A COMPARISON OF RURAL RELIEF AND NON-RELIEF HOUSEHOLDS OF TWO OKLAHOMA COUNTIES IN RELATION TO SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

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By

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FIGURE I MAP OF OKLAHOMA

PART I

INTRODUCTION

Relief became a function of the National Government during the early '30's due to the depression and drought coupled with natural catastrophies. These factors created want and suffering in many agricultural districts in proportions too great to be assuaged by charity from private sources. This was true especially for those families living at or below the border line of poverty prior to the onslaught of this depression. Before that time it had been the concensus of opinion that the rural family could live regardless of the economic condition of the country. This opinion has been changed somewhat by the drought, depression, technological changes in agricultural production, and by the economic specialization which has made the farmer increasingly a part of and a factor in trade both national and international.

In 1933, Oklahoma had as a relief set-up the Federal Emergency Relief Administration disbursing funds through a state organization. Under direct supervision of the Governor of Oklahoma, who was state administrator, a county supervisor administered the funds in each county. In most cases relief was given in the form of wages for work. Each family head was allowed a maximum of \$9.20 per month at a rate of \$1.25 per day. In some cases where there were no male heads direct cash relief was given. No distinction was made between the types of relief given to farm and village households. In October the Federal Government gave the following instructions for administering relief.

"Relief could be given as direct relief and work relief, and covered orders for food, shelter, clothing, fuel, lights, household necessities, (such as soap, matches, lamps, etc.) medical care given in the client's home or in a doctor's office (but not medical care given in a clinic or hospital), transportation, moving expenses, car tokens, and cash whenever cash is given in lieu of the above mentioned commodities or services or wages for work relief." 1/

Other forms of assistance were given during the year of 1933 by Federal, state, and local agencies. This included relief given as crop and livestock loans; advances on commodities made by the Commodities Credit Corporation, such as advance on corn and cotton in storage; payment for crop reduction made by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration in the forms of payment on livestock and crop reductions; wages received for employment on Civil Works projects; veterans' compensation; and aid given to needy from the county charity funds are the major types of assistance listed as other than relief forms.²

The data presented in this study were taken from Payne and Cleveland county schedules, (DRS-3 C, A Survey of Rural Families Receiving Relief in October 1933, and DRS-16, A Survey of Rural Non-Relief Families), prepared by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. This survey was made of farm and village households which received relief in October 1933 in selected counties of more than 20 states, including Oklahoma. The states in which counties were selected represent nine geographic divisions in the principal agricultural regions of the United States. The selected counties include among their chief agricultural products the main commodities produced for sale throughout the country. ³ Payne and Cleveland counties in Oklahoma represent southwestern cotton counties in the study.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to describe certain social and economic

I Issued in special instructions to local research supervisors by E. D. Tetreau, Rural Relief Analyst, Federal Emergency Relief Administration.

² Ibid.

³ See appendix for the schedule form used in interviewing relief families. For the non-relief families the schedule was identical.

characteristics of the rural farm and rural non-farm households in Payne and Cleveland counties. Special emphasis is placed on relief households in comparison with their nearest non-relief neighbors. More specifically the study analyzes, (1) the economic status of the household, (2) occupational history and mobility of heads of households, (3) the organization and structure of the households showing its importance as a psycho-social entity, (4) housing facilities and their relation to the various interacting members for physical needs, and (5) social participation and communication as it is related to the behavior of the family members.

The assumption is that the analyses of these factors will answer the following questions:

What are some of the contributing factors to the problem of unemployment and the need for relief in rural communities?

Does the economic status of the household have a direct relation to the relief status as to economic dependency, rehabilitation and/or the essential needs for continuation of life?

What are the social and economic prospects of relief and non-relief households as determined by a detailed analysis of the characteristics of the households and their members?

Do housing conditions present social problems which, either directly or indirectly, influence the rural population as a whole regardless of the household?

Is it possible for adjustment to prevailing environmental conditions in periods of social decadence to be effected by the rural population?

The Area Studied

The major crops of Oklahoma are cotton, hay, corn, wheat, oats, and grain sorghum. Cotton was the most important crop during the five year period, 1926 through to 1930. The farm value of cotton and cotton seed averaged 42.5 per cent of total farm values of all the leading crops produced in the state. ⁴ Cotton is produced over the entire area except in a few counties in the northern part and in the Panhandle, the major part being produced in the southern part of the state. Payne and Cleveland counties were chosen as being representative of the southwestern cotton region of the United States. From Table 1 it is seen that the greatest amount of production comes from general and cotton farming. While these counties are not the most typical cotton counties in Oklahoma, cotton has been their chief single cash crop for many years.

TABLE 1

Percentage Distribution of Total Values of Crops, Livestock and Livestock Products Produced in Oklahoma and in Payne and Cleveland Counties According to Type of Farm * 1929

Type of Farm :	Total Oklahoma	: Payne County :	Cleveland County
Total Production	\$ 307,060,693	\$ 3,452,962	\$ 2,854,078
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
General Farming	15.5	34.2	28.4
Cash Grain	20.5	1.6	4.5
Cotton	38.9	29.8	35.4
Crop Specialty	1.7	.6	.9
Fruit	.3	.9	.4
Dairy	4.3	8.0	16.9
Animal Specialty	7.3	10.4	5.5
Poultry	1.2	3.9	1.8
Self-Sufficing	1.9	2.4	3.1
Unclassified	8.4	8.2	3.1

* Fifteenth Census of U.S., Oklahoma 1930, Third Series, Tables 1 and 2, pp. 6-9.

⁴ Ballinger and McWhorter, Economic Aspects of Grade and Staple Length of Cotton in Oklahoma, Report of Oklahoma Experiment Station, 1932-1934.

Payne and Cleveland counties are similar in physical characteristics. They are of approximately the same average altitude, 945 feet for Payne and 959 feet for Cleveland counties. The soils in both counties have a phosphorous deficiency of 64 and 70 per cent. Both counties lie in the central cross-timber belt. The timber is mostly of scrubby oak varieties and is of little value except for fuel. The native prairie grasses are fairly abundant but are low in nutritional value for livestock. Partly for that reason livestock enterprises have not been developed on a scale that might seem desirable in a well-balanced agriculture. The mean annual rainfall is around 34 inches with the heaviest precipitation occuring in May and September. The average growing season ranges from 210 to 220 days. The farmers of these counties engage in "general farming", produce cotton, livestock, dairy and poultry products, and, in Cleveland county, some broomcorn is produced. Although Payne is somewhat larger than Cleveland county, they produced equal amounts of cotton for the 1932-33 crop. Each produced 7,000 bales of over a one million bale crop for the entire state.

In the northwest part of Payne county the entire population was dependent on agriculture. The land is hilly and badly washed. The average farm consists of 160 acres with about forty to sixty acres in cultivation. Most of the farmers in that area cultivate only cotton and corn while a few attempt to produce poultry and dairy products for market. All except 22 of the households, or about one-fourth of the population, in this area had managed to make a bare subsistence during this period of January 1, 1930 to January 1, 1934. ⁵

The north central part of Payne county had many good farms which had been the property of the present owners or their heirs since the opening of the territory for settlement some forty-eight years ago. The households in this part of the county who had received relief were farmers who moved every year and lived a more or less "hand-to-mouth" existence.

5 Observation of field workers. Unpublished data.

In the eastern section of Payne county, from 1916 to 1921, there existed an oil boom community, where people invested earnings in land, buildings, and other property, worthless except for oil speculation. As long as the boom condition prevailed, wages were high. By 1930 values of the property had declined to almost nothing and the majority of workers were out of jobs. By 1933 this section had ene-half of the total relief cases of the entire county. These people had existed from year to year without seriously considering the need for creating a reserve to tide them over during depression periods. They were poor providers, who never had a garden, canned food, or killed their own meat. Part of this inability to manage was due to the fact that before this time these people had received a good wage and had lived wholly on cash purchases.

One-fourth of the population of Cleveland county is wholly or partially dependent on relief for an income of any sort and a large part of these are rural people. Due to the topography and fertility of the soil the county is separated into two parts, by the U.S. Highway running north and south. West of the highway lies a fairly level fertile area of about 374 square miles, which is largely an area of alluvial soil bordering the South Canadian River. The inhabitants are well educated, highly cultured, super-marginal farmers, who use modern methods in agriculture and up-to-date machinery. A large per cent of this land is owned and operated by persons or heirs of persons who homesteaded it in 1889. Automobiles, motor trucks, tractors, stationary gas engines, power plants, windmills, silos, and telephones are used quite extensively among these people. Some of the farms are mortgaged, but only a small proportion of these farmers have registered for relief.

The portion of Cleveland county lying east of U.S. Highway 77 is rough, rocky, hilly, badly eroded, and is a non-productive territory of 180 square

miles. The inhabitants of this section are poorly educated, superstitious, poor farmers, who are rather irresponsible and shiftless with little hope of ever improving their living conditions by their own efforts. The low agricultural incomes of the people living in this section of the county were known to have been supplemented rather extensively by illicit traffic in spirituous liquors.

The same characteristics found in the population in the eastern part of Payne county can be observed in the industrial workers who moved from Oklahoma City into Cleveland county.

By an analysis of the characteristics of these two counties the basic circumstances contributing to the need for relief may be summed up as follows: The low prices received for agricultural products; the closing down of oil fields in the eastern part of Payne county; the retrenchment of the petroleum, packing, automobile and other industries in Oklahoma City; crop failures due to drouth, hail or river overflows; eroded condition of the land; and the "hand-to-mouth" tenant farmers.

The Rural Population

The native white population of Oklahoma is increasing rapidly in relative importance, the foreign born and mixed elements of the white population are fading out, and may be expected to become increasingly obscure owing to the national restriction of European immigrants. Although Indians and Negroes are increasing they are failing to hold their own demographically as compared with the white race. There is also a high probability that the Indians are being slowly assimilated into the white population. The Negro population does not increase, but rather diminishes, relative to the total population. ⁶

⁶ O. D. Duncan, Population Trends of Oklahoma, Experiment Station Bulletin 224, p. 19.

The population of Oklahoma in 1930 showed an increase of 18.1 per cent over the 1920 Census figures. The urban population had increased 52.5 per cent while the rural population had increased by only 5.7 per cent. The per cent of native white population in 1930 for the rural districts was 88.1, Negro 6.6 per cent, and other races including Indians 5.3 per cent. ⁷

The population of Cleveland and Payne counties contained 5,820 rural farm families and 2,449 rural non-farm families, making a total of 8,269 families in 1930 in the rural area. 8 The proportion of native white population in Payne and Cleveland counties is even higher than for the entire state, being approximately 94 per cent and 87.5 per cent, respectively. Of the households considered in this study, 96 per cent were of the white race, 3.6 per cent Negroes, and .4 per cent other races (including Indians). In all instances Negroes included in the sample lived on farms either as owners or tenants, and all except 8 had received relief. After an examination of schedules of Negro households as to family composition, education, types of houses, occupational history, and economic status it may be concluded that these Negro families did not differ materially from the white population. Therefore, it seems feasible to study the population of this group without considering the racial differences since the Negro and Indian population comprise only a negligible proportion of the population as a whole.

7	Fifteenth Census of U.S. Population, 1930, Vol. III, Part 2, Table 2, p. 541.
8	Fifteenth Census of U.S. Population, 1930, Vol. VI, Table 20, pp. 1087-89.
9	For the purpose of this study the terms "household" and "family" may be used interchangeably and refer to individuals, related or unrelated, living in the same house. In some instances a household or family may

refer to only one person.

The Sample Studied

The data for this study were taken from a sample of 1,197 rural households. ⁹ Of this number 379 were relief and 818 non-relief households. The total sample represents 14.5 per cent of the total number of rural families of Payne and Cleveland counties as given by the Census for 1930. The distributions of the cases between relief and non-relief families and between Cleveland and Payne counties are shown in Table 2.

Cases chosen for the survey were every third name listed on the Federal Emergency Relief Administration rolls for Payne and Cleveland counties, Oklahoma, in October 1933. For comparative purposes a control or non-relief group was chosen from the nearest accessible neighbors who had not received relief. Approximately twice as many non-relief households were chosen as relief. This was done in order to preserve similar proportions of relief and non-relief families in the samples to those in the general populations of the counties studied.

TABLE 2

	:	and the second second		and the second		Number o	of	Househo	10	ls		
	:	Tot	a	1	1	Vi)	11	age	:	Town		a
Counties Studied	:	Relief	1	Non- Relief	:	Relief	:	Non- Relief	:	Relief	1	Non- Relief
Total		379		818		107		209		272		609
Payne		213		463		84		176		129		287
Cleveland		166		355		23		33		143		322
					P	er Cent	0	f Housel	10	lđs		
Payne		56.2		56.6		78.5		84.2		47.4		47.1
Cleveland		43.8		43.4		21.5		15.8		52.6		52.9

Summary of Sample Studied According to Classifications Used

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION

RURAL FARM AND RURAL NON-FARM













75 + 65-74 + 55-64 + 55-64 + 55-64 + 55-64 + 55-29 + 20-24 + 15-19 + 10-14 + 10-14 +





FIGURE 2

Percentage Distribution of Population

The accompanying chart (Figure 2) of age and sex population pyramids represents the total rural population of Oklahoma, the total relief and non-relief population of the sample, and also the village and farm population grouped as to relief, non-relief, and total. These pyramids are somewhat misshapen due partly to doubling the class interval beginning with age 35 and extending upward. The narrow base or age grouping under 5 years shows an abnormally small proportion of population, which is probably due to a decline in crude birth rate, a phenomenon which has been in evidence with increasing emphasis during the past two decades. Studies discussed by Thompson in <u>Population Problems</u> reveal that we have no birth statistics for the United States as a whole since 1800 but we find that the ratio of children under 5 to women 16-44, who were likely to be their mothers, has fallen steadily since 1810, with the exception of 1860 when there was a slight rise, probably due to the great influx of young imigrants during the preceding decade. ¹⁰

In comparing the relief and non-relief pyramids it is to be observed that there was an unduly large proportion of both males and females in the upper age group of non-relief population. These characteristics are more noticeably true in the village than in the farm non-relief group and can possibly be attributed in most cases to the presence of retired non-relief household heads. Also, there is an excess of children ages 5 to 14 in the relief as compared with the non-relief households. This may be tentatively ascribed to the probability of a much greater need for relief in the larger households than in the smaller households found among the non-relief population. In the relief village households the 25 to 34 year age group comprised a much smaller proportion of the population than in the non-relief

10 Warren S. Thompson, Population Problems, p. 126.

TABLE 3

Age Distribution of Relief and Non-Relief Male Population of Village and Farm Communities in Payne and Cleveland Counties 1933 and in Oklahoma for 1930 */

		:			: Per Cen	t of Pop	ulation	1		
Age G	rouping	1	Total		:	Village	2-1	1	Farm	
	of	:	Non-	1930	1	Non-	1930	1	Non-	1930
Ma	les	:Relief	Relief	Oklahoma	: Relief	Relief	Oklahoma	: Relief	Relief	Oklahoma
All A	ges	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under	5 Year	s 10.7	8.6	11.7	9.8	9.0	11.4	11.0	8.5	11.9
5 -	9	13.6	10.6	12.7	13.3	10.6	12.2	13.7	10.6	13.0
10 -	14	14.6	10.2	11.6	15.1	10.4	10.0	14.4	10.1	12.6
15 -	19	10.6	13.3	11.2	8.0	6.3	9.1	11.5	12.7	12.3
20 -	24	9.1	8.3	8.9	6.2	9.0	9.1	10.0	8.1	8.7
25 -	29	5.4	5.7	7.0	4.9	6.3	8.5	5.5	5.5	6.2
30 -	34	4.6	5.5	5.9	4.0	9.0	7.4	4.8	4.4	5.2
35 -	44	8.8	11.7	11.0	7.2	11.4	12.6	9.3	11.8	10.2
45 -	54	10.1	10.8	8.9	15.1	10.4	8.9	8.4	10.9	9.0
65 -	64	7.2	9.0	6.2	8.0	8.5	5.8	7.0	9.3	6.5
65 -	74	3.9	5.7	3.3	6.7	5.2	3.3	3.1	5.9	3.3
75 an	d Above	1.4	2.6	1.3	1.7	3.9	1.6	1.3	2.2	1.2

*/

Fifteenth Census of U. S. 1930 Population, Volume 3, Table 14, pp 564.

TABLE 4

 $\mathcal{F}_{\mathcal{F}}$

Age Distribution of Relief and Non-Relief Female Population of Village and Farm Communities in Payne and Cleveland Counties 1933 and in Oklahoma for 1930 */

:	1		Late de la Calendaria de la Calendaria	Per C	ent of Pop	ulation	Seetla diastra dia dia dia dia dia		1
:Age Grouping	:	Total		1	Village		:	Farm	:
: of	1	Non-	1930	1	Non-	1930	:	Non-	1930 :
: Meles	Relief	Relief	Oklahoma	: Relie	f Relief	Oklahoma	: Relief	Relief	Oklahoma:
All Ages	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	0 100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 5 Year	\$ 11.9	8.1	12.5	8.	7 7.6	11.7	13.1	8.3	13.0
5 - 9	14.8	9.7	13.4	15.	7 12.6	12.4	14.5	8.7	14.0
10 - 14	13.3	13.4	12.2	13.	5 11.8	10.5	13.2	14.0	13.2
15 - 19	12.7	10.2	11.4	10.	9 8.4	10.3	13.4	10.8	12.0
20 - 24	9.1	8.9	9.1	8.	3 8.9	10.1	9.5	8.9	8.5
25 - 29	5.5	6.3	7.3	5.	7 6.8	8.8	5.5	6.1	6.6
30 - 34	6.4	7.3	6.2	6.	5 8.9	7.1	6.3	6.8	5.8
35 - 44	9.2	11.9	11.2	10.	0 8.6	11.5	9.0	13.1	11.0
45 - 54	8.5	11.0	8.1	11.	0 10.7	8.0	7.6	11.1	8,2
55 - 64	5.4	7.0	4.8	5.	7 6.1	5.1	5.2	7.1	4.7
6E - 74	2.1	4.1	2.4	3.	1 5.7	3.0	1.7	3.6	2,1
75 and Above	1.1	2.1	1.1		9 3.7	1.4	1.0	1.5	.9

*/

Fifteenth Census of U. S. 1930 Population, Volume 3, Table 14, pp 564

and total households for the state. The farm sample presents approximately the same proportions in all three groups, relief, non-relief, and total for the state, for this age grouping.

Data presented seem to show that in the relief group there is a preponderance of population in the early adult age and in the age group 45 to 54 years, with a smaller per cent of the population between 30 to 45 years. In the non-relief samples the age distribution of the population bears a much closer resemblance to that of the general population than that of the persons who lived in the relief households.

PART II

THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE HOUSEHOLD

Size of Farms

The typical farm operated by both owners and tenants on relief was smaller than that of non-relief farm owners and tenants. From data at hand it was found that 48.8 per cent of relief owners and tenants operated less than 100 acres of land as compared with 32.0 per cent of non-relief owners and tenants. Table 5 shows that approximately one-half, 50.1 per cent, of the household heads operated farms ranging in size from 100 to 174 acres, which was a larger proportion than was included in the same class interval for all farmers in Payne and Cleveland counties in 1930. The owners and tenants in the non-relief groups operated the largest sized farms. This may be due to the fact that the farm owners are very much under-represented in the relief groups since only 42 farm owners were on relief. Taking all farms of 175 acres and over, it was found that this group comprised 17.3 per cent of the total for the two counties in 1930 as compared with 12.9 per cent for the entire sample studied, 17.7 per cent for non-relief owners, 13.7 per cent for non-relief tenants and 5.7 per cent for relief tenants. One of two factors was responsible for the differences. Either the size of farms was decreasing after 1930, or the sampling procedure did not distribute farms altogether in propertion to size, or perhaps both factors were active.

The modal size interval of farms operated was 100 to 174 acres, and this group contained from two-fifths to one-half of all the farms operated by the various classes of operators. The Oklahoma land survey, popularly called the "checkerboard system", is no doubt largely responsible for this because of the prevailing tendency for land to be sold and rented in 160-acre



FIGURE 3

DISTRIBUTION OF FARM OPERATORS IN RELIEF AND NON-RELIEF HOUSEHOLDS ACCORDING TO SIZE OF FARMS OPERATED

16.

TABLE 5

Percentage Distribution of Farm Operators in Relief and Non-Relief Households According to Size of Farms Operated

		Per Ce	nt of Ho	usehold He	eads	10-1-1-1-1
		Who Uperate	d Farms	or Specir:	led Size	
Size of farms	: All Farms:	Motol 1	: Powe	0	: 	Benente
by Acres	Counties :	Poliof and	: Farm	Non	: Farm	Tenants
	: 1930 :	Non-Relief	Relief	Relief	: Relief	Relief
Total Farms	4939	791	42	307	194	248
Under 10	2.9	1.9	2.4	2.3	1.5	1.6
10 - 19	2.5	2.7	2.4	1.3	3.1	4.0
20 - 49	10.6	8.3	4.8	4.2	15.5	8.5
50 - 99	24.5	24.1	42.8	22.1	27.8	20.6
100 - 174	42.2	50.1	40.5	52.4	46.4	51.6
175 - 259	8.9	5.8		6.2	4.1	7.7
260 - 499	7.6	5.7	4.7	8.5	1.6	5.6
500 - 999	.7	1.1	2.4	2.3		.4
1000 and Over	.1	.3		.7		

tracts. On the other hand, 160 acres probably approximates a convenient economically sized farm unit in this area. Although such a unit has never been definitely defined for the area, a "rule of thumb" procedure in farm management is to assume as a point of departure that the typical practice which has evolved through farmers' experience in an agricultural region approximates the optimum farm organization for that region. On this basis, it may be deduced that since the overwhelming preponderance of the nontypical farms are smaller than the modal class and that since there is a disproportionately heavy gravitation of the relief relative to the nonrelief population toward the smaller farms, a part of the financial distress of these two counties may have grown out of an uneconomic balance between the land and the human factors in the agriculture of the counties. Even had the price levels been favorable to the typical farmer, it appears more than probable that large numbers of the farmers studied would have suffered economical distress regardless.

