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Families participating in a program of Aid to Families with Dependent Children and Unemployed Parents were studied to obtain data on personal and health characteristics of adult members, socioeconomic characteristics of the family unit, and the interrelations of these variables. Interviews were conducted by trained interviewers with 324 families residing in 7 rural eastern Kentucky counties. After 3 months, 72 homemakers were reinterviewed to determine what changes had occurred resulting from the program. Most families were found to be improved financially; they were more hopeful about the future; and their children were improving in school activities. One hundred tables are included giving data on: family age, composition, and education; material well-being and level of living; work record and orientation to work; sickness and health; geographic and social isolation; and values and views on life. (JH)

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# Mountain Families in Poverty

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FINAL REPORT

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Cyrus M. Johnson  
A. Lee Coleman  
William B. Clifford

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University of Kentucky  
Department of Sociology  
and  
Agricultural Experiment Station  
Lexington

RS-29

May 1967

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## MOUNTAIN FAMILIES IN POVERTY

Cyrus M. Johnson

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A major domestic goal in America in recent years has become the elimination of poverty. That this social problem and its underlying causes are of great concern is attested to by many federal, state, and educational agencies giving high priority to the necessity of developing a better understanding of the problems and needs of the economically, educationally, and emotionally deprived. The extensiveness of the effort is illustrated by the federal government's allotting a significant proportion of the national budget to the program.

In March of 1964 a new program of Aid to Families with Dependent Children and Unemployed Parents (AFDC-UP) was started on a trial basis in seven Eastern Kentucky counties. At that time the Division of Research, Welfare Administration, United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare asked the Department of Sociology, University of Kentucky, to consider undertaking a study of the families participating in the program. Financial support for the research was supplied by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare through the Kentucky Department of Economic Security, which contracted with the Social Research Service, Department of Sociology, to carry out the study. On the completion of this contract the Welfare Administration made a grant (#259-5-155) to Cyrus M. Johnson for further analysis of the data. This grant resulted in the present publication and several articles to be submitted to professional journals.

The research objectives were to obtain data on the personal and health characteristics of the adult family members, on certain socioeconomic characteristics of the family unit, and on the interrelations of these variables. Such information should be useful to State and Federal agencies concerned with welfare, by providing greater insight into the types of people and families who are participating and into their need for assistance and their potential for making satisfactory use of it. It is also hoped that it will help social scientists, applied social scientists, adult educators, social workers and administrators to achieve a clearer understanding of the various factors contributing to the problem of poverty in Eastern Kentucky and to gain an insight into planning and developing efficient social welfare programs designed to eliminate poverty among these mountain families.

The research design and instrument were developed by staff members of the Department of Sociology in collaboration with representatives of the Welfare Administration, the Kentucky Department of Economic Security, and the Cooperative Extension Service of the University. The design required interviews with a 25 percent systematic sample of families participating in the program, using separate schedules for family heads and homemakers. The schedules were designed to secure information desired by all agencies involved and were pre-tested before being administered in final form. Interviewing was conducted in April and May of 1964 by trained interviewers and completed schedules were obtained from 324 families (87.1 percent of the original sample). The families resided in the Eastern Kentucky counties of Breathitt, Floyd, Knott, Leslie, Letcher, Perry and Pike.

The following report supersedes the preliminary report — Mountain Families in Poverty — in that all of the data presented in the initial manuscript have been included here. The purpose of this report is to provide a full exposition of information obtained from the interviews. It is a tabular presentation describing the circumstances of the families and showing the interrelationship of certain descriptive variables, along with limited interpretation.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF FAMILIES  
AND FAMILY MEMBERS

Age Distribution

The families interviewed were participating in a program requiring the presence of at least one dependent child in the family but the program did not demand that both parents be present in the home. In this study, however, only families in which both parents were present were included; therefore, all families interviewed were at least three-person families. In the report the terms "heads of household," "men," "husbands," and "fathers" all refer to the same category; similarly, the terms "homemakers," "women," "wives," and "mothers" are used interchangeably and refer to the same category.

As is usually the case in American society, the wives in the study group were somewhat younger than the husbands (Table 1).

TABLE 1  
HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD AND HOMEMAKERS BY AGE

<u>Age Category</u>	<u>Percent of Heads of Household</u>	<u>Percent of Homemakers</u>
17 - 29	16.4	30.2
30 - 39	28.1	29.6
40 - 49	30.9	29.0
50 and over	23.4	5.9
No information	<u>1.2</u>	<u>5.3</u>
TOTAL	100.0	100.0
	(N = 324)	(N = 324)



There were nearly twice as many wives as husbands in the 17 - 29 age category, and nearly four times as many husbands as wives in the 50-years-and-over grouping. The middle categories, 30 - 39 years and 40 - 49 years, were very nearly equal in number of husbands and wives. The median age for the women was 35 years and for the men it was 42 years.

The fact that wives were younger is clearly demonstrated in Table 2 — a comparison of wives' age to age of husband. For husbands between the ages 20 - 29, 18.9 percent of their wives were under 20 years of age. Nearly half of the wives of husbands aged 30 - 39 and 40 - 49 were younger; and, over half of the wives of husbands 50 and over were younger. One factor that is possibly related to the difference in age between husband and wife is that a sizeable number of the husbands had been married more than once. Over a sixth of the men (17.9 percent) so reported. Data on the number of marriages of women were not secured. Another factor that may possibly be related to this difference is the age at first marriage of the men. Over two-fifths were first married between the ages 20 - 24 and three-tenths were first married at age 25 and over. While the modal age at first marriage of the men was somewhat low, 20 years of age, the median — 22.8 years — was in line with the larger society. The age at first marriage for the wives was not secured.

### Family Composition

The number of children reported per family is also affected by multiple marriages, since respondents were instructed to name all children of either husband or wife. The total number of live children, including those not residing in the household, by family, is shown in Table 3. The median number of live children per family was 5.7, and the mean 5.5. When deceased children (155, including 19 stillbirths) were included, the mean number of children per family was 6.0. Since more than half of the homemakers were below 40 years of age and nearly a third below 30 years of age, the probability that a considerably larger number of children were yet to be born to these families is great. Of the children born, 988 were males, 952 were females, the sex of three was unreported. There were 908 living males and 880 females.

The age distribution of the children living in the household and those living elsewhere is shown in Table 4, separately for males and females.

TABLE 2

## WIVES' AGES IN COMPARISON TO AGES OF HUSBANDS\*

<u>Age</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Husbands 20 - 29	
Wives Under 20	18.9
Wives 20 - 29	73.6
Wives 30 - 34	<u>7.5</u>
	100.0
	(N = 53)
Husbands 30 - 39	
Wives Under 24	18.7
Wives 25 - 29	26.4
Wives 30 - 39	47.2
Wives 40 - 49	<u>7.7</u>
	100.0
	(N = 91)
Husbands 40 - 49	
Wives 20 - 29	4.0
Wives 30 - 39	42.0
Wives 40 - 49	52.0
Wives 50 and over	<u>2.0</u>
	100.0
	(N = 100)
Husbands 50 and over	
Wives 20 - 29	6.6
Wives 30 - 39	11.8
Wives 40 - 49	55.3
Wives 50 and over	25.0
No information	<u>1.3</u>
	100.0
	(N = 76)

\*Four husbands gave no information.

TABLE 3  
FAMILIES BY TOTAL NUMBER OF LIVE CHILDREN

<u>Number of Children*</u>	<u>Percent of Families</u>
1	6.2
2	12.7
3	13.0
4	9.3
5	12.7
6	12.3
7	7.7
8	8.6
9	6.5
10 or more	<u>11.0</u>
TOTAL	100.0
	(N = 324)

\*Includes children not residing in household.

In a third of the families there had been the loss of at least one child by death, including a few stillbirths reported as deaths (Table 5). About one in ten families reported more than one death.

The age at death and the sex of the deceased children are shown in Table 6. More girls were stillborn or died in the first six months, while more boys died between six months and five years.

Despite the fact that it has been somewhat traditional for mountain families to have extended family kin living with them, this was not the general pattern for these families. About nine-tenths of the families (90.7 percent) reported no other individual living in the household. Of the forty-five persons other than sons or daughters reported in the household, about half were grandchildren, nearly a third were fathers or mothers of the head or homemaker, and the rest had a variety of relationships to the family (Table 7).

TABLE 4  
AGE DISTRIBUTION OF LIVING CHILDREN BY SEX

Age Category	Percent of Males		Percent of Females		Percent of Total	
	In House- hold	Out of House- hold	In House- hold	Out of House- hold	In House- hold	Out of House- hold
Less than one year	5.3		4.9		5.1	
1 - 5 years	28.8	0.5	26.2	0.4	27.5	0.5
6 - 10 years	28.9	1.9	28.5	0.9	28.7	1.4
11 - 15 years	20.6	3.9	28.7	4.4	24.5	4.2
16 - 20 years	12.5	16.6	10.4	31.1	11.5	24.2
21 - 25 years	3.2	41.0	0.9	34.7	2.1	37.6
26 years and over	0.3	36.1	0.2	28.5	0.3	32.1
No information	<u>0.4</u>	<u>      </u>	<u>0.2</u>	<u>      </u>	<u>0.3</u>	<u>      </u>
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(N = 703)	(N = 205)	(N = 652)	(N = 228)	(N = 1355)	(N = 433)

TABLE 5  
FAMILIES BY NUMBER OF DECEASED CHILDREN

<u>Number Deceased</u>	<u>Percent of Families</u>
None	66.4
1	23.5
2	6.8
3	1.2
4	0.9
5 or more	0.6
No information	<u>0.6</u>
	100.0
	(N = 324)

TABLE 6  
DECEASED CHILDREN, BY SEX AND AGE AT DEATH

<u>Age at Death</u>	<u>Percent of Males</u>	<u>Percent of Females</u>
Stillbirth*	7.5	15.3
Less than 1 week**	25.0	22.2
1 week to 6 months	21.3	27.8
6 months to 1 year	13.7	11.1
1 year through 5 years	26.3	16.7
6 years or more	<u>6.2</u>	<u>6.9</u>
	100.0	100.0
	(N = 80)	(N = 72)

\* Cases with no information on sex are omitted.  
\*\* One case with no information on sex is omitted.

TABLE 7

PERSONS IN THE HOUSEHOLD OTHER THAN NUCLEAR FAMILY MEMBERS, BY RELATIONSHIP TO THE HEAD OR HOMEMAKER

Relationship	<u>Percent of All Other Members</u>
Grandchild	51.1
Mother and/or Father of Head	15.6
Mother and/or Father of Homemaker	15.6
Sister of Head or Homemaker	6.7
Son-in-Law	2.2
Grandmother of Homemaker	2.2
Uncle	2.2
No relation	<u>4.4</u> 100.0
	(N = 45)

Education

The formal schooling of the parents in these families was quite low. For the head of the household the median grade completed was six; for the homemakers it was seven. Twice as many women as men had finished high school, and three homemakers (but no heads) had had some college training.

Table 8 shows the heads of household by age and years of formal education. Less than a tenth (9.0 percent) of all heads had had more than an eighth grade education, and two-fifths (40.4 percent) had less than a fifth grade education. Among the younger men (20-29 years), fewer (only a fifth) were without as much as five years of schooling, but the proportion that had finished high school was still only one in

TABLE 8

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF <sup>Household Heads</sup> ~~HOME~~MAKERS BY YEARS OF FORMAL EDUCATION BY AGE

Age Category	Grade School		High School		College	Total (Percent)	Number
	Less than 5 years	5 - 7 years	1 - 3 years	4 years	1 - 4 years		
All ages	40.4	31.5	19.1	2.5	0.0	100.0	320*
20 - 29	20.8	35.8	22.6	5.7	0.0	100.0	53
30 - 39	38.5	40.6	19.8	1.1	0.0	100.0	91
40 - 49	53.0	19.0	18.0	3.0	0.0	100.0	100
50 and over	39.5	32.9	18.4	1.3	0.0	100.0	76

\* N = 320. Four respondents gave inadequate information.

twenty (5.7 percent). In the age-group 30 - 39, only 1 percent had even attended high school.

The situation was only slightly better for women (Table 9), with only about a sixth (15.3 percent) having had any schooling beyond the eighth grade and with a fourth (24.1 percent) having completed less than five years of schooling. Among the younger women (under 30), relatively more had completed at least five years of schooling, but even among them only one out of ten (10.2 percent) had finished high school.

A limited amount of information was collected concerning the formal education of the father and mother of the heads of household. As would be expected, they had had little formal education (Table 10). A comparison of their education with that of their sons indicated that the sons did receive more years of schooling than their parents, but the difference was not great. Furthermore, the difference cannot be stated absolutely since no information was secured for more than a fourth of the fathers (30.5 percent) and of the mothers (27.2 percent). The slight increase probably does not equal the overall trend that is occurring in the United States at the present time for each generation to receive more education than the previous one.

A requirement of AFDC-UP program was that children of school age attend school if physically and mentally able. For children in school and living at home, grade and age are shown in Table 11. If we consider as retarded the eight-year-old children in the first grade, the nine-year-olds in the second or first grades, etc., a fourth of the eight year olds were retarded one grade and almost a third of the nine year olds were retarded one grade or more. Of the fifteen year olds, about a fifth were retarded one grade and over a sixth were retarded two or more grades. Overall, a third (36 percent) of those in school were retarded at least one grade and of these, nearly a sixth (15.2 percent) were retarded two grades or more.

When the retardation of children in this sample of welfare families is compared with the figures for the state as a whole (Table 12), some indication of the seriousness of the educational problem among these families is gained. Retardation rates for the specific counties in which the sample families live were not computed, but it is likely that they were somewhat greater than for the state as a whole although considerably less than for this sample of welfare families.



TABLE 9

## PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF HOMEMAKERS BY YEARS OF FORMAL EDUCATION BY AGE

Age Category	Grade School			High School		College	Total (Percent)	Number
	Less than 5 years	5 - 7 years	8 years	1 - 3 years	4 years	1 - 4 years		
All ages	24.1	31.9	28.7	8.8	5.5	1.0	100.0	307*
17 - 29	11.2	26.5	35.8	16.3	9.2	1.0	100.0	98
30 - 39	26.0	40.7	22.9	5.2	4.2	1.0	100.0	96
40 - 49	34.0	28.7	26.6	6.4	3.2	1.1	100.0	94
50 and over	31.6	31.6	31.6	0.0	5.2	0.0	100.0	19

\* N = 307. Seventeen respondents gave inadequate information.

TABLE 10  
 FORMAL EDUCATION OF FATHER AND MOTHER  
 OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS

Years of Schooling Completed	Percent of Fathers of Heads	Percent of Mothers of Heads
Less than one year	13.3	15.4
1 - 2 years	6.8	7.4
3 - 4 years	16.7	11.7
5 - 7 years	14.8	24.5
8 years	16.7	12.0
Some or completed high school	0.6	1.2
Some college or other special training	0.6	0.6
Don't know, or no information	<u>30.5</u>	<u>27.2</u>
TOTAL	100.0	100.0
	(N = 324)	(N = 324)

For ages under 12, the proportion retarded in these families was three to five times as high in each year as the state average. In ages 12 - 16, the proportions retarded were two or three times as high as for the state as a whole, and even the state rates are high by national standards. The highest rate for a single age cohort in these families was 66 percent of the 15 year olds. Only at age 17 were the rates for this sample similar to those for the state, and at this age, beyond the compulsory age limit, presumably all but a few of the better qualified students have already dropped out.

TABLE 11

CHILDREN IN THE HOME AND STILL IN SCHOOL,  
BY AGE AND GRADE

Age	Percent in Each Grade																			Total	N
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12									
6	96.7	3.3																		100.0	30
7	65.2	30.3	4.5																	100.0	66
8	25.6	45.4	26.7	2.3																100.0	86
9	2.8	28.2	45.1	22.5	1.4															100.0	71
10	3.6	16.7	27.4	27.4	20.2	4.7														100.0	84
11		6.0	11.9	16.4	47.8	14.9	3.0													100.0	67
12		1.5	1.5	15.4	18.5	43.1	18.5	1.5												100.0	65
13			1.5	8.7	15.9	29.0	21.7	23.2												100.0	69
14				1.6	4.9	11.5	19.7	49.2	13.1											100.0	61
15				1.8	5.4	7.1	19.6	28.6	19.6	14.3										100.0	56
16							2.5	20.0	20.0	42.5	15.0									100.0	40
17								12.5	25.0	50.0										100.0	8
18								10.0	20.0	40.0										100.0	10
19								25.0	75.0											100.0	4
TOTAL																					717

Those below the stairstep line are retarded.



TABLE 12

PERCENTAGE OF ENROLLED SCHOOL CHILDREN RETARDED,  
FOR EACH AGE BETWEEN 8 AND 17, STATE OF  
KENTUCKY AND EASTERN KENTUCKY WELFARE SAMPLE

Age	Welfare Families			State*		
	Total	One Year	More than One year	Total	One Year	More than One year
8	25.6	25.6		5.8	5.8	
9	31.0	28.2	2.8	9.3	8.0	1.3
10	47.7	27.4	20.3	11.9	9.4	2.5
11	34.3	16.4	17.9	13.5	9.9	3.6
12	36.9	18.5	18.4	15.9	10.6	5.3
13	55.1	29.0	26.1	18.4	11.8	6.6
14	37.7	19.7	18.0	23.5	14.4	9.1
15	66.1	28.6	37.5	25.7	14.2	11.5
16	42.5	20.0	22.5	23.7	11.9	11.8
17	25.0		25.0	23.6	10.8	12.8

\* Source: U. S. Census of Population, Detailed Characteristics, Kentucky, Table 101, p. 307.

