SOCIAL SECURITY
AND
RURAL RELIEF
IN COLORADO

Percentage of Colorado Population
65 Years of Age and Over, 1900-1960

COOPERATIVE PLAN OF RURAL RESEARCH
COLORADO STATE AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION
FORT COLLINS, COLORADO
AND
RURAL RESEARCH SECTION • RESEARCH DIVISION
SOCIAL SECURITY AND RURAL RELIEF IN COLORADO

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Percentage of Colorado Population 65 Years of Age and over, 1900-1960. The graph on the cover page shows the rapid increase which has occurred and which is to be expected in the proportion of Colorado's total population which is 65 years of age and over. The prediction for the future is based on the assumption that migration between Colorado and other states will follow the same pattern during 1930-60 as it did from 1920 to 1930. The proportion of old persons rose from 2.5 per cent in 1900 to 6.0 per cent in 1930 and is expected to increase to over 10 per cent in 1960. During the period 1900-30, the number of persons 65 and over increased four times as rapidly in Colorado as the total population. It is estimated that during the 30 year period 1930-60 Colorado's population will increase between 8 and 14 per cent, but at the same time the persons aged 65 and over will become from 80 to 100 per cent more numerous. The higher predicted increases are based on the assumption that no interstate migration occurs and the lower estimates assume future interstate migration will follow the pattern of 1930-30.

INTRODUCTION

This is the second* of a series of bulletins issued to present selected phases of the rural relief situation in Colorado as found in nine representative counties of the State.

In this report is described the extent and characteristics of cases which received general assistance from the Emergency Relief Administration between June and the end of November, 1935, and which were potentially eligible for such specified aid under the Social Security Program as Old Age Assistance and Aid to Dependent Children; data are presented as to the extent and characteristics of cases which were unemployable or potentially unemployable. Some of the types of "problem cases" discovered in these rural areas are discussed.

The basis for the information presented is the Survey of Current Changes in the Rural Relief Population, a study conducted by the Rural Section, Division of Social Research of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (succeeded by the Works Progress Administration) in cooperation with the State Agricultural Experiment Station. Counties included in the survey are shown in Figure 1. These nine counties, Alamosa, Archuleta, Garfield, Kiowa, Kit Carson, Routt, Sedgwick, Teller, and Weld are generally representative of rural conditions in Colorado. They contained 19.8 percent of the state's rural farm and rural non-farm population in 1930. During the period of study, they contained approximately 10 percent of the state's relief population.

*The first was "With Rural Relief in Colorado", issued April, 1936.
Figure 1. SAMPLE COUNTIES IN SURVEY OF CURRENT CHANGES IN THE RURAL RELIEF POPULATION*
SUMMARY

1. Over seventeen per cent of the rural relief cases receiving public emergency relief assistance during the period June through the end of E. R. A. aid in November, 1935, were classed as likely to be permanent public dependents in need of and able to qualify for social security assistance. In addition, 3 per cent of the cases were classed as "marginal" and likely to continue to be in need of occasional or supplemental aid. These percentages are based on 2,389 cases which are a 50 per cent random sample of all cases closed during the period of study in nine typical Colorado counties. A case was arbitrarily classified as "unemployable" or likely to be in need of future public assistance if it had one or more of the following characteristics: (a) contained one or more persons 65 years of age or over, (b) all persons between the ages of 16 and 64 were neither working nor seeking work, (c) had children under 16 years of age but no male worker or else only one female worker, and (d) had no male worker and only one female worker.

2. Over 10 per cent of the cases included persons 65 years of age and over. Such cases were concentrated in villages, averaged 2.5 persons, and had a long period of previous public assistance. Two of every three aged persons was a male. Two-thirds of the cases with aged persons had no worker in the household. The problem of caring for the aged is increasing as the proportion of the state's total population aged 65 and over is steadily growing and it is estimated that it will reach 10 per cent by 1960.

3. Cases with no person aged 16-64 working or seeking work made up 4.2 per cent of the relief cases studied. These were concentrated in the villages, averaged 2.2 persons in size. Two-thirds of the heads were over 55 years of age; half of the cases were broken families. Cases of this type have a long and continuous history of public assistance.

