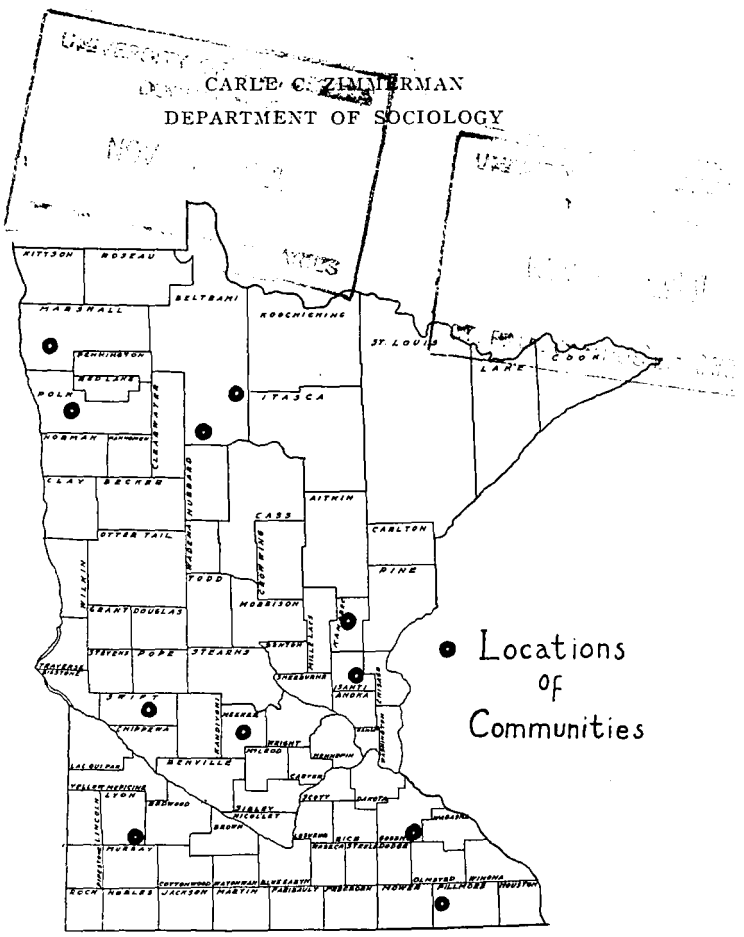
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION

INCOMES AND EXPENDITURES OF VILLAGE AND TOWN FAMILIES IN MINNESOTA

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY



UNIVERSITY FARM, ST. PAUL

INCOMES AND EXPENDITURES OF VILLAGE AND TOWN FAMILIES IN MINNESOTA

Based Upon One Year's Study in 1927[1]

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN

INTRODUCTION

The purposes of this study are to find out how Minnesota village and town families live; the amounts and sources of their incomes; the distribution and methods of spending their incomes; and their housing and living conditions. Since the decline in agricultural incomes following 1920, many public spirited citizens of the state and elsewhere have reached the conclusion that farm families have not been able to keep up their standards of living as have urban families. The Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station has been studying incomes and expenditures of the farm families of the state.[2] For purposes of a first-hand comparison with semi-urban conditions in the same locality, data were gathered from town and village families living in the trade centers of the same farm areas. This bulletin presents a summary of the data.

METHODS OF STUDY

The survey method was used. The communities were visited during the summer of 1927 and representative families were asked to co-operate by giving information on the questions asked. Those who gathered the information were experienced in such studies. The estimates cover the period from July, 1926, to July, 1927. Approximately half of the time was spent among the poorer families of the town, and a quarter each among the medium class and the wealthier families. All the adult members of the family were consulted in order to secure the combined judgment as to the amount of incomes and expenditures. Where records had been kept these were used. Visits were made to the stores and shops to check the family records where it was found possible and necessary. Expenditures were recorded first, then incomes. If incomes and expenditures did not balance closely, further investigation was made to find the difference. It is not claimed that these records are exact, but it is believed that, on the average, they present a fairly realistic and approximately true picture of the situation. There were

[1] The author wishes to thank the following persons for assistance in the study: D. C. Dvoracek, extension specialist in marketing, gathered half the data; C. Arnold Anderson, O. D. Duncan, Fred C. Frey, Elmo H. Lott, and Mrs. Mignon Quaw Lott rendered valuable assistance in the field work. The results were carded on the ordinary tabulating machine cards. The Tabulating Machine Company, of Minneapolis, kindly permitted the use of its machines for tabulation.

[2] See Minnesota Bulletins 234, 240, and 246 for reports on earlier studies of the same type for the farm families of the state.

many more of the poor and medium class families in the towns than of wealthier families. However, little time was needed to gather the data from the poorer families. The families were very courteous and were interested in giving the information, as each was made to understand that it was entirely confidential.

THE COMMUNITIES SURVEYED

The communities visited are shown in the map on the cover page. They are scattered over the state in order to represent all farming areas. Table I gives the size of the communities in 1920, the number of businesses in the towns, and the population for each business unit.

TABLE I

POPULATION PER COMMUNITY AND NUMBER OF BUSINESS UNITS

Community	Population, 1920	Number of businesses, 1928*	Population per business unit†
1	742	31	24
2	934	55	17
3	1,006	51	20
4	1,080	66	16
5	1,772	71	25
6	1,871	78	24
7	2,111	82	26
8	2,463	88	28
9	2,790	126	22
10	6,325	203	31
11	7,086	238	30

* "Business" means any individual or corporation given commercial credit, or a bank.

† Population is for 1920 and business units are for 1927. There have been some relative changes in population since 1920, but they could not be estimated.

The villages and towns range from 742 to 7,086 in size, an increase of about 10 times. On the average, the distribution in size is such that they may be taken to be fairly representative of similar places in Minnesota. The number of businesses increases steadily until a population of 5,000 is reached, after which there is a more rapid increase. Relative to the population, the number of businesses remains about the same until the larger two towns are reached. At this point the beginning of real urbanization is reached. This is indicated by the increase in size of business units and the relatively larger populations served by each. No attention is paid to the fact that much of the real population of these communities lives on the surrounding farms. However, it may be said that all under 5,000 appear to be mere farm service stations and the populations are arranged about occupations serving farmers. Above 5,000, the factor enters of the resident population and its employment in industries other than those directly serving farmers. This is a significant phase of urbanization.[3]

[3] These differences are merely relative. Smaller towns, such as No. 8, get much of their business from railroad shops. However, even in this case the difference is shown in an increase of 2 persons per business unit over the next smaller town.

For purposes of analysis, the various types of stores and business units found in these towns were divided into banks, hotels, general stores, specialized retail stores, manufacturing enterprises, and all others. Table I has shown that the populations of these towns increased about ten times in progressing from the smallest to the largest, whereas the actual number of business units increased only about seven times. The specialized retail stores and shops increased about 15 times, which is more than the rate of increase in population. All types of business increased in number but the only relative increase was in specialized retail stores and shops. All other business increased in size more than in numbers. Banks doubled in number but their total capital and surplus increased more than seven times. These figures are sufficient to show that this study has included not only the purely agricultural villages and towns but also, to some extent, the larger towns.

THE POPULATIONS SURVEYED

The study included 395 families, an average of 36 per community. The smallest number was taken at No. 5 (24), and the largest at No. 11 (43). Table II gives the number of families and the average size of family for each community.

TABLE II

NUMBER OF FAMILIES AND AVERAGE SIZE OF FAMILY, BY COMMUNITIES

Community	No. of families	No. of persons*	No. of adult units†	Av. persons per family	Av. adults per family
1	35	181	135.8	5.1	3.9
2	25	99	80.9	3.9	3.2
3	40	168	137.9	4.2	3.4
4	37	165	127.1	4.4	3.4
5	24	111	87.9	4.6	3.7
6	39	124	98.3	3.1	2.5
7	35	151	119.8	4.3	3.4
8	39	191	144.8	4.8	3.7
9	36	149	112.7	4.1	3.1
10	42	161	126.3	3.8	3.0
11	43	177	144.7	4.1	3.4
Total	395	1,677	1,316.2	4.2	3.3

* A "person" was defined as an individual of any age rooming and boarding in the house for 12 months. A roomer was not considered. Boarders were included as persons if they roomed in the house. A child three months old was considered three-twelfths of a person. Not including the widows, who often had boarders and roomers, this figure is approximately the size of the related family at the time of the survey.

† The "adult unit" reduces the number of persons to the equivalent of adults in the active stages of life, according to tables of average food needs. A male 19-60 years of age was counted as one unit. A female of the same age was counted as 0.8 unit. A child under 3 years was counted as 0.3 unit. This table is based on the work of L. Emmet Holt as given in "Food, Health and Growth," 1922. Miss Paulena Nickell, of the Home Economics Department, helped in the selection of the table. See Minnesota Bulletin 234, p. 33. June, 1927. This bulletin is no longer available.

This table shows that 1,677 "persons" and 1,316.2 "adult units" were included in the study. The average family consisted of 4.2 persons and 3.3 adult units. The difference between the number of persons and the adult units is explained by the fact that young children, females, and old persons require less food, on the average, so their inclusion reduces the number of adult units or adult equivalents. The largest average number of persons per family was found in No. 1 (5.1), and the smallest in No. 6 (3.1). The largest average adult units per family were at No. 1 (3.9), and the smallest at No. 6 (2.5).

The relative size of the sample, according to the total population resident in the villages and towns, is given in Table III.

TABLE III

DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL POPULATIONS AND OF FAMILIES SURVEYED AMONG THE 11 VILLAGES AND TOWNS

Community	Population, 1920	Per cent of total population in each town	Families studied	Per cent of total families taken from this town
1	742	3	35	9
2	934	3	25	6
3	1,006	4	40	10
4	1,080	4	37	9
5	1,772	6	24	6
6	1,871	7	39	10
7	2,111	7	35	9
8	2,463	9	39	10
9	2,790	10	36	9
10	6,325	22	42	11
11	7,086	25	43	11
Total	28,180	100	395	100

There were 28,180 persons in these towns in 1920, 3 per cent of whom resided in No. 1. The survey secured information from 35 families in No. 1, or about 9 per cent of all the families included in the entire study. A greater proportion of families was taken from the smaller communities and a lesser proportion from the larger communities. As a result, the average of these 345 families does not necessarily represent the average of conditions in the 11 towns, because unequal proportions were taken from each town. The principal object of this study was to determine how the populations lived in the separate towns, and especially to study the various social groups in villages and towns without regard to the specific place in which they lived. The survey was so directed as to reach conclusions regarding conditions among laborers, professional men, business men, and others who resided in the small towns and villages, rather than to make an analysis of the average family.

Occupations of Families

The families included in the survey were divided into ten groups according to the type of occupation and social status. These groups are: Widows and spinsters; retired farmers; unskilled laborers; semi-skilled laborers; skilled laborers; clerical employes (including the managers of businesses and foremen of crews); small business men (incomes less than $3,000 per year); small professional men (incomes less than $3,000 per year); upper business men (more than $3,000); and upper professional men (incomes more than $3,000). Table IV gives the number and proportions of families and persons in each group, and the average size of families.

