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AUTHOR Buila, Theodore
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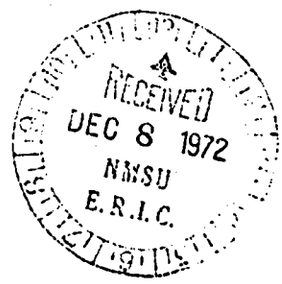
ABSTRACT

The "Agricultural Trinity" consists of agricultural extension, education, and research institutions. While in the beginning the goal of these institutions was to improve rural conditions by equalizing the economic and social status of all rural people, today there exists a conflict between the people and these institutions. The processes of institutionalization and audience politization along with the magnification of technology and resource wastage are in turn critically undermining program effectiveness. Thus, the Trinity is encountering continuing setbacks in the United States and Yugoslavia. Most Trinity institutions are preoccupied with maintaining "existence" rather than with fielding action programs to service the rural areas, and other institutions lack the resources. In this paper, specific areas of conflict with the Trinity, as seen by the rural people and the field staff in the United States and Yugoslavia, are examined. Summary sketches of 2 to 3 conflicts stemming from program inconsistencies and paradoxes precede each of 3 questions: (1) Who is going to service the rural population? (2) Who is going to be serviced? and (3) What is the service going to consist of? Conflicts which are seen to be unfolding in the United States and Yugoslavia today are discussed. (NQ)



Conflict In The Communication Of Technology: Remarks On The Evolving Situation In U.S. and Yugoslav Rural Development

Remarks concerning system based conflict slowing U.S. and Yugoslav rural development efforts.*

My paper concerning "Conflict In The Communication of Technology: Remarks On The Evolving Situation In U.S. and Yugoslav Rural Development" has already been announced. Let me start with a lobster story first and we'll get to the rural development afterwards.

The story is one that Bill Feltmate used to tell. Bill was a lobster fisherman up in Guys County in the Canadian Maritime Provinces. Bill would start the story something like this. "A short time ago I asked a small boy how he liked the old lady who was staying up at his house. The young lad answered me "Oh, she's all right I guess, but she eats all the good stuff." After telling the story, Bill would comment "That remark stuck in my mind for a long time because it reminds me of a great many people who have been eating the 'good stuff' at some one else's expense." Bill had in mind the local lobster brokers who were buying his lobsters for 7¢ a pound and selling them in Boston for 22¢. They were the fellows who were eating the "good stuff" and they weren't running after Bill with any of it.

Rural people, like fishermen, seem to be a class of people who aren't supposed to eat much good stuff. Not that it doesn't agree with them but because in a great many instances it's been kept at hand's reach (through non-service) by an Agricultural Trinity made up of: agricultural extension, education and research institutions.

Specifically, I have in mind families associated with small farm operations, farms with limited access to working capital, "old aged" farms, part-time farms, and rural people 'outside' the Trinities' politics or economics (e.g., farm laborers in the U.S. and farms who do limited or no business with the public sector in Yugoslavia). By contrast, middle to large size farming operations, in both countries, are the Trinities' priority clients. Being able to apply, and show results (increased production, etc.) with new Trinity technology coupled with having a loud political voice explains a substantial portion of the "why" for assisting those who can best help themselves. At the outset I think it's fair to say that Trinity program

*Prepared for the Third World Congress for Rural Sociology, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, August 22-27, 1972. The paper is based in part on a February, 1972 presentation titled "Kdo Je Kmetov Prijatelj" ("Who's the Farmers Friend") given at the Yugoslav Sociological Society, Portoroz, Yugoslavia. The author, Dr. Theodore Buila, was a Fulbright Lecturer in Agricultural Extension during 1971/72 at the Biotechnical Faculty in Ljubljana, Yugoslavia on leave of absence from the School of Technology at Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, Illinois.

efforts have been quite selective in many areas which in turn has magnified the quality of life differential between serviced and unserviced families.

From its formal institutionalization (late 1800's in the U.S. and a century earlier in the 1760's in Yugoslavia) the organizations that were to comprise the Agricultural Trinity had but a single goal: Improve rural conditions, i.e., equalize the economic and social status of all rural people. Joseph Brigado, the first president of Kranj Agricultural Society in 1767,put the call for an equalization of status among farmers, clerics, and city people just as the early Country Life Commission Reports (1907-17) did in the U.S.

No more clearly is the purpose of the Trinity stated than in the direct social action called for by the practical populist and founder of the U.S. extension service, Dr. Seaman A. Knapp. Need for social action in the countryside was the guiding force and yeast of the early Trinity. Note the tone in this 1894 speech at Mississippi A & M College by Dr. Knapp:

> "Colleges of agriculture and mechanical arts; your work will not be done until every farm house in this land is . . . free from the vassalage of mortgage . . . until capital and labor shall unite under the leadership of knowledge and equitably divide the increment of gain. Your mission is to solve the problems of poverty, to increase the measures of happiness . . . Get down to where the people can understand, touch the bottom, and lift." (1)

Unless the goal for the Trinity has changed, which it hasn't to the best of my knowledge, i.e., we are still interested in all rural people, people remain our target audience not cows or plows. As Ensminger and Sanders reminds us, producing more eggs from a flock of 50 chickens is useful, but only because it contributes to the satisfaction and improvement in the level of living which human beings, not hens, get out of life. (2)

Shape of the Conflict

After 50 years of endless effort it's no wonder that the Trinity has yet to resolve the quality of life enigma - for it really is a highly cure resistant paradox. However, what I think is important, is that a growing number of Trinity staff have been too easily diverted from the original "people" goal. It's not, I think, that they disagree with the "people" goal or think it improper but more a case of giving up the ship for something more personally rewarding, i.e. they apparently have felt the goals were largely unachievable.

