepared by P. G. Beck and M. C. Forster. Both the survey and the preparation of the report were under the general direction of Howard B. Myers, Assistant Director in charge of research. Acknowledgement is due J. H. Kolb, Coordinator of Rural Research, March 1935 to September 1935, for constructive criticism during the preparation of this report. Acknowledgement is also made of the many other departments and individuals contributing to the survey.

CORRINGTON GILL,
Assistant Administrator
Division of Research, Statistics and Finance.

Hon. HARRY L. HOPKINS,
Federal Emergency Relief Administrator.

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SUMMARY

1. The 65 counties surveyed are representative of six areas which include approximately one-half of the rural families receiving relief in the United States. These areas included 36 percent of the rural population and 43 percent of the farmers (about one-third of the farm owners, almost one-half of the farm tenants and more than four-fifths of the farm croppers) of the United States in 1930. More than three-fourths of all Negro farmers were in the two Cotton Areas.

2. Within each of these Problem Areas there are large amounts of poor farm land which form one of the chief factors responsible for the more or less permanent nature of the relief problem, although this is less true of the Western Cotton Area than of the other areas.

3. Although two-thirds of the families receiving relief in the counties surveyed lived in the open country, and 55 percent of the heads of families were usually engaged in agriculture, the problem of assisting these families to become self-supporting is by no means wholly an agricultural one. Except in the Spring Wheat Area where drought was the chief factor, 32 to 70 percent of the heads of families were usually engaged in non-agricultural occupations and many of the farmers were receiving relief because of the loss of supplementary employment.

4. The causes underlying the necessity for relief and consequently the methods necessary for permanent rehabilitation are essentially different for the various areas.

- a. In the Appalachian-Ozark Area the relief households have largely depended upon subsistence farming with supplementary employment for cash income. Better methods of farming on better land with new sources of supplementary employment will be necessary. The reasons assigned for families receiving relief in this area were in the main reasons which indicated loss of supplementary employment. This area is also suffering from over-population which will be alleviated only through emigration, education, and the development of a higher standard of living.
- b. In the Lake States Cut-Over Area the problem is mainly one of loss of employment in mining and lumbering, combined

SIX RURAL PROBLEM AREAS

with a too rapid development of small farming on marginal land. The most promising solution for the latter condition is wide adoption of the zoning regulations now being set up by counties in Wisconsin, and the reforestation of large areas. Stranded mining populations will have to be moved or new kinds of industrial employment developed. Further development of recreational resources will also provide seasonal employment for a small proportion of the population.

- c. In the Short-Grass Wheat Areas the major cause of relief has been the unusual drought, but it must be recognized that periodically recurring dry years are the rule in the short-grass territory and that much land has been put under the plow which should have remained in grass. Here, again, some method of land classification and zoning which will limit the attempt to cultivate land where normal rainfall is so small as to make farming too hazardous a gamble will be necessary, and some of the present surplus population on this type of land will be forced to emigrate.
 - d. In the Cotton Areas, particularly in the Eastern Cotton Belt, the relief problem is complicated by the gradual breaking down of the share-cropper and "furnishing" system which has dominated the South since the period of reconstruction after the Civil War, and the consequent need for public relief by aged Negroes and female Negroes - widowed, divorced or separated - with young children. The agricultural system of the South is slowly shifting from the patriarchal system inherited from the days of slavery to one of independent tenancy and cash wages, a transition which has been hastened by the present depression. The primary economic problem is a readjustment of the system of farm management whereby greater security will be afforded farm tenants and laborers. The primary social problem is one of education looking toward an improved standard of living. Much of the relief problem in the South is a result of the inability of an unschooled, almost illiterate group to adjust itself to changing economic conditions.
5. The lack of schooling of a large proportion of the heads of relief families appears to be one reason for their being on relief, inasmuch as the least trained tend to be the first to

be dropped and the last to be employed whether for wages in industry or as farm tenants or laborers. In all but the two Wheat Areas over 30 percent of the heads of families had less than 5 years schooling, and in the Eastern Cotton Belt 51 percent of the Negro heads and 20 percent of the white heads of families had had no formal schooling. As long as so large a proportion of the poorer classes lack sufficient education to manage intelligently their own affairs there will be need of public relief and social case work. It would seem a good investment of funds to maintain adequate school facilities, with federal aid if necessary, as partial insurance against federal relief in the future.

6. About one-fourth of the heads of households were persons 65 years of age or over and females - widowed, divorced or separated - with children. Not all of these may be qualified for old-age or mothers' pensions, but these two forms of social insurance would undoubtedly care for at least a fifth of the cases now receiving relief in the counties studied.

7. The depression in agriculture has undoubtedly uncovered many cases now reckoned permanently incapable of self-support who in years past had achieved a meager livelihood or had been supported from local funds. Thus but 2 percent of the cases studied had ever received relief prior to 1930, these presumably being those least able to support themselves, while about 20 percent of the cases were judged (in June 1934) to require continuous financial aid and supervision and to be incapable of rehabilitation. (Among the Negroes in the Eastern and Western Cotton Areas this rose to 39 and 23 percent, respectively.) It seems fairly clear that the cases involved in this difference had not, for the most part, received relief heretofore but that most of them will have to be cared for from public funds in the future.

INTRODUCTION

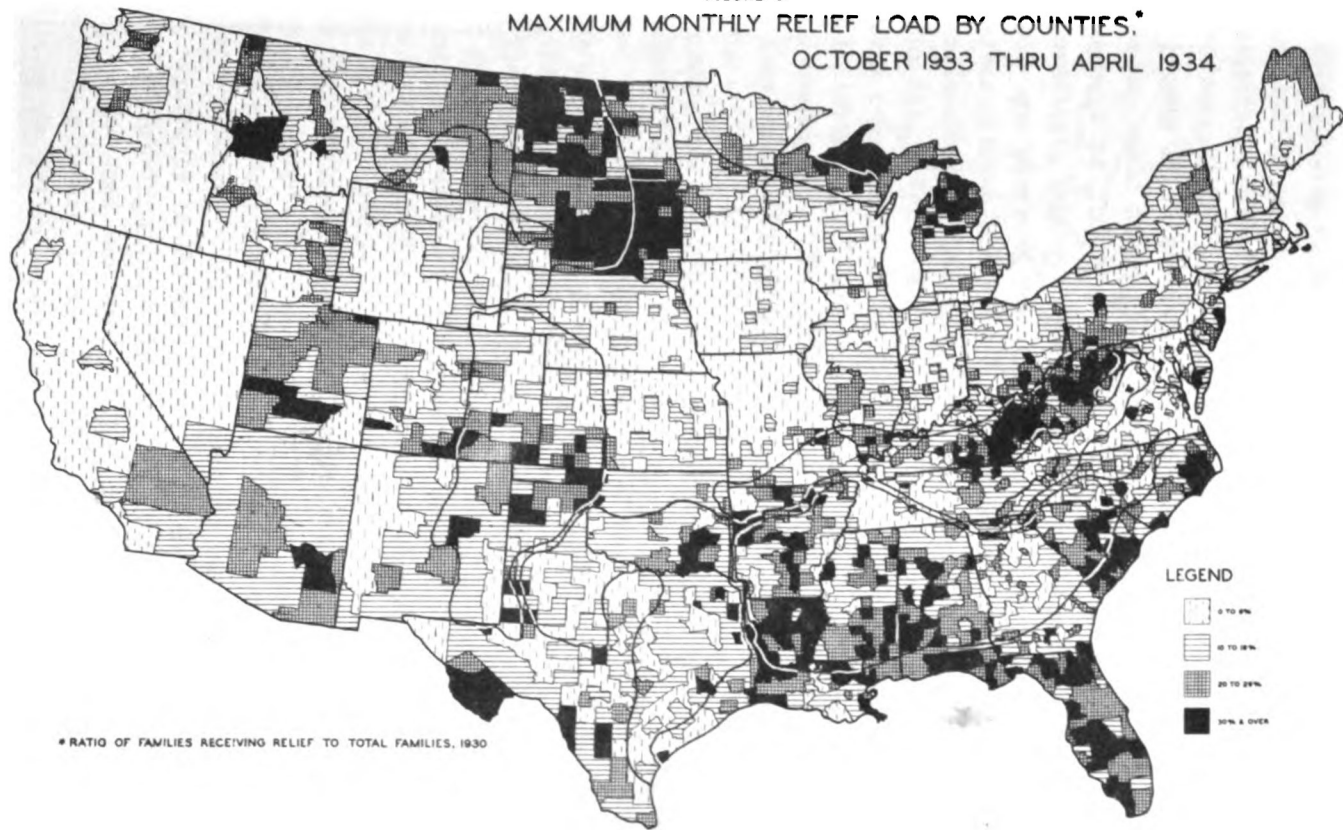
As records of the number of families receiving unemployment relief became available on a nation-wide scale in 1933, it was evident that most of the areas with exceptionally high relief rates were rural regions in which the majority of the people lived in the open country, or villages and towns of fewer than 5,000 inhabitants. Study of county relief rates for several consecutive months revealed well-defined rural areas in which many counties reported 20 to 30 percent or more of their families receiving relief (Fig. 1).¹ It was tentatively concluded that the causes of such a condition were to be found in certain fundamental maladjustments between human and material resources and that the economic depression had simply brought many families on relief who were hardly able to maintain their independence under normal conditions. Further study made it possible to outline six homogeneous areas for special study (Fig. 2). They were the Appalachian-Ozark, the Lake States Cut-Over, the Short-Grass Spring Wheat, the Short-Grass Winter Wheat, the Western Cotton and the Eastern Cotton Areas. In each one a specific combination of factors appeared to be associated with high relief rates.

Although one-fifth of the population of the United States lived in the six areas in 1930, they included less than one-fourteenth of the population living in cities of 5,000 or more inhabitants. However, the areas contained over one-fourth of the population living in towns of 2,500 to 5,000 inhabitants. (Appendix Table I) On the other hand, more than two-fifths of the farmers of the United States lived in them in 1930. The two Cotton Areas alone included 77 percent of the farm croppers and 36 percent of all other farm tenants. (Appendix Table II) Moreover, two-thirds of the Negro farmers of the United States were in the Eastern Cotton Belt in 1930 (Appendix Table III); the two Cotton Areas taken together included 77 percent of all Negro farmers (52 percent of the owners, 87 percent of the croppers and 80 percent of other tenants) in the United States in 1930.

The predominance of rural and of farm populations in most of

¹Tables and figures in the text have Arabic numerals.
Roman numerals denote tables and figures in Appendices.

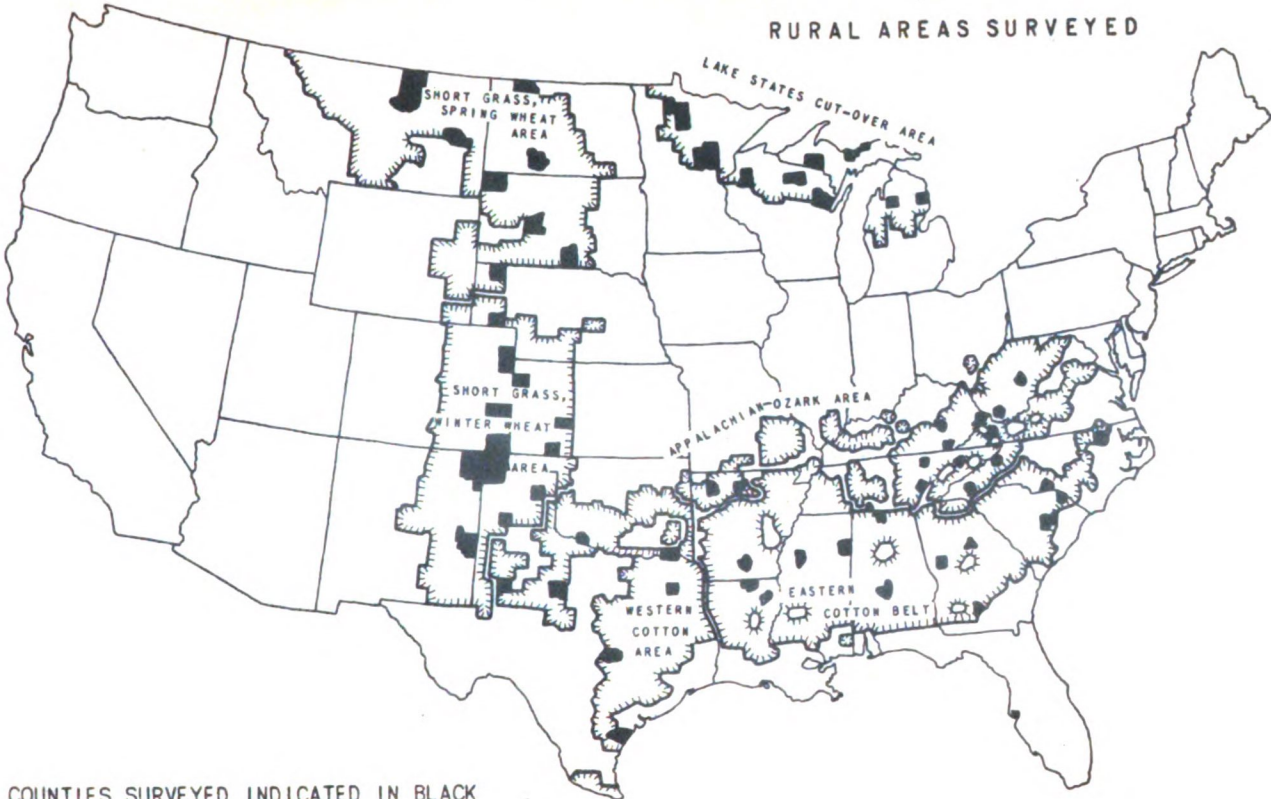
FIGURE 1.
MAXIMUM MONTHLY RELIEF LOAD BY COUNTIES.*
OCTOBER 1933 THRU APRIL 1934



* RATIO OF FAMILIES RECEIVING RELIEF TO TOTAL FAMILIES, 1930

FIGURE 2

RURAL AREAS SURVEYED



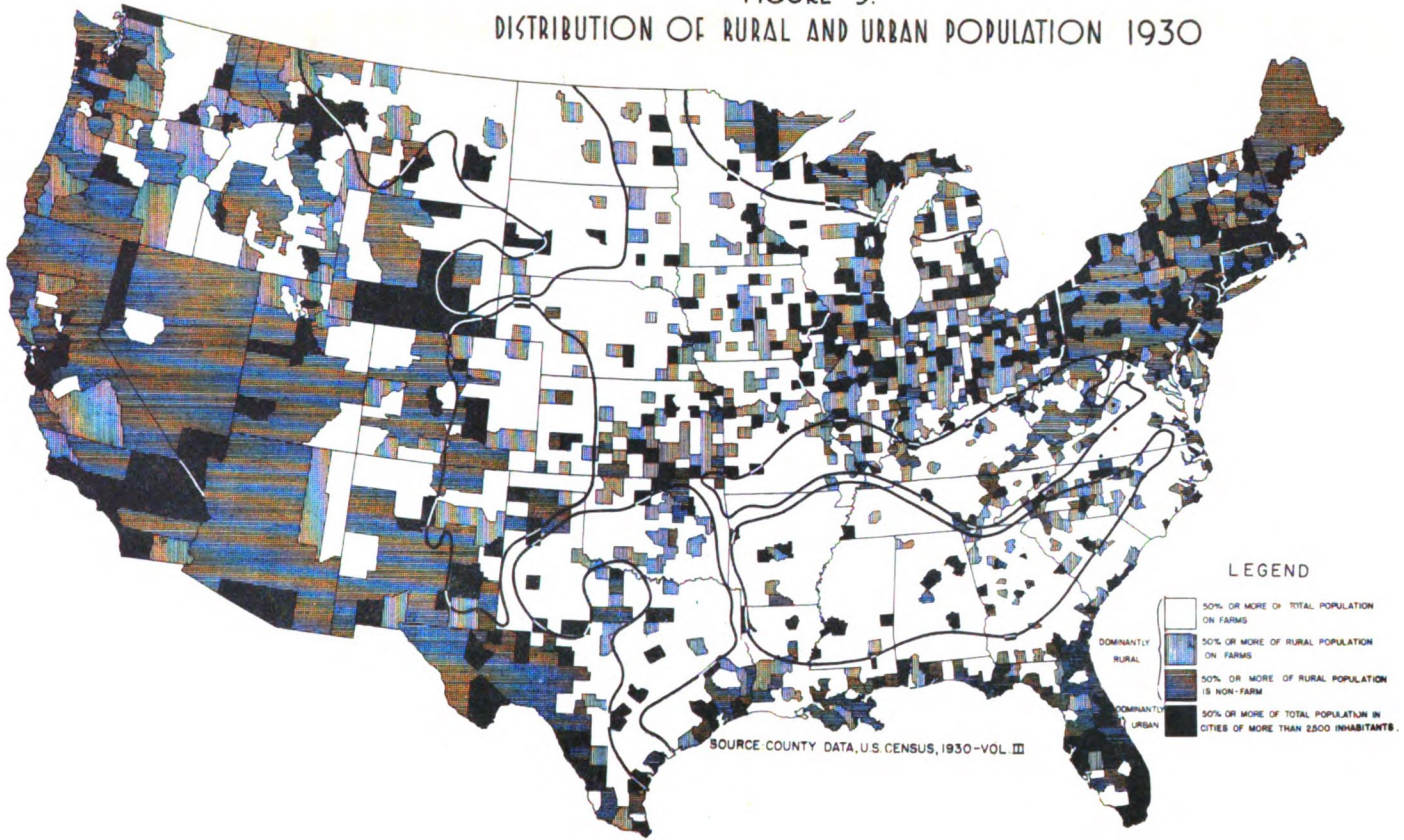
COUNTIES SURVEYED INDICATED IN BLACK

the counties of these areas is indicated graphically in Figure 3. Note the light area extending southward through the Great Plains and eastward through the Appalachians and the Cotton Belt.

Although crop failure, speculative expansion, absentee ownership, and depressed price levels were among the factors which precipitated the relief situation in the six rural problem areas, the roots of the trouble obviously lay deeper. The frontier philosophy which assumed that the individual, if given complete freedom, would pursue an economic course that was to the best interests of society, led to the present dilemma of stranded communities, bankrupt farmers and widespread unemployment. The rapid and heedless exploitation of the human and natural resources in these areas bears tragic witness to the fruits of such a philosophy. In the Lake States Cut-Over and Appalachian-Ozark Areas the destruction of the forests is a prime example of the social consequences of our lack of national policy with respect to the utilization of natural resources. In both areas commercial companies cut the marketable timber, destroying small growth as they went, thus delaying the day when the area might again yield a timber crop. When the timber was exhausted, the communities created during the period of exploitation were left stranded. Yet under a planned system of timber utilization these communities could have supported their populations over a long period of years without the misery and suffering entailed by the exploitation of their resources for immediate profits.

The philosophy which condoned the destruction of the forests for private gain is not confined to any one area as the relief situation in the Short Grass region aptly illustrates. In the period of high wheat prices following the World War, large acreages of virgin sod were broken and planted to wheat. Because of the chances for quick profits farmers rushed into wheat production on a large scale with little thought of whether the farm economy which they were setting up could weather the vicissitudes of a series of dry years such as had occurred with disturbing regularity in the past. Neither did they consider the effects of removing all of the vegetation from large areas in which erosion by wind was common. The present relief situation is patently a result of the philosophy of making a "killing" and letting the future take care of itself. Not only the farmers, but the state governments pursued a policy which could only lead to economic disaster. Specific discussions of each area will clarify these generalizations.

FIGURE 3.
DISTRIBUTION OF RURAL AND URBAN POPULATION 1930



I. THE PROBLEM AREAS DEFINED

Because the central interest of this study was in the nature and situation of the groups receiving relief in the several areas, and the prospects of rehabilitating them, it was necessary to assemble and analyze data on the areas as wholes. The families receiving relief were obviously casualties of the economic system under which they lived. As a necessary preliminary to the extensive discussion of the types of families receiving relief, these data may profitably be presented in very summary fashion at this point. From such a review it should be possible to conclude what points about the families and their situation will have validity in all areas. These established, the method followed in assembling the data about them will be presented and the stage set for a detailed discussion of the populations which were actually receiving relief in June 1934. These groups may reasonably be taken as characteristic of the casualties in the several areas at any time before the necessary corrective measures have been taken or some important change in the general economic situation has come about. No such change occurred between the making of the survey and the composition of this final report. Rather the unfavorable conditions were intensified in several of the areas and the families on relief increased in number.

A. The Appalachian-Ozark Area

As the name implies, this area consists of the Appalachian Highlands, its ridges, valleys and plateaus, extending from Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, south and west through West Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina and Tennessee and also the Ozark Mountain country of Arkansas, Missouri, and eastern Oklahoma. The early westward migrations from the Shenandoah Valley and the Virginia coastal plain flowed through this area, and the pioneers first occupied the more fertile valley and bottom lands, but later the less productive highlands were taken up. With the extension of the western frontier in the 1830's and after, particularly following the building of the western railroads, migration into the area practically ceased and in its isolation it developed a distinctive mountaineer, agrarian cul-

ture. Increases in population led to the clearing of more and more land on the hillsides since the arable bottom land was of limited area, and erosion early became an acute problem. In fact the highland plains and the hilly regions are submarginal for intensive farming. Rainfall throughout the area is quite adequate, ranging between 40 and 50 inches per year.¹ Even today but 17 percent of the area is in crop land with 60 percent in forest land, largely second growth (15, p. 16).² The area as outlined in Figure 2 includes all the counties in the region in which 15 percent or more of all farms were, in 1929, classified as self-sufficing.³ The population, almost wholly native white, and primarily of English and Scotch-Irish stock, has a rate of natural increase in excess of that of any group of white people of comparable size in the United States. The population definitely presses on the means of subsistence and is an important influence in keeping the standard of living low.

The period of isolation lasted until about 1880 when commercial lumbering was first attempted in the region, followed later by mining. With an increase in the demand for lumber, the virgin timber lands were stripped in utter disregard for the needs of the resident population. Moreover, the introduction of a higher wage rate than was customary in these backwoods areas disrupted the old self-sufficient culture and introduced a way of life for which the inhabitants were entirely unprepared. Today it is apparent that even had they been prepared, insufficient time was allowed for the process, for the resources on which the new economic system was based disappeared with great rapidity. The result was that many thousands of the inhabitants were suspended mid-way between two disparate systems and their insecurity was intensified by this fact when the depression came.

The cycle of exploitation followed a fairly uniform pattern. With the beginning of operations, the high wages of the mining or mill communities attracted workers from the hills and employed them in exploiting the area's natural resources. Employment was very unstable and when the profitable timber was depleted or when the mining operations became unprofitable, the mill operators moved on and the mines closed leaving the communities which they had created without their usual means of support.

¹For rainfall and native vegetation maps showing all areas surveyed, see Figure I, Appendix B.

²Refers to list of references on page 165.

³Farms for which the value of the farm products used by the family was 50 percent or more of the total value of all products.

In Jackson County, Kentucky, for example, the timber industry was centered in two companies. They existed between 1914 and 1929. When the first company closed in 1924 most of the employees found work with the second, but when it closed in 1929 approximately 300 families were left stranded. In a survey of nine counties in northern West Virginia, 91 stranded communities were uncovered; 62 of these had been dependent upon coal mining and 23 upon lumbering (20, p. 84). While the families of these communities comprised only 11 percent of the families in these nine counties, they represented over 50 percent of the relief load and although many of them attempted farming, their inexperience, the poor soil and the adverse crop conditions in 1930 and 1931 resulted in no improvement of their economic position.

Bank failures and tax delinquency had only an indirect effect upon the relief families as the farmers receiving relief were on the smaller and poorer farms. They had influence, however, through the contraction of supplementary private and public employment.

B. The Lake States Cut-Over Area

The northern limits of this area are the Great Lakes and the Canadian border, and the southern boundary is set by the length of the growing season and soil type. Because of the short growing season (90 to 120 days) and the prevalence of poor, stony soil, the plow has not been successful in following the ax as in states to the south where many of the settlers originated. The area therefore presents the spectacle of decadent lumber, woodworking and mining industries in a region where recourse to agricultural pursuits is unprofitable because of climatic and soil conditions. The population is predominantly native white, a considerable proportion of the people are of Scandinavian origin, and the area includes important American Indian populations. The area is dotted with lakes and most of the land is covered with stumps, reminders of the days when the entire region was covered with virgin forest. Today the timber resources are almost entirely exhausted except in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. Subsurface resources are iron and copper ore.

Long latent social and economic maladjustments are at the roots of the relief problem. They have been a malignant growth resulting from the three waves of economic exploitation which have swept through the area since it was opened to occupancy.

The first phase occurred with the development of copper mining and later, of iron mining, the second during the mushroom growth and rapid decline of the lumber industry which left, in its wake, unused railroads, depleted timber resources and stranded towns. This decline led to a third, an over-emphasis on agriculture brought about by the colonization schemes of states and large land-holders who induced families to settle on unfavorable soils and under poor climatic conditions.

The topography varies from level to very rough. Over most of the area gravelly and stony loams predominate. In particular areas marsh and swamp lands and sandy soils, low in moisture holding capacity, are prominent. The soils are characteristic of timber lands and are deficient in humus though normal in content of potential mineral plant food.

Rainfall varies from 20 to 40 inches. Such light rainfall on light soils is a serious handicap to successful crop production. For most of the Cut-Over region, the frost-free season is between 100 and 130 days, though in certain inland regions this period drops to less than 60 days. Soil erosion—wind or rainfall, sheet or gully—is not a particularly important factor.

Copper mining began in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan in 1847 and this area led in copper production until 1887 when it was displaced by the opening of the mines in Montana. A sharp decrease in the demand and the opening of rich deposits in Africa where cheap labor made it possible to deliver the product in London for less than five cents per pound depressed the domestic price below the cost of producing Michigan copper (12.5 cents per pound in 1930). The present prospect of the mines reopening is not particularly hopeful. Iron ore mining has been a principal industry since 1854 when production began in Michigan. Minnesota definitely displaced Michigan as the leading producer of iron ore about 1900 with the opening of the Mesabi Range followed in 1905-1906 by the Cuyuna Range. The depression affected both ranges equally and operations have been contracted. Although the data indicate an apparent recovery and show an increase in the tonnage of ore shipped, it is not an accurate barometer of employment conditions as much of the current increase represents a reduction of mined surpluses.

Logging and lumbering enterprises developed rapidly soon after the area was opened. Lumber mills, shipping centers and wood-working industries opened, grew and were prosperous, and

along with their growth, villages and towns were incorporated and flourished, only to decline after the lumbering industry had exhausted the virgin timber and left a wake of cut-over land covered with debris, brush and unmarketable second growth timber.

The present situation is summarized by Zon (12, p. 5):

"Two significant facts with regard to forests and forest lands in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota stand out clearly. First, that the area of the remaining old merchantable timber is small (17.7 percent of the total forest land) as compared with the large area of oncoming second growth (46.4 percent) and the vast area of non-restocking and unproductive cut-over land (35.9 percent); second, that most of the forest land (95 percent) is owned by private individuals and corporations."

The history of agriculture is that of the speculative land boom. The development described by the committee on Land Utilization in Minnesota (4, p. 56) is characteristic of the whole area:

"In the settlement of both southern and northern Minnesota, public policies encouraged the transfer of all kinds of public lands to private ownership and permitted the uncontrolled exploitation of the natural resources. These policies, which were so successful in the development of the agricultural lands of the southern part of the state, had entirely different results when applied in the north. In a large measure the unfortunate situation now prevailing in the cut-over counties can be attributed to the public policies of the past.

"The great forests of pine and spruce which were once the pride of northern Minnesota are now practically gone. The early lumberman assumed that the forests were practically inexhaustible, and it was the common belief that substantially all the cut-over land was suitable and would ultimately be needed for agricultural settlement.

"The cutting of the timber was followed by an attempt, fostered by land promoters, to settle the cut-over lands. The state, the railroad and logging companies, and other large landholders for years engaged in extensive advertising and selling campaigns to dispose of their lands. In one way or another all asserted that for the man of small means who wished to become independent, the cut-over lands offered excellent agricultural opportunities. Farmers and city dwellers, both native and foreign-born, heard the call of the land salesmen and bought land in the cut-over region. Today the evidence of their heroic efforts to clear and till the land is every-

where to be seen. Some of them found good land, of course, but many others located upon sandy, swampy, and stony land unsuitable for cultivation."

The economic depression, therefore, precipitated from the social economy of the Lake States Cut-Over Area a series of immediate problems which forced families of this area on the relief rolls. The depressed price level increased tax delinquency, made the farm debt structure top heavy, brought on bank failures, contracted part-time employment, and made farming unprofitable. From 1920 to 1930 tax rates increased until some farmers were paying about one-third of their net income to the county treasurer. Data from a preliminary and scattered survey on debt structures of farmers in this area "show that the indebtedness of individual farmers ranged from 85 to 150 percent of their total assessed value of all property. In some instances the indebtedness was as high as 600 percent" (7, p. 46). This probably is a biased sample as only 53 percent of the farm owners on relief reported real estate mortgages, but it does indicate the presence of this problem among the factors which forced families onto relief rolls.

Part-time farmers, lumbermen, and mine workers and the more frugal families who had laid aside funds for old age were forced onto the relief rolls by the failure of the banks. Commercial and public funds of the locality were frozen, throwing out of employment those men who were dependent upon such funds for part-time work to supplement earnings at their usual occupation.

The conditions surrounding the families usually dependent on mine operations for employment can be illustrated by the situation in Crow Wing County, Minnesota. Two movements, technological improvements in mining methods and the consolidation of mines, are particularly relevant. For example, by electrification and other technological developments one mine which formerly employed 325 men now produces twice as much ore with 125 men. On the other hand, consolidations in the last few years have resulted in five operating companies instead of fifteen, and two of the five are small. One social disadvantage of the larger companies is that they operate the more profitable mines, leaving the others and their dependent communities idle until needed.

The lumbering, wood-working and paper industries have never been interested in developing a stable population and those companies owned by outside agencies have, on the contrary, encour-

aged migratory labor and caused great unemployment, the expense of which has now had to be shouldered by the local communities and industries. Technological changes in the wood products industry have also increased unemployment. The introduction of a process of tanning that does not require hemlock bark threw 200 men out of employment in one county. Decreased mine operations had a concomitant effect upon the forest lands of the mining companies, for men usually engaged in cutting mine props were laid off. Low prices caused shut-downs by timber operators as well as by lumber jobbers who not only employed a large number of men in the woods, but bought logs, tie and pulpwood cuttings from the small farmers to whom this type of lumbering was a supplementary occupation.

Many of the farm families settling in this area depended upon supplementary employment for income to keep going while clearing their fields. With the decline in wage levels more and more time was required off the farm to insure a living income, and when employment utterly failed, many farmers found that their cleared ground had gone to brush. Families living in the open country were discovered having farms of 40, 60, and 80 acres with but 2 to 10 acres cleared, certainly not enough land to insure them self-support.

Other farm families specialized in commercial agriculture but failed to clear enough land to make profitable operations possible except under extraordinarily favorable conditions. In the case of overstocked dairy and stock farms they resorted to the purchasing of feed as long as this was a profitable procedure—as long as dairy and stock prices were high. However, when farm prices were depressed, it was impossible for them to keep out of debt as they had insufficient cleared land available for crop production and hay.

C. The Short Grass Wheat Areas: General Observations

The short grass country is found between the 100th meridian on the East and the Rocky Mountains on the West. The eastern boundary marks the line where the tall grass of the Eastern Great Plains gives way to the wiry short grass because of type of soil and scanty moisture; it follows the 18-inch precipitation line from northwestern North Dakota southward to the 24-inch line in Texas where, because the rate of evaporation is higher, the growing conditions are comparable in spite of the

higher average rainfall. The Short Grass Area is conventionally divided into two parts, the Spring Wheat and the Winter Wheat Areas. In both, the available moisture is so low that dry land farming methods are followed. Only one crop in two years can be produced on any given piece of land, since it must, in alternate years, lie fallow to accumulate sub-soil moisture. The Black Hills country of South Dakota and other well watered sections are, for the most part, excluded from the area as here defined.

1. *The Spring Wheat Area.* The northern half of the Short Grass region, known as the Spring Wheat Area, is geologically new and in many counties the soil is shallow and unsuitable for arable agriculture. The topography of the region is generally rolling and, in some sections, dotted with buttes. It lies to the west of the glaciated area and exhibits the usual characteristics of shales and sandstones which have weathered under dry land conditions. The soils are lighter in color than those to the East and they are generally called the "Dark Brown Belt" or "Chestnut Earths". This lighter color is largely due to a light rainfall and consequently to a less vigorous plant growth and to a lower content of organic matter than in soils of deeper color. Much of the area has been cut up into small holdings occupied by homesteaders; the native sod has been plowed up and planted to spring wheat, other small grains and flax. Small farms, thin soils, and the unreliable moisture conditions in the area, combine to make crop production a precarious business. The average annual precipitation ranges from 15 to 20 inches, but marked annual deviations from normal precipitation result in periodical crop failures. (See Figure II.) Except for gold and other minerals in the Black Hills, the most important subsurface resources are stone, clay and lignite coal, the latter being available in large quantities in the Western Dakotas and Eastern Montana. This area is sparsely populated, containing only ten cities of 5,000 or more inhabitants outside the Black Hills region. The population contains a large number of people of Scandinavian and German origin.

Previous to the opening of this area by the railroads in 1900, which marked the beginning of a colonization program by the states and the railroads, ranching was the primary industry. The range was free and plentiful which permitted much feed to be cured while standing and cattle could feed off the open range

the year round. Since 1900 the population of the area has increased rapidly as has the acreage of land in farms and the acreage of land sown to small grain (primarily wheat). With the breaking of sod and the beginning of intensive dry land farming, this area was thrown open to wind and sheet erosion which has continued until at present it constitutes a serious problem (Fig. III). A normal drought frequency dovetailed with low crop prices and with a change from ranching to a more intensive dry land type of agriculture is basic in the relief problems of the area.

Tax delinquency in the counties surveyed ranged between \$42 and \$90 per family and bank failures have been frequent, the average loss per family ranging up to \$140. Since in this area a ruling existed that a family's resources should either be exhausted or mortgaged before relief was granted, the relief rolls contained those families whose resources were practically depleted. This ruling when combined with the high relief rate of the area (28 percent) clearly indicates that the mortgage load throughout the area was exceedingly heavy. There is no question but that the loss, potential or real, of assets played a considerable role in bringing many families to the relief rolls.

2. *The Winter Wheat Area.* The southern part of the Short Grass region is known by its principal crop, winter wheat. Its soils are generally brown with calcareous subsoils, and are easily pulverized. The growing season is longer than in the Spring Wheat Area and a greater diversity of crops is possible. In addition to wheat and other small grains, cotton, the sorghums, and corn are important crops. The normal precipitation is from 15 to 25 inches. Dry land farming has been greatly extended during the past 15 years by the introduction of the tractor and the combine. Although the population has also been increasing rapidly during the present century, the area is still sparsely settled and contains only four cities of 5,000 or more inhabitants. Old American stock predominates, with a considerable number of Spanish-Americans, and many Mexicans in some counties of New Mexico and Colorado. Extensive oil fields in the vicinity of Amarillo, Texas, tap the only important sub-surface resource other than stone, gravel and clay.

The area, as it was settled in the westward migration, was devoted to cattle grazing, but the level prairies were inviting to the establishment of small homesteads and to the extension

of dry land farming. With the building of railroads, the development of farm machinery for extensive farming—gang plows, tractors and combines—and a market price for wheat favorable to dry land wheat farming, immigration increased and the area shifted from an extensive pastoral economy to a wheat growing economy. In some of the counties this shift did not occur until 1926 and 1927. In Baca County, Colorado, where the extension of a railroad in 1927 facilitated the shift, about 60 percent of the sod had been turned for wheat by 1931.

An example of the complex factors underlying the relief problem in the Winter Wheat Area is furnished by data from Western Kansas. The Winter Wheat Area includes the western third of the state. The land is gently rolling in a fashion typical of prairie land. It lies in the 15 to 24 inch rainfall belt and before the sod was broken the natural cover was buffalo grass. Since 1913 the acreage sown to wheat has increased three-fold. This expansion was facilitated by the production of a wheat suitable to the soil and climatic conditions of the area, and by the introduction and increased use of tractors and combines which made extensive farming practical. Since 1915 the number of tractors in the area has increased eight-fold and since 1923 the number of combines has increased three-fold (Table IV).

If for a number of years the deviations from normal rainfall between May and August are distributed, between one-fifth and one-sixth of the years are found to have less than two-thirds of the normal precipitation (Fig. II). Generalizing, it might be said that a deficient rainfall during the growing season is to be expected periodically. A deficient rainfall is not the sole agent responsible for crop failure, however, but its correlation with the seasons, with temperature conditions, with prevalence of grasshoppers, rust, etc., produces a rather striking cycle of crop successes and failures. Wheat sown in the fall may not weather the winter or it may have adverse growing conditions during the spring and a proportion of the acreage sown is not harvested. An examination of the data on crop abandonment in this area since 1911 shows quite an unusual picture of crop successes. In Figure 4 the cycle of crop failure and crop successes shows a five year period. The regularity of the cycles is significant and emphasizes the need for long time crop planning and crop control, if a similar fluctuation in farm in-

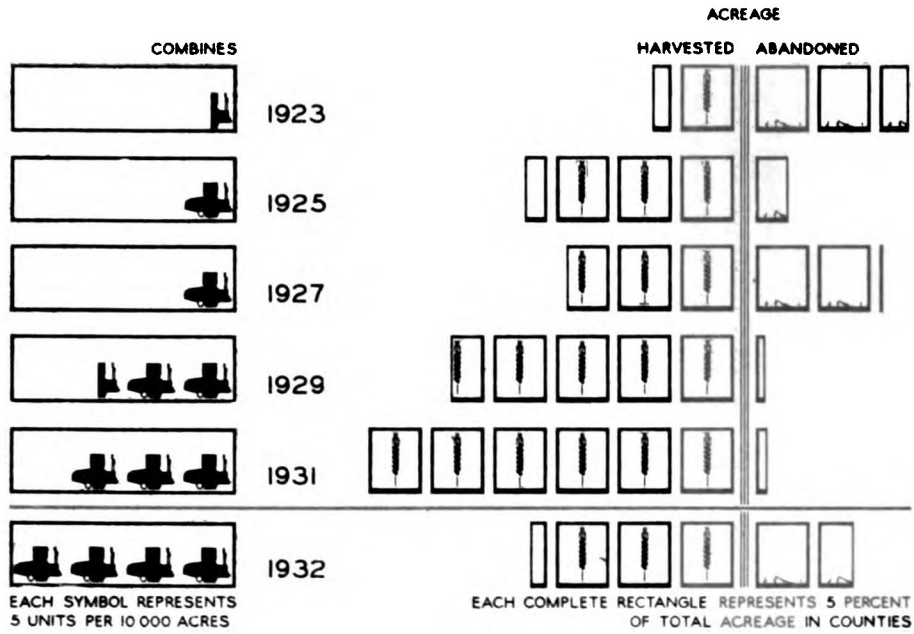


FIGURE 4: COMBINES AND WHEAT ACREAGE
IN THE KANSAS COUNTIES IN THE WINTER WHEAT AREA

come is to be eliminated and a stable economy established.

The present adverse farming conditions in Kansas were precipitated by conditions not previously suffered. The current crop failure has as antecedents successive years of deficient rainfall and an excess of temperature. The climatic conditions have dehydrated the top soils and with no cover crops wind erosion has been more serious than usual. Furthermore, it has been estimated that between 10 and 20 percent of the farm acreage in Kansas had been destroyed by water erosion before the summer of 1935 (16, p. 75). With larger proportions of grazing lands devoted to wheat, the existing range lands have been over-grazed under the abnormal weather conditions. However, the cattle men are less severely hit by the present conditions than the dry land farmers.

D. The Eastern Cotton Belt

As outlined in Figure 2, this area includes almost all counties east of Oklahoma and Texas in which 40 percent or more of the land in crops was planted to cotton in 1929. Its northern limit is set by the line of 200 frost-free days of growing season, a line determined by the configuration of the country. The Ozark Highlands push the line southward in northeastern Arkansas, and the Appalachian Highlands turn it southward across eastern Tennessee, from which point it runs eastward across northern Georgia and then continues in a north-easterly direction through western North Carolina. The southern limit is set by precipitation, for more than 10 to 11 inches of autumnal rain delays cotton picking and damages the lint.

The most common soils of the region are the yellowish sandy and silt loams, the reddish sandy and clay loams and the alluvial deposits in the delta regions. The soils of the coastal plains, the clay hills and the rolling uplands in Mississippi, Alabama (the Black Belt), southwestern Arkansas and Louisiana are normally very fertile. In the more hilly regions in the northern portion of the area, particularly the Old Piedmont region, the soils are stony, less fertile and seriously eroded. Annual precipitation varies from 40 to 50 inches and water erosion has been extensive in the rolling uplands which have been in constant cotton production and without a cover crop for a number of years. The original cover was timber. At the present time about 60 percent of the land is in farms and 40 per-

cent under intensive cultivation. Over half of the harvested area is in cotton which contributes a large proportion to the total products sold (19, p. 41). Corn is next in importance, but it is largely a maintenance crop for the work stock and human population. From 70 to 80 percent of all gainful workers are employed in agriculture and five percent in closely allied industries. Although the Cotton Belt ranked second to the Corn Belt in total value of agricultural products (1929), the average value of farm products per person was about 60 percent lower (19, p. 41). Thus a problem closely allied to that of adequate farm living conditions is one of parity in income of farm operators. Any maladjustment in the cotton business affects over three-quarters of the gainful workers in the area. Many cotton textile mills are located in the smaller cities and villages of the Piedmont country of the Carolinas, Georgia, and Alabama. Four cities of 100,000 or more inhabitants serve as major assembling and distributing centers.