TABLE IV

DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES, BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Status	No. of families	No. of persons	Per cent of total families	Average persons per family	Average adult units per family
Widows and spinsters	18	61	5	3.3	2.7
Retired farmers	32	104	8	3.2	2.6
Unskilled labor	41	195	10	4.7	3.5
Semi-skilled labor	46	218	12	4.7	3.7
Skilled labor	41	179	10	4.3	3.4
Clerical labor	78	356	20	4.5	3.6
Lower business	58	247	15	4.2	3.4
Lower professional	25	94	6	3.7	3.0
Upper business	37	150	9	4.0	3.2
Upper professional	19	73	5	3.8	3.1
Total	395	1,677	100	4.2	3.3

The greatest proportion of families is found in the clerical and the small business groups. The largest families, if each person is counted as one, are in the unskilled and semi-skilled labor groups. The largest families, in adult units, are to be found in the semi-skilled labor and the clerical groups. There are two characteristic differences between this distribution of occupations and that found in larger urban areas. The widows (mostly of retired farmers) and retired farmers form a larger proportion, and the ratio of business and professional groups to the laboring population is greater than would be found in a more industrialized population.

Practically every group was represented in each community. The recently settled communities to the north naturally had fewer widows, spinsters, and retired families. The number of males to each 100 females in most of those northern rural counties is more than 115. Professional men were found less often in the extremely small villages. The sample is not representative for No. 5 because only 24 schedules were taken and these did not represent all the occupational groups in the community.

The national stock from which these families came, without regard to place of birth, is as follows: 40 per cent were Scandinavian (Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish); 18 per cent German; 12 per cent Yankee (English, Scotch, or Irish origin and at least four generations native born); 3 per cent called themselves Canadian (including Canadian French); 2 per cent were South European (except French); and 25 per cent were of other origin (including European French). This description is based on the origin of the male head of the family.

Places of Birth

Three-fourths of the male heads of the families were native-born. However, about half of the native-born had parents who were born in foreign countries. Only 18 per cent of the 395 had resided in the United States four or more generations. None of the foreign-born had been here less than 10 years; 91 per cent of them had been here more than 20 years. The populations of these villages and towns primarily originated from the farming element that settled Minnesota. In national stock and generations in America, it is essentially the same as the farm population of the state. This is further shown by the fact that 60 per cent of the male heads of the families were born on farms and 71 per cent had resided on farms or had farmed for at least one year. A third were born in towns of less than 10,000 in population; only 7 per cent were born in cities above 10,000.

The single-family dwelling was the primary type of residence, constituting about 95 per cent of the homes. The families in 52 per cent of the cases owned their homes free of debt; 9 per cent more were buying. In this respect these village and town families are similar to farm families. The farm is the domain of the separate, single-family dwelling. The 5 per cent in apartments and duplexes represented the trend toward urban life. The heads of the families had some high school education in 41 per cent of the cases; half of these had gone on to college for one year or more. These places are primarily farm service centers and do not have the high proportions of unskilled and low-class labor found in the larger urban areas. The larger number of professional men, serving the surrounding farm families, increases the proportion of educated men in the communities. It is noticeable that 38 per cent of the male heads of the households were more than 50 years of age. This is a higher percentage than is found in either an average farm population or a more urbanized population, because of the prevalence of a large number of retired persons and also the character of these villages and towns as service places for farm communities.

INCOMES, EXPENDITURES, AND DEFICITS

Income was considered to be the same as the family cash receipts for the year. In many cases the families had a garden and occasionally one owned a milk cow. However, unless the products of the gardens and cows were sold or traded for things that ordinarily would be bought, they were not included as income. Many persons will argue that home-produced garden truck is to be considered the same as money income. However, this study is limited primarily to *money* income and secondarily to the *time* income. The practical reason for such an approach was that it is almost impossible to evaluate the garden truck without having the families keep records; and the keeping of records was considered too expensive for this study.[4] Second, this study is not primarily interested in the so-called cost of living, as such, but in how families live. Third, it is believed that the same garden produce and use of spare time can be handled adequately without determining a "fair" value.

If the families were engaged in business, the net receipts were considered income. Included in these net receipts are all items reinvested in the business. Expenditures were considered as all items purchased with the cash incomes, including savings and investments for the future. The main attempt has been to approach family living as realistically and naturally as possible.

The average income and expenditures per family and per adult unit are given in Tables V and VI. Table V sorts the families by community and Table VI by occupation, without regard to community. These tables also give the differences between the cash received and the amount expended per group.

TABLE V

AVERAGE INCOME AND EXPENDITURE PER FAMILY AND PER ADULT UNIT, BY COMMUNITIES

Community	Average per family			Average per adult unit		
	Income	Expenditure	Difference between expenditure and income	Income	Expenditure	Difference between expenditure and income
1	$1,705	$1,864	$—159	$439	$480	$—41
2	2,588	2,558	+ 30	800	791	+ 9
3	2,463	2,600	—137	715	754	—39
4	2,876	3,019	—143	837	879	—42
5	1,850	2,174	—324	505	593	—88
6	1,494	1,514	— 20	593	601	— 8
7	2,535	2,694	—159	741	787	—46
8	2,521	2,723	—202	679	734	—55
9	2,392	2,426	— 34	764	775	—11
10	2,527	2,704	—177	840	899	—59
11	2,689	2,776	— 87	799	825	—26
Total average	$2,347	$2,473	$—126	$704	$742	$—38

[4] Bibliographical references concerning budgetary studies and reference to methodological notes will be found in Carle C. Zimmerman, "The family-budget as a tool for sociological analysis," Minnesota Journal series paper No. 776. In *American Journal of Sociology*, 1928.

TABLE VI

AVERAGE INCOME AND EXPENDITURE PER FAMILY AND PER ADULT UNIT, BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Status	Average per family			Average per adult unit		
	Income	Expenditure	Difference between expenditure and income	Income	Expenditure	Difference between expenditure and income
Widows and spinsters	$ 948	$1,121	$—173	$357	$422	$— 65
Retired farmers	1,318	1,767	—449	501	671	—170
Common labor	900	961	— 61	261	278	— 17
Semi-skilled labor....	1,496	1,552	— 56	403	418	— 15
Skilled labor	1,879	1,943	— 64	552	571	— 19
Clerical or managerial labor	2,653	2,910	—257	732	803	— 71
Lower business.....	1,949	1,986	— 37	566	577	— 11
Lower professional...	2,377	2,499	—122	799	840	— 41
Upper business.....	5,332	5,374	— 42	1,688	1,701	— 13
Upper professional...	5,698	5,592	+106	1,838	1,804	+ 34
Total average...	$2,347	$2,473	$—126	$704	$742	$— 38

These differences between expenditures and incomes do not mean losses or gains for the year. Investments and savings were considered as expenditures. Nearly all families either invested or placed in savings the greater portion of the funds not spent for present wants. Those in the lower income groups, who saved relatively little, tended to adjust their living expenses to their income-producing ability. The causes of the apparent deficit in most of the groups were unusually high investments, not met out of present incomes. Some of these were due to the building of houses or the adding of improvements, which had to be met out of savings or borrowings; and others were due to unusual circumstances, as accidents, deaths, or loss of work. There are few permanent-deficit families in any of these communities, only four of those interviewed receiving public charity. The surplus amounts were due to incomes not yet invested.

The average income per family was $2,347 and per adult $704. Expenditures were $2,473 per family and $742 per adult. *Some slight relation appears between size of community and size of income, but the chief difference is between the smallest community and all others.* This may be due to the newness of the small community, which is in the cutover area. The other differences were primarily due to differences in size of families, so the conclusion may be drawn that *this study, as conducted, shows no tangible relationship between size of community and size of income.* However, such a statement may not apply to other communities. *A second conclusion is that altho the families generally spend about all they make, nevertheless, the communities, families, and individuals tend to adjust their expenditures to their income-producing ability.* The same tendency to adjust living conditions to incomes appears, as far as living conditions are the result

of incomes and expenditures. However, as will be shown later in this study, many factors go into living conditions other than mere ability to purchase economic goods. *A third conclusion is that the social scale is also an economic scale to a considerable extent.* That is, families higher on the social ladder have larger incomes and *vice versa*. The chief exception is the clerical or managerial class. Persons of this class, according to the standards in common use by statistical bureaus, are seldom placed next to the large business and professional classes. Yet, in this study, they make incomes higher than the smaller business and smaller professional groups. There is no doubt that their social position in these towns, at least, does not exceed that of the smaller professional classes which includes teachers, ministers, minor political officials, and all professional men with incomes under $3,000. The difference is probably due to two reasons. Some of the families may have been classified wrongly. On the other hand, the smaller business and professional classes have rewards other than present income, which make up the difference. Their security of tenure is more lasting, they have a certain amount of independence, they work more for themselves, and they have higher social positions (especially the professional classes). It can not be said definitely which class has the greatest economic promise for the future—the clerical, small business, or lower professional. All have chances to rise in the income scale.

Table VII gives the causes assigned for spending more than present incomes. The first three headings under causes of deficit may be called destructive causes. These were sickness, old age, business or bank failures, or unemployment. These were all unfortunate circumstances and accounted for 52 per cent of all the differences for which "reasons" were assigned. The other 48 per cent were more or less constructive—they represented expenditures for the future. They were due to housing improvements, starting in business, or purchase of new automobiles. While some families were tending to live beyond their means, in the ordinary sense of the word, most of them were very conservative. Much of this conservativeness in spending was due to the advanced age of the heads of the households and to their balanced judgment concerning the future. In this respect, the families had gained much from their close connection with agriculture. Farmers as a group are notorious for their interest in the future and their ability to keep out of the poorhouse.[5] Of the more important cases of greater temporary expenditure, 144 furnished information as to the methods used to make up the difference. Of these, 70 per cent cut down their previous savings, 14 per cent borrowed money, 13 per cent let store bills run, and 3 per cent were aided by organized charity.

[5] See Minnesota Agr. Exp. Sta. Bull. 246, "Factors affecting expenditures of farm family incomes in Minnesota."

TABLE VII

CAUSES GIVEN FOR SPENDING MORE THAN PRESENT INCOMES

Cause	Number*	Per cent
Sickness	56	28
Old age	8	4
Business or bank failure, unemployment	39	20
Built house, improved house and other buildings	62	31
Bought car	25	13
Other (including beginning in business)	8	4
Total	198	100

* Eighteen cases gave no reasons. These were very small differences. A total of 216 spent more than the income for that year.

The families that spent more than present incomes averaged $1,995 in total income, which is only about $350 less than the average for the whole group. The only material differences in the source of income of these and the other group are slightly less proportions from the male head of the household (reflecting unemployment), slightly more from children (reflecting the fact that children had gone to work to help out the family) and slightly larger proportions from property, especially farms (the result of old age and retirement), among the group spending more than present incomes.

Sources of Income

Tables VIII and IX give the sources of income by community and by occupational groups. The wages, salaries, and profits (when the head of the household was in business for himself) of the head of the family, accounted for 81 per cent of the income. All returns on property accounted for 9 per cent, two-thirds of which came from urban investments and one-third from farms. Most of that coming from town property was from real estate or profits from local concerns. Investments in personal property, outside of the local communities, were not numerous. Children's wages accounted for 4 per cent; boarders for 2 per cent; wages of the mothers employed away from home, 1 per cent; garden produce and sales of dairy products, 1 per cent, and all other, 2 per cent. There was no relationship between the size of the community and the proportion of income from the male head of the household. The proportion from boarders showed some tendency to increase with the size of the community, indicating the introduction of non-family elements within the home. The only other appreciable change was that sales of garden and dairy produce declined relatively in the larger communities. This may mean less commercial gardening as a sideline to other employments, and at the same time the introduction of regular truck gardeners and milk salesmen.

