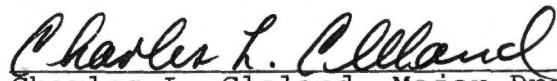
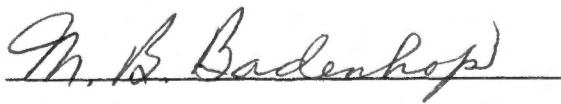


To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Olatunde Kosoko entitled "Attitudes of People in Selected Southern Low-Income Rural Counties Toward Education as a Means to Improved Quality of Living in 1966: An Empirical Analysis." I recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science, with a major in Agricultural Economics.


Charles L. Cleland, Major Professor

We have read this thesis
and recommend its acceptance:

Accepted for the Council:


Vice Chancellor
Graduate Studies and Research

Ag-VetMed

Thesis

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ATTITUDES OF PEOPLE IN SELECTED SOUTHERN LOW-INCOME
RURAL COUNTIES TOWARD EDUCATION AS A MEANS TO
IMPROVED QUALITY OF LIVING IN 1966:
AN EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS

A Thesis

Presented for the

Master of Science

Degree

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Olátunde Kosoko

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ABSTRACT

Rural low-income people as a rule have had a low level of education. Although it is generally believed that education is an indispensable means for improving quality of living; and in spite of the large number of educational institutions of various levels that exist, rural low-income people still do have a low level of education.

The specific objective of this study is to determine the attitude that exists toward education as a means of improved quality of living among selected rural low-income people, irrespective of geographical location.

The principal source of data is Regional Project S-61, dealing with Human Resource Development and Mobility in the Rural South. The project was carried out in 1966 in selected counties of Alabama, Mississippi, North Carolina and Tennessee. Responses from 907 households were tabulated in the survey. Data for this study were extracted from the survey data and summarized.

The conclusions indicated that prevailing characteristics of age, income, and institutional environment of the people concerned rather than geographical conditions, were largely responsible for the attitude of these rural low-income people toward education as a means to an improved quality of living. The findings were not considered conclusive and suggestions were made for further researches.

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INTRODUCTION

Although "poverty" is a common term, it has a relative connotation.¹ There has always been poverty. Should there always be poverty? Or, will there always be poverty? If the answer to either of these questions is yes, then what should be the acceptable or tolerable extent of poverty? Or better, what should be the relative size of the "poor" with respect to the "rich" in any society?

In a discussion about the poor, whether academic or pragmatic, it is certainly an error to include the youth. For although they take the class of their parents or guardians, it is temporary because youth are, for the most part, very mobile and unattached. Youth therefore, like goods in transit, are not to be recorded as "stock" on their own account until they "arrive" at their destination. For the purpose of this study youth will be included and treated only as responsibilities of their parents and guardians.

This leads us to the question, at what age and in what condition should an individual be branded "poor"? Who are the poor? The exclusion of youth indicates that only individuals in certain age-groups who are responsible for their own

¹Jerry C. West, Poverty--Its Meaning and Its Causes With Selected Case Studies, North Carolina State University, 1968. p.1.

living conditions and those of others should qualify. The poor then can be considered as those whose incomes are inadequate to provide a requisite quality of living.

The attitude of rural low-income people toward any means that should enlarge their income is an important element for policy makers to understand. One of the major concerns of many state and federal government agencies is how to improve the quality of living of rural low-income people.² Some agencies have sought to create employment in rural areas that will provide adequate income for these people.³ In spite of the admirable efforts and intentions of these agencies, problems have reduced the effectiveness of their endeavors. For example, what kind of employment can be created for people with low levels of education and skills? Are these people willing to make the necessary efforts in upgrading their education and skills?

Whether or not an individual makes the necessary effort to upgrade his or her education and skills depends on how he or she views his or her current quality of living. How he or she views and measures, or the prevailing attitude toward his or her quality of living will depend largely on the individual's characteristics: health, education, age,

²Kaufman, et al., p. 3.

³Ibid., p. 35

income, and institutional environment. If the prevailing attitude is one of hopefulness, then the individual will make the effort necessary, assuming that the opportunities for doing so exist in the locality or that individual will migrate to a place where such opportunities exist. But if the prevailing attitude is one of hopelessness, then the individual will assume a posture of contentment or indifference, and withdraw into his own kind. Figure 1 graphically illustrates the process.

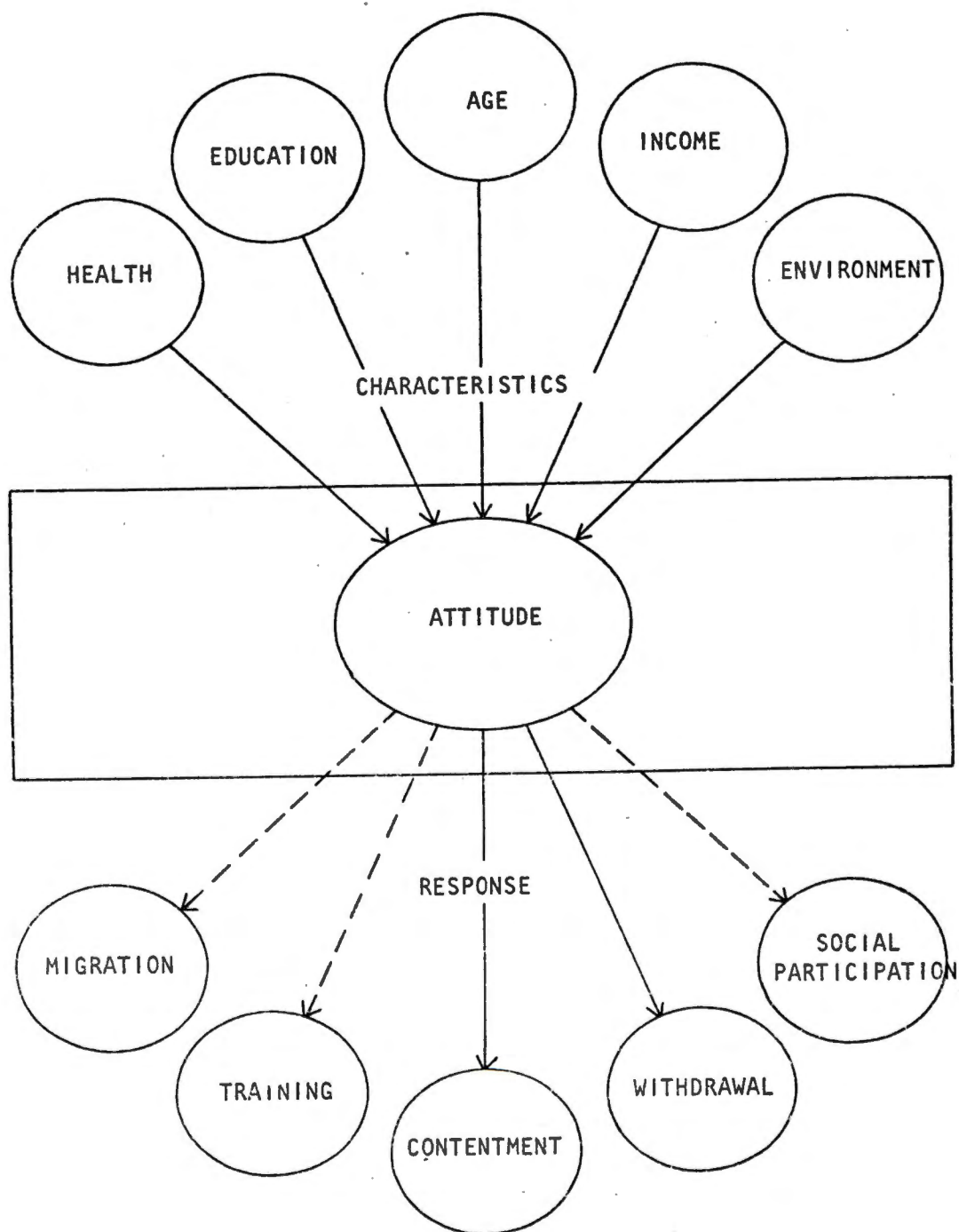


Figure 1. Factors in the Attitude Response Model of a Societal System.

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

It is generally believed, and widely accepted that education is an indispensable means for improved quality of living especially in the industrialized countries.⁴ Education has always served as an allocative mechanism for the distribution of the national wealth through employment. "The chain of poverty which tends to continue from one generation to the next..."⁵ in rural areas of the Southern States is a challenge to the widely accepted view. The continuance is not so much of a problem as the unending increase in the size of the poor segment of the society. Do rural areas just happen to be the "graveyard" for the unsuccessful, for the most part?