4. Potentially unemployable cases with no male and only one female worker comprised 4.9 per cent of cases studied. Such cases were also centered in the villages, had small families, and considerable previous public assistance. Difficulties of rehabilitating these female workers to self-support is indicated by the fact that 30 per cent had no usual occupation, half had a usual occupation of household servant, 40 per cent had a job in private employment at the time of receiving relief but apparently were not receiving sufficient wages to meet family expenses, 71 percent had less than a high school education. Six of every 10 such cases also included dependent children, aged persons, or both.
5. Cases which were a problem from the standpoint of having no male nor more than one female worker to support their dependent children included 4.2 per cent of the total cases. In 60 per cent of these cases the only possible support was one female worker; in 40 per cent of the cases there was no worker of either sex. There was an average of 2.3 dependent children in these cases.

6. The 3.0 per cent of "marginal" cases are those which had no aged persons but did have one or more male or two or more female workers and which were transferred from E. R. A. to what are now the county public welfare departments. Most of these are cases with a head not quite old enough to qualify for old age assistance or so physically handicapped as not to be able to work full time.

7. Special problems which are not of an emergency nature and not primarily due to depression conditions include (a) cases requiring medical care; (b) cases where vocational rehabilitation measures would aid readjustment to full or partial self-support; (c) problems of family adjustment, and; (d) cases where relief is required because of problems of a legal nature, such as not being able to collect wages due.
SOCIAL SECURITY AND RURAL RELIEF IN COLORADO

From one-sixth to one-fourth of the rural emergency relief load in Colorado during June through November, 1935, were cases 1/ which will not be substantially benefited by improved economic conditions; these are families and persons which by reason of personal characteristics or family composition will continue to be definitely or potentially in need of some form of public aid.

Some cases are definitely eligible for special types of social security assistance being administered by the Department of Public Welfare. Others are marginal cases which may be expected to have an irregular employment history which will necessitate some form of general public assistance from time to time. These are the cases to be considered under a long-time, permanent Social Security Program.

The study of Current Changes in the Rural Relief Population carried on in nine representative Colorado counties 2/ provides basic data as to the characteristics of this portion of the emergency relief load that might be considered as a more or less permanent group of dependents for which plans must be made for public assistance. An analysis was therefore made of 2,389 rural cases which were on relief and were closed 3/, or removed, from the emergency relief rolls in the nine counties during the period between June and the end of emergency relief on November 30, 1935; the analysis includes cases which were disposed of at the end of E. P. A. These 2,389 cases were exactly half of the cases closed in these counties during the period of study because a 50 per cent random sample of all closings was taken in each county each month of the survey.

Four major types of cases were recognized which might present public dependency problems. These types are: (1) cases with persons 65 years of age and over; (2) cases with all persons between the ages of 16 and 64 years neither working nor seeking work; (3) families with dependent children (under 16 years of age) and without any male worker or else having only one female worker; and (4) cases with no male worker and only one female worker and so considered

1/ A "case" was considered as one or more related or unrelated persons who lived together and who received relief assistance as one unit.
2/ "Rural" includes all persons living on farms and in places of less than 2,500 inhabitants.
3/ A case was considered "closed" which was (1) not granted any relief for a full calendar month (2) accepted by Rural Resettlement (3) received W. P. A. pay check for a full work period.
potentially unemployable. There is overlapping in this classification; for example, a case with one or more persons 65 years of age and over may also have dependent children and either (a) no male worker and only one female worker or (b) have persons 16-64 in the household but none of whom are working or seeking work; such a case would be placed in three of the types classified as presenting a problem. The data used revealed that about one in three of the problem cases was classified as presenting two or three of the four major types of problems. All possible overlapping in this classification of unemployables is outlined in the section on methodology which is appended. It should also be recognized that the entire number of such cases in any county is not recorded in the June through November period because in some counties such cases were previously transferred from emergency relief for assistance by old age pensions, or aid to dependent children, or assistance by the county because unemployable, and are excluded from this study which is concerned only with the cases closed from the emergency relief rolls.

The Extent of "Unemployability" in Rural Relief Cases

Of the 2,389 closed rural relief cases studied, 17.5 per cent were classified as being "unemployable" or potentially unemployable or having such characteristics as to constitute a more or less permanent public welfare problem. If Weld county cases which have a heavy weight in the sample are excluded, the proportion of cases of a problem nature rises to 25.2 per cent; this is because of variations in administrative policy which meant that permanent public dependents were removed from the emergency relief rolls in Weld county earlier than in most of the other counties studied and therefore did not fall in the sample. The proportion of the relief load during the June through November period of study, which was made up of such permanent cases, varied from 8.5 per cent in Weld county to 39.9 per cent in Teller county, but in most counties was about 20.0 per cent. Table I and Figure 2 give the comparisons for the nine counties surveyed.