Those who remained in the Trinity system more often than not are preoccupied with the hardware of production and/or its management while others seem bent on building/maintaining institutional empires. It is this trade-off of rural people for things (production hardware and intellectual fiefdoms) which is causing an institutional void in the countryside and gives shape to the conflict between the Trinity and the people it should be serving. (3)

In the U.S. this conflict is often framed in a series of allegations that "the Trinity represents the big farming boys". "has too little time for small farmers", "has a callous attitude towards farm laborers". While each of the allegations contain their own truths, I would frame the base conflict a bit differently. An anti-intellectualism has swept the country. It, in effect, is a grassroots revolution against a neboulous elite group seated in Washington, on college campuses, and in agencies that are making decisions for people that feel they, themselves, should be making. In agriculture, this discontent takes the form of a growing opposition to the custodianship of agriculture by the Trinity.

A conflict-mentality really takes shape when you find solid Central Illinois farmers, like their colleagues on the black soil of the Vojvodina, tell you that about all they've been getting from the Trinity is a pat on the back, some talk about decreasing profit margins (something they already knew) and some speculation about how tight the cost-price squeeze could really be. Not discounting the technical advice, which is greatly appreciated, farmers tell you that the advice translates-out as "sell the farm and move."

To a growing number of farmers, it appears that the Trinity elite (her administrators and economists) have no intention of relinquishing its "guiding" control of agriculture. Put a bit harder, farmers tell you that the Trinities' big boys tell them that, with their computers, they can make better decisions on the future of agriculture than the farmer. In this respect, a growing number of farmers recognize the condescending attitude as one of the "farmers being too stupid to know their own best interests."

While this conflict is going on, at least, some U.S. farmers are attempting to make it rough on the Trinity through its legislative pocket-book. The Trinity has seen this coming (operating budgets have leveled-out or are being cut by state legislatures) and has started fishing in the troubled waters of other agencies in the hope of affiliating its programs with new monies. (4) These farmers have quite accurately read the new agency "fishing expeditions" as less time for them. Obviously, as long as farmers feel that decisions they should have a prime voice in are being made in distant corridors of power, the Trinity cannot help but be faced with a growing crisis in confidence.

A similar, but for different reasons, confidence conflict exists in Yugoslavia. Program-wise, post war Trinity efforts have been almost exclusively production oriented, i.e. aimed at increasing the quantity and quality of agricultural production. For the most part, agricultural cooperatives (PZ's) have served as the sole village-level action arm of the Yugoslav Trinity. A continuing shortage of staff resources coupled with a narrow production interpretation of their social role has meant that programs aimed at the farm home, youth, and community improvement have yet to be carried out with any conviction.

The focusing of Trinity efforts on the farmer as sole client has, and is, resulting in the exclusion of nearly 3/4 of the nearly 10 million people that comprise Yugoslavia's rural population. To complicate matters,

there is an underlying collectivization stigma attached to the PZ's as a result of harsh activities during the 1948-1953 period. While this stigma is on the wane, the late 1950's and into the 1960's saw many farmers reluctant to cooperate with PZ's in the purchase of reproductory materials (e.g. seed, fertilizer, foundation livestock)or hire custom machinery work (e.g. plowing, combining).

Today, while the stigma is "alive" and a force to be recognized, it would be a rare farmer who would not do business with a local PZ or agricultural kombinat (PIK) based on what happened 20 years ago. When PZ/PIK staff and services are available - and at a competitive "price" - farmers are quick to recognize benefits. This rational farmer behavior was demonstrated in a 1972 student survey of 543 Slovene farms. Virtually all farms had either purchased or sold commodities to PZ's or PIK's but, more important, over half of the farms had been visited by PZ or PIK agronoms or technicians.*

The production orientation of program offerings and early reluctance of many farmers to avail themselves of Trinity expertise the situation was/is also further complicated by the fact that Yugoslav agricultural schools do not offer formal course work or training specifically aimed at training extension cadre.** For these same institutions to go to the farmer and ask for support to grow "bigger" in order to provide him with services is expectedly, going to take time, i.e., rural confidence will have to be restored/strengthened with service.

At the very least we can describe the situation in both countries as one of the Trinity encountering continuing set-backs in achieveing a quality of life goal for the countryside.

Two things appear to be clear at this point:

1) The quality of life goal for the countryside should continue to be the prime justification for the existence of the Trinity. Having said this, it is acknowledged that the Trinity system needs re-designing to make it more sensitive to the needs of all rural people.

2) It seems reasonable to assume that at least over the short haul (the next five years) there won't be as much money for the war to improve rural life as we have other wars. This being the case, one of the first steps will have to be the minimizing of resource waste.

*Senagačnik, Matjašec, Dular, and Buila titled "Izboljšanie Načina dela Solvenske Kmetijske Pospeševalne Službe: Studija v Treh Delih" (Improvement of Slovene Agricultural Extension Activities: A Three Part Study.) To be published,fall,1972 by the Biotechnical faculty, University of Ljubljana.

**At Maribor, the agricultural junior college (VAŠ Maribor) initiated the first Yugoslav program in extension during 1970/71. The Biotechnical faculty in Ljubljana followed in 1971/72 with an extension methods course. This is the extent of preservice staff training in Yugoslavia at this writing.

Since both Yugoslavia and the U.S. share the common program problem denominator of strengthening grassroots support, a comparative discussion of friction points causing resource waste seems to make sense. Inclusion of Yugoslavia also seems appropriate in as much as Third World countries might want to follow the imaginative efforts of the Yugoslavs to service 2.5 million private farms that were "turned-off" during the 1948-53 collectivization fiasco. The task will be difficult at best. But, with 15 years of viable workers-self management experience behind them, we can expect to see an original approach from Yugoslav agriculture in the 1970's.

Trinity Responsibility

It has not been fashionable of late for U.S. Trinity personnel to poke too gingerly at the inner workings of the Trinity (i.e., Trinity staff are cautioned not to wash dirty linen in public). In fact, I suspect that somewhere an unwritten directive exists that, in no uncertain terms, tells Trinity staff not to tamper with anything that might fundamentally alter the Trinity's organizational structure.