Kinds of Livestock Owned

Out of the entire sample, 43.9 per cent of the village relief households had no livestock as compared with 38.8 per cent of the non-relief village households. This, however, is somewhat surprising because municipal ordinances often prohibit residents from keeping livestock when they would do so otherwise. In farm households 2.9 per cent of relief households and 6.7 per cent non-relief households had no livestock. The village population kept cows, hogs, sheep and goats, and poultry. Horses, mules, and other cattle kept by village households were few in number and those who kept these types of stock usually were farmers whose farms were located near the village. Of the eight village households which kept horses and mules six were farm owners and tenants. A smaller proportion of village relief households kept stock than did non-relief households with the exception of goats. This can be explained in that it is more economical to keep goats as a source of home milk supply than to keep cows.

In studying the farm households (Table 7) relief farmers who owned livestock averaged 2.4 horses and mules per household, whereas the nonrelief neighbors averaged 4 per household, but the contrasts are even greater in regard to milk cows, other cattle, and hogs. The average number of milk cows and other cattle (6.2) for the survey is below the average for the entire farm population of Payne and Cleveland counties (8.2)per cent. ¹ The average for the relief group is lower than the non-relief group. Of the

¹ Fifteenth Census of U.S. Agriculture, 1930, Table IX, pp. 18-21.

TABLE 6

Type	:	: Per Cent of Households											
of	:	V	illage	:	1	Par	m						
Livestock	:Relief	:	Non-Relief	1	Relief	:	Non-Relief						
Households Withou	t												
Livestock	43.9		38.8		2.9		6.7						
Horses and Mules	1.9		3.8		64.7		78.2						
Milk Cows	23.4		38.8		76.5		86.7						
Other Cattle	2.8		5.7		58.8		70.1						
Hogs	19.6		11.0		64.3		57.8						
Sheep and Goats	3.7		1.4		.7		4.1						
Poultry	40.2		49.3		89.3		77.0						

Per Cent of Relief and Non-Relief Households Who Owned Livestock in Payne and Cleveland Counties Oklahoma 1934

TABLE 7

Average Number of Livestock Owned by Relief and Non-Relief Households in Payne and Cleveland Counties, Oklahoma, 1934*

Туре	: Ave	rag	e Number of 1	Live	stock per	Ho	usehold
of	: V	111	age	1		m	
Livestock	:Relief	:	Non-Relief	:	Relief	:	Non-Relief
Horses and Mules	1.5		3.4**	k .	2.4		4.0
Milk Cows	1.3		1.3		2.5		5.5
Other Cattle	1.0		2.3		3.9		9.6
Hogs	1.6		2.5		4.0		9.4
Sheep and Goats	2.5		18.3		25.0		36.0
Poultry	13.3		26.2		34.0		112.2
21	1.14	8			No. of the		Terris and

* Average Number based on actual households owning livestock.

** In computing average number of horses and mules in the village nonrelief group one case was omitted. This household head's occupation was listed as a tenant but he was really a stock trader and on January 1, 1931, owned 30 head of horses and mules. relief households, 9 out of 10 owned poultry with an average of 34 chickens per household, compared to 5 out of 6 non-relief households owning an average of 112 chickens per household.

The importance of the foregoing comparisons is that rather generally, in farm populations at least, the poorer families seldom keep as many livestock as those in moderate and comfortable circumstances. Frequently the poorest farm families have no livestock whatever. In depression periods when farmers are almost invariably forced to a subsistence, or self-sufficing basis, the keeping of livestock both as a source of food for the family and as a means of deriving a small cash income is almost indispensable. Failure to do so is often a directly contributing factor in the necessity for a family to ask for some kind of relief. No doubt, in the population groups studied here, a partial solution of the relief problem could have been effected by setting up what may be called a family unit livestock program. Unfortunately such a program would have been of necessity an experimental procedure for the reason that research has not yet established a normative family livestock combination enterprise. This remains one of the challenges of a program of family rehabilitation.

Outstanding Indebtedness of Families in January 1934

Of the relief group 75.6 per cent and 53.3 per cent of the non-relief group reported indebtedness with an average ² of \$338 and \$1,181 per household, respectively. Table 8 shows the households grouped according to amount of indebtedness. Of those households who had an indebtedness, approximately one-third of the relief households owed less than \$100. About five-sixths of them owed less than \$500. One-sixth owed \$500 or more. In the non-relief households one-half owed less than \$500 and one-half owed more than \$500 and over.

Average based on the number of households having indebtedness on January 1, 1934.

In case of the farm population with debts the average indebtedness of relief heads was \$379, and non-relief heads \$1,337 as compared with the village group in which the relief heads averaged \$219 and non-relief heads averaged \$637. The larger proportion of owners than of tenants among the non-relief households probably accounts for the difference due to the fact that owned farms are frequently heavily mortgaged.

TABLE 8

	:		Pe	r Cent	of	Populati	01	a with I	nde	btedness	
Amount of	:	Tot	tal		:	Vil	18	age	:	Farm	
Indebtedness	:		: 1	Non÷	:		:	Non-	:	:	Non-
1	Relief	:	Relief	:	Relief	:	Relief	:	Relief :	Relief	
Total Househol	ds										
Indebted		76.5		53.3		69.1		46.4		79.4	55.6
Under \$100		24.0		7.4		26.1		11.5		23.2	6.1
100 to 499		38.0		18.0		34.6		16.3		39.3	18.6
500 to 899		6.9		8.4		5.6		7.6		7.3	8.7
900 to 2499		6.6		11.4		2.8		8.1		8.1	12.5
2500 to 4499		1.0		4.5				2.4		1.5	5.2
5000 and above				3.6				.5			4.5

Per Cent of Households Grouped According to Amount of Indebtedness, January 1, 1934

The fact that relatively more relief than non-relief household heads were encumbered with debt is not inconsistent with the finding that debts of non-relief heads of households were typically larger than those of the relief groups. In the first place, relief more often than non-relief families, as will be seen later, had liquidated their debts in as far as possible. Furthermore, they owned less land, fewer livestock, and were more limited as to other types of liquidable assets which could be used as collateral for borrowed money and other types of credit than were the non-relief families. On the other hand, a substantial part of the increased debt of the non-relief families



FIGURE 4

PER CENT OF HOUSEHOLDS GROUPED ACCORDING TO AMOUNT OF INDEBTEDNESS JANUARY, 1934

was in the form of unpaid taxes, default of interest, and other defalcations which automatically became chargeable against their assets when the payments were not made. Finally it is not at all improbable that one important means of keeping off the relief rolls was through the use of credit by those families to whom such an escape was accessible. Theoretically, it would be expected that an applicant would not become eligible for relief benefits if he could obtain credit in any way so as to enable him to be independent. There is no implication that this principle either was or was not invoked rigidly in reference to the cases included in this study. It simply seems to be the logical or the expected rule of procedure.

Net Change in Indebtedness of Households from January 1, 1930, to January 1, 1934

As has been mentioned above, changes in the debt situation of households may have borne a direct relation to their relief status. However, it is to be noted that farm and village families do not offer a strictly parallel study on this point. Agriculture, even in the lowest economic levels, requires a large outlay of land and capital in proportion to the returns realized. In the farm group, therefore, changes in the debt situation often may be more directly related to the fixed charges of the production enterprises than to family living as such. On the other hand, the bulk of the village families studied lived upon salaries and wages when employment was available. They, therefore, would have less reason to alter their debt situations for reasons other than the demands of actual living than is usually true of farm families.

In Table 9 the percentage distribution of families is given in relation to changes in indebtedness from January 1, 1930, to January 1, 1934. Not all the debts were contracted during the period of January 1, 1930, to January 1, 1934, but all the change in the amount of debt represented did take place during this period. Of the relief households, 64.4 per cent increased their

TABLE 9

	:	Per Cent of Household Heads													
: Total	tal	:	Village				Farm	14.8							
Net	:	:	Non-	:		:	Non-	:	1	Non-					
Change	:Relief	:	Relief	:	Relief	:	Relief	:	Relief :	Relief					
Total	100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0	100.0					
Increase	60.4		39.7		63.6		37.3		55.5	40.6					
Decrease	15.6		7.8		6.5		6.2		19.1	8.4					
Unchanged	24.0		52.5		29.9		56.5		25.4	51.0					

Percentage Distribution of Household Heads According to Net Change in Indebtedness January 1, 1930, to January 1, 1934

debts on an average of \$195 while 15.6 per cent decreased debts on an average of \$389. In the non-relief group, 39.7 per cent increased debts averaging \$659 while 7.8 per cent decreased debts averaging \$824. A larger per cent of relief than of non-relief households increased indebtedness, but the size of the non-relief indebtedness was three times as large as the indebtedness of the relief heads.

During the period January 1, 1930, to January 1, 1934, debts were contracted by mortgages, unpaid taxes and other debts including rent, groceries, and health care. Of the relief households 69.1 per cent reported that new debts averaging \$201 had been contracted between January 1, 1930, and January 1, 1934, and the non-relief group reported 41.1 per cent households with an increase in indebtedness with an average of \$692. The forms in which the increased indebtedness accrued is indicated in Table 10 and the average amount of increased indebtedness for these households is shown in Table 11.

The overlapping of classifications within the groups of those who had indebtedness was due to households contracting several types of debts.

TABLE 10

Per Cent of Households with Increase in Indebtedness January 1, 1930, to January 1, 1934 According to Principal Types of Indebtedness which Increased

Types of Indebtedness	: Per Cent of Households												
	: Total			:	Village			:	Fe	r	m.		
	:	:	Non-	:		:	Non-	:		:	Non-		
	Relief	:	Relief	:	Relief	:	Relief	:	Relief	:	Relief		
With Increased													
Indebtedness	69.1		41.1		68.2		30.1		69.5		44.8		
Mortgage	27.7		24.3		9.3		12.0		34.9		28.6		
Unpaid Taxes	14.2		4.2		12.5		4.8		15.1		3.9		
Others	44.8		17.2		43.0		17.7		45.6		17.1		

TABLE 11

Average Amount of Increase in Indebtedness per Household January 1, 1930, to January 1, 1934 According to Principal Types of Indebtedness which Increased

	:	A	verage I	ner	cease in	D	ollars]	per	Househo.	Ld	
	: Total			: Vi			age	:	F	ar	m.
Types of Indebtedness	:	:	Non-	:		:	Non-	-		:	Non-
	:Relief	:	Relief	:	Relief	:	Relief	:	Relief	:	Relief
Average Total											
Indebtedness	\$201		\$692		\$181		\$316		\$230		\$780
Mortgage	231		976		130		536		242		1040
Unpaid Taxes	103		114		184		129		77		670
Others	157		245		206		141		139		282

In studying the farm households the data revealed that 69.5 per cent of relief households owed an average of \$230 as compared to 48.8 per cent of non-relief households owing an average of \$780. Slightly more than one-half of the farm population owed mortgage indebtedness with an average of \$242 for relief households and \$1,040 for the nonrelief households. In the relief households, both farm and village, the increases in debts were mostly for purposes other than the preservation of the property and investments owned. Presumably, the principal reason for the increases shown was inadequate incomes with which to provide the necessities of life.

Unpaid taxes averaged \$77 for 15 per cent of the relief households, while 4 per cent non-relief households had unpaid taxes averaging \$670. Other debts had accrued to 45.6 per cent of relief and to 17.1 per cent non-relief households. The average amounts of increased debt in these classes were \$139 and \$282, respectively. Also, among those who had an increase in the amount of delinquent taxes and increased mortgages was a larger number of owners in non-relief than in relief households which was to have been expected inasmuch as the farm owners had more property to be mortgaged and against which taxes might accumulate than did the tenants.

Decrease in Reserves Between January 1, 1930, and January 1, 1934

An average of \$1,187 decrease in reserve from January 1, 1930, to January 1, 1934, occurred in 31.9 per cent of the relief households and an average of \$4,409 in 42.1 per cent of the non-relief households. Farm households had a slightly larger per cent of decrease in reserves both in the relief and non-relief households. This may be explained by the necessity for ownership of operating equipment by the farm population since these decreases occurred in savings, chattel, land and buildings, forfeited
Per Cent of Households with Decrease in Reserve Grouped by Type of Decrease January 1, 1930, to January 1, 1934

	•	Househol	Ld	s with I	Decrease	11	n Reserv	188
	: Tot	al	:	Vil	lage	:	Fa	rm
Types of Decrease	Relief	Non- Relief	:	Relief	Non- Relief	:	Relief	Non- Relief
Households								
with Decrease	31.9	42.1		28.0	36.4		33.5	44.0
Drawn on Savings	10.0	20.5		11.2	19.1		9.5	21.0
Decrease in Chattel	11.1	6.4		2.8	5.7		14.3	6.5
Land Buildings	3.2	2.8		2.8	.9		3.3	3.4
Forfeited Installmen	t 3.2	1.5		.9	1.4		4.0	1.4
Life Insurance*	10.5	18.1		10.2	14.3		10.6	19.3
Life Insurance Loan	5.0	6.6		6.5	5.7		4.4	6.8

* Insurance dropped.

TABLE 13

Average Decrease of Reserves Per Household Grouped as to Type of Decrease in Households Having Decreases January 1, 1930, to January 1, 1934

1		Ave	ra In	ge Decre Dollars	per Ho	Reus	serves ehold	
:	Tot	al	:	Vill	age	:	R	arm
Types of :		Non-			Non-			Non-
Decrease :	Relief	Relief	:	Relief	Relief	:	Relief	Relief
Total Decrease	\$1187	\$2209		\$1649	\$1389		\$1035	\$2442
Drawn on Savings	794	1064		996	525		701	1233
Chattel	352	1190		1142	624		291	1360
Land and Buildings	2054	6139		2100	3100		2038	6429
Forfeited Installment	486	3247		200	527		512	4154
Life Insurance*	1253	2183		1464	2164		1172	2187
Life Insurance Loan	955	299		1643	362		553	281

* Insurance dropped.



FIGURE 5

HOUSEHOLDS WITH DECREASE IN RESERVES GROUPED BY TYPE OF DECREASE installments on life insurance and dropped life insurance.

Decrease in reserves, Table 12, through the sacrifice of savings. chattel and life insurance, affects the largest number of people from all households - relief and non-relief, village and farm. The greatest number who had decreases were in savings in all groups except relief farm households. In this group the largest decrease was in chattels. In all households decrease in life insurance ranked second to savings. However, life insurance itself is a saving primarily for those people who live to the date of maturity of their policies. The average decrease per household was highest in loss of land and buildings, in both relief and non-relief groups, but this affected a small minority of the households. In the relief group loss of life insurance rated next to loss of land and buildings in severity and next to decrease of chattels in relative frequency, and was followed by decrease in savings and forfeited installments. In the non-relief group forfeited installments ranked second to loss of land and buildings followed by loss of life insurance, decrease in chattel and savings, Table 13. It has been definitely shown that reserves in non-relief households decreased on the average in amount and in greater relative frequency than those of relief households. This was probably due to the fact that non-relief people originally had more property of economic value and therefore, had greater risks than relief household heads. Also, it indicates that by this means non-relief families were able to remain off the relief rolls at least during the major part of the depression period.

Extraordinary Losses January 1, 1930, to January 1, 1934

Table 14 shows that extraordinary losses, that is losses which may be regarded as fortuitous in nature, in both relief and non-relief groups were

Types :	A	verage A	mou	int of Lo	sses Per	He	usehold	
of :	Tota	al	1	Vill	age	:	Fa	rm
Extraordinary;	2000	Non-	:		Non-	:		Non-
Losses :	Relief	Relief	1	Relief	Relief	:	Relief	Relief
Total Losses	79.9	83.5		71.0	78.5		83.5	85.2
Bank Failures	2.4	1.7		2.8	3.3		2.2	1.1
Stocks and Bond	s 1.0	3.8		1.8	2.8		.7	4.1
Bad Debts	12.9	15.9		11.2	11.9		13.6	17.2
Livestock	29.8	34.4		3.7	5.2		40.0	44.3
Crop Failure	22.2	19.3		3.7	4.7		29.4	24.3
Medical Care*	63.6	68.3		66.3	73.6		62.5	66.5
Other Losses	2.9	6.4		1.8	1.9		3.3	7.9

Per Cent of Households Which Experienced Extraordinary Losses 1930-1934 According to Type of Loss

* Cf. fn. 3, p. 32.

TABLE 15

Average Amount of Extraordinary Losses Per Household According to Types of Losses 1930-1934

Types :		Average	Amo	unt of L	osses Pe	r I	Icusehold	
of :	1	otal	:	Villa	ge	:	Farm	
Extraordinary:		Non-	:		Non-	:		Non-
Losses :	Relief	Relief	:	Relief	Relief	:	Relief	Relief
Average Total								
Losses	\$ 382	\$ 605		\$ 276	\$ 369		\$ 418	\$ 680
Bank Failure	231	225		38	287		328	161
stock and Bonds	6512	1937		425	850		12,600	2198
Bad Debts	205	728		280	678		181	740
Livestock	94	185		51	88		96	189
Crop Failure	346	480		325	545		347	475
Medical Care*	242	188	i.k	210	179		113	192
Other Losses	349	437		122	625		399	422

* Cf. fn. 3 p. 32.



FIGURE 6

HOUSEHOLDS WHICH EXPERIENCED EXTRAORDINARY LOSSES ACCORDING TO TYPES, 1930 TO 1934

heaviest in the following order: medical care, 3 loss of livestock, crop failures, bad debts and other losses not itemized. Livestock losses and crop failures affected only a negligible proportion of the village population as would be expected, but when such losses occurred they were severe in comparison with those of the farm population. In the relief and nonrelief farm groups the average loss per household for livestock was \$96 and \$189, and for crop failures was \$347 and \$475, respectively. Probably the non-relief group of farmers, among whom most of the farm owners were found, were compelled to bear losses on crops and livestock occurring on the farms operated by tenants as one of the reasons for their losses being greater than those of the relief farmers. Two-thirds of all households had expenses for medical care, personal injuries and funerals. The average medical expense for the relief groups was \$242 as compared to \$188 in the non-relief households. For the relief village group the average was \$210, non-relief village \$179, relief farm \$113, and non-relief farm \$192. Despite an appreciable variation in the average cost of medical care to different classes of families there was a high degree of uniformity as to the incidences of those costs in the various population groups. A very small per cent of the entire group reported bank failures, stocks and bonds and other losses as a source of financial loss during the period of the study. The highest loss per household was in households who had losses on stocks and bonds.

Phenomenal as it may seem, losses of this type were both greater in amount and more frequent in occurrence in the non-relief than in the relief population of the farm as well as the village communities. While it may be true that the non-relief groups had more property to lose than did those on

Medical care includes medication, hospitalization, personal injuries and funeral expenses.

relief, it is apparent that their socio-economic patterns of Tife were 38 not as easily shattered or disrupted as were those of the relief population. In other words, providential losses offer a severe test of the psycho-social equilibrium of a social group, whether it be a family or a community. The ability of a group to sustain such losses without being reduced to a state of dependency may be regarded as one of the best measures of its socio-economic integration. The psychological effects of sudden financial losses are usually devastating upon the individual, and if repeated often become cumulative and form a starting point in a vicious circle of discouragement, despair, loss of initiative and resourcefulness which lead to despondency and at last to increased economic dependency. While the data available do not demonstrate explicitly the various phases of this cycle, the inferences to the effect that such a cycle is a reality are quite vivid.

AGRICULT

COLLEGE

Types and Sources of Public and Private Relief and Other Extraordinary Forms of Aid

Relief households used for this study were cases appearing on relief rolls in October 1933. For that month these households received assistance in the form of direct relief given in cash or kind, work relief, and in addition may have received private relief from such agencies as the Red Cross, the Salvation Army, or others. Also, assistance from relatives and friends was included as private relief for relief households. Both village and farm households on relief received an average of \$7, or an average per person of \$2 and \$1, respectively, the figures being rounded out to the nearest dollar. This was in the form of direct relief, money, grocery orders, rent orders, medical care, work relief on work-relief projects, and other relief such as assistance from private agencies.

Work relief averaging \$7 and \$6 per household, or \$2 and \$1 per person per month, was given to 76.6 per cent of the village households and 85.3 per

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cent of the farm households, respectively. Direct relief was given to 28 per cent of the village households with an average of \$4 per household or \$1 per person as compared to 35.2 per cent of the farm households who received an average of \$3 or less than \$1 per person. Approximately 3 per cent received other relief in both groups. The village group received more relief per household or per person than farm group received. In most cases the village household was totally dependent on relief agencies for subsistence, while the farm family could supplement relief assistance with some farm products.

