M155.

Remarks of Murray W. Latimer At The Dedication Of The Self Building Mississippi College May 30, 1964

It is a pleasure for me to be here today to help dedicate this splendid building to the training of the young people of this State in the field of economics. It may not be such a pleasure for you. For when an economist is asked to talk at the initiation of a new economics building, it seems to him to be the most natural thing in the world to talk about economics, which is hardly to be accounted a fascinating topic. But talk about economics I shall, with particular reference to Mississippi.

There are many fields in the rather wide area of economics. I shall be concerned with economics in the sense defined by Alfred Marshall, in what, not too long ago, was the basic economics text for the English speaking world—the "study of men as they live and move and think in the ordinary business of life." And so I shall discuss with you for a little while the living of Mississippians.

1

In the United States today, living involves earning and spending money incomes. Because agriculture is still the most important single industry in Mississippi, Mississippians' non-monetary income is above the nationwide average. But this is a minor qualification to the generalization. Because the emphasis in American economic life is on earning and spending money, a large proportion of our statistics is based on monetary units. And such data are important. But I shall try briefly, in addition to looking at money measurements, to go behind them to see what kind of a living it is that Mississippians get for

their money.

II

But let us begin with money. By the standards of a huge majority of men now inhabiting this planet, Mississippians enjoy a fabulous income. In 1963, the aggregate personal income of the 2,290,000 residents of the State was \$3,158,000,000, an average of \$1379 for each (1). No other nation measures economic facts as quickly as we. So for no other country is the average per capita income or any approximation of it known for 1963. Going back five years, we can make comparisons. At that time there were just four countries whose citizens enjoyed, beyond question, income with the purchasing power of the typical Mississippian—three overseas members of the British Commonwealth—Canada, Australia and New Zealand; and Sweden. The United Kingdom and Belgium might possibly be added to this list, five years ago, but hardly now (2).

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But the average Mississippi citizen is not likely to be particularly impressed with knowing that he is better off than those who live in the Congo, or India, Japan or the Soviet Union, or even France. He is more concerned to know whether he fares as well as do those who live in Louisiana or in Tennessee or Alabama or in the United States generally. And here the comparison is not so favorable. For among all the states and the District of Columbia, as regards per capita income, Mississippi has held undisputed possession of the cellar since 1929 when the official compilation of personal income data began. The average personal income (3) of Mississippians for 1963—the \$1379—

was 56.4 per cent of the average for all Americans, including Mississipplans and, I might add, 56.2 per cent of the average for all Americans who are not residents of this State (4).

It seems reasonable to suppose that the purchasing power of \$1379 in Mississippi was more than 56.4 per cent of the purchasing power of the average 1963 American income. But I have found no way of constructing a consumer price comparison, made by any agency--public or private--at any time. Other methods must therefore be used to translate income into some approximation of levels of living. The basic question here is, how do Mississippians rank with the citizens of other states in their command over the amenities and comforts of living which are now so abundant for most of us?

Before passing on, attention should be called to the influence, on per capita income, of the relation between the total population and the proportion of the population which has income. In the aggregate, by far the most important element of personal income consists of wages, salaries and other earnings from employment. (Table 2). The average number of young children per family, the proportion of housewives who stay at home, the proportion of the retired, disabled and unemployed to active earners is important. Mississippi begins with what, in view of all the circumstances, is a handicap: data from the 1960 Census indicate that earnings from employment were spread over 20.5 per cent (5) more people—earners and non-earners together—than the average for the country. Analysis of data other than the Census figures leads me to think the Census percentage an understatement.

Whether one's level of living is satisfactory or unsatisfactory is of course relative. To the Congolese, tenant farmers in Mississippi are cradled in luxury. There is and can be no absolute standard apart from time and place. We are dealing with America here and now, and the standard which seems to me appropriate for judging Mississippi is a national average. Some might think a Southern standard more appropriate. I do not think so. Mississippi is fairly judged by a standard which includes New York and Illinois and California as well as Arkansas and South Carolina.

