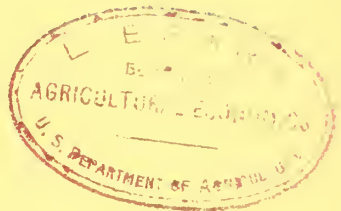


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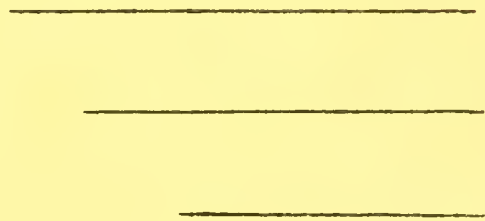
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
THE FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION
AND
THE BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS
COOPERATING



Standards of Living in Four Southern Appalachian Mountain Counties

BY C. P. LOOMIS AND L. S. DODSON



SOCIAL RESEARCH REPORT NO. X

WASHINGTON, D. C., OCTOBER 1938

In order that administrators might be supplied with needed information concerning the problems and conditions with which its program is concerned, the Resettlement Administration (absorbed September 1, 1937, by the Farm Security Administration) with the cooperation of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics conducted a number of research investigations. This is one of a series of reports on these researches. Others will be made available to administrators of programs for the welfare of rural people as rapidly as they are completed. Reports to be issued, as planned at this time, include:

- I. An Analysis of Methods and Criteria Used in Selecting Families for Colonization Projects, by John B. Holt.
- II. Tenure of New Agricultural Holdings in Several European Countries, by Erich Kraemer.
- III. Living Conditions and Population Migration in Four Appalachian Counties, by L. S. Dodson.
- IV. Social Status and Farm Tenure - Attitudes and Social Conditions of Corn Belt and Cotton Belt Farmers, by E. A. Schuler.
- V. Family Selection on a Federal Reclamation Project - Tule Lake Division of the Klamath Irrigation Project, Oregon-California, by Marie Jasny.
- VI. A Basis for Social Planning in Coffee County, Alabama, by Karl Shafer.
- VII. Influence of Drought and Depression on a Rural Community - A Case Study in Haskell County, Kansas, by A. D. Edwards.
- VIII. Disadvantaged Classes in American Agriculture, by Carl C. Taylor, Helen W. Wheeler, and E. L. Kirkpatrick.
- IX. Analysis of 70,000 Rural Rehabilitation Families, by E. L. Kirkpatrick.
- X. Standards of Living in Four Southern Appalachian Mountain Counties, by C. P. Loomis and L. S. Dodson.
- XI. Standards of Living of the Residents of Seven Rural Resettlement Communities, by C. P. Loomis and Dwight M. Davidson, Jr.
- XII. The Standard of Living of Farm and Village Families in Six South Dakota Counties, 1935, by W. F. Kumlien, C. P. Loomis, et al. (Published by the South Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station, Brookings, South Dakota.)
- XIII. Standards of Living in the Great Lakes Cut-Over Area, by C. P. Loomis, Joseph J. Lister, and Dwight M. Davidson, Jr.
- XIV. Standards of Living in an Indian-Mexican Village and on a Reclamation Project, by C. P. Loomis and O. E. Leonard.
- XV. Standards of Living in Six Virginia Counties, by C. P. Loomis and B. L. Hummel.
- XVI. Social Relationships and Institutions in an Established Rurban Community, South Holland, Illinois, by L. S. Dodson.
- XVII. Migration and Mobility of Rural Population in the United States, by Conrad Taeuber and C. E. Lively.
- XVIII. Social Relationships and Institutions in Seven New Rural Communities, by C. P. Loomis.

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FOREWORD

This publication reports the findings of a study of the level of living in four counties in the Appalachian mountains - two in Kentucky and two in North Carolina. Included in the report are data for 733 open-country farm families and 85 village non-farm families. The block-sample areas on which the study was based were selected in typical rural areas that had witnessed high increases in farms and farm population between 1930 and 1935.

The two Kentucky areas are representative of what is known as the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau, and the two North Carolina areas are representative of the Blue Ridge Mountains. In both areas the data show low levels of living as measured in material terms and evidences of a "backing-up" of rural youth during the depression.

The reader is cautioned against assuming that because the material levels of living are low in these areas that the non-material standards of living are also low. This study emphasizes the material elements in the level of living.

One other report, based upon analyses of these same communities and entitled "Living Conditions and Population Migration in Four Appalachian Counties," has already appeared in this series. The reader will find it interesting to compare the data of the present publication with those contained in the earlier report, and with the findings of the five other studies of levels of living that are included in this series.

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Farm Security Administration.

STANDARDS OF LIVING IN FOUR SOUTHERN

APPALACHIAN MOUNTAIN COUNTIES

By C. P. Loomis
and
L. S. Dodson

INTRODUCTION

The Southern Appalachian Highlands, which may be considered as extending from Pennsylvania on the north to Georgia and Alabama on the south, and from the Blue Ridge Mountains on the east to the edge of the Allegheny and Cumberland Mountains on the west, has been called one of the country's problem areas. ^{1/} Although to many minds it has always seemed a problem area, its chief claim to this doubtful distinction during the recent depression rested upon a combination of circumstances. The natural resources, such as lumber and minerals, had been depleted by destructive exploitation; soil erosion also had taken its toll; and excess population, which had been flowing into surrounding areas for several decades, was denied an outlet when industrial production in the cities was curtailed.

From 1930 to 1935 the number of farms as recorded in the Federal Census for 205 counties in this area ^{2/} increased 24 percent; the farm population increased 18 percent. The value of the land and buildings decreased 30 percent. The people in the Appalachian Highlands, like those in the rest of the country, were hard hit by the depression. But never has there been any complete consensus of opinion as to the real effect of the depression upon the population changes and levels of living of the people in these areas. Some claim that there was a large back-to-the-land movement; ^{3/} others doubt this, maintaining that the large increase in farm population and number of farms is due in part to various peculiarities of the census enumeration and in part to the failure of surplus population to migrate rather than to the manifestation of an actual

^{1/} Beck, P. G. and Forster, M. C., Six Rural Problem Areas, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, 1935.

^{2/} Economic and Social Problems and Conditions of the Southern Appalachians, Misc. Pub. No. 205, U. S. Department of Agriculture, January 1935. This study, which covered 205 counties, is the most complete that has yet been made in the area.

^{3/} Sanderson, Dwight, Research Memorandum on Rural Life in the Depression, Bull. 34, 169 pp., Social Science Research Council, New York, 1937. (Printed)

back-to-the-land movement. 4/

There is an extensive literature concerning the Southern Appalachian Highlander, a literature that depicts his life and his culture in different ways. 5/ Most writers conceive his existence as a round of deadly monotony. His large family, as the story goes, is crowded into a small dilapidated house; his diet lacks essential energy-giving and protective elements; his clothes are most often cheap and badly worn; and his social life is one in which long periods of isolation and boredom are broken only by occasional outbursts of extreme emotionalism. In a word, the Southern Appalachian Highlands are often described as one of the rural slum areas of America.

Other students see no such dismal picture. 6/ They maintain that the lower material level of living of these people is offset by certain other elements, citing as one example a stability and integrity of the family which, they claim, is seldom duplicated elsewhere. They find few shortcomings in the existent social life. They envision the Appalachians as a necessary reservoir of population, and its society as a repository for those cultural traits essential for the preservation of the national stability.

The homes of the Southern Appalachian mountaineers are located chiefly according to the topography. Many are scattered along the creek valleys and in the coves, often with only foot paths leading from house to house. Although these paths are hard packed by use, families in one cove or valley may know little about the people in adjacent areas. Travelers are often told that the inhabitants of the next valley are all criminals, that one takes his life in his hands if he goes "over yonder." And the people "over yonder" in their turn will describe in much the same terms those from whom the traveler has come. Actually both groups may be hospitable and peaceful but no stranger will become one of them overnight. The visitor does not identify himself with "Mud Draw" community, for instance, merely by a declaration of intention. In fact, many investigators who have assumed that they were really accepted as full-fledged members of the communities they were studying have been considerably self-deceived.

In general, the Appalachians comprise an agricultural area. Families are large. The birth and death rates are high. In much of the area outmoded farming practices are still in use. Few areas in the United States have as many remnants of the old folk culture. Many families still make hooked rugs, furniture, and other articles for their own use, and some families even sell their handiwork. The traditional ballads and dances still live in the memories of most of the older people. Through these old songs and dances the Highlander

4/ Thompson, Warren S., Research Memorandum on Internal Migration in the Depression, Bull. 30, 86 pp., Social Science Research Council, New York, 1937. (Printed)

5/ Edwards, Everett E., References on the Mountaineers of the Southern Appalachians, Bibliographical Contribution No. 28, U. S. Department of Agriculture, December, 1935. See this publication for a brief bibliography.

6/ Zimmerman, Carle C., Family and Society, D. Van Nostrand Co., New York, 1935.

families, gathered in groups, often find the luxury of fellowship which enables them to transcend this workaday world. At such times, when the culture of his Anglo-Saxon forefathers lives again, the individual drops his petty worries and foibles and, for the moment at least, he becomes the ruler of his own destiny.

The people living in the villages of the area derive their economic support from various sources. Many of the villages came into existence while the natural resources were being exploited; but since these resources have been dissipated to a great extent, they have had to look elsewhere for income. Some that had their sources of income from lumber and coal mining have decreased in size and are now called "stranded." Others find their chief support in summer visitors. Still others furnish the services required by the agricultural areas in which they are situated.

The present study of open-country farm and village non-farm families is restricted to an appraisal of the level of living of the people expressed in quantitative terms. Many important elements in the so-called non-material phases of living are not treated. This, unfortunately, precludes a complete picture of the life and culture of the people.

The types of farming are diverse, ranging from large stock-ranching enterprises to extremely small subsistence holdings. Nor are the traditional and cultural backgrounds of the people in the various parts by any means the same. Nevertheless, the relative isolation from the modern industrialization and commercialization of surrounding areas has made it possible for the Highlanders to retain a culture which is, in some respects at least, homogeneous.

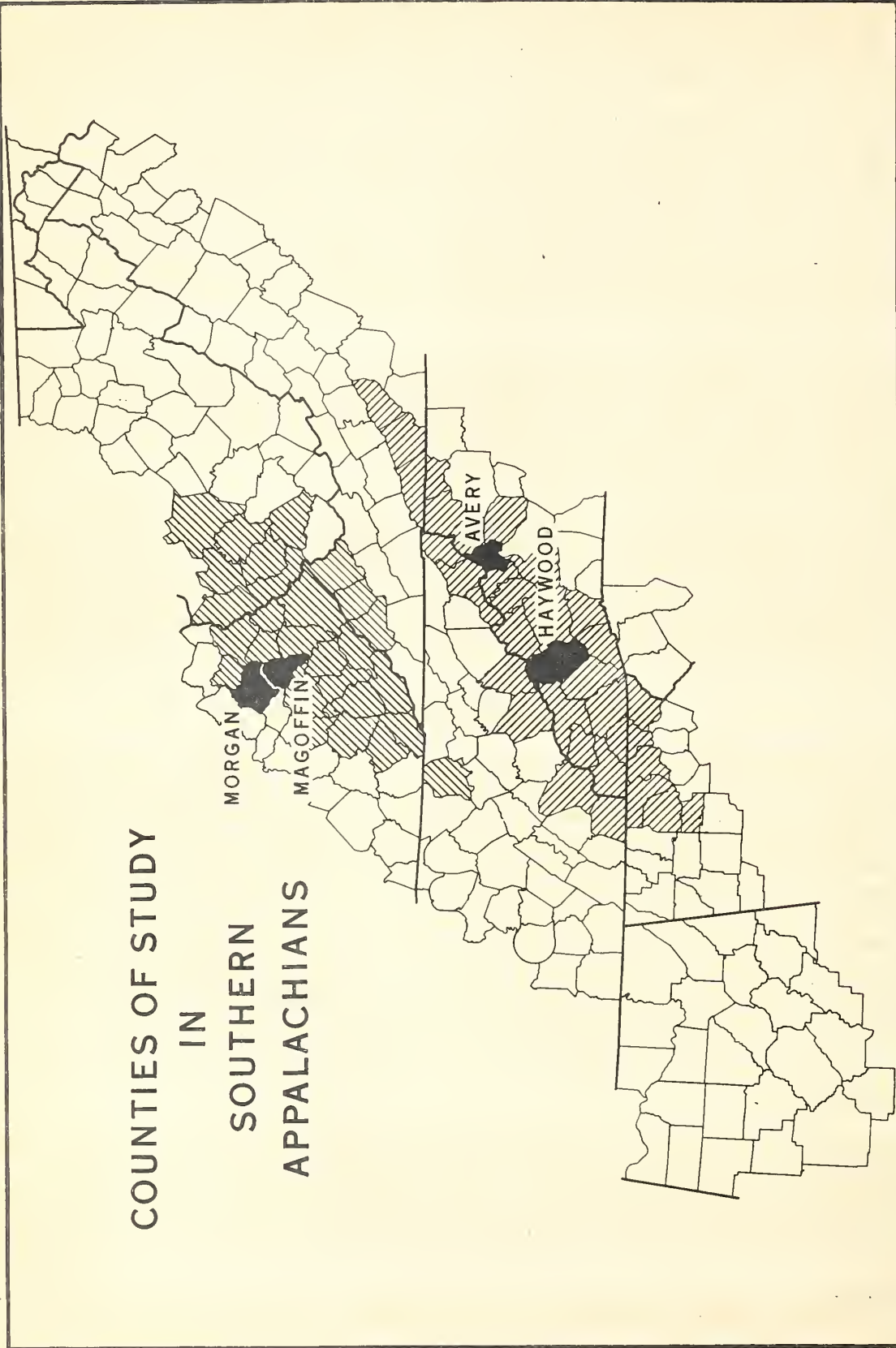
The Area Studied and the Sample 7/

This study addressed itself to an analysis of the level of living in Avery and Haywood Counties in North Carolina and in Magoffin and Morgan Counties in Kentucky (Fig. 1). Those counties were selected because of the large increase in farms from 1930 to 1935 and the high proportion of persons on relief during the latter year. In 1935 there were 2,757 more farms in the four counties than there had been in 1930. This represented an increase of 32 percent, whereas the increase for the 205 Appalachian counties in the study previously cited amounted to 24 percent. The average size of farm decreased, the decrease ranging from an average of 13 acres in Haywood County, North Carolina, to 19 acres in Magoffin County, Kentucky. The farm population grew by 26 percent, while that of the Appalachian area grew by 18 percent. The proportion of families in the four counties on relief at the beginning of the schedule year of the present study was 31 percent. (See Table 32; Supplementary Tables 30-36 are in the Appendix.)

It would be impossible to select four districts in the Appalachian Highlands that would adequately represent the area with respect to all human characteristics. In general, however, the counties selected may be considered as most representative of the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau in the Blue Ridge

7/ See Appendix, p.58, for additional information relevant to the sample.

COUNTIES OF STUDY
IN
SOUTHERN
APPALACHIANS



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FIGURE 1.- LOCATION OF FOUR COUNTIES STUDIED IN THE BLUE RIDGE MOUNTAINS AND THE NORTHEASTERN CUMBERLAND PLATEAU, SUBREGIONS OF THE APPALACHIAN HIGHLANDS, 1935.

as physiological subregions described in the earlier report (Table 1).

