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Four lectures are directed at reviewing and analyzing the changes that have taken place over the years in the structure and society of agriculture. An historical review of changes in American rural life points out that rural society is in a rapid period of transition toward urban-industrial culture. Agricultural development and technological advancements are examined in pointing out the dilemma of agriculture and the need for rural and agricultural planning. The effects of urbanization and efforts to place a new focus on life in rural areas are reviewed. The general lack of concern for what is occurring is cited to emphasize the need to reevaluate social structures and institutions serving the rural countryside. Effort is encouraged toward establishment of a new or modified structure which would equalize the level of living and the quality of life with those of urban areas. (SW)

The Rural Society In Transition

By
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American Baptist Convention,
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Green Lake, Wisconsin

Public Affairs Series No. 3, April, 1966

The Rural Society In Transition

An Historical Examination of the Rural Society With Emphasis On Ways to Assist Our Rural Society to Maximize Its Economic and Social Positions During the Present Period of Rapid Transition to An Urban-Industrial Culture. This Series of Four Lectures Was Presented At the Rural Church Center, Green Lake, Wisconsin, December 1-2, 1965.

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PREFACE

These lectures are directed at reviewing and analyzing the changes that have taken place over the years in the structure and society of agriculture. Also, they project some alternatives which may be future directions. The selection of the four topics was made to span the objective as stated above. As I reviewed the past and the trends that seem to be taking shape, the brunt of the responsibility for adjustment to the future seemed to rest on the shoulders of the structure of agencies and organizations (institutions) which service the rural countryside. I decided that they should be the primary audience to which my review, study, and conclusions should be directed. Furthermore, my own background of experience provided some measure of assurance to me in this area.

This series of lectures was prompted by Dr. Robert T. Frerichs, Dean, Rural Church Center, Green Lake, Wisconsin. Like other agencies and organizations of our nation, the American Baptist Convention felt that it, too, needed to review its program and its approach to the changing problems of its parishioners in the rural countryside. My thanks go to Dean Frerichs for the stimulation to prepare these lectures. Granted, a great deal of study was required, but it was worthwhile. The experience has been of immense help to me in conceptualizing the role that a University should play in meeting the problems of the future in the rural countryside.

No one would doubt that agriculture and, more particularly, the rural people, have a problem. The problem is the result of a successful effort to adopt new technology in the farm production process. The rapid development of agriculture expedited greatly the rate of migration off the farm; it affected the structure of the rural community; and it reduced the relative strength of agriculture as an industry.

The farm movement which has influenced our political structure was eminently successful over the period of 1880-1930. It began with the formation of the early farm organizations, followed by the Greenback and Populist movements; and second, by other well-organized agricultural efforts such as farmer cooperatives. The movement reached the epitome of its success with establishment of the comprehensive farm programs and formation of new farm agencies in the early days of the 1930 depression.

From that time until the present, agriculture has been losing political ground, relative to other interest groups. The numbers of people on farms declined, relatively, to those in the city. Also, the farm youngster who migrated to the cities carried with him a favorable

attitude toward the rural countryside, as well as bringing along a value system learned so well on the farm and in the open country. This factor changed in the post-war period because urban born and reared children were without roots in the rural countryside.

Not until the post-war period did it become clear that the political power enjoyed by agriculture was slipping away and being replaced by urban power. With the advent of the reapportionment ruling by the U. S. Supreme Court in 1963, the fait accompli was executed on the power structure of agriculture. Now, the urban philosophies and inventions are pressing hard on the agrarian traditions and upon those persons who long for the good days of the agrarian past. It will be a mistake to conclude that agriculture is without power in Congress, the state legislatures or in local government. When the occasion demands, it can marshall great strength. However, the difference is in the manner by which its power is generated and reflected.

It is clear that as the population of the world increases, emphasis on agriculture production will return, and great efforts will be made to assist agriculture in its efforts to meet the demands of a hungry world. But it will return under a new banner and under different colors. The prevailing concept of farming as a way of life is past. In its place will come an agricultural industry bent on being efficient, depersonalized, and intent on separating the social aspects of farming from those called economic.

A new countryside is called for. In it the urban inventions should be available to all. Also, the services provided by society for the development of man should be equally available. The isolated and independent farmer or farm community has been on the way out now for a decade and a half and only time is required for final dissolution.

While these changes have been taking place in the rural countryside, and they have been very great indeed, the structure of agencies and organizations has had a major role to play. Their role in the future is to be even more important provided the role can be described and directions set. Perhaps too often the established traditions of the organizations and agencies have served as restraints to needed adjustments.

From the literature covered in the preparation of these lectures, the trends and conclusions as expressed were loudly proclaimed in many ways. Without doubt some of us will find it difficult to accept them, especially as we project the conclusions into the future. Whether or not the conclusions in these lectures come to pass, there is a force propelling the rural countryside into the future that will produce effects to change the present significantly. If the force has guidance.

one type of rural countryside will develop; if it does not, another. I stand on the side that believes in guidance.

Finally, I am indebted to the Town and Country leaders of the American Baptist Convention for the opportunity to develop and present these lectures, and for the helpful questions asked by them at the time the lectures were presented. Miss Ellen Sumner of the West Virginia University Library helped immeasurably in the search for study materials. Mrs. Florence Deane and Mrs. Suzette Zalatoris typed and retyped the drafts and to them I express sincere thanks.

ERNEST J. NESIUS
May 23, 1966

LECTURE I

200 Years of Change in American Rural Life

Green Lake, Wisconsin
December 1-2, 1965

TWELVE YEARS AGO I was involved with a European country in the making of a movie intended to strengthen the position of the farm family in meeting the challenges and attractions of the city to rural youth. The story of the movie went something like this. The son of the farmer wanted to go to the city to obtain work. His father, of course, objected but yet in the wisdom of most fathers, the son was permitted to leave. The family gathered to see him off; his father provided him with some money and the son then boarded the train for the city. As he wandered through the streets, the city slickers spotted him immediately and by the methods of persuasion that were uniquely theirs, they attracted him to a tavern where they proceeded to see that he got drunk. They took away his money and the tavern keeper threw him out into the dirty street. A street walker, in plying her trade, gathered him together and led him away to her apartment and thus the fait accompli was executed. The moral to the story was very clear. Cities were evil.

In this European country only one son can inherit the family farm. It would be better, according to the moral of the movie, for youth to be a hired farm hand for his brother than to go to the evil city.

Most of the basics of the rural ethic are found in this little dialogue—integrity, honesty, clean living, morality, family loyalty, self-sufficiency, and fair play. Further elaboration of these basics projected into today's society will be the framework for these four lectures.

The continuing theme, therefore, is about the rural society in transition. The objective here will be to assist our rural society to maximize its economic and social position through the present period of rapid transition, which has been changing and will continue to change rapidly in the direction of an urban-industrial culture.

The subject is important and without limit; but yet we must find a means of limiting it. I have chosen to limit it by beaming the discussion to the agencies, organizations, and arrangements through which ideas, processes, and actions must pass before action is taken by a society. This approach is chosen because at this time in our history, the agencies and organizations are essential and they have an important role to lead our society to establish and accomplish new goals.

If institutions are the arrangements developed by man to accomplish his goals, then we must attempt to find his new arrangements within the primary goals, which have been identified as procreation, social interaction, production, distribution, policy, and cooperation with the unseen force. Man's secondary goals in his more advanced stage include division of labor, provision for welfare, health, and education services; and increased activity in recreation, leisure, arts, and the application of science to human behavior.

Some typical examples of institutions provided by man for himself are the family, the schools, the family farm, the town council, the church, cooperatives, agencies and organizations, experiment stations, and extension services.

The features brought into focus in the discussions that follow are man and his work; man and his family; and man and his community. These are accepted as primary focal points. To affect change we must deal with the value systems, traditions, folkways and mores, preferences, force and counterforce, process, rurality, urbanity, development, and similar areas of relevance to the subject. These will be placed within the previously identified framework of goals and institutions.

The Rural Culture

Relevant to our subject is the need to understand basic agrarianism, which has been extolled by the poets, the historians, the politicians, and the philosophers. Arcadia, supposedly the perfect place to live, was described at the turn of this century as a place "wherein each tiller of the soil, comprised in a race or tribe, dwelt in peace and undisturbed security upon the land he cultivated and which he was permitted to call his own."[1]

Basic agrarianism, also, insisted that first things must come first. We must provide for bodily wants and existence, and these must be wrested from the soil and, further, upon these components, basic to life, all human activities must be derived. Thus, necessities must come before luxuries. Consequently, the man with the hoe must precede the man behind the counter in the city bazaar, and the butcher, and the baker; also, he must be ahead of the artist and the tailor.[2]

Over the centuries, these fundamental beliefs dominated the ruralized social structure as created by man.

Agrarianism rests on three dogmas frequently stated and accepted as a factual base for deducing broad generalizations and for developing policy guidelines.

[1]John W. Bookwalter, *Rural Versus Urban* (New York, The Knickerbocher Press, 1911), p. 19.
[2]*Ibid.*, p. 21.

1. The farmer is the most noble and independent man in our society.

2. Agriculture is the fundamental employment of man because the rest of our economy depends upon it.

3. Agricultural life is the ideal life because it is concerned with nature and it is the natural way.[3]

William Jennings Bryan epitomized it in one of his famous speeches:

> Destroy the cities and leave the farms and the cities will grow back as if by magic.
> Destroy the farms and grass will grow in the streets of every city.

Thus, the ruralized social culture has been conceptualized as a total way of life because it encompasses all aspects of life.

Jefferson believed that a nation of family farms was the best guarantee for preservation of a sound democracy. As a matter of fact, Jefferson is credited with being "father of the idea of the family-sized farm."[4]

In 1909, this same philosophy was restated by President Theodore Roosevelt in transmitting the report of the first Country Life Commission.[5] He believed that the foundation of our civilization rested on the wholesomeness, attractiveness and completeness, and the prosperity of life in the country. He believed that men and women on the farms stood for what is fundamentally best and most needed in our American life. Further, he believed that men from the open country were needed to feed the hungry and clothe the naked; and to supply the city with fresh blood, clean bodies, and clear brains in order to endure the terrific strain of modern life. Furthermore, he believed that men from the open country were needed to stay the strength of our nation in time of war, and to be the guiding and controlling spirit in time of peace. Senator John Sherman Cooper of Kentucky,[6] coming from a rural state, stated in 1959, that this philosophy was as applicable then as it was 50 years earlier.

Values of country living were rated high in earlier days. The countryside was stereotyped for its virtues which stood as counterbalances to the evils of city living. City dwellers were encouraged to leave the city in the summer to live for several months in the country.

[3]Report of the Country Life Commission, Document No. 705, U.S. 60th Congress, Second session (U. S. Government Printing Office, 1909), p. 81.
[4]Whitney Griswold, *Farming and Democracy* (New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1948), p. 18.
[5]Report of the Country Life Commission, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
[6]"Establish a Commission on Country Life," U. S. 85th Congress, Second session, House Committee on Agriculture (July 8-9, 1958).

Here, their urban existence could be revitalized at the pure source, namely, country life.[7]

Certain moral values were believed to be seated and protected more strongly in the rural environment. They were fair play, trustworthiness, good neighborliness, helpfulness, sobriety, and clean living. This added up to a wholesome family life where a verbal promise was as good as a written contract, where people and entire communities were religious minded, and where everybody knew everybody.

As a total way of life, the farm and home were inseparable because together they comprised a business enterprise, a home food production unit, and a social unit. Living was isolated, social experiences were limited, community activities were localized, and life was simple and hard.

From the agrarian doctrine, other principles were deduced.

1. The family-owned farm is the foundation of our democracy.
2. Hard work is morally good and doing nothing is sinful.
3. Cities breed corruption. They do not provide a wholesome environment in which to raise children because they affect their morals adversely.
4. City politicians and labor leaders are corrupt and undemocratic.

In the pure rural culture, families are described as self-sufficient and independent, as strongly conservative, cautious about credit obligations, with an aversion to taxes, limited in their participation in community endeavors, deeply religious, morally strong, with a tendency to ignore and go their own way rather than argue outside of their own circle of friends. The rural families are described further as fiercely loyal to the family, sensitive to criticism which is met by withdrawing from the source of criticism, patriarchial in family decision, and willing to fight for right when their pride has been affronted. They are said to have a low appreciation for education, and they make decisions that are guided more by culturally developed principles than developed economic or social logic.

Islands of semi-pure rural culture exist yet. They are found in the more isolated regions of the United States.

The Country Life Commission Report[8] deserves some further attention. President T. R. Roosevelt charged it to suggest a means "to improve our system of agriculture which he considered to be most urgent of the tasks before the nation." He identified four "great general

[7]Lee Taylor and Arthur Jones, *Rural Life and Urbanized Society* (Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 56.
[8]Report of the Country Life Commission, *loc. cit.*

and immediate needs:" (a) means for effective cooperation among farmers; (b) a new kind of schools in the country devoted to preparing children for country life; (c) a better means of communication, including good roads and a parcel post; and (d) better sanitation for disease prevention.[9]

The Commission submitted an excellent report,[10] and its recommendations were the forerunner to many congressional actions that followed and centered about President Roosevelt's main points.

The Report listed eleven great deficiencies in country life.[11] Based upon them, the Commission's recommendations served to expedite the urbanization process. Included were these recommendations: schools or training facilities for the farm laborer; health education in the schools; women's organizations; rural libraries and study clubs; YMCA for play, recreation and entertainment; clubs of all kinds for social purposes; social centers in neighborhoods; extension work of all kinds; and more emphasis on beauty and art.

Most significant in the Commission report was the clear clarion call for the farm leadership to face up to the rural challenge. The report called for "a new rural society;" "a new rural social structure;" "new leaders, who must be farmers, to throw themselves into service for upbuilding their communities;" "a new race of teachers and the training of a new rural clergy." Emphasis was placed on the need for a new concept of country life. A present-day commission, if it was appointed, would be concerned with identifying new ideologies, establishing needs for a new legal structure for society, and expediting the transition process to a new rural society with strong urban overtones.

As we reflect on the legislative actions that followed and the subsequent scientific revolution of agriculture, we must conclude that the Commission report was of great importance in expediting development of the open country.

Concern for Rural Life Revived

In the early fifties the national effort by the Cooperative Extension Service to strengthen the concept of the family and the farm as a social and production unit was brought into focus through the Farm

[9]Paraphrased.

[10]Report of the Country Life Commission, *loc. cit.*

[11]Lack of knowledge about agricultural conditions and opportunities; lack of good training for teaching country life in schools; lack of protection against established business systems and interests; lack of good highway facilities; lack of control against the continuing depletion of soils; lack of a new and active leadership; lack of systems of agricultural credit; lack of sufficient supply of labor; lack of institutions and incentives that tie the laboring man to the soil; lack of ways to relieve women from their burden and narrow life; and lack of adequate supervision of public health.

and Home Development Program. Programs dealing with the business of farming were integrated with those dealing with development of the home and the personality of the family. It was sprung from the Missouri Balanced Farming program. The concept stressed total farm and home planning. Families were encouraged to establish realistic and long-time goals, which were to be financed through the farm business unit or through other non-farm activity. Groups of 12-15 farm families—husband and wife—sat around a large table, and under the guidance of a University specialist and the local extension agents, they carried out a total farm and home planning process. County agricultural extension agents and home demonstration extension agents counselled each family as a team. The results were very great; however, the cost was high because of the relatively small numbers of families that could be counselled properly.

On the heels of farm-home development and under the administration of President Eisenhower, the concept of rural development emerged.[12] Rural development came as recognition that the people in rural areas were lagging in making satisfactory adjustment to the post-war economic boom, and that the rural people would not solve their social and development problems by themselves. In addition, many agencies and their field representatives servicing the farming population needed to adjust and coordinate their programs.