The population increased most rapidly prior to the Civil War when cotton culture and the plantation system, which were later to be so influential in the area's maladjustment, became established. On the plantations that had withstood the reconstruction period following the Civil War, the cropper system displaced the old slave system. For a satisfactory share of the harvest, the landlord would agree to "furnish" the cropper while he cultivated the crop. The "furnish" consisted of living quarters, foodstuff and equipment. The cropper and his family furnished the labor, and the family with a large number of workers was always more satisfactory as a tenant. After the harvest the cropper would be paid for his portion of the crop less the value of his "furnish." In the "Black Belt", as for example in Dallas County, Alabama, cotton raising became less profitable following the dissolution of the slave system and many of the owners moved from the plantations to the towns, and rented their land. This divorcement of the owner from the immediate cultivation of the land was one of the central characteristics of the economic situation in the "Black Belt." In the counties surveyed in the Eastern Cotton Belt, 78 percent of the farm operators were either croppers or tenants (23) and 69 percent of these were Negroes. Under absentee ownership the depletion of soil fertility was rapid through constant cotton culture, soil erosion and inefficient management. While the cropper system

offered ample opportunity for the landlords to be fair, and some croppers may have profited under the system (9, Sec. II), in general, the cropper's independence was only nominal. Obviously, the system was merely a variation of the old slave relationship and kept the cropper on the margin of economic existence. This marginal existence, with its pseudo-economic freedom along with the owner's spirit of the landed aristocracy, emphasized whatever deficiencies appeared in the cropper class, fostered an attitude of dependence and suppressed initiative.

Before and during the World War the price of cotton was favorable to the development of a one crop agricultural system, but in the post-war depression two factors appeared which led inexorably to the present relief situation. The first was a depressed market price. Under a high price level the marginal and submarginal lands could be extensively fertilized, thus partially restoring the plant food of the soil and insuring a profitable crop, but with low prices this undertaking led to bankruptcy. At about the same time the boll weevil spread into the Eastern Cotton Belt from Mexico. In 1910 it was noticeably present in Mississippi, in 1914 in Alabama, and in 1921 in Georgia. The severity and quickness of its onslaught is indicated in the following data on the number of bales of cotton ginned in Morgan County, Georgia, from 1916 to 1933 (21, p. XIV):

Years	Bales (IN 000's)	Years	Bales (IN 000's)
1916	23	1925	6
1917	26	1926	10
1918	35	1927	10
1919	36	1928	12
1920	30	1929	13
1921	7	1930	16
1922	2	1931	14
1923	2	1932	10
1924	5	1933	11

Although the boll weevil is under partial control, this county has never equaled its former production of cotton. The disastrous effect of the boll weevil, coupled with a depressed market price, reduced not only the owner's profits but also the tenant's standard of living. Until the owners refused to re-engage all of their croppers and offered "furnish" to selected families only, or to the able workers within a family, this low

standard of living was masked. When the unemployed members were forced onto relief, the conditions came to light as an acute social problem. In this manner the contraction of credit and the depletion of owners' reserves precipitated the social and racial problem of the Eastern Cotton Belt. The cropper problem has received rather extensive treatment in various places, but the story is the same for the tenant and the farm laborer, whether white or Negro, as there is little distinction between these tenure classes.

E. The Western Cotton Area

This area includes those parts of Oklahoma and Texas where cotton farms predominate, the western limit being the 20 inch precipitation line. (Cotton growing without irrigation requires about 20 inches of rainfall.) The eastern portion was originally covered with timber. Average annual precipitation decreases from 50 inches in the east to 15 inches in the west as the timber lands give way to the short grass of the Great Plains. In the eastern portion, the soil is a continuation of the fertile land of the Eastern Cotton Belt, but in the western and more arid sections the brown and less fertile soils of the wheat areas are prevalent.

In the period following the World War the acreage under cultivation increased at a rapid rate in response to a high market price and to physiographic conditions of the western part of this area which were favorable to cotton growing but unfavorable to the boll weevil. The increase continued up to 1929 and during this development over nine million acres were opened to cotton cultivation in Texas and Oklahoma. Although this increase represented only four percent of the total acreage, it was 17 percent of all land under cultivation in 1930 and over 40 percent of the acreage devoted to cotton in 1930.

Such an expansion of a one crop agricultural system created its own labor problems as its seasonal work demanded heavy peak loads of labor. As a consequence there are large tenant, cropper and farm laboring groups with extremely low annual incomes. In some cases the laborers have been described as being under a more intolerable slave system than that which existed in the Eastern Cotton Belt before the Civil War. Approximately half (49 percent) of the heads of families on relief in this area were either tenants, croppers, or farm laborers.

Tax delinquency, the debt structure, and bank failures had an effect upon the relief rolls insofar as they operated to contract employment and to reduce wage rates.

The recent drought brought about the present crisis. On the average, this area has a marked deficiency in precipitation about every fifth year. When the cotton crop is destroyed by drought, the soil is generally so dry that no other crop could have been produced. Both of these factors indicate the great need for a long-range agricultural program in the more arid parts of the area so that the production of the more prosperous years can tide the farmers over the inevitable lean years. However, this point of view is not frequently found among pioneer farmers.

F. The Problems Common to All Areas and How the Data on Them Were Assembled

From the foregoing review it is apparent that in each of the six areas the factors which appear to be associated with high relief rates are such that the problem of helping the families to become self-supporting and to maintain themselves at a socially desirable standard of living involves more fundamental measures than the granting of relief over a short period of time. They are areas in which unemployment relief will need to be given continuously or at periodic intervals in the future unless drastic measures are taken to remove the causes of the economic insecurity. Yet each of the areas presents a distinctive set of social and economic problems which must be taken into consideration in planning a program of rehabilitation. Nevertheless, reduced to its elements, each such set of conditions involves:

1. The types of families receiving relief and the capacity of each to become self-supporting under specified economic and social conditions.
2. The social and economic resources of the areas in which these families live and their availability for the rehabilitation of the families receiving relief.
3. The relationships of the types of families receiving relief to the social and economic resources of the areas in which they live.
4. The role of relief policies and practices in each area in determining the number and types of families receiving relief, i.e., consideration

of the validity of the relief rates as a measure of the degree and types of socio-economic maladjustment in each area.

Each of these points is specifically analyzed in subsequent chapters and a tentative solution of the problems involved is suggested. Data on the families receiving relief were secured through intensive study in 65 counties, chosen, with the advice of State Agricultural Colleges and State Emergency Relief Administrations, to represent as nearly as possible the range of social and economic conditions found in each area. The 65 counties included (in 1930) 298,523 families that resided in rural territory and in towns of less than 5,000 population, or five percent of all such families in the six areas (Table V). The proportion surveyed varied from but 4 percent in the Eastern Cotton Belt to 15 percent in the Lake States Cut-Over Area. While it was impossible to include all local variations of the relief situation in the sample, the homogeneity of each area, with respect to the fundamental factors responsible for the relief loads insures that the samples chosen rather adequately portray the area situations.

From the standpoint of the relative proportions of the farm families of each tenure group and of the non-farm families, the counties surveyed are representative of the areas (Table VI). However, families living in towns of 2,500-5,000 population were over-represented in the counties surveyed except in the Appalachian-Ozark Area (Table V), but as this bias—which was unavoidable because of the small number of counties surveyed—was not accompanied by a corresponding bias in the proportion of farm and non-farm families represented, the sample counties appear to portray reliably the occupational antecedents of the relief situation. In the selection of the counties, those with important rural non-agricultural industries were included roughly in proportion to their frequency (in terms of the number of gainful workers in each industry in 1930) in each area.

Direct comparison of the relief rates of the populations under study in the counties with the relief rates of the comparable populations of the areas as a whole was impossible, as the official relief reports give only total county figures. However, the relief rates in the counties surveyed in the Appalachian-Ozark and the two Cotton Areas were very close to those for all counties in the respective areas (Table 1); but in the Spring and Winter Wheat Areas, the percentage of all families

receiving relief in the counties surveyed was almost 20 percent greater than for the areas as a whole. Most of this difference was due to the inclusion of a greater proportion of city families in the total area computation and in these drought areas rural relief rates were higher than city rates. The wide difference between the area and the sample county relief rates in the Lake States Cut-Over Area appears to be due to an error in the number of relief cases reported by the states concerned, for the investigators of this survey reported a rate almost identical with that for the area as a whole.

In each of the counties selected for study all, or a random sample of the families living in the open country, or in villages and towns of less than 5,000 population and receiving unemployment relief during June 1934, were studied. The data on the types of families receiving relief were secured from the case records and through interviews with local relief workers.¹

¹See Appendix E for schedule used.

II. THE RELIEF SITUATION: GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

It is difficult to evaluate the relief situation of these areas in terms of the proportion of the total number of families receiving relief because of the variation from area to area in the items included as "relief". In the states affected by the drought of 1933 and 1934 work relief was granted to farmers in order that they might procure feed for their livestock as well as subsistence for themselves. Parts of the drought area are included in the Spring and Winter Wheat and Western Cotton Areas. In the other areas most of the relief granted was "human" relief only, although an occasional mule or ox given to a cropper in the Eastern Cotton Belt was reported as direct relief.

A. Relief Rates in the Areas

The percentage of all families receiving relief (including city families) in the six areas in June 1934 was about 15, almost identical with the percentage for the United States for the same month. Nevertheless, the relief rates in all except the two Cotton Areas were 27 to 87 percent above the United States average (Table 1) and there the relief rates were below the national average. However, because of the prevalent low standard of living among the unskilled worker class in these two areas, relief rates are a poor index of comparison between the socio-economic condition of families in these and other areas. The A.A.A. crop adjustment program has undoubtedly been of some assistance in improving general economic conditions in

TABLE 1. PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES RECEIVING RELIEF^a IN JUNE 1934

	TOTAL ALL AREAS	APPA- LACHIAN CZARK	LAKE STATES CUT- CVER	SHORT GRASS		WESTERN COTTON	EASTERN COTTON
				SPRING WHEAT	WINTER WHEAT		
TOTAL FAMILIES IN AREA.....	15	19	22	28	19	12	12
TOTAL FAMILIES IN COUNTIES SURVEYED	12	22	32	33	23	11	11
RURAL AND TOWN FAMILIES.....	17	22	25	33	23	10	9
RURAL FAMILIES.....	16	22	25	33	22	9	8
TOWN FAMILIES.....	21	16	22	28	28	17	16

^aTOTAL RESIDENT RELIEF CASES IN JUNE 1934 PER 100 FAMILIES, U. S. CENSUS 1930.

SIX RURAL PROBLEM AREAS

the South and thus has indirectly affected relief rates. The Rural Rehabilitation Program of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration had taken a few families off relief by June 1934. In spite of the relatively low relief rate, the Cotton Areas are definitely "problem" areas because of the precarious economic position of a large proportion of their families under the one-crop, share cropper system of farm tenure and the dependence of those not engaged in agricultural pursuits upon the same crop, cotton, or upon a decadent lumbering industry.

B. Obligations Incurred for Unemployment Relief in the Areas

About 203 millions of dollars were spent for unemployment relief in the six areas, by federal, state and local governmental agencies during the 19 month period from April 1, 1933 through October 1934. The amount of the obligations incurred during this period for relief purposes in all counties, and the average per family, was as follows:

AREA	OBLIGATION IN DOLLARS ^a APRIL 1, 1933 TO NOVEMBER 1, 1934		
	TOTAL	PER FAMILY	PER FAMILY RECEIVING RELIEF (APPROXIMATE)
ALL AREAS.....	\$202,797,000	\$57	\$220
APPALACHIAN-OZARK.....	46,610,000	41	190
LAKE STATES CUT-OVER.....	26,172,000	86	390
SPRING WHEAT.....	19,172,000	77	310
WINTER WHEAT.....	19,428,000	55	310
WESTERN COTTON.....	25,264,000	24	180
EASTERN COTTON.....	74,745,000	29	240

^aPRELIMINARY DATA.

The average obligation incurred for relief during the 19 month period per family receiving relief varied from about \$400 in the Lake States Cut-Over Area to less than \$200 in the Western Cotton and Appalachian-Ozark Areas. It should be recalled that the Lake States Cut-Over Area contains a larger proportion of city families (about one-third) than any of the other areas and that the majority of the rural and town families receiving relief were the families of unemployed non-agricultural workers. Because of greater budgetary deficiencies or as a result of more liberal relief policies the average obligations per family receiving relief were greater than in the Short-Grass Wheat Areas where, as stated before, a considerable amount of the relief money went for livestock feed. In contrast, in the Cotton Areas and the Appalachian-Ozark Area, where less than 25 percent of the families live in cities, the expenditures per family were relatively low.

C. Trends in Relief Rates

The percentage of families receiving relief in the counties surveyed¹ increased sharply during 1934 in all except the Appalachian-Ozark and Eastern Cotton Areas. In the Spring Wheat Area (which because of drought had the highest relief rate of all the areas by June 1934) the proportion of families receiving relief increased steadily from 7 percent in July 1933 to almost 40 percent in November 1934 and remained at about that level through May 1935.² For the same reason, the relief rate in the Winter Wheat Area increased from about 6 percent in January 1934 to 32 percent in August 1934 after which it declined slightly, to again increase during the early months of 1935. The Western Cotton Area relief rate showed a trend similar to that in the Wheat Areas but the increase was not as great nor did it reach so high a figure, for only part of the area was affected by the drought. (See Fig. 5.)

The percentage of families receiving relief in the Eastern Cotton Belt counties increased from 9 percent in October 1933 to about 18 percent in February 1934. After February the rates declined steadily with minor fluctuations to 8 percent in December 1934 after which they remained fairly constant with only a slight increase in January and February 1935. The low relief rates in this area in recent months were a result of two factors: more stringent rules as to who should receive relief and the transfer of families to the rural rehabilitation rolls. The rural rehabilitation program removed more families from the relief rolls during 1934 in this than in other areas.

The proportion of families receiving relief in the Lake States Cut-Over Area increased from about 11 percent in February 1934 to about 25 percent in July, remained about constant at that figure through October, increased sharply through January 1935 and declined slightly during the early months of 1935. Due to unemployment in the industries of this area and the precariousness of farming due to poor soil and the short growing season, little reduction in relief rates in the near future can be expected.

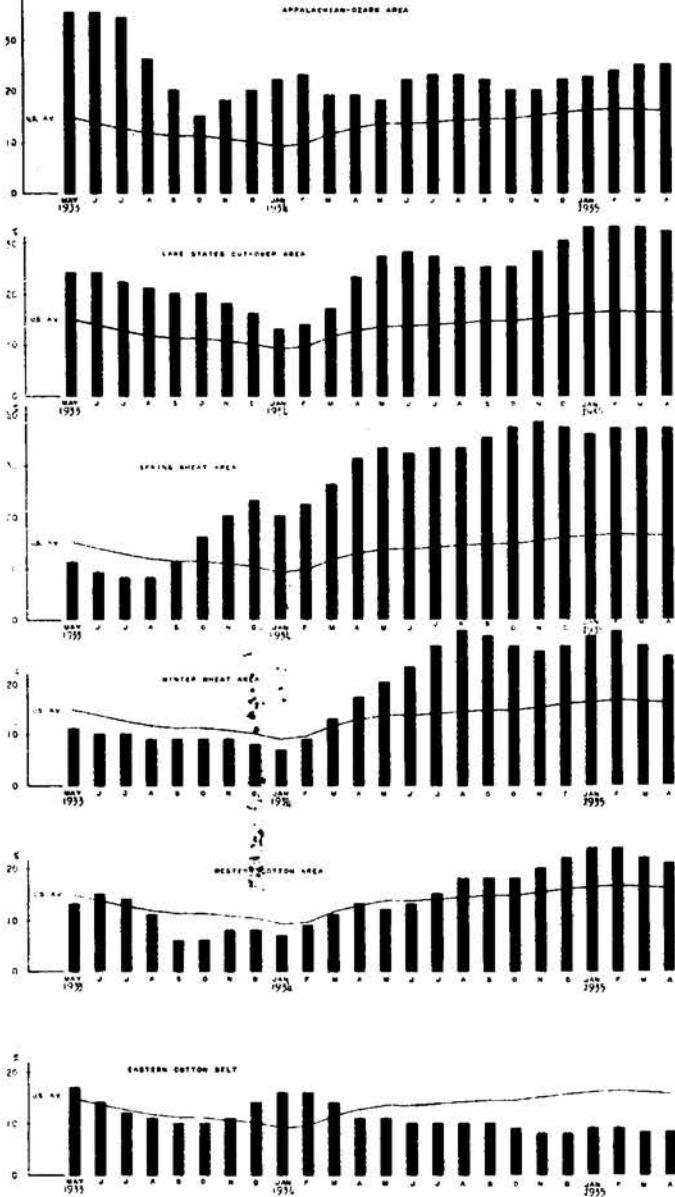
The proportion of families receiving relief in the Appalachian-Ozark counties has fluctuated around 20 percent for most of

¹ These percentages are for all families including those in cities; no monthly data are available for rural families alone.
² The percentages cited are the actual monthly data. Figure 5 is based on a three months moving average.

SIX RURAL PROBLEM AREAS

FIGURE 5
COMPARISON OF TRENDS IN RELIEF RATES*
BETWEEN THE

COUNTIES SURVEYED AND THE UNITED STATES**



* RATIO OF RELIEF CASES TO POPULATION, 1930; SINGLE PERSON RELIEF CASES AND FAMILIES, 1930 EXCLUDED.
** THREE-MONTH MOVING AVERAGE OF RATES.

the period for which records are available. Although the record covers only two winters, the relief rate appears to have a distinct seasonal variation, tending to increase in the winter months. From October 1934 to January 1935 the proportion of families receiving relief increased from 19 to 24 percent; in 1933 and 1934 the increase between these two months was from 16 to 22 percent. It appears likely that the relief rate for this area will continue to increase gradually unless employment is found for the increasing population. Due to the abandonment of mines, the cessation of lumbering operations in much of the area, and the lack of industrial employment elsewhere which formerly drew off some of the excess population, unemployment of persons of working age is steadily increasing. About one-sixth of the families containing able-bodied workers who were receiving relief in June 1934 in the counties surveyed had been receiving relief for four or more years. Most of these families are trying to farm but are unable to wrest a living from the poor soil so prevalent in this area. Living standards are low and relief giving seems to have become standardized near the level of subsistence, the number of families receiving relief increasing in the winter when clothing, food and fuel must be bought and decreasing in the summer when needs are less pressing.

D. Relief Rates of Rural and Town Families

In general, high relief rates in the counties surveyed were the result of the large percentage of rural families receiving relief; the relief rates for town families were lower than those for open country and village families in all the high relief rate areas except the Winter Wheat Area. As will be demonstrated below, the higher town relief rate in the latter area was due to the considerable immigration of unemployed agricultural workers. In the Cotton Areas, where relief rates were much lower than in the other four areas, the rates for towns were almost twice those in rural territory (Table 1). As indicated below the proportion of tenant and cropper families on relief in the Cotton Areas was very small. White farm families were receiving relief in more instances than were Negro farm families but Negro families living in villages and towns appeared to be receiving relief at about the same, or possibly a higher, rate than white families.

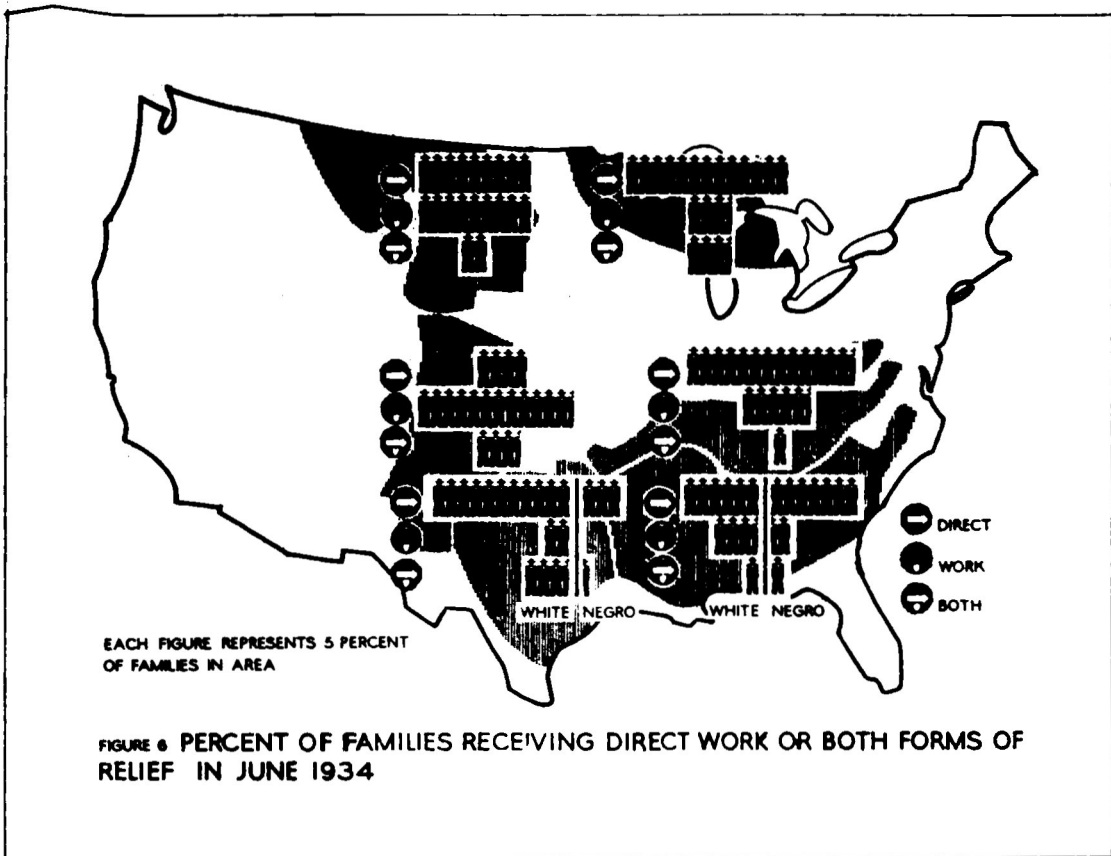
E. The Type and Value of Relief Received

The proportion of families in the 65 counties receiving only direct relief was not correlated with the percentage of such families with gainful workers. The type of relief received depended more upon state and local relief policies than upon the presence of persons willing and able to work. Some counties had work projects adequate to give employment to all able-bodied workers, others had no work projects. Of all the states in the Appalachian-Ozark Area, Kentucky, with its policy of giving largely direct relief, was having more difficulty with relief clients than any other state. The investigators were told many tales of favoritism and complaint. So far as could be learned, these were without foundation, but the enforced idleness of relief clients led to a great deal of discontent which was fostered by local public officials in some counties, making the job of administering relief extremely difficult. Nine of the thirteen counties in the Appalachian-Ozark Area granted work relief to less than 25 percent of the families, two granted it to over 75 percent of the families receiving relief and two granted no work relief at all. The averages for the area were 67 percent direct relief only, 28 percent work relief only and 5 percent both work and direct relief (Table VII).

The practice of giving direct relief was also widespread in the Lake States Cut-Over Area; 65 percent of the families received only direct relief, 18 percent both direct and work relief and only 17 percent work relief alone. Although there were fewer families containing gainful workers in this than in the Appalachian-Ozark Area, there were more families in which no member had any employment in June 1934 (Tables 6 and XIV-A).

The use of work relief was more consistent in the Winter Wheat than in any other area; each county studied granted such relief to 50 percent or more of the families receiving relief, six granted it to 50 to 74 percent and seven to 75 percent or more. Only 21 percent of all families in this area received only direct relief; 62 percent received only work relief and the remaining 17 percent both work and direct relief. In the Spring Wheat Area also, more of the families were receiving work relief than in any except the Winter Wheat Area.

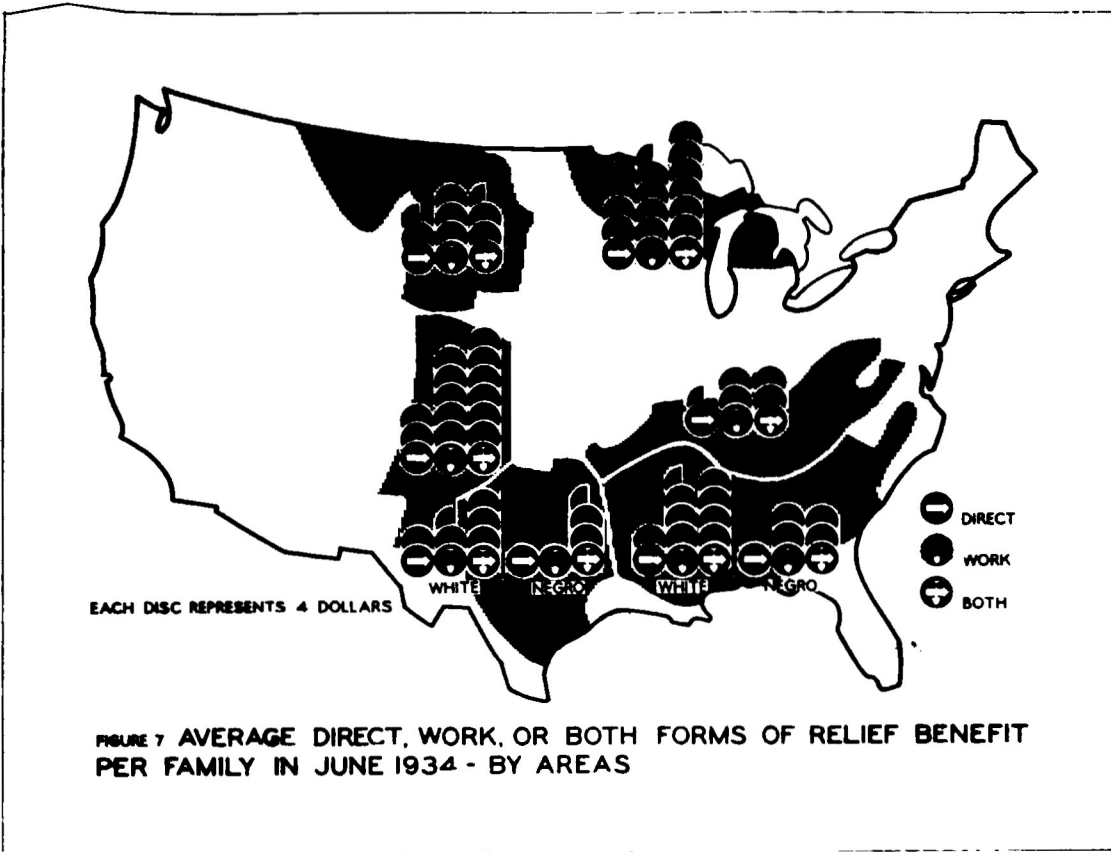
In the Cotton Areas, whites were receiving work relief to a much greater extent than Negroes. In the Western Cotton Area, 69 percent of the whites were receiving only direct relief,



another 20 percent direct and work relief making a total of 89 percent receiving direct relief. The comparable figure for Negroes was 99 percent, for they seldom received work relief except as a supplement to direct relief. In the Eastern Cotton Belt 56 percent of the white and 75 percent of the Negro families received only direct relief, 9 and 7 percent both work and direct relief. Of the white families 35 percent received work relief only as compared with but 18 percent of the Negro families. Some of the difference in the types of relief received by whites and Negroes was due to the large number of Negro families without gainful workers but this factor does not account for all the variation. Negro families containing workers were not given work relief to as great an extent as were comparable white families (Table VII).

The average value of the relief received during June 1934 by the 10,771 families studied was \$13 per family (Table VIII). Comparison of the average relief benefit with that for the United States as a whole reveals that it was 75 percent less than the national average, less than one-half that of the principal cities, and about 40 percent less than for the United States exclusive of the principal cities (Table IX). Comparison of the counties surveyed in each area with the states in which the areas lie indicates interesting differences. In practically all areas the state averages are higher than for the rural counties surveyed, probably because of the greater cost of relief in urban than in rural territory. The averages for the Cotton Areas, however, were almost identical. Only in the Winter Wheat Area was the average for the counties surveyed greater than that for the states as a whole. There is strong suspicion that a good part of this difference was due to county work relief expenditures not reported to the Federal Emergency Relief Administration but reported in this survey and to the inclusion in some of the counties surveyed of surplus commodities as a part of relief benefits. In some counties in this area the local relief offices had estimated their value and included them as relief granted.

For those receiving direct relief only, in the counties surveyed, the average was but \$8, for those receiving work relief only, \$19, and for those receiving both forms of relief \$21. Families receiving work relief therefore received approximately twice as much as those receiving direct relief in each of the



areas. The largest relief benefits were granted in the Winter Wheat and Lake States Cut-Over Areas: families receiving direct relief only averaged \$12 apiece in both areas and those receiving work relief only, \$25 in the Winter Wheat and \$23 in the Lake States Cut-Over Area. Families receiving both types of relief averaged \$28 and \$27, respectively. Relief grants in the Spring Wheat Area averaged \$14 and grants to white families in the Eastern Cotton Belt, \$13. Work relief benefits in these two areas averaged \$17, the slightly higher average for all families in the Spring Wheat Area being due to the larger direct relief benefits paid.

Larger relief benefits were to be expected in the Wheat Areas because of the inclusion of items other than human subsistence in the families' budgetary allowances. The relatively large benefits in the Lake States Cut-Over Area are difficult to explain except in terms of the influence of urbanization on relief standards. The investigators reported a number of cases of former residents of Milwaukee living in the area whose relief benefits were still being paid by Milwaukee and at a higher rate than that of the local relief office for families in similar circumstances.

Only among Negroes in the Cotton Areas were the average relief benefits lower than in the Appalachian-Ozark Area where work relief benefits averaged \$12, direct relief only \$6, with an average of only \$8 per family for all types. Most of the Appalachian-Ozark families were living on the land and most of them had never known anything other than a very simple standard of living so the average relief benefit of \$8 probably represented as much actual cash as many of the families have ever had to spend in any one month.

Negroes not only received work relief in fewer instances but also received smaller average benefits than whites in the same area regardless of whether they were receiving work relief, direct relief or both work and direct relief. Since the rural Negro family group appears to be unable to care for its aged members under the present economic system in the South, there has been a definite selection of aged families for the relief rolls. These older, smaller families are able to subsist on less than larger families containing children. This factor accounts in part for the smaller direct relief benefits paid to Negroes. The lower work relief benefits, however, were obviously

evidence of the lower scale of living of the Negro accepted by relief officials as the basis for determining budgetary deficiencies.

III. THE FAMILIES RECEIVING RELIEF

In assessing the human resources of the population receiving relief in the 65 counties surveyed—a necessary preliminary to any discussion of the *material* resources—consideration must be given to a number of points of a statistical nature difficult to translate into qualitative terms without risking inaccuracy. Nevertheless, it may clarify the detailed discussion that follows to begin with the statement that the majority of the families receiving relief in five of the six areas (the exception being the Lake States Cut-Over as will emerge later) were families of farmers and farm laborers and were "normal" in the sense that they usually consisted of husband and wife or husband, wife and children. About four-fifths of the families included one or more gainful workers and almost 90 percent of these families included one or more *male* gainful workers 16 years of age and older.¹ In none of the areas, except among Negro families in the Cotton Areas, was the proportion with at least one gainful worker, either male or female, less than 86 percent and with less than one *male* gainful worker, less than 77 percent. Refinement and qualification of these broad findings is undertaken in the pages which follow. The text contains information on such matters as family size, composition, age and sex of the members, occupations of those usually gainfully employed together with further data of an occupational nature, and ends with an evaluation of the capacity of the families to become self-supporting in the light of the human resources they represent. Interpretative material appears where it is relevant.

A. Types of Families Receiving Relief

The types of families receiving relief are a good indication of the kind of relief and rehabilitation problems presented in each area. Normal families² predominated among the families receiving relief in the 65 counties. Nearly three-fourths were families of this type and 55 percent of the families were normal families with children under 16 years of age (Table 2).

¹A "gainful worker" as used throughout this report, is any person 16 years of age or older who had worked previously (at other than a work relief job) and who was working or seeking work at the time of this survey (June 1934). Housewives who had done only housework in their own homes were not classified as gainful workers.
²Family, as used here, includes all persons receiving relief as one relief case.

In the Appalachian-Ozark Area and the Short Grass Areas 83 and 79 percent of the families, respectively, were normal families. In the Cotton Areas about three-fourths of the white families were normal families. Among the whites the variation from area to area in the percentage of normal families receiving relief was due to variation in the proportion of families with children under 16 years of age: the percentage of "husband-wife" and "husband-wife-children 16 years of age and over only" families was almost identical in all areas. In other words, areas having a large proportion of normal families had a high proportion of relatively young families on relief. In the Appalachian-Ozark Area, where 83 percent of the families receiving relief were normal families, almost two-thirds were families with children under 16 years of age. The proportion of normal families was smallest among the Negro families in the Cotton Areas, less than 50 percent of the families in Eastern Cotton Belt falling in this class.

Broken families including children occurred most frequently in the Cotton Areas, particularly among Negroes (22 percent in the Eastern Cotton Belt) and least frequently in the Wheat Areas (9 and 10 percent). Practically all this variation was due to differences in the proportion of families consisting of women and children.

Only 3 percent of the families receiving relief in the Appalachian-Ozark Area were one-person families, less than one-half the number in any other area. In contrast, among the Negro families, 13 percent in the Western Cotton Area and 22 percent in the Eastern Cotton Belt were one-person families, with lone women predominating.

In the Lake States Cut-Over Area, 17 percent of the families receiving relief were one-person families, 15 percent being lone males, and only 69 percent normal families. The families in this area are, for the most part, immigrants from other states. Many of those receiving relief came into this area to work in the lumbering and mining industries. They separated from their kinship groups in moving into the area and many of them, especially those men who formerly worked in the lumber camps, when unable to work or unable to find work, had no relatives nearby to support them.

The types of families receiving relief in the two Wheat Areas were similar except that the families in the Spring Wheat Area

TABLE 2. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES OF FAMILIES RECEIVING RELIEF IN THE COUNTIES SURVEYED

	TOTAL ALL AREAS	APPA- LACHIAN OZARK	LAKE STATES CUT- OVER	SHORT GRASS		WESTERN COTTON		EASTERN COTTON	
				SPRING WHEAT	WINTER WHEAT	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
TOTAL FAMILIES.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
NORMAL FAMILIES ^a	73.5	82.6	68.8	79.5	79.0	76.6	65.5	74.2	47.0
HUSBAND-WIFE.....	12.5	11.5	12.3	11.4	12.4	11.6	21.9	11.4	14.7
HUSBAND-WIFE, CHILDREN UNDER 16 YEARS ONLY.....	37.2	42.5	35.9	39.4	42.0	39.1	28.7	39.7	19.8
HUSBAND-WIFE, CHILDREN UNDER 16 YEARS AND 16 YEARS AND OVER.....	18.2	25.2	16.3	21.5	18.9	20.0	11.0	16.3	9.3
HUSBAND-WIFE, CHILDREN 16 YEARS AND OVER ONLY.....	5.8	5.6	6.5	7.0	5.7	5.9	3.7	6.8	3.2
BROKEN FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN ^a	12.8	11.7	12.2	8.7	9.5	13.1	14.6	15.1	22.3
WOMAN-CHILDREN UNDER 16 YEARS ONLY.....	3.6	3.4	2.1	1.5	2.5	4.5	5.0	4.1	9.3
WOMAN-CHILDREN UNDER 16 AND 16 YEARS AND OVER.....	3.3	3.7	3.4	1.8	2.0	3.5	3.0	4.4	5.3
WOMAN-CHILDREN 16 YEARS AND OVER ONLY.....	2.7	2.0	3.3	1.8	1.6	1.8	3.0	3.5	4.8
MAN-CHILDREN UNDER 16 YEARS ONLY.....	0.9	0.6	0.9	0.8	1.2	0.5	3.0	1.1	0.8
MAN-CHILDREN UNDER 16 AND 16 YEARS AND OVER.....	1.1	1.0	1.0	1.1	0.9	2.5	0.6	1.0	1.1
MAN-CHILDREN 16 YEARS AND OVER ONLY.....	1.2	1.0	1.5	1.7	1.5	0.5	-----	1.0	1.0
ONE-PERSON FAMILIES.....	9.8	2.8	17.3	8.4	8.1	6.5	12.8	6.3	21.9
ONE MAN.....	6.2	1.4	15.0	6.0	6.6	4.8	6.1	2.6	6.7
ONE WOMAN.....	3.6	1.4	2.3	2.4	1.5	1.5	6.7	3.7	15.2
ALL OTHER COMBINATIONS.....	3.9	2.9	1.7	3.6	3.4	4.0	7.3	4.4	8.8

^aWITH OR WITHOUT OTHER PERSONS.

were "older" i.e., a larger proportion were families which included children 16 years of age and older. Most of the families in these two areas were normal in type although 8 percent were one-person families, the majority of which were probably migratory laborers, stranded because of old age or unemployment.

The large proportion of one-person families among the Negro families receiving relief, especially in the Eastern Cotton Belt where the plantation system of agriculture is more common, and the large numbers of persons 65 years of age and older among Negroes receiving relief, is illustrative of the types of social and economic organization in the area. As in the Appalachian-Ozark Area, the Eastern Cotton Belt population is indigenous to the area. In both areas, the social organization is that of an agricultural people. In the former, nearly all of the population is native white, the family is the important social group, the independent family farm the economic unit, and the old people are cared for by their families. In the latter, however, from 40 to 50 percent of the population is Negro, and the important social and economic functions, so far as the rural Negro is concerned, are associated with the plantation or some variation of it. The family is the labor unit, but it in turn is dependent upon the plantation owner or the landlord for its existence as a group. When economic conditions in the cotton-growing industry became adverse, the landlord in many cases decreed that aged croppers and non-productive adults in cropper families should be supported by public relief. As the cropper is dependent upon, and often subservient to, his landlord, the relatively low relief load in June 1934 and the large proportion of persons 65 years of age and older receiving relief undoubtedly reflect the relief policies of the landlord group.

B. Size of Families Receiving Relief

Families receiving relief tend to be relatively large. The largest families surveyed were in the Appalachian-Ozark Area where one-half included 5 or more persons, one-fifth 8 or more persons; and the smallest white families were in the Lake States Cut-Over Area where more than one-half included fewer than 4 persons and almost one-third fewer than 3 persons (Table 3). The average (median) size of Negro families was about 3.5 persons in the Western Cotton Area and 3.1 persons in the Eastern Cotton Belt. These comparatively low averages were a result of

SIX RURAL PROBLEM AREAS

the large number of one and two-person families, for one-third of the Negro families in the Western Cotton Area and 41 percent of those in the Eastern Cotton Belt included fewer than three persons. In the Eastern Cotton Belt one-person Negro families¹ occurred more frequently (22 percent) than families of any other size while in the Western Cotton Area two-person Negro families were most common (21 percent) followed by three, four and one-person families in the order named. These two to four person families were largely young families and appeared to be a group of recent migrants into the area. It does not follow that there were no large Negro families on the relief rolls, however. As a matter of fact, in the Western Cotton Area 30 percent, and in the Eastern Cotton Belt 25 percent, of the families included 6 or more persons.

TABLE 3. SIZE OF FAMILIES RECEIVING RELIEF

NUMBER OF PERSONS	TOTAL ALL AREAS	APPA-LACHIAN OZARK	LANE STATES CUT-OVER	SHORT GRASS		WESTERN COTTON		EASTERN COTTON	
				SPRING WHEAT	WINTER WHEAT	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
<i>Number</i>									
ALL FAMILIES.....	10,771	2,167	1,738	1,511	2,007	800	164	1,347	1,237
1.....	1,062	61	301	110	163	50	21	89	271
2.....	1,514	232	260	172	295	98	34	185	240
3.....	1,721	318	299	202	357	125	27	255	180
4.....	1,672	317	260	219	378	126	23	221	128
5.....	1,426	294	245	185	284	115	10	187	110
6.....	1,108	294	151	141	191	105	17	126	103
7.....	822	228	101	95	129	72	9	121	67
8.....	604	173	72	70	86	50	8	86	59
9.....	374	112	49	42	63	27	5	43	33
10 OR MORE.....	468	138	62	77	61	32	10	42	46
<i>Percent</i>									
ALL FAMILIES.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1.....	9.9	2.8	17.3	8.4	8.1	6.2	12.8	6.3	21.9
2.....	14.1	10.7	15.0	13.1	14.7	12.3	20.7	13.6	19.4
3.....	16.0	14.6	14.9	15.4	17.8	15.6	16.5	18.8	14.6
4.....	15.5	14.6	15.0	16.7	18.9	15.7	14.0	16.4	10.3
5.....	13.2	13.6	14.0	14.0	14.2	14.4	6.1	13.9	8.9
6.....	10.3	13.6	7.5	10.8	9.5	13.1	10.4	9.3	8.3
7.....	7.6	10.5	5.8	7.2	6.4	9.0	5.9	9.0	5.4
8.....	5.6	8.0	4.1	5.3	4.3	6.3	4.9	6.4	4.8
9.....	3.5	5.2	2.8	3.2	3.1	3.4	3.0	3.2	2.7
10 OR MORE.....	4.3	6.4	3.6	5.9	3.0	4.0	6.1	3.1	3.7
MEDIAN SIZE.....	4.2	5.0	3.7	4.3	4.0	4.5	3.5	4.2	3.1

Further evidence that more mature families were receiving relief in the Spring Wheat than in the Winter Wheat Area is the difference in family size in the two areas. Although families of four occurred most frequently in both areas, the Spring Wheat Area had more families of each size from six up to ten or more persons. In the Western Cotton Area the white families receiving relief were similar in size to those in the Spring Wheat

¹As indicated above, some of these one-person families were not *bona fide* families, but aged persons living with families not receiving relief, who were reported by the relief agencies as one-person cases.

Area but there was a considerably higher percentage of families of from six to eight persons and fewer one-person families.

Among white families in the Eastern Cotton Belt, families of three persons appeared most frequently (19 percent) followed by families of four, five and two persons in the order named. The contrast between the types of white and Negro families receiving relief in this area was striking and illustrates the difference between the socio-economic position of the two groups. The white families were largely normal in type, almost one-half of them consisting of husband and wife with one to four children. The number of one-person families receiving relief among the whites was less than one-third of that for Negroes and the number of two-person families 6 percent less. Aged women, widows with children and extremely large families made up the bulk of the Negro families receiving relief, while among the whites the majority of the families were normal families containing able-bodied workers. Whether Negro families containing male workers found it easier to get employment or whether they found it necessary to take jobs which the whites refused was not evident.