Old age was the most important type of problem case, as 10.9 per cent of the entire load was composed of cases including one or more persons 65 years of age or over. For

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1/ For the results of a special inquiry into conditions of unemployable cases after being transferred from E. R. A. to state and local care in Kit Carson and Weld counties, see "Survey of Unemployable Cases Transferred from Federal Care to State and Local Care in Two Colorado Counties", W. P. A. Research Bulletin, Series II, No. 13, issued February 4, 1936.

2/ During June, 1935, the number of rural cases receiving non-emergency public assistance in the form of aid to dependent children or to the aged from the county courts and aid to the blind and general assistance from the county commissioners were as follows in the sample counties for which statistics are available: Alamosa, 27; Archuleta, 48; Garfield, 178, Kit Carson, 247; Routt, 144; Sedgwick, 71; Teller, 121; and Weld, 664. The figures for Alamosa and Weld are estimates.
the other types of cases, 4.3 per cent had dependent children but had no employable member of the family or else had only one female worker; in 4.2 per cent of the cases no person 16-64 was working or seeking work; 4.9 per cent of the cases had no male worker and only one female worker.

Table I. Proportion of Rural Relief Cases, Closed June Through November 1935 in Nine Colorado Counties, Classed as Permanent and Potentially Permanent Public Dependents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Total Cases</th>
<th>Cases Over 65</th>
<th>Persons 65 and Over</th>
<th>Persons 16-64</th>
<th>&quot;Unemployable&quot; Persons 16-64</th>
<th>Non-Workers</th>
<th>Workers</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Unemployable as no male worker and having only one female worker</th>
<th>Unduplicated Permanent and Potentially Permanent Dependents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2389</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alamosa</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archuleta</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>29.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garfield</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>18.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiowa</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>28.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>405</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>4.2</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Routt</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>19.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sedgwick</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>19.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teller</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>970</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What is the Meaning of "Unemployability"? It is realized that the classification given here of cases in need or potentially in need of rather regular public assistance does not give a complete picture of the frequency of such cases in rural areas of Colorado. Not only that but it fails to definitely define what constitutes an "unemployable" and therefore a dependent.

1/ An "employable" person as defined for this study is a person between the ages of 16 and 64 who in the opinion of the enumerator was working, actively seeking work, or willing to accept gainful employment.
Figure 2. PERCENTAGE OF "UNEMPLOYABLE" CASES AMONG RURAL RELIEF CASES CLOSED JUNE THROUGH NOVEMBER, 1935, IN NINE COLORADO COUNTIES.
Research workers are well aware of the difficulties of drawing a sharp line of distinction between the independent and the dependent person 1/; they are aware that many persons living in rural communities have characteristics similar to those of the persons classified by this study as unemployable, but yet do not receive public aid.

To illustrate, according to the methods of the present study, persons 65 years of age or over are not reported as working or seeking work, although they may actually be gainfully employed—so they must be classed as unemployables. On the other hand, some persons may be reported as working or seeking work when they are so physically or mentally handicapped as to be practically unemployable. A person may be dependent with reference to his usual employment because of some handicap but by proper adjustment may be fitted for some other occupation. Measures of physical therapy and vocational education and guidance may rehabilitate persons so they are able to cross the narrow boundaries separating dependents from independents.

With full realization of the shortcomings of the indices of unemployability and keeping in mind the hazards of arbitrarily classing any person or family as permanently in need of public assistance, it is still believed of value to give a brief description of those relief cases which may present a long-time problem for rural communities, for public welfare workers, and for the various units of government.

THE OLD AGE PROBLEM

It should be stressed that the problem of caring for the aged is going to be one of the permanent and increasing problems of society, because of the increasing proportion of such persons in the population. As the chart on the cover page shows, only 2.5 per cent of Colorado's entire population in 1900 were persons 65 years of age and over, but by 1930 such persons made up 6.0 per cent of the state's people, and by 1960 it is estimated that one of every 10 persons in Colorado will be in this group of aged, constituting a possible dependency burden. 2/ The rural areas have had and will continue to have slightly less than the average burden of aged dependents. In 1930, 5.1 per cent of the rural population were 65 years of age and over compared to the 6.0 per cent state average. By 1960, the prediction is that about 9.0 per cent of the rural people will be in the aged group as compared to about 10.0 per cent for all of the state's population.