For several months, I have been searching for quantitative data which would yield some evidence as to how Mississippi compares with all the states in as many aspects of living as possible. I have not been able to make as many comparisons as I would like. And they are not as up to date as is desirable. Because we live in a money economy, our production of statistics based on money measurements is in enormously greater volume than are data in other units. But I have found and tabulated 177 economic and related indices (6). These indices relate to various aspects of health and health care, living amenities, trade, service, newspapers, utilities and transportation, finance and insurance, welfare, agriculture, manufacturing, education, construction, crime, and federal payments to the state and its citizens not included in any of the foregoing.

It may be helpful to illustrate what kinds of comparisons are made. Take the health field as an example. In 1961, there were, in the United States, 142 physicians for each 100,000 of our population. The physicians are not only

those who are engaged in the practice of healing and attending the sick but all those who hold jobs which have a bearing on our health--if the qualification is being a physician -- such as, the medical staffs of the public health services, federal, state and local; those engaged full time in teaching or research; and the increasing number who are engaged in passing on claims for insurance benefits of one sort or another where a judgment of claimants' physical condition is Involved. Mississippi had 77 physicians for each 100,000 of its population-54.2 per cent of the national average. Now there are many factors which bear on the need for the services of physicians beside the simple size of the population. I implicitly assume, what I think to be generally true, that these other factors cancel out as far as interstate comparisons are concerned. The testimony of my tables coupled with my assumptions, is that Mississippi's need for physicians is being met only about half as well as the need of the average American. The measurement is against the national average in every case. That average may be too high or too low, but it is, for our purposes the best available yardstick.

There are some areas in which the best is the lowest--the rate of mortality for example. In other cases, what is good is not quite so clear. For example, Mississippi is still at or close to the top in the proportion of its people who earn their livelihood from agriculture. In my opinion Mississippi would be much better off if half or more of those who work in agriculture were instead employed in manufacturing, or in the professions, or in almost anything non-agricultural. But this may not be the choice. That may lie between agriculture and idleness.

So, in my counts, I put Mississippi high on this score.

In my counts I have regarded the proportion of persons on relief as an index of indigency; the higher the proportion, the lower the state in the economic scale. If, in one state one per cent of the population consists of indigent persons over 65 and all are given assistance, the index of old-age indigency which I use would be higher than that of another state in which the indigents over 65 make up 1-1/2 per cent of the population, but with only half of them receiving assistance. The provisions of the Social Security Act are intended, among other things, to prevent such disparities and, to a large extent, I believe, has accomplished that purpose. Thus, when Mississippi's index of old-age indigency is second from the top among the states, I invert it, and as an index of economic well-being, I treat it as second from the bottom.

Of the 177 comparisons, Mississippi is at the bottom in 30; in another 18, next to last; and in a total of 82, it stands no better than fourth from the bottom. The median ranking among the 177 is sixth from the bottom.

There are relatively few economic areas in which Mississippi ranks close to the top. In fact I have found only one--persons working on farms, which as I have said might better be used as an index of Mississippi's relative dis-advantage rather than advantage. But in the count here, it is taken to be the latter.

I should have liked to rank Mississippi on total mortality. Crude total mortality is not a good index because the age of Mississippi's population is distinctly under average. The time at my disposal did not permit the calculations

necessary to compute expected deaths for all the separate states on some uniform standard and compare actual deaths with the expected. I did find that, in 1960, 3000 Mississippians died who would have been living at the year-end if total white-person mortality had been applicable.

All this is not the picture of an economy which, by current American standards, is prosperous. But the comparisons I have just made would have been far worse at any previous time. Thirty years ago, the average Mississippian's personal income was under 35 per cent of the national average. (Table 3).

