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AUTHOR	Dillman, B. L.; McElveen, J. V.
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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to determine whether there were identifiable differences in the characteristics of 3 groups of youths: (1) those who remained in the same or adjoining counties (nonmigrants), (2) those who migrated to other areas of the South, and (3) those who migrated to areas outside the South. Included in the sample were 700 youths who left 1,000 sample households in the northeast coastal plains area of South Carolina within a 10-year period prior to a 1966 survey of these households. The 299 white youths and 401 Negro youths were not contacted directly. Instead, heads of sample households were asked a series of questions about the youth who left the households in the 1956-66 period. Household heads were also asked questions relating to their aspirations and expectations for all their children, whether they were already gone or were still at home. Household income and age, sex, education, and occupation of the household head were also ascertained. Analysis of questionnaire data employed the chi-square technique. It was found that migration was highly selective with respect to both race and education. Negroes were more prone to migrate than whites and, when they migrated, were more likely to move outside the South. Migrant whites and Negroes had more education and training than nonmigrants of the same race. Only half of the white youths migrated from the area compared to more than 3/4 of the Negroes. A strong positive relationship existed between education and outmigration for girls of both races. A significant relationship between education and outmigration was also found for Negro boys but not for white boys. (LS)

MIGRATION OF YOUTH FROM RURAL HOUSEHOLDS OF THE NORTHEAST COASTAL PLAIN OF SOUTH CAROLINA

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W. H. WILEY
Dean of Agriculture
and Biological Sciences

O. B. GARRISON
Director, Experiment Station
and Agricultural Research

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PREFACE

This is one report in a series of five human resource studies developed from a 1966 survey of rural households in the Northeast Coastal Plain of South Carolina. The first was a publication of preliminary county data providing advance information to local groups (3).* The second report presented interrelationships between a wide range of household characteristics which described the rural population of the area and set the stage for subsequent reports (4). The third report examined the role of part-time farming as a means of adjustment to changing conditions in the agricultural economy of the area (2). Another report divided the population of the area into five categories, based on age, sex, and disability of the household head, to discover the composition of the low-income problem and focus on policy alternatives for dealing with poverty (5).

This report is an analysis of the characteristics of youths who left home to stay during a 10-year period preceding the survey and the relationships of these characteristics to their geographic mobility.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors express appreciation to colleagues in the Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, Clemson University and the Economic Development Division, ERS, U. S. Department of Agriculture, who reviewed the manuscript and made helpful suggestions. Financial support of the Office of Economic Opportunity is recognized as basic to this and preceding reports.

*Numbers in parentheses refer to citations of references, page 64.

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SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

This study deals with 700 youths who left 1,000 sample households in the Northeast Coastal Plain area of South Carolina within a 10-year period prior to a survey of these households in 1966. These youths, 299 of whom were white and 401 of whom were Negro, were not contacted directly. Rather, the heads of the sample households were asked a series of questions about each youth who left the households in the 1956-66 period.

Household heads were also asked questions relating to their aspirations and expectations for all their children, whether they were already gone or were still at home. Household income and the age, sex, education, and occupation of the household head were also available for each youth.

The purpose of the study was to determine whether there were identifiable differences in the characteristics of three groups of youths — those who remained in the same or adjoining counties (nonmigrants), those who migrated to other areas of the South, and those who migrated to areas outside the South.

Migration was highly selective with respect to both race and education. Negroes were more prone to migrate than whites and, when they migrated, more likely to move outside the South. Migrant whites and Negroes had more education and training than nonmigrants of the same race. Only half of the white youths migrated from the area compared to more than three-fourths of the Negroes. Of those who migrated from their home and surrounding counties, four-fifths of the whites moved to other areas of the South, mostly in South Carolina and North Carolina. Conversely, four-fifths of the Negro youths moved to areas outside the South, a majority to cities of the Northeast.

A strong positive relationship existed between education and outmigration for girls of both races. A significant relationship was also found for Negro boys, but no significant relationship between education and migration was found for white boys.

Few white youths, and even fewer Negro youths, had any special (non-academic) training. There was a significant tendency for those of both races having such training to migrate to other parts of the South.

Several household characteristics were tested for possible association with the race and destination of youths. White youths, in general, came from households with higher incomes and levels of living, and their household heads were more often middle-aged, rather than young or old. White household heads more frequently held professional, managerial, and blue-collar jobs and were generally better educated than Negro heads. For both races, there was a highly significant relationship between the education of the youth and that of his household head.

Of a dozen questions designed to measure parental aspirations and expectations for children, almost all yielded responses which revealed significantly higher levels among whites than among Negroes. Within races, the responses to many questions indicated higher aspirations and expectations for households where youths had migrated out of the area — to other parts of the South for whites and outside the South for Negroes, which are the destinations associated with higher levels of education for whites and Negroes, respectively.

Examination of the occupations of the sample youths before leaving home, just after leaving home, and at the time of the survey revealed that Negro youths were more often employed before leaving home, probably because their formal schooling was terminated earlier. Also, a significant direct relationship existed between formal schooling and occupational status for both races.

Insofar as outmigration reduces potential unemployment and under-employment by balancing human with natural and capital resources, it can be viewed as a function of the market. Guided by the "invisible hand" of competition, the market should bring about a long-run equilibrium population that is just what the area "ought" to have, other things being equal. But other things are seldom equal. One of these things is the productivity of human resources. If an area continues, over a period of time, to lose its younger and better educated people, a cycle may be set in motion, which instead of bringing about equilibrium, becomes a downward spiral. As the population becomes older, there may be a reluctance, and indeed an inability, to invest in schools and other public facilities that contribute to human capital development and economic growth. With contraction or stagnation of economic activity and lagging income growth, better educated

youths are expected, and encouraged, to seek employment elsewhere.

In a densely populated rural area like the Northeast Coastal Plain of South Carolina, outmigration is, perhaps, expected and inevitable. It may be unreasonable to expect it to taper off very much under present conditions of rapid agricultural adjustment. It is necessary, however, to be aware that outmigration is occurring, and that it is selective — the better educated white girls and Negroes of both sexes are moving away, whereas those with little education are staying.

Other parts of the South are absorbing many of these migrants, especially the white youths and those of both races who have job training. Perhaps this indicates that the 10-county area is not a viable development region but a hinterland area for the growth centers of North and South Carolina. Further research is needed to delineate functional economic areas in and around the Coastal Plains Region. If the study area is destined to assume the role of human resource supplier to the larger region and the Southeast, then the need for some form of federal, state, or regional formula for subsidizing the infrastructure of the area might be indicated.

What about the Negro youths who, from the results of this study, appear to be disinclined to remain in their home areas or migrate to other areas of the South? The scope of this study was too narrow to evaluate possible trends in Negro migration and employment. More research is needed to determine the extent to which barriers to productive employment for Negroes are being broken down and the degree to which Negro youths are having misgivings about the net benefits of northward migration.

MIGRATION OF YOUTH FROM RURAL HOUSEHOLDS OF THE NORTHEAST COASTAL PLAIN OF SOUTH CAROLINA

B. L. Dillman and J. V. McElveen[1]

INTRODUCTION

The population of an area is a resource. This "human resource," like a natural resource or a capital resource, is valuable because it is productive and is capable of being made more productive through investment. The economic well-being of a given area is determined, to a large extent, by the investments it makes to increase the quality and quantity of its resources — natural, capital, and human.

Resources can also be depleted; for human resources this depletion can occur through outmigration. Because of national trends in agricultural mechanization and resultant rural-to-urban population adjustments, the problem of declining population is common to almost all rural, agricultural areas of the United States. The Northeast Coastal Plain Area of South Carolina is only one example, although probably an extreme one, of such areas currently feeling the impact of large-scale outmigration.

The problem of outmigration is severe in an area where a high proportion of the population is rural. For such an area to grow at the national rate and not experience net outmigration, its urban centers must necessarily grow more rapidly than those of the rest of the nation (12, p. 31). But, given that outmigration is inevitable for many rural areas, how is the welfare of remaining area residents affected? Also, what are the effects of large-scale migration on the already overpopulated cities to which many rural people migrate? Problems of housing, transportation, welfare, and social control in cities receiving large numbers of rural migrants in recent years are immense. Marshall (6, p. 547) said it this way:

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[1] Associate Professor of Agricultural Economics, South Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, Clemson, South Carolina, and Agricultural Economist, Economic Development Division, Economic Research Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

> "Wakefield and the American economists have taught us how a sparsely inhabited new district is enriched by the advent of every new settler. The converse truth is that a closely peopled district is impoverished by every one who adds a new building or raises an old one higher."

Sjaastad (12, p. 31) suggests that outmigration may not be all bad—that those persons left behind will enjoy higher per capita incomes than would have otherwise been the case. This can result from a better balance of human and nonhuman resources and the consequent reduction in under-employment, other things remaining equal. Granting that there may be a reduction in unemployment and upward pressure on wages resulting from outmigration, Wertheimer (20, p. 1) argues that the loss of human resources may seriously hamper the ability of rural areas to maintain viable economies. There are "volume" effects in economic development, as well as "welfare" or per capita effects (11, pp. 55-7); i.e., there are agglomerative factors, such as size of markets and externalities, resulting from mere "bigness." Furthermore, if one admits even the possibility of economies of size in the provision of public amenities in rural areas—with the present state of knowledge it is only a possibility—there is a question of whether those remaining are as well off, even with increased per capita income.[2]

But the most damaging aspect of migration is selectivity. The most productive individuals are often the first to migrate, leaving behind the older, less productive, boxed-in group and children too young to work. Perloff (11, p. 597) lists three well-known reasons why younger persons are more likely to outmigrate than older persons. One is the lower earnings of younger persons in their home community. Another is the deeper roots that older persons have in the area. And a third reason is the greater ability of younger persons to obtain jobs in new occupations compared to the difficulty of older farmers in getting nonfarm jobs. Nourse (8, p. 6 and 204-5) stresses the importance of the fact that the return on investment in migration would be less for older persons because they have a shorter remaining working life. Migration, to the individual, is a form of human capital investment (20, p. 11), and returns on this investment may be long-term ones.

Because of the secular increase in educational attainment,

[2] For discussion of this issue see (10, p. 5) and (1, pp. 55-62).

young people tend to have above-average formal education. Rates of outmigration tend to peak at about the age of high school completion (12, p. 12). Thus, age selectivity implies educational selectivity, unless one makes the heroic assumption that only the poorly educated youths are prone to migrate.

Migration is also selective with respect to race. The racial aspect of migration, unlike age and educational selectivity, is unique to the South, for the simple reason that the Negro is indigenous to the South and is rarely found in rural areas elsewhere. The declining demand for agricultural labor may be relatively unimportant in Negroes' decisions to migrate from rural areas; better educated black youth probably have no desire for such employment anyway. Perhaps the expectation of satisfactory nonfarm employment, or the lack of such expectation, is the most important factor in the decision to migrate.

Thus, we begin to see a cycle of outmigration and rural poverty of the type described by Gunnar Mrydal (7). Low area income and lack of opportunity combined with a low general level of education leads to a low level of aspiration for youth, which results in early termination of formal schooling and/or outmigration of youth. This leads to lower levels of area income — or at least retarded area income growth — and a lower level of public revenue and services than would otherwise be available. The process of "circular and cumulative causation" feeds on itself, producing even lower levels of income, aspiration, education, public facilities, and opportunity, and encouraging even more outmigration of productive human resources. The combination of these forces lead to greater disparity in growth rates between rural and urbanizing areas. In many instances, considerable public efforts are required to prevent absolute declines in economic activity and quality of life.