The contrast between the size of the families receiving relief in the Lake States Cut-Over and Appalachian-Ozark Areas is indicative of the differences in their socio-economic organization. There were six times as many families consisting of one-person and 4 percent more two-person families in the Lake States Cut-Over Area. The proportion of families of three to five persons was almost identical, but there were 20 percent more families of six or more persons in the Appalachian-Ozark Area. This difference was due to the larger number of families of child-producing age and the greater tendency to "double up" in the Appalachian-Ozark Area where aged persons usually found sanctuary in the homes of relatives and seldom appeared on the relief rolls except as members of the household of a son or daughter.

Although direct comparisons cannot be made, contrast of the average (median) size of family receiving relief with that of all rural farm and rural non-farm families of typical states of each area in 1930 (Table X) reveals definite differences among the areas. The families receiving relief in the Appalachian-Ozark, Spring Wheat and Winter Wheat Areas and the white families in the Western Cotton Area were larger than the average

for the area. It was in these areas that the highest percentages of normal families occurred among those receiving relief (Table X).

Families receiving relief appeared to be of about average size for the area in the Lake States Cut-Over Area, among the Western Cotton Area Negroes and the Eastern Cotton Belt whites. The Negro families receiving relief in the Eastern Cotton Belt were smaller than average. This was partially due to the fact that aged persons, receiving relief, while living in families not on relief, were often reported as one-person families. However, the number of *bona fide* families on relief which consisted of one woman, or of a mother with young children, was large among Negroes in this area.

C. Age Composition of the Families

The age composition of the families illustrates in a rough way the probable number of dependent persons in them, dependency being interpreted as a consequence of *age* and *youth*. It is of the first importance, therefore, that less than one-fifth of the families receiving relief in the 65 counties surveyed included persons 65 years of age or older and only 4.4 percent contained more than one person of this age group (Table 4). About three-quarters of the persons 65 years of age or older, were the heads of families, and in the majority of the cases the only person of this age in the family i.e., the families consisted of one person 65 years of age or older, alone or with other persons of younger age. The percentage of persons 65 years of age or older who were heads of families was largest among Negroes in the Cotton Areas (82 and 85 percent), and among the families in the Lake States Cut-Over Area (81 percent). In contrast, among the whites in the Eastern Cotton Belt, about 59 percent of the persons of this age were family heads. For the three remaining area groups, the percentage was, Appalachian-Ozark Area and Western Cotton Area whites 67 percent, Spring Wheat Area 68 percent, and Winter Wheat Area 71 percent.

Each ten families receiving relief included an average of two persons 65 years of age and older, but in the Spring Wheat Area the average number was about one in ten families, in the Lake States Cut-Over Area three in ten, and among the Negroes in the Eastern Cotton Belt, four in each ten families. The average

number of persons 65 years and older in families containing persons in this age group was twelve per each ten families.

TABLE 4. AGE COMPOSITION OF FAMILIES RECEIVING RELIEF

NUMBER OF PERSONS 65 YEARS OF AGE AND OLDER	TOTAL ALL AREAS	APPA- LACHIAN OZARK	LAKE STATES CUT- OVER	SHORT GRASS		WESTERN COTTON		EASTERN COTTON	
				SPRING WHEAT	WINTER WHEAT	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
Percent of Families									
ALL FAMILIES.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
0.....	81.4	85.4	79.4	85.5	86.4	85.0	77.8	85.2	55.1
1.....	14.2	11.9	15.7	11.5	10.0	11.5	14.2	12.4	29.5
2.....	4.5	4.7	4.9	5.1	5.5	5.5	7.4	4.2	5.5
3 OR MORE.....	0.1	"	-----	0.1	0.1	-----	0.6	0.2	0.5
NUMBER OF PERSONS UNDER 16 YEARS OF AGE*									
ALL FAMILIES.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
0.....	51.5	20.8	41.0	52.0	29.9	25.8	58.9	28.8	45.9
1.....	16.9	15.8	15.2	18.0	19.2	16.7	14.8	18.4	14.8
2.....	16.0	15.2	15.1	15.1	18.6	18.9	14.2	17.5	12.0
3.....	12.6	15.4	11.5	12.9	12.5	15.1	10.5	15.2	8.7
4.....	9.6	15.6	6.8	7.9	9.2	11.5	8.7	9.1	8.9
5.....	6.2	9.9	4.4	6.5	4.8	6.5	5.7	5.1	4.4
6.....	4.3	5.5	3.4	4.2	3.5	4.9	4.3	5.0	4.0
7 OR MORE.....	5.1	3.8	2.6	4.0	2.7	2.6	4.9	1.9	5.5
DISTRIBUTION OF DEPENDENT AGE GROUPS									
ALL FAMILIES.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
FAMILIES HAVING:									
NO PERSONS UNDER 16 YRS. OR 65 AND OVER...	18.8	12.5	24.4	21.0	20.5	15.4	25.5	18.1	19.5
PERSONS UNDER 16 YRS. BUT NONE 65 AND OVER...	62.7	71.1	55.0	64.5	66.1	69.6	52.5	65.1	45.6
PERSONS UNDER 16 YRS. AND 65 YEARS AND OVER.	5.9	8.1	4.1	5.7	4.0	4.6	8.6	5.2	10.6
PERSONS 65 YRS. AND OVER BUT NONE UNDER 16	12.6	8.5	16.5	11.0	9.6	10.4	15.6	10.6	24.5

*LESS THAN 0.05 PERCENT.

*THE NUMBER OF PERSONS UNDER 16 YEARS OF AGE INCLUDES PERSONS WHOSE STATES IS NOT THAT OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN. THIS ACCOUNTS FOR THE APPARENT DISCREPANCY BETWEEN TABLES 2 AND 4.

As to young dependents, about 69 percent of the families receiving relief included persons under 16 years of age. The average number of children under 16 years of age per family including persons in this age group was highest in the Appalachian-Ozark Area (3.2) and lowest in the Winter Wheat Area (2.7); the other area averages ranged from 2.9 to 3.1 with the Western Cotton Negro families averaging highest and the Eastern Cotton whites and Lake States Cut-Over families the lowest. About one-fourth of all the families included four or more children under 16 years of age, the proportion varying from about one-third of the Appalachian-Ozark families and over one-fourth of the Western Cotton white families to 18 percent of the Lake States Cut-Over families (Table 4). Most of the variation among the areas in the average number of children was due to the variation in the number of families containing children rather than to the variation in the number per family with children.

Taking the old and the young together, it appears that about 81 percent of the families receiving relief in the 65 counties contained one or more persons normally dependent upon others for support (persons under 16 years of age and 65 years and older). Seven-eighths of the Appalachian-Ozark families included normally dependent persons, as compared with about three-fourths of the Lake States Cut-Over and Western Cotton Negro families, four-fifths of the Wheat Area and Eastern Cotton Negro families and approximately five-sixths of the white families in the Cotton Areas (Table 4). As in the case of children, the differences between areas in the average number of normal dependents was largely a result of differences in the proportion of families containing normally dependent persons.

Further light is thrown on the type of family receiving relief by an examination of the combinations of persons under 16 years of age and 65 years of age and over existing in each family. Approximately 69 percent of the families contained children under 16 years, 63 percent of which included no persons 65 years of age and over, and 6 percent, both children under 16 years and persons 65 years and older. Aged persons and children under 16 years in the same family occurred most frequently among Negroes in the Western and Eastern Cotton Areas (9-11 percent of all families), the families of the Appalachian-Ozark Area (8 percent) and the white families of the Eastern Cotton Belt (6 percent). In the remaining area groups, less than 5 percent of the families were included in this combination of age groups.

Families containing persons 65 years of age and older but no persons under 16 years were most common among the Eastern Cotton Belt Negro families (24 percent), the Lake States Cut-Over Area families (17 percent), and the Western Cotton Area Negro families (14 percent), and least frequent among the families receiving relief in the Appalachian-Ozark Area (9 percent) for the reason given earlier (Tables XI and XII).

D. Incidence of Relief by Age

Children, young adults and persons 65 years of age and older were receiving relief more frequently than persons 25 to 64 years of age in most of the areas. In all areas, children under 10 years of age appeared in the relief group in greater proportion than in the general population; in all except the two Wheat Areas and the Western Cotton Area, white persons 65 years of age

and over were receiving relief out of proportion to their numbers in the general population in 1930. Adolescents and young adults, 10 to 24 years of age, appeared on the relief rolls in slightly greater proportion than their numbers in the total white population of the same counties in 1930.

The relief population in the Appalachian-Ozark Area counties was more nearly of the same age and sex composition as the general population than in any other area. The group receiving relief was almost a cross-section of the total population except for an excess of aged males. Despite the fact that children under 10 years of age were not receiving relief in much greater proportion than their numbers in the population, about one-third of all persons receiving relief were under 10 years of age.

Although only about 27 percent of the persons receiving relief in the Lake States Cut-Over counties were under 10 years, the proportion of all children of this age on the relief rolls in the counties surveyed was approximately three out of every 10 (Table 5). Persons 65 years of age and older, both male and

TABLE 5. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY AGE AND SEX OF PERSONS RECEIVING RELIEF

SEX AND AGE GROUP	TOTAL ALL AREAS	APPA-LACHIAN OZARK	LAKE STATES CUT-OVER	SHORT GRASS		WESTERN COTTON		EASTERN COTTON	
				SPRING WHEAT	WINTER WHEAT	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
MALES - TOTAL.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
UNDER 10 YEARS.....	29.5	31.7	25.7	26.8	26.7	30.0	28.0	30.1	33.0
10 - 24.....	31.7	32.5	30.0	31.9	31.4	34.4	32.1	31.3	30.7
25 - 44.....	19.7	19.4	20.5	20.5	21.2	17.6	20.8	20.9	14.5
45 - 64.....	13.7	11.7	16.3	16.0	13.9	13.6	11.0	13.1	11.7
65 AND OVER.....	5.6	4.7	7.5	4.8	4.8	4.4	8.1	4.6	10.1
FEMALES - TOTAL.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
UNDER 10 YEARS.....	29.1	31.6	28.1	28.3	29.4	28.8	29.8	27.7	26.6
10 - 24.....	32.7	35.3	31.8	33.3	32.7	33.5	30.9	32.9	29.5
25 - 44.....	22.0	21.4	22.2	20.2	24.0	23.0	21.0	23.4	19.6
45 - 64.....	11.6	10.3	13.0	13.3	10.9	11.3	12.1	11.2	12.8
65 AND OVER.....	4.6	3.4	4.9	2.9	3.0	3.4	6.2	4.8	11.4

Female, made up a larger percentage of the relief population than for whites in any other area. The percentage of males 45 to 64 years of age (16.3 percent) was higher than in any other area for either whites or Negroes. The large number of persons over 45 years of age on the relief rolls in this area is a reflection of the age distribution of the general population and not due to an abnormally high relief rate for persons of advanced age.

The populations of the counties of the Wheat Areas and the white population of the Western Cotton Area were characterized by a relief rate higher than average for persons 10 to 24 years of age and lower than average for persons 25 years of age and over. In the Spring Wheat Area this was a result of the extreme drought situation which forced farmers with older children onto the relief rolls: 29 percent of all farm owners were receiving relief and many of them were men 45 to 64 years of age with completed families. In the other two areas the excess of persons 10 to 24 years of age receiving relief appears to consist largely of young adults who migrated into the areas in recent years in search of employment only to become stranded there when unable to find work. More than one-third of the persons receiving relief in these three areas were between the ages of 10 and 24 years.

The Negro population receiving relief in both Cotton Areas included more aged persons, especially aged women, than any other group. In the Western Cotton Area counties, persons 65 years of age and older were almost two and one-half times as numerous in the relief as in the general population. A similar situation was found in the Eastern Cotton Belt where women 65 years of age and older were almost 4 times (and men 3 times) as numerous in the relief population as in the general population. It is obvious from these data that an unduly large proportion of aged Negroes were on the unemployment relief rolls in the Cotton Areas. The fact that this was true *only among Negroes* points to the socio-economic system of the Cotton South as the causal factor. In the Appalachian-Ozark Area, in some parts of which the cropper system also exists, aged white persons were on the relief rolls in much greater numbers than in the general population, but the excess there was much smaller than among Negroes in the Cotton Areas. All information gathered in this study points to the fact that there has been considerable local effort to get aged Negroes on the unemployment relief rolls in the South.

E. Gainful Workers in the Families

The number of gainful workers—especially males—in these families has a direct relation to the prospect of the families sustaining themselves if given the economic opportunity. It is therefore indicative of the fact that the final solution of the

problem is more intricate than appears at first glance. Although this survey included only families on the rolls of governmental unemployment relief agencies, more than 11 percent of the families receiving relief included no gainful workers 16 years of age or older and an additional 8 percent no male gainful workers (Table 6). In general, the areas with the lowest

TABLE 6. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY NUMBER AND SEX OF GAINFUL WORKERS IN FAMILIES RECEIVING RELIEF

NUMBER AND SEX OF GAINFUL WORKERS*	TOTAL ALL AREAS	APPA-LACHIAN OZARK	LAKE STATES CUT-OVER	SHORT GRASS		WESTERN COTTON		EASTERN COTTON	
				SPRING WHEAT	WINTER WHEAT	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
ALL FAMILIES.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
NO GAINFUL WORKERS....	11.3	8.6	14.4	7.4	6.5	10.9	13.4	9.9	24.8
1 MALE.....	51.5	56.9	62.8	62.1	71.1	47.6	26.2	30.1	12.8
1 FEMALE.....	6.6	4.1	3.2	3.3	3.7	6.0	11.0	10.7	19.4
2 MALES.....	9.0	12.7	8.6	11.4	11.9	8.9	4.3	4.5	1.0
2 FEMALES.....	1.1	0.9	0.5	0.4	0.4	1.2	3.7	1.6	3.6
1 MALE AND 1 FEMALE....	10.6	7.6	5.2	3.6	1.9	11.9	27.4	28.2	22.9
3 MALES.....	2.7	3.9	1.7	5.0	3.0	3.6	0.6	0.8	0.5
3 FEMALES.....	0.2	0.1	0.1	-----	-----	-----	-----	0.4	0.6
2 MALES AND 1 FEMALE..	2.2	2.1	1.4	2.4	0.5	4.1	6.7	3.0	3.2
2 FEMALES AND 1 MALE..	1.8	1.0	0.9	0.7	0.2	1.9	3.0	4.6	5.3
4 OR MORE.....	3.0	2.1	1.4	3.7	0.8	3.9	3.7	6.1	5.9

*A "GAINFUL WORKER," AS USED THROUGHOUT THIS REPORT, IS ANY PERSON 16 YEARS OF AGE OR OLDER, WHO HAD WORKED PREVIOUSLY (AT OTHER THAN A WORK RELIEF JOB) AND WHO WAS WORKING OR SEEKING WORK AT THE TIME OF THIS SURVEY (JUNE 1934). HOUSEWIVES WHO HAD DONE ONLY HOUSEWORK IN THEIR OWN HOMES WERE NOT CLASSIFIED AS GAINFUL WORKERS.

relief rates included the largest percentage of families with no gainful workers. The Lake States Cut-Over was an exception to this generalization, however, over 14 percent of the families containing no gainful workers; only among Negro families in the Eastern Cotton Belt, where almost 25 percent contained no gainful workers, was this percentage exceeded.

As most of the families which included only one female gainful worker were families consisting of a woman with young children, the majority of these families were not *bona fide* unemployment relief cases. It is therefore likely that had a program of aid for aged persons and dependent children been in operation in these areas, the number of families on the unemployment relief rolls would have been from 10 to 33 percent lower. For example, the evidence indicates that nearly one-half the Negro families in the Eastern Cotton Belt and about one-fourth of those in the Western Cotton Area would not have been on the unemployment relief rolls if the states involved had made comprehensive provision for aid to mothers with children and the aged. Moreover, about 21 percent of the white families receiving unemployment relief in the Eastern Cotton Belt included no gainful workers or only one female gainful worker, and 17 percent of the white families in the Western Cotton Area and 18 percent of the families in the Lake States Cut-Over Area fell

into this class. In the Wheat Areas similar cases accounted for about 11 percent of the families receiving relief; in the Appalachian-Ozark Area, for about 13 percent.

However, the majority of the families receiving relief in all six areas included at least one male gainful worker. The proportion varied among the areas from 52 percent of the Eastern Cotton Belt Negro families to 89 percent of the families in the Wheat Areas. Only in the Eastern Cotton Belt and among Negro families in the Western Cotton Area was the percentage of families containing at least one male gainful worker less than 80. More than one-fifth of the families in the Appalachian-Ozark and Spring Wheat Areas and of the white families in the Western Cotton Area included 2 or more male gainful workers. Around 80 percent of the families containing one or more male gainful workers included only one male worker.

The larger percentages of the families in the Cotton Areas which reported one or more female gainful workers in combination with one or more males is illustrative of the fact that the family is the labor unit in these areas. In the other areas the wife and daughters usually do only the housework and incidental chores, leaving the farm work to the husband and sons. Even among these families who were receiving relief only 13 percent in the Appalachian-Ozark, 10 percent in the Spring Wheat, 9 percent in the Lake States and fewer than 4 percent in the Winter Wheat Area reported both male and female gainful workers in the same family. In the Winter Wheat Area where farming is most highly mechanized, the percentage of families with female gainful workers was lowest, but in the Eastern Cotton Belt where farming is largely hand work, 42 percent of the white families and 37 percent of the Negro families reported both male and female gainful workers. These differences will be an important factor in determining the type of rehabilitation program to be instituted in each area.

F. Usual Occupation of Heads of Families

1. *Relief Rates.* Indicative of the relief situation in these areas is the occupational background of the heads of families on relief as shown by their usual occupation. In none of the areas were farm owners' families on the relief rolls in proportion to their relative numbers at the time of the 1930 Census. In all except the Cotton Areas the families of farm tenants and

croppers made up a larger percentage of the relief load in June 1934 than they did of rural and town families in the same counties in 1930 (Table VI). In the Eastern Cotton Belt, however, white¹ cropper families were receiving relief in June 1934 out of proportion to their numbers in 1930, and the relief rate for croppers and tenants in this area (based on the 1930 Census) was three times as high for whites as for Negroes (Table 7)

TABLE 7. PERCENTAGE^a OF FAMILIES RECEIVING RELIEF IN THE COUNTIES SURVEYED BY TENURE STATUS OF HEADS OF FAMILIES

OCCUPATION OF HEAD OF FAMILY	TOTAL ALL AREAS	APPALACHIAN OZARK	LAKE STATES CUT-OVER	SHORT GRASS		WESTERN COTTON		EASTERN COTTON	
				SPRING WHEAT	WINTER WHEAT	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
ALL FAMILIES.....	17	22	25	33	25	10	16	10	7
FARM FAMILIES ^b	13	24	10	40	21	7	9	7	4
OWNERS.....	12	15	8	29	15	4	7	5	4
TENANTS AND CROPPERS	14	47	26	65	33	9	7	9	5
NON-FARM FAMILIES ^c	22	19	36	22	26	15	23	17	19

^aPERCENT FAMILIES RECEIVING RELIEF IN JUNE, 1934 IS OF FAMILIES IN EACH GROUP IN 1930.

^bNUMBER OF FARM FAMILIES ASSUMED TO BE THE SAME AS NUMBER OF FARMERS; NON-FARM FAMILIES, 1930 SECURED BY SUBTRACTING TOTAL FARMERS FROM TOTAL FAMILIES.

^cALL FAMILIES OTHER THAN THE FAMILIES OF FARM OPERATORS; INCLUDES FARM LABORERS.

This large difference between white and Negro relief rates did not hold for other occupational groups. The rate for Negro non-farm families was greater than for whites. In the Lake States Cut-Over Area, in the Winter Wheat Area and in the Cotton Areas, a larger percentage of non-farm families (which included farm laborer families) was receiving relief than farm families.² The percentage of farm laborer families among the non-farm families receiving relief was highest (18 to 29 percent) in three of the areas with high relief rates for non-farm families. Families of farm laborers, non-agricultural laborers and servants and waiters made up 52 to 65 percent of the non-farm families receiving relief.

In all of the areas, with the exception of Negro families in the Eastern Cotton Belt, the relief rates for farm owners' families were lower than those for tenants and croppers. In fact in every area, except for Negro families in the Cotton Areas,

¹Whites, as used here, includes all non-Negro groups. In this area Mexicans are the only other non-white group of any importance. Separate analysis of the small number of Mexicans included did not indicate enough difference between their relief rates and occupations and those of the whites to warrant treating them as a separate group.

²As it was impossible to secure data from the 1930 Census on the number of farm laborer families, no rates could be computed for them separately.

the relief rate for tenants and croppers was more than twice that for owners. The lower relief rate for Negroes in the Eastern Cotton Belt is especially striking and indicates that croppers and tenants found it difficult to get public relief during the growing season, regardless of the permanence of the job or the rate of remuneration. The lower relief rate for Negro than for white tenants and croppers in the Eastern Cotton Belt indicates that the Negroes probably obtain public relief in this area during the busy season to even a lesser degree than the whites. That this difference in relief rates indicates less need for relief among Negroes is questionable.

2. *Occupations Represented.* Only in the Lake States Cut-Over Area were the usual occupations of the heads of families receiving relief chiefly non-agricultural. In this area the largest single group on relief was non-agricultural laborers (25 percent); farm owners were second in number (14 percent) followed by mechanics (12 percent), miners (11 percent) and lumbermen, woodchoppers and raftsmen (6 percent) (Table XIII). The remaining one-third of the family heads reported a variety of occupations, farm tenants, factory and railway employees and farm laborers accounting for one-half of the group. The majority of the families receiving relief were therefore on the relief rolls because of loss of employment in the mining, lumbering and wood-working industries of the area or because of the loss of jobs in industry elsewhere: 21 percent of the families had lived in the county in which they were receiving relief less than five years.

From the standpoint of the usual occupations represented, the relief problem in the Lake States Cut-Over Area in June 1934 was an agricultural one only in that many of those usually employed in non-agricultural industry had turned to agriculture after losing the jobs which in normal times had furnished all or the greater part of their incomes. There were relatively few *bona fide* farmers on the relief rolls in June 1934. The drought of 1934, however, resulted in an increase in the number of farmers receiving relief.

In the Spring Wheat Area farm families made up three-fourths of the relief load: 40 percent of the heads of families were farm owners and 35 percent farm tenants. The next largest group were non-agricultural laborers, 8 percent. Only 2 percent were farm laborers, about one farm laborer family to each 45 farm

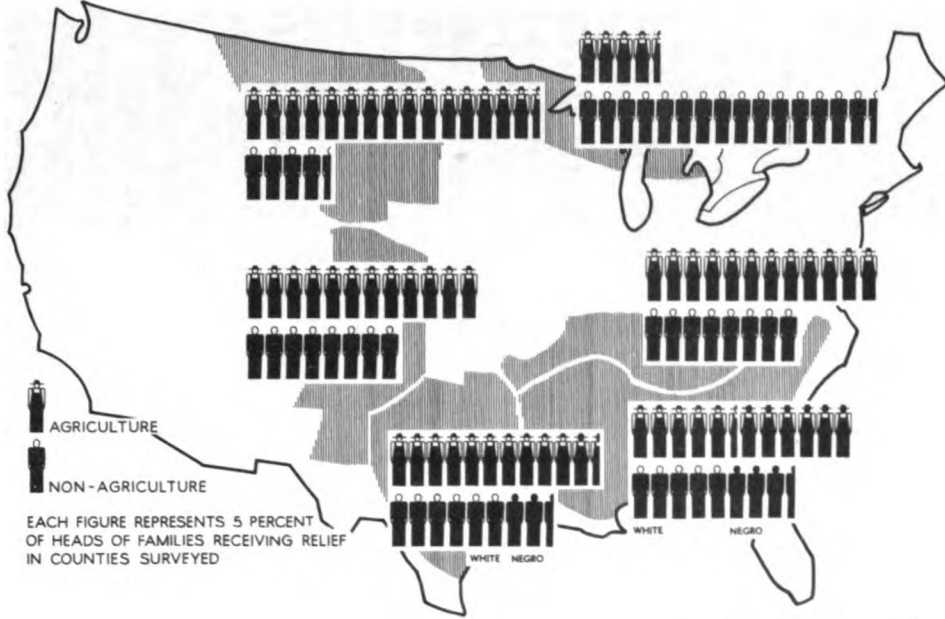


FIGURE 8: USUAL OCCUPATIONS OF HEADS OF FAMILIES RECEIVING RELIEF SIX RURAL PROBLEM AREAS

families receiving relief. Yet on April 1, 1930 there were 18 farm wage laborers per 45 farms in the counties surveyed. Although direct comparisons cannot be made between the two ratios (one deals with families and the other with persons per farm) it is obvious that the number of farm laborers' families receiving relief was very small in proportion to the number of such families which must have lived in these same counties in 1930. This points to the conclusion that the farm laborers had either moved to the cities or out of the area and the fact that much of the farm labor in this area has been performed in the past by migratory workers lends credence to this conclusion. Moreover, considerable numbers of farm laborers from this section have been reported in the transient camps of the F.E.R.A. In this area, as in none of the others, the relief problem was one for which agricultural conditions alone were almost solely responsible.

In the Winter Wheat Area farm tenant families were the largest single occupational group on relief, with the farm owner families next. These two groups made up 52 percent of the relief load and the farm laborer families another 9 percent. The relief rate for farmers (owners and tenants) in this area was only about one-half that for farmers in the Spring Wheat Area. The relief rate for tenants in both the Wheat Areas was more than twice that for owners. Non-agricultural laborers and mechanics (skilled and semi-skilled laborers) with 14 and 8 percent, respectively, were the only other individual occupational groups in the Winter Wheat Area making up more than 5 percent of the relief load. The usual occupations of the heads of the remaining 17 percent of the families were varied. Non-farm families made up a larger proportion of the rural and town families in this area (in 1930) than in the Spring Wheat Area and the relief rate for non-farm families exceeded that for farm families. Tenant families, however, were receiving relief at a higher rate than the non-farm group. The heads of more than one-fifth of the tenant families receiving relief in the Winter Wheat Area were unemployed in June 1934, as compared with less than 10 percent in the Spring Wheat Area (Table XIV). Crop failure due to successive dry years was a major cause of the high relief rates and about 46 percent of all families—90 percent of the farm families—were reported to be receiving relief because of crop failure. Unemployment of farmers (i.e., actual

displacement), of farm laborers, and of non-agricultural workers was responsible for almost twice as many families receiving relief in this area as in the Spring Wheat Area.

In the Western Cotton Area 25 percent of those on relief were tenants and approximately 7 percent each were farm owners and farm croppers, while farm laborers' families contributed 17 percent, bringing the total for those engaged in agriculture to 56 percent. Of the remaining families, non-agricultural laborers (16 percent), mechanics (8 percent), and servants and waiters (6 percent) accounted for the majority. Unemployment and drought were the two major reasons for families receiving relief. About 90 percent of the male heads of families who usually worked as farm laborers and more than 90 percent of the male heads of all other non-farm families were unemployed in June 1934. Of the farm family heads, about 30 percent of the owners, 40 percent of the tenants, and almost 60 percent of the croppers were unemployed. Unemployed farm operators made up about 20 percent of all the unemployed receiving relief. About 45 percent of the farm operators were reported to be receiving relief because of crop failure due to drought.

Cotton acreage harvested in Texas and Oklahoma in 1934 decreased about 7 percent from 1933 but the number of bales of cotton produced in 1934 was less than one-half the 1933 figure. The decrease in cotton acreage in this area¹ along with the introduction of machine methods in cotton farming has resulted in the displacement of many farmers. Migration into this area from other parts of the country (30 percent of families had moved into the county in which they were receiving relief within the past 5 years) which began in a period of expanding agriculture appears to have continued after there was a decreasing need for labor, for many of the unemployed farmers and farm laborers were migratory workers who came into the area for seasonal work in the cotton fields and failing to find it were without sufficient resources to enable them to leave.

About 17 percent of the families receiving relief in the Western Cotton Area were Negro families. The unskilled laborer group (farm and non-agricultural laborers and servants and waiters), which included 62 percent of all Negro families receiving relief, contained more than the average proportion of Negroes.

¹Cotton acreage in Oklahoma and Texas had decreased in 1934 to 60 percent of the 1925 (maximum) acreage. Most of this decline occurred before the advent of the A.A.A. program. This program prevented an increase in acreage harvested in 1933, however.

Although the farm tenant families receiving relief included less than the average proportion of Negroes, the percentage of unemployed Negro tenants was less than for whites (Fig. 9).

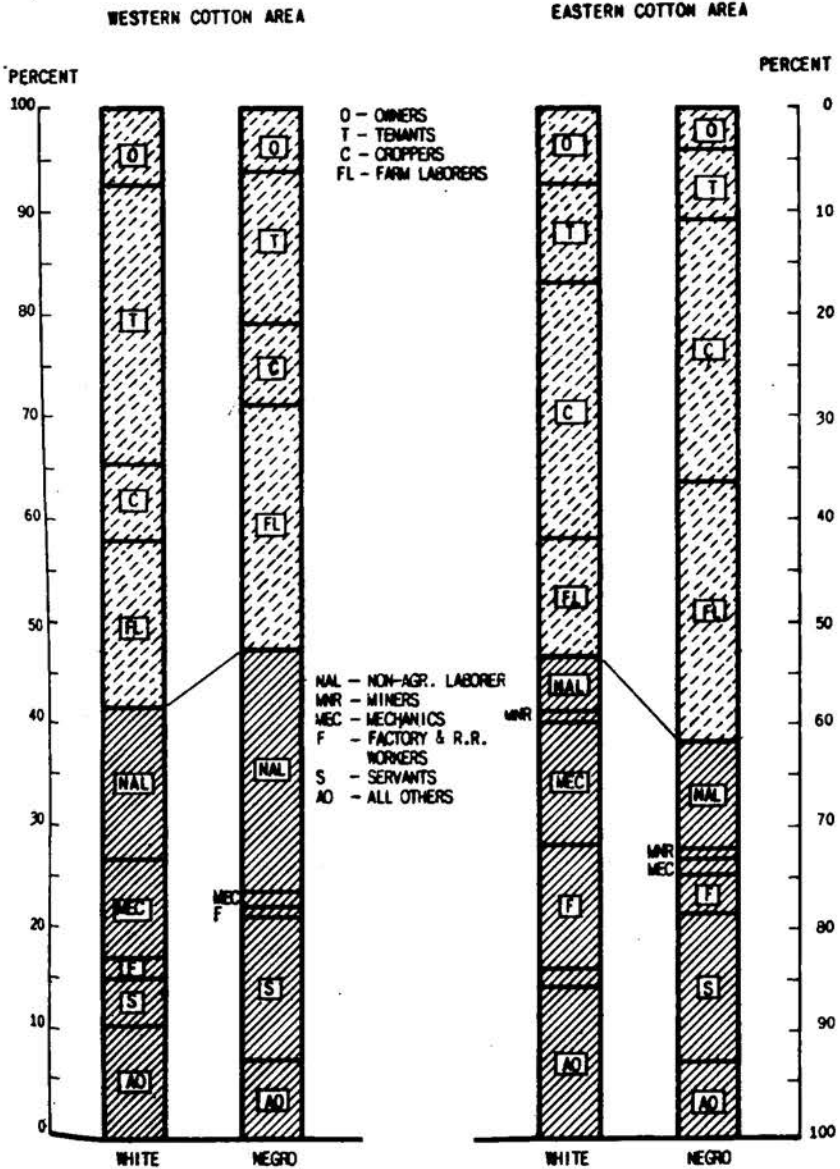
The families receiving relief in the Eastern Cotton Belt were largely families of the wage-earning class, which depends upon others for its employment. Most of the heads of families were unskilled laborers (including farm croppers). As in no other area, families in occupations at the lower end of the socio-economic scale predominated among both whites and Negroes: croppers, farm laborers, non-agricultural laborers, and servants and waiters comprised 58 percent of all families receiving relief. Seventy-five percent of the Negro and 43 percent of the white heads of families receiving relief reported the above group of usual occupations.

Although the percentage of farm operators' families receiving relief in the Eastern Cotton Belt was identical (39 percent) with that of the Western Cotton Area, the percentage of croppers was greater and that of the tenants, smaller. The percentage of owners and tenants among both Negro and white families receiving relief was only one-half that of the latter area. Non-agricultural laborers, and servants and waiters accounted for 15 percent of the families receiving relief, and mechanics, and factory and railroad employees, another 15 percent. This latter group, consisting largely of skilled and semi-skilled workers, was larger in this area than any other except the Lake States Cut-Over where 19 percent of the family heads reported their usual occupations in this category. The introduction of cotton textile mills into the South during the present century has provided some industrial employment. Lumbering and the wood-working industry have also been important in some counties. As the condition of the cotton growing industry is reflected in employment in the cotton mills, the presence of a fairly large industrial group on relief was to be expected.

Of the families receiving relief, 48 percent were Negro and the highest proportions of Negroes were in the unskilled laborer classes. The servant and waiter group was 91 percent Negro, the non-agricultural labor group 65 percent, the farm laborer group 66 percent and the farm cropper group 49 percent. The low percentages of Negro families were in the skilled labor groups and among farm owners and tenants. In proportion to their numbers in the counties surveyed in 1930, almost one and one-half

FIGURE 9

USUAL OCCUPATION OF HEADS OF FAMILIES RECEIVING RELIEF IN COTTON AREAS, BY RACE



times as many white as Negro families were receiving relief in this area. This difference in relief rates was primarily the result of a low relief rate in June 1934 among Negro croppers.

The Appalachian-Ozark Area with almost as large a proportion of its families on relief as the drought-stricken Winter Wheat Area had a relief rate¹ among farm families which was exceeded only by that in the Spring Wheat Area, where 40 percent of all farmers were receiving relief. Almost one-fourth of the farm families in the Appalachian-Ozark Area (15 percent of the owners and 47 percent of the tenants and croppers) and about one-fifth of all non-farm families were on the relief rolls in June 1934.

Of the heads of families receiving relief, 26 percent reported their usual occupation as farm owner, 10 percent as tenant, 23 percent as cropper, making a total of 59 percent for farm families. An additional 2 percent were farm laborers. Of the remaining 39 percent, 11 percent were non-agricultural laborers, 6 percent miners, 5 percent lumbermen, 3 percent mechanics, and 3 percent factory and railroad employees. The other 11 percent reported varied occupations, about one-half of them (largely female heads of families) reporting that they had no usual occupation.

As these occupation figures indicate, the relief problem in the Appalachian-Ozark Area is both an agricultural and an industrial one. The large number of farmers on relief and the high relief rate for farmers of all tenure groups in this area, where economic conditions have not changed radically since 1930, indicate the chronic nature of the problem and the presence of a marginal type of agriculture.

To say that 59 percent of the families receiving relief were farmers does not describe the occupational distribution of the heads of families in this area. The farmers on relief practiced part-time agriculture and depended upon the lumbering and mining and woodworking industries for supplementary income. In this respect the farmer on relief was in much the same predicament as his fellows in the Lake States Cut-Over Area. However, the farmer of the Appalachian-Ozark Area is of an indigenous stock and has always considered himself a farmer and his other job a sideline. He has a simple standard of living and is never

¹As these rates are based on the 1930 population, it is probably that they are somewhat high; there has been some return of families to this area from cities. The high rate of population increase in this area would also increase the number of families and thus indicate a lower rate than the one given.

far from the bare subsistence level of living as measured by modern standards. Unlike the tenant, and particularly the cropper of the cotton fields, he has not been, in the past, subservient to a landlord class. He is willing to fend for himself if given a chance, but is just a bit bewildered by his sudden introduction in recent years to the complexities of our modern industrial system and is often unable to cope with it. This area is a definite culture area as well as a geographic region or type of farming area. The farmer of this area is "the man with the hoe" who learned to depend on modern industry for partial support only to learn of its undependability when it was too late to look elsewhere.

3. *Sex of Family Heads in Each Usual Occupation.* Of the families receiving relief in the 65 counties surveyed, 14 percent had female heads, the percentage for whites varying among the six areas from 7 to 17 percent. For Negro families in the Western and Eastern Cotton Areas the percentages were 22 and 40, respectively (Table XV). Outside the Cotton Areas, only in the Appalachian-Ozark Area was the percentage of females among family heads who were usually farm owners greater than 6, and the percentages of female heads among tenants and croppers was even smaller. One of the lowest proportions of female heads of families (8 percent) was in the area with the highest relief rate (Spring Wheat) and the largest proportion (40 percent) in the area with the lowest relief rate: the Negro families of the Eastern Cotton Belt. The majority of the families with female heads were broken families, consisting of a woman and her children. As farming in the Cotton Areas is a family task, the loss of a husband and father is not as much a handicap as in a more complex economy where women seldom work in the fields. As a result, farm families with female heads were more frequent.

Only in the Cotton Areas were farm families with female heads on relief in greater numbers than their proportion of all heads of families in the sample states indicated in 1930. Other data at hand indicate that among Negroes many of these were aged females no longer able to secure contracts as croppers nor to live as members of another cropper family's household because of the landlord's refusal to "furnish" any but the immediate members of the cropper's family. In the absence of relief many of these women would have been cared for by the landlord group. Under a system which gives the cropper so little return that he

must depend upon his landlord to advance him enough food to enable him to make a crop, it is difficult for him to care for elderly members of his household. If the landlord refuses to advance him enough food to support the extra person, he has no choice except to allow his aged relative to apply for relief. Comparisons of the percentages of farm families with female heads (1930) in typical states in each area with the percentage of female heads among farm families receiving relief in June 1934, in the counties surveyed in each area, appear below:

AREA AND TYPICAL STATE	FARM FAMILIES WITH FEMALE HEADS	
	1930	RELIEF FAMILIES IN COUNTIES SURVEYED IN AREA
APPALACHIAN-OZARK WEST VIRGINIA.....	7	7
LAKE STATES CUT-OVER MICHIGAN.....	5	5
SPRING WHEAT SOUTH DAKOTA.....	3	3
WINTER WHEAT KANSAS.....	4	3
WESTERN COTTON TEXAS		
WHITE.....	4	7
NEGRO.....	8	13
EASTERN COTTON MISSISSIPPI		
WHITE.....	5	3
NEGRO.....	11	27
GEORGIA		
WHITE.....	6	--
NEGRO.....	12	--

About 94 percent of the heads of families reported as having no usual occupation were women who had no employment save that of housework in their own homes. One-fourth of the female heads of families receiving relief fell in this category. Most of the 385 female heads in this classification, in the 65 counties surveyed, were in the Appalachian-Ozark and Lake States Cut-Over Areas where 41 and 55 percent, respectively, reported that they had no usual occupation.

The only usual occupation reported by many female heads was that of servant or waitress (including all domestics) which included 20 percent of all female heads. Of those reporting this occupation, 84 percent were female and 16 percent male heads of families. Other occupations including more than the average percentage of female heads of families were "clerical worker or salesman", the professional and proprietor group, and farm laborers.

4. *Age of Heads of Families in Each Usual Occupation.* As almost three-fourths of the families receiving relief in the 65 coun-

ties were normal families, the age of the family head is a useful index of family composition. One-half the male heads of families receiving relief in the 65 counties were under 44 years of age and one-half of the female heads were under 50 years of age. The average age of white male family heads ranged from 42 years in the Eastern Cotton Area to 47.5 years in the Lake States Cut-Over Area; for Negroes from 43.5 years in the Western to 49.0 years in the Eastern Cotton Belt. In all except the white family group in the Western Cotton Area, female heads of families were, on the average, 4 to 7 years older than the male heads. Approximately 7 percent of all male and 5 percent of all female heads were under 25 years of age and 13 percent of the males and 23 percent of the females were 65 years of age or older (Tables XVI and XVII).

In the Appalachian-Ozark Area, one-half of the farm owners were under 48 years of age, one-half the croppers under 39 years, and one-half of the non-agricultural laborers under 40 years. The average age of male farm owners receiving relief in this area was less than in any other area, and only for the Western Cotton Area whites was the average age of both croppers and non-agricultural laborers as low. This is partly due to the type of family organization; aged persons instead of living as separate families were found living with the family of a son or daughter. As a result fewer persons over 65 years of age were receiving relief in this area, and the number of aged persons per family receiving relief was smaller than, for example, among Negro families in the Cotton Areas. The seriousness of the unemployment problem in the Appalachian-Ozark Area lies in the fact that such a large proportion of the unemployed were young adults who had never had an opportunity to earn their own living. One-fourth of the male family heads receiving relief were under 32 years of age and more than three-fourths under 51 years of age. The younger family heads were usually croppers, tenants, or unskilled laborers.

In the Lake States Cut-Over Area the average age ranged from 55.5 years for farm owners to 43.5 years for non-agricultural laborers.¹ The youngest occupational group made up the largest proportion of the relief load; the oldest group the second largest. Lumbermen, raftsmen and wood-choppers receiving relief

¹Exclusive of farm laborers who averaged only 36 years of age but were a relatively small group, accounting for only two percent of the families receiving relief.

averaged 54.5 years of age. This group and the aged farm owners accounted for most of the unemployable males on the relief rolls. Moreover, the average male family head receiving relief in this area was older than the average white family head of any other area.

In the Spring Wheat Area the average age of male farm owners was 51 and of tenants 40.5 years. In the Winter Wheat Area the average age of owners was 50 years and of tenants 39 years. As relief rates for tenants in these two areas were more than twice those for owners, it follows that young farmers were more frequently receiving relief than older and presumably better established ones. This fact is of considerable importance because of the probable necessity for aiding families in these areas to relocate in more favorable areas.

In the Western Cotton Area the average age of the male heads of families receiving relief was 43.5 years, for both whites and Negroes. However, the average Negro owner and cropper was older than the white, but the average age of the Negro male family heads who were usually farm laborers was 37 years, 5.5 years younger than for whites in this occupation. As in the Winter Wheat Area the younger family heads receiving relief were largely unskilled laborers and these younger families were, to a large extent, recent migrants into the area. Most of them were unemployed in June 1934 and were living as squatters wherever they could find a vacant shack to house themselves. In this area there were more families literally stranded due to a failure to find employment in agriculture than in any other.

In the Eastern Cotton Belt the average age of white male heads of families receiving relief was lower than in any other area, except Winter Wheat, and that for Negroes higher than for any other area among either whites or Negroes. Among male family heads the youngest were farm laborers or non-agricultural workers. There was little difference in the average ages of whites and Negroes usually employed in non-agricultural occupations, practically all of the variation in average age occurring among those usually engaged in agriculture. This difference means that the families of young Negroes, who were usually employed as farmers and farm laborers, were not on the relief rolls to the same extent as the whites. The whites were a more migratory group than the Negroes, and more of them were without employment in June 1934. This may explain to some degree the

higher relief rates for white farm families but the differences in the ages of the two groups suggest that there was some discrimination in favor of white families in the granting of relief. This belief is supported by the difference in the relative amounts of relief given to the two groups (Table VIII).