And the list of particular economic measurements in which Mississippi was a poor last would have been far longer than the 30 I have found. There has been an unprecedented gain in the last generation. The greatest strides occurred during the war years, when the Mississippi per capita personal income gained on the national average at the rate of 2-1/4 per cent each year (7). It was not to be expected that such a rate could continue. In the post-war period Mississippi has been catching up at the rate of 0.65 per cent each year, which rate, if continued, unchanged, will bring Mississippi's per capita personal income up to the national average in the year 2051. Is it to be expected that the relative gains will continue, even at the post-war rate?

There are strong reasons to think that the relative gains of the last generation were exceptional. Mississippi's economy will, I have no doubt, improve because it is still one of the United States, and it will share in what I expect to be an expanding economy. But I doubt the power of Mississippi to generate extra increments over the long term future. Why do I think so? I shall go into the reasons in some detail.

- 1. The high point in the ratio of aggregate personal income in Mississippi to the national aggregate occurred as long ago as 1944. While there has been some improvement since 1957, for the post-war period as a whole, through 1963, the Mississippi total personal income has increased more slowly than the national (8). This means that a major factor in the advance in the Mississippi per capita income has been the much slower than average population growth which in turn is a result of rapid rate of out-migration of recent years. Out-migration in huge volume has been made possible by the ability of the economies of other states to absorb great waves of new workers, without raising unemployment above national level except among the youth and the functionally illiterate. With the continued high unemployment, the quickening spread of what is called "automation," and the inevitable end of a record-breaking period of prosperity, this quite astonishing record of labor force absorption by a small minority of states may be coming to an end. If it does, Mississippi's population growth will be accelerated, with a consequent dampening effect in per capita personal income.
- 2. Mississippl's economy within itself, is not much less susceptible to severe recession than it was 35 years ago, when it was extremely vulnerable indeed. It is still heavy in agriculture, in raw materials, in construction and in the manufacture of products the purchase of which is easily postponable. The finance, insurance and service industry areas which weather depressions relatively well are substantially under-represented. Mississippi's main safeguard against recession is the federal purse. And capacious as that is, it cannot replace income and output reduced by economic catastrophe.

- 3. A major factor in economic growth is the quality of business management. That Mississippi has numerous able managers is attested to by the record of recent years. But managers, like everyone else, need incentives. And incomparably the most powerful spur to management—more potent than high salaries, bonuses, stock options, profit sharing or any form of deferred compensation—is an active, responsible trade union movement. Mississippi's deep and, in my view, ill-advised hostility to trade unions is likely, in the long run, to be extremely costly for the State in the loss of output that would otherwise be produced or services that would be rendered.
- 4. Mississippi's economy is divided into two distinct and largely nonhomogeneous parts--whites, who as a group are appreciably (probably not less
 than 20 per cent) under-favored economically, measured by money incomes in
 relation to the national averages; and Negroes whose economic status is not
 three-tenths of that of all American people (9). This situation has a number of
 unfortunate economic repercussions:
 - (a) Almost half the State's population provides deficient local markets for Mississippi products. In order to get to markets, (neighboring states, to a lesser extent have the same problems) Mississippi manufacturers and other producers must incur heavier than average shipment costs. This multiplies the difficulties of effective competition by Mississippi business:
 - (b) The quality and distribution of the labor force is lower than is needed for the most efficient production (Tables 1 and 4);

- (c) Fewer public health services are maintained than should be, and less effectively than they ought to be, and the expense of maintaining adequate health measures is higher than the national level;
- (d). In relation to the incomes of its citizens, the costs of maintenance of what should be essential social, educational and welfare services are far above average;
- (e) The complex of professional, trade, financial and service activities characterizing a modern high level economy has not developed in Mississippi and cannot do so when virtually half the population exists on income of not much over one-fourth the national average and has wholly inadequate access to education;
- (f) To achieve a high level, an economy must develop a strong demand for the wide range of consumer goods and services which such economy is able to supply, but will not in the absence of such demand. Demand of the quality and intensity needed cannot be developed in a population having as low an educational level as Mississippi's. To lay the foundation for the growth of high level demand, education for Negroes must be enormously widened and deepened. Education of the sort needed has never been given in segregated schools and never can be.
- (g) Continuation of the existing separation of the races to the accompaniment of tension is bound to depress the general level of economic activity because of impacts on productive efficiency and on demand.