2/ In 1935, persons 65 and over were estimated to be 6.7 per cent of Colorado's population.
The distribution of aged persons in Colorado is somewhat contrary to national trends because an excess proportion live in urban centers, and only a normal percentage live in the rural non-farm areas of the state; usually old people gather in the rural non-farm areas which includes the towns and villages under 2,500 population. However, if individual counties of the state are studied, it is found that 47 of the state's 63 counties are consistent with what is expected from the statistics of national trends and have a greater proportion of aged persons in the rural non-farm population than in either rural farm or urban population. In brief, it may be said that elderly people in Colorado have a marked tendency to gather in urban centers and in towns of 1,000 to 2,500 population. 1/

The proportion and location of old persons has a bearing on public welfare administrative costs and policies.

Figure 3 shows the proportion of aged in the total population in each county; Figure 4 reveals how the rural non-farm population has a burden of elderly persons above the average in the majority of counties.

Other Dependency Types in Cases Containing Aged Persons. The 10.9 per cent of the total relief cases analyzed which contained persons 65 years of age and over also contained some other types of social security problems; at the same time one in every three cases with aged persons had some hope for independence because of also having persons working or seeking work. The facts on this point may be summarized as follows for these cases with old persons:

41.7 per cent of such cases contain only persons 65 and over; 17.2 per cent have persons 16-64 but who are not workers; 5.4 per cent have no male worker, only one female worker; 9.2 per cent have "dependent" children under 16; 33.3 per cent have one or more male workers or two or more female workers and can be considered potentially independent.

Two of every three cases have no available worker and can be considered "permanently dependent."

Residence and Color. The entire rural relief load in the sample counties has had a tendency to accumulate in the villages. 2/ Cases with old persons follow this same trend. Of such cases, 56.7 per cent were village residents at the time of the survey. Spanish-American and Mexican cases on relief contained old persons only half as frequently as did other cases. This may be a reflection of a shorter life-span because of higher than average death rates in the middle-aged groups for these people or, more likely it means that the older people of this type have not migrated to Colorado in proportion to their normal number in the population.

1/ In 1930 the proportion of the population 65 years of age and over was as follows: rural farm, 4.5 per cent; rural non-farm, 5.9 per cent; urban, 6.9 per cent; incorporated places of 1,000 to 2,500 population, 6.8 per cent.
Figure 3. PROPORTION OF TOTAL POPULATION, PERSONS 65 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER - Source: United States Census 1930

COLORADO

Legend:

Less than 5%

5% to 6.9%

7 to 8.9%

9% or more
Figure 4. PROPORTION OF RURAL NON-FARM POPULATION, PERSONS 65 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER - Source: United States Census, 1930

Legend:

Less than 5%

5% to 6.9%

7 to 8.9%

9% or more

*No rural non-farm population
Sex of Aged. Males predominate among aged persons in the rural relief load, which reflects the agricultural and mining occupations in the sample counties, and the fact that old men are more likely to be found in rural areas than are old women. Two of every three old persons in the survey were males; or putting it in another manner, there were 166 men 65 years of age and over for every 100 aged women in the sample of relief cases.

Old men are more likely to be on relief than aged women. In contrast with the ratio of males to females found in this sample group, the 1930 United States Census shows that in the entire population of Colorado there were only 121 males 65 and over per 100 females of the same age, and even in the rural population there were but 147 males per 100 females in the aged group. Comparing this census data with the sex ratio of 166 males per 100 females in this group of old persons on relief indicates that aged females are less likely to become public dependents than aged men; this may be partly because relatives are more likely to take care of the aged women.

Characteristics of Families Containing Aged Dependents. Families containing old persons are typically small, averaging only 2.5 persons as compared to the 4-person average size of all cases containing no aged dependent. About 45 per cent of the cases with elderly persons are broken families, with either husband or wife absent; this is twice as frequently as broken families are found in the relief cases without old persons.

One of every four old persons in the sample was living alone; another one in every five such persons was living with some other person 65 years of age or over; the remaining 55 per cent resided in households where persons under 65 were present.