G. Occupational Shifts and Current Employment Status of Male Heads of Families

Actual unemployment as a "cause" for relief varied inversely to the nearness of the families to the land. Although the farm owners receiving relief were not unemployed in the same sense as the wage workers, they were probably in just as dire need of help. Because of their control over the capital and land which they worked and the fact that they were not without some work, they were much less a social problem than the laborer who depended entirely upon others for an opportunity to work. Only 48 percent of the male heads of households receiving relief were unemployed in June 1934, i.e., they had no work (exclusive of work relief) at any time during the month, farm operators being considered employed if operating a farm even though drought made it impossible to grow a crop. About 42 percent of all male heads were employed at their usual occupation, 10 percent at some occupation other than their usual one. Farm owners were most frequently employed at their usual occupation (86 percent), followed by tenants, croppers, farm laborers and non-agricultural workers in descending order, only six percent of the latter group being so employed (Table XVIII). Although the proportions employed at their usual occupations varied widely from area to area, the order indicated above held for all areas.

Only 10 percent of the male farm owners by usual occupation were unemployed in June 1934, and only in the Cotton Areas was there an indication of actual displacement of farm owners. As farm owners made up 7 percent or less of the relief loads in the Cotton Areas, this displacement was a relatively minor factor in the relief situation in all of the areas. On the other hand, displacement of tenants and croppers was a major factor in some of the areas. Twenty percent of all male family heads who were usually employed as tenants were unemployed in June 1934. In the Western Cotton Area, where tenant families made up 25 percent of the relief load, 45 percent of the white and 23 percent of the Negro male tenants were unemployed. The majority of

these displaced tenants were still living in houses or shacks as squatters, but were unable to secure work of any kind and were without sufficient resources to move elsewhere. There were also a considerable number of unemployed tenants receiving relief in the Winter Wheat Area. Farm tenant families made up almost one-third of those receiving relief and about 21 percent of the male heads of families in the latter area who were usually farm tenants were without employment. Repeated crop failure, due to drought, had forced many tenants into bankruptcy and off their farms. Although a large percentage of the tenants receiving relief in the Lake States Cut-Over and Eastern Cotton Areas were unemployed, this did not represent the displacement of many able-bodied families. In the former area less than 6 and in the latter only 8 percent of the families receiving relief were usually tenants. Moreover, other data at hand indicate that more than one-half of them were aged family heads no longer able to work.

The most extensive displacement of farmers had occurred among the croppers of the Eastern Cotton Belt. About 25 percent of all family heads receiving relief were croppers and 57 percent of the white and 49 percent of the Negro male heads of cropper families were unemployed in June 1934. In addition, another 9 percent had become farm laborers and non-agricultural workers, making a total of two-thirds of the whites and 58 percent of the Negroes who had been displaced from their farms (Table XVIII). About 75 percent of the whites and 50 percent of the Negroes were the heads of families considered capable of self-support by the local relief workers, indicating that at least 45 percent of the white and one-third of the Negro cropper families receiving relief were families displaced from their farms for reasons other than absence of persons in them able to work. A similar situation existed in the Western Cotton Area, but cropper families made up only 7 percent of the relief load in that area where most of the farmers on relief were tenants, many of whom as indicated above also had been displaced from their farms.

Almost three-fourths of the male heads of families receiving relief, who were usually farm laborers, were unemployed in June 1934. The proportion varied from a low of 41 to 43 percent in the Appalachian-Ozark and Lake States Cut-Over Areas to a high of 86 to 89 percent in the Spring and Winter Wheat and Western Cotton Areas. In the Eastern Cotton Belt approximately two-

thirds were unemployed. Like the tenant and the cropper in the Winter Wheat and the Cotton Areas, the farm laborer, too, had lost his job because of drought and the adverse economic condition of agriculture, and the change to machine methods in some areas. In the Appalachian-Ozark and Lake States Cut-Over Areas, both poor land regions, 41 and 30 percent, respectively, of the farm laborers had become owners, tenants and croppers, and 19 and 26 percent were still employed as farm laborers. For no farm occupation group in any area was the number that had shifted to non-agricultural occupations as much as 4 percent of the total number of farmers and farm laborers receiving relief.

The shift from non-agricultural to agricultural employment, however, was quite pronounced in the Appalachian-Ozark and Lake States Cut-Over Areas. None of the other areas, except the Eastern Cotton Belt, showed any noteworthy shifts of this character. The shift to agriculture was most important in the Lake States Cut-Over, both from the standpoint of the number of families involved and the percentage increase in the number of farmers in the group: 17 percent of all the male heads of families receiving relief and usually employed in non-agricultural occupations were farming, and an additional one percent had become farm laborers. As the heads of almost 80 percent of the families receiving relief in this area were usually employed in non-agricultural occupations this means that approximately 15 percent of the heads of all families receiving relief had become agricultural workers in recent years, most of them because of unemployment in their usual jobs. Some of these families already owned land which was farmed by their families while the family head worked elsewhere. Since he had lost the job which was the chief source of family income, he was classified as a farmer. The "farm" which was formerly only an incidental source of income—a place to live, to grow a garden or truck patch and perhaps to pasture a cow or two and to raise a few chickens—became the family's sole source of income and subsistence. Some of the families did not own any land but were farming land belonging to others without the owner's knowledge or permission. Squatters, if they were farming, were classified occupationally as farm owners.

The Appalachian-Ozark shift to agriculture involved 41 percent of all male heads of households receiving relief and usually engaged in non-agricultural pursuits. As about 40 percent

of the family heads in this area were normally engaged in non-agricultural pursuits, about 16 or 17 percent of all families receiving relief were involved, but the ratio of families shifting into agriculture to those already there was smaller than in the Lake States Cut-Over Area. Like the families of the latter area, many of those who had recently become farmers made no radical change either in their residence or their mode of living. Most of them were formerly employed in nearby mines, in lumbering operations, or in small factories. A shift to agriculture was to the Appalachian-Ozark family simply a return to agriculture—to the traditional mode of living on which the culture of this area is based—in a neighborhood in which the family was "kin" to most of the families living there. In this latter respect the Appalachian-Ozark Area was sharply in contrast with the Lake States Cut-Over Area where there were few family ties and many of the inhabitants past the age of 50 years were immigrants from other sections of the country.

About 6 percent of both the white and the Negro male heads of families in the Eastern Cotton Belt, who were usually in non-agricultural occupations, had agricultural jobs in June 1934. Most of the whites were tenants and croppers, most of the Negroes, croppers and farm laborers. The other areas had some occupational shift toward agriculture but the number of families involved was a relatively small part of the relief load.

H. Relation of Occupational Changes to Shifts in Residence

The occupational shifts of the heads of families receiving relief were accompanied by a movement of families between the open country and villages and towns. In the Appalachian-Ozark Area where the proportion of the heads of families who were totally unemployed in June 1934 was relatively small, there was little movement of families receiving relief, either to or from the open country, between 1930 and 1934. Yet the proportion of the male family heads that had shifted to agriculture by June 1934 (41 percent) was larger in this area than in any other. The shift was obviously made by people already living in the open country who had lost the jobs which had been their chief source of income, or who had moved from an open country non-farm residence onto a farm.

In the Lake States Cut-Over Area 18 percent of the male heads of families had shifted to agricultural pursuits by June 1934.

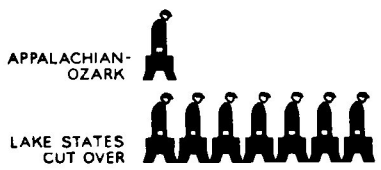
In the same area 10 percent of the open country families receiving relief had moved there from towns and villages and 11 percent from cities since 1930 (Fig. 10). The net gain in the number of families receiving relief in the open country, due to migration between the open country and villages and towns, was only 7 percent because of some movement of families from the open country to villages and towns. As city families were not included in this survey, it was impossible to tell to what extent the families who had moved into the open country since 1930 were compensated for by families who had moved to cities during the same period. Probably about one-sixth of the open country relief load in the Lake States Cut-Over counties surveyed was a result of movement of families between the open country, villages, towns and cities, since 1930. Over 6 percent of the families receiving relief in villages and towns had migrated from cities since 1930.

In the remaining four areas the trend of migration was predominantly from the open country into villages and towns. This was especially true in the Winter Wheat and Western Cotton Areas where the net change in the open country relief load due to migration of families from the open country to villages and towns was equal to 10 and 14 percent respectively of the families receiving relief in the open country (Fig. 10). The movement was largely one of unemployed farm tenants and farm laborers. In neither of these areas had many of the families receiving relief migrated into the open country since 1930.

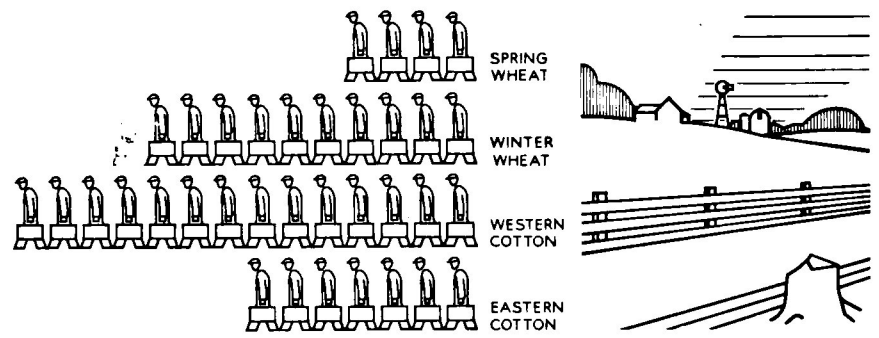
The open country relief population of the Spring Wheat and Eastern Cotton Areas also showed decreases due to the emigration of families receiving relief from the open country to villages and towns. As indicated above, this survey included no families living in cities of 5,000 or more inhabitants and as a result it is probable that a great many more families receiving relief have emigrated from the Short Grass and Cotton Areas than are indicated by the data given. The small number of farm laborers receiving relief in the Spring Wheat Area indicates that many such families who were living in this area in 1930 had emigrated. Likewise in the Eastern Cotton Belt the evidence points to a considerable migration of rural families into cities. The decline in the number of farmers in the Mississippi Delta region and the large number of rural Negroes receiving relief in cities such as Memphis, Tennessee, are undoubtedly related.

FIGURE 10
**NET MIGRATION
 OF RELIEF FAMILIES
 SINCE APRIL 1930**

TO OPEN COUNTRY



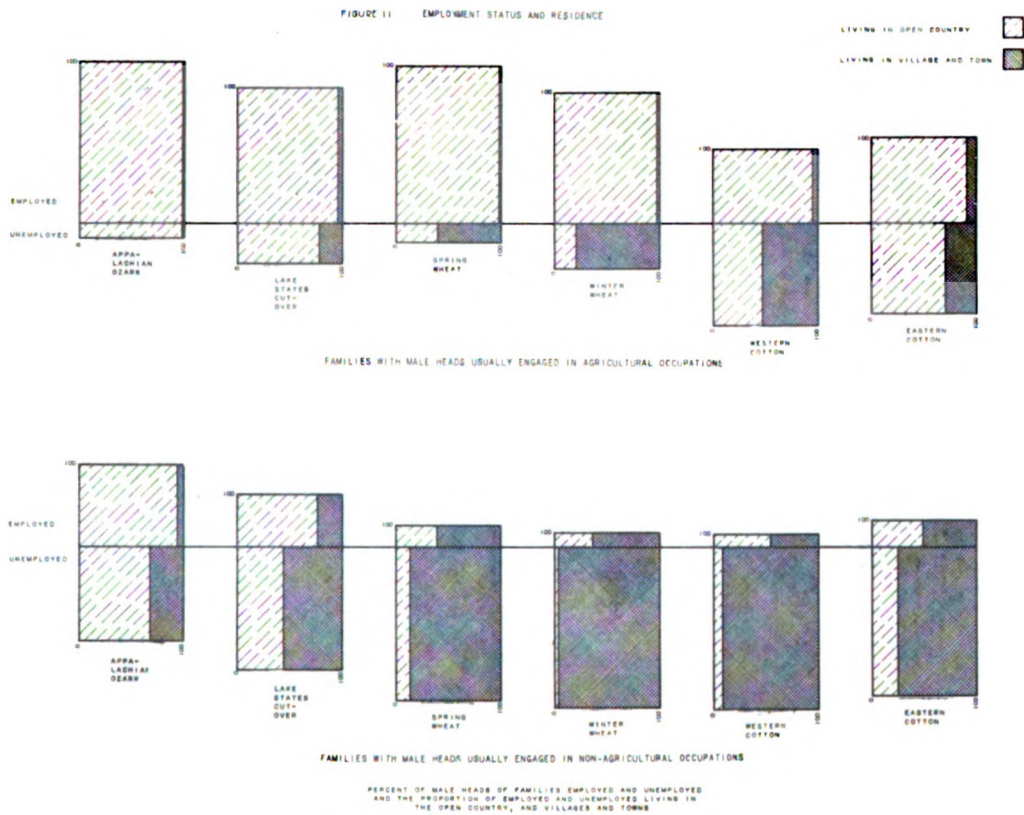
FROM OPEN COUNTRY



EACH FIGURE REPRESENTS 1 PERCENT OF RELIEF FAMILIES IN OPEN COUNTRY IN JUNE 1934

The unemployed relief clients tended to migrate into, or remain in, the towns and villages. Figure 11 indicates for male heads of households usually employed in agricultural and in non-agricultural occupations (1) the percentage employed in June 1934 and, (2) the percentage of the employed and unemployed in each group living in the open country or in villages and towns in June 1934. In all except the Appalachian-Ozark Area the percentage of the unemployed living in villages and towns was considerably greater than for the employed, among male family heads usually engaged in agriculture. Most of the unemployed agricultural workers living in villages and towns in the Spring Wheat and Lake States Cut-Over Areas were aged and retired farmers who had, in all likelihood, moved there before the effects of the present adverse conditions in these areas made themselves felt. In the other three areas, and particularly in the Winter Wheat and Western Cotton Areas the difference in residence of employed and unemployed agricultural workers was a result of the migration of displaced farm tenants, croppers and laborers into population centers. On the other hand, in the Eastern Cotton Belt proportionately more of the displaced farmers and farm laborers who were receiving relief in the counties surveyed in June 1934 remained in the open country.

Among male heads of families usually employed in non-agricultural occupations, the proportion of the unemployed living in the open country was largest in the areas which had the greatest normal employment in industries (other than agriculture) located in the open country. In these same areas—the Appalachian-Ozark, Lake States Cut-Over and Eastern Cotton—the proportion of non-agricultural workers that had shifted to agriculture was also greatest. It is evident from this that the shift from non-agricultural to agricultural occupations was almost entirely a matter of the proximity of the families to land and particularly to cheap land. In other words, areas with industries which were located in the open country—such as mining, lumbering, wood-working—and which in addition had unoccupied poor land, had the greatest influx of the industrially unemployed into agriculture. That the movement of families receiving relief to the land was not an isolated phenomenon is vividly portrayed by the striking increase in the total number of farmers in the Appalachian-Ozark and Lake States Cut-Over Areas from 1930-1935 (Fig. 12).



In addition to the movement of the relief population between the open country and population centers, there had been a considerable movement from county to county within the previous 10 years. About 30 percent of the families in the 65 counties had lived less than 10 years in the county in which they were receiving relief. The most stable relief populations were those in the Appalachian-Ozark and Spring Wheat Areas and the Negroes of the Eastern Cotton Belt. In these areas, 84, 79, and 87 percent of the families receiving relief had lived 10 years or longer in the same county. Less than one-half of the white families receiving relief in the Western Cotton Area and only a few more than one-half of the Winter Wheat Area families had lived 10 years or more in the county in which they were receiving relief. In the former area one-third of the white families had moved into the counties during the past five years; in the latter, 23 percent, (Table XIX).

Much of the movement of families into these counties represented a change of residence without a change in occupation. The rapid expansion of wheat and cotton-growing in the Winter Wheat and Western Cotton Areas brought many farmers from other sections into these areas and the population increased steadily until about 1932. Since that time, a series of dry years has bankrupted many of the farm operators and forced them off their farms and into villages and towns, along with the farm laborers whom they formerly employed.

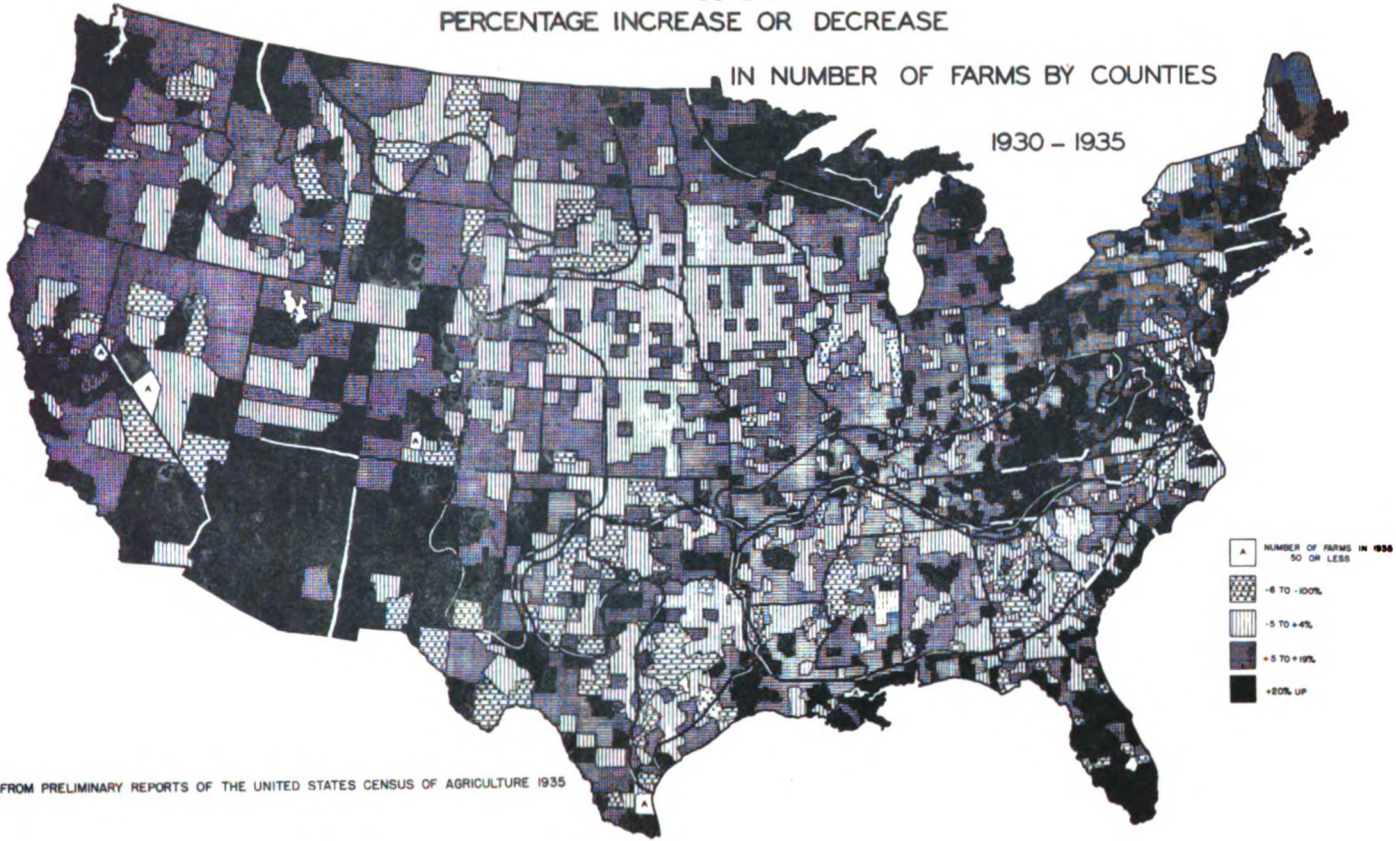
In the Eastern Cotton Belt, the 21 percent of the white families who had moved, during the previous five years, into the counties in which they were receiving relief, were apparently of two types: croppers who had moved from one county to another, and unemployed families who had moved from farms or cities to towns and villages. The white families on the relief rolls in this area were a much more mobile and a much younger group than the Negro families.

In the Lake States Cut-Over Area, the movement of families into the counties surveyed was definitely a part of the emigration of families from cities and the shift to agricultural occupations. The occupational shifts of family heads in this area resulted in many more changes in the place of residence than in the Appalachian-Ozark Area. In the latter, a change in occupation consisted, in most cases, in nothing more than attempting to farm the land on which the family already lived, or

FIGURE 12
PERCENTAGE INCREASE OR DECREASE

IN NUMBER OF FARMS BY COUNTIES

1930 - 1935



FROM PRELIMINARY REPORTS OF THE UNITED STATES CENSUS OF AGRICULTURE 1935

a return to the "home" farm nearby; but in the former, the family more frequently had to move from a city or village in order to get on the land.

On the basis of the preliminary figures from the 1935 Census of Agriculture, it appears that the shift to agriculture of the families receiving relief in the Appalachian-Ozark and Lake States Cut-Over Areas was not an isolated phenomenon, but part of a general movement. The number of farms in the Appalachian-Ozark counties surveyed increased almost one-third, in the Lake States Cut-Over almost one-fourth. Although these figures are preliminary and later revision may reduce them, the increase is large enough to indicate a significant change in the number of farm units. The Spring Wheat and Western Cotton Area counties showed practically no change and the Eastern Cotton Belt counties show an actual decline in the number of farms. This may have been partially due to under-enumeration but general information of the conditions in these counties would indicate the probable accuracy of the Census figures. The increase in the Winter Wheat counties is probably a reflection of the increase in the number of farms which occurred in this area during the period 1930-1932. Information on conditions in this area indicates that there has been some decrease in the number of farms since 1932 as a result of the severe drought conditions of 1933 and 1934.

PERCENTAGE INCREASE OR DECREASE IN NUMBER OF FARMS IN THE COUNTIES SURVEYED, 1930-1935*

AREA	PERCENT INCREASE (+) OR DECREASE (-)
ALL AREAS.....	+ 7.2
APPALACHIAN-OZARK.....	+32.2
LAKE STATES CUT-OVER.....	+25.9
SPRING WHEAT.....	+ 0.8
WINTER WHEAT.....	+ 7.1
WESTERN COTTON.....	+ 0.2
EASTERN COTTON.....	- 4.1

*SOURCE: U. S. CENSUS OF AGRICULTURE PRELIMINARY REPORTS, 1935

1. Residence of Families with Female Heads

Families with women heads were, as in the general population, living in villages and towns more frequently than in the open country. Of all relief families living in the open country, 12 percent had female heads as compared with 18 percent of village and 18 percent of town families (Table 8). Except in the Lake States Cut-Over Area, where only 10 percent of the family heads were women, and among the Eastern Cotton Belt Negro families of which 40 percent of the families had women heads, there was a

SIX RURAL PROBLEM AREAS

higher proportion of women heads of families in the villages than in either towns or the open country. But among all groups, except the Western Cotton Area white families, the proportion of families with women heads was greater in the towns than in the open country. The concentration of Negro families with women heads who were receiving relief in the open country and

TABLE 8. RESIDENCE OF FAMILIES RECEIVING RELIEF BY SEX OF HEAD

	TOTAL ALL AREAS	APPA- LACHIAN OZARK	LARE STATES CUT- OVER	SHORT GRASS		WESTERN COTTON		EASTERN COTTON	
				SPRING	WINTER	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
				WHEAT	WHEAT				
ALL FAMILIES..									
NUMBER.....	10,771	2,157	1,758	1,311	2,007	800	164	1,347	1,237
PERCENT.....	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
OPEN COUNTRY.....	66	91	63	75	51	47	37	99	62
VILLAGE.....	21	8	24	19	24	35	26	26	25
TOWN.....	13	1	13	6	25	18	37	15	13
FAMILIES WITH MALE HEADS									
NUMBER.....	9,235	1,921	1,560	1,208	1,860	704	128	1,114	740
PERCENT.....	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
OPEN COUNTRY.....	67	92	64	77	54	48	41	61	61
VILLAGE.....	20	7	23	17	22	34	21	25	29
TOWN.....	13	1	13	6	24	18	38	14	10
FAMILIES WITH FEMALE HEADS									
NUMBER.....	1,536	246	178	103	147	96	36	233	497
PERCENT.....	100	100	100	100	100	100	*	100	100
OPEN COUNTRY.....	57	81	53	44	27	43	*	52	65
VILLAGE.....	27	14	28	45	40	41	*	30	19
TOWN.....	16	5	19	11	33	16	*	18	16
		<i>Percentage of All Heads of Families, Females</i>							
ALL FAMILIES.....	14	11	10	8	7	12	22	17	40
OPEN COUNTRY.....	12	10	9	5	4	11	15	15	42
VILLAGE.....	18	20	12	19	12	14	36	20	31
TOWN.....	18	*	14	13	10	11	20	21	20

*PERCENTAGES NOT COMPUTED BECAUSE OF SMALL NUMBER OF CASES.

in the towns in the Eastern Cotton Belt is probably a result of the life of the rural Negro, particularly in the plantation areas, which has been centered around the plantation rather than a village community. It is to this social unit that the Negro has looked for sanctuary in his declining years rather than to the local community centered in a village or small towns as does the retired farmer of the Corn Belt. In the Appalachian-Ozark Area, where a large proportion of the families with female heads were found living in the open country, the life of the family has been centered in the kinship group and in the neighborhood which consists of the families that live on the same "branch". In this case the widowed and the aged depend upon the kinship group to care for them and the results are the same as in the Cotton Belt. The fact that women can, and do, work on the farms in these two areas also helps to account for the presence in the open country of a large number of families with female heads.

At first glance the fact that one-half of the heads of Negro families receiving relief and living in towns were women may

seem to refute the explanation offered above for their presence in such large numbers in the open country. However, aside from farm work, the chief opportunities for employment for Negro women are as servants, waiters and domestics, and since the larger towns make greater use of services of this type than do villages, they have attracted more families seeking these types of work than have the latter. As employment in such work fluctuates widely with economic conditions, the servants and waiters are forced to apply for relief in large numbers.

IV. SOCIO-ECONOMIC RESOURCES OF FAMILIES RECEIVING RELIEF

In the foregoing chapter the "human resources" were analyzed and assessed. It is now in order to attempt an analysis of the "material resources" actually in the possession of the families receiving relief when this survey was made. Since unemployment relief was not, either by policy or accident, confined to the utterly destitute or the completely unemployed, but rather was granted to all those who could not, by their own efforts, achieve the minimum subsistence living standards deemed as adequate by the relief authorities of the area in question, such an analysis is possible. The nature of the resources, whether employment or property, naturally varies from area to area. For example, the amount of land in the possession of farm owners on relief is significant only when measured against the amount apparently necessary for economic sufficiency in the area in question. No national standard of acreage can be used. Similarly with livestock and poultry: area practices in farm economy decidedly influence the figures here given and are significant only in relation to the possessions of the non-relief farmers of the same area. Moreover, when the incidence of the catastrophe is fairly universal throughout the area, as in the case of drought, the figures may very nearly reflect normal conditions and any obvious deficiencies apply, not to the relief population alone, but to the general population. In short, poverty resulting in dependency is a relative concept only made meaningful when measured against the condition of the self-supporting overlying population.

If farm operators are included, one-half of the heads of the relief families surveyed were employed¹ in June 1934. The proportion employed was highest in the Appalachian-Ozark (72 percent), Spring Wheat (71 percent) and Winter Wheat (50 percent) areas, lowest in the Cotton Areas (Table XIV). For the 65 counties, all but 15 percent of the employed were operating or attempting to operate farms; of the 15 percent who were not farm operators, about 5 percent were farm laborers, the remaining 10

¹Occupation, as used in this section of the report, refers to June 1934 employment and should not be confused with "usual occupation" discussed earlier. Farm operators were classified as employed if they were operating or attempting to operate a farm in June.

percent being engaged in varied types of non-agricultural employment. In the Lake States Cut-Over Area 10 percent, and in the Eastern Cotton Belt about 7 percent of the family heads were employed in non-agricultural occupations. In the latter area, 7 percent of the family heads (5 percent of the whites, 9 percent of the Negroes) receiving relief were employed as farm laborers in June 1934.

Of the families who were operating farms (42.4 percent of all families receiving relief) in June 1934, 43 percent owned all or part of the land they were farming, 55 percent were farming rented land as tenants or croppers, and about 2 percent were squatters or homesteaders (Table XX). Of the farm operators who owned their land, 55 percent reported real estate mortgages. About 37 percent of all families operating farms (about 50 percent of the tenants, 40 percent of the owners and 5 percent of the croppers) reported chattel mortgages. About 70 percent of the farm operators reported dairy cows, 60 percent work stock, 60 percent hogs, and 85 percent poultry.

Of families in which the head was unemployed in June 1934 (50 percent of those receiving relief), 22 percent owned their homes, 69 percent were renters and 9 percent were squatters. Of those who owned their homes, approximately one-fourth reported real estate mortgages. Only 4 percent of the unemployed reported chattel mortgages. The small number of these families reporting mortgage indebtedness is undoubtedly a result of the low value of the property they owned. Only about one-fifth owned dairy cows, less than 5 percent owned work stock, 13 percent owned hogs and only one-third owned poultry (Table XXI).

Families in which the head was employed in non-agricultural occupations in June 1934 owned their homes in more instances than families with unemployed heads, but other indices indicate that they were similar in economic status to the latter.

A. The Appalachian-Ozark Area

Nearly 69 percent of the families receiving relief in the counties surveyed were operating farms, 3 percent of the heads of families were employed at non-agricultural occupations and 28 percent were unemployed. Because of cheap land and the proximity to the land of persons formerly employed in the industries of this area, large numbers of those who lost industrial jobs turned to subsistence farming. Thirty-two percent were owners,

12 percent tenants and 25 percent croppers. Of those who owned their farms, but 23 percent reported mortgages. The farmers receiving relief were living on smaller farms than the average for the same counties in 1930. Nearly 38 percent were operating farms of less than 20 acres, and almost 75 percent, farms of less than 50 acres with the median farm 27 acres. In 1930 in these same counties, 20 percent of the farms were under 20 acres, and 47 percent of the farms under 50 acres with the median farm 56 acres. The farms in the counties surveyed were, in 1930, slightly larger than in the Southern Appalachian Area as a whole (15, p. 54). In this region only about one-third of the land in farms was crop land in 1929. If the farmers receiving relief had this ratio of crop land to total farm acreage, 75 percent of them had less than 17 acres of crop land, about 50 percent less than 10 acres and 38 percent less than 7 acres.

About 70 percent of the farm operators receiving relief reported dairy cows, 40 percent work stock, 60 percent hogs and a little over 80 percent poultry. These percentages were only slightly lower than for the Southern Appalachian Area as a whole: about two-thirds of all farmers reported dairy cows and five-sixths work stock in 1930 (15 pp. 67-69). The farm families receiving relief lacked work stock, a reflection of the large proportion of croppers. Only 6 percent of the farm operators reported chattel mortgages, a smaller percentage than among Negroes in the Cotton Areas.

The large proportion of families living on small farms and the absence of real estate and chattel mortgages characterize the self-sufficing agriculture of this area. These families have never attained other than the simplest standards of living—standards not much above the subsistence level—and although those receiving relief probably had an income only slightly lower than the general population, the economic margin was so narrow that a small loss in income particularly cash income, forced them to accept relief. The farmers have depended upon wages earned for work off the farm for a considerable part of their cash income. During 1929 the value of the farm products sold, traded or used on the farm was less than \$400 on 30 percent of the farms in the Southern Appalachians and under \$600 on 50 percent of the farms. The annual income from the farm is quite frequently under \$100 after farm expenses are paid. During 1929 the average Southern Appalachian farmer worked 53 days

off his farm for wages (15, p. 54). This figure does not take into account wages earned by other members of the family which local studies indicate to be an important item (17). To a farmer whose total cash income was \$400 or less, the loss of outside employment which yielded as much as \$100 annually meant at least a 25 percent reduction in total cash income (Fig. VI).

Thus although the majority of the heads of families receiving relief reported their usual occupation as "farmer" most of them undoubtedly had had an alternate source of income. Since the industrial depression shut off employment opportunities for many who would normally have migrated from this area to northern cities and also curtailed employment in the mines and factories of the area, the increasing population has had to depend upon agriculture for its subsistence. Among the reasons frequently given for families receiving relief were "Farm too small", "Loss of supplementary occupation", "Poor land", all reasons which indicate the poor economic circumstances of the farmers. The population has increased as natural resources have decreased so that now the only hope of assuring these farmers a decent standard of living lies in the development of some source of industrial employment.

Families with unemployed heads made up 28 percent of those receiving relief. Of this group about one-quarter owned their homes, three-fifths were renters and one-sixth squatters. Only 12 percent of the owned homes were mortgaged, an indication in most cases of the small value of property rather than the freedom from debt of the owner. Further evidence of the economic status of this group was the near absence of chattel mortgages. In this day of installment buying, families with any credit standing would have reported more chattel mortgages than the 1.5 percent of this group.

Nearly 30 percent of the unemployed reported dairy cows, 24 percent reported hogs and 45 percent kept poultry, but less than 6 percent of the families owned any work stock. Yet the number of unemployed family heads who reported dairy cows, hogs and poultry was greater than that for the unemployed of any other area. Only among whites in the Eastern Cotton Belt was the proportion of the unemployed reporting these types of livestock anywhere near as large and many of the latter were migrants from the Appalachian-Ozark Area who had carried their mode of living with them into the cotton country.

B. The Lake States Cut-Over Area

Only 29 percent of the families receiving relief in this area were farming in June 1934, most of them as owner-operators. Almost three-fifths (59 percent) of the heads of families were without employment, 10 percent were employed in non-agricultural occupations and about 2 percent were farm laborers (Table XIV).

Of the farmers, 69 percent owned the land which they were farming, 27 percent were renters, 3 percent homesteaders, and two families were squatters. Fifty-two percent of the farm owners reported mortgages and twenty-one percent of the farm operators reported chattel mortgages. The make-shift nature of the farming operations of the families receiving relief is evident from the fact that only one-half of them reported work stock. This is a higher percentage than in the Appalachian-Ozark Area but in the latter area many of the farmers were croppers who depended upon the landlord for the necessary work animals, while most of the farmers in this area owned their own land, and the majority had recently shifted to farming after losing their usual jobs. Eighty percent of the farm operators owned dairy cows, 45 percent other cattle, 33 percent owned hogs and 76 percent reported poultry (Table XXI).

About one-half of the farmers receiving relief operated farms of less than 50 acres and 81 percent farms under 100 acres in size. Only 22 percent of the farms in these same counties in 1930 contained less than 50 acres and 54 percent less than 100 acres. It does not follow from this that the size of the farm was necessarily responsible for the families appearing on the rolls for many industrial workers had been thrown on relief by the loss of their usual job and had turned to the land for a possible solution of their employment problem. These "farms" were small, poorly equipped and under-stocked because of the financial straits in which the owner found himself upon losing his job. The relief situation in both is evidence of the precariousness of a part-time farming economy based almost solely on exploitative industries (Table XXII).

The unemployed, who made up about three-fifths of the relief load in this area, owned property or had chattel mortgages in fewer instances than those who were farming. About 39 percent owned their homes, 53 percent were renters and 7 percent squatters. Only 3 percent reported chattel mortgages and only 24 percent of those who owned their homes reported real estate

mortgages. These low mortgage figures probably reflect the small value of the property. About 17 percent had dairy cows, only 3 percent had work stock, 5 percent kept hogs and less than 20 percent reported poultry (Table XXI). The contrast between this group and the unemployed group in the Appalachian-Ozark Area illustrates some basic differences in the economy of the two areas. The latter is historically agricultural and the population indigenous to the area; this area only recently resorted to agriculture and many of the people are immigrants. In the Appalachian-Ozark Area, the unemployed group receiving relief was a relatively small part of the total relief load, and the relief benefit per family was low, as most of the families were able partially to support themselves on the land; in this area, although some had turned to farming, the number of unemployed was large and relief benefits were high as few of the families had either the training, experience or capital to enable them to attain the material standards of living to which they were accustomed.

C. The Wheat Areas

The families receiving relief in this region included more families, who, under ordinary conditions, were able to enjoy a satisfactory scale of living, than did either the families of the Appalachian-Ozark or of the Lake States Cut-Over Area. In the Spring Wheat Area 68 percent and in the Winter Wheat Area 46 percent of the heads of families receiving relief were farming in June 1934. In the former area about 50 percent of the farmers owned their land and in the latter area about 40 percent. Aside from those who were farming, few of the family heads in either area were employed: over 29 percent in the Spring Wheat and more than 50 percent in the Winter Wheat Area were unemployed in June 1934 (Table XIV).

Over 70 percent of the farmers receiving relief in the Spring Wheat Area were operating farms of 260 acres or larger (more than 80 percent of the farms in these same counties in 1930 were in this size group); 7 percent of the farmers receiving relief were operating farms of 1000 acres or more (18 percent of all farms in the counties surveyed in 1930 were in this size group) (Table XXII).

In the Winter Wheat Area approximately 55 percent of the farmers receiving relief were operating farms of 260 acres or

more (80 percent of all farms in 1930) and only 4 percent of the farmers receiving relief were operating farms of 1000 acres or more (but about 16 percent of all farms in 1930). In both areas farm operators with less than a half-section of land (320 acres) were on the relief rolls more frequently than those with larger acreages, farmers with one section (640 acres) having about the average relief rate for the group.

More than four-fifths of the farm owners receiving relief in the Wheat Areas reported their farms mortgaged; of the farm operators 79 percent in the Spring Wheat and 61 percent in the Winter Wheat Areas reported chattel mortgages. Of the farm owners, 85 and 65 percent reported chattel mortgages, while for the tenants the percentages were 73 and 58. These mortgage data indicate something of the debt burden of these farmers. The investigators reported that in one county in the Winter Wheat Area, the chattel mortgage indebtedness alone was equal, in 1934, to the value of a normal wheat crop at one dollar per bushel. As this county had a complete crop failure in 1934, this debt burden may never be entirely amortized. Only by some debt adjustment and assistance in replacing their capital can many of these farmers hope to cover their losses even with normal crop conditions (Tables XX and XXI).

About 76 percent of the farm operators receiving relief in the Spring Wheat Area and 83 percent of those in the Winter Wheat Area reported dairy cows, 78 and 46 percent reported other cattle. In each of these areas about 66 percent reported hogs, and 90 percent reported poultry. Work stock was reported by 91 percent of the farm operators in the Spring Wheat Area and by 72 percent in the Winter Wheat Area. The relatively small proportion of the farmers receiving relief in the Winter Wheat Area who reported no cattle other than dairy cows indicates something of the change to wheat farming in this area in recent years. It may, however, reflect the effects of the government cattle buying program in the drought areas.

Of the unemployed heads of families receiving relief in the Wheat Areas, 22 percent owned their homes, 76 percent were renters, the remaining 2 percent were squatters. Only 39 percent of the owned homes were mortgaged and 10 percent (16 percent in the Spring and 7 percent in the Winter Wheat Area) of the unemployed heads reported chattel mortgages. About 12 percent owned dairy cows in the Spring Wheat Area and 27 percent in the Winter

Wheat Area; 13 and 6 percent reported workstock, 5 and 11 percent reported hogs, and about 25 and 35 percent reported poultry. Except for workstock and cattle, the families with unemployed heads in the Winter Wheat Area owned more livestock than the same group in the Spring Wheat Area. This difference was probably due to the greater number of displaced farmers among the unemployed in the Winter Wheat Area who were still trying to produce some of their food supply (Table XXI).

D. The Western Cotton Area

Only 30 percent of the white and 28 percent of the Negro heads of families receiving relief were employed in June 1934, most of them as farm operators. Twenty-one percent of the white and 25 percent of the Negro farm operators owned the land they were farming and about 61 percent of all owners (73 percent of the whites and 11 percent of the Negroes) reported mortgages. Over 40 percent of the white and about 14 percent of the Negro farm operators reported chattel mortgages.

Over 70 percent of the white and about 50 percent of the Negro farmers receiving relief reported dairy cows and workstock, and over 90 percent of all farm operators kept poultry. More than one-eighth of the farmers operated farms under 20 acres, over half of them farms under 58 acres, and two-thirds of them farms smaller than 100 acres. As in the Wheat Areas, those operating small farms had a higher relief rate than the operators of the larger farms; one-half of the farms in the same counties in 1930 were under 104 acres as compared with one-half under 58 acres for the relief group.

A large proportion of the 70 percent of families receiving relief in which the head of the family was unemployed in June 1934 were displaced farm tenants and unemployed farm laborers. Only about 16 percent of this group owned their homes, 55 percent of the white and 60 percent of the Negroes were renters and 29 percent and 23 percent were squatters. This squatter group was without resources of any kind, unable to find work and literally stranded in the area.

E. The Eastern Cotton Belt

In approximately one-third of the families receiving relief, the head of the family was employed in June 1934. As a much

larger percentage of white than Negro families included gainful workers the proportion of the employable Negroes actually employed in June 1934 was larger than for whites. About 5 percent of the white and 9 percent of the Negro family heads were employed as farm laborers, and 5 and 9 percent, respectively, in other occupations. The remaining 68 percent of the white and 63 percent of the Negro heads of families were unemployed in June 1934.

Only 22 percent of the white and 16 percent of the Negro farm operators owned their farms; the remainder were renting land. Of those who owned land, 69 percent of the whites and 46 percent of the Negroes reported real estate mortgages. Thirty-one percent of the white and 14 percent of the Negro farm operators reported chattel mortgages. As more than three-fourths of the farmers receiving relief were tenants or croppers in June 1934, this low chattel mortgage indebtedness was to be expected, as most of the capital and equipment of the farm is furnished by the landlord under the share-cropper system.

Dairy cows were reported by 61 percent of the white and about 40 percent of the Negro farm operators. About 66 percent of the white and 61 percent of the Negro farmers reported work stock available and 65 and 54 percent, respectively, kept hogs. Poultry was reported by about 80 percent of all farm operators.