- (h) A major bulwark of Mississippi gains has been federal payments of one sort or another and lately, of course, the construction of an enormous missile testing base. Continuation of the post-war policies of the Federal government pouring money into a State without regard to the social policy in such a State, cannot be expected;
- (i) Mississippi Negroes cannot possibly be immune to the opinions, attitudes and actions which are currently sweeping their race with monstrous force. Continued supine acceptance of the grinding poverty and the social degradation which have been their lot is not to be expected;
- (j) All these combine to put an end to the road for the present economic policies of Mississippi. Mississippi whites cannot go on as they have been.
- 5.I return now to the more general reasons for my opinion that, under existing policies, Mississippi's relative gains in personal income of the last 30 years have been exceptional and likely not to continue. I have, without success, tried to find out something of the sources of capital for the industrial expansion of this 30 year period. But my impression is, that with the notable exception of the Selfs and a few others, the expansion has been financed largely by out-ot-state money. And the single most important attraction has been the low wage level. Low wages do not mean low labor costs. My impression again is—and I have found no statistical verification—that labor costs in the State have been climbing.

- of livelihood for itself greatly above the average. That ability rested on ownership of substantially all the instruments of production or control of the means by
 which such instruments were acquired, and on the fact of small size. In
 America, the owning and managing classes have been expanded as never before
 and as nowhere else. With the broadening of the class income differentials
 over the test of the population have been much narrowed. Nowhere else in
 America north of the Mexican border or in Western Europe is there such an
 enormous gulf between two major population groups as exists between whites
 and Negroes in Mississippi. The closing of the gulf--inevitable in Americais bound, in the absence of much planning and the creation of a bridge of good
 will between those on the two sides, to be reflected in restrictions, direct and
 indirect, on economic activity.
- 7. There are other possibilities. One of these is mass out-migration of Negroes, perhaps on a scale even larger than in the past, until they become a relatively small part of the State's population or integration.
- 8. I assume that the hope underlying white Mississippi's reaction to the Brown decision, to the campaigns for Negro registration and to demands for more jobs is that harshness will result either in submission or departure. Submission there will not be. Departure is possible, but, first, it is unlikely to proceed with sufficient rapidity to relieve tension; second, further outmigration would produce severe dislocation in some industries and, in general, would handicap rather than reinforce economic progress; and third, out-migration based on hate, bitterness, rancor and strife on the part of the migrants will have

repercussions, economic as well as social, long after this generation lies in the church yards.

- 9. I suppose it is no secret to Mississippians that, for most people outside the South, the picture of Mississippi is not one of young lovers trysting in the soft moonlight under the magnolias on a plantation lawn. Rather the image is of dogs and fire hoses turned on humans who violate no laws except those specially made for the purpose of being violated; of concentration camps and stockades in the capital city; of vicious attacks on an institution of higher learning suspect of subversion because it educates people whose skin is not white; of riots and death over the admission of a single Negro to the University -one whose high intellectual gifts have been demonstrated for millions to see in marked contrast to the equally patent rather less than pedestrian performance of holders of high state and local office. The Mississippi Image has been more than tarnished. And all the economic consequences are not yet evident. But if the events of the recent past are repeated, and still more, if Negroes by the thousands depart from the State, the effects on trade, on credit, on state and local linances and on the inflow of capital, may well be disastrous. It will be a tracic error if anyone supposes that those who vote their prejudices, their fears and their resentments over local matters will cast any economic votes for segregation and its by-products.
- 10. The only choice which will leave Mississippi economically habitable is not whether but how. And finding the right methods, with the best of good will, will be a task of the most appalling difficulty, not to speak of how to create good will. Two essential ingredients for integration are laws--Civil Rights bill

now in Congress could be dispensed with only if every state had and enforced such a law--and leadership.

