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Rural Population Mobility in South Dakota (1928-1935)

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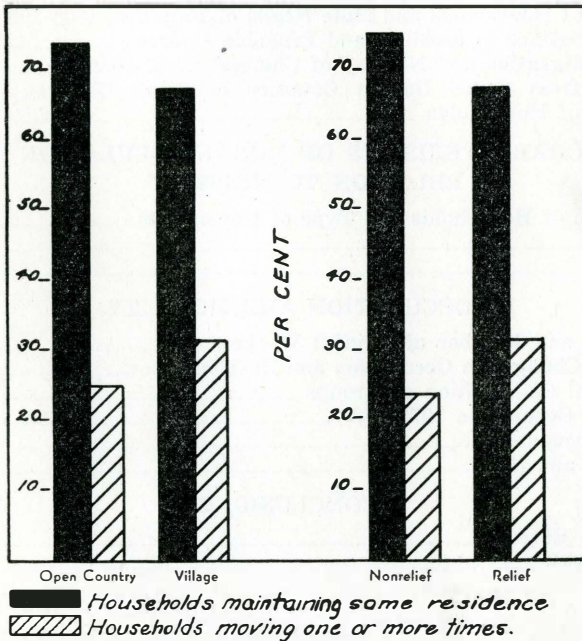
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Rural Population Mobility In South Dakota

(1928-1935)

W. F. Kumlien
Robert L. McNamara
Zetta E. Bankert



Source: Table B Appendix.

Fig. 1—Extent of Mobility of Four Types of Families in Selected South Dakota Counties 1928-35.

(Most of the households maintained the same residence during the period of the study. The non-relief group is the most stable, showing the fewest residential changes.)

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 Cooperating with
 Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration
 Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. Department of Agriculture

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General Procedure Followed in Operating the Survey.—A full-time person with college training in rural sociology was employed to supervise the field work in each county. The supervisor, with the valuable assistance of the county welfare office personnel, selected the workers from the WPA or FERA rolls, conducted a school of instruction, and personally directed editing of schedules. It was found that field work for the usual South Dakota county of about 3,000 households could be completed in about eight weeks. The schedules were then brought to the state office where a part of the tabulation was done. Later the schedules were given a final tabulation by C. E. Lively of Ohio State University in cooperation with the Division of Research and Statistics, FERA.

Rural Population Mobility in South Dakota

(1928-1935)

I. Introduction

The Problem.—As late as 1870, the vast tract of land which is now South Dakota was practically uninhabited by white people. While the states immediately bordering to the eastward had been settled as had also the states on the Pacific coast, the territory in the northwest had been passed by in favor of land which apparently offered a greater opportunity. The rush of prospectors to the California gold fields and the availability of land in the Mississippi and Missouri River valleys acted as a deterrent to settlement of the short grass country so it was not until need for new land to homestead became pressing that Dakota Territory was looked upon as an agricultural outlet.

Finally, however, the surge of foreign immigrants and the accompanying advertising of this western area by railroads brought an invasion and a veritable over-night occupation of eastern South Dakota. Homesteaders pouring into this prairie land found themselves facing an agricultural situation far different than they were accustomed to in their original eastern United States and foreign homes. First of all and of most importance, the newcomers learned that Dakota Territory occasionally was subject to extremely hot summers and cold winters and the precipitation sometimes dropped below the amount necessary for growing crops. Pioneers will testify that the severity of the winters furnished a real test of the homesteaders' courage. Obviously, a population settling under such conditions would be subject to a high rate of mobility.

A perusal of precipitation data for South Dakota by years 1890-1935 and compared with population changes for that same period will show a definite ebb and flow of population into and out of the state as rainfall was sufficient or below normal. These "waves" of migration have demonstrated that mobility is not new in South Dakota. As a matter of fact, it connotes a dynamic society insuring a constant flow of new elements into social situations. It is only when mobility becomes excessive that we become alarmed at the consequences. The severe drought covering generally the period 1930-1935 combined with the general industrial depression have resulted in a period of dire stress in South Dakota with accompanying moving out of an appreciable number of families. The consequences of such a situation with its abandoned farms, unemployment and stranded families have led us to study the mobility problem in South Dakota to learn the various aspects of the movement, and to inquire into its effect on the future welfare of the state.

Purpose.—New interest in mobility has been manifested as the effects of drought and economic depression have continued to hold sway in the midwestern states. In early 1935 when the mobility study began, emigration from many counties was greater than immigration to those counties. Popular opinion supports the assumption that the drought of 1936 gave an added impetus to that trend in migration.

As a result of this mobility three types of social and economic problems present themselves. First, there is the problem of individual adjustment to new social and economic conditions. Second, there is a problem

of community adjustments to loss of population with its accompanying deterioration of established social institutions, and third, the new community to which the migrants go must adjust itself to a sudden and relatively large increase in population.

This study was planned in response to the increased interest in population mobility. Specific purposes were to determine: The extent and nature of the mobility of the rural population; the extent to which mobility is associated with the problem of relief in the rural districts; the characteristics of households and heads of households as related to mobility, and the extent to which **spatial mobility and occupational instability** are associated.

Scope and Method of the Survey.—The schedule* used in the rural population mobility study was planned by C. E. Lively** and Conrad Taeuber.*** The study was conducted in six rural counties of South Dakota; Custer, Edmunds, Haakon, Kingsbury, Tripp and Turner. Data for every household and family in the open country and villages were secured from some reliable person in the household or family. The survey was conducted partially as an Emergency Relief Administration project and partially as a Works Progress Administration project sponsored by the Department of Rural Sociology of the South Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station.

The counties were chosen to represent distinct farming regions of South Dakota. Custer county is largely in the Black Hills area but a portion of it is in the Black Hills valley area where much variation in farming is found. Edmunds county in the north central region is typical of the extensive small grain area. Haakon county is in the central farming-grazing area of the middle west part of the state. Kingsbury county in the east central portion of the state was chosen from a small grain and livestock area. Tripp county where severe soil erosion had caused a heavy migration was taken from a moderate livestock feeding area; it is one of the south border counties. Turner county in the southeastern corner of the state represented the intense livestock feeding area.

The mobility of the population studied was measured through two main groups. First, through heads of households and families who were living in the counties surveyed on January 1, 1935, and second, through the adult children of the heads of households. By so doing, it became possible to approach the study from two angles: the place from which people are coming into the counties, and the place to which people are emigrating from the counties.

In order to find significant relationships among mobility, residence, and relief status, the individuals used in this study were classified in seven groups based on certain fundamental characteristics. The groups and number of each follow: adults (32,154), heads of households (12,088), heads of families (12,077), male heads of families (11,171), adult children at home January 1, 1929, (11,253), adult children not at home January 1, 1935, (10,282).

* Copy of schedule appears in the Appendix.

** Professor of Agricultural Economics Ohio State University, who was temporarily with the Division of Research and Statistics, FERA and who offered suggestions and directions for the operation of the study. Tabulation of schedules was carried on by C. E. Lively and Conrad Taeuber under the auspices of the Division of Research and Statistics, FERA and the Social Research Section of the Resettlement Administration.

***Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

The counties surveyed contained no urban population, only farm and village. Approximately two-thirds of the adults lived in the open country. This proportion was slightly larger than the proportions of heads of households and heads of families in the open country as there were relatively more adult children at home in the open country than in the village. (Table 1.)

Definition of Terms.—For the purposes of the rural population mobility study the following definition of terms apply:

A “village” is any center of population incorporated or unincorporated having a population of 50 to 2,499 persons. Places having fewer than 50 inhabitants (about 12 families) are to be considered “open-country.”

“Relief status” is to be taken to mean relief chargeable to public funds, (federal, state or local) and covering only those cases of residents which are reported to the State Emergency Relief Administration and are eligible to be reported to the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. A relief case is one meeting the above requirements at any time during the years 1933 and/or 1934.

II. Nature and Extent of Mobility

By Place Where Reared—Place of Residence January 1, 1929, and January 1, 1935.—At the close of the six-year span studied, the open country showed practically the same proportions of its population reared in the open country as at the beginning. However, the village group had changed its composition enough to be noticeable. The proportion of its people reared in the open country had shown a slight increase while the proportion reared in the village had registered a slight drop. This indicates a stronger trend than formerly of movement from open country to village. (Table 2.)

These gains and losses indicate a restless shifting of population seeking new situations in the hope of bettering their conditions. That greater dissatisfaction rests with the open country group is shown by the fact that the outgoing open country reared population has been only partially replaced by village and city reared.

TABLE 2.—PERSONS 16 YEARS OF AGE OR MORE IN HOUSEHOLDS JANUARY 1, 1935, CLASSIFIED BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE JANUARY 1, 1929, AND JANUARY 1, 1935, BY PLACE WHERE REARED

Place of Residence	Total	Place Where Reared									
		Open Country		Village		City		Foreign Country		Unknown	
		Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent
January 1, 1929											
Open country	21571	18199	84.4	882	4.1	546	2.5	1912	8.9	33	0.1
Village	9629	4695	48.8	3472	36.1	546	5.7	890	9.2	26	0.3
Others	954	452	47.4	175	18.4	251	26.3	68	7.1	8	0.8
January 1, 1935											
Open country	21228	17645	83.1	1031	5.0	649	3.1	1841	8.7	42	0.2
Village	10926	5701	52.2	3478	31.8	694	6.4	1028	9.4	25	0.2

Place Where Reared and Relief Status.—Relatively more of the persons in relief households than of the persons in non-relief households were reared in the open country. Also, relatively more of the persons in non-relief households than relief households were reared in the village. (Fig. 2.)