THE STUDY SAMPLE

This analysis focuses on a specific group of individuals in a 10-county area of the Coastal Plains region — youths who left home to stay during a 10-year period immediately preceding an enumeration of rural households in the area in the spring of 1966. Because the analysis deals only with the youths leaving area households, nearly all of whom were children of the head, it omits the productive young and middle-aged family heads and unrelated

individuals who migrated from the area. Likewise the sample does not include youths who left the area as members of migrant households, nor does it include any migrant youths whose families subsequently moved away prior to the survey. Thus, the outmigration problem of the area is not treated in its entirety. Also, any consideration of inmigration or return migration was clearly beyond the scope of this study.

THE STUDY AREA

The 10-county study area is located in the Northeastern Coastal Plain of South Carolina. Included in the area are Clarendon, Darlington, Dillon, Florence, Horry, Lee, Marion, Marlboro, Sumter, and Williamsburg counties. The area is largely rural and agricultural. The economy of the area is heavily dependent upon tobacco, cotton, and soybeans, the principal cash crops. While these ten counties comprise only a fifth of the land area of South Carolina, they accounted for over two-fifths of the state's agricultural production in 1966 (4, p. 3).

Because of the rapid trend toward mechanization of agricultural production, the demand for agricultural labor is declining. Eighty-three percent of the 1966 cotton crop was harvested mechanically. Widespread use of herbicides has almost eliminated hoeing. Larger tobacco acreages have allowed many labor-saving innovations, and the development of a mechanical tobacco harvester is imminent.

In addition to the decline in the demand for agricultural labor, there is a trend toward farm consolidation into larger acreages for volume production and more economic use of large equipment, hence a decline in the number of owner-operators. Between 1939 and 1964 the average number of acres per farm almost doubled (from 65.6 to 126.7) as a result of a 45.4 percent decrease in the number of farms (from 38,160 to 20,849) (16) (17).

Total nonagricultural employment in the 10-county Northeastern Coastal Plain area increased 61 percent during the decade just preceding the enumeration in 1966 (from 49,536 to 79,942). Manufacturing employment during the period increased 82 percent (from 20,780 to 37,748); these rates of increase are greater than those for South Carolina as a whole (14) (15). The area's total manufacturing payroll approximated gross farm receipts for the first time in 1966. But, while these percentage increases are

impressive, the bases over which the increases are measured are rather small, considering that the 1960 population of the area was close to half a million persons. The increase in nonfarm jobs has not been sufficient to accommodate young people entering the labor force, farm labor replaced by automation, and farmers desiring to augment their incomes by entering into part-time farm operations.

The Historical Record on Population

Population loss through migration is not a new phenomenon in the Northeastern Coastal Plain area. Of the approximately 280 thousand area residents under 30 years of age in 1940, an estimated 40 percent had emigrated by 1960 (4, p. 5 and 55). This represented a loss of nearly one-half of those under 20 and a third of those between 20 and 30. Three-fifths of the 158 thousand Negroes under 30 years of age in 1940 had emigrated by 1960. Outmigration continues to be heavier for Negroes, but because of a higher birth rate, the proportion of the area's population that is Negro has declined little, from 54 to 48 percent of the total.

Six of the 10 counties experienced absolute declines in population between 1950 and 1960 (table 1). Of the remaining four

TABLE 1.—POPULATION, POPULATION CHANGE, AND RATE OF NET MIGRATION, 10 NORTHEASTERN COASTAL PLAINS COUNTIES, SOUTH CAROLINA, AND THE SOUTH ATLANTIC STATES, 1950 TO 1960

	Population		Percentage change	Rate of net
	1950	1960	1950-60	migration
Coastal Plains Counties:	442,181	463,935	4.9%	–16.8%
Clarendon	32,215	29,490	–8.5%	–28.3%
Darlington	50,016	52,928	5.8%	–14.3%
Dillon	30,930	30,584	–1.1%	–21.6%
Florence	79,710	84,438	5.9%	–14.3%
Horry	59,820	68,247	14.1%	–9.3%
Lee	23,173	21,832	–5.8%	–25.1%
Marion	33,110	32,014	–3.3%	–23.3%
Marlboro	31,766	28,529	–10.2%	–24.7%
Sumter	57,634	74,941	30.0%	–3.4%
Williamsburg	43,807	40,932	–6.6%	–26.9%
South Carolina	2,117,027	2,382,594	12.5%	–8.4%
South Atlantic States	21,182,335	25,971,732	22.6%	2.5%

Source: (18), (19), and (13).

counties, only Sumter had a growth in population greater than the average for the South Atlantic states, and Horry had a greater

percentage increase than South Carolina. All 10 area counties, as well as the state, experienced net outmigration over the decade.[3]

Source of Data

This analysis is one part of an overall economic study of the rural population of the 10-county Northeastern Coastal area of South Carolina, jointly conducted by the Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, Clemson University, and the Economic Development Division, ERS, U. S. Department of Agriculture. A comprehensive questionnaire was taken on each of 1,000 sample households — a 1.73 percent sample — in the spring of 1966. The major purpose of the overall study was to determine the characteristics associated with low family incomes and to identify those characteristics that may facilitate overall adjustments toward a more efficient use of human resources.

One group of questions in the questionnaire dealt with youth who had left the household in the preceding 10 years. Questions concerning the age, education, occupations, and present location of these migrant youth were asked of the household head; there was no opportunity to interview the migrants themselves. The household heads were also asked questions relating to their aspirations and expectations for these youth and other children still at home. Combined with other data on the household in general, it was possible to draw some conclusions about migrant youth and the kinds of households from which they came.

PURPOSE OF THE ANALYSIS

The purpose of the analysis was to ascertain, for those youth who remained in the same or adjoining counties (defined to be nonmigrants), for those who migrated to areas elsewhere in the South, and for those who migrated to areas outside the South the following:

(a) How many were there?
(b) Where did they go?
(c) Who were they — their race, sex, education, and training?
(d) What kinds of family environments did they come

[3] Net outmigration means that the actual 1960 population was less than the 1950 population adjusted for the number of births and the number of deaths between 1950 and 1960.

from — the income, occupation, age, sex, race, and education of the household head, and the aspirations and expectations of the household head for his or her children? and

(e) What did they do — were they employed before leaving, just after moving, and at the time of the survey; what occupations did they hold; and was there any indication of upward or downward occupational mobility?[4]

THE ANALYSIS

NUMBER OF MIGRANTS

In all, there were 700 youths who left the 1,000 sample households between 1956 and 1966 for whom a present address was reported. There were seven others whose addresses were not obtained and, consequently, were not considered in the analysis. Of the 700 for whom information was available, 299 were white and 401 were Negro.

It was immediately apparent that whites and Negroes would have to be considered separately throughout the analysis because of the marked difference in migration pattern associated with race. One-half of the white youths remained in the same or adjoining counties — these were considered to be nonmigrants — compared to only 23 percent of the Negro youths, table 2. The

TABLE 2.—DESTINATION OF 700 YOUTHS, BY RACE, NORTHEAST COASTAL PLAIN, SOUTH CAROLINA, 1956-1966[a]

Destination	White		Negro		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Same or adjoining counties	151	50.5	93	23.2	244	34.9
Elsewhere in South	117	39.1	61	15.2	178	25.4
Other N. C. & S. C.	85	28.4	33	8.2	118	16.8
Other parts of South	32	10.7	28	7.0	60	8.6
Outside South	31	10.4	247	61.6	278	39.7
Total	299	100.0	401	100.0	700	100.0

$X^2 = 188.387^{**}$ df = 2

[a] Levels of statistical significance are denoted by * (0.05), ** (0.01), and n.s. (not significant at the 0.05 level).

[4] In testing for differences between groups, special reliance was placed upon the use of tables of cross-classifications and the chi-square test for independence.

relative numbers can be placed in better perspective by multiplying the sample observations by a factor of 57.7 to expand the 1.73 percent sample to estimated population totals for the area. This expansion revealed that an estimated 8,713 white youths and 5,366 Negro youths remained in the same or adjoining counties, while 8,540 whites and 17,772 Negroes migrated to other areas.

Of the white migrants, four-fifths migrated to other areas of the South and one-fifth migrated to other parts of the United States. For the Negro migrants, just the opposite was observed — one-fifth migrated to other areas of the South, and four-fifths migrated to areas of the United States usually considered to be "non-South."

Figures 1 and 2 show the migration patterns of Negro and white youths, respectively. The great majority of the Negroes went to New York, New Jersey, and surrounding states. In most cases, large cities were indicated — New York, Newark, Philadelphia, etc. The only southern states receiving five or more sample migrants were those areas of North and South Carolina outside the home areas and Florida.

The white youths who migrated generally moved to other parts of North and South Carolina. Virginia, Georgia, and Florida each received five or more sample migrants. Most of the remainder were scattered around the eastern United States.

A few migrants, both white and Negro, moved to the West Coast states and to foreign countries. However, these were in very small and presumably insignificant numbers.

CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANTS AND NONMIGRANTS

Who were the migrants? Were they different from those who did not migrate with regard to any identifiable characteristics such as sex, education, or special training? Were those who migrated within the South different from those who migrated to other areas of the nation? It was established that there was a highly significant relationship between race and destination of youths leaving homes in the Coastal Plain, table 2. Therefore, it was necessary to test each characteristic for an association with race as well as destination to identify any possible reasons for the great difference in migratory behavior of white and Negro youths.

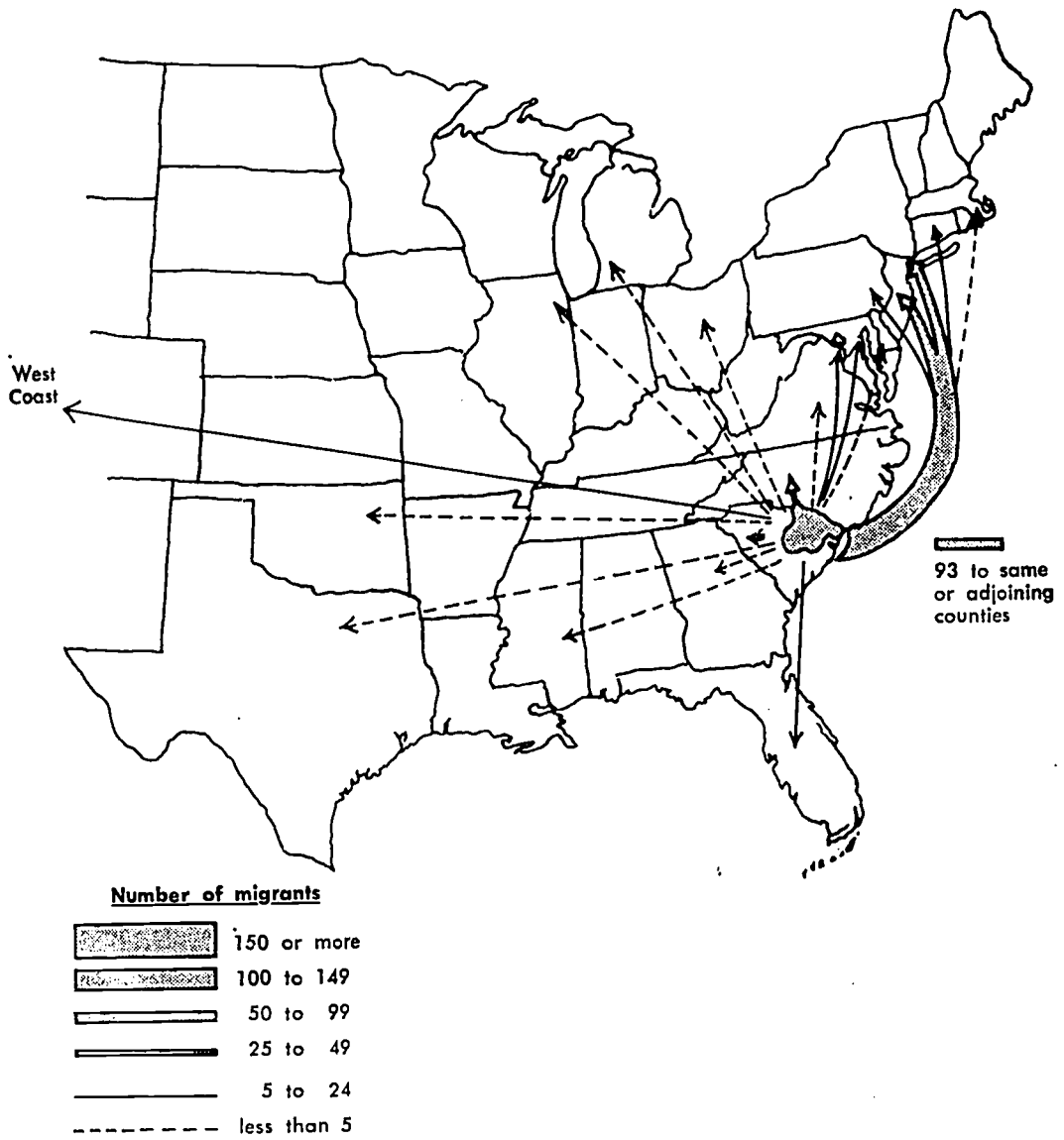

Figure 1. Migration pattern of 401 Negro Youths, Northeast Coastal Plain, South Carolina, 1956-1966.