The farmers receiving relief were operating farms smaller than the average for the same counties in 1930: 20 percent had farms of less than 10 acres, 42 percent farms of less than 20 acres. Only 5 percent of the farms in these same counties (in 1930) were smaller than 10 acres and but 22 percent smaller than 20 acres. From these and other data available it is evident that most of the farmers receiving relief in this area were those habitually near the economic margin.

There were fewer home owners among the unemployed heads of families receiving relief in this than in any other area, less than 12 percent reporting possession of real estate. Of the owners, 29 percent reported real estate mortgages. Six percent of the white and 3 percent of the Negro unemployed heads of families were squatters. Less than 2 percent of the unemployed reported chattel mortgages. One-fourth of the whites and less than one-tenth of the Negroes kept dairy cows, about one-sixth of the whites and one-fifth of the Negroes reported hogs. Almost as few reported work stock or other types of livestock.

The families of non-agricultural workers, a large proportion of which lived in villages and towns, reported livestock less frequently than did the families of unemployed persons. Farm laborer families reported dairy cows, hogs and chickens more frequently than the families of non-agricultural and unemployed persons.

V. PLANS AND PROSPECTS FOR REHABILITATION OF THE FAMILIES RECEIVING RELIEF

To rehabilitate, in the strictest sense of the word, means to restore to a previously attained status, to make solvent again. In this narrow sense of the term rehabilitation would mean to many families receiving relief only a return to a socio-economic status more insecure than the one they enjoy as recipients of relief. Rehabilitation, if it is to be of maximum social value, must therefore be conceived more broadly. It will need to set as its goals the helping of families to attain and maintain a social and economic status commensurate with at least the minimum standards of health, wealth, security and social well-being considered essential to national welfare. The effectiveness of the rehabilitation program aimed to attain these ends will be determined by the kind and extent of the human and material resources available and the facility with which they can be brought together for the improvement of the status of the community.

The material resources of any community, present or potential, will be of value in a rehabilitation program only to the extent to which the families to be assisted are capable of utilizing them and to the extent to which they are made available for use. In some of the areas under discussion, human resources will be much more of a limiting factor than the availability of material resources. This extremely obvious fact may be easily overlooked. The characteristics of the family and the community of which it is a part may be such that the family, even if given financial assistance, will shortly return to the relief rolls. By human resources are meant all cultural factors such as the training, experience and aptitudes of the family and its members, the niche which the family occupies in the social structure of the community, and the relationship of the types of families and of community organization to the economic organization. A case in point is that of the Eastern Cotton Belt cropper family. Although it appears possible to improve the standards of living of the cotton croppers through a system of diversified farming, human inertia to such a change, both among the land-owners and the croppers themselves, may delay it for a generation or more. While it may be possible to provide an illiterate share-cropper

with a small farm of his own, the probability that the average cropper will be able to manage it successfully is slight. Likewise it may be a questionable policy to try to make a dairy farmer out of a coal miner who is used to an eight-hour day with Saturday afternoons and Sundays off, or even to try to train a dry-land farmer to operate an irrigated farm. More dubious still would be the relocation of families in a new community of which they would find it difficult to become a part because of their race, religion or prejudice on the part of the community, or the relocation upon an isolated farm of a village or town family if the wife and homemaker knew nothing about, or disliked, farm life. In areas where women seldom work in the fields, the rehabilitation of families on small farms which may require considerable farm labor on the part of the wife or daughter is not likely to be successful, because the family would lose caste if its women did farm work. Although rehabilitation by setting the family up on a small farm and furnishing outside work for the husband should be successful in the South and possibly in the Appalachian-Ozark Area, it will not be very successful in other areas unless the combination of farm and non-farm work is such that most of the work can be done by male members of the family. Farm units, outside the Cotton Areas, will need for the most part to be gauged to the labor of one male plus only incidental labor of other members of the family.

The prospect of rehabilitating families on relief in the communities in which they live reduces to an answer to the question, "To what extent and by what methods can they be assisted to utilize the available material resources so that they may become self-supporting, productive members of these communities?" The answer to be returned varies widely and depends upon the resources of the area, their availability, and the capacity of the families to use them. Families that cannot be rehabilitated in place because of lack of suitable resources will have to be assisted to resettle elsewhere.

A. Capacity of Families Receiving Relief to Become Self-Supporting

All of the foregoing information takes on relevance in this study only insofar as it enables one to estimate the prospects of rehabilitating the families studied. In the opinion of local relief workers, 20 percent of the families receiving relief in

the 65 counties were incapable of self-support, 15 percent capable but in need of supervision as well as temporary financial aid, and 65 percent capable of self-support if given only temporary financial aid (Table 9). The majority of the families classified as incapable were aged one-person cases, other families with aged heads, broken families consisting usually of a woman with children under 16 years of age, and families containing but one gainful worker in which the number of dependents (aged persons and children) per worker was too great to make self-support possible. Of those families considered incapable of self-support 54 percent included no gainful workers 16 years of age and over, 15 percent included only one female gainful

TABLE 9. CAPACITY FOR SELF-SUPPORT OF FAMILIES RECEIVING RELIEF BY SEX OF HEAD OF FAMILY

CAPACITY FOR SELF-SUPPORT BY SEX OF HEAD	TOTAL ALL AREAS	APPA-LACHIAN OZARK	LAKE STATES CUT-OVER	SHORT GRASS		WESTERN COTTON		EASTERN COTTON	
				SPRING WHEAT	WINTER WHEAT	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
ALL FAMILIES									
NUMBER.....	10,771	2,167	1,738	1,311	2,007	800	164	1,347	1,257
PERCENT.....	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
INCAPABLE.....	20	15	22	16	14	15	23	20	39
CAPABLE.....	80	85	78	84	86	85	77	80	61
WITH SUPERVISION.....	15	29	7	9	8	10	23	17	22
WITHOUT SUPERVISION.....	65	56	71	75	78	75	54	63	39
FAMILIES WITH MALE HEADS									
NUMBER.....	9,235	1,021	1,560	1,208	1,860	704	128	1,114	740
PERCENT.....	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
INCAPABLE.....	15	12	19	13	11	13	20	16	27
CAPABLE.....	85	88	81	87	89	87	80	84	73
WITH SUPERVISION.....	15	29	7	10	8	10	24	18	24
WITHOUT SUPERVISION.....	70	59	74	77	81	77	56	66	49
FAMILIES WITH FEMALE HEADS									
NUMBER.....	1,536	246	178	103	147	96	36	233	497
PERCENT.....	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
INCAPABLE.....	47	44	50	49	48	27	36	35	56
CAPABLE.....	53	56	50	51	52	73	64	65	44
WITH SUPERVISION.....	14	27	2	5	8	8	17	12	19
WITHOUT SUPERVISION.....	39	29	48	46	44	65	47	53	25

worker and another 2 percent included two or more female but no male gainful workers—a total of 71 percent of the families considered incapable of self-support by the local relief workers included no male gainful workers. Of the 29 percent remaining, 21 percent included only one male gainful worker and many of the latter were workers incapable of performing normal tasks, because of age or other disability.

Only about 15 percent of the Appalachian-Ozark, Spring and Winter Wheat, and Western Cotton Area white families were considered incapable of self-support (Table 9). In these four area groups the proportion of normal families among those receiving relief was highest, ranging from 77 to 83 percent. In the first three the percentage of all families including gainful workers was also highest.

As might be expected because of the composition of families with woman heads, about one-half were classified as incapable as compared with but 15 percent of families with male heads. The largest proportion of families with female heads classified as incapable was for Negro families in the Eastern Cotton Belt (56 percent), the smallest in the Western Cotton Area and for white families in the Eastern Cotton Belt (27 to 36 percent). Taking family type into consideration, it is obvious that the greatest proportions of families with female heads were classified as capable in the areas in which women are accustomed to working in the fields.

Of all families receiving relief in the 65 counties, 18 percent of the open country families, 24 percent of the village families and 21 percent of the town families were classified as incapable of self-support (Table XXIII). This variation between the open country and population centers was largely a result of the congregation of families with female heads in villages and towns. In the Eastern Cotton Belt where the proportion of Negro families with female heads in the open country was higher than in villages, the proportion of the open country Negro families considered incapable of self-support was also higher.

In conclusion, it is clearly apparent that the families considered impossible to rehabilitate (20 percent of all) are chiefly those which would be provided for by a comprehensive system of social legislation.

B. Indices of Standards of Living, and Education

Some indication of the differences in the material standards of living of the farmers in the counties surveyed are apparent in the following tabulation of the number having certain facilities and conveniences in their homes at the time of the 1930 Census (Table 10). The Spring and Winter Wheat and Lake States Cut-Over Areas exceed the United States average in number of radios, and the latter exceeds it in number of telephones, with the former two only slightly lower. All are below the United States average for proportion of homes with electric lights, the Lake States Cut-Over Area again being high with 8 percent. The Winter Wheat and Western Cotton Area counties were highest in percentage of farms with water piped to the dwelling and to the bathroom, with the Spring Wheat and Lake States Cut-Over Areas poor seconds.

At the bottom of the list for all these items stand the Eastern Cotton Belt counties with 2 percent or fewer farms reporting radio, electric lights or water piped to the house and, fewer than 5 percent of the farms with telephones. The Appalachian-Ozark farmers reported almost as few conveniences, less than 8 percent having telephones and less than 4 percent reporting other

TABLE 10. PERCENTAGE OF FARMS IN THE COUNTIES SURVEYED WITH SPECIFIED FACILITIES, 1930*

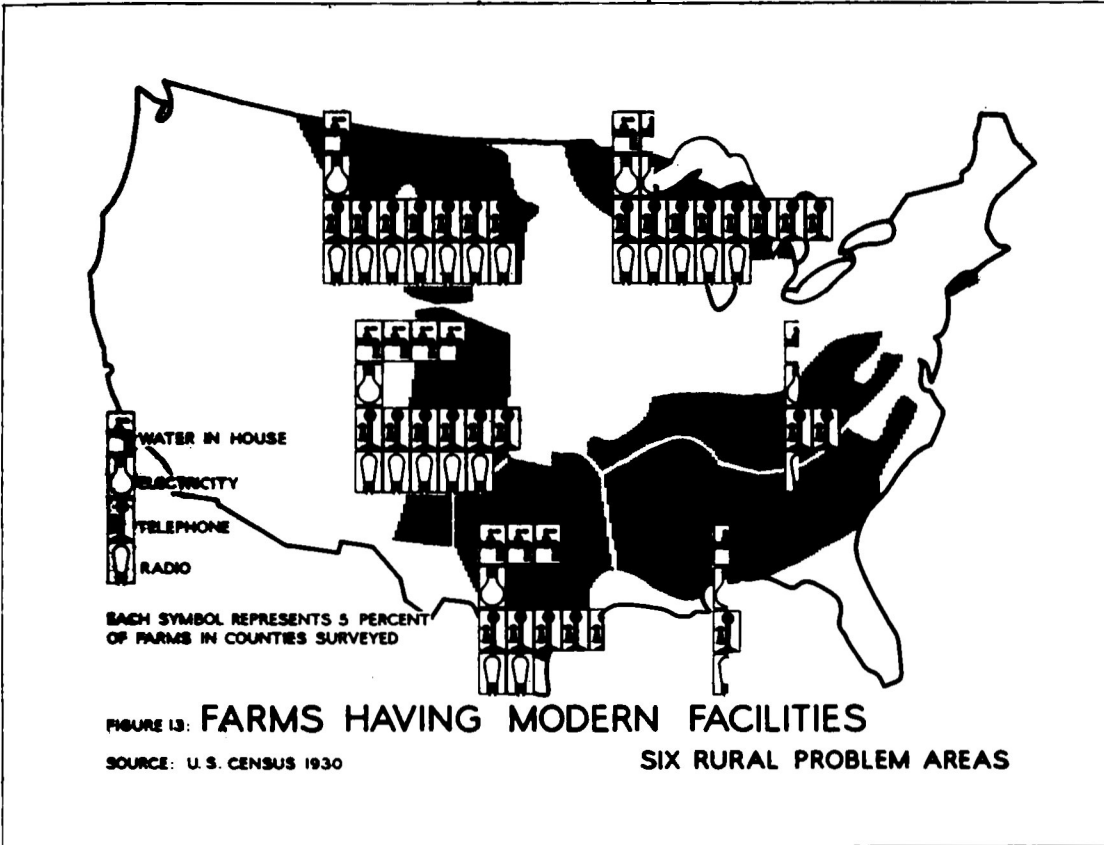
	U. S. TOTAL	TOTAL ALL AREAS	APPA-LACHIAN OZARK	LAKE STATES CUT-OVER	SHORT GRASS		WESTERN COTTON	EASTERN COTTON
					SPRING WHEAT	WINTER WHEAT		
TELEPHONE.....	34.0	15.3	7.5	38.1	31.7	31.4	22.0	4.9
RADIO.....	21.8	9.6	2.7	25.0	35.7	25.1	9.2	1.8
ELECTRIC LIGHTS IN DWELLING.	13.4	3.8	3.6	8.0	4.7	5.1	4.7	2.1
WATER PIPED TO:								
DWELLING.....	15.8	6.4	3.4	7.8	6.2	19.0	14.3	1.8
BATHROOM.....	8.4	3.3	1.6	2.4	2.4	7.9	8.4	1.5

*U. S. CENSUS OF AGRICULTURE, 1930.

conveniences. The possession of the above conveniences indicates, roughly, the wide variation among these areas with respect to social organization and standards of living. The average amount of relief granted in June 1934 in the six areas was highest in the areas in which the percentage of farms reporting radios (in 1930) was highest.

When it is considered that the farmers receiving relief in such areas as the Appalachian-Ozark, Lake States Cut-Over and the two Cotton Areas were on the smaller farms and were apparently families habitually near the economic margin, as contrasted with the families receiving relief in the Wheat Areas who more nearly represented an economic cross-section of the population, the wide differences between families receiving relief in the two groups of areas becomes more apparent.

Another index of the socio-economic levels of the various areas is the education of the heads of families receiving relief in June 1934 in the counties surveyed. It is also an indication of the type of rehabilitation program possible in each area. One-half of the Negro family heads and one-fifth of the whites in the Eastern Cotton Belt reported no schooling, and four-fifths of the Negroes and about one-half of the whites had less than five years (Table 11). Although the percentage of family heads with no schooling in the Appalachian-Ozark Area was less than for whites in the Eastern Cotton Belt, the proportion that had completed fewer than five grades (56 percent) was larger.



SIX RURAL PROBLEM AREAS

The heads of families receiving relief in the Spring and Winter Wheat and Lake States Cut-Over Areas included about 5.3, and 8 percent, respectively, with no schooling, and 10, 12, and 6 percent who had completed 11 grades or more. In this connection it is interesting to note that of the white family heads in the Eastern Cotton Belt about 9 percent had completed 11 grades or more. The white families receiving relief in this area appeared to consist of two rather definite groups, an unskilled, unschooled, cropper-laborer class and considerable numbers of younger, better schooled family heads, living in the villages and towns, who were formerly employed at non-agricultural occupations.

TABLE 11. GRADE IN SCHOOL FINISHED BY HEADS OF FAMILIES RECEIVING RELIEF

GRADE IN SCHOOL FINISHED BY HEAD	TOTAL ALL AREAS	APPA- LACHIAN OZARK	LAKE STATES CUT- OVER	SHORT GRASS		WESTERN COTTON		EASTERN COTTON	
				SPRING WHEAT	WINTER WHEAT	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
				Number					
ALL FAMILIES.....	10,771	2,167	1,738	1,511	2,007	800	164	1,347	1,257
FAMILIES REPORTING SCHOOLING OF HEAD.....	8,265	1,779	1,063	1,017	1,145	788	162	1,235	1,072
NONE.....	1,325	260	80	54	29	71	38	251	542
1-4.....	2,263	738	282	150	131	225	59	337	343
5-7.....	2,081	508	280	231	270	249	46	357	140
8.....	1,609	189	282	417	458	115	11	117	20
9-10.....	497	55	79	64	123	90	4	70	12
11-12.....	351	19	49	77	103	30	3	63	7
OVER 12.....	139	10	11	24	31	10	1	44	8
UNKNOWN.....	2,506	388	675	294	862	12	2	108	165
			Percent						
FAMILIES REPORTING SCHOOLING OF HEAD.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
NONE.....	16.0	14.6	7.5	5.3	2.5	9.0	23.4	20.3	30.5
1-4.....	27.4	41.5	26.5	14.7	11.4	28.3	36.4	27.2	32.0
5-7.....	25.2	28.6	26.4	22.7	23.6	31.6	28.4	28.8	13.1
8.....	19.5	10.6	26.5	41.0	40.0	14.6	6.8	9.4	1.9
9-10.....	6.0	3.1	7.5	6.3	10.8	11.4	2.5	5.6	1.1
11-12.....	4.2	1.1	4.6	7.6	9.0	3.8	1.9	5.1	0.7
OVER 12.....	1.7	0.5	1.0	2.4	2.7	1.3	0.6	3.6	0.7

Although the data on schooling presented above are probably not comparable from area to area because of variation in school standards, they do indicate area differences, as the poorest school systems from the standpoint of length of terms, equipment, and training of teachers, are in those areas in which the heads of families reported a minimum of schooling.

C. Occupational Experience and Rehabilitation

Nearly half of the families receiving relief who were judged capable of self-support¹ had male heads reporting agricultural experience. Thirty-seven percent of all heads were operating farms in June 1934 and 6 percent were unemployed farm operators, making a total of 43 percent with experience as farm operators; about 2 percent were employed farm laborers and 4 percent unemployed farm laborers. Of the remaining 50 percent of the families, 3 percent were capable families with male heads employed in non-agricultural occupations and 22 percent of the families had unemployed male heads whose usual occupations were non-agricultural (Table XXIV).

Although families capable of self-support with male heads who were farming or had been farm operators made up 43 percent of the relief load in the 65 counties surveyed, only 33 percent of all families were families with male heads considered capable of being rehabilitated as farmers (the difference was largely due to the Lake States Cut-Over Area, where many of those who were farming in June 1934 had recently shifted to agriculture because they had lost their industrial jobs); but another 28 percent were considered capable of operating small plots as a means of partial support in conjunction with other employment (Table XXV). The basis for the local relief workers' classification of each family by type of work for which it was qualified thus appears to have been largely its past occupational experience.

According to a classification which presupposes rehabilitation on the type of farm prevalent in each area and at a standard of living near the average for the area, the proportion of all families receiving relief who were classified as capable of rehabilitation as full-time farmers varied from but 18 percent in the Appalachian-Ozark and Lake States Cut-Over Area to 64 percent in the Spring Wheat Area. Naturally, those classified as capable of becoming farm operators in the Appalachian-Ozark Area might not succeed as farm operators under another type of farming and many entirely capable of self-support as cotton tenants or croppers would not know how to operate a wheat farm in the Great Plains region.

¹The local relief workers were asked to classify each family which they considered capable of self-support, according to its qualifications for operating a farm or a garden plot (part-time farm) with other employment; all capable families not considered likely to be successful as full or part-time farmers are included under the heading "other employment".

Thirty-one percent of all families were classified as capable of rehabilitation on the land if given supplementary employment of some kind. The percentage falling in this group was highest in the Appalachian-Ozark (65 percent) and Lake States Cut-Over (44 percent) Areas, lowest in the Eastern Cotton (11 to 12 percent) and Spring Wheat Areas (11 percent) (Table XXV).

The proportion of the families receiving relief who were considered unlikely prospects for successful rehabilitation as operators of full or part-time farms but capable of successful rehabilitation in some other occupation varied from less than 3 percent in the Appalachian-Ozark Area to 23 and 31 percent for white families in the Western and Eastern Cotton Areas, respectively. It is obvious from these classifications, even though they are based on subjective judgments, that the type of rehabilitation program which will be successful in one area would likely fail in another. Moreover, occupational experience is only one of the limiting factors. Age, family composition, socio-economic status and racial factors further complicate and differentiate the type of problem that must be solved in each area.

D. Rehabilitation Prospects in Each Area.

1. *The Appalachian-Ozark Area.* The rehabilitation of this vast cultural area offers a greater task than does any of the five other areas as it will involve (1) the moving of families from submarginal lands, (2) the regulation of the commercial exploitation of the area's natural resources so as to insure their orderly development, (3) the development of forests and recreational areas, and (4) the extension of educational opportunities.

The average family receiving relief in June 1934 was a normal family, consisting of husband, wife, and three children. The husband was between 40 and 45 years of age, had received less than five years of schooling, and was a tenant (or cropper) farmer on a farm of about 37 acres, not more than 10 acres of which was tillable. The family owned a horse or mule, kept one or two cows, some hogs for its meat supply and a small flock of chickens. It had always lived in the same county, in a house without electric lights, running water or any other modern convenience, had no radio, telephone, or automobile. What limited personal property the family owned was free of mortgage. In normal times the husband secured a considerable portion of his

cash income by work off his farm. Because of the drought in 1931, and the loss of his supplementary occupation, the family came onto the relief rolls in 1932 and has been receiving relief more or less regularly ever since.

The above characterization of the average family indicates rather clearly the type of family receiving relief. Nearly 60 percent of the families were the families of farm operators and another 14 percent the families of unskilled laborers. Nearly 83 percent were normal families and 66 percent included one or more children under 16 years of age. About three-fourths of all the families including children under 16 years and only one-sixth persons 65 years of age and older. Over 90 percent of the families included gainful workers 16 years of age or older and about 86 percent included male gainful workers. Almost two-thirds of all persons in the families receiving relief were under 25 years of age. Of those who were farming in June 1934, about 38 percent were operating farms of less than 20 acres or in other words, 3 to 6 acres of tillable land.

The resident population is already too large to permit an adequate standard of living and is increasing rapidly. The largest increases are among the young adults. As a result of heavy emigration of young men and women from this area to Northern cities during the 1920's, the number of persons 20 to 30 years of age in 1930 was much smaller than of those 10 to 20 years. Without migration the number of young adults between ages 20 and 30 years will have increased 25 to 30 percent by 1935. Recall that one-fourth of the male family heads receiving relief in June 1934 were under 32 years of age. The seriousness of the problem is indicated by the fact that large numbers of these young adults have been receiving relief for three or four years, most of them for more than two years. It can be expected, however, that with the development of a standard of living somewhat above the subsistence level, the birth rate of this area will eventually decline.

It is difficult to see how, under any program of rehabilitation or reemployment, all the man power of this area can be absorbed in any industrial or agricultural employment possible at the moment. The coal and lumber industries, about which the present part-time farming economy has grown up, are the only important non-agricultural resources immediately available. Past experience with such exploitative industries indicates the

insecurity of an economy built around them. The agricultural land available is very limited but some farm families who are located on submarginal farms with their poor soils and vertical fields should be relocated on more fertile lands which would furnish an adequate income. Much of the land withdrawn from farming should be set up as forest areas (18, p. 176) and developed to offer a certain amount of supplementary employment to farm families located in the area and to establish a stable forest industry. Dovetailed with the creation of forest lands is the commercial opportunity for the development of recreational activities. The area's scenery, climate and proximity to population centers are propitious to such a development (Fig. VII).

In the face of all the facts the prospects for rehabilitation of families receiving relief appear none too good. Some form of industrial employment must be found to supplement the income from the farms if the present population is to remain in this area without government subsidy in the form of relief. Some families could be employed in a reforestation program which is badly needed and some improvement could be brought about by diversification of the agricultural practice which at present centers too much on a few crops. Fruit can be grown successfully in many parts if a market can be found.

In the opinion of the local relief workers only about one-sixth of the families receiving relief were qualified to operate full-time farms, about two-thirds to operate a part-time farm in connection with other employment and less than 3 percent for other employment (Table XXV). The prospects for rehabilitation of these families rests, in two-thirds of the cases, upon the possibility of securing a steady source of part-time employment for families already living upon the land. Emigration must be encouraged but it will be unwise to carry out any widespread resettlement projects which will radically change the environment under which these families live. The problems involved here can only be solved by substituting for the present economy of this area a planned economy which will insure orderly development of the natural resources. The area's importance in the national economy must be recognized and the agriculture and other industry organized so as to benefit the population of the area rather than to be left to the whim and caprice of individual farmers, mining companies and timber operators. Without some rational plan of future development this area will continue to present a serious social problem.

Along with a planned development of the resources of the area must go an educational system which will assist youth better to assimilate the ideas and methods of modern industrial civilization. The public schools in a large part of this area are poorly equipped and the emigrants to regions of higher school standards are severely handicapped by their lack of training. Only in sections of the Eastern Cotton Belt are educational facilities poorer. Improvement is evident in North Carolina, and West Virginia where the financial responsibility for the school system has been taken over by the state. Through its financial support the state of West Virginia, for example, is able to supply communities with facilities beyond the economic means of the local community. The program is being geared to adult vocational problems as well as to the children of school age and to the more academic subjects, and will serve as an example for the entire area.

In a resettlement program for this area the simple standard of living of the population must be kept continually in mind. It will be difficult to obtain community support for a program which gives families on the relief rolls better homes, for instance, than those occupied by the average family not receiving relief. In this connection it will be well to bear in mind that fewer than 5 out of each 100 farmers in the Southern Appalachian region had electric lights or a bathroom (in 1930) and that almost as few had telephones. Before living standards of the relief group can be raised appreciably the standards of the majority of the families in this area must also be raised. Only through a long time program of education coupled with some means of increasing family income is such improvement possible.

If agencies such as the Tennessee Valley Authority, through making cheap power available over a large part of this area, can encourage the development of new industries and resources, they will contribute much to a solution of the problems of the area. From the standpoint of the social organization of the Appalachian-Ozark Area, it will be more desirable to bring the industries to the people than to have large numbers of them migrate to strange environments elsewhere.

2. *The Lake States Cut-Over Area.* The future of this area depends on a rehabilitation program which can be developed around a land zoning program and the dominant industries of this area: forestry, mining, agriculture and recreational projects. A large

area is suitable only for reforestation (Fig. 14), and the stranded farm families should be relocated on more arable land and other families provided with part-time work in a reforestation program which in the end will establish a stable forestry and woodworking industry.

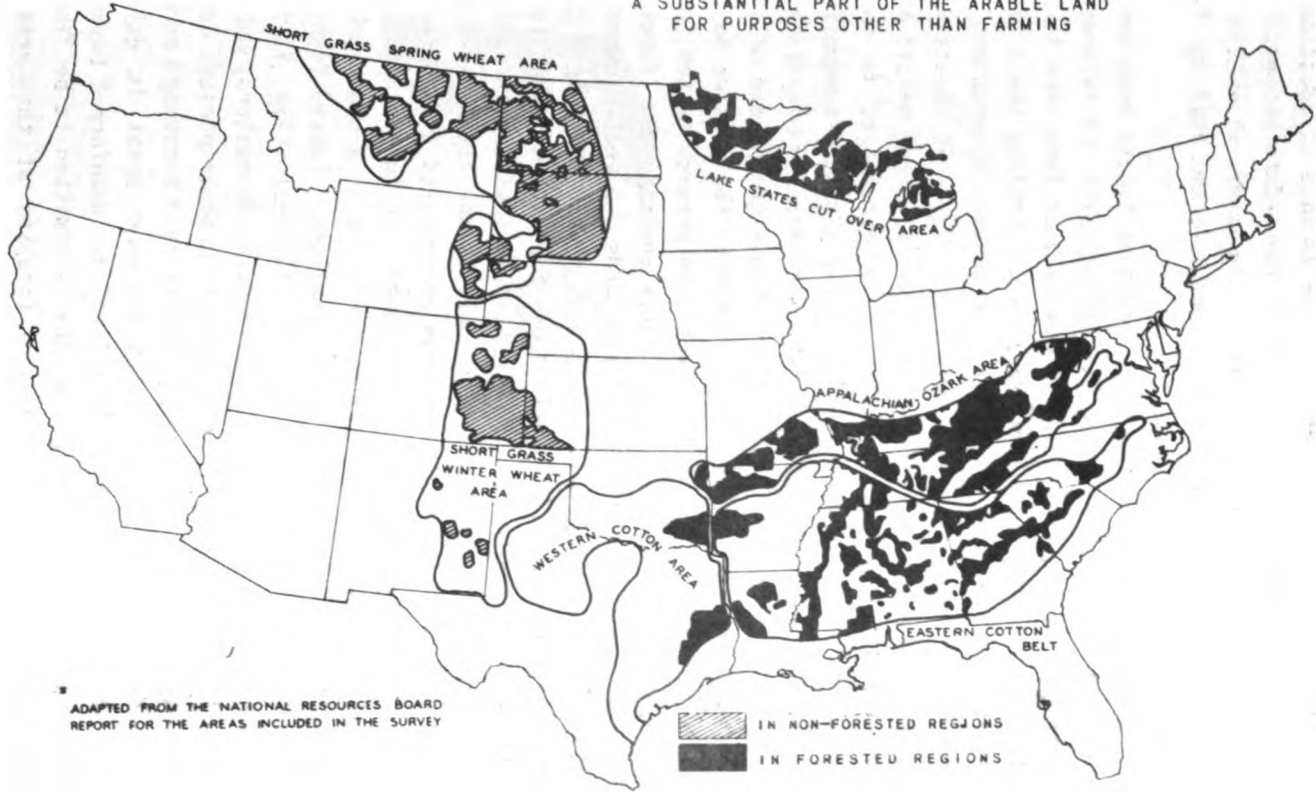
The families receiving relief in this area were of two distinct types: one-person families, usually lone males too old to work or unable to find employment who were formerly employed in the forests or mines, and normal families consisting of a husband, wife and two or three children. The average family on the relief rolls was a family of four. The head of the family was between 45 and 50 years of age and had less than 7 years of schooling. He was without employment in June 1934, and was usually employed as an unskilled or semi-skilled worker in the lumbering or woodworking industries, or in the mines. He lived in the open country in a rented house but owned no livestock of any kind. His few chattels were not mortgaged.

The majority of the families receiving relief in the counties surveyed in this area were those of non-agricultural workers. Only one-fourth of the families were capable families with male heads (Table XXIV) and living on farms in June 1934. Few of the remaining families had any farming experience. Only about 18 percent of the families (about three-fourths of those with farming experience) were considered capable of becoming full-time farmers. Another 44 percent were considered capable of rehabilitation on the land if given supplementary employment, 16 percent were capable of non-farm work only, and 22 percent were incapable of being rehabilitated.

Nearly two-thirds of the incapable families were families without gainful workers and families consisting of lone males and one-third were families without male gainful workers. The majority of the incapables were aged lumbermen no longer able to earn enough to support themselves, most of whom were living alone. However, this latter group contained some gainful workers who, if given employment, could at least partially support themselves, and their families. The occupational experience of the head of the families receiving relief, coupled with the local relief workers' classification of their qualifications, indicates the necessity of proceeding cautiously in any further development of full or part-time farming in this area. Unless supplementary employment can be found for at least one-fourth of

FIGURE 14

AREAS IN WHICH IT APPEARS DESIRABLE TO ENCOURAGE THE USE OF
A SUBSTANTIAL PART OF THE ARABLE LAND
FOR PURPOSES OTHER THAN FARMING



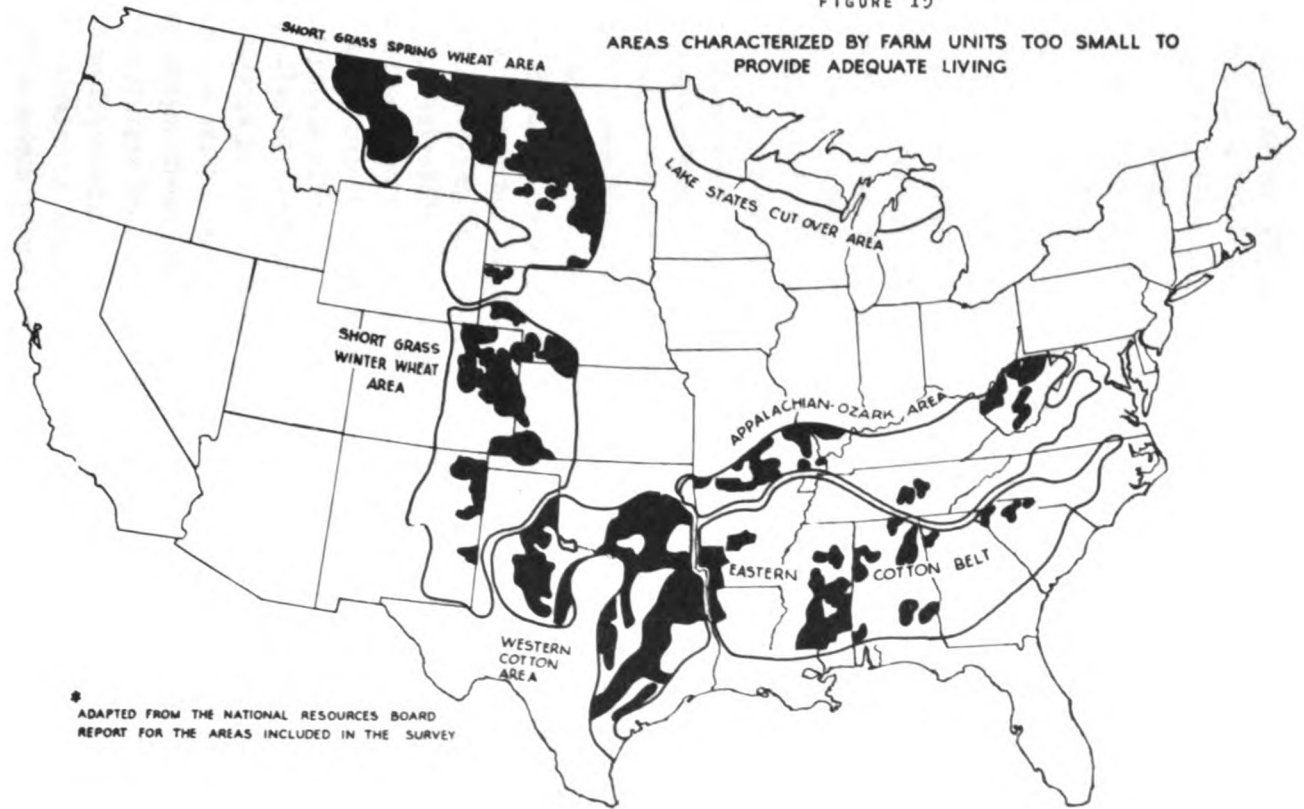
ADAPTED FROM THE NATIONAL RESOURCES BOARD
REPORT FOR THE AREAS INCLUDED IN THE SURVEY

the relief group now farming, they probably cannot attain complete self-support. Of the families not on farms, more than one-half might be set up as part-time farmers if additional employment can be assured to supplement their farm income. Unless some steady source of employment can be found, it will be futile to encourage these families to remain on the land by lending them equipment and capital.

Careful zoning of the land according to its best uses, the development of farm-forest communities, and the relocation on better land of capable farmers now on poor land seem to be indicated. Others should be assisted in clearing their land and increasing the size of their farms to make agriculture a more stable and profitable enterprise (Fig. 15). It should also be kept in mind that many of the families receiving relief are recent migrants who probably should be encouraged to emigrate elsewhere as employment picks up. The stranded communities of the copper mine, timber and woodworking areas are separate problems. It will be to the interests of this group, and of society in general to assist them either to leave the area or to locate on land suitable for farming. Under the present system (or lack of system) the families most poorly equipped for farming are finding their way onto the poorest lands. A well-planned rural rehabilitation program for this area should be gauged to the available resources, and not become just an instrument for setting up additional marginal farm units. Considerable population adjustments will be necessary to correct the ill-advised promotion of land settlement which has contributed to the economic insecurity engendered by the collapse of the lumbering and mining industries. The development of recreation as a source of income offers possibilities for a few families. Lakes, fishing and climatic conditions of the area are favorable (Fig. VII). The area is fortunately situated near population centers, and though recreational facilities are embryonic in their present development, they offer promising possibilities of becoming a permanent industry. If some of the energy and money spent in extolling the dubious virtues of "Cloverland" to uninformed buyers had been turned to developing what now is admitted to be "The Land of Hiawatha", some of the present troubles of this area could have been avoided. Only through a system of land zoning, such as that used in Wisconsin, can a repetition of wildly speculative land selling schemes be avoided.

FIGURE 15

AREAS CHARACTERIZED BY FARM UNITS TOO SMALL TO PROVIDE ADEQUATE LIVING



* ADAPTED FROM THE NATIONAL RESOURCES BOARD REPORT FOR THE AREAS INCLUDED IN THE SURVEY

3. *The Spring Wheat Area.* Social and economic plans for this area ought to include a program which will bring the rapid soil erosion under control and which will assure an adequate farm income over a long period of years. Much of the submarginal land should be retired and replanted in grass for grazing (Fig. 14). Selected farmers can be assisted in enlarging their holdings so as to restore cattle, sheep and horse raising and to reduce the extent of dry land farming, so that the inevitable crop failures will have less severe effects. The Montana and Nebraska projects for the construction of flood irrigation dams and dikes in coulees and other favorable locations where water from the torrential rains may be impounded should be encouraged, and where favorable, irrigation homesteads developed. There is, however, some scepticism as to whether a dry land farmer of long experience can become a successful irrigation farmer. The land remaining in dry land farming will have to be cultivated under a method which permits the least erosion, for a further depletion of the top soils, either by wind or rain erosion, will render a large proportion of this area entirely useless for agricultural production. In what appears to be a necessary program, there is a demand placed upon the Departments of Agriculture in the states within the area for the development and dissemination of a long range production program geared to the social needs and the natural resources of the area. Only in such a long range diversified program is there prospect of permanently controlling the major factors responsible for the present relief situation. All informants familiar with the history of this area agree that such a program will involve relocation of many families now on farms marginal for arable agriculture, either because of soil and climatic conditions, or because of the size of their farms. Care will need to be taken that the necessary relocation is carried out as a part of the rehabilitation program. The necessary reorganization of agriculture must be based on a land policy which will insure against a repetition of the present difficulties. A resettlement policy will be of little value unless measures are taken to curb the unbridled expansion of wheat acreage in years of ample rainfall.

The typical family receiving relief was a family of four or five persons, consisting of husband, wife and two or three children. The husband, past 50 years of age, had received 8 years of schooling and had lived in the county in which he was receiv-

ing relief 10 years or more. He was a farm operator renting a farm of about 400 acres. As a result of a succession of crop failures due to drought, he had to apply for relief in order to obtain food for his family and feed for his livestock. His farm equipment and his livestock were mortgaged and in order to subsist he had been forced to use some of his capital. In many cases he had been able to remain in the area only through a succession of loans.

Three-fourths of the families receiving relief were the families of farm owners and tenants, who were forced to accept relief because of the severe drought. Poor soil in some counties and a low and variable rainfall throughout the area makes wheat-growing a speculative enterprise. Many small farms have been cut out of what was originally good grazing land, and the extension of arable agriculture has resulted in trouble for both the farmers and the ranchers. The majority of the farm families receiving relief have achieved a standard of living which insures that they will present few social problems if given adequate income.

In the opinion of local relief workers, about two-thirds of all families receiving relief were capable of operating farms if assisted in recouping their capital losses of recent years: 11 percent (most of whom were young families who had not accumulated enough capital to become farmers) were considered qualified for rehabilitation on farms if given supplementary employment (Table XXV). Of the remaining 25 percent of the families 16 percent were classified as incapable of self-support, and 9 percent as fitted only for non-agricultural work, or work as laborers on farms.

4. *The Winter Wheat Area.* The recent rapid expansion of dry-land farming in this area without regard to the rainfall cycle has led to the present relief situation. Since 1920 there has been a phenomenal increase in the acreage brought under the plow and planted to wheat. In the hope of quick profits, farmers rushed into this area, bought tractors and combines, apparently on the assumption that the good years would last forever. The boom was encouraged by good wheat prices and by a period of years during which there were few serious crop failures. The successive crop failures of the past few years have bankrupted many farmers and left them, and the farm laborers whom they formerly employed, stranded. Here, as in the Spring Wheat Area,

it will be necessary to relocate some of the farmers and remodel the agricultural economy to insure more stability in good years and bad.

Wheat production in this area is a highly speculative venture and until more knowledge is gained of the periodicity of weather conditions, a specialized type of farming seems to lead to a questionable economy. Large areas of the region which have been destroyed by erosion will have to be withdrawn from cultivation and eventually returned to grazing (Fig 14). Likewise, other submarginal lands will sooner or later have to be retired. Many of the farms are at present too small to be operated in an extensive agricultural and grazing economy. An increase in farm size would permit a more diversified farming. In the southeastern section of the area the move away from wheat to other small grains and sorghums should be encouraged to reduce the social effects of periodically recurring crop failures inherent in the present one-crop system of agriculture. Unless measures are taken to prevent further wind erosion through the use of cover crops, or by listing, much of this area will be subjected to wind erosion to an extent which will eventually make farming impossible. Water resources of the area could be improved by a conservation program which would attempt to impound the waters of the torrential rains in coulees and other suitable places.

Although the general characteristics of the families receiving relief were similar to those of Spring Wheat families, more of those on relief rolls in this area were young families, and many of them had moved into the county in which they were receiving relief during the past five years. In the opinion of the local relief workers, about 46 percent of the families receiving relief could become self-supporting farmers and another 23 percent part-time farmers, if given help. Over 17 percent of the families were considered capable of self-support but not qualified to operate either full or part-time farms. Many of the displaced farmers will probably need to be assisted to locate under more favorable conditions if they are to remain off the relief rolls.

These two Wheat Areas are prime examples of the sort of economy which can develop under individual initiative with no thought of social and economic consequences either to the state, to the region, or to the nation. A constructive rehabilitation policy

will face the need for some change in farm organization in these areas, and will not encourage farmers to plow up land which is submarginal for arable agriculture.

5. *The Western Cotton Area.* In this area the immediate relief problem is related to the following several factors: (1) an enormous and rapid expansion of a one-crop agricultural system, (2) depressed market prices, (3) adverse crop conditions, and (4) an unstable tenancy system coupled with a great demand for seasonal labor.