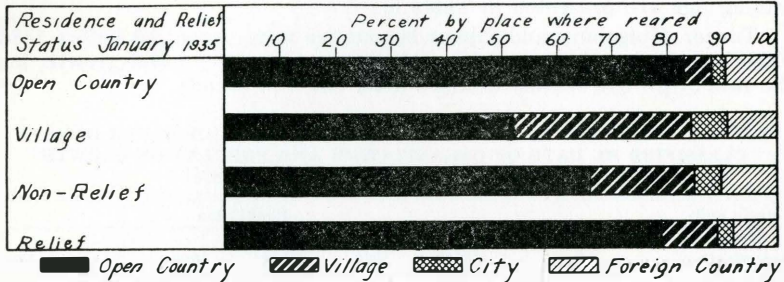
TABLE 1.—NUMBER OF PERSONS IN SPECIAL GROUPS, AVERAGE NUMBER OF ADULT CHILDREN AT HOME AND AWAY FROM HOME JANUARY 1, 1929, AND AVERAGE NUMBER OF ADULT CHILDREN AT HOME AND AWAY FROM HOME JANUARY 1, 1935, CLASSIFIED BY RESIDENCE AND RELIEF STATUS OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD, JANUARY 1, 1935, IN SIX COUNTIES OF SO. DAK.*

Groups	Residence									Relief status					
	Total		Open Country			Village			Non-relief			Relief			
	Num- ber	Aver- age	Num- ber	Per Cent	Aver- age	Num- ber	Per Cent	Aver- age	Num- ber	Per Cent	Aver- age	Num- ber	Per Cent	Aver- age	
Adult persons in household	32154	--	21228	66.0	--	10926	34.0	--	15542	48.3	--	16612	51.7	--	
Heads of households	12088	--	7600	62.9	--	4488	37.1	--	5973	49.4	--	6115	50.6	--	
Heads of families	12077	--	7614	63.0	--	4463	37.0	--	6012	49.8	--	6065	50.2	--	
Male heads of families	11171	--	7304	65.4	--	3867	34.6	--	5408	48.4	--	5763	51.6	--	
Total adult children	18209	1.5	11593	63.7	1.6	6616	36.3	1.5	8858	48.6	1.5	9351	51.4	1.5	
Adult children not at home, January 1, 1929	6956	0.6	3615	52.0	0.5	3341	48.0	0.7	3818	54.9	0.6	3138	45.1	0.5	
Adult children at home, January 1, 1929	11253	0.9	7978	70.9	1.1	3275	29.1	0.7	5040	44.8	0.8	6213	55.2	1.0	
Adult children not at home, January 1, 1935	10282	0.8	5869	57.1	0.8	4413	42.9	1.0	5262	51.2	0.9	5020	48.8	0.8	
Adult children at home, January 1, 1935	7927	0.7	5724	72.2	0.8	2203	27.8	0.5	2596	32.7	0.6	5331	67.3	0.7	

* Turner, Kingsbury, Edmunds, Tripp, Haakon, and Custer

TABLE 3.—PERSONS 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER CLASSIFIED BY RELIEF STATUS AND PLACE WHERE REARED

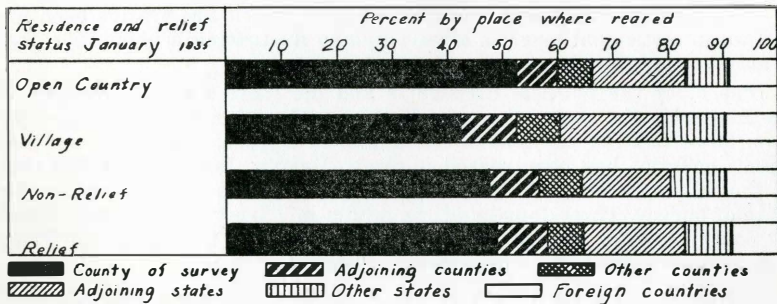
Relief status	Total	Place Where Reared									
		Open Country		Village		City		Foreign Country		Unknown	
		Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent
Total	32154	23346	72.6	4529	14.1	1343	4.2	2869	8.9	67	0.2
Non-relief	15542	10257	66.0	2925	18.8	841	5.4	1479	9.5	40	0.3
Relief	16612	13089	78.8	1604	9.6	502	3.0	1390	8.4	27	0.1



Source: Table 3 Appendix

Fig. 2—Place where reared of population groups, in six South Dakota counties January 1935—suggests that the open country contributes more to the relief population while the villages contribute more noticeably to the non-relief population.

By Political Division Where Reared—Place of Residence.—The specific inquiry in this regard is whether the greater proportion of our open country population than of our village population came from outside the state or vice versa. It is shown from Table 2 that in 1929 more of the people who were living in the open country had been reared in the state than had the persons living in the village households. That is, village households are more commonly composed of persons reared outside the state of South Dakota. The same relationship continued for those who came to the county after 1929. (Fig. 3.)



Source: Table 4 Appendix.

Fig. 3—County where reared of population groups, six South Dakota counties, January 1935—Almost one-half of the persons studied were reared in the immediate county of residence.

Relief Status.—Almost one-half of the total persons in both non-relief and relief groups were reared in the county of survey. Slight differences occurred when the place where reared was elsewhere than in the county surveyed. (Table 4, Fig. 3.)

County of Residence.—In age of settlement the six counties may be classified into two groups, older counties and younger counties. The older counties are Turner, Kingsbury, and Edmunds. Tripp, Haakon, and Custer counties are the younger. The basis of this classification is the date of county organization and the regularity of growth. Both factors determining age are presented in Table 5.

Turner, Kingsbury and Edmunds counties were organized before 1880. Each had, during the early years of settlement, a very rapid growth, but the rate of growth rapidly declined after the first decade.

TABLE 5.—COUNTIES IN THE RURAL MOBILITY STUDY OF SOUTH DAKOTA CLASSIFIED BY DATE OF ORGANIZATION AND POPULATION GROWTH FROM DATE OF ORGANIZATION TO 1930

County and date of Organization	Population						
	1930	1920	1910	1900	1890	1880	
Turner	1871	14891	14871	13840	13175	10256	5320
Kingsbury	1879	12805	12802	12560	9866	8562	1102
Edmunds	1873	8712	8336	7654	4916	4399	*--
Tripp	1909	12712	11970	8323	----	----	----
Haakon	1915	4679	4596	----	----	----	----
Custer	1883	5353	3907	4458	2728	4891	995
	Per cent increase or decrease over preceding decade						
Turner	1871	0.1	7.4	5.0	28.5	92.7	----
Kingsbury	1879	* *	1.9	27.3	15.2	696.9	----
Edmunds	1873	4.5	8.9	55.7	11.8	----	----
Tripp	1909	6.2	43.8	----	----	----	----
Haakon	1915	1.8	----	----	----	----	----
Custer	1883	37.0	12.4	63.4	44.2	391.5	----

* None reported

** Less than 0.1 per cent

Tripp and Haakon counties are young counties from point of organization, as Tripp county was organized in 1909 and Haakon county not until 1915. Custer county was organized in 1883, but it has always been uncertain in settlement and has always had so fluctuating a population that it may be classified as young.

The older the political division is and the more stable the group is, the higher is the proportion of adults reared within that political division. More than 65 per cent of the adults in Turner, Kingsbury and Edmunds counties had been reared in South Dakota. Less than 60 per cent of the adults in Tripp, Haakon and Custer counties were reared in the state of survey. Three-fourths of the adults in Turner county were reared in South Dakota, but not more than one-half of the adults in Tripp county were reared in South Dakota. (Table 6.)

More than one-half of the adults in each of the three older counties were reared in their respective counties but not much more than one-third of those in the younger counties were reared in the county of survey. The older counties also had slightly larger proportions who had been reared in adjoining counties.

Migration to and Within South Dakota Counties as Shown by Heads of Households and Male Heads of Families, 1928-1935**

Questions Arising: How extensive has been the mobility among the heads of households and male heads of families in the seven-year period, 1928-1935?

Was the mobility greater in the open country or in the village groups?

Was the mobility greater in the non-relief or in the relief groups?

Was the greater distance covered by the open country or by the village group?

Was the greater distance covered by the non-relief or relief group?

Before attempting to answer some of these specific questions in regard to mobility in relation to the population of South Dakota, it is well to recall the situation as of 1935. South Dakota had reached the height of its gains through inter-state migration in 1910. The percentage of persons born in South Dakota and living in other states had been increasing since 1890.* The history of population growth in other regions would indicate that these trends would have continued and that depression and drought merely increased their force.

Any measurement of population in 1935, then, becomes a measurement of a fairly stable population; that is, it is a measurement of a population that has remained in the state while many others were leaving. A measurement of the South Dakota people in 1936 or in 1937 should be a measurement of a population with even greater stability because the losses of population through inter-state migration have continued. The population measured now, 1937, could, to an even greater extent than in 1935, be classified as a "remaining" population.

It must be remembered, however, that migration from South Dakota has made possible more movement within the state or within the counties. George W. Hill*** described how the remaining farm households within Tripp county moved to the better farms when the former possessors left the county.***

It is expected, then, that this study will show relatively little migration into South Dakota. In fact, three-fourths of the open country population and 68 per cent of the village households had occupied only one residence from 1928 to 1935. (Table 7, Cover Page—Fig. 1.)

Those who had made a change in residence moved only a short distance. More than 80 per cent moved only within the state and 45 per cent moved only within the county of survey. Another 21 per cent came from adjoining counties within the state. Not more than one-sixth of those who moved came into the state from other states or from foreign countries. (Table 8 and Fig. 4.)

* Galpin, C. J. and T. B. Manny "Interstate migrations among the native white population as indicated by differences between state of birth and state of residence," U. S. Dept. of Agric., Bureau of Agr. Econ., Washington, D. C., Oct. 1934, p. 6, p. 44.

** Residential changes of households and male heads of families were considered for the period 1928 to 1935. Information on children of heads of households was determined for the period 1929 to 1935.

*** Hill, George W., "Rural Migration and Farm Abandonment," FERA mimeographed Research Bulletin, June, 1935.

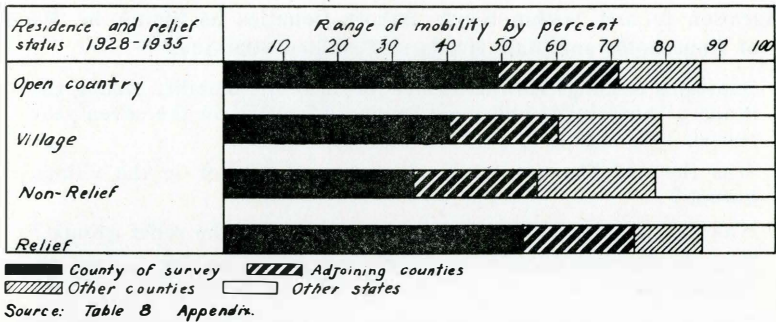


Fig. 4—Range of mobility according to major population groups in six South Dakota counties in 1928-35—Most of the people who had made a change of residence moved only a short distance.

Place of Residence and Relief Status.—The open country heads of households evidenced greater stability than did the heads of village households. Seventy-four per cent of the open country heads of households show no residential change. (Fig. 4.) This does not mean that the open country group before 1935 was more stable than the village group, but that those in the open country with lesser residential stability had gone to the village in greater numbers than the village population with lesser stability had gone to the open country.