The major problem of this study is to determine the extent to which attitudes toward education are associated with geographical location and cultural background of people in rural low-income areas of four Southern States of the United States of America. The problem is based on the premise that

⁴George Katona, et al., Aspirations and Affluence, McGraw-Hill and Co., New York, 1971. p.155; Ribich, Thomas L., Education and Poverty, The Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C. 1968. p.1.

⁵Charles Cleland, et al., Justification for Southern Regional Project S-61, October 15, 1964.

ethnic background, geography of location, history of education and economic conditions of the study areas influence attitudes to a significant degree.

Objectives of the Study

The general objective of this study is to demonstrate the use of summarized data to infer attitudes of residents in selected rural low-income areas in the Southern United States. The specific objective is to determine the attitude that exists toward education for the purpose of improving quality of living among residents in the study areas.

Sources of Data and Methods of Analysis

There are two principal sources of data for this analysis. The first is Southern Regional Project S-61, Human Resource Development and Mobility in the Rural South. The other is the United States Census Report, Population Characteristics, 1930 to 1970.

Project S-61 was a cooperative survey conducted by ten southern State Experiment Stations and Economic Research Services beginning in 1966. The objectives of the survey were: 1) to determine the characteristics of and factors involved in developmental sequences and decision-making processes of people in and from the rural South in selected stages of the life-cycle. 2) to analyze changes in selected areas of development: occupation, level of living, family structure, functions and resources, social participation and

attitudes. 3) to analyze longitudinally the factors and conditions involved in the physical and social mobility of families and individuals. 4) to analyze the relationships of occupational and social aspirations to decision-making, mobility and development of rural youth.⁶ Although the study was independent to some extent, the first three objectives involved a follow up of an earlier survey in four states, the S-44 project, entitled "Factors in the adjustment of families and individuals in low-income rural areas of the South." This survey was carried out in 1960. Data collected by Project S-61 as it were, described and registered the adjustments which had been made by families and individuals between 1960 and 1966. Because the adjustments described were definite actions which had been taken by families and individuals, such data are presumed to be basis for this analysis.

The United States Census Report for 1970 contain population characteristics which offer background for ascertaining the validity of data obtained by Project S-61. Table 1 shows the percentage distribution of educational attainment of persons 25 years and over for the study as recorded by both sources. In my judgement the survey distribution is sufficiently similar to the Census distribution. See Table 1.

⁶Justification for Southern Regional Project. pp.4-5.

TABLE 1

Comparison of Distribution of Years of School Completed
For Adults 25 Years and Over in Rural Areas of Four Southern
States From Sample Survey and U.S. Census of Population
Sources, 1966 and 1970 Respectively
(In Percentages)

Years of School Completed	Alabama		Mississippi		North Carolina		Tennessee	
	State	U.S. Census	State	U.S. Census	State	U.S. Census	State	U.S. Census
None	4	3	3	3	3	2	4	2
1-4	18	9	13	10	18	8	16	8
5-7	23	18	28	14	33	18	24	15
8	12	9	19	12	13	9	29	16
9-11	22	23	20	20	22	24	14	19
12	14	22	12	22	8	22	10	23
13-15	4	9	3	10	2	9	2	9
16 & over	3	8	2	9	1	8	1	8
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	289	1,143,078	484	1,111,789	451	2,646,272	440	2,127,946

Sources: Project S-61 Survey Of Households and U.S. Census of Population 1970,
in Respective State Reports.

Secondary sources of data were: indexes of "Gross State Products and Productivity in the Southeast" for data on gross state products. It should be mentioned that although this analysis is based on data derived from Project S-61, which was collected in 1966, some data for 1960 and 1970 from other sources were used as appropriate.

This analysis will use two methods of approach. As suggested by George A. Lundberg, ". . . there are two general types of approach to a person's social attitudes: (1) We may study as far as possible all of a person's past and present overt non-verbal and verbal behavior in given situations, and from this behavior infer his attitude; or (2) we may infer his attitude from a study of his verbal behavior in the form of specific opinions."⁷ The first method will be anthropogeographical in nature based in the belief that ". . . geographical environment is responsible for everything but regards geographical influences as not only important but playing the major role in the shaping of cultures; that is, geographical environment is not a direct determiner to culture forms but a very great indirect influence."⁸

The second method is based on the further belief that "...man makes his own culture, it is all a composite of life."⁹

⁷George A. Lundberg, Social Research: A Study in Methods of Gathering Data, New York Longmans Green and Co. 1942. p. 220.

⁸Howard W. Odum, and Katharine Jocher. An Introduction to Social Research, New York, Henry Holt And Co., 1929. p.157.

⁹Ibid.

This will use tabulated descriptive statistics derived from Project S-61. Neither the statistics nor any hypothesis will be tested. The author holds the view that the influences and deductions derived from descriptive statistics are sufficiently efficient for the interpretation or determination of attitudes. This should be in conformity with the stated general objective of the analysis. A further aim in using these methods is to follow the pattern of Frederick W. Frey and others in "Surveying Peasant Attitudes in Turkey."¹⁰

Justification

In order to solve a problem, the cause must be determined and located. It is common knowledge that the lack of education is the most important single variable that keeps the poor poor.¹¹ The lack of marketable resources, so to speak. Although it has been "established" that the aspirations of poor and those of the rich are equal or similar,¹² it has yet to be determined whether all the poor have the same reason for the non-removal of the obstacles between them and their aspirations.

¹⁰ Donald S. Tull and Gerald S. Albaum, Survey Research: A Decisional Approach, New York, Intext Educational Publishers. 1973. Chapter 8.

¹¹ Thomas J. Durant, Work Orientation of Rural Low-Income Residents of three South Central Virginia Counties, paper presented, Southern Association of Agricultural Scientists Meetings, Memphis, Tennessee, February 3-6, 1974.

¹² Human Lumer, Poverty: Its Roots and Its Future, International Publishers, New York, 1965. p.5.

The Cooperative Extension Service is an organization which for many years has addressed itself to the task of assisting low-income people in "stretching" their incomes to the point of adequacy. This, in conjunction with other federal and state agencies have not yet had what might be termed a net success. Although these bodies might have succeeded somewhat in assisting some of these people to maximize their incomes, it should be understood that the concepts of maximization and adequacy are very different.

Before a general theory can be formalized for assisting low-income people in obtaining adequate incomes, it will be necessary to establish the existence of a common attitude, and the reason for such attitude. There is no assertion in this study that, if all low-income people were to act and acquire the necessary education, then poverty would be removed. In fact, using the reverse trend of population movements from the urban Northern areas back to the rural Southern areas in recent years, this paper asserts that employment is a zero-sum game. With the present state of technology and social value system, full employment could be an illusion.

Because it is a fact that Southern States have the larger proportion of the poor or low-income people,¹³ it is

¹³Rural Poverty in the United States: A Report by the President's National Advisory Commission and Rural Poverty, Washington, D.C. May, 1968. p.288.

very necessary that the phenomenon be viewed from every possible standpoint, especially from that of the poor, before any worthwhile corrective measures can be taken.

The other important reasons for undertaking this study are: 1) The author's conviction that the relationship of the condition of rural low-income people of the Southern States to that of the high-income people of the rest of the United States is congruent to the relationship of the conditions of the people of the underdeveloped regions to that of the people of the industrialized regions as whole.¹⁴ It is hoped that whatever findings the study may lead to, the results as well as the methods will furnish alternative standpoints from which to view development planning, with particular reference to education. 2) The lack of the technological, financial and personnel resources which are required to carry out the traditional large scale research practiced in the United States, makes it crucial for the underdeveloped countries to have alternative methods that will be useful to them in planning, and evaluating the effects of policies.

Assumptions

It is imperative that a study of this kind be subjected to some constraints, thus narrowing the area of investigation to manageable proportions. Certain assumptions will therefore be made which should also serve as foundations for further analysis:

1. That every individual at certain period of his

¹⁴ Kaufman, et al., p.36.

or her life had goals and objectives of a model life-style he or she would like to adopt and assume.

2. That the most important reason for acquiring an education is the increase in opportunities and benefits that education provides.

3. That quality of living depends on income, and income depends on education.

4. That people whose responses form the basis for this study knew what they wanted, and that their responses to the survey were appropriate.

Limitations

The most important limitation of this analysis is the difficulty of imputing reasons or motives for the actions of others. Emotions, prejudices, differences in cultural backgrounds, educational levels, experiences; in short, differences in capacities and abilities will always prevent the "rich" from knowing and understanding the reasons for the actions of the "poor". Only the poor or those who had been poor can readily comprehend, appreciate or evaluate the reasons on which the actions of the poor are based. Others will find it difficult, and their imaginations will be stretched and strained.