At ages 13 to 14 (the normal time for graduation from elementary school), nearly one pupil in four was retarded, according to either the one-year or the more-than-one-year definition, while fewer than one pupil in ten in the state as a whole was retarded according to the same measures. Of those welfare family students in the age categories 15, 16, and 17, more were retarded over a year than were retarded one year. For the state, only in age seventeen were there more retarded over a year than were retarded just a year.

Thus it is clear that the children in the sample of welfare families were much more retarded than those of the same ages in the state as a whole. A variety of reasons have been suggested for retardation in general and for the especially pronounced retardation of the children in this particular sample. There is of course the possibility that they are genetically inferior, but we have no measures of I. Q. or ability to learn. There are, however, a variety of family and environmental factors which seem likely to be associated with or explain some of the retardation.

Although direct measures of these factors were not obtained, an analysis of the relationship between school retardation and a complex of variables from the interviewing schedule was made. Probably because of the homogeneity of the sample and a lack of a control group with which to compare the sample the results were inconclusive. However, a list of the variables found to be significantly related to school retardation in the initial analysis (without any controls) might be useful in terms of future research. They were as follows: education of the parents, income, total number of full-time jobs, number of children and stage in the family cycle, family members per room, age of homemaker, geographic isolation, and level of living.

The key variables were education of the parents, age of the homemaker, and total number of children, since the relationship disappeared for each of the other variables listed above (except for age of homemaker and education of parents) when the number of children in the home and in school was controlled.

It is quite clear from the above that the need to provide these children of poor families with skills and motivations to compete in the labor market is ever increasing. Cohen and Sullivan state "It is increasingly recognized that effective education for the children of poor families must be tailored to their social needs and must compensate for intellectual and social deficiencies in the home environment."<sup>1</sup> If this rough measure of retardation is any indication of the volume of future dropouts, and it seems to be, the possible consequences are frightening.

The school attainment of children out of school and above the compulsory attendance age of 16 is shown in Tables 13 and 14. The amount of schooling secured by those still in the home was somewhat greater than that of all heads (Table 11) and homemakers, but was no greater than that of the younger (under 30) homemakers.

Children no longer residing in the home and who were out of school and beyond the compulsory age limit appear to have acquired more education than either their parents or their brothers and sisters still in the home but out of school (Table 14). Nevertheless, more than three-fifths (62.6 percent) of those who had left home had only eight years of education or less and only 3.4 percent had attended college at all.

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<sup>1</sup>Wilbur J. Cohen and Eugenia Sullivan, "Poverty in the United States," Health, Education, and Welfare Indicators (Feb. 1964), vi-xxii.

TABLE 13

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION BY FORMAL EDUCATION OF CHILDREN  
ABOVE COMPULSORY SCHOOL AGE, OUT OF SCHOOL,  
AND RESIDING AT HOME\*

Age	Formal Education						Total (Percent)	Number
	Grade School			High School				
	Less than 5 years	5 - 7 years	8 years	1 - 3 years	4 years			
All ages	10.3	39.3	32.5	11.1	6.8	100.0	117**	
16 - 20	5.9	42.4	35.3	12.9	3.5	100.0	85	
21 and over	21.9	31.3	25.0	6.2	15.6	100.0	32	

\* None were higher than high school.

\*\* Seven respondents gave inadequate information.

TABLE 14

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY FORMAL EDUCATION OF CHILDREN  
ABOVE COMPULSORY SCHOOL AGE, OUT OF SCHOOL,  
AND NOT RESIDING AT HOME

Age	Formal Education						Total (Percent)	Number
	Grade School			High School		College		
	Less than 5 years	5 - 7 years	8 years	1 - 3 years	4 years	1 - 4 years		
All ages	6.0	23.9	32.7	19.5	14.5	3.4	100.0	385*
16 - 20	6.4	11.7	42.6	26.5	12.8	0.0	100.0	94
21 - 25	4.5	24.2	29.9	21.0	18.5	1.9	100.0	157
26 and over	7.5	32.1	29.1	12.7	11.1	7.5	100.0	134

\* There were five children not included in the table who were in the age range but still in school. These were in trade school and it was not known how far they went in public school. Two appeared to be in college.

### Summary

The families in this study were composed of a husband, wife and at least one dependent child. The median age of husbands was 42 years and the median years of formal education was six. The wives had a median age of 35 and had completed seven years of formal education. There had been born to these families an average of six children, of whom 4.2 still resided in the home while 1.3 lived away from home and .5 were deceased. Of the school age children in the home one out of three was likely to be retarded at least one grade in school. Those out of school, either in the home or out of the home, tended to have no more than eight years of education.

A brief comparative analysis revealed that retardation rates of the sample of welfare families were considerably greater than the rates for the state. The state rates are even high by national standards. The analysis also indicated that the relevant variables associated with retardation were education of parents, age of homemaker and total number of children.

MATERIAL WELL-BEING AND LEVEL OF LIVING

Income

As would be expected of people on a welfare program, the families were very limited in their material possessions, the immediate reason no doubt being their low income. The figures on total family income for 1963, as reported by the heads of household, are shown in Table 15. The data indicate that a third of the families had incomes of less than \$500 for the year and that the median family income was approximately \$700.

TABLE 15  
FAMILIES BY TOTAL INCOME REPORTED FOR 1963

<u>Annual Income</u>	<u>Percent of Families</u>
None	1.9
Under \$250	17.3
\$250 - \$499	14.8
\$500 - \$999	27.7
\$1,000 - \$1,499	16.4
\$1,500 - \$1,999	7.7
\$2,000 - \$2,999	6.2
\$3,000 - \$3,999	1.2
\$4,000 or more	1.2
No information	<u>5.6</u>
TOTAL	100.0
	(N = 324)

The great majority reported that their total income was from wages and salary. The few reporting some funds from other sources included 8.9 percent drawing some unemployment insurance, 4.9 percent receiving welfare payments or non-military pensions, 4.2 percent who got some money from children and relatives, 3.3 percent who got some from military payments, 1.5 percent who received rent, and 9.5 percent getting funds from such other sources as alimony, food stamps, and so on.



Most of the families (87.7 percent) owed money at the time of the interview, the reported amounts ranging up to more than \$1,000, with a median of about \$250 (Table 16). Forty-two percent had credit accounts at a grocery store or general store and thirty-five percent reported buying or paying for some article(s) "on time." Only a few of the people (2.2 percent) indicated they were paying for articles from a mail order house.

TABLE 16

## FAMILIES BY AMOUNT OF MONEY OWED

<u>Amount Owed</u>	<u>Percent of Families</u>
None	12.0
Under \$25	3.7
\$25 - \$99	15.1
\$100 - \$249	21.0
\$250 - \$499	21.0
\$500 - \$999	17.6
\$1,000 up	9.3
No information	<u>0.3</u>
TOTAL	100.0
	(N = 324)

The credit sources for securing money, however, seem to be non-existent or dried up for a majority of the families. When asked, "Do you know where you can borrow \$100 if you need it?," three-fifths of the men said "no" (Table 17). Nearly a fifth, however, replied that they could borrow the sum from a bank. (There is no way of checking the validity of this statement for specific persons but it seems improbable that many could actually borrow from a bank or any other commercial sources.)

Housing

All but seven families were living in single houses rather than duplexes, apartments, or trailers. About half of the houses were judged by the interviewer to have been adequately constructed

TABLE 17

SOURCES FROM WHICH HOUSEHOLD HEADS THOUGHT  
THEY COULD BORROW \$100

Source	Percent of Heads Naming Each Source
None	62.6
Bank	19.8
Friends	5.6
Relatives	3.7
Merchants	3.7
Finance Company	3.7
No information	0.9
TOTAL	100.0
	(N = 324)

originally, but most were in an unsound state at the time of the interview (Table 18). On the basis of the U. S. Census categories, nearly three-fourths of the houses were rated as deteriorating or dilapidated.

TABLE 18

FAMILIES BY CONDITION OF DWELLING

Condition of House as Judged by the Interviewer	Percent of Families
Sound	21.9
Deteriorating	35.2
Dilapidated	38.0
No information	4.9
TOTAL	100.0
	(N = 324)

About two-fifths of the families reported owning their homes and almost a fourth were living rent-free in houses they did not own (Table 19). Rent for a tenth of the families was less than

TABLE 19  
FAMILIES BY HOUSE TENURE

<u>Type of Tenure</u>	<u>Percent of Families</u>
Own	39.6
Rent Per Month	
Less than \$9	10.2
\$9 - \$12	14.8
\$13 - \$20	5.2
\$21 or more	1.5
Free Rent	23.5
Other or inadequate information	<u>5.2</u>
TOTAL	100.0
	(N = 324)

\$9 per month, while about 15 percent paid from \$9 to \$12 per month and the remaining 7 percent paid more. Most of the houses (72.1 percent) had only four rooms or less; a third (33.0 percent) had three or less; and, a tenth (10.8 percent) had two rooms or less (Table 20). Since all of the families had one or more children it is obvious that most of them were very inadequately housed. The American Public Health Association's Committee on the Hygiene of Housing has established standards for household crowding. One or fewer persons per room is considered adequate, more than one person but fewer than one-and-a-half persons per room is considered crowded, and more than one-and-a-half persons per room is considered very crowded.<sup>2</sup> By these criteria nearly three-fourths (72.4 percent) of the families were crowded, more than half (52.2 percent) were in the very crowded category,

<sup>2</sup> "Committee on the Hygiene of Housing: American Public Health Association," Housing for Health, The Science Press Printing Co., Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1941, p. 171.

TABLE 20  
FAMILIES BY NUMBER OF ROOMS IN THEIR HOUSES

<u>Number of Rooms</u>	<u>Percent of Families</u>
1	1.9
2	8.9
3	22.2
4	39.2
5	16.7
6 or more	10.2
No information	<u>0.9</u>
TOTAL	100.0
	(N = 324)

and only a quarter (27.8 percent) could be considered to have had adequate space (Table 21).

TABLE 21  
FAMILIES BY RATIO OF PERSONS PER ROOM

<u>Persons Per Room</u>	<u>Percent of Families</u>
0.0 - 1.0	27.8
1.1 - 1.5	20.0
1.6 - 2.0	24.7
2.1 and more	<u>27.5</u>
TOTAL	100.0
	(N = 324)

The number of rooms used as bedrooms, even though they might occasionally be used for other purposes was also determined.

The few one-room dwellings were classified as having "no bedroom." The number of bedrooms in relation to family size is shown in Table 22. More than half of the families (56.5 percent) sleep with three or more persons per bedroom and more than a fourth (30.9 percent) have four or more.

TABLE 22  
NUMBER OF BEDROOMS BY NUMBER OF  
PERSONS IN THE FAMILY

Number of Persons in Household	Number of Bedrooms in House						No Infor- mation	All Families
	<u>None</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>		
3	1	9	11	6	2	0	0	29
4	4	14	31	10	0	0	1	60
5	1	12	27	15	1	0	1	57
6	0	10	17	3	2	0	0	32
7	0	6	34	13	3	0	0	56
8	0	4	20	8	1	0	0	33
9 or more	0	3	26	22	4	2	0	57
No infor- mation	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
TOTALS	6	58	166	77	13	2	2	324

#### Household Facilities and Conveniences

While most of the families had electricity, a washing machine, mechanical refrigerator, and a radio, fewer than one in five had running water in the house and only one in sixteen families had a bathroom or telephone (Table 23).

Even such basic household equipment as kitchen and/or dining chairs were in short supply. Table 24 shows the relationship between such chairs and the number of persons per household. Only a third of the families (32.0 percent) had at least one chair per person, while half of the families had two fewer chairs than persons or an even greater lack. Twenty-four families report no kitchen or dining chairs at all, and these were mostly the larger families.

TABLE 23

## FAMILIES HAVING SPECIFIED FACILITIES AND CONVENIENCES\*

<u>Conveniences</u>	<u>Percent of Families</u>
Eating table	97.5
Some kind of toilet facility	94.4
Clock	91.7
Working oven on cook stove	90.1
Electricity	86.7
Washing machine	80.2
Mechanical refrigerator	71.9
Working radio	67.6
Non-electric sewing machine	41.4
Car	40.1
Gas or electric range	38.9
Working television	32.4
Running water	18.8
Daily or weekly newspaper	10.2
Electric sewing machine	9.9
Home freezer	9.0
Tub or shower bath	6.5
Flush toilet	6.2
Telephone	5.9

\* Each percent is based on an N of 324.

Table 25 shows the number of beds by number of persons in a household. The situation with regard to beds was similar. Only one in twelve families had enough beds for a bed per person, while nearly a fourth (23.2 percent) had more than two persons per bed. The number of mattresses per family was not strictly comparable to the number of beds per family, but was similar. A few families had fewer mattresses than beds, while about a sixth of the families had more mattresses than beds, probably indicating that mattresses were spread on the floor at night. A fourth of the mattresses were reported to be innerspring type, more than half were of the cotton pad type, and the remainder were of miscellaneous types.

TABLE 24

NUMBER OF KITCHEN OR DINING CHAIRS BY  
NUMBER OF PERSONS IN HOUSEHOLD

Number of Persons in Household	Number of Chairs in Household								No Infor- mation	All Families
	<u>None</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>		
3	1	0	2	3	15	3	5	0	0	29
4	1	1	5	7	33	5	7	1	0	60
5	3	0	2	2	27	5	16	2	0	57
6	1	0	5	2	12	3	9	0	0	32
7	5	1	3	7	20	6	11	2	1	56
8	7	1	4	4	7	1	6	1	2	33
9 or more	6	2	3	9	10	5	13	7	2	57
<b>TOTALS</b>	24	5	24	34	124	28	67	13	5	324

TABLE 25

NUMBER OF BEDS BY NUMBER OF  
PERSONS IN HOUSEHOLD

Number of Persons in Household	Number of Beds in Household							All Families
	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	
3	3	11	9	5	1	0	0	29
4	5	24	22	8	1	0	0	60
5	3	14	24	14	2	0	0	57
6	0	16	9	6	1	0	0	32
7	0	8	23	18	5	2	0	56
8	0	6	9	13	5	0	0	33
9 or more	0	2	9	25	16	4	1	57
<b>TOTALS</b>	11	81	105	89	31	6	1	324

## Clothing

Mothers were asked whether each of the family members possessed certain items of clothing. For children under two, the only question was whether or not they had a dozen diapers. As Table 26 indicates, nearly two-fifths of the individuals two years old and over did not have a good pair of shoes and nearly half had no warm winter coat or jacket. Most persons 16 years and older had two changes of work or everyday clothes, yet over a tenth of the men did not. Over four-fifths of the men and about half of the women had no good "Sunday clothes." More than a tenth of the children did not have two changes of school or play clothes, and a fourth of the children under two did not have a dozen diapers.

TABLE 26

### INDIVIDUALS NOT HAVING CERTAIN ITEMS OF CLOTHING

<u>Clothing Items</u>	<u>Percent Not Having Item</u>
Good pair of shoes (all individuals, 2 yrs. old and over)	39.4
Warm winter coat or jacket (all individuals, 2 yrs. old and over)	46.8
Good suit (males, 16 yrs. old and over)	83.1
Two changes of work clothes (males, 16 yrs. old and over)	12.3
Two everyday dresses (females, 16 yrs. old and over)	2.0
Two changes of school clothes if in school or two changes of everyday clothes if preschool (children 2-15 yrs.)	12.1
Two good Sunday dresses (females, 16 yrs. old and over)	49.5
At least one dozen diapers (children under 2 yrs. old)	26.5

Another measure of the clothing needs of the families was the extent to which families as units lacked basic clothing items — a good pair of shoes, a warm winter coat or jacket, and two changes



of work or school clothes for each member of the family two years of age and older. Table 27 indicates that some families were much worse off than others. Almost a sixth of the families lacked none of these "basic" items while more than a third (37.4 percent) lacked on the average more than one item per family member.

TABLE 27

## FAMILIES BY EXTENT OF LACKING BASIC CLOTHING ITEMS

Lack of Basic Clothing Items Listed in Table 26	Percent of Families
None lacking (all family members have the basic items)	16.0
Lacking up to 0.5 items per person	21.0
Lacking 0.5 to 1.0 items per person	25.6
Lacking 1 to 1.5 items per person	18.8
Lacking 1.5 to 2 items per person	12.7
Lacking more than 2 items per person	<u>5.9</u>
 TOTAL	 100.0
	(N = 324)

Less than half (only 43.8 percent) of the homemakers reported that their families purchased any clothing new from stores (Table 28). About half of the families got some clothing from relatives and a third reported making some clothing. A quarter of the women said that most of the family's clothing came from gifts by relatives and others. Only a third claimed to buy most of their clothing new, and a quarter bought mostly used clothing. **Very** few said they made the bulk of the clothing (Table 29). About a fifth of the women reported that they had made one or more dresses for themselves during the past year but no other items of clothing were made by more than 5 percent of the women during the year.

TABLE 28  
SOURCES FROM WHICH FAMILIES OBTAIN CLOTHING

<u>Sources of Clothing</u>	<u>Percent of Families Using Each Source*</u>
From a store — new	43.8
From a store — used	18.5
Gifts from relatives	35.2
Made by self	33.0
Gifts from other than relatives	24.1
Made by relatives	14.5

\* More than one source was usually mentioned, so percentages add to more than 100.0.

TABLE 29  
FAMILIES BY SOURCE OF MOST CLOTHING

<u>Source of Clothing</u>	<u>Percent of Families</u>
From store — used	34.0
From store — new	27.4
Gifts from relatives	13.3
Gifts from other than relatives	10.8
Made by self or relatives	0.9
No information or not ascertainable	<u>13.6</u>
TOTAL	100.0
	(N = 324)

### Food

Diet is obviously a sensitive indicator of the level of living and state of well-being of low-income families such as those in the present sample. While no effort was made in the present

study to determine quantities of food eaten, an assessment of the quality of the diet was attempted. Homemakers were asked to recall the foods their families had had for each meal during the three-day period prior to the interview and these were compared with the United States Department of Agriculture's recommended "basic four" food groups, a standard yardstick for a well-balanced diet. While the reporting of foods eaten in the three days was not entirely complete, the data obtained indicate a very deficient diet in two of the four food groups — milk and milk products and fruits and vegetables — and some deficiency in the third — bread and cereal products (Table 30). The families appear to have eaten more than the recommended amounts of the fourth group, meat and meat substitutes, but dried beans and eggs account for 6.3 of the 9.8 servings and help to provide the apparently adequate diet in this area.