According to the 1930 Census report, the value of the houses occupied by the families in the 205 counties in the Southern Appalachians was \$764; in the North Carolina and Kentucky segments of this area, the values were \$625 and \$355 respectively. The average replacement values of the farm dwellings included in the present study were \$509 for owners and \$196 for tenants. Although 6 percent of the farm homes in the Southern Appalachian area were equipped with electric lighting, only 4 percent of the owners and 2 percent of the tenants in the sample had either electricity or gas. Water was piped into 7 percent of the Southern Appalachian houses as compared with 5 percent of the houses occupied by owners and 1 percent of those occupied by tenants included in this report. Five percent of the farm families in the area had radios in 1930 as compared with 21 percent of the owner families and 1 percent of the tenant families in this study.

Within the two North Carolina counties four townships were selected; and within each of the two Kentucky counties, one magisterial district. Rural sociologists at the Agricultural Experiment Stations in the two States assisted in the selection of the territories for study. The villages included in the townships and the magisterial districts selected were of a diverse sort. Banner Elk in Avery County supports a small college during the school year and a resort during the summer; also, a hospital is located there. The inhabitants of Clyde, a village in Haywood County, are for the most part workers in fiber and rayon mills in Canton. Royalton in Magoffin County, Kentucky, is a stranded lumber village. Most of the villages included in the study of Morgan County were supported by agriculture. Although the inclusion of relatively highly paid workers living in the village of Clyde in Haywood County tended to skew the distribution of the total value of living of the village families, the sample is, on the whole, reasonably typical of many villages in the Appalachians.

Expenditure and income data were secured from every other family in four townships in North Carolina, and two magisterial districts in Kentucky. Only open-country farm families and village non-farm families were analyzed, the records of 488 owners and 245 tenants in the open country and of 83 village families being investigated. Ninety-four non-farm families in the open country and 31 farm and 19 part-time farm families in the villages were not included in the analysis. Of the records of open-country farm families studied, 67 percent were of owners and 33 percent of tenants. Of the tenants, 86, or 35 percent, were renters related to the landlord; 104, or 42 percent, were renters not related to the landlord; and 55, or 23 percent, were croppers. ^{8/} Of the 83 village families, 44, or 53 percent, owned their own homes.

^{8/} A "farm cropper" is a farmer who operates only rented land and to whom the landlord furnishes all the work animals; i. e., a farm operator who contributes only his labor and receives in return a share of the crop. A "renter" is a farm operator who operates hired land only, furnishing all or part of the working equipment and stock whether he pays cash or a share of the crop or both as rent.

Table 1.- Comparison of the 733 open-country farm families in the sample with four Appalachian counties sampled, the two subregions in which the counties lie, and the 205 counties of the region as a whole

Item	Four : Blue Ridge	Northeastern Cum-: 205 counties
	: Sample : counties: subregion, :berland Plateau, :	: families: sampled : 35 counties: 30 counties :whole region
Average value - dollars:		
All farm products sold, traded, or used by operator's family ^{1/}	422 647 688	587 897
Farm products (food and wood) used by operator's family ^{1/}	261 289 294	347 309
Farm dwelling ^{2/}	404 875 637	465 764
Averages:		
Size of farm - acres ^{3/}	52 58 63	56 73
Decrease in size of farm, 1930-35 - acres ^{3/}	- 15.2 10.5	15.8 12.4
Persons per farm, 1930 ^{4/}	- 5.4 5.4	5.9 5.5
Persons per farm, 1935 ^{4/}	5.1 5.1 5.1	5.5 5.3
Percentages:		
Tenant farmers ^{3/}	33.0 31.0 29.0	38.0 32.0
Increase in number of farms, 1930-35 ^{3/}	- 32.1 24.5	38.8 23.6
Increase in farm population, 1930-35 ^{5/}	- 26.2 17.3	30.6 18.3
Decrease in value of land and buildings, 1930-35 ^{3/}	- 32.7 32.3	30.8 29.6
Increase in area devoted to farms, 1930-35 ^{3/}	- 4.6 6.8	8.0 5.8
Persons not on farms 5 years previous ^{5/}	- 6/ 2.7 5.1	5.4 5.9
Farm operators' dwellings lighted by electricity ^{2/}	3.0 7/ 4.0 5.0	3.0 6.0
Farms with water piped into farmers' dwellings ^{2/}	4.0 8/ 7.0 7.0	2.0 7.0
Farms with telephones ^{2/}	8.0 18.0 13.0	11.0 17.0

^{1/} Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Agriculture, V. 3, part 2.

^{2/} Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Agriculture, V. 2, part 2.

^{3/} U. S. Census of Agriculture, 1935, V. 1.

^{4/} U. S. Census of Agriculture, 1935, V. 1 and V. 2.

^{5/} U. S. Census of Agriculture, 1935, V. 2.

^{6/} Of the farm families, 28 percent were not farming in 1930. The number not living on farms was not reported.

^{7/} Includes a few houses lighted with gas.

^{8/} Water piped into kitchen.

TOTAL VALUE OF FAMILY LIVING

The total value of family living, ^{9/} according to its meaning here, is an evaluation of all goods and services used for living purposes during the year 1935 by the families that were a part of this study. It includes values of goods both purchased and furnished; ^{10/} and it purports to appraise the significant aspects of the level of living usually found in these four localities.

The 488 owner families and 245 tenant families in the open country reported average values of family living of \$662 and \$426 respectively, while the 83 village families averaged \$798 (Table 2). The totals for the open-country families in both tenure groups were low; this is apparent when they are contrasted with annual values of living of \$686 and \$964 reported for two studies that were made of Appalachian farm families in two Kentucky counties from 1927 to 1930. ^{11/} In the present study the per-capita values of living for open-country owners and tenants and for village families were \$143, \$87, and \$210, respectively.

Table 2.- Average value of all goods and services consumed, and percentage of total that was furnished, by value-of-living groups, 733 open-country and 83 village families, four Appalachian counties, 1935

Value-of-living groups	All goods and services					
	Open country				Village	
	Average		Percentage			
	value	:	furnished	:	Average	Percentage
	Owners:Tenants	:	Owners:Tenants	:	value	furnished
Total	\$ 662	\$426	50	52	\$ 798	17
Under \$400	308	286	58	53	287	31
\$400 - 499	452	450	60	52	441	26
\$500 - 749	600	585	55	53	610	24
\$750 and over	1,115	948	43	48	1,503	12

The studies just mentioned indicate that approximately one-half of the total value of living involves no cash expenditure where Southern Appalachian farm families are concerned. ^{12/} For the open-country families included in this report the farms furnished slightly over one-half of the family living - 50 percent for the owners and 52 percent for the tenants. Village families bought 83 percent of their living..

^{9/} See Appendix, Methodological Note, for a description of the method of computing the total value of living.

^{10/} See Appendix, Methodological Note, for explanation of "furnished" items.

^{11/} Williams, Faith, M. et al., Family Living in Knott County, Kentucky, Tech. Bull. 576, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1937; and Oyler, M., Cost of Living and Population Trends in Laurel County, Kentucky, Bulletin 301, Ky. Agr. Exp. Station, 1930.

^{12/} Ibid.

Value-of-Living Groups

Among the open-country families studied 33 percent specified total values of living of less than \$400, and 22 percent reported values of \$750 and over. Thirty-six percent of the village families were in the group having values of living amounting to less than \$400 and another 36 percent had totals of \$750 and over. How do the patterns of living vary for families in the different value-of-living groups? In order to investigate this problem the families included in the study were classified according to their total values of family living, as follows: Under \$400; \$400 to \$499; \$500 to \$749; and \$750 and over.

As the total values of living increased from one category to another, the families within these categories also became progressively larger (Table 3). In

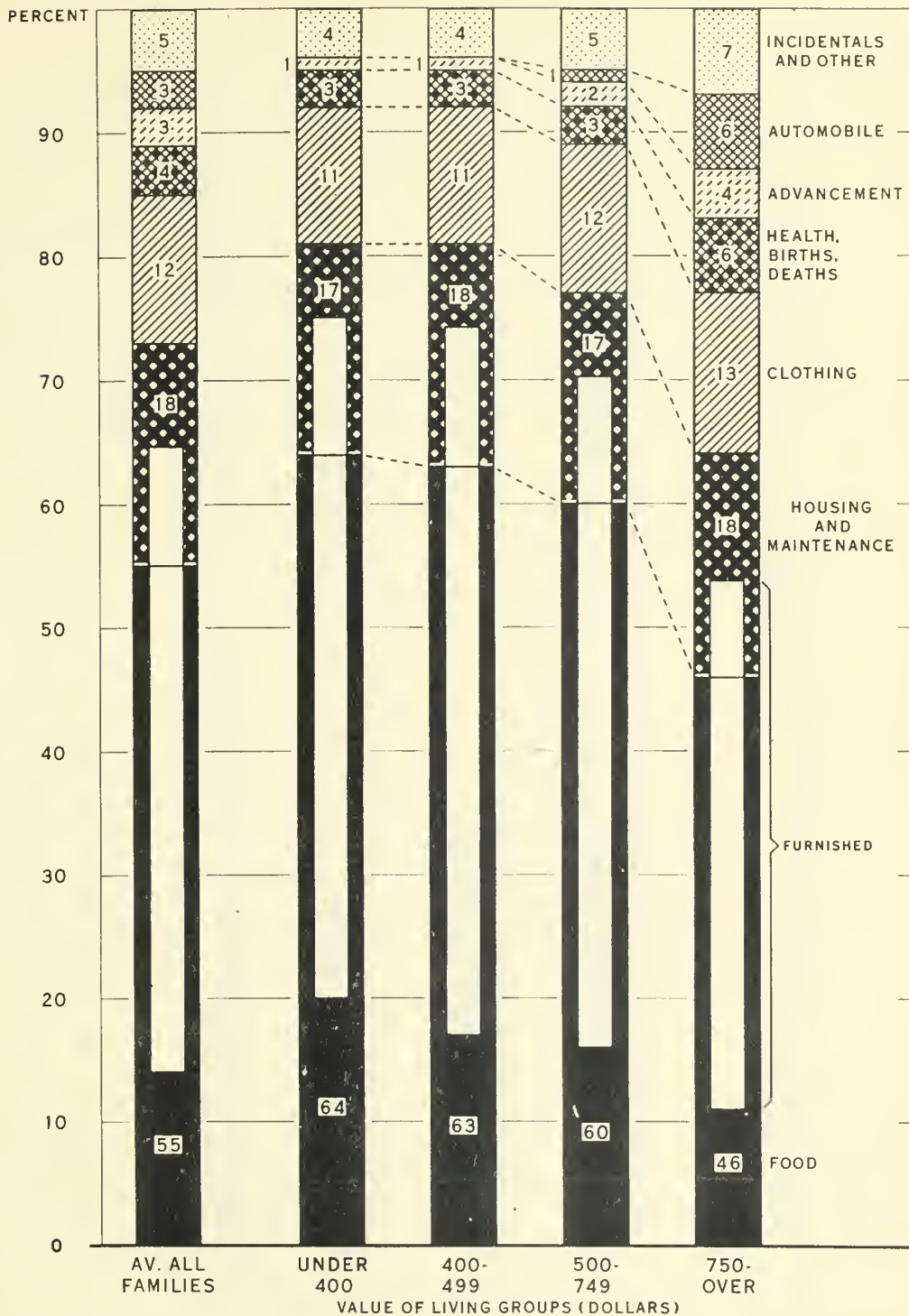
Table 3.- Size of families 1/ and households 2/, by value-of-living groups, 733 open-country and 83 village families, four Appalachian counties, 1935

Value-of-living groups	: Number of families		: Average size of family (persons)		: Average size of household (adult male units 3/)	
	: Owners	: Tenants	: Owners	: Tenants	: Owners	: Tenants
Open country:						
Total	488	245	4.6	4.9	4.1	3.9
Under \$400	108	133	3.7	4.1	3.4	3.1
\$400 - 499	77	43	4.0	5.4	3.5	4.2
\$500 - 749	162	48	4.9	5.8	4.4	4.7
\$750 and over	141	21	5.3	7.1	4.7	6.6
Village:						
Total	83		3.8		3.2	
Under \$400	30		3.2		2.7	
\$400 - 499	9		3.5		3.1	
\$500 - 749	14		3.7		3.0	
\$750 and over	30		4.5		3.9	

1/ The family as here considered includes parents and children of present or previous union or foster children who were unattached to a secondary family. The calculation of the number of persons was based upon the proportion of the year spent in the family by each member. For example, a person in the family during the entire year counted as one individual, a person in the family 6 months counted as half an individual, etc.

2/ Included in computation of size of household, are all persons reported sharing the common table for all or any part of the year covered by the schedule.

3/ Cost of Living in the United States, Bureau of Labor Statistics Bull. No. 357, May 1924: Adult Male-1.00; Adult Female-.90; Child of 11 to 14 years, inclusive-.90; Child of 7 to 10 years, inclusive-.75; Child of 4 to 6 years, inclusive-.40; Child of 3 years or under-.15. Obviously a scale that is computed on the basis of food requirements should not be used as a divisor for other items of consumption if better scales were available. But this common practice is justified by virtue of the comparisons it makes possible. Also, per-capita requirements for most of the items, with the possible exception of health, are not so great as those per adult male unit. A general consumption scale was not considered so useful for this study as the one here used.

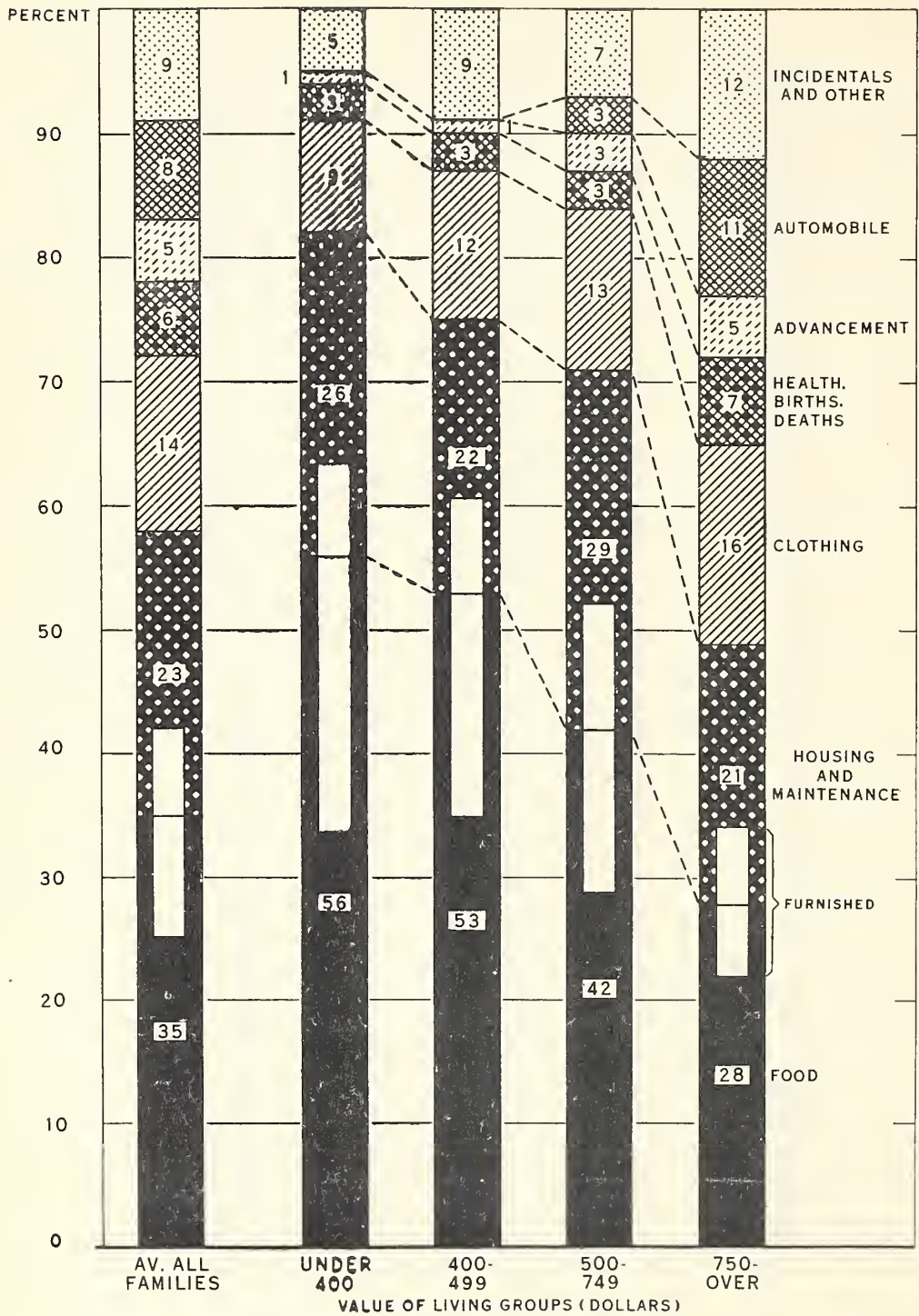


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FIGURE 2.- PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL VALUE OF FAMILY LIVING AMONG PRINCIPAL GROUPS OF GOODS AND SERVICES CONSUMED, BY VALUE-OF-LIVING GROUPS, 733 OPEN-COUNTRY FAMILIES, FOUR APPALACHIAN COUNTIES, 1935.