The non-relief heads of households were more stable than were the heads of relief households. Like the open country and village groups each had a high degree of stability, but the non-relief group was much more stable than the relief group. (Cover Page—Fig. 1) This is especially significant when we recall that in South Dakota the relief group is com-

TABLE 7.—HEADS OF FAMILIES CLASSIFIED BY NUMBER OF CHANGES OF RESIDENCE 1928—1935, RESIDENCE AND RELIEF STATUS

Number of changes in residence	Total		Residence				Relief Status			
			Open Country		Village		Non-relief		Relief	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Total	12077	100.0	7614	100.0	4463	100.0	6012	100.0	6065	100.0
No change	8708	72.1	5668	74.5	3040	68.0	4563	75.9	4145	68.3
One change	2382	19.7	1333	17.5	1049	23.5	1082	18.0	1300	21.4
Two changes	666	5.5	404	5.3	262	5.9	256	4.3	416	6.8
Three or more changes	321	2.7	209	2.7	112	2.5	111	1.8	210	3.5

posed of a higher proportion of open country households than is the non-relief. Hence, one would expect the total relief group to very nearly present the characteristics of the village group. As far as mobility is concerned such is not the situation.

The open country heads of households not only were a more stable group than the heads of village households, but of those who did move, the open country heads of households covered a lesser range of migration than did the village group. Only 13 per cent of the open country households with a change in residence came from outside the state, but 20.2 per

cent of the village households with a change of residence came that far. (Table 8, Fig. 4.)

While the heads of relief households were more mobile than the heads of non-relief households their range of mobility was somewhat less. Of all four groups with a change in residence the relief group had the largest proportions with that change covering the shortest distance while more of the non-relief group moved greater distances. (Table 8 and Fig.4.)

County Variations in Mobility and Probable Causes—Degree of Mobility.—The six counties used in this survey represent fairly accurately, the conditions producing various types of local mobility throughout the state. Four of the counties: Turner, Kingsbury, Edmunds and Haakon—had fairly stable population in 1935. More than 70 per cent of each group had had a continuous residence, 1928-1935. At that time these counties probably pictured the mobility situation as it existed in the eastern half of South Dakota, and the northern part of the western half (except for the Black Hills counties). (Table 9, Fig. 5.)

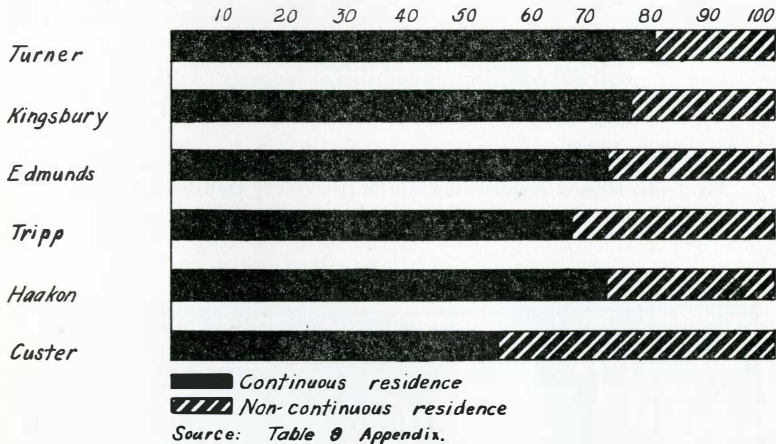
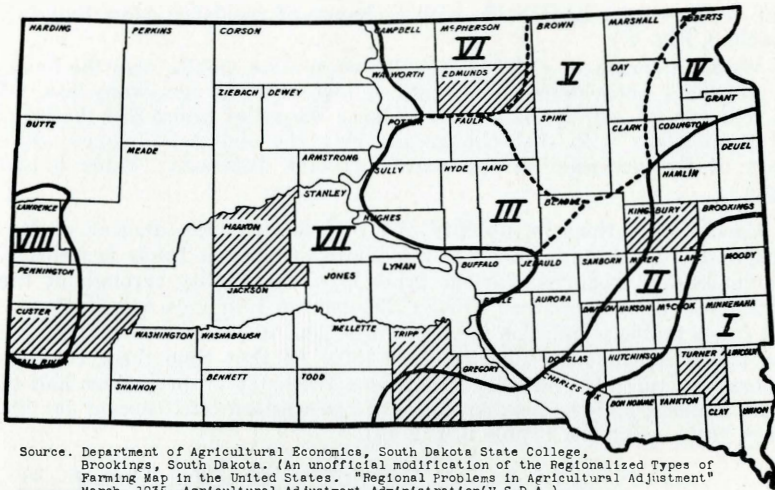


Fig. 5—The extent of mobility in each of the six survey counties 1928-35—Turner and Kingsbury being “older” counties show more permanency in residence than the younger counties.

Of all six counties, Turner county is best situated economically. It is located in the intensive livestock feeding area where corn is the chief crop (Fig. 6) and where droughts are comparatively few. It lies in a small area of the state where the rainfall per year averages more than 25 inches. (Fig. 7.) In the period 1930-1935 its average departure from normal rainfall of 19 per cent* hurt it less than a smaller departure hurt other counties with less rainfall to start with. Less of its population has had to apply for special aid than in many counties in South Dakota. In the period 1933 to 1936 it, with five other counties, received the smallest amount of federal aid

* Cronin, Francis D. and Howard W. Beers, “Areas of Intense Drought Distress,” WPA, p. 45.

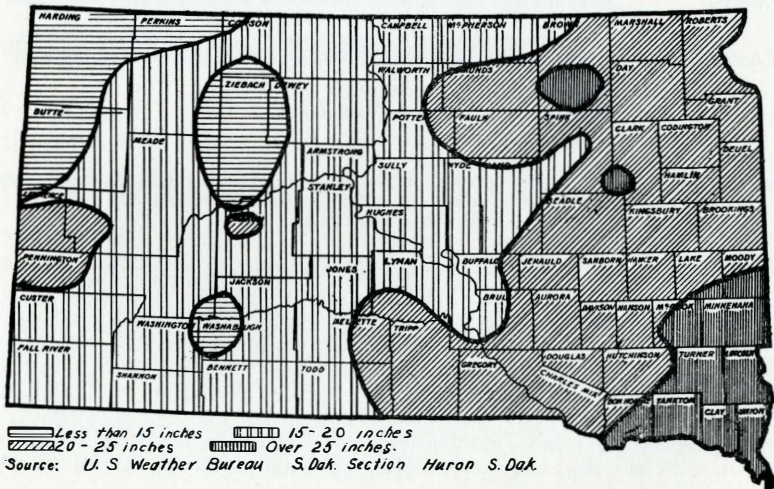


Source. Department of Agricultural Economics, South Dakota State College, Brookings, South Dakota. (An unofficial modification of the Regionalized Types of Farming Map in the United States. "Regional Problems in Agricultural Adjustment" March, 1935, Agricultural Adjustment Administration(U.S.D.A.)

Legend: Farming Areas:
 I. Corn - Intensive Livestock Production
 II. Corn Transition - General Livestock Production
 III, IV, V, VI. Cash Grain - General Livestock Production
 VII. Range Livestock Production
 VIII. Black Hills

Counties Studied:

Fig. 6—Location of counties studied with reference to the type of farming areas which they represent.



Legend:
 [White box] Less than 15 inches
 [Vertical lines box] 15-20 inches
 [Diagonal lines box] 20-25 inches
 [Horizontal lines box] Over 25 inches.
 Source: U. S. Weather Bureau S. Dak. Section Huron S. Dak.

Fig. 7—Normal annual precipitation—South Dakota.

per capita.* In 1930 it was among the high 12 counties in population density. (Fig. 8.) From a composite index for standard of living** based on 1930 census data, Turner county ranked first among the 69 counties of South Dakota. Between 1930 and 1935 Turner county lost 4.6 per cent of its farm population which made it eighteenth among the counties in the loss of farm population.***

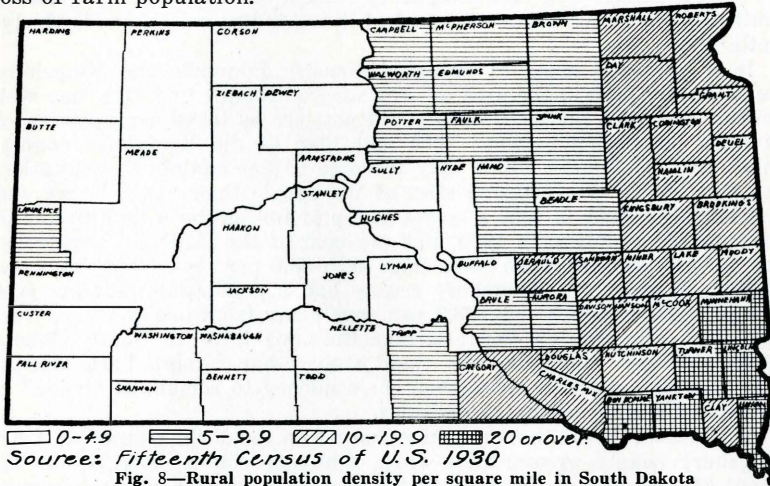


Fig. 8—Rural population density per square mile in South Dakota

All of these factors served to explain the comparative stability of the population of Turner county, a stability maintained in the face of a high rate of tenancy. If conditions are satisfactory, a high tenancy rate does not necessarily mean a high rate of mobility. In 1930, 46.2 per cent of its farmers were tenants. Both Haakon and Custer counties which had a higher rate of mobility, had farm tenancy rates of less than 25.0 per cent. Edmunds and Tripp counties had the same as that of Turner county or 43.9 per cent and 44.2 per cent respectively. Kingsbury county, which was second high in stability, had a farm tenancy rate of 55.7 per cent.

Conditions of settlement and density in Kingsbury and Edmunds counties probably are fairly closely related when the type of farming is taken into consideration. In 1930 Kingsbury had a population density of 10 to 19.9 per square mile, and Edmunds a density of 5 to 9.9. (Fig. 8) The major portion of Kingsbury county is in the small grain and livestock area, the rest is in an extensive small grain area. (Fig. 6.) Kingsbury and Edmunds both have an average rainfall slightly over 20 to 25 inches per year. (Fig. 7.) Edmunds county has been more inclined to be an extensive small grain area than Kingsbury county. (Fig. 6.) The departure from normal rainfall during the period of 1930-1935 plus the excessively low small grain prices of 1932 attacked the financial independence of these two counties. Kingsbury county had an average departure from normal rainfall of 29 per cent and Edmunds county, of 17 per cent.*

* Cronin, Francis D, and Howard W. Beers, "Areas of Intense Drought Distress," WPA, p. 45.