TABLE 30  
RECOMMENDED DIET versus ACTUAL DIET

<u>"Basic Four" Food Groups</u>	<u>USDA Recommended Servings in Three-Day Period</u>	<u>Average Served in Three Days by these Families</u>
Milk and milk products	6	3.4
Meat and meat substitutes	6	9.8
Bread and cereal products	12	9.8
Fruits and vegetables	12	6.2

The distribution of families by their conformity to the standards in all of the basic four food groups is shown in Table 31. Only four percent met the requirements in all four groups. On the basis of the information available it is difficult to assess the limitations of this diet or to know exactly what the deficiencies mean. However, except for families in the first two categories in Table 31, about 13 percent of all families, the diet deficiencies appear serious enough to cause concern.

Three of the counties in this study were on the U. S. Department of Agriculture food stamp program and 87 percent of the respondents in these counties reported using food stamps. The

TABLE 31

FAMILIES CLASSIFIED BY THE EXTENT TO WHICH THEIR DIETS  
MEET THE "BASIC FOUR" FOOD REQUIREMENTS

Extent of Conformity to the "Basic Four" Food Requirements	Percent of Families
<u>Requirements met in all four groups.</u>	4.0
<u>Lacked less than one half of the food requirements of only one group.</u>	8.7
<u>Lacked (a) less than one half of food requirements of two groups, or (b) lacked one half or more of the requirements of one group.</u>	19.1
<u>Lacked (a) less than one half of the requirements of three groups, or (b) less than one half of one group and one half or more of the requirements of one group.</u>	26.2
<u>Lacked (a) less than one half of the food requirements of four groups, or (b) one half or more of two groups, or (c) less than one half of two groups and one half or more of one group.</u>	23.8
<u>Lacked (a) less than one half of the food requirements of three groups and one half or more of the food requirements of one group, or (b) less than one half of the food requirements of one group and one half or more of two groups.</u>	14.8
<u>Lacked (a) one half or more of the "basic food" requirements of three groups, or (b) lacked one half or more of the requirements of two groups.</u>	1.9
<u>Lacked less than one half of the food requirements of one group and one half or more of the food requirements of three groups.</u>	0.3
No information	<u>1.2</u>
TOTAL	100.0
	(N = 324)

surplus commodity foods were available in the other four counties and 95 percent of the sample reported receiving them. It is impossible from the data at hand to determine the extent to which either program affected the diet of these families.

About half of the homemakers said most of their food was purchased from a large supermarket, with the rest mainly patronizing a country store, a general store, or small grocery. The median distance from home to the store where the family bought most of its food was three to four miles, but about a fifth of the families traveled ten or more miles. Since so many of the families had no car, distance from the food store was a matter of some concern. The frequency of "going to the store for food" varied, but most families (65.1 percent) went as often as once a week (Table 32). Nearly a sixth, however, shopped for groceries only once a month. About a fourth (28.7 percent) reported that they usually bought their food on credit.

Most people (80.3 percent) tried to supplement their food by raising a garden. For those who did not, the reasons given most frequently were "no space," "moving during planting time," "unable due to health," "no time," and "no money for seed." About the same proportion of families (79.9 percent) canned some food during the previous year. The amount of canning varied, but more than half (53.6 percent) of the women reported 100 or more cans and a fourth (25.9 percent) 300 or more. Nearly half (45.0 percent) of the families also raised and killed at least one hog for meat during the previous year. About one out of ten (11.7 percent) raised more than one hog, but very few raised more than two.

TABLE 32

## FAMILIES BY FREQUENCY OF FOOD PURCHASES

<u>Frequency of Going to the Store for Food</u>	<u>Percent of Families</u>
Almost every day	10.5
1 - 3 times a week	26.5
Once a week	28.1
2 - 3 times a month	14.8
Once a month	16.7
Indefinite or no information	<u>3.4</u>
TOTAL	100.0
	(N = 324)

### Relationship Between Level of Living Variables

The analysis to this point has shown the considerable degree of deprivation of these families on five measures of material possessions and level of living — income, condition of dwelling, house furnishings, clothing and diet. The question arises whether the families that are most deprived on one of the measures were similarly deprived on the others, and how the several measures are related to each other. A chi-square analysis was made and no consistent relationship was found between the five measures (Table 33). Income and adequacy of diet tend to stand by themselves, although income was significantly related to one measure, house furnishings. The condition of dwelling was significantly related to the adequacy of house furnishings and clothing, and in the direction expected.

TABLE 33

#### RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FIVE LEVEL OF LIVING VARIABLES\*

	Income	Condition of Dwelling	House Furnishings	Clothing Needs
Condition of Dwelling	not sig	-----	-----	-----
House furnishings	P < .001	P < .001	-----	-----
Clothing needs	not sig	P < .01	not sig	-----
Diet	not sig	not sig	not sig	not sig

\* Using Chi Square, d.f. = 4.

The relationship of the five level-of-living measures to the age of the household head and the size of the family was also inconsistent (Table 34). The education of the head of the household, however, was related to all five measures (although only minimally to adequacy of house furnishings), and in the direction expected. The families of the men with five or more years of schooling were less materially deprived than those with less schooling, on the basis of the deprivation measures used. The age of the head bore no relationship to these variables but was slightly related to diet (the older group having the better diet) and significantly related to

TABLE 34

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LEVEL OF LIVING MEASURES AND  
FAMILY SIZE, AGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD,  
AND EDUCATION OF HEAD

	<u>Income</u>	<u>Condition of Dwelling</u>	<u>House Furnishings</u>	<u>Clothing Needs</u>	<u>Diet</u>
Education of Head	P < .01	P < .01	P < .10	P < .001	P < .05
Age of Head	not sig	not sig	not sig	P < .01	P < .10
Number of Children in Household	not sig	P < .001	not sig	P < .10	not sig

\* Using Chi Square, d.f. = 4.

clothing needs (the older group having the greater deficiencies). The number of children in the household was related significantly only to the condition of dwelling and slightly related to adequacy of clothing. In particular, those families with fewer children were less materially deprived (in regard to condition of dwelling and adequacy of clothing) than those with a large number of children.

## Summary

One indication of the extremely low level of living of these families was their median annual income of approximately \$700 and their median debt of \$250. Most of the families lived in a four room house that was deteriorating or dilapidated. It was owned by the inhabitants, rented for less than \$20 per month, or occupied rent free. The median ratio of persons to rooms was 1.5 persons per room and three persons per bedroom.

Most of the houses were wired for electricity, and a washing machine, refrigerator, and radio were usually present. Electric or gas stoves and television were not so common; running water and home freezers were unusual. Bathrooms and telephones were almost nonexistent. Most families did not have as many kitchen and dining chairs as they had members and there were two people for each bed, on the average. (A fourth of the families had more than two persons per bed.)

The family members were slightly more likely than not to have a good pair of shoes and a warm winter coat or jacket, and the woman to have two Sunday dresses. The members were likely to have two changes of work clothes but most men did not own a good Sunday suit. The clothes were probably bought from a store but were more likely used than new when acquired.

The diet of the family was likely to be deficient, particularly in milk and milk products and in fruits and vegetables. Their meat needs, to the extent they were taken care of, were supplied by dried beans and eggs. They bought their groceries from a large supermarket or other store and shop once a week at a store three or four miles away. They raised a garden and preserved 100 cans of food or more in an effort to supplement their winter food. They also often raised one hog to kill for meat.

The families whose heads had less than a fifth grade education were likely to be worse off materially than those whose heads had finished five or more grades.



WORK RECORD AND ORIENTATION TO WORK

Employment History

The amount and kind of work that one does is generally a good indicator of one's material well-being. The people in this study did not have and had not had in recent years the jobs that would provide an adequate level of living. From January 1, 1962 to January 1, 1964, nearly half (46.0 percent) of the heads of household had no full-time jobs and the median number of months employed was only two (Table 35). Only 10.5 percent had full-time employment for 19 months or more. Slightly more than a sixth (17.3 percent) had worked over a year full-time. In the same two-year period, if part-time employment, self-employment, and employment in a family business or enterprise are included, only a little more than half (54.3 percent) were employed more than a year. Nearly a sixth reported no employment of any kind in the two years.

TABLE 35

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD BY AMOUNT AND TYPE OF EMPLOYMENT BETWEEN JANUARY 1, 1962 AND JANUARY 1, 1964

Type of Employment	Months of Employment						Total
	None	1-6	7-12	13-18	19-24	No Information	
Full time	46.0	19.4	14.8	6.8	10.5	2.5	100.0
Full time, part time or both	21.3	13.6	15.4	8.6	38.6	2.5	100.0
Full time, part time, self employment, employment in family business or combination	15.7	13.3	14.2	8.0	46.3	2.5	100.0

(N = 324)

In addition to securing the work record for the two-year period, efforts were made to determine the longest one job (full-time) tenure from 1957 to 1964. Table 36 shows that slightly over two-fifths (41.7 percent) of the men had not held a full-time job for as long as a year during this seven-year period, two-thirds had not held a full-time job as long as three years, and less than 5 percent had held one full-time job the whole seven years.

TABLE 36

LENGTH OF LONGEST FULL-TIME JOB HELD BY HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD BETWEEN JANUARY 1, 1957 AND JANUARY 1, 1964

Length of Time in Longest Single Job	Percent of Heads
None or less than one year	41.7
1 to 1.9 years	16.4
2 to 2.9 years	9.3
3 to 4.9 years	13.8
5 to 6.9 years	12.0
7 years	4.3
No information	<u>2.5</u>
TOTAL	100.0
	(N = 324)

For more than a third (35.4 percent) of the men, the job held longest in the seven-year period was in the mining industry (Table 37). The other industries in which as many as a tenth of the men held their longest jobs were agriculture (15.4 percent), manufacturing (12.7 percent) and, construction (10.2 percent).

Most of the men had worked outside their present county, either in the past two years or the past seven (Table 38). Of those who had worked outside the county, more had been outside the state for their most distant job than had been in other Kentucky counties. During 1962 and 1963, one-sixth (16.7 percent) worked out of the state. Indiana (first) and

TABLE 37

TYPE OF INDUSTRY IN WHICH HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD HELD THE  
LONGEST FULL-TIME JOB DURING PERIOD JANUARY 1, 1957  
TO JANUARY 1, 1964

Type of Industry	Percent of Heads
Mining	35.4
Agriculture and forestry	15.4
Manufacturing (including logging and sawmilling)	12.7
Construction	10.2
Transportation (including communication and utilities)	4.0
Services	3.7
Wholesale and retail trade	2.2
Government	2.2
Armed Forces	0.6
No information or none	<u>13.6</u>
TOTAL	100.0
	(N = 324)

TABLE 38

LOCATION OF JOB MOST DISTANT FROM PRESENT COUNTY HELD  
BY HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD DURING 1962-64 AND 1957-64

Most Distant Job	Percent of Heads 1962-64	Percent of Heads 1957-64
Present County only	59.0	55.2
Other Eastern Kentucky county	4.6	6.2
Other Kentucky county	1.2	2.5
Other State	16.7	27.1
Unemployed	13.9	5.9
No information	<u>4.6</u>	<u>3.1</u>
TOTAL	100.0	100.0
		(N = 324)

Ohio (second) were the places of employment for most. Other states where work was found included Michigan, Illinois, Virginia and West Virginia.

### AFDC-UP Employment

At the time of the interview, all but 15 (4.6 percent) of the respondents were working on the AFDC-UP project (Table 39). Even though the sample was taken from people presumably on the program, a few had gotten other jobs, some had not yet been called to work, and some were unable or refused to work. Nearly half (45.4 percent) had been working less than a month, about two-fifths had been working between a month and two months, and only 5.9 percent had been working two months or more. The number of hours a respondent worked per month on the project was based on criteria related to the number of children and the needs of the family. About a fifth were working fewer than a hundred hours a month, about half were working between 100 and 160 hours, and a little more than a fifth were working approximately full-time (160 hours or more).

For these isolated people the problem of getting to the work location could be overwhelming, since most lived several miles or more from work. About a fourth (23.2 percent) of the men reported walking to work, but the largest proportion (37.3 percent) hitchhiked or rode regularly with passers-by. Only a little more than a fourth (28.7 percent) were driving their own or someone else's car.

The great majority of the respondents were favorable to the program and almost none were against it, though some saw flaws. Asked specifically their attitudes toward the AFDC-UP program, more than four-fifths (83.0 percent) gave "favorable" or "very favorable" answers and mentioned no limitations of the program, 13.0 percent responded favorably but mentioned limitations, and only four (1.2 percent) responded unfavorably or were undecided (Table 40). The limitations mentioned most frequently by the respondents were the amount of money they could make and/or the hours they could work. Some mentioned "need transportation to work," "need tools," or "need supervision," and a few answered that some men on the project did not work as they should or indicated doubts as to whether the program would last.

TABLE 39

HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD BY CHARACTERISTICS RELATING  
TO AFDC-UP WORK

<u>Characteristics</u>	<u>Percent of Heads</u>
Length of time on project at time of interview	
Not working at the time	4.6
2 weeks or less	4.0
3 or 4 weeks	41.4
5 or 6 weeks	21.3
7 or 8 weeks	19.7
More than 8 weeks	5.9
No information	<u>3.1</u>
	100.0
Number of hours a month worked or to be worked	
Not working at the time	4.6
20 to 99 hours	20.7
100 to 159 hours	51.0
160 hours or more	22.2
No information	<u>1.5</u>
	100.0
Method of Transportation to Work Site	
Hitch-hike or ride regularly with others	37.3
Drive own or others' vehicle	28.7
Walk	23.2
Other (public trans., part walk, and part ride, etc.)	4.6
No information or not applicable	<u>6.2</u>
	100.0
	(N = 324)

TABLE 40

ATTITUDES TOWARD THE AFDC-UP PROGRAM HELD BY  
HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD

<u>Attitudes</u>	<u>Percent of Heads</u>
Very favorable, no limitations mentioned	29.3
Very favorable, but limitations mentioned	2.8
Favorable, no limitations mentioned	53.7
Favorable, but limitations mentioned	10.2
Undecided or unfavorable	1.2
No information	2.8
	100.0
	(N = 324)
 <u>Limitations Mentioned</u>	
Can't make enough money or work enough hours	7.7
Need transportation, tools, or supervision	3.4
Other ("some men loaf," doubt that it will keep going, etc.)	2.5
None	83.6
No information	2.8
	100.0
	(N = 324)

Efforts to Obtain Work

The men were unemployed at the time they were placed on the AFDC-UP program and were required as a condition of acceptance to register with the State Employment Service. A large proportion (85.5 percent) of the respondents indicated that they had made previous efforts to obtain work, and over three-fifths (66.4 percent) of the men reported having held odd jobs between their last regular job and their participation in the AFDC-UP program. Of the 47 men (14.5 percent) who said they had made no efforts to find work, nearly two-fifths gave bad health of self and/or family as the reason, and one-fifth indicated such pessimism over the possibility of finding work that they had not made any effort. A few said they were farming or working for them-

selves and a few others said they had no transportation.

The method of seeking work most often used was that of asking friends and relatives (Table 41). Three-fifths reported using this approach. About half said they had applied at a public employment office and a similar proportion said they applied at a mine or plant office. Very few had utilized private employment agencies or newspaper ads. Only a third of the men had used three or more methods of seeking work.

TABLE 41

## METHODS USED BY HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS IN LOOKING FOR WORK

Methods Used	Percent of Heads Using Each Method																
Asked friends and relatives	60.5																
Applied at public employment office	53.1																
Applied at mine or plant office	46.3																
Applied at private employment office	18.8																
Read "help wanted" ads in the newspaper	13.3																
<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="border-bottom: 1px solid black;">Number of Methods Used</th> <th style="border-bottom: 1px solid black;">Percentage Distribution of Heads by Number of Methods Used</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>0</td> <td>14.8</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1</td> <td>24.1</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2</td> <td>27.5</td> </tr> <tr> <td>3 or more</td> <td>32.1</td> </tr> <tr> <td>No information</td> <td style="border-bottom: 1px solid black;">1.5</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>100.0</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>(N = 324)</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		Number of Methods Used	Percentage Distribution of Heads by Number of Methods Used	0	14.8	1	24.1	2	27.5	3 or more	32.1	No information	1.5		100.0		(N = 324)
Number of Methods Used	Percentage Distribution of Heads by Number of Methods Used																
0	14.8																
1	24.1																
2	27.5																
3 or more	32.1																
No information	1.5																
	100.0																
	(N = 324)																

Asked what types of work they were seeking, nearly half of the respondents indicated that they were seeking no particular type of work (Table 42). Of the specific industries or occupations mentioned, mining was most frequent (18.5 percent). No other occupation or industry was mentioned by more than 6 percent of the men.

TABLE 42  
TYPE OF WORK SOUGHT BY HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD

<u>Type of Work</u>	<u>Percent of Heads</u>
Any type of work; general labor	46.0
Mining	18.5
Specific skilled trades	6.5
Construction (unspecified)	5.2
Farming	4.9
Truck driving	4.6
Other, no information	<u>14.3</u>
TOTAL	100.0
	(N = 324)

#### Orientation to Work

The men were asked to indicate from a checklist what factors they thought most important in making a success in one's work. By far, the most frequently mentioned factor was "a good education and training" (57.7 percent). Next most often mentioned was "liking one's work" (36.4 percent). "Hard work" was mentioned by about a tenth of the men (11.4 percent). No other factor was mentioned by as many as 10 percent (Table 43).