Through farm and home development and through rural development, the concept of the farm as the social and production unit was kept intact for a few more years.[13]

The U. S. Department of Agriculture, under Orville Freeman of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, continued the rural development concept as Rural Areas Development. Greater emphasis was placed upon development of economic enterprise and employment in rural areas and the effort was more extensive. At this moment (1966) the emphasis is on reducing poverty in rural areas and in strengthening the smaller communities by improving water systems and housing.

Persons working closely with the rural population are aware of the changing concept of rurality and the difficulties which accompany the change. The fact that the proportion of the population devoted to pure agriculture pursuits has been declining in relation to the total population is a strong deterrent to agriculture development plans. By 1960, people in rural areas represented a majority of the population in only

[12]True ~~Morris,~~ McRSE Undersecretary of Agriculture, was the main instigator.

[13]We should recognize that many studies and conferences dealing with the family farm served to extend the agrarian concept because the efforts were intended to seek methods for strengthening and protecting it.

two of the thirteen economic regions in the United States. They were the Central and Eastern Uplands (which includes the Appalachians) and in the Southern Coastal Plains and Piedmont where 50.1 and 52.5 per cent of the population were classified as rural, respectively.

The Urbanizing Process

Establishment of the United States as a nation coincided with an industrial revolution in England. Ideas of industrialism generated in that cultural stream were brought to America. The concepts of a systematic and scientific agriculture and of industrialism were effectively seeded in the minds of our forefathers and thus influenced, in a significant way, the American culture and the methods that were to follow. Thus, an urban-type culture has been in the making ever since our founding fathers settled here.[14, 15]

Two other major influences, happening over 200 years ago, contributed significantly to the present culture of the American society. One of these was the isolation of man in the New World. It affected him irrespective of whether he came from the lower ranks or from the European aristocracies. The man on the frontier was deprived of the advantages of social contact and the normal amenities of cultural interaction. In addition, he was confronted with the unique problem of creating a new language as well as new ways of living. He had to erect his own sign posts by naming the animals and the plants; and by relearning the ancient knowledge of the stars, about moss on the trees, from the flow of the streams, and of the habits of animals. Our forefathers soon forgot their loyalties to the king and the court, the dominance of the army, the conscience control of the church, the social hierarchies, and even the law. They lived almost as animals in nature. Every day presented a new opportunity with a new challenge in a new kind of world. The frontier man—with his rifle—and the western man—with pistols on his hips—learned to love this irregular, adventurous, half-working and half-lounging life. They learned to hate the sober industry and the prudent economy.[16] The frontier, which was always the master over all demands on man is credited, primarily, with our individualism and the striking characteristics of the American intellect.[17]

[14]Taylor and Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-48.

[15]Robin Williams, "American Society in Transition: Trends and Emerging Developments in Social and Cultural Systems," in James H. Copp, ed., *Our Changing Rural Society* (Ames, Iowa State University Press, 1964), p. 338.

[16]Wilson O. Clough, *The Necessary Earth* (Austin, University of Texas, 1964), p. 230.

[17]Carl N. Degler, *Out of Our Past—The Forms That Shaped Modern America* (New York, Harper & Row, 1959).

The third major influence affecting our culture arose from our Puritan heritage. Puritanism, according to Perry,[18] springs from the very core of the personal conscience; that is, the sense of duty, the sense of responsibility, the sense of guilt, and the repentant longing for forgiveness. Puritans avidly believed and sternly applied these concepts. They are credited with affecting, in a significant way, our concepts of democracy, especially as they relate to our concept of the good and our concept of human equality. Both rest upon the Christian code of justice, compassion, and personal dignity.

Our desire for wealth and appreciation for work may be traced partially to our Puritan heritage. The Puritans and the Quakers were eminently successful in the counting house. Poor Richard's Almanac is the Puritan ethic shorn of its theology. The recent emphasis on civil disobedience, and many other examples in our history, may be traced to the rebellious activity of the Puritans which they displayed when they felt that the truth was being denied. While we tend to equate Puritanism in a modern world with the conservative elements—the anti-liquor, anti-gambling, and anti-sex exhortations—Puritanism, in a real sense, was a revolutionary idea and called for liberating many of the sticky elements of our society.

Historians may argue about which of these three converging influences—the concepts of industrialism and scientific agriculture, or the frontier, or Puritanism—have had the greatest effect upon our present-day society. Doubtless all three have had their effect. It is important that we understand these backgrounds in order to understand the changes as they are taking place now.

As another event, the Civil War is credited with the major break from the rural tradition. The South, with its plantations, country gentlemen and fine ladies epitomized the highest attainable rural culture—a concept brought from Europe, also. In addition, World Wars I and II expedited the urbanization process by upsetting the traditional arrangements of society because of the intense and new demands which crowded out the less important needs. So, we can see the push toward urbanization has been with us for many generations.

Forces originating in the rural scene and recognized as speeding up the process of urbanization have been identified as: discovery and application of the rural development and other agriculture agency programs, vertical and horizontal integration of agriculture production, improved national economic health, government programs for farmers, and the work of agriculture specialists.

[18]Ralph Barton Perry, *Puritanism and Democracy* (New York, Harper Torchbooks, 1944.)

What is urbanization? Urbanization refers to the adoption and adaptation of structures and methods which originated in the city but which have been accepted now by people living in the country as well. The connecting links between the stages of urbanization may be observed more clearly as one surveys the continuum that spans the distance between the purely rural to the purely metropolitan society. The span is from the rural neighborhood which blends into the agricultural village, which extends to the rural-urban fringe community, then to the suburban community, then to the small city, and finally to the metropolitan city.[19]

What are the innovations which have come from the urban society? Generally, they are recognized as the extensive division of labor; specialization; a larger and more complicated social system unified by transportation and communication; social interaction which is continual and widespread; prevalence of many institutional patterns; minimum wage laws; and family patterns supporting the norms of materialism, success, and accomplishment. Thus, the focus is upon universality, specialization, division of labor and accomplishment.[20]

Industrialism is the bed mate of urbanism. The interrelationships can be understood more easily with the knowledge that the main tenets of an industrial society are concerned with mechanization, industrialization, commercialization, specialization, automation, and organization. All of these significantly affect our mode and manner of life.

As one studies the urban scene, in addition to observing size and congestion, the dimension of variety in extremes is obvious everywhere. Contrasts and paradoxes abound. One can observe expensive houses and beautiful architectures, new apartment towers, eight-lane highways suspended over the mid-city, parks, schools, universities, and real slums. One is aware of the selfishness, the shoddiness, the crime, and the ever-present sense of fraud and deceit; the street scene is characterized by people of varying dress and action, the work uniforms of professionals, technicians, laborers, artists, policemen—people of all description, normal and abnormal—geniuses and ignoramuses, conformists and non-conformists; groups of all kinds are found and active such as the esoteric hobby clubs collecting match folders, and bizarre religious cults; and the intellect is fed with organized meetings, lectures, and exhibits by the thousands.[21]

[19]Everett M. Rogers, *Social Change in Rural Society* (New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1960).
[20]Taylor and Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 43
[21]Leonard Reissman, *The Urban Process* (New York, The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), p. 4.

Important to the urbanite for satisfying his cultural appetite and to be found in urban centers of sufficient size are the theater, symphonies and concerts, operas, art, museums, recreation centers, zoos, spectator sports, city clubs, country clubs, and night clubs.

Life in the urban center differs significantly from the country in that it is highly organized and scheduled. It is the mass society where people move en masse according to the established time schedule for catching the bus or train or car pool to work, for opening the store, for eating, sleeping, going to the theater, and for vacationing. In the country, life is geared to nature, the rising and setting of the sun, weather conditions, and the seasons. These are the main reasons why the farmer disdains the city invention of daylight saving time.

As urbanization continues in our society, the rural clock is rapidly making adjustments to the urban clock. One might conclude here that life in the urban center is geared to the clock of mass society, while life on the farm is geared to nature's clock and her rhythms such as planting time, cultivating time, harvesting time, etc. Because the ways of nature seem automatic and controlled, frequently nature is equated with a superior and unseen force. Thus, rural people display a great interest in religious matters.

The growing demand by open country residents for the benefits of an urban-type existence has caused the rural society to accept many adjustments. These benefits have served to speed up the urbanization process.

Studies of the urban fringe provide some insights into the urbanization process as it occurs near the centers of population.[22, 23, 24]

One pattern of extending the urban fringe is found wherein the blue collar working man intersperses himself in the rural scene. Possessing certain skills, people of this class can attain a finer home by building it themselves or building in areas where costs are lower. The developer follows the blue collar worker, using his own guidelines for layout and type of structures built. This process is usually accompanied by the coming of families of a higher economic status. This produces a mix made up of the carryover of rural conservatism and the non-farm resident liberalism. Furthermore, the rural residents tend to retain their control of the town. However, their planning procedures

[22]Robert R. Stansberry, Jr., "The Rural Fringe and Rural Expansion: A Case Study of Prince Georges and Montgomery Counties, Maryland," *Agricultural Economics Report* #43, (U. S. Department of Agriculture, October, 1963).

[23]Charles Press and Rodger Rice, "Rural Residents and Urban Expansion," *Economic Research Service*-132, (U. S. Department of Agriculture and Michigan State University, 1963).

[24]Shaw E. Grigsby, "Agriculture Growth With Urban Expansion," *Agricultural Extension Service Circular* 265 (University of Florida, 1965).

are unrealistic as they do not understand the growth in urban areas; neither do they have much concern for its problems.

The urban fringe may be likened to the frontier settled by the pioneers who carved their homes out of the wilderness, cleared the land, developed their farms, and organized their communities without the benefit of organized government, local regulations or zoning. The development of an urban community, more often than not, is the handiwork of a developer. He uses his own guidelines. If the area is not zoned or controlled, the gross divergence of the ideologies among the residents permits him freedom to follow his own devices. After the mistakes are all made an attempt is made then to find ways to correct them. Thus the fringe of many cities is being developed in the same unplanned way as was the frontier in former days.

One area in which new residents and the old residents are always in agreement is on the matter of taxes. Those living on the farms oppose higher taxes because they reduce profits of the farm. At the same time, the new urbanite objects to higher taxes because he usually does not have access to the normal run of community services that taxes are supposed to provide.

The great periods of urbanization were the 1860's, the 1900's, and 1930's; and judging from present-day developments, the 1960's will be another such period.

In the 1860's establishment of the land-grant colleges and the U. S. Department of Agriculture were the dominant development. In the early 1900's, the establishment of the Country Life Commission, parcel post, mail order houses, the Smith-Lever Act, the Smith-Hughes Act and many farmer cooperatives, coupled with the Populist Movement, were dominant.

In the 1930's a large number of new agricultural acts were passed which have continued to be major factors affecting progress in the rural society. The Agricultural Adjustment Act, the Soil Conservation Service, the Rural Rehabilitation Act—now called the Farmer's Home Administration—Rural Electrification Administration, and others all added together to have a major impact.

The new legislation of the 1960's which includes the Vocational Education Act, the Urban Affairs and Housing Act, various higher education acts, the general education acts, the industrial extension act, the beautification acts, the welfare and health acts, and several others should provide a framework for major changes in our society.

While the inadequacies of the rural culture in meeting the modern problems of a technologically oriented society seem to be fairly clear to many writers, the adequacy of the substitutions from an urban-

oriented culture are not so clear. In spite of the expanding urbanization, a ruralized social structure and rural concepts of living continue to be the dominant force. Concurrently, the rural areas are attempting to adjust to the urban inventions. Within this paradoxial situation, we continue to attempt to fold in the urban inventions. Such activity produces mass confusion in a mass society, and this may be one of the basic causes for the increasing discord and disregard for the law. Since the systems of jurisprudence of the present are the product of the rural past, social control in the urban present has about collapsed.

Man's Basic Institutions

Lest we believe the changes described so far are unique in the sixties, we should point out that the American society has always been a dynamic system. It has never remained long in one equilibrium position. Always the American has stressed the central theme of expansion, progress, development, and movement. This situation, of necessity, would be true in any country that had increased its population from 4 million people in 1790 to 194 million in 1966.

Man and His Work

As the agricultural society is being transformed into an urban-industrial society, many changes are taking place in what might be called "the system." Emerging is greater mobility and opportunity for the individual to change from one social strata to another. Likewise, he has ample opportunity to change to a new and different occupational role.[25] This can be noted in the moving of a family from the country to a city and in the creation of new job roles resulting from rapidly changing technology. A student, upon graduating from high school today, will find fewer than 50 per cent of the job roles that existed when he entered the first grade. Thus, young people must be trained for versatility first, and specialization second.

Another trend to be noted as we relate man to his work is the rapidly declining role in our society for the small, independent farmer. Man and his work is characterized by the increasing difficulty of successfully initiating new business enterprises requiring large capital investments. Furthermore, for a person without advanced education to advance beyond the level of the first line of supervision authority is a matter of increasing difficulty. Attainment of executive status, we may conclude, is associated, increasingly, with completion of a college education. Another trend of importance is the increasingly dominant role being played by large-scale organization farming. This, among other reasons, accounts for the mass movement out of agricultural occupations.

[25]Robin Williams, *loc. cit.*

Man and His Family

Related to the speed of urbanization is the present-day trend of families to drop functions which traditionally were accepted as their responsibility. These have been given to or taken over by industry, the government, the church, the school, or other agencies. The family, in a sense, has become a more specialized social unit.[26] It specializes in the production and maintenance of human personalities. It strives for "good" personality development of the young people. More is expected from it for attainment of higher satisfactions through affection, sexual adjustment, and mutual understanding.

In addition to becoming a more specialized family, a major change has taken place in the rights of women. In addition to greater equality in legal matters, paid employment has become an accepted role for the woman.

Other changes should be noted such as the rising divorce rate, earlier marriages, and an increasing proportion of families who live in one-family homes in new suburbs. The increased geographic and social mobility of the family has been one of the most influential factors in breaking up the closely knit groups of the family through kinship relationships.

Man and His Community

The small town, over the years, has been the rural community. It has been the center of activity for the rural society. Its existence and functions served to fulfill the needs of the community. Now serious questions are being raised about its ability, without radical adjustment, to meet the modern, ever-expanding needs of an urban-industrial society.

A good insight into the changes occurring in a small town can be observed in the study of the changes in a Missouri farming community (called Plainville and located in the Little Ozark foothills) over a fifteen-year period.[27] Several basic cultural changes took place in the community between 1940 and 1955: (1) the geographical and cultural isolation is steadily disappearing; (2) significant changes have occurred in the cultural values which were forced upon the community by the larger urban-oriented society which surrounds Plainville; (3) new living standards focused on material comfort and increased efficiency have been accepted generally; and (4) external events, outside forces, and technology from the greater mass culture have become dominant factors in the local activity.

[26]Robin Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

[27]Art Gallaher, Jr., *Plainville Fifteen Years Later* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1961). See also Arthur J. Vidich and Joseph Bensman, *Small Town in the Mass Society* (New York, Anchor Books, Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1960).

Conclusive proof that goals and expectations tend to come from the larger community is a feature of this study. The quality of life and the values of people had shifted markedly, bringing with the shift greater appreciation for innovation, efficiency, comfort, and advantage. In a sense, attainment of these had become prime motivations to accomplishment. The author of the Plainville study emphasizes the point many times that the community had been drawn more and more into the urban sphere of influence, which called for "more money" and more ready cash. The increased interaction between the farm and city, the newly felt needs, and the desires of city life all require economic considerations. Thus these changes, which can be found in most country towns, resulted in speeding up the process of urbanization.

Summary and Conclusions

From the span of literature reviewed in the preparation of this lecture, three conclusions seem to stand out.

1. As a total society we are in mass flight from the fundamental values and beliefs of the so-called rural culture. We are trying to disclaim our bonds with this rural culture, yet we are without clear concepts of a new urban culture; thus we have mainly convenience and circumstance to guide us. We do relate our forthcoming culture to the urban scene, but we admit that we cannot describe it, especially in the rural setting.