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FIGURE 3.- PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL VALUE OF FAMILY LIVING AMONG PRINCIPAL GROUPS OF GOODS AND SERVICES CONSUMED, BY VALUE-OF-LIVING GROUPS, 83 VILLAGE FAMILIES, FOUR APPALACHIAN COUNTIES, 1935.

the lowest value-of-living group, the number of full-time residents averaged 3.7, 4.1, and 3.2 for open-country owners, open-country tenants, and village families; in the highest family-living group, the averages were 5.3, 7.1, and 4.5 for the same residence and tenure groups.

Among the open-country families, the proportions of the living purchased by the farm ranged upward from 40 percent for owners with values of living of \$400 to \$499 to 57 percent for owners with total values of \$750 and over. Village families, on the other hand, reported that increases in the values of living were accompanied by decreases in the proportions of that living allocated to furnished items. Or, in other words, in the case of the village families higher total values were coincidental with larger proportions of the family living that were purchased, the range being from 69 percent for families with totals less than \$400 to 88 percent for those with totals amounting to \$750 and over (Figs. 2 and 3).

Total Value of Living of Small and Large Families

Increases in size may have the same influence upon the consumption behavior of families as decreases in income. ^{13/} Among families engaged in agriculture, however, expanding numbers are usually accompanied by rising total values of living. ^{14/}

In the present study families with less than 5 full-time residents are designated as small, and those with 5 or more full-time residents are described as large. Although the size of the family was used in this arbitrary distinction, non-family members living with these families have been taken into consideration. On the average, the small family had approximately one-half as many members in its household as the large family. Among owners and tenants in the open country, households of small families averaged 3.5 and 3.4 individuals; in the village, they comprised 3.0 individuals. Large families, in comparison, reported averages of 6.9, 7.1, and 6.2 for open-country owners, open-country tenants, and village families, respectively (Table 33).

Inasmuch as the large families in each tenure and residence group were twice as large as the small families and inasmuch as the total value of living for these large families fell far short of doubling that for the small families, the material level of living of the large families, to judge from the criteria used in this study, might be considered relatively low. Nor did the large families, as compared with the small, furnish a significantly larger proportion of their total value of living from the farm or garden. Evidently, their comparatively larger labor supply did little to encourage proportionately greater production for home consumption. This is contrary to the state of affairs generally found in self-sufficient peasant societies, where, other things being equal, a larger working force in the family assures a larger proportion of the

^{13/} Zimmerman, Carle C., *Mathematical Correlation in the Household Budget*, Sociologus, Vol. 8, No. 2, pp. 145-166, June 1932.

^{14/} Loomis, C. P., *Life Cycle of Families*, Rural Sociology, Vol. 1, No. 2, June 1936.

total value of living furnished by the farm. 15/

FOOD

It is generally assumed that from 40 to 60 percent of the value of a family's living will be devoted to food. 16/ According to the studies of families in Knott and Laurel Counties, Kentucky, this one item accounted for 61 percent and 62 percent of their respective values of family living. 17/ Of the \$588 and \$422 reported as average values for food in these two counties, 66 percent represented disbursement for food actually purchased. In the present study food constituted 53 percent and 62 percent of the total values of family living for the open-country owners and tenants, and 35 percent for the village families (Table 4). For these same three tenure and residence groups, 76 percent, 68 percent, and 28 percent of the totals allocated to food were supplied by the farms, gardens, and so forth. Such proportions, which were relatively large, are seldom equaled in American rural communities. Per adult male equivalent unit 18/ in the household, the values were \$85 and \$68 for open-country owners and tenants, and \$88 for village families.

Table 4.- Average value of food per family, by value-of-living groups, 733 open-country and 83 village families, four Appalachian counties, 1935

Value-of-living groups	Food					
	Average value		Percentage of total value of living		Percentage furnished	
	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants
	:	:	:	:	:	:
Open country:						
Total	\$351	\$263	53	62	76	68
Under \$400	198	183	64	64	71	66
\$400 - 499	283	282	63	63	76	66
\$500 - 749	353	358	59	61	75	72
\$750 and over	500	551	45	58	77	71
Village:						
Total	\$281		35		28	
Under \$400	161		56		42	
\$400 - 499	236		53		34	
\$500 - 749	259		42		33	
\$750 and over	423		28		21	

15/ Tschajanow, A., Die Lehre von der Bäuerlichen Wirtschaft (Berlin 1923).
16/ Zimmerman, Carle C., Consumption and Standards of Living, D. Van Nostrand Co., New York, 1936, p. 117 ff.
17/ Williams, Faith M., op. cit.; and Oyler, M., op. cit.
18/ See Footnote 3, Table 3, p. 8.

Food Consumption, by Value-of-Living Groups

According to Engel, the pioneer in statistical analyses of budgets, "the poorer an individual, a family, or a people, the greater must be the percentage of income necessary for the maintenance of physical sustenance, and again of this a greater proportion must be allowed for food." 19/ In the lowest value-of-living group, both owners and tenants in the open country devoted 64 percent of their total values of family living to food; village families in the same group allocated 56 percent to this item. For village families with total values amounting to \$750 and over, only 28 percent, a proportion lower than that for any of the other value-of-living groups, was attributed to food. Open-country owners and tenants in this group with the highest value of family living allotted 45 and 58 percent of their total values to food. Thus, the higher the value of family living, the less was the proportion of the total assigned to food.

Among the owner families in the open country there was a tendency for the proportion of the value of food furnished by the farm or garden to be positively correlated with the total value of family living, but in the case of the village families this correlation was negative. Food, as consumed by the families in the four value-of-living groups, fluctuated considerably with respect to average value. For open-country owner families, the range from the lowest value-of-living group to the highest was from \$198 to \$500; corresponding figures for open-country tenants were from \$183 to \$551; and for the village families they were from \$161 to \$423.

Among open-country owners food per adult male unit for the four value-of-living groups, progressing from the lowest to the highest, averaged \$59, \$81, \$79, and \$106. Among the open-country tenants these values amounted to \$59, \$67, \$76, and \$83; and among the village families they were \$60, \$76, \$86, and \$109.

Food Consumed, by Size of Family

The proportions of food furnished as specified by the small families, those with less than 5 full-time residents, were approximately the same as those reported by the families with 5 and more full-time residents. Although the large families had on the average approximately twice as many members as the small, they consumed, where open-country owners and tenants were concerned, somewhat less than one and one-third the value of food consumed by the small families. It is doubtful whether the economies possible in purchasing, producing, and preparing food for large families as compared with small families can account for the smaller per-capita consumption of food on the part of the large families. The proportion of food produced by the families of all sizes in the open country was great. Owners with small families obtained 76 percent of their food from their own fields, gardens, and so forth, while those with

19/ Die Lebenskosten Belgischer Arbeiter Familien früher und jetzt, Bulletin de l'institut international de statistique, tome IX, première livraison, Rome 1895.

large families reported 74 percent as produced at home. Small families among the tenants furnished 69 percent of their food, and large families furnished 67 percent (Table 33).

HOUSING

Dwellings and Their Accessories

A man's financial well-being, his cultural achievement, and his group relationships can be gauged, partially at least, by the house in which he lives. The furnishings and equipment of that house, all so intimately a part of his daily life, offer still further evidence as to his social rank and economic status. As a matter of fact, it has been shown that a family's level of living can be appraised rather accurately by a study of its living room. ^{20/} Moreover, the dwelling itself has been considered on occasion a good indication of the productivity of the soil upon which it stands. ^{21/}

In the Appalachians, living facilities are limited and close to the primitive - at least, from a material point of view. Over three-fourths of all of the open-country owner and tenant families interviewed in this study heated their houses with fireplaces and more than one-half of the village families depended upon fireplaces for warmth (Table 5). Stoves were used for heating by one-fifth of the open-country families and over one-third of the village families.

The use of electricity or gas for illumination was exceptional among the open-country families studied, only 4 percent of the owners and 2 percent of the tenants reporting lighting systems of any sort. Census figures reveal that 4 percent of the farm dwellings in the four counties were lighted by electricity in 1930, while the study of 205 Appalachian counties made in the early 1930's reports 6 percent of the farm dwellings using electricity or gas for lighting. Among the village families in the study, 61 percent of the owners and 49 percent of the tenants used electricity or gas for lighting. Families in both the open country and village who did not rely upon gas or electricity to provide light for their homes used kerosene lamps.

Of all the families studied, both in the open country and in the village, over one-half obtained their water supply from wells. In the open country, where 38 percent of the owners and 48 percent of the tenants used spring water,

^{20/} Chapin, Francis Stuart, *The Measurement of Social Status, by the Use of the Social Status Scale*, The University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1933.

^{21/} LaMont, T. E., *Land Utilization and Classification in New York and its Relation to Roads, Electricity, and Reforestation*, Extension Bull. 372, New York State College of Agriculture, Cornell University, Ithaca, March 1937; and Lewis, A. B., *Methods Used in an Economic Study of Land Utilization in Tompkins County, New York, and in Other Similar Studies in New York*, Memoir 160, Cornell University, Ithaca, April 1934.

Table 5.- Accessories and facilities of houses occupied by 733 open-country and 83 village families, four Appalachian counties, 1935

Item	Open country				Village			
	Owners		Tenants		Owners		Tenants	
	Num-	Per-	Num-	Per-	Num-	Per-	Num-	Per-
	ber	cent	ber	cent	ber	cent	ber	cent
Number of families	488	100	245	100	44	100	39	100
Heating:								
Fireplace	375	77	194	79	19	43	25	64
Stove	84	17	47	19	19	43	14	36
Fireplace and stove	25	5	3	1	4	10	0	0
Furnace	3	1	1	1	1	2	0	0
No report	1	- 1/	0	0	1	2	0	0
Lighting:								
Lamps	467	96	240	98	17	39	20	51
Electricity or gas	21	4	4	2	27	61	19	49
No report	0	0	1	-	0	0	0	0
Water supply:								
Well	266	55	121	50	16	36	25	64
Spring	184	38	117	48	4	9	3	8
Water piped into kitchen	26	5	2	1	6	14	1	2
Other supply	11	2	4	1	18	41	10	26
No report	1	-	1	-	0	0	0	0
Communication:								
Radio ^{2/}	103	20	3	1	21	45	9	21
Telephone ^{2/}	56	11	7	3	5	10	5	12
Neither	339	68	236	96	21	45	29	67
No report	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0

^{1/} In this table dashes indicate less than 1 percent.

^{2/} Thirteen owners and 1 tenant in the open country, and 3 owners and 4 tenants in the village, had both telephones and radios.

only 5 percent of the owners and 1 percent of the tenants had water piped into the kitchen. Census data for the 4 counties included in this report indicate that 6.5 percent of all farm dwellings had running water in 1930. In the previously mentioned study of 205 counties in the Appalachian region, 7 percent of the farms were shown as having water piped into the dwellings in 1930.

In the open country 69 percent of the owners in this study and 96 percent of the tenants had neither radios nor telephones; 48 percent of the village owners and 74 percent of the village tenants likewise were without these modern

facilities. Twenty-one percent of the open-country owners had radios, but only 1 percent of the open-country tenants were similarly equipped; 12 percent of the former and 3 percent of the latter occupied houses equipped with telephones. Approximately one-third of the village families owned radios and 12 percent had telephones. According to the Census of 1930, 17 percent of the farms in the 205 counties in the Southern Appalachian Highlands had telephones, but only 5 percent had radios. Census data show that only 2 percent of the rural farm families in the four counties had radios in 1930.

Most of the houses occupied by the 488 open-country owners, the 245 open-country tenants, and the 83 village families were frame structures (Table 6).

Table 6.- Characteristics of average family dwelling, by value-of-living groups, 733 open-country and 83 village families, four Appalachian counties, 1935

Item	Value-of-living groups							
	Total		Under \$500		\$500 - \$749		\$750 and over	
	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants
Open country:								
Number of families	488	245	165	175	162	48	141	22
Family dwelling:								
Number of rooms	5	3	4	3	5	4	6	5
Persons per room	1.1	1.6	1.1	1.6	1.1	1.6	1.0	1.6
Age	22	20	23	18	22	25	22	24
Replacement value	\$509	\$196	\$264	\$145	\$460	\$296	\$887	\$392
Building material:								
Frame	414	175	146	116	145	38	123	21
Brick	11	1	4	1	3	-	4	-
Log	26	56	15	48	8	7	3	1
Stone and combination	37	13	20	10	6	3	11	-
Village:								
Number of families		83		39		14		30
Family dwelling:								
Number of rooms		5		4		6		6
Persons per room		0.8		0.8		0.7		0.8
Age		19		21		20		16
Replacement value		\$791		\$328		\$974		\$1,307
Building material:								
Frame		77		39		13		25
Brick		4		-		1		3
Log		-		-		-		-
Stone and combination		2		-		-		2

For open-country owner and tenant families, the proportions living in frame dwellings were 85 and 72 percent, respectively; 93 percent of the village families reported living quarters of a similar type. Five percent of the open-country owners and 23 percent of the open-country tenant families lived in log houses. Most of the remaining houses were stone.

Houses of owners and tenants in the open country had replacement values of \$509 and \$196, respectively; for village families, this value averaged \$791. Replacement values of houses ranged from \$145 for open-country tenant families with values of living amounting to less than \$500 to \$1,307 for village families with values of living of \$750 and over. Higher replacement values were definitely a concomitant of higher values of family living, and the number of rooms per dwelling also increased as family living advanced in value. However, the number of persons per room varied only slightly among the different value-of-living groups; as the families with largest values of living likewise had the most members, this number decreased very little from the lower to the higher groups. The dwellings of the open-country owner and tenant families were on the average 22 and 20 years old, respectively; those of village families were 19 years old.