TABLE VIII

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SOURCES OF INCOME, BY COMMUNITIES

Community	Percentages from								
	Male head*	Town real property†	Farm property	Children	Boarders‡	Mothers' wages	Garden produce§	Other‖	Total
1	91	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	100
2	80	10	5	0	1	0	2	2	100
3	75	5	3	5	2	2	1	7	100
4	80	3	3	4	3	2	¶	5	100
5	93	¶	1	2	1	1	1	1	100
6	77	10	3	3	2	2	¶	3	100
7	89	5	3	0	1	1	¶	1	100
8	80	4	6	5	3	1	¶	1	100
9	78	12	6	1	2	1	¶	¶	100
10	80	2	1	13	2	1	0	1	100
11	81	9	1	2	5	¶	¶	2	100
Total percentage	81	6	3	4	2	1	1	2	100

* Wages, salaries, and profits of business.
† Town real property and all personal property such as bonds, stocks, and interest.
‡ Gross amount paid for board and room rent.
§ Including dairy products. Only cash sales or bartering recorded.
‖ Legacies, gifts, insurance, etc.
¶ Less than 0.5 per cent.

TABLE IX

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SOURCES OF INCOME, BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Status	Percentages from								
	Male head*	Town real property†	Farm property	Children	Boarders‡	Mothers' wages	Garden produce§	Other‖	Total
Widows and spinsters	0	33	6	7	23	11	4	16	100
Retired farmers	22	32	28	6	4	1	2	5	100
Common labor	78	1	2	8	2	2	3	4	100
Semi-skilled labor	76	1	3	13	3	2	2	¶	100
Skilled labor	88	1	2	1	3	2	0	3	100
Clerical or managerial	85	5	2	4	1	2	¶	1	100
Lower business	85	4	2	3	2	1	¶	3	100
Lower professional	81	3	¶	6	2	1	¶	7	100
Upper business	90	6	1	1	1	0	¶	1	100
Upper professional	91	5	2	0	1	0	0	1	100
Total percentage	81	6	3	4	2	1	1	2	100

* Wages, salaries, and profits of business.
† Town real property and all personal property such as bonds, stocks, and interest.
‡ Gross amount paid for board and room rent.
§ Including dairy products. Only cash sales or bartering recorded.
‖ Legacies, gifts, insurance, etc.
¶ Less than 0.5 per cent.

The comparison of the occupational groups gives some different results. For this comparison the groups of widows and retired farmers should not be considered because they do not really represent steps in the urban social ladder. There is some evidence that an increase in social position (from laborers to the upper professional groups) is associated with an increasing proportion of the income derived from the male head of the household, and an increasing proportion from urban property holdings. On the other hand, the proportions from children's wages, from the employment of the mothers, and from the sales of garden and dairy produce either decline or disappear. Family industry and the employment of women and children outside the home decline. In some cases this might be interpreted as an improvement in living conditions. In others, it meant that the spare time of the women and children was spent at diversions that did not necessarily improve either home life or the economic future of the children. The so-called social struggle, among the upper classes in the towns above 5,000 in population, was very intense.

The retired farmers had more income from town property than from farms, but this was due primarily to low farm incomes for the last few years. On the other hand, it represented a tendency for retired farmers to sell the farms to the tenants or to their children. One characteristic of these retired farmers was that they were very active. In other words, they seldom completely retire. Some of them return regularly to their farms and oversee or help their children in the work. Others enter politics and render excellent service to the community as tax collectors, assessors, and public officials. This brings them small incomes, keeps them busy, and gives them some social prestige. Others do common labor, partly in order to keep busy and partly for the income it brings. The unskilled laborers of the communities feel the competition of the retired farmers. The general impression is that the retired farmer, used to working hard as his own boss, not only underbids the laborer for the jobs but also is a more acceptable employe, when age differences are considered. The retired farmer secures jobs in the smaller communities more readily than the laborer because many of the employing agencies, such as hay-baling crews, poultry-dressing shops, and the like, are either farm co-operatives or do business with farmers and feel that the employment of the retired farmer, who is generally well known in the community, is an asset to the business.

The widows and spinsters get their incomes primarily from investments in town real property, from boarders and roomers, and in some cases from work outside the home. In some communities there is a tendency for most of these households to locate in one section of the

town. However, others continue to live in the section in which they lived before the loss of their male support.

Gross Distribution of Expenditures

For purposes of analysis the expenditures are divided into seven groups. These are called investments for the future, household (rent, light, fuel, operation, and upkeep), food, clothing, health, automobile, and "all other," including personal. Later, these minor groups of expenditures are analyzed in detail. Tables X to XV inclusive give the average expenditures of each family and each adult unit and the percentage distribution by community and occupational groups. These tell in detail how the families distributed their incomes among the various types of luxuries and necessities that make up the family needs.

TABLE X

AVERAGE EXPENDITURES FOR GROUPS OF ITEMS PER FAMILY, BY COMMUNITIES

Community	Average expenditure per family for							
	House-hold	Food	Cloth-ing	Health	Other living	Automo-biles	Invest-ments	Total expense
1	$520	$432	$228	$ 56	$166	$119	$343	$1,804
2	570	444	286	198	214	118	728	2,558
3	638	466	221	58	203	246	768	2,600
4	628	554	371	106	273	361	726	3,019
5	513	520	305	117	271	123	325	2,174
6	393	384	159	69	165	103	241	1,514
7	708	509	291	113	309	244	520	2,694
8	669	607	290	72	284	132	669	2,723
9	582	481	245	60	270	250	538	2,426
10	608	541	320	101	342	203	589	2,704
11	549	588	244	88	271	255	781	2,776
Total average	$582	$505	$267	$ 90	$253	$201	$575	$2,473

TABLE XI

AVERAGE EXPENDITURE FOR GROUPS OF ITEMS PER ADULT UNIT, BY COMMUNITIES

Community	House-hold	Food	Cloth-ing	Health	Other living	Automo-biles	Invest-ments	Total expense
1	$134	$111	$ 59	$ 14	$ 43	$ 31	$ 88	$480
2	177	137	88	61	66	37	225	791
3	185	135	64	17	59	71	223	754
4	183	162	108	31	79	105	211	879
5	140	142	83	32	74	34	88	593
6	156	152	63	27	66	41	96	601
7	207	149	85	33	90	71	152	787
8	180	164	78	19	77	36	180	734
9	186	154	78	19	86	80	172	775
10	202	180	106	34	114	67	196	899
11	163	174	73	26	81	76	232	825
Total average	$175	$152	$ 80	$ 27	$ 76	$ 60	$172	$742

TABLE XII

PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL EXPENDITURES FOR GROUPS OF ITEMS, BY COMMUNITIES

Community	House-hold	Food	Cloth-ing	Health	Other living	Automo-biles	Invest-ments	Total expense
1	28	23	12	3	9	6	19	100
2	22	17	11	8	8	5	29	100
3	25	18	8	2	8	9	30	100
4	21	18	12	4	9	12	24	100
5	24	24	14	5	12	6	15	100
6	26	25	11	4	11	7	16	100
7	26	19	11	4	12	9	19	100
8	25	22	10	3	10	5	25	100
9	24	20	10	3	11	10	22	100
10	22	20	12	4	13	7	22	100
11	20	21	9	3	10	9	28	100
Total percentage	24	20	11	4	10	8	23	100

TABLE XIII

AVERAGE EXPENDITURE FOR GROUPS OF ITEMS PER FAMILY, BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Status	House-hold	Food	Cloth-ing	Health	Other living	Automo-biles	Invest-ments	Total expense
Widows and spinsters	$ 374	$400	$ 86	$ 38	$ 76	$ 10	$ 137	$1,121
Retired farmers	578	342	175	100	162	63	347	1,767
Common labor	221	397	125	43	85	30	60	961
Semi-skilled labor	391	486	193	66	137	70	209	1,552
Skilled labor	472	525	230	123	169	110	314	1,943
Clerical and managerial	751	575	344	107	311	314	508	2,910
Lower business	451	476	241	72	186	127	433	1,986
Lower professional	465	528	283	70	383	264	506	2,499
Upper business	1,091	590	405	121	514	468	2,185	5,374
Upper professional	1,133	729	632	167	683	657	1,591	5,592
Total average	$582	$505	$267	$90	$253	$201	$575	$2,473

TABLE XIV

AVERAGE EXPENDITURE FOR GROUPS OF ITEMS PER ADULT UNIT, BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Status	House-hold	Food	Cloth-ing	Health	Other living	Automo-biles	Invest-ments	Total expense
Widows and spinsters	$141	$150	$ 32	$14	$ 29	$ 4	$ 52	$ 422
Retired farmers	219	130	66	38	62	24	132	671
Common labor	64	115	36	12	25	9	17	278
Semi-skilled labor	105	131	52	18	37	19	56	418
Skilled labor	139	154	68	36	50	32	92	571
Clerical and managerial	207	159	95	29	86	87	140	803
Lower business	131	138	70	21	54	37	126	577
Lower professional	156	178	95	24	129	89	170	840
Upper business	345	187	128	38	163	148	692	1,701
Upper professional	366	235	204	54	220	212	513	1,804
Total average	$175	$152	$80	$27	$76	$60	$172	$742

TABLE XV

PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL EXPENDITURES FOR GROUPS OF ITEMS, BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Status	House-hold	Food	Cloth-ing	Health	Other living	Automo-biles	Invest-ments	Total expense
Widows and spinsters..	33	36	8	3	7	1	12	100
Retired farmers.....	33	19	10	6	9	3	20	100
Common labor	23	41	13	5	9	3	6	100
Semi-skilled labor.....	25	31	13	4	9	5	13	100
Skilled labor	24	27	12	6	9	6	16	100
Clerical and managerial	26	20	12	3	11	11	17	100
Lower business.....	23	24	12	4	9	6	22	100
Lower professional....	19	21	11	3	15	11	20	100
Upper business.....	20	11	7	2	10	9	41	100
Upper professional....	20	13	11	3	12	12	29	100
Total percentage ...	24	20	11	4	10	8	23	100

Household expenditures claimed 24 per cent of all expenditures, food 20, clothing 11, health 4, "other living" 10, automobiles 8, and investment 23. In terms of dollars, this means, per family, $582 for household, $505 for food, $267 for clothing, $90 for health, $253 for "other living," $201 for automobiles, and $575 for investment and savings for the future. The expenditures per adult unit were smaller. From the size of the various groups of expenditures, it may be suggested that the present surroundings of the family (households) and savings for the future were given first place, food a close second, and clothing, "other living," automobiles, and health, in the order named. These families do not have a minimum standard of living, as indicated by the minor significance given to food expenditures. The nearer to a minimum, or a subsistence standard, a group approaches, the greater is the significance given to elementary wants such as food and shelter. Consequently, we suggest the following statement, which concerns the majority of these families. *The "cost of living" is not the big factor in their lives, but the relative advantage of one type of purchase over another.* By this is meant that the majority of these families are seeking to improve themselves or to enjoy life with surplus funds. They are not starving, but attempting to distribute their incomes to the greatest possible comfort advantage. We can not, then, call this a study of the "cost of living."[6] But from an analysis of the changes in proportional distribution that come with changes in occupational groups and social status, we are able to suggest some of the major types of expenditures that these families think are most helpful in increasing or improving their living conditions.[7] These are, roughly, advancement and personal expenditures, which include education, rec-

[6] F. Leplay, the father of such studies as these, made this important point many years ago. See E. Engel's tribute to Leplay in "Die Lebenskosten." Bull. l'Institut Int. de Stat., v. 9, p. 26. 1895.

[7] This statement is based upon the assumption that people are ready to sacrifice for their real desires. Every dollar spent for one item means less for other items.

reation, and religion; automobiles, or increased travel; and investment, or greater safety for the future. These are the primary types of expenditures that demand our attention. Changes in other types are generally in relation to these three.

