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## Dependent Children in South Dakota

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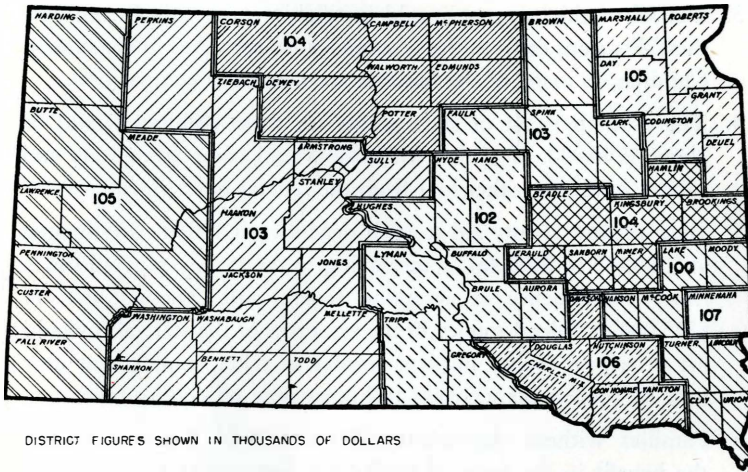
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# Dependent Children In South Dakota

By  
Richard L. Woolbert  
Robert L. McNamara



DISTRICT FIGURES SHOWN IN THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS

Areas of Equal Cost of Relief to Dependent Children—Each area represents one tenth of the total relief to dependent children, or about \$104,000. See page 27.

## Department of Rural Sociology

The Agricultural Experiment Station  
of South Dakota State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts  
Brookings, South Dakota

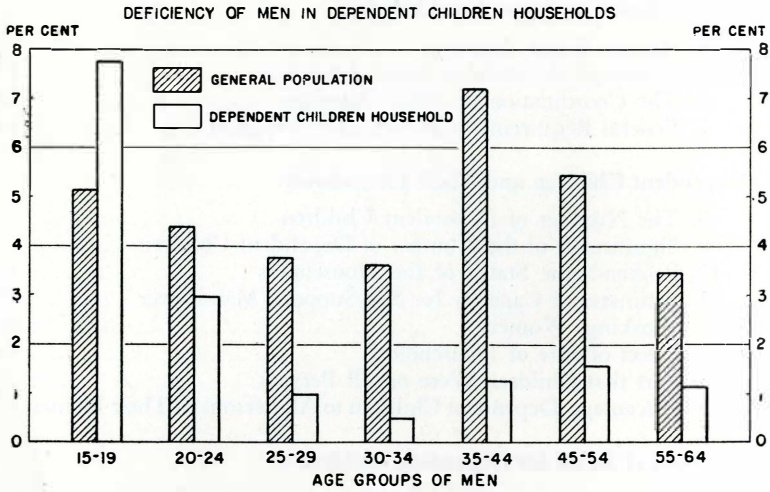
Cooperating with the South Dakota  
Works Progress Administration

## DIGEST

1. A real need exists for special aid to children who have lost a parent, but not for all of the 11,000 who receive relief at one time. Many do not receive the protection intended by the Mothers' Pension system.
2. While \$1,668,077 in relief was received in the survey year by the families of dependent children under 16, only about \$1,050,000 was for the support of dependent children.
3. Not all of this support would justifiably come either from Mothers' Pensions or from the proposed substitute, Aid to Dependent Children, as many of the families are normal in composition.
4. The estimated cost of state grants for these children would be about \$750,000, of which \$375,000 would come from state and county funds, the other half from the federal government.
5. Since present county aid to such dependent children is estimated at \$368,148 to \$490,861, some saving to the taxpayers would be a likely consequence of accepting federal aid. The addition of \$375,000 of federal money to the resources of the state also would act to reduce county burdens insofar as relief employment now held by broken homes went to homes now on county relief.
6. Families without dependent children would receive some of the benefit in the form of works program wages now going to broken homes.
7. Adoption of a state program providing only meagre grants should improve living conditions for many children; it could also cause a serious loss to many others.
8. The general financial betterment hoped for from the proposed change to an Aid to Dependent Children program might easily fail to appear. Only adequate grants would provide the family security desired for the children and prevent demoralization.
9. Improvements in case work and supervision would accompany the adoption of the state program only if special efforts were directed to that end. Otherwise the effectiveness of protective measures may be decreased rather than increased.

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The man-power of dependent-children families is compared to that of South Dakota. The shaded columns show the percentage of the entire population of the state that is men at each age. The light columns show the percentage that each age-group of men in dependent children's homes is of the whole population of dependent children's homes. See Section 11.

# Dependent Children in South Dakota

By Richard L. Woolbert and Robert L. McNamara

## Part I The Survey

### 1. Reasons for Survey

The Survey of Dependent Children<sup>1</sup> in South Dakota was undertaken in the spring of 1938 by the South Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station because of the current interest of relief authorities, particularly the Social Security Commission and the Works Progress Administration, in the welfare of broken-home children. There was, at the time, some interest in the problem of dependent children among civic groups, of which the American Legion was most conspicuous.

The situation at that time was, briefly, that the mothers' pension system had collapsed in many counties under the pressure of extra-ordinary relief demands. Consequently, the broken-home children for whom the mothers' pensions had been provided were thrown upon other relief agencies in large numbers. In some instances this led to notable hardships, as when mothers and small children were compelled to live on the meagre relief afforded by the counties. In other cases the mother provided adequately for the children, but only by absenting herself from home to work for the WPA. Such conditions naturally led to expressions of concern among those who had hoped that the mothers' pension system would protect the children.

1. This survey of dependent children was conducted by the South Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station in cooperation with the Works Progress Administration, the State Department of Social Security, and other agencies of relief. The South Dakota WPA financed the larger share of the project known as the "Survey of Dependent Children" and designated WPA project 3209 carrying Official Project No. 465-74-3-314 and WPA project 3416 carrying Official Project No. 665-74-3-62 in order to provide employment for needy professional, educational and clerical persons. A part of the cost of supervision and the entire cost of writing and publishing the manuscript were provided for by the South Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station.

The Experiment Station at the State College provided leadership, office space, and some items of equipment and supply. The Works Progress Administration provided the great body of clerical help needed in such a survey, supervisors for the field work, the assistant leader, and various items of equipment and supply.

The county offices of the Department of Social Security gave access to relief records and aided the field workers in securing the facts needed for the survey in every county of the state. The state office assisted in the planning of the survey and in framing the schedules. After social security records had been exhausted, other agencies of government gave assistance when needed for the completion of schedules.

The survey was begun by Dr. John P. Johansen, Assistant Rural Sociologist of the Experiment Station, assisted by Robert L. McNamara of the Works Progress Administration. In the fall of 1938, Dr. Richard L. Woolbert assumed the position of Assistant Rural Sociologist in time to be responsible for the tabulation and analysis of the data. Mr. McNamara has worked on all phases of the survey throughout. Mr. Oscar F. Fromke of the Works Progress Administration supervised the tabulation and analysis of the data.



Meantime, federal legislation of 1935 had raised the issue of a centralized state program for dependent children, one-third of the money to come from the federal treasury. Such a state program would do the thing impossible for the mothers' pension program to perform in many counties: It would provide some direct cash relief for every broken-home child in need of it, regardless of the state of county finances.

The proposed federal-state plan, called Aid to Dependent Children, or ADC, also appealed to many citizens of the state because of its centralization and uniformity, and because it was expected that specialists in social service would take valuable remedial measures beyond the training of most county judges who administered the mothers' pension programs. Other citizens inclined to defend the established mothers' pension plan, opposing centralization and uniformity of administration in the belief that the local judges were to be preferred to social workers as administrators.

The survey was undertaken for the purpose of discovering the principal facts about this relief problem. It was to go into enough details so that citizens and officials could know the facts of number of children and the cost of relief for particular groups of the children. Rural and urban populations were to be separated; likewise those requiring little and those requiring great relief, those alone with mothers, and those who lived in large families and so on. By an analysis of all these groupings of dependent children it was hoped to develop a reasonably clear picture of the family situations of the children, while arriving at an estimate of the cost of their care. The estimates were to be based upon the provisions of the federal law.

This bulletin presents some of the principal findings of the survey, particularly as to the division of dependent children into classes according to need and as to the actual cost of a state program.

## 2. The Schedule and the Survey

A canvass was made of all cases receiving public assistance during the year beginning July, 1937, and ending June, 1938. They were examined for the presence of a dependent child as defined by the Federal Social Security act, that is, a child under 16 who had lost the care or support of a parent, but was still living with his immediate family.

All families that had received as much as half a dollar or a single month's issue of surplus commodities were included if there was a dependent child as defined in the family group.<sup>2</sup>

The relief records of 5,772 families were found to indicate the presence of dependent children as defined. Each record was studied and the results placed upon a schedule. A small number of families in the less populous parts of the state were not reported.

The schedule, a card 8½ by 11 inches, required statements of only a few simple facts and was about the same as public assistance research schedules used elsewhere. The principal facts required were (1) family members and their relationship to the head of the family, (2) cause of loss of parent,

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2. The detailed instructions to field workers can be supplied by the Department of Rural Sociology. They were intended to apply the definitions of the original federal act.

(3) with whom dependent child resided, and (4) amount of relief received each month from each relief agency. These family and relief data are the substance of the survey.

Various minor items on the schedule had to do with such things as ages, schooling, place of birth of head, whether father was a war veteran, and previous employment. Most of these items were of little value because the ordinary needs of the Social Security offices do not require the same accuracy for such items as they do for the facts of family relationship and relief paid.

Tabulations and analyses were carried on at South Dakota State College, nearly 20 different tabulations being produced separately for every county's farm and town population. The tables were made directly from the original schedule cards by clerks employed by the WPA.

Only a small number of the statistical results are presented in this bulletin. The many analyses that showed nothing, or that gave complex results, have been set aside; and the original tabulations for farm and town populations for every county are too voluminous for publication. The station will preserve the statistical data for reference uses. The present bulletin is an attempt to give an understandable account of relief as it affects dependent children. It is hoped that this bulletin will enable the average citizen to see this complex relief situation as a whole.

A study of the bulletin should enable the reader to understand that the following statements are not absurd and may even be entirely correct:

(1) Adopting the state-federal program might save money to the taxpayers of the state, (2) many broken-home children on relief should probably receive neither mothers' pensions nor the proposed Aid to Dependent Children, (3) adopting the ADC program would probably lower living levels for some dependent children and raise them for some families with no dependent child, (4) the state could probably raise or lower its appropriations to an ADC program without great damage either to taxpayers or to recipients in general, and (5) the greatest financial issue likely to arise from an ADC program is that of shifting taxation from property to some other source.

