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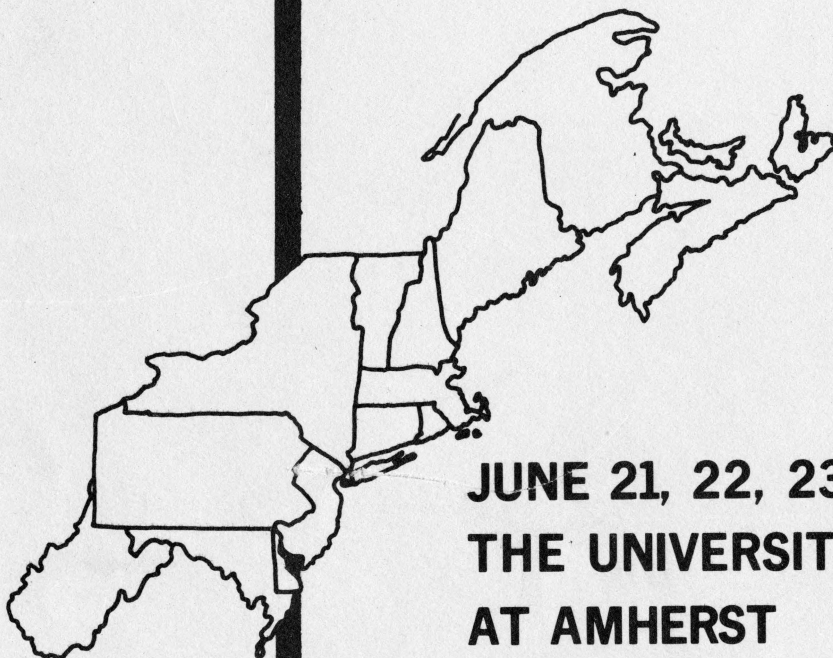
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"BALANCED GROWTH" - PROBLEM SOLUTION OR PROBLEM DISPERSION?

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President Richard Nixon in his "State of the Union" address January 22, 1970 described the population shift away from the rural location, "...vast areas of rural America emptying out of people and of promise--a third of our counties lost population in the 1960's." He pointed to the problems of the cities, "The violent and decayed central cities of our great metropolitan complexes are the most conspicuous area of failure in American life." And, for a solution, a population dispersion plan.

"I propose that before these problems become insoluble, the nation develop a national growth policy. Our purpose will be to find those means by which Federal, state and local government can influence the course of urban settlement and growth...We must create a new rural environment that will not only stem the migration to urban centers but reverse it." [18, p. 8]

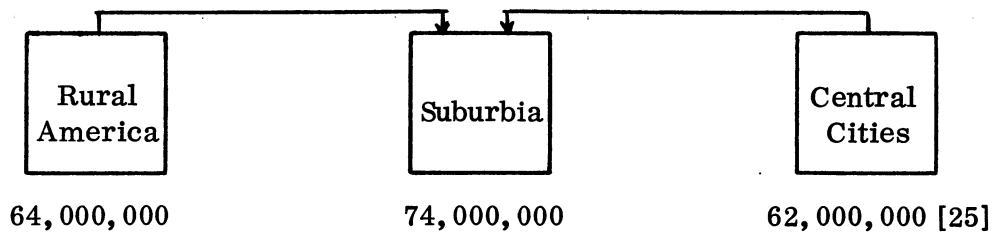
Prior to the "State of the Union" message, a National Goals Research Staff was established July 13, 1969, within the White House with Mr. Leonard Garment as its director. On July 4, 1970 this group published a report, Toward Balanced Growth: Quantity with Quality, [15]. This statement is in considerable detail (227 pages) and considers growth in a general frame--population, environment, education, natural science, technology and consumerism. As one reads, one frequently asks, "a balance among the growth of what?" Perhaps the most cogent expression is, "...Balanced growth--that is, using our available output in the best way to satisfy our diverse goals..." [15, p. 151].

The very broad approach represented by this goal is expressed as, "...there is a difference about the present initiative." Previously we were encouraging single and frequently isolated projects. Now our goal formulation is a "...search for coherence..." [15, pp. 160-161].