TABLE 16

Per Cent of Households and Persons Receiving Relief Grouped as to Type of Relief Received in October 1933

	:	d1	1	Hou	50	holds			:		100	Per	28	ons		
Types	:	Vi.	11	age	:]	Fa	rm	:	Vil	11	age	:		Fa	arm
of Relief	:	Per Cent	:	Aver- age	-:	Per Cent	:	Aver- age	:	Per Cent	:	Aver- age	:	Per Cent	:	Aver- age
Average				\$ 7				\$ 7				\$ 2				\$1
Direct Relie	f	28.0		4		35.2		3		20.7		1		31.6		1
Work Relief		76.6		7		85.3		6		81.7		2		87.3		1
Other*		3.7		5		3.3		3		2.9		2		4.5		_**

* Other relief comprises Red Cross, Salvation Army, and other private agencies. ** Average amount less than fifty cents not shown.

During the year of 1933 all households both relief and non-relief were analyzed as to other forms of assistance given during the year. This assistance was from both Federal and local funds such as crop and livestock loans by the Farm Credit Administration; advances on commodities made by the Commodities Credit Corporation, such as advances on corn, cotton and wheat in storage; benefit payments on crop reduction made by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration for reducing acreage planted to wheat, cotton, and corn and the reduction of hog production; employment on Civil Works projects; Veterans' compensation, both Confederate and others, including loans on Veterans' bonus, certificates and pensions and hospital compensation; and aid given to specified cases as provided by state laws to be paid out of local county funds.

The fact that many families received two or more types of assistance, some of which were rather indefinite as to kind, amount, and date of receipt, makes analysis difficult, and, therefore, the interpretations must be made with reservations. Approximately all Civil Works Administration workers received aid during the months of September, November, and December. Some forms of aid were received monthly while others were received seasonally.

Aid through the Agricultural Adjustment Administration to farmers and the Civil Works Administration to non-farmers and relief farmers comprised the major type of aid given in 1933. Table 17 and 18 show the types of assistance received by relief and non-relief households during the year. In the relief group 79.2 per cent of the households received assistance amounting to \$50 on an average as compared with the non-relief households which received an average amount of \$181.

As would be expected the relief households, both village and farm groups, received assistance in the largest per cent of cases through the Civil Works projects with an average of \$25 per household. The small proportion, 2.1 per cent, of non-relief employees on Civil Works Administration projects received an average amount of \$58 since they worked as foremen and supervisors of works projects, which explains why the receipts of non-relief household heads in these few instances were higher than those of relief household heads. The erop reduction program during this period was shared by approximately onethird of the farm population both relief and non-relief. The non-relief group received an average amount of \$139 per household as compared with \$78 per relief household. It has been said that the large landowner profited most by

the crop reduction program. This appears to be true in this study since it has been shown that non-relief households operated larger farms and in more cases were owners than relief household heads, therefore, making it possible to get a larger average amount of benefits per farm than was available to relief household heads.

To ascertain the trend of relief an effort was made to determine at what period relief households became known to relief agencies. Prior to January 1, 1930, 5 out of 107 village households, and 6 out of 272 in the farm group were known to relief agencies. During 1930, 5 farm households received relief for a period of 31 months; 3 village households received relief 30 months. In 1931, 10 farm households received relief 49 months or 4.9 months per family, and 7 village households received relief 39 months or 5.6 months per family. During 1932, 40 farm families received relief ll5 months or 2.9 months per family. In 1933, 259 farm households received relief 1,033 months and 100 village households received relief 401 months or an average of approximately 4 months per family in each case. The village group on relief consistently received aid per household more months out of each year than did the relief families of the farm group.

All in all, it is not possible to localize the relief problem entirely as between farm and village population groups, because the incidence of need and want was felt intensely in the lower economic levels of both. Perhaps the best approach of many that might be made would be to determine the nature and character of the respective relief needs of these two populations. For obvious reasons, the Agricultural Adjustment program did not offer the village groups an effective escape from the necessity of going on relief. There can be no doubt that this form of benefit eased the tension of economic stress in agriculture both immediately and appreciably. This should account partially

Percentage Distribution of Households Receiving One or More Forms of Assistance Other Than Relief According to Types of Assistance Received During the Year 1933

:	1	Per	Cent of	Househ	olds	1
: Types	: Tota	al	: Vil	lage	: Fa:	rm :
: of	:	Non-	:	Non-	:	Non-
: Assistance	:Relief	Relief	:Relief	Relief	:Relief	Relief
Total Households	79.2	29.7	78.5	13.4	79.4	35.3
Crops and Livestock	1.1	.1	.9		1.1	.2
Commodity Advance	.3	.4		1.0	.4	.2
A. A. A.	24.5	23.2		3.8	34.2	29.9
C. W. A.	67.3	2.1	72.9	3.3	65.1	1.6
Veterans* Compensation	1.8	3.7	5.6	5.3	.4	3.1
Old Age and Mothers' Pen	sion .3	.1			.4	.2
Others */	1.8	1.5	1.9	.5	1.8	1.8

TABLE 18

Average Amount of Assistance Other Than Relief Forms Received per Household Grouped as to Types of Assistance Received During the Year 1933

		A	Tera	ige	Amou	unt]	per	Hou	seho	là		
Types	-	Tota	1		1 1	Ville	age		1	Far	rm	
of			Noi	1-	:		No	3-	:		No	<u>n</u> -
Assistance	Rel	ief	Rel	lief	:Re	lief	Re	lief	:Rel	ief	Re	lief
Average Total	\$	50	\$	181	\$	37	\$	217	\$	55	\$	176
Per Household												
Crops and Livestock		81		700		42		-		14		700
Commodity Advances		44		149		-		73		44		300
A. A. A.		78		139		-		65		78		143
C. W. A.		25		58		29		57		23		59
Veterans' Compensation		92		382	÷	102		438		30		350
Old Age and Mothers' Pens	sion	15		64				-		15		64
Others #/		41		319		84		200	ř.	24		329

*/ Other assistance was assistance from relatives, friends, and boys in Civilian Conservation Corps. for the differences in length of time village families as compared with farm families were recipients of relief, and also should be a partial explanation of the differences in amounts received especially when the village population seemed to be favored at the expense of the people living on farms.

Furthermore, in the works relief programs, farmers often can offer teams, trucks, and other equipment as well as their own labor for hire, while more frequently than not, villagers have only their labor. In another way, this same contrast as to resources presents a situation in which the farmer should be able more often than the village dweller to find temporary employment such as work at grading county and township roads, hauling freight, dirt or gravel. In cases of dire necessity the farmer could even sell a part of his equipment, livestock, or feed in order to meet emergencies. That one or more of these courses was sometimes adopted by farmers during the depression is a matter of common knowledge.

The chief disadvantages the farmer suffered in comparison with the villager during the depression were, (1) his fixed charges had been previously determined on a basis of several years of high prices, and could not be scaled down immediately to coincide with commodity price levels; (2) the vendibility of farm commodities dropped almost to zero while at the same time granaries and larders were bursting with commodities produced at high costs; (3) in common with the villager, the farmer's labor was valueless. This means that while the combined pressure of taxes, interest, and depreciation was driving the farmer ever nearer the maelstrom of bankruptcy, he had no outlets for the things he could have sold if there had been any available markets. The villager could not find an outlet for his labor, but he had relatively a smaller overhead burden than the farmer. On the other hand, in so far as the farmer could produce his own living at home he had no fear of starvation, although he may not have been able to convert his products into cash.

With the village population, the question was one of how to procure the absolute necessities of life. With these differences in emphasis in mind, it is not difficult to conceive the rural relief problem as a whole as presenting a dual situation, in which the farm group was in need of relief primarily as a means toward their rehabilitation while the non-farmers were in actual want of the minimum essentials for the continuation of life.

PART III

OCCUPATIONAL AND EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS

Probably one of the most directly contributing factors to the problem of unemployment in rural communities is a lack of other than agricultural uses for the excess labor supply. As a corollary to this, there is also a distinct absence of non-agricultural skills through which farm populations may be able to realize supplementary incomes. Even in the rural villages, skills, techniques, and knowledge of business principles are more elementary and, therefore, more limited in their effectiveness than in larger cities where specialization is intensified. It may seem a logical conflict to say that rural populations suffer in depression periods from an absence of highly integrated skills and from the fewness of economic uses for labor, while in cities over specialization has contributed to unemployment. The more probable explanation seems to be that the rural community presents an extreme of the first type of situation mentioned while the city is a case of an opposite extreme.

In data to be presented shortly, there seems to be abundant evidence in support of the contention that versatility of occupational skills and experience is conspicuously lacking among the rural population generally. This is more noticeable with the farm than with the village population and also it is emphasized to a greater extent among the relief than in the nonrelief groups both farm and village. While the foregoing deductions have been derived from general analyses of the data at hand, it appears to be entirely tenable to maintain that the occupational history of a population group is a direct limitation upon its potential adaptability to the uncertainty of economic transitions. Such is the general thesis in the light of which data on the occupational status of household heads are to be examined.

Last Occupation of Household Heads

In the total relief population studied, agricultural workers comprised 65.7 per cent of the household heads, 11.6 per cent being owners. 53.0 per cent tenants, and 1.1 per cent farm laborers. However, in the relief farm group almost one-third as large a proportion as in the nonrelief sample of the total household heads were farm owners. On the other hand, tenants were nearly twice as numerous relatively in the relief as in the non-relief samples, the proportions being 70.9 per cent and 39.9 per cent, respectively. The data in Table 19 show that at the time of the survey only 86.0 per cent of the relief and 90.6 per cent of the non-relief farm household heads were actually employed in agriculture. Of those in the relief sample, less than one per cent were employed in business outside of agriculture while the remaining 13.2 per cent either were never employed. temporarily out of work, or could not give sufficiently specific information on their employment status to be classified. In the non-relief farm group 2.3 per cent were engaged in mostly unskilled non-agricultural labor, 2.0 per cent were in business or professions, 2.3 per cent were retired, and the remainder, 2.8 per cent were unaccountable.

A further study of the data in Table 19 shows that there is at least a tangible degree of occupational adhesion between agricultural and village communities. Approximately the same proportions of village dwellers and residents of open country areas go back and forth between village and open country to find work. This is indicative of a lack of abrupt demarcation between the farm and village populations. While this is not a study on rural community organization, a brief mention of the point in question is necessary as an explanation of the tendency of farmers to supplement agricultural employment with work in villages and of villagers to look to employment on the farm

farm as a possible source of food even though they may not desire to move there for actual residence. This is seen as a method employed by parts of both population groups for preserving established socio-economic bonds, while at the same time they may go away from their places of residence in order to find a source of livelihood.

TABLE 19

Percentage Distribution of Village and Farm Household Heads According to Type of Last Occupation

	: Tota	1	:	Villag	0	:	Farm		
Occupational Group	: : Relief :	Non- Relief	:	Relief :	Non- Relief	:	Relief	1	Non- Relief
All Occupations	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0		100,0		100.0
Agriculture	65.7	69.7		14.0	8.6		86.0	2	90.6
Owners	11.6	37.4		2.8	5.3		15.1		48.4
Tenants	53.0	30.3		7.5	2.4		70.9		39.9
Laborers	1.1	2.0		3.7	.9				2.3
Non-Farm Labor	17.1	11.1		60.8	36.8				2.3
Unskilled	11.8	6.4		42.1	21.0				1.3
Semi-skilled	2.4	3.4		8.4	11.0				.8
Skilled	2.9	1.3		10.3	4.8				.2
Business	3.2	7.8		9.3	24.9		.8		2.0
Miscellaneous*	14.0	11.4		15.9	29.7		13.2		5.1

* Includes retired, unoccupied, unascertainable, and those who had never been gainfully employed.

A study of the occupational status of the village population evinces support of the previously stated thesis that a lack of occupational specialization tends to accentuate the unemployment problem. It is definitely discernable that in the relief group there was a far greater relative absence of occupational skill and specialization than was characteristic of the non-relief population. For example, 42.1 per cent of the relief village household heads were classed as unskilled laborers while the proportion thus classified in the non-relief village group was only 21.0 per cent. Again, only 9.3 per cent of the relief household heads were engaged in business, either preprietorial or otherwise, while this designation accounted for 24.9 per cent of the nonrelief household heads. Also, 14.0 per cent of the relief as compared with 8.6 per cent of the non-relief village household heads were employed in agriculture. Finally, 15.9 per cent of the relief and 29.7 per cent of the non-relief household heads were placed in the miscellaneous grouping. A more detailed study of this class shows that none of the relief as compared with 8.1 per cent of the non-relief heads were retired, which indicates a rather dismal prospect for the relief population when they arrive at old age.

There is a general observation which may be made relative to the relief farm population, none of whom were employed in any kind of wage earning labor. In determining eligibility for relief, the administrative rule followed was that if a family lived on a farm where food could be produced, and if a member of that family could obtain gainful work of any kind, it did not automatically constitute a relief case however great may have been its economic distress. Such a rule could not be, and was not invoked in the villages where the occupancy of a house was in no sense a guarantee of food and where, although workers might be employed, the total wages earned frequently were insufficient to insure the satisfaction of the most elemental human wants.

Occupational History of Household Heads

The study of prior occupational experience of household heads is probably one of the best means for discovering contributing factors to a relief situation. Contrary to a widely current opinion occupational mobility may be a means toward economic success as often as being a correlative of insolvency. Observation seems to be that the disrupting influences of mobility

are frequently given greater weight than are its integrating concomitants. The important question is, what kinds of shifting of occupations are conducive to a greater probability of dependency and what kinds are most likely to insure financial independence? While the data available do not throw an adequate amount of light upon these issues, they have produced a basis for at least a limited number of supportable generalizations.

During the entire work history of all heads of households studied 82.3 per cent of relief and 56.2 per cent of non-relief groups had been farm tenants at some time. In the relief farm population 90.1 per cent had been farm tenants as compared to 63.1 per cent non-relief farm population. The climbing of the so-called "Agricultural Ladder" has occurred with less frequency in the case of the relief than of the non-relief household heads. It may be seen in Table 20 that the relief farm sample was drawn more heavily from the farm tenant population than the non-relief group, 90.1 per cent and 63.1 per cent being the respective proportions. Likewise, 32.7 per cent of the relief farm population as compared with only 19.5 per cent of the nonrelief farm group had been non-agricultural unskilled laborers at one time or another in their lives. While the proportionate differences are smaller for semi-skilled and skilled non-agricultural labor, it is true that these classes had contributed more heavily to the relief than to the non-relief farm population. On the other hand, the situation is reversed as regards the business group from which only 9.9 per cent of the relief as compared with 15.8 per cent of the non-relief farm household heads had come.

Turning to the village sample of household heads, it is apparent that the general tendency prevails which was noted in the farm population, but with a somewhat modified emphasis. That is to say, the less highly skilled trades and occupations had contributed more heavily to the relief than to the non-relief population, while the reverse is true as a rule in case of the

Per Cent of Village and Farm Relief and Non-Relief Household Heads Who Have Had Experience Prior to October 1933 in Specified Types of Occupations

	:		Per	Ce	nt of Hor	usehold H	ead	ls	
Types of Occupation	on:	H	aving Sp	eci	fied Occ	upational	E	cperience	
in Which	: 1	ot	al	L	Vil	lage	:	Farm	1
Household Heads	:	:	Non-	:		: Non-	:	:	Non-
Have Had Experience	ce:Relief	:	Relief	:	Relief	: Relief	:	Relief :	Relief
Agricultural									
Owners	21.4		40.7		16.8	23.4		23.2	46.6
Tenants	82.3		56.2		62.6	36.4		90.1	63.1
Laborers	19.0		18.6		14.9	9.1		20.6	21.8
Non-Farm Labor					e				
Unskilled	40.9		24.4		61.7	38.7		32.7	19.5
Semi-skilled	11.1		9.5		18.7	19.1	8	8.1	6.2
Skilled	11.1		7.1		19.6	9.1		7.7	6.4
B usiness	12.8		22.1		20.5	40.6		9.9	15,8
Miscellaneous*	1.6		2.8		2.8	6.2		1.1	1.9
									20

* Includes Unknown.

more highly skilled and specialized occupations. As an evidence of this contention, it may be pointed out that in the village relief group 62.6 per cent of the household heads had been tenant farmers as contrasted with only 36.4 per cent of the non-relief heads. Likewise, 14.9 per cent of the relief heads were once farm laborers as compared with 9.1 per cent of the non-relief group. Again 61.7 per cent of the relief as opposed to 38.7 per cent of the non-relief household heads had been unskilled laborers. Contrariwise, only half as large a proportion, 20.5 per cent as opposed to 40.6 per cent, of the relief as of the non-relief group had been formerly engaged in business and professions.

A third observation deductible from Table 20 is that of the persons in the relief group who had migrated from the farms to the villages, the heaviest proportions had come from the lower grades of agricultural employment and tenure, while the same principle applies in respect to those in the relief farm population who came from the villages. In other words, the preponderance of migrants exchanged between farms and villages in the relief populations were from the more untrained and unstable elements of both. In the non-relief populations the exchange of population tends perceptibly toward the more specialized and the more stable elements. Judging, therefore, from the occupational backgrounds of the household heads found in this study it seems supportable to say that the flow of population between farms and villages tends to remain at, somewhat near at least, a fairly constant level, and that changes in socio-economic status frequently occur not at the time but after the move has been made. To say the least, these data suggest the probably occurrence of a lag between occupational shifts and change either for better or for worse in the economic situation of the mover himself.

In the relief populations of both farms and villages, the average length of stay of household heads as farm tenants respectively was 3.3 years and 6.8 years greater than the non-relief populations, (See Table 21) but the reverse was true more emphatically regarding those who had been farm owners. On the other hand, the average length of stay in non-agricultural occupations, both for the farm and the village populations, was longer for the non-relief than for the relief household heads, allowing only one or two purely chance exceptions.

From the foregoing statements of factual data, it is justifiable to state that excessive occupational mobility is at least concomitant with economic insolvency. Inasmuch as the data given above have not been standardized for the age of the subjects, this contention can be stated only tentatively for the time being. Briefness of periods of stay in a given occupational class suggests that frequent adaptations to new and unfamiliar situations must be

Types of Occupation	: A : n;	Werage N Having Speci	iumt Ez	per of Ye perience d Types	Have Wo	rke	old Heads ad in lons	
in Which	: To	tal	1	Vil	lage	:	Far	719.
Household Heads	:	Non-	1		Non-	;		Non-
Have Had Experience	e:Relief	Relief	1	Relief	Relief	:	Relief	Relief
Agricultural	13.7	15.5		13.3	12.8		13.8	15.9
Owners	13.5	25.6		14.6	22.7		13.2	26.1
Tenants	14.9	11.1		14.8	8.0		15.0	11.7
Laborers	7.8	6.3		5.3	6.2		8.5	6.3
Non-Farm Labor	8.7	10.3		10.1	12.9		7.6	8.5
Unskilled	8.4	9.9		9.8	13.5		7.3	7.5
Semi-skilled	8.6	10.4		10.7	10.3		6.7	10.6
Skilled	9.1	11.2		8.8	15.6		9.5	9.1
Business	7.6	9.6		8.5	12.1		6.6	7.3
*					<i>¥</i> .			

Average Number of Years Village and Farm Relief and Non-Relief Household Heads Who Have Had Experience Prior to October 1933 Were Employed in Specified Types of Occupations

* The Miscellaneous Groupincludes unknown. Therefore, averages cannot be computed.

made, apprenticeship terms must be repeated, and hence the duration of the low earning period is prolonged by necessity. Apparently this has been the experience of a larger proportion of the relief than of the non-relief populations of both farm and village.

In view of the relatively high occupational mobility of the rural relief population it may be said that the rural people are lacking in highly integrated skill, mature experience, and a knowledge of stable business principles. These factors parallelled with unemployment, which is frequently found in a highly mobile population, have been somewhat contributive to the need for relief in rural households, especially in the farm groups. This high occupational mobility can be explained more fully when detailed analysis of unemployment during the period under study is made.

With the above statement in mind the occupational status of the household heads has been standardized for age differences by computing an index of occupational mobility (dividing the number of jobs held during the entire work period by number of years employed times 100). Table 22 presents conclusive evidence that excessive occupational mobility rises with unemployment therefore necessitating the need for relief. For example, household heads having a higher occupational mobility are those shown to be on relief in a greater proportion as compared with those who have the lower mobility rating. Data to substantiate these facts are as follows: 7.1 per cent of relief heads have an index of occupational mobility of 0 as compared with 16.7 per cent of the non-relief household heads. One-fourth of the relief heads had an index of occupational mobility of 10 or below, while one-half of non-relief heads had similar ratings of 10 or below.

However, when the mobility indexes of farm and village household heads are compared the results may be somewhat disillusioning. Low occupational mobility characterizes the village household heads to a greater extent than those of the farm population. In the relief groups, 29.9 per cent of the village as compared with 24.2 per cent of the farm household heads had indexes of less than 10, while in the non-relief groups 64.5 per cent of the village as opposed to 47.5 per cent of the farm householders came into this category. On the other hand, 8.4 per cent of the village as contrasted with 15.1 per cent of the farm household heads in the relief population had occupational mobility indexes of 50 or above, while in the non-relief population the corresponding figures were 2.0 per cent and 3.3 per cent, respectively. All this is calculated to emphasize the contention that a relatively high degree of occupational mobility is a characteristic of the more improvident segments of the farm population. Likewise, it goes to show that the same

may be said of the village household heads. However, it should not be interpreted to militate against the thesis that, within limits occupational mobility also may be a means toward economic independence when applied to the more aggressive and enterprising members of a population group.