The open-country owner and tenant families allocated, on the average, \$122 and \$67 respectively for the value of housing and maintenance; the village families reported an average of \$183 for such purposes (Table 7). The per-capita values of housing and maintenance for these three groups were \$26, \$14, and \$48, respectively. The greater the total value of family living specified, the greater was the average amount allotted to items in this category, the range being

Table 7.- Average value of housing and maintenance per family, by value-of-living groups, 733 open-country and 83 village families, four Appalachian counties, 1935

Value-of-living groups	Housing and maintenance					
	Average		Percentage of total		Percentage	
	value	value	value of living	value of living	furnished	furnished
	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants
Open country:						
Total	\$122	\$ 67	19	16	52	61
Under \$400	55	48	18	17	67	64
\$400 - 499	89	73	20	16	61	63
\$500 - 749	105	86	17	15	58	65
\$750 and over	209	137	19	15	43	44
Village:						
Total	\$183		23		31	
Under \$400	76		26		31	
\$400 - 499	96		22		35	
\$500 - 749	179		29		35	
\$750 and over	318		21		30	

from \$48 for open-country tenant families with values of family living of less than \$400 to \$318 for village families with values of family living of \$750 and over. In the higher brackets housing and maintenance did not comprise any noticeably greater proportion of the total value of family living than it did in the lower ones. Of the average value reported for housing and maintenance, however, the proportion classified as furnished showed considerable variation among the different value-of-living groups, ranging from 30 percent for village families with a value of family living of \$750 and over to 67 percent for open-country owners with family living under \$400.

Among the open-country owner and tenant families the size of families had very little relationship to the value of housing and maintenance. The large families in both open-country tenure groups, in spite of the fact that they were twice the size of the small families, allocated only \$2 more on the average for housing and maintenance than did the small families. But in the village the large families reported \$214 as compared with \$174 for the small families (Table 33).

CLOTHING

If wearing apparel performed no function other than that of protecting the individual from the weather or from the implements and materials with which he works, clothing expenditures would probably be somewhat comparable in pattern to food expenditures. The more nearly a given item in the family budget meets physiological needs and these alone, the more inelastic the demand for it is likely to be. Therefore, expenditures incurred for such an item would manifest lesser fluctuations as a result of changes from one culture to another, changes within a given group from one social status to another, or changes in economic income than would those incurred for items of a more elastic nature. But sociological factors affect practically all of man's consumption activities. A man does not buy this or that necktie, a woman does not choose this or that hat, for utility value - in the material sense - alone; social and cultural considerations also influence selection. In fact, the choice of clothing is dictated to a great extent by the individual's sex, age, and status in a given social group.

The clothing expenditures of the families included were relatively low, averaging \$78 and \$52 for open-country owner and tenant families and \$114 for village families (Table 8). The studies that were made of 228 families in Knott County, Kentucky, in 1929 and 1930, and of 203 families in Laurel County, Kentucky, in 1927 and 1928 22/ reported average expenditures of \$163 and \$94, respectively. The only expenditure in the present study approaching these figures was that of the village families.

The proportions of the total value of family living allocated to clothing were 12 percent for the open-country families and 14 percent for the village families. According to the Kentucky studies, 17 percent and 14 percent represented

22/ Williams, Faith M. et al., op. cit.; and Oyler, M., op. cit.

the proportions of the total value of family living as attributable to clothing in the open country and in the village. In this study the average per-capita expenditures for clothing for the open-country owner and tenant families were \$17 and \$11, respectively; that of the village families was \$30. The study of farm families in Knott County, Kentucky, reported an average per-capita expenditure of \$25. 23/

Table 8.- Average expenditure for clothing per family, by value-of-living groups, 733 open-country and 83 village families, four Appalachian counties, 1935

Value-of-living groups	Clothing					
	Open country			Village		
	: Percentage of :		: Percentage of :		: Percentage of :	
	Average expenditure	: total value of living	Average expenditure	: total value of living	Average expenditure	: total value of living
	Owners:Tenants:	Owners:Tenants:		Owners:Tenants:	Owners:Tenants:	
Total	\$ 78	\$ 52	12	12	\$114	14
Under \$400	32	32	11	11	26	9
\$400 - 499	45	53	10	12	52	12
\$500 - 749	73	76	12	13	77	13
\$750 and over	137	130	12	14	239	16

Clothing Expenditures, by Value-of-Living Groups

The total value of family living is positively correlated with the percentage of this total that is allocated to clothing. This correlation is lowest in the case of open-country owners. The proportion of the total value of living allocated to clothing ranges from 9 percent for the village families in the lowest value-of-living group to 16 percent for the village group having a total value of living of \$750 and over. For all residence and tenure groups the higher the total value of family living, the higher was the average expenditure for clothing, disbursements ranging from \$26 for village families with total values of family living of less than \$400 to \$239 for village families with values of \$750 and over. Open-country owners and tenants differed little in their average clothing expenditures. Average expenditures of open-country owners ranged from \$32 to \$137 for the lowest and highest value-of-living groups respectively; those of the tenants ranged from \$32 to \$130.

Clothing Expenditures, by Size of Family

Although the large families were on the average twice the size of the small families, only in the villages did the former spend twice as much for

clothing as the latter (Table 33). In both tenure groups in the open country the large families spent 1.6 times as much on the average as the small. Clothing expenditures for the small families varied from an average of \$40 for open-country tenant families to \$85 for village families. For the large families average expenditures ranged from \$65 for open-country tenant families to \$186 for village families.

Items for which Clothing Expenditures were Made

Work clothes and footwear comprised the two largest items in the clothing expenditure. A random sample made up of about 10 percent of the total number of families in the present study indicates that for these two items the open-country owner and tenant families allocated 43 and 57 percent, and the village families 41 percent, of the total clothing expenditures (Table 36). For open-country owner families the next most important item, amounting to 12 percent of the total, was for overcoats. For open-country tenants, it was for materials, yarn, and thread and made up 11 percent of the total. For village families, it was for suits, 15 percent being used for such purchases. The relatively high expenditure for suits on the part of the village families is significant. Open-country owner and tenant families reported very small disbursements for this item, but they made relatively large expenditures for materials, yarns, and thread. Village families buy more ready-made clothes than open-country families; the latter buy more material from which garments can be made at home.

Clothing Expenditures, by Age and Sex

In the average open-country family clothing expenditures for the male head and homemaker were \$19 and \$14, respectively; in the average village family they amounted to \$31 and \$23 (Table 9).

Groups of children who remained at home during and after the period of courtship and marriage ^{24/} spent more money for clothing than other groups. Expenditures for offspring from 18 to 23 years of age, for instance, ranged from \$24 for open-country daughters to \$106 for village daughters.

Comparisons with other studies indicate that the clothing expenditures listed in this report for the individuals of both sexes in the open-country are low. This is particularly true where the heads of households and the homemakers are concerned. The study of families living in Knott County, Kentucky, indicates that 614 males in all age groups expended an average of \$28 for clothing as compared with the average expenditure of \$23 for 571 females. ^{25/} In the present study the average expenditures for 1,798 males in the open country and 164 males in the village were \$15 and \$28, respectively; for 1,668 females in the open

^{24/} Average age of marriage for daughters ranged from 18 years for open-country tenant families to 20 years for village owner families; from 20 years for sons of village tenants to 22 years for sons of open-country owners (Table 25).

^{25/} Williams, Faith, M. et al., op. cit.

Table 9.- Average per-capita expenditures for clothing, by age and sex, 733 open-country and 83 village families, four Appalachian counties, 1935

Age and sex	Clothing			
	Open country		Village	
	Number of persons	Per-capita expenditure	Number of persons	Per-capita expenditure
Male:				
Total	1,798	\$15	164	\$28
Head of household: <u>1/</u>				
Total	724	19	78	31
Under 24 years	41	22	-	-
24 years and over	683	18	78	31
Offspring in the home:				
Total	1,074	13	86	24
Under 1 year	21	4	2	4
1 - 5	259	6	27	7
6 - 11	295	8	21	11
12 - 14	159	12	7	23
15 - 17	146	21	5	27
18 - 23	125	25	9	45
24 years and over	69	23	15	64
Female:				
Total	1,668	13	164	25
Homemaker: <u>1/</u>				
Total	727	14	82	23
Under 24 years	72	16	18	17
24 years and over	655	14	64	24
Offspring in the home:				
Total	941	12	82	26
Under 1 year	28	3	3	6
1 - 5	243	5	28	6
6 - 11	292	8	18	12
12 - 14	125	13	7	30
15 - 17	118	19	11	41
18 - 23	95	24	9	106
24 years and over	40	28	6	24

1/ Some male heads and homemakers were not included. Because of their absence from the household during the year, their clothes had not been purchased from the family budget.

country and 164 females in the village they were \$13 and \$25. It may thus be seen that the expenditures of open-country families fell far below those reported in the Knott County study.

As more garments can be made at home for women than for men, a relatively larger proportion of the clothing for the latter must be purchased from the stores; this partially accounts for the higher expenditures for males as compared with females. In the calculation of the value of clothing, only actual costs were taken into consideration. The labor of the homemaker and other members of the family that went into the making and repairing of clothing was not evaluated.

HEALTH, BIRTHS, AND DEATHS

For the three items, maintenance of health, births, and funerals, the open-country owner and tenant families reported expenditures averaging \$31 and \$14, respectively; among the village families, the average was \$44 (Table 10).

Table 10.- Average expenditure for health, births, and deaths per family, by value-of-living groups, 733 open-country and 83 village families, four Appalachian counties, 1935

Value-of-living groups	Health, births, and deaths							
	Open country			Village				
	Average expenditure		Percentage of total value of living		Average expenditure		Percentage of total value of living	
	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants
Total	\$31	\$14	5	3	\$44		6	
Under \$400	7	9	2	3	8		3	
\$400 - 499	12	13	2	3	11		3	
\$500 - 749	21	18	3	3	18		3	
\$750 and over	73	35	7	4	102		7	

On a per-capita basis these expenditures amounted to \$7, \$3, and \$12, respectively (Table 34). For all the families studied, the expenses for health, births, and deaths comprised proportions of the total values of family living that ranged from 2 percent for the open-country owners in the two lowest value-of-living groups (those under \$500) to 7 percent for both open-country owner and village families with values of living of \$750 and over. There was a high positive correlation between the total value of family living and the average amount spent in this category. The average expenditures ranged from \$7 for the open-country owner families with values of living of less than \$400 to \$102 for the village families with values of \$750 and over. Among open-country owner families the expenditures for the lowest and the highest value-of-living groups

were \$7 and \$73 respectively; among open-country tenants they were \$9 and \$35; and among village families they came to \$8 and \$102.

ADVANCEMENT

It is difficult to find a comprehensive term that will include such items as education, reading, and social participation. But as the term "advancement" is customarily used to denote expenditures for such items as these, it is adopted here. It should not be interpreted as a value concept, however. Whether or not the items classified as "advancement" do advance all families toward any given end is a question that cannot be answered within the scope of this report.

The proportion of the total value of family living that was allocated to items classified as advancement varied in the different value-of-living groups. In the case of open-country owner families the range was from 1 percent for families in the lowest value group to 4 percent for families with total values of living of \$750 and over. In all the residence and tenure groups, large families expended more for advancement than did small families. Only among the open-country owner families, however, was the expenditure of large families, \$28, twice that of small families, \$13 (Table 33).

Expenditures for Social Participation

Social participation, which included expenditures for church, benevolences, lodges, organizations, theaters and movies, recreation, and other forms of social participation, totaled \$6 for open-country owners, \$2 for open-country tenants, and \$18 for village families. These expenditures amounted to less than 1 percent of the total value of living for open-country tenant families, 1 percent for open-country owner families, and 2 percent for village families (Table 11).

Table 11.- Average expenditure for social participation per family, by value-of-living groups, 733 open-country and 83 village families, four Appalachian counties, 1935

Value-of-living groups	Social participation					
	Open country			Village		
	:Percentage of :		:		:	
	Average expenditure	: total value of living	Average expenditure	: total value of living	Average expenditure	: total value of living
	Owners:Tenants:	Owners:Tenants:				
Total	\$ 6	\$2	1	- 1/	\$18	2
Under \$400	1	1	-	-	1	1
\$400 - 499	1	1	-	-	6	1
\$500 - 749	4	3	1	1	9	1
\$750 and over	15	3	1	-	42	3

1/ In this table dashes indicate less than \$1 or less than 1 percent.

Greater total values of living were marked by greater expenditures for social participation. From the families in the group reporting total values of living of less than \$400 to those with total values of living of \$750 and over, the range of expenditure was great. To maintain their social contacts and relationships open-country owners spent from \$1 to \$15, open-country tenants from \$1 to \$3, and village families from \$1 to \$42. The expenditure per capita for social participation among owner and tenant families in the open country was \$1 and \$0.35; among village families, it totaled \$5.

Expenditures for Education

Expenditures for education involve the purchase of school books, tuition, music lessons, extension courses, transportation to school, and board and lodging of students away from home. In this study, the open-country owner and tenant families spent \$12 and \$2 respectively, and the village families \$13, for schooling (Table 12). A study of 228 farm families in Knott County, Kentucky, reported an average expenditure of \$10 per family ^{26/} for formal education in 1930. In the present study the per-capita expenditures for open-country owner and tenant families were \$3 and \$0.41, and for village families it was \$3.

The larger the total value of living, the larger was the expenditure for education and the greater was the proportion of the total value of living allocated for education. The average expenditures for education ranged from less than \$1 for open-country tenant and village families with total values of living under \$400 to \$31 for village families with total values of living of \$750 and over.

Table 12.- Average expenditure for formal education per family, by value-of-living groups, 733 open-country and 83 village families, four Appalachian counties, 1935

Value-of-living groups	Formal education					
	Open country			Village		
	Average expenditure		Percentage of total value of living	Average expenditure		Percentage of total value of living
	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants
Total	\$12	\$2	2	1	\$13	2
Under \$400	2	- ^{1/}	1	-	-	-
\$400 - 499	2	3	1	-	2	-
\$500 - 749	10	3	2	-	7	1
\$750 and over	28	9	3	1	31	2

^{1/} In this table dashes indicate less than \$1 or less than 1 percent.

Expenditures for Reading

Expenditures for reading material for the majority of the total value of family living groups were negligible. Only in the group composed of village families with values of living from \$500 to \$749 did expenses for magazines and newspapers average as much as 1 percent of the total (Table 13). For open-country owner families, open-country tenant families, and village families, the average expenditures were \$2, \$0.36, and \$5 respectively. For these same groups the per-capita expenditures were \$0.40, \$0.07, and \$1.

Table 13.- Average expenditure for reading per family, by value-of-living groups, 733 open-country and 83 village families, four Appalachian counties, 1935

Value-of-living groups	Reading					
	Open country			Village		
	: Percentage of :		: Percentage of :		: Percentage of :	
	Average expenditure	: total value of living	Average expenditure	: total value of living	Average expenditure	: total value of living
	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants
Total	\$2	\$ - 1/	-	-	\$ 5	1
Under \$400	-	-	-	-	1	-
\$400 - 499	1	-	-	-	2	-
\$500 - 749	1	1	-	-	4	1
\$750 and over	4	1	-	-	11	-

1/ In this table dashes indicate less than \$1 or less than 1 percent.