What has been fashionable, however, is to poke at people. There seems to be a Horatio Alger myth in the Trinity's preoccupation with the personal inadequacies of people. "It's not the system that is causing us set-backs, it's the shortcomings of the people (clients) the Trinity system has to work with that is causing the bulk of the delays in achieving the quality of life goals," exhorts the myth.

Trinity researchers, really not thinking about the application of their findings, have provided Trinity administrators the ammunition they dearly need to amass and maintain an insular organization. Research virtually has proven, or so the public is lead to believe, that low education, lack of empathy, anomie, defective family structure, lack of capital, postage stamp size farms, etc. are the root causes of program set-backs. Almost rhetorically, more money and a larger Trinity system is the answer provided to resolve the dilemma of imperfect people . . .

Gilia Castillo recently remarked at this penchant of ours to look at the peasant (negatively) for the solution to accelerating the development process as opposed to the system. She wrote "Finally we need to know and understand the motivations, attitudes, and values of planners, policy-makers, researchers - foreign experts included. The values of such people exert more influence in evolving so-called grassroots development programs than we realize or care to admit." (5)

It is fair, I think, to turn the mirror around and poke at the Trinity system. Without wishing to dispute the significant gains towards the improvement of life (which some have described at one of the "most spectacularly successful educational ventures in American history") let us agree that the system can be made more sensitive to the goals of rural people. Not to take this seriously is to misunderstand both the present and the future. The Trinity crisis is real and durable.

As a first step, what follows is a search for resource waste resulting from program inconsistancies and paradoxes. I'll attempt to examine specific areas of conflicts as seen through the eyes of the people involved, i.e., field staff and the rural people themselves. At the outset let me argue

that I find the processes of institutionalization and audience politization coupled with the magnification of technology laced with resource wastage which in turn is critically undermining program effectiveness. What then are the dimensions of conflict?

The processes suggest three rather straight forward questions which I'll use to anchor discussion: 1) Who is going to service the rural population? 2) Who is going to be serviced? 3) What is the service going to consist of? Just a note to the handling of the questions. Each question is prefaced with a summary sketch of two to three conflicts stemming from program inconsistencies and paradoxes. This is followed with a discussion of the conflicts as I see them unfolding in the U.S. and Yugoslavia today.

I. Who is going to service the rural population?

Perhaps more to the point would be to ask "Who is going to get the money to service the rural population?" In either case, the resulting institutional competition has slowed the acievement of program goals in these major areas: (1) The underemployment of institutional resources and the closing of "sister institutions" and (2) Shifting the scene of rural development from the farm-rural home to corridors of power, e.g., colleges, agency boardrooms, and the cocktail circuit.

To this list some of my colleagues would have me add the wastage associated with the high salaries paid to administrators who have a habit of not doing much more than ride the institutional fence line. I agree but will leave the discussion (hopefully with some empirical data) to another paper. Nevertheless, I can't help but say 'amen' to the farmers who are commenting "At the price these fellows are costing us I'm wondering if they're not too rich for our pocketbook?"

(1) Underemployment of institutional resources and institutional closings.

A. United States

In the U. S., competition shapes-up as the Land Grant Trinity against the rest of the field. A bit closer the line-up looks like this:

- Land Grant competition between the states for appropriations
- Competition inside the Land Grant institution, e.g., between education, extension and research
- Land Grant University versus Non-Land Grant Universities (offering agricultural degree work)
- Land Grant Universities versus Technical Colleges, Junior Colleges and Institutes
- Land Grant competition with public agencies, e.g., Office of Economic Opportunity

This partial listing of institutional competitors gives evidence that

the resources to service the rural population are potentially greater "outside" the present U. S. Trinity system than inside the system. Co-equal working relations between institutions is developing, however, progress is painfully slow. This is particularly evident at the college level. Two examples will serve to illustrate some of the dimensions of the current conflict in the U.S.

(a) The first example is in California. California State Polytechnic College (San Luis Obispo) "Cal Poly" has had perhaps the finest reputation in the state for producing graduates that can "farm without a book." Yet, for all practical purposes, it was not until the very late 1950's that Cal Poly graduates were hired in any number by the University of California controlled extension service. In effect they were black listed because they didn't graduate from a Land Grant College. Quite regularly extension recruiting staff made a point to hire out-of-state (Oklahoma A & M was a prime source for youth advisors). While the situation has improved in California, in some states extension recruiters would almost rather pirate staff away from a neighboring state than go to the "competition" (Non-Land Grant institutions) for help.

(b) The second example is in Illinois. Norther Illinois University "NIU" is located at DeKalb which in turn lies on some of the blackest richest soil in the world. NIU isn't a new school. She opened her doors before the turn of the century. NIU was a teachers' college then as it was until right up after the Second World War. Interestingly, NIU doesn't have a College of Agriculture or for that matter offer course work in agriculture. So effective was the University of Illinois in keeping herself as "number one and the only one" that it wasn't until the mid 1950's that a second agricultural college opened. This was at Carbondale; interestingly, in the poorest agricultural region of the state! Three other state universities have since added programs. As for the University of Illinois sharing its Hatch and Smith-Lever Act monies with new sister institutions, beyond token levels, no one is holding their breath . . . furthermore, their staff are still waiting to be treated as co-equals.

To what extent the state-level conflicts are being fueled by the USDA, the federal arm of the Trinity, is conjecture. Some have suggested that the USDA by not more "actively" encouraging the maximum use of state-level resources is more to blame than the states themselves. There is an interesting twist to the argument that says that the USDA has its own identity problems (e.g., President Nixon's plan to merge the USDA out of existence into another super-department which has since been put aside). If anything, it's argued, the USDA is going to encourage the closing of ranks (among Land Grant Institutions) for the pending battle which is sure to come.

I think it fair to describe the current U.S. situation as one of continuing limited use of existing institutional resources stemming from the combined effort by the Land Grant Trinity to maintain the custodianship of rural development (including the USDA).