Since the western limits of this area have been pushed nearer the precipitation limits below which cotton cannot be grown, an abnormally dry year necessarily results in widespread crop failure. Moreover, increasing use of machinery has made small farms unprofitable and displaced a great many tenants and laborers. The stability of this area will depend upon the development of an adequate agricultural program which will make the best utilization of the available land for farm families of all classes. Lumbering and the petroleum industries will not play an important part in a rehabilitation program. The former is minor in importance to the agricultural industry in the area, and the latter is already too overcrowded to offer employment. When the cotton acreage was expanded many small farms were established where the acreage was too small to provide profitable management. The median size farm of farmers on relief was 58 acres. The need for consolidation of farms and for the diversification of crops is essential (18, p. 159) (Fig. 15).

The majority of the families receiving relief in this area were farmers and farm laborers, most of them white families. The average age of male heads of families was about 44 years and their average schooling about six grades for whites and four grades for Negroes. The average family head was renting the house in which he lived and owned no livestock and few chattels.

About 41 percent of all white and 27 percent of all Negro families were considered capable of rehabilitation as farm operators, 22 percent of the whites and 35 percent of the Negroes as part-time farmers. About 23 percent of the whites and 15 percent of the Negroes were classified as capable of self-support but not qualified for rehabilitation on the land. Of the Negro families 23 percent were considered incapable of attaining self-support. Fifty-eight percent of these families contained no gainful workers and an additional 16 percent contained no

male gainful workers. In other words, practically all of this group consisted of families which included no adult males of working age.

Almost one-fifth of the families receiving relief in this area were unemployed squatters, marooned in the area. These squatters were, for the most part, young families. Further immigration of this class of laborer into the area should be discouraged and a considerable proportion of those now in the area should be given assistance in moving elsewhere. Because of the seasonal nature of labor needs, much could be accomplished by setting up the unemployed farm laborers on small plots of land under proper supervision so that they could produce part of their food supply and derive some income from work which they can do during the slack season in the cotton fields.

Adjustments must be made in the system of agriculture in the western part of this area if the effects of recurring dry years are to be avoided. As in the Wheat Areas, arable agriculture based on a one-crop system makes for social and economic insecurity. These adjustments will require the resettlement of some of the present population on better lands elsewhere.

In the eastern part of the area the problems are akin to those of the Eastern Cotton Belt with its cropping system. Only through a far-reaching and long-time rehabilitation program can the situation be remedied. Education and gradual induction of the present share-croppers, or their posterity, into the status of land-owning farmers appears to be indicated.

6. *The Eastern Cotton Belt.* The socio-economic status of the average family receiving relief in this area is such that only through a long-time program of education can it learn to manage its own affairs efficiently. The colonial system of agriculture (9), based on the exploitation of both the laborer, and the land on which he works, for the benefit of the mother country, has left in its wake denuded, worn-out soils and a large population of illiterate, subservient workers, poorly equipped to guide their own destinies.

The typical family receiving relief in the Eastern Cotton Belt counties was an unemployed farm cropper, either white or Negro. About one-fifth of the white families and more than two-fifths of the Negro families included fewer than three persons; one-person families and broken families consisting of women and children made up about one-fifth of the white and two-

fifths of the Negro families receiving relief. The average age of female heads of families receiving relief was about 46 years for whites and 55 years for Negroes; for male heads of families 41 and 48 years, respectively. Over 25 percent of the male and 37 percent of the female heads of Negro families were 65 years of age and older. The typical relief family lived in a shack unfit for human habitation, owned little or no livestock and its chattels were few and unmortgaged.

About 31 percent of the white families and 17 percent of the Negro families were classified as unlikely prospects for rehabilitation on the land, about 20 and 39 percent, respectively, as incapable of self-support. Of the white families considered incapable of self-support, 46 percent included no gainful workers, 24 percent one female gainful worker only, and an additional 4 percent included no male gainful workers, making a total of almost three-fourths without male gainful workers. Of the remaining 26 percent, the majority were families including male workers who because of old age or other incapacities, or because of their youthfulness, were unable to attain complete self-support. Most of the families with only one female gainful worker were broken families consisting of a woman with children under 16 years of age. Of the Negro families 39 percent were considered incapable of attaining self-support. Sixty-four percent of these families contained no gainful workers and an additional 25 percent contained no male gainful workers. In other words, practically all of this group consisted of families which included no adult males of working age.

Much of the soil which has been depleted by over cultivation is so submarginal in this area that it will find its best utilization as forest land (Fig. 14). On other marginal lands attempts should be made to control erosion by terracing, contour cultivation and cover crops and to restore the soil's fertility by leguminous crops, and by a general program of diversified farming. Not only will diversified farming assist in eliminating many of the defects of the cotton agricultural system as it exists, but it will permit the farm families to produce more subsistence crops. The pasturing of cattle from the drought areas throughout the South may have a very marked and favorable effect on the change towards diversification (6, p. 29). In Alabama there has been a trend towards beef cattle, dairy, and mixed type farming conducted mostly by the white operators.

Extension of land ownership is indicated as a partial solution to problems of economic instability in this area. In the opinion of the local relief workers about 39 percent of the white and 33 percent of the Negro families were capable of operating farms, and about 11 percent of all families capable of rehabilitation on the land in connection with a supplementary job (Table XXV). To attempt to set up many of these families on their own farms and expect them to manage their own affairs will be futile. A rural rehabilitation program for the majority of the families receiving relief must furnish careful supervision over a period of years if it is to succeed. The cropper who has always depended upon his landlord to keep his accounts and tell him what to do, and when to do it, cannot be transformed overnight into a successful independent farmer. An important factor limiting the prospects for rehabilitation in this area is the resources of the families themselves. Only the more resourceful tenants and croppers can be expected to succeed as independent farm owners; the remainder will require close supervision. Little will be accomplished toward the solution of present problems, however, by perpetuation of the "furnishing" system under government auspices; the rural rehabilitation programs of many states in this area have thus far done little more than this. These programs to date have been conceived as a form of emergency work relief. Something more is needed: the share-cropper system and its one-crop agriculture must be fundamentally changed if the cotton farmer is not to remain economically insecure. A satisfactory rehabilitation program must assist in the breaking up of this system of economic serfdom. The program will need to be gauged to the abilities of the present generation of farmers but it must also plan for the next generation so that they will not be dependent share-croppers and farm laborers of the present type.

The large number of white families classified for non-agricultural rehabilitation were unemployed workers in the mills of the villages and towns, some of them former emigrants who had returned from the cities. For these the final hope appears to be a revival of industrial employment. Supplementing the seasonal wage by making land available on which to produce subsistence crops or garden produce would help to bring a stability which has been unknown to a large number of families in this area. But resettlement of these families on small plots of land

will be successful, in most instances, only if they are given some supervision. Without it, the average non-agricultural worker receiving relief in this area is not likely to improve his economic status even though he has land of his own.

APPENDIX A

Tables

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES

TABLE I. PROPORTION OF THE RURAL, TOWN AND CITY POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE SIX PROBLEM AREAS*

	UNITED STATES TOTAL	TOTAL ALL AREAS	APPA-LACHIAN OZARK	LAKE STATES CUT-OVER	SHORT GRASS		WESTERN COTTON	EASTERN COTTON
					SPRING WHEAT	WINTER WHEAT		
<i>Number</i>								
TOTAL.....	122,775,046	24,766,519	5,285,253	1,548,480	855,117	1,201,198	4,539,037	11,539,434
CITY.....	64,257,233	4,288,597	548,603	447,684	105,998	274,951	1,077,840	1,835,961
RURAL AND TOWN.....	58,537,813	20,477,922	4,734,650	900,796	749,199	926,647	3,461,197	9,705,473
TOWN.....	4,717,590	1,228,204	199,596	112,790	27,427	59,266	258,988	570,137
RURAL.....	55,820,223	19,249,718	4,535,054	788,006	721,732	867,381	3,202,209	9,135,336
<i>Percent</i>								
TOTAL.....	100.0	20.2	4.3	1.1	0.7	1.0	3.7	9.4
CITY.....	100.0	6.7	0.9	0.7	0.2	0.4	1.7	2.9
RURAL AND TOWN.....	100.0	35.0	8.1	1.5	1.3	1.6	5.9	16.6
TOWN.....	100.0	26.0	4.2	2.4	0.6	1.3	5.5	12.1
RURAL.....	100.0	35.8	8.4	1.5	1.3	1.6	5.9	17.0

*U. S. CENSUS, 1930.

TABLE II. PROPORTION OF ALL FARMERS OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE SIX RURAL PROBLEM AREAS*

FARMERS BY TENURE	UNITED STATES TOTAL	TOTAL ALL AREAS	APPA-LACHIAN OZARK	LAKE STATES CUT-OVER	SHORT GRASS		WESTERN COTTON	EASTERN COTTON
					SPRING WHEAT	WINTER WHEAT		
<i>Number</i>								
ALL FARMERS.....	6,288,648	2,679,085	495,085	94,180	106,521	112,349	487,997	1,384,955
OWNER (AND MANAGER).....	3,624,283	1,178,424	354,244	83,872	75,477	67,323	168,778	428,730
TENANT.....	1,888,087	865,141	105,895	10,508	31,044	45,026	212,454	462,444
CROPPER.....	776,278	635,520	34,984	-----	-----	-----	106,755	493,781
<i>Percent</i>								
ALL FARMERS.....	100.0	42.6	7.8	1.5	1.7	1.8	7.8	22.0
OWNER (AND MANAGER).....	100.0	32.5	9.8	2.3	2.1	1.9	4.6	11.8
TENANT.....	100.0	45.8	5.5	0.5	1.6	2.4	11.3	24.5
CROPPER.....	100.0	81.9	4.5	-----	-----	-----	13.8	65.6

*U. S. CENSUS OF AGRICULTURE, 1930.

SIX RURAL PROBLEM AREAS

TABLE III. PERCENTAGE OF THE NEGRO FARMERS OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE COTTON AREAS*

FARMERS BY TENURE	UNITED STATES	THE COTTON AREAS		
		TOTAL	WESTERN	EASTERN
		Number		
ALL NEGRO FARMERS.....	916,070	704,798	95,837	608,961
OWNERS (AND MANAGER).....	205,842	106,433	23,083	83,350
TENANT.....	317,331	255,185	34,252	220,933
CROPPER.....	392,897	343,180	38,522	304,658
		Percent		
ALL NEGRO FARMERS.....	100	76.9	10.5	66.4
OWNER (AND MANAGER).....	100	51.7	11.2	40.5
TENANT.....	100	80.4	10.8	69.6
CROPPER.....	100	87.3	9.8	77.5

*U. S. CENSUS, 1930.

TABLE IV. AGRICULTURAL AND CLIMATIC DATA FROM THE KANSAS COUNTIES IN THE WINTER WHEAT AREA

YEARS	PERCENT ACREAGE ABANDONED ^a	YIELD PER ACRE SOWN ^b	YIELD PER ACRE HARVESTED ^b	PRICE PER BUSHEL	ANNUAL AVERAGE TEMPERATURE (CROP YEAR)	ANNUAL AMOUNT RAINFALL (CROP YEAR)	POPULATION	PERCENT OF TOTAL ACREAGE IN WHEAT	TRACTOR PER 10,000 ACRES	COMBINES PER 10,000 ACRES
1911	75.4	1.0	3.5	.84	56.3	19.6	134,358	11.6	--	--
1912	53.7	6.3	9.6	.75	51.2	21.4	124,616	10.3	--	--
1913	55.8	2.3	5.2	.76	53.9	15.8	123,810	9.4	--	--
1914	0.0	17.1	17.1	.85	55.7	20.1	119,848	11.7	--	--
1915	15.8	11.5	13.6	.89	55.6	20.3	125,670	11.8	2	--
1916	11.2	12.4	14.0	1.36	54.2	20.9	140,219	13.5	3	--
1917	84.3	0.7	4.6	2.01	53.4	11.9	150,661	15.9	3	--
1918	62.1	2.3	6.0	1.93	54.1	16.2	146,862	14.7	4	--
1919	0.0	11.4	11.4	1.96	54.2	18.4	143,859	15.2	5	--
1920	9.7	13.9	15.9	1.82	54.0	16.1	150,706	16.3	7	--
1921	13.0	8.5	5.8	.96	55.8	25.1	153,791	18.1	10	--
1922	25.6	7.2	10.2	.90	54.9	22.3	157,665	15.8	10	--
1923	65.8	2.0	5.8	.80	55.6	22.0	160,091	15.5	12	3
1924	6.6	14.3	15.3	1.07	53.1	20.3	160,123	17.4	14	3
1925	14.5	6.6	7.7	1.38	56.2	23.5	163,590	19.9	14	4
1926	20.0	9.9	12.4	1.17	54.1	24.1	164,045	22.4	19	5
1927	42.6	2.7	4.7	1.18	55.2	22.6	161,218	24.3	21	6
1928	31.4	12.1	17.7	.91	54.1	26.7	165,168	23.7	24	8
1929	3.0	14.2	14.6	1.00	53.9	24.4	168,356	23.9	27	13
1930	6.3	11.8	12.6	.60	54.8	16.5	177,845	27.7	24	15
1931	3.0	17.5	18.0	.33	56.0	21.0	182,765	30.7	25	16
1932	34.0	6.3	5.5	.30	56.7	16.2	184,378	24.8	31	21
1933					55.7 (54.2 ^b)	16.5 (20.7 ^b)				

^aLIMITED TO WINTER WHEAT ACREAGE.^bNORMAL.

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES

TABLE V. RESIDENCE OF RURAL AND TOWN FAMILIES IN THE AREAS AND THE COUNTIES SURVEYED:
ALSO PROPORTION OF THE FAMILIES IN EACH AREA IN THE COUNTIES SURVEYED

RESIDENCE	TOTAL ALL AREAS	APPA-LACHIAN OZARK	LAKE STATES CUT-OVER	SHORT GRASS			WESTERN COTTON		EASTERN COTTON	
				TOTAL	SPRING WHEAT	WINTER WHEAT	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
<i>Families in Area</i>										
TOTAL NUMBER.....	4,484,257	1,001,672	198,256	589,780	171,072	218,708	779,866		2,114,683	
PERCENT.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	
RURAL.....	95.7	95.1	90.8	94.5	96.1	93.3	91.8		95.9	
TOWN.....	6.3	4.9	9.2	5.5	3.9	6.7	8.2		6.1	
<i>Families in Counties Surveyed</i>										
TOTAL NUMBER.....	238,523	48,437	29,024	38,794	15,050	23,754	37,827		84,441	
PERCENT.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
RURAL.....	90.6	98.5	84.6	84.4	92.3	79.5	87.3	84.8	88.8	95.5
TOWN.....	9.4	1.5	15.4	15.6	7.7	20.5	12.7	15.2	11.2	4.5
<i>Percent of Families in Area in Counties Surveyed</i>										
TOTAL.....	5.3	4.8	14.6	10.0	8.8	10.9	4.9		4.0	
RURAL.....	5.1	5.0	13.6	8.9	8.4	9.3	4.6		3.9	
TOWN.....	8.0	1.5	24.5	28.3	17.3	33.4	7.7		4.9	

TABLE VI. PERCENTAGE OF FARM OPERATOR FAMILIES IN EACH TENURE GROUP IN SIX RURAL AREAS: COMPARISON OF ALL RURAL AND TOWN FAMILIES IN THE AREA AND IN COUNTIES SURVEYED, 1930, AND FAMILIES RECEIVING RELIEF IN JUNE 1934

	TOTAL ALL AREAS	APPA-LACHIAN OZARK	LAKE STATES CUT-OVER	SHORT GRASS			WESTERN COTTON		EASTERN COTTON	
				TOTAL	SPRING WHEAT	WINTER WHEAT	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
<i>Total Area - 1930</i>										
ALL FAMILIES.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
FARM OWNER.....	26.5	35.3	42.5	36.6	44.1	30.8	22.4	17.8	27.6	3.7
FARM TENANT.....	20.1	10.4	5.2	19.5	18.2	20.6	27.4	26.3	19.3	25.6
FARM CROPPER.....	13.4	3.5	-----	-----	-----	-----	10.5	29.6	15.1	35.3
ALL NON-FARM ^a	40.2	50.8	52.5	45.9	37.7	48.6	39.7	26.3	38.0	29.4
<i>Counties Surveyed - 1930</i>										
ALL FAMILIES.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
FARM OWNER.....	27.4	38.1	40.5	38.9	44.6	35.2	19.7	15.3	26.0	6.9
FARM TENANT.....	20.2	12.1	5.1	20.5	17.9	22.2	27.6	17.7	19.8	32.7
FARM CROPPER.....	12.2	3.3	-----	-----	-----	-----	8.8	20.1	18.8	35.1
ALL NON-FARM ^a	40.2	46.5	54.4	40.6	37.5	42.6	45.3	48.9	35.4	25.3
<i>Rural and Town Families Receiving Relief - June 1934 Counties Surveyed</i>										
ALL FAMILIES.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
FARM OWNER.....	18.2	26.4	15.9	28.1	39.5	20.6	7.2	6.1	7.3	3.9
FARM TENANT.....	17.2	9.7	5.5	33.0	35.2	31.7	26.9	14.6	9.5	6.9
FARM CROPPER.....	11.5	23.3	-----	-----	-----	-----	7.2	7.3	24.7	25.3
ALL NON-FARM ^a	52.3	40.6	80.6	38.9	25.3	47.7	58.7	72.0	58.5	65.9

^a INCLUDES FAMILIES OF AGRICULTURAL LABORERS.

SIX RURAL PROBLEM AREAS

TABLE VII. PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES IN COUNTIES SURVEYED RECEIVING DIRECT, WORK, OR BOTH DIRECT AND WORK RELIEF, BY SEX OF HEAD

TYPE OF RELIEF	TOTAL ALL AREAS	APPA-LACHIAN OZARK	LAKE STATES CUT-OVER	SHORT GRASS		WESTERN COTTON		EASTERN COTTON	
				SPRING WHEAT	WINTER WHEAT	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
<i>All Families</i>									
TOTAL.....	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
DIRECT ONLY.....	55	67	65	46	21	69	87	56	75
WORK ONLY.....	35	28	17	46	62	11	1	35	18
BOTH DIRECT AND WORK....	12	5	18	8	17	20	12	9	7
<i>Families with Male Heads</i>									
TOTAL.....	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
DIRECT ONLY.....	51	64	62	44	18	65	85	51	63
WORK ONLY.....	36	30	18	47	65	12	1	39	26
BOTH DIRECT AND WORK....	13	6	20	9	17	23	14	10	11
<i>Families with Female Heads</i>									
TOTAL.....	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
DIRECT ONLY.....	85	88	90	64	67	93	94	78	92
WORK ONLY.....	11	9	5	30	27	2	---	18	5
BOTH DIRECT AND WORK....	4	3	5	6	6	5	6	4	3

TABLE VIII. AVERAGE VALUE PER FAMILY OF RELIEF RECEIVED DURING JUNE 1934 IN COUNTIES SURVEYED, BY TYPE OF RELIEF

	TOTAL ALL AREAS	APPA-LACHIAN OZARK	LAKE STATES CUT-OVER	SHORT GRASS		WESTERN COTTON		EASTERN COTTON	
				SPRING WHEAT	WINTER WHEAT	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
TOTAL.....	\$13	\$ 8	\$16	\$14	\$23	\$ 9	\$ 5	\$13	\$ 7
DIRECT ONLY.....	8	6	12	10	12	7	4	9	5
WORK ONLY.....	19	12	23	17	25	11	5	17	12
BOTH DIRECT AND WORK..	21	12	27	14	28	16	13	19	12

TABLE IX. AVERAGE VALUE PER FAMILY OF RELIEF RECEIVED DURING JUNE 1934
IN SELECTED GROUPS OF STATES^a

UNITED STATES TOTAL.....	\$23.30
PRINCIPAL CITIES.....	29.92
REMAINDER OF COUNTRY.....	18.08
APPALACHIAN-OZARK AREA (WEST VIRGINIA, KENTUCKY AND TENNESSEE).....	10.68
LAKE STATES CUT-OVER AREA (MICHIGAN, MINNESOTA AND WISCONSIN).....	25.12
SPRING WHEAT AREA (NORTH AND SOUTH DAKOTA, MONTANA).....	22.28
WINTER WHEAT AREA (KANSAS, OKLAHOMA AND NEW MEXICO).....	12.22
WESTERN COTTON AREA (OKLAHOMA AND TEXAS).....	9.12
EASTERN COTTON BELT (ALABAMA, ARKANSAS, GEORGIA, MISSISSIPPI AND SOUTH CAROLINA).....	11.75

^aMONTHLY REPORT OF THE FEDERAL EMERGENCY RELIEF ADMINISTRATION, JULY 1 THROUGH JULY 31, 1934.

TABLE X. COMPARISON OF AVERAGE^a SIZE OF FAMILY RECEIVING RELIEF AND OF
RURAL FARM AND NON-FARM FAMILIES, 1930

AREA	FAMILIES RECEIVING RELIEF	TYPICAL STATE ^b IN AREA, 1930	
		RURAL FARM	RURAL NON-FARM
APPALACHIAN-OZARK.....	5.0	4.2	3.7
LAKE STATES CUT-OVER.....	3.7	4.1	3.1
SHORT GRASS-SPRING WHEAT.....	4.3	3.9	3.1
SHORT GRASS-WINTER WHEAT.....	4.0	4.1	3.4
WESTERN COTTON			
WHITE.....	4.5	4.1	3.4
NEGRO.....	3.5	3.9	2.7
EASTERN COTTON			
WHITE.....	4.2	4.5	3.8
NEGRO.....	3.1	4.1	2.9

^aMEDIAN.

^bMEDIAN STATE IN GROUP IN WHICH COUNTIES WERE SURVEYED.

SIX RURAL PROBLEM AREAS

TABLE XI. NORMALLY DEPENDENT PERSONS IN FAMILIES RECEIVING RELIEF*

NUMBER OF PERSONS UNDER 16 YEARS AND 65 YEARS AND OLDER	TOTAL ALL AREAS	APPA-LACHIAN OZARK	LAKE STATES CUT-OVER	SHORT GRASS		WESTERN COTTON		EASTERN COTTON	
				SPRING WHEAT	WINTER WHEAT	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
				Percent of Families					
ALL FAMILIES.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
0.....	18.8	12.3	24.4	21.0	20.3	15.4	25.3	18.1	13.5
1.....	23.9	15.0	25.8	24.3	23.6	22.3	21.6	23.7	31.1
2.....	19.8	18.0	17.8	18.6	22.7	22.4	17.3	21.0	16.9
3.....	13.7	15.8	12.1	13.0	12.8	13.6	13.0	13.7	10.2
4.....	10.0	14.2	7.0	8.1	9.4	11.6	8.0	7.3	9.1
5.....	6.4	10.4	4.7	6.5	4.9	6.8	4.3	5.9	5.0
6.....	4.5	5.3	3.4	4.3	3.4	4.9	4.3	5.4	4.2
7 OR MORE.....	3.4	4.4	2.8	4.2	2.9	3.0	6.2	2.3	4.0

*PERSONS UNDER 16 YEARS AND 65 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER.

TABLE XII. AVERAGE NUMBER OF NORMAL DEPENDENTS* PER FAMILY RECEIVING RELIEF

	TOTAL ALL AREAS	APPA-LACHIAN OZARK	LAKE STATES CUT-OVER	SHORT GRASS		WESTERN COTTON		EASTERN COTTON	
				SPRING WHEAT	WINTER WHEAT	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
				Per Family					
TOTAL.....	2.3	2.8	1.9	2.2	2.1	2.4	2.2	2.2	2.1
PERSONS UNDER 16 YEARS..	2.3	2.6	1.8	2.0	1.9	2.2	1.9	2.0	1.7
PERSONS 65 YEARS AND OVER	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.4
Per Family with Dependents									
TOTAL.....	2.8	3.2	2.6	2.8	2.6	2.8	2.9	2.7	2.6
PERSONS UNDER 16 YEARS..	2.8	3.2	2.9	3.0	2.7	3.0	3.1	2.9	3.0
PERSONS 65 YEARS AND OVER	1.2	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.2	1.4	1.3	1.2

*PERSONS UNDER 16 YEARS AND 65 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER.

TABLE XIII-A. USUAL OCCUPATIONS OF HEADS OF FAMILIES RECEIVING RELIEF IN THE COUNTIES SURVEYED

USUAL OCCUPATION OF HEAD OF FAMILY	TOTAL ALL AREAS	APPA- LACHIAN OZARK	LAKE STATES CUT- OVER	SHORT GRASS		WESTERN COTTON			EASTERN COTTON		
				SPRING WHEAT	WINTER WHEAT	TOTAL	WHITE	NEGRO	TOTAL	WHITE	NEGRO
				Number							
ALL FAMILIES.....	10,771	2,167	1,738	1,311	2,007	964	800	164	2,584	1,347	1,237
FARMER.....	5,036	1,288	337	979	1,049	377	331	46	1,006	599	447
OWNER.....	1,960	572	242	518	414	68	58	10	146	98	48
TENANT.....	1,854	211	95	461	635	239	215	24	213	128	85
CROPPER.....	1,222	505	---	---	---	70	58	12	647	335	314
FARM LABORER.....	929	43	61	22	172	167	128	39	464	157	307
NON-AGRICULTURAL LABORER ^a	1,409	248	428	96	280	157	118	39	200	70	130
SERVANT OR WAITER.....	370	25	31	18	46	58	34	24	192	18	174
MECHANIC.....	718	66	202	44	148	76	74	2	182	161	21
MINER.....	327	126	187	6	3	1	1	---	4	3	1
LUMBERMAN, RAFTSMAN OR WOODCHOPPER	233	107	106	---	---	---	---	---	20	13	7
FACTORY OR RAILROAD EMPLOYEE ^a	503	58	130	29	59	17	16	1	210	162	48
PROFESSIONAL MAN, MERCHANT, BANKER OR OTHER PROPRIETOR.....	200	22	35	18	45	19	13	6	61	45	16
CLERICAL WORKER OR SALESMAN.....	161	13	20	18	24	18	18	---	68	65	3
ALL OTHER OCCUPATIONS.....	287	23	68	44	87	24	23	1	41	51	10
NO USUAL OCCUPATION.....	410	104	103	17	44	29	28	1	113	53	60
USUAL OCCUPATION UNKNOWN.....	188	44	30	20	50	21	16	5	23	10	13

^aNOT ELSEWHERE CLASSIFIED.

SIX RURAL PROBLEM AREAS

TABLE XIII-B. USUAL OCCUPATIONS OF HEADS OF FAMILIES RECEIVING RELIEF IN COUNTIES SURVEYED

USUAL OCCUPATION OF HEAD OF FAMILY	TOTAL ALL AREAS	APPA-LACHIAN OZARK	LAKE STATES CUT-OVER	SHORT GRASS		WESTERN COTTON	EASTERN COTTON
				SPRING WHEAT	WINTER WHEAT		
				Percent			
ALL FAMILIES.....	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
FARMER.....	47	59	19	75	52	39	39
OWNER.....	18	26	14	40	20	7	6
TENANT.....	17	10	5	35	32	25	8
CROPPER.....	12	23	---	---	---	2	25
FARM LABORER.....	8	2	3	2	9	17	18
NON-AGRICULTURAL LABORER ^a	13	11	25	8	14	16	8
SERVANT OR WAITER.....	3	1	2	1	2	6	7
MECHANIC.....	7	3	12	3	8	8	7
MINER.....	3	6	11	1	*	"	"
LUMBERMAN, RAFTSMAN OR WOODCHOPPER..	2	5	6	---	---	---	1
FACTORY OR RAILROAD EMPLOYEE ^b	5	3	7	2	3	2	8
PROFESSIONAL MAN, MERCHANT, BANKER OR OTHER PROPRIETOR.....	2	1	2	1	2	2	2
CLERICAL WORKER OR SALESMAN.....	1	1	1	1	1	2	3
ALL OTHER OCCUPATIONS.....	3	1	4	3	4	3	2
NO USUAL OCCUPATION.....	4	5	6	1	2	3	4
USUAL OCCUPATION UNKNOWN.....	2	2	2	2	3	2	1

^aNOT ELSEWHERE CLASSIFIED.^bLESS THAN 0.5 PERCENT.

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES

TABLE XIII-C. USUAL OCCUPATIONS OF HEADS OF WHITE AND NEGRO FAMILIES RECEIVING RELIEF IN THE COUNTIES SURVEYED IN THE COTTON AREAS

USUAL OCCUPATION OF HEAD OF FAMILY	PERCENT IN EACH OCCUPATION				PERCENT OF WHITES AND NEGROES IN EACH OCCUPATION					
	WESTERN COTTON		EASTERN COTTON		WESTERN COTTON			EASTERN COTTON		
	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO	TOTAL	WHITE	NEGRO	TOTAL	WHITE	NEGRO
ALL FAMILIES.....	100	100	100	100	100	83	17	100	52	48
FARMER.....	41	28	42	36	100	88	12	100	96	44
OWNER.....	7	6	7	4	100	85	15	100	67	33
TENANT.....	27	15	10	7	100	90	10	100	60	40
CROPPER.....	7	7	25	25	100	83	17	100	51	49
FARM LABORER.....	16	24	12	25	100	77	23	100	34	66
NON-AGRICULTURAL LABORER ^a ...	15	24	5	11	100	75	25	100	35	65
SERVANT OR WAITER.....	4	14	1	14	100	59	41	100	9	91
MECHANIC.....	9	1	12	2	100	97	3	100	88	12
MINER.....	*	---	*	*	100	100	---	100	75	25
LUMBERMAN, RAFTSMAN OR WOOD-CHOPPER.....	---	---	1	*	---	---	---	100	65	35
FACTORY OR RAILROAD EMPLOYEE ^b	2	1	12	4	100	94	6	100	77	23
PROFESSIONAL MAN, MERCHANT, BANKER, OR OTHER PROPRIETOR.....	2	4	3	1	100	68	32	100	74	26
CLERICAL WORKER OR SALESMAN	2	---	5	*	100	100	---	100	96	4
ALL OTHER OCCUPATIONS.....	5	1	2	1	100	96	4	100	76	24
NO USUAL OCCUPATION.....	4	1	4	5	100	97	3	100	47	53
USUAL OCCUPATION UNKNOWN....	2	3	1	1	100	76	24	100	43	57

^aNOT ELSEWHERE CLASSIFIED.
^bLESS THAN 0.5 PERCENT.

SIX RURAL PROBLEM AREAS

TABLE XIV-A. PRESENT OCCUPATION OF HEADS OF FAMILIES RECEIVING RELIEF

PRESENT OCCUPATION	TOTAL ALL AREAS	APPA-LACHIAN OZARK	LAKE STATES CUT-OVER	SHORT GRASS		WESTERN COTTON		EASTERN COTTON	
				SPRING WHEAT	WINTER WHEAT	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
				<i>Number</i>					
ALL FAMILIES.....	10,771	2,167	1,738	1,311	2,007	800	164	1,347	1,237
FARMER.....	4,571	1,487	509	895	919	194	35	291	241
OWNER.....	2,053	684	376	463	381	40	10	65	34
TENANT.....	1,684	257	133	432	538	126	20	108	70
CROPPER.....	834	546	----	----	----	28	5	118	137
FARM LABORER.....	294	12	31	2	11	17	4	63	114
ALL OTHERS.....	557	59	181	32	71	27	7	72	108
UNEMPLOYED.....	5,389	609	1,017	382	1,006	562	118	921	774
				<i>Percent</i>					
ALL FAMILIES.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
FARMER.....	42.4	68.6	29.3	68.3	45.8	24.2	21.3	21.6	19.5
OWNER.....	19.1	31.5	21.6	35.3	19.0	5.0	6.1	4.8	2.7
TENANT.....	15.6	11.9	7.7	33.0	26.8	15.7	12.2	8.0	5.7
CROPPER.....	7.7	25.2	----	----	----	3.5	3.0	8.8	11.1
FARM LABORER.....	2.4	0.6	1.8	0.2	0.5	2.1	2.4	4.7	9.2
ALL OTHERS.....	5.2	2.7	10.4	2.4	3.5	3.4	4.3	5.3	8.7
UNEMPLOYED.....	50.0	28.1	58.5	29.1	50.2	70.3	72.0	68.4	62.6

TABLE XIV-B. PRESENT OCCUPATION OF MALE HEADS OF FAMILIES RECEIVING RELIEF

PRESENT OCCUPATION	TOTAL ALL AREAS	APPA-LACHIAN OZARK	LAKE STATES CUT-OVER	SHORT GRASS		WESTERN COTTON		EASTERN COTTON	
				SPRING WHEAT	WINTER WHEAT	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
				<i>Number</i>					
ALL FAMILIES.....	9,235	1,921	1,560	1,208	1,860	704	128	1,114	740
FARMER.....	4,266	1,391	473	866	892	173	30	262	179
OWNER.....	1,876	624	343	436	363	30	7	51	22
TENANT.....	1,631	250	130	430	529	116	18	102	56
CROPPER.....	759	517	----	----	----	27	5	109	101
FARM LABORER.....	197	12	30	2	11	17	4	54	67
ALL OTHERS.....	359	36	149	23	43	14	1	56	37
UNEMPLOYED.....	4,413	482	908	317	914	500	93	742	457
				<i>Percent</i>					
ALL FAMILIES.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
FARMER.....	46.2	72.4	30.3	71.7	48.0	24.6	23.4	23.5	24.2
OWNER.....	20.3	32.5	22.0	36.1	19.6	4.3	5.5	4.6	3.0
TENANT.....	17.7	13.0	8.3	35.6	28.4	16.5	14.0	9.2	7.6
CROPPER.....	8.2	26.9	----	----	----	3.8	3.9	9.7	13.6
FARM LABORER.....	2.1	0.6	1.9	0.2	0.6	2.4	3.1	4.8	9.1
ALL OTHERS.....	3.9	1.9	9.6	1.9	2.3	2.0	0.8	5.0	5.0
UNEMPLOYED.....	47.8	25.1	58.2	26.2	49.1	71.0	72.7	66.7	61.7

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES

TABLE XIV-C. PRESENT OCCUPATION OF FEMALE HEADS OF FAMILIES RECEIVING RELIEF

PRESENT OCCUPATION	TOTAL ALL AREAS	APPA-LACHIAN OZARK	LAKE STATES CUT-OVER	SHORT GRASS		WESTERN COTTON		EASTERN COTTON	
				SPRING WHEAT	WINTER WHEAT	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
				Number					
ALL FAMILIES.....	1,536	246	178	105	147	96	36	235	497
FARMER.....	305	96	36	29	27	21	5	29	62
OWNER.....	177	60	33	27	18	10	3	14	12
TENANT.....	53	7	3	2	9	10	2	6	14
CROPPER.....	75	29	—	—	—	1	—	9	36
FARM LABORER.....	57	—	1	—	—	—	—	9	47
ALL OTHERS.....	198	23	32	9	28	13	6	16	71
UNEMPLOYED.....	976	127	109	65	92	62	25	179	317
ALL FAMILIES.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
FARMER.....	19.9	39.0	20.2	28.2	18.4	21.8	13.9	12.5	12.4
OWNER.....	11.5	24.4	18.5	26.3	12.3	10.4	8.3	6.0	2.4
TENANT.....	3.5	2.8	1.7	1.9	6.1	10.4	5.6	2.6	2.8
CROPPER.....	4.9	11.8	—	—	—	1.0	—	3.9	7.2
FARM LABORER.....	3.7	—	0.6	—	—	—	—	3.9	9.4
ALL OTHERS.....	12.9	9.3	18.0	8.7	19.0	13.5	16.7	6.9	14.3
UNEMPLOYED.....	63.5	51.7	61.2	63.1	62.6	64.7	69.4	76.7	63.9

SIX RURAL PROBLEM AREAS

TABLE XV. PERCENTAGE OF FEMALES AMONG HEADS OF FAMILIES RECEIVING RELIEF,
BY USUAL OCCUPATION

USUAL OCCUPATION	TOTAL ALL AREAS	APPA- LACHIAN OZARK	LAKE STATES CUT- OVER	SHORT GRASS		WESTERN COTTON			EASTERN COTTON			
				SPRING WHEAT	WINTER WHEAT	TOTAL	WHITE	NEGRO	TOTAL	WHITE	NEGRO	
				Percent								
ALL FAMILIES.....	14	11	10	8	7	14	12	22	28	17	40	
FARMER.....	7	7	5	4	3	7	7	13	17	10	27	
OWNER.....	9	10	5	6	5	19	17	30	30	19	50	
TENANT.....	3	1	4	1	1	5	4	8	13	8	20	
CROPPER.....	11	4	--	--	--	6	5	8	16	7	25	
FARM LABORER.....	20	2	--	--	1	2	1	5	38	22	47	
NON-AGRICULTURAL LA- BORER ^a	3	2	1	7	1	3	1	8	9	4	12	
SERVANT OR WAITER....	84	92	68	78	78	90	88	92	86	94	89	
MECHANIC.....	3	5	--	2	1	4	4	--	6	6	--	
MINER.....	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	
LUMBERMAN, RAFTSMAN OR WOODCHOPPER.....	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	
FACTORY OR RAILROAD EMPLOYEE ^a	6	5	5	--	2	12	13	--	9	11	2	
PROFESSIONAL MAN, MER- CHANT, BANKER OR OTHER PROPRIETOR	33	23	37	28	20	21	23	17	48	40	69	
CLERICAL WORKER OR SALESMAN.....	25	31	20	28	29	11	11	--	27	28	--	
ALL OTHER OCCUPATIONS	22	22	12	39	21	4	4	--	32	29	40	
NO USUAL OCCUPATION..	94	96	95	94	91	97	96	100	91	96	87	
USUAL OCCUPATION UNKNOWN	19	30	23	5	10	24	29	20	17	30	8	

^aNOT ELSEWHERE CLASSIFIED.

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES

TABLE XVI. AVERAGE AGE^a OF HEADS OF FAMILIES RECEIVING RELIEF BY USUAL OCCUPATION OF MALE HEADS IN SPECIFIED OCCUPATIONS

SEX AND USUAL OCCUPATION	TOTAL ALL AREAS	APPA-LACHIAN OZARK	LAKE STATES CUT-OVER	SHORT GRASS		WESTERN COTTON		EASTERN COTTON	
				SPRING WHEAT	WINTER WHEAT	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
TOTAL									
FEMALE HEADS.....	50.0	48.5	52.5	52.0	46.0	42.5	50.0	46.0	56.0
MALE HEADS.....	44.0	42.5	47.5	45.0	42.0	43.5	43.5	42.0	49.0
FARMER.....	45.0	42.5	53.0	45.5	42.5	44.0	49.5	44.0	55.0
OWNER.....	51.0	48.0	55.5	51.0	50.0	52.0	60.0	56.5	61.0
TENANT.....	41.0	41.5	45.5	40.5	39.0	44.0	45.0	44.5	55.5
CROPPER.....	42.0	39.0	---	---	---	39.0	55.5	41.5	55.0
FARM LABORER.....	40.0	38.5	36.0	*	38.0	42.5	37.0	38.0	47.0
NON - AGRICULTURAL LABORER.....	41.5	40.0	43.5	42.5	42.5	39.5	41.5	36.0	40.5
MECHANIC.....	45.5	48.5	47.5	44.5	41.5	48.0	*	44.0	*
MINER.....	44.5	40.5	47.5	*	*	*	*	*	*
LUMBERMAN, RAFTSMAN, OR WOODCHOPPER.....	48.0	45.0	54.5	*	*	*	*	*	*
FACTORY OR RAILROAD EMPLOYEE.....	48.5	41.5	44.0	46.0	41.0	*	*	38.0	38.5

^aMEDIAN AGE; 50 PERCENT WERE THIS AGE OR OLDER, 50 PERCENT YOUNGER. ALL FIGURES TO THE NEAREST 0.5 YEAR. *NOT COMPUTED BECAUSE OF SMALL NUMBER OF CASES.