AUTOMOBILE

Automobiles were owned only by families in the higher value-of-living groups. Among the open-country families, owners and tenants averaged \$22 and \$6 respectively for the purchase and upkeep of automobiles; village families spent \$61 for similar purposes (Table 14). Neither in the open country nor in the village did families with total values of living of less than \$400 have automobiles. In the group reporting total values of family living ranging from \$400 to \$499 none of the village families and only two open-country families owned cars. The average expenditure for automobiles was greater for the large families than for the small (Table 33). The per-capita expenditures for all families were \$5 and \$1, respectively, for open-country owners and tenants and \$16 for village families.

Table 14.- Automobile expenditures per family, by value-of-living groups, 733 open-country and 83 village families, four Appalachian counties, 1935

Value-of-living groups	Automobile					
	Open country			Village		
	:Percentage of :			:		
	Average	total value	Average	Percentage of	total value	Percentage of
expenditure	of living	expenditure	of living	expenditure	of living	
	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants
Total	\$22	\$ 6	3	1	\$ 61	8
Under \$400	0	0	0	0	0	0
\$400 - 499	1	3	- 1/	1	0	0
\$500 - 749	5	11	1	2	15	3
\$750 and over	68	40	6	4	163	11

1/ Less than 1 percent.

INCIDENTALS

Included in the category "incidentals" are expenditures for toilet articles, personal care, tobacco, gifts for persons outside the family, beverages, candy, and photography, and spending money. These expenses totaled \$22 and \$15 for the open-country owner and tenant families, respectively; for the village families they amounted to \$43 (Table 15). Both open-country and village families reported that approximately one-half of such expenditures went for tobacco. Gifts to persons outside the family accounted for approximately 14

Table 15.- Average expenditure for incidentals per family, by value-of-living groups, 733 open-country and 83 village families, four Appalachian counties, 1935

Value-of-living groups	Incidentals					
	Open country			Village		
	:Percentage of :			:		
	Average	total value	Average	Percentage of	total value	Percentage of
expenditure	of living	expenditure	of living	expenditure	of living	
	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants
Total	\$22	\$15	3	4	\$43	5
Under \$400	10	11	3	4	13	5
\$400 - 499	12	13	3	3	30	7
\$500 - 749	16	22	3	4	21	3
\$750 and over	43	27	4	3	88	6

percent of the incidental expenditures for all families, while toilet articles and personal care accounted for an equal proportion. Approximately 8.5 percent was allocated to candy and soda-fountain purchases.

Per-capita expenditures for open-country owner, open-country tenant, and village families were \$5, \$3, and \$12. Expenditures for incidentals ranged from \$10 for open-country owners reporting total values of family living of less than \$400 to \$88 for village families with total values of family living of \$750 and over. Village families spent almost twice as much as open-country owners for goods and services of this type, and almost three times as much as open-country tenants. Except for the item "spending money," which was noticeably higher among village families than among farm families, the individual items comprising this category were allocated about the same proportions of the total expenditures for incidentals in each of the residence groups. "Spending money" covered a multitude of small expenditures, chiefly those involving the nickels and dimes so commonly used by children. Evidently the village children are given small change to spend far more frequently than the children from the farms.

OTHER EXPENDITURES

Among the various items included in the category "Other Expenditures" were: transportation costs, exclusive of those incurred for business purposes; personal taxes; and payments on mortgages and other indebtedness, insofar as such payments were chargeable to family living.

The average owner family in the open country expended \$59 for payments of principal on all mortgages and for other indebtedness. Village owners paid out \$64 per family for such purposes. As would be expected, the tenants, both in the open country and in the village, paid out very little as a result of indebtedness, their payments averaging only \$4 and \$8 respectively. Payments on mortgages were apportioned between farm operation and family living on the basis of the ratio of the value of dwelling to the total value of farm property. Only amounts allocated to family living were then classified as "other expenditures."

The open-country owner and tenant families spent \$16 and \$5, respectively, and the village families spent \$36 for "other expenditures" (Table 16). Average expenditures ranged from \$1 for village families with total values of family living of less than \$400 to \$86 for village families with total values of family living of \$750 and over. The larger the total value of family living, the larger was the average expenditure in this category. And for open-country owners and village families, the proportion of the family living allocated to "other expenditures" showed a direct relationship to the total value, being larger in the higher brackets and smaller in the lower brackets.

Table 16.- Average expenditure for "other" items per family, by value-of-living groups, 733 open-country and 83 village families, four Appalachian counties, 1935

Value-of-living groups	"Other" items					
	Open country			Village		
	: Percentage of :		: Percentage of :		: Percentage of :	
	Average expenditure :	total value of living :	Average expenditure :	total value of living :	Average expenditure :	total value of living :
	Owners:	Tenants:	Owners:	Tenants:	Owners:	Tenants:
Total	\$16	\$ 5	2	1	\$36	4
Under \$400	3	2	1	1	1	- 1/
\$400 - 499	6	9	1	2	6	2
\$500 - 749	12	7	2	1	21	4
\$750 and over	38	15	3	1	86	6

1/ Less than \$1 or less than 1 percent.

SAVINGS AND INVESTMENTS

The financial reserves that a family has at its disposal may be considered as an important element in family living. Whether in the form of investments or savings, they represent funds that may be used to mitigate shocks of misfortune. Furthermore, they may indicate not only a family's willingness to forego present satisfactions for future needs, but also its ability to save for a rainy day.

It is impossible to measure the satisfaction that comes from the possession of reserves and the feeling of security they induce. That many families will make almost any sacrifice to achieve security is demonstration enough that savings should be considered a significant factor in the level of living. For families at the margin of existence or near the poverty line, savings and investments may supply a psychological need far greater than is ordinarily recognized.

Yet family-living studies too often fail to give this item enough emphasis. ^{27/} Doubtless this is due in part to the difficulties involved in defining savings and investments and in securing relevant data. A complete inventory of all the items contributing to the net worth of a family at the beginning and end of a specific period of time is essential if the expenditures actually constituting savings and investments are to be accurately determined. Expenditures for farm equipment and livestock, for instance, may be charged either to investment or maintenance, depending upon their nature. In this study no elaborate inventory of production goods was made. Obviously the pur-

^{27/} Zimmerman, Carle C., Consumption and Standards of Living, op. cit.

chase of a new farm would have been an investment; but as a matter of fact none of the farmers interviewed had made any purchases of this kind during the schedule year. And payments on mortgages, as has been explained, were apportioned between farm operation and the family living category designated "Other."

Total investments, exclusive of payments on mortgages and other indebtedness, for country owner and tenant families amounted to \$23 and \$3, while comparable figures for the village families were \$95 and \$19. Open-country owners and tenants averaged \$16 and \$2 respectively for savings, and \$4 and \$0.09 for insurance. Village owners, in contrast to families in all other groups, reported deposits in savings accounts. Their expenditures for insurance averaged \$24 which was almost twice the \$13 reported by village tenants. Naturally enough village families made greater non-farm investments than farm families, the average village family spending \$23 for non-farm real property, stocks, and bonds, while the average open-country family spent only \$1 (Table 17).

Table 17.- Types and average amounts of savings and investments, 733 open-country and 83 village families, four Appalachian counties, 1935

Item	Open country			Village		
	Total	Owner	Tenant	Total	Owner	Tenant
Number of families	733	488	245	83	44	39
Investments:						
Total	\$16	\$23	\$ 3	\$59	\$95	\$19
Savings	12	16	2	18	34	0
Insurance	3	4	- 1/	18	24	13
Other <u>2/</u>	1	3	- <u>1/</u>	23	37	6
Payments on mortgages and other indebtedness <u>3/</u>	41	59	4	37	64	8

1/ Less than 50 cents.

2/ Non-farm real property, stocks and bonds, etc.

3/ Payments on mortgages and other debts were apportioned to other family living and farm operation. An explanation of the method followed may be found in the Appendix, Methodological Note. Since this amount has already been added either to family living expenditures or to farm operation, it cannot be added with investments as such a procedure would result in a double counting. For the most part, this item comprises payments on mortgages.

VALUE OF RELIEF RECEIVED

The average value of the public relief received by the 733 open-country families was \$36; cash relief amounted to \$12, work relief to \$18, and non-monetary relief to \$6. The 83 village families received relief valued at \$41

per family, a total that was made up of \$13 for cash relief, \$24 for work relief, and \$4 for non-monetary relief. In the open country the relief extended to owner families amounted to \$28, which was just slightly more than one-half of the \$52 extended to tenant families.

Of all the interviewed families one-fourth had received cash relief, less than one-fourth had received work relief, and only 17 percent had received non-monetary relief (Table 18). The amounts paid to the recipients of cash relief averaged \$46 in the open country and \$51 in the village. Open-country families employed on work relief averaged \$81 from this source, while village families similarly employed received \$88. The families reporting non-monetary relief averaged \$36 in the open country and \$21 in the village for assistance of this sort. Some families, however, may have received more than one type of relief.

CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

Total cash receipts for open-country owner and tenant families amounted to \$543 and \$247; for village families they averaged \$787. Open-country owners and tenants derived only 39 percent and 27 percent of their respective totals from the sale of farm products, while among village families a mere 1 percent could be attributed to such sales. Wages, which constituted a most important single source of all cash receipts, provided 31 percent and 51 percent for owner and tenant families in the open country, and 80 percent for families in villages. Even for the open-country farm families, cash receipts from wages were almost as great as those from the sale of farm products (Table 19). Of the cash receipts from non-farm labor a large share accrued from work relief.

In the open country, borrowed money comprised 5 percent of the total cash receipts reported by owners and 2 percent of those reported by tenants; among village families 1 percent came from loans. ^{28/} Cash relief accounted for 2 percent of the total for open-country owner families, 8 percent of that for open-country tenant families, and 2 percent of that for village families (Table 19).

Of the total cash expenditures made by open-country owner and tenant families, 58 percent and 77 percent respectively were devoted to family living. In the case of the village families this percentage was 83. For these same three groups, expenditures for farm or garden operation were 33, 13, and 4 percent (Table 20). The small proportion of total cash receipts accruing from the sale of farm products, as well as the small proportion of cash expenditures devoted to farm operation, indicates the relative unimportance of the farm as a commercial enterprise. Although approximately one-half of the total value of

^{28/} Cash receipts as here used do not conform to the standard concept of cash income. Loans have been included in order to make this section of the report conform with the separate analysis of the seven resettlement communities on which the families utilized to a large degree borrowed money for family living expenditure.

Table 18.- Families receiving specified types of relief, and average amounts received, by tenure and residence, 733 open-country and 83 village families, four Appalachian counties, 1935

Item	Total				Owners				Tenants						
	Families :Number:	Percent: :	Average : amount : received	:	Families :Number:	Percent: :	Average : amount : received	:	Families :Number:	Percent: :	Average : amount : received	:	Families :Number:	Percent: :	Average : amount : received
Open country:															
Total 1/	733	100	-		488	100	-		245	100	-				
Cash relief	196	27	\$46		88	18	\$45		108	44	\$46				
Work relief	161	22	81		74	15	92		87	36	71				
Non-monetary relief 2/	127	17	36		58	12	53		69	28	23				
Village:															
Total 1/	83	100	-		44	100	-		39	100	-				
Cash relief	21	25	51		2	5	44		19	49	52				
Work relief	23	28	88		3	7	49		20	51	94				
Non-monetary relief 2/	14	17	21		1	2	14		13	33	22				

1/ As some of these families did not receive relief, the average is based upon the number receiving the specified type of aid. In some instances a family might have been the recipient of more than one kind of aid, but the tabulation methods preclude an elimination of this duplication.

2/ Grocery orders, food, clothing, and other household necessities furnished by relief agencies.

Table 19.- Principal sources of cash receipts and value of non-monetary income, 733 open-country and 83 village families, four Appalachian counties, 1935 1/

Item	Total		Owners		Tenants	
	Average	Percentage	Average	Percentage	Average	Percentage
	:amount	: of total	:amount	: of total	:amount	: of total
Open country:						
Total cash receipts	\$444	100	\$543	100	\$247	100
Sale of farm products	161	36	208	39	66	27
Wages of operator	118	26	126	23	101	41
Wages of other mem- bers of family	38	9	45	8	24	10
Boarders and lodgers	1	- <u>2/</u>	1	-	1	-
Borrowed	20	5	28	5	5	2
Cash relief	12	3	8	2	19	8
Other sources <u>3/</u>	94	21	127	23	31	12
Value of non-monetary income:						
Relief	6		6		6	
Other	3		1		5	
Village:						
Total cash receipts	787	100	1,014	100	531	100
Sale of farm products	11	1	18	2	4	1
Wages of operator	470	60	555	55	374	70
Wages of other mem- bers of family	156	20	259	25	41	8
Boarders and lodgers	5	-	1	-	9	2
Borrowed	5	1	8	1	2	-
Cash relief	13	2	2	-	25	5
Other sources <u>3/</u>	127	16	171	17	76	14
Value of non-monetary income:						
Relief	4		0		7	
Other	2		0		3	

1/ Cash receipts as here used do not conform to the usual concept of cash income; see footnote 28, p. 31.

2/ In this table dashes indicate less than 1 percent.

3/ This category is composed of income from others not living in the family, net profits from other than farm business or from farm rented to others, income from monetary legacies, as gifts, interest on dividends, insurance income, net profit from personal property, and all other cash receipts of all members of the family.

Table 20.- Cash receipts and disbursements, 733 open-country and 83 village families, four Appalachian counties, 1935 1/

Item	Average amount		Percentage	
	per family		of total	
	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants
Open country:				
Total <u>2/</u>	\$577	\$257	100	100
Cash receipts	543	247	94	96
Funds from reserve <u>3/</u>	34	10	6	4
Total <u>2/</u>	573	265	100	100
Expenditure for -				
Family living	334	205	58	77
Farm operation	185	33	33	13
Investments	23	3	4	1
Funds into reserve <u>4/</u>	31	24	5	9
Village:				
Total <u>2/</u>		\$808		100
Cash receipts		787		97
Funds from reserve <u>3/</u>		21		3
Total <u>2/</u>		801		100
Expenditure for -				
Family living		661		83
Farm operation		35		4
Investments		59		7
Funds into reserve <u>4/</u>		46		6

1/ Cash receipts as here used do not conform to the usual concept of cash income. See footnote 28, p. 31.

2/ Cash receipts and funds from reserve should equal cash expenditure and funds into reserve. The small discrepancies are due to the errors of the family in making the estimates. There were no discrepancies of more than 10 percent.

3/ Funds from reserve represent the decrease in the checking account and cash on hand at the end, as compared with the beginning, of the schedule year.

4/ Funds into reserve represent the amount by which checking accounts and cash on hand have increased at the end, as compared with the beginning, of the schedule year.

living for both owners and tenants in the open country was furnished by the farm, as previously stated, the sale of farm products provided insufficient cash to purchase the other one-half.

SOCIAL MOBILITY

Mobility has to do with the level of living in a way that is highly significant. It is only under peculiar circumstances that social solidarity and integration can develop or be maintained in a highly mobile society. The proverb, "A rolling stone gathers no moss," refers only to the economic aspects of mobility, but its consequences are also fundamental from a social point of view. This report can hope only to indicate some of these economic and sociological implications.