B. Yugoslavia

Yugoslavia in 1972 presents us with a slightly different picture. All of the component parts of the Agricultural Trinity are present but in considerably looser arrangement.* Public monies for the specific tasks of improving rural life are modest at best. The preoccupation of most Trinity institutions is on maintaining "existence" more so than fielding action programs to service the countryside. With competition for finances from the urban audience (e.g., industry, city and town government agencies, tourism, etc.) extremely keen, some Yugoslav Trinity members have opted to "turn in" on vulnerable sister institutions. The net result has been a series of institutional closings and mergers. Still others have been critically immobilized by a lack of resources, leaving staff little more to do than ride the desk (e.g., county-level agricultural "referents" in Slovenia).

Based on the U. S. Experience, one might expect to find Yugoslav institutions engaged in stiff competition for the stewardship of Trinity. However, this isn't the case. Prior to the Second World War, the Ministry of Agriculture orchestrated the Trinity. But since the War, the combination of a steady decentralization of government coupled with the emergence of an almost fierce attitude towards institutional identity has served to erode institutional linkages making communications difficult at best.

The most serious Trinity conflicts in Yugoslavia are those in the realm of one institution exerting influence to close or swallow-up sister institution(s). Two good examples of this are:

(a) In 1961 the first Slovene school offering junior college work in home economics was opened at Groblje (no degree work in Yugoslavia is offered at the college level in home economics). The Groblje school plant was new and well equipped - particularly with laboratory equipment and laboratory space. In 1968 suffering from a lack of students, the Biotechnical faculty phased it into its operations: With building finances in short supply (better yet non-existent) it was no secret that certain departments within the Biotechnical faculty had their eyes on the Groblje facility. It took seven years to get their wish and Yugoslavia is left with only one home economics school (Belgrade). This is not to suggest that a good case couldn't be made for underuse of the Groblje facility, which was real. The only point to be made is that it generally is harder to open a school than close one.

*In Yugoslavia, each of the six republics has a slightly different Trinity institutional-mix. In general the line-up looks as follows: Education: faculties, junior colleges, secondary agricultural schools; Research: faculties, junior colleges and institutes (generally with a faculty affiliation); Extension: cooperatives (PZ's), kombinats (PIK's), agricultural institutes and extension services. Extension services do not exist per se in all republics. Where they do exist, e.g., Croatia, they have limited staff. Included in the category "institutes" are the veterinary services which are most active in servicing the private population. Add to this list, as in the U.S., staff employed by firms doing business with agriculture, e.g., banks.

(b) A similar situation occurred at Poreč. It occurred during the same time period the only difference being that the process didn't take as long. This time it was an agricultural junior college that was opened and closed. The opening of a junior college on the Adriatic Coast made good sense while its closing doesn't. For a while at least, Yugoslavia had a school of higher agricultural education situated on the Coast. (Currently, 3 secondary schools, at Bar, Kaštel-Split and Poreč, service 650 miles of coastal and island Yugoslavs.) The Poreč site was ideal. It was affiliated with a secondary school with a history back into the 1870's (the Italians first opened the school). Facilities, while old, were substantial. The dormitory, school farm, and working relations with neighboring farms were good. The reasons for the closing of the school aren't completely clear to me. However, it appears that with two other junior colleges in Croatia (Križevci and Vinkovci) Poreč posed a threat to the enrollemnt of the remaining two. Essentially the same pattern of school closings, for varying reasons, can be noted for Bosnia-Hercgovina (8 secondary-level schools open in the early 1960's - 3 today). At the faculty and junior college levels there seems to be almost constant talk of reducing the status or closing one or more of the facilities.

The apparent lack of a student or community based rationale for school closings or annexations is, at the very least, symptomatic of two things:

1) A lack of communication between schools, in question, but even more important,

2) A lack of communication between schools, students, potential student populations, parents, and community leaders.

All of which leads me to comment that with over two-thirds of the Yugoslav population residing in the countryside and half of the active population earning their living from agriculture, schools and institutions serving rural Yugoslavia should be opening rather than closing.

Specific to Yugoslav extension-type services, it appears that (and here my remarks reflect the Slovene situation) the institutions involved are starting to talk seriously about "getting together" to service the private and social sector alike. Empire building per se is not currently on the scene. However, the three prime "contenders" very well might start in institutional competition: Biotechnical Faculty, Agricultural Junior College in Maribor and the Slovene Agricultural Institute. Interestingly, each of the institutions would have to rely heavily on support from technicians, agronoms, and specialists employed by PZ's and PIK's. For the most part, staff have mixed loyalties by virtue of either working for or attending the institutions in question. However, let me stress that the institutions/staff concerned continue to be more concerned with strengthening their respective home institutions than they are in merger efforts.

While this latter situation appears good, i.e., minimal institutional resources being committe to vving for the stewardship of the Trinity, there is a potentiallv more serious situation brewing. As PZ's, PIK's, and various institutes and schools commit more and more resources to cement their own status, in terms continued appropriations and increased profits, there will be relatively less resources available to provide a full program of services to the rural family and community. It is an organizational fact of life that to expect PZ's or PIK's to reallocate substantial amounts of staff time (agronoms of technicians) to provide instructional or assistance programs geared to the "home" or "community" is out of the picture for the present. Increased volume and improved quality of production are the priorities most PZ's and especially PIK's place foremost. Undoubtedlv, while the housing of extension type staff in local PZ's or PIK's makes grassroots sense administratively, the institutional facts of life (i.e., survival as viable institution) dictate that staff effort be first committed to the parent institution.

As long as institutional survival is synonymous with making a "profit," and organizational reserves only permit modest investments in non-production oriented programs, these latter wants and needs, as critical as they might be, will continue to be second order priorities of PZ's and PIK's.

There is a lesson for all countries in the Yugoslav experience. Namely, it is unrealistic (without substantial government support) to expect an "economic" organization to carry the prime responsibility for non-economic development activities. Here we're talking about relying on internal financing of staff and projects that have minimal short-run "profit" benefits to the parent organization.

(2) The shifting scene of rural development.