### 3. Dependent Children Defined

The definition of the United States Social Security Act in effect until 1940 was:

"any child under the age of 16 who has been deprived of parental support or care by reason of the death, continued absence from the home, or physical or mental incapacity of a parent, and who is living with his father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, brother, sister, stepfather, stepmother, stepbrother, stepsister, uncle, or aunt, in a place of residence maintained by one or more of such relatives as his or their own home."

This has since been altered to include in 1940 children in school under the age of 18. The survey is confined to those under 16.

The requirements in general are that (1) the child be in need of public financial aid, (2) that the child have lost the care of a parent in the home or the earning power of a parent, and (3) that the child reside with his own near relatives. Public assistance is necessary only if the responsible relatives



cannot provide a relief scale of income. Loss of a parent includes death, separation, illegitimacy, desertion, divorce, loss of mental power, insufficient physical work capacity and removal to an institution. The child's residence in orphans' homes of any sort, with more distant relatives, or with unrelated families excludes a child from the federal definition and from federal aid.<sup>3</sup>

## Part II

# What Is Relief to Dependent Children?

### 4. Present Relief Agencies

**The Mothers' Pension System.** The Mothers' Pension system is, under present state law, intended to provide for about the same class of children as the federal ADC proposal.

The South Dakota Mothers' Pension Law of 1913 provides for grants to be made by the county judge:

"for the partial support of any woman whose husband is dead, whose husband becomes permanently disabled for work by reason of physical or mental infirmity, whose husband is a prisoner in the state penitentiary, who has been divorced from her husband in this state for a period of one year or more, who has been deserted by her husband in such county for a period of one year or more, when such woman is pregnant or has a child or children under the age of 16 years whom she is unable to support, or any female relative who under like conditions has undertaken to care for and rear orphaned or abandoned child or children, and such female relative and child or children have had a residence in this state for one year and in the county for six months before making application therefore."

The county commissioners were allowed to allot up to one-half mill of county tax receipts to the county court for these children. The last legislature increased the permissible allotment to one mill. Mothers' pensions create no lien against the recipients. A county may refuse to allow any money to its judge for mothers' pensions, spending all its relief money through the commissioners, and consequently allotments during the survey year ranged from nothing to one-half mill.

The judges are allowed great latitude as to amounts given and as to families accepted for pensions. Some give substantial aid to a few while others divide the available funds among as many as possible. Usually the judges keep the same families on the same monthly pensions as consistently as possible. Common variations are to give larger sums at the opening of school in the fall and at some time during the winter.

**County Commissioners' Relief.** County commissioners' relief is the other outlet for county tax money. By ancient law and custom the counties are responsible for the relief of every serious human need within their borders, whether or not the person is resident. Principal items are food, clothing, shelter, medical care and burial. Usually it is the least adequate form of relief and intended to mitigate only the most extreme neediness; also, this form of relief constitutes a lien against the recipients. It is the form of relief best suited for emergencies and for temporary loss of self-support.

3. See Section 7 for other requirements of the federal law.

As the state government grants aid only to the blind and aged, and the federal government grants direct aid only to households that are potential competitors in the labor market and to farmers, the county alone is responsible for the least hopeful classes on relief. These are (1) those who will not work and (2) those who cannot work, for reasons of feeble-mindedness, insanity, incompetence, illness, physical disabilities, youthfulness, and responsibility for the home care of children or other persons. Also, the county must provide for emergency costs such as medical expenses, hospitalization and burial, as well as for those unable to secure state and federal aid, for whatever reasons.

In counties where mothers' pensions take care of the special class of households intended, the commissioners are responsible for the dependent child and for the mother who gives them care in the home only in case the mothers' pension does not meet minimum needs. This often occurs.

Where a household secures federal farm or work relief adequate for its needs, the commissioners' responsibility is suspended. This responsibility returns if the relief is lost and the family is in need. Furthermore, if some emergency arises so that the need exceeds the federal aid, the county is responsible. Likewise, work relief is often inadequate, particularly for large households, and must be supplemented by the county.

**Farm Security Grants.** Direct relief somewhat similar to county relief is given by the Federal Farm Security Administration. These Farm Security grants, or direct cash relief, are not to be confused with loan activities of the administration, which are concerned with farm enterprises that can be rehabilitated. The Farm Security grants are intended only to provide for family needs, and the amount of money given is regulated by the number of people in the family and by their need.

This relief differs from county relief principally in that (1) it is usually more adequate, (2) it is always in cash, (3) the family can plan more confidently on having it throughout a season, and (4) it is intended for farm people only. Its purpose is to keep farm families where they are as long as there is a reasonable expectation that they will become self-supporting on the farm. It is a specialized form of relief, taking from the counties part of the cost of an occupational group.

**Work Relief.** Wages paid by federal work relief agencies are for townspeople about what Farm Security grants are for farmers: A relief program intended to maintain the efficiency of people who later may prove useful in private enterprise. Similarly, it removes from county responsibility numerous groups of families in need, selected partly because of their future usefulness as producers. The policy of Congress since 1935 has been to restrict town relief to wages paid on federal work projects and to refuse responsibility for those unable to get this employment. Thus, county and state governments continue to be responsible for human needs wherever a family has no able-bodied worker or for any reason cannot get its worker assigned to the works program. Many households receiving the wages also receive some aid from the counties.

**WPA Employment.** The Works Progress (now Projects) Administration is intended to employ normal family bread-winners at public work as a substitute for private employment. Its workers are either family heads or their substitutes, and hence predominantly over 25 years of age, with the greater number in middle life. The pay is the most adequate of all relief and is most sought after. WPA wages provide townspeople with about as good a living as the farm family can secure from Farm Security grants plus their farm income.

Selection of families to receive WPA is not simply a matter of family need. This need must be shown, but two other considerations cause the employment of some and the rejection of others: (1) Is the head or substitute head of the family a potential competitor in private employment? (2) Has the community organized a work project suitable for his employment? Need without a worker, or need and a worker without a project, do not suffice. Moreover, the number that can be employed is limited by the appropriations.

**CCC Employment.** The Civilian Conservation Corps pays a smaller wage to a younger group of people, but sends most of it to the family. The young men get their living and various services and opportunities as members of the organization in camp, and a small amount of spending money.

The degree of family need is a factor in securing this employment, as the wages sent home are important for family support. Since enlistment relieves the county of expense for a time, county governments benefit whenever needy families unable to get other federal relief place their young men in the CCC. It is not necessary that the family actually be in need of public assistance. The term of employment is usually continuous until it expires.

**NYA Employment.** The National Youth Administration pays federal relief wages to young people of needy families, an activity not to be confused with aid to students. NYA employment (not student aid) is much the same as WPA employment, except that the workers are too young to be classed as heads of households, and the pay is less. Where WPA emphasizes established working ability for most of its employees, NYA emphasizes training for future usefulness. Needs of the family group is a deciding factor in assigning youths to work.

**Surplus Commodities.** The remaining federal agency is the exception to the rule that Congress gives no aid directly except to farmers and to persons working on projects. The Surplus Commodities Corporation distributes food that has been purchased to maintain prices. The state distributing agency also distributes clothing, furniture, and so on from WPA workshops. Usually a family gets some \$4 or \$5 worth of "surplus commodities" per month.

This distribution relieves counties of some expense where a family is dependent on county relief, or where its other relief would be inadequate without the surplus commodities. A family that has almost enough private income to take care of itself may need no other public assistance. For other families it is a very small part of the relief income. It does not attempt to provide all types of goods.

**State Relief.** The state of South Dakota is engaged in two relief activities, both administered by the Social Security department. They are Aid to the Needy Blind and Old Age Assistance.

These two programs are carefully restricted to definite classes, both by state and federal law. They relieve counties of responsibility for the needy only in cases of old age or of a specified degree of blindness. For the designated classes, costs are equally divided between state and federal government. With the Aid to Dependent Children program, not accepted by South Dakota, they constitute the authorized way of giving federal aid to those who are not employable.

Both state programs give direct cash relief in the amount needed to prevent want, continuing the traditions of county relief by giving only enough to bring private income up to a relief scale. They are more generous and certainly more stable and dignified than county relief.

**Old Age Assistance.** Assistance to the aged is the principal concern of the state's social security system. It transfers an important burden from the counties to the state and federal governments, each of which pays one half the cost.

**Aid to the Needy Blind.** This state-federal relief program handles a small amount of relief, which is charged equally to the two governments.

**Special Indian Relief.** The federal government gives special relief to Indians comparable to county relief for the general population through its Indian "direct relief." This is like county relief in that it is for emergencies and is not intended to provide generously.

The CCID is a CCC program for Indians. It is lumped with CCC in this bulletin.

## 5. Historical Relations of Relief Agencies

It is necessary to describe at length the way these relief agencies combine together to make the present system of "giving relief."

The history of it is easy enough. The first American settlers in South Dakota brought with them the law and custom that county government is entirely and solely responsible for the relief of extreme human needs. This ancient law continued in effect until the mothers' pension law of 1913, which permitted the commissioners to transfer some of the county funds to the county judges to be used for a specified class. By 1933 the depression had brought increasing federal relief for various classes of need and for a time federal relief practically replaced local relief in many counties.

By 1935 Congress had confined federal aid to a few definite channels. Under the Social Security act of that year, relief for the blind, for the aged, and for dependent children was restricted to cooperative programs managed by state governments.

Federal funds were made available, however, for two classes of potential competitors in private industry, farmers and workers. Other persons were returned to the full responsibility of county government in South Dakota,



except for surplus commodities and, in the case of Indians, a small amount of Indian direct relief.

The great division of functions between county, state and federal governments rests upon federal enactment for the reason that responsibility, historically and legally, resides in the counties. Thus, it is that the federal government relieves particular classes directly, specifies others for state administration of matched funds, and leaves the rest to the counties. State government, of course, has the power to accept or reject a state-federal program, as it has power to take over other relief burdens from the counties.

## 6. The Coordination of Relief Agencies

The actual assignment of families to one or another relief agency is a consequence of the historical origins of the relief agencies as stated above. That is, the federal and state-federal agencies have the decision as to what families they will aid and the counties must take the rest. Also, if federal and state-federal aid is inadequate, the counties must supplement from their own funds.

Different survey families receive a great variety of combinations of relief. Some are entirely on federal relief, often a combination of WPA and surplus commodities. Many receive county relief between periods of federal work relief. Many of the aged are in households that receive no other aid, but frequently other members of the family receive other aid, such as mothers' pensions and NYA wages. The great majority of families on relief receive some surplus commodities during the year.