The occupational mobility of the farm population is analyzed separately and is shown in terms of the index of occupational mobility for owners and tenants in Table 22. In all cases owners have a lower index of occupational mobility than the tenants. Also there is greater variation in the mobility of the owner farm population, relief and non-relief, than in the tenant relief and non-relief farm population, the proportions being 7.1 per cent owners on relief and 17.9 per cent non-relief owners with zero as their occupational mobility index as compared with 9.1 per cent relief tenants and 13.3 per cent non-relief tenants. Two-thirds, or 69.0 per cent, of the owners had an occupational mobility of 10 and below as compared with 29.9 per cent in the tenant group.

Not only is it true that farm owners were relatively less mobile than farm tenants but also the mobility of both owners and tenants receiving relief was greater than that of non-relief household heads of identical tenure status. Of the non-relief owners, 72.3 per cent as compared with 45.2 per cent of the relief owners had mobility indexes of less than 10. A similar comparison for the tenants gives 35.6 per cent for the non-relief and 22.3 per cent for the relief group. Only .3 per cent of the non-relief owners had occupational mobility indexes of 50 or more as compared with 4.8 per cent of the relief owners. Likewise, 7.4 per cent of the non-relief in contrast with 18.8 per cent of the relief tenants had mobility indexes of 50 and above.

The main point of the discussion of occupational mobility thus far has been to attempt to establish a measure of the degree of association between mobility as an independent factor and the proportion of the population on

Index of	:	Tot	al	:	Vill	age	:	Farn	1
Occupational	1	:	Non-	:	:	Non-	:	5	
Mobility	:	Relief :	Relief	:	Relief :	Relief	:	Relief :	Relief
Total		100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0
0		7.1	16.7		1.9	22.0		9.2	14.9
1 - 9		21.4	39.4		28.0	42.5		15.0	32.8
10 - 19		25.3	20.1		31.8	17.8		22.8	21.0
20 - 29		19.6	12.4		19.6	11.0		16.5	13.0
30 - 39		9.8	6.0		8.5	1.9		10.2	7.4
40 - 49		5.9	2.0		1.8	1.4		7.4	2.1
50 - 59		5.8	1.2		2.8	1.0		7.0	1.3
50 - 69		2.6	5		.9	1.0		3.3	.3
70 - 79		1.3	.1		1.9			1.1	.2
80 - 89		1.8	.4		1.9			1.8	.5
90 and Above		1.6	.7		.9			1.9	1.0
No Informati	or	1	.4			1.4			-

Percentage Distribution of Household Heads According to Index of Occupational Mobility

TABLE 23

Percentage Distribution of Farm Household Heads According to the Index of Occupational Mobility

Index of :			:	Owner	:5	:	Tenar	ts
Occupational:	Tot	al	:		Non-	:	:	Non-
Mobility :	Owner :	Tenant	:	Relief :	Relief	:	Relief :	Relief
0	16.6	11.5		7.1	17.9		9.1	13.3
1 - 9	52.4	18.4		38.1	54.4		13.2	22.3
10 - 19	17.2	22.8		26.2	16.0		22.3	23.1
20 - 29	9.8	17.4		19.0	8.5		16.3	18.2
30 - 39	1.7	12.8		2.4	1.6		12.2	13.3
40 - 49	1.4	5.4		2.4	1.3		8.1	3.4
50 - 59	.3	5.6		2.4			8.6	3.4
60 - 69	.6	1.7		2.4	.3		4.1	
70 - 79		.7					1.5	
80 and Above		3.7					4.6	3.0

relief as the dependent variable. While no coefficient of correlation has been computed, the data show undeniably that a high degree of occupational instability and a heavy proportion of population upon relief are positively interrelated, from a practical point of view. This suggests that one of the basic considerations in the relief situation is not merely unemployment at the moment at which application for assistance was made but also the occupational history, the long time occupational "pattern" of the population group. Therefore, it seems entirely justifiable to conclude that the occupational pattern of a group is a primary function of its socioeconomic stability.

Employment History of Household Heads

The problem of unemployment during the period January 1930 to October 1933 presents major socio-economic problems. This was caused partly by the general business depression beginning in 1929 which resulted in labor turnover separating farmers from farm property and non-agricultural workers from jobs or property used in production. The employment situation during this period became adute especially in the relief groups studied and can be ascribed as the cause of much of the occupational instability of both the relief and the non-relief households of the rural population. Data show that the majority of all household heads were unemployed at some time during the period under study. (See Table 24)

From January 1, 1930, to October 1, 1933, 5.1 per cent of relief households living on farms and listing agriculture as their occupation had been unemployed while 87.8 per cent of relief households living in villages following non-farm occupations had been unemployed. Totaling the village and farm relief groups 4.0 per cent in agricultural occupations and 34.5 per cent nonagricultural, respectively, had been unemployed. In the case of heads of

households not on relief, only 3.1 per cent of those listed as farmers and 3.9 per cent of the non-farmers had been unemployed during this period. In many instances the household heads, although continuously employed on the farm, did not receive returns on farm labor and investment. This may explain the large per cent of the farm population found on relief rolls.

TABLE 24

Percentage Distribution of Household Heads According to Continuous Usual Employment Status from January 1, 1930, to October 1, 1933

Status	:	To	otal		Village			:	Farm		
of	:		Non-	;		:	Non-	:		:	Non-
Employment	:	Relief :	Relief	:	Relief	:	Relief	:	Relief	:	Relief
Total		100.0	100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0
Farmers		63.1	69.7		4.7		8.6		86.0		90.6
Employed		59.1	66.6		3.8		6.2		80.9		87.3
Unemployed		4.0	3.1		.9		2.4		5.1		3.3
Non-Farmers		36.9	26.4		95.3		83.3		14.0		6.9
Employed		2.4	17.2		7.5		56.0		.4		3.9
Unemployed		34.5	9.2		87.8		27.3		13.6		3.0
Retired		-	3.9		-		8.1		-		2.5

In October 1933, as may be seen from Table 25, 62.3 per cent of the relief sample were employed in agriculture while 2.6 per cent were otherwise employed, leaving 35.1 per cent unemployed in this group. Practically all of the unemployed, 34.3 per cent, were from the non-farm occupations and the majority lived in villages. Of the non-relief group only 7.7 per cent were unemployed, while 69.3 per cent were employed in agriculture and 19.1 per cent were employed in non-farm occupations. The largest proportion of unemployed persons is found in the village group, both relief and non-relief.

This unemployment was due to the absence of unskilled non-agricultural labor necessary to keep the non-farm laborer employed.

In comparing the employment history of heads of households during the period January 1, 1930, to October 1, 1933, the month of October 1933 and the employment history of entire working life data show that unemployment in all groups parallel to the periods compared, with negligible differences, the percentage of unemployment for October being lowest. This can be attributed to the fact that September, October, and November are months that crops have to be gathered. During this period employment on farms is heavier than during other fall and winter months. Laborers in villages oftentimes work on farms during crop gathering periods.

TABLE 25

Percentage Distribution of Household Heads According to Employment Status as of October 1933

Status	:	Total		:	Village			:	Farm		
of	:	:	Non-	:		:	Non-			:	Non-
Employment	:Relief	:	Relief	:	Relief	:	Relief	:	Relief	:	Relief
Total	100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0
Farmers	63.1		69.7		4.7		8.6		86.0		90.6
Employed	62.3		69.3		3.8		7.2		85.3		90.6
Unemployed	.8		.4		.9		1.4		.7		
Non-Farmers	36.9		26.4		95.3		83.3		14.0		6.9
Employed	2.6		19.1		8.4		61.3		.4		4.6
Unemployed	34.3		7.3		86.9		22.0		13.6		2.3
Retired			3.9				8.1				2.5

In studying Tables 24 and 25, the outstanding observation to be made is that unemployment had been a characteristic primarily of the village and the relief farm populations both for October 1933 and the three year period immediately preceding. Inspection of these data suggests the pertinent question, if only 14.3 per cent of the relief farm population were actually unemployed in October 1933, and if only 18.7 per cent of this group had been regularly unemployed during the immediately preceding three years, why was the need for relief felt so keenly by the group as a whole? Only a plausible answer can be given since the data do not afford an objective solution, and that is that while the majority of the farm population on relief were not actually unemployed during this time, their incomes were inadequate to spare them from want and misery. Also, the October situation of the farm population does not present a true picture of their employment status for the reason that at that time of the year there is usually a heavy demand for cotton pickers and for other temporary laborers in gathering the fall crops. October is a month in which unemployment of farm people should be at a minimum in Oklahoma.

The data at hand as well as common observation give rise to a serious doubt as to the real meaning of unemployment of farm people. When is a farmer not employed, when he is in a position in which he cannot engage in farming at all, or when he has a slack season at which he is not able to convert labor into an immediate cash income? On the basis of a general knowledge of the seasonal nature of agricultural work, that is intermittent periods of comparative idleness and of intense rushes in farm work, it would seem that only by an arbitrary and a purely subjective definition could it be determined whether a bona fide farmer is unemployed or not. In any case, his status would depend largely upon his own conception of his predicament. That is to say, no industry offers the opportunity for complete year around employment that is afforded by agriculture, if only the farmer himself has the resourcefulness and initiative to use his labor to advantage. It is

quite a different matter, however, if by being unemployed a farmer means to convey the idea that he is unable to extract an adequate financial return from his operations to meet his current expenses. Often this is the real situation. On the other hand, the situation of the wage earning classes of the villages can be regarded as actual unemployment when those who are able bodied, who desire and seek employment, who are employable, cannot find a gainful use for their labor. The data here given more than likely reveal very nearly the true situation for the village population, both relief and non-relief. All of this suggests that comparisons made between village and farm populations as to unemployment at a given time must be drawn reservedly.

Considering the entire employment history of the relief and non-relief population, one-half (50.6 per cent) of the village household heads have been unemployed at times for periods of from 1 to 21 years. Only 11 per cent of the farm households have been unemployed at intervals ranging from 1 to 22 years. This does not necessarily mean that these people lived only on the farm or in the village during their entire earning life. Employment records show that an appreciable proportion of both village and farm household heads have migrated often from village to country and from country to village. Table 26 shows the unemployment periods experienced by heads of households in specified places of residence as of October 1, 1933.

For the most part unemployment has been experienced by family heads for comparatively short periods. In the farm population, both relief and non-relief, it is only a small minority of the family heads who had been unemployed at all. It may be significant to observe that unemployment was more prevalent among the village household heads of both relief and non-relief families than even in the relief farm population. From a general internal inspection of the data at hand, it would appear that probably the principal

Number :			:		and the second second	:		**************************************
of Years :		: Non-	:		Non-	:		Non-
Unemployed:	Relief	: Relief	:	Relief :	Relief	:	Relief :	Relief
Total	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0
0	59.4	87.4		9.4	69.9		79.0	93.4
1 - 3	21.8	6.3		43.9	13.0		13.2	4.0
4 - 6	12.1	3.6		30.9	9.0		4.7	1.9
7 - 9	1.6	.9		2.8	2.8		1.1	.2
10 - 12	1.3	.5		3.8	1.0		.4	.3
13 - 15	2.1	.9		4.7	3.3		1.2	-
16 - 18	.8	-		1.8	-		.4	-
19 - 21	.6	.1		1.8	.5			-
22 and Over	.3	.3		.9	.5		-	.2

Percentage Distribution of Household Heads With Unemployment Records According to Number of Years Unemployed

insidence of unemployment in the farm group was upon those who had migrated to the farms from non-farm communities and who, apparently, had not become thoroughly absorbed into the agricultural pattern of life when the relief program began. If this inference be tenable, it is of vast importance in the national recovery program. It suggests that the general standard of living of the farm population has been lowered by the movement of appreciable numbers of unemployed villagers to the farms. It also implies that one of the important problems of the farm community is the assimilation and rehabilitation of these emigrants who have fled from the non-agricultural occupations to the farms.

The relief village population has been, undoubtedly, the source of the gravest unemployment in rural communities. At least that was true up to 1933. However, there is one extenuating factor. The beginning of the federal relief program was, in all probability, a stimulus to migration toward the villages because this enabled clients to be closer to the sources of relief, the distributing points, and also brought them into closer contact with the various works programs.

While not directly applicable to an explanation of unemployment history, the foregoing statements are necessary to an understanding of the differences in the incidence of unemployment found between various population groups. Not only does it seem that the volume of unemployment was greater in the villages than on the farms but also the probable duration was much greater.

Finally, it may be said that there seems to have been a correlation between the types of occupational fitness of different aggregates of the rural population and the hazard of unemployment up to 1933. As a tentative conclusion it may be said, when thinking of the rural situation as a whole, that the most serious problems of relief and unemployment have been concerned with those groups whose occupational skills and training were such that they were not readily adaptable either to agriculture or to non-agricultural work in the villages and who floated back and forth between village and farm. In some cases, perhaps a sizeable proportion, a lack of resources and definite connections necessary for making a start either in agriculture or in trades may have been the responsible factor. At any rate, the problem of rural rehabilitation seems to be concentrated upon these rather indefinable classes of the population whether in villages or on farms.

PART IV

COMPOSITION OF RELIEF AND NON-RELIEF HOUSEHOLDS

Types of Households

The characteristics of households are important aids in determining the socio-economic situations of population groups. In a specific sense, the household is a social institution. It not only presupposes the existence of a family or quasi-family group, but also implies that the usual bonds of family integration may be extended even beyond the biological family group. There are various reasons why the family may be enlarged and projected beyond its simplest confines. Among these may be the sex, age, and social composition of the population of the community, which may render detached persons unable to maintain a separate existence. The rural family has long been regarded as an agency of division of labor as between production and domestic activities. Premature disruption of families, such as death or separation of parents of immature children, failure of siblings to establish families of their own, and the infirmities of old age are among the factors which contribute to the frequent necessity for the expansion of the family group. Under these same conditions, however, a smaller proportion of families are able to withstand the stress and to exist for a time in an incomplete or broken form. This portion of the study is devoted to an analysis of factors contributing to the composition and organization of households.

Accordingly, the households included in the study have been classified by types. By type of household is meant the organization which prevailed, whether ordinary families composed of parents and children, families made up of husband and wife only, those composed of children whose parents have died, or in whatever structural form the household may have been maintained. These data are given in Table 27.

	: Per	Cent of	Househo!	lds of	Sp	ecified	Types
Types	: Tota	al	: V11	Lage	:	Fax	cua.
of	:	Non-	1 1	Non-	:		Non-
Households	:Relief:	Relief	: Relief:	Relief	1	Relief:	Relief
All Households	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0)	100.0	100.0
Husband and Wife	9.2	19.2	11.2	20.6	5	8.5	18.7
Husband, Wife, and Children	57.5	56.5	56.1	58.9		58.1	55.7
Husband and Children	2.4	2.6	1.9	1.4	ŀ	2.6	3.0
Wife and Children	.8	2.0		1.9)	1.1	2.0
Children	.5	.7	1.9	1.4	Ł		.4
One Person (Male)	6.3	4.9	6.5	1.4	L	6.2	6.1
One Person (Female)	2.4	2.9	7.5	6.2	3	.3	1.8
Doubled Up	5.8	2.0	6.5	1.0)	5.5	2.3
Additional Persons*	15.1	9.2	8.4	7.2	3	17.7	10.0

Percentage Distribution of Households According to Type

Additional persons were mostly adult children who had returned home after once going out on their own responsibilities, grandchildren, parents, and grandparents of family heads.

As may be seen from Table 27, ordinary families, those composed of husband, wife, and children, comprised 57.5 per cent of the total relief households, while in the non-relief group this type accounted for 56.5 per cent of the total. In fact, the ordinary type of family existed in almost a constant proportion, allowing for chance errors, in all four of the samples studied. This is significant for it shows that the principal type of family persists without regard to social and economic tensions to which it must submit. Widowed family heads with children made up 5.0 per cent of the non-relief and 3.7 per cent of the relief farm households, but 3.3 per cent of the nonrelief and 1.9 per cent of the relief village households, from which it would seem that in spite of geographic isolation the open country is less hostile to the broken family than concentrated centers of population. On the other hand, one-person households were more heavily concentrated in the village than in

the farming population. Probably the reason for this is that solitary life is less irksome in small towns than in the open country because of the greater accessibility of personal and professional services which in the village may be substituted for family services. Households composed of husband and wife only existed in about twice as great proportions in the non-relief as in the relief groups both farm and village, but the proportion as between farm and village relief households and between farm and village non-relief households were about equal. The only significant proportions of doubled-up households were found in the relief population group, with the villages showing a somewhat greater attraction for this type of household than the open country. Finally, it was the farm much more often than the village, and the relief more often than the non-relief household which offered shelter to other persons in addition to regular members of the family. This is indicative, not merely of the hospitality of the farm household, but of the dependence of farm people upon the family not only as an instrument for procreation but also as an agency for the dispensation of charity and benevolence. This role has been forced upon it to a large extent by the comparative absence of agencies doing social welfare work in the open country.

The percentage distributions of persons in the various population groups according to the types of households in which they resided are shown in Table 28. To see the complete meaning of these data, it is necessary that they be studied in connection with those given in Table 27. For the reason that households may vary in size from one person to an indefinite maximum limit, the distribution of persons and households ordinarily will not be the same.

Almost two-thirds of the total number of persons who resided in relief and slightly over two-thirds of those in non-relief households were found in ordinary families, that is those made up of husband, wife, and children with no one else living in the home. This type of household contained 69.6 per

Types	: Per Cent of Persons : In Specified Types of Households										
of	: Tot	al :	Vil	lage :	Fa	1770					
Households	: :	Non- :	:	Non- :	:	Non-					
	: Relief:	Relief:	Relief:	Relief:	Relief:	Relief					
All Households	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0					
Husband and Wife	3.9	10.0	5.3	11.5	3.5	9.6					
Husband, Wife, and Children	64.5	69.4	69.6	72.9	62.7	68.3					
Husband and Children	2.8	2.3	1.5	1.3	3.2	2.6					
Wife and Children	.6	1.9		1.9	.8	1.9					
Children	.2	.5	.9	1.1		.3					
One Person (Male)	1.4	1.3	1.5	.4	1.3	1.5					
One Person (Female)	.5	.8	1.8	1.7	.1	.5					
Doubled Up	8.2	3.1	9.9	1.5	7.6	3.6					
Additional Persons*	17.9	10.7	9.5	7.6	20.8	11.7					

Percentage Distribution of Persons in Households According to Type of Household

See fn. to Table 27.

cent of the relief village and 62.7 per cent of the relief farm population, and 72.9 per cent of the village and 68.3 per cent of the farm non-relief population. As may be seen by referring to Table 27, the ordinary family contained a larger proportion of the total population than it comprised of the total number of households. The reason for this is obvious, because population increases faster than the number of households, and one person as well as other small households do not bear a high proportion to the total population. Doubled-up households and households which had additional persons also accounted for a larger proportion of the population than of the number of households. This means that the proportions of population which came from other types of households must be smaller by comparison than the proportions such households comprised of all households.

There is a significant observation which may be drawn from Table 28. That is, whether, because of necessity or otherwise, there was a greater tendency for relief than for non-relief households to be doubled-up and to offer shelter to other persons than the immediate family, and this was more pronounced in farm than in village households. This may be regarded as a form of accommodation to economic stress, and it may suggest that the family is one of the more important agencies in the rural community for the dispensation of voluntary assistance to the dependent and needy.

In table 29, the proportion of households which had additional persons is shown according to the kinship relation of additional persons to the household head. The value of the Table is that it shows the proportions of households which lend themselves as agents for the care of various types of dependent persons. For the reason that a given household often will care for persons of different degrees of relationship to the heads, these classifications overlap each other and cannot be totaled or averaged conveniently.

TABLE 29

Per Cent of Relief and Non-Relief Households Which Had Additional Persons According to Relationship of Additional Persons to Household Heads

Relationship of	: Per Cent of Households : Which Had Additional Persons									
Additional Persons	: Te	otal	: ¥11	lage	1	Farm				
to Household Heads	: :Relief	:Non- :Relief	: :N :Relief:R	on- elief	: :Relief	:Non- :Relief				
All Additional Persons*	20.9	11.2	14.9	8 . 2	23.2	12.3				
Parents and Grandparents	6.1	4.6	3.7	4.7	7.0	4.5				
Brothers and Sisters	4.4	3.6	3.7	3.3	4.8	3.7				
Uncles and Aunts	.5	.2	.9		· ¹	•3				
Nieces and Nephews	2.1	.9	1.9	.4	2.2	1.1				
Grand Children	11.6	5.5	12.1	2.8	11.3	6.4				
Cousins	.2	.1			4	.1				
Step Children	1.5	0 -	.9		1.8	+ -				
Children**	6.8	3.1	9.3	1.9	5.8	3.4				
No Relation	1.5	.7		.4	2.2	.8				

* This figure equals the sum of "Doubled-Up" and "Additional Persons" as given in Table 27.

** Includes husbands and wives, sons and daughters-in-law, of married children.
On the whole, the relief households offered assistance most often to grandchildren of the household heads next to their own children, and then to their aged parents, with siblings of household heads coming in fourth place in frequency. This order of giving assistance is not maintained by each single population group. As to remote degrees of relationship, it seems that chance was the governing factor. While the data do not show explicitly the reasons for the existing distributions, it may be assumed (1) that because of the kinship bond, dependent persons look to their closest relatives for aid first, and (2) that with the potential increase of relatives coming with the passing of time, as in the possibility of having more grandchildren than children, the probabilities of having to take care of dependents in such cases are increased.