TABLE 43

## FACTORS THOUGHT MOST IMPORTANT IN WORK SUCCESS

<u>Factors in Work Success</u>	<u>Percent of Heads Mentioning Each Factor*</u>
Good education and training	57.7
Liking one's work	36.4
Hard work	11.4
Knowing the right people	6.4
Good luck	2.5
Other	<u>.6</u>

(N = 324)

\* Percentages add to more than 100 since some mentioned more than one factor.

In an effort to get at the men's flexibility with regard to employment and the intensity of their desire for work, they were asked a series of questions about whether they would take a hypothetical job "which pays quite a bit of money," if specified conditions obtained. The great majority said they would be willing to work at night, keep quiet about their political views, take special training, or move away from their relatives, in order to get such a job. However, only about a quarter were willing to take a job that might endanger their health (Table 44). A fifth of the men stated a willingness to accept all six conditions asked about, in order to obtain work. Two-thirds said they would accept five of the six conditions (usually all except endangering their health). Only 6 percent would accept no more than two conditions.

In another series of questions the men were asked what kind of work they would like to do. Most frequently mentioned were truck or bus operator (10.5 percent), coal mining (10.5 percent), farming or farm laborer (8.0 percent), mechanic (7.1 percent), logging or sawmilling (5.9 percent), and heavy equipment operator (4.9 percent). Most of the men (73.8 percent) thought they were already qualified to do the work they desired, but a sixth (16.4 percent) said they would need special training. Of those who felt they needed schooling

or training, about a third thought there was at least some chance of their securing the training, but nearly half saw it as impossible. The remainder were indefinite but generally fatalistic about the possibility of securing the training.

TABLE 44  
WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT SPECIFIED CONDITIONS  
IN ORDER TO GET A GOOD JOB

<u>Conditions of Employment</u>	<u>Percent of Heads Willing to Accept</u>
Work at night	95.5
Keep quiet about political views	88.0
Take special training	85.8
Move away from kinfolk	82.7
Go away to take training	74.5
Risk some danger to health	27.4
<u>Number of Above Conditions</u>	
All six	20.1
5 or more	65.2
4 or more	79.1
3 or more	92.7
2 or fewer	6.4
No information	0.9
	(N = 324)

When asked the likelihood of getting the desired work "around here," the answers were generally pessimistic ("not good," 38.3 percent; "impossible," 34.2 percent). Nearly a fourth (24.4 percent), however, thought the likelihood to be fair to good. About four-fifths said they would be willing to move elsewhere to get the work. Most of those who said they wouldn't move said it was because this was "home" or because they owned or had an equity in a house or land.

### Summary

Approximately half of the heads of household, had some full-time employment in the last two years. In the preceding seven-year period, only half had held a full-time job for as long as a year. The work was predominantly in mining and the work location was in the county in which they were living at the time of the survey.

The men were working on the AFDC-UP program an average of 120 - 139 hours per month. Almost half had been working five or more weeks, and more than half either hitch-hiked or walked to work. They viewed the work program favorably and had very few criticisms of it. Most of the respondents had looked for work during the time unemployed by asking their friends and relatives if they knew of any work, by applying at a public employment office, and by applying at a mine or plant office. They had sought no specific kind of work — just work.

The heads considered "a good education and training" the most important factor in work success and "liking one's work" the next most important factor. If offered a new job which paid quite a bit of money they would be willing to work at night, keep quiet about their political views, move away from their kinfolks, take special training and move away for it if necessary, but they would not take the job if it endangered their health. They felt qualified for the type of work they would like to have but saw little to no chance of getting the work in Eastern Kentucky.

## SICKNESS AND HEALTH

### Extent of Sickness, and Treatment for It

Even though sickness and physical impairment are no respectors of station in life, the extent and type of illness and disability found in different groups and areas may provide in some degree a measure of their poverty or affluence. Unemployment, poor education, sub-standard income and level of living, and physical illness are likely companions in families wherever found. The present families were no exception. The survey data on health are presented for families as units and separately for household heads, homemakers, and "others" — the latter mostly children of the head and/or homemakers but including some grandchildren and a few others.

Illness may or may not be a cause or effect of the poor material circumstances of these families, but it is abundantly present, according to the reports of the homemakers. Three-fourths of the families reported one or more of their members sick in the four weeks preceding the survey (Table 45). Moreover, nearly half

TABLE 45

#### PROPORTION OF FAMILIES AFFECTED BY ILLNESS DURING THE FOUR WEEKS PRIOR TO THE SURVEY

<u>Extent or Impact of Illness Reported</u>	<u>Percent of All Families</u>
Families reporting one or more members sick	74.4
Families reporting one or more members in bed	45.4
Families reporting that one or more members saw a doctor	56.2
Families reporting one or more members lost time from work or school	38.8
	(N = 324)

had someone in bed during the same period and somewhat more than half had one or more members who saw a doctor. Over two-fifths of the families had two or more members ill during the month. About two-fifths reported that someone in the family had lost one or more days from work or school due to illness during the preceding month.

In terms of its impact on or consequences for the family, the illness of the head or homemaker is probably more serious than that of other family members, mostly children. Actually the proportions of each group reported sick during the month were very similar, though the homemakers were slightly in the lead — a little over a fourth of the women, almost exactly a fourth of the men, and slightly under a fourth of the others were reported sick. About a tenth of each group were reported as confined to bed. Homemakers were twice as likely to have had a doctor as were the children and others. The household heads also saw a doctor much more often than the "others" — perhaps because childhood diseases are considered less serious or it is thought more important to get the head or homemaker well fast. Ten percent of the men were reported to have lost time from work because of illness, in contrast to only 4 percent of the homemakers and 8 percent of the others reported as losing time from work or school. Even though the homemakers were highest on the other indicators of illness, it is not surprising that fewest of them were said to have lost work time — in view of the homemaker role and the fact that even when ill she often can and does perform her normal duties at least at a minimum level (Table 46).

TABLE 46

ILLNESS DURING THE FOUR WEEKS PRIOR TO THE SURVEY,  
BY HOUSEHOLD MEMBER

Extent or Impact of Illness Reported	Percent of Household Heads	Percent of Homemakers	Percent of Others	Percent of All Members
One or more days sick	25.9	29.3	23.8	25.0
One or more days in bed	8.3	10.7	11.1	10.6
Saw a doctor	19.1	22.5	12.4	15.1
Lost days from work or school	10.5	4.0	7.9	7.6
	(N = 324)	(N = 324)	(N = 1400)	(N = 2048)

Given their isolation and their material circumstances, it is perhaps surprising that someone in over half the families had seen a doctor within a month preceding the survey. However there is no way of knowing from the survey data how many actually needed medical attention and what proportion of those got it. Asked how many had seen a doctor in the past three months, the number of families reporting that someone had rose to four-fifths. Half of these — two-fifths of all families — had had three or more doctor visits in the previous three months, and a tenth reported ten or more visits. Only 5 percent of the families reported that no one had seen a doctor in the past 12 months.

Moreover, there is little evidence of the use of practitioners other than doctors. While about half of the children and "others" were reported to have been treated by someone in the family rather than a doctor and a few sick homemakers and household heads were also treated by someone in the family, only three instances of illness were reported treated by "someone outside of the immediate family" instead of a doctor — one a mother-in-law, one a midwife, and one a pharmacist. Practically all of the doctors consulted were located in the respondent's county or an adjoining one, so most would have been general practitioners. Even so, about two-fifths of the respondents said the doctor was located more than 15 miles from their home.

### Types of Illness

Only two kinds of illness, colds and "flu," were reported as prevalent among homemakers, household heads, and others during the prior four weeks (Table 47). Other illnesses were reported for only one or two of the three groups. "Stomach trouble" among the men, affecting about 7 percent of the total, was the most frequently mentioned specific ailment. No one ailment stood out for women, although "female trouble" was mentioned more often than any other. Measles and colds were the leading ailment for others, reflecting the fact that most of these were children.

Besides acute illnesses during the preceding four weeks, the homemakers were asked to report on chronic health problems of all family members. Seven out of eight families reported at least one member with a chronic illness, and three-fifths had two or more members with chronic ailments. Over three-fifths of all heads and homemakers were reported to have chronic conditions, but only a sixth of other family members. Most of the men and women with chronic conditions had more than one (Table 48).

TABLE 47

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF MOST FREQUENTLY REPORTED  
ILLNESSES DURING THE FOUR WEEKS PRIOR TO THE SURVEY,  
BY HOUSEHOLD MEMBER

Types of Illness	Percent of Heads of Household	Percent of Homemakers	Percent of Others
Stomach trouble	6.8	2.2	---
Colds	2.5	2.5	5.7
Influenza	2.5	1.5	1.6
Back trouble	1.8	---	---
Heart trouble	1.5	---	---
Ear Infection	1.5	---	0.7
"Female trouble"	---	2.8	---
High blood pressure	---	2.5	---
Miscarriage	---	1.5	---
Sore throat	---	1.5	1.9
Measles	---	---	4.4
Tonsillitis	---	---	0.8
Diarrhea	---	---	0.7
Pneumonia	---	---	0.6
Worms	---	---	0.6
Chicken pox	---	---	0.5
All others*	9.3	14.8	6.3
Not applicable	74.1	70.4	76.1
No information	0.0	.3	.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

\* This includes all illnesses mentioned by less than 1 percent. There were 72 illnesses reported.

The specific chronic illnesses reported are shown in Table 49. Again, "stomach trouble," affecting mainly but not exclusively the men, was the most frequently mentioned single ailment, with nearly a quarter of the men said to have it. Asthma, arthritis or rheumatism, sinus trouble, heart trouble, hemorrhoids, back trouble, mental or nervous conditions, kidney trouble, and high blood pressure were other frequent ailments of men. Arthritis or rheumatism, mental and

TABLE 48

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF NUMBER OF CHRONIC DISEASE  
CONDITIONS REPORTED, BY HOUSEHOLD MEMBER

<u>Number of Chronic Disease Conditions</u>	<u>Head of Household</u>	<u>Home- maker</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>All Members</u>
0	37.7	38.6	83.8	69.4
1	32.4	26.5	13.9	18.8
2	14.2	16.4	1.9	6.1
3 or more	<u>15.7</u>	<u>18.5</u>	<u>0.4</u>	<u>5.7</u>
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(N = 324)	(N = 324)	(N = 1400)	(N = 2048)

nervous conditions, high blood pressure, and sinus trouble were the leading women's ailments, with hemorrhoids, hernia, "female trouble," back trouble, kidney trouble, asthma, stomach trouble, heart trouble, and gall bladder and liver ailments also mentioned frequently. Asthma was the only chronic ailment reported very often for the children and other household members.

Taking all the chronic ailments together, the median period of time that a condition had afflicted a person was five to nine years (Table 50). The median was somewhat lower (three to four years) for the "others" than for the men and women. The conditions of the heads of household had existed longer than those of the homemakers and others, possibly because the heads were older, on the average. More than a third of the chronic conditions of the men had existed ten years or more while three in ten of the chronic conditions of the women and two in ten of those of the others had existed that long. On the other hand, one in six of the ailments of others were of less than a year's duration, while only one in twenty of the heads' chronic conditions were that new.

About a quarter of the chronic ailments of each group had never been treated or checked by a doctor, about a quarter had been checked by a doctor within the preceding month (except in the case of "others"). For most of the remainder, the time since last seen by a doctor varied from two months to three years (Table 51). In each group half or more of the ailments had been checked by a doctor within the previous year. At the time of the interview about a third of the ailments in each



TABLE 49

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF REPORTED CHRONIC DISEASE  
CONDITION BY HOUSEHOLD MEMBER\*

Type of Chronic Disease Condition	Head of Household	Home-maker	Other	All Members
Asthma	11.1	6.5	5.7	6.7
Stomach trouble	22.8	6.5	0.6	5.0
Arthritis or rheumatism	11.1	16.7	0.5	4.7
Mental or nervous trouble	8.0	13.0	1.3	4.2
Sinus trouble	9.3	10.5	1.4	4.1
Heart trouble	9.6	5.2	1.4	3.3
High blood pressure	5.9	12.7	0.2	3.1
Hemorrhoids	9.9	8.3	0.2	3.0
Back or spinal trouble	9.0	8.0	0.1	2.8
Kidney trouble	5.9	7.1	1.0	2.7
Bronchitis	3.4	2.8	1.2	1.8
Hernia	3.1	0.6	1.2	1.4
Female trouble	0.0	8.6	0.2	1.5
Gall bladder or liver trouble	1.2	6.2	0.1	1.3
Allergy	0.9	2.5	1.1	1.3
Rheumatic fever	0.3	2.2	0.9	1.0
Varicose veins	1.2	4.3	0.0	0.9
Thyroid or goiter	0.3	3.7	0.1	0.7
Skin trouble	1.5	0.6	0.4	0.6
Diabetes	0.9	2.8	0.0	0.6
Epilepsy or other seizures	0.0	0.6	0.7	0.6
Hardening of arteries	3.1	0.0	0.0	0.5
Tumor or cancer	1.2	0.6	0.6	0.3

\* A person may be reported as having several chronic conditions. The percent for each type of chronic condition was calculated on a base of 324 for the heads of household, 324 for homemakers, 1400 for the "others," and 2048 for the total. Therefore, the percents may add to more than 100.0.

TABLE 50

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF CHRONIC DISEASE CONDITION  
BY REPORTED DURATION, BY HOUSEHOLD MEMBER\*

<u>Years Condition Had Been Present</u>	<u>Household Head</u>	<u>Home- maker</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>All Members</u>
Under 1 year	5.8	7.5	16.6	9.1
1 - 2 years	16.9	17.8	24.5	19.1
3 - 4 years	12.6	15.8	15.5	14.6
5 - 9 years	23.3	19.6	20.4	21.1
10 years and over	37.6	30.6	21.5	30.9
No information	<u>3.8</u>	<u>8.7</u>	<u>1.5</u>	<u>5.2</u>
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(N = 396)	(N = 438)	(N = 265)	(N = 1099)

\* Since some individuals had more than one chronic condition and had them at different periods of time, the percents were calculated with the number of chronic conditions of the men, the women, the "others," and all three as the bases.

group were reported under treatment by medication or otherwise.

The homemakers were asked if there were any persons in the family (other than babies) requiring constant help or nursing care. Five persons needing constant care and four needing part-time care were reported, but only six of these nine were living with the families at the time of the interview. None of the invalids or partial invalids were heads of household or homemakers. Of those in the home, three were daughters, one was a son, one was the head's mother, and the other was the wife's grandmother. The latter two were bedfast with old age and received Old Age Assistance. One daughter and one son had mental illnesses; one daughter had "convulsions," and another was described as having her "bowels come out." All had been invalids for several years.

TABLE 51

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF CHRONIC DISEASE CONDITION BY TIME  
SINCE LAST CHECKED OR TREATED BY A DOCTOR,  
BY HOUSEHOLD MEMBER\*

Number of Months	Household Head	Home- maker	Other	All Members
1 month or less	24.7	28.3	18.5	24.7
2 - 6 months	14.1	14.4	20.0	15.7
7 - 12 months	11.1	8.9	12.8	10.6
13 - 36 months	9.1	10.1	8.3	9.3
37 months or more	5.6	6.8	4.5	5.8
Not treated	26.0	25.1	24.5	25.3
No information	9.4	6.4	11.4	8.6
TOTAL	100.0 (N = 396)	100.0 (N = 438)	100.0 (N = 265)	100.0 (N = 1099)

\* Since some individuals had more than one chronic condition and were seen by a doctor at different times for different conditions, the percents were calculated on the base of the number of chronic conditions of the men, the women, the "others," and the sum of all.

### Physical Impairments

Physical impairments were also common in these families, half of whom reported at least one member impaired. One in every seven families reported two or more persons impaired. About one in seven of both heads and homemakers was reported to have an impairment, and one in twelve of the "others." Serious trouble with seeing and with hearing were the most frequent impairments in each group, except that stiffness of legs, fingers, arms or back was about equally prevalent among the men (but not in the other groups). No other specific impairment affected a large number in any group (Table 52).

About half of the physical impairments had been treated by a doctor, and men were more likely to have received treatment (58.0 percent) than women (48.0 percent) or other member (52.2 percent) (Table 53). Within the preceding 12 months only a fourth of the impairments of the men and of the women had been seen by a doctor while over a third of the "others" had been treated. Even though the men's impairments were more likely

TABLE 52

PERCENT OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS WITH REPORTED  
IMPAIRMENTS BY TYPE\*

Type of Physical Impairment	Percent of Heads of Household	Percent of Home-maker	Percent of Others	Percent of All Members
Serious trouble with seeing	4.3	6.5	3.4	4.1
Serious trouble with hearing	3.1	4.3	3.1	3.3
Stammering or speech trouble	1.2	1.2	1.6	1.5
Stiffness of legs, fingers, arms, or back	3.7	1.5	0.3	1.0
Conditions present since birth as cleft palate or clubfoot	0.3	0.3	1.0	0.8
Paralysis of any kind	0.6	0.6	0.3	0.4
Missing fingers, hand, or arm	1.2	0.6	0.0	0.3
Missing toes, foot, or leg	0.9	0.3	0.1	0.2
Cerebral palsy	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.05

\* A person may be reported as having more than one impairment. Therefore the percents for each type of physical impairment were calculated on a base of 324 for the heads of household, 324 for homemakers, 1400 for "others" and 2048 for the total.

to have been seen by a doctor, nearly a third of their impairments had not been seen by a doctor in the previous three years. In the other groups if there had been treatment at all it was likely to have been more recent.