** Indices used: Presence of automobiles, telephones, bathrooms, and radio; use of electricity, value of total farm products of 1929, value of farm dwellings, and rate of farm ownership.

*** Taeuber, Conrad and Carl C. Taylor, "The People of the Drought States," WPA Research Bulletin, pp. 71-72.

The amount of federal aid expended in these counties indicates that they suffered much more than did Turner county. The population of Kingsbury county received \$152 federal aid per capita and Edmunds county \$206 while Turner county received \$82.* In loss of farm population, 1930-1935, Kingsbury county ranked high and Edmunds county low among the total counties.** In 1930 Kingsbury ranked twenty-first among the 69 South Dakota counties in a standard of living index and Edmunds thirtieth.***

In a combined index of drought intensity Edmunds and Kingsbury counties were both in the area of very severe drought.**** One may well wonder then why Edmunds county did not lose as large a proportion of its farm population between 1930 and 1935 as did Kingsbury county. There are two factors which may to some extent explain the situation. The first lies in the characteristics of the people themselves. There was in Edmunds county in 1930 a larger group of foreign born than in any of the other six counties. In 1930, 15.3 per cent of the Edmunds population was foreign born of which more than half, 68.2 per cent, came from one country, Russia.***** Kingsbury county had a population, 10.4 per cent foreign born of which only 28.7 per cent came from one country, Norway.***** The foreign born German-Russians have in South Dakota shown stronger communal ties than many other foreign born groups. Such ties may serve to strengthen the tendency to remain at "home" in the face of severe economic conditions.

The second factor that may have served to make the migration from Kingsbury county greater than from Edmunds county may lay in the extent of wind erosion. The soil in the western area of Kingsbury county had suffered from severe wind erosion by 1935. (Fig. 9.) Edmunds county at the time had not been severely damaged. Haakon county is in the central farming grazing area of the western half of South Dakota. It is a fairly new county, organized in 1915 with a population of less than five persons per square mile. (Fig. 8.) It has average rainfall of from 15 to 20 inches per year, (Fig. 7) and in the period 1930-1935 it had an average departure from normal rainfall of 40 percent.† The result has been a federal aid per capita of more than \$175 in 1930 to 1936.‡ In 1935 the farm population was 5.7 per cent smaller than in 1930. It had lost more farm population than Edmunds or Turner counties but less than Kingsbury.§ In 1935 it was undamaged by wind erosion. (Fig. 9.)

Tripp and Custer counties are examples of South Dakota counties with relatively high rates of mobility. From 1928 to 1935 more than one-third, 34.1 per cent, of the Tripp county heads of households in the county January 1, 1935, had had at least one change of residence. An even larger proportion (46.1 per cent) of the corresponding group in Custer county had had a change of residence. (Table 9 Fig. 5.) Here, however, the sim-

* Cronin, Francis D., and Howard W. Beers, "Areas of Intense Drought Distress," WPA, 1930-1936, p. 26, Division of Social Research.

** Tauber, Conrad and Carl C. Taylor, "The People of the Drought States," WPA, pp. 71-72.

*** Cronin, Francis D., and Howard W. Beers, op. cit.

****ibid

***** Fifteenth Census of the United States.

† Cronin, Francis, D. and Howard W. Beers, WPA, 1930-1936, "Areas of Intense Drought Distress," Division of Social Research.

‡ Cronin, Francis D. and Howard W. Beers, WPA, 1930-1936, "Areas of Intense Drought Distress," Division of Social Research.

§ Tauber, Conrad and Carl C. Taylor, "The People of the Drouth States," WPA, Research Bulletin, pp. 71-72.

ilarities end. Tripp county had a heavy movement from the county during 1930 to 1935 which resulted in movements within its boundaries but very little immigration to the county. Tripp county had an 18 per cent loss of farm population from 1930 to 1935,**** the fourth heaviest loss in the state. Custer county had a heavy migration from its territory which was largely replaced by immigration. It lost only 1.4 per cent of its farm population.****

Tripp county lies in the area of very severe drought intensity, while Custer county is in the area of moderate drought.***** Two other indices not used in the combined index also serve to show why there was less compensating immigration to Tripp county than to many other counties. Tripp county has suffered more from wind erosion (Fig. 9) than any other county in South Dakota. Its grasshopper devastation has been very heavy. Haakon county maintained a fairly stable population in the face of difficulties equal to those of Tripp county except in the matter of wind erosion. It

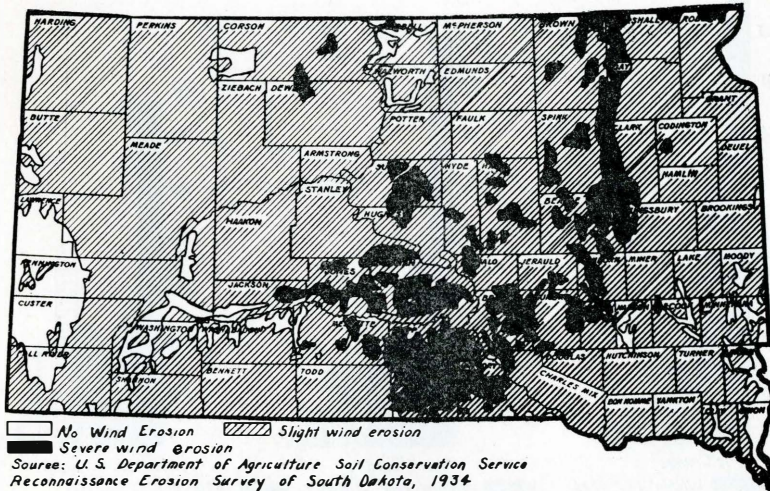


Fig. 9—Wind Erosion in South Dakota, 1934.

should be noticed that the other county in this survey losing considerable farm population, Kingsbury, was also damaged by wind erosion. (Fig. 9.)

Attention should here be called to the fact that loss of farm population does not always mean a loss in number of farms or the number of acres operated. This may be evidence that the farm population has become older and the young people are leaving rural occupations for others. Each of the six counties in this survey lost farm population between 1930-1935* but only two, Tripp and Kingsbury, suffered a loss of farms** or a loss of farm acreage.***

**** Taeuber, Conrad and Carl C. Taylor, "The People of the Drouth States," WPA, Research Bulletin, pp. 71-72.

***** Cronin, Francis D. and Howard W. Beers, "Areas of Intense Drouth Distress," WPA, 1930-1936, Research Bulletin, pp. 71-72.

* Taeuber, Conrad and Carl C. Taylor, "The People of the Drouth States," WPA, pp. 71-72.

** U. S. Census of Agriculture, 1935.

*** U. S. Census of Agriculture, 1935.

The Extent of Mobility by County.—Heads of households show a short range of migration in counties where there is relatively little mobility. Approximately 85 per cent or more of the heads of households with a non-continuous residence in each of the four more stable counties—Turner, Kingsbury, Edmunds and Haakon—had moved within the state only, and more than 43 per cent within the county only.

A county with much emigration and little immigration has a great local mobility. Tripp county had a heavier intra-county mobility than any one of the other five counties. More than half, 55.3 per cent, of its heads with a non-continuous residence changed residences within the county only. On the other hand, Custer county with a greater mobility than any of the other five counties had the least local mobility. Custer county has had both emigration and immigration but the immigrants seem to have traveled a greater distance than those who have come to other counties.

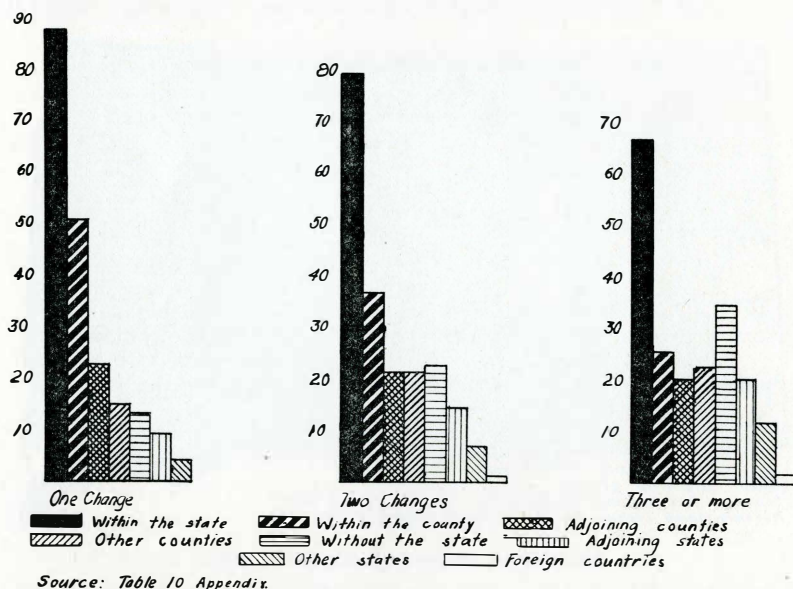


Fig. 10—Range of mobility of family heads classified by number of residential changes 1928-35—As a family moves often, the range of migration increases.

Extent of Migration and Number of Changes in Residence—Heads of Families.—There were 12,077 heads of families of which almost three-fourths, 8,708, had no change in residence. Almost one-fifth of the total number, or 2,382 heads of families had made one change in residence. Relatively few had more than one change in residence. Those had numbered 666 with two changes and 321 with three or more changes. (Table 7.)

The heads of village families as well as the heads of relief families had had more changes in residence than had the heads of open country families and non-relief families. (Table 8.)

In all groups with each additional change in residence the range of migration increased. Over 85 per cent of the group with one change of

residence made that change within the state of survey. This proportion dropped to 78.1 per cent for the group with two changes in residence and to 66.2 per cent of the group with three or more changes in residence. (Table 10 and Fig. 10.)

Adult Children Away From Home.—There were 18,209 children of the heads of households who were 16 years of age or more January 1, 1935. In 1929 more than half (61.8 per cent) of this group were at home with a much larger proportion of them from open country households than from village households. Not only were more of the village children away from home by 1929, but they had a more extended range of migration in 1929 than did the open country children. A full half of the adult children from the open country households had remained in the county of survey while only 42.6 per cent of the adult children from village households remained within the county of survey.

By 1935 only a third of the adult children from village households remained at home, but the open country households had almost one-half of their adult children at home. Again the range of migration was considerably greater for the village children than it was for the open country children. Almost three-fourths of the adult children from open country households remained within the state while only 69.3 per cent of the children from village households remained within the state.