It there is some truth in the expressed concern of the "others" for the poor, then there is value in whatever extra effort that is necessary to increase their understanding of the behavior of the poor.

In order that the results of this study may be suitable for any broad generalization, it would have been ideal to use data from a wider geographical area. Unfortunately, data from states in the western United States were not available.

Definitions

Because of the various shades of meanings which words can assume when used in different contexts, it should be appropriate to define the critical words in this study.

Education. Education is the totality of knowledge, skills, competence and quality of character which is acquired through formal training. This is not to imply that formal training is the only means of acquiring an education. Informal training plays a vital part in the acquisition of education, and is paramount in all societies. But because informal training does not quite lend itself to measurement, and also because informal training does not result in a diploma or any visible symbol of attainment, it is not suitable for inclusion in this study. In the marketing of one's education, a diploma is necessary, at least in the beginning stages of the bargaining procedure.

Quality of Living. Quality of living is the kind of existence which one lives, underlined by the value system of the society and influenced largely by material possessions. Quality of living is a portion of the quality of life, but whether it represents the largest part depends on the value

system of the individual. For although the society as a unit may declare the quality of living of one of its members low, yet that member's quality of life may be satisfactory according to the individual's estimation. Perhaps a more concise operational definition would be, quality of living is quality of life minus the state of mind. It is that life-style which a person adopts because of his financial circumstances.

Low-Income. Low-income is here used as synonymous with poverty. It is a relative term and implies more of adequacy with respect to a minimum standard of living, rather than an absolute quantity. It is the amount of compensation or remuneration which is lower than a declared necessary minimum. In terms of the values of a particular society, an individual who receives a low income is poor, because that individual should be unable to pay for the necessities that would give the minimum standard of living.

Attitudes. Attitude is a state of mind before accepting or rejecting a proposition. The last stage in the thinking process after judgement has been passed. It is the condition of consciousness that impels an individual to act in one particular way or another, and is mainly responsible for success or failure.

Opportunity. Opportunity has three dimensions: time, place and circumstances. In any attempt to analyze or measure opportunity, it is essential to understand that the time must be convenient, the place suitable, and the

circumstances conducive and encouraging. Of the three dimensions, circumstance is the most complex. It has a present as well as a future connotation. In educational opportunity for example, the prospects of suitable and "profitable" use of the acquired education must be promising. It is imperative, therefore that employment possibilities be taken into consideration. Unless this future prospect exists, there would be little motivation to acquire an education and the opportunity would not be real.

Migrant. In the context of this paper, migrants are the individuals who left home between 1960 and 1966, the two years in which Projects S-44 and S-61 carried out their respective surveys.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

From the year 1928 to the year 1974 is 46 years. Over these nearly five decades, five presidents have had to make the plight of the poor one of their major concerns. The late President Herbert Hoover hoped in 1928 that, with the help of God, poverty would be banished from the nation. In the thirties, the last President Franklin D. Roosevelt pointed out that "one-third of the nation was ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished."¹⁵ In the early sixties, the late President John F. Kennedy started programs to reduce poverty. During the late sixties, the late President Lyndon B. Johnson devoted his State of the Union Message chiefly to poverty. And in the early seventies, the former President Richard M. Nixon had to continue the poverty programs of his predecessors, even if under pressure. The subject of poverty thus has always been a national issue.

As a result, therefore, the libraries are full of books, pamphlets, reports, addresses and monographs on the subject. Of course, as with any other national issue, there are differences of opinion among the various authors

¹⁵Hyman Lumer, Poverty--Its Roots and Its Future, International Publishers, New York, 1965, p.5.

about the means to banish poverty. There is even disagreement over the definition of poverty and, consequently, the size of the poor segment of the nation. There is agreement, however, about one of the reasons why the poor are poor. It is because they lack marketable skills or are uneducated. Unfortunately, it is only with this one reason that most authors have concerned themselves. Their recommended solutions are invariably centered on increased employment, minimum wages, transfer payments,¹⁶ government regulations, or government ownership of large industrial enterprises.¹⁷ Although there are several authors who believe that the poor are poor due to their own fault,¹⁸ only recently have investigators begun to look into the attitudes of low-income people with respect to their interest in improving their economic conditions.¹⁹

The attitudes of low-income people toward an improved quality of living is a universal set made up of several subsets of attitudes of which the attitude towards education is only one. Very few studies have focused on attitude toward education in this regard. Durant, for example centered his

¹⁶The People Left Behind, A Report by the President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty, Washington, D.C., September 1967, pp. 17-24.

¹⁷Lumer, p. 119

¹⁸Lumer, p. 13

¹⁹Durant, p. 2.

study on "work orientation attitude," taking education for granted. One of his conclusions was that level of education was of no consequence with respect to life aspirations of rural low-income peoples.

According to Durant's findings, the lower the educational level of his respondents the lower their confidence of success in work;²⁰ if at the same time they are willing to work and have positive aspirations in life, the relevant question is, are they taking advantage of opportunities for continuing education?

It would be very naive to believe that rural people do not know of the benefits of education, or are apathetic to existing opportunities.

The eagerness of their offspring to seize available opportunities has become a national concern. One of the nine beliefs of the President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty was,

"Because rural Americans have been denied a fair share of America's opportunities and benefits, they have migrated by millions to the cities in search of jobs and places to live. This migration is continuing. It is therefore impossible to obliterate urban poverty without removing the rural causes. Accordingly, both reason and justice compel the allotment of a more equitable share of our national resources to improving the conditions of rural life."²¹

According to this belief, the cause of concern is the migration; the out-pouring of people taking advantage of opportunities wherever they may exist. The rate at which the

²⁰Durant, p. 10.

²¹The People Left Behind, p. xiii.

children of these people are becoming educated is another instance of their awareness.

If that Commission believed in 1967 that "Every citizen of the United States must have equal access to the opportunities for economic and social advancement. . .,"²² another relevant question is, is there now an equal access? If yes, then how equal is this access, or what is the ease of access? Further questions to be answered are, in a society where competition is the key word in every endeavor, is there a basis for equal access? What are the chances of success for late starters in a society which provides opportunities only for youth, in practice?

In Mountain Families in Transition, Schwarzweller, Brown and Mangalam thoroughly discuss almost every aspect of life of a particular group of low-income people. Their study was based on observations and investigations made over a period of years. It focused on the families of Beech Creek, a locality in the eastern Kentucky mountains. "The general objective of this project was to study the social adjustment and personal stability of all persons still living who were residents of the Beech Creek Neighborhoods in 1942."²³

²² The People Left Behind, p. xiii.

²³ Mountain Families in Transition.

Although Kentucky is not one of the states with which the present analysis is concerned, the results in Mountain Families in Transition should provide a background against which findings from the present analysis may be compared.

It is interesting to note that after a number of years, some of the Beech Creek families who did migrate out to Ohio and elsewhere in search of employment or more lucrative work opportunities, returned to their native land, dissatisfied for various reasons.²⁴ As the authors stated, the people were torn between two worlds; the factory, materialism, the new social environment, and the present, on the one hand; the field, the old way of life, kinship, and the past, on the other. The transition from a folk society to a urban society was a strain, and as in any other endeavor, some were successful and some failed.²⁵ The less well educated had more to contend with and were more dependent upon some kind of family support.²⁶

Another relevant publication worth mentioning is Paths out of Poverty. It was the report on a series of research studies on poverty in the Northeastern United States. The study was known as Project NE-68 and was based at the

²⁴ Mountain Families in Transition, p. 106-107.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 142.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 189.

University of Orono, and conducted by a Technical Committee of Northeastern Regional Research. As the title of the publication suggests the original goal was to identify paths out of poverty.

Based on studies carried out at Windham, Connecticut, William H. Groff, one of the Committee members concluded ". . .that it is important to take into consideration differences in the perspectives of residents in the development and implementation of programs to alleviate poverty. . ."27 In other words, the attitude or frame of mind of the poor should be the basis for policies to alleviate poverty.

The conclusion drawn by some of the studies were questionable. For example, the claim by Bowring and Dorer that the number of families with income of \$3,000 decreased from 15 percent in 1959 to 7.1 percent in 1960 was a reduction of, or less prevalent poverty²⁸ is misleading. If the percentage decreased and the absolute number of families increased, then it should be questionable to assert that poverty was less prevalent in 1960. In their studies in New Hampshire, Bowring and Dorer raised some relevant questions: "What is the relationship between poverty during productive years and health, housing, and income problems in later years? What is the role of public and private educational agencies in

²⁷Cooperative States Research Service, Paths Out of Poverty, p. 41.