The unskilled laborers spend 9 per cent of their incomes for "other living," or miscellaneous. The retired groups spend as small a percentage or less. The relationships between food, or "necessary" expenditures, and this miscellaneous group has claimed the greatest attention among budgetary studies. The "laws" of Ernst Engel were based upon the proportional distribution between "necessity" and "miscellaneous" expenditures. Engel believed that the primary competition among the budgets of wage earners' families was between the necessity groups of expenses—food, rent, fuel, light, and health—and this group, which is sometimes called "advancement." The data given here indicate that this type of competition is relatively inadequate for an analysis of these Minnesota town and village budgets. In another bulletin[8] the relative inadequacy of this analysis of Engel's, as applied to the farmers of the state, has already been pointed out. In this study we find that in progressing from the laborers to the upper business and professional classes, the proportions for advancement less than double, while those for automobiles increase four times, and for investment, more than six times. The relative competition within the budgets is between the "necessity" expenditures and investments for automobiles and travel. The miscellaneous group furnishes a minor third type of competition with the previous groups of expenditures.

However, the various occupational groups vary in their interpretation as to what is better living. The business groups place a primary emphasis on savings, much of which is reinvested in their businesses. In this respect they are like farmers. The professional groups, especially those with incomes under $3,000 a year, place primary emphasis on the "other" expenditures, rather than on savings and investments. We shall now analyze these investment expenditures further.

Analysis of Investment Expenditures

Investment expenditures are given first place in the analysis because the previous discussion has led to the belief that the families under consideration place this group first as a factor in improved living. They are all trying to mount to the upper classes. Increased investment expenditures are the *primary* differences between the budgets of the lower and the upper classes in these villages. Tables XVI to XIX, inclusive, give the average amounts spent per family for the different investment items, and the percentage distribution, by communities and by occupational groups.

[8] Minn. Agr. Exp. Sta. Bull. 246. 1928.

TABLE XVI

AVERAGE INVESTMENTS PER FAMILY, BY COMMUNITIES

Community	Reinvested in business	Insurance	Savings	Paid on home	Other urban property*	Farms	Debts	Interest	Taxes†	Losses
1	$144	$ 72	$ 16	$20	$ 15	$ 4	$18	$ 8	$ 46	..
2	390	97	55	..	21	4	68	2	79	$12
3	120	123	97	9	130	4	119	72	71	23
4	322	91	55	44	81	..	61	47	25	..
5	21	72	21	47	13	..	2	27	14	108
6	41	56	77	..	10	3	14	20	20	..
7	100	107	54	2	86	..	9	23	111	28
8	74	149	99	47	164	56	22	13	45	..
9	133	78	178	..	59	..	14	33	43	..
10	134	124	129	18	64	52	18	43	7	..
11	360	130	93	34	33	16	63	21	31	..
Total average	$167	$102	$84	$20	$65	$14	$38	$29	$44	$12

* Personal and real property. It was primarily real property, or shares in local banks and other local concerns.

† Other than taxes on homes or poll taxes.

TABLE XVII

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF INVESTMENTS, BY COMMUNITIES

Community	Reinvested in business	Insurance	Savings	Paid on home	Other urban property	Farms	Debts	Interest	Taxes	Losses	Total
1	42	21	5	6	5	1	5	2	13	..	100
2	53	13	8	..	3	1	9	*	11	2	100
3	16	16	13	1	17	1	15	9	9	3	100
4	44	13	8	6	11	..	8	6	4	..	100
5	7	22	7	14	4	..	1	8	4	33	100
6	17	24	32	..	4	1	6	8	8	..	100
7	19	21	10	*	17	..	2	5	21	5	100
8	11	22	15	7	24	8	4	2	7	..	100
9	25	14	33	..	11	..	3	6	8	..	100
10	23	21	22	3	11	9	3	7	1	..	100
11	46	17	12	4	4	2	8	3	4	..	100
Total percentage	29	18	14	4	11	2	7	5	8	2	100

* Less than 0.5 per cent.

Strictly speaking, not all of these groups of expenditures may be called savings for the future. Payments on debts, interest on borrowings, taxes on property other than homes, and losses may be doubtful. These, however, are minor items, constituting 22 per cent of all investments, or $123 out of $575. Balanced against these are the items for alterations, new buildings, and repairs on houses, given in the section dealing with household expenditures, which might be called savings in that they add to the value of the property. They amount to $114. Even admitting that some of this $114 is used to meet depreciation on the houses, it helps to make up for the doubtful items in the invest-

ment group as enumerated above. Further, there are new out-buildings, new furniture, and new automobiles, which add to the net property accumulations. On the whole, we feel safe in calling this group investment, as is done in Tables XVI to XIX.

TABLE XVIII

AVERAGE INVESTMENTS PER FAMILY, BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Status	Reinvested in business	Insurance	Savings	Paid on home	Other urban property*	Farms	Debts	Interest	Taxes†	Losses
Widows and spinsters	..	$ 23	$ 39	$ 3	$ 23	$ 9	..	..	$12	$28
Retired farmers	$ 13	27	45	..	58	72	..	$0.39	93	..
Common labor	..	15	17	..	3	..	$14	.05	6	..
Semi-skilled labor	..	58	77	15	1	3	29	.05	13	8
Skilled labor	23	64	126	14	10	..	35	.24	16	2
Clerical or managerial	24	132	76	45	86	2	34	.42	43	24
Lower business	125	81	51	14	29	..	56	.37	26	14
Lower professional	2	133	181	40	32	12	48	.29	23	6
Upper business	1,361	218	141	36	118	..	78	.63	170	..
Upper professional	263	361	148	..	481	137	89	.22	37	53
Total average	$167	$102	$84	$20	$65	$14	$38	$0.29	$44	$12

* Personal and real property. It was primarily real property, or shares in local banks and other local concerns.

† Other than taxes on homes or poll taxes.

TABLE XIX

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF INVESTMENTS, BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Status	Reinvested in business	Insurance	Savings	Paid on home	Other urban property	Farms	Debts	Interest	Taxes	Losses	Total
Widows and spinsters	..	17	28	2	17	7	..	*	9	20	100
Retired farmers	3	8	13	..	17	21	..	11	27	..	100
Common labor	..	26	28	..	6	..	22	8	10	..	100
Semi-skilled labor	..	28	37	7	*	1	14	2	7	4	100
Skilled labor	8	20	40	4	3	..	11	8	5	1	100
Clerical or managerial	5	26	15	9	17	*	7	8	8	5	100
Lower business	29	18	12	3	7	..	13	9	6	3	100
Lower professional	1	26	36	8	6	2	9	6	5	1	100
Upper business	62	10	6	2	5	..	4	3	8	..	100
Upper professional	17	23	9	..	30	9	6	1	2	3	100
Total percentage	29	18	14	4	11	2	7	5	8	2	100

* Less than 0.5 per cent.

Reinvestments in business are the primary items in this set of tables. They account for 29 per cent of all investment, or $167. The greatest sums were invested in this way by the business and the upper professional classes. In the professional class, it often represented new office equipment or such items as furniture, books, and X-ray machines. Care was taken to separate mere replacements from new invest-

ments. The upper class used about two-thirds of all investments for this purpose. Insurance was next highest, amounting to 18 per cent of all investments, an average of $102 per family. The upper groups bought more insurance per family than the lower groups. However, among the business groups it was a smaller relative part of all investments. The greater part of the insurance was "ordinary" life insurance, altho some of it was annuities. The business groups substitute investments in their business for insurance. Savings accounts averaged 14 per cent of all investments, or $84 per family. The business groups substitute their business for savings, and the upper professional groups invest in urban property rather than in savings accounts. The upper professional classes were the only ones in these towns purchasing much urban personal property in the form of stocks and bonds. Four per cent of investment was utilized for payments on homes. Most of the upper classes and retired farmers and widows owned homes free of obligation. Retired farmers still used a fourth of all investment for their farms. This represented new improvements, which their children or tenants required, or expenses connected with other lands. The retired farmers still paid 27 per cent of all investments in taxes. This was due to their land ownership, compared to the fact that many urban investments are returned more free of taxes (paid by the business). Losses were felt most heavily by the widows, largely because their savings were invested in the local banks. Numerous failures, coupled with the double liability of stockholders, made demands upon their incomes.

This section dealing with the distribution of the investment dollar may be summarized by the following conclusion: *Studies of household budgets have seldom given the proper attention to savings and investments. Practically all other types of expenditure have more efficient agencies serving these families than investment.* The best types of automobiles and other items can be bought within a few miles of all these homes. The selling market has not maintained as efficient agencies for the utilization of investment funds—at least as far as these villages are concerned. No single item, other than household expense, is as large as this. The actual difference is only $3.00. (See Table XIV.) *What these families need most is an improvement in the facilities available for the investment of that portion of the income saved for the future.* Safe and conservative bonds that may be purchased on the payment plan; good insurance, especially annuities; safe banking facilities—these are primary needs in these small towns. In some respects, an agricultural crisis such as has occurred in the last few years, is harder on village families than on farmers. Many of the villagers are old. Their money is invested in local banks, which reinvest much of it in agricultural lands. A hard time in agriculture cuts

up savings through bank failures or their inability to pay interest and dividends. They are not in a position to call upon their farms for a living. Many retired farmers who have kept their farms, return to them. But what happens to the retired farmer or widow whose farm has been sold, or to the small business man who sees his business ruined and at the same time loses his savings? The same applies to the professional and the laboring men. A physician often sees his collections drop off, his farms fail to pay for a few years, and his savings disappear in the local bank failure. If he is a stockholder, as many are, the result is worse. The majority of these communities have seen the failure of one or more banks in the last few years. The agricultural towns and villages ought to be a good market for the sale of conservative and relatively safe investments in other fields. In many respects the people of these towns are similar to agriculturists—their investment eggs are still in one basket.

Distribution of Wealth

Table XX gives the distribution of wealth according to the occupation of the householder. No claims are made as to the accuracy of this table except that it is based upon the combined judgment of the investigator and the head of the family. It is difficult to evaluate wealth. How much is a house worth? How much is a medical practice worth that brings in $5,000 a year besides office expenses? These are a few of the questions that came up. The table is believed to be as reliable as the average estimates of wealth.

Half of the families had less than $5,000 and half had more. All but one of the widows and spinsters had more than $3,000 (including homes) but only a third had more than $10,000. Several had been left more money, but they were not capable of keeping it. Such things as investment trusts and life insurance paid as a yearly income were relatively unknown in many communities. The retired farmers were fairly well off in property but, as indicated before, much of this was farms that had not been sources of any great income during the last few years. However, most of them were still able, and could supplement their income from investments and savings by their labor. More than a third of the common laborers had less than $500, mostly in household furniture. Only four laborers had more than $5,000, nearly all invested in homes. Each other class was better off than the one lower down, altho there was much overlapping. The division of their incomes into savings had enabled them to accumulate property for the future. Among the laboring classes savings had come about through small amounts of insurance and the attempts to purchase homes. Among the upper classes, it represents many types of investment.