II. Last week the Bureau of Industrial relations at the University of Michigan held a seminar on integration of employment as a key management problem of the sixties. One part of the background for that seminar was a description of experience with integration in two Southern plants. Because these experiences are, in my opinion, of great importance, I give the Bureau's summaries verbatim.

"Plant A

Mr. Blanc is a 50 year old manager of a consumer durable goods plant in the South. He reports to a Vice President in the North. By company directive, he was instructed to integrate his plant 'as quickly as possible.' His plant was one of the more efficient in the company. A Northerner himself, his entire staff was composed of Southerners. After a day's thought, he called his staff together in his office. Being a blunt man, he made a short statement:

'Gentlemen, this plant is integrated. We will hire qualified Negroes or any other race who applies at the gate. This integration includes cafeteria, locker room and rest rooms. I have instructed personnel to start hiring qualified Negroes and other races who apply tomorrow morning.' He paused.

'Can we protest this decision?' asked one of his most able superintendents?

'No, anyone who doesn't want to work in an integrated plant can report to the cashier now. Furthermore, I expect that we will continue to be the best in production, quality, housekeeping, maintenance and labor relations. I will hold you all responsible for maintaining your own areas at the same high level of trouble-free achievement as you have in the past.'"

The superintendents in Blanc's plant "made it clear to the foreman that any fights would result in the discharge of all the fighters, <u>plus their foreman</u>. They further made it clear that grievances from the union over the policy were

to be firmly and politely rejected." New employees were to be carefully trained by their foremen. (Underscoring in original)

"Plant B

Mr. Carter is manager of a medium -sized accessories plant in the same region. When he was instructed to integrate, he engaged a consultant who was trained in counselling and sociology. A series of meetings was held in which the economic, social and moral problems of segregation were discussed. The change to an integrated plant was announced four months in advance. This was delayed twice, for a week each time, to permit delegations of workers and supervisors to meet with Mr. Carter himself. He was friendly but adamant. On the last day before the plant was to be integrated, Mr. Carter made a lengthy address on the public address system urging cooperation and 'giving the new policy a fair trial."

12. What happened ? Again I follow the Bureau's description.

"Carter's firm was hit by random breakdowns, several verbal razzing bouts occurred, and some slowdown and serious production mistakes were noted. Each case was handled by holding a discussion with the consultant, at which time he helped the disgruntled workers 'vent their hostility.' Many key staff resigned leaving the company in a tough spot to keep things going."

13. While of course not universally applicable, the Blanc case illustrates the crucial importance of law and leadership. In the industrial area, the flat of a high officer or of the board of directors fixes the law for the company and an executive, assuming competence, will provide the leadership by which the company law is put into effect. Outside the area in which company flat

can be relied upon—in education, in housing, in exercise of the franchise and in public accommodations, for example—public law and public leadership are required. If these do not emerge at the state level, they will be supplied at the federal level, because not only local but the national economy is affected if states fail in the creation of a climate in which enterprise can thrive.

they point to the need for law to set standards of conduct but because it was conduct to which the plant law in the successful case was confined. Blanc asked no one to change his values. He wanted behavior changed. Carter, on the other hand, through his consultant went further: he tried to change values. Blanc made it clear that his leadership demands extended to job results. But this again was in the realm of behavior, not values. By going beyond this and attempting to modify beliefs. Carter was invading the lives of the workers at home and socially. The employees in his plant felt impelled to resist this infringement of their privacy. Laws can properly regulate public behavior—that is behavior towards others. It cannot compel belief. And it is behavior, not belief, which has economic consequences.