In generating an organizational structure for the vast commitment necessary to achieve the Trinity's purpose some rather paradoxical trade-offs have been made as expressed in: (1) building and maintaining institutional structures in deference to resource investments to provide "action" assistance, and (2) a growing preoccupation with the intellectual aspects of development which is making communication difficult between rural folk and the Trinities' resident intellectuals.

Certainly one of the strengths of the Trinity, particularly in the U.S., at least in the past, has been its willingness to sit down and work things out with "its" farmers when the going got rough. The two points concerning institution building and the intellectualization are perhaps an over simplification of the questions a lot of rural people are mulling over in their mind. In as much as there is an emotional appeal to each I think we owe some thought to their answering. How much truth is there to them?

(a) Institution Building. This allegation essentially says that the institutions comprising the Trinity are more interested in building "more like themselves" than helping "us farmers." Typical is the comment made by some Southern Illinois farmers that, "The last time I saw the local Ag College people was when they were trying to round-up support to go to Springfield for money to build another ag college . . . and that was 15 years ago." To what extent this allegation is completely true is secondary to the fact that some people feel it's true. The following point is a variation of the above theme:

- Institutional Problems Not Farmer Problems. The suggestion here is that the Trinity has created a whole new set of problems to resolve and as such would rather work on its problems rather than those of the farmer. Put another way "You fellows got a set of rules to run your show, you work on them from 9 to 5 in a nice office, and if you lose all you do is move down the hall to another office and start-up again . . . Me, well, all I got is mud, a wife that complains we're working harder and making less, and a contrary market to contend with . . . Say, you wouldn't be writing a rule book for us, would you. . .Nothing'intellectual'about the stuff we got to put up with."

(b) Intellectual Activity. This allegation comes in three parts. The first is directed at research activity "All those computors of yours seem to pretty well tell us "why" prices are low . . . when do you think they'll get around to telling us "how" to get better prices." The suggestion is clear "Why don't you quit with the philophizing and jump in the harness with us and pull."

- Next is the feeling, particularly among smaller farmers, that new production research coming from the colleges and experiment stations is not for them (i.e., small farmers.) One of the direct ways this feeling is expressed is in the reluctancy of many small farmers in visiting demonstration farms, "If I had that much money to farm with I could 'make it' too." Interestingly, Bičinić in his book Kako Živi Narod includes a remark that says about the same thing. A Karst farmer was asked to comment on his contact with the agricultural specialist, he replied "agronom . . . gramophon," i.e. both being rather useless and beyond his means. Idrija (Slovenia) farmers were wondering along the same lines this winter (1971/72). Several had switched their mixed farming operations to a specialized dairy program recommended by local agronoms. (6) This spring the kindest remark you could get out of some of them was a resolute comment that "The cows are eating more and we're getting less."

- The last part of the intellectual charge is aimed at the Trinities' obsession with "packaging" and studying the 'Dickens' out of rural people. The dialogue has the researcher arguing for "getting to know the audience better" and the farmer wanting to see Trinity staff more involved in "doing" as opposed to studying. As one farmer put it "We pretty well know what our problems are, now the only thing we got to figure out is how to get the Ag College people out here to help us."

II. Who is going to be serviced?

The gradual politization of the rural population has served to concentrate a disproportunately large segment of the Trinity's resources in those segments of the rural population with a legislative voice. More often than not, this means the large farmer and various agri-business interests. Small low-income farmers, the rural non-farming residents (who very well might be an old-aged farmer) and the farm labor population clearly are not the prime audiences of the U.S. Trinity.

In Yugoslavia PIK's and PZ's command the bulk of attention in terms of increasing production and income. The private farmer is, in turn, serviced by PZ's and PIK's on a staff-available basis after PZ and PIK needs are met. In both countries, on paper, Trinity service is available to all rural residents - in practice it's quite a different story.

Perhaps one of the most sensitive audience selection devices is the Trinity's preoccupation with the production side of agriculture, i.e. the cow gets more attention than the farmer. Just why the Trinity continues to focus its attention on the hardware of producing "more" in the face of declining profit margins is difficult to understand. Nowhere is this production orientation more evident than in the distribution of back-up staff. Field staff (in the U.S.) are about equally divided between "field and home" (there is a misconception here too, i.e. that the jobs/tasks are somehow equal). When you look at U.S. university and research staff distribution, home making staff are outnumbered by a conservative 15 to 1 by their production colleagues.

The politization of the rural audience is creating an unhealthy competition for Trinity attention. Many farmers suspect that the Trinity serves best those who service the Trinity best. The net result is the selection of rural/urban audiences on the basis of which groups can leave a neat, well-defined auditor's trail to demonstrate high cost-benefit ratios in the Trinity to publicize.

Assuming as we did earlier, that resources are going to be tight, what can we learn from major "created" audience conflicts that can serve to reduce resource wastage and in turn lead to their equitable distribution? The following audience conflicts are typical of the wastage the Trinity is currently incurring:

(1) Large farmer vrs. Small farmer.

The Trinity position vis-a-vis the small farmer all too often is: the best thing we can do for him is to get him to sell his farm, i.e. "there is no practical price for farm commodities that can convert his operation into an adequate income." (7) The Trinities' logic is rationalized as "Being poor they are without the money to lay an economic foundation needed for social improvement - a harsh if not inaccurate appraisal by Trinity agricultural economists. As a result, the Trinity tends to gravitate to those farmers who have the acquired wealth to use the Trinity more advantageously, i.e. larger farmers.

The net result has been that with each new increment of agricultural technology the client audience of the Trinity shrinks. This is particularly

the case, and will be the case, as long as the Trinity continues to define "benefit" in "bushels and pounds." It isn't hard to understand where the farmer gets the idea that he's being farmed out of business by the Trinity when he sees 2,000 fellow farmers leave the farm each week - the U.S. average during the 1960's. Things aren't helped any when he sees the Trinity holding technological hands with big farmers and agri-business. The large farmer means big production and low prices (simplified of course) and the businessman stands for increased costs of production. It really isn't any wonder he thinks the Trinity is turning the screw on the cost-price squeeze.