TABLE XVII. AGE DISTRIBUTION OF HEADS OF FAMILIES RECEIVING RELIEF

AGE OF HEAD OF FAMILY	TOTAL ALL AREAS	APPA-LACHIAN OZARK	LAKE STATES CUT-OVER	SHORT GRASS		WESTERN COTTON		EASTERN COTTON	
				SPRING WHEAT	WINTER WHEAT	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
ALL FAMILIES									
NUMBER.....	30,771	2,167	1,758	1,311	2,007	800	164	1,347	1,257
PERCENT.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 25 YEARS....	6.9	6.9	4.5	3.9	8.7	9.3	9.8	8.5	6.6
25 - 44 YEARS....	44.2	48.2	39.9	44.5	47.9	44.6	40.5	48.1	35.7
45 - 64 YEARS....	34.8	33.4	38.4	41.0	35.7	36.0	37.7	52.8	29.3
65 YEARS AND OVER	14.1	11.5	17.2	10.6	10.1	10.1	19.0	10.6	30.4
FAMILIES WITH MALE HEADS									
NUMBER.....	9,235	1,921	1,560	1,208	1,860	704	128	1,114	740
PERCENT.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 25 YEARS....	7.1	7.3	4.9	3.7	8.5	9.8	10.2	8.7	7.6
25 - 44 YEARS....	45.7	49.4	40.7	46.2	48.3	45.7	45.3	49.5	36.1
45 - 64 YEARS....	34.5	32.2	38.0	40.0	33.2	36.1	26.8	32.2	30.9
65 YEARS AND OVER	12.7	11.1	16.4	10.1	10.0	10.4	19.7	9.6	25.4
FAMILIES WITH FEMALE HEADS									
NUMBER.....	1,536	246	178	103	147	96	36	233	497
PERCENT.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 25 YEARS....	5.4	3.7	1.7	5.8	10.2	5.2	8.3	7.4	5.1
25 - 44 YEARS....	35.2	38.9	32.6	25.2	37.4	51.0	30.6	41.6	30.1
45 - 64 YEARS....	36.7	45.0	42.1	53.4	40.1	35.4	44.4	35.9	27.1
65 YEARS AND OVER	22.7	14.4	25.6	15.6	12.3	8.4	16.7	15.1	37.7

SIX RURAL PROBLEM AREAS

TABLE XVIII. SHIFTS IN OCCUPATION OR EMPLOYMENT STATUS MADE BY MALE FAMILY HEADS USUALLY EMPLOYED IN AGRICULTURAL AND NON-AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS

EMPLOYMENT STATUS IN JUNE 1934 BY USUAL OCCUPATION	TOTAL ALL AREAS	APPA- LACHIAN OZARK	LAKE STATES CUT- OVER	SHORT GRASS		WESTERN COTTON		EASTERN COTTON		
				SPRING WHEAT	WINTER WHEAT	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO	
				Percent						
FARM OWNER.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
REMAINED FARM OWNER...	86.0	95.0	75.5	87.9	89.1	60.4	85.7	60.8	83.3	
CHANGED OCCUPATION....	3.6	0.8	5.7	3.5	4.8	6.3	-----	10.1	4.2	
BECAME TENANT.....	2.6	0.6	2.6	3.1	4.3	6.3	-----	2.5	4.2	
BECAME CROPPER.....	0.2	0.2	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	3.8	-----	
BECAME FARM LABORER...	0.1	-----	0.9	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	
BECAME NON-AGRICUL- TURAL WORKER...	0.7	-----	2.2	0.4	0.5	-----	-----	3.8	-----	
BECAME UNEMPLOYED...	10.4	6.2	18.8	8.6	6.1	33.3	14.3	29.1	12.5	
FARM TENANT.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
REMAINED FARM TENANT...	76.6	94.2	65.9	89.2	77.6	50.5	72.7	52.5	64.7	
CHANGED OCCUPATION....	3.4	4.5	15.2	1.3	1.4	4.4	4.6	10.2	5.8	
BECAME OWNER.....	1.4	3.8	9.9	0.9	0.6	-----	4.6	-----	-----	
BECAME CROPPER.....	0.8	0.5	-----	-----	-----	1.9	-----	6.8	2.9	
BECAME FARM LABORER...	0.6	-----	2.2	-----	0.2	1.0	-----	2.5	2.9	
BECAME NON-AGRICUL- TURAL WORKER...	0.6	-----	1.1	0.4	0.6	1.5	-----	0.9	-----	
BECAME UNEMPLOYED...	20.0	1.5	20.9	9.5	21.0	45.1	22.7	37.3	29.5	
FARM CROPPER.....	100.0	100.0	-----	-----	-----	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
REMAINED FARM CROPPER...	54.8	82.4	-----	-----	-----	34.5	36.4	27.6	39.3	
CHANGED OCCUPATION....	10.1	6.2	-----	-----	-----	9.1	-----	15.3	12.0	
BECAME OWNER.....	1.7	3.7	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	
BECAME TENANT.....	3.4	1.7	-----	-----	-----	1.8	-----	6.5	3.4	
BECAME FARM LABORER...	3.3	0.4	-----	-----	-----	5.5	-----	5.9	5.6	
BECAME NON-AGRICUL- TURAL WORKER...	1.7	0.4	-----	-----	-----	1.8	-----	2.9	3.0	
BECAME UNEMPLOYED...	35.1	11.4	-----	-----	-----	56.4	65.6	57.1	48.7	
FARM LABORER.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
REMAINED FARM LABORER...	10.8	19.0	26.2	9.1	5.3	7.9	10.8	23.8	28.8	
CHANGED OCCUPATION....	9.1	40.5	31.2	4.5	6.4	3.1	2.7	7.3	5.7	
BECAME OWNER.....	2.1	16.7	13.1	-----	0.6	-----	-----	-----	-----	
BECAME TENANT.....	3.5	4.8	16.4	4.5	4.1	2.3	-----	1.6	0.6	
BECAME CROPPER.....	2.4	19.0	-----	-----	-----	0.8	-----	4.9	1.9	
BECAME NON-AGRICUL- TURAL WORKER...	1.1	-----	1.7	-----	1.7	-----	2.7	0.8	1.2	
BECAME UNEMPLOYED...	74.1	40.5	42.6	86.4	88.3	89.0	86.5	68.9	67.5	
NON-AGRICULTURAL WORKER.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
REMAINED NON-AGRICUL- TURAL WORKER IN SAME OCCUPATION	5.9	4.5	7.6	6.3	4.1	3.1	-----	6.1	10.4	
CHANGED OCCUPATION....	17.6	42.1	22.4	6.3	4.4	4.7	6.4	8.6	6.9	
BECAME OWNER.....	7.5	17.6	12.6	1.3	1.0	0.4	-----	0.6	0.9	
BECAME TENANT.....	3.7	6.4	4.2	3.2	2.1	1.9	4.3	3.4	0.9	
BECAME CROPPER.....	3.4	17.0	-----	-----	-----	0.8	2.1	1.5	1.7	
BECAME FARM LABORER...	0.7	0.3	0.9	-----	0.2	0.8	-----	0.8	2.1	
BECAME NON-AGRICUL- TURAL WORKER IN ANOTHER OCCUPA- TION.....	2.3	0.8	4.7	1.3	1.1	0.8	-----	2.3	1.3	
BECAME UNEMPLOYED...	76.5	53.4	70.0	87.4	91.5	92.2	93.6	85.3	82.7	

NOTE: CROPPERS TABULATED SEPARATELY ONLY IN THE APPALACHIAN-OZARK AND COTTON AREAS.

TABLE XIX. YEARS OF CONTINUOUS RESIDENCE IN THE COUNTY OF FAMILIES RECEIVING RELIEF

YEARS OF CONTINUOUS RESIDENCE IN COUNTY	TOTAL ALL AREAS	APPA-LACHIAN OZARK	LAKE STATES CUT-OVER	SHORT GRASS			WESTERN COTTON		EASTERN COTTON	
				TOTAL	SPRING WHEAT	WINTER WHEAT	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
				PERCENT						
TOTAL.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
LESS THAN 5 YEARS.....	17.3	10.5	20.8	18.3	10.9	23.2	33.5	22.4	21.2	6.4
LESS THAN 1 YEAR.....	2.2	2.1	2.0	1.2	0.8	1.5	5.9	5.0	3.7	1.2
1 - 4 YEARS.....	15.1	8.4	18.8	17.1	10.1	21.7	27.6	17.4	17.5	5.2
5 - 9 YEARS.....	11.9	5.8	10.0	17.7	9.9	22.9	19.2	17.4	9.7	6.5
10 OR MORE YEARS.....	70.8	85.7	69.2	64.0	79.2	55.9	47.3	60.2	69.1	87.1

TABLE XX-A. FAMILIES CLASSIFIED BY PRESENT OCCUPATION OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD AND OWNERSHIP OF HOUSE OR FARM; ALSO OWNERS REPORTING MORTGAGES AND FAMILIES REPORTING GARDEN OR TRUCK PATCH

REAL ESTATE OWNERSHIP AND MORTGAGE CONDITION	TOTAL ALL AREAS	APPA-LACHIAN OZARK	LAKE STATES CUT-OVER	SHORT GRASS			WESTERN COTTON		EASTERN COTTON	
				TOTAL	SPRING WHEAT	WINTER WHEAT	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
				NUMBER						
ALL FAMILIES.....	10,771	2,167	1,758	3,318	1,311	2,007	900	164	1,346	1,258
OWNER.....	3,320	821	920	1,178	552	626	194	33	173	161
RENTER.....	6,858	1,200	804	2,095	737	1,356	495	102	1,112	1,052
SQUATTER.....	548	158	91	34	15	19	171	29	60	25
HOMESTEADER.....	45	8	23	13	7	6	---	---	1	---
OWNERS REPORTING MORTGAGES...	1,462	172	306	806	403	403	44	4	89	41
FAMILIES REPORTING GARDEN OR TRUCK PATCH.....	7,816	2,041	1,511	1,725	1,064	661	598	108	1,052	981
PERCENT										
ALL FAMILIES.....	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
OWNER.....	31	38	47	36	42	31	17	20	13	13
RENTER.....	64	55	46	65	56	68	62	62	85	85
SQUATTER.....	5	6	5	1	1	1	21	18	4	2
HOMESTEADER.....	*	*	1	*	1	*	---	---	*	---
OWNERS REPORTING MORTGAGES...	44	21	37	68	75	64	29		39	
FAMILIES REPORTING GARDEN OR TRUCK PATCH.....	75	94	87	52	81	33	50	66	78	79

* LESS THAN 0.5 PERCENT.

SIX RURAL PROBLEM AREAS

TABLE XX-B. FAMILIES CLASSIFIED BY PRESENT OCCUPATION OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD AND OWNERSHIP OF HOUSE OR FARM; ALSO OWNERS REPORTING MORTGAGES AND FAMILIES REPORTING GARDEN OR TRUCK PATCH

REAL ESTATE OWNERSHIP AND MORTGAGE CONDITION	TOTAL ALL AREAS	APPA-LACHIAN OZARK	LAKE STATES CUT-OVER	SHORT GRASS			WESTERN COTTON		EASTERN COTTON		
				TOTAL	SPRING WHEAT	WINTER WHEAT	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO	
											Number
ALL FAMILIES.....	4,571	1,487	509	1,814	895	915	194	35	291	241	
OWNER.....	1,997	650	354	851	452	379	40	9	64	39	
RENTER.....	2,499	785	158	970	456	534	153	25	226	202	
SQUATTER.....	41	36	2	1	1	---	1	1	---	---	
HOMESTEADER.....	34	6	15	12	6	6	---	---	1	---	
OWNERS REPORTING MORTGAGES...	1,098	151	185	670	364	306	29	1	44	18	
FAMILIES REPORTING GARDEN OR TRUCK PATCH.....	3,810	1,471	504	1,129	825	304	152	34	282	238	
				Percent							
ALL FAMILIES.....	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
OWNER.....	44	44	69	46	51	41	21	---	22	16	
RENTER.....	55	53	27	53	48	58	78	---	78	84	
SQUATTER.....	1	2	---	---	---	---	1	---	---	---	
HOMESTEADER.....	---	---	3	1	1	1	---	---	---	---	
OWNERS REPORTING MORTGAGES...	55	23	52	81	81	81	---	---	60	---	
FAMILIES REPORTING GARDEN OR TRUCK PATCH.....	83	99	99	62	92	33	78	---	97	99	

*LESS THAN 0.5 PERCENT.

TABLE XX-C. FAMILIES CLASSIFIED BY PRESENT OCCUPATION OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD AND OWNERSHIP OF HOUSE OR FARM; ALSO OWNERS REPORTING MORTGAGES AND FAMILIES REPORTING GARDEN OR TRUCK PATCH

REAL ESTATE OWNERSHIP AND MORTGAGE CONDITION	TOTAL ALL AREAS	APPA-LACHIAN OZARK	LAKE STATES CUT-OVER	SHORT GRASS			WESTERN COTTON		EASTERN COTTON		
				TOTAL	SPRING WHEAT	WINTER WHEAT	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO	
											Number
ALL FAMILIES.....	557	59	181	103	32	71	27	7	72	108	
OWNER.....	140	14	62	31	10	21	4	4	11	18	
RENTER.....	383	42	102	70	21	49	17	3	59	90	
SQUATTER.....	28	3	15	2	1	1	6	---	2	---	
HOMESTEADER.....	2	---	2	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
OWNERS REPORTING MORTGAGES...	54	3	26	13	4	9	2	1	6	3	
FAMILIES REPORTING GARDEN OR TRUCK PATCH.....	378	53	149	37	21	16	11	5	46	77	
				Percent							
ALL FAMILIES.....	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
OWNER.....	26	24	34	30	---	30	---	---	15	17	
RENTER.....	69	71	56	68	---	69	---	---	82	83	
SQUATTER.....	5	5	8	2	---	1	---	---	3	---	
HOMESTEADER.....	---	---	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
OWNERS REPORTING MORTGAGES...	38	---	42	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
FAMILIES REPORTING GARDEN OR TRUCK PATCH.....	68	90	82	36	---	23	---	---	64	71	

*LESS THAN 0.5 PERCENT.

TABLE XXI-A. FAMILIES REPORTING OWNERSHIP OF SPECIFIED CLASSES OF LIVESTOCK AND FAMILIES REPORTING CHATTEL MORTGAGES BY PRESENT OCCUPATION OF HEAD OF FAMILY

CHATTELS AND CHATTEL MORTGAGES	TOTAL ALL AREAS	APPA-LACHIAN OZARK	LAKE STATES CUT-OVER	ALL OCCUPATIONS						
				SHORT GRASS			WESTERN COTTON		EASTERN COTTON	
				TOTAL	SPRING WHEAT	WINTER WHEAT	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
<i>Number</i>										
ALL FAMILIES.....	10,771	2,167	1,738	3,318	1,311	2,007	800	164	1,346	1,259
FAMILIES REPORTING										
DAIRY COWS.....	4,589	1,225	540	1,780	755	1,027	294	29	442	181
OTHER CATTLE.....	1,966	595	305	1,170	754	415	30	5	55	21
WORK STOCK.....	3,082	604	299	1,595	867	728	151	25	224	172
HOGS.....	3,528	1,058	257	1,522	991	731	181	39	362	329
SHEEP AND GOATS.....	542	72	44	195	152	65	6	1	5	19
POULTRY.....	5,983	1,538	627	2,130	928	1,202	361	66	711	590
FAMILIES REPORTING CHATTEL MORTGAGES.....	1,935	101	165	1,407	770	537	105	6	108	45
<i>Percent</i>										
ALL FAMILIES.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
FAMILIES REPORTING										
DAIRY COWS.....	42.6	56.4	36.9	53.6	55.9	52.2	36.8	17.7	32.8	14.6
OTHER CATTLE.....	18.3	18.2	17.4	35.5	56.0	22.2	3.8	1.8	2.6	1.7
WORK STOCK.....	28.6	27.9	17.2	48.1	66.1	56.3	20.1	14.0	16.9	13.9
HOGS.....	32.8	48.8	13.5	39.8	45.1	36.4	22.6	23.8	26.9	26.6
SHEEP AND GOATS.....	3.2	3.5	2.5	5.9	10.1	3.1	0.8	0.6	0.4	1.5
POULTRY.....	55.5	71.0	36.1	64.2	70.8	59.9	45.1	40.2	52.8	44.4
FAMILIES REPORTING CHATTEL MORTGAGES.....	18.0	4.7	9.4	42.4	58.7	31.7	13.1	3.7	8.0	3.6

TABLE XXI-B. FAMILIES REPORTING OWNERSHIP OF SPECIFIED CLASSES OF LIVESTOCK AND FAMILIES REPORTING CHATTEL MORTGAGES, BY PRESENT OCCUPATION OF HEAD OF FAMILY

CHATTELS AND CHATTEL MORTGAGES	TOTAL ALL AREAS	APPA-LACHIAN OZARK	LAKE STATES CUT-OVER	FARM OPERATORS						
				SHORT GRASS			WESTERN COTTON		EASTERN COTTON	
				TOTAL	SPRING WHEAT	WINTER WHEAT	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
<i>Number</i>										
ALL FAMILIES.....	4,571	1,487	509	1,814	895	919	194	35	291	241
FAMILIES REPORTING										
DAIRY COWS.....	3,304	1,018	418	1,444	684	760	139	17	176	92
OTHER CATTLE.....	1,733	339	230	1,125	701	424	16	3	10	10
WORK STOCK.....	2,786	562	259	1,470	811	659	136	18	193	148
HOGS.....	2,705	881	167	1,184	971	613	128	26	188	129
SHEEP AND GOATS.....	278	60	32	171	126	45	---	1	1	13
POULTRY.....	3,897	1,225	387	1,651	824	827	177	30	235	190
FAMILIES REPORTING CHATTEL MORTGAGES.....	1,675	90	108	1,265	705	560	84	5	89	34
<i>Percent</i>										
ALL FAMILIES.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
FAMILIES REPORTING										
DAIRY COWS.....	72.3	68.5	82.1	79.6	76.4	82.7	71.6	48.6	60.5	38.2
OTHER CATTLE.....	37.9	22.8	45.2	62.0	78.3	46.1	8.2	8.6	3.4	4.1
WORK STOCK.....	60.9	37.8	50.9	81.0	90.6	71.7	70.1	51.4	66.3	61.4
HOGS.....	59.1	59.2	32.8	65.3	63.8	66.7	66.0	74.3	64.6	53.5
SHEEP AND GOATS.....	6.1	4.0	6.3	9.4	14.1	4.9	---	2.9	0.3	5.4
POULTRY.....	85.3	82.2	76.0	91.0	92.1	90.0	91.2	85.7	82.1	78.8
FAMILIES REPORTING CHATTEL MORTGAGES.....	36.6	6.1	21.2	69.7	78.8	60.9	43.3	14.3	30.6	14.1

SIX RURAL PROBLEM AREAS

TABLE XXI-C. FAMILIES REPORTING OWNERSHIP OF SPECIFIED CLASSES OF LIVESTOCK AND FAMILIES REPORTING CHATTEL MORTGAGES, BY PRESENT OCCUPATION OF HEAD OF FAMILY

CHATELS AND CHATTEL MORTGAGES	NON-AGRICULTURAL WORKERS									
	TOTAL ALL AREAS	APPA- LACHIAN OZARK	LAKE STATES CUT- OVER	SHORT GRASS			WESTERN COTTON		EASTERN COTTON	
				TOTAL	SPRING WHEAT	WINTER WHEAT	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
	<i>Number</i>									
ALL FAMILIES.....	557	59	181	103	32	71	27	7	72	108
FAMILIES REPORTING										
DAIRY COWS.....	100	19	34	17	4	13	12	1	12	5
OTHER CATTLE.....	18	2	12	2	1	1	1	-	--	1
WORK STOCK.....	28	6	8	9	4	5	1	-	1	3
HOGS.....	71	21	13	5	1	4	5	-	9	18
SHEEP AND GOATS.....	5	--	1	1	1	--	1	-	--	--
POULTRY.....	170	30	41	30	7	23	8	1	29	31
FAMILIES REPORTING CHATTEL MORTGAGES.....	32	2	16	9	5	4	1	-	2	---
	<i>Percent</i>									
ALL FAMILIES.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
FAMILIES REPORTING										
DAIRY COWS.....	18.0	32.2	18.8	16.5	-----	18.3	-----	-----	16.7	4.6
OTHER CATTLE.....	3.2	3.4	6.6	1.9	-----	1.4	-----	-----	-----	0.9
WORK STOCK.....	5.0	10.2	4.4	8.7	-----	7.0	-----	-----	1.4	2.8
HOGS.....	12.7	35.6	7.2	4.9	-----	5.6	-----	-----	12.5	16.7
SHEEP AND GOATS.....	0.9	-----	1.7	1.0	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
POULTRY.....	30.5	50.8	22.7	29.1	-----	32.4	-----	-----	40.3	28.7
FAMILIES REPORTING CHATTEL MORTGAGES.....	5.7	3.4	9.9	8.7	-----	5.6	-----	-----	2.8	-----

TABLE XXI-D. FAMILIES REPORTING OWNERSHIP OF SPECIFIED CLASSES OF LIVESTOCK AND FAMILIES REPORTING CHATTEL MORTGAGES, BY PRESENT OCCUPATION OF HEAD OF FAMILY

CHATELS AND CHATTEL MORTGAGES	UNEMPLOYED									
	TOTAL ALL AREAS	APPA- LACHIAN OZARK	LAKE STATES CUT- OVER	SHORT GRASS			WESTERN COTTON		EASTERN COTTON	
				TOTAL	SPRING WHEAT	WINTER WHEAT	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
	<i>Number</i>									
ALL FAMILIES.....	5,389	609	1,017	1,388	382	1,006	562	118	920	775
FAMILIES REPORTING										
DAIRY COWS.....	1,130	181	178	316	44	272	138	11	257	69
OTHER CATTLE.....	207	52	56	51	32	19	13	---	25	10
WORK STOCK.....	257	34	31	115	51	64	21	5	32	19
HOGS.....	688	148	54	132	19	113	45	13	148	148
SHEEP AND GOATS.....	56	12	6	23	5	18	5	---	4	6
POULTRY.....	1,798	275	191	444	95	349	167	35	411	275
FAMILIES REPORTING CHATTEL MORTGAGES.....	224	9	33	133	60	73	20	1	17	11
	<i>Percent</i>									
ALL FAMILIES.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
FAMILIES REPORTING										
DAIRY COWS.....	21.0	29.7	17.5	22.8	11.5	27.0	24.6	9.3	25.8	8.9
OTHER CATTLE.....	3.8	8.5	5.5	3.7	8.4	1.9	2.3	-----	2.7	1.3
WORK STOCK.....	4.8	5.6	3.0	8.3	13.4	6.4	3.7	4.2	3.5	2.5
HOGS.....	12.8	24.3	5.3	9.5	5.0	11.2	8.0	11.0	16.1	19.1
SHEEP AND GOATS.....	1.0	2.0	0.6	1.7	1.3	1.8	0.9	-----	0.4	0.8
POULTRY.....	33.4	45.2	18.8	32.0	24.9	34.7	29.7	29.7	44.7	35.5
FAMILIES REPORTING CHATTEL MORTGAGES.....	4.2	1.5	3.2	9.6	15.7	7.3	3.6	0.8	1.8	1.4

TABLE XXII. COMPARISON OF SIZE OF FARMS OPERATED BY FAMILIES RECEIVING RELIEF WHO WERE FARMING IN JUNE 1934 AND OF ALL FARMS IN SAME COUNTIES, 1930

ACRES IN FARM	APPA- LACHIAN OZARK	LAKE STATES CUT- OVER	SHORT GRASS		WESTERN COTTON	EASTERN COTTON
			SPRING WHEAT	WINTER WHEAT		
<i>Farms of Families Receiving Relief</i>						
TOTAL.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
UNDER 10 ACRES.....	18.4	5.4	5.5	10.2	2.4	19.8
10-19 ACRES.....	19.2	1.8			11.2	22.4
20-49 ACRES.....	36.9	44.0	20.0	27.5	35.5	34.0
50-99 ACRES.....	14.7	31.6			19.4	15.2
100-174 ACRES.....	8.9	17.9	4.9	6.8	19.4	5.6
175-299 ACRES.....	1.8	1.3	40.9	35.1	14.1	5.0
260-499 ACRES.....			25.5	16.7		
500-999 ACRES.....			7.2	3.7		
1000 OR MORE ACRES.....						
<i>All Farms^a 1930</i>						
TOTAL.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
UNDER 10 ACRES.....	8.1	1.9	2.6	6.1	1.8	4.9
10-19 ACRES.....	11.8	2.0			4.9	17.5
20-49 ACRES.....	27.2	18.3	11.5	9.6	17.7	48.0
50-99 ACRES.....	25.9	31.5			24.1	17.6
100-174 ACRES.....	17.4	31.7	5.0	4.8	30.9	7.7
175-299 ACRES.....	9.5	14.8	33.7	34.1	20.4	4.4
260-499 ACRES.....			29.2	28.7		
500-999 ACRES.....			18.3	16.5		
1000 OR MORE ACRES.....						
<i>Median Size of Farms</i>						
FARMERS RECEIVING RELIEF.....	27	51	387	342	58	32
ALL FARMS, 1930.....	56	94	481	465	104	37

^aU. S. CENSUS OF AGRICULTURE, 1930

TABLE XXIII. CAPACITY FOR SELF-SUPPORT OF FAMILIES RECEIVING RELIEF, BY RESIDENCE IN OPEN COUNTRY, VILLAGE OR TOWN

CAPACITY FOR SELF-SUPPORT BY RESIDENCE	TOTAL ALL AREAS		APPA- LACHIAN OZARK	LAKE STATES CUT- OVER	SHORT GRASS		WESTERN COTTON		EASTERN COTTON	
	NUM- BER	PER- CENT			SPRING WHEAT	WINTER WHEAT	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
OPEN COUNTRY FAMILIES..	7,070	100	1,695	1,092	979	1,031	376	61	795	773
INCAPABLE.....	1,261	18	297	241	106	73	32	10	167	335
CAPABLE.....	5,809	82	1,666	891	873	958	344	51	628	438
WITH SUPER- VISION.....	1,230	17	381	79	86	83	28	4	175	194
WITHOUT SUPER- VISION.....	4,579	65	1,085	772	787	875	316	47	453	244
VILLAGE FAMILIES	2,289	100	179	410	246	474	278	42	355	307
INCAPABLE.....	946	24	25	89	78	123	62	11	54	104
CAPABLE.....	1,743	76	194	321	168	351	216	31	299	203
WITH SUPER- VISION.....	268	12	36	29	24	65	24	8	29	55
WITHOUT SUPER- VISION.....	1,475	64	118	292	144	288	192	23	270	148
TOWN FAMILIES.....	1,412	100	25	256	86	302	146	61	199	197
INCAPABLE.....	293	21	8	50	26	86	23	17	42	41
CAPABLE.....	1,119	79	17	186	60	416	123	44	157	116
WITH SUPER- VISION.....	145	10	3	7	13	20	27	25	27	21
WITHOUT SUPER- VISION.....	976	69	14	179	47	396	96	19	130	95

SIX RURAL PROBLEM AREAS

TABLE XXIV. SEX, EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND USUAL OCCUPATION OF UNEMPLOYED HEADS OF FAMILIES RECEIVING RELIEF AND CONSIDERED CAPABLE OF SELF-SUPPORT

ITEM	TOTAL ALL AREAS	APPA-LACHIAN OZARK	LAKE STATES CUT-OVER	SHORT GRASS		WESTERN COTTON		EASTERN COTTON	
				SPRING WHEAT	WINTER WHEAT	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
				ALL FAMILIES.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
CAPABLE OF SELF-SUPPORT.	80.5	84.8	78.1	84.0	86.0	85.4	76.8	80.5	61.2
FAMILIES WITH FEMALE HEADS.....	7.6	6.4	5.0	4.0	3.8	8.8	14.0	11.3	17.8
FAMILIES WITH MALE HEADS.....	72.9	78.4	73.1	80.0	82.2	76.6	62.8	69.2	43.4
EMPLOYED MALE HEADS,									
JUNE 1934.....	41.8	62.4	34.4	63.8	44.8	24.2	20.7	25.3	20.4
FARMER.....	37.2	60.5	25.0	62.3	42.5	20.9	17.7	18.0	12.8
OWNER.....	16.3	27.0	18.6	31.7	16.8	3.5	4.3	3.2	1.6
TENANT AND CROPPER	20.9	33.5	6.4	30.6	25.7	17.4	13.4	14.8	11.2
FARM LABORER.....	1.6	0.4	1.6	0.1	0.5	1.8	2.4	3.5	5.0
OTHER OCCUPATIONS...	3.0	1.5	7.8	1.4	1.8	1.5	0.6	3.8	2.6
UNEMPLOYED MALE HEADS,									
JUNE 1934.....	31.1	16.0	38.7	16.2	37.4	52.4	42.1	42.9	23.0
USUALLY FARMER.....	5.6	1.8	1.5	3.4	6.4	13.9	5.5	12.7	5.4
OWNER.....	0.7	0.3	0.8	1.2	0.6	1.3	0.6	1.0	0.1
TENANT AND CROPPER	4.9	1.5	0.7	2.2	5.8	12.6	4.9	11.7	5.3
USUALLY FARM LABORER	4.0	0.5	1.0	1.2	6.4	12.8	14.6	5.1	5.4
USUALLY NON-AGRICUL-									
TURAL WORKER.....	21.5	13.7	36.2	11.6	24.6	25.7	21.9	26.1	12.2
LABORER.....	8.5	6.5	13.1	4.9	11.2	12.1	17.7	3.8	6.3
MECHANIC.....	4.2	1.6	5.5	1.8	6.1	7.0	1.2	8.2	0.8
FACTORY AND RAIL-									
ROAD EMPLOYEE...	2.9	0.9	3.7	1.5	2.5	1.6	0.6	8.2	2.8
ALL OTHERS.....	5.9	4.7	13.9*	3.4	4.8	5.0	2.4	5.9	2.3
INCAPABLE OF SELF-SUPPORT	19.5	15.2	21.9	16.0	14.0	14.6	23.2	19.5	38.8
FAMILIES WITH FEMALE HEADS.....	6.7	5.0	5.2	3.9	3.5	3.2	7.9	6.0	22.4
FAMILIES WITH MALE HEADS.....	12.8	10.2	16.7	12.1	10.5	11.4	15.3	13.5	16.4

*NEARLY 8 PERCENT WERE UNEMPLOYED MINERS, 2.5 PERCENT UNEMPLOYED LUMBERMEN.

TABLE XXV. KIND OF WORK FOR WHICH FAMILIES RECEIVING RELIEF WERE QUALIFIED, A BY SEX OF HEAD

KIND OF WORK FOR WHICH FAMILY WAS QUALIFIED	TOTAL ALL AREAS	APPA-LACHIAN OZARK	LAKE STATES CUT-OVER	SHORT GRASS		WESTERN COTTON		EASTERN COTTON	
				SPRING WHEAT	WINTER WHEAT	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
				ALL FAMILIES.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
CAPABLE OF SELF-SUPPORT.....	80.5	84.8	78.1	84.0	86.0	85.4	76.8	80.5	61.2
FARM OPERATOR.....	34.9	17.5	18.4	64.2	45.9	40.8	27.4	38.7	32.5
OPERATOR - GARDEN PLOT WITH									
OTHER EMPLOYMENT.....	30.6	64.6	44.1	11.2	22.7	21.7	34.8	11.1	11.8
OTHER EMPLOYMENT.....	15.0	2.7	15.7	8.6	17.3	22.9	14.6	30.7	16.9
INCAPABLE OF SELF-SUPPORT.....	19.5	15.2	21.9	16.0	14.0	14.6	23.2	19.5	38.8
FAMILIES WITH MALE HEADS.....	85.7	88.6	89.8	92.1	92.7	88.0	78.0	82.7	59.8
CAPABLE OF SELF-SUPPORT.....	72.9	78.4	73.1	80.0	82.2	76.6	62.8	69.2	43.4
FARM OPERATOR.....	32.8	17.1	17.5	62.4	44.8	37.9	26.8	35.4	25.9
OPERATOR - GARDEN PLOT WITH									
OTHER EMPLOYMENT.....	28.4	59.7	42.4	11.0	21.8	21.1	31.1	9.7	7.7
OTHER EMPLOYMENT.....	11.7	1.6	13.2	6.6	15.6	17.6	4.9	24.1	9.8
INCAPABLE OF SELF-SUPPORT.....	12.8	10.2	16.7	12.1	10.5	11.4	15.2	13.5	16.4
FAMILIES WITH FEMALE HEADS.....	14.3	11.4	10.2	7.9	7.3	12.0	22.0	17.3	40.2
CAPABLE OF SELF-SUPPORT.....	7.6	6.4	5.0	4.0	3.8	8.8	14.0	11.3	17.8
FARM OPERATOR.....	2.0	0.4	0.9	1.8	1.2	2.9	0.6	3.3	6.6
OPERATOR - GARDEN PLOT WITH									
OTHER EMPLOYMENT.....	2.2	4.9	1.7	0.2	0.9	0.6	3.6	1.3	4.1
OTHER EMPLOYMENT.....	3.4	1.1	2.5	2.0	1.7	5.3	9.8	6.7	7.1
INCAPABLE OF SELF-SUPPORT.....	6.7	5.0	5.2	3.9	3.5	3.2	7.9	6.0	22.4

A IN THE OPINION OF LOCAL RELIEF WORKERS.

APPENDIX B

Figures

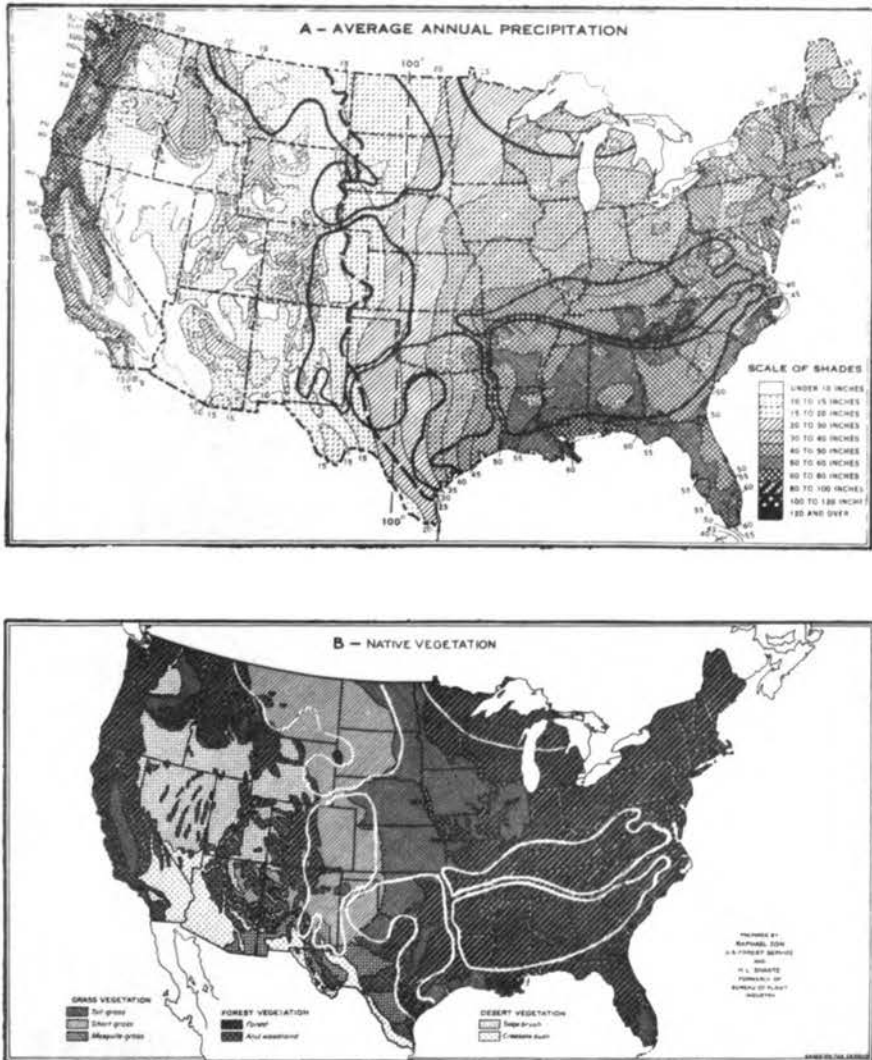
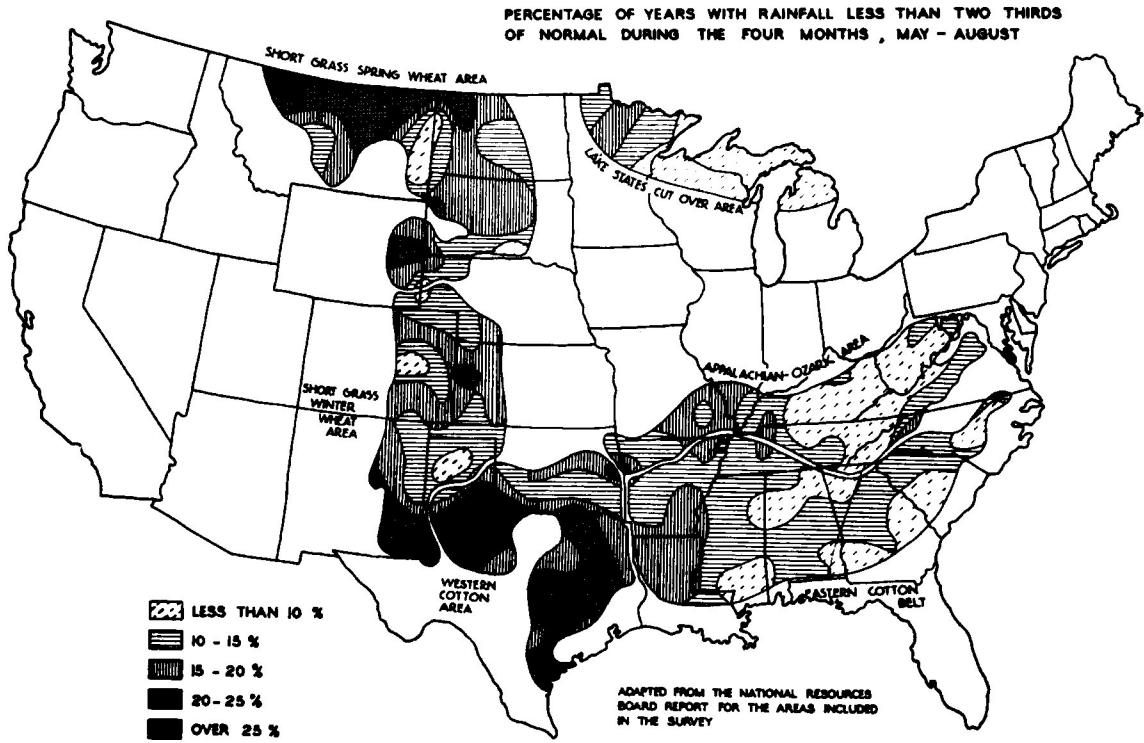
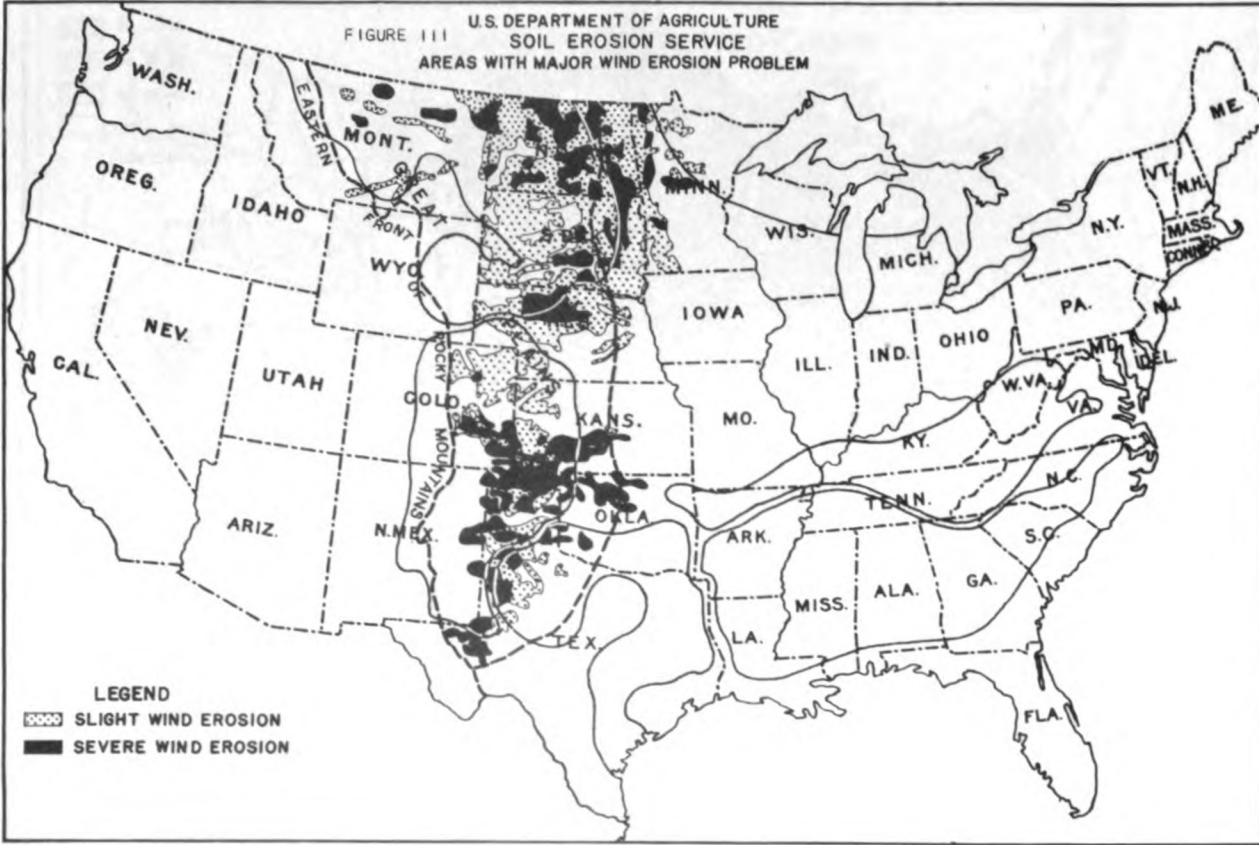


FIGURE 1 Average Annual Precipitation and Native Vegetation - Native vegetation reflects the potential capacity of the virgin soil for agricultural and for forest production. Note that the eastern boundary of the Short Grass region does not follow a line of equal precipitation, but crosses two precipitation zones: It advances from about the 18 inch line in North Dakota to the 24 inch line in Texas, where, because evaporation is much greater and the rainfall more torrential, more rainfall is required to insure the same amount of available moisture.

SOURCE: Baker, Oliver E., *A Graphic Summary of American Agriculture*, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Miscellaneous Publication Number 105 (Washington, Government Printing Office, May, 1931).