TABLE 53

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF PHYSICAL IMPAIRMENTS BY LENGTH OF TIME SINCE LAST SEEN BY A DOCTOR, BY HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS\*

Number of Months	Household Head	Home-maker	Other	All Members
1 month or less	10.0	8.0	9.4	9.2
2 - 6 months	6.0	10.0	15.2	12.1
7 - 12 months	8.0	6.0	11.6	9.7
13 - 36 months	4.0	12.0	10.9	9.7
37 months or more	30.0	12.0	5.1	11.8
Not treated	28.0	38.0	39.1	36.6
No information	14.0	14.0	8.7	10.9
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(N = 50)	(N = 50)	(N = 138)	(N = 238)

\* Since some individuals had more than one physical impairment and were seen by a doctor at different times for different impairments, the percents were calculated on the number of physical impairments of the men, the women, the "others" and the sum of all.

#### General Symptoms and Mental Health

Without medical diagnosis there is no way of knowing for sure to what extent the illnesses and symptoms of ill health that people report may be exaggerated or imagined. In view of the extent to which these respondents have been in contact with doctors and named specific diseases or illnesses, it seems certain that there is a substantial amount of genuine physical illness. However, the extent to which people give negative responses to questions concerning general condition of health or claim generalized ill health symptoms not tied to specific diseases or physical conditions may be indicative of mental ill health.

The men and the women were asked if they felt healthy enough to carry out the things they would like to do. Over two-fifths (44.1 percent) of the women and a third (31.8 percent) of the men answered in

the negative. The substantially larger number of women than of men who said no is in keeping with the greater incidence of reported illness on the part of women. It is not in keeping with the fact that they were younger than the men. The disproportion is greater on this general question than on the questions about specific illness, perhaps indicating some greater tendency on the part of the women toward hypochondria.

Both groups were asked whether they had any of 17 general symptoms thought to indicate a tendency to or likelihood of mental ill health. They were asked to respond in terms of four levels of frequency for each symptom, with "nearly all the time" and "pretty often" considered positive responses. On 10 out of the 17 symptoms more of the women than of the men answered positively (Table 54). Substantial numbers of both men and women claimed all of the symptoms except that of drinking too much. Nervousness and spells of dizziness were claimed by more than half of both sexes. In general, the incidence was quite high. When the responses were scored by assigning a score of one to each positive response and zero to other responses, the median scale score for men and women was 11.5 and 11.8 respectively.

### Deceased Children

As reported in an earlier chapter, a third of the families reported one or more stillbirths or deaths of children. This appears to be a rather high proportion in terms of modern standards and rates and is perhaps another indication of the poor circumstances of these families. About one family in ten had had more than one death of this kind. Counting stillbirths, more than a fourth of the dead children had lived less than a day. But one in seven had lived three years or more. The median length of life was 1 - 6 months.

The reported causes of death are shown in Table 55. "Unknown" and miscellaneous causes account for about a third of the cases, and stillbirths for a sixth. Otherwise, pneumonia was the leading cause of death; if other respiratory ailments are added, a fifth of the deaths are accounted for. Birth defects were said to have caused a tenth of the deaths, and accidents nearly another tenth.

### Dental Care

Dental care, perhaps, is somewhat more likely to be neglected by people in poor economic circumstances than are other aspects of health. However, nearly half of the families reported that someone in the family had seen a dentist in the past three months and over two-thirds reported a member seeing a dentist within the preceding year (Table 56).

TABLE 54

PERCENT OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS AND HOMEMAKERS REPORTING  
SPECIFIED SYMPTOMS "NEARLY ALL THE TIME" OR  
"PRETTY OFTEN"

Symptom Questions	Percent of Heads of Household	Percent of Homemakers
Do you have trouble getting to sleep or staying asleep?	46.0	40.2
Have you ever been bothered by nervousness?	51.8	61.7
Are you ever troubled by headaches or pains in the head?	44.5	57.7
Do you ever have loss of appetite?	27.2	28.7
How often are you bothered by having an upset stomach?	40.7	25.3
Do you find it difficult to get up in the morning?	25.0	39.8
Has any ill health affected the amount of work you do?	41.1	38.3
Have you ever been bothered by shortness of breath when you are not exercising or working hard?	48.1	40.1
Have you ever been bothered by your heart beating hard?	51.6	41.9
Do you ever use alcoholic drinks more than you should?	6.8	0.3
Have you ever had spells of dizziness?	55.2	67.3
Are you ever bothered by nightmares?	13.3	18.8
Do you tend to lose weight when you have something important bothering you?	38.0	37.4
Do your hands ever tremble enough to bother you?	31.5	31.8
Are you troubled by your hands sweating so that you feel damp and clammy?	42.3	42.6
Have there ever been times when you couldn't take care of things because you couldn't get going?	46.6	59.6
Do you feel that you are bothered by all sorts of pains and ailments in different parts of your body?	41.1	42.0

TABLE 55

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF DECEASED CHILDREN BY  
REPORTED CAUSE OF DEATH

Cause of Death	Percent of Deceased Children
Born dead	16.6
Pneumonia	12.1
Birth defects unspecified, premature births, and blue babies	9.5
Accidents (burned - 4, poison - 2, fights - 2, drowned - 1, in mines - 1, none-specific - 3)	8.3
Respiratory diseases excluding pneumonia (whooping cough - 3, whooping cough and pneumonia - 2, croup - 1, asthma and bron- chitis - 1, influenza - 1, none-specific - 4, diphtheria - 2)	8.9
Alimentary canal diseases (stomach trouble - 4, diarrhea - 3, worms - 1, dysentery - 1, flux - 1)	6.4
Measles	1.9
Spinal meningitis	1.3
Bold hives (urticaria)	3.2
Miscellaneous	12.1
Unknown	<u>19.8</u>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	(N = 157)

Of course only one person may have been to the dentist though others may have needed dental care. In any case, the third of the families in which no one had seen a dentist in a year may be considered without adequate attention and the 18 percent in which no member had seen a dentist in three or more years — or ever — were clearly dentally deprived.

As can be seen in Table 57, preventive care or repair of teeth were not major reasons for visits to the dentist. Extractions alone accounted



TABLE 56

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES BY LENGTH OF TIME SINCE A  
MEMBER HAD VISITED A DENTIST

<u>Length of Time</u>	<u>Percent of Families</u>
Within 3 months	46.0
4 - 6 months	7.4
7 - 12 months	15.7
13 - 24 months	8.3
3 years	7.1
4 or more years	4.7
Never	6.2
No information	<u>4.6</u>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>(N = 324)</b>

TABLE 57

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES BY PURPOSE OF VISIT  
TO THE DENTIST IN THE PRECEDING THREE MONTHS

<u>Purpose of Visit</u>	<u>Percent of Families</u>
Extraction	71.8
Filling and extraction	9.4
Periodic check-up; cleaning	6.0
Filling	5.4
Dentures fitted or worked on	2.7
Abscess	1.3
Extraction and dentures	0.7
Several purposes	<u>2.7</u>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>(N = 149)</b>

for nearly three-fourths of the visits in the past three months. Only 6 percent of the visits were reported as specifically for check-up and cleaning.

The area in which these people live is inadequately staffed by dentists, with rarely more than three in any county. Even so, most (80 percent) of those who visited a dentist went to one in their county or an adjoining one. Over a third of those for whom information is available estimated that they traveled no more than ten miles to a dentist, about a third went ten to twenty miles, and another third went twenty miles or more (Table 58).

TABLE 58

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES BY DISTANCE  
TRAVELED TO VISIT THE DENTIST

<u>Distance Traveled</u>	<u>Percent of Families</u>
Less than 5 miles	15.7
5 - 9 miles	15.1
10 - 19 miles	27.5
20 and more miles	25.3
No visits to the dentist	6.2
No information	<u>10.2</u>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100.0</b> <b>(N = 324)</b>

Use of Hospitals

Like other medical facilities, hospitals are usually scarce or of poor quality in isolated, poor areas such as the counties in this study. However, parts of Eastern Kentucky are exceptional because of the chain of first-class hospitals built some years ago by the United Mine Workers' Welfare and Retirement Fund and now operated as Appalachian Regional Hospitals. Several of these are located in the study counties.

The extent to which persons in a given group or area are hospitalized in a certain period of time may be in part a measure of the state of health of the people, but without full medical information there is no way of knowing how many others needing hospitalization may have gone

without it. Neither do we know whether some of those hospitalized could have been adequately treated without it or if their hospitalization might have been prevented by good public health care or a higher standard of living. It appears, however, that a rather high proportion of these families — a third of the total — had one or more members in the hospital, during the 12 months prior to the study. About half of these cases involved no more than one man-week in the hospital, but a quarter of them involved more than two weeks.

More of the homemakers (15.4 percent) than of the men (9.8 percent) and the others (2.4 percent) had been hospitalized, but most of the women were there for the birth of a baby and stayed no more than three days. The men were likely to have spent longer periods in the hospital (Table 59), as were also the few "others" who were hospitalized.

TABLE 59

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS BY NUMBER OF DAYS HOSPITALIZED DURING PRECEDING 12 MONTHS

Number of Days Hospitalized	Heads of Household	Home-maker	Other	All Members
None	89.9	84.0	97.5	94.2
1 day or less	0.9	3.1	0.0	0.6
2 - 3 days	0.6	5.6	0.5	1.3
4 - 7 days	3.7	5.2	0.7	1.9
8 - 14 days	2.2	0.3	0.7	0.9
15 or more days	2.4	1.2	0.5	0.9
No information	0.3	0.6	0.1	0.2
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(N = 324)	(N = 324)	(N = 1400)	(N = 2048)

Stomach ulcer, hernia, and arthritis were frequently mentioned reasons for hospitalization of men. Pneumonia was the only reason reported very often for the children and other household members (Table 60).

Most of those hospitalized had been in a hospital in their county or an adjoining one. However, about a fifth had been hospitalized outside of Eastern Kentucky — half elsewhere in the state and half in

TABLE 60

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS BY REASONS  
FOR HOSPITALIZATION IN THE PRECEDING 12 MONTHS

Reasons for Hospitalization	Percent of Heads of Household	Percent of Home-maker	Percent of Others	Percent of All Members
Birth of a child	0.0	11.1	0.0	1.8
Pneumonia	1.2	0.0	0.6	0.6
Stomach ulcer	1.5	0.0	0.1	0.3
Hernia	1.5	0.3	0.0	0.3
Asthma	0.3	0.0	0.2	0.2
Arthritis	0.9	0.3	0.0	0.2
Fall (no other information)	0.9	0.0	0.1	0.2
Miscarriage	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.15
Kidney trouble	0.3	0.0	0.15	0.15
Auto accident	0.3	0.0	0.15	0.15
Nerves	0.6	0.0	0.1	0.15
Appendicitis	0.3	0.3	0.1	0.15
Worms	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.15
All others	2.0	2.5	0.7	1.1
Not applicable	89.9	84.0	97.5	94.2
No information	0.3	0.6	0.1	0.2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	(N = 324)	(N = 324)	(N = 1400)	(N = 2048)

other states. Since the data were for the preceding 12 months, probably most hospitalized outside the region were living in the region at the time.

#### Hospital Insurance and Medical Care Assistance

The 109 families with at least one member hospitalized during the prior year were asked how the bill was paid. For nearly a sixth, the bills were at least partially paid by insurance. A little more than a

fifth of the families received public assistance to pay part or all of the bill. A few had borrowed money to meet the expense, but nearly two-fifths said the bill was still unpaid.

A number of questions were asked the homemakers about health or hospitalization insurance carried "at the present time." Only 15 respondents (less than 5 percent) indicated that anyone in their family had such insurance. Eight of the policies were reported to cover the whole family with the rest covering only one person. Twelve policies were paid to pay at least a portion of hospitalization costs, nine at least part of the doctor's bill for operations, and five a part of the bill for doctors' house calls. Blue Cross was the plan in five of the cases, other private plans in six, a union plan in one, and the name was unspecified in two cases.

All families on the AFDC-UP program were entitled to a Public Assistance Medical Card. This card provides for largely free care under the State-Federal Medi-aid Program. Due in part to an error in the questionnaire, some of the sample (14.8 percent) were not asked if they had such a card. A few (1.9 percent) of the sample who were asked answered "no." Of the 270 families that had a card, three-fourths had used it. Table 61 shows the various reasons for which it was used.

TABLE 61

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES WITH PUBLIC ASSISTANCE MEDICAL CARDS BY TYPES OF USAGE

<u>Types of Usage</u>	<u>Percent of Families</u>
Doctor	19.3
Dentist	11.9
Medicine	4.8
Hospitalization	1.5
Doctor, Dentist, and medicine	8.5
Doctor and medicine	4.4
Doctor, medicine, and hospitalization	4.1
Not used	25.9
No information	<u>19.6</u>
TOTAL	100.0
	(N = 270)

More than a third of the families had secured a doctor's services with the card, and a fifth had used it for dental service. A sixth had used it for medicine and one in sixteen had secured hospitalization with it. Even though they had not had the cards long, it is significant that over a quarter had not used them. The reasons for non-use were not obtained, but more than a tenth of those who had used them reported some difficulty in getting them accepted. The cards were new and it may be that both the clients and/or the vendors of drugs and medical services had some misunderstanding about what was covered.

## Summary

The study families reported a high incidence of illness and chronic ailments, with three-fourths having at least one member sick in a four-week period and seven out of eight families reporting one or more members with chronic ailments. About a fourth each of heads, homemakers, and others were reported sick in the four-week period, and about one in ten of each spent some time in bed. In half the families someone had seen a doctor in the four weeks. In the preceding three-month period four-fifths had seen a doctor. Colds and "flu" were the most frequent illnesses of all family members, but stomach trouble was very prevalent among the men, both as an acute illness and as a chronic condition. Half of the families reported someone with a physical impairment, eye and hearing trouble being the most frequent.

Two-fifths of the homemakers and a third of the heads said they did not feel healthy enough to do the things they would like to do, and very high proportions of each claimed that they often had certain specified symptoms or responses that have been interpreted as indicating poor mental health. A third of the families had had one or more children to die, including the stillborn.

Seeing a dentist was fairly frequent among these people, though in most cases it was for extractions rather than preventive work. In a fifth of the families no one had seen a dentist in three or more years.

Some member of a third of the families had been hospitalized during the prior 12 months. Most of the women were there for the birth of a child and stayed only two or three days, but the hospitalized men were there for longer periods. A substantial portion of the bills were unpaid, for only a little more than a third had any hospital insurance or had their bills paid by welfare authorities. At the time of the survey, almost none of the families had hospital or medical insurance but most had a Public Assistance Medical Card and had used it for doctor or dental care or medicine. Most of the hospital care apparently took place before they got the cards.

GEOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL ISOLATION

Geographic Isolation

The mountains of Eastern Kentucky provide many hollows and small valleys in which people may live in relative isolation from the larger culture. Many of the families in this study lived in such circumstances; only two-fifths (40.1 percent) of the families resided on a paved highway or an all-weather gravel or dirt road (Table 62). More than half either lived on poor, sometimes impassable, dirt roads or a path or trail a mile or more from an all-weather road.

TABLE 62

FAMILIES BY LOCATION OF RESIDENCE

Location	Percent of Families
On paved highway (or connected by a bridge if directly across the creek)	22.2
On all-weather gravel or dirt highway	17.9
On poor dirt roads, sometimes impassable for cars	42.9
On path or trail a mile or more from an all-weather road	9.6
Other or no information	<u>7.4</u>
TOTAL	100.0
	(N = 324)

Transportation for two-fifths (40.1 percent) of the families was provided by a truck or car owned by the family and for another sixth by regular access to someone else's (Table 63). But more than two-fifths had no regular opportunity to use a car.



TABLE 63

## FAMILIES BY EXTENT OF ACCESS TO AN AUTOMOBILE

<u>Extent of Access</u>	<u>Percent of Families</u>
Own car or truck	40.1
No ownership but regular use of someone else's	16.4
None available regularly	43.2
No information	<u>0.3</u>
TOTAL	100.0
	(N = 324)

Trips into town are a function of distance, transportation, and desire to go. Since a large number of the families lived on trails or "sometimes impassable" roads and had no regular access to a car, travel to town was not very frequent (Table 64). Only a third of the men (34.3 percent) and a little over a fifth of the homemakers (22.6 percent) went to town as often as once a week, while two-fifths (43.8 percent) of the men and well over half of the homemakers (55.9 percent) went no more often than once a month or less frequently. One in twenty of the men and one in six of the women went only two or three times a year or "seldom or never."

Life in this type of environment was quite familiar to most, if not all of the people. They had been "born and raised" in the hills and many had been out of them very little. Nearly three-fourths of the men and of the women were born in the county of their residence at the time of the interview and about a sixth each of the husbands and the wives were born in adjoining counties (Table 65). Only one in twenty of each group was born outside the state. Of those born elsewhere, Virginia, Ohio, and Tennessee accounted for the largest number.

TABLE 64

**FREQUENCY OF VISITS TO TOWN OF HEADS OF  
HOUSEHOLD AND HOMEMAKERS**

Frequency of Visiting	Percent of Heads of Household	Percent of Homemakers
Live in or near a town	5.3	5.3
Almost every day	9.6	0.3
3 - 4 times a week	4.0	3.1
1 - 2 times a week	15.4	13.9
Once a week or more often	(34.3)	(22.6)
2 - 3 times a month	17.0	19.4
Once a month	38.6	39.8
2 - 3 times a year	4.0	10.8
Seldom or never	1.2	5.3
Once a month or less often	(43.8)	(55.9)
Varying frequency	1.2	1.2
No information	<u>3.7</u>	<u>0.9</u>
<b>TOTAL</b>	100.0 (N = 324)	100.0 (N = 324)

Not only were most of the heads of household born in the county of present location, but an even larger proportion, more than four-fifths, had lived there most of the period before they were eighteen years old (Table 66). An additional tenth of the heads had been "raised" in a county adjoining their present location and only 5 percent had spent

TABLE 65  
PLACE OF BIRTH OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD AND HOMEMAKERS

Birth Place	Percent of Heads of Household	Percent of Homemakers
Same county as present location	74.1	74.1
Adjoining county	17.3	16.0
Elsewhere in Eastern Kentucky	2.2	4.3
Elsewhere in Kentucky	0.9	----
Virginia	2.8	0.6
Tennessee	0.9	1.9
Ohio	0.3	2.5
Other states — W. Va. and Alabama	1.5	----
Outside United States	----	0.3
No information	----	<u>0.3</u>
TOTAL	100.0	100.0
	(N = 324)	(N = 324)

most of their early years outside of Eastern Kentucky. Responses to a question about where they lived when first married gave a similar picture — over 80 percent were in the county of their present residence, though about 10 percent were outside Kentucky.