Rural Yugoslavs have a unique series of paradoxes which the farmer sees playing-out before him. One that seems to occupy center stage every year is the battle to raise the wages of PIK and PZ workers (by the workers themselves, Yugoslav self-management is an open affair). Currently agricultural wages are between 85 and 100 percent of parity (industry = 100%). (8) Although it should be noted that Trinity agronoms and technicians don't enjoy the same wage parity with colleagues in other sectors of the economy - particularly younger cadre going out for their first job (e.g. graduates of economic secondary schools often command higher starting salaries than first-year agronoms with four years of college education.)

Somewhat ironically, Yugoslav farmers are prone to 'seeing' a Trinity more concerned about Trinity income than theirs, i.e., the client audience.

Quite obviously a crises in confidence cannot help but develop when groups of rural people feel that Trinity efforts are not working with them, (e.g. direct action to improve prices) for farm products, increased opportunity for farm and home credit, equal treatment in the payment/distribution of subsidies, or working on problems that transcend agreements with PZ's or PIK's.

To the extent that the private farmer remains a stranger in the house of self-management, he can hardly be expected to get too excited about Trinity efforts to help him.(9)

(2) Farmers vrs. Farm Laborers.

There is really no contest here. Aside from being the infrequent subjects of study, relatively little has been done on their behalf by the Trinity to improve their position. If anything, their quality of life struggle has been made more trying by members of the U.S. Trinity. This is witnessed in the exclusion of agriculture from the 1917 National Labor Relations Act (which would have entitled farm labor as a group to government policing of labor-management disputes). Giving the Secretary of Agriculture the power to set minimum wages; also to open and close the borders to foreign workers which acted as a heavy hand to curb natural increases in the price of farm labor (again into the 1960's). Farm labor was, and still is in some circumstances, excluded from social security legislation.

For the most part Trinity economists have treated farm labor insensitively in the profit equasion: land, labor, and capital.

U.S. farm labor does not have to read the Scope and Guide Reports (outlining the audience and program responsibilities of the extension service

assembled by national commissions in 1958 and 1959) to find out they weren't included. That farm laborers are a part of the rural landscape cannot be disputed. In 1971 there were from 1 to 3 million of them (depending on your definition). It remains a mystery why the Trinity continues to ignore their presence.

Aside from the 1970 Yugoslav Basic Law on Labor Relations, which assured by law that seasonal workers would be entitled to a share of year-end profits (in proportion to the work provided), there seems little in the Trinity's relationship to suggest that farm laborers are treated any differently than other workers. While there are migratory farm laborers (e.g., Croatian hop pickers travel each September to the Celje area just as Bosnian "hands" help with the fall harvest in Slavonia and the Vojvodina) for the most part they are small farmers who "belong" to a given village, i.e., they are far from being nomads. Since they are farmers they have an equal opportunity to avail themselves of PIK or PZ specialists, that is of course assuming there is a PZ or PIK nearby.

(3) Field vrs. Home

Service activity directed at the Yugoslav farm home is still, for all practical purposes, non-existent. By way of comparison, in 1937, over 6,000 rural Slovene girls attended winter (November-March) home-making schools. This past year the enrollment just started to come alive, 3 schools (courses) have opened with approximately 225 enrollees. As we pointed out earlier, the closing of the Groblje facility simply served to magnify the home economics teacher shortage. It should be noted that the Worker's Universities in several Republics (generally night adult type courses) have revived short courses for the homemaker. Unfortunately, these are generally held in towns or larger cities which generally means the rural audience is not heavily represented. For example, in 1970/71 approximately 1900 women attended Slovene short courses (sewing primarily). It can only be concluded that in looking to the stall and field, and not servicing the home, we have a case of the Yugoslav Trinity not listening to the wants of rural people.

Interest in home economics is keen in rural areas. Mothers and fathers acknowledge the fact that home life is going to have to improve for the woman if we expect to keep our villages viable. The older generation fondly tells of the Singer sewing schools (put on by salesmen) and the cooking lectures by Dr. Stamper's colleagues in the Institute for Preventive Medicine (Croatia). Interest is equally keen among young girls and their mothers. "There isn't a village in Yugoslavia today that wouldn't support a home making course," is the echo from the countryside. The current situation was perhaps best described by a woman I sat next to on the Ljubljana-Maribor bus "Someone has forgotten that the shortest way to the stall is through the kitchen."

What Yugoslav home economics education is provided is contained in the elementary school curriculum. While home making topics are introduced (e.g., nutrition, sewing, gardening, cooking), which is a start, it only serves to whet the appetite. In this respect, interestingly, the field and home are "equal." That is to say, education of the private farmer is considered to be the responsibility of the elementary school.

(10) Unfortunately, an excited interest is,in all too many cases, left unfulfilled by opportunities for further education.

In one respect the U.S. and Yugoslav situations are similar: improvement of rural life is equated with producing more. In the U.S. staff resources for home economics and youth work are considerable. Of the approximate 10,000 county-level advisors about half are home or youth advisors. However, the distribution of staff figures are, in my opinion, somewhat misleading. The staff distribution figures suggest a "balanced" program. While staff may balance-out on paper the work load doesn't. In practice, the one-to-one ratio (field-home) has been more of an accommodation, i.e., it seems to make sense, one for the women and the house and one for the men and the farm. But as we mentioned the work load is different. The farm home is filled with people as is the community. And in each home/community we find varying mixes of values, wants, aspirations, and needs. Service must be highly individualized. This is not to suggest that production problems are not complex or difficult to resolve because they are. A persuasive argument can be made in that it stands to reason that the house contains more 'people' and as such the staff load should be sensitive to this fact . . . and we haven't really broached the concomitant problems of rural community development!