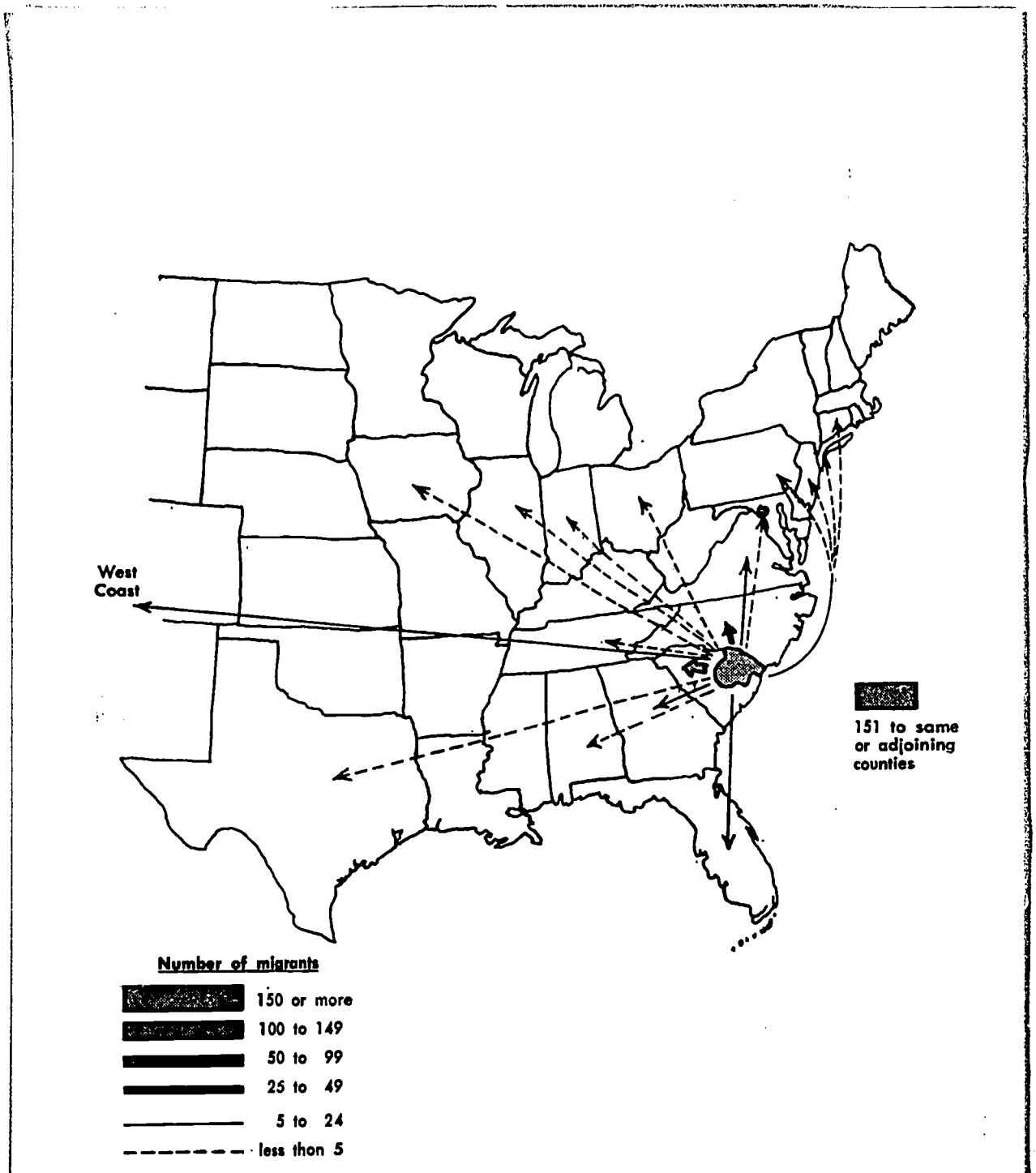

Figure 2. Migration pattern of 299 White Youths, Northeast Coastal Plain, South Carolina, 1956-1966.

Sex

Destinations of area youths are classified by race and sex in table 3. The relationship between race and sex was not significant. It was anticipated that there might be a significant association between sex and destination. The tendency for young men and women to enter different types of vocations combined with differences in parental restraint on sons and daughters would lead one to expect that males might move farther from home. The percentages in table 3 suggest this tendency for both white and Negro youths, but the differences are too small to be significant at the 0.05 level of probability.

TABLE 3.—DESTINATION OF 671 YOUTHS, BY RACE AND SEX, NORTHEAST COASTAL PLAIN, SOUTH CAROLINA, 1956-1966[a]

Race and Sex	Same or adjoining counties		Elsewhere in South		Outside South		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
White	147	62.0	115	65.7	28	10.8	290	43.2
Male	64	43.5	52	45.2	15	53.6	131	45.2
Female	83	56.5	63	54.8	13	46.4	159	54.8
Negro	90	38.0	60	34.3	231	89.2	381	56.8
Male	40	44.4	26	43.3	117	50.6	183	48.0
Female	50	55.6	34	56.7	114	49.4	198	52.0
Total	237	100.0	175	100.0	259	100.0	671[b]	100.0
Male	104	43.9	78	44.6	132	51.0	314	46.8
Female	133	56.1	97	55.4	127	49.0	357	53.2

X^2 (race X sex) = 0.541[n.s.] df = 1
X^2 (sex of whites X destination) = 0.747[n.s.] df = 2
X^2 (sex of Negroes X destination) = 1.630[n.s.] df = 2

[a] Levels of statistical significance are denoted by * (0.05), ** (0.01), and n.s. (not significant at the 0.05 level).

[b] The sex of the sample youths was obtained from a question on relationship to head of household. Through oversight, the sex of 28 youths listed as other relatives (neither sons nor daughters) was not obtained. Relationship to head was not reported for one individual.

Education

The selectivity of migration usually refers to age, education, or both. Young people are more prone to migrate than middle-aged or older people. Also, since youths generally have more years of formal schooling than their elders, educational selectivity is a coincident result. These kinds of selectivity are important and have devastating effects on given localities when continued over long periods of time. They are not, however, nearly as far-reaching in their effects nor as indicative of economic conditions

in the Coastal Plains Region as another kind—educational selectivity within age groups.

It was hypothesized that, among rural Coastal Plains youths, who were roughly in the same age group, the better educated would tend to migrate away from their home counties and adjoining counties, leaving behind those with lower levels of educational attainment, and that this type of educational selectivity would be apparent for both white and Negro youths. It was necessary to test this hypothesis separately for whites and Negroes because the latter were more prone to migrate away from the area, table 2. Also, it was shown that whites have significantly higher levels of educational attainment than Negroes; this would indicate that the education-destination relationship should be tested separately, table 4. The latter result was an expected one, conforming to the findings of other analyses of race and education.

TABLE 4.—EDUCATION OF 699 YOUTHS, BY RACE, NORTHEAST COASTAL PLAIN, SOUTH CAROLINA, 1956-1966[a]

Educational attainment	White		Negro		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Less than 4 years	8	2.7	32	8.0	40	5.7
5-6 years	11	3.7	49	12.2	60	8.6
7 years	22	7.4	26	6.5	48	6.9
8 years	16	5.4	41	10.2	57	8.2
9-11 years	65	21.7	97	24.2	162	23.2
Finish high school	110	36.8	130	32.5	240	34.3
Some college	47	15.7	19	4.8	66	9.4
Finish college	20	6.7	6	1.5	26	3.7
Total	299	100	400	100	699[b]	100

$X^2 = 63.909^{**}$ df = 7

[a] Levels of statistical significance are denoted by * (0.05), ** (0.01), and n.s. (not significant at the 0.05 level).

[b] Excludes one individual for whom education was not reported.

Tables 5 and 6 show the relationships between education, destination, and sex for white and Negro youths, respectively. The sex variable was interjected here because, again, many other studies of education have indicated significantly higher levels of schooling for girls. If males and females are different with regard to education, then there would be no justification for testing the education-destination relationship without first stratifying by sex. This was the case in the study area. Girls of both races had significantly higher levels of schooling than boys.

For white males, education was not a significant determinant of destination. For white females, however, the relationship be-

tween education and destination was highly significant. The bulk of the poorly educated white girls tended to remain in their home areas. As level of education increased, larger percentages tended to migrate to other areas of the South and, to some extent, to areas outside the South, table 5.

The reasons for this sex difference in migration pattern are not illuminated further by the data. The educational selectivity of migration was expected to be apparent for both sexes. The result can be rationalized in several ways, but additional research would be required to test the validity of such propositions. For example, this discrepancy might have been anticipated on the basis of differences in the types and geographic dispersion of jobs available to poorly educated males and females. The kinds of jobs available to under-educated females—farm labor, domestic work, etc. — may be quite local, whereas the demand for unskilled male labor in distant markets may be equal to, or greater than, in the home area. It might also be postulated that females with the least education are those who married and began fami-

TABLE 5.—EDUCATION OF 290 WHITE YOUTHS, BY SEX AND DESTINATION, NORTHEAST COASTAL PLAIN, SOUTH CAROLINA, 1956-1966[a]

Educational attainment and sex	Same or adjoining counties		Elsewhere in South		Outside South		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Less than jr. high	7	2.4	9	3.1	1	0.3	17	6
male	4	3.1	8	6.1	1	0.8	13	10
female	3	1.9	1	0.6	0	—	4	3
Less than high school	65	22.4	26	9.0	11	3.8	102	35
male	25	19.1	15	11.4	5	3.8	45	34
female	40	25.2	11	6.9	6	3.8	57	36
High school grad.	52	17.9	43	14.8	10	3.4	105	36
male	24	18.3	20	15.3	8	6.1	52	40
female	28	17.6	23	14.5	2	1.2	53	33
Some college	23	7.9	37	12.8	6	2.1	66	23
male	11	8.4	9	6.9	1	0.8	21	16
female	12	7.5	28	17.6	5	3.1	45	28
Total	147	51	115	40	28	10	290[b]	100
male	64	49	52	40	15	11	131	100
female	83	52	63	40	13	8	159	100

X^2 (education x sex) = 12.324** df = 3
X^2 (education of white males x destination) = 5.197n.s. df = 6
X^2 (education of white females x destination) = 24.143** df = 6

[a] Levels of statistical significance are denoted by * (0.05), ** (0.01), and n.s. (not significant at the 0.05 level).

[b] Information on sex not available for nine white youths.

lies earlier and thus reduce their mobility. Additionally, greater parental restraint may be applied to poorly educated females than to males even though both may face extreme insecurity in migration.