County governments logically adopt two policies in order to relieve the burden on the county and to provide adequately for their people:

First, they try to secure the state-administered assistance for those who are blind or aged. Second, they try to place their neediest families on federal work projects or secure farm grants for them.

As the state government gives no aid to those outside its strict regulations, and as the federal government provides for only as many families as the appropriations allow, the generalization can be made:

Counties seek state and federal aid for their people, but state and federal agencies decide who will be left for the counties to assist.

A clarifying principle is that of "budgetary deficiency," which means the amount a family needs beyond its income. If a family is not on relief and has some private income, its budgetary deficiency is the amount of relief needed to bring its income up to the prevailing relief scale. If it has some relief, but not enough, the difference is still a budgetary deficiency. Some agencies pay fixed amounts and hence often leave budgetary deficiencies to be made up by other agencies. For instance, CCC and WPA wages often leave a substantial deficiency to be made up from county funds and surplus commodities. Also, the state's aid to blind and aged persons is not intended for the other persons in the home and other relief must often be provided for remaining members of the household.

The above description of the coordination of relief agencies should make clear (1) why many families receive aid from two or more agencies at the



same time, (2) why many families go from one to another agency from time to time, and (3) why a change in the amount of relief issued by any state or federal program causes a general shift of burdens among the agencies.

It should also be clear that the statement "so-many families are on the such-and-such program," is not always useful information. It is the combination of programs that counts.

### **7. Federal Requirements for an ADC Program**

This section appears at the end of the description of relief since it concerns a form of relief that has not been applied in the state. ADC is the proposed substitute for the mothers' pension system.

The federal law provides that a state can receive federal aid provided that the state contributes some financial support to a uniform state program under a plan accepted by the United States Social Security board for dependent children as defined. (See Section 3.)

The provision that some money must be contributed by the state government has been taken to mean that as little as 5 percent of the total cost need come from the state treasury. However, the state would probably have to contribute much more in South Dakota as there is no assurance that the counties can pay the cost.

The requirements for a state plan uniformly-administered means taking most of the control from the counties and placing it in a state agency similar to that which controls the Old Age Assistance program. It would not mean federal control in details of administration or of appointments, or of amounts of aid granted, but it would mean fairly uniform administration for the entire state. The state would be required to provide a system of appeals for individual cases.

After January 1, 1940, one half the cost could be charged to the federal government. Prior to 1940 it was one third.

## **Part III**

# **Dependent Children and Their Households**

### **8. The Number of Dependent Children**

During the year July, 1937, through June, 1938, there were 13,098 children at some time dependent within the meaning of the federal law. By types of residences, 4,875 were on farms or in unincorporated places and 8,223 were in incorporated places, towns and cities. Allowing for a rural population of 60 percent of the whole state population, rural people on the average provided two-fifths as many dependent children as townspeople.

The 13,098 dependent children resided in 5,772 household or family groups, making up over one-half of the total members of the families, 25,654 persons in all.

The Indian population was separated for 12 counties.<sup>1</sup> There were 1,342 dependent Indian children in these counties, living in 608 households. Thus, less than one-thirtieth of the people provided one-tenth of the dependent children. Later figures show that little expense, however, was caused local taxpayers.

Using the census classification of residences there were 4,778 dependent children in 2,037 farm homes, 97 in 44 rural non-farm homes, 5,265 in 2,294 village homes (incorporated places up to 2,499 population), and 2,958 in 1397 city homes.

The number of children at each age increases in the older age-groups. In the five youngest years there were 2,126 children, or an average of 425 at each age. Each succeeding age-group is larger until a maximum of 1,228 children were found at the age of 14, or nearly three times as many as for the years below five. The number of dependent children in each age-group was as follows:

Ages	0-4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
No.	2126	614	714	755	823	893	980	1066	1126	1167	1228	1129	434

The 434 who were 16 at the time of the survey had been under 16 during part of the year. Ages were not known for 43 children.

Older children predominated, there being 7,130 who had reached their tenth birthday to 5,925 under ten. The dependent children are thus older than the average group of children and therefore require (1) more relief than the average age group of children, and (2) less constant home care.

Dependent children of veterans numbered 1,349 in 463 families. The total relief to the households was \$140,898 of which \$60,293 came from county sources. The children of veterans received 42.7 percent of their aid from the counties as against 36.8 percent for all dependent children. The federal share of the cost was 55.2 percent as against 60.9 for all dependent children. This means that the dependent children of veterans fared worse than the others, county relief being the least generous as a rule. Amounts were as follows:

M.P.	WPA	NYA	CCC	FSA	OAA	County	ANB	Indian	Total
32,649	49,284	983	3,778	20,788	5,268	27,644	481	23	140,898

The rural children of veterans numbered 375 and were in 131 families. The relief of the households cost \$29,557.

## 9. Significance of the Number of Dependent Children

Analyses show that the number of children at some time during the year, under the definitions used, is a poor measure of the probable cost of an ADC program.

Of the 13,098 children who were dependent at some time during the year, only 7,055 were in homes that received some relief in every month of the year. There were 354 receiving aid only one month; 325, two months; 396,

1. Bennet, Corson, Day, Dewey, Marshall, Mellette, Roberts, Shannon, Todd, Washbaugh, Washington and Ziebach.

three months; 432, four months; 435, five months; 689, six months; 467, seven months; 538, eight months; 599, nine months; 777, ten months; and 1,031, eleven months.

These differences are important. For instance, the 679 children who were on relief only one or two months were in households that received a total of \$10,726 in relief. But the 599 children on relief for nine months, were in households that received \$67,482. The latter received seven times as much per child. Furthermore, the latter received more than seven times as much per household, and six times as much per person of all persons.

Therefore, neither the number of dependent children, of their households, or of all persons in their households, can show relief costs. The number 13,098 dependent children is no basis for estimates of costs.

The amounts paid to households during the year makes this even more clear. Of 5,772 households, there were 109 for whom less than \$5 in relief was reported and 17 who received over \$1,000. These 17 families cost at least \$17,000 while the 109 families could not have cost even \$545. Similarly, 20 families costing between \$900 and \$1,000 each account for far more expense than 19 families costing between \$5 and \$10 each.

A natural question arises: Does a given increase in the number of dependent children come at the \$5 or the \$1,000 end of this contrast? It would make a difference. It is only reasonable to suppose that new cases are nearer the \$5 level. This is because new relief cases are generally people whose incomes have sunk below subsistence rather than disappeared suddenly altogether. Asking the same question for people who are leaving relief rolls, the answer is more obvious: Those most likely to leave are those whose private resources have been greatest, that is, who have demanded the least relief. A generalized picture of this could be presented as follows: A slight decline of opportunity forces some people to accept a small amount of relief, a slight increase of opportunity removes them from relief rolls. In neither case is the cost of relief greatly affected.

There is, therefore, no "average cost per child" which we can multiply by the 13,098 children to estimate the cost of a program. Furthermore, there is no reason ever to expect that such calculations will reveal the amount of money which could conscientiously be appropriated.

Consequently, the index of future need must be something else. It is the *amount of money cost in the past*, adjusted to recent changes in opportunity. Serious attempts at estimates must be based squarely on *total costs*, not on numbers of people.

As to the number of children, the facts can be summarized as follows: 13,098 children fell within the definition at some time during the year but only 7,055 were "dependent" the entire 12 months. They lived in 5,772 households, of which only 4,852 on the average were within the definitions each month. Presumably 84 percent of the 13,098 dependent children were dependent in the average month, or 11,002, so if the number of dependent children at one time is to be referred to at all, it should be put at 11,000.

## 10. Broken-home Status of the Households

The survey, in conforming to the federal definition of a dependent child, went beyond the popular notion of the class for which mothers' pensions were created. The new definition of "dependent child" is not restricted to the widows-and-orphans situation. This is easily understood from the statistics relating to the whereabouts of the child and to the marital status of the parents.

Out of the 13,098 dependent children in the survey, 1,445 were living with both parents, and hence were not from broken-homes. They were included in the survey because they had been deprived of the care or support of a parent by the physical or mental incapacity of the parent, and are therefore dependent children under the federal law. One out of nine of the survey children fell within this group. The federal definition is also broader in other aspects. "Continued absence" includes cases of unmarried mothers, divorce, desertion, legal separation, non-legal separation, imprisonment, and other institutionalization.

Mothers had the care of 8,706 children in the absence of the fathers, while the fathers cared for 2,250 children in the absence of the mothers. Thus, the mother had the care of the child four times as often as the father; or, the father was four times as likely to be the missing parent in relief families. The 8,706 children living with mothers are the ones that the public usually thinks of as eligible for mothers' pensions. Not parents, but relatives within the prescribed close degree, had the care of 697 children.

Where the child was living with the father, only 1,864 had lost mothers by death. Where the child was living with the mother, 4,965 had lost fathers by death. Of those living with one parent, therefore, nearly three times as many fathers as mothers were lost by death. This conforms to the common notion that the death of a father is more likely to put a child on relief than the loss of a mother. Most of the children who have lost their mothers probably would have received relief even if their mothers had lived. If the same were true of an equal number whose fathers were dead, some 3,720 of the 6,829 children whose homes were broken by death might have been on relief anyhow, regardless of the deaths.

Death is not the only cause for loss of a parent. Among the 10,956 children who lived with one parent there were 6,829 who had lost a parent by death and 3,424 by continued absence which includes divorce, desertion and separation. Voluntary absence is thus an important factor, accounting for 31.3 percent of the cases where a parent was absent. Of all cases, 52.1 percent were "dependent" because of death, 26.1 percent because of continued absence of a parent.

Of 3,424 children who lost a parent by voluntary absence, only 287 lived with their fathers. Hence, it is generally the fathers rather than the mothers who are separated from dependent children. There is no way of knowing how many of the fathers were capable of supporting the children, or how many could be compelled to give support, or how many would support their children if they had their custody. Unquestionably it is separation from the father rather than his lack of income that has put many of these children on relief.



For the white group, absence of the father was due to illegitimacy for 161 children. Other forms of continued absence that are known were: Desertion, 896 children; divorce, 1,329; legal separation, 113 and non-legal separation, 403.

Separations due to institutional care of a parent affected 703 children of whom 604 lived with their mothers and 99 with their fathers. Imprisonment of a parent accounted for 292 children; mental care, 275; and physical care, 136.