III. What is the service going to consist of?

Acting as technologies' handmaiden has created still another set of conflicts for the Trinity. This is not the place to put the Trinity on trial for grabbing the tail of technology and pumping like hell. However, two remarks are, I think, in order. First, setting aside for the moment the quality of life goal, agricultural technology, particularly as it is being turned-out in the U.S. today, is itself acting as a selective agent. That is to say, what often at first glance appears to be a simple innovation, e.g., single-cross hybrid corn, is in reality, deceptively complex--so much so that it limits the potential audience because of hidden capital and education requirements. Secondly, the Trinity's preoccupation with technology has relegated the quest to secure equitable prices for farm commodities to a second order priority. With technology nudging the supply curve to the right and no relief in sight for low prices it's no wonder that some farmers are talking about shooting Santa Claus.

(1) Technology and the small farmer

The extraordinary thing about Trinity agricultural technologists is that their creed doesn't seem to require them to serve the big and the small with the same impunity. Each increment of technology seems to be accompanied with a corresponding number of farmers leaving the land. We've made the point before, and it bears repeating, many farmers (I suspect all) would welcome the same zealous effort to secure equitable prices as being put forth in the quest for technology.

Let me spend just a moment with the single-cross hybrid corn innovation I mentioned earlier as it initially relates to 'smaller' farmers. What makes it complex and initially better suited for the larger farmer? First, seed costs are roughly twice as much (c. $30+ a bushel). It also has to be planted about a third heavier than the old hybrid crosses to reach the 20-30,000 plant population per acre necessary to make the innovation "pay."

Also, add increased fertilizer costs, herbicide costs, and new planting equipment. The new cash outlay puts the innovation out of reach for a lot of farmers. The fact that you need good soil puts it out of the reach of still other farmers. Couple the capital outlay costs with varying needs for information/new skills to plant a simple corn seed and you have a built-in selective device that initially, at least, favors large farmers.

Agricultural technologists can design or orient their efforts to service small farmers. Small farmers are there and waiting. Interestingly, the Yugoslav farmer with a 22 acre maximum size farm, has a wider range of tractors to select from than most American small farmers. The Ferguson-IMT (35 h.p.), Stayer-Austria (18-30-40 h.p.), and Zetor (20-35 h.p.) from Czechoslovakia are taking a lot of the back muscle out of agriculture. To give you an example, in the village of Mikluševci (about 280 households) 35 new tractors were bought by private farmers between 1968 and 1970. The remarkable thing is, most were not bought with credit. Technology for the small farmer need not be a source of conflict.

(2) Equitability

Conflicts arising from the struggle for equity, whether they be in terms of higher prices for farm commodities or higher wages, have the greatest potential for cutting both ways (building or reducing grassroots support) in the confidence crisis. Some would say that without equity the technological victories have been in vain. When you have farmers asking "Are they with us or against us?" and farm laborers not bothering to ask - a crisis of major proportions is brewing.

What is interesting is that all the parties concerned know that the answer to the equitability problem rests in: Balanced Bargaining Power. To the end that the Trinity has selected not to become actively involved in the marketplace on behalf of his clients or provided the sustained leadership wherein farmers can reach a position where they're not being out-merchandized by industry, is puzzling. Most farmers would, I think, prefer to bargain in the marketplace than in Congress. Trinity economists and administrators see things differently. The preservation of an imaginary free market situation for agricultural commodities is a fetish turned into policy. One thing is crystal clear: low food prices tend to keep government appropriations to the Trinity flowing, which to a large part explains, I feel, the reluctance of the Trinity to become visibly involved in the struggle for price equality.

Farmers don't object (in fact I'm sure they would encourage the battle for equitability on a number of fronts) to Trinity economists trying to engineer equity through Congress. What does gripe a lot of them, causing emotions to flair and people not to talk, is the dogged insistance of U.S. Trinity economists to be hard-nosed about actively carrying the battle into the marketplace. It seems that whenever farmers start to talk about efforts to control commodity supplies or talk about collective bargaining, Trinity economists start with scare tactics. Paarlberg's 'analysis' is typical. "If really strong bargaining power is wanted, really strong control of supply is essential. The only way strong supply control can be effected, if at all, is with the police power of the state." (11) Whenever farmers start the actual organization process (e.g., Farmers Holiday Movement

in the 1930's, NFO actions in the late 1960's and 1970's) the insults and name calling begins: "opportunists," "reformers," "subversives," etc.

The paradox in all of this is that while the Trinity economists are waiting for the old theories of Adam Smith, Alfred Marshall and Keynes and all the rest who saw equitability in the free expression of supply and demand, the concentration of power in agriculture is gradually approaching oligopolistic proportions. No wonder the farmers are asking "Who's the farmers friend?"

Where do we go from here?

Everything I have attempted to say in this paper adds up to the conclusion that the Trinity system is itself creating conflict situations that are dangerously limiting its ability to achieve the "quality of life" goal for all rural people. Some would suggest that, in Parkinsonian fashion, the Trinity has substituted itself as the prime client audience. Whether one agrees with this conclusion one certainly must agree that, for the most part, she is ignominously ignored many of those with the greatest need. Program inconsistencies and paradoxes some, almost too bizzare to be true, are resulting in a confidence crisis of major proportions:

- the gradual substitution of the Trinity organization for the rural population as the prime target audience.
- the trade-off of scarce resources to intellectualize rural improvement, i.e., studying the situation in deference to doing something about it,
- the Trinity working itself out of a job not so much by improving the quality of life of farmers but by "encouraging" farmers to leave the rural scene,
- the development of a callous, condescending at times, attitude towards the unserved population,
- the encouraging of decision-making and the developing farmer-expertise while continuing to maintain the custodianship of agriculture in the hands of the Trinity,
- the investing of resources in technology to produce more with only passive leadership to assist farmers to secure a more equitable share of the profit for their efforts,
- the investing program efforts in those more able to help themselves than those not so able,
- the concentrating resources on the development of things, i.e., the hardware of production, more so than developing "people."