While the numbers of additional persons in the households visited by this study are not satisfically significant in themselves because of their smallness, they are important from another point of view. They show the range of kinship relationships which may find comfort in the rural household, speaking generally, and they show the proportions of various degrees of kinship relative to each other which may be included. Owing to the smallness of absolute numbers a detailed distribution of additional persons is not shown. However, such a distribution for the relief and non-relief population en mass is given in Table 29.

In Table 30, it may be seen that there is a variation between relief and non-relief households as to incidence of relationship among the additional persons in households. In non-relief households grandchildren comprised 29.0 per cent of the additional persons, parents and grandparents 24.5 per cent, brothers and sisters 19.4 per cent, and adult children who had returned home after having lived elsewhere 16.1 per cent. In the relief household the order of frequency was changed somewhat. In that group, grandchildren

comprised 33.1 per cent, children 19.5 per cent, parents and grandparents 17.3 per cent, and brothers and sisters 12.9 per cent of the total additional persons. The data in this table are considered only as supplementary to those given in Table 29. Their principal value is that they give a close up idea of the obverse side of the same thing. In the former, the object was to find out what proportions of the households were open to other persons than the immediate family and the degrees of kinship which seemed to have preference. In the latter case the purpose is to show the comparative tendencies of persons of different degrees of relationship to the household head to take up abodes with their kinsmen.

TABLE 30

Percentage Distribution of Additional Persons in Households According to Relationship to Household Heads

Relationship of :	Per	Cent of Persons of	
Additional Persons :	Specifie	d Relation in Household	
to Household Heads :	Relief	: Non-Relief	
All Relations	100.0	100.0	
Parents and Grandparents	17.3	24.5	
Brothers and Sisters	12.9	19.4	
Uncles and Aunts	1.5	1.3	
Nieces and Nephews	6.0	5.2	
Grandchildren	33.1	29.0	
Cousins	.7	.6	
Step-Children	4.5		
Children*	19.5	16.1	
No Relation	4.5	3.9	

* Including husbands and wives of married children.

Size of Households

One of the most significant socio-economic patterns of family life is the phenomenon of size of family. As a general principle, the size of families tends to vary inversely with economic status. If the family concept is enlarged to include not simply the husband, wife, and children issuing from a single marriage union but also these together with all other persons sharing the same shelter and board and dependent upon a common source of maintenance, the same tendency may be observed. That is to say, the economic resources of a household usually do not increase as rapidly in proportion as the size of the household at least in population groups with limited means. At this point in the study the objective is to make a comparison of relief and non-relief households with a view to testing the above mentioned principle.

In Table 31, the percentage distribution of populations of the different samples are given according to the number of persons in the households visited. In general the modal size of households supplying relief population was 6 persons and that of non-relief population was 4 persons. In the relief group as a whole, if a typical household were assumed to have 5 persons, 29.9 per cent of the households with relief population would be smaller and 55.2 per cent would be larger than the typical, while in those of the non-relief population 49.1 per cent would be smaller and only 34.5 per cent would be larger than the usual household. These comparisons show decidely that the relief problem is associated with overpopulation of households, if the typical size of non-relief households may be taken as a criterion.

In a more detailed comparison, it may be seen that the range of sizes of village households both relief and non-relief was less than that of farm households. In the village relief sample, none of the population came from households of more than 10 persons while 1.1 per cent of the relief farm population came from households of 14 persons. In the relief populations of both villages and farms, the modal size of households was 6 persons while in the non-relief population it was 5 persons in the villages and 4 persons on the farms. In the non-relief samples, the distribution curves of population are

skewed sharply toward the smaller sized households while in the relief groups the bulge of the curves are shifted more toward the intermediate and larger sized households. If a 5 person household be assumed to be typical, 47.5 per cent of the non-relief farm and 54.7 per cent of the nonrelief village population was found among the smaller than typically sized households while the corresponding proportions in the relief groups were 28.6 per cent for farm and 33.2 per cent for the village groups. This, of course, leaves 52.7 per cent of the non-relief and 71.2 per cent of the relief farm population as compared with 45.3 per cent of the non-relief and 66.8 per cent of the relief village population to come from households which had 5 or more persons. Thus it is seen that the larger households are more heavily concentrated in the relief than in the non-relief population.

TABLE 31

Percentage Distribution of Population According to the Number of Persons in The Household

	: Per	Cent of	Po	pulation	1]	Residing	in	Househo	ld	8
Number of Persons	: Tot	al	1	Vi	1	lage	:	Fa	rm	
Per	: :	Non-	:		:	Non-	:		:]	Non-
Household	: Relief :	Relief	:	Relief	:	Relief	1	Relief	:]	Relief
All Households	100.0	100.0		100.0	1200	100.0		100.0		100.0
1	1.8	2.1		3.3		2.1		1.3		2.0
2	4.6	11.8		6.6		13.1		3.9		11.4
3	11.1	16.5		9.2		19.7		11.8		15.5
4	12.4	18.7		14.1		19.8		11.8		18.4
5	14.9	16.4		12.1		20.7		15.9		15.2
6	17.9	12.7		22.5		12.8		16.3		12.6
7	9.8	7.9		13.9		4.7		8.5		8.8
8	11.7	5.4		14.1		4.3		10.9		5.7
9	4.6	4.3		2.0				5.4		5.7
10	5.1	1.3		2.2		1.3		6.0		1.3
11	3.1	2.2				1.5		4.2		2.3
12 and Over	3.0	.7						4.0		1.1
	The second states	Children .		P. Carlos		and the second	8149	A Carlos	1	Sec. 1

Turning now to the distribution of households themselves as shown in Table 32 it will be seen that the smaller households, those of less than 4 or 5 persons were relatively much more numerous than extra large households although they did not supply as large a proportion of the population as did the less numerous but larger households.

There is one caution that should be observed in studying the foregoing sets of data. It is quite easy to carry the conclusion that bigness of households is coincidental with economic dependency too far because, as

TABLE 32

	:		Per	Cent of	Househol	ds.		
Number of Person	s: Tot	al	:	Vi	llage	:	F	arm
Per	: :	Non-	:		: Non-	:		: Non-
Household	:Relief :	Relief	:	Relief	: Relief	:	Relief	: Relief
All Households	100.0	100.0		100,0	100.0		100.0	100.0
1	8.7	7.8		14.0	7.7		6.6	7.9
2	10.8	22.5		14.0	23.4		9.6	22.2
3	17.4	21.0		13.0	23.4		19.1	20.2
4	14.5	17.9		15.0	17.7		14.4	17.9
5	14.0	12.5		10.2	14.8		15.5	11.8
6	14.0	8.1		15.9	7.7		13.2	8.2
7	6.6	4.3		8.4	2.0		5.9	4.9
8	6.8	2.6		7.5	2.3		6.6	2.8
9	2.4	1.8		1.0			2.9	2.4
10	2.4	1.5		1.0	.5		2.9	.5
11	1.3	.7			.5		1.8	.8
12 and Over	1.1	.2					1.5	4

Percentage Distribution of Households According to Number of Persons in Household

may be seen in Table 32, the extremely large household is also extremely rare. While the large household does furnish a disproportionately heavy share of the population, its general importance may be overemphasized. The seriousness of its economic distress may be actually great to its own members but of comparative insignificance to society at large. It is from the viewpoint of the larger







FIGURE 8 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF PERSONS IN HOUSEHOLD







group primarily that the interpretations should be made.

Size of Households in "Ammain" Units

The age and sex composition of households largely determine the nature and character of the physical needs of their members. Sydenstricker and King originated the "ammain" scale whereby physical needs can be measured with the population standardized for age and sex. That is, each person is placed on a scale in proportion to 1 taking into consideration his age and sex. Using the "ammain" unit scale households of this survey were measured. More than one-half of the families lived in households that measured from 1 to 3.9 "ammain" units. Of the relief group, 1 out of 4 lived in households of 4 "ammain" units or above as compared to 1 out of 6 in the non-relief group. These larger households are more often found in the farm than in the village population.

When the data on size of households were standardized as shown in Table 33, there was mitigation of the principle of an inverse relation between size of family and economic status. Only 21.5 per cent of the village and 26.4 per cent of the farm relief households contained a number of persons totaling 4 or more "ammain" units. However, in the non-relief village group there were only 9.1 per cent and in the non-relief farm group 18.4 per cent of the households which were in the same size ranges. While large households are mainly phenomena of relief and farm populations, standardization of the data goes a long way toward reducing the picture to the actual size of the problem.

Sex Composition of Populations Studied

Social and economic problems are associated with the sex ratio of the population. This is noticeable in studying the ratio of the sexes in the different sections of the country as it affects the marriage rate, death rate, birth rate, the stability of the family, criminality and immorality of the

			1	To	tal	:	Vi	11	age	:	F	ar	m
	Amma	ain Units	: :Relief	:	Non- Relief	:	Relief	:	Non- Relief	1	Relief	:	Non- Relief
Tot	tal	Households	100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0
Up	to	1.9	20.3		31.2		28.0		31.1		17.3		31.2
2	to	3.9	54.6		52.8		50.5		59.8		56.3		50.4
4	to	5.9	20.9		13.7		18.7		8.6		21.7		15.4
6	to	7.9	3.7		2.2		2.8		.5		4.0		2.8
8	to	9.9	.5		.1						.7		.2

Percentage Distribution of Households in "Ammain" Units*

* Edgar Sydenstricker and Wilfred I. King, Reprint No. 623, U.S. Public Health, 1920, p. 2844.

Scale:			Male					Female	
19 5 7 - 1997 -	Und	er 2	Years	.2	Une	ler	2	Years	.2
	2	to 4	L	.3	2	to	4		.3
	5	to 9)	.4	5	to	9		.4
	10	to 1	2	.5	10	to	12		.5
	13			.6	13	to	14		.6
	14	to 1	.5	.7	15	to	18		.7
	16			.8	19	to	36		.8
	17	to]	8	.9	37	to	64	r	.7
	19	to 3	5	1,0	65	and	1 0	ver	.6
	36	to 5	55	.9					
	56	to 7	75	.8					
	75	and	Over	.7					

population, and other phases of social behavior. On the other hand rurality or urbanity, occupational and industrial activity, and maturity of population are functionally related to age and sex compositions of population groups.

According to Sorokin and Zimmerman, agriculture, as it is carried on in family units, offers very little outlet for women other than family life. Women who do not care for marriage, or, women who for one reason or another do not marry, find better social and economic opportunities in the cities than on farms. ¹ The congregation of young adults and of relatively more

P. Sorokin and Carle C. Zimmerman, Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology, p. 555.

females in cities than in rural areas has much to do with the characteristics of the city population. The heavy proportion of persons of active ages tends to increase per capita income, to decrease the proportion of dependent persons per 100 wage earners, to stimulate mobility of city populations, to delay marriage, and may be associated with various forms of social unrest. In a population having a preponderance of young adults the death rate except possibly for industrial accidents naturally would be lowered. In industrialized cities where occupations require male workers the proportion of married persons in the population tends to decrease. These general considerations, along with numerous others which may be implied, are regarded as furnishing a substantial thesis in the light of which the sex composition of a population may be studied.

in 1920 the sex ratio for Oklahoma was 109.1 males per 100 females. By 1930 the ratio between the sexes had fallen to 106.1. The sex ratio for the rural population in 1930 was 109.9 males to 100 females. In the rural farm population there were 112.3 males per 100 females and for the rural nonfarm population there were 105.3 males per 100 females. ² As a population becomes more urbanized the ratio of the sexes is expected to change. The urbanized population tends to have a higher proportion of females to males than the rural farm population. The same tendency is noticeable in this study. The village population has a larger per cent of females than the strictly farm population. These characteristics are shown in Census date for Oklahoma 1930. From computations based on Census data two distinct trends are definable in the general population of Oklahoma between 1890 and 1930. First, urbanization has increased rapidly. Second, the excess of males over females has declined with marked emphasis. ³

2 Fifteenth Census of U.S. 1930, pp. 442-443.

See O. D. Duncan, Population Trends in Oklahoma, Okla. Agri. Exper. Sta. Bul. 224, p. 17.

Of the sample studied the number of males to 100 females in the village or rural non-farm population was below that for the state as a whole, being 98.2 for the relief and 95.8 for the non-relief population as compared with 105.3, the state figure for 1930. The farm population in the sample areas had approximately the same sex ratio as the rural population of Oklahoma in 1930. These proportions were 108.3 for the relief and 114 for the non-relief farm group as compared with 112.3 for the entire state in 1930. The number of males per 100 females in the different age classes for relief and non-relief population is shown in Table 34. If all ages of 35 years and above are taken together, it may be observed that there is a heavy excess of male relative to female population. This excess increases as the age of the population increases.

TABLE 34

Number of Males per 100 Females in Rural Relief and Non-Relief Population of Cleveland and Payne Counties According to Age Groups

	:				Mal	les per 10	00) Female	8			
	:	Tot	ta	1	:	Vill	1.	age	:		Farm	
Age	:		:	Non-	:			Non-	:		Non-	
Group	:	Relief	1	Relief	:	Relief :		Relief	:	Relief	Relief	
Total		105.6		109.3		98.2		95.8		108.3	114.0	
Under 5		95.1		115.7		110.0		113.7		91.5	116.3	
5 - 9		96.8		120.1		83.3		81.2		102.1	139.5	
10 - 14		115.6		83.0		136.0		84.4		117.8	82.5	
15 - 19		88.1		121.2		72.0		71.8		92.0	134.1	
20 - 24		105.0		102.2		73.6		97.0		115.0	104.0	
25 - 34		88.3		89.6		71.4		93.3		94.6	88.1	
35 - 44		100.0		107.9		69.6		127.2		112.2	103.4	
45 - 54		126.0		106.0		136.0		92.6		120.8	110.4	
55 - 64		143.4		143.6		138.4		129.1		145.4	148.1	
65 and Over		181.5		146.7		211.1		91.7		166.7	182.1	

A study of the census data reveals that there was a great preponderance of males in the original population of Oklahoma. In 1890, there were 128.2 males to each 100 females in the total population. However, in the adult population at that time the number of males for 100 females ranged from 114.8 in the group aged 20 to 24 years up to 217.5 in the 60 to 64 year age group. Undoubtedly this was a phenomenon of the preponderant male migration which flowed into the territories at the time of their opening for settlement. Such a condition is characteristic of new regions and of agricultural and mining areas in particular. In all probability, a large part of the distortion in the sex distribution is a concomitant of the types of economic opportunities available in the state on the one hand and of the natural changes in the population pyramid itself on the other. As the population grows older, the original excessive masculinity is being gradually transferred from the younger to the older age groups.

Net Production Rate Per Generation

Lorimer and Osborn have computed the net reproduction rate per generation by comparing the number of children with the estimated number needed to supply just so many adults at reproductive ages as are living in any group.⁴ Figures used here have been adjusted for the influences of varying death rates on net reproduction. By using life tables prepared by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company these writers estimate that 443 children under 5 years of age to every 1000 females 20-44 years of age are necessary to insure a stable population. ⁵ In order to secure homogeneity and to eliminate racial differences in survival rates, they based their computation on the native white population exclusively.

Lorimer and Osborn, Dynamics of Population, p. 359.
5 Ibid, p. 10.

If Lorimer and Osborn's ratio of children to women of specified ages be used as a base, that is 443 equaling 100, it is possible to determine to what extent the net reproduction rate per generation of a given population exceeds or falls short of that necessary to maintain itself at a stationary level. For example, in 1930 there were 601 living children under 5 years of age per 1000 women 20-44 years old in the native white population of Oklahoma. ⁶ Then if 443 is taken as a base, or 100, the net reproduction rate per generation of Oklahoma population was 135.7 per cent of the number required to maintain itself at a constant level.

Due to the fact that less than 5 per cent of population of this study belonged to races other than native white the Lorimer and Osborn's method is used without correction to determine the net reproduction rate per generation for women studied in this sample. In comparison with the Lorimer and Osborn base of 443 children under 5 years of age per 1000 women aged 20-44 years, the relief group had a net reproduction index of 163.7 as compared to 108.8 for the non-relief group. The combined index for the entire sample studied was 127.1 which was lower than the reproduction rate for the state as a whole in 1930. Analyzing each group separately the village population had a reproduction index of 112.8 for the relief and 110.0 for the non-relief group as compared with the farm group who had a net reproduction index of 182.2 for relief and 107.9 for the non-relief population. All groups with the exception of the relief farm group had a net reproduction rate per generation which was lower than that for the entire state, as a whole, in 1930.

If the above comparisons be carried one step further their significance relative to the future population of Oklahoma can be seen clearly. In 1930, the net reproduction index for the urban population was 90.0, that

^o Fifteenth Census of U.S. Population, 1930, Vol. 3, Part 2, Table 2, p. 542.

of the rural non-farm population was 143.0, while that of the farm population was 186.2. In the preceding paragraph it was seen that the reproduction index of the relief farm population studied was 182.2. From this, the implication is apparent that the potential natural increase of the Oklahoma population is not simply dependent upon the rural population but upon those elements of the rural population which are economically unable to provide their children with more than a subsistence standard of living at best. All this is emphasized when it is recalled that, in 1930, 42.7 per cent of the total population of Oklahoma lived on farms, and that in 1935 it was estimated that in a large proportion of the counties from two-thirds to three-fourths of the farm population of the state were recipients of some form of relief. ⁷

Annual Fertility Rates of the Population Studied

A comparison of the population in regard to fertility may be expressed by the ratio of children to women of specific age groups. These ratios for different studies are shown in terms of (1) the number of children ever born per 100 or 1000 women of specified ages, and gives both past and present fertility of the population, (2) the number of children under 5 years of age per 1000 women 15-44 years of age and (3) the number of children under 1 year of age per 1000 women 15-44 years of age.

For this study the method which considers the number of children under 1 year of age per 1000 women age 15-44 years of age has been used. For comparative purposes census data were included. The total Oklahoma birth registration in 1930 was 91.2 births per year per 1000 women age 15-44, the number

⁷ For trends in the relief situation see 0. D. Duncan, Recent Changes in the Relief Situation in Oklahoma, Current Farm Economics, Okla. Exp. Sta. Ser. 49, Vol. 8, No. 1, pp. 18-20.

of males to 100 females being 106.0.⁸ According to Lorimer and Osborn, an ideal population with no deaths between births and the end of the reproductive period, assuming 106 males to 100 females 15-44 years of age, should be 68.7 births per 1000 women per year.⁹ Thus, it would follow that fertility of the Oklahoma population was 34.5 per cent greater than the figure necessary for its maintenance at a stationary level.

To secure a trend of the fertility rate of the relief and non-relief households of the study the number of surviving children under one year of age per 1000 women 15 to 44 years of age was computed annually over a period of 5 years, 1929-1933, inclusive. These results were corrected for deaths that might have occurred to children under 5 years of age and are shown in Table 35. ¹⁰ Comparing the relief and non-relief population, women of relief households had more children per 1000 women than did women of nonrelief households. The average for the 5 years prior to 1934 was 191.5 children per 1000 women of specified ages in relief and 128.2 children per 1000 women in the non-relief households. The village population of this group both relief and non-relief and the farm non-relief group have a fertility rate of 140.1, 124.8, and 129.5, respectively. The relief farm group had a ratio of 208.9 which is very much higher than any other group.

These figures present net fertility rates much higher than would be expected on the basis of Oklahoma birth registrations in 1930. In 1933 there were 199.6 children per 1000 women 15-44 years of age in the relief and 81.2 children per 1000 women of identical ages in the non-relief population. The fertility rate of all women ages 15 to 44 years in the survey

8 Fifteenth Census of U.S. 1930, Vol. 3, Pop. p. 542.

⁹ Lorimer and Osborn, Dynamics of Population, p. 352.

¹⁰ In order to establish the annual birth rate which would be entirely comparable from year to year, the number of children living at the time of study was corrected using the death rate of children of ages specified of these two counties.

TABLE 35

	:	Tota	11		:	Vill	La	ige	:	Fa	rm
	:		:	Non-	;	:		Non-	:	:	Non-
Year	:	Relief	1	Relief	1	Relief :		Relief	:	Relief :	Relief
Average		191.5		128.2		140.1		124.8		208.9	129.5
1933*		199.6		81.2		85.0		70.1		234.8	85.0
1932		171.8		123.4		203.1		111.7		161.4	127.8
1931		185.0		165.9		136.7		179.1		201.6	164.1
1930		253.5		153.2		178.2		132.4		279.3	160.2
1929		147.4		114.9		96.2		129.6		165.7	108.7

The Number of Children Born (Exclusive of Still Births) Per 1000 Women Age 15 to 44 Years of Age (1929-1933)

* Schedules were taken as of October 1933. Data for year 1933 were adjusted to twelve months basis.

counties was much higher for all years except 1933 than the fertility rate for Oklahoma as a whole, since the rural farm population of Oklahoma shows a rate of 117.1 and the rural non-farm population a rate of 96.4 per 1000 women of specified ages. 11

The ratio of children to women in the non-relief groups, both village and farm, increased in 1930 over the ratio for 1929, with a still larger increase in 1931. But in 1932 the rate began to decrease and fell much below the 1929 rate. The highest ratio for women of the relief group was among the farm population for the years of 1930 and 1933. For the relief village women the ratio was highest in 1932. In comparing the fertility of these groups the ratio of children born per 1000 women decreased in 1933 to a figure much below 1929 ratios, while the fertility of the farm relief population increased approximately 44 per cent.