The 13,098 children classed as dependent at sometime during the year were deprived of the support or care of a parent in the following patterns:

Incapacity of a parent still living at home, 1,437; father dead, child living with mother, 4,965; father absent, child living with mother, 3,137; mother dead, child living with father, 1,864; mother absent, child living with father, 287; institutional care of the parent, 703; and both parents absent, child living with near relatives, 697. The facts were not known for eight children. It is apparent that the class known to federal law as dependent children does include more children than those living with their mothers after the death of their fathers.

Living with both parents were 1,437 children, with their mothers, 8,706; with their fathers, 2,250; with relatives, 697; and unknown, eight. Of 13,098 children, only 2,250 became dependent solely because of the death or absence of the mother. That is, only about one-sixth of the children owed their dependence to loss of mothers.

The costs associated with the different causes of loss of parental care and support were divided as follows:

#### Percentage of Total Relief to Households

	Death	Continued Absence	Incapacity	Institutional Care	Combination
Total	46.7	30.3	11.1	5.1	6.8
Rural	60.3	16.1	9.2	3.9	9.9
Urban	41.7	35.4	11.8	5.5	5.7

The difference between rural and urban populations is significant: Death is a more important cause in country than town; continued absence is more important in town than country.

Allowing for some deaths under "combinations" about 50 percent of the costs are associated with death of a parent.

A reduction of costs associated with causes of loss of the parent would be a very rough estimate of one-sixth of the total cost, assuming that the loss of the mother is not sufficient reason for dependence, that is, that the father could support the family were it not for some other handicap.

Another, but minute, reduction might result from the probability that many parents regarded as incapacitated could find employment under very favorable economic conditions. A reduction of costs in cases of voluntary absence of a parent would depend upon new efforts to compel support.



## 11. Estimates of Capacity for Self-Support, Man-Power

The cost and the usefulness of any aid to dependent children program depends upon the needs of households and dependent children that require this particular form of relief. As before stated, not all children who have lost a parent, who are under 16 and who are receiving relief should be allowed this monthly cash grant. Only where the family group is incapable of self-support under favorable economic conditions is the special aid completely justified. The problem is to estimate the amount of relief needed for children whose family groups are unlikely to be self-supporting. It is necessary to study the composition of the households and to attempt to separate the one type from the other by a more intensive study.

This is largely a refinement of the contrast: One home on a farm has two men and two women of working age and hence the chances are that its problems are entirely due to farm conditions. Another home in a village consists of a mother with two small children who could support them only by depriving them of her care. One family is probably a problem in farm enterprise rather than a dependent children's problem while the other family probably needs special children's aid in the form of regular monthly grants.

One test of potential self-support among farmers that can be applied to our data is the number of adults of working ages. Working ages are restricted to 20 to 45 for men so as not to count those too young or too old, although many men able to work are below or above these limits. For women, the more generous age range of 15 to 45 is taken, on the theory that some inefficiency in a young housekeeper is not serious. These calculations must understate the number of able workers among the women as well as among the men.

An important dividing point is between those farm families which have one or more persons of each sex within the age limits and those that do not. The expense of relief to the families surveyed who had able-bodied members of both sexes, was only \$135,636 while \$312,159 went to farm families that lacked one or both of these workers. Thus more than two-thirds of the cost of farm dependent children was in homes which lacked a man and a woman in the most efficient ages.

Considerably greater expense occurred in homes without a man 20 to 45 years of age than in those without a woman 15 to 45 years of age, the figures being \$137,744 to \$64,027. Considering the wider age group of the women, this means that the loss of the man is far more important in putting farm dependent children on relief. This difference in costs is consistent with the belief that loss of a farm father is likely to cause true "child dependency" due to the loss of his earning power.

One-fourth of the cost occurred in homes with neither a man nor a woman in the preferred age groups. It was \$110,358 out of \$447,795. This is the extreme condition of lack of labor power that such statistics can show for a family. A large share of this cost must be due to lack of adult workers.

The favorable condition as to labor supply in which the household had at least one woman and two or more men was less common. Only \$19,537 went to farm homes with two men and \$3,771 with more than two men. In

other words, broken homes containing more than an ordinary number of adults demanded very little relief for children. The bulk of the cost in homes of apparently adequate labor power was in the one-man group, \$112,328. Farm conditions would account for most of this cost as well as for that of the two-men households. This cost, therefore, is probably not a true "dependent-child" cost.

In summary, the loss of a parents' aid seems to be an important factor in putting farm children on relief, the essential fact being that two-thirds of the cost was in homes that lacked one or the other sex in the best working ages.

Of the 4,875 rural children, 3,515 were in households that lacked one or both adults in the stated age groups, and only 1,360 were in the group which had one or both adults. Thus 72.1 percent of the children were in the less favored group, which is comparable with the 69.7 per cent of the total expense for which the same group was responsible.

The above figures can be developed to form an estimate of the proportion of aid to dependent farm children that is not appropriate for an ADC program. It is safe to assume that at least those farm homes with one or more men and at least one woman of the favored ages are a bare minimum of the proportion of the farm homes that can become self-supporting. That is because the age ranges are restricted, 15 to 45 for women, and 20 to 45 for men. Of the total relief to the farm homes, 30.3 percent was in such households. Making allowance for two facts, a small number of persons of the right age but inadequate work efficiency, and a large number of younger and older ages but good work efficiency, it is reasonable to place 40 to 45 percent of farm relief costs outside of ADC needs, or \$179,118 to \$201,507.

For urban population it would be decidedly less. This was not calculated, but there are other indications that the urban group is less able to support itself: Smaller families, fewer able-bodied males between 15 and 65 years of age, and fewer men in the best years.

The following age distributions of men between 15 and 65 show that over half of such men were in the rural group. Yet, the rural group included only 2,081 households out of 5,772. Also, urban males were heavily concentrated in the youngest group, 15 to 20.

	Age Distribution of Able-Bodied Males							
	Total	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-44	45-54	55-64
Total	4611	2137	822	270	154	396	475	357
Rural	2318	867	402	153	100	262	308	226
Urban	2293	1270	420	117	54	134	167	131

Assuming that the urban group had three-fourths as much man-power as the rural group, the calculation would be \$179,118 to \$201,507 reduced by one-fourth. This would make between \$134,339 and \$151,130 of costs in town population that were assignable to lack of opportunity on the part of men. For the entire population of the survey it would be between \$313,457 and \$352,637.

Another measure of the extent to which dependence on relief is due to actual loss of working members of the family is found in the age distribution

of male persons. The question is: Is it the men at the best working ages who are lacking?

Evidence points strongly to this conclusion for the survey population. Males 15 to 25 numbered 2,959 while every succeeding 10-year age group had less than 500 males. This means that there were six times as many men 15 to 25 as men in any other 10-year age period between 15 and 65. Also, there were 2,137 males between 15 and 20 years old, or four times as many in this youngest period of only five years as in any 10-year period above the age of 25. Relatively few males occurred in the 10-year period from 35 to 45, which is supposed to be a productive age. Using five-year groups, the smallest would seem to be that between 30 and 35 years old, which also is usually a period of good earning capacity. The figure on page 4, "Deficiency of Men in Dependent Children's Homes," contrasts the percentage of men in each age group of the general population and the dependent children's population, which is strikingly deficient in men at the best ages for work.

Under more fortunate economic conditions the 822 young men between 20 and 24 and even the 2,137 between 15 and 20 would no doubt be able to support many family groups, but at present young men are less likely to find employment than their elders. The reemployment of youth by private industry should considerably reduce the number of broken-home children on relief.

## 12. Working Women

The next question is the earning power of the women. The employment of women on federal works is an important factor in the relief of these homes. Unfortunately, there was no easy way to separate households for which employment of a woman was the natural means of support from households whose women were employed only as a result of necessity and at the cost of good home life.

Of 1,065 women employed by WPA, only 112 are listed as having higher skills. The classifications of skilled work were represented as follows: Supervisors and officials of WPA, 25; clerks and stenographers, 38; other professional and skilled classes, 41; and semi-skilled workers, eight. Unfortunately, sometimes it was the previous occupation that is listed, sometimes the present status on WPA, so that the count is by no means easy to interpret. For instance, some of those listed as clerks are more nearly unskilled in fact, while others may have higher skills not recognized by their WPA status.

Of the 950 women whose occupations were reported, there were 112 for whom some sort of skill beyond sewing, book-mending, and so on, was recorded. Taking the data as it stands, 12 percent of the women on WPA had some special skill. This low proportion of skill is consistent with the impression that women have often been assigned to work projects more because of family needs than because of their usefulness as employees.

Of \$1,668,077 paid for relief to the households of dependent children. \$425,139 was paid in the form of wages to women on federal projects. About one-fourth of the relief to all dependent children's households was, thus in the form of federal wages to women.

These 1,065 households with women employed on the works program contained 2,222 dependent children and a total of 4,363 persons. For the 2,222 dependent children, only \$28,868 in mothers' pensions was received. Relief wages of men, boys and girls amounted to only \$15,557, which means that the households must have been lacking in persons able to work, except women.

Of the total of \$509,563 relief received in this women's WPA group, and of the \$425,139 earned by women, \$392,931 was earned by mothers. This means that three-fourths of the relief to the families of these women was received as wages from the mother's employment on federal works. It amounted to 77.1 percent of the relief to the 1,065 families and their 2,222 dependent children. Thus, for most of the 2,222 dependent children in this group, work relief has been substituted for relief programs that would keep the mother at home.

The above figures show that the mothers' pension system did not keep all women with dependent children, particularly the mothers, from seeking employment. In fact, mothers' relief work was an important factor in the support of the children. The question naturally arises:

In what proportion of cases is such employment of mothers an obstacle to good home care? Surely in some cases it is better for the mother to work and leave the children at home with another woman or in another home. Just as surely, in other cases it is unfortunate for the mother to work. How much of this quarter of all relief through women's wages is justified depends upon other calculations.

### 13. Effect of Size of Households

It is generally agreed that whether or not a dependent child is to receive some form of special aid to children depends upon the relation of his needs to those of the entire household. Where dependent children make up the larger part of a household, special aid seems advisable, but where a dependent child is only a minor factor, some other aid would ordinarily be preferred.

An extreme contrast is between the 841 dependent children who lived with only one other person, and the 30 children who lived with nine or more other persons, none of these others being a dependent child. Many of the 841 children who lived with only one other person need special aid if their mothers or any other person with whom they live are to take care of them in the home. However, the 30 children living in family groups of nine or more, with no other dependent children, are a very small part of the problem of supporting these families and a payment for their care would be lost in their family budgets. Thus, special aid could have little effect. The large number of other persons in the group indicates that the group should be treated as a normal family in most cases, which calls for farm or work relief. Of course, there are circumstances that would require special aid to the child as such.