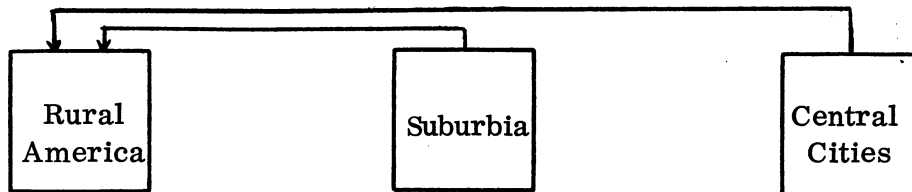
Regardless of the several dimensions of "output" and the varying amenability they might have for balancing, the pervasive factor appears as population distribution.

We have then a national population policy which is the core of the balanced growth concept and which calls for a new pattern of population dispersion. In the thinking of the President we must reverse the migration to urban centers.

If we turn to the 1970 census the picture becomes more complete. A census fact sheet states "...for the first time more persons live in the suburbs than in the central cities or rural areas." "At the same time, rural areas and central cities either declined in population or maintained a meager rate of growth." [26, p. 1957]. Graphically we have the following conditions:



Population Shift Described by 1970 Census



Population Shift to be Encouraged by National Growth Policy

The Carrot

If people are to be encouraged to more heavily populate the rural areas compared with suburban and urban, there obviously must be incentives. Dr. D. Gale Johnson in a Washington Lecture makes this clear.

"If the population distribution is to be changed to increase the proportion living in nonmetropolitan areas, such areas must be made more attractive relative to the metropolitan areas. Generally the attraction must be viewed either in terms of economic opportunities for the employment of resources or in providing desirable living conditions for those who are not dependent upon current employment for their support." [11, p. 27].

In spelling out specific items as part of an incentive scheme to encourage such rural development, Norbert T. Tiemann, Governor of Nebraska, mentioned the following: Change needed in The Economic Development Administration's present criteria which includes an unemployment percentage that discriminates against rural America and any growth center concepts. The Farmer's Home Administration with residency requirements which must be liberalized. Also inequities in FHA water and sewer programs regarding percentage vs. maximum grants. Decisions regarding the location of Federal and State facilities. He mentions specifically six "out-state" office sites planned for in Nebraska. The transportation decline and a need for subsidies to "third-level" carriers. A need to reconsider the "industry first" aspect of S.B.A. and E.D.A. loans [24, p. 77].

These facilitating shifts are largely Federal and bear directly on the economic scene. The appropriateness of focusing on the economic, particularly work opportunities is described in an article by James L. Sundquist.

"The spatial distribution of population is determined, of course, by the distribution of jobs. With the exception of the limited numbers of the self-employed and the retired, people are not in reality free to live just anywhere. The vast majority are employees who must live where there are jobs, and the location of jobs is not their choice. The concentration of the country's population is the result of employer-created job patterns that the people have had to follow."

"For the most part employers have not been free to create jobs just anywhere, either. They have been bound by considerations of economic efficiency--the location of raw materials and of markets, the transportation cost differentials of alternative locations, etc. As assigned by the play of economic forces, not by men acting rationally as environmental architects; events have been in the saddle once again." [21, pp. 88-100].

Reasoning which suggests that the population concentrations frequently develop in response to the prompting of job opportunities and economic activity seems to be incontrovertible.

We have then a national policy which urges a population shift to rural America and ample discussion pointing to job opportunity as the primary motivation. The question raised by this paper is simply "Is such a population redistribution good or bad?"--or "Will balanced growth solve many of our problems or simply disperse them temporarily?" The discussion which follows is designed to provide some basis for value judgments as to the desirability of this national policy.

The Case for Population Dispersion

A simple reading of newspapers and viewing of T. V. , supplies ample evidence that America's domestic problems are most frequently observed in the central city milieu. Crime, disease, political abuse, religious decline and educational disruption appear constantly. It might be suggested, as it frequently is in the case of crime, that in less urban settings undesirable conditions are more hidden. This explanation, however, does not hold up when a more systematic view is taken, and few would agree that the problems besetting New York City are in fact also existing in the small town.

With problems apparently tied to urbanity a simple remedy appears as a residential conversion from urban agglomeration to firmly separated small towns. The reasoning simply is, "if the small town atmosphere does not appear to be associated with problems, then let's live in small towns!"