Similarly, the education - destination relationship for Negro males and females was tested, table 6. In this case, destination groups for both males and females were significantly different with regard to formal education. The relationship is much weaker for boys — these results were somewhat consistent with the findings for the white groups.

Negro girls with less than high school educations, like white girls in similar situations, tended to remain in their home areas to a large extent, although those with at least junior high training migrated outside the South in fairly large numbers. Negro girls with high school educations, or better, moved outside the South in the vast majority of cases.

Negro males migrated outside the South in larger proportions

TABLE 6.—EDUCATION OF 380 NEGRO YOUTHS, BY SEX AND DESTINATION, NORTHEAST COASTAL PLAIN, SOUTH CAROLINA, 1956-1966[a]

Educational attainment and sex	Same or adjoining counties		Elsewhere in South		Outside South		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Less than jr. high	28	7.4	13	3.4	33	8.7	74	19
Male	16	8.8	7	3.8	29	15.9	52	29
Female	12	6.1	6	3.0	4	2.0	22	11
Less than high school .	42	11.1	27	7.1	93	24.4	162	43
Male	14	7.7	11	6.0	51	28.0	76	42
Female	28	14.1	16	8.1	42	21.2	86	43
High school grad.	14	3.7	14	3.7	95	25.0	123	32
Male	5	2.7	5	2.7	35	19.2	45	25
Female	9	4.5	9	4.5	60	30.3	78	39
Some college ...	6	1.6	5	1.3	10	2.6	21	6
Male	5	2.7	2	1.1	2	1.1	9	5
Female	1	.5	3	1.5	8	4.0	12	6
Total	90	24	59	15	231	61	380[b]	100
Male	40	22	25	14	117	64	182	100
Female	50	25	34	17	114	58	198	100

X^2 (education x sex) = 21.425** df = 3
X^2 (education of Negro males x destination) = 14.463* df = 6
X^2 (education of Negro females x destination) = 32.056** df = 6

[a] Levels of statistical significance are denoted by * (0.05), ** (0.01), and n.s. (not significant at the 0.05 level).

[b] Information not available on 20 Negro youths regarding sex and on one regarding education.

with each increase in educational attainment, with this exception: five out of nine Negro males with college training remained in their home areas. Obviously, the small number in this latter classification makes it difficult to judge the relevance of this apparent reversal in tendency.

Special Training

Special training, like education, is ordinarily assumed to enhance the quality of the individual. Such training is termed human capital formation or investment in human capital. As in the case of education, it was hypothesized that those having special training tend to migrate away from their home areas.

The enumerators were instructed to count, as special training, only formal courses of training and apprenticeships where the person was actually enrolled as a trainee. Special training does not include skills acquired on the job or learned from parents or others on an unstructured or informal basis.

Only 57 white and 20 Negro youths in the sample had such formal training, table 7. The numbers were much too small to test for a sex relationship, as was done for education. However, the proportion of white youths who had special training was significantly higher than that of the Negro youths.

TABLE 7.—SPECIAL TRAINING OF 699 YOUTHS, BY RACE AND DESTINATION, NORTHEAST COASTAL PLAIN, SOUTH CAROLINA, 1956-1966[a]

Special training and race	Same or adjoining counties		Elsewhere in South		Outside South		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Had training	23	9.4	40	22.5	14	5.1	77	11.0
White	20	87.0	33	82.5	4	28.6	57	74.0
Negro	3	13.0	7	17.5	10	71.4	20	26.0
No training	221	90.6	138	77.5	263	94.9	622	89.0
White	131	59.3	84	60.9	27	10.3	242	38.9
Negro	90	40.7	54	39.1	236	89.7	380	61.1
Total	244	100.0	178	100.0	277	100.0	699[b]	100.0
White	151	61.9	117	65.7	31	11.2	299	42.8
Negro	93	38.1	61	34.3	246	88.8	400	57.2

X^2 (race X special training) = 34.523** df = 1
X^2 (special training of whites X destination) = 10.413** df = 2
X^2 (special training of Negroes X destination) = 6.453* df = 2

[a] Levels of statistical significance are denoted by * (0.05), ** (0.01), and n.s. (not significant at the 0.05 level).
[b] Information on special training not obtained for one individual.

There was a highly significant relationship between special training and destination for white youths. Those with special training were more likely to migrate from their home or adjoining counties to other parts of the South. This relationship was weaker but significant for the Negro youths. It should be pointed out that the number of Negro youths having special training is rather small, but they, like the white youths who had special training, tended to migrate to other areas of the South. This tendency is inconsistent with the tendency of better educated Negroes to move outside the South, but recall that the small number of Negro males with some college training were inconsistent as well, table 6.

CHARACTERISTICS OF HOUSEHOLD FROM WHICH YOUTHS CAME

The analysis of the previous section demonstrates that several characteristics of Coastal Plains youths — race, sex, education, and special training — influence their geographic mobility and destination. Race is an especially important variable in determining the propensity of youths to migrate from their home areas and the destinations to which they migrate and is directly or indirectly related to the other explanatory variables.

While race may be a suitable variable for predicting migration patterns, it is a wholly unsatisfactory variable for explanatory purposes. The scope of this study did not permit an analysis of all the many reasons for differential racial behavior. Additional information was available, however, on certain characteristics of the households of sample youths that could be expected to indicate the success of the household in the area and the ability of the household head, especially, to cope with the economic and social environment in the Coastal Plain. Extending this logic, it was reasonable to expect racial differences in aspirations and expectations for the children of these households. Therefore, it was hypothesized that the characteristics of the household heads — income, economic deprivation, education, occupational status, and explicitly stated aspirations for their children — were highly associated with their race and with the education of their children, and that these characteristics, either directly or indirectly, affect the geographic mobility of young people.

Sex of Household Head

Households headed by females are very often found to be income deprived (5). It was expected that a larger proportion of Negro youths would come from households with female heads — that sex of the household head might emerge as one variable explaining differential geographic mobility of whites and Negroes. The sample data indicated no such relationship, table 8. To the contrary, a slightly higher percentage of white youths came from households headed by females. The difference between the two groups, however, was not statistically significant.

TABLE 8.—SEX OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD BY RACE, 700 YOUTHS, NORTHEAST COASTAL PLAIN, SOUTH CAROLINA, 1956-1966[a]

Sex of head	White		Negro		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Male	254	84.9	349	87.0	603	86.1
Female	45	15.1	52	13.0	97	13.9
Total						
Number	299		401		700	
Percent		42.7		57.3		100.0

$X^2 = 0.623^{n.s.}$ df = 1

[a] Levels of statistical significance are denoted by * (0.05), ** (0.01), and n.s. (not significant at the 0.05 level).

Age of Household Head

It was expected that households headed by the middle-aged would be less likely to suffer income deprivation which might be reflected in lower levels of aspirations for children. Because of the large outmigration of Negroes from the region in recent decades, different age compositions between white and Negro household heads were suspected.

In table 9, the sample youths are stratified according to race and age of household head. While the two groups of household heads differ significantly in age distribution, the difference is unimportant in the older age group — 25 percent of the Negro heads were 60 or over compared to 23 percent of the whites. The big racial differences appeared in the younger and middle-aged groups. Twenty-one percent of the Negro heads were less than 45 years of age, compared to 11 percent of the whites. Only 54 percent of the Negro heads compared to 67 percent of the whites, were between 45 and 60 years of age.

The smaller percentage of Negro heads in the middle-aged

TABLE 9.—AGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD AT TIME OF SURVEY, BY RACE, 700 YOUTHS, NORTHEAST COASTAL PLAIN, SOUTH CAROLINA, 1956-1966[a]

Age of head	White		Negro		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Less than 39	8	2.7	31	7.7	39	5.6
40-44	24	8.0	54	13.5	78	11.1
45-49	49	16.4	86	21.4	135	19.3
50-54	103	34.4	57	14.2	160	22.9
55-59	47	15.7	73	18.2	120	17.1
60-64	32	10.7	31	7.7	63	9.0
65 and over	36	12.0	69	17.2	105	15.0
Total	299	100	401	100	700	100

$X^2 = 50.703^{**}$ df = 6

[a] Levels of statistical significance are denoted by * (0.05), ** (0.01), and n.s. (not significant at the 0.05 level).

group probably reflects the high level of past outmigration. The higher percentage in the younger age group, possibly indicates early marriages and early termination of formal education. Both are familiar characteristics of the poverty cycle.

Household Income

The difference between the income distributions of white and Negro households was highly significant, table 10. Only 4 percent of the Negro households had incomes over $5,000, compared to 44 percent of the white households. More than a fifth of the Negro households had incomes of less than a thousand dollars.

Household income was also cross-classified by destination of youths to detect any possible association between family income and geographic mobility within races (it was shown that a strong relationship existed between geographic mobility and race — see table 2 and figures 1 and 2). Household income had no significant effect on the destinations of white youths. Among Negro youths, however, a significantly smaller percentage from households with less than $1,000 income (48 percent) migrated to areas outside the South. This may have resulted from a lack of information, education, and the like in these households. However, the youths from these very lowest income households did not remain at home but migrated to other areas of the South. In fact, they accounted for 41 percent of all Negro youths who moved to areas of the South other than within their home or adjoining counties. For all other income categories, approximately two-thirds moved outside the South. This lack of homogeneity of family incomes for

TABLE 10.—FAMILY INCOME IN 1965 BY RACE AND DESTINATION, 694 YOUTHS, NORTHEAST COASTAL PLAIN, SOUTH CAROLINA, 1956-1966[a]

Family income	Same or adjoining counties		Elsewhere in South		Outside South		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
White households	147	100	116	100	30	100	293	100
Less than $1,000	10	6.8	4	3.4	0	—	14	4.8
$1,000-$1,999	22	15.0	22	19.0	10	33.3	54	18.4
$2,000-$2,999	19	12.9	15	12.9	3	10.0	37	12.6
$3,000-$4,999	34	23.1	22	19.0	4	13.3	60	20.5
$5,000-$7,499	28	19.0	16	13.8	7	23.3	51	17.4
$7,500-$9,999	10	6.8	13	11.2	2	6.7	25	8.5
$10,000 and over	24	16.3	24	20.7	4	13.3	52	17.7
Negro households	93	100	61	100	247	100	401	100
Less than $1,000	22	23.7	25	41.0	43	17.4	90	22.4
$1,000-$1,999	30	32.3	15	24.6	93	37.7	138	34.4
$2,000-$2,999	24	25.8	12	19.7	62	25.1	98	24.4
$3,000-$4,999	15	16.1	5	8.2	39	15.8	59	14.7
$5,000-$7,499	1	1.1	2	3.3	5	2.0	8	2.0
$7,500-$9,999	0	--	0	--	5	2.0	5	1.2
$10,000 and over	1	1.1	2	3.3	0	--	3	0.7
Total white and Negro	240		177		277		694[b]	

X^2 (income x race) = 196.129** df = 6
X^2 (income x destination of whites) = 13.655[n.s.] df = 12
X^2 (income x destination of Negroes) = 19.344 * df = 8[c]

[a] Levels of statistical significance are denoted by * (0.05), ** (0.01), and n.s. (not significant at the 0.05 level).

[b] There were six individuals for whom family income was not available.

[c] Due to low expected cell frequencies, the last three income categories were combined for this test.

Negro destination groups, apparently caused by the tendency of the lowest income group to move shorter distances, is not explained by the study data.

Household Size-Income Measure of Deprivation

While family income is, probably, the best single measure of deprivation or affluence, it is arbitrary, at best. Consider, for example, two low-income families, one of which is a couple with no children, and the other a couple with six children. Other things being equal, the former might be able to live in modest comfort, whereas the latter, with exactly the same amount of income, might experience extreme deprivation. Other extenuating circumstances are the stage of the family cycle, property ownership, and medical expenses.