In 1929 slightly more of the adult children who had left home from non-relief households than of those who had left home from relief households remained within the state, (74.4 per cent and 71.6 per cent respectively). There was no practical difference between the proportions of the two groups who remained in the county of survey. In 1935 also the children from non-relief households appeared to have a tendency to remain within a shorter radius of the home household than did the children from relief households. However, more of the children who had left home by 1929 from both groups of households had gone outside the state to a greater extent.

A rather interesting fact about the children who left home in 1929 is the fact that very few of them had returned home to live in 1935. Only 1.4 per cent of the group who were not at home in 1929 had returned home by 1935. On the other hand, almost a third of the group of adult children who were at home in 1929 had left home by 1935. (Table 11.)

When the second group of children, those who had left home at some time between 1929 and 1935 was considered, it was found that there was practically no difference in the range of migration of those from non-relief households and those from relief households. The proportion of those from non-relief households remaining within the state was 77 per cent, of those from relief households remaining within the state 77.1 per cent. Within the state itself, the adult children from the relief households showed a greater tendency to remain near home than did the children of non-relief households.

Migration from South Dakota Counties of Adult Children of Heads of Households—Place of Residence.—In 1929 exactly one-half of the adult children away from home had settled in the open country, approximately one-fourth in the village, and one-fifth in large and small cities. Only small proportions had settled in foreign countries or in unknown residences. In 1929 the open country had gained far more proportionately in population from the village than it had returned to the village. By 1935

the group of children who were not at home in 1929 had begun to move away from the open country. Both the villages and the large cities gained considerably from this movement. (Table 10A and Fig. 11.)

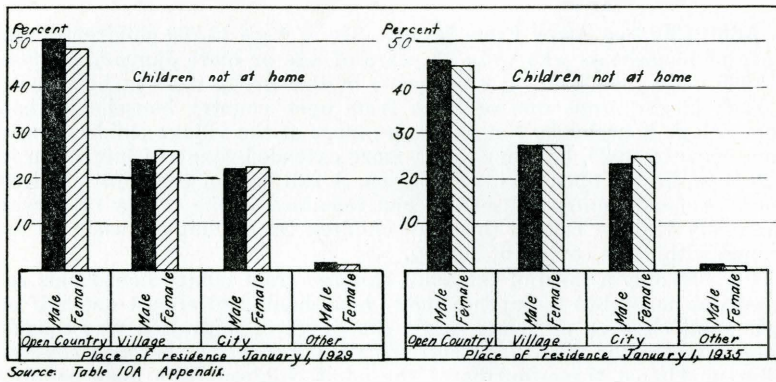


Fig. 11—Children of heads of households who were not at home 1929 and 1935—It is apparent that children are moving from the open country to the villages and cities.

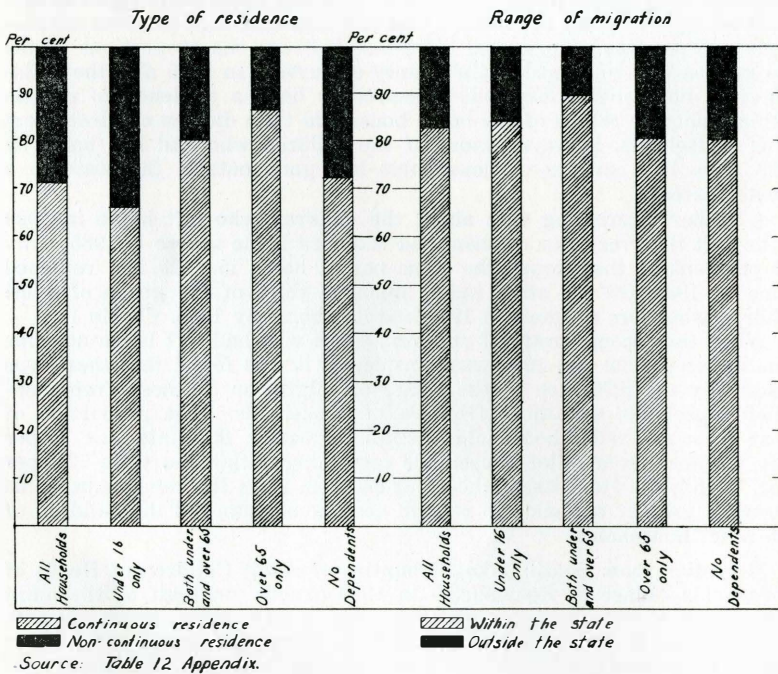


Fig. 12—Range of migration and type of residence of households according to type of dependents 1928-35—Younger families move about more readily than do older families.

The second group of children to be considered was the group of adult children who were at home in 1929. Approximately one-third (30 per cent) of this group had left home by 1935. This group did not settle in the open country to the extent that the first group did. Whereas 50 per cent of the children away from home in 1929 were in the open country, only 45 per cent of the children who left home between 1929 and 1935 were in the open country. Both open country and village households had reduced the proportion which settled in the open country.

Relief Status.—The adult children away from home in 1929 of the households which became relief households showed a greater tendency to choose the open country as the place of their residence than did the adult children of the non-relief households.

In the six years elapsing between 1929 and 1935 children from both non-relief and relief households continued to leave the open country, largely to go to the centers of population. (Table 10A.)

The group of children which were at home in 1929 but left thereafter did not show as great a tendency to seek the open country as did their older brothers and sisters. Especially was this true of the group which came from the non-relief households. The children from relief households showed a greater tendency to settle in the open country.

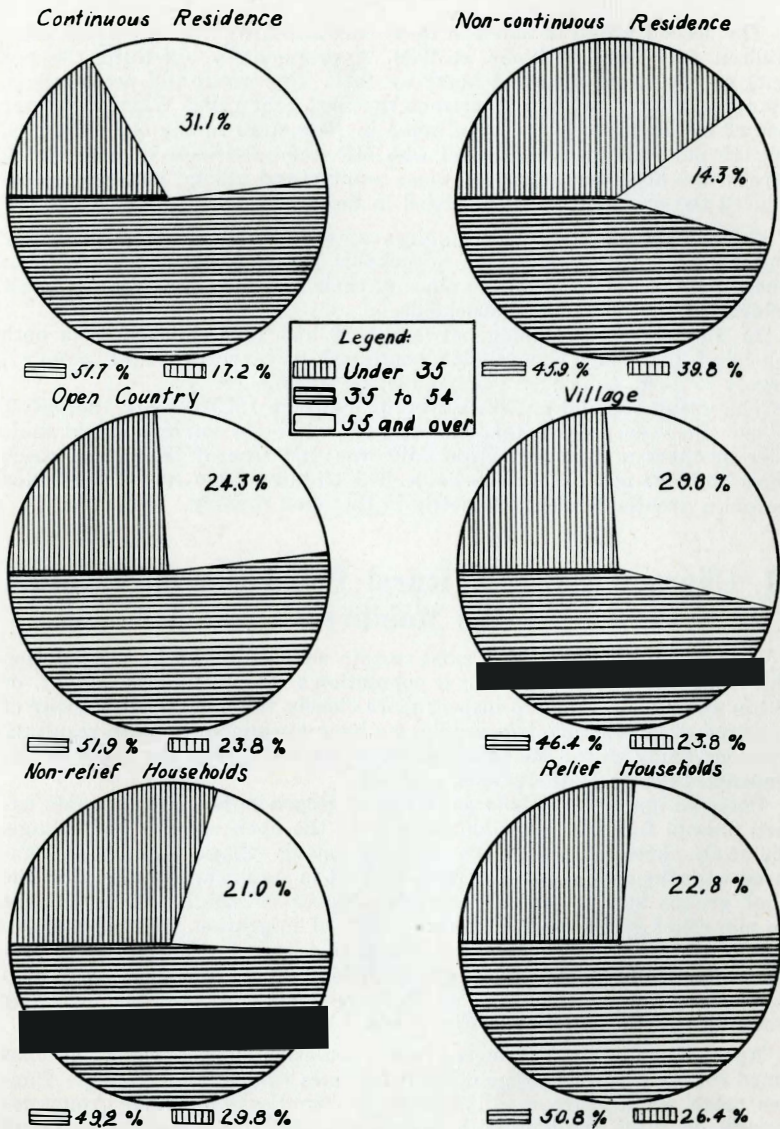
III. Characteristics of Rural Population in Relation to Mobility

It is recognized that there exist certain characteristics in a population which have a distinct effect on a population's movement into, out of, or within an area. In order to inspect more closely the mobility behaviour of a portion of South Dakota's people, we have examined the data resulting from our study as to: **the composition of the household, the types of dependents, the age of the people, and sex.**

Composition of Household and Type of Dependents.—As we would expect, normal families predominate both in the open country and village. The study shows slightly more mobility among village families as compared with the open country. (Table 11.) It is significant to note that the relief groups had in general a greater degree of mobility (Fig. 3), but the non-relief groups had a greater range of migration. This may be indicative of numerous short moves (farm to farm) on the part of the relief groups while the non-relief groups being in a greater position to plan wisely, confined their movements to more purposeful changes involving generally greater distances. (Fig. 3 and 4.)

Age.—When age is considered as a population characteristic and examined for its relations to mobility, it becomes evident that younger families move about more readily than do the families of older age groups especially do those families with dependents under 16 years of age only move about more readily than do the older families (Fig. 12, Fig. 13, Table 12, Table 16, and Fig. 16.) The age group 35-54 years shows itself to be the most stable. (Table 13 Fig. 13)

It seems to be shown that the heads of families in the village were older than those in the open country. (Fig. 14.) Each age group in the village shows almost the same rate of mobility as the corresponding age group in the open country. (Table 14.)



Source: Table 13, 13A Appendix

Fig. 13—Age of male heads of families classified by type of residence, residence, and by relief status, 1928-1935.