A contrast that takes in a larger proportion of the 13,098 children that were dependent, is that between large households with only one dependent



child and large households with only one person not a dependent child. To show this contrast, we can use households of five or more persons. There were 388 children in households without other dependent children, and 2,025 children in households where only one person was not a dependent child.

The two family situations were quite different. In households of at least four other persons the problem of supporting the child was only a part of that of a larger group, so that it is hardly true that the loss of care or support for the child was due to the loss of a parent. Rather, it was the failure of the adults in the group to get employment that was responsible in most cases, and it was reemployment that would end the need. On the other hand, most of the children who lived in families where they made up a majority of at least four out of five persons, must have been themselves, as "dependent children" the outstanding relief problem. Since one adult is needed for their care, the needs of the children are practically the needs of the household. They need aid that does not depend upon employment or farm operations, but which is given solely because they have lost the care and support of parents, and it would be the exceptional case in which farm security grants or relief work would be desirable. These are unavoidably "dependent children" of the sort for which the mothers' pension system was intended.

These contrasts bring out the necessarily elastic nature of a program for dependent children, for it is extremes that have been contrasted. The contrast is great enough to indicate that of the 13,098 dependent children one extreme group of 388 children hardly belonged in a special program and that another extreme group of 2,025 were mostly in great need, either of a mothers' pension or of an Aid to Dependent Children program. Between these groups were, of course, the great bulk of children, 10,685, for whom the appropriate source of relief could not be so easily assigned.

Section 15 on percentages of dependent children in the individual household comes nearer to forming a basis for estimates.

#### **14. Part That Children Were of all Persons**

Of all persons in the survey households, 51.1 percent were dependent children. In the settlements it was 52.5 percent; on the farms it was 48.8 percent. This difference suggests that the farm homes contain more people of working ages and that there is less need for a special aid to children but rather a need for general family income.

The Black Hills region stood out from the other parts of the state, 56.4 percent of its survey population being dependent children against the state average of 51.1. The other districts, consisting of counties grouped by equal dependence on federal funds, were between the limits of 49.9 percent and 52.7 percent. Apparently Black Hills children have an unusually poor chance of escaping relief during an improvement in business, their households being more largely composed of children under 16.



## 15. Percentage Dependent Children to all Persons in Their Homes

That the needs of dependent children dominate some households and are a minor factor in others can also be shown by the percentage of all persons in the home that are dependent children. In the households where all other persons were 20 percent or less of the total, that is dependent children were at least four out of every five persons, there were 2,097 dependent children. These 2,097 children represent an extreme class of need for special aid to children since too few adults for proper care and adequate support are present in the home. This is the type of situation that calls for mothers' pensions or aid to dependent children.

In contrast are those households where the dependent children made up 20 percent or less of the members of the family group. Presumably, the relief needs of dependent children in these households would be one-fifth or less of the total need of the group. The 390 children in such homes ordinarily would have been better served by relief intended for the family as a unit. Relief employment for one or more adults is the more logical form of relief for such a group.

Further figures may be of value at this point. We have seen that of 13,098 dependent children, only 390 were outnumbered four to one in the family; 841 were outnumbered three to one; and 1,887 were outnumbered two to one. This means that a small minority, 1,887 children, might be denied special aid on the grounds that they cause only one-third of the family need. Even if all cases where the dependent children constitute a third or less of the household were excluded on that grounds, only 14.4 percent of the children would be eliminated.

On the other hand, there were 6,262 in homes where they constituted two-thirds of the persons. This means that 47.8 percent of the children listed as dependent outnumbered all other persons in their homes by at least two to one. Another 6.4 percent lived alone with one other person, putting 54.2 percent in the class of ADC by family ratios.

In summary, the ratio of dependent children to other persons in individual households indicates a strong need for either mothers' pensions or for Aid to Dependent Children for a large proportion of the children. The facts dampen the hope that more than a small minority of these defined as dependent children would be excluded from a program because their needs are a small part of the total household need. With 54 percent outnumbering other persons by two to one or living with one other person, it seems unlikely that more than 20 or 30 percent would be excluded because outnumbered. Of course, this is a means of estimate that must ignore many considerations.

## Part IV

## The Cost of Relief for Dependent Children

16. Sources of Relief Payments<sup>1</sup>

All public relief given during the year to households containing dependent children amounted to \$1,668,077. This was the relief to 25,654 persons, of whom 13,098 were dependent children. It does not include surplus commodities. All households in the state, both white and Indian, received \$613,576 during the year from the two relief funds originating in the counties. Of this amount, \$373,120 was from mothers' pensions and \$240,456 was from county commissioners' funds.

Purely federal payments amounted to \$976,405, divided into wages on works projects of \$689,745 and Farm Security direct relief of \$286,660. The wages were divided into WPA, \$592,012; NYA, \$32,125; and CCC, \$65,608. The remaining relief in these households was derived from state and federal funds equally for Old Age Assistance of \$66,845 and Aid to the Needy Blind of \$10,722.

Of the total relief of \$1,668,077, the federal contribution was \$1,015,717; the counties', \$631,576; and the state's \$38,784. In percentages, the federal share was 60.89 percent; the counties', 36.78 percent; and the state's, 2.33 percent.

Since calculation of the amounts used for dependent children must be a matter of inference rather than of knowledge, the \$1,668,077 of total relief (outside surplus commodities) should be broken down for the various populations. The sums of which this total was made are actual relief figures, only slightly different from the true figures. Their defect is that they were not for the 13,098 dependent children alone, but also for the other 12,556 persons in the households.

Rural-urban contrasts are based on an approximation to the distinction between farming and town occupations. The rural population is taken to include the farmers, persons in places of less than 50 persons, and those in unincorporated places. About 25,000 of the latter are really urban, or at least far from farming population, but could not be separated from the more rural people. People in incorporated places have all been counted as urban or town people. About 40 percent of the people of the state were town, about 60 percent rural, by the above definitions. It seems that at least one-twentieth of this rural group really belong with the town group. This defect of separation of populations accounts largely for the payment of WPA wages to the rural group.

The rural group received \$447,795 out of the total \$1,668,077, the urban group the remaining \$1,220,282. Thus the rural population of South Dakota contained about three-fifths of the people, but occasioned less than one-third of the cost.

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1. See chart "Amounts of Relief to Dependent Children Households by Governments." page 39.

It is intended, of course, that farming and town people should be aided in different measure by each program of relief. The basic figures are:<sup>2</sup>

	Mothers' Pension	WPA	NYA	CCC	FSA
Total	373120	592012	32125	65608	286660
Rural	74967	33755	13169	21373	251293
Urban	298153	558257	18956	44235	35367

	OAA	County	Other	Direct Relief	Total
Total	66845	240456	10722	529	1668077
Rural	20227	28416	4172	423	447795
Urban	46618	212040	6550	106	1220282

The following table of percentages shows that the rural group are more dependent upon the federal agencies, less upon local resources (county commissioners relief and mothers' pensions).

	Local	State	Federal	Total Aid
Total	36.8	2.3	60.9	100.0
Rural	23.1	2.7	74.2	100.0
Urban	41.8	2.2	56.0	100.0

The townspeople received 56 percent of their relief from the federal government, the country people, 74.2 percent. Using actual numbers, federal aid to the rural households of \$332,211 was about one-third of the total aid of \$1,015,717, whereas local aid to the rural people was only \$103,383 out of a total of \$613,576, or one-sixth.

### 17. Cost of Aid to Dependent Children as a Part of Total Relief of Households

Two facts which are obtainable for the survey year were the amount of relief paid to the households, and the proportion that dependent children were of the total population of the households. From these two available facts can be calculated the amount of relief that would have gone to dependent children if all members of each household had shared alike.

We might calculate, for example, that if a household containing four persons, one a dependent child, had received \$100 in relief, the child is one-fourth of the family and received one-fourth of the relief or \$25. Such reckoning does not conform either to custom or to law, since more money is generally allowed for the first child than for any other. This extra allowance for the first child is really an allowance to the household as such for the adult attention required by even one child. A number of ratios are in use in different states but the usual allowance is one-half, which is also the ratio of maximum federal contributions to first and other children. That is, the first child is allowed one-half more than any other, or the household as such is allowed one-half as a child.

2. Part II, Section 4, gives the full name and a description of each agency designated below in letters.

Using this revised method for the four-person family with one eligible child receiving \$100 of relief, it is not \$25, but \$37.50 that is assignable to the support and care of the dependent child. It would be calculated in this way: One child is one-fourth of the family, receiving \$25, while the family as such, is assigned one-half as much, or \$12.50 and the cost of aid assignable to the child is \$37.50. Most states provide for this allowance of one-half extra for the first child, as does the federal government in its maximum allowances.

The method of calculation used in the survey is based upon this ratio of one-half for the household. It was not calculated family by family, but by less accurate larger units—the rural and urban households of each county. A different total for the state is obtained from figuring county totals (\$1,040,000) than from figuring rural and urban groups separately (\$1,050,000). These totals would balance only if each family had been calculated separately.

More important errors, however, were absolutely unavoidable. For instance, no one can say to what extent the children were more or less expensive than the adults. While children in general are less expensive, as shown by the relief budgets in official use, broken-home children naturally are more numerous in the older age-groups, which have about the same needs as moderately active and inactive adults. Also, the adult group in these households is unusually lacking in men at the most active and expensive periods of life and overweighted with women and disabled men. Since there is no satisfactory way of making a close estimate of the relative cost of the dependent children and the other persons, they have all been regarded as of equal cost.

Another error may arise from the fact that in many homes receiving only a little relief, there may actually have been no aid needed for the child. The meaning of this is seen in a case such as this: A farm laborer earns enough to support a 12-year-old son but he does not earn enough to care for his 30-year-old brother and his mother. Because of these two people he must apply for relief. What part of this relief should be charged to the care of the child, if any? It is true enough that, if the level of the household sank because of these two extra dependents, the child would suffer. However, if these two persons resided in another household instead of living with the widowed father, the child would not be on relief at all. The child appears in the records as dependent only because of two persons outside the immediate family. Thus a child may become dependent, within the definition, or cease to be dependent according to the fortunes of a related family group. In other cases, a household would not be on relief if the mother and the dependent child had not fallen back on relatives in time of need and the relief is nearly all chargeable to the dependency of the child.

A variety of such situations means that we cannot state precisely, by any calculation, the true relief needs of children who have lost the aid of a parent regardless of the accuracy of the survey schedules. The analysis has been carried out as the best available for estimating costs.