Other studies on the fertility of the relief population appear to show similar tendencies to those indicated by these data. Frank W. Notestien,

11 Fifteenth Census U.S., Ibid.

in a study of fertility of families on relief, concludes that families who are dependent on relief have not necessarily become more fertile after being on relief. ¹² Also Samuel A. Stouffer made a study of fertility of families on relief in Milwaukee and surburbs in which he considered all confinements between October 1, 1930, and December 1, 1933, among 5520 relief families and found that 35 per cent more confinements occurred in relief households than among a control group in the same vicinity. ¹³

In general it may be concluded that the fertility of the relief population of this survey is higher than the non-relief population. This can be attributed to the excessive number of children in relief homes over the number in non-relief homes as one of the main factors necessitating the need of relief by these families, since, oftentimes case workers seem to favor needy families with small children. Furthermore, it must be kept in mind that due to the sampling procedure used for these data the families receiving aid in October 1933 were classed as relief households and may not have been so classed during the five year period prior to the time the survey was made. Had these same families been studied before dependency their fertility rates would probably have been high regardless of their economic status.

Age Distribution of Heads of Households

In studying the age distribution of the male household heads of relief and non-relief groups the data in Table 36 show definitely that old age can not be considered as the direct cause for relief. Male heads under 25 years

¹² Frank W. Notestien, Fertility of Families on Relief, Reprint from the Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, Vol. XIV, No. 1, Jan. 1936, p. 48.

¹³ Samuel A. Stouffer, Fertility of Families on Relief, Journal of American Statistical Association, September 1934, p. 53.

of age are more numerous in the relief farm group, the percentage being 8.8, while the non-relief farm group have 4.3 per cent, non-relief village 4.8 per cent, and village relief group 2.8 per cent. In all age groupings under 45 years the percentage distribution of male heads of relief households on farms show a larger per cent, 51.2 as compared with 44.9 per cent in the non-relief village, 41.7 per cent in the non-relief farm and 30.8 per cent in the village relief groups. More than one-third of all male heads, 38.6 per cent of the relief and 38.8 per cent of the non-relief male heads, in the farm population are in the age grouping 45 to 65 years of age. The village group show different proportions, 45.8 per cent relief village and 31.6 per cent non-relief village male heads. There were 15.1 per cent

TABLE 36

Percentage Distribution of Male Heads in Relief and Non-Relief Households According to Age

	:	Tota	1	:	Villa	ige	1	Far	n
Age	:		: Non-	:		: Non-	:		: Non-
Groups	:	Relief	: Relief	:	Relief	: Relief	:	Relief	: Relief
Total		100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0
Under 19		.5	.1					.7	.2
20 - 24		6.6	4.3		2.8	4.8		8.1	4.1
25 - 29		10.3	6.9		6.5	8.1		11.8	6.6
30 - 34		9.2	9.4		7.5	12.9		9.9	8.2
35 - 39		9,8	10.6		6.5	11.5		11.0	10.3
40 - 44		9.8	11.1		7.5	7.6		10.7	12.3
45 - 49		10.3	10.2		12.2	4.3		9.6	12.2
50 - 54		12.9	10.3		16.8	13.4		11.4	9.2
55 - 59		10.3	7.6		7.5	7.2		11.4	7.7
60 - 64		7.1	8.9		9.3	6.7		6.2	9.7
65 - 69		5.6	6.4		10.3	3.8		3.7	7.2
70 - 74		2.4	4.8		1.9	4.8		2.6	4.8
75 and Above		2.6	3.8		3.7	5.8		2.2	3.1
No Male Head		2.6	5.6		7.5	9.1		.7	4.4

of the male household heads in the non-relief as compared with 8.8 per cent in the relief farm group who were 65 years of age or over. The age distribution of village male heads was similar to that of the farm relief group. Totaling the village and farm male household heads we find a slightly larger per cent of relief than of the non-relief population in age groups under 45 years, and a smaller per cent in age grouping 65 years and above.

Households with no male heads appear to be on relief in relatively few cases, especially in the farm group. This may be attributed to insurance policies carried by the husband and to adult children who may take the responsibility of bread-winner for the family.

The age distribution of female heads as shown in Table 37 is somewhat similar to that of male household heads. A larger per cent of relief than non-relief female heads on farms were below 45 years of age, with a slightly larger per cent in the non-relief village than in relief village groups. Approximately the same proportions of all population groups were between 45 and 65 years of age. The percentage of female heads above 65 years of age is smaller than the per cent of male heads in this age class, but they appeared in comparable proportions with male heads in all age groups if the sex ratio of the general population are considered.

Incidentally, it may be pointed out that the proportions of households with no female heads were from two to four times as large as that of households with no male heads. In both relief and non-relief farm groups 11.0 per cent of the households had no female head as compared with 12.2 per cent in village relief and 6.2 per cent in village non-relief group. This may be due to several factors. Insurance policies are more often carried on the male than on the female head of the household, and in case the female head dies funeral expenses have to be met without aid of insurance. Relatives



AGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS - MALES

FIGURE IO

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RELIEF AND NON-RELIEF HOUSEHOLD HEADS ACCORDING TO AGE

TABLE 37

Percentage Distribution of Female Heads In Relief and Non-Relief Households According to Age

	:	To	ot	al	:	Vill	lage	:	Fat	m
Age	:		:	Non-	:	:	Non-	:		Non-
Groups	:	Relief	:	Relief	1	Relief :	Relief	:	Relief :	Relief
Total		100.0		100.0		100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0
Under 19		3.7		1.5		3.7	.5		3.7	1.8
20 - 24		9.5		7.9		5.6	8.5		11.0	7.7
25 - 29		10.6		8.7		3.7	10.5		13.2	8.0
30 - 34		12.1		11.6		14.0	15.8		11.4	10.2
35 - 39		9.8		11.7		8.4	7.2		10.2	13.3
40 - 44		10.3		9.2		12.2	8.6		9.6	9.4
45 - 49		9.8		8.8		16.8	5.3		7.0	10.0
50 - 54		8.4		10.2		5.6	13.9		9.6	8.9
55 - 59		7.1		5.6		5.6	5.3		7.7	5.8
60 - 64		3.2		6.2		4.7	5.3		2.6	6.6
65 - 69		2.1		3.8		3.7	3.3		1.5	3.9
70 - 74		1.3		2.8		1.9	4.3		1.1	2.3
75 and Above		.8		2.2		1.9	4.2		.4	1.1
No Female Head	۱.	11.3		9.8		12.2	6.2		11.0	11.0

are usually more inclined to assist single or widowed female than male heads of households. Adult children out of the home help the mother more often than they will help the father. Also, it seems that it is easier for the female head to take care of the family and supervise the farm, in the case of farm households, or find some source of income in the village, than for the lone male head.

To further prove the statement that relief household heads are younger than the non-relief heads a free hand curve of age differences of male and female heads are shown in Figures 10 and 11. This difference is even more striking in the farm group than in the village, since marriages usually occur at an earlier age in the country than in the non-agricultural communities. Also, the farm youth can climb the "agricultural ladder" more rapidly with a family than without. The farm youth have before them the family pattern, with a certain continuity of beliefs, mores, tastes, and languages which is stronger in rural homes than in the more urbanized homes. The opposite is often true with the village youth. The data in Tables 36 and 37 show that immaturity among village male family heads is less likely to be a contributing factor to their being on relief than is true in the farm population.

In the typical marriage, as shown in Table 38, the husband was one to four years older than his wife. Generally there was a closer proximity of husbands and wives as to age in the non-relief than in the relief populations. Excesses in the age of husbands over that of wives were somewhat greater in the relief village than in any other population group studied. The proportion of wives who were older than their husbands is comparatively small, 8.3 per cent, for relief wives and 8.2 per cent for non-relief wives. In 8.0 per cent of the relief and 8.5 per cent for non-relief families, the ages of husbands and wives were equal.



FIGURE II

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RELIEF AND NON-RELIEF HOUSEHOLD HEADS ACCORDING TO AGE

TABLE 38

Age Difference:	Total	1	Vill	Lage	: Fe	rm
of :	:	Non- :		Non-	: :	Non-
Husband and Wife	Relief :	Relief :	Relief :	Relief	: Relief :	Relief
Husband Older						
30 Years or Over	.6	.1	1.2	-	.4	.2
25 - 29	.6	.7	1.2	.6	.4	.8
20 - 24	3.4	1.9	7.0	2.8	2.1	1.6
15 - 19	4.3	2.5	5.8	1.1	3.8	2.9
10 - 14	11.1	8.5	17.4	5.7	8.8	9.5
5 - 9	26.0	26.1	19.7	27.7	28.2	25.6
1 - 4	37.7	43.5	41.8	44.6	36.2	43.3
Same Age	8.0	8,5	1.2	9.0	10.5	8.3
Wife Older						
1 - 4	6.8	6.1	2.3	7.9	8.4	5.4
5 - 9	.9	1.4	1.2	.6	.8	1.8
10 - 14	.3	.3	1.2			.4
15 and Over	.3	.4			.4	.2

Percentage Distribution of Marriages Showing Age Differences of Husband and Wife

These percentages are similar to age differences for marriages in Payne county during the 38 years prior to 1933. In 7.0 per cent of 10,465 marriages studied husband and wife were the same ages while 7.3 per cent of the wives were older than their husbands and 85.7 per cent of the husbands were older than their wives. ¹⁴

The coefficients of simple correlation of the ages of husbands and wives were computed according to population classifications used. The highest coefficient correlation was .916 \pm .012 for the non-relief village group. In comparing this with relief village heads it is seen that they had a slightly lower correlation. .848 \pm .03, than non-relief heads. Contrariwise, the non-

¹⁴ O.D.Duncan with John McClure, James Salisbury, Jr., and Richard Simmons, The Factor of Age in Marriage, American Journal of Sociology, Vol. XXXIX, No. 4, January 1934, pp. 476.





relief farm household heads had a coefficient of simple correlation lower than the relief household heads, the correlation being $.758 \pm .02$ and .891 ± .014, respectively. From the above figures it may be stated that, even though there is a difference in the coefficient of simple correlation for the different groups studied, there is a high correlation between the ages of husbands and wives in all groups, and the differences observed could scarcely be said to have a significant bearing upon the problems of relief.

Education of Heads of Households

The most suitable available indication of the educational attainment for the population of this study is the grade completed in school. This information for relief and non-relief heads of rural households of both sexes is shown in Table 39. The heads of rural households receiving relief had less formal education than their non-relief neighbors. Only 11.3 per cent of the total relief in contrast with 28.7 per cent of the non-relief group had finished one or more years of high school work. Of the non-relief group, 4.8 per cent of all household heads had college training as compared with 1.1 per cent in the relief population. In the village population 29.7 per cent of the relief as compared with only 9.0 per cent of the non-relief household heads had stopped at the fourth grade or below. In the farm group, the corresponding proportions were 19.5 per cent for the relief and 14.5 per cent for the non-relief household heads. However, only a negligible proportion of household heads with no formal education was found.

The farm household heads, both male and female, have less formal education as measured by the grade completed than the village population. Only 25.6 per cent of the non-relief farm and 10.7 per cent of the relief farm household heads had completed the ninth grade and above as compared to 37.9

88:

TABLE 39

0.000	Last	:	Tot	al	:	V	11	lage	:	F	ar	m
	Grade	:	:	Non-	:		:	Non-	:		:	Non-
	Completed	:	Relief :	Relief	1	Relief	:	Relief	:	Relief	:	Relief
0	- 4		22.2	13.1		29.7		9.0		19.5		14.5
5	- 8		66.5	58.2		57.5		53.1		69.8		59.9
9	- 12		10.2	23.9		10.5		30.8		10.1		21.6
13	and Above		1.1	4.8		2.3		7.1		.6		4.0

Percentage Distribution of Male and Female Heads According to Last Grades Completed

per cent of the non-relief and 12.8 per cent relief village household heads. A slightly larger per cent of household heads in the farm than in the village group, both relief and non-relief, stopped school at the eighth grade, and in both the farm and village population, a larger proportion of the relief than of the non-relief household heads did not go beyond the eighth grade in school.

Using similar comparisons as shown in Tables 40 and 41 female heads of households have higher educational attainments than male heads. In the non-relief village group 43.5 per cent female heads as compared to 32.2 per cent of the male heads completed one year of high school work or more. The difference between the proportions of all non-relief male and female heads of households having completed the ninth grade is not greater than might be expected, the figures being 28.4 per cent for female heads and 22.9 per cent for male heads. Cnly a small proportion of household heads have college training. The per cent of male heads in the village, both relief and nonrelief, is slightly larger than the per cent of female heads who have college training. The opposite is true with the farm household heads. This is in keeping with findings in most studies of rural population in Oklahoma. An extensive survey of relief and non-relief heads of households has shown that relief heads of households have noticeably less education than their non-relief neighbors, as measured by number of years completed in school. Oklahoma relief and non-relief populations have an average grade attainment which is higher than the average for all populations included in the complete survey conducted in the several states together. Edwards and Winston found that less than one-half of all relief heads had completed grade school, and only 1 out of 20 was a high school graduate, whereas about two-thirds of the non-relief family heads had finished grade school, and 1 out of 6 had been graduated from high school. ¹⁵ In Payne and Cleveland counties three-fourths of the relief and five-sixths of the non-relief household heads had grammar school education or higher. Moreover, 1 out of 9 of the relief and 1 out of 4 of the non-relief household heads had training which was carried into high school or above.

TABLE 40

		:				Female H	lea	ads				
	Last	:	Tota	1	:	Viil	.8	ge	:	Fai	m	
	Grade	:	:	Non-			:	Non-	-:-		:	Non-
	Completed	:	Relief :	Relief	:	Relief	:	Relief	:	Relief	:	Relief
0	- 4		16.7	9.1		20.9		6.8		15.1		9.9
5	- 8		68.2	58.7		61.6		49.7		70.6		61.7
9	- 12		14.2	27.3		16.3		37.3		13.5		23.9
13	and Over		.9	4.9		1.2		6.2		.8		4.5

Percentage Distribution of Female Heads According to Last Grade Completed

15 A. D. Edwards and Ellen Winston, Education of Heads and Children of Rural Relief and Non-Relief Households, Research Bulletin, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, July 24, 1935. Data for this study covers 47 counties in 24 states. Payne and Cleveland counties are the representative Oklahoma counties included in this study.

TABLE 41

	:				Ma	11	e Heads				
Last	:	To	Total			Village			Fa	rm	
Grade	:	1.000	Non-	:		:	Non-	:		:	Non-
Completed	:	Relief	Relief	1	Relief	:	Relief	:	Relief	:	Relief
0 - 4		27.8	17.1		38.4		11.3		24.0		19.0
5 - 8		64.8	57.7		53.5		56.5		68.9		58.1
9 - 12		6.2	20.5		4.6		24.3		6.7		19.2
L3 and Over		1.2	4.7		3.5		7.9		.4		3.7

Percentage Distribution of Male Heads According to Last Grade Completed

Simple coefficients of correlation between the highest grade finished in school by the husband and that of the wife were computed. The results are significant, but do not show that the grades of education completed by non-relief heads of households have a higher correlation than those of relief household heads. The village household heads had a coefficient of simple correlation of .580 \pm .071 for the relief group as compared with .598 \pm .048 for the non-relief group. The farm population showed a lower coefficient of simple correlation than the village population, and the coefficient for the non-relief was lower than that of the relief farm group, being .495 \pm .033, and .537 \pm .046, respectively. In all probability, age differences between the various population groups studied may offer a partial explanation of these variations, since there are characteristic similarities as to ages of husbands and wives which are peculiar to farm and to village populations.

Education of Children in Relief and Non-Relief Households

Like their parents children in relief households are handicapped educationally in comparison to non-relief households. Only a small per cent of children not in school had not completed grade school. Of children together

whose parents were on relief 30.2 per cent had ninth grade education and above as compared with 53.6 per cent of those children whose parents were not on relief. In the relief population 28.5 per cent of the male as compared with 31.3 per cent of the female children out of school had gone to the ninth grade and beyond, while in the non-relief sample the corresponding proportions were 50.5 per cent for male and 58.5 per cent for female children. In the village 40.9 per cent of the male and 52.2 per cent of the female children out of school in the relief population had finished the ninth grade or more. In the non-relief village population the corresponding figures were 53.7 per cent of the male and 78.3 per cent of the female children out of school. For the non-relief farm population 49.7 per cent of the male and 55.4 per cent of the children not in school had gone to the ninth grade and beyond, while in the relief farm group 26.7 per cent of the male and 22.8 per cent of the female children had attained grade status of one or more years in high school. These comparisons are brought out from data given in Table 42 and 43.

TABLE 42

Percentage Distribution of Male Children 14 Years and Above Not in School According to Last Grade Completed

		:	To	otal		Vill	age	1	:	Farm		
		:		Non-	:	12.15	:	Non-	:	:	Non-	
Co	mpleted	:	Relief	Relief	10.14	Relief	1	Relief	:	Relief :	Relief	
-	4		9.8	2.8	3	13.6		2.2		8.9	3.6	
-	8		60.7	46.7	,	45.5		46.3		64.4	46.7	
-	12		27.7	42.4	÷ .	36.4		43.9		25.6	42.0	
ar	d Over		1.8	8.1	2	4.5		9.8		1.1	7.7	
	- - an	Completed - 4 - 8 - 12 and Over	: Completed : - 4 - 8 - 12 and Over	: To: : Completed : Relief - 4 9.8 - 8 60.7 - 12 27.7 and Over 1.8	: Total : : Non- Completed : Relief : Relief - 4 9.8 2.8 - 8 60.7 46.7 - 12 27.7 42.4 and Over 1.8 8.1	: Total : : Non- : Completed : Relief : Relief : - 4 9.8 2.8 - 8 60.7 46.7 - 12 27.7 42.4 and Over 1.8 8.1	: Total : Vill. : : Non- : Completed : Relief Relief - 4 9.8 2.8 13.6 - 8 60.7 46.7 45.5 - 12 27.7 42.4 36.4 and Over 1.8 8.1 4.5	: Total : Village : : Non- : : : : Relief : Relief : Relief : : : - 4 9.8 2.8 13.6 - 8 60.7 46.7 45.5 - 12 27.7 42.4 36.4 and Over 1.8 8.1 4.5	: Total : Village : : Non- : Non- : : Non- : Non- Completed : Relief : Relief : Non- - 4 9.8 2.8 13.6 - 8 60.7 46.7 45.5 46.3 - 12 27.7 42.4 36.4 43.9 and Over 1.8 8.1 4.5 9.8	: Total : Village : : : Non- : Non- : : : Non- : Non- : : : Non- : Non- : : : Relief : Relief : Relief : Relief : Relief : - 4 9.8 2.8 13.6 - 8 60.7 46.7 45.5 46.3 - 12 27.7 42.4 36.4 43.9 and Over 1.8 8.1 4.5 9.8	: Total : Village : Farm : : Non- : Non- : : Completed : Relief : Non- : : : - 4 9.8 2.8 13.6 8.9 - 4 9.8 2.8 13.6 8.9 - 4 9.8 2.8 13.6 8.9 - 4 9.8 2.8 13.6 8.9 - 8 60.7 46.7 45.5 46.3 64.4 - 12 27.7 42.4 36.4 43.9 25.6 and Over 1.8 8.1 4.5 9.8 1.1	

The average years schooling finished by male children of non-relief farm households not in school, was 9.2 years as compared with 9.7 years for those of non-relief village households. Male children of relief households both for farm and village had an average of 7.9 years of schooling. Female children not in school from non-relief village households had completed 11.4 years of schooling while those from non-relief farm households had completed 9.6 years. For the relief groups the average grade completed was 9.3 years and 7.9 years, respectively, for village and farm female children not in school.

TABLE 43

Percentage Distribution of Female Children 14 Years and Above Not in School According to Last Grade Completed

	Last	: 1	Potal	:	V11	lage	:	Farm	
	Grade Completed	: :Relief	: Non- : Relief	;	Relief	: Non- : Relief	:	: Relief :	Non- Relief
0	- 4	8.7	2.2		4.4			10.5	2.7
5	- 8	60.0	39.3		43.4	21.7		66.7	42.9
9	- 12	26.3	47.4		47.8	60.9		17.5	44.6
13	and Over	5.0	11.1		4.4	17.4		5.3	9.8

Age grade distributions of children in school were made for males and females separately, and are shown as grade progress made in Tables 44 and 45. The per cent of children of each sex who were retarded for relief households were practically the same, 82.2 per cent for males and 81.1 per cent for females, respectively. There was a greater variation in non-relief households, 65.3 per cent of males being retarded as compared to 59.3 per cent of females. In all groups a large per cent of children in relief households were retarded. A larger per cent was accelerated in the non-relief households. In considering the number of years retarded by relief and non-relief children, the relief children were retarded in the greater number of cases, and the larger number of years. This may be partly accounted for by the relief people being the more mobile than the non-relief population as has been shown in the occupational mobility.