²⁸Ibid., p. 96

providing financial and retirement planning education?²⁹
 They also expressed concern at the steadily increasing number
 of the older poor.³⁰

As part of the objective of the project, evaluations
 were made of some of the poverty alleviating programs. The
 committee recommended among other things ". . .that research
 which relates life style patterns to degree of program
 effectiveness may prove to be helpful in the designing of
 programs and timing of service delivery."³¹

As stated earlier, although many studies have been
 conducted dealing with low income people and methods suggested
 for improving their lot, few have concentrated on analysing
 the attitudes of these people with the view of improving
 their conditions. In retrospect, the question of who should
 say what is suitable for the well being of the poor has yet
 to be fully answered.

On the question of methodology Julian L. Simon observed
 in Basic Research Methods in Social Science, that "Descriptive
 classification and measurement research call for processes
 that some writers do not call "analysis."³² In effect Simon
 is stating that descriptive research and descriptive analysis
 as types of empirical research do not have to conform to the

²⁹ Ibid., p. 104

³⁰ Ibid., p. 102

³¹ Ibid., p. 123

³² Julian L. Simon, Basic Research Methods in Social
 Science, New York, Random House, 1969. p.333.

requirements of "scientific" research that consists of thinking up hypotheses about the nature of this world.³³

He further explains that "empirical research excludes knowledge obtained by consulting authorities, in books or in person and includes only knowledge obtained from data resulting from first-hand observations, either by you or by someone else."³⁴

This then affirms that the present analysis is an empirical research of the descriptive type. It is also pure research because whatsoever social or economic payoff that might accrue as a result of the analysis, is not immediate.

In any and every discussion or study dealing with rural people, irrespective of income level, one must be aware that these people are of different or separate cultures. They constitute what Horton and Leslie called "rural culture."³⁵ While it is true that they have access to television, radio, telephone and paved highways, they are still different and separate. Ethnocentrism and their financial positions have limited their adoption of the ways of the urban folk. Modern trends affect them rather slowly. Their educational background and geography of location have also contributed to keeping them different.

³³ Ibid., p.5

³⁴ Ibid., p.6

³⁵ Horton and Leslie, p. 492.

Some men have been fortunate to have been able to have used their geographical conditions to great advantage. The limitations imposed by their geographical surroundings seem to have been forgotten. Once in a while tornadoes, hurricanes and volcanic eruptions bring a rude awakening. But whether the limitations imposed have been overcome or not, geographical conditions are everpresent. Whatever the mode of life or standard of living, "Geographical Surroundings Influence Eight Great Occupations. In supplying their material needs, the people of different parts of the earth generally follow the occupations in which their geographical surroundings and their degree of progress give them the greatest chance of success. . . . Geographical conditions often have a direct effect on art, religion, government, education, and other phases of civilization."³⁶

In order, therefore, for this study to be able to draw worthwhile conclusions, it will be necessary to examine the geography, origins, and economic bases of the respective people under study. This part of the analysis will discuss the four states individually in an effort to bring out prominently each similarity and difference. To a very large extent, geography determines culture.³⁷

³⁶ Ellsworth Huntington. Principles of Human Geography New York, John Wiley & Sons, Inc. 1951. Chapter 1.

³⁷ Vidal DeLaBlache, Principles of Human Geography, London, Constable and Company Limited, 1926.

CHAPTER III

THE STATES

Alabama

Geography and Resources

The state of Alabama is located in the southeastern portion of the United States, with an area approximately 52,000 square miles. It is bounded on the east by the state of Georgia, on the west by Mississippi; on the south by Florida, and on the north by the state of Tennessee. It also has some miles of coast line with the Gulf of Mexico on the south-southeastern corner. The land surface is mainly undulating with a highest point, about 2,407 feet above sea level, occurring in the northeastern part of the state. This mountain portion of the state belongs to the Appalachian plateau. Alabama is a well watered state with rivers and streams draining almost every square mile of the land area.

The state has a large expanse of valuable timber and pine forests, coal, iron-ore, bauxite and limestone. Although the soil type of the state cannot be claimed to be one of the best, with the suitable use of fertilizers very good yields have been reported.³⁸

³⁸ Jesse M. Richardson, (ed), Alabama Encyclopedia, The American Publishing Co., Northport, Alabama, Vol. 1, p.265.

Generally speaking, Alabama has a temperate climate. Severely cold weather seldom occurs for more than two consecutive days, and summer heat is not very oppressive.³⁹ There is adequate rainfall for agricultural needs, and a long growing season suitable for two or three crops from the same piece of land.

From the geographic and climatic conditions, the state of Alabama could be said to be favored with an agricultural base. In fact, the history of the state confirms that agriculture is one of the main stimuli to the formation of the state.⁴⁰ According to the 1960 census report, there were 115,788 farms with an average of 143 acres per farm. There were also 51 percent of the land area in farms, and 67 percent of the farms had less than 100 acres.⁴¹ Although there are mines, and some manufacturing industries, agriculture forms the economic base of the state. In 1960 the gross state product was \$5.9 billion. Of this, about 6 percent was contributed by agriculture.⁴² It should be noted that about 81 percent of agricultural

³⁹ Ibid., p. 265.

⁴⁰ Thomas Perkins Abernethy, The Formative Period in Alabama 1815-1828, The University of Alabama Press. p. 72.

⁴¹ Jesse M. Richardson, Alabama Encyclopedia, Northport, Ala., The American Southern Publishing Co., 1963, p.357.

⁴² Albert M. Niemi, "Gross State Product and Productivity in the Southeast" Chapel Hill, U. of N.C. press. 1975.

receipts came from animal products and the rest from crops in the period, 1957 to 1961.⁴³ The average sales per farm according to the 1960 census figures was about \$3,578.⁴⁴

History of Public Education

The history of public education in Alabama for the purpose of this study will be restricted to quantity, taking quality for granted.

"A report by the State Department of Education in 1900 showed that illiteracy among Negroes of ten years of age or more was reduced from 80.6 percent in 1880 to 57.4 percent. Illiteracy in both races declined between 1880 and 1900 from 50.9 percent to 34 percent."⁴⁵

In 1970 according to the United States Population Census Report, 21 percent of the population had less than a ninth grade school education. Of these, persons 25 years of age and older formed the larger portion of the group. See Table 2.

The People

In 1966 Alabama had a population of about three and one half million inhabitants. The population trends and changes in the state are a consequence of the economic base and the pace of education. Those who have acquired some

⁴³Alabama, p. 358

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 352.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 403.

Table 2. Educational Characteristics of Persons 16 Years Old and Older Not Enrolled in School in the State of Alabama, 1970.

Grade	16-24	Percent	25 & Over	Percent
None	5,426	2	43,786	2
1 - 4	3,168	1	150,178	9
5 - 6	9,181	3	193,048	11
7	11,145	4	118,294	7
8	18,548	6	160,414	9
9 plus	258,599	84	1,143,078	62

Source: U.S. Population Census Report, 1970.

education desire to use it for their benefit, and sought out means for doing so. Even those with little education have dreams. If the area of residence does not offer the opportunity for materializing one's dreams or desires, either one changes place of residence or gives in to "fate". From Project S-61 Table 3, 4, and 5 were extracted to show the migration pattern of residents of the state.

Although it is generally believed or claimed that the rural population has been declining greatly, it is only true percentage-wise. This means that the urban areas have been growing at a very rapid rate while the rural areas have been declining very slowly. But because the total population grew rapidly, the rural population as a percentage of the total consequently declined rapidly. In absolute terms however, the rural population has changed only about 11 percent between 1900 and 1970. Table 6 illustrates the changes.

In terms of black and white, the rural white population has increased continuously between 1900 and 1970 except for the World War II and the Korean War years 1940 to 1960. However, the 1960 figures are about 20 percent larger than the 1900 figures. The rural non-white population on the other hand has declined continuously during the same period. It declined about 53 percent between 1930 and 1970.

The riddle of the main tributary of the mainstream of urban population flow could now be answered. The rural non-white population and the offspring of the rural whites are

Table 3. Destinations of Migrants From Alabama Household
in Some Rural Low-Income Areas, 1966.

	Number	Percent
Within Community	12	25
Within County	11	22
Adjoining County	1	2
Within State	10	20
Adjoining State	5	10
Within United States	6	12
Outside United States	--	--
Military Service	<u>4</u>	<u>9</u>
TOTAL	49	100

Source: Project S-61, Survey of Households

Table 4. Educational Levels of Migrants from Alabama Household in Some Rural Low-Income Areas, 1966.

Grade	Number	Percent
None	3	6
1-3	1	2
4	0	0
5-7	4	7
8	2	4
9-11	14	25
12	22	40
13 and above	<u>9</u>	<u>16</u>
TOTAL	55	100

Source: Project S-61, Survey of Households

Table 5. Relationship of Migrants to Head, From Alabama Households in Some Rural Low-Income Areas, 1966.