Of the 25,654 persons, 13,098 or 51.06 percent were dependent children. The 5,772 mothers or substitutes were 22.50 percent, half of which is 11.25 or the share assignable to households. By this reckoning the ADC assign-



able would be 51.06 percent plus 11.25 percent, or 62.31 percent of \$1,668,077. This comes to \$1,039,379.

Figuring a percentage assignable to ADC for each county gives a total of \$1,039,310. Taking the urban and rural population of each county separately, ADC totals at \$1,049,460. This last calculation is nearest correct, being based on smaller groups of families.

Farm families and those living in unincorporated places received only \$265,238 for dependent children according to this reckoning, while children in incorporated places received \$784,222. In other words, farm children occasioned one-fourth of the relief to dependent children and town children, three-fourths. This rural population of the state out-numbers the population of the settlements by three to two, yet received only one-fourth of the relief for dependent children. The rural population of 417,017 persons in 1930 occasioned a cost to all relief agencies of \$.63 per person for aid to dependent children, while the 275,832 persons in incorporated places cost \$2.84 per person. The cost of this type of relief is about four-and-a-half times as great for a town population as for a country population of the same size.

A map of regional shares of this burden appears on the cover. It tests the notion that the central and western counties produced a greatly disproportionate share of this relief cost. The \$1,040,000<sup>3</sup> was divided into 10 nearly equal parts on the map, the parts varying from \$100,000 to \$107,000 of assignable ADC cost. Each district on the map thus represents about one-tenth of the assigned cost, \$104,000.

The distribution of costs approximates the distribution of population, which is light in the western two thirds of the state and heavy in the southeast. While the map shows that no section of the state received extraordinary amounts of relief for these children, there are some disparities. For instance, Minnehaha county shows over one-tenth of the total cost for its one-fourteenth of the total population. This happens to be a specific case of the general rule stated above that city populations occasion greater costs than farm populations of the same size.

The areas shown on the map have unequal populations, indicating differences in cost per person of total population. The highest cost of aid to dependent children was \$2.10 per person in Minnehaha county, the lowest in the surrounding group of counties at \$1.13. The Beadle-Brookings area at \$1.26 and the Charles Mix-Yankton area at \$1.28 were next lowest, followed by the Marshall-Deuel group at \$1.37 and the group around the Black Hills at \$1.46. The areas of higher cost per person were in the central part of the state, with the Tripp-Hand group at \$1.52, the Brown-Spink group at \$1.59, the Perkins-Todd group at \$1.92 and the Corson-Edmunds group at \$1.94. The costs per capita in this central part of the state are probably higher than the figures given owing to the loss of population between the U. S. Census of 1930 and the survey of 1937-1938. The costs per capita conform to zones of economic welfare, the southeastern and Black Hills areas being more prosperous than the central area of the state during the survey year.

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3. It would probably have been better to use the figure \$1,050,000 or \$105,000 per district.

Of course, the \$1,040,000 is not the amount of money that would have to be raised if an aid to dependent children program went into effect, since for many households the ADC program would be inappropriate altogether. How much of this relief cost is, in fact, due to actual loss of adult providers and caretakers and how much is due to unemployment of able providers, remains to be seen. It is clear that many of these farm families must still be competent as farm operators, regardless of the loss of one parent, and many of the town families must have one or more able workers. In the one case, Farm Security grants; in the other, WPA employment are more appropriate forms of relief. Consequently, the \$1,050,000 must be in excess of the reasonable requirements of the special program for dependent children.

Consequently, these figures for costs assignable to the relief of dependent children must be cut down by estimates as to appropriateness of the special aid for various groups.

### **18. Obtainable Federal Aid**

The social security law in effect during the survey year provided that federal funds to the amount of one-third of the payments should be paid to the state under certain conditions. How much actually could have been collected can only be approximated.

To obtain any funds, there must be a uniform state program. This means: (1) That the system of complete county control of money now released through the mothers' pension system and through the commissioners could not have been in force; (2) the allowances in many counties would have been raised or allowances in others would have been lowered to establish uniformity; (3) there must be some financial participation by the state and new state taxation could mean a new distribution of burdens between the taxpayers of the various counties with the poorer counties the gainers; (4) the sort of taxes collected by the state bear more upon the town people and less upon farm people than do the present county property taxes, so that a change would shift some of the burden from the farmers.

The whole amount of mothers' pensions could not be matched for federal aid under the state program since a small number of irregular cases would be excluded from federal aid. These include a few unusually high payments in some communities as well as some payments not permitted by the Social Security law. Consequently, mothers' pensions can be rounded off from \$373,000 to \$365,000 as an estimate of the amount spent for the class defined by the federal statute.

The part of the county relief received by these households that should be assigned to dependent children is put at from one-half to two-thirds by reasoning that is too complex to give in full. As was seen, ADC costs in general were about 62.3 percent of the total, but it is unlikely that this percentage would apply to a particular relief agency. It happens that county relief is more appropriate than federal relief for the dependent child's needs, insofar as dependent children have lost bread-winners. Assuming that a larger percentage of county relief was for the children, and a lesser percentage of federal relief could raise the ADC assignable far above 62.3 percent. On the other hand, it

is known that federal agencies have tried to give their more stable and ample aid to the dependent children's households where possible. That has the effect of reserving county relief for the emergency needs of other persons. One-half to two-thirds is not an unreasonable assignment of county relief to ADC purposes. It gives the estimate of \$120,000 to \$160,000. This is the emergency relief given by county commissioners that would have been chargeable to an ADC program.

The total amount of county funds which could have been released as ADC would be \$365,000 of mothers' pensions and \$120,000 to \$160,000 of county relief. Therefore, the cost to county government of ADC is placed between the two totals of \$485,000 and \$525,000. This calculation does not quite check with that under "Cost of an ADC Program and the Deficiency in County Provision," Section 19, which puts the figure between \$368,146 and \$490,861, probably nearer the latter.

If during the year 1937-1938 county funds had been disbursed through a state program under the approval of the Federal Social Security board, the state government could have recovered one-third of its grants of \$485,000 to \$525,000 from the federal treasury or between \$161,666 and \$175,000. After January 1, 1940, the state would be entitled to collect one-half the amounts of its payments, or between \$242,500 and \$262,500 for an outlay such as that made by the counties in 1937-1938. If expenditures during that year under a state program had been as generous as they were under the counties, this amount would be the calculated saving to the taxpayers.

That the state and county could have saved the taxpayers a sixth of a million, in the future a quarter of a million dollars by joining the federal program is, of course, doubtful. The amount saved would probably be less because: (1) Establishing standards for the entire state nearly equal to those of the more prosperous counties would require substantially larger grants to perhaps one-half the households; and (2) the federal works and farm agencies would probably withdraw help from some households viewed as doubtful cases for such aid because they are unlikely either to become producing farm families or to provide useful workers in private industry. For such reasons part of the new federal aid would not be a direct saving to the taxpayers.

The cautions just stated do not indicate that the change would have been without important financial effects. The new federal money would presumably have the following effects on the relief picture: (1) Relief payments for children now dependent on mothers' pensions and county relief would be greater; (2) some households containing no one efficient as a worker would receive this direct children's relief in place of federal employment or farm relief, often with a loss of total income from relief; (3) other workers would take their places in the works programs, thus relieving counties of the cost of direct relief to persons now unable to secure employment in works programs.

The three changes stated above can be put in other words: (1) The dependent children who now receive the poorest support, those dependent upon mothers' pensions and county relief, would have more adequate aid; (2) some of those now receiving the most generous relief (WPA) would have to take the lesser direct relief, with the return of the mother to the home as com-

pensation; (3) other families now on meagre direct relief from counties would be able to secure the more ample relief that comes from employment on works programs. Some of these would be dependent children's families that have able-bodied workers who are not mothers. Others would be families that contained no dependent children whatsoever.

There would be a general shifting of the more able households to work relief, while households lacking appropriate bread-winners would receive ADC more generous than present direct relief but less than the work relief some now receive.

Financially, the saving to county and state taxpayers would be reduced by (1) the assumed generosity of the children's aid and (2) by the possible reduction of federal work relief allocations to the state.

### **19. The Cost of an ADC Program and the Deficiency in County Provision**

Two facts, if obtainable, would give a reasonable estimate of the new funds required in each county to establish a program of aid to dependent children under the conditions of 1937-38. One would be the amount of relief cost that should be assigned to child dependency. The other would be the amount actually provided from appropriate sources, principally from mothers' pensions, but partly from county relief. With these two amounts the additional taxation required for an ADC program could be estimated. The amount assignable to dependent children minus the amount now contributed from county sources would be the new fund required, or the amount by which county expenditures were short of substituting for an ADC program. Neither figure is easily estimated.

The amount assignable to dependent children has been calculated at \$1,050,000, but this exceeds the amount that would have been used by a state-managed ADC program. A great sum must be subtracted to allow for those children defined as dependent whose relief would legitimately come through another channel.

The preceding part on "The Dependent Children and Their Households" is the basis for such reductions, which necessarily are estimates. The study of family composition, work of women, and other factors, leads to an estimate that one-fourth to one-third of the funds assignable to dependent children would not be expended through an ADC program. This is, of course, an estimate of what would be done under the guidance of the present objectives of public assistance agencies; there is power in the state government to vary the ratio greatly although needs remained constant.

The cost of an ADC program intended to provide about the same level of relief as did prevail is thus estimated at two-thirds to three-fourths of the \$1,050,000 assignable to dependent children, or from \$700,000 to \$787,500. Presumably, these amounts are near to the cost of the third year of an ADC program. It would be too small, of course, if the aid were more generous than that which prevailed. It would be too large if eligibility for the programs were



interpreted to exclude some classes of children. For convenience, a middle figure of \$750,000 will be used.<sup>4</sup>

The next consideration is an estimate of the amount actually spent by county government for the same purposes in the survey year. The difference between county expenditures and the estimated cost would be the deficiency in county provision for the year, assuming that no federal aid were available.

This other amount, that of county contributions to children's aid, is likewise difficult to estimate. It must be less than the total of mothers' pension and county relief costs in those households since the first is occasionally used for purposes beyond the federal law and the latter is used for any relief need that remains after the restricted programs have exhausted their means. A slight reduction of the mothers' pension costs and a decided reduction of county commissioners' relief is necessary to cut the amounts received in the homes to the amounts spent for dependent children.

County funds spent for relief cannot be apportioned to the different needs they meet except by estimates. All forms of relief go into survey households where they usually aid each member of a family group regardless of the source of the funds. Thus, there is no way of learning that a county relief grant was particularly for the child, or partly for the child, or entirely for someone else.