IV

The future economic progress of Mississippi depends largely on making color irrelevant in law, in economics, in housing, in education and in public behavior. A key is education. The Mississippi Negro suffers from a dual handicap. Education of the sort needed for full participation in today's life is hard to get; and for the relatively few who get it, the returns are incommensurate

with those a white with no more training enjoys. The vicious circle of inadequate opportunity and inadequate return needs to be broken. In 1960, and no doubt now, about 20 per cent more Mississippi whites in the age group 15-24 were in college than in any other state of the old Confederacy. But the ratio of white to Negro students in that age group in relation to the numbers, was 12 per cent greater than in any other of those states. This disparity in higher education between whites and Negroes in Mississippi is bound to have more and more serious consequences.

Recent experience indicates rather clearly several things about education:

(i) Negroes basically want education as much as anyone; (ii) they don't want the education that whites think they ought to have or at least they don't want it on the terms offered; (iii) when offered opportunity through whites, to learn, they frequently will reject the opportunity; (iv) they resent, despise and reject segregation and will not rest until it has been totally exterminated; (v) they must be reached and touched and started on the learning process much earlier than is now the case.

A first rate educational system is in all conscience, difficult enough for any state to create, support and manage. Two such systems operating side by side are impossible, even if one thought two to be desirable, which, as is obvious by now, I do not. Mississippi's economy would be heavily burdened to support a single system. But it is unlikely to face the need for doing so, for in the not far distant future federal aid to education will become a reality. And it is altogether probable that, as in the welfare area, Mississippi will receive

proportionately more aid than any other state--on one condition: that segregation go. Tokens will not be acceptable; deliberate speed at a snail's pace will not suffice for continued qualification. Cloture is about to descend on educational as on political filibusters.

But the education will not be enough. There must be opportunity as well, for without opportunity for employment, for participation in the activities, in voting, in all the manifold aspects of democratic decision making—education will lead only to frustration, to confusion, to economic stagnation and to social chaos.

And now a word about the kind of education which is, in my opinion, most appropriate for economic progress, Such education, I believe, is not essentially different, up to the graduate level at any rate, from that which is appropriate for cultural progress. A friend of mine since we roomed together almost 40 years ago, has in recent years been the vice president for long range planning of a great corporation with a quarter of a billion dollars of assets and many thousands of employees located in some dozen states. About 5 years ago he concluded that his company should acquire a site for a very large plant to prepare for the expansion he foresaw. It was clear to him that the plant had to be in the South. After careful analysis of his problem he narrowed the choice to North Carolina and Mississippi. Mississippi had available much larger quantities of raw material at a lower price; was at least equal to North Carolina in the abundance and quality of its water supply, highly important in the company's manufacturing process; and its transportation -- quickly to the great midwest market via rail, or cheaply by water by way of the MississippiMissouri-Ohio and their tributaries--is unexcelled.

But my friend recommended North Carolina and a 5000-acre site was purchased there. Why? After long visits to both states, he concluded that the North Carolinians were the more teachable. As he explained to me, no one would suppose that in North Carolina or in any other place, the company could build a plant and staff it with personnel trained in the particular processes of the specific company. He thought—and he is typical of industrialists I know—that it was no part of the business of an educational institution, as such, to train for work in a specific industry much less a particular company. Industry wants personnel who have acquired the ability to learn quickly whatever they need to know—and the ability to communicate to others, with equal speed, what they have learned.

There is a danger in schools of business, that too much emphasis will be placed on learning tools of particular kinds of activity, and not enough on the basic learning how to learn—the only kind of learning outside the purely cultural which never becomes obsolete.

Before I close, I want to make certain that I am not misunderstood. I have taken this occasion to advocate, on economic grounds, the elimination of the barriers of race in Mississippi. If, by some miracle, this could happen quickly, the millenium would not have arrived. What would have happened is that the serious economic problems—and, they are many—would have become soluble by rational means. Under present conditions, the two compartment structure of Mississippi's economy—and its society—makes it impossible to

formulate either goals or the means for attaining them which can satisfy either side of the great gulf which divides the State.