	Number	Percent
Original Head	1	2
Original Homemaker	0	0
Son	21	37
Daughter	21	37
Grandchildren	7	13
Other Relatives	<u>6</u>	<u>11</u>
TOTAL	56	100

Source: Project S-61, Survey of Households.

Table 6. Alabama Rural Population Trends and Changes, 1900-1970.

Group	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970
	(In Thousands)							
Whites	883	1,015	1,135	1,225	1,309	1,193	1,048	1,090
Non Whites	729	753	704	677	668	528	427	342
TOTAL	1,612	1,768	1,839	1,902	1,977	1,721	1,475	1,432
Percent of population classified as rural	88	82	78	71	69	56	45	41

Source: Extracted from U.S. Population Census, 1940-1970.

largely responsible for that part of urban population increase caused by migration. The one relatively is illiterate, while the other is relatively better educated.

Origin, geography of location and economic conditions shape the culture of a people, and together they govern their thought processes and their resultant attitudes.⁴⁶ The origins of the two major groups that are now the natives of the state are very different. The status of each group on migrating into Alabama was also different. These differences in origins and status have been the main causes of conflicts between the two groups. However, each group has been affecting the other to the extent that their goals are becoming similar although their values may be different. The goals of the two groups have been survival, though of different kinds. For the one, survival means to continue to control; for the other survival is, any kind of existence without molestation.⁴⁷

According to the results of the Project S-61, almost all of those who had acquired some education left their homelands. See Table 4. The purpose of acquiring any possession is to be able to receive some benefits at a

⁴⁶ Lawrence Hewes, "Rural Development. World Frontiers" p. 34-37. Ames, Iowa State University Press, 1975.

⁴⁷ Horton and Leslie. pp. 422-423.

later time. If the opportunity to use the acquisition or receive some benefits does not exist, or does not accrue without some degree of unpleasantness, then the time and effort expended in acquiring the "good" will be time and effort wasted.

The age of the migrants and the age of those who received education up to and beyond high school show that it was the young Alabamians who had positive aspirations with respect to education.

Mississippi

Geography and Resources

The state of Mississippi is almost symmetric to Alabama on their common north to south border. It has an area of approximately 48,000 square miles, and is also located on the southeastern portion of the United States. The state is bounded on the north by Tennessee, on the south by southern Louisiana and the Gulf of Mexico; on the east by Alabama, and on the west by Arkansas and again Louisiana, with the Mississippi river running the entire length of her western borders. Comparatively speaking, the state is not as well watered as her neighbor Alabama. However, it has numerous minor rivers and streams, and a few large lakes scattered in the northern parts.

The Appalachian mountain range does not extend into the state of Mississippi at all. In fact the entire state is free of any mountain and thus has a relatively flat surface with a highest point measuring about 800 feet above sea level. It is believed that the soil types are some of the best found in the southern United States. This was the main attraction for the cotton plantations at the beginning of the state's history. Mississippi has large forest areas of valuable woods. Apart from her fertile soils and forests, there are very few known other natural resources.

The climate is humid and tropical during the long summers and short winters with fairly mild temperatures.⁴⁸ This climatic type and the fertile soils afford favorable conditions for agricultural purposes. However, there have been numerous hurricanes in recent years causing some destruction of both land and other types of property.

Historically, agriculture has been the mainstay of the state, with cotton as the principal and almost only crop. Other agricultural products are poultry, eggs, beef-cattle, dairy products and recently, soybeans. In recent times such non-agricultural economic activities as manufacturing, government and trade have been responsible for almost 80 percent of the state's gross revenue product. Per capita personal income in 1960 was estimated at \$2,500.

History of Education

With respect to quantity, the history of public education in the state of Mississippi has been, as in all other places, in line with the value system of the people, but much behind most of other parts of the country, even in terms of percentage of the population. According to 1970 census figures, 39 percent of the population had less than nine years of formal schooling, or less than a ninth grade education. See Table 7. Even in 1968 education did not

⁴⁸Readers' Digest Almanac, Pleasantville, The Readers Digest Association, 1970.

Table 7. Educational Characteristics of Persons 16 Years Old and Over Not Enrolled in School in the State of Mississippi in 1970.

Grades	16-24	Percent	25 & Over	Percent
0	4,119	2	30,151	3
1-4	4,467	2	107,649	10
5-6	8,917	5	103,446	9
7	8,576	4	58,465	5
8	13,043	7	130,380	12
9 & Over	155,377	80	681,698	61
TOTAL	194,499	100	1,111,789	100

Source: 1970 United States Population Census Report.

seem a priority area for the state. As an illustration, the Legal Institute of Agricultural and Resource Development's conference on "Mississippi Agriculture in Transition" perhaps did not receive a paper on education. Of the Conference's 257 page report publication, only half a page (p. 187) was given to youth training. Perhaps the state holds a different view on people as a resource.

The United States Census Report of 1970 states that 59 percent of the population had less than a high school education, and about 36 percent of persons sixteen years old and over had less than a ninth grade education. Table 7 illustrates the distribution.

In 1970 the population of the state of Mississippi was estimated at 2.1 million. The population is mainly rural with the largest city being ranked 90th in the United States. That city had a population of about 155,000 people. There were seven other areas, each with a population under 50,000 persons.

The population trend between 1900 and 1970 is an interesting study by itself. See Table 8. The state is land locked by neighboring "poor" states, and existing opportunities elsewhere in the nation, may not have been apparent to the people. It should also be safe to assume that the cost of the long journey to the more prosperous states in the north, east and west have been prohibitive. It is principally the young who migrate and that usually

Table 8. Mississippi Rural Population Trends and Changes, 1900-1970.

Group	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970
	(In Thousands)							
Whites	578	675	713	793	852	814	732	742
Non whites	853	916	838	877	899	757	626	489
TOTAL	1,431	1,590	1,551	1,670	1,751	1,571	1,358	1,231
Percent of population classified as rural	92	88	87	83	80	72	62	56

Source: U.S. Population Census Reports, 1930, 1950 and 1970, Table

after they have completed some high school. When they do, they tend to go elsewhere in the United States rather than to neighboring states. See Table 9. It should also be pointed out that the non-white population declined from 5.9 percent in 1900 to 37 percent in 1970; while the white population increased from 41 percent to 63 percent between the two periods. The white rural population increased steadily while the non-white's declined steadily. The net difference in the rural population changes for the two periods was 14 percent. In total population, the net increase between 1900 and 1970 was only 43 percent. See Table 8. Tables 10, 11, 12 further show the characteristics of those who migrate. The origins of the rural peoples of Mississippi are different, but taken together they are similar to those of other plantation states. The radio, television, highways and other parts of the communication system have gone a long way toward uniting the cultures of the different peoples. Their limited economic resources have prevented them from changing as fast as anyone could have wished for, however. In addition, since there have been extremely limited employment opportunities for which to compete, conflicts between the once different peoples, especially blacks and whites, have been minimal compared to other states. Those who could not readily adapt to local circumstances migrated. The goals and objectives of rural Mississippians in general are largely similar, and their attitudes moderately uniform.

Table 9. Destination of Migrants from Survey of Households in Rural Low-Income Areas in Mississippi, 1966.

	Number	Percent
Within Community	18	16
Within County	21	19
Adjoining County	6	5
Within State	18	16
Adjoining State	5	5
Within U.S.	38	34
Outside U.S.	0	0
Military Service	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>
TOTAL	111	100

Source: S-61 Survey of Households

Table 10. Age of Migrants: Characteristics of Migrants,
From Survey of Households in Rural Low-Income
Areas in Mississippi, 1966.

Age Group	Number	Percent
0 - 19	27	24
20 - 24	72	64
25 - 29	9	8
30 - 34	4	4
35 - 39	0	0
40 - 45	0	0
46 - 49	0	0
50 - 59	0	0
60 - 64	0	0
65 and over	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
TOTAL	112	100

Source: Project S-61, Survey of Households

Table 11. Level of Education of Migrants: Characteristics of Migrants, From Survey of Households in Rural Low-Income Areas in Mississippi, 1966.

Grade	Number	Percent
None	1	1
1 - 4	6	5
5 - 7	6	5
8	10	9
9 - 11	26	24
12	43	39
13 and more	<u>19</u>	<u>17</u>
TOTAL	111	100

Source: Project S-61, Survey of Households

Table 12. Relationship of Migrant to Head: Characteristics of Migrants, From Survey of Households in Rural Low-Income Areas in Mississippi, in 1966.

	Number	Percent
Original Male Head	0	0
Original Homemaker	0	0
Son	51	45
Daughter	57	50
Grandchildren	5	5
Other Relatives	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
TOTAL	113	100

Source: Project S-61, Survey of Households.