GEOGRAPHICAL MOBILITY OF FAMILIES

Length of Tenure

There is a saying, "Three moves are equal to a fire." Of the 245 tenant families interviewed in this study, 30 percent had been on the farm they were occupying less than 2 years; 35 percent had operated the same farms between 2 and 4.9 years (Table 21). Although factors such as age of the male head of the family are not taken into account, the longer the tenure of the tenants the higher the value of living proved to be. The range was from \$370 for croppers who had cropped the land of only one landlord for less than 2 years at the time of the study, to \$550 for renters who had rented the land of only one owner from 5 to 10 years. Thus, the higher the mobility of the tenant families, the lower was their level of living.

Table 21.- Average value of living of 245 tenant farmers, by duration of tenure, four Appalachian counties, 1935

Duration of tenure (years)	: Total :			: Renters :		: Croppers :	
	: Families :		Average	Number	Average	Number	Average
	Num- ber	Per- cent	value of living	of families	value of living	of families	value of living
Total	245	100	\$430	190	\$443	55	\$386
Less than 2	73	30	378	53	381	20	370
2 - 4.9	86	35	392	63	392	23	391
5 - 9.9	52	21	524	45	550	7	355
10 or more	28	11	520	24	524	4	498
Unknown	6	3	403	5	413	1	353

Table 22.-- Total value of family living, by number of moves during 5-year period, 1930-35, four Appalachian counties, 1935

Number of moves, 1930-35	Open country				Village							
	Total	Owners	Tenants	Owners and tenants	Total	Owners	Tenants	Owners and tenants				
	Num-ber : of living	Per-centage : of living	Average value : of living	Num-ber : of living	Per-centage : of living	Average value : of living	Num-ber : of living	Per-centage : of living	Average value : of living			
Total	684	1/100	\$592	452	100	\$672	232	100	\$436	73	1/100	\$783
0	510	75	620	388	86	667	122	52	471	58	79	800
1	95	14	565	47	10	723	48	21	410	13	18	711
2 and over	79	11	442	17	4	635	62	27	390	2	3	741

1/ Number of moves not reported for 36 open-country owners, 13 open-country tenants, and 10 village families.

Table 23.-- Distance of last move, by number of times moved during 5-year period, 1930-35, and by tenure groups, four Appalachian counties, 1935

Number of moves, 1930-35	Families 1/		Tenants		Distance moved in miles	
	Owners	Tenants	Under 10	10 to 40	50 to 499	500 and over
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Open country:						
1	47	10	48	21	23	31
2 and over	17	4	62	27	12	50
Village:						
1	13	2/	18	2/	9	3
2 and over	2	2/	3	2/	2	-

1/ Families reporting 1 or more moves, as shown in Table 22.
 2/ Owners and tenants combined.

Number of Moves in the Last Five Years

During the 5-year period, 1930-35, 75 percent of the open-country and 79 percent of the village families for which mobility data were available, had not changed their place of residence (Table 22). Fourteen percent of the open-country families and 18 percent of the village families had moved one time in the 5-year period. Thus it is evident that the mobility of the group was not extreme. Open-country tenants were more mobile than the owners. The families that had moved had not come from great distances. Of the 64 open-country owner families reporting distances moved during the 5-year period, 31 had moved less than 10 miles during the entire period and only 16 had moved over 50 miles. Of the 110 tenant families reporting moves, 54 had moved less than 10 miles and 21 had moved over 50 miles. The distance of the last move (Table 23) bears this out as well as the distance moved during the entire period.

OCCUPATIONS AND PLACE OF RESIDENCE OF CHILDREN

As an individual is so largely the result of the training he has received at home, it is easier for him, as an adult, to adjust himself to the society in which he has grown up than to that of another locality. On the other hand, that type of society which relies upon its own offspring to fill the places left by dead members is usually the most integrated type. It is therefore interesting to know to what extent children leave the parental home for distant places. In this study, over one-half of all offspring who were residing away from home at the time of the study were living in the same county of the parental home (Table 24). Approximately three-fourths of all such offspring away from home were residing in the same State as their parents. Slightly less than 18 percent had migrated to other States.

Of the offspring in the open country who were 21 years of age and over, 80 percent of the owner children and 73 percent of the tenant children were away from home; of the village families 82 percent were not living at the parental homes.

Table 24.- Number and percentages of offspring residing at specified places other than parental home, by tenure and residence of head of parental household, 733 open-country and 83 village families, four Appalachian counties, 1935

Place of residence, 1935	Total		Open country		Tenants		Village	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	797	100	649	100	148	100	106	100
County of survey	444	55	370	57	74	50	54	51
Other counties of State	181	23	141	22	40	27	31	29
Other States	142	18	116	18	26	18	18	17
Unknown	30	4	22	3	8	5	3	3

Age of Leaving the Parental Home

Children who were away from home had left their parental homes at an age approximately the same as that at which their mothers and fathers had left their parental homes (Table 25). In both open-country and village families the sons were 1 year younger when they left their parents than was the case with their fathers. For all offspring, age when leaving the parental home ranged from 18 years for daughters of tenants in the open country and in the village to 21 years for sons of owners in the open country.

Table 25.- Average age when first left home and age when first married, parents and offspring, by sex and tenure, 733 open-country and 83 village families, four Appalachian counties, 1935

Item	Open country				Village			
	Owners		Tenants		Owners		Tenants	
	:Average:		:Average:		:Average:		:Average:	
	:Number:	age	:Number:	age	:Number:	age	:Number:	age
Age left home:								
Parents ^{1/}								
Male	442	22	234	21	38	21	35	21
Female	473	20	239	18	42	19	38	19
Offspring								
Male	287	21	76	20	29	20	18	20
Female	371	19	74	18	31	19	26	18
Age married:								
Parents ^{1/}								
Male	463	25	238	24	38	27	36	22
Female	479	21	242	19	41	21	38	19
Offspring								
Male	270	22	73	21	25	21	17	20
Female	367	19	74	18	28	20	27	18

^{1/} Figures showing number of parents reporting age left home and age married are less than the number of families because one or both parents were missing in some instances. Moreover, some parents could not remember the age at which they had left home or married.

SOURCE OF INCREASE IN NUMBER OF FARMS

The localities in the four counties studied were chosen because of the large increase in the number of farmers from 1930 to 1935. What was the source of this increase? Previous discussion has indicated that most of the families included in the study had lived in the area since 1930. In fact, almost three-fourths of both village and open-country families had not moved at all (Table 22), and most of those that had moved had not covered any great distances.

Of the 724 farm families, the male heads of which gave farming as their chief occupation in 1935, 200, or 28 percent, had not been farm operators in 1930 (Table 26). What, then, had been their occupations between 1930 and 1935? Thirty percent had been unskilled workers; 20 percent had been skilled and semi-skilled workers; 17 percent had been farm laborers; and 20 percent had not been gainfully employed. The remaining 13 percent came from various occupations - 4.5 percent had been professional persons; 3.5 percent had been proprietors and managers; 3 percent had been clerks; and for 2 percent the occupation was not known. Of the farm families reported as owners in 1935, 109, or 23 percent, came from non-farm occupations; 91, or 37 percent, of those listed as tenants likewise had been employed previously in non-agricultural pursuits.

Table 26.- Heads of households who were farmers in 1935, classified by their occupations in 1930, four Appalachian counties

Occupation, 1930	Occupation, 1935			
	Total	Farm owners and managers	Farm tenants and croppers	Percentages of new farm operators originating from other sources
Total	724 ^{1/}	480	244	100.0
Professional persons	9	7	2	4.5
Proprietors, managers, and officials	7	4	3	3.5
Farm owners and managers	356	351	5	-
Tenants and croppers	168	20	148	-
Farm laborers	34	10	24	17.0
Clerks	6	4	2	3.0
Skilled and semi-skilled workers	40	28	12	20.0
Unskilled workers	60	32	28	30.0
Occupation unknown	3	2	1	1.5
Not gainfully employed	40	22	18	20.0
Employment unknown	1	-	1	.5

^{1/} There were no male heads for 8 owner families and 1 tenant family.

Only 14 percent of the owner families had changed residences during the period 1930-35 (Table 22, p. 35). Even if the owner families that did not report the distance moved had moved, this figure would be raised to only 20 percent, which is still less than the number that changed their occupations. It may, therefore, be inferred that part of the increase in open-country owner families was due to changes in occupation rather than changes in residence. Another study of the mobility of the families in the four counties 29/ indicated that, of all open-country families included, 25 percent had made changes in residence, whereas 43 percent had made occupational changes during the 5-year period.

These data would seem to indicate that the increase in number of farms may be in part attributable to changes in occupation rather than to changes in residence. Persons who had been previously engaged in other occupations upon losing these either automatically became farmers or, because of their residence on a piece of land, actually began farm operations on this land.

SUPPLEMENTARY OCCUPATIONS OF MALE HEADS OF FAMILIES ENGAGED IN FARMING

Fifty-six percent of all male heads of families in the open country reported supplementary occupations (Table 27). Thirty-three percent worked as unskilled laborers in addition to their farming activities; 10 percent reported

Table 27.- Male heads of farm families classified by their supplementary occupations, four Appalachian counties, 1935

Supplementary occupations	Total		Tenure					
	Total		Owners		Renters		Croppers	
	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent
Total	723	1/ 100	480	1/ 100	189	100	54	100
Professional persons	9	1	8	2	1	-	-	-
Proprietors, managers, officials	15	2	12	2	2	1	1	2
Farm laborers	63	9	24	5	28	15	11	20
Clerks	7	1	7	1	-	-	-	-
Skilled and semi-skilled workers	74	10	59	12	11	6	4	7
Unskilled workers	235	33	119	25	95	50	21	39
No supplementary occupation	314	43	248	52	50	27	16	30
Not reported	6	1	3	1	2	1	1	2

1/ There were no male heads for 8 owner families and 1 tenant family.

29/ Taeuber, Conrad, and Lively, C. E., Migration and Mobility of Rural Population in the United States (forthcoming publication).

that they worked as skilled and semi-skilled laborers; and 9 percent stated that they supplemented their farm incomes by working as farm laborers. The percentages of owners, renters, and croppers reporting that they were employed in supplementary occupations during 1935 were 47, 72, and 68. The percentages of owners, renters, and croppers earning supplementary incomes as unskilled workers were 25, 50, and 39. As previously stated 23 percent of the average for cash receipts as listed by open-country owner families, and 41 percent of that listed by open-country tenant farmers, accrued from wages of the operator (Table 19, p. 32). Relatively more tenants than owners had supplementary occupations and a larger share of their total cash receipts came from such activities.

OCCUPATIONS OF SONS

At the time of this study, almost one-half of all sons 21 years old and over and away from home were reported as not gainfully employed. Of sons 21 years of age at home, 76 percent in owner families in the open country, 62 percent in tenant families in the open country, and 19 percent in village families were unemployed. Of the sons reported by open-country owners and tenants as 21 years old and over and away from home, only a small proportion, 19 and 27 percent respectively, had become farm operators; among village families only 5 percent of such sons had turned to farming. Other occupations reported for sons in this group showed considerable diversity, ranging from professional to unskilled employment. Among open-country owners, open-country tenants, and village families respectively, 7 percent, 16 percent, and 17 percent of the children 21 years of age and not at home were classified as unskilled workers.

Although children at home on farms are seldom unemployed in the sense that they are idle, these figures tell a story of misfortune that involves a large segment of the population in the localities studied. They corroborate the theory that unemployed rural youth have been "backing up" in the Appalachians during the recent years of widespread depression.

EDUCATION

Male Heads and Homemakers

Both male heads and homemakers of all owner families in the open country had completed an average of 6.4 grades in school. The male heads and the homemakers of the open-country tenant families had completed 5.2 and 5.6 grades, respectively, while those of the village families had finished 6.8 and 6.9 grades. Among both the open-country owners and tenants, male heads and homemakers with higher values of family living had had more schooling than those with lower values of family living. In both residence groups families with the lowest values of family living, less than \$400, reported the fifth grade as the average finished by both male heads and homemakers. In owner families with values of living of \$750 and over, male heads and homemakers alike had completed the seventh grade; in tenant families with corresponding values of living, they had completed the sixth grade.

Offspring

In most of the rural areas of the United States older persons have not completed so many grades as younger persons not in school. To compare the education of older persons not in school with that of younger persons over 6 years of age and not in school, the reports of those 35 years of age and over were separated from those of the younger individuals. Individuals born before and after the turn of the century can thus be compared with regard to educational status. There is no great difference in the average educational attainment of these two groups (Table 28). This might indicate that present-day educational systems are not holding their students for longer periods of time than was the case two decades ago. However, in the present investigation only offspring over 6 years of age and not in school were included; therefore, this conclusion

Table 28.- Formal schooling of offspring over 6 years of age not attending school, 733 open-country families and 83 village families, four Appalachian counties, 1935

Item	Open country				Village	
	Owners		Tenants		Owners and tenants	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent

Offspring under 35 years of age

Highest grade completed:

Total	750	100	241	100	82	100
0 - 3	75	10	77	32	16	19
4 - 6	178	24	93	39	15	18
7 - 8	292	39	58	24	16	20
9 - 12 (high school)	175	23	13	5	27	33
13 - 16 (college)	30	4	-	-	8	10
Totals, completing 8 grades	545	73	228	95	47	57
Average grade completed		7		5		8

Offspring 35 years of age and over

Highest grade completed:

Total	218	100	29	100	56	100
0 - 3	26	12	8	28	2	3
4 - 6	61	28	11	38	16	29
7 - 8	92	42	7	24	14	25
9 - 12 (high school)	28	13	3	10	20	36
13 - 16 (college)	11	5	-	-	4	7
Totals, completing 8 grades	179	82	26	90	32	57
Average grade completed		7		5		8

cannot be adequately substantiated. ^{30/} The proportion of offspring in the open country who had completed high school ranged from 23 percent for the children under 35 years old in owner families to 5 percent for the children less than 35 years old in tenant families. Over 90 percent of the open-country tenants, and over 75 percent of the open-country owners, and 57 percent of the children of village families had completed eight grades of schooling.

READING MATERIAL

Seventy-two percent of the open-country owner families, 92 percent of the open-country tenant families, and 61 percent of the village families subscribed to no newspapers. Most of the families that did report such subscriptions received dailies (Table 29). Only 18 percent of the open-country owner families

Table 29.- Magazine and newspaper subscriptions of 733 open-country and 83 village families, by tenure and residence group, four Appalachian counties, 1935

Type of subscription	Open country				Village	
	Owner		Tenant		Owner and tenant	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Newspapers	488	100	245	100	83	100
None	350	72	225	92	51	61
1 or 2 weeklies only	29	6	4	2	3	4
1 or 2 dailies only	77	16	12	5	13	16
Combination 2 or 3 newspapers only ^{1/}	27	5	1	-	13	16
1 or 2 others only	1	- ^{2/}	0	0	0	0
Not reported	4	1	3	1	3	4
Magazines	488	100	245	100	83	100
None	400	82	230	94	62	75
1 or 2 farm only	30	6	4	1	0	0
1 or 2 domestic ^{3/}	9	2	3	1	3	4
1 other type of weekly only	12	3	2	1	1	1
1 or 2 religious	1	-	0	0	2	2
Combination of 2, 3, 4 or 5 ^{1/}	36	7	6	3	15	18

^{1/} Not included in previous categories.

^{2/} In this table dashes indicate less than 1 percent.

^{3/} Domestic - woman, home, child.