An old person was considered head of the household in three-quarters of the cases having such persons; the old person maintained status as head of the family in a number of households where persons aged 16-64 were actually working or seeking work. The psychological aspects of giving aid to aged dependents who are considered heads of the households in which they live is of concern to the welfare worker.

It might be thought that even though such cases have no workers under the age of 65, some might be made partially or wholly independent by engaging in some small scale agricultural enterprise. The success of such a venture would rest upon the agricultural experience of the aged persons, as well as physical fitness to do the work. Analysis of the data shows that 28 per cent of such cases having no workers under 65 are already currently engaged in agriculture, and one in six of all cases with aged persons are occupied in agriculture at the present time.
Cases Where Aged Persons May Not Be Public Responsibility. As already stated, one-third of the cases containing old people were potentially independent and in a position to assume the responsibility of caring for their aged because they had workers between 16 and 64 in the family.

In this one-third of the cases which were potentially independent, family responsibility to the old persons is indicated by the relationship of such persons to the family. About two-thirds of the old people in these homes were fathers or mothers of the head, with fathers found more frequently than mothers. In another one-fourth of the cases the persons over 65 were either the head, or husband or wife of the household head. The tendency to assume care only for close kin, is shown by the fact that very few cases were found where more distant relatives, or in-laws or friends 65 and over, were included in the household.

That these are likely to continue border-line cases, however, is indicated not only by the fact that they already had been on relief for some time but by the fact that 7 out of 10 of them had but one person working or seeking work. If this person was disabled, or was unable to hold a regular job, the additional burden of the old persons might easily be enough to require continued public assistance. Besides, about one-third were already broken families of one kind or another, lacking either a husband or wife for the head of the family. There is little hope that many of these cases can be permanently rehabilitated so they can assume financial responsibility for their aged people, because upon leaving E. R. A. over half of such cases were merely transferred to another agency giving public assistance.

Majority of Old Age Cases A Permanent Problem. As further evidence that these cases with dependent aged are likely to continue a permanent problem calling for development and administration of Social Security measures on a long-time plan, their relief histories may be examined.

About 44 per cent of the cases with aged dependents had been on relief at some time during one or more years previous to January 1, 1934, which is 7 per cent more than for those cases not having aged dependents; another 40 per cent came on relief the first time during 1934 compared to 35 per cent of the cases without such dependents.
Not only did old age cases come on relief earlier than other relief cases, but once on relief they more frequently continued to receive regular public assistance. Twenty-five per cent of the cases sampled which contained old persons had been receiving relief continuously since the first half of 1934, but only 15 per cent of the other cases had been on relief without interruption since the first half of 1934 or earlier.

Four out of every five of these cases were closed from the emergency relief rolls between June and November, 1935, or disposed of at the end of E.R.A., by transfer to some other public agency. In most instances this agency was what is now known as the County Department of Public Welfare. Cases closed for transfer to W. P. A. or for some other reason than a shift of relief agencies, were the cases with some employable person aged 16-64.

Length of Residence. In the face of this rather convincing data that these cases with old persons are to be a permanent public problem, the question must be answered as to the ability of such people to satisfy legal requirements to qualify for old age assistance now being administered by the county and state departments of public welfare. One necessary qualification for persons 65 years of age and over to receive old age assistance is that they must have lived in the state five of the nine years preceding date of application for assistance, and have been in continuous residence for the year immediately preceding. A large share of sample cases under discussion are qualified for this special aid because 88 per cent of them have lived in the county of their present residence since 1930 or before; the rest moved into the county of present residence, usually from other counties within the state, during the period 1931-34.

**CASES WITH ALL PERSONS AGED 16-64 NON-WORKERS**

Those cases present special problems which have persons between the ages of 16 and 64 but none of whom are working or seeking work. Such cases are 4.2 per cent of the total 2,389 cases studied. This proportion seems to be generally representative of rural relief cases for the entire United States. 1/

The major type of unemployable case included in this category is the type unable to work because of physical or mental disabilities. A description of the nature of some of these disabilities will be given in a section on special types of problems. Also included are cases in which the only person or persons 16-64 was a housewife not actively seeking work outside her home or was an individual attending school full time.

Overlapping of public welfare problems is illustrated by the fact that 45 per cent of the cases falling in this category also included persons 65 years of age or over, and one-third included dependent children.