Perhaps we are trying to escape from the bonds of what we might call the morality of our biblical and Puritan past. We are becoming disenchanted with the grassroots philosophy. We are becoming increasingly aware of the inequality that exists between races and social groups. We are developing an aversion to everything that is traditional. Perhaps this is a stage through which we must go; however, the outcome is not clear.

2. It is clear that the present period is one of trial and error. Great social experiments are being tried; for example, the Economic Opportunity Act, the Economic Development Act, the educational acts and others. Because none of them will solve the whole problem they propose to attack suggests a mass experiment to carry out projects to determine what works and what does not.

The rural culture seems to be grossly inadequate for meeting the problems of a technologically-oriented society. However, as has been stated previously, the adequacy of substitutions from an urban-oriented culture is not known. In question are the emerging attitudes toward morality, ethics, and acceptable practice. The existing legal structures, which date from our rural heritage, are clearly inadequate for control,

protection and encouragement of an ordered society. Again, however, the urban society has not produced substitutes. Proponents of urbanism will say that the urban society needs more time to change and affect the legal structure, which may be true.

3. The third conclusion is that there are several real issues to be found in the countryside today and they need attention and study. The family farm, as a continuing efficient farm unit, may have questionable ability to fit into the emerging scene. The small town and its ability to be a modern community or to assume the leadership and responsibility to properly educate its youth or to make its own decisions is of vital concern. The rural people are confused and lack direction. The question whether they can understand and adjust to the urbanization process is a realistic one. Whether they can adopt the new cultural orientation of the urban society and whether they can fully appreciate the need for education and certain social skills to fit into the emerging scene are other questions. Representation of the rural society in influencing the decisions of the larger society is an unsettled question. The one man, one vote dictum brought about by reapportionment will result in the farm group becoming more of a minority than it is presently. The pendulum of reaction may swing too far in disrespect for the importance of farm production. As redistricting takes place, continuation of the various institutional arrangements associated with an agriculture-oriented society may become an issue.

As a farm boy, with four years of vocational agriculture in high school, with college degrees in various agricultural subjects, and functioning in the agricultural society all of my life, I am acutely aware that rural traditions are strong and compelling. We should never forget that. Also, we should never forget that the larger scene is changing rapidly which provides a great challenge to the best of us. Our patience and meeting it should not be anything less.

Many students of the rural-urban subject contend that agrarianism is dead. As its manifestations were known a century ago, this is true. But the basic value orientations, while changing rapidly, still prevail as the dominant force to bring order to social activity.

LECTURE II

The Agricultural Revolution and the Current Dilemma

Green Lake, Wisconsin
December 1-2, 1965

THE FIRST technical revolution reported in agriculture preceded by a century the industrial revolution of the 18th and 19th centuries in Europe. The adoption and widespread use of root crops (turnips), the development of the four-year rotation, of the horse-hoeing husbandry, and of scientific animal breeding represented the first major efforts at improving the methods of agriculture. Concurrent with these developments came towns to be fed by the increased farm produce from the countryside. Introduction of root crops in the rotation, which was one of the first major innovations, eliminated the necessity of leaving the land fallow in the third year of the crop rotation, which was the prevalent practice of that time.[1] As I indicated in the earlier lecture, it was out of this environment that our ancestors were sprung. They were knowledgeable about improved agriculture and deeply involved in the industrial revolution taking place at that time.

Economic historians, after reviewing earlier agricultural revolutions, interpret from them that the current one in agriculture, which has been going on for nearly 100 years now, will affect the economic life as greatly as the first one.[2]

Adam Smith, recognized as the father of economics, David Ricardo, whose predictions caused economics to be dubbed "the dismal science," and the physiocrats of France all recognized agriculture as the primary industry to the wealth and growth of a nation. Many of their examples were chosen from agriculture to illustrate their derived propositions.

[1]Roots in rows made weed control and moisture conservation possible, thus field fallowing was unnecessary. The increased feed made it possible to keep livestock over winter and thus encouraged scientific animal breeding, which occurred with outstanding success. The agricultural surplus provided food for the hungry mouths in the village. The improved food supply brought about a fall in the mortality rates, primarily infant mortality, and the consequent rise in population.

[2]Kenneth E. Boulding, *Economic Analysis* (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1948), p. 653.

Agricultural Development in the United States

The idea of progress was the basic element in the creed of the early American, both rural and urban.[3] It was implicit in all thought and activity of the intellectual and scientific leadership in agriculture, as was evident in the search for improved agricultural technology and in the writings of our philosophers. Basic to the idea of progress was the belief that the problems of farmers were the problems of the nation. Over the centuries, the belief has persisted that as goes the economic health of farmers so goes the economy. Therefore, agriculture had the first claim on the exertions of mechanical genius and was the principal source of our national prosperity.[4]

The farmer is said to be the epitome of individual enterprise. Therefore, the belief has prevailed over time that the true democratic spirit was preserved best in farming areas. The general policies for agriculture over the years, prior to the depression of the 1930's, reflected this belief. They were directed to the preservation of private initiative and individual action. In actual operation, this policy has not always worked. Several important weaknesses showed up by 1930. These policies failed to produce conservation of our resources; they encouraged exploitation, and prices fluctuated greatly because of the nature of farm competition and a desire for individual farm efficiency. Furthermore, policies were not developed which could bring order out of the development of our urban areas.

Technological Advance

The application of the physical and biological sciences to agriculture was enthusiastically supported by our intellectual leaders in the past century. Great efforts were made to disseminate the results of experimentation in agriculture to farm producers. Under the leadership of such men as Horace Greeley, Theodore Roosevelt, Seaman Knapp, and the professors in the agricultural colleges, resistance to the adoption of scientific results declined rapidly and finally collapsed. It was not until the 1930's that the movement of adopting agricultural innovations began to be significant on a large scale. By that time farmers accepted without question the results of scientific investigation. The farmers who resisted the movement, in facetious terms, called the new technology "book farming," which was intended to equate it with the impractical and unwise.

[3]F. F. Elliott, "The Farmer's Changing World," U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Yearbook of Agriculture*, 1940, p. 124.

[4]U. S. Department of Agriculture. *Yearbook of Agriculture*, 1940: *Farmers in a Changing World.* (Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1940.)

The agricultural revolution of the past century rests upon the fantastic story of scientific discoveries of agricultural importance. Great breakthroughs were made by men such as Justus Von Liebig who discovered and prepared artificial manures in about 1850. This discovery served as the foundation for today's highly developed commercial fertilizer industry.[5]

A later discovery, about 1860, by J. G. Mendel, resulted in the first basic laws of heredity. He used wrinkled and smooth peas to determine the exact ratio of dominance to recessiveness as influenced by certain heredity factors. His discoveries provided the scientific base for the remarkable developments of hybrid corn and animal breeding.[6]

Another great scientist was Louis Pasteur, who, through fermentation experiments, discovered the presence and activity of bacteria as a cause of disease and fermentation activity. He discovered a vaccine for the control of chicken cholera and for the control of rabies. These discoveries led to immunization, refrigeration for the control of bacterial activity, and the method of pasteurization of food substances.

These are but three of the many great scientists and professors whose names are legend in the agricultural world.

Perhaps the ability to produce can be best illustrated by the number of bushels of wheat that could be produced in 10 man hours. In 1820, 10 hours of labor could produce 5 bushels of wheat;[7] by 1930, 10 hours of labor could produce 60 bushels, and by 1965, 10 hours of labor could produce about 600 bushels.[8]

A comparable story for corn indicates that in the 1850's, 10 hours of man labor produced approximately 12 bushels of corn; by 1930, 10 man hours would produce 60 bushels of corn, and by 1965, with modern equipment and hybrid corn, 10 hours of labor would produce 600 bushels.[8]

Similar examples of production co-efficients could be presented for the production of poultry, swine, dairy, potatoes, and all of the main food commodities.

The great explosion in production by American agriculture, as can be seen from the above co-efficients on wheat, occurred after World War II. The setting for it was perfect. Farmers learned in

[5]"Justus Von Liebig," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vol. 14, (1954), p. 38.
[6]*Encyclopedia Britannica, op. cit.*, p. 241.
[7]The estimates for 1820 and 1930 for wheat, and 1850 and 1930 for corn were obtained from the 1940 *Yearbook of Agriculture*, U.S.D.A., pp. 1184-1196.
[8]When production under all types of methods and for all regions of the U. S. is combined, the production for 10 hours of man labor comparing 1950 with 1964 is: wheat, 30 and 101 bushels, respectively; and corn, 25 and 124 bushels, respectively. Source: Various U.S.D.A. Statistical Bulletin Series Nos. 144, 233, and 346. Thus, the figures shown in the text reflect an optimum set of circumstances.

World War I that if prices were high enough, and if the production controls were removed, and if profits encouragement was provided to farm producers that they would outdo themselves in speedily adopting the modern technology. Also, following World War I, efforts to bring agricultural education to farmers were intensified, and thus the value of knowledge had been proven. Furthermore, the government programs for agriculture in the 1930's provided the framework and set the stage for developing and introducing the right incentives to prompt agricultural production during and subsequent to the World War II period.

During the early years of World War II, agricultural scientists gathered at the State Colleges of Agriculture with encouragement from the Federal government to determine, using their best knowledge, the maximum production that could be expected from agriculture. Even the most optimistic scientists greatly underrated the agricultural potential. Estimates on maximum production to be attained in 10 years were reached in two to three years. After World War II, agricultural production skyrocketed with built-in protection to the producer through government price supports.

One cannot refer to the great increases in production without discussing the rapid development of mechanization in agriculture.[9] The first patent for a cast iron plow was granted to Charles Newbold in New Jersey in 1797. Subsequent development of the reaper, combines, mechanical pickers and mechanical devices of all types served to reduce greatly the necessity for the labor input and to increase the dependency of the farmer upon the industrial world for his machinery. Also, it served to link the industrial world more closely with the agricultural world.

In my early days on the farm, all equipment was horse drawn, and it was only after I had graduated from high school (1930), that my father bought his first tractor which, in itself, made it possible for him to double the acreage of corn the first year. However, in my high school vocational agriculture class, we were writing essays on tractor power versus horse power. Today, it would seem a bit foolish to say that the conclusions deduced for that day resulted in some very good arguments on the side of keeping horses on the farm.

As with the production of crops and livestock, World War II produced the necessary impetus for farm mechanization. In reality, the post-war agriculture period separated those farmers who continued to innovate, to expand, and to develop their agricultural operations from

[9]Everett E. Edwards, "American Agriculture—The First 300 Years," U.S.D.A. *Yearbook of Agriculture,* 1940. pp. 228-232.

those who did not and, consequently, the latter have been left behind. Power farming has become a fact of life. It has provided the opportunity for those with imaginativeness and nerve to push themselves ahead of their laggard neighbors.

A result of the technological advance was the making of the farmer into a true businessman. Record keeping by electronic data processing methods followed by farm management training courses, expertly executed by the specialists at the agricultural colleges, were essential for the American farmer to meet the challenges of innovation and technology. Such a scientific approach to decision-making made shambles of the folklore of guidance by the moon, the stars, the almanac, and "what his neighbor reckoned." Instead, decisions were those of a hardheaded businessman and entrepreneur based on factual analysis and by a man bent on increasing his profits. With these changes, larger business units speedily became a fact of life. Today, with the combination of scientific business management and large-scale machinery, the farmer has mastered the art and science of a large enterprise. Consequently, there are 3,472,000 farms today (1960) compared with 4,913,000 in 1949.[10]

The American farmer has always been interested in agricultural education. Testimony to this conclusion is the early formation of agricultural societies, the growth of farmer clubs, the popular passion for self education as was epitomized by Abraham Lincoln doing sums on a wooden shovel with a piece of charcoal by the flickering light of the fireplace, the great debates in the early agricultural journals—such as the one that raged about 1850 on whether the dominant animal feed in America would be Indian corn or the European rutabaga—and the later debate about tractor power versus horse power.

Agriculture fairs, without doubt, were a major factor in motivating agricultural education. The first one is recorded in the District of Columbia in 1810. Agriculture fairs can be called landmarks of agricultural advance. It is here that farmers can see the quality of their handiwork compared with that of their neighbors. Here they can see and feel the product, and they can talk to the person who produced it. The romance and excitement that has developed around the events of the show ring has been a great stimulus to the leading farmers as a place to earn their proper status in the community, county, or the state. By being a participant and by learning the language of scientific agriculture, they can do this.

Following the report of the Country Life Commission, appointed by President Theodore Roosevelt, new agricultural institutions came

[10]*Handbook of Agricultural Charts,* Agriculture Handbook No. 300. U. S. Department of Agriculture (1965).

on the scene. The Smith-Lever Act, enacted in 1914, established agricultural and home economics extension; the Smith-Hughes Act of 1918 established vocational agriculture and home economics in secondary schools. Prior to these two acts, the Morrill Act of 1862 established the Land-Grant Colleges; and the U. S. Department of Agriculture was established in the same year by congressional action. The Hatch Act of 1887 established the Agricultural Experiment Stations. All of these were basic moves by the American society to develop its agriculture. Concurrent with the agricultural societies, the fairs, the establishment of experiment stations, extension and vocational agriculture was the development of the agricultural journals. From these, farmers were stimulated to new activity, and in them the great debates were waged. Following the invention of the radio, and later the television, communication to the farm community was simplified and expanded.[11, 12, 13, 14, 15]

A distinctive feature of American life during the 2½ centuries following the settlement of Jamestown was economic self-sufficiency. Each farm produced practically everything it consumed—food, clothing, furniture, soap, candles, and many other articles essential to the farmer and his family. The industrialization of America began with the transfer of manufacturing from the farm to the factory, and the transition of the farmer from self-sufficiency to commercial farms. The industrial revolution which produced the products indicated above brought agriculture into a complementary relationship with industry.

By this process the farmer turned commercial; families and their members migrated from the farm to the city resulting in the growth of urban centers. Also, this process established the tendency toward specialization in agriculture. By 1960, the typical farmer no longer provided the bread, milk, eggs, or meat for his family. The manufacturing and processing industries had taken over these responsibilities. In addition, many of the services normally provided by the farmer and his family to his own enterprise were being supplied by enterprising entrepreneurs.

[11]F. F. Elliott, "The Farmer's Changing World," U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Yearbook of Agriculture,* 1940, pp. 103-110.
[12]Paul H. Johnstone, "Old Ideals Versus New Ideas in Farm Life," U.S.D.A., *Yearbook of Agriculture,* 1940, pp. 111-170.
[13]Everett E. Edwards, "American Agriculture—The First 300 Years," U.S.D.A., *Yearbook of Agriculture,* 1940, pp. 171-276.
[14]A. B. Genung, "Agriculture in the World War Period," U.S.D.A., *Yearbook of Agriculture*, 1940, pp. 277-296.
[15]Chester C. Davis, "The Development of Agricultural Policy Since the End of the World War," U.S.D.A., *Yearbook of Agriculture,* 1940, pp. 297-326.

Agircultural Development

Agricultural development was the result of a well-integrated system of agriculture organizations. Farmer clubs drew the farmers together to provide the opportunity for contact with modern agriculture. Development of national farm organizations such as the Grange, the Farm Bureau, and the National Farmers' Union produced leadership with professional competency. The extensive development of farmer-owned cooperatives in the 1920's and 1930's was the farmer's response to the unnecessary profit taking by the middleman. Quasi-educational organizations such as 4-H clubs, Future Farmers, Home Demonstration clubs, breed associations, and crop and livestock improvement associations were organized for the primary purpose of extending modern agriculture development.