Although such urban problems appear to be urging for a new population pattern there is underlying this, our uneasiness with the general population increase. We reason that "if we have problems now, what will they be in the year 2000?" A reassuring comment is provided by a USDA Sociologist Dr. E. J. Niederfrank.

"Recent years have seen lots of discussion given to population explosion, with emphasis on our total U. S. population perhaps reaching unmanageable proportions, such as "300 million by 1990, 400 million by the year 2050 or sooner and maybe 500 million some day." However, the longtime trend now looks far less foreboding considering the tremendous decline in fertility rate since 1957 and known changes underway."

The 1970 census was 204,800,000, about 3 million less than was expected 10 years ago. Growth during 1969-70 was only 13.3 percent, the smallest growth ever except for the depression decade of the 1930's."

"Of the Bureau of Census Projection Series, A, B, C, and D, which were devised some years ago to estimate United States population growth, only Series D (rate of 2.45) now seems reasonable, and a new Series E has been added (2.11) which is zero growth without migration."

It now appears that the U. S. population will barely reach 280 million by the year 2000 and may never go higher than 325-350 million. " [16]

The Case Against Dispersion

When population is dispersed in truly rural areas the people face the traditional problems of these areas. Certainly modern communication and transportation systems have reduced difficulties in degree but they still remain. Efficient health delivery systems, modern schools, adequate fire and police departments and quick economical transportation to and from work are all difficult to realize with a widely scattered clientele, a relatively low tax base, and large proportions of time and money needed for travel. Federal subsidies (which because of present population dispersion has suburbia paying in part for rural and urban needs) for sewer, water, roads and a host of items does not--for example, enable a county hospital to provide services equal to its city counterparts. If these moneys were to be extracted from a more heavily populated rural America (rather than suburbia) can they then be utilized to successfully match the urban services? It would be at least doubtful!

A large popular focus today is "quality of the environment." This interest is in the effects of pollution upon our world--air, sea, land and plant and animal life. The most disturbing aspect of the conditions revealed by the investigators is the irreversible effect of many pollutants. Among these the destruction of soil is perhaps most frightening. Here we maintain a plant system providing our basic food supplies and each new town and road in reducing available land for plant growth, reduces the potential for photosynthesis--and at a time when man's food needs are increasing at a tremendous growth rate. New residential and industrial plants are frequently located on rich flat bottom lands where site development is least costly. Some years ago soil scientists used a thumb rule of the need for 100 years of time to produce 1" of topsoil. Today we destroy this material with impunity. A recent issue of Science makes this situation very pointed.

"Moving people to more 'habitable' areas, such as the central valley of California or, indeed, most suburbs, exacerbates another serious problem--the paving-over of prime farmland. This is already so serious in California that, if current trends continue, about 50 percent of the best acreage in the nation's leading agricultural state will be destroyed by the year 2020. Encouraging that trend hardly seems wise." [5, p. 1215].

It should be noted that a simple mixing of top and subsoils such as frequently occurs within housing developments, greatly reduces the agricultural potential of a soil and a reseparation is technically impossible. Today the most intensive use for soils in such areas is for lawn. Tomorrow may be different. During WW II in Germany, field crops were grown between sets of railroad tracks!

Our very extensive holdings of fertile farm land provides a sense of "soil security". This feeling is contained in the following comment.

"If all the land used for farming in the United States were divided equally among U.S. families, what would be your family's share"?

"The answer is slightly more than 27-1/2 acres. To the city dweller or suburbanite this would seem like room to roam. But the average farmer, accustomed to more than 385 acres, might feel a bit cramped." [22, p. 6].

Probably soil contamination is the most acute pollution problem in rural housing developments, however, stream pollution would run a close second. At the present time sewage and industrial waste is concentrated in the major tributaries and rivers. A fanning-out of populated rural America would extend this condition to the lesser tributaries and source points. Pollution of water can be handled in two ways: (1) discontinue the deposition of the pollutant, (2) extract the pollutant promptly and prior to any wide scale contamination. If the second route is selected it is certainly technologically easier to collect this material when it is found in high concentrations in few locations as compared with a more general stream deposit. A similar argument may be made regarding air pollution. To the degree that pollution must continue it probably is more desirable to attempt maximum dispersion. The "balanced growth" concept would certainly encourage this!