Obviously, all of these and many other factors determining the adequacy of a given amount of income cannot be taken into ac-

count in a single index. On the other hand, it is not too difficult to construct an index that accounts for family size as well as income. The household size-income classification of relative income deprivation in the top part of table 11 has been used in three previous analyses of the South Carolina Coastal Plains data (2) (4) (5). This classification was developed in conjunction with economists and sociologists who were working on similar studies in the Ozarks Region and the Mississippi Delta. Estimates of income needs for families of different sizes, developed by Orshansky (9), were used as a guide in making these groupings.

TABLE 11.—HOUSEHOLD SIZE-INCOME CLASS: RELATIVE INCOME DEPRIVATION. HOUSEHOLDS OF 701 YOUTHS, NORTHEAST COASTAL PLAIN, SOUTH CAROLINA, 1956-1966[a]

Household income	Classes					
	I	II	III	IV	V	Total
	Criteria for establishing classes					
Less than $1,000	2 or more persons	1 person	—	—	—	—
$1,000-$1,999	5 or more persons	2-4 persons	1 person	—	—	—
$2,000-$2,999	9 or more persons	4-8 persons	2 and 3 persons	1 person	—	—
$3,000-$4,999	—	8 or more persons	4-7 persons	2 and 3 persons	1 person	—
$5,000-$7,499	—	—	9 or more persons	4-8 persons	1-3 persons	—
$7,500-$9,999	—	—	—	6 or more persons	1-5 persons	—
$10,000 and over	—	—	—	9 or more persons	1-9 persons	—

	Number of households and percentage distribution											
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Less than $1,000	97	13.8	8	1.1	0	—	0	—	0	—	105	15.0
$1,000-$1,999	106	15.1	81	11.6	7	1.0	0	—	0	—	194	27.7
$2,000-$2,999	29	4.1	62	8.8	36	5.1	8	1.1	0	—	135	19.2
$3,000-$4,999	0	—	25	3.6	50	7.1	43	6.1	3	0.4	121	17.3
$5,000-$7,499	0	—	0	—	0	—	38	5.4	23	3.3	61	8.7
$7,500-$9,999	0	—	0	—	0	—	8	1.1	22	3.1	30	4.3
$10,000 and over	0	—	0	—	0	—	0	—	55	7.8	55	7.8
Total	232	33.1	176	25.1	93	13.3	97	13.8	103	14.7	701[b]	100

[a] Relative income deprivation classes: class I—seriously deprived; class II—deprived; class III—marginal; class IV—probably not deprived; class V—definitely not deprived.

[b] Includes seven individuals who did not report destination, but excludes six who did not report income.

The bottom part of table 11 shows the number of sample youths whose families fall in each of five household size-income

categories (see column totals) and the number that fall into each combination of income and family size.

The five relative income deprivation classes are cross-classified by race and destination of the sample youths in table 12. As with family income, there was a highly significant relationship between deprivation and race. Almost half of the Negro households were classified as "seriously deprived" (Class I), compared to only one-eighth of the white households. Only 18 percent of the Negro households, compared to 73 percent of the white households, fall in the "marginally deprived" to "definitely not deprived" categories (Classes III through V).

TABLE 12.—HOUSEHOLD SIZE-INCOME CLASS: RELATIVE INCOME DEPRIVATION. BY RACE AND DESTINATION, 694 YOUTHS, NORTHEAST COASTAL PLAIN, SOUTH CAROLINA, 1956-1966[a]

Relative income deprivation class	Same or adjoining counties		Elsewhere in South		Outside South		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
White households	147	100	116	100	30	100	293	100
I Seriously deprived	15	10.2	15	12.9	7	23.3	37	12.6
II Deprived	24	16.3	15	12.9	3	10.0	42	14.3
III Marginally deprived	20	13.6	20	17.2	3	10.0	43	14.7
IV Prob. not deprived	45	30.6	25	21.6	10	33.3	80	27.3
V Def. not deprived	43	29.3	41	35.3	7	23.3	91	31.1
Negro households	93	100	61	100	247	100	401	100
I Seriously deprived	51	54.8	31	50.8	113	45.7	195	48.6
II Deprived	27	29.0	21	34.4	84	34.0	132	32.9
III Marginally deprived	12	12.9	5	8.2	32	13.0	49	12.2
IV Prob. not deprived	2	2.2	2	3.3	13	5.3	17	4.2
V Def. not deprived	1	1.1	2	3.3	5	2.0	8	2.0
Total white and Negro	240		177		277		694[b]	

X^2 (deprivation x race) = 254.404** df = 4
X^2 (deprivation x destination of whites) = 9.268[n.s.] df = 8
X^2 (deprivation x destination of Negroes) = 5.330[n.s.] df = 8

[a] Levels of statistical significance are denoted by * (0.05), ** (0.01), and n.s. (not significant at the 0.05 level).

[b] There were six individuals for whom family income was not available.

Unlike the single measure index of economic well-being (income), the household size-income measure was homogeneous with respect to destination groups, for both white and Negro youths. That is, there was no indication that white youths, on the whole, differed in their migration patterns as a result of the relative deprivation status of their household heads; neither did Negro youths, despite the previous indication that their destinations were related to family income.

Occupation of Household Head

Occupations of household heads are important, largely, in that they bear directly upon the income and relative deprivation status of the household and thus contribute directly to mobility decisions of youth.

There was not enough diversity of occupations in our Coastal Plains sample to allow meaningful cross-classifications of occupation by the many interesting variables such as age, education, and deprivation status of the household head nor by destination or other characteristics of youths. However, by collapsing a few of the occupational categories, it was possible to make an adequate statistical test of race by occupation, which turned out to be highly significant, table 13.

TABLE 13.—OCCUPATIONAL GROUP OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD BY RACE, 700 YOUTHS, NORTHEAST COASTAL PLAIN, SOUTH CAROLINA, 1956-1966[a]

Occupational group of head	White		Negro		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Professional, technical, etc.	8	3.6	8	2.4	16	2.9
Farmers & farm managers	81	37.0	150	45.7	231	42.2
Managers, officials, & proprietors	26	11.9	4	1.2	30	5.5
Craftsmen, foremen	31	14.2	5	1.5	36	6.6
Operatives	19	8.7	14	4.3	33	6.0
Clerical, sales & services	24	11.0	6	1.8	30	5.5
Farm laborers & foremen, etc., & private household workers	12	5.5	82	25.0	94	17.2
Laborers, except farm	18	8.2	59	18.0	77	14.1
Total	219	100	328	100	547[b]	100

$X^2 = 124.26^{**}$ df = 7

[a] Levels of statistical significance are denoted by * (0.05), ** (0.01), and n.s. (not significant at the 0.05 level).

[b] There were 153 household heads who were retired, disabled, or unemployed.

Almost half of the Negro heads were classified as farmers and farm managers. Another fourth were farm laborers, foremen, sharecroppers, and private household workers. Among the white heads, 37 percent were farmers and farm managers, but few fell in the farm laborers and foremen category. A major racial difference was found in the larger percentage of whites who fell in the blue-collar and clerical, sales, and service occupations. Few whites or Negroes appeared in the professional, technical, and kindred occupations.

Racial differences in occupations go far in explaining income

and relative deprivation differences. Much progress remains to be made, in opening up a greater variety of occupational opportunities to Negroes in the Coastal Plain. The following section, however, points up serious discrepancies in education that continue to inhibit this progress.

Education of Household Head

It was anticipated that white and Negro household heads would differ significantly in educational attainment and that there would be a positive relationship between the education of the head and the education of his children, after the effect of race was removed. These postulated relationships were confirmed.

More than three-fourths of the Negro household heads had completed less than 7 years of schooling compared to 39 percent of the white household heads, table 14. Only about 2 percent of the Negro heads had a high school education or better, compared to 14 percent of the whites.

TABLE 14.—EDUCATION OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD BY RACE, 700 YOUTHS, NORTHEAST COASTAL PLAIN, SOUTH CAROLINA, 1956-1966[a]

Education of head (years)	White		Negro		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
None	9	3.0	10	2.5	19	2.7
1-4	45	15.1	192	47.9	237	33.9
5-6	62	20.7	112	27.9	174	24.9
7	38	12.7	14	3.5	52	7.4
8	44	14.7	29	7.2	73	10.4
9-11	59	19.7	37	9.2	96	13.7
Finished high school	32	10.7	3	0.7	35	5.0
Some college	10	3.3	2	0.5	12	1.7
Finish college	0	—	2	0.5	2	0.3
Total	299	100	401	100	700	100

$X^2 = 144.363^{**}$ df = 8

[a] Levels of statistical significance are denoted by * (0.05), ** (0.01), and n.s. (not significant at the 0.05 level).

There was a direct and highly significant relationship between the head's educational attainment and that of his children, table 15. For white and Negro youths whose household heads had 9 or more years of schooling, 83 and 77 percent, respectively, had high school educations or better. Only 6 percent of the white youths and 16 percent of the Negro youths whose household heads had 9 or more years of schooling had less than 9 years.

The direct relationship between the education of youths and

education of heads of household was expected. It is, however, a relationship having extremely important implications for the migratory behavior of young people. First, we refer to the educational selectivity of migration (see tables 5 and 6). It becomes apparent that educational selectivity involved elements of household-environmental and background selectivity as well. Also, this association leads into the whole arena of aspirations and expectations of household heads for their children, its ramifications within the cycle of cumulative causation of poverty, and its influence on geographic mobility.

TABLE 15.—EDUCATION OF 699 YOUTHS, BY EDUCATION OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD AND RACE, NORTHEAST COASTAL PLAIN, SOUTH CAROLINA, 1956-1966[a]

Education of youth (years) and race	Education of head (years)							
	Less than 5		5-8		9 or more		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
White youths (total) ..	54	100.0	144	100.0	101	100.0	299	100.0
Less than 7	10	18.5	7	4.9	2	2.0	19	6.4
7-8	13	24.1	21	14.6	4	4.0	38	12.7
9-11	21	38.9	34	23.6	11	10.9	66	22.1
Finish high school	10	18.5	59	41.0	40	39.6	109	36.4
Beyond high school	0	—	23	16.0	44	43.6	67	22.4
Negro youths (total) ..	202	100.0	155	100.0	43	100.0	400	100.0
Less than 7	56	27.7	23	14.8	2	4.6	81	20.2
7-8	36	17.8	26	16.8	5	11.6	67	16.8
9-11	47	23.3	47	30.3	3	7.0	97	24.2
Finish high school	59	29.2	53	34.2	16	37.2	128	32.0
Beyond high school	4	2.0	6	3.9	17	39.5	27	6.8
Total white and Negro	256		299		144		699[b]	

X^2 (education of whites x education of head) = 81.665** df = 8
X^2 (education of Negroes x education of head) = 99.792** df = 8

[a] Levels of statistical significance are denoted by * (0.05), ** (0.01), and n.s. (not significant at the 0.05 level).

[b] Exclndes one youth for whom edncation was not reported.

Aspirations and Expectations of Household Heads for Children

Household heads or their spouses were asked a number of questions which were designed to indicate levels of aspirations and/or expectations for their children. These questions, the corresponding tabulations of frequencies of responses to the questions, and statistical tests between racial and destination groups are presented in the **Appendix.**

Although the questions were designed carefully and the enumerators were well-trained, the results of such questions can-

not be considered to be very powerful, analytically, when considered individually. On the other hand, when the results of the questions are taken together, it is apparent that the white household heads expressed significantly higher levels of aspirations and expectations for their children, which may partially explain the difference in migratory behavior of white and Negro youths.

The following are some examples of the kinds of results obtained — specific discussions of the results of each question are found in the Appendix. White household heads indicated that higher levels of education were needed "to get along well in the world" than Negroes. More whites indicated that they had encouraged their children to pursue a particular field of study or vocation. Whites more often knew the names of their children's teachers. Whites indicated more often than Negroes that they bought a variety of books for their children to read. White household heads expected their oldest sons still in school to get more education than did Negro heads of households (there was no difference with regard to the oldest daughter still in school, however). Whites indicated higher levels of probability that their oldest sons and daughters still in school would go into their chosen areas of work. In each of these cases the differences were statistically significant at the .05 level or above. There were a few questions which yielded nonsignificant or otherwise inconclusive results, but there were no questions for which Negroes indicated higher levels of aspirations or expectations than whites.