I do not know how Mississippi can go about doing what must be done. I know that it possibly is already too late. The damage to the minds and spirits of the underprivileged may have become irreparable. But of this I am very sure: for its own salvation—economic and other—Mississippi—white Mississippi—must make an effort to bring to all its citizens that equality of opportunity to participate in every aspect of life from birth to death which is and always must be the inalienable right of every American.

FOOTNOTES

- (I) In this and the other notes, Roman numerals refer to the sources of data listed in an Appendix, and the Arabic numerals to the pages in the particular source cited.
 - III, 13. It needs to be said at the outset that the data on personal income and many other aggregates and per capita figures to which references will be made are based in large part on estimates prepared in large measure by members of the Staffs of either the Office of Business Economics or the Bureau of the Census of the U. S. Department of Commerce. and containing, no doubt, greater or smaller errors. The estimates for the separate states necessarily involve larger probabilities of error than do the national aggregates and averages. Many of the reports from which these data are extracted contain estimates of probable error of varying size in relation to the totals involved, but there is no way to modify the figures to remove the possibility of error. They have been used in the comparisons and rankings referred to in the statement because there are no substitutes, and because In my opinion, the errors are not large enough to change the relative position of the states to modify seriously the relationship of the figures from a particular state to national averages.

For the United States as a whole, cash income accounted for more than 95 per cent of the total personal income (IV, 49) about 10 years ago, and probably for an even larger proportion today; but the non-cash portion may on the average be higher than the national average for Mississippians. This is because farm income includes estimates of the value of food and fuel produced and consumed on farms; in Mississippi, the proportion of farmers is higher than for the country as a whole. The personal income figures quoted also contain imputed rental incomes (IV, 63) which, for Mississippi, are no doubt, relatively low.

(2) Available data on the economic output of foreign countries are in terms of gross national product. The most comprehensive array of comparable GNP figures known to me is to be found in VII, 42, covering 1957 and 1958. For Mississippi the average per capita personal income in 1957-1958 was \$1834. Personal income for the whole country was 80,2 per cent of gross national product. Because of the way in which the statistics are compiled, personal income in Mississippi was no doubt a larger percentage of the gross state product largely because corporate development in Mississippi has not encompassed so large a proportion of economic activities as for the

FOOTNOTES (Cont'd)

entire country. The statement in the text assumes that, in 1957-1958, Mississippi personal income was not more than 86 per cent of the gross state product. If the percentage was 90 rather than 86, Belgium and the United Kingdom would be added to the list of countries whose average citizen enjoyed -- in 1957-1958 -- economic advantages superior to those of the average resident of Mississippi. This assumes the purchasing power of a unit of Mississippi income to be at the national average. No doubt it was higher. It is unlikely that the level of GNP in the United Kingdom and Belgium has increased as rapidly in the last 5 years as has Mississippi's.

- (3) Personal income includes all kinds of income -- earnings from employment, yield from investments in the form of interest, dividends, rents and so on, pensions, unemployment insurance, veterans' benefits and similar transfer payments, as well as relief payments.
- (4) On the basis of the data in III, 13, I compute the average 1963 personal income of non-Mississippians at \$2454 as compared with \$2443 for all.
- (5) The basis for this figure is given in Table 1 appended.
- (6) These indices are tabulated in Table 5. The table contains more than 177 comparisons for, in some cases, comparisons are made between the same index for more than a single year.
- (7) This is the underlying trend calculated by fitting a straight line, by the method of least squares, to the logarithms of the percentages in column 6 of Table 3 for the years 1941-1946, and 1947-1963.
- (8) This comparison is of underlying trends based on a straight line fitted by least squares to the percentages in column 3 of Table 3 for the years 1947-1963.
- (9) In 1960, on the basis of 1959 earnings, the median income of all those with income in the United States was \$2823. The corresponding figure for Mississippi whites was \$2028 and Mississippi Negroes was \$724. In the United States, 50.5 percent of the population had income as compared with 49 percent for Mississippi whites and 42 percent for Mississippi Negroes, (V, 349 and 578; VI, 245 and 362) The improvement allowed for in my statement probably is excessive.

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