Not to be overlooked was the development of Federal and State agencies. The U. S. Department of Agriculture with its multi-faceted approach through many agencies, and state governments with their departments of agriculture, and the land-grant institutions of higher learning with their college of agriculture all fitted together into a well-integrated, smooth-working and extensive overlay of working relationships. All were devoted to the expansion and development of agriculture.

Also, agriculture development was characterized by well-organized farmer movements with the objective of bringing about improvements in agriculture through generating enough pressure to force action.

Among the movements, we would mention the Grange Movement.[16] As one of the first farm pressure groups (1874), it was organized as a reaction to the high freight rates, dependence for credit on the Eastern loan sharks, and the exhorbitant charges of grain elevator companies, speculation in grain and cotton, and high tariffs. These factors affecting farm development were considered as evils by the farmers, and they hoped to get relief through legislative action.

Various other movements aimed at the inequities which had been imposed upon the ignorant farmer for centuries chipped away at the horrendous task of higher status and importance of the farmer.

The Greenback Movement, organized about the same time as the Grange Movement, called for redemption of government bonds and greenbacks. Farmer clubs, organized in the 1880's formed state alliances and, finally, national alliances to exert pressure on the major political parties for revised policies on silver, the issuance of money, equalization of taxation, the reclaiming of lands from railroads, and

[16]Edwards, *op. cit.*, pp. 259-266.

for government ownership of communication and transportation. The Populist Movement in 1891 resulted in the formation of a new political party, with the objectives of a national currency, establishment of income tax, creation of postal savings banks, assuring government ownership in railroads and telegraph lines, and the abolition of land monopolies.[17]

Thus, farmer movements were an important factor in agricultural development. For some reason American farmers have always been ready to organize into groups whether for pressure politics or for agricultural improvement, reflecting, in this way, the explosive dynamics of their situation.

Many students of American history hold that the laws concerning the disposition of the public domain were among the most significant legislative actions enacted by Congress.[18] The Homestead Act, passed under the presidency of Abraham Lincoln, is credited with bringing some system to the settlement of the new land and for establishing in pure form the concept of the family farm.

Other chapters in agriculture development would discuss land settlement, land clearing, land purchase, land speculation, ownership, and tenancy. We will pass them by, merely commenting, as we do, that the development of land policies was the result of many periods of chaos, disorder, speculation, and exploitation. Fortunately, the system which evolved resulted in farm units of sufficient size to apply workable principles of efficiency and economics. Even today, the new countries are unable to do this because the pressure for land dictates tracts too small for efficient operation. Indeed, the break with the tradition of the European village system of many small tracts in one ownership, and the foresight of our forefathers to provide the framework for scale economics was of importance beyond calculation to U. S. economic and social progress.

Transportation was important to agricultural development also. The rude log dugout and bark canoe were used as the first means of transportation in the colonial period. They were replaced by flat boats and keel boats.[19] Roads developed slowly, thus the dependence upon water. Roadbuilding, which began about 1820, was through building turnpikes on which a toll was charged. Transportation was considered necessary for marketing produce, thus emphasis upon rivers, canals, and toll roads.[20]

[17]Edwards, *op. cit.*, pp. 262-265.
[18]Edwards, *op. cit.*, p. 194.
[19]Edwards, *op. cit.*, pp. 214-221.
[20]The first entry of the government into the transportation field was a report by Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury, who, in 1808, presented a report to Congress for an extensive system of internal canals, turnpikes, and river improvements at a cost of $20 million.

Even today, one can see in some parts of the country the remains of the systems of the early canals. In 1807, the steamboat gave river traffic new importance. The steamboat became an important factor in the settlement of the West.[21] The Erie Canal, completed in 1825, was an important landmark in opening up the West to the East. With the opening of the Erie Canal, feeder canals were developed to supplement the rivers flowing toward the Great Lakes. Pennsylvania, New York, and Ohio led in the development of canal systems.

Finally, railroads appeared on the scene to challenge the supremacy of the canals. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad ushered in the railroad age in 1828. The opening up of the West after the Civil War and the huge grants of land to the railroad companies is legend and a great story in itself.

More important to the farmer since 1900 has been the development of all-weather roads, primary and secondary. These provided transportation to the village and to the market place; and provided a system of travel for the automobile and the truck, which, by now, is the primary mode by which agricultural produce moves to market.

The Great Leaps in Agriculture

The first great leap in agriculture occurred between 1860 and 1890. Within this span of time, new insights were developed to the science of farming; creative advance was made in new mechanical inventions; new farm organizations were formed and, for the first time, farmers sensed the power of organization. Transportation was developed; new agricultural organizations were formed; and the nation called "United States" was settled. The census in 1890 discovered that all of the land in the U. S. was settled, finally.

The second great leap occurred during and immediately after World War I (1914-1920). During this period, prices were permitted to rise to great heights, land values rose out of sight, and farm production jumped to unexpected levels. These phenomena proved to our nation, and more particularly to the farmers, that great advances in production could be attained if the right incentives were provided. The stage for this leap was set by Theodore R. Roosevelt, and the Country Life Commission report previously described. The curtain was opened by World War I.

The third great leap began with World War II, and it has continued to escalate to greater heights each year since. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, setting into motion bold new ventures expressed as the new

[21]For example, in 1852, a single trip carried 500 home seekers north from New Orleans. Persons leaving Pittsburgh for St. Louis in 1854 averaged 1,500 a day. In 1855, over 3 million passengers traveled the Ohio River seeking new homes.

farm programs of the 1930's, set the stage for the third leap. A host of new agricultural agencies were created, and new approaches to production control and marketing were developed on a comprehensive basis. It might be said that during the 1930's the farmers of America climbed onto their springboard readying themselves for the period of great expansion during and following World War II. The unreleased power of agricultural science was then set free and concentrated in farm production. Widely circulated was the cliche that "Food will win the war and write the peace." The farmers responded spontaneously and effectively.

Agricultural Achievement by 1965

Today we find ourselves in the center of a tremendous agricultural revolution, the magnitude of which cannot be assessed until history has gathered the facts and assimulated them. However, we can say that the first 65 years of the 20th Century have brought forth greater changes in agriculture than the previous 1900.[22]

A successful farmer today, in the fullest sense, is a businessman. His unit, to be profitable, must be large with a capital investment of $75,000 to $350,000. His technical knowledge and managerial skills must be extensive. Today is a period, also, characterized by farm youth leaving farms in large numbers, part-time farmers increasing proportionately, and nonfarm residents moving into the farming areas.

The cause is the agriculture revolution. Over the period 1950-1964, overall farm output increased approximately 30 per cent. Crop production per acre increased nearly 40 per cent. Over the same period (1950-1964) output per man hour increased 130 per cent.

In 1910, each farm worker supplied farm products for 7 persons at home and abroad; in 1950, he met requirements for 15.47; and in 1964, he supplied for 33.25 persons.[23]

If farm labor productivity had not changed since 1910, the farm labor force would account for 37 per cent of the civilian labor force rather than the 9 per cent found today.[24] In 1939, 21 billion man hours of labor were required for farm work, whereas in 1964, slightly more than 8 billion were required.[25] Today, less than 3.6 million farms pro-

[22]A. F. Wileden, "Letter to Milo K. Swanton," U. S. Congress. House Committee on Agriculture. *Establish a Commission on Country Life;* Hearings before Subcommittee on Family Farms, 85th Congress, 2d Session, (July 8-9, 1958), p. 52.

[23]*Changes in Farm Production and Efficiency,* Statistical Bull. No. 233, U. S. Department of Agriculture, (July, 1965).

[24]Earl O. Heady, "Nature of the Farm Problem," *Adjustments in Agriculture—A National Basebook* (Ames, Iowa State University Press, 1961) Chap. 3.

[25]*Changes in Farm Production and Efficiency, op. cit.,* p. 31.

duce a surplus of farm commodities annually as contrasted with the more than 6 million farms in 1930. In 1930, 42 per cent of the farms were operated by tenants, whereas in 1959, the percentage was only 20.5. The average size farm has changed from 138 acres in 1910 to 175 acres in 1940, and 302 acres in 1959.[26]

So by 1960, we can find examples of mechanized and industrialized agriculture which indicate the pattern for the future. One example is the agriculture of Wasco in California. It is characterized by: (a) intensive production and high yields; (b) very large investments; (c) impersonal hiring of laborers; (d) complete commercialization; and (e) a high degree of specialization and efficiency. With what might be called urbanized agriculture, we have seen the disappearance of the barnyard and the garden, the cows, and chickens for home use, and in their place is the supermarket and the shopping center.[27]

Urbanized agriculture may be understood better by its linkage with the nonfarm section. (1) More farmers are carrying out nonfarm work for bolstering their income. (2) The association with agriculture-related business is tending toward a closer relationship, thus the agribusiness concept. For example, suppliers of farm supplies, technical services, electrical co-ops, and farmer co-ops. (3) Contract farming and vertical integration have brought farmers closer to the nonfarm population. As an example, 95 per cent of the broilers produced are under contract. Other examples are found in nut production, sugar beets, certain vegetables, and beef and cattle feeding. (4) A closer linkage of the farm family with the community and the centralized organization is developing. For example, planning committees, district programs, neighborhood organization, ASC Committees, Extension Committees, Soil Conservation Committees, Farmers Home Administration Committees, etc. (5) The word "farmer" is passing out of the language of agriculture. Instead, the words "producer" or "grower," etc., are being adopted.

Production efficiency in the use of farm resources may be understood more clearly by comparing the index for 1959 using 1940 as 100. Over this 20-year period production increased 52 points, whereas farm input resources increased only 3 points.[28]

Two final points will be made with respect to the ability of agriculture to produce. A recent study made by *Resources For the Future,*

[26]Olaf F. Larson and Everett M. Rogers, "Rural Society in Transition: The American Setting," in James H. Copp ed., *Our Changing Rural Society* (Ames, Iowa State University Press, 1964), p. 45.

[27]Lee Taylor and Arthur Jones, *Rural Life and Urbanized Society* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1964).

[28]Heady, *loc. cit.*

Inc. indicates that we have ample land and know-how to produce food for the predicted population for the year 2000.[29]

The second point is that at no time in the past 65 years have the restraints to increased agricultural production been removed for longer than four years, and this was during World War II. What the agricultural plant could produce is unknown. It does have tremendous potential and, according to our prior experience, even our most optimistic estimates are likely to be under its true capacity.

The Dilemma of Agriculture

For several decades agriculture has been plagued with the luxury of over-production and surpluses, resulting in a price-cost squeeze, migration away from farms and rural areas, and a decline in the voting population. Left is a large institutional plant geared to high production. Coincident with this phenomenon is the expanding power position of the nonagricultural segment of our society which has smarted over the years because of the favoritism seemingly given to the agricultural producer.[30]

For several decades, leaders of agricultural development have been preaching the gospel that a fast-growing U. S. economy was dependent upon an agricultural economy that declined relatively; that is, even though resource inputs to agriculture should increase, they should not increase as much as the resource inputs to the non-agricultural sector. To accomplish this an extremely efficient agriculture industry is necessary. When accomplished, resources would be freed for secondary and tertiary production in the non-agriculture sector. The agricultural sector has been so successful in fulfilling the intent of this principle that it has placed itself in the position of losing its persuasion power by reducing the need for a heavily weighted requirement for manpower.

Great claims are being made for the efficiency of the agriculture plant, and the pressure on farms to adjust to new technology has been and continues to be heavy. However, we must not overlook the significant fact that many farms are unable or, for other reasons, have not made the adjustments. Therefore, within our total agriculture population, an increasingly large segment of the farms is found to be characterized by maladjustment and gross deficiencies. The small farms, the scattered good farms, and the regions of marginal farms are mov-

[29]Hans H. Landsberg, *Natural Resources for U. S. Growth.* Published for Resources for the Future, Inc. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1964).

[30]A good discussion of the agriculture dilemma can be read in Charles M. Hardin's article "Agriculture in the Nation's Politics," in *Increasing Understanding of Public Problems and Policies* (Chicago, Farm Foundation, 1965), pp. 81-98.

ing rapidly into the relatively low-income category, and they are being recognized as a national problem.

The farm income problem, therefore, is mainly that of low income. Recent income studies show that rural farm families are among those with the greatest probability of falling into the low income class.[31]

The dilemma is further aggravated because the agricultural leaders have failed to anticipate the effects of their own teaching. They recognized that a declining agriculture, relatively, was essential for economic growth in the United States, but it is turning out to affect adversely the forces that speeded the relative decline. Leaders should have been able to project into the future structure the effects of expanded agriculture production and to involve effectively the non-agricultural sector so that it would be favorably inclined to recognize the basic need of an efficient agriculture. At the moment, the minority voice of agriculture is greatly weakened.

The agriculture leaders failed also to maintain their unity as a "farm bloc." The farm bloc, a workable liaison of the farm organizations, presented a unified front to Congress and thus accomplished much. At this time, it is in shambles. Another failure by agriculture leaders has been their inability to unify the work of the various agricultural agencies. Agriculture has tried a succession of efforts in an attempt to bring them together, as was explained in the first lecture. However, without the necessary controls, cooperation was voluntary and the real heart of the resources represented could not be brought into a cohesive working relationship.[32]

According to Theodore W. Schultz,[33] a 1963 study of U. S. government payments to agriculture showed that 54 per cent of the payments was paid to 11 per cent of the U. S. farmers receiving farm sales in excess of $20,000. In the same study, he found that 9 per cent of the money went to 56 per cent of the farms with less than $5,000 in farm sales. Thus federal farm programs have hurt, relatively, the small farmers by strengthening the larger farmers.[34] Regions or areas with a

[31]W. H. Locke Anderson, "Trickling Down: The Relationship Between Economic Growth and the Extent of Poverty Among American Families," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. 78 (November, 1964), pp. 511-524.

[32]J. T. Bonner, "National Policy for Agriculture and Rural Life: Trends, Problems and Prospects" in *Increasing Understanding of Public Problems and Policies* (Chicago, Farm Foundation, 1965), pp. 98-110.

[33]Theodore W. Schultz, "Economic Basis for a New Agricultural Policy Consensus," *Our Stake in Commercial Agriculture, Rural Poverty and World Trade.* Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Farm Policy Review Conference CAED Report No. 22. Washington, D. C. (January 25-27, 1965), p. 56.

[34]It will be argued later that the opposite is true now. Farm payments provided a minimum risk situation to the enterprising farmer producer. Now that he has attained size, he wants to use his capacity to produce. On the other hand, the small payments to the small farmer represent the difference between staying and leaving.

high proportion of such small farms, such as in the South where specialty crops do not prevail, and in regions such as the Appalachians, have been disadvantaged significantly by the U. S. farm policy.

Another fact of importance is that over 23 million people, through changes in residence and net migration, left agriculture over the period 1940 to 1962. Not one agriculture program has been developed to assist farm people to undertake this massive migration out of agriculture.[35]

Still another fact is that projections to 1970 for males remaining on farms and migrating off farms show that over the ten-year period 1960-1970, over two million young men will leave. We may assume an equal number of young women will leave also. This nation has never developed an explicit manpower policy in agriculture.[36] An ironical fact of life is that where out-migration from rural areas is the greatest, the opportunity for training of rural youth is the least. It has not been politically expedient to allocate funds for the training of young men on farms for nonfarm employment. Neither have the professionals in agriculture education been permitted to counsel with farm youth about nonfarm opportunities, especially if such opportunities were to be found out of state. The market machinery for young men on farms and in rural areas has not been developed sufficiently to be effective.