Not only had one county been the center of life for most of these people, but most had lived in only one community within the county (Table 67). During a ten year period, 1954-1964, half of the men had

TABLE 66

LOCATION OF RESIDENCE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS FOR MOST OF  
PERIOD BEFORE EIGHTEEN YEARS OF AGE

<u>Location of Residence</u>	<u>Percent of Heads of Household</u>
Same county as present location	81.8
Adjoining county	11.4
Elsewhere in Eastern Kentucky	2.2
Elsewhere in Kentucky	0.6
Outside Kentucky — Ohio, W. Va., Va.	<u>4.0</u>
TOTAL	100.0
	(N = 324)

TABLE 67

NUMBER OF COMMUNITIES LIVED IN BY HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD  
DURING THE PERIOD, 1954-1964

<u>Number of Communities</u>	<u>Percent of Heads of Household</u>
1	51.3
2	25.9
3	11.7
4 or more	10.5
No information	<u>0.6</u>
TOTAL	100.0
	(N = 324)

lived in only one community and a fourth more in only two. About one in ten had been quite mobile, living in four or more communities.

Residential mobility, however, was quite extensive (Table 68).

TABLE 68

TOTAL NUMBER OF HOUSES LIVED IN BY HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD  
DURING THE PERIOD, 1954-1964

Number of Residences	Percent of Heads of Household
1	14.8
2	16.1
3	17.3
4 - 5	17.0
6 or more	29.9
No information	4.9
TOTAL	100.0
	(N = 324)

Four-fifths of the men had lived in more than one house; more than three-fifths in three or more houses; almost half in four or more houses; and more than a fourth in six or more houses. Thus "home" appears to be a particular county and community but not a particular house.

Visits and Contacts with Persons and Places Outside Eastern Kentucky

The homemakers were asked if they had ever lived outside of Eastern Kentucky. Two-fifths had done so. Of those who had, more than a third had lived in Ohio (Table 69). Indiana and Michigan had been the home of another third, with the remaining third scattered over a number of states. Less than 5 percent had lived in any area of

TABLE 69

HOMEMAKERS WHO HAD LIVED OUTSIDE OF EASTERN KENTUCKY,  
BY LOCATION OF RESIDENCE\*

Location	Percent of Those Who Had Lived Outside
Ohio	37.8
Indiana	18.5
Michigan	14.1
Virginia	5.9
Illinois	4.4
Elsewhere in Kentucky	4.4
A Southeastern state	7.4
More than one Midwestern state (Michigan, Indiana, Ohio)	3.0
East	2.2
Far West	1.5
Outside United States	<u>0.8</u>
TOTAL	100.0
	(N = 135)

\* 189 (58.3 percent) of the homemakers reported never living outside Eastern Kentucky.

Kentucky other than in Eastern Kentucky. The men were asked if they had ever worked outside Eastern Kentucky and about three in ten (29.6 percent) had done so.

For isolated rural people like these, visiting a big city can be an exciting, educational, and monotony-breaking event. The frequency with which people visit a city can also be a measure of their isolation or geographic mobility. Although most of the respondents had visited a large city at some time, about one in four of the homemakers said they had never visited a city of 100,000 or more people. Only one in fourteen of the men was reported not to have visited a city of that size. However, over half of both homemakers and heads had not been in a large city in over a year (Table 70). Lexington, Cincinnati, and Louis-

TABLE 70

HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD AND HOMEMAKERS BY RECENCY OF  
BEING IN A BIG CITY

Recency of Being in A City of 100,000 or more	Percent of Heads of Household	Percent of Homemakers
Within past 6 months	16.4	10.8
7 months to a year	17.6	12.4
Over a year	57.7	53.4
Never	7.4	22.8
No information	0.9	0.6
TOTAL	100.0	100.0
	(N = 324)	(N = 324)

ville were the cities most recently visited by the largest numbers, with other Ohio cities, Huntington, W. Va., Detroit, Chicago, and other cities in Michigan and Indiana mentioned by several. The reasons given by the men for being in the city were working or looking for work (a third), and visiting (about a fifth). The major reason for the homemakers was visiting (a fifth).

About two-thirds of the families had some contact with friends or relatives outside Eastern Kentucky through correspondence (Table 71).

TABLE 71

FREQUENCY OF MAIL CONTACT WITH FRIENDS OR RELATIVES  
LIVING OUTSIDE EASTERN KENTUCKY

<u>Frequency of Receiving Letters</u>	<u>Percent of Families</u>
At least once a week	21.6
Once a month	35.1
Several times a year	8.7
Once a year	2.5
Hardly ever	2.5
No friends or relations outside Eastern Kentucky	23.1
No information	<u>6.5</u>
TOTAL	100.0
	(N = 324)

Most of these heard at least once a month. Much of this correspondence, as well as much of the visiting of these families was probably with grown children who had left the area. Of persons reported as "members" of these families but not now living in the household, about half were in Kentucky and half elsewhere. A third were in the same county as the family and a third were in Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan. Only 5 percent were in other Eastern Kentucky counties, 8 percent elsewhere in Kentucky, and 14 percent in other states. Mail and visits from these children may be the most important contacts with the "outside" for many families (Table 72).



TABLE 72

## LOCATION OF FAMILY MEMBERS NOT RESIDING IN THE HOUSEHOLD

Location of Residence	Percent of Non-resident Family Members
Same county	33.8
Adjoining county	3.2
Other Eastern Kentucky	1.6
Other Kentucky	8.3
Ohio	15.4
Indiana	11.3
Michigan	8.3
Other States	13.8
Outside United States	2.5
No information	1.8
TOTAL	100.0
	(N = 435)

Contact with Books and Mass Media

Contrasted with the larger American society, mass communication media reach these people in an extremely limited way. Over four-fifths of the families had no member who read a newspaper regularly, half of the families seldom or never saw television, and a third had no radio (Table 73). Most of the few newspapers read were local county weeklies; of the 43 families reporting a specific paper read, only nine listed a large city daily. The Huntington, W. Va. television station was the only one specifically mentioned by many viewers and the radio stations

TABLE 73

## EXTENT OF ACCESS TO NEWSPAPERS, RADIO, AND TELEVISION

<u>Type of Media and Extent of Access</u>	<u>Percent of Families</u>
<b>Newspapers:</b>	
One or more in the home	10.2
None in the home but a family member reads one regularly	8.3
None in the home and no one reads one regularly	<u>81.5</u> 100.0
<b>Television:</b>	
T.V. in the home	32.4
None in the home, but see someone else's regularly	13.6
T.V. in home — does not work	5.2
Seldom or never see T.V.	<u>48.8</u> 100.0
A family member "very often" sees a news program on T.V.	38.6
Radio in the home	67.6
A family member listens "very often" to news on the radio	69.7
	(N = 324)

they reported listening to were almost exclusively local Eastern Kentucky ones. While one might expect each family to be reached by at least one of the media, this was not the case, for a fifth had no newspaper, radio, TV, nor anyone in the family who regularly viewed TV.

Radio is clearly the main — often the only — mass media contact with these families. Two-thirds had a set and the same proportion of families reported having someone in the family who listened "very often" to the news on the radio. It is perhaps remarkable, in view of the other conditions of these families, that a third of them had a TV set in working order and a larger number — about two-fifths reported that someone in the family viewed a T.V. news program "very often."

As a further measure of communication with the local and larger society, the men in the sample were asked whether they could name various officials and had heard about certain news items. Nearly all (94.4 percent) of the heads of household knew the name of their county judge (chief officer of a county in Kentucky) and about four-fifths (78.1 percent) the name of the governor of Kentucky. The interviewing was done about six months after the assassination of President Kennedy and the respondents were asked if they had heard about that event the same day it happened. Nearly all (95.4 percent) had heard it the same day, a fourth (26.5 percent) on television, two-fifths (38.3 percent) on the radio, and a third (35.2 percent) via word of mouth. Thus it appears that when a really crucial and dramatic event occurs, the news reaches these people quickly.

While a quarter of the families reported some use of the county bookmobile and a third some use of a library, such use was almost entirely by the children in the family (Table 74). Only 2 percent of the families reported any adult members using the bookmobile even occasionally, and the proportion using other libraries was even smaller. Only one in eight families reported children getting books from the bookmobile regularly, and one in six reported regular use of a library by children in the family. With little or no reading of newspapers or books by the parents, it is obvious that the importance of reading is not impressed on the children in the home.

#### Participation in Formal Organizations

An indication of isolation is also given by the extent of membership in formal organizations and attendance at their meetings. Only eleven women (3 percent) and twenty men (6 percent) reported membership in any organization other than a church. The eleven women were Parent-Teachers Association members and nine of the twenty men were in the United Mine Workers. The other organizations in which men reported membership were veterans organizations (5), the PTA (3), a community organization (2), and the Masons (1).

TABLE 74

## KNOWLEDGE AND USE OF THE BOOKMOBILE AND LIBRARY

Knowledge and Use of Bookmobile and Library	Percent of Families
<b>Is there a bookmobile that comes near here?</b>	
Don't know	4.9
No	59.9
Yes	33.0
No information	<u>2.2</u>
	100.0
<b>Does anyone in the family use the bookmobile?</b>	
No	70.1
Yes, 1 or more children, occasionally	11.7
Yes, 1 or more children, regularly	12.1
Yes, 1 or more adults, occasionally or regularly	2.1
No information	<u>4.0</u>
	100.0
<b>Does anyone in the family get books from the library?</b>	
No	63.0
Yes, 1 or more children, occasionally	15.1
Yes, 1 or more children regularly	17.3
Yes, 1 or more adults regularly or occasionally	0.9
Yes, unspecified	2.8
No information	<u>0.9</u>
	100.0
	(N = 324)

While membership and participation in a church are far more frequent than any other kind of organizational participation only about a third (35.4 percent) of the women and less than a fourth (22.8 percent) of the men said they were members. Larger numbers said they attended church; however, slightly less than a fourth of the women and slightly more than a fourth of the men said they "never" attend church (Table 75). If those who reported attending less than once a month are added to the non-attenders, more than half of both men (53.7 percent) and women (54.9 percent) would be included. Nine out of ten of those attending went to Baptist churches.

TABLE 75  
FREQUENCY OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE

Frequency of Attendance	Percent of Heads of Household	Percent of Homemakers
Once a week	14.2	18.2
One to two times a month	32.1	26.9
Less than once a month	26.2	32.4
Never	<u>27.5</u>	<u>22.5</u>
TOTAL	100.0	100.0
	(N = 324)	(N = 324)

### Social-Psychological Isolation

On the basis of the various measures used, it is clear that the families were geographically, culturally, and socially isolated. A frequent concomitant of such a condition is a kind of social-psychological isolation, or a feeling of normlessness, apathy, and despair, referred to by sociologists as anomie or anomia. A five-item scale designed to measure this condition has been developed by Leo Srole<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup>Leo Srole, "Social Integration and Certain Corollaries: An Exploratory Study," American Sociological Review, Vol. 21, No. 6, Dec. 1956, pp. 709-716.

and used in several other studies.<sup>4</sup> A high degree of agreement with the five statements (Table 76) is taken as an indication of anomia. Both the men and the homemakers responded to the statements, with from half to four-fifths of each agreeing with each statement. Compared to other samples to whom this scale has been given, this is a very high proportion of agreement, indicating pronounced anomia. It is interesting, however, that the statement with which fewest people agreed was the one suggesting that it is useless for people to write to public officials about their problems.

The responses were scored on the basis of three points for an "agree" answer; two points for "don't know," and one point for "disagree." Thus the possible total scores varied from a maximum anomia score of 15 to a low anomia score of 5. On this basis the median (middle) score for both men and women was 13 and the mean ("average") was 12.1 for both, again suggesting a very high level of anomia and little difference between the men and the women. Moreover, the scores of individual husbands and wives were very highly correlated, that is, if one gave highly anomic answers the spouse was very likely to also.

Two other somewhat similar but less well known scales were administered to the men but not their wives. These scales, consisting also of agree-disagree statements and scored like the anomia scale, were developed by Dwight Dean,<sup>5</sup> but have not been widely used in other studies. The responses to the statements purported to measure social isolation are shown in Table 77 and the responses to those purported to measure powerlessness are shown in Table 78. In these two scales isolation and powerlessness are sometimes indicated by an answer of "agree" and sometimes by "disagree." The statements were mixed in with others in the schedule and did not appear in the order listed in the table.

Although around half or more of the men responded to most of the statements in a way supposed to indicate a feeling of isolation or powerlessness, the responses to several of the statements were contradictory.

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<sup>4</sup>Ephraim H. Mizruchi, "Social Structure and Anomia in a Small City," American Sociological Review, Vol. 25, No. 5, Oct. 1960, pp. 645-654; Dorothy L. Meir and Wendell Bell, "Anomia and Differential Access to the Achievement of Life Goals," American Sociological Review, Vol. 24, No. 2, pp. 189-202.

<sup>5</sup>Dwight Dean, "Alienation and Political Apathy," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, (Ohio State University, 1956); see also "Alienation: Its Meaning and Measurements," American Sociological Review, Vol. 26, No. 5, Oct. 1961, pp. 753-58.

TABLE 76

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES TO SROLE SCALE ITEMS  
OF ANOMIA BY HOUSEHOLD HEADS AND HOMEMAKERS

Statement	Agree		Disagree		Don't Know or no Information		Total	
	Heads	Home- Makers	Heads	Home- Makers	Heads	Home- Makers	Heads	Home- Makers
Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.	69.8	71.0	29.3	27.8	0.9	1.2	100.0	100.0
In spite of what some people say, the lot (situation) of the average man is getting worse, not better.	69.1	58.6	28.1	28.1	2.8	13.3	100.0	100.0
It is hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future.	72.9	71.6	22.8	17.9	4.3	10.5	100.0	100.0
These days a person does not really know whom he can count on.	78.4	82.1	19.4	14.5	2.2	3.4	100.0	100.0
There is little use writing to public (government) officials, because often they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man.	52.5		47.8	39.2	8.3	16.1	100.0	100.0

(N = 324)

TABLE 77

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES OF HEADS OF  
HOUSEHOLD TO SOCIAL ISOLATION SCALE ITEMS

Social Isolation Items	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Dis- agree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>No Inf.</u>	<u>Totals*</u>
Sometimes I feel all alone in the world.	57.1	38.9	2.2	1.8	100.0
Real friends are as easy as ever to find.	52.8	45.7	0.6	0.9	100.0
Most people today seldom feel lonely.	51.2	38.3	9.6	0.9	100.0
The world in which we live is, in general, a friendly place.	88.3	10.2	0.9	0.6	100.0
You can depend on most people these days.	33.0	65.2	0.9	0.9	100.0
It is hard to find friends these days, even if a person tries to be a friend.	58.3	40.8	0.3	0.6	100.0
People aren't really very friendly.	44.1	52.5	2.5	0.9	100.0
I don't get to visit friends as often as I'd really like.	86.1	13.6	0.0	0.3	100.0

\*All N's equal 324.



TABLE 78

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES OF HEADS OF  
HOUSEHOLD TO POWERLESSNESS SCALE ITEMS

<u>Powerlessness Items</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Dis- agree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>No Inf.</u>	<u>Totals*</u>
Today's children face a wonderful future.	62.6	30.6	5.6	1.2	100.0
Sometimes I have a feeling that other people are taking advantage of me.	61.1	35.5	3.1	0.3	100.0
It is frightening to be responsible for the raising of a little child.	68.2	30.0	0.9	0.9	100.0
Everybody can do at least a little something that will help prevent another world war.	92.9	3.7	3.1	0.3	100.0
There are so many things that have to be decided these days that sometimes I feel that I can't take it any longer.	58.4	37.0	4.0	0.6	100.0
There is little chance for a man to get a better job unless he gets lucky.	77.5	21.0	0.9	0.6	100.0
We're told so much what to do these days that there's not much room for choice even in personal matters.	60.8	33.3	4.3	1.6	100.0
The future looks dark and gloomy.	57.7	39.5	2.5	0.3	100.0

\*All N's equal 324.

For example, contrary to expectations and to some of their other answers, 88 percent agreed that "the world . . . is, in general, a friendly place" and 93 percent agreed that "everybody can do . . . something that will help prevent another world war." Since these scales have not been very adequately tested by use on various populations, it may be that some of the statements convey different meanings or connotations to these mountain people from those they convey to persons tested in the original study. Moreover, since most of the contradictory responses involved questions where a disagree answer was supposed to indicate isolation or powerlessness but the respondents agreed to these and most of the other statements, there is the possibility that they have a general tendency to agree with statements of this kind, particularly those they may not fully comprehend. That this agreeing tendency, if it is present, does not extend to every kind of statement is indicated by the fact that a majority disagreed with two of the statements in Table 77. In view of these questions, however, it seems best not to draw any conclusions from the data in these two scales.

### Summary

Almost all of the families in the study lived in the open country and more than half lived on a poor dirt road that was sometimes impassible for cars, or on no road at all. While a majority had a car or regular use of someone else's, only four in ten owned a car or truck and a similar proportion had no regular use of a car. Two-fifths of the men and over half of the women got to town no more often than once a month. Most of the people had been born and raised in the area and had lived in their present community for the past ten years. However, in this period they had lived in three or four houses, on the average. Over half of the men and women had not been to a large city within the past year. However, most of the families had some regular contact through mail or visits with people outside Eastern Kentucky, usually a close relative or child.