Characteristics of Cases with All Persons 16-64 Non-Workers. As expected this type of unemployable case is concentrated in the villages. This is usual even in the non-relief population as the 1950 United States Census reported only 1.9 per cent of Colorado's rural farm families as having no gainful worker, but 9.2 per cent of the rural non-farm families were without a worker. Spanish-Americans and Mexicans were not found in this category in proportion to their numbers in the relief population. This is further confirmation that the people of this group on relief are generally more "employable" than the general relief population.

Almost half or 45 per cent of the cases with all persons 16-64 non-workers were also broken families with either husband or wife absent. The families were small, averaging only 2.2 persons; 24 per cent were single persons; and 32 per cent had only two persons.

Difficulties attached to any program of rehabilitating these cases is shown by the fact that 81 per cent of the heads of the families are 45 years of age or over, and two-thirds are 55 or over. By definition of this type of case, none of them had any workers so must be dependent on some form of assistance.

Again the permanent burden on society of these cases is shown by the data. Forty-five per cent received relief at some time previous to 1934; 28 per cent were on the emergency relief rolls continuously since the first half of 1934, which is almost double the figure for the entire relief load; almost 90 per cent of such cases left E. R. A. because of transfer to what are now the County Departments of Public Welfare.

**POTENTIALLY UNEMPLOYABLE CASES**

Cases with no male worker and only one female worker include 4.9 per cent of all relief cases included in this study and are classed as potentially unemployable.

The reason for a large share of such cases being likely to need aid is emphasized when it is learned that 54 per cent of them had dependent children, 12 per cent had aged persons, and 6 per cent had both dependent children and aged persons.

Quoting from the study of unemployability by the F. E. R. A. Division of Social Research, "This type of relief case is regarded as only potentially unemployable since the female considers herself in the labor market and under present circumstances would accept employment if it were available. The average rural household, however, having children among its members, requires the more or less continual presence of an
adult female. Households with only a female worker cannot function as 'normal' rural households are expected to function, there being no male worker nor likely to be any adult female who expects to serve the requisite full time as homemaker. That they would function, but inefficiently, if the female could find the employment she is seeking, is granted, but other problems not primarily economic but social would then appear. It seems that this type of broken home may best be dealt with by a special program not of an emergency nature." 1/

Characteristics of Potentially Unemployable Cases. These potential "unemployables" were concentrated in the villages, with 8 of every 10 so located. About half of the families were broken. Family size was larger than for the relief types already described, averaging 2.9 persons; 28 per cent of the cases were single persons; 27 per cent had only two persons. The heads of these families are older than average, as 65 per cent are 45 years of age or over. In 8 out of every 10 cases the female worker was head of the household.

Problems associated with rehabilitating these cases to independence are further shown by the following: 30 per cent of these women had no usual occupation; for half, the usual occupation was household servant; 40 per cent were working at private employment at the time they were on relief, indicating their wages were not sufficient to pay family expenses, so a supplement from public funds was necessary; as far as educational achievements are concerned, 25 per cent did not finish eighth grade, 46 per cent completed eighth grade but no more, and 29 per cent went beyond eighth grade.

That these cases may continue to be in need of assistance would be inferred from the fact that 41 per cent were on relief previous to 1934; almost one-third received emergency relief continuously from the first half of 1934 or earlier; 7 out of 10 cases were shifted from E. R. A. to some other public agency with W. P. A. assuming responsibility for about 40 per cent of this type of case.

Marginal Employables. In connection with these potentially unemployable cases mention should be made of an additional 3 per cent of the 2,389 sample cases which are marginal as far as employability is concerned. These are cases which do not have characteristics which would place them in any one of the four types which are permanent and potentially permanent public dependents; yet, they were transferred from E. R. A. to state and local care. These cases have at least one male worker or two or more female workers and have no persons 65 and over; yet, they need help, apparently because the workers are capable of only part-time employment. Many of the workers are past their best working years but cannot yet qualify for old age assistance. Others have physical disabilities so they can work only for short periods.

1/ Ibid, p. 13
"UNEMPLOYABLE"1/ CASES WITH DEPENDENT CHILDREN

In Colorado a "dependent child" is one under 16 years of age who has been deprived of parental support or care by reason of the death, continued absence from home, or physical and mental incapacity of a parent, and whose relatives legally liable for his support are unable to provide adequate care and support. The child must be living with father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, brother, sister, stepfather, stepmother, stepbrother, stepsister, aunt or uncle to be eligible for the special assistance called "aid to dependent children".