A third aspect of the dilemma facing agriculture is reflected in the new legislation passed since 1960, which is an overt expression of disbelief in the Agriculture Establishment. Billions of dollars have been allocated by our Congress for the support of various programs. Many of the problems for which the appropriated funds are to provide amelioration were supposedly rooted in rural situations. However, the dollars appropriated were not given to the Agriculture Establishment to correct the situation. The millions spent for alleviation of rural poverty and the millions available under the Appalachian Regional Development Act recognized the Agriculture Establishment[37] only casually. The establishment of the Department of Housing and Urban Affairs[38] by the recent Congress is testimony further to the disbelief in the Agriculture Establishment. Leaders in agriculture have made the point for nearly a decade that agriculture needed help to solve rural problems. It was one of the basic tenets of the rural development pro-

[35]Schultz, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[36]C. E. Bishop, "Combating Rural Poverty," *Our Stake in Commercial Agriculture, Rural Poverty and World Trade.* Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Farm Policy Review Conference CAED Report No. 22. Washington, D. C. (January 25-27, 1965).

[37]Defined as the complex of agencies and organizations with purposes designed to service agriculture production and farm families.

[38]89th Congress, 1st Session, H. R. 6927.

gram during the Eisenhower administration. The philosophy was expounded that the people in agriculture could not solve their problems by themselves. They needed help from the non-agricultural society. The agriculture agencies did not intend to be ignored when help came.

The dilemma in agriculture is aggravated further by the resulting social problems. The social problems in many of our rural areas are now becoming legend.[39]

The social problems of greatest relevance can be identified in six categories.

1. Minority groups have a worsening situation; that is, the Negro, the Mexican, and the Indian have situations that are becoming increasingly more tenuous and difficult in the rural areas.

2. Areas of small and low-income farming are being depopulated with the result that rural crime and juvenile delinquency are on the increase.

3. Low level of rural health and low appreciation for education prevails in the more dominant rural areas. This is true primarily where the farm income has stayed at a low level and depopulation has been much greater than in-migration.

4. Underfinanced and small social institutions prevail in most pure rural areas. This shows up most clearly in the churches and schools.

5. Many of the rural areas, especially the low-income and small-farmer areas, are turning out to be a repository for the aged. Few people remaining in the areas are of a working age, and the very old and the very young dominate.

6. Local government appears inadequate to handle and decide the problems of importance to the geographic area under their purview.

The relative decline in agriculture has had its effect on colleges of agriculture also. A review of the graduates from the colleges of agriculture over the past several years shows 4,467 were graduated in 1962 compared with 10,908 for 1950.

A Valiant Effort

Agricultural leaders are making a valiant effort to bring agriculture back into focus. Probably no industry could increase its production 50 per cent in twenty years while increasing its total resources only per cent and expect to retain the favored position, especially when the improvement process reduced the voting power of the populace involved.[40]

[39]Everett M. Rogers, *Social Change in Rural Society* (New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1960).
[40]Heady, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-84.

Agricultural leaders are making three important efforts to restore agriculture to a more favored role. One, they wish to redefine agriculture. Various attempts are being made to do this. The business of the entire vertical span of the process of production, marketing, processing, and consumption of agriculture products is called "agribusiness" Using this concept, agriculture is the largest single industry in the United States, representing employment for 40 per cent of the employed workers.

Another aspect of redefining agriculture is the effort to establish the concept that whatever happens in rural areas is, in reality, the jurisdictional property of those concerned with agricultural production and its distribution. With this concept as a primary guideline, the Farmers Home Administration is making its major thrust. It has legal authority, for example, to provide community facilities, e.g., water and sewer lines, to towns and communities of 5,000 persons or less, and to loan funds for housing in rural areas and rural communities. By this concept, it is believed that if a health problem arises in the rural areas, and it certainly has, it is the proper responsibility of those concerned with agricultural endeavors to bring to the rural area that kind of health resource that is needed. This would be done through the appropriate agency: for example, to encourage the doctors or the various departments of health to be more active in rural areas.

A second major effort in restoring the status of agriculture is the attempt to "sell it" to the nation. Many publications have been developed over the past decade showing the value of agriculture to the nation—that is, the value of its net product, the type of employment that arises from it, and what would happen to the United States were it not for an effective agricultural production base. Another type of "sell" is Farm-City Week. Every fall and winter, civic clubs are encouraged to bring farmers and town businessmen together to review the accomplishments of agriculture and to recognize its importance to the welfare of our nation. Still another attempt is to point out the fallacies inherent in the supermarket food basket. In recent years the Secretary of Agriculture was featured on television at the check-out counter in a supermarket. He was explaining to a lady emptying her cart on the check-out counter that less than 50 per cent of what she had brought to the check-out counter was produced on the farm. Also, at the same time, it was brought out that the farmer's share of consumer's retail food dollar had dropped from 47 cents in 1952 to 39 cents in 1965." All of this was designed to make the farmer and agriculture look good.

"*Handbook of Agricultural Charts, op. cit.,* p. 140.

The third major effort on the part of agriculture to work itself out of its dilemma is to bring about gross adjustment in the organization of its structure. The U. S. Department of Agriculture, which heretofore could not hire such a specialist as a sociologist or a political scientist, today is seeking such persons for its staff, thus broadening its ability to serve agriculture.[12] In addition, new agencies are being created and older ones consolidated. Similar readjustments are being tried in the colleges of agriculture.

Summary and Conclusion

What will happen to the ball of wax loosely called agriculture is yet unknown. It seems obvious that the agriculture industry oriented to profit-making will gravitate to regions where such profits are to be made. Perhaps this will occur at the expense of the marginal areas. The marginal farming areas pose the special problem of easing the losses, economical and social, resulting from the inability to compete. The Agriculture Establishment obviously must adjust and realign its energies and resources to the present-day and anticipated problems found in the regions it serves. With the divergence in farming situations that seems to be developing, the Agriculture Establishment will assume, also, divergent approaches and programs.

Probably the pendulum of concern for agriculture by the nation's leaders will swing too far to the "against" side. More than likely we will experience a period of over-indulgence in urban philosophy. In the past we probably swung too far to the agrarian philosophy. If, as a people, we do swing too far, the average citizen of the United States and the world will be the loser. With the national awakening taking place in the African, South American, and Asiatic nations, we may safely predict that the United States and Canada will be called upon to feed more and more people before the year 2000 is upon us. Should this happen, the emphasis given to agriculture will change substantially. If the pendulum swings far against agriculture, then major readjustments will be necessary.

The world will long record and history will be very laudatory about the great agricultural achievement of the current century. Nothing like it has occurred in our historical past, yet those who are most closely associated with agriculture feel even a more glorious future is in front of agriculture if it is given help in working itself out of its current dilemma.

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[12]It should be said that the employment of such specialists was not restrained by the Department but rather by Congress.

LECTURE III

Emerging Concepts of Life in Rural Areas

Green Lake, Wisconsin
December 1-2, 1965

THE MODERN AMERICAN farm population resembles the urban population of the present day more than it does the farm population of the 1900's.[1] People in rural areas have taken the urban social inventions as their guideposts and framework for making decisions about their mode of life. Thus most of the significant changes taking place in rural life are of urban origin and have been transmitted to the rural areas through the institutional and informal linkages between the residents on the farm and in the city, which have been found to be the effective channels of communication.[2]

The improved financial position of the rural entrepreneur, a consequence of the vast technological development in agriculture, has made the inventions of urban life interesting and has resulted in their widespread adoption in rural areas. Thus in the more prosperous agricultural communities with higher income levels, one will find higher educational levels, more specialization, and faster adoption of the urban inventions.

The urban community, its work patterns, its family system and community amenities constitutes the essential framework for future life in the rural areas. This conclusion will be the basic assumption of this lecture which, of course, excludes the possibility of a catastrophic event—war, severe depression, or similar occurrence.

If we accept the two basic value orientations of the American life, namely, that of equality in social relations and achievements in one's career,[3] or what some people call equality and opportunity, then we have a sense of commonness that runs through the total American society. However, within this commonness distinct sub-cultures should exist—distinct and unique—and one might be dominantly rural, but the first categorization should not be a delineation into rural or urban.

[1]Walter L. Slocum, *Agricultural Sociology: A Study of Sociological Aspects of American Farm Life* (New York, Harper & Row, 1962), p. 22.

[2]Lee G. Burchinal, "The Rural Family of the Future," in James H. Copp, ed., *Our Changing Rural Society: Perspectives and Trends* (Ames, Iowa State University Press, 1964).

[3]Seymour Martin Lipset, ed., "A Changing American Character," *Culture and Social Character* (New York, The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), pp. 136-171.

Place of residence is an easy method of delineation, but by doing so our efforts at improvement in equality and opportunity will be handicapped. This point is not intended to de-emphasize the importance of place of residence as a method for finding sharp differences. The institutional superstructure overlaying a rural community is significantly different from that over an urban community. The problem is how to minimize the differences rather than to accept them as status quo and thus design completely different programs based upon residence rather than human goals.

Two major goals of our American society justify elaboration as they are relevant to the framework here. *One,* economic action must be subordinated to the human ideals of a society and protected from the deprivation of ruthless materialism, or impossible excesses in the use of power by individuals, groups, or the state. *Two,* the economy must function and grow within the American basic institutions, namely, free enterprise, competitive markets, flexible prices, private property, rights of workers to geographical and occupational mobility, a profit and loss system for all business and free markets for labor, capital, and real estate.[4]

The total span of goals for the American society has been thought through in more detail by a commission appointed by President Eisenhower. They emphasize the rights of the individual, equality, the democratic process, education, the arts and sciences, the democratic economy, economic growth, technological change, living conditions, health and welfare, and goals abroad.[5] They provide a relevant framework for this lecture.

Should we assume that rapid change will continue? This is an important question to any consideration of the future. It is quite possible that we may be going through a period of most rapid change at this particular moment. Possibly the peak in the rate of change is yet to arrive. One outstanding scientist[6] believes that in the case of travel, communications, and weaponry the present rates of change must converge rather soon and be restricted by various kinds of physical limits. Since travel, communications, and weapons are major determinants of the rate of change in our society, he believes the rate of change will begin to take on more stable forms when these limits are reached. He estimates stability will occur within the next 30-40 years.[7]

[4]Karl Brandt, "Total Economic Growth and Agriculture," *Adjustments in Agriculture—A National Basebook* (Ames, Iowa State University Press, 1961), pp. 22-54.

[5]U. S. President's Commission on National Goals, *Goals for Americans* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, 1960).

[6]John R. Platt, "The Step to Man," *Science,* 149:607-613. (August, 1965).

[7]*Ibid.*

People in rural areas lag far behind urban areas now in the adoption of the many social inventions of our society. Even with the limited knowledge of the full impact of known technology, we may assume safely that a totally new way of living is before us and is yet unknown. To realize this and to know that families in rural areas already lag behind those in the urban areas is to suggest that the gap which exists now between life in the rural areas and in the urban areas today is to realize that the gap will be greater before the end of this century.

Most of us with an interest and concern for rural life are late by at least two decades in considering the question of the future way of life in the rural areas. Studies and programs have assumed that life in rural areas would find the right level, and thus it was permitted to drift without providing information or guidance. For all practical purposes, the Agricultural Establishment has failed here while it succeeded in production matters. Present-day rural life is a most perplexing and dynamic feature of our times. Mass movements of the rural population out of the countryside and great changes in the use of agriculture land have occurred without an adequate framework of guidelines.

It is believed that the approximations of life in rural areas as it appears here are among the first attempts to correlate some of the ideas of the future life in urban areas with the rural areas. However, this lecture should not be considered as predictive. It is intended only to open the field and to present some concepts which may stimulate other interested scientists to pursue the matter further.

Throughout the two previous lectures we have retained the basic relationships of man, namely to his work, to his family, and to his community. These will be retained and featured whenever possible in this lecture.

The Forces At Work

In reviewing the studies and learned reports which deal with the subject of trends and projections into the future, it is not unusual to find that the concern is with what we are changing from rather than with what we are changing to. Our society seems to be characterized by its flight from rurality, its flight from the family farm, its flight from woman,[8] its flight from the grassroots, its flight from youth, its flight from traditional morality, and its flight from inequality. If our effort is to escape all of these, we may justifiably ask, "What haven are we escaping to?" It would be unfair to say that this set of ob-

[8]Karl Stern, *The Flight from Woman* (New York, Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1965).

servations applies to all studies. However, the conclusion is true that we have anticipated the future. This is not all bad because there is much more factual information available about the past than about the future.

Four of the major forces at work today which will affect life in rural areas most directly are worthy of discussion: *One,* the sixties will be marked by the great shift from emphasis on more production and greater efficiency in processes to serious concern for the human being and his quality of life. The plethora of new acts relating to poverty, economic development, regional development, housing, vocational-technical education, general education, higher education, beauty and order in the countryside, transportation, and a new department of urban affairs when put together recognizes that a new quality of life is now attainable by society, and something should be done about it. The historic opinions of the Supreme Court dealing with human rights and reapportionment emphasize this point even further.

With the shift to concern for the human being and the quality of life, emphasis is placed on social goals which accord individuals the opportunity of providing for all of their needs, thus the individual becomes an end in himself rather than an instrument of the organization which was created to serve him.[9]

We do not have development in order to make our surroundings more hideous, our culture more meretricious, or our lives less complete. The time has arrived for economists to escape from the commitment to economic priority above all. They should consider a range of new tasks ranging from beautification of our cities and cleaning up the roadsides to the enlargement of our cultural activities.[10] This need is as great in the open countryside as it is in the city.

A *second* force at work is the pressure to adjust to the methods of an urban-industrial society. In 1960, two-thirds of the U. S. population were found to live in 212 standard metropolitan statistical areas (SMSA) and the counties centered about cities of 50,000 or more inhabitants. The effect on the rural society will be a radical transformation to the ways of the urban-industrial society. The urban pressure is for a higher standard of living with a sustained and rising level of consumption.

A *third* force is the new Federalism of the sixties. It is of considerable concern and interest to state and local government. This period is marked by an exodus of dollars and talent to our national

[9]J. K. Galbraith, "Economics and the Quality of Life," *Science,* 145:117-123 (July 10, 1964).
[10]*Ibid.*

capital. With higher federal revenues resulting from expanded national growth, the President and the Congress are returning funds to the states. With these funds, problems and controls are natural accompaniments. The talent is not returning, as yet, to the states with the dollars. With the increased federalistic procedures more conformity of project development will be observed throughout the United States, as projects will be determined in Washington, and states will allocate resources from other intended uses to match the free federal dollar. Also, concentration of national interest and resources on Washington determined areas of emphasis will be a common phenomenon, e.g., poverty, beauty, etc.

A *fourth* force of significance is science as it affects the cultural underpinning of our American society. No one doubts the impact of new scientific achievements on the changes in the values and beliefs of a society. As the American goals are better understood and as the activities of life become more complex, science as a cultural force will be increasingly relevant to life. To get a sense of the magnitude involved: public and private funds combined in 1964 on research and development amounted to the astounding figure of $20 billion—about 3 per cent of the gross national product.[11] Thus, politicians are depending more and more on the achievements of science to guide their actions, and the every-day activity of the citizen is dependent more and more on scientific achievement.

Today's Most Glaring Problems in Rural America

Whatever is said about the most glaring problems in rural America must be placed against the solid facts of the outstanding success in agricultural production and efficiency in the past half century. No major industry in the United States excels agriculture in the improvement of its production efficiency. With success has come a host of problems now needing attention. Not all of them enumerated here are a consequence of the rapid adoption of technology in agriculture. Some can be assigned to forces external to agriculture.

1. There is a great need for the application of appropriate planning concepts to agriculture and rural areas as is being done in urban and metropolitan areas, mainly for the purposes of protection from exploitation and for development of the resources. In underdeveloped countries, agricultural planning is being used as a tool to accelerate agricultural growth. In the United States, it has been cast in a most

[11]James R. Killan, Jr., "Toward a Research-Reliant Society: Some Observations on Government and Science," in Harry Woolf, ed., *Science as a Cultural Force* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1964).

loosely constructed framework, depending on farm programs geared mainly to production control. Land Use Planning as a national program of the 1930's was an effort in this direction. However, based upon inadequate knowledge and launched at a time when the fear of losing some independence of decision was exaggerated by a few, and further, before the need was obvious to the leadership, it failed. The label of socialism was deeply imprinted upon it. This experience has severely handicapped any effort to revive an improved approach. Rural development, a cooperative program of the U. S. Department of Agriculture and the universities is the closest approach to agricultural planning now carried out in the United States. Its success was dependent almost altogether upon voluntary cooperation and voluntary coordination. As an approach, it was without a formal framework and thus could not focus on the more complex features of planning.