TABLE XX

DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH, BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

(Per cent of families in these groups having this much wealth)

Amount of wealth	Widows and spinsters	Retired farmers	Common labor	Semi-skilled labor	Skilled labor	Clerical or managerial	Lower business	Lower professional	Upper business	Upper professional	All families
Up to $ 499	0	3	37	18	12	3	2	4	0	0	8
$ 500 to 999	0	3	7	11	10	4	5	8	0	0	5
1,000 to 1,499	6	0	12	15	7	5	7	4	0	5	7
1,500 to 1,999	0	0	5	11	7	6	5	12	3	0	5
2,000 to 2,499	0	0	10	4	5	9	0	8	0	0	4
2,500 to 2,999	0	0	2	11	12	3	2	8	0	0	4
3,000 to 4,999	38	9	15	13	24	24	10	20	5	11	17
5,000 to 9,999	22	19	10	13	12	18	41	28	14	16	20
10,000 to 14,999	11	19	0	2	3	8	10	4	8	5	7
15,000 to 19,999	11	6	0	0	5	9	9	0	16	11	7
20,000 to 24,999	6	16	2	0	0	5	0	4	8	16	5
25,000 and more	6	25	0	2	3	6	9	0	46	36	11
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Automobiles and Automobile Expense

No further analysis was made of automobile expense. The average of $201 includes all spent for new cars, gas, oil, tires, repairs, and garage bills. It does not include the cost and upkeep of the home garage. The automobile costs represented 3 per cent of the total expenditures of the laboring classes and from 9 to 12 per cent of those of the upper classes—an increase in proportion of three or four times. Table XXI gives information as to the percentage in each group possessing cars and the types of these cars, cheap or expensive. The following trends are noticed. Only 29 per cent of the common laborers possess cars, five-sixths of which were of the "cheap" variety. From 90 to 95 per cent of the upper classes had cars, about three-fourths of which were of the expensive types. This table also shows several influences affecting the purchase of cars. Those in the smaller business class seem to do without cars, preferably to keep up their business. On the other hand, skilled laborers and many of the clerical and managerial families purchase cars *because there is no business to demand their surplus funds.* Being in business for themselves seems to have a conservative influence upon many families, as indicated by purchases of cars. The clerical and managerial class ranks next to the larger business and professional classes in the relative proportions having cars of the expensive types. Two-thirds of the retired farmers have automobiles, more than two-thirds of which are of the expensive types.

TABLE XXI

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF AUTOMOBILES, BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Status	No automobile	Small cars	Other types	Type not given	Total
Widows and spinsters	83	11	6	0	100
Retired farmers	37	19	44	0	100
Common labor	71	24	5	0	100
Semi-skilled labor	35	48	17	0	100
Skilled labor	27	49	22	2	100
Clerical or managerial	18	30	51	1	100
Lower business	33	31	34	2	100
Lower professional	8	44	48	0	100
Upper business	8	24	68	0	100
Upper professional	5	21	74	0	100
Average percentage	31	32	36	1	100

"All Other" Living Expenses

The group of "all other," which includes miscellaneous and personal expenses, shows the next greatest tendency to increase with improvement in status and incomes. The most important of these expenses were for religious purposes, education (other than taxes), gifts, travel, tobacco, reading, toilet and barber services, shows, entertainment, organization memberships (other than insurance premiums

for mutual lodges), vacations, and incidentals. Tables XXII to XXV, inclusive, give the amounts spent per family in each community, the percentage distribution in these communities, and the same items by status or occupational groups. From these tables the following observations may be drawn.

Donations to churches and to philanthropic agencies accounted for an average of $49 per family, or 19 per cent of all this group of expenditures. Most of this was to churches, relatively little being given to other agencies. With some variations, there was a slight tendency for the proportions of the total "all other" expense given these churches to decline as the size of the communities increased. The smallest two communities gave 25 and 33 per cent, respectively, while the larger two gave 16 and 17 per cent. This is counterbalanced somewhat by the fact that the larger communities tended to spend a little more of their whole budgets for this miscellaneous group of items. There was very slight, if any, tendency to spend larger actual amounts for this purpose in the larger communities. There was a tendency for the upper groups to spend a larger proportion of "all other" expenditures for religious purposes. However, this tendency fell off among the upper business and professional classes, as their percentages were approximately the same as among the lower groups. Actually, however, the three upper groups spent about $100 per family for this purpose compared with less than $25 among the three lower. The upper groups spend more for religious purposes, but if we may judge their attitudes by the proportion given to these agencies, *they care less for institutionalized religion.* Retired farmers are unique, in that they contribute heavily, both actually and relatively, to the support of churches.

TABLE XXII

AVERAGE PER FAMILY SPENT FOR MISCELLANEOUS LIVING PURPOSES, BY COMMUNITIES

Community	Religion and charity	Education*	Reading	Gifts†	Travel	Tobacco	Toilet and barber	Shows and movies	Other entertainment	Organization dues‡	Vacation	Other
1	$41	$10	$14	$25	$17	$15	$20	$ 5	$ 5	$ 8	$ 1	$ 5
2	71	5	24	41	25	10	19	4	6	6	1	2
3	49	12	19	45	8	17	19	8	8	10	1	7
4	46	44	24	47	25	25	21	13	8	8	3	9
5	40	31	26	43	32	25	32	14	9	9	§	10
6	32	18	15	22	16	18	19	10	4	5	§	6
7	61	89	24	40	8	22	23	14	6	12	2	10
8	53	34	19	36	29	29	27	14	15	12	3	11
9	56	41	19	40	29	27	15	8	15	6	1	13
10	57	25	19	45	52	27	28	25	21	15	..	28
11	44	61	18	26	26	27	21	9	7	14	4	14
Total average	$49	$34	$20	$37	$24	$22	$22	$12	$10	$10	$ 2	$11

* Other than taxes.

† All other than charity.

‡ Other than insurance orders.

§ Less than 50 cents.

TABLE XXIII

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MISCELLANEOUS LIVING EXPENSES, BY COMMUNITIES

Community	Religion and charity	Education*	Reading	Gifts†	Travel	Tobacco	Toilet and barber	Shows and movies	Other entertainment	Organization dues‡	Vacation	Other
1	25	6	8	15	11	9	12	3	3	5	§	3
2	33	2	11	19	12	5	9	2	2	3	1	1
3	24	6	10	22	4	8	10	4	4	5	§	3
4	17	16	9	17	9	9	8	5	3	3	1	3
5	15	11	10	16	12	9	12	5	3	3	§	4
6	19	11	9	14	10	11	11	6	2	3	§	4
7	20	28	8	13	3	7	7	4	2	4	1	3
8	19	12	7	13	10	10	9	5	5	4	2	4
9	21	15	7	15	11	10	5	3	6	2	§	5
10	17	8	6	13	15	8	8	7	6	4	..	8
11	16	22	7	9	10	10	8	3	3	5	2	5
Total average	19	13	8	15	10	9	9	4	4	4	1	4

* Other than taxes.

† All other than charity.

‡ Other than insurance orders.

§ Less than 50 cents.

TABLE XXIV

AVERAGE PER FAMILY SPENT FOR MISCELLANEOUS LIVING PURPOSES, BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Status	Religion and charity	Education*	Reading	Gifts†	Travel	Tobacco	Toilet and barber	Shows and movies	Other entertainment	Organization dues‡	Vacation	Other
Widows and spinsters....	$20	$ 3	$ 8	$18	$12	§	$ 5	$ 3	$ 4	$ 1	..	$ 2
Retired farmers	42	25	12	23	13	$16	13	6	6	1	$ 1	4
Common labor	12	6	7	11	7	14	10	5	1	2	§	10
Semi-skilled labor	24	6	10	19	14	16	19	10	4	5	1	9
Skilled labor	27	8	15	27	13	23	23	10	5	8	2	8
Clerical and managerial..	67	41	25	48	27	31	28	14	9	14	1	6
Lower business	39	15	18	30	8	20	21	14	7	8	1	5
Lower professional	100	84	38	44	48	14	19	6	5	11	7	7
Upper business	88	90	31	78	56	40	31	16	27	20	3	34
Upper professional	97	122	41	88	94	39	45	34	48	30	4	41
Total	$49	$34	$20	$37	$24	$22	$22	$12	$10	$10	$2	$11

* Other than taxes.
† All other than charity.
‡ Other than insurance orders.
§ Less than 50 cents.

TABLE XXV

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MISCELLANEOUS LIVING EXPENSES, BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Status	Religion and charity	Education*	Reading	Gifts†	Travel	Tobacco	Toilet and barber	Shows and movies	Other entertainment	Organization dues‡	Vacation	Other
Widows and spinsters...	27	4	11	24	15	§	6	4	5	2	..	2
Retired farmers	26	16	7	14	8	10	8	4	3	1	1	2
Common labor	14	7	8	13	9	16	12	6	1	2	§	12
Semi-skilled labor	17	5	7	14	10	11	14	7	3	4	1	7
Skilled labor	16	5	9	15	8	13	14	6	3	5	1	5
Clerical and managerial..	22	13	8	15	9	10	9	4	3	5	§	2
Lower business	21	8	10	16	4	11	11	8	4	4	§	3
Lower professional	26	22	10	12	12	4	5	1	1	3	2	2
Upper business	17	17	6	15	11	8	6	3	5	4	1	7
Upper professional	14	18	6	13	14	6	6	5	7	4	1	6
Total	19	13	8	15	10	9	9	4	4	4	1	4

* Other than taxes.
† All other than charity.
‡ Other than insurance orders.
§ Less than 50 cents.

Educational expenses averaged $34 per family, or 13 per cent of the miscellaneous budget. With this should be considered $20 for reading material, or 8 per cent of the total miscellaneous group. The average amount spent for educational purposes, which includes expenses for children in high schools and colleges, and all extension or correspondence courses taken by the family, increased from $6 among the laborers to $122 among the upper professional groups. Reading expenditures increased from $7 to $41. It seems that improved living, as these families see it, consists in both increased reading facilities and increased contact with educational institutions. However, the changes are much more rapid in amounts spent for institutional contacts than in amounts used for reading materials for the home. The percentage spent for institutional education increased two or three times while that for reading remained about constant. Education is about the only item in the miscellaneous group that increased much faster than the miscellaneous group as a whole, in progressing from the laboring families to the upper classes. The larger communities spent greater amounts for education but about the same for reading materials. The same tendency is seen in the proportions devoted by communities to education and to reading. Table XXVI gives an analysis of the actual amounts of higher education among the various occupations. It presents additional material as to the average number of children 18 years of age or older that have come from these families. These figures may not be used as indices of the actual fertility among the families, as they make no allowance for differences in ages of the families. However, a few conclusions are suggested. The retired groups furnished 26 per cent of all children 18 years of age or more, but 18 per cent of those with high school education only, and 20 per cent of those with some college education. The laboring groups furnished 30 per cent of all children 18 years of age or older, but only 23 per cent of those with some high school and 17 per cent of those with some college education. On the other hand, the three upper groups (lower and upper professional and upper business) furnished 15 per cent of all children 18 years of age, 21 per cent of those with only high school education, and 32 per cent of those with some college education. In other words, the groups most interested in institutional education may be ranked: (1) Upper groups, (2) farmers, (3) laborers. Relative to the large number of children they have had to support and educate, farmers are much nearer the upper groups than would seem from this analysis. The upper groups have based their increased educational expenditures upon a smaller number of children. Many will agree that institutional education is a valuable thing, yet excessive amounts spent for education of some children seemed not to have yielded results.

TABLE XXVI

AMOUNT OF HIGHER EDUCATION AMONG ADULT CHILDREN OF THE FAMILIES, BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Status	Children 18 or above reared in family	Average per 100 families	Per cent of all children above 18 years	Per cent of all children contributed by this group to those with	
				Some high school education	Some college education
Widows	52	289	10	6	7
Retired farmers	86	269	16	12	13
Common labor	72	176	14	7	3
Semi-skilled labor	48	104	9	8	4
Skilled labor	36	88	7	8	10
Clerical and managerial	86	110	16	22	21
Lower business	66	114	13	16	10
Lower professional	37	148	7	9	14
Upper business	27	73	5	8	12
Upper professional	14	74	3	4	6
Total and total average	524	133	100	100	100

Gifts to members of the family and to friends, in addition to charity, showed no noticeable changes with size of community or with social status, except that the upper groups actually spent more in this way. However, relatively, there was little change. The average per family was $34 for the year or about 15 per cent of all miscellaneous expenditures.