The responses to most of the questions were analyzed with respect to differences between destination groups as well as between races. There appeared to be a general tendency for the parents of white youths who migrated to other areas of the South and parents of Negro youths who moved outside the South to indicate higher levels of aspirations and expectations for their children. These were, in general, the best educated groups of white and Negro youths, respectively.

OCCUPATION OF YOUTHS

Each household head in the South Carolina Coastal Plains survey who indicated having a youth who left the household between 1956 and 1966 was asked about this youth's occupation before leaving home, just after leaving, and at the time of the survey. It was anticipated that this information would yield some

insights into occupational as well as geographic mobility for selected groups. Ideally, such information, combined with income data, could be used to compute the economic returns associated with migration. Obtaining such income data was obviously, beyond the scope of this survey. Since the migrants themselves were not contacted, and since their parents could not be expected to recall the incomes of youths who left home as many as 10 years before (if indeed they ever knew), this information was not even requested.

Occupations before leaving, just after leaving, and at the time of the survey were obtained. Even here, the amount of information that could be gleaned from the data was extremely limited. Meaningful interpretation would require that the data be stratified by the age of the youth, the year he left home, whether he was in or out of school before leaving, and many other interesting classificatory variables, such as race, sex, education, and destination. When stratified by all, or even a few, of these variables, along with a dozen or so occupation categories, there would be so many cells, and the numbers would be so small as to defy interpretation. Multiple regression would obviously be superior to cross-classification for analyzing the effects of these variables, but this technique would require the specification of a continuous dependent variable, such as income or distance migrated; the latter could have been generated but would be almost meaningless.

Occupations of youths who remained in the same or adjoining counties, for the three time periods, are classified by race in table 16. The same classifications for those who migrated to other areas of the South and to areas outside the South are presented in tables 17 and 18, respectively.[5]

For those who remained in the same or adjoining counties (table 16), a large proportion were employed in farming before leaving home. Most of the whites were classified as farmers and farm managers, and more than half of the Negro youths who were engaged in farming activities were farm laborers and foremen. The percentages of both whites and Negroes employed in farming diminished in later time periods.

The most notable difference between whites and Negroes who

[5] Those who were in the armed forces were included in the "craftsmen, foremen, etc." category. Students and housewives were included in the "no occupation" category.

TABLE 16.—OCCUPATION BEFORE AND JUST AFTER LEAVING HOME AND AT TIME OF SURVEY, OF YOUTHS WHO REMAINED IN THE SAME OR ADJOINING COUNTY, BY RACE, NORTHEAST COASTAL PLAIN, SOUTH CAROLINA, 1956-1966

Race and occupation	Before leaving		Just after leaving		At time of survey	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
White (total)	151	100	151	100	151	100
Professional, technical, etc.	3	2.0	4	2.6	3	2.0
Farmers & farm managers	26	17.2	3	2.0	5	3.3
Managers, officials & proprietors	2	1.3	2	1.3	2	1.3
Clerical workers	14	9.3	16	10.6	18	11.9
Sales workers	3	2.0	6	4.0	7	4.6
Craftsmen, foremen, etc.	8	5.3	24	15.9	16	10.6
Operatives, etc.	8	5.3	13	8.6	13	8.6
Private household workers	0	—	0	—	0	—
Other service workers	1	.6	2	1.3	4	2.7
Farm laborers & foremen	5	3.3	3	2.0	1	.7
Laborers except farm	6	4.0	14	9.3	21	13.9
No occupation	75	49.7	64	42.4	61	40.4
Negro (total)	93	100	93	100	93	100
Professional, technical, etc.	2	2.1	2	2.2	2	2.2
Farmers & farm managers	20	21.5	8	8.6	8	8.6
Managers, officials & proprietors	0	—	0	—	0	—
Clerical workers	0	—	0	—	0	—
Sales workers	3	3.2	4	4.3	2	2.1
Craftsmen, foremen, etc.	1	1.1	3	3.2	3	3.2
Operatives, etc.	0	—	2	2.2	6	6.5
Private household workers	4	4.3	4	4.3	3	3.2
Other service workers	1	1.1	2	2.1	1	1.1
Farm laborers & foremen	26	28.0	15	16.1	16	17.2
Laborers except farm	8	8.6	20	21.5	16	17.2
No occupation	26	30.1	33	35.5	36	38.7
Total white & Negro	244		244		244	

remained in their home areas is in the percentages employed in the clerical, sales, and blue-collar occupations. The same phenomenon was noted previously for household heads. There is some small increase in the percentage of Negroes employed in sales and bluecollar occupations in reading across the three time periods, but most Negroes, at the time of the survey, were employed as farm and non-farm laborers.

For those who moved to other areas of the South, similar occupational breakdowns were observed before leaving, table 17. They differed from the first destination in only a few noticeable ways. First, the whites, to a great extent, and the Negroes, to a lesser extent, registered larger percentages in the professional, technical, and related areas. Secondly, a much smaller percentage of the whites was unemployed, or was otherwise not working, than in the previous group. Finally, Negro youths were more

TABLE 17.—OCCUPATION BEFORE AND JUST AFTER LEAVING HOME AND AT TIME OF SURVEY, OF YOUTHS WHO MOVED TO OTHER AREAS OF THE SOUTH, BY RACE, NORTHEAST COASTAL PLAIN, SOUTH CAROLINA, 1956-1966

Race and occupation	Before leaving		Just after leaving		At time of survey	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
White (total)	117	100	117	100	117	100
Professional, technical, etc.	2	1.7	15	12.8	20	17.1
Farmers & farm managers	20	17.1	2	1.7	1	.9
Managers, officials & proprietors	0	—	2	1.7	5	4.3
Clerical workers	10	8.5	21	17.9	13	11.1
Sales workers	3	2.6	3	2.6	4	3.4
Craftsmen, foremen, etc.	6	5.1	18	15.4	14	11.9
Operatives, etc.	3	2.6	6	5.1	7	6.0
Private household workers	0	—	0	—	0	—
Other service workers	6	5.1	4	3.4	7	6.0
Farm laborers & foremen	5	4.3	3	2.6	0	—
Laborers except farm	3	2.6	12	10.3	13	11.1
No occupation	59	50.4	31	26.5	33	28.2
Negro (total)	61	100	61	100	61	100
Professional, technical, etc.	1	1.7	1	1.6	3	4.9
Farmers & farm managers	15	24.6	4	6.6	2	3.3
Managers, officials & proprietors	0	—	0	—	1	1.6
Clerical workers	0	—	1	1.6	1	1.6
Sales workers	0	—	1	1.6	1	1.6
Craftsmen, foremen, etc.	1	1.6	4	6.6	5	8.2
Operatives, etc.	2	3.3	4	6.6	3	4.9
Private household workers	1	1.6	4	6.6	2	3.3
Other service workers	2	3.3	9	14.7	7	11.5
Farm laborers & foremen	15	24.6	7	11.5	6	9.9
Laborers except farm	3	4.9	7	11.5	7	11.5
No occupation	21	34.4	19	31.1	23	37.7
Total white & Negro	178		178		178	

often found in the "craftsmen-foremen" category and the "other services" category and much less often appeared in the "farm and non farm labor" categories.

For the group who migrated to areas outside the South, both whites and Negroes were more often classified as nonfarm laborers than in the two southern destination groups, table 18. Negroes in this group registered the lowest percentage of operatives. The white non-South migrants were not as often found in the "professional and technical" group as among those who migrated to other areas of the South. A third of all white migrants to areas outside the South were found in the "craftsmen, foremen, and kindred" occupations.

In tables 16, 17, and 18, little reference was made to the "no occupation" category. This category includes housewives, the unemployed, and all others who reported no occupation. In table

TABLE 18.—OCCUPATION BEFORE AND JUST AFTER LEAVING HOME AND AT TIME OF SURVEY, OF YOUTHS WHO MOVED OUTSIDE THE SOUTH, BY RACE, NORTHEAST COASTAL PLAIN, SOUTH CAROLINA, 1956-1966

Race and occupation	Before leaving		Just after leaving		At time of survey	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
White (total)	31	100	31	100	31	100
Professional, technical, etc.	3	9.7	2	6.5	1	3.2
Farmers & farm managers	4	12.9	0	—	0	—
Managers, officials & proprietors	0	—	0	—	0	—
Clerical workers	0	—	1	3.2	1	3.2
Sales workers	1	3.2	0	—	0	—
Craftsmen, foremen, etc.	3	9.7	9	29.0	10	32.3
Operatives, etc.	1	3.2	1	3.2	1	3.2
Private household workers	0	—	2	6.5	2	6.4
Other service workers	0	—	1	3.2	0	—
Farm laborers & foremen	0	—	0	—	0	—
Laborers except farm	1	3.2	4	12.9	6	19.4
No occupation	18	58.1	11	35.5	10	32.3
Negro (total)	247	100	247	100	247	100
Professional, technical, etc.	1	.4	6	2.4	4	1.6
Farmers & farm managers	53	21.5	8	3.3	1	.4
Managers, officials & proprietors	0	—	1	.4	2	.8
Clerical workers	1	.4	4	1.6	4	1.6
Sales workers	2	.8	5	2.0	6	2.4
Craftsmen, foremen, etc.	5	2.0	12	4.9	15	6.1
Operatives, etc.	5	2.0	27	10.9	27	10.9
Private household workers	6	2.4	26	10.5	11	4.6
Other service workers	4	1.6	2	.8	19	7.7
Farm laborers & foremen	87	35.2	2	.8	0	—
Laborers except farm	11	4.5	68	27.5	68	27.5
No occupation	72	29.2	70	28.4	90	36.4
Total white & Negro	278		278		278	

19, whites and Negroes were tested for homogeneity with respect to whether an occupation was reported or not before leaving home, just after leaving home, and at the time of the survey. There was a significant difference between white and Negro youths before leaving home, but not for the other two time periods. One-half of the white youths were not working before leaving home compared to a third of the Negro youths. This is probably explained by the fact that the white youths had more years of formal schooling and more often remained in school until they were old enough to leave home seeking employment. After leaving home and at the time of the survey, white youths fell in about the same two-thirds working - one-third not working ratio as Negroes.

Finally, one rather gross test was made of the relationship between employment at the time of the survey and education, table

TABLE 19.—LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION OF YOUTHS BEFORE AND JUST AFTER LEAVING HOME AND AT TIME OF SURVEY, BY RACE, NORTHEAST COASTAL PLAIN, SOUTH CAROLINA, 1956-1966[a]

Participation and time period	White		Negro		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Before leaving (total)	299	100	401	100	700	100
Employed	147	49.2	280	69.8	427	61.0
Not employed	152	50.8	121	30.2	273	39.0
	$X^2 = 30.735^{**}$	df = 1				
Just after leaving (total)	299	100	401	100	700	100
Employed	193	64.5	279	69.6	472	67.4
Not employed	106	35.5	122	30.4	228	32.6
	$X^2 = 1.971^{n.s.}$	df = 1				
At time of survey (total)	299	100	401	100	700	100
Employed	195	65.2	252	62.8	447	63.9
Not employed	104	34.8	149	37.2	253	36.1
	$X^2 = 0.419^{n.s.}$	df = 1				

[a] Levels of statistical significance are denoted by * (0.05), ** (0.01), and n.s. (not significant at the 0.05 level).

20. The twelve employment categories of tables 16 through 18 were collapsed into four.[6] These four employment categories were cross-classified by four levels of schooling. The relationship was statistically significant for both races.