Fortunately, there is a circumstance of county finance that makes possible a rough estimate of the proportion assignable to the children:

It is that the counties vary greatly in the apportionment of their funds between the two outlets. During the survey year, they varied from one county where there was no disbursement through mothers' pensions to other counties that issued relief to these homes almost entirely through mothers' pension funds. Such apportionment is a practical decision made by the commissioners. They could provide no fund for mothers' pension if they preferred to keep control of the grants or they could establish a mother's pension fund up to the half-mill legal limit. As a result of such practical decisions, we have the aforementioned great range in apportionment of county aid through the two funds.

The average amount granted per child per year varied greatly between counties in spite of the fact that the average duration of the aid did not vary greatly. One county granted no mothers' pensions. The others were as follows for the white population:

**Average Yearly Mothers' Pension Per Child by Number of Counties**

	\$25-\$49	\$50-\$74	\$75-\$99	\$100-\$124	\$125-\$150
Counties	15	24	21	3	2

Obviously, some counties must have attempted to provide adequate support through mothers' pensions in a large number of cases; others very rarely.

The ratio of mothers' pension funds to total county expenditures presents a similar picture. Percentages for combined white and Indian populations by counties were as follows:

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4. In the survey year, two-thirds would have come from state and county funds. In 1940 it would be one-half.

**Percentage of County Funds Through Mothers' Pensions**

	0 - 24	25 - 49	50 - 74	75 - 100
Counties	3	15	26	23

Most of the counties can be arranged in a series of small steps between 25 and 90 percent, indicating the greatest variability in this ratio.

The 11 counties that had percentages of 80 or more were Deuel, Grant, Gregory, Hughes, Hyde, Jones, Kingsbury, Miner, Moody, Shannon, and Todd. The last two spent such small sums of county money, on account of their largely Indian composition, that they may be disregarded. The other nine counties represent all degrees of dependence on federal relief and therefore of county resources. Only two represented the group of counties best able to care for their own, Deuel and Moody.

Seeing that 80 percent is about the maximum allowed for mothers' pensions in any great number of counties, we can use it for a maximum estimate of the part of county funds that go for dependent children. We know, at least, that in some counties 80 percent of the county aid to these households is given through an agency intended only for dependent children. Those counties include some of the more prosperous counties that rely the least on federal farm or work relief and that do provide for their own dependent children most adequately.

An estimate lower than 80 percent should also be made as a check or alternative estimate, since accidental circumstances might be responsible for the high apportionment to mothers' pensions in some counties. Other sources of error also suggest a lower estimate. As this lower limit or minimum estimate, 60 percent has been chosen.

For the reasons stated above, an estimate of 60 to 80 percent for the state as a whole is safe enough. This unknown correct proportion is probably nearer to 80 than to 60 percent. Both calculations should be considered.

Then 60 to 80 percent is to be taken as the part of all-county aid that went to dependent children. The two kinds of county aid came to \$613,576, and the amount of county aid to dependent children would be \$368,146 to \$490,861.

Taking \$750,000 as the amount required for an ADC program, as calculated at the first of this section, the deficiency of county expenditure would be from \$259,139 to \$381,854. Such additional expenditures would have provided an ADC program without federal aid.

With one-third of the \$750,000 coming from federal sources or \$250,000 the added cost to South Dakota would have been between \$9,139 and \$131,854.

The "fifty-fifty" matching basis effective in 1940 would have brought \$375,000 in federal aid. If 80 percent of county funds to survey households had been for dependent children, the federal aid would have reduced the need for funds of local origin by \$115,861. The higher figure, based on 60 percent for mothers' pensions, would mean an added expense of \$6,854. Applying the guess that 80 percent is the more likely ratio, an actual saving appears.

However, some expense to the counties in homes not provided for by the ADC, those dropped from consideration when the cost estimate was reduced from \$1,050,000 to \$750,000, would occur.

Of course, the counties might save large amounts in relief to families which contain no dependent children where such families are able to secure federal aid now going to the households of dependent children. Such families, transferred from direct to work relief, would have better incomes.

## 20. Other States' Experience on the 24-Month Basis

In August, 1938, the Iowa State Board of Social Welfare published an estimate<sup>5</sup> based upon the experience of four other states: Indiana, Michigan, Nebraska and Wisconsin. These were the states nearest to Iowa that had had two years experience with ADC programs. Everything is calculated in terms of the number of months since the ADC program began in each particular state.

The number of recipients per 1,000 children under 16 is averaged for the four states, giving the estimated number of recipients for Iowa. Then the average grant per recipient was found for Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin. This average grant multiplied by the estimated number of recipients gives the estimated monthly cost of ADC for Iowa for each of the first 24 months of the program.

The calculations for Iowa were based on the estimate that Iowa had 696,000 children under the age of 16. To apply the resulting figures to South Dakota it is necessary to allow for the smaller number of children under 16 in South Dakota, which is estimated at 223,127 for the year 1935, or 32.06 percent as many as in Iowa.

The simplest application of the Iowa study to South Dakota is to take 32.06 percent of the cost estimated for Iowa. For instance, the cost for the first month of the program was estimated at \$65,707 for Iowa based on the four other states. It would be \$21,065 for South Dakota. The twenty-fourth month would cost \$272,026 in Iowa and \$87,212 in South Dakota.

The validity of this method for South Dakota is questionable, since the states upon which it is based have large city and industrial populations, while South Dakota has predominantly a farming and market-town population. Also, the agriculture of three of the four other states is not subject to such great changes in annual income as that of South Dakota.

To the figure described above is added the percentage each month is of the twenty-fourth month. For instance, the first month is 24.15 percent, or costs about one-fourth as much as the twenty-fourth. The increase in this percentage is due to the fact that an ADC program develops slowly over many months.

According to this calculation, the first twelve months would cost a total of \$567,837; the second, \$976,999. However, at the rate of the twenty-fourth month, \$87,000, a full year would cost \$1,046,000. That is, the grants would

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5. Ellis, R. K., Iowa State Board of Social Welfare, *Probable Cost of ADC Program For State of Iowa*, August 31, 1938.

amount to \$1,046,000 per year at the rate of expenditure during the twenty-fourth month.

If South Dakota should have a program that expended the average of the three states per child under 16, the sum of \$1,046,000 would have passed through the ADC system in a year. One-half of this, or \$523,000, would be from state and county funds under the law effective in 1940. For the first three years, the estimates of cost to state and county government would be: First year, \$283,500; second year, \$488,499; third year, \$523,000.

The estimate must be reduced to allow for the differences between South Dakota and the four more industrialized states upon which it was based. Such a reduction is necessarily downward. Two well established differences between rural and urban populations are worth citing: (1) Rural people are more likely to maintain a broken-home child within a normal family grouping and are less likely to let such a child live with mother alone, or in some other deficient groupings; and (2) relief costs, based on subsistence needs, are lower for rural populations.

The estimate of state cost worked out on the basis of actual expenditures in the survey year, \$375,000, amounts to 71.7 percent of the \$523,000 based on costs in the other three states.

## Part V

# Consequences to Be Expected from a State-Federal Program

## 21. Family Values of the Proposed State System

There are two great advantages that can reasonably be claimed for a state-managed ADC program as a substitute for the mothers' pension system. They are (1) stability of relief, and (2) home care by the mother. They were the original purposes of the mothers' pension plan and have always been of greatest concern among those who have tried to secure good home conditions for the dependent child. Present conditions make it impossible for mothers' pensions to secure these advantages in many counties, if not in most.

Stability of relief (1) has been lost under the mothers' pension plan in many counties because of the extraordinary demands for public assistance in recent years. Counties have not been able to provide the dependent children and their mothers with a stable and sufficient income. Rather, the broken-home children have been pushed from one relief agency to another. The consequence has been that the mothers have been unable to plan the future of their families or to give their children the sense of security so important for their moral development.

However, an ADC program that provided such small amounts as to keep the family in constant anxiety, seeking other relief or employment, and so on, might not be an improvement.

Home care (2) has not been provided except in farm relief. No one can say what has happened to the care and training of the children by mothers or



other persons. On the one hand, conditions have often been extremely unfavorable; on the other, many families struggle against such conditions successfully. The three situations that cover most of the town cases are outlined below.

Where the child is part of a considerable family group one adult may work for the government while another gives family care to the child. If it is the mother who works, this care may still be entirely adequate, depending upon the character of the adult left at home. The form of relief at any rate, is conducive to normal family life.

Where the town mother or other responsible adult stays at home to care for the child the household must depend upon county relief or the mother's pension. Such relief usually is inadequate. This means poverty in the home and it is likely to mean that the mother seeks any employment she can get, with serious consequences for the child. Of course, officials try to get the family other assistance, usually from a works program, rather than have the children dependent on inadequate relief from county sources.

In the third situation, where the mother secures federal employment and does not have a substitute to care for the children, maternal care is obviously jeopardized. While the more generous relief of federal pay-checks enables such mothers to compensate in some measure, the dangers of mothers' employment are obvious; for unless she has the services of a proper substitute in the home, family care suffers. It seems, however, that less degradation results from the employment of mothers than conventional theories of home care would indicate.

The three types of situations just mentioned lead to the conclusion that present relief to dependent children is abnormal for and destructive to many broken-home children and not at all to others. The exceptions are those who, in fact, have adequate substitutes for the missing parents to care for them, as well as adequate relief. Home care by the mothers is thus an important reason for advocating an ADC program for one large group of children but by no means for all.

Should an ADC program provide such small income as to degrade the family, removing the mother from work relief could be disastrous, not beneficial. The extreme proposal that no mother should work is to be discouraged, also, by the plain fact that many mothers qualified to think out their own problems strongly desire employment. Thus, while it is the duty of the proper officials to see that children have proper family care, no one can say that mothers, as a class, should be excluded from employment.

In summary, it can be said of both the reasons for an ADC program as a factor in family welfare, (1) stability and (2) home care, that improved home conditions are to be expected only for some types of household situation, and then only if the aid is generous. Conditions that call for correction exist, but an ADC program would not necessarily be effective.

## 22. Effects Upon Preventive and Remedial Services

Improvement of services intended to prevent families from going on relief and to remedy the ills of families already on relief so that they may become self-supporting, has been one of the most attractive values urged for the proposed state plan. The thought has been that state control of relief to dependent children would assist many families (1) to escape relief altogether, or (2) to reduce their relief demands, or (3) to lead a more wholesome family life.<sup>6</sup>

Foster home care, or the removal of children from their families to approved family homes is perhaps the most effective method known to social work for protecting children from degenerative home influences. It would not be advanced by the state-federal ADC program; in fact, it would be discouraged. ADC discourages foster home placement except where the foster parents stand in the close relationships specified by federal law. Otherwise no aid can be granted to a child removed from his home and local authorities could remove a broken-home child from his immediate family only at the cost of losing state aid for the child. The federal act also discourages orphanage care by the same provision for close relationship to the household of residence.