Agricultural planning in a more highly refined form could define problems, focus attention on critical points where change is needed, protect farming areas from needless exploitation and improper use, formulate means for attacking obstacles, develop goals, identify potential growth possibilities, and encourage careful consideration of the "environment" within which agricultural development must take place. In a country where the finest statistics in the world are available on future food demand, on industrial crop demand, on industrial population growth, on shift in age composition of the population, on changes in diet preferences, and on marketing trends, agriculture planning at best is haphazard.

Under the umbrella of planning, many of the various disturbing factors facing agriculture could come into proper focus and thus they would be appropriately considered. Furthermore, the indigenous population could have more say in their own future. If this were done priorities could be established and balance achieved.

Agricultural planning cannot solve the general problems of agricultural development, and it cannot be too detailed as its method relates to the individual, as would be found in a communist or extremely socialistic situation. But it can provide a means for choosing a rational ends and means.[12]

It is a fact of life that agricultural areas have been exploited in hundreds of different ways. Examples are mining, real estate developments, plant location, water use, hunting privileges, and hundreds of other ways. Rural zoning as a means of bringing planning and control

[12]J. Price Gittinger, "Planning for Agricultural Development: The Iranian Experience," National Planning Association, Center for Development Planning, Planning Experience Series No. 2 (Washington, D.C., August, 1965).

has been turned down in more rural areas than it has been accepted. Fear of control by unseen forces has cost the rural property owner millions of dollars and exploitation of his so-called freedom. At the same time agricultural colleges and the U. S. Department of Agriculture have been concerned with the production problems of plants, animals, and land and the economic use thereof. They have bypassed almost altogether the need for agricultural planning which, today, stands as a basic weakness to the future of the rural countryside.

2. There is a need for understanding of the larger external forces. Community leaders have been led to believe, through encouragement of the local extension office, the U. S. Department of Agriculture agencies, and by leaders of various other federal programs, that the local people knew what was best for them. Thus, the theory goes, only they can properly identify their problems, decide upon the correct solutions, and implement the solutions if given the funds and technical manpower. This concept of grass roots self-sufficiency should not be confused with "grass roots democracy" as it is another matter.

The time has arrived when the concepts of this grass roots self-sufficiency should be questioned. At a time when new knowledge is so plentiful and when events are happening in all parts of the nation which have a significant effect upon what happens in a particular community, this particular brand of grass roots self-sufficiency seems to be antiquated and calls for a revision.

A better interpretation of the grass roots self-sufficiency philosophy would be to recognize that people in local situations know their needs as they experience them every day, but before they can identify the true problems and select logical solutions, a thorough educational process is required. Needs should be interpreted in a structure of problems by those with specialized knowledge, and this information transmitted to the "grass roots." Not only should interpretation be carried out by the specialist, but alternative solutions should be transmitted through various communications channels to the "grass roots."

Testimony to the failures of the grass roots self-sufficiency philosophy is the program projection technique of the Cooperative Extension Service, the rural development program, the Area Redevelopment Administration (ARA) and several of the current programs which are built expressedly upon this philosophy. The methods employed have fallen short in their failure to provide adequate knowledge and specialized assistance to the local decision makers.

3. There is need for coordination of the specialized agricultural agencies even though each of the agricultural agencies can independently demonstrate and prove the value of its resources. The comple-

mentary benefits arising from coordination would be significant. Even though various earnest attempts have been made to coordinate and unify their work, the task of coordination has not been accomplished and remains as a basic need to the agricultural community. The principals to the problem—the United States Department of Agriculture, the colleges of agriculture, the farm organizations, and the legislative committees concerned with agriculture—all act as though each is independent of the other.

4. The need for greater appreciation of education and for health care in rural areas has stood out over the years as one of the very significant needs. Persons in rural areas complete fewer years of school than those in urban areas. The dropout rate from high school is greater. The average annual salary of instructional staff is less than in urban areas, and the investment per student is less. If the area is non-white, then the combination of non-white and rural is reflected in extremely inadequate school situations. For health care, the same general relationships prevail.[12] Of the many reasons given for the low appreciation of education and health care, none are acceptable because of the simple fact that if the appreciation factor was there the needed attention would be there also. In spite of the many reasons given why education and health care are of lower status in rural areas, one of the major failures over the past century has been the failure to convince the farm family that education for the person returning to the farm was just as important as if he were going into other occupations.

5. There is a great need for interpretation of social legislation and the provision of arrangements to care adequately for the indigent, the poor, the elderly, the handicapped, the mentally retarded, and other persons with similar inadequacies in rural areas. The difference between adequacy and inadequacy is very great.

6. Programs to assist with migration of farm families displaced by consolidation or crowded out by inefficiency, and to provide employment for the surplus supply of rural youth are two critical links that are missing in the programs of all agencies dealing with the rural population. Nearly 50 per cent of the farm operators have migrated off the farm in the last 30 years, and only one youth out of seven has had an opportunity to become a farm operator; yet not one state or federal program has been developed to deal directly with the specific problems arising out of this mass migration from rural areas. Persons leaving the rural areas for work in urban centers do so in ignorance or

[12]Theodore W. Schultz, "Underinvestment in the Quality of Schooling: the Rural Farm Areas," *Increasing Understanding of Public Problems and Policies* (Chicago, Farm Foundation, 1964), pp. 12-34.

with what information they learn from their neighbors or relatives who have moved away and written back." Rural youth go into urban centers the most poorly trained of all youth because the schools out of which they come do not train them for off-farm employment. The high school curriculums of necessity are limited to pre-college training. The travesty imposed on rural youth is without excuse from either a social or economic welfare point of view.

7. There is need for an income solution to the dilemma of the small farm business entrepreneur. With the rapid shifts to highly commercial and efficient farm enterprises in certain geographic areas, the small entrepreneur has been left terribly behind and, in effect, he has been discarded by the on-rush of technology. He is in an extremely disadvantaged position to earn a respectable income. The matter will continue to worsen because agricultural economists exhort that of the three million farms, two million small entrepreneurs are in surplus supply. Indeed, the problem is not a small one. There are alternative solutions but there are only limited programs to deal with the problem.

8. Local government structures have been called the dark continent of American politics. Inadequate revenue, low paid officials, inability to make decisions, absence of expertise in decision-making, government by committee, and external controls by the state or national capitol have all linked together to make local government structures somewhat ineffective as a means of providing even a semblance of effective local government. Present-day government requires professionalism. The provision of community services, for example water supply, street lights, fire protection, roads, parks, sewage disposal, and the legally established standards require the mind of a professional. Local government officials most frequently are short of adequate funds to cover the costs of a professional, or they lack appreciation of the need for the expert to carry out the expanding functions of local government.

Needed: A New Focus for Life in Rural Areas

The real challenge for the future is to find new and significant social structures in which the folkways and mores are urban, and which can be fitted into rural situations easily. This means to concentrate study and thought on rural community organization, educational systems, economic organization, political order, family life, leisure pursuits, religious expression, and art forms. These categories represent the

[14]State employment service offices are doing increasingly better at employment counselling. They need support and assistance. These remarks are not intended to disparage their efforts.

nodes of interaction among people to accomplish the basic needs generated by their society.

Such a challenge presents a problem of complex interrelationships. The nodes of interaction must be thoroughly understood in the rural setting before new and urban-type social structures can be introduced. Furthermore, the new social structures in which the folkways and mores are urban, to a significant extent, should be standardized. When standardized and understood, leaders can then explain them, and people in rural areas can integrate them into their way of life; thus the urban inventions would infiltrate the rural structures more easily.[15] An example might be an urban type of sports. If it was standardized and if in the rural community sports were thoroughly understood, then the tasks of choosing among the various methods of introducing the sport, the community leadership groups that should be involved, and the relationships with the interacting nodes would not be too difficult. In fact this process, in some form, is occurring all the time. To understand it, formalize it, and expedite the process is the goal.

According to some, there is no paucity of solutions to adoption of urbanism but, instead, a conservatism of values and interests.[16] We must recognize that families in rural areas profess more conservative values and interests. They will not permit trial of all of the solutions at any one time. Thus the need for a studied, deliberate, and serious approach.

Inherent in the conclusion that significant new social structures are needed in the rural areas is the assumption that goals would need to be spelled out. Without goals there is no purpose and thus no justification for introducing the urban inventions. One source of goal statements could be derived from the statement of glaring problems discussed in the section of this lecture just passed. The solutions are respectable goals.

There are two primary goals which, when accomplished, would tend to reduce the seriousness of all of the problems. The first of these goals is to place emphasis on producing jobs as contrasted to producing more goods.[17] Traditionally, we have tended to identify economic performance with the production of goods and services. As a result, privately produced goods and services, even of the most frivolous sort, enjoy a moral sanction. Emphasizing jobs as a primary goal will feature the individual and his ability to perform an economic

[15]Lee Taylor and Arthur Jones, *Rural Life and Urbanized Society* (Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 56.
[16]Leonard Reissman, *The Urban Process* (New York, The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), p. 10.
[17]Calbraith, *loc. cit.*

activity as well as developing a market in which he can utilize his skills."[18]

The second goal is improvement in the quality of life in rural areas. The environment in which the individual lives and the opportunity for providing all of his needs are important in attaining the goal relating to the quality of life.

We should be reminded at this point that to speak of a new rural life is not a new idea. The same need was expressed clearly in the Report of the Country Life Commission appointed by T. R. Roosevelt in 1909. That Report called for a new rural society."[19]

Emerging Concepts

The concepts for a new type of rural life as expressed here were derived from experience and from conclusions of outstanding researchers of the rural areas. From this point forward, I have choosen to approach the matter of concepts from the point of view of the community. Once the concept of community and its environment is worked out, then work relationships and family relationships follow more logically.

In a sense this gives primary importance to the community and it is intended that way; but primary as used here should not be confused with the sanctity as it might be felt to be primary with the family as a unit in our society.

My attempt here will be to emphasize the relationships found in one or more models of rural communities. No attempt will be made to predict. However, trends have been considered and thus the models may be realistic possibilities. Obviously, many variables enter into the design of the model. Most of them hinge around the categories of values and consequent wants held by the families living in the community. We shall assume that attainment of their goals will maximize their satisfactions and bring life's fulfillment.

As one can detect, an obvious conflict is in the making here. The inventions of the urban community which should be dominant in all community models will stand in sharp contrast to the traditional model of a rural community. But this must be expected because, as has already been pointed out, rural planners have not conceptualized an extension of the rural ideology into a futuristic concept, therefore, the only model they have is the traditional one. The new inventions are urban and thus must stand in contrast.

[18]*Ibid.*

[19]Report of the Country Life Commission, Document No. 705, U. S. 60th Congress, Second Session, (U. S. Government Printing Office, 1909), p. 81.

Placing the urban inventions in the dominant position in community models will feature the factors adding up to the quality of life concept. In contrast, the traditional rural community places emphasis on the functions of serving the primary needs of livelihood.

Community size and population density are important considerations. For example, 50 families may be needed to support a general store when 300,000 may be necessary to support a major league baseball team.

With the objective of emphasis on the individual as an end in himself, and the quality of life as a goal, the elementary school is chosen as the first and most important factor to consider in planning the primary community. The secondary community might include three primary communities to support a high school of sufficient size for carrying out a comprehensive secondary school curriculum. A tertiary community might be made up of three secondary communities in which a community college could be featured. It must be understood that these ratios are chosen arbitrarily to reflect the conceptual model. Therefore, the educational system is the basic core of the model. Satellite to it would be the adjustments necessary due to individual community differences; for example, a community with the population widely dispersed would have a different arrangement of community services than an intensely populated community. The university as it relates itself to the local communities would do so through the tertiary community level, probably in some relationship to the community college, and thus through the education system.

The school structure is used as the central point of focus because education, obviously, will be the main need for the future technological society. Methodology needs to be worked out so that obtaining an education to the limit of one's capacity is as natural as any aspect of human endeavor. At this time, no other aspect of human life seems to be able to claim equal importance.

The number of people making up a community is important to this model. Schools should be large enough to have complete curriculums. The consolidated elementary school, the high school with a comprehensive curriculum, and the community college with technical education and junior college curriculums are conceived as essential.

By using the school system as the primary indicator for community structure, then other social structures would be clustered about it. These include the centers for recreation, cultural activities, spiritual enrichment, health, the family and household needs, location of industry, and social interaction. The model calls for the training and care of the human agent as the central locus of community activity.

Reliable predictions estimate that one-third of the people in the future will be in school at any one time. The school system in this model would be more than a place where the school buses deliver the children at 9:00 in the morning and return them home at 2:30 in the afternoon. This model calls for use of the facilities for a minimum of 12-14 hours a day for carrying out adult education programs, for extended training programs, and to house the community library. It should serve as a place for the community to meet, discuss its problems, and fulfill many of its social needs. In such a school system the modern means of communication would be built-in, such as program learning, TV, and various other electronic and situational arrangements.

Other centers, of course, would be clustered in tightly consolidated communities. In the rural countryside the other centers might be dispersed throughout the rural countryside or they might be consolidated into different combinations. The most likely other centers might be a cultural center for the community to express itself artistically and creatively; a social and sports center; shopping centers; welfare and health centers; and religious centers. For some communities wouldn't it be possible to have one church house which could be used for the services of several denominations? Wouldn't the communities be better served in an ecumenical way if something like this was done? If we are going to have education centers, cultural centers, welfare and health centers, and shopping centers, why not religious centers?

Last, but not least, would be industry. Industry would be locally owned and within easy walking or easy driving distance of the residents of the community.

According to some formula not now presently known the countryside would be guided and controlled by rural planning boards which would have a primary interest in preserving the property rights of the persons in the area; and the development of beauty and order in the countryside as well as preserving nature. Out of their planning would come certain architectural and landscape forms for the housing and farmstead arrangements.

The model of the school-centered community assumes that the services would be integral to the total functions of the community. Every effort should be made to locate business and industry nearby so as to provide jobs for the majority of the working population.

The school should be a true community center and serve as a magnet to draw people together and to give them collective identity. Studies prove that the sense of belonging to a community is important to the family, as it must belong to some unit in which issues and prob-

lems can be debated and where social activities and social controls can take place.

In the sparsely settled area, special problems arise; but the model cannot be destroyed because of this problem. In the longer run, if the sparsely settled areas become more sparsely settled, then separate social measures would be necessary. People who choose to live in them will, of necessity, be required to accept some of the inconvenience of distance. It is not enough for society to accept the fact that sparsely settled communities will produce less than adequately trained or competent young people; it should move them into the larger society. If one of our major goals in the United States is equality and opportunity, then the problem of a sparsely settled community must be met.

In the absence of planning, certain kinds of community patterns are beginning to take shape. One has been called the multiple community pattern.[29] In this type, each social and economic service tends to have its own unique center distinct from other centers in the geographic area; for example, a recreational center, farm service center, daily needs center, and health center. Such centers replace the one-teacher school, the one-doctor community, the country church with a part-time preacher, and the administration of public assistance on a township basis.

Man and His Work

Rural areas may be separated into two types—one, where agriculture as a commercial enterprise is dominant, therefore, the work patterns and habits of the people living there are governed by the agriculture pursuits. In the other type, agriculture is either of minor concern or practically non-existent. Instead, the family wage earner seeks his employment away from his residence. In the agriculture areas of the future, specialized agriculture either as a single enterprise, e.g. cotton, or a combination of enterprises, e.g. corn and soybeans, is most likely to prevail. Thus, the nature of the economics becomes clear. The economic aspects such as production efficiency, scale, markets, management processing and merchandising dominate thought and action.