Two-thirds of the white youths in category I had at least attended college. An additional one-fourth had graduated from high school. Twenty-seven percent of the Negro youths in category I had attended college compared to only about 9 percent and 3 percent for categories II and III. Classes II and III had consistently larger percentages of those with less than junior high school educations.

Category U (no occupation) was roughly neutral in the test; note that the percentages in each education category are about the same as for the total column. It is probable that the unemployed, who might tend to have fewer years of schooling, were offset by students and housewives who were well educated but had no occupations.

[6] The four categories contain the following:
I—professional, technical, and kindred workers; farmers and farm managers (excluding sharecroppers); and managers, officials, and proprietors.
II—clerical workers; sales workers, craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers; and operatives.
III—private household workers; other service workers; farm laborers and foremen (including sharecroppers); and laborers except farm.
U—no occupation.

TABLE 20.—EDUCATION OF YOUTHS, BY EMPLOYMENT CATEGORIES AT TIME OF SURVEY, AND RACE, NORTHEAST COASTAL PLAIN, SOUTH CAROLINA, 1956-1966[a]

Race and Education	Employment Category I		II		III		U		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
White (total)	37	100	101	100	51	100	101	100	290	100
Less than jr. high	1	2.7	1	1.0	9	17.7	6	6.0	17	5.9
Less than high school	2	5.4	37	36.6	23	45.1	40	39.6	102	35.2
High school graduate	9	24.3	44	43.6	15	29.4	37	36.6	105	36.2
Some college ...	25	67.6	19	18.8	4	7.8	18	17.8	66	22.7
Negro (total)	22	100	70	100	149	100	139	100	380	100
Less than jr. high	6	27.3	10	14.3	40	26.8	18	13.0	74	19.5
Less than high school	5	22.7	21	30.0	74	49.7	62	44.6	162	42.6
High school graduate	5	22.7	33	47.1	31	20.8	54	38.8	123	32.4
Some college ...	6	27.3	6	8.6	4	2.7	5	3.6	21	5.5
Total white and Negro	59		171		200		240		670	

X^2 (education of whites x employment) = 71.188** df = 9
X^2 (education of Negroes x employment) = 51.796** df = 9

[a] Levels of statistical significance are denoted by * (0.05), ** (0.01), and n.s. (not significant at the 0.05 level).

For consistency, it would be desirable to stratify further by destinations of the sample youths. However, the small numbers in the first employment column and in the last education rows within each racial group indicate that further stratification and statistical testing would have little meaning.

APPENDIX

ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS— QUESTIONS AND ANALYSIS

The northeast Coastal Plain survey questionnaire included a number of questions to be asked of the household head, or spouse, that were designed to give a general indication of the respondents' aspirations and expectations for their children. Although the questions were carefully selected, some lent themselves to conditioned responses.

To the question "how much education do you think a person needs to get along well in the world," for example, one would expect many parents to respond that they believed a child should have a high school education. This response reflects community values, and the respondents may have believed the enumerator expected this response, although they may never have communicated this value to their children. Additionally, some responses had reference to children still at home, while others dealt only with children who had already left home. It is not known how serious this limitation is. Finally, there was no way to quantify the responses, either cardinally or ordinally; *i.e.*, is "sometimes" exactly half-way between "always" and "never" on some kind of scale? Is it more, or less, important that parents knew most of the names of their children's teachers than whether they encouraged children to do their homework?

Given that these measures of aspirations and expectations have meaning only when taken together, no attempt is made to defend each question individually as to its relevance in explaining geographic mobility of youth nor to stratify the responses to each question by destination. The responses were stratified by race, however, in every case. The vast differences in relative income deprivation between races led us to hypothesize generally lower levels of aspirations and/or expectations of Negro heads of households. It was thought that these measures, on the whole, would at least partially explain the vast differentials in geographic mobility between races.[7]

[7] For several reasons, usually centering around the wording of the aspirations questions, we obtained a different total number of responses on virtually every question. In some instances, it will be obvious to the reader why we obtained less than 700 responses, in others it may not. In any event, no attempt is made to account for these differences in this section.

How much education do you think your children need to get along well in the world?—A significantly larger proportion of whites than Negroes indicated "finish college"—44 percent and 23 percent, respectively (table 21). It is interesting to note, however, that differences were unimportant at the lower educational levels; more than 90 percent of both white and Negro heads indicated that at least a high school diploma was needed. The distribution of responses for both races was significantly different for youths in different destination groups. This was unexpected because such heterogeneity was not observed for actual education of migrants until they were stratified by sex.

TABLE 21.—AMOUNT OF EDUCATION PARENTS THINK CHILDREN NEED, 570 YOUTHS, BY RACE AND DESTINATION, NORTHEAST COASTAL PLAIN, SOUTH CAROLINA, 1956-1966[a]

Education (years) and race	Same or adjoining counties		Elsewhere in South		Outside South		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
White (total)	101	100	93	100	23	100	217	100
1-9	0	—	4	4.3	2	8.7	6	2.8
Some high school	4	4.0	5	5.4	2	8.7	11	5.1
Finish high school	50	49.5	25	26.9	9	39.1	84	38.7
Some college	9	8.9	11	11.8	0	—	20	9.2
Finish college	38	37.6	48	51.6	10	43.5	96	44.2
Negro (total)	83	100	54	100	216	100	353	100
1-9	0	—	1	1.9	5	2.3	6	1.7
Some high school	10	12.0	8	14.8	7	3.2	25	7.1
Finish high school	54	65.1	29	53.7	117	54.2	200	56.7
Some college	12	14.5	4	7.4	23	10.7	39	11.0
Finish college	7	8.4	12	22.2	64	29.6	83	23.5
Total white and Negro	184		147		239		570	

X^2 (education needed x race) = 27.651** df = 3
X^2 (education needed x destination of whites) = 16.385* df = 6
X^2 (education needed x destination of Negroes) = 21.799** df = 6

[a] Levels of statistical significance are denoted by * (0.05), ** (0.01), and n.s. (not significant at the 0.05 level).

Have you encouraged your children to pursue any particular field of study or vocation?—A significantly larger proportion of white household heads responded to this question in the affirmative (table 22). Also, when classified by destination, a larger proportion of parents of white youths who moved to areas of the South outside their home or adjoining counties fell in the "yes" category. It will be recalled that, in general, this was the destination classification of the "better-educated" white youths. The destination groups for Negroes were almost completely homo-

TABLE 22.—DID YOU ENCOURAGE CHILDREN TO PURSUE ANY PARTICULAR FIELD OF STUDY OR VOCATION? BY RACE AND DESTINATION OF YOUTHS, NORTHEAST COASTAL PLAIN, SOUTH CAROLINA, 1958-1966[a]

Response and race	Same or adjoining counties		Elsewhere in South		Outside South		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
White (total)	100	100	92	100	25	100	217	100
No	57	57.0	39	42.4	17	68.0	113	52.1
Yes	43	43.0	53	57.6	8	32.0	104	47.9
Negro (total)	81	100	54	100	221	100	356	100
No	52	64.2	35	64.8	135	61.1	222	62.4
Yes	29	35.8	19	35.2	86	38.9	134	37.6
Total white and Negro	181		146		246		573	

X^2 (Encouragement x race) $= 5.874^{*}$ df = 1
X^2 (Encouragement of whites x destination) $= 6.969^{*}$ df = 2
X^2 (Encouragement of Negroes x destination) $= 0.408^{n.s.}$ df = 2

[a] Levels of statistical significance are denoted by * (0.05), ** (0.01), and n.s. (not significant at the 0.05 level).

geneous with respect to the percentages of "yes" and "no" answers to this question.

Do (did) you know the names of most of your children's teachers?—Approximately two-thirds of the white respondents answered "yes" to this question, whereas the Negro heads were about equally divided between positive and negative responses, table 23. Both whites and Negroes were fairly homogeneous with respect to responses between destination groups.

TABLE 23.—DID PARENT KNOW NAMES OF MOST OF CHILDREN'S TEACHERS? BY RACE AND DESTINATION OF YOUTHS, NORTHEAST COASTAL PLAIN, SOUTH CAROLINA, 1956-1966[a]

Response and race	Same or adjoining counties		Elsewhere in South		Outside South		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
White (total)	101	100	92	100	25	100	218	100
No	40	39.6	28	30.4	9	36.0	77	35.3
Yes	61	60.4	64	69.6	16	64.0	141	64.7
Negro (total)	81	100	54	100	224	100	359	100
No	42	51.8	30	55.5	102	45.5	174	48.5
Yes	39	48.2	24	44.5	122	54.5	185	51.5
Total white and Negro	182		146		249		577	

X^2 (knew names x race) $= 9.538^{**}$ df = 1
X^2 (knew names: white x destination) $= 1.777^{n.s.}$ df = 2
X^2 (knew names: Negroes x destination) $= 2.228^{n.s.}$ df = 2

[a] Levels of statistical significance are denoted by * (0.05), ** (0.01), and n.s. (not significant at the 0.05 level).

Do (did) you see to it that they do (did) their homework?—Only two white household heads and five Negroes responded negatively to this question, table 24. Several in each racial group indicated that they didn't need to make their children do homework. The data in this table were not tested for statistical significance because the extremely small number of responses in the "no" category would make the chi-square test thoroughly unreliable. This is a question where responses were probably conditioned; the respondents, no doubt, felt that it would reflect quite poorly on them to answer "no."

TABLE 24.—DID PARENT MAKE CHILDREN DO HOMEWORK? BY RACE AND DESTINATION OF YOUTHS, NORTHEAST COASTAL PLAIN, SOUTH CAROLINA, 1956-1966

Response and race	Same or adjoining counties		Elsewhere in South		Outside South		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
White (total)	101	100	93	100	25	100	218	100
No	2	2.0	0	—	0	—	2	0.9
Yes	93	92.1	82	88.2	24	96.0	199	90.9
Didn't need to	6	5.9	11	11.8	1	4.0	18	8.2
Negro (total)	81	100	54	100	224	100	359	100
No	3	3.7	2	3.7	0	—	5	1.4
Yes	67	82.7	43	79.6	187	83.5	297	82.7
Didn't need to	11	13.6	9	16.7	37	16.5	57	15.9
Total white and Negro	182		147		249		578	

Do (did) you buy books for your children to read?—There was a highly significant difference in the distribution of responses of white and Negro household heads to this question, table 25. Only 7 percent of the whites, compared to 18 percent of the Negroes, responded negatively. About twice as many Negroes as whites indicated "school or religious books only." The most usual response of whites and Negroes was "yes, sometimes." But, only a tenth of the Negro heads, compared to a third of the white heads responded "yes, many times." Destination groups, for both whites and Negroes were fairly homogeneous in their household heads' responses.

How much education do you expect your oldest son who is still in school to get?—Again, white household heads expressed significantly higher aspirations for their children than Negro heads, table 26. It should be emphasized here that the question refers to children still at home—not the sample youths who have

TABLE 25.—DID PARENT BUY BOOKS FOR CHILDREN TO READ? BY RACE AND DESTINATION OF YOUTHS, NORTHEAST COASTAL PLAIN, SOUTH CAROLINA, 1956-1966[a]

Response and race	Same or adjoining counties		Elsewhere in South		Outside South		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
White (total)	101	100	93	100	25	100	219	100
No	8	7.9	6	6.5	2	8.0	16	7.4
Yes, sometimes	43	42.6	40	43.0	11	44.0	94	42.9
Yes, many times	30	29.7	35	37.6	6	24.0	71	32.4
School & religious books only	20	19.8	12	12.9	6	24.0	38	17.3
Negro (total)	76	100	52	100	224	100	352	100
No	18	23.7	14	26.9	33	14.7	65	18.5
Yes, sometimes	20	26.3	17	32.7	93	41.6	130	36.9
Yes, many times	11	14.5	4	7.7	20	8.9	35	9.9
School & religious books only	27	35.5	17	32.7	78	34.8	122	34.7
Total white and Negro	177		145		249		571	

X^2 (bought books x race) = 64.261** df = 3
X^2 (bought books: whites x destination) = 3.774n.s. df = 6
X^2 (bought books: Negroes x destination) = 10.813n.s. df = 6

[a] Levels of statistical significance are denoted by * (0.05), ** (0.01), and n.s. (not significant at the 0.05 level).

already left home. Almost half of the Negro parents expected their oldest son still in school to finish high school, compared to a fourth of the white parents. The whites, on the other hand, expected their oldest son still in school to go beyond high school in 56 percent of all cases. A little over a third of the Negro heads expected their son to go beyond high school.