In comparing the village and farm children still in school, acceleration is found as often among the farm boys and girls as for the village boys and girls, the girls being accelerated relatively more often than the boys in all instances. The village group had relatively more boys than girls "at grade" in both the relief and the non-relief populations, and relatively more girls than boys "accelerated" in both classifications. This is not true with the farm group since comparatively more girls than boys were accelerated and at grade in both populations. Seasonal employment for boys on the farm often interrupts their school work. ¹⁶

The strictly farm population had less formal education than the village population. This is likewise true with children in school since the farm children are retarded for a longer average number of years than the village children. This may be attributed to the shorter terms of schools in the country, mobility of the population and seasonal jobs for the farm people. Farm boys and even girls are kept out of school to help with the planting and harvesting of crops. The village children have access to better equipped schools, better qualified teachers and longer terms of school. Also, the lack of occupational opportunities for children in the village cause them to stay in school longer.

A more detailed study of the educational attainments of youth 15-25 years is discussed by Leva Conner in a study of The Status of Youth 16-24 Years of Age Still in the Home of Parents of Rural Relief and Non-Relief Households in Two Oklahoma Counties. Unpublished Master's thesis, Library, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, 1937.

TABLE 44

s.		: To	tal	:	Ville	ige	:	Far	1
Grade	Progress	:	: Non-	:	:	Non-	:		Non-
In	School	:Relief	: Relief	:	Relief :	Relief	:	Relief :	Relief
Acceler	ated	2.4	6.7		1.6	5.6		2.6	7.0
At Grade	8	15.4	28.0		22.6	39.3		13.1	24.8
Retarded	1	82.2	65.3		75.8	55.1		84.3	68.2
1 Yea	ar	30.0	31.5		33.9	32.6		28.8	31.2
2 Yes	ars	21.3	17.5		17.7	12.4		22.5	19.0
3 Yes	ars	12.7	9.3		9.7	6.7		13.6	10.0
4 Yes	ars	10.7	4.3		6.5	2.3		12.0	4.8
5 Yes	ars	4.3	2.0		4.8	1.1		4.2	2.3
6 Yea	ars	2.0	.7		3.2			1.6	.9
7 Yes	rs or Mon	re 1.2						1.6	

Percentage Distribution of Male Children in School According to Grade Progress Made in School

TABLE 45

Percentage Distribution of Female Children in School According to Grade Progress Made in School

			: T	ot	al	:	Vill	.8	ze	:	Farm	
Grade	Progress	:	:	: Non-			:	Non-		11	Non-	
	In	School	:Relief	:	Relief	:	Relief	:	Relief	:	Relief :	Relief
Acc	elera	ated	2.8		8.3		2.6		8.8		2.8	8.1
At (Grade		16.1		32,2		18.4		35.3		15.2	31.1
Reta	arded	1	81.1		59.5		79.0		55.9		82.0	60.8
1	Year	2	34.6		34.7		40.8		31.4		32.0	35.8
2	Year	s	22.4		16.8		18.4		16.7		24.2	16.9
3	Year	.8	11.0		4.5		6.6		4.9		12.9	4.4
4	Year	*S	7.5		2.3		7.9		1.9		7.3	2.4
5	Year	28	2.8		.8		1.3		1.0		3.4	.7
6	Year	8	1.6		.2		2.7				1.1	.3
7	Year	rs or Mor	• 1.2		.2		1.3				1.1	.3

The fact that household heads of the Oklahoma survey had a higher formal education than the average for those included in the regional survey may be explained partly by nationality and race differences. Negroes, foreigners, and Indians comprise a negligible proportion of the population of this study while in the general survey 8 per cent are foreign born, 7 per cent Negroes, and 1 per cent are other races.

Supporting data suggest that formal education may be a contributing factor indirectly related to the relief situation. ¹⁷ The same generalizations which have been reached in regard to education of household heads in this study are true with reference to the children of relief households both in school and out of school. The lack of economic security seems to determine, to a certain extent, the amount of formal education attained in any population group.

17 Thomas C. McCormick, Rural Household Relief and Non-Relief, Research Monograph, Washington, 1935, p. 2.

PART V

HOUSING OF RELIEF AND NON-RELIEF FAMILIES Description of Houses

Housing facilities are generally believed to have a definite influence on family life. If they are adequate, in the sense that there is ample room, if they provide pleasant surroundings, and if they are comparatively convenient, family life is encouraged. On the other hand, it is conceded that inadequate housing is a source of tension and disruption in family living. The data presented in this study indicate that houses available for the relief population generally are less adequate in a purely physical sense than for the non-relief population, but there can be no exact line of demarcation between the types of houses in each group. Furthermore, it should not be forgotten that poor housing may represent a result as well as a cause of low standards of living and economic dependency. In other words, the housing situation is to be regarded as a concomitant of the relief problems.

The houses occupied by both relief and non-relief families were of all types and non-relief as well as relief households were domiciled in poor houses. The poorer houses in the village were made of lumber. They usually had from two to five rooms. The roofs, the walls and the floors were in a dilapidated condition.⁽⁾ The interiors of the houses were dirty and unkept. As a rule the houses were only partially heated, usually by wood fuel and in some cases only by the cook stove. Very seldom were these houses equipped with either electricity or running water. The more run-down houses in the country were of the same general description, but in no case did they have either running water or electricity. Families living in this type of house moved often and usually moved into poorer houses as their poverty and want increased. The intermediate grade of houses show an improvement in their habitability and in the potential comforts offered their occupants. The houses in this class were generally in a better kept condition than were the poorer ones, and usually they were clean. However, the occupants of these homes got their water for culinary purposes from outside wells and used kerosene lamps for lighting. Wood was generally used as fuel, but in some cases where wood was not available coal was substituted. Village and farm houses belonging to this group were similar in size and general characteristics.

The largest group of houses were of a still better grade, and showed evidence of a fairly high standard of living as far as it may be possible to judge family living by housing conditions. The walls, roof, and floors were in a state of good repair. The water was more accessible, either equipped with running water or a well inside of the house. The entire house was heated. These homes show a greater possibility than those of the inferior types for comfort to their occupants.

Houses of the best types were in excellent repair as to walls, floors, and roof. They were clean and attractively furnished, and were supplied with water and electric lights. Superior types of houses were found in all groups, relief and non-relief, village and farm, but more often in the village and non-relief than in the farm and relief groups, since farm households in fewer cases have access to electrical power for lights.

Method of Rating Houses

The conditions of the various structural parts of the house were classified under three divisions: roof; (1) tight, (2) cracks, and (3) very drafty: walls; (1) tight, (2) cracks, and (3) very drafty: floor; (1) tight, (2) cracks, and (3) very drafty; and the interior; (1) attractive and clean, (2) clean, and (3) dirty. Accessibility to water was also taken
as to: (1) running water, (2) well in house, or (3) well outside. These conditions were rated by various individuals taking the schedules and differences of opinion possibly occur, but a satisfactory degree of consistency to make a detailed study possible prevailed. In order to find a standard relation of housing conditions to structural parts an arbitrary rating scale has been set up to reduce the data into terms of numbers. This scale provides the number "one" for the lowest rating for each of the five structural parts considered and "three" for the highest rating, thus giving a possible perfect score of 15 which may be computed from the scale given below:

	Rating	Values	Assigned by	Description of	House
ural Parts:	3	:	2		1
Roof	Tight		Leaky	Very	Leaky
Walls	Tight		Cracks	Very	Drafty
Floors	Tight		Cracks	Very	Drafty
Interior	Attractive	and Cle	an Clean	Dirt	У
Water	Running Wat	ter	Well in H	House Well	Outside
	ural Parts: Roof Walls Floors Interior Water	Rating ural Parts: 3 Roof Tight Walls Tight Floors Tight Interior Attractive Water Running Wat	Rating Valuesural Parts:3RoofTightWallsTightFloorsTightInteriorAttractive and CleWaterRunning Water	Rating Values Assigned byural Parts:3:2RoofTightLeakyWallsTightCracksFloorsTightCracksInteriorAttractive and CleanCleanWaterRunning WaterWell in H	Rating Values Assigned by Description ofural Parts:3:2:RoofTightLeakyVeryWallsTightCracksVeryFloorsTightCracksVeryInteriorAttractive and CleanDirtWaterRunning WaterWell in HouseWell

On the basis of the scale developed, the houses of families in this study were rated from 4 to 15. (See Table 46) In general, the residences of the relief families were rated somewhat lower than those of non-relief families. This may be seen from the fact that 75 per cent of the houses of relief families were rated from 9 to 12 while 73.6 per cent of those of non-relief families were rated 12 or above. On the other hand, 14.8 per cent of the houses of relief families as compared with only 5.2 per cent of those of non-relief families were rated below 9. Again, 14.8 per cent of the nonrelief as against 2.1 per cent of the relief families lived in houses which rated 15, the highest possible score.

In comparing the farm and village families it was found that the houses of the villagers could be rated appreciably higher as a rule than those of

farmers. This was attributable primarily to a conspicuous absence of running water and electricity in a majority of the farm houses whether in the relief or the non-relief population. In the farm group, 30.6 per cent of the relief and 70.1 per cent of the non-relief families lived in houses which rated 12 or above. The corresponding proportions for village families were 42.9 per cent for the relief and 83.7 per cent for the nonrelief sample. At the opposite end of the scale, 9.5 per cent of the relief as compared with 2.9 per cent of the non-relief village families lived in houses which rated 8 and below while in the farm sample the corresponding proportions were 16.8 per cent of the relief and 6.0 per cent of the nonrelief households.

As is shown in Figure 13, the general rule is that houses of nonrelief families were superior in rating to those of relief families. There is a strong likelihood that when the farm and village samples are thrown together and shown simply as relief and non-relief groups, the preponderance of farm tenant houses in the relief sample may tend to exaggerate the incidence of poor housing in that group. A known fact is that under ordinary circumstances the housing facilities of farm tenants in Oklahoma are relatively poor by whatever criterion they may be appraised.

A further analysis was made of the housing situation in relation to occupational mobility of the heads of the households. Occupational mobility and house rates were cross-tabulated and straight line trends were computed by the "method of least squares". This method takes into consideration all observations and gives each one an equal weight in the process. For convenience X is used for mobility and Y for house rate. After total values of X and Y were found for each group studied the following formulas were used:



FIGURE 13 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION ACCORDING TO RATE OF DWELLINGS IN 1933

By the above procedure the following values of X and Y were computed:

Population	Value	of Y	
Studied	X = 10	X = 60	
Total	a a a a a a a a a a a a a a a a a a a		
Relief	10.0	9.4	
Non-Relief	11.3	9.2	
Farm			
Relief	9.8	9.4	
Non-Relief	11.0	9.3	
Village			
Relief	10.4	8.8	
Non-Relief	12.9	11.1	

Va.	Lue	of	Y	in	Ter	ms	of	x
No. of Concession, name	the second se	the second second	Contraction of the local division of the loc	the second s	And in case of the local division of the loc	and the second division of the second divisio	the second s	All plants of the

The trend lines are shown in Figures 14 and 15.

TABLE 46

Percentage Distribution of Households According to Rating of Houses Occupied

	:	T	otal	:	Ville	age	:	Far	m
House	:	1	Non-	:		Non-	:	-	Non-
Rating	:	Relief :	Relief	:	Relief :	Relief	:	Relief :	Relief
Total		100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0
4		.5	.6		1.0			.4	.8
5		.8	.7		1.0			.7	1.0
6		1.6	1.0		1.0	1.0		1.8	1.0
7		2.1	1.0		2.8	.5		1.8	1.1
8		9.8	1.9		3.7	1.4		12.1	2.1
9		19.3	6.5		13.1	3.8		21.7	7.4
10		15.0	5.6		14.9	2.9		15.1	6.6
11		16.6	8.7		19.6	6.7		15.4	9.4
12		24.3	30.3		21.5	19.1		25.4	34.2
13		4.7	21.9		6.5	16.7		4.1	23.6
14		2.9	6.6		8.4	15.3		.7	3.6
15		2.1	14.8		6.5	32.6		.4	8.7
None*		.3	.4					.4	.5

* Information inadequate for computation of rating.

The general trend for all groups show that the higher the occupational mobility, the lower the house rate. Figure 14 shows trends for village relief and non-relief groups, the trend lines being almost parallel. The trend lines for farm groups are different in that the slope is more steep for non-relief than for relief households. This may be due to the over-representation of tenants in the relief group. The trend lines of the entire group (Figure 15) take on the form of the farm population trend since it is heavily weighted by the large number of farm households in that group. (See Table 2)

It was necessary to measure size and adequacy of the houses by number of persons per room, since other data were not available. Dean G. Carter states that it is generally assumed that one person per room represents about the correct requirement for average houses and average families. ¹ Assuming one room per person as adequate housing, 27.7 per cent of the relief population lived in overcrowded conditions as compared to 6.1 per cent of non-relief population. In a study of 110 Oklahoma farm families living in diversified and wheat farming districts of Oklahoma it was found that 19.1 per cent of these families lived in houses providing less than one room per person. ²

Taking the total farm families included in this study, 15.2 per cent live in overcrowded conditions. Of the farm relief, 31.6 per cent lived in overcrowded conditions as compared with only 6.4 per cent of the nonrelief families. Figure 16 shows graphically the per cent of households grouped according to adequacy of housing. In the village sample, as shown in Table 47, 17.7 per cent of the relief and 5.3 per cent of the non-relief families were overcrowded. At least a part of the difference between farms and villages in respect to the physical adequacy of houses may be explained as being due to (1) the proverbial smallness of tenant farm houses, and (2) to the tendency of farm families to be greater in size than non-farm families. Also, doubled up households occurred in relatively greater frequency among the farm than among the village population.

From the foregoing data, it does not appear that overcrowding is a serious problem for the rural population as a whole. The suggested one room per person housing ratio includes living room, dining room, and kitchen. When figured on that basis, it is more than likely that two, sometimes more members of a family may share the same bedroom. The only evidences of overcrowding to a significant proportion of the population were found in the

Dean G. Carter, Arkansas Farm Housing Conditions and Needs, Ark. Exp. Sta. Bul. 305, June 1934, p. 7.

² Mattie Faye McCollum, Possibility of Privacy in Rural Homes of Oklahoma, unpublished study, 1934, p. 8.

FIGURE 14 RELATION OF MOBILITY OF RELIEF AND NON-RELIEF VILLAGE AND FARM HOUSEHOLD HEADS TO THE RATING OF DWELLINGS OCCUPIED IN 1933







FAGURE 15 RELATION OF MOBILITY OF RELIEF AND NON-RELIEF HOUSEHOLD HEADS TO THE RATING OF DWELLINGS OCCUPIED IN 1933

PERSONS PER ROOM

I PERSON HOUSEHOLD

LESS THAN I

I. MORE THAN I



I PERSON HOUSEHOLD LESS THAN I ۱ MORE THAN 1

LESS THAN







107.

RELIEF NON-RELIEF

TABLE 47

Persons	: Total			: Vil	llage :		:	Fai	rm		
Per	:	:	Non-	;		1	Non-	:		:	Non-
Room	:Relief	:	Relief	:	Relief	1	Relief	:	Relief	:	Relief
Total	100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0
Less than 1	17.9		52.0		23.4		56.9		15.8		50,2
1 Person	45.4		33.7		44.9		30.1		45.6		35.0
More than 1	27.7		6.1		17.7		5.3		31.6		6.4
No information	.3						+ -		.4		
1 Person H.H.	8.7		. 8.2		14.0		7.7		6.6		8.4

Per Cent of Households According to Number of Persons per Room

relief samples. It may be added however, that there are other factors to be considered, among these are age and sex composition of families and the size of rooms in houses. Furthermore, for an analysis of these factors to have definite meaning it would be necessary to know more about how the families utilized the available space in their houses than can be determined from this survey. For example, sometimes farmers may use parts of the dwelling as storage space for grain, cotton, harness, implements, or other equipment while village people occasionally employ a room as a shop, a store, or a small office. Also, in some instances overcrowding is induced by keeping lodgers. In fact there are many ways in which portions of the dwelling may be diverted from purely residential to commercial or other use. These points have not been attacked by this study, and cannot be elaborated upon for lack of definite information.

PART VI

SOCIAL PARTICIPATION AND COMMUNICATION

The family does not exist alone uninfluenced by outside social environments. Groves states that much of family behavior is actually derivative, having its origin in the out-of-the-home experiences of the various members who compose it. ¹ In this way the family is kept in close contact with the social environment and is forced to adapt itself to the conditions of a group life larger than that of the home.

The village, the neighborhood, and the community make up the different out-of-the-home groups found in this rural study. Within these groups are to be found organizations such as schools, colleges, religious, and fraternal organizations, cooperative buying and selling groups, children's and young people's societies, and informal groups. Communication between these groups and outside activities are carried on by the use of radios, telephones, cars, daily newspapers, other newspapers and magazines. Participation in and uses of these items are shown by the net change during the period January 1, 1930, to January 1, 1934.

Net Change in Social Participation

The church has always played a very important part in the rural social structure. Out of the entire groups studied only 16.7 per cent had never attended religious organizations. During the period January 1, 1930, to January 1, 1934, there was no increase in attendance to religious organizations in any group but a decrease of 13.2 per cent in the relief group and 4.1 per cent in the non-relief group. This decrease is more noticeable in the farm population, both relief and non-relief, than in the village, since distance to religious centers is a problem in the country. This is emphasized within

1 Ernest R. Groves, Social Problems of the Family, p. 5.

within the farm population by the fact that means of transportation are positively correlated with the per cent of attendance to all social gatherings within the rural community and, also, the great decrease in the use of cars, especially in the relief farm group, during this period.

As may be seen in Table 48, there was an increase of 3.9 per cent in school and college attendance by children of all relief households. Attendance of the farm children in these households increased 4.8 per cent as compared to 1.4 per cent of the village children. This may be accounted for partly inasmuch as the colleges of the State made it possible for students to attend school by deferring fees and providing part time work for them to defray their expenses. Probably employment preference was shown by educational institutions to students whose parents were known to be on relief or without income. Also, the belief that formal training would facilitate the finding of employment was an added stimulus for going to school. Still further, if adult children could go away to school, it lightened the burden of making a living for the remainder of the family.

Fraternal organizations suffered a decline in membership during this period. The decrease in the non-relief households was 10.8 per cent for the village as compared with 19.9 per cent for the farm households. The greatest decrease, 59.2 per cent was shown in all relief households as compared to 14.5 per cent in all non-relief households. This is as would be expected, since cash fees are necessary in order to maintain membership in most of those organizations.

The increase in attendance to children's and young people's organizations in all groups was due probably to the fact that these organizations provided an inexpensive means of entertainment and recreation, which could be substituted for other forms of social participation.

TABLE 48

	: Total			:	Village			:	: Farm		
Organizations	:	:	Non-	:		: Non-		:		: Non-	
Attended	:Relief	: Relief		:	Relief :		Relief		Relief	Relie:	
School and Colleges	3.9		- 3.4		1.4		- 3.3		4.8	- 3.	
Religious	-13.2		- 4.1		- 4.3				-16.7	- 5.	
Fraternal	-59.2		-14.5		-68.8		-10.8		-54.5	-17.5	
Coop. (Buying & Selling)	-36.0		15.2				- 5.9		-39.1	17.	
Farmers' General	-22.2		-13.0		-50.0		-12.5		-20.0	-13.	
Children & Young People	1.8		3.6				.8		2.8	4.	
Informal Groups	- 3.0		- 8.3		- 4.8		7		- 2.4	-11.3	

Percentage Distribution of Households by Net Change in Social Participation

The attendance at farmers' general organizations dropped in both relief and non-relief farm groups, but more noticeably in the relief groups than in the non-relief. Cooperative buying and selling through farmers' cooperatives increased in non-relief groups by 15.2 per cent and decreased in relief groups 36.0 per cent. According to J. K. Stern the good cooperators are the farmers who look at their problems from a long time point of view.² Data presented in this study may indicate that the non-relief people are looking at their problems from a long time point of view and are not living the "hand to mouth existence" which is characteristic of so many relief people.

Social participation in village, neighborhood, and community groups as a whole declined during the period January 1, 1930, to January 1, 1934, with the exception of attendance to children's and young people's groups, school and college attendance of children in relief households and cooperative buying and selling among non-relief farmers.

² Stern, J.K., Membership Problems in Farmers' Cooperative Purchasing Association, Bul. 268, July 1931, Pa. State College, p. 7.

NET CHANGE IN SOCIAL PARTICIPATION







FIGURE 18

Decrease in Use of Communication Devices

Comparing the use of communication devices such as radios, telephones, automobiles, daily newspapers, other newspapers and magazines, a marked decrease was noted in the proportion of all households which used these items between January 1, 1930, and January 1, 1934. (Table 49) The most noticeable decrease was in the use of the telephone, which was discontinued 90.0 per cent in the relief households as compared with 56.0 per cent in the non-relief households which had previously kept a telephone. The least amount of decrease in the use of telephones in all groups was in the non-relief farm households which were followed in order by the non-relief village, the relief village, and the relief farm households.

The net decrease in the use of automobiles was 87.3 per cent for relief and 25.0 per cent for the non-relief groups. (See Table 49) The decrease in the use of automobiles for the farm non-relief households was small, being only 10.5 per cent, while the decrease in the non-relief village households was 81.8 per cent of the households. In the relief groups, 86.2 per cent of the relief farm and 93.3 per cent for the relief village households showed a decrease in the use of automobiles. The farmer, when possible, will maintain an automobile to use for marketing his farm produce if for no other purpose. The frequent trips of farmers to the village market are usually financed by surplus farm products. At the same time some of the products are exchanged for groceries and feed for livestock. In many instances this has kept the farmer from the relief rolls. On the other hand, automobiles are not as much a necessity to the village households as to the farm households. In many instances unused automobiles were placed in garages, sheds, or left to deteriorate in yards, licenseless and, therefore, legally unusable. The owners, unable to obtain a satisfactory price from the sale

even had they been fortunate enough to find buyers, would hold to them until such a time when, they hoped, their financial strains would be alleviated.