Sex.—There was not a great deal of significance brought out by the inquiry into the relative degree of mobility among the males and females. There is some importance in the finding that the proportion of males was

slightly greater in the open country and the proportion of females slightly greater in the villages in both 1929 and 1935. Among the older group of children there was a tendency for the females to migrate farther

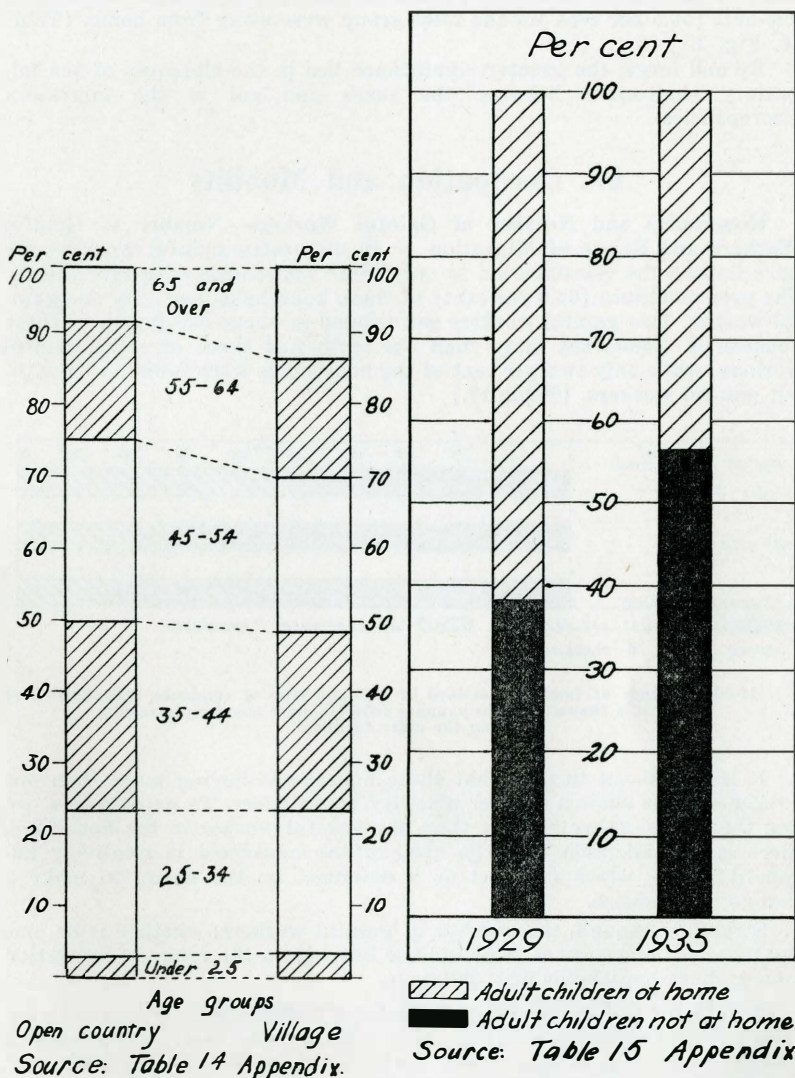


Fig. 14—Age and residence of male heads of families 1928-35—More often the heads of families in the village are older than those of the open country.

Fig. 15—Percentage of adult children at home and not at home January 1929-1935—Showing the normal rise of percentage of children away from home for the period 1929-1935 from a constant group of households.

than the males while of the younger group, more of the females than of the males, remained within the state.

In every county the households had slightly more male than female adult children. The whole group had slightly more than a third (38.2 per cent) of its number away from home in 1929; six years later more than one-half (56.5 per cent) of the total group were away from home. (Table 15, Fig. 15.)

By and large, the greater significance lies in the closeness of the migratory similarities between the sexes and not in the migratory discrepancies.

IV. Occupation and Mobility

Households and Number of Gainful Workers—Number of Gainful Workers and Range of Migration — In discussing gainful workers, we have limited the classification to only those households with male heads. The preponderance (64.0 per cent) of these households had only one gainful worker. Two gainful workers were found in about one-fourth of these households. Somewhat more than one-tenth had three or more gainful workers, while only two per cent of the households were found to be without gainful workers. (Table 17.)

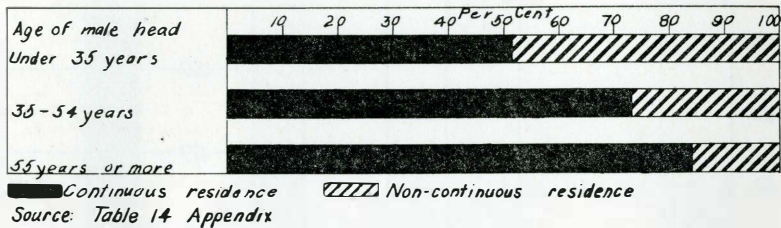


Fig. 16—Male heads of families classified by age and type of residence 1928-1935—Here again, it is shown that the younger families move about more readily than the older families.

It is significant to note that those households having more than one gainful worker show a greater stability in residence. To explain this, we find that where there is more than one gainful worker in the household, there is an indication that the head of the household is relatively advanced in age which may act as a deterrent on the desire to make a change in residence.

Strangely enough, the number of gainful workers, whether it be one, two, three or more seems to have little bearing on the range of migration among those households who did move.

Number of Gainful Workers As Related To Residence.—It is commonly noted that in South Dakota, many rural people move to the nearby villages and towns to spend their declining years. This may account for the observation that there are a larger proportion of households with one or two gainful workers in the villages than in the open country. Conversely, the open country households show a larger proportion with three or more gainful workers. (Table 17.)

The Number of Gainful Workers In The Households And Their Relief Status.—No great difference is noted between the relief and non-relief groups as to number of gainful workers. Again we are reminded of the indication of older heads in the non-relief group when it is learned that this group has a larger proportion of households both with no gainful workers as well as with more than one gainful worker. (Table 18.)

Significant Changes In Occupation and Residence, Total Group.—In studying the occupation changes of the 11,171 male heads of families, it is found that two-thirds of the heads had no change in occupation during the period under study and that not quite one-fourth had changed occupations only once. It followed rather generally that change of occupation seemed to be concomitant with a change of residence. That is, the largest

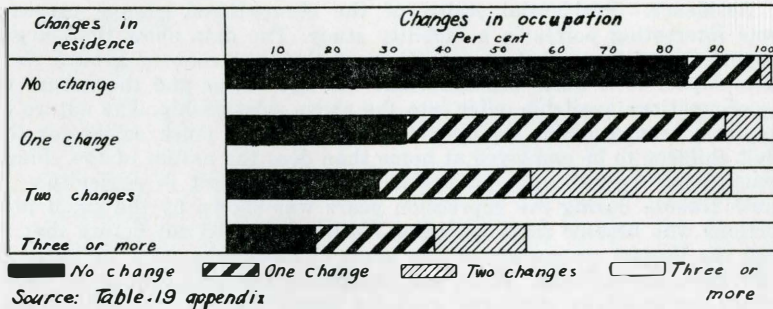


Fig. 17—Changes in residence and changes in occupation for the male heads of families 1928-35—Change of residence for the families studied seems to go hand in hand with change of occupation.

proportion of the group having one change of residence had one change of occupation, two changes of residence with two changes of occupation, etc. (Table 19, Fig. 17.)

Residence.—Examining the mobility data further, we note a proportionately greater change of residence for the village households than for the open country households. Too, it is significant that the occupation changes are proportionately greater for village households than for open country households. For both groups there was a decided association between the number of changes in residence and the number of changes of occupation. (Table 20.) The significance here is to show the dominating place agriculture takes in South Dakota. The village occupations are more likely to involve changes of residence than is required of agriculture in the open country.

Relief Status.—Families who have been on the relief rolls showed somewhat different occupational and residential histories from those who had not received relief benefits. Non-relief families demonstrated an ability to maintain the same occupation and residence throughout the period of study whereas relief families indicated a tendency to change residence a number of times without a change of occupation.

Occupational Composition of Groups—Composition of Groups.— In this study, four groups have been isolated for discussion of their occupations as related to mobility. These groups are: heads of households; male

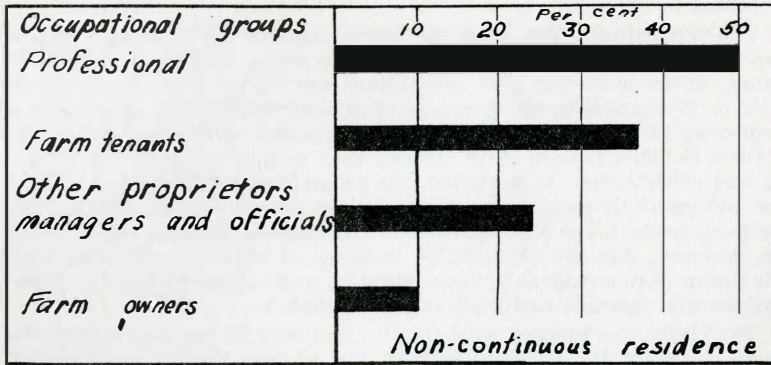
heads of families; adult children not at home January 1, 1929; adult children at home on January 1, 1929. The first three of these groups show a relatively high degree of employment, the number not gainfully employed hovering around 10 per cent for each of the three groups. However, the children who were at home January 1, 1929, have more than one-third of their group not gainfully employed on January 1, 1935. (Table 21.) It is suggested that the drought, pestilence and industrial depression have combined to thwart the efforts of this group particularly in obtaining employment. The major occupations of the heads of households, male heads of families, and children not at home January 1, 1929, were those of farm owners and farm tenants. Less than 10 per cent of each of these groups was engaged in any one of the other occupations. (Table 21.)

Residence.—Residential status of the occupational groups presents some interesting points in a mobility study. The data show that larger proportions of the village groups than of the open country groups were unemployed. It is quite probable that the age factor and the nature of the occupations available enter into the above relationship. The nature of the farm occupation in the open country makes it much easier for the adult children to be employed at home than does the nature of the village occupations. An indication of the lack of employment in agriculture in South Dakota during the depression years was shown by the small proportions who became farm laborers. We have pointed out before that in 1935 the largest proportion of the adult children who were at home in 1929 were **unemployed**. With one exception, the proportions of these groups not gainfully employed were far larger than the proportions employed in any one or in any two occupations. That one exception was the proportion of open country children employed as farm laborers—32 per cent. Again we wish to point out that this may not be in actual employment resulting from need of workers, but that the children were considered employed if they worked at home simply because there was nothing else for them to do. There is some indication that the younger children are entering the professions to a larger extent than the older ones. (Table 22.)

Relief Status.—In considering the occupational groups from the standpoint of their relief status, the following general statements may be made: (1) For the heads of households and the male heads of families, practically the same proportions of the non-relief and relief groups were farm owners, but larger proportions of the relief groups were farm tenants. (2) The non-relief groups show larger proportions classified as professional workers, managers, proprietors and officials, clerks, skilled workers, semi-skilled workers, and as farm laborers. (3) The relief group outranked the non-relief group as to those not gainfully employed. (4) The adult children not at home January 1, 1929, had larger proportions whose parents were relief cases and as farm tenants, semi-skilled workers, farm laborers, unskilled workers, and not gainfully employed. (5) Only slight and insignificant variations were found in the distribution by occupations of the adult children at home in non-relief and relief households. (Table 23.)