Over four-fifths of the families had no member who read a newspaper regularly, half of the families seldom or never saw television, and a third had no radio. The few who read newspapers mostly read local county weeklies. Use of bookmobile and libraries was confined almost entirely to school children. But most of the men were able to name their county judge and the governor of Kentucky, and most said they heard of President Kennedy's assassination on the day it happened.

Practically none of the men or women belonged to any organizations other than church, and only a fourth of the men and a third of the women claimed church membership. Attendance at church was also infrequent. Most of the respondents expressed feelings of powerlessness and alienation from the larger society. On a scale of anomia they scored much higher than most other populations that have been studied.

## VALUES AND VIEWS ON LIFE

### Feelings About Their Communities

Most of the men and women in the study were born and reared in the community in which they lived at the time of the study, or in a similar community nearby. Asked to rate their present community in terms of a four-point scale, very few were willing to say it was either extremely good or bad (Table 79). Over two-thirds of both homemakers and household heads rated their community as "pretty good." If this can be con-

TABLE 79  
RATINGS OF THEIR PRESENT COMMUNITY BY HEADS  
OF HOUSEHOLD AND HOMEMAKERS

Rating	Percent of Heads of Household	Percent of Homemakers
Extremely good	17.0	12.7
Pretty good	67.9	73.1
Not very good	13.0	10.8
Not at all good	2.1	3.1
No information	0.0	0.3
<b>TOTAL</b>	100.0	100.0
	(N = 324)	(N = 324)

sidered a favorable response, then six out of every seven respondents were somewhat favorable or highly favorable toward their community. Certainly it appears that there is no outstanding dissatisfaction with the community, per se.

Asked what they liked most about their communities, nearly two-thirds of the women replied in terms of people, but the men were less specific (Table 80). Half of the men said "everything," but, among those who specified, people were most often mentioned. About a quarter each of men and women mentioned the physical location. A quarter of the women also mentioned the schools, churches and social environment. No other specific features were mentioned by very many respondents.

TABLE 80

FEATURES OF THEIR COMMUNITY REPORTED MOST LIKED  
BY HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD AND HOMEMAKERS

Features Liked	Percent of Heads Mentioning Each Feature*	Percent of Homemakers Mentioning Each Feature*
Everything in general	49.0	29.3
People	45.4	63.3
Physical location	27.2	27.5
Social environment and institutional services (schools, etc.)	17.3	26.9
Miscellaneous	12.0	7.4
No response	0.6	0.9
	(N = 324)	(N = 324)

\* Since some respondents mentioned more than one thing, the percentages add to more than 100.0.

Asked what they disliked most about their communities, the men mentioned poor work opportunities more than anything else. The women also mentioned this frequently (Table 81). In the combined responses of men and women physical location was the most frequently disliked feature, about two-fifths of each mentioning this. Practically none mentioned the people as a disliked feature and the social environment was mentioned by relatively few. It is significant that over a fourth of the homemakers and a fifth of the men said there was nothing they disliked.

One may wonder about the fact that the physical location and the social environment and institutions are important both among the liked and the disliked aspects of the community, but perhaps it is not surprising. The location is "home," yet it is also isolated and far removed from good work opportunities and many of the services and facilities of modern living. The schools and churches are the kind most of the people grew up with and feel comfortable with, yet no doubt many realize they are inadequate.

TABLE 81

**FEATURES OF THEIR COMMUNITY REPORTED MOST DISLIKED BY  
HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD AND HOMEMAKERS**

Features Disliked	Percent of Heads Mentioning Each Feature*	Percent of Homemakers Mentioning Each Feature*
Jobs and work opportunities	43.9	28.7
Physical location	40.7	40.7
Social environment and institutional services (schools, etc.)	15.1	20.0
Miscellaneous	2.7	4.7
Nothing	20.4	28.4
No response	2.5	2.5
	(N = 324)	(N = 324)

\* Since some respondents mentioned more than one thing, the percentages add to more than 100.0.

Perhaps a clue as to why many women liked the community may be seen in their answers when asked to rank a list of qualities according to their importance in determining a person's "standing" in their community (Table 82). More than half of the women saw "morals" as the most important quality determining whether "a person is looked up to or not," a quality that is independent of one's material circumstances and therefore available to these women. No other quality stood out as clearly as morals in the women's evaluation, but on the basis of assigning weighted scores according to the ranks given the qualities, the overall ranking appeared as follows: first-morals, second-education, third-wealth, income, and property, fourth-how long a person has lived in the community, fifth-belonging to an important family, and sixth-whether a person is Negro or white.

TABLE 82

**HOMEMAKERS' RANKING OF THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF VARIOUS  
QUALITIES IN DETERMINING A PERSON'S  
STANDING IN THEIR COMMUNITY**

<u>Quality</u>	<u>1st</u>	<u>2nd</u>	<u>3rd</u>	<u>4th</u>	<u>5th</u>	<u>6th</u>
Morals	55.9	10.5	7.1	6.5	6.2	5.2
Education	12.7	25.9	21.9	17.3	6.5	2.8
Wealth, income, property	13.3	18.2	17.9	12.9	13.6	8.6
Length of time lived in com- munity	4.3	16.6	24.4	17.3	13.9	9.6
Belonging to an important family	2.5	9.0	13.0	19.7	31.4	9.6
Whether Negro or white	4.3	8.3	2.8	9.3	11.4	50.3
No information	<u>7.0</u>	<u>11.5</u>	<u>12.9</u>	<u>17.0</u>	<u>17.0</u>	<u>13.9</u>
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Value of Education and Related Opinions

Not only did the women rank education second only to morals among the qualities determining a person's standing in the community, but there is evidence from responses to several other questions that they value or recognize the importance of education. Since women in low income groups usually have somewhat more schooling than men (and this is true of the men and women in the present study) and since men in the lower strata are reputed to put a low valuation on higher schooling — especially for girls — the men in the sample were asked a series of questions to get at their attitudes on this subject. Their responses were rather strongly "pro" — education and differed little as concerns boys and girls. Nearly three-fifths thought a son or daughter should complete college and practically all of the rest who expressed an opinion thought they should finish high school (Table 83). Virtually no one thought that finishing the eighth grade was enough.

TABLE 83

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF OPINIONS OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS  
CONCERNING AMOUNT OF SCHOOLING A SON OR  
DAUGHTER SHOULD GET\*

<u>Amount of Schooling</u>	<u>Son</u>	<u>Daughter</u>
Complete college	58.4	56.5
Some college	2.5	1.9
Complete high school	25.9	26.2
Some high school	0.9	0.6
Complete 8 grades	0.9	2.2
Indefinite amount	10.5	11.7
None	0.0	0.3
No information	<u>0.9</u>	<u>0.6</u>
TOTAL	100.0	100.0
	(N = 324)	(N = 324)

\* Men who had either no son or no daughter were asked to picture themselves as having one and to respond on that basis.

Despite their almost unanimous statement that a son or daughter should at least finish high school, considerably fewer (about three-fifths) thought the chances "good" that a child of theirs would in fact finish (Table 84). About a fifth saw the chances as "fair" but a similar proportion expressed the feeling that a son or a daughter had little to no chance of finishing high school.

But when asked how far a child of theirs would go in school if they "got enough help to pay his (or her) way as long as they stay in school," the estimates increased considerably. Over half thought the child would complete college and virtually all thought he would finish high school. The men also indicated an awareness of the effect of a lack of education on boys and girls, though the handicap of not finishing high school was considered greater for boys (Table 85). The handicap for both was seen largely as economic, the chief difference being that somewhat fewer (but still more than half) saw it as an economic handicap for girls. A few expressed the opinion that being a high school



TABLE 84

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS' ESTIMATES OF THE CHANCES THAT A SON OR DAUGHTER WOULD FINISH HIGH SCHOOL\*

<u>Chances</u>	<u>Son</u>	<u>Daughter</u>
Good	58.6	59.6
Fair	18.8	21.9
Not good	13.0	12.0
No chance	7.1	4.6
No information	<u>2.5</u>	<u>1.9</u>
TOTAL	100.0	100.0
	(N = 324)	(N = 324)

\* Men who had either no son or no daughter were asked to picture themselves as having one and respond on that basis.

graduate was not as necessary for girls. The recognition of the economic handicap of a poor education was also indicated by the men's answers concerning the factors in work success, discussed elsewhere. More than half the men said "good education and training" was important.

Moreover, when the men were asked how they would like an imaginary or real son to be different from themselves, more than two-thirds replied they would like him to have more schooling (Table 86). More than half of the women in response to the same question with respect to a daughter said that a daughter should have more schooling than they had had. In each case this was the most frequently mentioned attribute. A fifth of the men wished a son to manage his career differently and a tenth wanted him to be better religiously. Almost a fourth of the women wanted a daughter to manage finances better. No other one thing was mentioned very often by the women. A tenth of the men and an eighth of the women said there was nothing they would want their son or daughter to do differently.

TABLE 85

**PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS' OPINIONS  
REGARDING THE EFFECT ON A BOY'S AND A GIRL'S  
LIFE OF NOT FINISHING HIGH SCHOOL**

<u>Effect</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
Economically disadvantageous	71.0	53.4
Disadvantageous in general	27.5	28.1
Disadvantageous related to marriage	0.0	3.7
"Not as necessary for a girl"	0.0	9.0
No difference	0.0	1.9
Advantageous	0.6	0.9
Other or don't know	0.9	1.5
No information	<u>0.0</u>	<u>1.5</u>
<b>TOTAL</b>	100.0	100.0
	(N = 324)	(N = 324)

The responses concerning ways the men and women would like a child of the same sex to be similar to themselves (Table 87) took a rather different turn, with no one mentioning education in this connection — again an indication that they recognize that they are educationally handicapped. Perhaps surprisingly, both men and women mentioned more often than any other trait that they wanted their children to be like them religiously and morally — and more men (nearly half) than women (two-fifths) gave this response. Next most frequently mentioned by both groups was similarity in general personality. For men the third trait was "to be a good worker," but women more often mentioned similarities in having a good marriage and family life and put "being a good worker" fourth in their priorities. No other characteristics were mentioned by more than a few.

TABLE 86

WAYS IN WHICH HOUSEHOLD HEADS AND HOMEMAKERS WOULD  
 LIKE A CHILD OF THE SAME SEX TO BE  
DIFFERENT FROM THEMSELVES

Desired Differences	Percent of Heads of Household Mentioning Each*	Percent of Homemakers Mentioning Each*
More schooling	69.4	53.7
Religiously better	9.9	7.4
Manage finances better	6.8	23.1
Manage career differently	20.1	5.9
Better personality	0.0	5.6
Miscellaneous	8.3	19.8
Nothing different	9.9	13.0
No information	2.2	6.8
	(N = 324)	(N = 324)

\* Some respondents mentioned more than one thing, so percentages add to more than 100.0.

Asked what they would do differently if they could start life over, more than half of the men and about two-fifths of the women said they would get more schooling (Table 88). Of the men, a fifth would manage their work career differently, a tenth would live a better religious or moral life, a tenth would manage finances better but nearly a fifth would do nothing different. Of the women, almost a fifth would do things differently relating to marriage and the family, but more than a third replied that they would do nothing differently.

While there is evidence in these data that these men and women see education as important, they can hardly be said to have a strong dedication to education. The fact that only half of the men and less than two-fifths of the women said they would get more schooling if they could start life over can be interpreted as a rather weak awareness of needs, though it may represent resignation to a perceived

TABLE 87

WAYS IN WHICH HOUSEHOLD HEADS AND HOMEMAKERS WOULD  
LIKE A CHILD OF THE SAME SEX TO BE SIMILAR TO THEMSELVES

<u>Desired Similarities</u>	<u>Percent of Heads of Household*</u>	<u>Percent of Homemakers*</u>
Religiously and morally	46.3	39.5
General personality and friendliness	39.5	29.9
Good worker	21.6	15.1
Good marriage and family life	1.5	29.6
Good finance manager and thrifty	3.4	3.7
Miscellaneous	6.8	14.5
No desired similarities	2.5	2.5
No information	4.9	5.2
	(N = 324)	(N = 324)

\* Some persons mentioned more than one thing, so percentages add to more than 100.0.

impossibility of doing things differently. One must note also that nearly a third of the men and nearly half of the women did not mention "more schooling" as a way they would like a child to be different from themselves.

Furthermore, many of these men and women evidenced a passive attitude not likely to be associated with a strong drive for education. The men were asked, "Do you think that God is more pleased when people try to get ahead, or when they are satisfied with what they have? Or, do you think that God is not concerned with these kinds of things?" (Table 89). More than three-fifths professed to believe that God is more pleased with people who are satisfied with what they have. Only a third chose the response indicating a religious orientation that might support a drive for education.

TABLE 88

THINGS HOUSEHOLD HEADS AND HOMEMAKERS WOULD DO  
DIFFERENTLY IF THEY COULD START LIFE OVER

<u>Things they would do differently</u>	<u>Percent of Heads of Household*</u>	<u>Percent of Homemakers*</u>
Get more schooling	53.7	38.9
Manage work career differently	22.5	8.0
Manage finances better	12.7	2.5
Live better religious or moral life	10.5	3.4
Miscellaneous — related to marriage and family	4.6	17.0
Other	12.0	12.7
Nothing	19.1	35.5
No information	1.9	1.2
	(N = 324)	(N = 324)

\*Since some respondents mentioned more than one thing, the percentages do not add to 100.0.

TABLE 89

HOUSEHOLD HEADS' RESPONSES CONCERNING THE PERSONAL  
GOALS AND PHILOSOPHY MOST PLEASING TO GOD

<u>Orientation thought more pleasing</u>	<u>Percent of Heads of Household</u>
When one tries to get ahead	32.4
When one is satisfied with what he has	60.5
God is not concerned	3.1
Unsure	3.7
No information	0.3
TOTAL	100.0
	(N = 324)

### Sources of Happiness and Worry

Most of the men (76.3 percent) and women (67.9 percent) saw some-time in the past as the happiest period of their life (Table 90). The grade school years were specified by the largest proportion of men (41.4 percent)

TABLE 90

#### THE HAPPIEST PERIODS IN THEIR LIVES AS REPORTED BY HOUSEHOLD HEADS AND HOMEMAKERS

<u>Period of Time</u>	<u>Percent of Heads</u>	<u>Percent of Homemakers</u>
Present — in general	15.1	20.1
Present — tied to specific event	7.7	9.9
Past — grade school years	41.4	34.9
Past — teenage years	13.9	10.5
Past — young adult years	11.4	14.8
Past — tied to specific event	9.6	7.7
No response	<u>0.9</u>	<u>2.1</u>
TOTAL	100.0	100.0
	(N = 324)	(N = 324)

and of women (34.9 percent). The great majority (two-thirds) of the men and the women who saw the past as happiest said it was because of the absence of burdens and responsibility or "feelings of freedom and independence." The other main reason given by men was more favorable economic circumstances in the past; the women's other reasons related to past family situations and relations. Only three in ten homemakers and two in ten of the men saw the present as the happiest period. Nearly all of the women (9 in 10) mentioned their family and interpersonal relationships within the family as the general reason. Most of the men (7 in 10) also mentioned the family and interpersonal family relationships as a reason, but almost every one of them (97.3 percent) mentioned their present economic circumstances, clearly indicating the morale boost which their AFDC-UP job had given them.

The men and women who saw the past as the happiest time were asked, "What are some of the things you feel pretty happy about these days?" About half of the men mentioned their present economic circumstances, including their job, a third mentioned their family and interpersonal family relations, and a fifth mentioned the health of the family. The largest proportion of the women (two-thirds) mentioned their family and interpersonal relations, a third mentioned their economic circumstances, and about the same number mentioned the health of their family.

All respondents, men and women, were asked to mention things they were "not too happy about these days" (Table 91). More than anything else, both men and women said they were unhappy about

TABLE 91

SOURCE OF UNHAPPINESS REPORTED BY HOUSEHOLD  
HEADS AND HOMEMAKERS

<u>Source of Unhappiness</u>	<u>Percent of Heads of Household*</u>	<u>Percent of Homemakers*</u>
Economic and material circumstances	43.2	50.3
Work situation	32.1	13.6
Health of self or family	14.8	20.1
Family and interpersonal relations	8.3	15.7
Community, national, world problems	4.3	6.2
Life in general	0.9	0.6
Miscellaneous	8.6	5.6
Nothing	13.6	13.0
No response	4.0	4.3
	(N = 324)	(N = 324)

\* Some respondents mentioned more than one thing, so percentages add to more than 100.0.

their economic and material circumstances and/or the "work situation." Women were more likely than men to mention unhappiness over the health of themselves or family and unhappiness with family and interpersonal relations, but these were also mentioned by a number of men. Very few of either mentioned community, national, or world problems.

The things the people said they worried about were the same kinds of things that they were unhappy about, but the idea of "worry" elicited a greater response than the idea of "unhappiness" (Table 92). Two-thirds of the men and three-fourths of the women reported worrying

TABLE 92

SOURCES OF WORRY REPORTED BY HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD  
AND HOMEMAKERS

<u>Sources of Worry</u>	<u>Percent of Heads of Household*</u>	<u>Percent of Homemakers*</u>
Economic and material situation	66.4	75.6
Family and interpersonal relations	43.2	55.2
Health of self or family	29.9	44.8
Work situation	28.7	15.7
Community, national, world affairs	6.5	1.9
Church, religion, morality	5.6	3.9
	(N = 324)	(N = 324)

\* Some respondents mentioned more than one thing, so percentages add to more than 100.0.

about their economic and material circumstances. And two in seven of the men and one in seven of the homemakers also mentioned worries about the work situations. Two-fifths of the men and more than half of the women worried about their family and family interpersonal relations. The health of the family members and self caused worry for more than a fourth of the men and two-fifths of the women. Again, very few mentioned worries about non-personal and non-family matters.