North Carolina

Geography and Resources

The state of North Carolina is situated on the southeastern part of the United States. It has an area of approximately 58,000 square miles. The state is bounded on the east by Tennessee, on the west by the Atlantic Ocean; on the south by South Carolina and Georgia, and on the North by Virginia. The Blue Ridge, the Great Smoky and the Black Mountains which are part of the Appalachian Range are located in the western part of the state where the highest point of 6,684 feet occurs. From these western Highlands the land surface descends towards the east until it becomes a low coastal plain. North Carolina has many lakes and four principal rivers, the Neuse, Roanoke, Tar and Yadkin. If the long shoreline with the Atlantic Ocean is considered, it should be stated that the state is very well watered.

Although much of the land of the Carolina Highlands cannot be farmed, the state ranks second only to Texas in the number of farms. Because many of the inhabitants are farmers, the soil, though not one of the most fertile in the region, is a very important resource of the state. Another of the state's greatest assets is the large tract of forests which constituted about 66 percent of the land area in 1955.⁴⁹ Other valuable resources include coal, iron,

⁴⁹ Huttington S. Hobbs, North Carolina; An Economic and Social Profile, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1947.

tungsten, asbestos, and the Atlantic, which supports the fishing industry and also provides port facilities for the shipping industry.

According to Huttington Hobbs, North Carolina has various climates. Generally speaking, the state has a mild temperate climate, uniform with no extremes.⁵⁰ The various climates give the state various lengths of growing seasons. Rainfall is evenly distributed, occurring mainly in summer.

Conditions for agriculture are favorable to the extent that large sub-tropical and temperate climatic crops are produced annually. For example, corn, tobacco, wheat, oats, hay, soybeans, cotton and peanuts are among the principal crops. The trend of agricultural production in the state of North Carolina is a direct opposite of that of the nation as a whole. For instance, the state has the largest farm population in the nation which has declined only slightly since 1850. While the national average size of farms has been increasing, the North Carolina average has declined continuously. The proportion of Black (Negro) operated farms has remained about constant in the state as opposed to the national trend. While the nation's farm income has declined, North Carolina's farm income has remained almost

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 91

constant. The state's earnings from livestock, however, have been small compared to that from cash crops.⁵¹

North Carolina is also one of the leading industrial states of the nation. Textiles, tobacco and wood products, and mining are among the leading industries of the state. In 1960 about 92 percent of the gross revenue product is derived from industry, government and trade.⁵²

History of Education

Public education started in North Carolina as early as 1745. It should be noted that the state ranks high in the provision of funds for education. Although adult education started in 1915,⁵³ and community colleges and university extension for adults, and vocational schools, existed and also in spite of the efforts of the statewide Cooperative Extension Service, 33 percent of persons 16 years old and older had less than a ninth grade education in 1970. See Table 13.

The People

According to the 1970 census, the population of North Carolina was estimated at about five million. Both rural

⁵¹Hobbs and Bond.

⁵²Albert W. Niemi, Appendix, p. 70-97.

⁵³Ibid., p. 213.

Table 13. Educational Characteristics of Persons 16 Years Old and Over Not Enrolled in School in the State of North Carolina in 1970.

Grades	16-24	Percent	24 & Over	Percent
0	7,403	1.4	51,799	2.0
1 - 4	4,307	0.8	212,732	8.0
5 - 6	9,521	1.8	259,677	9.8
7	15,076	2.8	225,658	8.5
8	33,252	6.3	233,367	8.8
9 & over	<u>456,466</u>	86.8	<u>1,663,039</u>	62.9
TOTAL	526,025		2,646,272	

Source: U.S. Census Population Report, 1970.

and urban population increased continuously between 1900 and 1970. Even the non-white population increased continuously between the two periods. Of the four states under study, it is the only state whose rural population has always been higher than its urban population. The total population increased about 168 percent between the two periods. See Table 14.

The migration pattern as shown in Tables 15, 16, 17 and 18 is not unique. The rural population has been supplying the urban population flow while keeping its own numbers intact. The proximity of some industries in the state has helped to stabilize the rural population.⁵⁴

Present day North Carolinians are the descendents of Europeans, Blacks and native Indians, in the main, but constrained by the same geography of location, climate, resources and economic circumstances.

At first each group kept to itself, and looked on the others as strange. Then families moved from one settlement to another, perhaps to new land where the nearest neighbors were these "different" people. They learned to like these neighbors, they intermarried with them, and after a while there were no longer English, Scots, Scotch-Irish, or German, but a blending of nationalities, families, and inheritance. They were all North Carolinians.⁵⁵

⁵⁴Ibid. p. 99

⁵⁵Hobbs and Bond, p. 80

Table 15. Age of Migrants: Characteristics of Migrants,
From: Survey of Households in Rural Low-Income
Areas in North Carolina, 1966.

Age Group	Number	Percent
0 - 19	24	18
20 - 24	75	58
25 - 29	18	14
30 - 34	4	3
35 - 39	1	1
40 - 45	4	3
46 - 49	2	2
50 - 59	0	0
60 - 64	0	0
65 & Over	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
TOTAL	129	100

Source: Project S-61, Survey of Households

Table 16. Level of Education of Migrants: Characteristics of Migrants, From Survey of Households in Rural Low-Income Areas in North Carolina, 1966.

Grade	Number	Percent
None	1	1
1 - 4	2	2
5 - 7	14	11
8	10	8
9 - 11	26	20
12	58	46
13 & More	<u>16</u>	<u>12</u>
TOTAL	127	100

Source: Project S-61, Survey of Households.

Table 17. Relationship of Migrants to Head: Characteristics of Migrants from Survey of Households in Rural Low-Income Areas in North Carolina, 1966.

	Number	Percent
Original Head	1	1
Original Homemaker	0	0
Son	65	53
Daughter	50	41
Grandchildren	2	2
Other Relatives	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
TOTAL	121	100

Source: Project S-61, Survey of Households.

Table 18. Destinations of Migrants: Characteristics of Migrants From Survey of Households in Rural Low-Income Areas in North Carolina, 1966.

	Number	Percent
Within Community	18	14
Within County	29	23
Adjoining County	8	6
Within State	28	23
Adjoining State	4	3
Within U.S.	21	17
Outside U.S.	<u>17</u>	<u>14</u>
TOTAL	125	100

Source: S-61 Survey of Households

They became one people with seemingly similar goals and common attitudes. Of course, it has not been uneventful or easy becoming one people with a general attitude. There were conflicts arising from differences in origins or economic inequality. Such conflicts are now minimal because there are large urban centers scattered throughout the nation to which to escape.

Tennessee

Geography and Resources

Tennessee, the Volunteer State, is one of the middle southern states. It is bounded on the north by Kentucky and Virginia, on the south by Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi; on the east by North Carolina, and on the west by Arkansas and Missouri. The state is land-locked and thus has no coastline. It has an estimated area of about 42,000 square miles. The land surface is mainly mountainous and rolling. Eastern Tennessee has a mountainous terrain, being part of the Appalachian mountain range. It has a highest point of about 6,600 feet above sea level. The western part of the state is mainly rolling land. Tennessee is a well watered state with four rivers, the Mississippi, Tennessee, Hiwassee and Cumberland. There are also many lakes, natural and man-made.

The most important natural resource of the state is the soil. Although it does not have large expanses of fertile land, relatively speaking agriculture has always been an important contributor to the state's gross revenue product. Tobacco, corn, hay, cotton, soybeans and dairy products are among the state's principal crops. Another important natural resource is the area in forests made up of hardwoods and softwoods. It is claimed that Tennessee is one of the leading southern states in variety and value of mineral

production. Coal, stone, cement, phosphate, zinc, copper and clay are among the principal mineral products. If electricity could be classified as a resource, then by virtue of the location of the Tennessee Valley Authority in the state, Tennessee has another important resource, though man-made. The activities of the Tennessee Valley Authority since the 1930's, have greatly enhanced the economy of the state. This quasi-government organization has gone a long way in relieving the state of whatever adverse consequences that might have occurred from the large scale mechanization of agriculture. At the present time the contributions to the overall economy by TVA and other industries, government activities and trade, have far exceeded that contributed by agriculture. For example, in 1960, of a gross revenue product of \$7.3 billion, agriculture contributed \$36 million representing 36 percent, while other activities were responsible for 6.9 billion, representing 74 percent.⁵⁴

Generally, the climate of Tennessee is mild, but cooler in the eastern portion due to the influence of the mountains. Extremes of temperatures are not usual. The length of the growing season is long enough to allow two crops to be harvested in some cases.