This paper is limited as a technological treatment, however, the above discussion confines itself to a common-sense sub-professional level. The advisability of inducing new additional wide spread pollution at a time in history when the people of the U.S. are sincerely fighting such action, is difficult to accept.

It is possible to list several social institutions somewhat peculiar to rural America. The family farm with its traditional division of labor, the father handling the major enterprise, the mother involved with some peripheral farm effort--chickens or garden, and the children, having before and after school specifically assigned tasks. The high level of voluntary neighborhood cooperation in harvesting a crop, replacing a burned barn, organizing a local church, or the filling of non-paid public positions. These are but two that quickly come to mind. Others not quite so uniquely rural are large families, father-son succession of ownership of the business and limited away-from-home social experience.

This very brief picture of institutional rural America is, of course, changing rapidly and in response to many influences, largely economic. The shift to the more profitable larger size of agricultural production unit is constantly observed and considered in detail by economists and others. Remaining behind, however, is a nostalgia for the many desirable social and nature relationships rural America generated. This feeling is firmly held by those who were born into the rural scene and who now have migrated to suburbia and non-farm employment. In addition it holds great appeal to the newer generation currently rejecting everything urban. Those remaining as farmers, in part, manage to retain at least a portion of the "plusses" from the rural life style, and they would increase this earthy, warm atmosphere where possible.

With a certain measure of institutional identity and a strong emotional tie to rural-farm America held by farmers and many non-farmers, it seems unlikely that rural America will welcome increased urbanity. The last thing--the very last thing farmers want--is the city brought to their farms or any nearby areas! With this relationship it would seem inappropriate for any "farmer agency" to encourage or even condone such a policy. The agricultural public arm of the federal government, the United States Department of Agriculture, however, does support this effort. The most pointed evidence of the position of this agency is the publication Toward Policies for Balanced Growth, a lecture series sponsored by the graduate school of the U.S. Department of Agriculture and previously referred to [11 and 24]. A short-run support for "balanced growth" hardly seems a wise trade-off for possible long term rejection by those who "love the land".

A concise description of the farm viewpoint regarding population impact is contained in "Urbanization of A Rural Country" by Charles A. Sargent. Among the dimensions causing problems to farmers were:

"(1) increased land prices and land rentals, (2) increased property taxes, (3) less land available for farming, (4) drainage problems caused by new construction, (5) difficulties in reaching and farming small tracts of land, (6) pressures to reduce livestock numbers, and (7) interference from construction work."

"A common complaint of farmers is high property taxes, which they associate with the influx of nonfarm residents. Since 1950, tax rates have about tripled, while assessments on farm property have increased with the general rise in land values. State law prescribes that land devoted to agricultural use be assessed as agricultural land, and the values used for farm land do not reflect potential value for development. But farm property taxes have increased faster than farm incomes."

"Farmers blamed the rise in property taxes to new nonfarm residents. They noted particularly the impact on school costs, crime rates and congestion on roads. Farmers gave nonfarm residents a lower rating on 'community interest and loyalty' than nonfarmers."
[19]

Perhaps the most unfortunate effect of a policy of population dispersion is the shifting of attention away from basic causes of problems. The proponents of such a policy seem to be saying "problems are associated with density of population so reduce density and the problems will go away." This is treating the symptom and ignoring the cause.

People at high political levels blithely accept population density as the cause of urban problems. A quotation of Congressman Schwengel of Iowa reflects this attitude.

"Mr. Speaker, this Nation can no longer tolerate the continued depopulation of rural America and the amassing of millions and millions more in a few huge metropolitan areas. We cannot tolerate the poverty, crime and exorbitant social costs this creates in our cities. Neither can we tolerate the inadequate health and educational services and facilities, the lack of manpower programs, or the forced migration of our young people from rural areas."