Travel averaged $24 per family, or 10 per cent of the miscellaneous expense. There was some increase in the amount spent in the larger communities, but little relative change. The lower classes spent about 10 per cent of their miscellaneous budgets for this item compared with about 13 per cent in the upper groups. The least traveled groups, as represented by the year's expenditures, were the laborers and the lower classes of business men. The upper professional classes spent most. These expenditures are hardly an index to the traveling of the different groups because the possession of automobiles and the amounts of automobile expenditures changed at the same time. The upper groups used automobiles for some traveling.

Tobacco expenditures averaged $22 per family, about 9 per cent of all miscellaneous expense. There was a slight tendency for tobacco expense to increase with the size of the community. This table, in itself, does not prove any clear correlation of increase with urbanization, but other studies of use of stimulants in the larger towns and cities show that it tends to increase.[9] The actual amounts spent for tobacco increased two or three times in progressing from laborers to the upper classes, but the proportions of the miscellaneous budget spent for this item declined. The increases in expenditures were due to the substi-

[9] See "Rural Sociology," by P. Sorokin and C. C. Zimmerman. Henry Holt and Co., 1929

tution of more expensive qualities and, to a considerable extent, to the increase in quantities consumed.

Toilet articles and barber services cost an average of $22 per family, 9 per cent of the miscellaneous expense. There was no noticeable change in the amount spent in passing from the smaller to the larger communities, but the proportions of the miscellaneous budget used for this purpose declined. The actual amounts spent per family increased rapidly in the upper classes, but the proportions of the miscellaneous expenditures, also declined. The lower classes generally had more children. It was the custom for the parents in the poorer homes to perform barber services for nearly all the children, at least until the child reached the self-supporting age. This custom disappeared among the upper classes.

Theaters and motion picture shows required about $12 per family. There was some tendency for the amount to increase with the size of the community. There was a rapid increase in the amounts spent per family with increase of status. Laborers used about $5 per year, whereas upper professional families used about $34. Some of this increase represented more expensive shows, but some of it represented more attendance. *There was much more mobility, travel, and attendance at shows and commercialized organizations among the upper classes.* That, in itself, is a sign of both urbanization and social climbing. In this respect the smaller professional groups were an exception. This lower professional group had low average expenditures for shows because it included many ministers and school officials, who did not attend shows and motion picture theaters to the same extent as the other classes.

Entertainment, at home and elsewhere, showed some tendency to increase with size of community. In terms of money cost it increased most rapidly among the upper business and professional classes. The average spent by the laboring families was insignificant. The upper classes often gave parties in the local hotels or other places outside the home. This is their conception of one method for improvement of living. Organization dues also increase rapidly among the upper classes. They are joiners. Whether they do it for commercial or for other purposes, can not be said. These upper classes are not only more mobile, but they belong to more organizations and have more interests, as is indicated by expenditures. This group of incidental expenses is also highest in the upper groups.

Summary of Miscellaneous Expense

The group of items classified as "miscellaneous" expense has always received a great deal of attention among students of family budgets and standards of living. The majority of them have given this group

the name of "advancement" expenditures. Whether or not it is possible to call this group "advancement," any more than proper food allowances or savings for the future, or even the purchases of homes, is an unsettled question. However, this study does not find that these village people attach any special significance to this group of expenditures. It is true that these expenditures tend to increase at a more rapid rate than food, clothing, household, and health expenditures. However, automobile and investment expenditures increase still more rapidly. This entire group (miscellaneous) is only 10 per cent of all expenditures compared with 23 per cent for investment, and 8 per cent for automobiles. A few of the individual items included under "miscellaneous" increase very rapidly with larger incomes and improved social status. On the whole, it appears that if these data are at all representative of a cross-section of a fair portion of the American urban-dwelling public, there is some justification for the statement that too much attention has been paid to miscellaneous expenditures. Perhaps families are really better off if they increase their investments, within reasonable limits, rather than many of the other items in miscellaneous expenditures. At least, as shown by other studies, Minnesota farmers do this; and farmers as a class have shown a greater survival ability than any of the important urban groups.[10]

All miscellaneous expenditures increase rapidly with social status, but those for institutionalized education, entertainment, organizations, travel, and religion increase most rapidly. These families are similar to agricultural families in their ambition to provide for the future, yet they represent the urbanized populations in their greater subscription to popular attitudes as to the value of institutionalized education in high schools and colleges, travel, entertainment, and commercialized recreation.

Reading Material

Some information was gathered as to the amount and types of reading material coming into the homes. Tables XXVII and XXVIII give the percentages of the families who take daily newspapers and local papers, by community and by status. Dailies were taken by 77 per cent of the families and locals by 74 per cent. There was a tendency for the circulation of local papers to decline in the larger communities, but this was due, primarily, to the fact that the local papers in these larger communities were dailies, so that the relationship does not mean anything. The circulation of daily papers doubles in progressing from the laborers to the upper groups and that of local papers almost doubles. *This points out that the area of the social inter-action systems of the upper groups in these towns is greater than*

[10] See "Rural Sociology," *op. cit.*

those of the lower classes. The same may be said, in part, for the larger towns compared with the smaller villages.

TABLE XXVII

PROPORTION OF FAMILIES TAKING DAILY AND LOCAL PAPERS,* BY COMMUNITIES

Community	Per cent that take	
	Daily papers	Local papers
1	54	80
2	100	96
3	85	93
4	81	100
5	79	88
6	87	59
7	86	83
8	62	69
9	81	92
10	71	56
11	70	42
Total	77	74

* Local papers in the two larger communities were classified under dailies.

TABLE XXVIII

PROPORTION OF FAMILIES TAKING DAILY AND LOCAL PAPERS, BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Status	Per cent that take	
	Daily papers	Local papers
Widows and spinsters	61	61
Retired farmers	81	78
Common labor	44	54
Semi-skilled labor	61	52
Skilled labor	68	63
Clerical and managerial	92	82
Lower business	79	84
Lower professional	88	76
Upper business	92	92
Upper professional	100	95
Total	77	74

On the average, every 100 families subscribed to 283 magazines (including those purchased at news stands), 95 newspapers, 21 farm papers, 103 local papers, 8 foreign-language papers, and 18 others. In addition, they purchased 156 books and borrowed 3,086 from friends and libraries. This means about 8 new books per year per family. There was a slight tendency for the larger communities to take more newspapers, probably because some families bought both local and metropolitan dailies. The average number of farm papers decreased rapidly with the size of the community. There were less than 5 per 100 families in the larger communities. This is merely one of the indices of urbanization. There were no relationships between the size of the community and the number of books bought or borrowed per

family. The circulation of foreign-language papers declined rapidly with the size of the community. This may mean that residents in the larger communities break connection with foreign places of origin more rapidly than those in smaller communities. However, no tabualtion was made of the relative number of foreign born in the larger communities, so this statement can not be made definitely.

TABLE XXIX

CIRCULATION OF MAGAZINES, BOOKS, AND FARM PAPERS, BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Status	Number per 100 families		Number of families subscribing to farm papers out of each 100 in this group
	Magazines purchased	Books borrowed and bought	
Widows and spinsters	111	105	6
Retired farmers	169	102	41
Common labor	122	186	12
Semi-skilled labor	178	430	17
Skilled labor	273	241	2
Clerical or managerial	337	466	13
Lower business	250	439	48
Lower professional	484	334	20
Upper business	427	209	19
Upper professional	605	234	26
Total	284	324	21

Table XXIX gives the circulation of magazines, farm papers, and books by occupational groups. It shows a high correlation between social status and the purchase of magazines. The only exceptions were slight recessions in the business groups in relation to the professional families. Among the laborers, 122 magazines were purchased per 100 families compared with 605 among the upper professional groups. There was a slight correlation between books borrowed and books bought with increasing social status, but the relationship was very small. Probably the greatest difference would be found in the types of reading matter in the homes of the various social groups. There are definite types of reading matter for various groups. Illustrations of these are farm papers, radical papers, and magazines dealing with successful business men. A knowledge of the circulation of these various types of magazines would help in the understanding of the attitudes of various social classes. The materials gathered in this study were not sufficiently detailed for such an analysis. The last column shows that 21 families out of every 100 took farm papers. There was a minor increase among the upper groups, but not so much as the increase of other types of reading material. A farm paper is primarily a class organ and finds little circulation among the other classes. *This analysis indicates that reading is more varied in the upper classes than in the lower classes, so that the social inter-action systems of these upper groups are not only greater in area but are made up of more varied influences.*

Food and Gardening

No further analysis was made of food expenditures other than that already presented in Tables X to XV, inclusive. Careful analyses of food and diet belong more within other fields, as home economics. Some information was collected concerning the amount of gardening and home production of food by these families. Table XXX gives the proportions of families having gardens and the distribution of these gardens by size. Twenty-three per cent had no gardens, 24 per cent had less than 1,600 square feet, 13 per cent from 1,600 to 3,000 square feet, and 40 per cent more than 3,000 square feet. Most of the retired farmers had gardens. It represented a habit acquired on the farm. Further, it gives them some outdoor exercise as well as fresh food. The proportions having no gardens increase rapidly with social status. Almost half of the upper professional groups had none. However, this relationship shows variations. More of the skilled laborers had gardens than of either the unskilled or the semi-skilled. Both professional groups show exceptional proportions without gardens. There appears no important relationship between status and the size of the garden. The average size of the garden by communities was not computed, but from tables presented in a later section dealing with housing, it is shown that the larger communities, on the average, have smaller lots. This leaves less space for gardening. The average number of vegetables in the gardens, which is some indication of their sufficiency, declines with size of community. Climatic factors are responsible for some of this decline, but the decline appears in larger villages and towns located in the same climatic regions. There is no apparent relationship between social status and size of lot, so that smaller lots can not explain the decline in gardening among the upper classes. The table also shows the average number of vegetables per garden. Farmers average the greatest number. Unskilled laborers, and classes with incomes above $3,000 per year, average the least. Many families without gardens did not have lot space. Others were away from home on account of business obligations. Those making the survey could readily see that more gardening could have been carried on. It would not only have added to the food for the family, but would have furnished outdoor recreation for the participants. Some communities have established standard size lots too small for gardening. Standard lots 40 feet wide in towns under 10,000 are inexcusable in a state with as much land as Minnesota.

TABLE XXX

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF GARDEN SPACE, BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Status	No garden	1,600 sq. ft. or less	1,600-3,000 sq. ft.	3,000 sq. ft. or more	Total	Average vegetables per garden
Widows and spinsters	11	23	33	33	100	13
Retired farmers	6	28	10	56	100	16
Common labor	27	27	12	34	100	9
Semi-skilled labor	20	17	7	56	100	12
Skilled labor	19	37	12	32	100	10
Clerical or managerial	23	24	17	36	100	11
Lower business	17	19	12	52	100	15
Lower professional	36	12	20	32	100	12
Upper business	32	38	8	22	100	7
Upper professional	47	11	16	26	100	9
Total average	23	24	13	40	100	12

Health Expenditures

In Table X and following, it was shown that health expenditures averaged $90 per family, or 4 per cent of the total expenditures. This item includes all bills for medical attention, patent medicines, cost of births and deaths, and cemetery expenditures. The total amount per adult shows no tendency to increase with size of community. In passing from the common laborers to the upper groups, it increased four times in total amount but showed no tendency to take an increased proportion of the budgets; as a matter of fact, there is a decrease from 5 per cent to 3 and 2 per cent. The decrease in the professional classes (proportionately) may be attributed to the number of medical men in this group whose families are the recipients of professional courtesy. However, the greater decrease in proportion among the upper business group proves that this is a real decline. Of this total amount, $7.00, on the average, was used for births, deaths, cemetery dues, and expenses. There were 29 births among the families during the year, one funeral, and minor cemetery expenses. For purposes of analysis of the distribution of the health dollar, these expenses were omitted. Table XXXI distributes the remaining $83 among the different medical agencies, according to the status of the families.