Indeed, with scholarly dialectics, the inconsistencies can be explained "away" to the satisfaction of the Trinity. Yet, no one can be so foolish to expect that dialog alone can every hope to bridge the

confidence crisis--in fact all that dialog can be expected to do is act as a counter force in the present situation. Having said this, I want to stress that even with inconsistencies and paradoxes the Trinity system doesn't concel itself out. The Trinity, particularly in the U. S., remains a viable organization with thousands of dedicated staff. And, in Yugoslavia, as we pointed out, the Trinity--as loose as it is--is showing signs of coming alive in a desire to service the rural population. The first task for the Trinity is to gain the confidence of rural people. Quite simply, too many "good" people aren't talking and working together.

I also see no justifiable reason to abandon the goal which gave purpose to the existence of the Trinity. At the same time, however, I see little improvement in the present situation coming via improved high-level Trinity administration. As Levine points out, in comments on the U. S. war on poverty, "we have been trying for years to improve administration of programs, and although advances are possible, it seems now that new goals and programs are proliferating far faster than improvements in administrative systems. Even more important they are proliferating far faster than competent administrators and planners." (12) A still bigger Trinity organization is clearly not the answer.

Being a member of the Trinity, I rather expect than many of my critics will have already asked themselves, "Well, he's got some problems, let's see if he's got some answers?" Quite honestly, I haven't got all the conflicts completely sorted-out to make a set of strategy alternatives available to my critics. The omissions are substantial: the "hows," "whens," and "with whats" to name a few. Nevertheless, three general courses of action can be effected to reduce conflict consuming resources in an attempt to get on with the tasks ahead.

> First, reviewing programs (local, regional, state, etc.) in an attempt to identify and quantify the dimensions of the conflict-crisis is an imperative. That the reviewing process should include the full representation of the rural people involved goes without saying, i.e., the accused can hardly be expected to bring in much of a verdict against themselves.
>
> Second, in designing new programs of work, direct representation of the target population involved must be secured. This is the prime or cardinal principle in change strategy and one we seem to have forgotten.
>
> Third, expenditure of Trinity finances, proportunately and in quanitative terms, should reflect a strong shift towards local "investment." Wastage is bound to occur, let's have it as close to its final destination as possible.

To some (to paraphrase Toffler's words in Future Shock) this appeal for a form of neo-populism will no doubt seem naive. We can surely ask "isn't that precisely where the Trinity once started . . . at the grass-

roots?" It is! Nothing would be more naive than the notion that we can continue to administer the Trinity the way we presently are heading--from the top down--in the U. S. or in Yugoslavia.

A final word. The most pressing problem is not the lack of a system to service the countryside; it is whether the Trinity can regain the confidence of "its" people. Issues like the bringing comfort and happi-ne-s to rural homes, rural poverty, and the equitable sharing of profits derived from farming have not disappeared. The agenda will get more crowded each day which means it will be all the more essential to keep in mind the Trinity's prime responsibility to rural people.

FOOTNOTES

(1) Bliss, R. K. The Spirit and Philosophy of Extension Work. Washington. D.C.: USDA, 1952, pp. 38-46.

(2) Brunner, E. des, et al. Farmers of the World: The Story of Agricultural Extension. New York: A. A. Knopf, 1949, p. 6. See Chapter 1 for a general exposition of the "people" theme as modified by cultures.

(3) Miller, Paul A. "Adjustment Needed in Extension Thinking and Organization," Journal of Farm Economics (USA), Vol. XLI, No. 5, December, 1959, pp. 1435-45. Miller comments specifically to the "depersonalization" of extension coupled with the changes in extension which should lead to a reconsideration of extension educational activities in the university system.

(4) Stice, Leslie F. "The Scope Report As Viewed By An Agricultural Economist," Journal of Farm Economics, Vol. XLIII, No. 5, December, 1961, pp. 1439-49. Stice's comments concerning the what appears to be a new role for local ataff (county) as a program administrator, consequently, placing educational activities in a secondary position are worthwhile reading.

(5) Castillo, Gelia. "Comment: A Critical View of a Subculture of Peasantry," p. 141, in C. R. Wharton's Subsistance Agriculture and Economic Development. Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1969. Castillo's remarks, in general, question the wisdom/ effort in designing "subcultures" that by their very nature need re-defining in each culture they might be used in to "get to know one's audience better." The comment was directed to E. M. Rogers' elaboration of his "Subculture" in the Wharton book and further defined in Rogers and Svenning Modernization Among Peasants, Chapter 2.

(6) _____ "Gobec vecji kot vime," Tedenska tribuna (Ljubljana), Vol. 8, No. 12, 1971, p. 4.

(7) Paarlberg, Don. American Farm Policy. New York: Wiley & Sons, 1964, p. 91. The Paarlberg text quotes are typical of Farm Policy textbooks in use in the U.S.

(8) Gliha, S. "Razvoj kmetijstva - neznanka?" Teorija in praksa (Ljubljana), 8. 1971, pp. 1826-30. Gliha's comments are particularly keen on the current dilemma in resolving the public-private sector development issues.

(9) Šuvar, Stipe. Socioloski presjek jugoslovenskog društva. Zagreb: Skolska kniga, 1970. See Part II for an exposition of rural-ruban differences in living standards using index items ranging from transportation facilities to health indicators. Of particular note is the section (s) which begin on p. 160 through to the conclusion. They contain Šuvar's thesis that what appears to be

a management elite is in the process of taking charge of the self-management system. This is to say, representation of workers and farmers on county, regional, republic and federal-level self governing bodies (economic and government) has yet to achieve an equitable balance, i.e., farmers and in many cases "workers" are critically underrepresented. This crisis, Suvar suggests, is perhaps the greatest crisis to be faced in the immediate future by Yugoslav society. In effect, confidence is at stake. Suvar's implication is direct in the pending confidence crisis between the Trinity and rural Yugoslavs.

(10) OECD, Mediterranean Regional Project: Yugoslavia. Paris: OECD, 1965, p. 81.

(11) Paarlberg, op cit. p. 88.

(12) Levine, Robert A. "Redesigning Social Systems," in Perspectives of Planning. Paris: OECD, 1969, pp. 449-67.