"We can and we must reverse these trends. We must alter the policies and forces that cause them if we are to have the balanced growth Congress committed itself to in title IX of the Agricultural Act of 1970." [2]

No research found by this author will suggest anything more than an association between urban problems and density, i.e. density per se does not cause crime, drug addiction, inadequate waste treatment, high levels of impure air, etc. It has never been shown that it is impossible to realize high density without these attendant problems!

It is inadvisable to impose residential regulators at great expense, when a less drastic and less expensive change might yield a more satisfactory and long range solution. At least, it would seem advisable to attempt some balanced growth and concurrently look for problem solutions within our present free unbalanced milieu!

The Effects of Unbalanced Growth

The balanced growth concept implies an undesirable concentration of population in suburbia. There is an accompanying assumption that the United States is unique in experiencing such high population concentrations. A brief look at population density in other parts of the world is quite revealing: In terms of people per square unit (in this case kilometer) and with the U.S. as 19, we find Nigeria with 38, Uganda 27, Lebanon 158, Israel 102, Cyprus 61, Turkey 35, Ceylon 151, India 136, China 295, Korea 250, Haiti 126, Puerto Rico 265, Belgium 300, Denmark 106, Germany (West) 215, Netherlands 342, Switzerland 130, United Kingdom 215, Singapore 2813, Hong Kong 2891, [23, p. 490].

These figures indicate our inexperience with high densities over broad areas, but even on a limited area basis we do not compare. Per square mile Hong Kong has some 265,000 - 298,000 [14, p. 21] as compared with New York City today with only 21,343 [4, p. 436 and 17].

Thomlinson has a short statement bearing directly on this point [23, p. 272]:

"The highest density achieved by Western man is 350,000 per square mile; this sardine-like concentration was reported by Mark Jefferson for the poorest districts of the Lower East Side of New York City at about 1900. But the busiest beehive of all is Hong Kong, where a restricted town site between mountains and the sea has forced a cramming of the recent population influx up to a density in the worst areas of 800,000 persons per square mile."

It could be immediately claimed that possibly Hong Kong has even more problems than New York City--that higher densities lead to "higher" problems in a straight line relationship. Social information about Hong Kong gathered scientifically is not abundantly available, however, a recent article appeared in The American Sociological Review, [14, pp. 18-29]. It describes a study which bears directly on the concerns of this paper.

Data was gathered in an area of Hong Kong where density levels were from 265,000 to 298,000 people per square mile and the focus of the study was "within dwelling" space. In answering the question, "How do you feel about the amount of space you have?", 29% of those interviewed claimed "somewhat less space than they needed and 13% indicated "much less space". Physical conditions of tap water, flush toilet and cross ventilation seem to be irrelevant.

The findings as to "major effects" of high density included (1) attitudes toward housing, space and lack of privacy are functions of density but such consciousness does not imply deeper levels of emotional strain, (2) the manifestations of emotional strain: worry and unhappiness only appear when the poverty level is extreme, (3) densities do not effect deeper and more basic levels of emotional strain and hostility, (4) doubling-up of nonrelated households tends to create stressful situations. This can be intensified when multi-story upper floors preclude effective outdoor separation, (5) the various housing conditions have no apparent effect on patterns of husband-wife interaction but density leads to easy absence of children and a resulting lack of parental control, (6) discouragement of interaction and friendship practices among neighbors and friends.

It would seem then that the negative effects tend to be superficial so far as any real psycho-social impact is concerned. Also these might be amenable to correction within the high density milieu, i.e. separation of nonrelated households, creation of common play and visiting areas, etc.

A basic work in relation to the density question was that of Calhoun in working with rats [1, pp. 139-146]. Here he induced crowding by permitting population growth within a fixed spatial arrangement. He found as density increased many abnormalities developed. Females could not carry young to a full term and they could not survive delivery. Males exhibited sexual deviation, cannibalism, withdrawal and frenetic activity. In looking for an immediate cause, he noted a social grouping of extremely unequal numbers of males and females. At eating time extreme crowding was noted as all rats attempted to eat at the same location--rejecting any food intake in isolation. Calhoun called this a "behavioral sink". His experimentation yielded data regarding many additional negative health and social outcomes. Finally he concluded that, "It is obvious that the behavioral repertory with which the Norway rat has emerged from the trials of evolution and domestication must break down under the social pressures generated by population density", [1, p. 148].