^{30/} Hamilton, C. Horace, Recent Changes in the Social and Economic Status of Farm Families in North Carolina, Bulletin 309, North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, Raleigh, May 1937, p. 168. In this study of 745 heads of families in Avery County, North Carolina, individuals under 35 years of age were found to have had more formal education than older persons.

and 6 percent of the open-country tenant families received magazines of any kind; of the village families, however, 25 percent listed magazine subscriptions. As previously stated, expenditures for reading material averaged only \$2, \$0.37, and \$5 for the open-country owners, open-country tenants, and village families respectively. If reading is to be considered as one of the important elements in the non-material level of living, the families included in the study cannot lay claim to high rank.

SUMMARY

1. This report of a study, which was made in 1935, has to do with the level of living of 733 open-country farm families and 83 village non-farm families in two Kentucky counties in the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau and in two North Carolina counties in the Blue Ridge subregion of the Appalachians.
2. The average values of living, including the values of all goods and services consumed, were \$662, \$426, and \$798 per family for open-country owners, open-country tenants, and village families; per capita, they were \$143, \$87, and \$210. Few studies of farm families have indicated such low values.
3. Less than one-half of the value of living for the farm families was purchased; 83 percent of that for the village families was purchased.
4. Open-country owner and tenant families allocated 53 and 62 percent of their total values of living to food; village families reported 35 percent for this category. Per family, the average values of food for these three groups were \$351, \$263, and \$281; per capita, they were \$76, \$54, and \$74; and per adult male equivalent unit, they were \$85, \$68, and \$88.
5. The open-country families produced relatively large proportions of their food on the farms. The owners produced 76 percent; the tenants, 68 percent.
6. Open-country owners, open-country tenants, and village families reported \$509, \$196, and \$791 respectively for the average replacement value of the house.
7. The average expenditures for clothing per family were \$78, \$52, and \$114 for owners and tenants in the open country and for village families respectively.
8. Considered together, expenditures for social participation, education, and reading absorbed \$20, \$4, and \$36 respectively from the total expenditures of open-country owners and tenants and village families.
9. The open-country families derived only 36 percent of their total cash receipts from the sale of farm products. Thirty-five percent accrued from wages.

10. Of the male heads of 724 open-country families that gave farming as their chief occupation in 1935, the year of the study, 200, or 28 percent, were not farming in 1930. One-half of these new farmers had been unskilled, semi-skilled, and skilled laborers; 17 percent had been farm laborers; 20 percent had not been gainfully employed; and the remainder were professional men, clerks, and proprietors.

11. Indications are that the new farmers were frequently recruited from persons reporting no change of dwelling from 1930 to 1935. Loss of non-farm employment caused many of these individuals to report themselves as farmers.

12. Of the children of open-country families away from home, 55 percent were in the county of, and 23 percent were in the State of, residence of the parents in 1935. For village families these percentages were 54 and 31 respectively.

13. One-half of the male heads of families who operated farms had supplementary occupations. One-third reported that their supplementary occupations comprised unskilled labor.

14. Open-country owner and tenant and village male heads had completed 6.4, 5.2, and 6.8 grades respectively. The amount of education is positively correlated with total value of family living.

15. Seventy-eight percent of the open-country and 61 percent of the village families subscribed to no newspapers. Eighty-six percent of the open-country families and 62 percent of the village families subscribed to no magazines.

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES

Table 30.- Distribution of total number of persons included in the sample and in the open country and villages of the four counties, by county

County	Open-country farm		Village	
	Persons in sample	Farm population, 1935 ^{1/}	Persons in sample	Population Census 1930 (under 2,500)
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	3,458	100	315	100
Avery	696	20	39	12
Haywood	760	22	125	40
Magoffin	870	25	64	20
Morgan	1,132	33	87	28
			6,515	100

^{1/} Census reports.

Table 31.- Sample compared with farms reported in Census for four Appalachian counties, by size of farm, 1935

Size of farm (acres)	Sample					
	Census	Total	Owners	Related	Not related	Croppers
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	11,126	100	733	100	86	100
Under 3	2	-	7	1	1	3
3 - 9	1,992	17	147	7	44	37
10 - 19	1,636	15	127	11	26	30
20 - 49	3,314	30	194	33	9	17
50 - 99	2,486	22	164	31	3	7
100 - 174	1,241	11	59	11	2	4
175 - 259	339	3	21	3	-	2
260 and over	226	2	14	3	1	-
			488	100	100	55
			100	100	104	100
			3	1	1	3
			32	7	51	32
			54	11	30	16
			162	33	41	5
			153	31	4	1
			53	11	2	-
			18	3	2	1
			13	3	1	-

Table 32.—Number and percentage of population on relief, April 1933-December 1935

Year and Quarter	Average number of persons on relief per month												
	Total 4 counties	Avery County	Haywood County	Magoffin County	Morgan County	Number	Percent of popu- lation	Number	Percent of popu- lation	Number	Percent of popu- lation	Number	Percent of popu- lation
1930 Population for the county	70,929	11,803	28,273	15,719	15,130	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1933 April-June	27,664	3,220	3,050	8,453	12,941	.39	10.8	57.0	8,453	57.0	12,941	85.5	85.5
July-September	13,827	2,128	2,311	3,953	5,435	.19	8.2	25.2	3,953	25.2	5,435	35.9	35.9
October-December	19,813	1,877	2,237	9,710	5,989	.28	7.9	61.8	9,710	61.8	5,989	39.6	39.6
1934 January-March	21,482	3,585	3,134	9,367	5,396	.30	11.1	59.6	9,367	59.6	5,396	35.7	35.7
April-June	20,278	2,431	3,040	9,312	5,495	.29	10.8	59.2	9,312	59.2	5,495	36.3	36.3
July-September	22,866	3,771	3,124	9,864	6,107	.32	11.0	62.8	9,864	62.8	6,107	40.4	40.4
October-December	20,055	2,997	3,484	6,824	6,750	.28	12.3	43.4	6,824	43.4	6,750	44.6	44.6
1935 January-March	21,969	3,772	3,777	7,941	6,479	.31	13.4	50.5	7,941	50.5	6,479	44.6	44.6
April-June	22,232	3,278	4,166	8,018	6,770	.31	14.7	51.0	8,018	51.0	6,770	44.7	44.7
July-September	16,386	2,016	3,593	5,215	5,562	.23	12.7	39.5	5,215	39.5	5,562	36.8	36.8
October-December	12,562	1,049	2,252	4,572	4,689	.18	8.0	29.1	4,572	29.1	4,689	31.0	31.0

Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Division of Research, Statistics and Finance, May 1936.

Table 33.- Average value of all goods and services and distribution of this value among principal groups of goods and services, by size of family ^{1/}, 733 open-country and 83 village families, four Appalachian counties, 1935

Item	Open country				Village	
	Owners		Tenants		Owners and tenants	
	Small	Large	Small	Large	Small	Large
Number of families	264	222	129	116	59	24
Average number of persons in household	3.5	6.9	3.4	7.1	3.0	6.2
Average adult male units per family	2.5	5.3	2.4	5.2	2.3	4.5
Total value of family living - dollars	599	741	368	500	690	1,067
Furnished	307	352	191	258	125	158
Purchased	292	389	177	242	565	909
Housing and maintenance	121	123	70	72	174	214
Furnished	64	62	41	48	59	54
Purchased	57	61	29	24	115	160
Food	320	392	218	312	230	400
Furnished	243	290	150	210	66	104
Purchased	77	102	68	102	164	296
Clothing	61	98	40	65	85	186
Health, births, deaths	35	28	13	14	39	56
Advancement	13	28	4	5	33	43
Automobile	16	28	4	10	57	72
Incidentals and Other	33	44	19	22	72	96
Percentages of family-living items furnished:						
Total value	51	47	52	52	18	15
Housing and maintenance	53	50	59	67	34	25
Food	76	74	69	67	29	26

^{1/} Small families - less than 5 members; large families - 5 or more members.

Table 34.- Value of all goods and services used and distribution of this value among principal groups of goods and services per capita, 733 open-country and 83 village families, four Appalachian counties, 1935

Item	Averages per capita		
	Open country		Village
	Owners	Tenants	Owners and tenants
Total value of family living	\$143	\$87	\$210
Furnished	71	45	36
Purchased	72	42	174
Housing and maintenance	26	14	48
Furnished	14	8	15
Purchased	12	6	33
Food	76	54	74
Furnished	57	37	21
Purchased	19	17	53
Clothing	17	11	30
Health, births, deaths	7	3	12
Education	3	- <u>1/</u>	3
Reading	- <u>1/</u>	- <u>1/</u>	1
Social participation and recreation	1	- <u>1/</u>	5
Automobile	5	1	16
Incidentals	5	3	12
Other expenditures	3	1	9

1/ Less than 50 cents.

Table 35.- Average value of goods and services consumed and distribution of this value among principal groups of goods and services, by value-of-living groups, 733 open-country and 83 village families, four Appalachian counties, 1935

Item	Value-of-living groups														
	Open country										Village				
	Owners					Tenants					Owners and Tenants				
	:Under:\$400-:\$500-:\$750 and:					:Under:\$400-:\$500-:\$750 and:					:Under:\$400-:\$500-:\$750 and				
:Total:\$400 : 499 : 749 : over :Total:\$400 : 499 : 749 : over :Total:\$400 : 499 : 749 : over															
Averages per family:															
Total value of family living	\$662	\$308	\$452	\$600	\$1,115	\$426	\$286	\$450	\$585	\$948	\$798	\$287	\$441	\$610	\$1,503
Furnished	328	178	271	327	475	221	151	233	312	454	137	91	115	149	184
Purchased	334	130	181	273	640	205	135	217	273	494	661	196	326	461	1,319
Housing and maintenance	122	55	89	105	209	67	48	73	86	137	183	76	96	179	318
Furnished	63	37	55	61	91	41	31	46	56	60	57	24	34	63	95
Purchased	59	18	34	44	118	26	17	27	30	77	126	52	62	116	223
Food	351	198	283	353	500	263	183	282	358	551	281	161	236	259	423
Furnished	265	141	216	266	384	180	120	187	256	394	80	67	81	86	89
Purchased	86	57	67	87	116	83	63	95	102	157	201	94	155	173	334
Clothing	78	32	45	73	137	52	32	53	76	130	114	26	52	77	239
Health, births, deaths	31	7	12	21	73	14	9	13	18	35	44	8	11	18	102
Education	12	2	2	10	28	2	0	3	3	9	13	0	2	7	31
Reading	2	0	1	1	4	0	0	0	1	1	5	1	2	4	11
Social participation and recreation	6	1	1	4	15	2	1	1	3	3	18	1	6	9	42
Automobiles	22	0	1	5	68	6	0	3	11	40	61	-	-	15	163
Incidentals	22	10	12	16	43	15	11	13	22	27	43	13	30	21	88
Other expenditures	16	3	6	12	38	5	2	9	7	15	36	1	6	21	86
Value of food per adult male unit in household	85	59	81	79	106	68	59	67	76	83	88	60	76	86	110
Per-capita value of living	143	83	114	122	209	87	69	84	102	133	211	89	125	167	335
Percentage distribution:															
Total value of family living	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Furnished	50	58	60	55	43	52	53	52	53	48	17	31	26	24	12
Purchased	50	42	40	45	57	48	47	48	47	52	83	69	74	76	88
Housing and maintenance	19	18	20	17	19	16	17	16	15	15	23	26	22	29	21
Furnished	52	67	61	58	43	61	64	63	65	44	31	31	35	35	30
Purchased	48	33	39	42	57	39	36	37	35	56	69	69	65	65	70
Food	53	64	63	59	45	62	64	63	61	58	35	56	53	42	28
Furnished	76	71	76	75	77	68	66	66	72	71	28	42	34	33	21
Purchased	24	29	24	25	23	32	34	34	28	29	72	58	66	67	79
Clothing	12	11	10	12	12	12	11	12	13	14	14	9	12	13	16
Health, births, deaths	5	2	2	3	7	3	3	3	3	4	6	3	3	3	7
Education	2	1	1	2	3	1	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	1	2
Reading	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Social participation and recreation	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	1	1	1	3
Automobiles	3	0	0	1	6	1	0	1	2	4	8	-	-	3	11
Incidentals	3	3	3	3	4	4	4	3	4	3	5	5	7	3	6
Other expenditures	2	1	1	2	3	1	1	2	1	1	4	0	2	4	6
Family characteristics:															
Size of family - persons	4.6	3.7	4.0	4.9	5.3	4.9	4.1	5.4	5.8	7.1	3.8	3.2	3.5	3.7	4.5
Size of family - adult male units	3.8	3.0	3.3	4.1	4.4	3.7	3.0	4.1	4.3	5.8	3.0	2.5	2.8	2.8	3.8
Size of household - adult male units	4.1	3.4	3.5	4.4	4.7	3.9	3.1	4.2	4.7	6.6	3.2	2.7	3.1	3.0	3.9

Table 36.- Classification employed in grouping goods and services tabulated for 75 1/ families selected at random from 733 open-country and 83 village families in four Appalachian counties, 1935 2/

Item	Open country		Village
	Owners	Tenants	Owners and tenants
I. Housing and maintenance:			
Average value	\$122	\$67	\$183
A. Furnishings and equipment:			
Percent A is of I	14.0	15.0	16.0
Percent (items 1-10) of A	100.0	100.0	100.0
1. Laundry	12.3	7.0	28.0
2. Sewing	3.2	.9	-
3. Heating	20.7	18.3	43.0
4. Lighting	10.2	4.3	1.0
5. Kitchen and table	11.8	20.8	12.0
6. Bedding and linen	13.4	25.2	4.0
7. Floor and window covering	9.6	5.2	4.0
8. Furniture	16.3	11.3	2.0
9. Other	2.5	7.0	6.0
10. Insurance on above	-	-	-
B. Additions and alterations:			
Percent B is of I	8.0	6.0	3.0
C. Fuel (heating, lighting):			
Percent C is of I	30.0	42.0	27.0
Percent (items 1-7) of C	100.0	100.0	100.0
1. Electricity	6.3	-	12.0
2. Coal	36.9	32.0	71.0
3. Wood	17.4	-	6.0
4. Cash cost, procuring wood and coal	11.7	18.0	2.0
5. Gasoline, gas, and kerosene	27.7	50.0	9.0
6. Other fuel	-	-	-
7. Percent of fuel furnished	72.0	83.0	13.0
D. Other household expense:			
Percent D is of I	4.0	6.0	8.0
Percent (items 1-6) of D	100.0	100.0	100.0
1. Telephone	1.3	-	14.0
2. Domestic help	11.8	27.0	8.0
3. Water bill (for household use)	-	-	23.0
4. Ice (for household use)	-	-	12.0
5. Soap and cleanser	80.3	69.0	43.0
6. Other	6.6	4.0	-

Table 36 (continued)