⁵⁴John R. Kort, Estimating Gross State Production, Analysis and An Application to the Tn. Economy. UT Press, 1975.

History of Education

At one period, the state of Tennessee was numbered among the most literate states in the nation.⁵⁵ Although public education was instituted in the state in 1835, thus complementing the various private educational endeavors, the 1970 census figures report that 37 percent of the residents 16 years old and older had less than a ninth grade education. Table 19 shows the distribution of the educational attainment for the two labor force age groups.

The People

In 1970, the population of Tennessee was estimated at four million. The shift from a predominately agriculture based economy to a predominately industry and government based economy has altered the population concentration in the state. In 1930, the ratio of urban residents to rural residents was one to two. But by 1970, the ratio was almost inverted to two to one. The rural population changed from about 83 percent in 1900 to 41 percent in 1970. In absolute numbers though, the total rural population declined by only 75,000 between 1900 and 1970. See Table 20 for the population trend. Tables 21, 22, 23 and 24 show the migration pattern of rural low-income people as found by Project

⁵⁵ Stanley John Folmsbee, Tennessee: A Short History, Knoxville , University of Tennessee, 1969.

Table 19. Educational Characteristics of Persons 16 Years Old and Over Not Enrolled in School in the State of Tennessee in 1970.

Grade	16 - 24	Percent	25 & Over	Percent
0	5,466	2	37,126	2
1 - 4	3,656	1	165,438	8
5 - 6	8,120	2	185,402	9
7	10,815	3	120,660	6
8	29,741	8	342,238	16
9 & Over	<u>301,365</u>	<u>84</u>	<u>1,277,082</u>	<u>59</u>
TOTAL	359,163	100	2,127,946	100

Source: U.S. Population Census Reports, 1970.

Table 20. Tennessee Rural Population Trends and Changes, 1900-1970.

Group	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940,	1950	1960	1970
(In Thousands)								
Whites	1,345	1,421	1,445	1,482	1,662	1,648	1,536	1,492
Non-whites	349	323	281	238	226	191	166	125
TOTAL	1,694	1,744	1,726	1,720	1,888	1,839	1,702	1,617
Percent of population classified as rural	84	80	73	65	64	55	47	41

Source: U.S. Population Census Reports, 1930, 1950 and 1970.

Table 21. Age of Migrants: Characteristics of Migrants
From Survey of Households in Rural Low-Income
Areas in Tennessee, 1966.

Age Group	Number	Percent
0 - 19	22	18
20 - 24	55	45
25 - 29	25	21
30 - 34	8	7
35 - 39	3	2
40 - 45	3	2
46 - 49	1	1
50 - 59	0	0
60 - 64	2	2
65 and Over	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
TOTAL	122	100

Source: Project S-61, Survey of Households

Table 22. Level of Education of Migrants: Characteristics of Migrants From Survey of Households in Rural Low-Income Areas in Tennessee, 1966.

Grade	Number	Percent
None	0	0
1 - 4	5	5
5 - 7	11	9
8	28	24
9 - 11	33	28
12	30	26
13 and More	<u>10</u>	<u>8</u>
TOTAL	117	100

Source: Project S-61, Survey of Households

Table 23. Relationship of Migrants to Head: Characteristics of Migrants From Survey of Households in Rural Low-Income Areas in Tennessee, 1966.

	Number	Percent
Original Male Head	2	2
Original Homemaker	0	0
Son	68	54
Daughter	47	37
Grandchildren	1	1
Other Relatives	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>
TOTAL	125	100

Source: Project S-61, Survey of Households

Table 24. Destinations of Migrants: Characteristics of Migrants From Survey of Households in Rural Low-Income Areas in Tennessee, 1966.

	Number	Percent
Within Community	24	20
Within County	25	21
Adjoining County	29	24
Within State	13	11
Adjoining State	10	8
Within U.S.	10	8
Outside U.S.	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>
TOTAL	120	100

Source: Project S-61, Survey of Households

S-61 in 1966. Table 20 shows that although migration has been high, and the state's population has doubled, the size of the rural population has remained almost unchanged.

Speaking in terms of race, Tennessee has always had a high degree of racial homogeneity. In 1900 non-whites formed less than one quarter of the rural population. By 1970 the representation was about one twelfth. Thus in this state there has been no major racial conflict, comparatively speaking.

Although the early settlers in Tennessee arrived by various routes, they were principally of the same stock: Europeans, largely from the British Isles. The original inhabitants and later arrivals were of different stock. Irrespective of the origins of their ancestors, Tennesseans today live in a predominantly single culture much different from that of their forefathers and largely dictated by the geography of their land and prevailing economic conditions. Their seemingly uniform culture in turn has given them somewhat similar goals and a seemingly common attitude. The non-whites are relatively few in number and unevenly dispersed, and appear to have become "aggregated."⁵⁶

⁵⁶Max Weber, Basic Concepts in Sociology, N.Y., Philosophical Library, 1962. Chapter 9, pp. 91-96.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

Response depends on prevailing attitudes. Attitudes in turn depend on a number of characteristics which cause an individual to assume a particular attitude, consciously or unconsciously. From another standpoint, the attitude which an individual or group assumes depends on the current value system. The current value system depends on age, educational level, institutional environment and economic conditions of the population under consideration.

According to the stated purpose of education, the promise of a future benefit must be real or there would be no motivation to acquire the education. If it is difficult to obtain the benefit so far as the individual can tell, then the degree of difficulty could outweigh the value of the benefit. That is to say, if the access to the benefit is not easy, or involves competition, then the individual may decide "it's too much trouble."⁵⁷ Have the rural low-income people of the states of Alabama, Mississippi, North Carolina and Tennessee decided that it is too much trouble to upgrade their education? Or, is it that these people are satisfied with their quality of living and therefore do not consider "improvement" necessary?

⁵⁷ Kaufman, et al., p. 26.

Although the kinds of aspirations were not specified, Durant stated that rural low-income people have the same level of aspirations as people with high-incomes. If Durant meant the youth of low-income people, then I will agree. But if he was referring to rural low-income people as defined in this analysis, then I respectfully disagree. Aspirations imply desire as well as action. It will not be easy to confirm that rural low-income people desire to obtain what high-income people have. At the same time it will be relatively easy to confirm that rural low-income people are doing almost nothing to "improve" their quality of living.⁵⁸ What then is the value system of rural low-income people of the four states under study? What is their attitude toward education?

Tables 25, 26, 27 and 28 constitute a series of tables which refer particularly to the attitudes of the people under study, toward life in general. The first Table in the series can be regarded as the reflection of their planning horizons. Mississippi, which is relatively the poorest of the states in question, has the highest percentage of respondents agreeing to using a day-by-day living plan. The range of the magnitude of the percentages of respondents from the various states who agree, should not be considered wide. The percentages

⁵⁸The People Left Behind, p.8

Table 25. Extent of Agreement with Statement That a Person Has to Live Pretty Much for Today By Rural Residents of Four Southern States in 1966.

	North				Tennessee		Total	
	Alabama # %	Mississippi # %	Carolina # %		# %		# %	
Agree	72 52	175 69	123 54		124 59		494 59	
Do not know	2 2	20 8	5 2		2 1		29 4	
Disagree	64 46	59 23	99 44		86 40		308 37	
TOTAL	138 100	254 100	227 100		212 100		831 100	

Source: Project S-61, Survey of Households

Table 26. Extent of Agreement With Statement that The Lot of the Average Man is Getting Worse By Rural Residents of Four Southern States in 1966.

	Alabama	Mississippi	North Carolina	Tennessee	Total
	<u>#</u> <u>%</u>	<u>#</u> <u>%</u>	<u>#</u> <u>%</u>	<u>#</u> <u>%</u>	<u>#</u> <u>%</u>
Agree	52 38	136 54	109 48	99 47	396 48
Do not know	27 20	51 20	45 20	31 15	154 18
Disagree	<u>59</u> <u>42</u>	<u>67</u> <u>26</u>	<u>73</u> <u>32</u>	<u>82</u> <u>38</u>	<u>281</u> <u>34</u>
TOTAL	138 100	254 100	227 100	212 100	831 100

Source: Project S-61, Survey of Households

Table 27. Extent of Agreement With Statement That a Person Does not Really Know
on Whom He Can Count By Rural Residents of Four Southern States in 1966.

	Alabama		Mississippi		North Carolina		Tennessee		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Agree	87	63	208	83	161	71	159	75	615	74
Do not know	12	9	18	7	11	5	11	5	52	6
Disagree	39	28	26	0	55	24	42	20	162	20
TOTAL	138	100	252	100	227	100	212	100	829	100

Source: Project S-61, Survey of Households

Table 28. Extent of Agreement With Statement That Public Officials Are Not Interested in the Lot of the Average Man, Rural Residents of Four Southern States, 1966.