There is, of course, the implication that some similar results may be obtained when humans are placed in extremely crowded positions. Other investigators have considered this question and some possibility seems to exist. In 1966 R. C. Schmitt [20] showed some relationship between density and health and social disorganization. His work, however, as is the case with others, in his words, "The foregoing analysis is broadly indicative and far from conclusive", [20, p. 39].

An excellent discussion of the advantages of densely populated residential sites is provided by Jane Jacobs. In stating this position she quotes Samuel Johnson who in 1785 said, "Men thinly scattered make a shift, but a bad shift, without many things...It is being concentrated which produces convenience" [10].

Also in 1959 Professor John H. Denton who after studying "new towns" in Britain and the suburbs in America, came to the conclusion that ready access to a city was needed to provide cultural opportunity--that a lack of density of population denied cultural facilities.

Miss Jacobs admits the possibility of densities so high that the advantage is lost. She, however, places this at a very high level--something in excess of 200 dwelling units per acre. In this discussion she makes a careful distinction between "high density" and "over crowding". This concept is easily seen in a comparison of people per land unit compared with people per room. Most writers, however, couple these terms and assume that most frequently they are found together.

She concludes by stating, "No good for cities or for their design, planning, economics or people, can come of the emotional assumption that the dense city populations are, per se, undesirable. In my view, they are an asset." [10, p. 221]. Miss Jacobs, we must note, is a writer, and her work is largely intuitive.

A work that has become something of a classic in the housing field is Housing Choices and Housing Constraints [7]. In this work ample reference is made to scientific sources and at one point a conclusion is reached that "No conditioning environmental factors as yet discovered, when correlated with any of the dependent social behavioral variables which have been systematically studied, succeed in accounting either singly or in combination, for as much as a quarter of the observed variance in the latter" [7, p. 315].

There seems to be a number of indicators that density of population per se need not cause physical and social ills. Also, the distinction between density and crowding seems pertinent allowing for a condition of high density and low crowding.

The Sociological Impact

Much early literature points to a distinct separation between the close, family "togetherness" called Gemeinschaft and the cold, impersonal, loose social frame referred to as Gesellschaft. The first was found in rural areas and the second in the cities. The Gemeinschaft is the more desirable state and any urban-to-rural shift would then be a gain for the urban. In recent years a more complete assessment has been available as well as the identification of the dynamic nature of these conditions.

Loomis and Beegle indicated that the more undesirable condition (Gesellschaft) is also found in Rural America:

"Neighborhoods which once were "communities of fate" in that all shared good and bad fortune no longer are bound by the same ties. In rural America, the neighborhoods and other locality groups are increasingly assuming the aspects of the Gesellschaft" [13, p. 35].

This position--that of a decline of social interconnectedness--is a general effect, again stated as follows:

"One of the chief theses of this book is that the older rural Gemeinschaft-like society is losing its functional diffuseness, its particularism, its familism power, and its effectivity in personal relations as the Gesellschaft-like society begins to have primacy. Technology and bureaucracy have changed rural locality groups and families, so that even if only farmers lived in rural areas, social-cultural linkage would have been achieved between city and country. But in most of the regions of the United States, the cities have spilled over into the countryside, so that in many states the rural-non-farm population outnumbers the rural-farm population" [13, p. 452].

In 1938 Louis Wirth's essay, "Urbanism As A Way Of Life" solidly confirmed the Gesellschaft nature of the city. He discussed the weakening of the bonds of kinship and neighborliness, a lack of mutual acquaintanceship, segmentation of human relationships, contacts of a secondary rather than primary nature, the superficiality, anonymity and transitory nature of urban-social relationships. He finally claimed "The close living together and working together of individuals who have no sentimental and emotional ties foster a spirit of competition, aggrandizement and mutual exploitation" [29].

These comments suggest that the social structure of rural America has in fact become that of Urban America and its characteristics are currently less desirable than realized some years ago. If we accept the similarity concept placing more of the population in the rural area in effect does not change the social milieu. Actually the situation is more positive than early authors suggest as within the new Gesellschaft atmosphere there are characteristics that bear a resemblance to the Gemeinschaft.