In response to an inquiry as to the extent of worry about each thing mentioned, in every instance at least four-fifths of the men and women replied that they worried "a lot" about it.

### Things People Would Get with More Money

Since these people were living at the bare subsistence level and most of them had been in this situation for a long time, it is perhaps significant to know what they think they would do if they got more money. They were asked to respond in terms of two hypothetical situations — (1) "if you had a little more money" and (2) "if your family unexpectedly got a large sum of money, say \$2,000." With only "a little more" money, both men and women mentioned food and clothing more often than anything else as the things they would buy first (Table 93). More men than women mentioned clothing, and more

TABLE 93

#### ITEMS HOUSEHOLD HEADS AND HOMEMAKERS SAY THEY WOULD GET FIRST IF THEY HAD "A LITTLE MORE MONEY"

Items they Would Get First	Percent of Heads of Household*	Percent of Homemakers*
More clothing	82.1	69.1
More food (amount or variety)	56.8	71.6
Household furniture or appliances	32.4	40.4
House renovation or repair	25.0	6.5
Medical or dental care	2.2	2.5
Miscellaneous	14.2	5.2
	(N = 324)	(N = 324)

\* Most respondents mentioned more than one thing, so percentages add to more than 100.0.

women than men mentioned food. From three to four-fifths of each group mentioned each item. Next in frequency for both groups was household furniture or appliances, mentioned by a third of the men and two-fifths of the women. A fourth of the men but very few of the women mentioned house renovation or repair.

With \$2,000 to spend, long-range and nonconsumable expenditures assumed more importance, but clothing was still very frequently mentioned and food was still on the lists (Table 94). More men would buy a house or land than anything else, with clothing second and household repair or improvement third on the men's list. Women more often

TABLE 94

PROJECTED EXPENDITURES OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS AND  
HOMEMAKERS OF A HYPOTHETICAL \$2,000

Projected Expenditures	Percent of Heads of Household*	Percent of Homemakers*
Buy house or land	38.0	31.2
More clothing	30.6	41.4
Repair or improve house	26.5	29.9
Household furnishings or appliances	18.5	37.7
Pay debts	14.8	13.9
More food (quality or quantity)	13.9	28.4
Educational needs or supplies	7.1	7.4
Save or invest it	6.5	4.9
Miscellaneous	15.7	7.4

\* Some respondents mentioned more than one thing, so percentages add to more than 100.0.

mentioned clothing than anything else, with household furnishings or appliances second, buying house or land third, repairing or improving the house fourth, and food fifth. For both men and women, paying debts came next. Very few men or women mentioned education or savings. In general, women mentioned somewhat more things to do with extra money than did men.

## Views on Welfare

Since all of the people in the study were receiving welfare assistance from the Federal government, it is interesting to know their views on welfare and the role of government in meeting the needs of people. In general, the men's responses indicate satisfaction with the present level and types of welfare (Table 95). Two-thirds said the government is doing "enough" for the people, over three-fourths expressed the view that the government was not doing

TABLE 95

### HOUSEHOLD HEADS' VIEWS ON CURRENT WELFARE ASSISTANCE

<u>Questions</u>	<u>Percent Giving Each Response</u>			
	<u>Too Much</u>	<u>Enough</u>	<u>Too Little</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
Do you think the government is doing enough for the people, too much, or too little?	2.8	66.7	26.2	4.3
	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	
Is there anything the government is now doing which you feel it shouldn't be?	78.4	13.9	7.7	
Is there anything that you feel the government should be doing that it is not doing?	49.4	41.0	9.6	
Do you think most of the people in this county who need welfare assistance are receiving it?	35.5	55.2	9.3	

anything along this line it shouldn't be; half said they did not think there was anything the government should be doing that it wasn't, and over half said most of the people in their county who needed welfare assistance were receiving it.

While these responses do not support the view that welfare clients are entirely shiftless and expect the government to take care of them, substantial minorities indicated some dissatisfaction or offered suggestions in response to each question. A quarter said that in general the government is doing "too little"; two-fifths said there were things the government should be doing that it is not; a third did not think that most of the people in the county needing assistance were getting it; and one in seven said the government is doing some things in welfare it shouldn't be. The activity most often mentioned as being out of line was spending too much money overseas and not enough at home. Providing more jobs and better work was by far the most often mentioned thing the government should be doing. Smaller numbers said the government should be providing more food, clothing, and roads.

### Opinions About Migration

As a majority of these people see it, an improvement comes in the lives of Eastern Kentuckians when they leave the area. Nearly two-thirds of the men and slightly over two-thirds of the women expressed the opinion that on the whole people who had moved from Eastern Kentucky to Ohio, Indiana, and elsewhere were better off than before they moved. Some would not generalize but indicated that when the migrants had jobs and could adjust they were better off, but when out of work they were worse off. Only about an eighth of the women and a seventh of the men thought that on the whole the migrants were worse off.

Those who saw the migrants as better off were asked why. The answers almost entirely referred to opportunities for a better material existence. Of those who saw the migrants as "worse off" about half mentioned the higher cost of living outside Eastern Kentucky. Others mentioned the problems of finding employment and of social adjustment. Those whose answers were ambivalent recognized that some migrants find a satisfactory life outside of the mountains while others were overwhelmed by the circumstances they encountered (Table 96).

If two-thirds of the respondents see Eastern Kentuckians who have left the area as "better off," why do the respondents stay? The information gathered is inadequate to answer this question, but part of the answer may be that in spite of their present circumstances they find life to be at least "pretty good" where they are. Others may feel "caught" by finances, lack of experience on the outside, family connections and obligations, or just being in a rut.

TABLE 96

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF OPINIONS OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD  
AND HOMEMAKERS AS TO WHETHER EASTERN KENTUCKIANS WHO  
HAVE MOVED AWAY ARE BETTER OR WORSE OFF

<u>Condition of Migrants</u>	<u>Heads of Household</u>	<u>Homemakers</u>
Better off	61.7	67.6
Some better, some worse; no better or no worse	21.6	14.5
Worse off	14.5	12.0
No information	<u>2.2</u>	<u>5.9</u>
TOTAL	100.0	100.0
	(N = 324)	(N = 324)

## Summary

Both the men and the women in the study were generally favorable in their evaluation of their communities, despite personal and community conditions which most outsiders would regard as very undesirable. But these or similar nearby communities had been "home" for most of the people all their lives. "Community" meant the people and the physical location to most, and these were regarded favorably by the majority. Still, substantial minorities said they did not like the location, the lack of jobs and good work opportunities, and some of the community institutional services. Asked what determined a person's standing in the community, the homemakers said "morals," education, and wealth or possessions — in that order.

In their responses to several different questions, the people indicated that they recognize the value of education, are aware of their own limitations imposed by poor education, and want better education for their children — girls as well as boys. But they are not confident that their children will actually finish high school or go to college. In agreeing with the philosophy that God is more pleased with the person who is satisfied with what he has than the person who tries to get ahead, they seem to indicate a passivity unlikely to support a strong drive for education. Moreover, substantial minorities on each question did not give responses indicating a high valuation of education.

Most of the people saw the past rather than the present as the happiest period of their lives; the grade school years of childhood were seen as happiest more than any one period. Most of the men who saw the present as the happiest (20 percent) said it was because of their present economic circumstances, indicating the substantial morale boost the AFDC-UP program had given them. Asked about worries and things that made them unhappy, both men and women mentioned jobs and poor economic circumstances more than anything else, with family and interpersonal relations and health coming next. Community, national, and world conditions were mentioned hardly at all.

Asked what they would do with "a little more money," food and clothing were far in the lead among projected expenditures, with furniture, appliances and house repair next. But the responses as to what they would do with an unexpected large sum (\$2,000) put somewhat more emphasis on nonconsumables — "buy a house or land," "repair or improve the house" — though the basics of food and clothing were still high on the list.

Despite their precarious situation, most of the people felt the government was doing enough and playing its proper role in providing welfare assistance, and that minimum needs were being met. Providing more and better jobs was the thing most wanted by those who felt more should be done. The people thought that Eastern Kentuckians who had left the region were generally better off than they who remained were, but apparently they felt that things were now beginning to look up in Eastern Kentucky, or else that they themselves had no assurance of bettering themselves by migration.

### ADDENDUM

In the summer of 1964, approximately three months after the original interviews with the heads of household and homemakers, a reinterview was carried out with a one-third systematic sample of the homemakers, in five of the original seven counties. Of the 75 possible cases, interviews were completed in 72. The purpose was to determine what changes had occurred, directly or indirectly resulting from the program.

#### Income and Level of Living

Sixty-eight of the 72 heads of household were still on the AFDC-UP program, three were unemployed, and one was working on a regular job with a private employer. Of the three unemployed heads, one had taken another job but then had been "laid off" and could not get back on the program, one had become sick and could not participate in the program, and one had been taken off the program for some reason undetermined by the interviewer.

Compensation under the AFDC-UP program is determined by the number in the family and other family income. The monthly income of the men at the time of the resurvey is shown in Table 97.

Nine out of ten (90.3 percent) homemakers reported that in general their family was better off than it was a year previously. Most of them attributed the improved circumstances to their husbands' work and financial situation. The families had added a wide variety of household furnishings and other possessions in the past few months (Table 98). Rugs, mostly linoleum, led the list with a third having acquired one or more. Over a fourth had bought mattresses, one in six had bought a radio, one in seven a sofa and a washing machine, one in eight a car, one in nine a bed or beds, and one in ten a gas or electrical range and one or more chairs. Of the nine who bought cars, five traded in old ones for another used car, three who had no car got a used one, and one with no car bought a new one.

At the time of the first interview, a third of the men reported they were buying something "on time." In this sample, almost half of the families, according to the homemakers, were buying something on the installment plan. The apparent increase seems due to a larger proportion buying appliances (44.4 percent as compared to 8.6 percent earlier).



TABLE 97

## HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD BY MONTHLY INCOME

<u>Monthly Income</u>	<u>Percent of Heads of Household</u>
Unemployed	4.2
\$1 - \$79	2.7
\$80 - \$119	41.7
\$120 - \$159	33.3
\$160 - \$199	16.7
\$200 - \$239	<u>1.4</u>
TOTAL	100.0
	(N = 72)

TABLE 98

HOUSEHOLD FURNISHINGS AND OTHER POSSESSIONS  
ACQUIRED IN PAST FEW MONTHS

<u>Furnishings or Possessions</u>	<u>Percent of Families</u>
Linoleum or other rugs	37.1
Mattresses	26.4
Radio	16.7
Sofa	13.9
Washing machine	13.9
Car	12.5
Beds	11.1
Gas or electric range	9.7
Chairs	9.7
Sewing machine (3 non-electrical, 2 electric)	6.9
Refrigerator	6.9
Sheets, pillow cases, towels	5.6
Dishes, cooking ware	5.6
Television	5.6

The priorities of the homemakers were somewhat modified from those of the earlier date in response to the question, "What would you get first if you had a little more money?" (Table 99). Previously nearly

TABLE 99

WHAT HOMEMAKERS REPORTED THEY WOULD GET FIRST IF THEY HAD "A LITTLE MORE MONEY," FIRST AND SECOND INTERVIEWS

<u>Things They Would Buy</u>	<u>Percent of Homemakers*</u>	
	<u>First Interview</u>	<u>Second Interview</u>
More food	71.6	6.9
More clothing	69.1	79.2
Household furniture or appliances	40.4	26.4
House renovation or repair	6.5	8.3
Medical or dental care	2.5	6.9
	(N = 324)	(N = 72)

\* Most mentioned more than one thing.

three-fourths of the homemakers listed food, but apparently that need had largely been met by the time of the second interview, since very few mentioned food then. Clothing was very frequently listed in both interviews but increased in frequency in the second interview, to four-fifths of all homemakers. Furniture and appliances, though important both times, was mentioned less frequently in the second interview. From this and the installment buying increase it appears that some of the most critical appliance needs must have been met in the first few months of the program, with clothing needs still deferred until later. Home repair and medical and dental care were mentioned a little more often in the second interview.

Asked specifically about the clothing needs of their families, a little over half of the homemakers said they were about the same as a year ago and a little less than half said they were not as great. The latter gave the reason that they now had more money but the others said there still was not enough money to go around and they had bought food and other things first. Increased garden vegetables in the summer were credited with improving the food supply as well as more money.

### Health and Medical Care

The 68 families in which the heads of household were on the AFDC-UP program had Public Assistance Medical Cards, and five-sixths of the families had used them, an increase from the three-fourths who had used them at the time of the first interview. The use of the cards for all kinds of assistance had increased greatly (Table 100). Approximately three-fourths of the families had used their cards for doctors care and for medicine. Their use for dental

TABLE 100

#### EXTENT AND TYPE OF USE OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE MEDICAL CARDS, FIRST AND SECOND INTERVIEWS

<u>Types of Uses</u>	<u>Percent of Families Having Cards Who Secured Each Service</u>	
	<u>First Interview</u>	<u>Second Interview</u>
Doctor	36.3	77.9
Dentist	20.4	33.8
Medicine	17.0	72.1
Hospital	4.1	22.1
	(N = 270)	(N = 68)

care and hospital care had also increased. A few (10.3 percent) said they still had trouble using their cards, as had a somewhat larger number (13 percent) previously.

Over half of the homemakers said their families still had medical or dental needs that were not being met. Over three-fourths of the needs still existing were specified as dental-extractions, fillings, and new teeth.

### Outlook on Life

The homemakers were asked, "When you think about the future, do you have more hope for the future or less hope for the future than you did a year ago?" Nine out of ten answered "more." The reasons they gave centered on better opportunities due to the work of their husband.

Of the six respondents answering "less hope" or "about the same," three expressed fear that the work for their husbands would end, two were wives of unemployed husbands, and the husband of one was sick. One did not answer the question. All 72 women said that the AFDC-UP was a useful program and that their husbands thought of it as useful.

### Opinions of Community Leaders

A further effort to secure some information on the reception and impact of the AFDC-UP program was made by interviewing certain key people in each of the counties involved in this study. County judges, school superintendents, and other school personnel and public health officials were asked open-ended questions. The interviews were conducted in late May and June, 1964, about three months after the program started. In some counties the program had had a longer existence than in others.

County judges, as the chief officers of their county government, were closely associated with the program. Six out of seven were interviewed. All were enthusiastic about the program and all expressed ideas summed up quite well in a quotation from one of the men:

"Since the accelerated work projects for unemployed fathers have been initiated in \_\_\_\_\_ County, the morale of the depressed and unemployed has been lifted immensely. The unemployed fathers in our county have a new outlook on life. Morale is higher than it has been for some time, a feeling of pride and security is in the air and the younger ones are learning trades for the first time. They are paying their debts again and are now able to buy necessary items for the home. Instead of sitting in front of the courthouse and walking the streets they are repairing county roads, cutting brush, cleaning debris from roads and streams, cleaning cemeteries and cemetery roads, building necessary swinging and walk bridges, setting out trees and other things."

Seven school superintendents were interviewed and all expressed favorable comments. They observed that the people now had "better morale" and their "pride back," due to being able to work. One said, "They are happier and not as grouchy." After laughing about his remark he went on to say that it did seem that the men formerly stood around complaining and griping about everything and that actually now they seemed to be happier and more friendly.

The superintendents noted that it was a little early to tell about any impact that the program might have on the children in the families but their comments indicated that they were hopeful:

"We get children into school that we otherwise wouldn't have."

"It has lifted the dismal despair that had settled over them. They had no hope, sat there staring at the four walls, with no skills and no hope of getting anywhere. Now it shows in the children's faces. They talk more and take an interest in themselves."

"School attendance is up."

"The appearance of the children is better and they seem better clothed."

"The program has had a profound effect on the attendance of the ones on the program. Even though I have no statistics my school people tell me there is a great change. Our chronic truants that we used to have to get warrants served on — are coming to school and have an entirely different attitude toward school."

Six teachers in six different schools were also interviewed. All were aware that they had children in their classroom from homes in which the fathers were on the AFDC-UP program. They, like the superintendents, expressed the opinion that it was too soon to determine the impact of the program on the children, but they also made further comments:

"Toward the end of the school year the general appearance of the children seem to be better."

"Some seemed proud that their fathers were working. They told me of it and seemed to brag of the fact that their father had a job."

"Some children are eating in the lunchroom that wouldn't before the program started."

"They dress better, their clothes look cleaner, and I think their general appearance is neater."

"One of the children who was failing suddenly started making good grades and passed."

"Children now take part in school plays."

"They are not as ashamed in front of others."

"They feel happier or at least act happier."

"One in particular was making D's and after the program, started making straight A's."

"They play more and act natural."

One teacher had a negative reaction: "I can see no change. I have five children — from two families. Both drink. One bought a car with his first check. They won't pay the ten cents lunch fee. One man stays drunk all the time."

The public health doctors, of whom six were interviewed, were generally of the opinion that the health of the families on the program would improve but it would take time.

"The people seem prouder and cleaner but that is all I can say."

"I have high hopes for this program."

"We've only had the program a few weeks and the men have a lot of debts to pay off."

"It's doing good but we think so because it is all we have."

"We can provide more health services due to people being interested."

"The babies' diapers are cleaner. There's not as much skin trouble."

"There seems to be a greater awakening to public health."

As some of the interviewed officials pointed out, the releasing of the money paid the AFDC-UP recipients in the counties was itself having an impact. It was stimulating business in groceries, clothing stores, furniture and appliance stores, and other businesses. Since the increased business also aided the operation of service agencies and institutions, it may be that the favorable attitudes of the officials interviewed should be discounted somewhat. But there seems no doubt that the program was well received by both the clients and their leaders.