Expectations for the oldest son still in school were not homogeneous for the three destination groups of youths already away from home. There were significant differences for both races. Expectations of white heads were highest in those households which had a youth who migrated elsewhere in the South. Seventy-one percent of these household heads expected their oldest son still in school to go beyond high school. Just the opposite was true for Negro households. For those who had migrants elsewhere in the South, twice as many Negro heads expected their oldest son still in school to quit before high school graduation, and only half as many expected this son to go beyond high school, compared to the other two destination groups.

These results are consistent with previous findings on the relationships between education and destination of the sample youths (tables 5 and 6).

TABLE 26.—EXPECTED EDUCATION FOR OLDEST SON STILL IN SCHOOL, BY RACE AND DESTINATION OF YOUTH, NORTHEAST COASTAL PLAIN, SOUTH CAROLINA, 1956-1966[a]

Education and race	Same or adjoining counties		Elsewhere in South		Outside South		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
White (total)	53	100	55	100	18	100	126	100
Less than high school	7	13.2	9	16.4	7	38.9	23	18.3
Finish high school	21	39.6	7	12.7	5	27.8	33	26.2
Some college, trade, or business school	10	18.9	17	30.9	1	5.5	28	22.2
Finish college	15	28.3	22	40.0	5	27.8	42	33.3
Negro (total)	54	100	34	100	157	100	245	100
Less than high school	8	14.8	11	32.3	18	11.5	37	15.1
Finish high school	27	50.0	16	47.1	73	46.5	116	47.4
Some college, trade, or business school	6	11.1	3	8.8	32	20.4	41	16.7
Finish college	13	24.1	4	11.8	34	21.6	51	20.8
Total white and Negro	107		89		175		371	

X^2 (expected education x race) = 16.332** df = 3
X^2 (expected education x destination of whites) = 18.209** df = 6
X^2 (expected education x destination of Negroes) = 13.389* df = 6

[a] Levels of statistical significance are denoted by * (0.05), ** (0.01), and n.s. (not significant at the 0.05 level).

If he (oldest son still in school) wanted to quit school, would you try to prevent him?—Virtually all of both the white and the Negro household heads responded affirmatively to this question, table 27. Again, such a response is probably a conditioned one. The results of this question and other similar questions have little analytical value, but add to the reader's perspective about these households and about their responses to the other, more critical questions.

TABLE 27.—WOULD PARENT TRY TO PREVENT SON FROM QUITTING SCHOOL? BY RACE AND DESTINATION OF YOUTHS, NORTHEAST COASTAL PLAIN, SOUTH CAROLINA, 1956-1966.

Response and race	Same or adjoining counties		Elsewhere in South		Outside South		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
White (total)	53	100	55	100	18	100	126	100
No	0	—	1	1.8	0	—	1	0.8
Yes	53	100	54	98.2	18	100	125	99.2
Negro (total)	55	100	35	100	155	100	245	100
No	4	7.3	2	5.7	0	—	6	2.4
Yes	51	92.7	33	94.3	155	100	239	97.6
Total white and Negro	108		90		173		371	

How good do you think his (oldest son still in school) chances are of going into his chosen area of work?—Relatively few, 8 percent, of the Negro household heads rated their son's chances as excellent, compared to 43 percent of the white heads; however, two-thirds of the Negroes did say there was a good chance their son would be able to go into his chosen work, table 28. No white heads indicated that their son's chances were either poor or nonexistent, but 9 percent of the Negro heads were that pessimistic.

TABLE 28.—PARENT'S EVALUATION OF OLDEST SON'S CHANCES OF GOING INTO HIS PREFERRED AREA OF WORK, BY RACE, NORTHEAST COASTAL PLAIN, SOUTH CAROLINA, 1956-1966[a]

Son's chances	White		Negro		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Excellent	29	42.6	9	7.8	38	20.8
Good	31	45.6	76	66.1	107	58.5
Fair	8	11.8	20	17.4	28	15.3
Poor or none	0	—	10	8.7	10	5.5
Total	68	100	115	100	183	100

$X^2 = 34.8196^{**}$ df = 3

[a] Levels of statistical significance are denoted by * (0.05), ** (0.01), and n.s. (not significant at the 0.05 level).

How much education do you expect your oldest daughter who is still in school to get?—The differences in expectations of white and Negro household heads for the educational achievement of their oldest daughter still in school, while statistically significant, was not as dramatic as for their sons, table 29. This appears to be consistent with previous findings concerning sex and education (see tables 5 and 6). Negro girls are expected to, and do, achieve higher levels of education than Negro boys.

In fact, although the expectations for white and Negro girls are distributed differently, there is no indication that the aspirations for one group of girls is higher than for the other.[8] A slightly higher percentage of the Negro girls was expected to finish college, but a higher percentage of the white girls was expected to get some college, trade, or business school training beyond high school. A smaller percentage of the Negro girls — 2 percent compared to 8 percent of the whites — was expected to quit school before high school graduation.

[8] An analysis of variance was performed on this frequency distribution to test the difference between the group means, and the resulting F criterion of 0.58 was not significant at the 0.05 level of probability.

TABLE 29.—EXPECTED EDUCATION FOR OLDEST DAUGHTER STILL IN SCHOOL, BY RACE AND DESTINATION OF YOUTHS, NORTHEAST COASTAL PLAIN, SOUTH CAROLINA, 1956-1966[a]

Education and race	Same or adjoining counties		Elsewhere in South		Outside South		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
White (total)	54	100	41	100	13	100	108	100
Less than high school	3	5.5	5	12.2	1	7.7	9	8.3
Finish high school ..	30	55.6	21	51.2	6	46.1	57	52.8
Some college, trade, or business school	11	20.4	5	12.2	5	38.5	21	19.5
Finish college	10	18.5	10	24.4	1	7.7	21	19.4
Negro (total)	56	100	26	100	155	100	237	100
Less than high school	3	5.3	2	7.7	0	—	5	2.1
Finish high school ..	38	67.9	14	53.9	94	60.6	146	61.6
Some college, trade, or business school	6	10.7	3	11.5	21	13.6	30	12.7
Finish college	9	16.1	7	26.9	40	25.8	56	23.6
Total white and Negro ..	110		67		168		345	

X^2 (expected education x race) = 10.956* df = 3
X^2 (expected education x destination of whites) = 6.458n.s. df = 6
X^2 (expected education x destination of Negroes) = 12.617* df = 6

[a] Levels of statistical significance are denoted by * (0.05), ** (0.01), and n.s. (not significant at the 0.05 level).

Destination groups were homogeneous with respect to expectation for the oldest remaining daughter's education for white households, but not for Negro households. Again, the households with migrant youths outside the South had higher expectations for their remaining children.

If she (oldest daughter still in school) wanted to quit school, would you try to prevent her?—As for the oldest son still in school, almost all household heads of both races indicated that they would attempt to prevent their daughter from quitting school, table 30.

TABLE 30.—WOULD PARENT TRY TO PREVENT DAUGHTER FROM QUITTING SCHOOL? BY RACE AND DESTINATION OF YOUTHS, NORTHEAST COASTAL PLAIN, SOUTH CAROLINA, 1956-1966.

Response and race	Same or adjoining counties		Elsewhere in South		Outside South		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
White (total)	54	100	41	100	13	100	108	100
No	2	3.7	4	9.8	1	7.7	7	6.5
Yes	52	96.3	37	90.2	12	92.3	101	93.5
Negro (total)	56	100	26	100	155	100	237	100
No	2	3.6	2	7.7	0	—	4	1.7
Yes	54	96.4	24	92.3	155	100	233	98.3
Total white and Negro ..	110		67		168		345	

How good do you think her (oldest daughter still in school) chances are of going into her chosen area of work?—Again, as for the oldest son still in school, white household heads had significantly higher expectations about their daughter's chances, table 31. Forty-three percent, compared to only 7 percent of the Negro heads, rated their daughter's chances for going into her chosen area of work as excellent. More than half of the Negroes rated their daughter's chances as good, 27 percent as only fair, and 13 percent as poor or none. Only one white head rated his daughter's chances in the lowest category.

TABLE 31.—PARENT'S EVALUATION OF OLDEST DAUGHTER'S CHANCES OF GOING INTO HER PREFERRED AREA OF WORK, BY RACE, NORTHEAST COASTAL PLAIN, SOUTH CAROLINA, 1956-1966[a]

Daughter's chances	White		Negro		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Excellent	26	42.6	11	6.7	37	16.4
Good	21	34.4	88	53.6	109	48.4
Fair	13	21.3	44	26.8	57	25.3
Poor or none	1	1.6	21	12.8	22	9.8
Total	61	100	164	100	225	100

$X^2 = 44.4747^{**}$ df = 3

[a] Levels of statistical significance are denoted by * (0.05), ** (0.01), and n.s. (not significant at the 0.05 level).

Why did the youngest dropout quit before finishing high school?—For the youngest child, either living at home or who had left, who had dropped out before finishing high school, the question was asked, "why did (name) not finish high school?" White and Negro household heads were quite homogeneous in their responses relative to the reasons for their youngest dropout, table 32. On the other hand, destination groups, for both whites and Negroes, were significantly different according to the ways their household heads responded to the dropout question.

For the whites who moved elsewhere in the South and Negroes who moved outside the South—the highest education and aspiration groups for each race — getting married or pregnant was less often the reason for the youngest dropout. For this group of whites the most frequent reasons given were "wanted to work" and "poor grades or health." For the Negro youths who moved outside the South, the most frequent reasons were "refused to attend" and "wanted to work."

There are many interesting differences in the frequencies of

TABLE 32.—REASON PARENT GAVE FOR YOUNGEST DROPOUT, BY RACE AND DESTINATION OF YOUTHS, NORTHEAST COASTAL PLAIN, SOUTH CAROLINA, 1956-1966[a]

Reason and race	Same or adjoining counties		Elsewhere in South		Outside South		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
White (total)	76	100	36	100	16	100	128	100
Poor grades or health	9	11.8	9	25.0	1	6.2	19	14.8
Needed at home ...	6	7.9	7	19.4	4	25.0	17	13.3
Refused to attend ..	25	32.9	5	13.9	1	6.3	31	24.2
Wanted to work	12	15.8	11	30.6	6	37.5	29	22.7
Got married or pregnant	24	31.6	4	11.1	4	25.0	32	25.0
Negro (total)	70	100	48	100	172	100	290	100
Poor grades or health	9	12.8	3	6.2	15	8.7	27	9.3
Needed at home ...	23	32.9	14	29.2	29	16.9	66	22.8
Refused to attend ..	5	7.1	8	16.7	45	26.2	58	20.0
Wanted to work	10	14.3	6	12.5	42	24.4	58	20.0
Got married or pregnant	23	32.9	17	35.4	41	23.8	81	27.9
Total white and Negro ..	146		84		188		418	

X^2 (race x reason) = 7.813[n.s.] df = 4
X^2 (reasons of whites x destination) = 22.407** df = 8
X^2 (reasons of Negroes x destination) = 24.218** df = 8

[a] Levels of statistical significance are denoted by * (0.05), ** (0.01), and n.s. (not significant at the 0.05 level).

responses by destination groups, but these cast little light on our overall hypotheses. Neither are these differences explained by other findings.

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