Of course, at the present time it is difficult to remove a child even from a thoroughly bad home to a paid foster home because of the expense to the county. For this reason an ADC program would not interfere with foster home placement on a large scale; it would constitute only another discouragement to the removal of children from homes that have failed them.

Case work, or the systematic attempt to correct the evils that make families public problems, either of relief or of conduct, might be advanced effectively by adoption of an ADC program. It should first be stated, however, that an ADC administration is not by any means a case work agency but is a public assistance agency. The aid to the dependent children would be administered by public financial officials whose principal business is to estimate a family's financial resources and to disburse money according to accounting rules. That is, public assistance is based upon careful accounting, whereas social case work is based upon a careful study of family attitudes and upon the personal influence of the social worker over the family. Case work need not involve the handling of any relief money; nor does public assistance need to involve social case work. Therefore, it is entirely possible to have public assistance to the children with practically no attempt at remedies. While there are gains in case work from adopting the type of administration that goes with an ADC program, such gains are only incidental consequences of such a program, not its direct purpose.

Mobility for the broken family is one of these consequences, provided that the law is so written that the financial aid may be given in another county than that of residence. Under any county system of relief, commissioners' or moth-

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6. An extended treatment of the possibilities of improved preventive and remedial services as a consequence of setting up an ADC program appears in Robert L. McNamara's "Relief and Family Welfare Problems of the Broken-Home Child in South Dakota," available in typewritten form in the larger libraries of the state. This section of the bulletin is largely based on this thesis.

ers' pensions, people on relief cannot move to any other county to seek employment without losing their "right" to relief. This holds broken-home families in communities where women and partly disabled men cannot expect to find work. Many could eventually find employment in parts of the state where there are employment opportunities suited to them if they could move and still draw relief. A state plan that permits migration within the state should remove many such people from permanent relief. Of course, as long as there is danger that the household would be thrown on county resources, the commissioners will resist the settlement of other counties' relief cases.

Retraining for self-support is a related problem. It is not provided for directly by an ADC program, but would be more likely to be accomplished because of more centralized records as well as because of removal to places of opportunity.

Legal advantages arising from state-administered ADC should provide immediate benefits, at least to the taxpayers. A state administration reaching into all counties, as does the present Social Security system, could pursue and collect support from many fathers who now leave their children on relief. This is a nearly impossible task for counties if the fathers have gone to another part of the state or to another state.

An example of this advantage of state administration has occurred in the present old age assistance program which has saved considerable sums for the taxpayers by discovering the persons responsible for the support of some of the aged and throwing the burden on them. This saving has been a consequence of substituting state control of assistance to the aged for county control.

Medical services to rehabilitate earning power would be more useable than at present, since state administrators should know better the ways in which medical corrections can be secured for the disabled than do county officials. This value of state administration cannot easily be guessed in the case of dependent children households, but is said to be slight for the aged.

Finally, there are various small ways in which the uniform and systematic records and the direct cooperation between counties that characterize a state system of relief, would increase the efficiency of remedial efforts, whether by the public assistance workers, by child welfare workers, or by others. That is, an ADC program would be of occasional assistance to those who are responsible for remedial efforts.

To weigh the advantages listed above against the advantages of local control is not the business of this bulletin. It can be said, in general, that the advantages are not automatic, but would require special effort.

The theory that commissioners and judges can be a valuable influence in helping people to help themselves has some substance, depending upon conditions and personalities in the county. These influences are based upon detailed knowledge of the family problems plus a friendly interest, and no doubt are strong in some counties, absent in others. That these remedial services now offered by commissioners and judges, however unsystematic, could be lost without being replaced in an ADC program remains a possibility. County judges are in a strong position to influence families drawing mothers' pensions and likewise their standing in the community enables them to secure cooperation from other persons who can help the family.

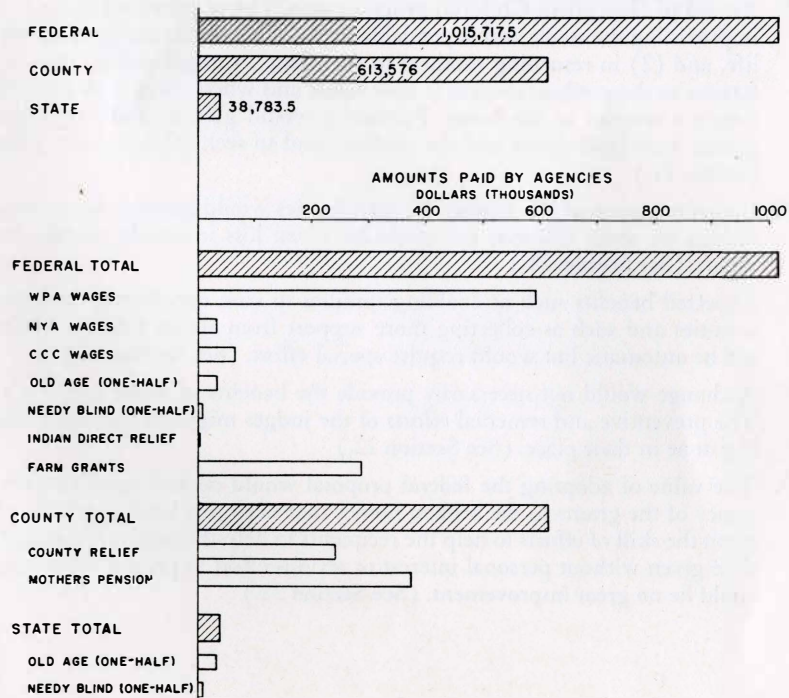
### 23. Summary

1. Dependent children are defined by the United States Social Security act as including all children under 16 on relief who have lost the care or support of a parent by the death, continued absence, or incapacity of a parent, and reside with their families. Children under 18 may, in 1940, be regarded as dependent if in school. (See page 7.)
2. This state-wide survey of the year July 1, 1937, through June 30, 1938, shows that during the year 13,098 children were dependent as defined. They resided in 5,772 households which contained a total of 25,654 persons. (See page 13.)
3. The cost of state cooperation with the United States Social Security board in an Aid to Dependent Children's program must be estimated from existing outlays by the various relief agencies, not from the number of dependent children. This is because the amount of relief per person during a year varies greatly between households. (See Section 9.)
4. During the survey year \$1,668,077 in relief went into the dependent children's households. This includes all relief that can be stated in money from any public source for any person in the household. (See page 24.)
5. The federal contribution was \$1,015,717; the counties', \$613,576; and the state's, \$38,784. In percentages the distribution among the three governments was 60.9, 36.8 and 2.3. (See page 24.)
6. Allowing each child an equal share of the total relief and every head of a household a one-half share, the portion assignable by law and custom to care of the children would be about 62 percent or \$1,049,460. (See page 27.)
7. County government through the mothers' pension system and county commissioner's relief apparently contributed for the children between \$368,146 and \$490,861. The other half-million dollars or more of relief to the children came almost entirely from federal relief agencies. (See page 32.)
8. A study of the number of dependent children in relation to the number of adults in the homes shows that special children's aid is quite appropriate to one large class; inappropriate to another. The unemployment of adults able to give both care and support has put many broken-home children on relief whose needs can be met better by work relief or farm relief. (See Part III.)
9. For such reasons, and others, a state program for the year would not have required the full \$1,050,000. From \$700,000 to \$787,500 for an ADC program is the estimate, which can be stated as about \$750,000. The cost to state and county government would then be about \$375,000. (See page 30.)
10. Some time is required to develop an ADC program, particularly if it is to be done carefully. To reach a maximum state expenditure of \$375,000 in the third year, the state might reasonably spend \$150,000 the first year and \$250,000 the second. (See page 33.)



11. Under the one-third federal aid law then in effect the counties and the state would have had to add a sum of from \$9,139 to \$131,854 in order to have a complete program. Under the present "fifty-fifty" law, an additional \$6,854 might have been required, or \$115,861 saved to county and state government, depending upon the estimate used. A saving would be most likely. (See page 32.)
12. Another saving would occur if works program wages paid to the women were diverted to families now dependent on the counties. No increase in the total taxes collected in the state would be expected. (See pages 32, 33.)
13. The total rural population of the state occasioned a cost of only 63 cents per capita while the population of incorporated places had a cost of \$2.84 per person of their general populations. Three out of four dollars were spent in settlements, which contained about 40 percent of the people of the state. (See page 27.)

AMOUNTS OF RELIEF TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN HOUSEHOLDS BY GOVERNMENTS  
AMOUNTS PAID BY GOVERNMENTS (DOLLARS)



## 24. Implications

1. State support of the program would be of greater advantage to some counties than others and perhaps a disadvantage to some. (See page 27.)
2. The human need for special aid to dependent children is shown by the lack of able-bodied men in the homes and by the fact that one-fourth of all the relief to the survey households was in the form of women's relief wages, mostly mothers'. For 2,222 children four-fifths of the relief was from women's WPA wages. (See Part III.)
3. The beneficiaries of the proposed program would include the families now dependent on direct relief who secured federal employment given up by the women. Some families without dependent children would benefit under works allotments as now made. (See page 33; Part II.)
4. The total amount of money paid to dependent children's households would not necessarily be increased. Where work relief was given up for ADC, the family income would probably be reduced. (See Sections 4 and 5.)
5. An aid to Dependent Children program would be of greatest benefit (1) in providing the stable and dependable income that makes for good family life, and (2) in returning mothers to the home. It might make little difference to those whose income is now stable and where there is no need to return a woman to the home. Further it would give no stability if the grants were inadequate and the mothers had to seek other income. (See Section 21.)
6. Returning some of the mothers to their homes would improve home conditions for some children but could be a real loss in family morale for others. (See Section 21.)
7. Expected benefits such as enabling families to seek opportunity in other counties and such as collecting more support from absent fathers, would not be automatic but would require special effort. (See Section 22.)
8. A change would not necessarily provide the benefits of social case work. The preventive and remedial efforts of the judges might be lost and nothing done in their place. (See Section 22.)
9. The value of adopting the federal proposal would depend upon the adequacy of the grants to the broken homes that need this kind of relief and upon the skill of efforts to help the recipients to help themselves. A meagre dole given without personal interest or serious effort to protect the family could be no great improvement. (See Section 22.)