	Alabama		Mississippi		North Carolina		Tennessee		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Agree	71	51	150	60	134	59	110	52	465	56
Do not know	33	24	51	20	38	17	47	22	169	21
Disagree	34	25	50	20	54	24	55	26	193	23
TOTAL	138	100	251	100	226	100	212	100	827	100

Source: Project S-61, Survey of Households

from the three other states are in the fifties. The 69 percent recorder for Mississippi strengthens the inference for their attitudes rather than weakens it. The percentages in the next table is considered a corollary of the previous one, and they tend to confirm those in the other table.

Tables that follow in the series reflect the attitude created by the institutional environment. Here again Mississippi's respondents registered the highest percentage of agreement. The percentages in the two Tables also confirm each other. Table 29 deals with attitude created by interpersonal transactions, while the next table stems from actual or anticipated relationships with public officials.

The amount of social participation of a people is another indication of their attitude. In the United States the movies are considered important means of affecting the lives of people. Whether from lack of ability to pay the cost of tickets, or the non-existence of movie theatres within easy distance, a very large majority of the people interviewed never attended a movie in 1966. See Table 29. Project S-61 also recorded that 74 percent of the people interviewed never attended sports events, and 75 percent never attended fairs.

According to Project S-61 there was a good amount of intragroup socialization as noted by frequent visits with relatives and friends. The relatively close proximity of relatives and friends, who are likely to be similar in

Table 29. Frequency of Attending Movies From Rural Low-Income People in Alabama, Mississippi, North Carolina and Tennessee in 1966.

	Alabama		Mississippi		North Carolina		Tennessee		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Never	120	86	220	87	188	80	168	75	696	82
Once a Month or less Frequent	7	5	10	4	8	4	23	10	48	5
Once a Year or Less Frequent	5	3	13	5	17	7	21	10	56	7
Several Times A Year	8	6	9	4	22	9	11	5	50	6
TOTALS	140	100	252	100	235	100	223	100	850	100

Source: Project S-61, Survey of Households.

characteristics to those interviewed, allows for the intra-group socialization. Because the health characteristic was not investigated by Project S-61, it will therefore be assumed for the purpose of this analysis that the people of the study areas were in reasonably sound health. For most of those interviewed, only 80 percent had total annual family income of greater than \$7,000. This was based on self reported incomes in 1965.

The characteristics of migrants were shown in Tables 5, 12, 17 and 23. Migrants, it was explained earlier, were those who had left the households included in the survey between 1960 and 1966. In the majority of cases, migrants were offspring of those interviewed.

Summary

Before drawing conclusions it should be helpful to summarize some of the more important information presented in the various tables. The purpose of the summary is to provide a ready frame of reference.

1. The data in Tables 25, 26, 27 and 28 show that majority of the rural low-income people in the study areas have lost faith in their institutional environment.
2. Table 29 data show that the rural low-income people in the study areas have a minimum of social participation in their community, beyond immediate family and friends.

3. The data in Table 30 show that rural low-income people in the study areas tend not to consider acquiring additional education.

4. Tables 31 and 32 have data that show the similarities in age and educational characteristics of rural low-income people in the study areas.

Table 30. Household Who Has Taken Educational Courses and Those Who Have Considered Acquiring Additional Education Between 1960 and 1966.

		North									
		Alabama		Mississippi		Carolina		Tennessee		Total	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%

Table 31. Age Distribution of Residents of Low-Income Rural Areas of Alabama, Mississippi, North Carolina and Tennessee, 1966.

	Alabama		Mississippi		North Carolina		Tennessee		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
0-29	14	5	10	2	21	5	16	4	61	4
30-39	44	15	63	13	63	14	66	14	236	14
40-44	20	7	57	11	51	11	52	12	180	10.5
45-49	22	8	57	11	55	12	43	10	177	10
50-54	27	9	54	11	57	12	52	12	190	11
55-59	40	14	75	15	61	13	57	13	233	14
60-64	37	12	61	12	44	9	55	12	197	11.5
65-69	30	10	57	11	46	10	47	10	180	10.5
70-74	31	10	28	6	28	6	32	7	119	7
75 and over	30	10	42	8	37	8	29	6	138	8
TOTALS	295	100	504	100	463	100	449	100	1,711	100

Source: Project S-61.

Table 32. Educational Characteristics of Rural Low-Income Residents in Alabama, Mississippi, North Carolina and Tennessee, 1966 (Heads and Homemakers)

Grade	Alabama		Mississippi		North Carolina		Tennessee		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
None	11	4	17	3	16	3	15	4	59	3.5
1-3	23	8	28	5	44	10	38	9	133	8
4	29	10	40	8	35	8	32	7	136	8
5-7	68	23	137	28	149	33	105	24	459	27
8	35	12	93	19	57	13	128	29	313	19
9-11	62	22	97	20	99	22	62	14	320	19
12	42	14	59	12	35	8	45	10	181	11
13-15	11	4	13	3	9	2	10	2	43	2.5
16 and over	8	3	10	2	7	1	5	1	30	2
TOTALS	289	100	494	100	451	100	440	100	1,674	100

Source: Project S-61, Survey of Households

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions

From the tabulated data and the insight obtained into the geographical and cultural settings of the various states, it is concluded that in spite of the different geographical and cultural conditions, the rural low-income people of the study areas have similar age and educational characteristics and common attitudes toward education.

If a majority of rural low-income people of the four states under consideration do not attend fairs, movies and sports events; if their social participation is limited to immediate family and friends, then it should be concluded that these people have a value system of their own. That is to say, they have value system different from that of the rest of the populace which tends to place great emphasis on broad social and civic participation.

If these rural low-income people knew the value of education but prefer to see that their offspring acquire it instead, and make no effort to acquire any more beyond what they had already obtained, then it follows that they do not want additional education.

From the above conclusions, it should be inferred that age, education and social involvement rather than geography of distant cultural backgrounds, have given the

rural low-income people of the study areas a negative attitude toward education.

Although education, or rather more education, could be beneficial to these people in the long run, the required large investments in time and money may have been the costs that they can not pay. Education for them as it were, becomes a luxury. Perhaps they have preferred to use the time and money available to them to supplying their physiological needs. If Maslow's theory of hierarchy of needs is something to go by, then these people are behaving only naturally. The observations of Kaufman, Wilkinson and Cole that "Differential responses to programs of action and opportunities for mobility result in part from kinds of motives which direct the behavior of the individual. Motivation to participate in a given activity is a function of the felt needs of the individual and perceived characteristics of the activity",⁵⁹ confirm the inference.

Because rural low-income people of the study areas know the value of education and do not want it; also because they have lost faith in man, it should be concluded that they have chosen a life of "poverty" and have withdrawn from the rest of the world and assume a posture of contentment.

⁵⁹Kaufman, et al., p. 38-39.

Recommendations

I hope it is realized that the implied reason for undertaking this study was to be able to obtain an insight into the causes of poverty from summarized data, and how to remove them.

As much as the author would wish that the inference drawn from this analysis be useful, it would be frivolous to expect that it should be conclusive. However, the author hopes that the inference will be sufficiently thought provoking for more competent researchers to make further independent investigations from other standpoints using more sophisticated methods.

During the course of the research that resulted in this treatise, the author read many research reports and books on the problem of rural poverty. Almost all of the researchers who investigated the problems of rural low-income people, used their own value system as a standard for evaluation. The authors of the various books also wrote from the point of view of policy makers and 'sympathasizers'.

By investigating one problem of a group of rural low-income people from the point of view of the people themselves, this analysis inferred that low-income people of the study areas do not want additional education. This inference may appear negative, but the author suggests that it should be a challenge to stimulate further and more thorough investigations.

Policy makers and researchers alike have taken for granted that they know what is good for rural low-income people. A relevant question is, do policy makers and researchers have the capacities to know what is suitable for rural low-income people? If in spite of the many researches and investigations that have been carried out over the years, based on the value system of the researchers, the same kind of problems or rural low-income people persist, then the author suggests that it would be worthwhile for researchers and investigators to alter their approach to the problems of these people. If it is true that rural low-income people have a culture of their own, then it is possible that, based on their own value system, these people know of a more suitable means other than education that will improve their quality of living.

As a first step, therefore, the author recommends that studies should be carried out to determine whether rural low-income people are satisfied with their present conditions. If not, then further investigations should be conducted to find out whether rural low-income people have alternative proposals for improving their quality of living. Although it was inferred that the rural low-income people who were interviewed had not seemed to want additional education, the reason for that attitude toward education was not actually established.

It is the opinion of the author that program participation will be enhanced if the people themselves help to design the programs.

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