A general description of the 4.5 per cent of cases containing children under 16 which might qualify for aid to dependent children may be gained from the characteristics of types of special cases already discussed, because cases with dependent children overlap all of the other three types. In six out of ten of these dependent child cases, there was one female trying to work; in four out of ten of the cases, there was no employable person in the family; included in the latter group are children living in a family where the only adults are aged 65 or over.

Half of the women with dependent children usually worked as household servant; 40 per cent had no regular usual occupation. About four of every ten of these rural women on relief were currently employed at the same time they were receiving emergency relief. The percentage of "unemployable" cases with a given number of children under 16 was as follows:

42 per cent had one dependent child;
24 per cent had two dependent children;
20 per cent had three dependent children;
14 per cent had four or more dependent children.

All these cases meet residence requirements for assistance to dependent children by reason of having lived in the state for at least the year immediately preceding the survey.

Special Types of Problems

Although the data gathered for this study did not specifically attempt to obtain information about various types of social work problems, considerable light on such problems is available for the study.

An attempt is made here to outline those problems which might concern workers in any long-time program and are not

1/Included here are (a) cases having no employable person and (b) cases having no male worker and only one female worker.
attributable solely to fluctuation in the business cycle.

Problems Requiring Medical Care. A good proportion of cases were noted which were physically or mentally handicapped and in need of special treatment, apparatus, or institutional care. 1/ Persons who were invalid, tubercular, blind, deaf and dumb, paralytic, epileptic, mentally deficient, had lost an arm or leg, had heart trouble, ruptures, or endocrine disorders, were comparatively numerous.

Some people were on relief because of a temporary illness causing loss of job. A number were the victims of industrial accidents.

Vocational Rehabilitation. The number of physically handicapped persons would seem to call for increasing attention to public measures which would aid the vocational readjustments of these people that they might become independent. In some cases actual guidance is needed; in other instances the provision of artificial limbs, of trusses, and of glasses would enable people to be gainfully employed and become independent.

Family Adjustments. Desertion and non-support are frequently contributing causes for a dependent condition. Common law marriage and unmarried mothers involve not only relief problems but have legal and ethical aspects.

Legal Problems. Although all these problems have their legal phases, there are some matters particularly of legal concern. For example, some workers are on relief because they have not been able to collect wages due from employers or compensation for accidents. Dependents are sometimes forced on relief when the bread-winner goes to jail. The control of marijuana traffic would remove a factor contributing to some dependency.

This discussion of a few phases of the rural relief situation in Colorado is indicative of the nature of some of the public welfare problems calling for long-time treatment and a comprehensive Social Security program.

1/ This information was entered on the schedules from case history records; for the most part the diagnosis is based upon a physician's written statement, but in a few instances is the observation of the E.R.A. case worker.
APPENDIX

Methodology Notes - To make clear the way in which overlapping occurs in the four types of cases arbitrarily defined as "unemployable", a summary is presented here of the analytical procedure followed. All cases in the sample, classified as unemployable, by the definition used, were sorted into groups and subgroups according to the following outline:

I. Cases With Persons Aged 65 and Over
   A. Having no person 16-64
      1. with children under 16
      2. without children under 16
   B. Having persons 16-64, none of whom are working or seeking work.
      1. with children under 16
      2. without children under 16
   C. Having persons 16-64, but no male worker and only one female worker
      1. with children under 16
      2. without children under 16

II. Cases Without Persons Aged 65 and Over
   A. Having persons 16-64, none of whom are working or seeking work.
      1. with children under 16
      2. without children under 16
   B. Having persons 16-64, but no male worker and only one female worker.
      1. with children under 16
      2. without children under 16

While the characteristics of each sub-group were tabulated separately, it was necessary because of the limited numbers in the sample to present the analysis for only the four major types of unemployable cases. Thus all groups under (I) in the above outline were included in the analysis of the type of cases presenting a public welfare problem because of having persons 65 years of age and over. The cases with all persons between the ages of 16 and 64 neither working nor seeking work includes B under (I) and A under (II). For the analysis of cases having dependent children and without any male worker or having only one female worker it was necessary to group together A-1, B-1, and C-1 of (I) and A-1 and B-1 of (II). The characteristics presented for cases classed as potentially unemployable because of having no male worker and only one female worker were obtained by joining C under (I) and B under (II).

(1952-36)