In communities where the agricultural production plant is efficient, for example, in wheat, feed grains and, to some extent, in cotton areas, voluntary programs are likely to replace the federal programs which support prices at fixed levels. On the other hand, the two million or so marginal farms receive direct payments from the federal

[29]Olaf F. Larson and E. A. Lutz, "Adjustments in Community Facilities Taking Place and Needed," *Adjustments in Agriculture—A National Base Book* (Ames, Iowa State University Press, 1961), Chap. 11, pp. 285-336.

government for restricting output. The marginal farm producers tend to willingly accept government programs. Their income is maintained by direct payment, thus they are not in a tight income squeeze if prices drop. On the other hand, efficient farmers will tend to stay out of the government support programs and produce all they can at the lower prices.

The two million marginal farmers are being squeezed out gradually. They hold onto their farms because of the direct government payments and because they have no other place in society. Eventually, however, this process will give way to the efficient farm producer. In areas where true commercial farming is profitable, the small, inefficient marginal farms will be absorbed into larger commercial efficient units. In the areas where farm profits are marginal, the land will go out of agriculture production. In such areas, the cost of maintaining these small, inefficient units would be charged, more appropriately, as a welfare cost and not as a direct cost of agriculture. All the alternatives of converting such low-income areas to wild areas, the development of tourist areas, or industrial development have many weaknesses. We must recognize that the large efficient farm unit is the agricultural production unit of the future. All other forms of agricultural production must be subservient to it.

Horizontal and vertical integration forms have become an important aspect of the large farm unit. With them, a division of labor and specialization of service to the enterprise will continue. Ninety-five per cent of broilers are now produced through various economic integration schemes. Other enterprises with important segments of production integrated this way include sugar beets, certain vegetables, beef feeding, and certain types of hog production. Horizontal and vertical integration will definitely affect the social structure in agriculture. It is a move away from farming as a way of life. It brings more science and technology into the enterprise, provides for greater specialization, and indicates a decline in the status and power of property ownership.[21]

Other forms of specialization, mechanization, and automation will produce a continuous stream of innovations. The evidence towards a more complex division of labor is clear. Therefore, all signs point to the modern farmer as one of a high level of specialization. Therefore, marginal farmers are losing out at a rate greater than the speed with which the true commercial farmers are improving their position.[22]

[21]Taylor and Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

[22]Olaf F. Larson and Everett M. Rogers, "Rural Society in Transition: The American Setting," in James H. Copp, ed., *Our Changing Rural Society* (Ames, Iowa State University Press, 1964).

Fifty per cent of the farm operators in the United States report some work off the farm. Nearly one-third work off the farm as much as 100 days or more, and in some areas, nearly all of the residents in rural areas earn their incomes by work off the farm.

At this point we may conclude that in the vast geographic expanse called "rural areas," subregions are developing as true commercial farming areas in a specialized sense. Concurrently, large areas are being depopulated for lack of farming opportunity or because of better opportunities in nonfarm employment.

For conceptual purposes, I propose to disassociate rurality from agriculture. By this method, commercial agriculture may be analyzed and discussed solely as an economic activity, and in another context, the social problems of rural people which, in some instances, would include farm producers, can be analyzed in a sociological way. Such a conceptualization, if developed and extended into action, would shake the rural-urban institutional structure. But this is needed.

When true commercial agriculture and agribusiness problems are separated from the problems of rural people in conceptual terms, then new approaches to policy decisions can be developed and carried out to meet the needs of both groups more effectively. The logic of such a division for conceptual purposes becomes more clear when one is aware that major policy decisions are now made in a complex governmental or business organization. Farm market prices, extent of participation in federal programs, implementation of government programs, and vertical integration are examples where policy decisions are not made in the community. Furthermore, fewer but large-scale buyers, direct buying, and government regulations all amplify the centralization of policy making that is taking place. A distinct shift has occurred. It is away from locality and kinship groups to special interests, formal agencies, organizations, business, and business firms. With this change, farm families are becoming more formal, more impersonal, and more bureaucratized.[20]

When the rural problem is separated from the farm problem then some of the "people" problems will come into sharper focus. For example, most of the rural youth must move to urban areas in pursuit of adult careers. A Minnesota study[21] shows conclusively that rural youth, as a rule, move into the urban areas without the skills, training, value orientation, and characteristics necessary for good occupation selection, and they are much slower in the subsequent movement up the occupa-

[20]Larson and Rogers, *Ibid.*, p. 56.

[21]Lee G. Burchinal, Archibald O. Haller, and Marvin J. Taves, *Career Choices of Rural Youth in a Changing Society*, Minnesota Agr. Exp. Sta. Bull. 458. (November, 1962).

tional ladder in comparison with urban youth. The problem is especially severe for the lower socio-economic status families. The probabilities of finishing high school, going to college, or entering above-average occupations are considerably less for youth from lower social status families. This has been emphasized several times in this lecture.

If man and his work is important and if the future workers coming from farms and rural areas are to be primary contributors to economic and social progress, then the model for man and his work must include a means of educating such youth to fit into and be productive members of the urban-oriented society. Thus, rural as a social concept and agriculture as an economic concept must be recognized and programs adjusted accordingly.

Man and His Family

The prototype for the family of the future is found apparently in the urban society.[25] Students of the subject seem to agree that the model will be found among the college educated, professionally employed couples or, as others have called it, the family heads making up the professional, technical, and managerial middle class.[26]

Families of college educated, salaried, professional couples have a low divorce rate thus refuting, in a sense, the idea that urbanization and industrialization are destructive of family stability and solidarity. This group is also the most liberal. The emerging prototype seems to show certain general characteristics. They believe in enhancing welfare; in freedom and development of personalities of the individual family members through a means of the family relationships; in development of family bonds based upon loyalty, affection, and companionship; in providing all family members with an equal standing; in encouraging flexibility in the division of labor within the family as contrasted to distinct sex or mate roles; in the concept that children enrich the life of the couple; in knowledge as an important feature in carrying out properly the marital and family role; in the conclusion that mates are selected best when done on the basis of their personalities and as persons; and in allowing for a more tolerant view of nonmarital sexual experiences. These nine value orientations are as close to an urban set of folkways and mores as he has developed so far. Thus, they are important.

It can be observed quickly that most of these characteristics are a departure from what are usually expressed as those of the rural farm family. If the urban areas are to be the source of inventions in

[25]Burchinal, *loc. cit.*

[26]Peter F. Drucker, "American Directions: A Forecast," *Harper's Magazine,* 149:39-45 (February, 1965).

the rural areas, then the prototype for the emerging family must be accepted. To not accept this as the prototype of the future, or to construct a prototype of great variance from it, may be designing a family relationship producing people who are misfits in the structure of our future society.

Conclusion

Concepts of the future life in the rural areas are, in reality, more unclear than they are clear; yet the urgency of the moment dictates that we make some effort at projecting an image which can serve in some way to design programs for the future. Life in the rural areas cannot be changed significantly without concerted attention on correcting the glaring problems as set forth in an earlier section of this lecture. More importantly, however, life in the rural areas will be affected more by the development of alternative models to serve as conceptual guides to the trial-and-error process that must take place, and to students making studies of the vital rural areas.

Obviously, the models of the future as outlined in this lecture will result in a faster pace of change for some period of ten to twenty years, after which there may be a slowing down.

We must not overlook the fact that the surge of young people coming through time will, in 40 to 50 years, become an older society. If we are successful in extending the life of the individual more, and if the present society is more concerned with controlling the population rate than they have been in the past, then the control will shift from a young, vibrant, liberal voting public to an older, more conservative society. We should not worry about that at this point because we must go through the first stage before we can experience the second.

2

LECTURE IV

Institutional Role Adjustments for a New Countryside

Green Lake, Wisconsin
December 1-2, 1965

AN EXPANDING STRUCTURE of institutions to meet the growing needs of the American society will be a hallmark of the sixties. Population increase, coupled with the continual and expected higher standards of living, is the cause. Too few research studies are directed at the structure of the institutions for an advanced society. Many more are needed.

The structure of institutions for the rural countryside has been left almost altogether to the U. S. Department of Agriculture and the colleges of agriculture. These two agriculture giants have done first-rate work in institutionalizing the economic structure of agriculture production, but almost nothing significant has been accomplished on the side of social structures and institutions.

This problem, faced in the rural countryside, was explained in the earlier lecture as the lack of rural and agriculture planning, the lack of concern for the distressed rural family, the lack of concern for the race problem, the lack of concern for the six of the seven youths who must leave the farm for their careers, the lack of concern for millions of rural people who have migrated from the countryside, and the lack of concern for the need of community amenities which, obviously, must include education, health, and welfare services. The rural churches have bypassed these needs, also. In fact, no one has been seriously concerned until now. Lest we heap hot coals unnecessarily upon the rural agencies, similar indictments could be made against agencies in certain city conditions.

A responsibility rests upon all of us who harbor a concern for what is occurring in the rural countryside to re-evaluate the structure of institutions serving it. A new or modified structure is needed which would equalize the level of living and the quality of life with urban areas.

This particular lecture talks to the leaders of institutions serving the rural countryside. The discussion in this paper is intended to assist in thinking through the problem, and in clarifying and defining the

role of institutions as they might affect the future evolvement of the countryside. The discussion is presented with tongue in the cheek because the discussions, the alternatives, and the suggested guidelines are too tentative and thus cannot constitute a final chapter on the subject.

Institutions, as we have said, are those arrangements developed by society to accomplish its objectives. As the arrangements are fitted permanently into the working parts of the social structure, they become institutionalized and thus a part of "the system." Examples of institutions are to be found in the customs, the mores, the traditions, and arrangements such as marriage. Other examples are organizations such as farm organizations, and agencies such as a university or a department of government.

This structure of institutions serves as an overlay on society. Through it ideas must be screened, evaluated, and modified before they are adopted and implemented. This layer will become deeper as the space per person is lessened, and as the socialization of the culture becomes more complex. This layer of institutions eventuates into a "system" with its invisible pathways for accomplishment and its barriers for nonaccomplishment. Within the system, the organizations and agencies stake out domains, or jurisdictional areas, which represent their fields of work and which provide the permissiveness to a member of that agency to exercise his talents.

The discussion here will be centered upon those institutional arrangements where people are organized into administrative systems. Thus, people will be employed to work as an organization and they will be directed by the purposes of the organization to fulfill certain roles. Therefore, the structure of institutions in this lecture will parallel the organizations and agencies, public and private, serving our rural society. While not altogether true, we tend to think of organizations as member-supported and agencies as public-supported.

As we go through this discussion, when we use the term "agencies," we will refer to arrangements of people within an administrative system. When we use the term "tradition," we will refer to customs, mores, and traditions.

Need for an Agency Structure

An agency structure is essential to every developed society because it becomes the primary method by which the society administers its systems to accomplish its many projects and goals. In underdeveloped societies a major task, usually, is to develop a structure of agencies which will meet the developmental needs. This generalization

may be applied to the American society also. As a general rule the greater the degree of rurality, the fewer the agencies and the more prominent is the role of traditions.

Thus, the agency structure of a community fulfills definite needs as one lives, works, and plays. Without elaboration, these needs may be identified as religion, education, planning, specialist assistance, creative experiences, policy and law making, justice, protection and regulation, welfare and social interaction. To provide these, taxes must be collected and the revenues allocated. Citizen pressure groups and political parties are necessary to keep the agency structures alive and attuned to the dynamics of local need.

Agencies are usually established by a somewhat formal procedure as their nature, purposes, and administrative procedure are described in some organized form. When this has been done, an addition to the overall administrative system has been made. Each year we learn about new ones that have been added.

The administrative system of a society fulfills the need of assuring the people of the society that continuity of action, thus custom, will prevail from one period to the next or from one election to the next or from one generation to the next. Society, in this way, builds many of its administrative arrangements into the structure of agencies. Thus it assures itself that order and security will prevail. With this security the many participants in the actions of society may make longer-time decisions.

With the creation of an agency structure, communication is established through stratas and across different classes of people, situations, and locations. Thus a structure of agencies is a necessity of great value. People look to the agencies to provide services to them, especially those types of services which a single individual cannot afford or lacks the authority to provide.

Agency Objectives

Agencies cannot wave the magic wand over the countryside and cause it to adjust to be like the urban-industrial society. The task, therefore, is to set forces in action which, when carried out, will produce the desired change. In passing, we should point out that the generally accepted belief that change is good is a value judgment; however, it is a widely accepted one; and this is not the occasion to take the opposing position. If change is good, then there is a set of objectives which agencies can develop and implement within their own administrative structure as they accept the responsibility to assist the forces in the community aimed at bringing about adjustment.

These adjustments must be recognized and accepted by the agencies before they can revise their own objectives effectively. What are they?

The first adjustment needed, as indicated earlier, would be to find or develop new and significant social structures applicable to the rural society and into which urban folkways and mores can be integrated with a minimum of difficulty. The social structures, obviously, need to be patterned after those of the urban community, but adjusted for the traditions and geographic dispersion of rural families. Furthermore, the timing of action in implementation would be important.

For the second adjustment, we should recognize that new goals for new social structures are necessary. The bypassed problems of the rural countryside as expressed in the first moments of this lecture can provide the framework for the new goals. In broad terms, the goals of creating jobs and improving the quality of life as mentioned earlier would be in first priority position. To these two, we should add the goal of adjusting the rural concepts so that they are not separate from the larger society. Not to be overlooked is the requirement for assured individual freedom as could be had in a planned but flexible framework. From what has been said up to this point, the educational, political, and religious systems would be the central vehicles for the development of new goals. Unfortunately, all three have abdicated themselves from this responsibility.

As a third adjustment, we should recognize that families instinctively wish to belong to a community. It is within some sense of a community that people can identify their collective problems and issues; it is here that they can debate their views and develop a common mind, and it is here that they can organize their efforts to accomplish their collective objectives. Furthermore, neither of the first or second adjustments as identified can be made outside some sense of community.

Models Reviewed

In the third lecture, we dealt at some length with the logical models for the community, the work patterns, and the family. For review purposes only, we should reiterate the importance of the school-centered community and re-emphasize the point that it should be the locus for the community to meet to handle its multi-faceted affairs. Thus, it should be more than a school, but, in effect, a community meeting place. Around it, either as a consolidated or as a geographically dispersed arrangement, depending upon the nature of the community, would be located the various centers for meeting the needs of

recreation, spiritual enrichment, cultural involvement, health and welfare, family and home daily needs, and farm supplies and services.

The rural countryside would take on the appearance of a well-ordered and beautifully designed *layout*, wherein roads, buildings, trees, and other structures fitted into the landscape and where beauty would be considered as a top priority factor in community and countryside organization.

Naturally, such results can be attained only through planning under the control of a planning board or the like. Such controls would be vested in the hands of the persons affected.

The model for the future family has been modified as one which is generalized from the college-trained, or professionally trained, middle-class family. This type of family fulfills the purposes of procreation, personality development, providing affection and companionship, and as a means of transferring property. New sex roles for the family members are inherent also.

The work patterns of the family members will be governed, of course, by the nature of the community and the availability of jobs. In the somewhat pure agricultural community, work patterns would be governed by the farm processes, whereas in the case of the non-farm rural community, work patterns would be governed by the nature of the employment, its distance, availability, and skill requirements. The ideal arrangement would be one where the workers of the family could get to their day's work easily and without significant loss of time.