Item	Open country		Village
	Owners	Tenants	Owners and tenants
E. Rent:			
Percent E is of I	44.0	31.0	46.0
Percent (items 1-3) of E	100.0	100.0	100.0
1. Rent equivalent	19.0	10.0	20.0
a. Repairs	18.0	50.0	-
b. Insurance	-	-	-
c. Taxes, interest on mortgage on house	82.0	50.0	100.0
2. Cash rent	1.0	10.0	23.0
3. 10.0 percent value of dwelling minus 1 and 2 (rent furnished)	80.0	80.0	57.0
II. Food:			
Average value	\$351	\$263	\$281
A. Purchased (Cost):			
Percent A is of II	25.0	31.0	72.0
Percent (items 1-28) of A	100.0	100.0	100.0
1. Flour	27.9	31.8	15.0
2. Meal	8.9	7.2	7.4
3. Sugar	12.8	13.8	8.0
4. Syrup	4.5	1.0	-
5. Honey	.05	-	-
6. Tea	-	-	-
7. Coffee	7.3	9.0	3.9
8. Poultry	.1	-	.3
9. Pork	3.0	2.0	6.6
10. Veal	-	-	-
11. Beef	.3	.4	2.0
12. Mutton	.05	-	-
13. Lard or substitute	11.6	18.5	15.2
14. Milk (whole)	.2	-	-
15. Cream	-	-	-
16. Butter	.11	-	-
17. Oleo	-	-	-
18. Eggs	.05	.7	1.6
19. Potatoes	.43	.2	3.7
20. Other groceries	9.5	9.3	10.6
21. Sweet potatoes and yams	.6	-	1.3
22. Root crops	.21	-	.1
23. Greens	.04	.1	.5
24. Other vegetables	1.9	1.7	2.6
25. Fruits	1.2	1.3	2.5
26. All other fruits	.1	-	-
27. Other food purchased	1.6	2.7	13.7
28. Meals away from home	7.6	.3	5.0

Table 36 (continued)

Item	Open country		Village
	Owners	Tenants	Owners and tenants
B. Value of food produced and consumed at home:			
If purchased	\$265	\$180	\$80
Percent B is of II	75.0	69.0	28.0
Percent (items 1-26) of B	100.0	100.0	100.0
1. Flour	.56	1.1	-
2. Meal	5.45	8.3	.9
3. Sugar	-	-	-
4. Syrup	1.09	2.5	.1
5. Honey	.13	1.2	-
6. Tea	-	-	-
7. Coffee	-	-	-
8. Poultry	4.82	3.6	7.3
9. Pork	22.62	17.7	7.4
10. Veal	-	-	-
11. Beef	.54	-	-
12. Mutton	.01	.2	-
13. Lard or substitute	1.93	2.0	.8
14. Milk (whole)	25.63	26.9	35.4
15. Cream	.85	1.2	4.3
16. Butter	11.37	12.0	16.3
17. Oleo	-	-	-
18. Eggs	4.85	3.1	4.6
19. Potatoes	4.43	4.0	8.8
20. Other groceries	.03	-	-
21. Sweet potatoes and yams	1.91	1.1	1.5
22. Root crops	1.73	1.6	1.3
23. Greens (spinach, beet and other greens, asparagus, cauliflower, cabbage, kraut (canned), celery, lettuce, green onions, radishes, cucumbers, peppers, tomatoes)	4.64	3.4	6.0
24. Other vegetables	4.81	4.6	4.0
25. Fruits	2.56	5.0	1.3
26. All other fruits	.04	.5	-

Table 36 (continued)

Item	Open country		Village
	Owners	Tenants	Owners and tenants
III. Clothing:			
Average expenditure	\$78	\$52	\$114
Percent (items 1-16) of III	100.0	100.0	100.0
1. Work clothes	16.0	23.1	18.1
2. Headwear	5.0	4.9	4.9
3. Footwear	27.0	33.8	23.2
4. Overcoats	12.0	5.1	5.6
5. Suits	-	.3	14.9
6. Dresses, skirts, blouses	-	1.8	3.3
7. Underwear	8.0	8.7	6.4
8. Shirts (dress)	2.0	.3	3.8
9. Gloves, mittens	1.0	.7	.2
10. Socks, stockings	6.0	8.5	8.5
11. Personal jewelry	1.0	.3	-
12. Accessories	2.0	-	2.2
13. Night clothes	8.0	-	1.3
14. All other clothes	3.0	.1	1.1
15. Materials, yarns, thread	8.0	11.4	2.9
16. Cleaning and repairing	1.0	1.0	3.1
IV. Health, births, deaths:			
Average expenditure	\$31	\$14	\$44
Percent (items 1-8) of IV	100.0	100.0	100.0
1. Doctor	39.0	76.0	73.0
2. Hospital and nurse	28.0	-	-
3. Medicine prescribed	6.0	6.0	2.0
4. Medicine unprescribed	5.0	9.0	17.0
5. Dental	4.0	7.0	4.0
6. Oculist and glasses	10.0	-	1.0
7. Deaths, cemetery expenses	8.0	2.0	3.0
8. Other	-	-	-
V. Advancement:			
Average expenditure	\$20	\$4	\$36
Percent (items 1-3) of V	100.0	100.0	100.0
1. Formal education	60.0	47.0	36.0
2. Reading	9.0	9.0	14.0
3. Social participation and recreation	31.0	44.0	50.0
a. Church expenditures	63.6	45.0	29.0
b. Other benevolences	3.7	18.0	-
c. Assessments, dues	6.2	-	2.9
d. Theaters, movies	7.9	-	29.0
e. Other types of social activity	.4	-	13.0
f. Other recreation	18.2	37.0	-

Table 36 (continued)

Item	Open country		Village
	Owners	Tenants	Owners and tenants
VI. Automobile:			
Average expenditure	\$22	\$ 6	\$61
VII. Incidentals:			
Average expenditure	22	15	43
Percent (items 1-9) of VII	100.0	100.0	100.0
1. Beers, wines, and hard cider	3.5	3.7	2.0
2. Heavy alcoholic drinks	4.9	2.3	1.0
3. Gifts	15.6	13.1	13.0
4. Toilet articles and personal care	16.7	14.5	15.0
5. Candy, soda fountain expenditures	8.8	8.9	8.0
6. Tobacco	46.3	54.7	45.0
7. Photography	.3	.9	-
8. Spending money	3.6	-	16.0
9. Other	.3	1.9	-
VIII. Other expenditures:			
Average value	\$16	\$5	\$36
1. Proportion chargeable to family living:	<u>3/</u>	<u>3/</u>	<u>3/</u>
a. Payments on mortgages			
b. Refinancing charges			
c. Transportation (exclusive of auto)			
2. Personal taxes			

1/ Complete breakdown for all 733 open-country and 83 village families not available.

2/ The schedule and instructions used in this study will be sent upon request by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture. More complete itemization is available in these sources. See Methodological Note.

3/ Percentage breakdown not available.

METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

Description of Categories Constituting the Total Value
of Family Living

Studies of family living are based largely upon a monetary evaluation of the goods and services consumed for family-living purposes. In this report the various goods and services are grouped in seven principal categories, and a differentiation is made between those obtained by actual cash purchase and those furnished. The total value of family living is the sum of all the various items, both purchased and furnished, that are listed categorically.

Housing and Maintenance

The category "Housing and maintenance" includes cash rent, fuel, furnishings, household operation, repairs, insurance, taxes, and interest payments on the dwelling. Most of these items have been grouped under five main subdivisions: (1) Furnishings and equipment, (2) Additions and alterations, (3) Fuel, (4) Other household expense, and (5) Rent.

Earlier studies of this sort have usually ascertained the replacement value of the house and then designated an arbitrary proportion of this value as rent furnished. Cash payments, such as those for interest on mortgages, taxes, and insurance, have not generally been considered as belonging to the category of rent. Consequently there could be no fine discrimination between the part of the value of housing that was furnished and the part that represented an actual cash expenditure.

In this report the value of rent is divided into two parts: (1) that which was furnished, and (2) that which represented a cash payment. In order to accomplish this breakdown, the item "rent equivalent" has been introduced. Rent equivalent is composed of cash payments covering interest on mortgages and property taxes as well as expenditures for repairs and insurance on the dwelling. Where a farm was concerned, interest and tax payments were often made in a lump sum for the entire farm property. Part of such a payment was obviously for the dwelling and should be considered a part of the family living, while the remaining portion should be charged to the operation of the farm. An apportionment was made, therefore, on the basis of the ratio that existed between the replacement value of the dwelling and the total value of the farm and buildings.

When actual cash payments were made by a family for use of the dwelling, these payments were designated as "cash rent." But when cash rent was paid for an entire farm with no specific amount indicated as rental for the house, this sum was also apportioned between family living and farm operation by applying the ratio just described. The amount allocated to family living was then entered as cash rent for the dwelling.

It has been assumed in making this study that 10 percent of the replacement value of the dwelling represents the total value of rent. Cash rent and

rent equivalent include only actual cash expenditures, and together they constitute rent purchased. Rent furnished, then, is the difference between the amount of rent purchased and the figure that represents 10 percent of the replacement value of the house. Or, in other words, rent is the sum of rent purchased (rent equivalent and cash rent) and rent furnished, and equals 10 percent of the replacement value of the dwelling.

Fuel consumed by the family for heating and lighting, which comprises another subdivision of the generic category "Housing and maintenance," also may have been either purchased or furnished by the farm. Cash expenditures for the purchase of fuel were recorded as "housing and maintenance purchased." The value of fuel furnished by the farm, which was determined by what the interviewed families claimed fuel would have cost had it been actually purchased, was added to the value of housing and maintenance furnished. (Fuel received as a gift was excluded from the computation.) Any cash expenditures entailed in hauling or otherwise procuring the fuel furnished were treated as an expenditure for the purchase of fuel (Table 36).

Food

Foodstuffs produced on the farm (or acquired by direct appropriation from the immediate area) and consumed at home were included in the total value of family living as food furnished. (Food received as a gift was not included.) The families interviewed were asked to estimate what these goods would have cost in local stores, and what they would have brought had they been sold.^{31/} The amount for which these goods could have been sold was always estimated as less than that necessary to buy similar goods at the store. In this analysis the purchase price was used in evaluating food furnished, and the sale price was used merely as a check.

Clothing

Only actual cash expenditures for clothing were used to show the value of clothing consumed during the schedule year. Although much of the clothing for female members of the families may have been made at home, no account was taken of the value that was added by this labor (Table 36).

Health, Births, and Deaths

As in the case of clothing, only cash expenditures were enumerated. This category included expenditures for doctors' fees, hospitalization, medicines, and any services made necessary by death in the family (Table 36).

Advancement

Any expenditures for reading material, social participation and recreation and formal education were classified as advancement expenditures. Again, only

^{31/} Black, John D., and Zimmerman, C. C., Research in Farm Family Living, Scope and Method, Social Science Research Council, New York, April 1938, p. 13 ff.

the actual amounts of cash expended by the family were enumerated (Table 36).

Automobile and Truck Expenditures

In any farm family the motor vehicle, whether car or truck, serves a dual role - it aids in the farm business and provides a family conveyance. It is difficult to determine what percentage of the expenditures for the car or truck, as the case may be, should be assigned to family-living costs. Although the motor-vehicle owners interviewed in this study were asked to apportion such expenditures between the farm and family living, satisfactory data could not be obtained readily. As a result, the procedure adopted in tabulation was to consider all expenses for an automobile as chargeable to family living and all expenses for a motor truck as chargeable to farm operation. An exception to the latter statement must be noted, however. When a family owned a truck that was used for some non-farm business such as general hauling, the resultant expenses were not included in farm operation; instead, they were used in computing the net income from this non-farm business and only the final computation, entered as a part of cash receipts, appeared in the tabulation (Table 36).

Expenditures for Incidentals and for Items Classified as "Other"

Cash expenditures for articles of personal care, gifts to persons outside the family, beverages, etc., have been classified as "incidental expenditures." Personal taxes and expenditures for transportation (exclusive of travel for business purposes) are designated as "other expenditures." Any payment on the principal of a mortgage or other indebtedness, as well as the refinancing charges often incidental to these payments, were apportioned between the farm and the family living in the same manner as interest payments; hence, the amounts chargeable to family living in such instances have also been included in this category (Table 36).

Enumeration of Debts and Expenditures

In the enumeration of the value of goods and services purchased, both the amount of the total debt incurred and the amount of cash actually paid on the obligation were recorded. In the event the family made any payments on debts incurred for items bought prior to the schedule year, this amount was also recorded. But in the analysis only the actual cash outlays were used and no cognizance was taken of that part of the debts incurred for purchases of goods during the schedule year but not paid during this period. It was assumed that the amount paid on old debts would approximately balance the amount of current debts not paid during the schedule year, or carried over.

THE SAMPLE AS RELATED TO
POSSIBLE UNIVERSES

The objective of the study was to determine the level of living of rural families in high-relief areas in the Appalachians which had witnessed a large increase in the number of farms and in farm population. According to the census reports, the number of farms in the four counties studied increased 32 percent from 1930 to 1935; the number of farms in the 205 counties in the entire Appalachian region increased only 24 percent. The farm population of the four counties increased 26 percent; that of the 205 counties increased 18 percent during this same period (Table 1, p. 6),

Since the block type of sample was used, the selection of the geographical unit of the study was important. All available data on minor civil divisions of the counties involved were studied in an effort to secure localities that would be as representative of the Appalachians in as many sociological and economic respects as possible, notwithstanding the fact that an increase in farms and farm population and high relief had played an important part in determining this selection. As the center of interest was the rural situation, localities that had high percentages of non-agricultural workers were excluded.

From an analysis of the Census data the two North Carolina counties - Avery and Haywood - and the two Kentucky counties - Morgan and Magoffin - were selected. After further study of the Census and relief materials and after counsel with the rural sociologists at the Experiment Stations in North Carolina and Kentucky concerning minor civil divisions which would be representative of the open-country farm and the village non-farm situations, the townships Banner's Elk and Beach Mountain were selected in Avery County; the townships Crabtree and Clyde in Haywood County and the fourth magisterial district in Magoffin County, and the first magisterial district in Morgan County. In the township Banner's Elk, the village Banner Elk was included. In this village is an institution which is a college in the winter and a resort in the summer, and, in addition, a hospital. In Clyde township, among the inhabitants lived a considerable number of fiber and rayon workers employed in the Canton mills. Magisterial district four in Magoffin County includes Royalton, a stranded lumber village. Magisterial district one in Morgan County includes several small villages. Only a few schedules were taken in the larger center of West Liberty.

The higher incomes of the village families in Clyde tend to skew the village data. In the case of farm families the proportions of the total number of persons living in the four counties which lived in each individual county approximates the proportion of the total number of families in the sample which lived in these same counties (Table 30, p. 45). This and other considerations argue in favor of the possibility of combining data for the farm families of the four counties without formal weighting. In the case of the village families too large a proportion of the sample was included in Avery and Haywood counties. But the data were not weighted. It is believed that the sample is representative of the four counties in some respects at least (Table 30).

The data probably could be considered as representative of even larger territories; the somewhat homogeneous subregion of the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau might be represented by the two Kentucky counties; that of the Blue Ridge by the two North Carolina counties (Fig. 1, p. 4). The Northeastern Cumberland Plateau as delineated by the United States Department of Agriculture publication mentioned above 32/ was based upon 30 counties; 18 in Kentucky, 3 in Virginia, 8 in West Virginia, and 1 in Tennessee. The Blue Ridge consists of 35 counties: 19 in North Carolina, 6 in Georgia, 3 in Virginia, and 7 in Tennessee.

The average size of those farms included in the sample is somewhat smaller than that for the four counties or either of the two larger subregions (Table 1, p. 6). The distribution of the farms in the sample by size as compared with that for the four sample counties indicates no great contrast (Table 31, p. 45). The average value of the dwelling and the value of all farm products sold, traded, or used by the operators of the 733 farm families in the sample was lower than that reported for the four counties in the 1930 Census. In these respects the average family in the sample more nearly resembles the average family in the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau. The average value of food and wood used by the operator's family in the sample is lower than that for the farms of the four counties, or the Appalachian region, or the two subregions from which the counties were chosen, as reported by the 1930 Census.

32/ U. S. Department of Agriculture, Pub. No. 205, Washington, D. C., Jan. 1935, p. 11.