The decrease in the use of radios was more than three times as great in relief households as in non-relief households. The only increase shown in the use of any communication device was that of the radio in the village non-relief group. There was a decrease of 23.2 per cent in the non-relief farm group compared with 66.6 per cent for relief village and 60.0 per cent decrease for relief farm households. Figure 18 shows the proportions of families which reported net decreases in the use of agencies of communication for the relief and non-relief groups.

TABLE 49

	: Total			Village			Farm		
Agencies of Communication	: :Relief	: Non- : Relief	:	Relief	: Non- : Relief	:	Relief	Non- Relief	
Radios	61.9	17.9		66.6	+ 8.3		60.0	23.2	
Telephones	90.0	56.0		88.9	76.2		90.4	50.6	
Automobiles	87.3	23.0		91.3	81.8		86.2	10.5	
Daily Newspapers	72.0	45.4	0	47.8	71.4		82.7	41.2	
Other Newspapers	47.7	9.5		58.3	50.0		43.8	6.4	
Magazines	42.3	9.9		87.5	27.3		26.3	7.5	

Percentage Distribution of Households With Decrease in Communication

The greatest decrease in the use of reading materials was for daily newspapers by the relief farm group and for the magazines by the relief village households. However, these groups of families gave up other types of reading less often than daily papers. Perhaps one reason why relief village households did not decrease their use of daily newspapers as often relatively as non-relief village households may have been that fewer of them were subscribers to them in the first place. In comparison we find that because of the important role newspapers and magazines play in the lives of rural people in covering local, political, and social news and conveying to the readers home-making hints and farm aids, other newspapers and magazines have been dropped in the least number of cases in all groups. Also, this type of newspapers and magazines were often paid for with surplus farm products which would otherwise be of nominal value to the owner, making the continued use of these media of communications possible.³

A positive relationship was shown between the net change in social participation and communication devices and the economic progress of relief and non-relief households in all groups with the exception of school attendance by children of relief households. This exception tends to show that indirectly programs for raising the standard of living of the underprivileged classes were in operation during the period January 1, 1930, to January 1, 1934. Since that time, planned educational programs for adults as well as for children of the relief households have been given special consideration by relief programs. Closely associated with this fact is the increase in attendance of all households at children's and young people's organizations. It may be said that there is a tendency, in this period of social decadence, for people to try to make readjustments to changing social conditions.

³ It was not uncommon to hear of farmers who paid subscriptions for local county papers and for farm journals with produce, scrap iron, old radiators for automobiles or anything which might either be converted into eash or used by the publishers themselves. Besides that, the prices of most of these classes of literature were only nominal.

SUMMARY

This report is a comparative study of the rural relief families and their nearest non-relief neighbors. A rural family is described as living in the open country or in a village of less than 2500 in population. The study is based on 14.5 per cent of the total number of rural families of Payne and Cleveland counties as given by the United States Census 1930. Approximately twice as many non-relief as relief households were chosen. This was done in order to preserve similar proportions of relief and non-relief families in the sample to those in the general population of the counties studied.

The incidence of need and want was felt by both the village and farm population group. The farmer's problem during the depression was not so much the danger of starving, as his inability to find a market for farm products and to discover ways and means for meeting his fixed costs. On the other hand, the village population had no outlet for their labor. It may be said that the lack of other than agricultural uses of the excess labor supply is a direct contributory factor to unemployment. Both diversity of occupational experience and high grades of technical skill were conspicuously lacking among the rural population. This is emphasized to a greater extent among the relief and non-relief farm groups and the relief village group.

There was a heavy gravitation of relief, relative to the non-relief, population toward the smaller farms. This may have been partly due to the fact that the economically sized farm unit of Oklahoma showed a tendency to increase in size during the period of lowest farm prices.

The poorer families seldom kept as much livestock as those in moderate and comfortable circumstances. Frequently the poorer families had no livestock whatever.

A greater number of relief than non-relief heads of households had encumbered debts but the average debt for non-relief household heads was larger than that of household heads in the relief group.

The increase in indebtedness during the period January 1, 1930, to January 1, 1934, was due largely to mortgages and unpaid taxes. This is noticeable in the non-relief farm group since they had more property to be mortgaged and against which taxes might accumulate. Reserves in nonrelief households decreased on the average in amount and in greater relative frequency than those of relief households. Extraordinary losses were both greater in amount and more frequent in occurrence in the non-relief farm and village population than in the relief population.

Of the households appearing on relief in October 1933, the village households received an average higher amount of relief per person than the farm households. This was probably due to the fact that village households were totally dependent on relief agencies for subsistence while the farm family could supplement relief assistance with some farm products.

Comparisons of relief and non-relief households show a number of differences which point to larger families, greater unemployment, less educational attainment and higher mobility of the relief households. Also, the heads of relief households tended to be younger than the non-relief household heads. The households contained relatively more children than the nonrelief households which may be attributed to the younger age of the relief heads, and the emigration of adult children from non-relief households.

The ordinary type of family exists in a constant proportion in all groups studied. The only significant number of doubled-up households were found among the relief population. The village shows a larger proportion of doubled-up households than the farm population. Relief households, also, offered shelter to additional persons, usually relatives, because of the kinship bond.

The size of the household tended to be smaller among the nonrelief than among the relief population. The average size of relief households was 6 persons in comparison to 4 persons in the non-relief population. This is probably due to the doubled-up families in relief households. All four groups had a net reproduction rate lower than Oklahoma as a whole with the exception of the relief farm population. Data presented from this study tends to show that the potential natural increase of the Oklahoma population is not simply dependent upon the rural population but upon those elements of the rural population which are economically unable to provide their children with more than a subsistence standard of living.

The majority of family heads completed their formal education with grade school graduation. The non-relief household heads had slightly higher average grade attainment than the heads of relief households. This same comparison holds true to children of relief and non-relief households. It may be stated that lack of formal education appeared to have been contributory to need for relief.

Houses of the population group studied follow the general rule that houses of non-relief families are superior in rating to the houses of the relief group. The preponderance of tenants in the group studied may tend to aggravate poor housing in the relief sample since tenants are more mobile and high mobility is closely correlated with poor housing.

A decrease in social participation was noticeable in all groups studied as well as a decrease in communication devices. This is believed to be an indication that the satisfaction of cultural wants becomes secondary to that of physical wants in times of socio-economic distress. While there was no evidence of actual starvation in a physical sense, it was quite obvious that the gratification of cultural and social wants was reduced to almost a negative fact except in instances where little or no financial cost was involved.

APPENDIX

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FEDERAL EMERGENCY RELIEF ADMINISTRATION Harry L. Hopkins, Administrator

SURVEY OF RURAL FAMILIES (NOT) RECEIVING RELIEF IN OKLAHOMA, 1933

1. Identification and composition of household:

1. Schedule number Date of interview Field agent Full name of head of household 2. (b) County 3. Residence: (a) State (c)Village (d) If this family does not live in any village, check here () 4. Color (or race) of head of household (check) (x) one of the following): a. White () c. Mexican () e. Japanese () g. Filipino () b. Negro () d. Chinese () f. American h. Other Indian () (Specify)

5. Members of household during October, 1933.

	:Rela-	:	:	:	:	:	17. 2. 18. 19. 18. 19. 19. 19. 19. 19. 19. 19. 19. 19. 19		:	:	:
	:tion-	:	:	:	:	:			:	:	:
	:ship	:	*	:Native	: If for-	-1			:Was	:Was mem-	:
	:to	:	: Age	:or for-	-:eign	: Nu	mber Ye	ars	:member	:ber in	
	:head	:Sea	cat	:eign	; born.	: 0	omplete	â	:still	:house-	:
Date	:01	:(M	:last	:born	:years	:	:	:	:in	:hold	
num-	:house-	:or	:birth-	:(N or	:lived	:Grade	:High	:001-	:school	:Jan.1.'3	0:
ber	:hold	: F)	:day	:F.B.)	:in U.S.	:School	1:Schoo	1:lege	(Yes. No)	: (Yes.No)	:
(a)	: (b)	: (0)	: (d)	: (e)	: (f)	: (g)	: (h)	: (1)	: (j)	: (k)	1
1.	:	:	:	:	1	1	1	:	:	:	-
2.	1	1	1	1	1	1	:	1	:	:	
3.	:	:	11	1	1	:	:	:	:	1	
4.	1	:	:	1	3	1	1	:	:	:	and a state
5.	1	1	:	1	:	:	;	:	:	:	
6.	1	:	:	1	1	:	:	:	:	:	-
7.	1	:	1	1	1	1	:	:	:	:	-
8.	1	:	Please in	1	1	:	:	:	:	:	_
9.	1	1	1	:	1.	1	1	:	1	1	and the second s
10.	1	:	1	:	1	1	1	1	1	 U227 	3
11.	:	1	1	:	1	1	1	:	1	1	-
12.	:	1	:	:	1	1	1	:	1	1	
13.	1	:	1	1	:	1	1	1	1	:	
14.	1	:	1	1	1	:	:	:	:	1	
15.	:	:	:	:	:	1	:	:	1	:	

6. If household was formed after January 1, 1930, give date of its formation:

7. (a) Did October household include a combined or "doubled up" family ? Yes () No ()

Schedule number

(b) If October household included a combined or "doubled up" family, answer the following:

* 2 -

- Did this combination take place after January 1, 1930 ?
 Yes () No ()
- (2) Reasons for combination
- (c) If any members of October household did not receive relief in October, 1933, give line numbers shown in "5"
- II. Occupational History, Farm Tenure, and Mobility of Head of Household
- 8. Give occupational history of head of household (include periods of unemployment). Begin with first job for pay. If working at home for wages, write "home" under column (1).

	:Duration	:	:	1	11	Beside	ence	1	
Month	of job or	:		:	11	:	:	:	
and	: period of	:		: Earning	8: :	:	:	:	Miles
Year	:unemploy-	: Occupa-	-: Indus-	: per	11	:	: Town-	:	to
Begar	n; ment	:tion	: try	: Month	::Stat	e: Coun	ty: ship	:	Job
(a)	:(b)	:(c)	: (a)	:(e)	::(f)	:(g)	:(h)	:	(i)
	1	1	:	:	11	1	1	:	
	:	:	:	1	11	1	:		
	1	:	:	:	11	1	:		
	:	:	1	1	1:	1	:		
	:	:	:	1	11	1	:	:	
	:	1	;	1	1:	1	:	:	
	1	:	:	:	11	1	:		
	1	1	:	1	1:	1	1	:	
	:	:	:	:	11	1	1	1	5
	:	:	1	:	11	1	1	:	Margaria de la company

9. Give tenure history of head of household (cropper, tenant, mortgaged owner, owner, manager, or partner). If part-time farming enter information below, record other occupation under Question 8 above. Characterize result of operation of each farm as "profitable", "broke even". "suffered loss".

:	1	:Full	1	: 1	ocation		1
1	:	:or part-	4	:	1	:	
Month:	:	:time	1	:	:	:	:
and :Number		:ferming	:Number	:	:	:	:
fear :of years	:Tenure	:(full on	r: of acres	8:	:	: Town-	:Result of
Began: operated	:status	: part)	:operated	l:State	:County	: ship	:operation
(a) :(b)	:(c)	: (d)	:(e)	:(f)	:(g)	:(h)	:(1)
:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
•	:	:	1	:	:	:	:
	:	:	1	1		:	1
an a	:	:	:	1		:	:
		:	:	:	1	:	:

- 3 -

10. Employment status in October, 1933. For each member of household, other than head, who was 16 years of age and over in October, 1933, supply the following information. If answer to column (b) is "No", enter a dash (-) in each columns (c), (d), (e), (f), (g), and (h).

	1	: If answe	er to (b) is yes	, give	the fol.	lowing d	lata for
	:	133 Cka	last job at	usual d	occupati	on	N.
	:	: Was	:If	:	:	:	:
	÷ .	:previous	:previous	:	:	:	:Month
	:	:regular	:regular em-	:	:	:	: and
	:	: employ-	:ployment was	:	:	:	:year
	:Has person	n:ment on	:on home farm	:	1	:	:last
	:previousl;	y:home farm	n:or in family	:	:	: .	:job at
Line	:been	:or in	:business, did	:	:	:Usual	:usuel
number	employed	:family	:person receive	91	:	:weekl;	: occupa-
shown	:regularly	?:business	:wages ?	:Occups	-: Indus	-:earn-	:tion
in 5	: (Yes, No)	: (Yes, No)	: (Yes, No)	:tion	:try	;ings	:ended
(a)	:(b)	:(c)	:(d)	:(e)	:(f)	:(g)	:(h)
	1	1	1	:	-1	:	:
	1	:	:	1	1	:	:
	:	:	:	:	1	1	1
	1	:	:	:	1	:	:
	:	:	:	1	:	:	:
	:	:	:	:	:	1	1
	1	:	1	:	:	:	1
	1	:	:	:	1	1	1
	1	:	:	1	1	1	1
	:	:	1	:	1	:	1

10. (continued)

If answer to (i) is "no", enter a dash (-) in each of columns (j), (k), (l), and if answer to column (m) is "yes", enter a dash (-) in each of columns (n), and (o).

	: :Was person	: If	employed :1933	in Oct.	:If un :ed in	oct. :	If not not see	employed and king work in
Line number shown	:employed in :October, :1933	1; ; ;0ec	: : u- :Indus-	:Usual :weekl; :earn-	:1933, perso :ing e	was : n seek: mploy.:	October and giv not see	,1933, check e reason for king work.
in 5 (a)	:(Yes,No) :(1)	:pat :(j)	ion:try :(k)	:ings :(1)	:(Yes, :(m)	No) :	Check: (n)	Reason (o)
	1	1	1	1	1	1		
	1	:	1	:	:	:		
	1	:	:	1	:	:		
	:	1	1	1	:	1		*
	1	:	1	1	1	1		

Schedule Number

IV. Economic Status of Household:

11. Land and Livestock, January 1, 1934.

	Item	1	Number	:	1	Item	1	Number
8.	Acres Owned	:		:		Other cattle	:	
b.	Acres rented	:		:	f.	Hogs	:	
e.	Horses and mules	:		:	g.	Sheep	:	
d.	Milk cows	:		1	h.	Poultry	:	

12. Total outstanding indebtedness of head of household Jan. 1, 1934

 Increase in indebtedness from January 1, 1930 (or from formation of household, if after January 1, 1930) to January 1, 1934.

	Item :	Total	1	Comment
a.	Increase in mortgage indebtedness:		:	
	1. Farm land and buildings :		:	
	2. Chattel indebtedness :		1	
	3. House in village :		1	
	4. Business in village :		:	
b.	Taxes unpaid :		1	
C.	Other debts (specify) :		:	

14. Decreases in reserves from January 1, 1930 (or from formation of household, if after January 1, 1930) to January 1, 1934.

	Item	:	Total	:	Comment
a.	Drawn on savings	:		:	
b.	Decrease in chattels	:		.:	
e.	Decrease in land and buildings	:		:	
d.	Forfeited installment payments	:		:	
е.	Decreases in life insurance	:		:	
f.	Borrowed on life insurance	:		:	

15. Decrease in indebtedness from January 1, 1930 (or from formation of household if after January 1, 1930) to January 1, 1934.

Source	of	funds	used	to	decrease	indebtedness	:	Total	:	Comment
							:		:	
							:		:	
							:		:	
			1.10				:		:	
							:		:	
							:		:	
							:		:	

 Losses or extraordinary expenses. Include all losses between January 1, 1930 (or time of household formation, if after January 1, 1930) and January 1, 1934.

- 5 -

	Item	:	Total	:	Comment
8.	Bank failures	1		:	
b.	Loses in stocks and bonds	:		:	
c.	Bad debts	1		1	
d.	Feilures of cooperstives or other	:		:	
	formers' organizations	:		1	
6.	Losses of livestock	:		1	
ŕ.	Crop failures	1		:	
5.	Medical care:	:	No lo to to the sorth dool	:	
	1. Doctor bills	:		:	
	2. Hospital bills	:		1	
	5. Childbirths	:		:	
2.	Funerals	1		:	
1.	Personal injuries	:		:	
1.	Other causes (specify)	1		:	

V. Types and Sources of Public and Private Relief and Other Extraordinary Forms of Aid

17. Indicate types and sources of relief received by this household during October 1933. (This section omitted on Non-relief schedules)

	:	Relief	8.9	ency	11	Form of Helief	:	Value
Type	: 1	ublic o	r:N		1::	(Cash or Kind)	:	in
	:P:	rivate	18	gency	11		:	Dollars
(a)	:	(b)	:	(c)	::	(a)	:	(e)
. Direct Relief	1		:		11		1	
. Fork ralief	1		1		::		1	
. Feed for livestock	1		1		11		:	
d. Other (specify)	:	and the second			::		:	

- 18. a. Mas household known to any type of relief agency before January 1, 1930? Yes () No () Not ascertainable ()
 - b. Number of months for which household received any relief during: 1930 1931 1932 1933

		:1	lonth	when	:	Value in
	Type	:	Rece:	ived	:	Dollars
8.	Crop and livestock loans: (Farm Credit Adm.)	:	1		:	
b.	Advances on commodities: (Commodities Cre. Crop)	:			:	
c.	Payments for crop reduction: (Agri. Adjust. Adm.):			:	
	1. Wheat	:			:	
	2. Cotton	:			:	
	3. Tobacco	:			:	
-	4. Corn	:			:	
	5. Hogs	:			:	
	6. Other	:			:	
d.	Civilians' Conservation Corps	:			:	
	Civil Works Employment	:			:	
f.	Veterans' Compensation and Pensions	:		and the second s	:	
g.	Loans on adjusted compensation certificates	:			:	
h.	Old Age Relief	:			:	
i.	Mothers' Relief or Pension	:		1	:	
j.	Other (Specify)	:		-	:	

19. Other forms of assistance received from January 1, 1933, to January 1, 1934

VI. Change in Living

- 20. Changes in foods and other items used by the household from January 1. 1930, (or from formation of household if after January 1, 1930) to January 1, 1934. (This section omitted from the Study)
- 21. Housing conditions as of January 1, 1934:
 - a. Number of rooms: Rooms in use: Rooms heated:
 - b. Building material: brick , stone , lumber , shingle , log___, other (specify)____
 - c. Roof: tight , leaky , very leaky

 - d. Walls: tight _____, cracks _____, very drafty e. Floor: tight _____, cracks _____, very drafty e. Floor: tight , very drafty
 - Interior: attractive and clean , clean , dirty f.
 - g. Lights: (kerosene:), (electricity: power line power plant), gas: pipe line , home plant) (other: specify ___). h. Water: (well: in house _, outside __), (running water in
 - house).
 - i. Heating: furnace in use: (Yes, No), (): number of stoves in use
 - j. Fuel: wood ____, coal ____, other (specify) _____.

		5	chedule Number
Hou	sing changes from January 1, 1930 (or from time	of household
for	mation if after January 1, 1930) to	January 1, 1	934.
a.,	Has household occupied the same dw (Yes, No) .	elling since	January 1, 1930?
b.	General condition of roof, walls a same , poorer .	nd floors: be	tter,
c.	Number of rooms: greater	seme .	less .
d.	Size of rooms: larger	seme ,	smaller .
	Heating: better	same ,	poorer .
f.	Lights: better .	same ,	poorer .
g.	Water: More convenient	same ,	less convenient .
h.	Was electric current discontinued: give month and year	(Yes, No) (, Reasons:) If "Yes",
1.	Was gas discontinued: Yes ():	No (), TP	"Vee" give month

23. Facilities for communication used by household. Check appropriate item.

. Reasons:

Serence -		:	In	use		1 01	2	:	In	use	as	of	:If	not	in J	Tanuary
	Item	:J	anı	lar	7 1,	, 19	30	?:J	anu	ary	1,	193	4:1,	193	4,Gi	re reason
	(a)	:		1	(b)	1		:		(c)		:		(d)	
8.	Radio	:						:					:			
b.	Telephone	:						:		~~~			:			
c.	Car	:			and the state	~~~	Chevrolet and	:					:			
d.	Daily newspaper	:		-		-	and the first	:					:	and an owned		
е.	Other newspaper	:			-	Peter Co		:					:			
f.	Magazines	:	1				-	:					:			
g.	Other items (specify)):						:					1			

24. Changes in social participation of household from January 1, 1930, (or from formation of household if after January 1, 1930) to January 1, 1934. Enter "Same" if there has been no change, "Added" if participation has been increased, "decreased", if participation has been dropped or decreased, and "None" if household never participated.

Typ	es of Organization (a)	:Extent of partici- : :pation(Same,Added, :(:Decreased, None)(b):	Comment (c)
8.	Schools and colleges (attended)	1	
b.	Religious organizations (attended)	:	
c.	Fraternal organizations (attended)	: :	
đ.	Cooperative (used in buying and selling)	: :	
e.	Farmers' general organizations (attended)	: :	
f.	Childrens' and young peoples orgs. (attended)	:	
g.	Informal groups (attended)	: :	

22.

and year

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