Primary Handholds for Adjustment

On the assumption that agencies wish to carry out a well-integrated approach to affecting adjustment, seven interest areas of families are identified as relevant and they might be dubbed the "handholds" for action by agencies. The places to take hold are community organizations, economic organizations, political organizations, the family, leisure needs, spiritual needs, and creative expression. Let us take each of them separately and deal with the primary expectations of the people in rural situations.

Community Organizations—Whether the comunities are formally organized or not, they contain various audience or interest groups such as churches, 4-H Clubs, extended families, lodges, etc. People will be attracted to them. Those responsible for community organization should recognize the existence of the various audience groups. They should encourage formation of organizations about such groups, as well as about latent interests such as drama groups, clubs, educa-

tion, etc. A community organization would be expected to provide a mechanism for the necessary planning which must take place if the community is to have order. It would be expected to provide a mechanism for coordination, cooperation, and communication between the audience groups and the families of the community for accomplishing community goals; and it would be expected to provide for specialist assistance for its decision-making and group action processes.

Economic Organizations—Availability of jobs of a diversified nature that provide stable employment for the members of the families would be the prime objective of the economic organizations. A job ladder for economic accomplishment and advancement is a matter of great importance to the enterprising young person. Leaders of the Agriculture Establishment know very little about the economic ladder for different nonfarm occupational groups and the capital-using enterprises of industry. They are knowledgeable about the agriculture ladder but it is no longer well defined. I have already shown that six out of seven young men cannot climb the agriculture ladder and they must seek an occupational ladder elsewhere. The agencies would be expected to become thoroughly informed about occupational opportunities. This knowledge would be reflected in their programs and in assisting local groups to develop the economic organization accordingly.

The economic organization of the community must be meshed with the larger forces of the economy. In this way it can accommodate the larger changes of the nation into its own system. The economic organizations should be meshed with government activity also. Thus, certain economic stimulants such as government grants and outside investment capital could be used effectively.

One of the important expectations of a good economic organization would be to encourage the creation of development organizations; that is, organizations dedicated to the objectives of bringing about economic and social development. All member-supported organizations motivated by the feeling of need for improvement of self or community may be called development organizations. The success of the Agriculture Establishment has been, in a very significant way, in the many development organizations it created, e.g., breed associations, crop improvements associations, homemaker organizations, youth organizations, study committees and the like. The urban-industrial society of the future, to bring satisfaction to the people, needs a parallel development organization structure accompanied by a dissolution of many existing organizations. The agencies would be expected to do this.

Political Organization—We must recognize the political process as one of man's best organized methods for attaining his social goals. Through the political organization, a community can provide the necessary equality of rewards from society and opportunity for development of self—both of which are necessary to a progressive community. Within the political structure every community will have one or more power groups. These power groups will serve to reinforce the primary objectives of the community and its residents, if the community is viable, awake and aware. In such a community the leaders of the power groups will be interpreting the needs and assisting in the realization of them. Actually, the political organization should have purposes parallel to the larger structure of American goals, and it should attempt to equate community goals with them.

We cannot pass by this subject without reference to the assistance needed by county and state governments. Of the 3,043 counties in the U. S., about 2,700 are non-urban. Of these, 250 have less than 5,000 residents.[1] It is doubtful if the electorate of these counties will permit consolidation of counties, but multi-county arrangements have been proven to be acceptable and they are feasible. Multi-county services for the services of library, health, welfare, protection, civil defense, control of air and water pollution, planning commissions, and economic development organizations will assist greatly to bring costs of such services within an acceptable range.

In addition to multi-county services, encouragement to consolidation of the fractionalized government services is desirable. Incorporated municipalities, townships, school districts and special-purpose districts, if consolidated, would reduce costs.

Most states need active reappraisal of the state constitution and the statutory controls placed upon local governments.[2] While controls on local government need to be relaxed, technical assistance to local units of government need to be expanded.

The Family—As indicated earlier in these lectures, education has top priority for attention by the family of the future. In addition to maximizing the educational opportunities for young members of the family, the education establishment should recognize the necessity of education for adults and the importance of knowledge to problem-solving and decision-making. The literature on these subjects is ex-

[1]Bernard F. Hillenbrand, "How County Governments Are Being Modernized," in *A Place to Live*—U.S.D.A. *Yearbook of Agriculture,* 1963, (Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office), p. 268.

[2]William G. Calman, "Responsibilities of the States," in *A Place to Live*—U.S.D.A. *Yearbook of Agriculture,* 1963, (Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office), p. 273.

tensive but the patently successful integrated approach to the total community is yet undiscovered in so far as I know.

An important expectation for the rural family is to have the urban family values properly interpreted to them. We are grossly ignorant in knowing how to meet this expectation. Many studies are coming to the fore now. For example, studies point out the importance of the early years in the life of a child to its development. Thus, child rearing practices as well as education beyond the school years are becoming focal points for the educational establishment to master.

Problem and decision-oriented education is gaining stature as the importance of knowledge to the everyday requirements of problem solving and decision making by individuals and groups is recognized, and as the methodology becomes more refined. Agencies can improve their effectiveness substantially by recognizing the need and adopting the methods.

Leisure—Whether play is an end or means to satisfaction may be irrelevant, however, the social experiences of leisure-time activities can be an important bridge to the urban-industrial society, especially when such social experiences are geared to some of the so-called sophistication found in the urban environment. The informal atmosphere of leisure-time activities, especially sports, provides a favorable climate for urban inventions to be learned and practiced.

Certain factors in the quality of life are found in our leisure-time activity, and none would disclaim that leisure properly introduced into life is a tonic to life's satisfaction, as well as an important element of our culture. Thus, the non-directive approach as is implied here is of special relevance.

Spiritual—In much of the talk about the quality of life, all too often it is equated with a higher degree of material accomplishments. Perhaps the criticism is legitimate that man, as we know him today, expresses an excessive devotion to mass man and his material wants, which is matched by a dedication to conform to the collective mind and its ebb and flow. Our inability to refine value patterns and dignity of man within the framework of the scientific explosion is a major weakness. Much talk has transpired about the quality of life, but it remains unexplained to complete satisfaction. Obviously, it is intended to refer to the influences on man's life which bring out the finest in him. To do so requires new symbols to serve as guideposts for those who aspire to yield themselves to the proper influences. Coupled with or separate from the quality of life concept, whichever is preferred, is the concept of equality among men. New norms integral with the religious teachings could serve as the needed guideposts.

Traditionally, we have assumed that the church and the family are the real caretakers of our value systems. However, the teachings of our religious establishment have not been brought into a parallel relationship with modern times. The literature used for church school and the Sunday sermons are examples. Research to produce modern literature would satisfy those who are intimately concerned about the spiritual man but, more importantly, it would satisfy man in a larger context as he recognizes inwardly or outwardly the existence of the supreme power, and the necessity for an equilibriating force in our society.

Creative Expression—The so-called freedom-loving man in a rural society is far from free. He is bound by tradition and must act according to it or he will find himself outside the chosen circles. Inhibitions, creativity, and desire to experiment are too often not recognized as legitimate activity in the rural society. The new rural society would expect new organizations in which creativity would be featured, where innovation and experimentation as means for individual expression would be encouraged, and where man could realize his own capacities.

None would argue that self-respect comes from the development of the inner man. Therefore, opportunities for self realization—one of the main motivational forces directing the activities of men like you and me—is not only a theme which must permeate community activities but it should be actively urged upon the rural society. The reticence to participate in group activities, so frequently displayed by rural residents, may be replaced by self confidence, and thus we have a more valuable member of the total society.

Summary—A risk one takes when he permits his studies to yield conclusions as have been expressed here is to be accused of attempting to create a Utopian society. In a sense this is true. We guide our actions in attempting to attain the ideal, even though we never quite get there. One must risk such criticism as it is frequently true in this generation, as it has been in all generations past, that the future relationships as seen by a few, frequently turn out as those experienced by many.

Lest you believe there is an over-indulgence of expression in the ideal society, let's quote a poem which appeared for awhile in the Methodist Hymn Book:

> These things shall be! A loftier race
> Than e'er the world has known shall rise
> With flame of freedom in their souls
> And light of science in their eyes.

New arts shall bloom of loftier mold
And mightier music thrill the skies,
and every life shall be a song,
When all earth is paradise.[3]

Broad Guidelines for Institutional Effectiveness

No agency would disregard the purposes expressed in the charter justifying its existence. Neither would it fail to report its successes to the source of funds representing its lifeline for a continued life.

The agency stands halfway between the ideal and the real. Its task is to be a intermediary between them. Thus, in its leadership role, it must be an artist and an engineer; a conservative and a radical; a stimulant and a tranquilizer; but perhaps its best role category is that of a reformer,[4] because if it wishes to avoid organizational dry rot,[5] it cannot be conservative; and if it wishes to be integral with the ongoing society, it cannot be a revolutionary.

To accept the label of a reformer may cause some apprehension at first, but one must not be dismayed with the connotation but with the true meaning as an intermediary with a basic value orientation that says that change is good for our society, and that responsibility lies with the agency to assist in guiding it. The secret lies in the means chosen to attain the ends.

Methods chosen may vary from those espoused by Saul Alinsky, described as "a tough-talking, hard-bitten organizer" who calls himself a "professional radical."[6]

In a college classroom, he said this to 50 Protestant ministers:

> The only way to upset the power structure in your communities is to goad them, confuse them, irritate them, and, most of all, make them live by their own rules. If you make them live by their own rules, you will destroy them.[7]

The contrasting method is a heavy endowment of education or information into situations needing change. The impatient man or agency wants action now, and would disdain this method. There is ample room in our society for the full span of methods between and including the above-described methods. Our times, in some ways, may be characterized by a rising spirit of protest[8] as is in evidence by a mili-

[3]John Addington Symonds, "A Vista," in *New and Old; A Volume of Verse.* (Boston, James R. Osgood and Co., 1880), p. 226.

[4]Francois Bloch-Laine, "The Utility of Utopias for Reformers," *Daedalus, Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences,* (Spring 1965), pp. 419-436.

[5]John W. Gardner, "How to Prevent Organizational Dry Rot," *Harper's Magazine,* (October 1965), pp. 20-26.

[6]"Radical Teaches Revolt to Clerics," *New York Times,* (August 2, 1965).

[7]*Ibid.*

[8]James Reston, "Washington: The Rising Spirit of Protest," *New York Times,* March 19, 1965), p. 34.

tant church, student revolt, race riots, restive faculties, and Supreme Court decisions.

Now I wish to outline and discuss three broad guidelines which I believe are relevant to the objectives of improving agency effectiveness.

1. An agency must continually reexamine its role and place much emphasis upon renewal of spirit and clarification of purpose. Renewing itself continuously through innovation and carrying out research on its own methodology is considered to be basic procedure. An agency does not wish to be a prisoner of routine procedure; neither does it wish to justify its existence on what it has been in the past, rather it wishes to justify its continued existence on what it can be in the future. Fulfillment of these desires imposes painful strains on the agency as it strives to be fluid and flexible. Willingness to discard many of the established rules and regulations is an order of first business. Most difficult, however, is to drop old policies or old delineations of the agency in order to add new ones. It is simpler to add new and retain the old. One of the major obstacles to renewal and innovation by the Agriculture Establishment is its glorious successes of the past. As the Establishment interprets the future, dropping or substitution or modification of many of its agencies and the introduction of new ones is an inescapable eventuality.

2. The university must lead in innovative and experimental approaches. The emphasis on education as the key to fulfillment of the dreams for our future society places the university in the role of being the bridge between the present and the future.

The thought leaders of our time express in many ways their disenchantment with the policies, procedures and programs of the existing agency structure. There seems to be a general call for ideas that are "way out." Furthermore, funds have been available to try them out. One cannot discount the possible effect on the future structure of institutions. Universities, to use their exploratory resources productively, should test and experiment, especially in a deliberate and carefully planned way.

Throughout generations past, the role of being the bridge between generations has been assumed by the church. At the moment, the church is floundering. Yet it has great inner strength and a logical outcome would be a union of church and university to the larger objective of the "good life." But much study and research is needed first by the church. It is not intended to imply that universities should take over the function of the church, as the method and substance of the church is quite distinct from that of the university. There is a great need for

the equilibriating function of the church as time spans from generation to generation. Universities cannot fulfill this function.

Universities, with great assistance from the total society, should clarify their purposes and restrict their programs to them. Many of the service functions carried out by the university should be dropped or transferred to agencies with appropriate administrative systems. To lead, the university must locate sensitivity nodes throughout the problem areas of its concern. These sensitivity nodes should reflect the true state of affairs not only for the present but the trends also. Armed with such information it can generate and supply knowledge to the decisions and action as prompted by events and situations. Upon the ivy towers of the university, therefore, rests the responsibility to train and provide the talent needed at the higher levels of intellectual activity. Continuing education, training courses, workshops, seminars, and similar methods are relevant. Even though the universities were equipped to do this, another task of major dimensions is that of earning the conviction of the agencies of government, particularly, that such training and talent can be of major importance to their objectives.

3. Agencies need to learn the skills of cooperation, coordination, consolidation, cost-sharing, and communication in order to maximize the complementary benefits of these objectives. The activity implied by these five C's is quite relevant to our subject. The five C's complement each other in a significant way. Perhaps cooperation is the most important of the C's. A habit of cooperation breeds friendship; friendship leads to better mutual understanding; and understanding is the needed ingredient for the other four C's.

Certain rules are basic to the fulfillment of the objective of the five C's. Generalized from experience and study, they follow:

Agencies automatically say and believe that they wish to work and cooperate with other agencies; that their work is important; and they want to carry a program that "the people want." They are sincere in their beliefs.

Success with the five C's suggests certain fundamentals that each agency must first recognize: (1) that the primary interest of every agency is its own work and itself; (2) that an agency is willing to cooperate when its own work is strengthened; and (3) that respect for the legal authority, or charter, of the other agencies must precede working with them.

Certain other guidelines are important to respect: (1) plans for working together begin with the planning function being done together; (2) plans and action should be carried out on top of the table

and not under it; (3) credit should go where credit is due; (4) objectives are accomplished by combining capabilities and not agencies; and (5) local advisory committees can perform the coordination function between agencies in a significant way.*

Conclusion

This section concludes not only this particular lecture but all four lectures. It must be said that each lecture was developed in a sequential fashion, thus what was learned in one was important in affecting what went into the next one. Thus, the models and conclusions are the consequence of the studies to develop the first two lectures. In this sense, the lectures represent a sequence of study and analysis from the agrarian past to the urban-industrial future.

No man would claim the certainty that his conclusions will be correct, unless he is dealing with a pure science in which all the variables are controlled and thus assuring the predictions. In these lectures only the trends as reflected in the cited studies and the experience of directly working in the field were relied upon as guidelines to the future. At this point, however, I feel that the conclusions are fairly valid. Certain of the variations that have been expressed may never come into reality. However, those dealing with the future community, the future family, and the importance of developing the full competency of man through education seem to me to be extremely relevant.

My immediate audience is concerned with the matter of the church and its relationship to the rural communities. Throughout these lectures, I have not singled out the church because I felt that its function was so integral with the function of the other agencies that it could be most effective if it was fitted into that scheme. Nevertheless, the church and its role is distinct. A very great opportunity exists for it to be as significant as it wants to be. In the modern society it, like a number of other agencies working with the rural people, is far short of its potential effectiveness. All of us are human beings and all of us miss the true facts without knowing it. But, knowing about our past successes and failures now, as I think we do, suggests that something more be done.

In review of the available literature, a relatively small part deals with agency coordination, consolidation, cost-sharing, cooperation, and communication. The opportunity to develop the field is very great. I can only reiterate at this point that the structure of the agencies is

*Taken from experience by the author.

one of the most important set of resources available to man as he pursues life's objectives.

If these lectures have stimulated thinking, if they have precipitated controversy and debate, and if they have opened up new channels for the mind to pursue, then they have been a success.

The opportunity to study and prepare these lectures has been an invaluable experience for me.