This table shows an average expense for doctor bills, hospitals, and nursing of $56; for dental work, $16; for ocular work, $5; and for medicine, $7. An average of 104 persons received dental treatment in every 100 families, including inspection and cleaning of teeth by the school dental nurses. Among the lower class families, school inspection was the primary type of dental treatment other than the purchase of false teeth among the adults. The first group of medical expenses (for doctor, hospital, and nursing) increased from $23 to $98 in progressing from the common laborers to the upper professional groups. This did not express the real change because of professional courtesy in the upper groups as already mentioned. As it stands the ratio is

1 to 4. Dental expense increased 3 times, ocular stayed about the same, and medical expenditures showed only a slight tendency to increase. No information was collected as to the numbers sick, so a discussion of the adequacy of these expenditures can not be given.

TABLE XXXI

AVERAGE AMOUNT SPENT PER FAMILY FOR MEDICAL SERVICE, BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Status	Doctor, hospital and nursing expense	All dental expense	All eye expense	All medical expense	No. receiving dental treatment per 100 families
Widows and spinsters.....	$10	$ 3	$5	$2	$ 22
Retired farmers.....	76	14	2	7	75
Common labor	23	7	5	4	54
Semi-skilled labor.....	42	13	3	6	96
Skilled labor	88	13	5	7	113
Clerical or managerial....	66	21	5	9	147
Lower business	39	12	5	8	103
Lower professional.....	29	29	4	7	156
Upper business	77	20	4	4	122
Upper professional	98	22	8	15	68
Total average	$56	$16	$5	$7	104

As to the proportional distribution, 67 per cent was used for doctor, hospital, and nursing bills, 19 per cent for dental treatment, 6 per cent for ocular work, and 8 per cent for medicine. There were no important trends in the proportions devoted to each item by the different occupational groups.

TABLE XXXII

COST OF BIRTHS, BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Status	No. of births	Average cost	Lowest	Highest
Common labor	7	$29	$20	$ 45
Semi-skilled labor	2	38	25	50
Skilled labor	6	68	25	150
Clerical or managerial.....	5	76	30	150
Lower business	3	85	54	140
Lower professional	1	45	45	45
Upper business	4	141	25	450
Upper professional	1	204	204	204
Total, average, and range	29	$74	$20	$450

Table XXXII gives the number of births in each occupational group, the average expenditure per birth, and the lowest and highest amounts spent for births. These expenses represent an attempt to ascertain the total cost of the birth of a child. They include costs of hired help, supervision of mother during pregnancy, and such other expenses as for layettes, as far as it was possible to find these costs. The range of cost of births was from $20 to $450, with an average of $74. This table indicates that climbing the social ladder is associated

with a decline in the number of births and a rapid increase in their cost. In this respect the business classes were an exception, because they had more births than the professional families. Much of this increase in cost of births was due to more careful attention, but some is due to the policy of the medical profession of making the bill suit the pocketbook of the patient.

Housing and Household Expenditures

It has already been shown that 91 per cent of the families either owned, rented, or were purchasing a single family dwelling. For purpose of analysis of the incomes of families who were buying, renting, or already owned dwellings, the retired farmers, widows and spinsters, and those with dwellings furnished them were eliminated. The remaining 328 families were divided into 123 who were renting dwellings, 35 who were buying, and 170 who owned them free of debt. Tables XXXIII and XXXIV give the data concerning the incomes and expenditures of these three groups of families.

TABLE XXXIII

INCOMES AND EXPENDITURES OF FAMILIES OWNING, BUYING, OR RENTING HOMES*

Item	Renting	Buying	Own home free
Size of family in adult units	3.5	3.7	3.4
Incomes (average)	$2,306	$2,665	$2,649
Expenditures (average)	2,319	2,947	2,757
Amount spent more than present income	13	282	108
Investment†	502	809	682
Household expense	536	674	939
Household expense minus cost of new houses and alterations	536	425	567

* Excluding widows, retired farmers, and families with dwelling furnished.
† Including payments on homes.

TABLE XXXIV

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES INTO INCOME GROUPS, BY TENURE OF HOMES

Tenure	Percentages in each income group					
	Less than $1,000	$1,000-$1,999	$2,000-$2,999	$3,000-$3,999	$4,000+	Total
Renters	13	37	30	11	9	100
Purchasers	6	31	29	17	7	100
Owners	14	32	25	12	17	100

This table suggests that families which buy and own homes have somewhat larger incomes than renters. This is to be expected. However, in all ranges of the income scale, persons were buying homes or owning them free of debt. This is brought out in Table XXXIV. Purchasing a home adds to the temporary expenditures of a family but this is met with loans and with a reduction of ordinary household

expenditures. However, there were no great differences in the economic ability of many families who owned and many who rented homes. Other factors such as permanency of positions and opportunities for suitable homes are factors, as well as ability to meet the payments on a home. Tables XXXV and XXXVI show that the families which have purchased their own homes have a much lower index of migration and mobility than the renters. Home ownership adds much to the stability of a family and of a community.

TABLE XXXV

AVERAGE YEARS IN TOWN, BY TENURE OF HOMES

Tenure	Less than 5 years	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25+
	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent
Renters.....	45	22	13	7	5	8
Purchasers....	26	11	20	9	11	23
Owners.....	3	8	19	15	13	42

TABLE XXXVI

AVERAGE YEARS IN THIS DWELLING, BY TENURE OF HOMES

Tenure	Less than 5 years	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25+
	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent
Renters.....	89	8	2	1	..	..
Purchasers....	34	46	14	..	3	3
Owners.....	22	25	22	11	9	11

Tables XXXVII to XL, inclusive, give the average and percentage distribution of household expenditures by communities and by occupational groups. Repairs to the buildings, including new buildings and alterations, required 21 per cent of the household expense. There was some decline in the proportion spent for this group by size of community, owing to an actual increase in amounts spent for the households in the larger communities and a decline in proportions of home owners in some of the larger communities. The proportions spent for rent increased somewhat with size of community. This was due to two factors: An increase in the actual amount of rent per household, and a slight increase in the proportion of renters in the larger communities. The average expenditure for buildings increased somewhat with status, but the proportion tended to decline. The same is true for rent. However, this decline in proportion is due to the rapidly increasing total household expenditures associated with the higher status groups. There were no important relationships between the size of the community and increases in any such items as fuel, light, rent, music, telephones, help, taxes, insurance, and operation (which includes purchases of labor-saving equipment, bedding, curtains, the water bill, etc.). However, all these items increased in actual amount very rapidly with improvement of status. Expenditures for domestic help among

unskilled laborers were negligible, but they averaged about $80 in the upper professional groups. Music increased from an average of $2.00 to $121. This is for music and musical instruments only, as music lessons were included under educational costs. Radios were included under music. These two items, music and domestic help, showed the greatest differences between the upper and the lower classes. If we are to judge improved living by changes associated with the improvement of social status, then the actual amounts spent for all items included under household should increase rapidly.

TABLE XXXVII

AVERAGE AMOUNTS SPENT FOR ITEMS CLASSIFIED UNDER HOUSEHOLD, BY COMMUNITIES

Community	Repairs to buildings	Fuel	Light	Rent	Music*	Telephone	Domestic help	Taxes	Property insurance	Operation and other†
1	$215	$ 80	$25	$47	$22	$ 9	$15	$29	$ 6	$72
2	64	120	28	58	2	14	25	85	10	164
3	196	108	34	50	25	15	29	61	16	104
4	21	129	42	138	50	14	34	56	7	137
5	61	136	38	66	7	13	15	53	8	116
6	24	109	25	87	11	12	4	58	8	55
7	222	134	33	56	9	15	32	85	11	111
8	167	119	36	87	54	15	3	88	10	90
9	124	129	30	108	6	19	15	61	9	81
10	123	116	29	115	11	16	19	64	9	106
11	61	117	25	122	11	14	34	76	11	78
Total	$118	$117	$31	$87	$20	$14	$21	$65	$10	$99

* Musical instruments, records, sheet music, and radios. Instruction in music is placed under education.

† Includes ordinary household equipment and expenses not specified in the above: Rugs, furniture, curtains, shades, soaps, cleansers, water, etc. Laundry bills are classified under clothing.

TABLE XXXVIII

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD EXPENSES, BY COMMUNITIES

Community	Repairs to buildings	Fuel	Light	Rent	Music*	Telephone	Domestic help	Taxes	Property insurance	Operation and other†
1	41	15	8	9	4	2	3	6	1	14
2	11	21	5	10	‡	3	5	15	2	28
3	31	17	5	8	4	2	4	10	2	17
4	3	21	7	22	8	2	5	9	1	22
5	12	26	7	13	1	3	3	10	2	23
6	6	28	6	22	3	3	1	15	2	14
7	32	19	5	8	1	2	4	12	2	15
8	25	18	6	13	8	2	‡	13	2	13
9	21	22	5	19	1	2	3	11	1	14
10	20	19	5	19	2	3	3	10	2	17
11	11	21	5	11	2	3	6	14	2	14
Total	21	20	5	15	3	2	4	11	2	17

* Musical instruments, records, sheet music, and radios. Instruction in music is placed under education.

† Includes ordinary household equipment and expenses not specified in the above: Rugs, furniture, curtains, shades, soaps, cleansers, water, etc. Laundry bills are classified under clothing.

‡ Less than 0.5 per cent.

TABLE XXXIX

AVERAGE AMOUNTS SPENT FOR ITEMS CLASSIFIED UNDER HOUSEHOLD, BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Status	Repairs to buildings	Fuel	Light	Rent	Music*	Telephone	Domestic help	Taxes	Property insurance	Operation and other†
Widows and spinsters	$ 31	$107	$24	$43	$20	$10	$ 3	$81	$17	$38
Retired farmers	271	95	21	29	8	12	..	88	11	43
Common labor	28	67	14	47	2	4	..	24	4	31
Semi-skilled labor	19	87	22	111	9	7	4	35	5	92
Skilled labor	60	107	27	71	19	14	7	54	8	105
Clerical and managerial...	200	137	37	126	22	19	28	73	12	97
Lower business	51	110	34	61	6	15	5	72	11	86
Lower professional	30	125	27	102	11	15	38	23	4	90
Upper business	318	164	49	121	34	21	65	104	14	201
Upper professional.....	103	211	60	127	121	25	89	129	16	250
Total	$118	$117	$31	$87	$20	$14	$21	$65	$10	$99

* Musical instruments, records, sheet music, and radios. Instruction in music is placed under education.

† Includes ordinary household equipment and expenses not specified in the above: Rugs, furniture, curtains, shades, soaps, cleansers, water, etc. Laundry bills are classified under clothing.

TABLE XL

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD EXPENSES, BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Status	Repairs to buildings	Fuel	Light	Rent	Music*	Telephone	Domestic help	Taxes	Property insurance	Operation and other†
Widows and spinsters	8	29	6	12	5	3	1	22	4	10
Retired farmers	47	16	4	5	2	2	..	15	2	7
Common labor	13	30	6	21	1	2	..	11	2	14
Semi-skilled labor	5	22	6	28	2	2	1	9	1	24
Skilled labor	12	23	6	15	4	3	2	11	2	22
Clerical or managerial.....	26	18	5	17	3	3	4	10	2	12
Lower business	11	25	8	14	1	3	1	16	2	19
Lower professional	6	27	6	22	3	3	8	5	1	19
Upper business	29	15	5	11	3	2	6	10	1	18
Upper professional	9	19	5	11	11	2	8	12	1	22
Total	21	20	5	15	3	2	4	11	2	17

* Musical instruments, records, sheet music, and radios. Instruction in music is placed under education.