FIGURE II
DROUGHT FREQUENCY





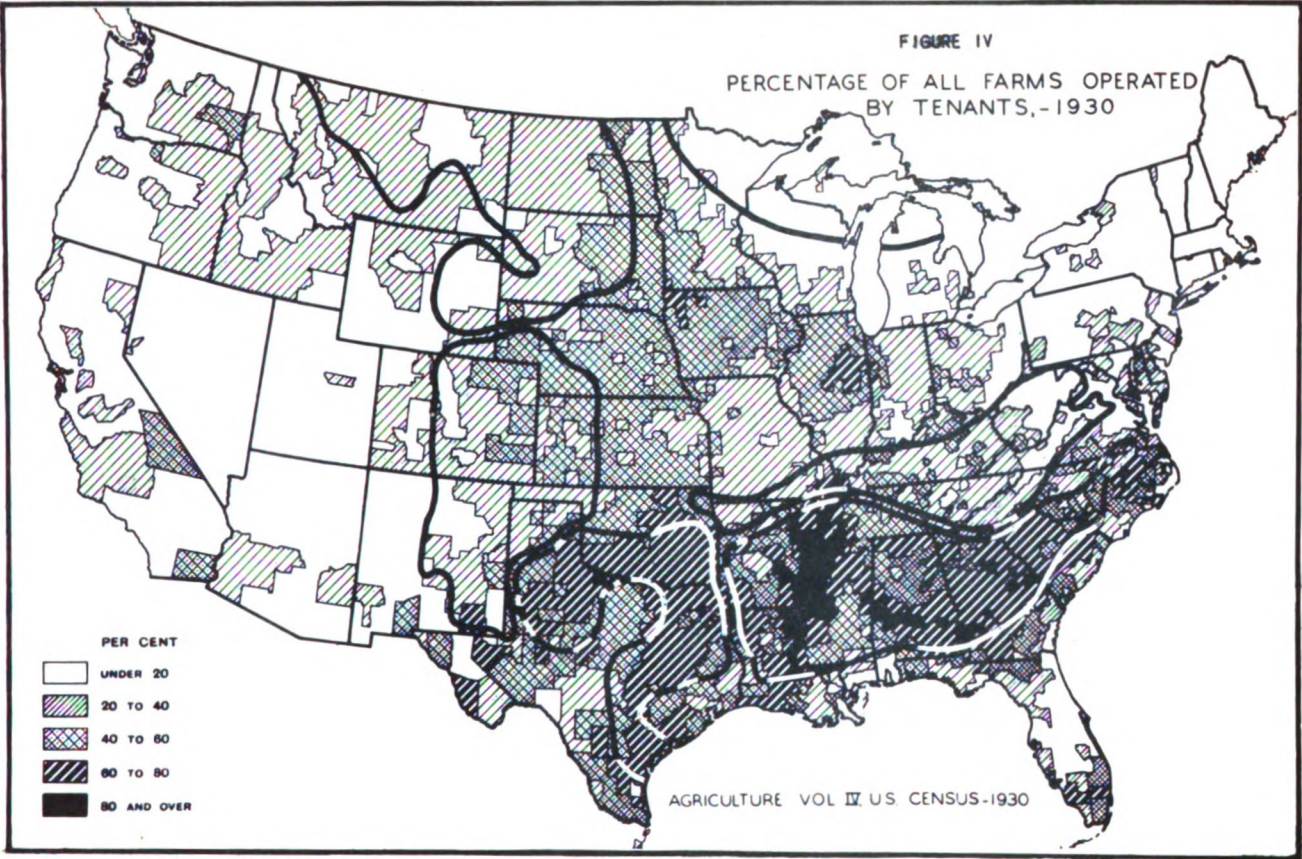


FIGURE V

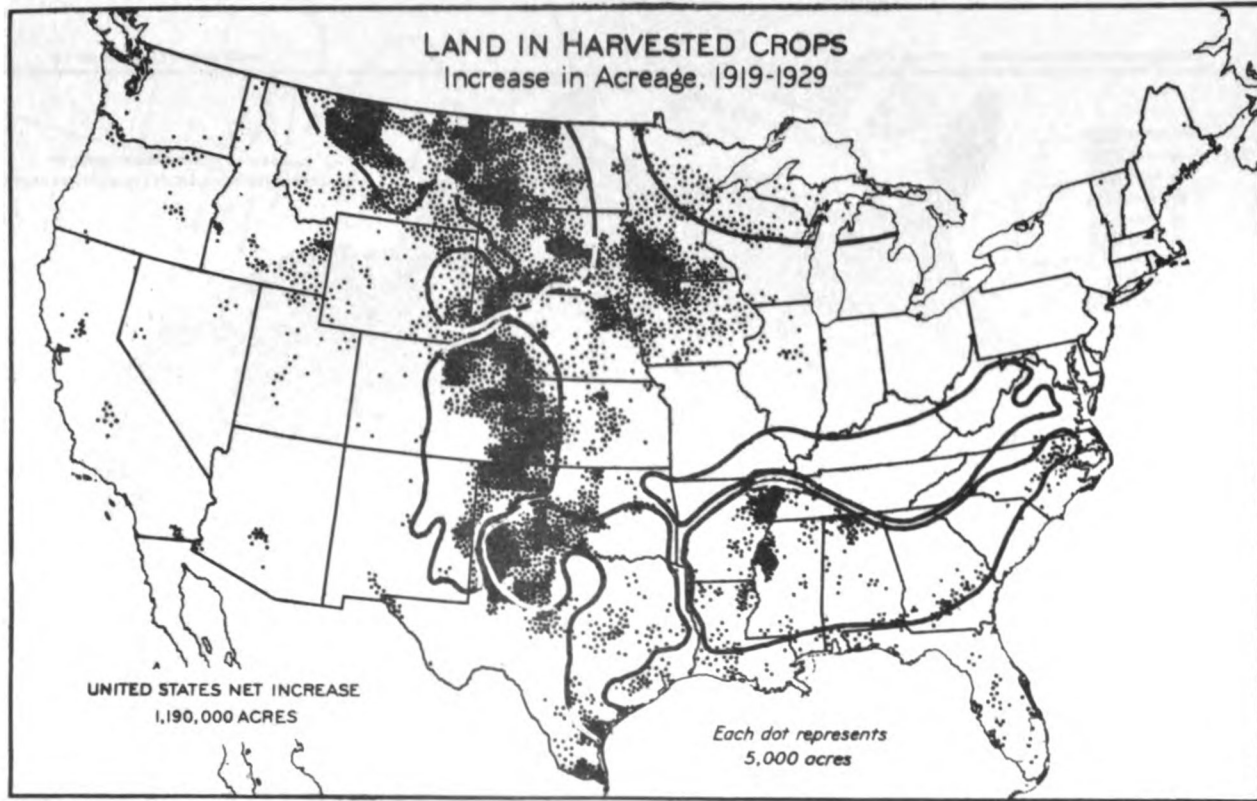
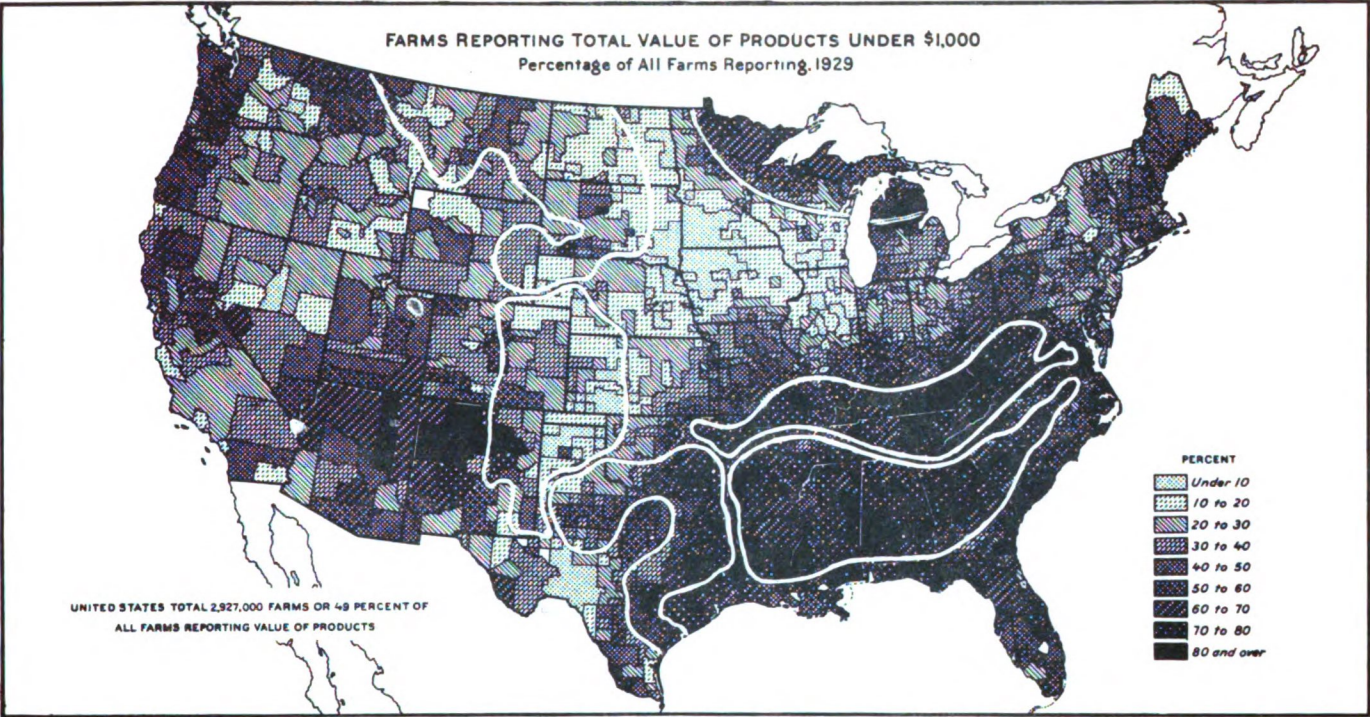


FIGURE VI

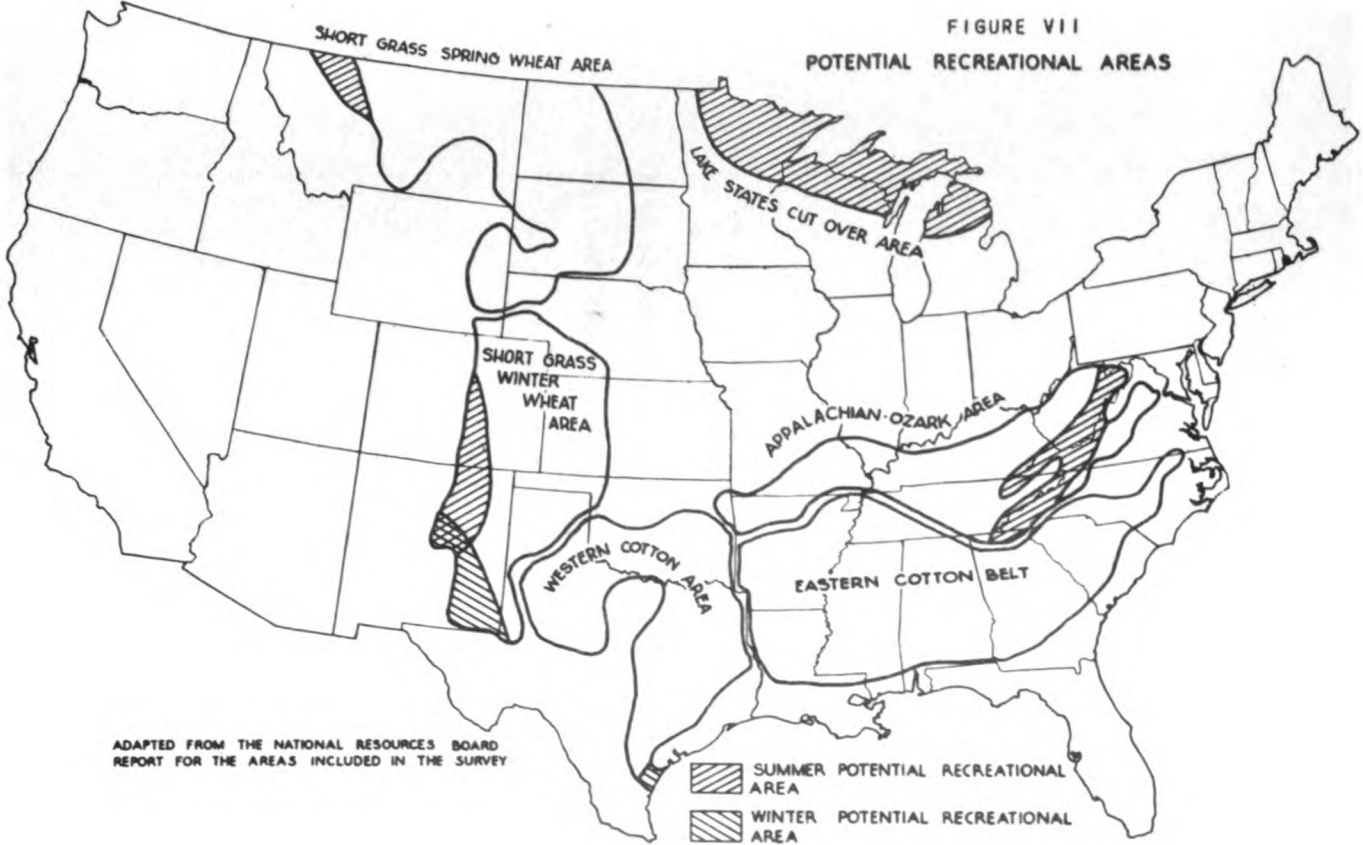


UNITED STATES TOTAL 2,927,000 FARMS OR 4.9 PERCENT OF ALL FARMS REPORTING VALUE OF PRODUCTS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

NEG. 27250

BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS



APPENDIX C

List of Sample Counties

List of Counties Included in Each of the Six Areas

COUNTIES SURVEYED IN THE RURAL PROBLEM AREAS 145

COUNTIES SURVEYED IN THE RURAL PROBLEM AREAS

Appalachian-Ozark Area

Arkansas	Madison
	Searcy
Kentucky	Jackson
	Knox
	Pike
Tennessee	Bledsoe
	Fentress
	Grainger
North Carolina	Avery
	Jackson
Virginia	Russell
West Virginia	Webster
	Wyoming

Short Grass Winter Wheat Area

Colorado	Baca
	Cheyenne
	Yuma
Kansas	Bodgeman
	Meade
	Sherman
Nebraska	Cheyenne
New Mexico	Roosevelt
	Union
Oklahoma	Cimarron
Texas	Dallas
	Randall
	Roberts

Lake States Cut-Over Area

Michigan	Alcona
	Alger
	Iron
	Kalkaska
Minnesota	Aitkin
	Beltrami
	Crow Wing
Wisconsin	Oconto
	Oneida
	Washburn

Western Cotton Area

✓ Oklahoma	Choctaw
	Tillman
✓ Texas	Dawson
	Jones
	San Patricio
	Williamson
	Wood

Short Grass Spring Wheat Area

Montana	Phillips
	Prairie
Nebraska	Dawes
North Dakota	Burke
	Grant
South Dakota	Haskell
	Harding
	Tripp

Eastern Cotton Belt

Alabama	Dallas
	Limestone
Arkansas	Cahoon
Georgia	Meriwether
	Morgan
	Tift
Louisiana	Richland
	Union
Mississippi	Leflore
	Monroe
North Carolina	Anson
	Franklin
South Carolina	Sumter
	Marlboro

SIX RURAL PROBLEM AREAS

LIST OF COUNTIES IN THE SIX RURAL PROBLEM AREAS

Appalachian-Ozark Area

Arkansas	Metcalfe	Benton	Giles
Boone	Monroe	Bledsoe	Grayson
Carroll	Morgan	Blount	Greene
Crawford	Muhlenberg	Bradley	Henry
Franklin	Ohio	Campbell	Lee
Johnson	Owsley	Cannon	Madison
Madison	Perry	Carter	Montgomery
Marion	Pike	Claiborne	Nelson
Newton	Powell	Clay	Orange
Searcy	Pulaski	Cocke	Page
Stone	Rockcastle	Coffee	Patrick
Washington	Rowan	Cumberland	Rappahannock
	Russell	Decatur	Rockbridge
Georgia	Wayne	De Kalb	Russell
Dade	Whitley	Fentress	Scott
Fannin	Wolfe	Franklin	Smyth
Gilmer		Grainger	Spotsylvania
Habersham	Missouri	Grundy	Stafford
Lumpkin	Eollinger	Hamblen	Tazewell
Rabun	Camden	Hancock	Wise
Towns	Carter	Hawkins	
Union	Crawford	Hickman	West Virginia
White	Dent	Houston	Barbour
	Douglas	Humphreys	Boone
Illinois	Iron	Jackson	Braxton
Franklin	Madison	Jefferson	Calhoun
Hardin	Oregon	Johnson	Clay
Hamilton	Reynolds	Lewis	Doddridge
Johnson	St. Francois	McMinn	Fayette
Pope	Ste. Genevieve	Macon	Gilmer
Saline	Shannon	Marion	Grant
Williamson	Taney	Marshall	Greenbrier
	Washington	Maury	Hampshire
Kentucky	Wayne	Monroe	Hancock
Adair	North Carolina	Morgan	Hardy
Allen	Alexander	Overton	Harrison
Bell	Alleghany	Perry	Jackson
Breathitt	Ashe	Pickett	Kanawha
Butler	Avery	Polk	Lewis
Caldwell	Buncombe	Putnam	Lincoln
Carter	Burke	Rhea	Logan
Casey	Caldwell	Roane	McDowell
Clay	Chatham	Sequatchie	Marion
Clinton	Cherokee	Sevier	Mason
Crittenden	Clay	Scott	Mercer
Cumberland	Graham	Smith	Mineral
Edmonson	Haywood	Stewart	Mingo
Elliott	Henderson	Sullivan	Monongalia
Estill	Jackson	Unicoi	Monroe
Floyd	McDowell	Union	Morgan
Grayson	Macon	Van Buren	Nicholas
Greenup	Madison	Warren	Pendleton
Harlan	Mitchell	Washington	Pleasants
Hopkins	Moore	Wayne	Pocahontas
Jackson	Randolph	White	Preston
Johnson	Swain	Williamson	Putnam
Knott	Transylvania	Virginia	Raleigh
Knox	Watauga	Albemarle	Randolph
Larue	Wilkes	Alleghany	Ritchie
Laurel	Yancey	Amherst	Roane
Lawrence		Appomattox	Summers
Lee	Oklahoma	Bedford	Taylor
Leslie	Adair	Etotetourt	Tucker
Letcher	Cherokee	Buchanan	Tyler
Lincoln	Delaware	Campbell	Upshur
Livingston	Latimer	Carroll	Wayne
McCreary	Pushmataha	Craig	Webster
Magoffin		Culpeper	Wetzel
Martin	Tennessee	Floyd	Wirt
Meade	Anderson	Franklin	Wood
Menifee			Wyoming

Lake States Cut-Over

Michigan	Iron	Roscommon	Wisconsin
Antrim	Kalkaska	Schoolcraft	Ashland
Alcona	Keveenaw	Hexford	Bayfield
Alger	Lake		Burnett
Alpena	Luce	Minnesota	Douglas
Baraga	Leelanau	Aitkin	Florence
Benzie	McKinnac	Beltrami	Forest
Charlevoix	Manistee	Carlton	Iron
Cheboygan	Marquette	Cass	Langlade
Chippewa	Mason	Clearwater	Lincoln
Clare	Menominee	Cook	Marinette
Crawford	Midland	Crow Wing	Oconto
Delta	Missaukee	Hubbard	Oneida
Dickinson	Montmorency	Itasca	Price
Emmet	Newaygo	Koochiching	Rusk
Gladwin	Ogemaw	Lake	Sawyer
Gogebic	Ontonagon	Lake of the Woods	Taylor
Grand Traverse	Oscoda	Pine	Vilas
Houghton	Otsego	Roseau	Washburn
Iosco	Presque Isle	St. Louis	

Spring Wheat Area

Montana	Wibaux	McKenzie	Fall River
Blaine	Yellowstone	Mercer	Faulk
Carbon		Morton	Gregory
Carter	Nebraska	Mountrail	Haakon
Cascade	Box Butte	Nelson	Harding
Chouteau	Dawes	Oliver	Hughes
Daniels	Sioux	Pierce	Hyde
Dawson		Ramsey	Jackson
Fallon	North Dakota	Renville	Jones
Fergus	Adams	Rolette	Lyman
Garfield	Barnes	Sheridan	McPherson
Glacier	Benson	Sioux	Meade
Golden Valley	Billings	Slope	Mellette
Hill	Bottineau	Stark	Perkins
Judith Basin	Bowman	Stutsman	Potter
Liberty	Burke	Towner	Shannon
McCone	Burleigh	Walsh	Spink
Musselshell	Cavalier	Ward	Stanley
Petroleum	Dickey	Wells	Sully
Phillips	Divide	Williams	Todd
Pondera	Dunn		Tripp
Prairie	Eddy	South Dakota	Walworth
Richland	Emmons	Armstrong	Washabaugh
Roosevelt	Foster	Bennett	Washington
Sheridan	Golden Valley	Brown	Ziebach
Stillwater	Grant	Brule	
Sweet Grass	Hettinger	Buffalo	Wyoming
Teton	Kidder	Butte	Converse
Toole	Logan	Campbell	Goshen
Treasure	McHenry	Corson	Niobrara
Valley	McIntosh	Dewey	Platte
Wheatland	McLean	Edmunds	Weston

Winter Wheat Area

Colorado	Huerfano	Pueblo	Clark
Adams	Kiowa	Sedgwick	Comanche
Arapahoe	Kit Carson	Washington	Decatur
Baca	Las Animas	Weid	Dickinson
Bent	Lincoln	Yuma	Edwards
Cheyenne	Logan		Ellis
Crowley	Morgan	Kansas	Ellsworth
Douglas	Otero	Barber	Finney
Elbert	Phillips	Barton	Ford
El Paso	Prowers	Cheyenne	Gove

SIX RURAL PROBLEM AREAS

Winter Wheat Area

Kansas (Cont.)

Graham
Grant
Gray
Greeley
Hamilton
Harper
Harvey
Haskell
Hodgeman
Kearny
Kingman
Kiowa
Lane
Lincoln
Logan
McPherson
Marion
Mende
Mitchell
Morton
Ness
Norton
Osborne
Ottawa
Pawnee
Pratt
Rawlins
Reno
Rice
Rooks
Rush
Russell
Saline

Sedgwick
Seward
Scott
Sheridan
Sherman
Stafford
Stanton
Stevens
Sumner
Thomas
Irego
Wallace
Wichita

Nebraska

Banner
Chase
Cheyenne
Pawson
Deuel
Dundy
Frontier
Furnes
Gosper
Hayes
Hitchcock
Howard
Keith
Kimball
Morrill
Perkins
Redwillow
Sherman

New Mexico

Chaves
Colfax
Curry
De Baca
Eddy
Guadalupe
Harding
Lea
Mora
Quay
Roosevelt
San Miguel
Torrance
Union

Oklahoma

Alfalfa
Beaver
Blaine
Canadian
Cimarron
Custer
Dewey
Ellis
Garfield
Grant
Harper
Kay
Kingfisher
Major
Noble
Texas

Wood
Woodward

Texas

Andrews
Armstrong
Bailey
Carson
Castro
Cochran
Dallam
Deaf Smith
Donley
Ector
Gaines
Gray
Hansford
Hartley
Hemphill
Hutchinson
Lipscomb
Moore
Ochiltree
Oldham
Parmer
Potter
Randall
Roberts
Sherman
Yoskum

Wyoming

Laramie

Western Cotton Area

Texas

Anderson
Angelina
Austin
Bastrop
Bee
Bell
Bosque
Bowie
Brazos
Burleson
Caldwell
Cameron
Camp
Cass
Cherokee
Childress
Coleman
Collin
Collingsworth
Colorado
Coryell
Cottle
Crosby
Dallas
Dawson
Delta
Denton
De Witt
Ellis
Erath
Falls

Fannin
Fayette
Fisher
Foard
Fort Bend
Franklin
Freestone
Gonzales
Grayson
Gregg
Grimes
Guadalupe
Hall
Hamilton
Hardeman
Harrison
Haskell
Henderson
Hidalgo
Hill
Hockley
Hopkins
Houston
Howard
Bunt
Johnson
Jones
Karnes
Kaufman
Knox
Lamar
Lamb

Lavaca

Lee
Leon
Limestone
Live Oak
Lubbock
Lynn
McLennan
Madison
Marion
Martin
Milam
Mitchell
Montgomery
Morris
Nacogdoches
Navarro
Nolan
Nueces
Panola
Polk
Rains
Red River
Robertson
Rockwall
Runnels
Rusk
Sabine
San Augustine
San Jacinto
San Patricio
Scurry

Shelby

Smith
Somervell
Starr
Stonewall
Taylor
Terry
Titus
Travis
Trinity
Upshur
Van Zandt
Walker
Waller
Washington
Wharton
Wheeler
Wichita
Wilbarger
Williamson
Wilson
Wood

Oklahoma

Berckham
Bryan
Caddo
Choctaw
Comanche
Cotton
Creek
Garvin

-Western Cotton Area

Oklahoma (Cont.)	Jefferson	Muskogee	Stephens
Grady	Le Flore	Okfuskee	Tillman
Greer	Love	Okmulgee	Wagoner
Harmon	McCain	Pottawatomie	Washita
Haskell	McCurain	Roger Mills	Kiowa
Hughes	McIntosh	Seminole	Lincoln
Jackson	Marshall	Sequoyah	

Eastern Cotton Area

Alabama	Tallapoosa	Union	Irwin
Autauga	Tuscaloosa	Van Buren	Jackson
Barbour	Walker	White	Jasper
Bibb	Washington	Woodruff	Jefferson
Blount	Wilcox	Yell	Jenkins
Bullock	Winston		Johnson
Butler		Georgia	Lamar
Calhoun	Arkansas	Baker	Laurens
Chambers	Ashley	Baldwin	Lee
Cherokee	Bradley	Banks	Lincoln
Chilton	Calhoun	Barrow	McDuffie
Choctaw	Chicot	Bartow	Macon
Clarke	Clark	Ben Hill	Madison
Clay	Clay	Bleckley	Marion
Cleburne	Cleburne	Bulloch	Meriwether
Coffee	Cleveland	Burke	Miller
Colbert	Columbus	Butts	Mitchell
Conecuh	Conway	Calhoun	Monroe
Coosa	Craighead	Campbell	Montgomery
Covington	Crittenden	Candler	Morgan
Crenshaw	Cross	Carroll	Murray
Cullman	Dallas	Catoosa	Newton
Dale	DeKalb	Chattooga	Oconee
Dallas	Drew	Chattahoochee	Ogelthorpe
De Kalb	Faulkner	Cherokee	Paulding
Elmore	Gariand	Clarke	Peach
Escambia	Graat	Clay	Pickens
Etowah	Greene	Clayton	Pike
Fayette	Hempstead	Cobb	Polk
Franklin	Hot Spring	Colquitt	Pulaski
Geneva	Howard	Columbia	Putnam
Greene	Independence	Coweta	Quitman
Hale	Isard	Crawford	Randolph
Henry	Jackson	Crisp	Richmond
Houston	Jefferson	Dawson	Rockdale
Jackson	Lafayette	De Kalb	Schley
Lamar	Lawrence	Dodge	Screven
Lawrence	Lee	Dooly	Spalding
Lee	Lincoln	Douglas	Stephens
Limestone	Little River	Early	Stewart
Lowndes	Logan	Elbert	Sumter
Macon	Lonoke	Emanuel	Talbot
Madison	Miller	Evans	Taliaferro
Marengo	Mississippi	Fayette	Taylor
Marion	Monroe	Floyd	Telfair
Marshall	Montgomery	Forsyth	Terrell
Monroe	Nevada	Franklin	Tift
Montgomery	Ouachita	Glascocok	Toombs
Morgan	Perry	Gordon	Treutlen
Perry	Phillips	Greene	Troup
Pickens	Pike	Gwinnett	Turner
Pike	Poinsett	Hall	Twiggs
Lauderdale	Pope	Hancock	Upson
Randolph	Pulaski	Haralson	Walker
Russell	Randolph	Harris	Walton
St. Clair	St. Francis	Hart	Warren
Shelby	Saline	Heard	Washington
Sumter	Scott	Henry	Webster
Talladega	Sharp	Houston	Wheeler

Eastern Cotton Area

Georgia (Cont.)	Clarke	Union	Calhoun
Whitfield	Clay	Walthall	Cherokee
Wilcox	Coahoma	Warren	Chesterfield
Wilkes	Covington	Washington	Clarendon
Wilkinson	De Soto	Wayne	Colleton
Worth	Franklin	Webster	Darlington
	George	Wilkinson	Dillon
Louisiana	Grenada	Winston	Dorchester
Avoyelles	Hinds	Yalobusha	Edgefield
Bienville	Holmes	Yazoo	Fairfield
Bossier	Humphreys		Greenville
Caddo	Issaquena	Missouri	Greenwood
Caldwell	Itawamba	Dunklin	Hampton
Catahoula	Jasper	New Madrid	Kershaw
Claiborne	Jefferson	Pemiscot	Lancaster
Concordia	Jefferson Davis		Laurens
De Soto	Jones	North Carolina	Lee
East Carroll	Kemper	Anson	Lexington
Evangeline	Lafayette	Cabarrus	McCormick
Franklin	Lamar	Catawba	Marlboro
Grant	Lauderdale	Cleveland	Newberry
Jackson	Lawrence	Cumberland	Oconee
Lincoln	Leake	Franklin	Orangeburg
Madison	Lee	Gaston	Pickins
Morehouse	Laflore	Halifax	Richland
Natchitoches	Lincoln	Harnett	Saluda
Pointe Coupee	Lowndes	Hoke	Spartanburg
Ouachita	Madison	Iredell	Sumter
Rapides	Marion	Johnston	Union
Red River	Marshall	Lee	York
Richland	Monroe	Lincoln	
Sabine	Montgomery	Mecklenburg	Tennessee
St. Landry	Neshoba	Montgomery	Carroll
Tensas	Newton	Northampton	Chester
Union	Noxubee	Polk	Crockett
Vernon	Oktibbeha	Richmond	Dyer
Washington	Panola	Robeson	Fayette
Webster	Pike	Rowan	Gibson
West Carroll	Pontotoc	Rutherford	Hardeman
Winn	Prentiss	Sampson	Hardin
	Quitman	Scotland	Haywood
Mississippi	Rankin	Stanly	Henderson
Adams	Scott	Union	Lake
Alcorn	Sharkey	Warren	Lauderdale
Amite	Simpson		Lawrence
Attala	Smith	South Carolina	McNairy
Benton	Sunflower	Abbeville	Madison
Bolivar	Tallahatchie	Aiken	Shelby
Calhoun	Tate	Allendale	Tipton
Carroll	Tippah	Anderson	
Chickasaw	Tishomingo	Bamberg	
Choctaw	Tunica	Barnwell	
Claiborne			

APPENDIX D

Methodological Note

METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

Identification of the Areas

The "Problem Areas" which are the subject of this report were brought to the attention of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration by the monthly recurrence of high relief rates. Preliminary study of these and neighboring areas indicated that certain permanent combinations of factors were associated with the large proportion of families receiving relief in certain rural areas. Six such areas were identified and studied. The areas and the criteria, other than high relief rates, by which they were delimited were:

1. The Lake States Cut-Over
 - a. Poor soil
 - b. Short growing season
 - c. Relatively small percentage of land in farms
 - d. Decadent lumbering, woodworking and copper mining industries
 - e. Unemployment in iron mines and in industry generally owing to technological improvements
2. The Appalachian-Ozark Area
 - a. Mountainous terrain
 - b. Little arable land—soil generally poor
 - c. Large proportion of farms of self-sufficing or part-time type
 - d. Decadent lumbering and woodworking industries—also abandoned coal mines in many counties
 - e. A dense population—rapidly increasing due to a high rate of natural increase and lack of employment opportunities elsewhere
 - f. A distinctive culture based on agriculture plus other employment, now in a period of change owing to loss of non-farm employment
3. The Short Grass—Spring Wheat Area
 - a. Wheat-growing in a region of low and variable precipitation

- b. Area roughly coincident with that in which the natural vegetation was "short grass"
- 4. The Short Grass—Winter Wheat Area
 - a. Wheat-growing and other arable agriculture on an extensive scale, with large investments in power machinery, in a region of light and variable rainfall
 - b. Area delineated by natural vegetation "short-grass" line—an indication of rainfall, evaporation and soil type
- 5. The Western Cotton Area
 - a. Cotton farming
 - b. Over-expansion of cotton farming and surplus of population due to immigration
 - c. Crop failure due to drought in western part of area
- 6. The Eastern Cotton Belt
 - a. Cotton farming
 - b. A system of farming which grew out of the plantation system based on Negro slavery
 - c. Disruption of traditional system of agriculture due to loss of foreign markets and low prices of cotton

Selection of the Sample Counties

The counties selected for intensive study were picked to represent insofar as possible in a limited sample the range of conditions prevalent in each area. Census tabulations and county relief data were utilized and the final selections verified by informed persons in State Agricultural Colleges and State Emergency Relief Administrations. The factors, in addition to relief rates, considered in selecting samples in each area were, briefly, as follows:

- 1. Lake States Cut-Over Area
 - a. Percentage of land in farms
 - b. Percentage of gainful workers employed in agriculture, lumbering and woodworking industries, and mining
 - c. Geographic location
 - d. Percentage of population rural

2. The Appalachian-Ozark Area
 - a. Percentage of farms—self-sufficing
 - b. Percentage of gainful workers employed in mining and in manufacturing
 - c. Geographic location
 - d. Percentage of population rural
3. The Short Grass—Spring Wheat Area
 - a. Percentage of farm land in wheat
 - b. Average annual precipitation
 - c. Geographic location
 - d. Percentage of population rural
4. The Short Grass—Winter Wheat
Same as for Spring Wheat
5. The Western Cotton Area
 - a. Percentage of farm land in cotton
 - b. Percentage of population rural
 - c. Percentage of farm tenancy
 - d. Percentage of rural population Negro
 - e. Geographic location
6. The Eastern Cotton Belt
 - a. Percentage of farm land in cotton
 - b. Percentage of population rural
 - c. Percentage of farm tenancy
 - d. Percentage of rural population Negro
 - e. Average value of farm land per acre
 - f. Geographic location

Sampling Procedure in the Counties

A random sample was taken of all resident families receiving unemployment relief and living in the county in June 1934. Each county was sampled so as to include approximately 150 cases. This was accomplished by taking every case, every other case, or every third case, etc., depending upon the number of families receiving relief. This method of sampling is based on the theory of a relatively homogeneous universe in each area.

APPENDIX E

Household Schedule

HOUSEHOLD SCHEDULE

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- 240 -

F.S.S.A. Form 2222-22

FEDERAL EMERGENCY RELIEF ADMINISTRATION
HARRY L. HOPKINS, ADMINISTRATOR
DIVISION OF RESEARCH AND STATISTICS
 CORNINGTON HILL, DIRECTOR

SURVEY OF RURAL PROBLEM AREAS

(JUNE 1934)

HOUSEHOLD SCHEDULE

Schools No. _____ NAME OF RELIEF AGENT _____
 County _____ NAME OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD _____
 State _____ ADDRESS _____
 DATE OF LAST VISIT BY CASE WORKER _____

I. Residence:

- | | | |
|------------|---------|------------------------|
| | (a) | (b) |
| | Present | April 1, 1933 |
| 1. (.....) | (.....) | Open country. |
| 2. (.....) | (.....) | Village (under 2,500). |
| 3. (.....) | (.....) | City (2,500-4,999). |
| 4. (.....) | (.....) | City (5,000 and over). |
| | (.....) | Unknown. |

II. Years lived in county: Under 1, 1-4, 5-9, 10 or more, unknown (circle appropriate number).

III. Grade in school finished by head of household: None, 1-4, 5-7, 8, 9-10, 11-12, more than 12 (circle appropriate number).

IV. Color and nativity of head of household.

1. (.....) Native white.
2. (.....) Foreign white.
3. (.....) Negro.
4. (.....) Other (specify) _____

V. Nationality of head of household (specify):

1. _____

VI. Marital status of head of household:

1. (.....) Single.
2. (.....) Married.
3. (.....) Widowed.
4. (.....) Divorced.
5. (.....) Separated.
6. (.....) Not ascertainable.

VII. Sex of head of household.

1. (.....) Male.
2. (.....) Female.

VIII. Age of head of household.

1. (.....) Under 25 years.
2. (.....) 25-44 years.
3. (.....) 45-64 years.
4. (.....) 65 years and over.
5. (.....) Not ascertainable.

IX. Age and sex composition of household (enter number of persons in each column).

AGE	MALE	FEMALE
Under 10 years.....		
10-15 years.....		
16-24 years.....		
25-44 years.....		
45-64 years.....		
65 years and over.....		
Unknown.....		

X. Number of persons in household:

- 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 or more (circle appropriate number).

XI. Composition of household:

1. (.....) Single person.
2. (.....) Husband, wife only.
3. (.....) Husband, wife with others.
4. (.....) Husband, wife, children under 16 years only.
5. (.....) Husband, wife, children under 16 years with others.
6. (.....) Husband, wife, children 16 years and over only.
7. (.....) Husband, wife, children 16 years and over with others.
8. (.....) Husband, wife, children both under and over 16 years only.
9. (.....) Husband, wife, children both under and over 16 years with others.
10. (.....) Woman, children under 16 years only.
11. (.....) Woman, children under 16 years with others.
12. (.....) Woman, children 16 years and over only.
13. (.....) Woman, children 16 years and over with others.
14. (.....) Woman, children both over and under 16 years only.
15. (.....) Woman, children both over and under 16 years with others.
16. (.....) Man, children under 16 years only.
17. (.....) Man, children under 16 years with others.
18. (.....) Man, children 16 years and over only.
19. (.....) Man, children 16 years and over with others.
20. (.....) Man, children both over and under 16 years only.
21. (.....) Man, children both over and under 16 years with others.
22. (.....) All other combinations.
23. Don't this household include a "doubled-up" family which has combined since Jan. 1, 1933?
 Yes (.....); no (.....); unknown (.....).

SIX RURAL PROBLEM AREAS

XII. Number of workers in household (enter number of workers):

	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
(a) Gainful workers:			
1. 10 and under 16 years.....			
2. 16 years and over.....			
(b) Potential gainful workers:			
1. 10 and under 16 years.....			
2. 16 years and over.....			

XIII. Occupation of head of household (see Instructions):

<i>Usual</i>	<i>Present</i>		<i>Usual</i>	<i>Present</i>	
1. (.....)	(.....)	Farm owner (and managers).	10. (.....)	(.....)	Railroad employe not elsewhere classified (including employes in round house)
2. (.....)	(.....)	Farm tenant.	11. (.....)	(.....)	Professional man.
3. (.....)	(.....)	Farm cropper.	12. (.....)	(.....)	Merchant, banker, or other proprietor.
4. (.....)	(.....)	Farm laborer.	13. (.....)	(.....)	Clerical worker or salesman.
5. (.....)	(.....)	Fisherman or hunter.	14. (.....)	(.....)	Servant or waiter.
6. (.....)	(.....)	Lumberman, raftman, or wood-chopper.	15. (.....)	(.....)	Laborer (not elsewhere classified).
7. (.....)	(.....)	Mine worker (including laborers, inspectors, and foremen in mines).	16. (.....)	(.....)	All other occupations.
8. (.....)	(.....)	Mechanic (including building and all other mechanics).	17. (.....)	(.....)	Unemployed.
9. (.....)	(.....)	Factory employe (including foremen, operatives, and laborers).	18. (.....)	(.....)	Not ascertainable.

XIV. Are any members of the household skilled in some handicraft?

Yes (.....). No (.....). Member Craft

.....

.....

XV. Land, livestock, and farm implements:

1. Is household—

- (a) (.....) Owner of farm or house?
 (b) (.....) Renter of farm or house?
 (c) (.....) Squatter?
 (d) (.....) Homesteader?

2. If house or farm owned, is it mortgaged? Yes (.....). No (.....). Not ascertainable (.....).

3. Does household have—

- (a) Dairy cows?..... Yes.....(.....); number.....(.....); no.....(.....); not ascertainable.....(.....).
 (b) Other cattle?..... Yes.....(.....); number.....(.....); no.....(.....); not ascertainable.....(.....).
 (c) Work stock?..... Yes.....(.....); number.....(.....); no.....(.....); not ascertainable.....(.....).
 (d) Hogs?..... Yes.....(.....); number.....(.....); no.....(.....); not ascertainable.....(.....).
 (e) Sheep and goats?..... Yes.....(.....); number.....(.....); no.....(.....); not ascertainable.....(.....).
 (f) Poultry?..... Yes.....(.....); number.....(.....); no.....(.....); not ascertainable.....(.....).

4. Does household have access to or use of implements necessary for operation of present land holdings? Yes.....(.....); no.....(.....); not ascertainable.....(.....).

5. Does household have home garden, or truck patch? Yes.....(.....); no.....(.....); not ascertainable.....(.....).

6. Does household have chattels mortgaged? Yes.....(.....); no.....(.....); not ascertainable.....(.....).

7. (a) Size of farm..... acres. Not ascertainable.....(.....).

(b) Crop land..... acres. Not ascertainable.....(.....).

(c) Pasture land..... acres. Not ascertainable.....(.....).

(d) Acres in principal crops:..... (.....)..... (.....)..... (.....).....

..... (.....)..... (.....)..... (.....).....

Designate year reported for (a), (b), (c), (d).....

XVI. Household received relief (from any agency or organization):

1. Before 1930: Yes.....(.....); no.....(.....); not ascertainable.....(.....).
2. During 1930: Yes.....(.....); no.....(.....); not ascertainable.....(.....).
3. During 1931: Yes.....(.....); no.....(.....); not ascertainable.....(.....).
4. During 1932: Yes.....(.....); no.....(.....); not ascertainable.....(.....).
5. During 1933: Yes.....(.....); no.....(.....); not ascertainable.....(.....).
6. Value of relief received during June 1934:
 - Direct relief.... \$.....
 - Work relief.... \$.....
7. If relief is paid by an agency outside this county, specify agency.....

XVII. Reasons for household receiving relief:

1. (.....) Head of household unable to work.
2. (.....) Head of household able to work but unable to find work.
3. (.....) Head of household able to work but unwilling to work.
4. (.....) Head of household working for wages but income insufficient.
5. (.....) Head of household lost supplementary occupation.
6. (.....) Loss of job by member of household other than head.
7. (.....) Crop failure.
8. (.....) Farming on poor land.
9. (.....) Farm too small.
10. (.....) Poor management of farm or business.
11. (.....) Poor management of household.
12. (.....) Losses or unusual expenses (exclusive of 15)
13. (.....) Tenant or cropper household displaced from agricultural employment due to reduction in crop acreage under A.A.A.
14. (.....) Tenant or cropper household displaced for other reasons than under 13.
15. (.....) Emergency expense for medical and dental services.
16. (.....) Other (specify)

XVIII. Classification of household according to prospects for rehabilitation:

1. (.....) Household will need continued financial assistance and some supervision because of:
 - (a) 1. (.....) Permanent disability. 2. (.....) Old age. 3. (.....) Widowhood. 4. (.....) Other incapacity (specify)
 - (b) 5. (.....) Incapable. 6. (.....) Irresponsible of family support (specify nature of incapacity or irresponsibility)
2. (.....) Household will need constant supervision and temporary financial assistance.
3. (.....) Household will need temporary aid and temporary supervision.
4. (.....) Household will need only temporary relief.
5. (.....) Household will need temporary relief but chiefly replenishment of capital.

XIX. Is household qualified to operate:

1. (.....) Commercial farm (from which most products are sold).
2. (.....) Subsistence farm (most of products consumed at home).
3. (.....) Small plot as partial subsistence only, supplemented by other employment.
4. (.....) Forest workers and small plot as partial subsistence.
5. (.....) If none of the above apply, specify what household is best qualified to do
6. (.....) Not capable of rehabilitation. Reason

APPENDIX F

List of References

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