Stability and Range of Migration.—The major occupational groups as previously listed were examined for stability and range of migration over the period 1928-1935. It was found that the farm owners, tenants, propri-

ctors, managers and officials groups show a higher degree of stability than do the professional, semi-skilled and other unskilled groups. It is interesting to note that the professional group had the least stability of all. Only about half of that group had remained in one residence from 1928 to 1935. (Table 24, Fig. 18.)



Source: Table 24. appendix.

Fig. 18—Percentage non-continuous residence of male heads of families in four major occupational groups—Only about one-half of the professional group remained in the same residence from 1928-1935.

The professional group not only had the least stability but it also had a comparatively greater range of migration. The largest share of the professional group who came from outside the state came from other than adjoining states which may be because so few of the schools offering professional training are located in or adjoining South Dakota.

The farm-tenant group had the least range of migration, over half of the farm tenants studied who have moved within the state had confined their move only within the county of survey. Those not gainfully employed most closely approached the farm-tenant group in this regard. These proportions present interesting contrasts to the professional group in which just slightly more than one-tenth of the people with a non-continuous residence had confined themselves to the county of survey. (Table 24.)

Changes in Occupation 1929-1935—Considering Male Heads of Families.—Obviously the changes in occupation are one of the major criteria by which the stability of a population may be measured. Examining the rural population mobility data in this respect, we learn that of the occupational groups the farm-owners group shows 90 per cent in the same occupation in 1935 as in 1929. The professional group ranked a close second with almost the same percentage retaining its 1929 occupational status. The farm tenants and proprietors followed closely while the remaining five occupational groups show a somewhat smaller per cent in the same occupation over the period 1929-1935. (Table 25.)

A change from one occupation to another may indicate a rise or fall in the fortunes of the population. Especially is this true of an agricultural

area where the usual normal change would show an individual beginning his career as a farm laborer, then progressing through farm tenancy into farm ownership. Generally, any deviation from this "climbing of the occupational ladder" might be regarded as indicative of a lack of opportunity in the area. In order to show a clear picture of the change from one occupation to another only three of the changes for each occupation are presented in Table 25.

The occupation which drew the largest number from another occupation was designated as a major change. Two minor changes were selected. Hence, in Table 25 the nine occupations are shown with three changes each, or 27 changes in all. A not-gainfully-employed group is listed most frequently (8 times) among these 27 changes. Six of the 27 changes were to farm tenants, four to farm owners, four to other proprietors, managers and officials, four to unskilled, one to professional, and one to clerks. The not-gainfully-employed was the major change for the professional, the farm tenants, the other proprietors, managers, officials, skilled workers, foremen, and the semi-skilled workers of 1929. The proportions to this group were significantly large (that is, over 10 per cent of the skilled workers and foremen and semi-skilled workers.)

The clerks and kindred workers also had over 10 per cent of the 1929 group not gainfully employed in 1935, but as they had the same proportion changing to other proprietors, managers and officials, that group gainfully employed was given the ranking of major change. The unskilled workers of 1929 had the largest proportion entering the not gainfully employed group but this constituted their first minor change and not their major change. Proportions of other groups entering the not gainfully employed ranks were not significantly large.

The professional group had less than 5 per cent of its number entering any one other occupation in the six years under study. The largest change made by the farm owners and managers was the 5 per cent change to farm tenants. This was their major change. The farm tenants had an almost equal proportion changing to farm owners. This was their first minor change as 7 per cent of their group were not gainfully employed in 1935. Also 7 per cent of the other proprietors, managers and officials were not gainfully employed in 1935 with less than 5 per cent making any other change.

The skilled workers and foreman had about the same proportion in their two minor changes as they had in their major change. It will be recalled that the major change was the change to the not gainfully employed. The two minor changes for this group were definitely to the managerial occupations, 7 per cent becoming farm tenants and nearly 7 per cent becoming other proprietors, managers, and officials. The semi-skilled workers not only had approximately one-sixth of their group entering the unemployment rank but had an additional 8 per cent dropping in occupational status to become unskilled workers in 1935. Only their second minor change showed an upward step in occupational status. This was a 7 per cent change to farm tenants.

The unskilled workers who showed the greatest proportions in the not gainfully employed group, also showed the largest proportion rising on the occupational ladder. Over one-fourth of this group became farm tenants. A second minor change was also to a farm occupation, 6 per cent of the group becoming farm owners.

Of those not gainfully employed in 1929 who became gainfully employed in 1935, 8 per cent became farm tenants, 6 per cent entered the professional ranks and 6 per cent became unskilled workers. (Table 25.)

The non-relief male heads of families showed a somewhat greater stability in occupation than did the relief heads of families; however, the variation in proportions in either group in the same occupations in 1935 as in 1929 was hardly large enough to be of any great significance. Of the non-relief group 78 per cent occupied the same occupations in 1935 as in 1929 while the proportions of the relief male heads of families with no occupational change was 70 per cent.

Some of the variations by occupations with relief status are highly significant. For example 90 per cent of the non-relief professional group were in the same occupation in 1935 as in 1929 while only 52 per cent of the relief group in a professional occupation was in the same occupation in 1935 as in 1929. The greatest change for this latter group was a change of 35 per cent to the not gainfully employed. However, the small number of cases in this relief group greatly lessens the significance of the large variation. (Tables 26 and 27.)

The farm owners and managers of each group showed very little variation according to relief status with the non-relief farm owners and managers showing somewhat more stability than did the relief owners and managers. However, the occupational stability of the relief farm tenants was somewhat greater than that of the non-relief farm tenants. (Tables 26 and 27.)

Stability and occupation was greatly in favor of the non-relief clerks and kindred workers, skilled workers, and foremen, semi-skilled workers and unskilled workers. The major change for the relief group in any one of the above occupations was to the not gainfully employed group; 35 per cent of the clerks and kindred workers, 29 per cent of the skilled workers and foremen, 40 per cent of the semi-skilled workers, and 35 per cent of the unskilled workers—were not gainfully employed in 1935. The reason for the large difference in the variations in stability of occupations between the non-relief and relief male heads of families in these occupations while there was not for the total group, lies in the following relationship. The farm owners and the farm tenants together constitute almost one-half of the entire group. Those in these two occupations showed little variation in their occupational stability. (Tables 26 and 27.)

Age and Occupation—Heads of Households.—Age is an important factor influencing the employment status of the individual. There is an age at which an individual because of the experience and training which he has received may expect himself more apt to be employed than at a younger age when he lacked both training and experience, or an older age when mental or physical deterioration may have lowered his employment value. A little of this relationship is suggested in Table 28.

Every table which presents occupational groups points to the significance of agricultural occupations of South Dakota. A farm occupation is the major activity in every age group. Examining the data more closely, we find that for the three younger age groups, farm tenancy was the major occupation and that for the three older age groups, farm ownership was the major occupation. According to these indications, those interested in farm occupations might expect to pass from farm tenancy to farm ownership at about the age of 45 years. A significant proportion

accomplished this at an earlier age. On the other hand, it also is indicated that a significant proportion may expect to remain farm tenants throughout their lives. (Table 28.)

In reviewing the situation for significant contrasts in the non-relief and relief groups, a tendency is shown for the primary and unskilled occupations to be receiving relief. Those who were engaged in occupations other than farming, namely as proprietors, managers and officials, were not so likely to be on the relief rolls. This point loses in significance, however, when one realizes that these non-relief groups actually received relief indirectly through groups who were on the relief rolls. (Tables 29 and 30.)

Occupation and Sex.—The adult children away from home January 1, 1929, and the adult children at home January 1, 1935, were classified by sex and occupation on January 1, 1935. For married daughters the husband's occupation was used. These data are presented in Table 31. There were slightly more female than male children away from home which may indicate that the female children leave home at an earlier age than do male children.

There was no significant difference between the distribution of the male and female children away from home by occupation.

More than half of the female children at home were not gainfully employed January 1, 1935, but only one-fourth of the male children were not gainfully employed. This point is not so significant when we recall that female children at home are not considered gainfully employed although they may be taking an active part in keeping the home whereas male children were considered gainfully employed if they were taking an active part in the farm work. The professions claim 10 per cent of the female children at home while only 3 per cent of the male children at home were so employed.

There seems to be little doubt but that the majority of the female children in the professions were engaged as country school teachers. In a rural area such as comprises the whole state of South Dakota, many rural school teachers live on the "home farm" and teach in the "district school." (Table 31.)

V. Conclusions

Intelligent planning for an area like South Dakota becomes a problem of great importance to both the student of social welfare and to the general citizenry of the state and nation. Population gains and losses have served to bring the problem to the forefront. This, plus the industrial depression and protracted drought of 1930-35 have aggravated the general economic and social situation so that the conclusions of this population mobility study may throw some light on the South Dakota scene as of 1935.

Nature And Extent.—Almost three-fourths of the households had occupied the same residence during the period of study, 1928-35. The remaining one-fourth of the population constitutes the group whose moving about holds considerable significance in: the survival of the small towns; the retaining of the vital forces of the farming communities; and the passing on of a worthwhile cultural heritage to future generations.

The part of the population which has been hardest hit by the loss of income seems to be the open country group, that is, the farmers, who be-

cause of crop failure were the first to apply for public relief. Although the open country group had a larger proportion of its people on relief than the village group we should remember that the village merchants and professional persons were deriving an appreciable part of their incomes from the relief groups.

The net loss of population in South Dakota over the period of the study was felt more by the open country than the villages, the adult children leaving home seem to desire more and more a home elsewhere than on the farm. Consequently, the farms sent more adult children to the villages and cities than they received in return.

Characteristics.—Size of family including type of dependents, age of heads of families, and sex of the family members are all characteristics that effect the mobility of a population group. If proper planning for this area is to be effected, cognizance must be taken of the bearing these characteristics have on population movements. That is, one should recognize that a predominance of young family heads with few dependents will effect the net population far differently than a predominance of older family heads. The importance of characteristics in relation to mobility is established as one of the major factors to consider in population problems.