† Includes ordinary household equipment and expenses not specified in the above: Rugs, furniture, curtains, shades, soaps, cleansers, water, etc. Laundry bills are classified under clothing.

Physical Surroundings and Details of the Homes

Some information was gathered concerning the physical surroundings of the homes and the equipment of the houses. The average homestead was about 1,600 square yards in area, or 120 feet each way. This large size was due to the fact that some families owned several lots. The four smallest communities had about 2,200 square yards per family and the four largest communities about 1,200. This gave sufficient space for large gardens at most of the homes. There were no apparent relationships between the size of the community and the size

of the houses as indicated by floor space, basement space, or cubic space in the upper portions of the house (above the basement). The windows were screened in 88 per cent and storm-covered in 89 per cent; doors were screened in 94 per cent and storm-covered in 92 per cent. This does not mean that any one family lacked screens or storm doors, but that some families had more doors and windows screened and storm-covered. There was a very slight increase in the proportion of windows screened and storm-covered in the larger communities. However, this relationship did not apply to doors.

The size of the lot showed some tendency to decrease with increase of social status, but in the upper groups it increased again. This is the result of the segregation of different elements of the population in various sections of the towns. Land was generally cheap in the laboring class sections, and lots were larger. In the middle class sections, lands were higher and lots smaller. In the upper class sections, the lands were high but the families were able to afford larger lots even at higher prices. The floor space, basement space, and air space increased rapidly with social status, as shown in Table XLI. The same applies to the size of the living room. *Not only do the expenditures of the lower class families indicate greater nearness to physiological requirements but their houses are so organized that more of the space is devoted to eating, sleeping, and the physical needs of the individual.* However, this is not proportionally so, because the size of the houses increases more rapidly with increase of social status than the size of the living rooms. Screening, storm-covering, and the equipment of the homes increased rapidly with social status.

TABLE XLI

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN STATUS AND SIZE OF LOT AND SIZE AND PHYSICAL EQUIPMENT OF HOUSES

Status	Size of lots, 100 sq. yards	Floor space, sq. ft.	Basement space sq. ft.	Air space 1,000 cu. ft.	Floor space in living rooms sq. ft.	Per cent of windows		Per cent of doors	
						Screened	Storm-covered	Screened	Storm-covered
Widows and spinsters	18	1,789	294	12.67	220	76	87	93	89
Retired farmers	24	1,700	369	10.34	190	88	91	99	100
Common labor	18	1,217	151	8.59	176	71	75	85	83
Semi-skilled labor	16	1,399	211	9.04	185	81	90	95	92
Skilled labor	13	1,641	244	10.71	210	81	82	86	86
Clerical or managerial	16	2,047	370	13.31	220	95	89	95	90
Lower business	13	2,010	386	12.20	200	88	89	97	9
Lower professional	10	2,248	380	13.84	192	92	93	98	100
Upper business	17	2,380	386	13.65	258	95	95	94	88
Upper professional	20	3,279	279	19.63	267	97	100	100	100

The analysis of internal arrangement is already suggested in the information concerning the size of the living rooms. Further information is given in Tables XLII, XLIII, and XLIV. Table XLII

shows that the houses furnished 163 rooms for each 100 persons. Retired farmers and widows and spinsters had a great deal of room per person, which is natural for small families. Common laborers had 117 rooms per 100 persons. There was a progressive increase in rooms per 100 persons with increased social status until the upper professional families had 208 rooms per 100 persons. The unusual standing of the lower professional families was due to the fact that this group contained a number of ministers who had large parish houses furnished them. Small families were also an important cause of this amount of room. Bedrooms showed the same trend—from 51 per 100 persons in the laboring families to about 90 per 100 persons in the upper families. There were no great differences in the rapidity of increase of the two categories of rooms, indicating that more room is not primarily a desire for more sleeping quarters. The average number of beds in use per 100 persons increased from 56 to about 80, but not so rapidly as the rooms or bedrooms. The proportion of beds in use declined from 90 per cent to 74 per cent. *The upper classes appear to use all types of goods in more abundance.*

TABLE XLII

AVAILABILITY AND USE OF ROOMS, BEDROOMS, AND BEDS, BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Status	Per 100 persons			
	Av. No. of rooms	Av. No. of bedrooms	Av. No. of beds in use	Per cent of beds in use
Widows and spinsters	230	115	92	80
Retired farmers	207	95	71	73
Common labor	117	51	56	90
Semi-skilled labor	127	57	59	91
Skilled labor	151	68	65	86
Clerical or managerial	161	71	66	85
Lower business	163	73	66	80
Lower professional	203	90	85	87
Upper business	186	85	81	85
Upper professional	208	89	70	74
Total average	163	73	68	84

Types of heating are given in Table XLIII. One-third used the old type of stove heat, and one-sixth used the hard coal heater, or a similar type known as the parlor furnace. The remaining 51 per cent had central heating plants. The central heating plants were pipeless furnaces (23 per cent), standard warm-air systems (42 per cent), and hot-water systems (35 per cent). Of the 395 families, 194, or 49 per cent, had no central heating plant. Of these 194, 43 had adequate basement facilities so that a central heating plant of an elementary variety could have been installed with little cost other than the price of the plant. "Adequate basement facilities" was taken to mean room for the plant and the fuel and at least 6½ feet from the floor of the basement to the rafters that support the first floor of the house.

These figures are given in detail because of the prevailing idea that all urban homes are modern. The proportions with central heating plants increased rapidly with social status, from 10 per cent among the laborers to 100 per cent among the upper professional families. The proportion of parlor furnaces had some tendency to increase. The upper class families find that central heating of their homes is an important improvement in living conditions.

TABLE XLIII

TYPE OF HEATING, BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Status	Per cent ordinary stoves	Per cent hard coal heaters*	Per cent with central heating plants	Per cent of			Per cent with no central heat that had adequate basement facilities†
				Pipeless furnaces	Other warm-air furnaces	Hot water heaters	
Widows and spinsters	50	28	22	11	5.5	5.5	31
Retired farmers	28	25	47	13	25	9	29
Common labor.....	80	10	10	0	7	3	11
Semi-skilled labor....	59	15	26	11	2	13	18
Skilled labor	42	29	29	17	12	0	24
Clerical or managerial	23	13	64	13	32	19	21
Lower business.....	21	16	63	19	24	20	33
Lower professional...	12	12	76	20	40	16	33
Upper business.....	3	19	78	6	36	36	38
Upper professional...	..	..	100	5	20	75	..
Total	33	16	51	12	21	18	22

* Including "parlor furnaces."

† Adequate facilities were defined as room for plant and fuel and at least 6½ feet from floor of basement to rafters of first floor.

Types of lighting are shown in Table XLIV. These figures are not an adequate measure of lighting facilities, because some of the families in the lower classes burned only one or two light bulbs even tho they are classified as having electric lights. Also, in many communities, electric lights are required by ordinance or by insurance firms. Roughly, however, they show that lighting facilities were better in the upper class homes. The amount spent for light, as shown in Table XXXIX, increased from $14 in the laboring classes to $60 in the upper class—a ratio of more than four times. This is a better indicator of the differences in lighting than the types of facilities.

TABLE XLIV

TYPES OF LIGHT, BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Status	Per cent with ordinary kerosene lights	Per cent with gasoline or kerosene special wick lights	Per cent with electric lights	Total
Widows and spinsters	..	..	100	100
Retired farmers	9	3	88	100
Common labor	34	3	63	100
Semi-skilled labor	15	2	83	100
Skilled labor	5	..	95	100
Clerical or managerial	..	..	100	100
Lower business	2	2	96	100
Lower professional	..	..	100	100
Upper business	..	..	100	100
Upper professional	..	..	100	100
Total	9	1	90	100

CONCLUSIONS

This is one of the first attempts to study the living conditions of village populations. A few minor studies of family budgets of villagers have been made, but this is the most comprehensive among all these studies. It differs from the previous studies in that it attempts to give a composite picture of the living conditions of every social class in the village as reflected in the family budgets.[11] On the basis of data given here, farmers may compare their lot in life with that of the separate classes in the trade villages and towns. Second, farm families and various types of village families may use this analysis as a basis for forming their own conclusions as to how to improve their living conditions, so far as improvement of living conditions is determinded by the way in which available incomes are spent. This may be judged by the differences between the distribution of the expenditures of the upper and more successful elements in town and village life, and the lower and less successful elements. It is apparent that there are several important differences. First, the upper classes differ from the lower by the extreme emphasis placed upon savings, investments, provisions for the future and for old age. *Their sense of the future is stronger than among the lower and less successful classes.* All this difference is not to be attributed to differences in size of incomes. Many among the lower classes were exercising forethought concerning

[11] In this respect, this study differs from all other budgetary studies (since those of the Leplay school). All others are limited to one or, at the most, only two classes in society. They generally concern the wage, and sometimes the small salaried elements, in society. It is really unfortunate that we get nearly all of our knowledge of the structure and the forces within the family budget primarily from the least capable elements in society—the urban wage earners. For proof of this statement see Sorokin, P., "Social mobility"; and Sorokin and Zimmerman, "Rural sociology." For reference to other studies which concern villagers, see Zimmerman, "The family budget as a tool for sociological analysis." In *American Journal of Sociology*. May. 1928.

the future as well as the average of the upper classes. Further, many of the upper classes were showing considerable improvidence. A second major difference, which is not due entirely to the differences in the sizes of the incomes, was the *improvement of the home and housing conditions.* Many of the improved facilities in the homes of the upper classes could have been achieved by the lower classes without any material increase of expenditures. As was shown earlier in this study, the average size of the lots in the lower classes was as great as in the upper classes. That this incorporation of the elements of the standards of living of one class by another, and of the social positions of one class by others, is no idle dream, is shown by the high mobility of persons and social objects and values from one class to another, at least in contemporary American life.[12] This is not an argument against the theory of innate differences as important factors in the distribution of persons between the various social classes; such climbing from one class to another and the incorporation of the standards of living of other classes, can and does go on, nevertheless.

If we compare farmers with the successful urban classes, in relation to their distribution of spendable incomes, the following conclusions seem apparent. *The ideals as to what means successful living among these upper classes in towns are not essentially different from those among farmers.* Farm families seek to improve their position in agriculture and their standards of living by increasing their investment expenditures and savings for the future;[13] in this respect, their major ideal as to improved living is not essentially different from that among the upper classes in these towns. This statement needs considerable emphasis, because prevailing popular opinion and statements in many works dealing with this subject led us to believe that the standards of living of farm families are everywhere considerably lower than and different from those of the urban populations. This popular misconception has arisen because observers have been fooled, on the one hand, by the conspicuous display and some of the least important elements in town life; and, on the other, by the fact that the budgetary comparisons have always been between farmers and the lower and less successful elements in town life. Rural and urban comparisons are hard to make because of the different environment in which the two budgets are placed. Nevertheless, this one thing seems certain: *The major ideals as to improved living among the upper classes in urban life and the farmers are essentially the same.* It may be added, in conclusion, that the less successful classes in urban life can learn much about improved living from the farmers as well as from the upper urban classes.

[12] See "Social mobility," *cited.*

[13] See Minn. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 246 for proof of this.