Occupation.—After reviewing the mobility data as related to occupation, we must conclude that, in South Dakota, the significance is relegated to the background because agricultural occupations constitute by far the major part of the gainful activities within the state and that these agricultural occupations are directly dependent on the status of South Dakota agriculture. Farm tenants and owners do not show as high a rate of mobility as do the professional and proprietary groups which seems to indicate those in non-farm occupations are able to move about with less difficulty than those in the farm occupations. Training and experience are qualifications that pay dividends as is hinted by the statement that the primary and unskilled occupation groups are those most likely to be on relief.

VI. Appendix

Apparent Discrepancy—State Census and Rural Mobility Study.—The extent to which households who were in the county January 1, 1935, may have departed is suggested by the data presented in Table 1A which shows the population in each county as given by the Fifteenth Census of the United States for 1930, by the Fifth State Census of South Dakota for 1935 and by the Rural Mobility Survey of 1935.

The State Census of 1935 revealed the fact that each of the six counties lost population from 1930 to 1935. These losses varied from 1.6 per cent of the population in Custer county to 15.7 per cent in Tripp. The Rural Mobility Survey showed a similar but stronger trend. According to the results from that survey, the losses varied from 6.9 per cent of the 1930 population in Edmunds county to 27.1 per cent in Kingsbury (Table 1A).

The differences in the results of the Rural Mobility Survey and the State Census of 1935 are indicative of the spring migration in five of those counties (all except Tripp). In South Dakota the greatest migra-

Schedule

Rural Population Mobility

- I. 1. Name of head of household -----
 2. P. O. Address -----

- II. Place of Residence
 1. State ----- 2. County ----- 3. Village -----
 4. If not living within the limits of any village, check (x) here ()

- III. Did this household receive any public relief:
 1. During 1933? Yes () No () Not Ascertainable ()
 2. During 1934? Yes () No () Not Ascertainable ()
 3. Month of last relief during 1934 -----

IV. Members of Household and all Living Children of Head of Household

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Relationship to head									
2. Sex (M. or F.)									
3. Color or race and nativity									
4. Marital Status (S.M., Wid., Sep., Div.)									
5. Age at first marriage									
6. Was person attending school (yes or no)									
7. Last year of school completed									
8. Age									
9. Residence: Longest continuous: This county									
10. This state									
11. Total This county									
12. This state									
13. Place where reared: Place (specify)									
14. County (specify)									
15. State or county (specify)									
16. Number of years at that place									
17. Number of years spent on farm, age 8-16									
18. If employed: Occupation									
19. Industry									
20. Month and year last regular employment ended									
21. Last regular employment: Occupation									
22. Industry									
23. Residence Jan. 1, 1929: Place (specify)									
24. County (specify)									
25. State or county (specify)									
26. Was person employed Jan 1, 1929 (yes or no)									
27. Occupation									
28. Industry									
29. Was person in this household Jan. 1, 1935 (yes or no) If no:									
30. Residence Jan. 1, 1935 Place (specify)									
31. County (specify)									
32. State or County (specify)									
33. If child has ever left home, give age at leaving									

V. Residence of Head of Family, January 1, 1928 to January 1, 1935

Month And Year Moved To This Place	Month And Year Moved Away From This Place	Code (Do Not Write In This Column)	Place (specify)	If Open Country Check (x)	County (specify)	State or Country (specify)

RURAL POPULATION MOBILITY IN SOUTH DAKOTA 31

VI. Occupational History of Family, January 1, 1928 to January 1, 1935

Month And Year This Job Began	Month And Year This Job Ended	Main Occupation		Supplementary Occupation		If Farm Operator	
		Occupation	Industry	Occupation	Industry	No. of Acres Operated	Relationship To Landlord

Schedule completed -----
(month, day, year)

Signature of person filling out the schedule

tion of the year usually takes place in March. In the counties where the survey took place in the fall or at a later date than January or February, 1935, the number of households which were not contacted because they had left the county or because they had moved in since January 1, 1935, depended upon the rate of migration. There is the least discrepancy between the results of the State Census and the Rural Mobility Survey for Tripp county in which the survey was conducted during the winter months of 1935.

The greatest discrepancy was shown for Kingsbury county which was not surveyed until Spring, 1936. That, no doubt, resulted in a failure to contact many households that may have been in the county January, 1935, but had left by the time of the survey. As there were few abandoned homes in these five counties in 1935, it also meant that no record of the group who moved into the county after January 1, 1935, was secured. Only households in the county January 1, 1935, were contacted.

TABLE 1A.—POPULATION OF SIX COUNTIES OF SOUTH DAKOTA CLASSIFIED BY RESIDENCE AND COUNTY AS REPORTED BY THE 15th CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1930, BY THE 5th CENSUS OF THE STATE OF SOUTH DAKOTA, 1935, AND BY THE RURAL MOBILITY SURVEY, 1935

Counties	Total Population Open Country						Village		
	Federal census 1930	State census 1935	R. M. survey 1935	Federal census 1930	State census 1935	R. M. survey 1935	Federal census 1930	State census 1935	R. M. survey 1935
Total	59152	54920	48738	38626	35714	32893	20526	19206	15845
Turner	14891	14554	12777	9593	8905	8294	5298	5649	4483
Kingsbury	12805	11493	9337	7999	6832	5775	4806	4661	3562
Edmunds	8712	8534	8107	5808	5601	5274	2904	2933	2833
Tripp	12712	10712	10566	9248	7774	7643	3464	2938	2923
Haakon	4679	4359	3933	3282	3176	2982	1397	1183	951
Custer	5353	5268	4018	2696	3426	2925	2657	1842	1093
Extent of Change	-----	4232	10414	-----	2912	5733	-----	1320	4681
Turner	-----	337	2114	-----	688	1299	-----	351	815
Kingsbury	-----	1312	3468	-----	1167	2224	-----	145	1244
Edmunds	-----	178	605	-----	207	534	-----	29	71
Tripp	-----	2000	2146	-----	1474	1605	-----	526	541
Haakon	-----	320	746	-----	106	300	-----	214	446
Custer	-----	85	1335	-----	730	229	-----	815	1564

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(Certain "key" tables are included in the narrative of this bulletin, the others are available, upon request, in mimeographed form from the Department of Rural Sociology, South Dakota State College, Brookings, South Dakota.) Tables preceded by asterisk (*) appear in the narrative.

- *1—Number of persons in special groups, average number of adult children at home and away from home January 1, 1929 and average number of adult children at home and away from home, January 1, 1935, classified by residence and relief status of head of household, January 1, 1935 in six counties of South Dakota.
- *1A—Population of six counties of South Dakota classified by residence and county as reported by the 15th Census of the U. S. 1930, by the 5th Census of the state of S. Dak, 1935, and by the Rural Mobility Survey, 1935.

- *2—Persons 16 years of age or over in households January 1, 1935 classified by place of residence January 1, 1929 and January 1, 1935 by place where reared.
- *3—Persons 16 years of age or over classified by relief status and place where reared.
- 4—Persons 16 years of age or over in households Jan. 1, 1935 classified by place of residence Jan. 1, 1929 and by county where reared.
- *5—Counties in the Rural Mobility study of S. Dak., classified by date of organization and population growth from date of organization to 1930.
- 6—Persons 16 years of age or over in the households surveyed in six counties of S. Dak., classified by county of present residence and by county where reared.
- *7—Heads of families classified by number of changes of residence 1928 to 1935, residence and relief status.
- 8—Heads of households and families with male heads classified by residence, relief status and range of mobility 1928 to 1935.
- 9—Heads of households classified by county and range of migration, 1928 to 1935.
- 10—Heads of families classified by number of changes of residence and range of migration 1928 to 1935.
- 10A—Children of heads of households who were 16 years of age or over January 1, 1935 classified by relief status and by place of residence of households Jan. 1, 1935 and by place of residence of children Jan. 1, 1929 and Jan. 1, 1935.
- 11—Households classified by type of residence of head 1928 to 1935, residence, relief status, and composition of household.
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- 21—Heads of households, male heads of families, and adult children of heads of households who were not at home and who were at home Jan. 1, 1929 classified by occupation Jan. 1, 1935.
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- 24—Male heads of families classified by occupation Jan. 1, 1935, and by range of migration of head.
- 25—Male heads of families classified by occupation Jan. 1, 1929 and Jan. 1, 1935 in six counties of S. Dak.
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- 30—Heads of households classified by age and occupation Jan. 1, 1935. (Relief.)
- 31—Adult children away from home and adult children at home Jan. 1, 1929 classified by sex and occupation Jan. 1, 1935.

DIGEST

A total of 12,088 households were studied in six selected South Dakota counties involving 32,154 adult persons of which two-thirds were from the open country, the remaining one-third were from the villages. p. 4.

The gains and losses of population indicate a restless shifting of the people in the hope of bettering their conditions. That greater dissatisfaction rests with the open country group is shown by the fact that the outgoing open country reared population has been only partially replaced by village and city reared. p. 5.

More of the people who were living in the open country had been reared in South Dakota than had the persons living in the villages. p. 7.

A measurement of population in South Dakota in 1935 becomes a measurement of a more stable population. That is, it is a measurement of a population that has remained in the state while many others were leaving. p. 9.

Almost three-fourths of the more than 12,000 heads of families maintained the same residence over the six-year period. The village families showed a slightly greater tendency to change residence than did the open country families. p. 9.

In the six years elapsing between 1929 and 1935 children from both non-relief and relief households continued to leave the open country, largely to go to the centers of population. p. 19.

As we would expect, normal families predominate both in the open country and village. It is significant to note that the relief groups had in general a greater degree of mobility but the non-relief groups had a greater range of migration. p. 19.

The heads of families in the village were older than those in the open country. p. 19.

The study shows slightly more mobility among village families as compared with the open country. p. 19.

The proportion of males was slightly greater in the open country and the proportion of females slightly greater in the villages in both 1929 and 1935. p. 20-21.

The general employability of the households studied is suggested in the finding that only 2 per cent of the households with male heads were found to be without gainful workers. p. 22.

Two-thirds of the heads of families had no change in occupation during the six-year period. It followed rather generally that change of occupation seemed to be concomitant with a change of residence. p. 23.

Non-relief families demonstrated an ability to maintain the same occupation and residence throughout the period of study whereas relief families indicated a tendency to change residence a number of times without a change of occupation. p. 23.

Obviously the changes in occupation are one of the major criteria by which the stability of a population may be measured. Examining the rural population mobility data in this respect, we learn that the farm-owners group shows 90 per cent in the same occupation in 1935 as in 1929. The professional group ranked a close second, followed by farm tenants and proprietors. p. 25.

A tendency is shown for the unskilled occupations to be receiving relief. p. 28.