Roland L. Warren mentions the interest in a deliberate attempt to build back the Gemeinschaft tradition: "And among city planners and urban sociologists there rages a constant controversy over the extent to which city planning should attempt to incorporate the goal of restoring in the urban neighborhood an emphasis on locality-based participation" [28, p. 62]. Next, he points to a

probable replacement direction that pervades: "The locality is no longer the important reference group that it once was, and people tend to identify themselves with various interest groups with which they are functionally much more closely interrelated than with their neighbors" [28, p. 62].

A view which contains something of the above is that of an extension of the neighborhood and, presumably, the Gemeinschaft traditional characteristics. In an analysis of the functioning of neighboring for the middleclass male, Ruth and John Useem and Duane L. Gibson state: "In the present trend toward large, residential settlements of persons similar in social and economic status and living in homes of comparable size and arrangements, the neighborhood can be composed of thousands of residents and coincide with a section, development, subdivision, school district, political entity, etc." [27]. This seems to suggest the persistence of the intense, residential, social relationship but with an expanded geographical arena.

Scott Greer deals with the topic of distance in social action and injects a class differential: "The lower the occupational and educational level, the smaller the scale of an individual's participation...the radius of his interaction is shorter" [9, p. 127].

Herbert Gans suggests that the level of social interaction bears a relation to the heterogeneity of the population. He feels that the variation among the individuals creates small groupings, and it is here that the more traditional interaction is occurring [8, p. 410]. Scott Greer echoes this position: "In the family neighborhood, however, life style and the relationships among the sites force inter-household communication and allow neighborhood organization" [9, p. 112].

These brief references suggest that the evolving residential social structure in the United States has undergone superficial shifts but the basic interpersonal relationships are maintained. This point of view is confirmed by recent research reported in the American Sociological Review of August 1969 [12].

"The hypothesis advanced is that the processes of technological development have forced an increasing differentiation of primary-group structures. At the same time, the level of technology permits the survival of forms of primary group structures which could not remain stable in some earlier stages" [12, p. 479].

"Thus, it would be an error to say that, because a primary group structure changes from one stage of historical development to another, it is moving to destruction. An investigator who assumes

implicitly that only one type of primary group can exist will be making such an error. From a theoretical point of view this article suggests alternatives to those theories (Tonnies, 1940; Wirth, 1957; Simmel, 1957) which assert all primary groups tend to disappear, as well as those theories which suggest that only one type of primary group (isolated nuclear family) is viable in a modern technological society (Parsons, 1949). It does this by suggesting that technological demands for differential mobility does not disrupt kinship, friendship, and neighborhood groups as assumed by all of these theorists, as well as by pointing out that primary groups other than isolated nuclear family have unique functions. As such this article supports an alternative theory of the organizational basis of technological society (Litwak and Figueira, 1968)." [12, p. 480].

Run Away or Stay and Fight

We have prided ourselves as Americans on our ability to "face up" and solve problems. There is, however, another side to our "personality".

"Americans are characterized as much by avoidance and running away from problems as we are by "can-do" philosophy. It must be recalled that the country was founded by people who were fleeing from problems in their own country. This notion that when things get bad, one picks up and goes elsewhere has been a very important mechanism for dealing with, if not solving, problems. It is in this sense that the frontier was perhaps helpful to us, not that it provided room for expansion, but that it provided a place to begin anew when the problems in the old got too difficult, too pressing or could not be coped with."

"In recent centuries Europe has never had the physical space to permit the luxury of ignoring problems and it may well be that the closing of the frontier, the increasing density of our cities, and the immediacy of the media, has now simply brought us to face the issue" [6, p. 6].

One person who has "faced the issue" and sought to upgrade cities is world-renowned city planner Constantinos A. Doxiadis. A fitting close to this brief paper is a portion of his description of life in the year 2000. He is describing a trip from Greece to New York City.

"Now let's explore in our imagination the more optimistic prophecy. From the temple of Apollo I walk back to my hotel, enjoying the peaceful surroundings, the yellow flowers, and the birds, including an occasional eagle which flies above and below me into

the valley. I explain to someone that I have to take the speediest trip to New York and in 10 minutes a plastic bubble is in my room ready for my journey."

"I hang my clothes in the bubble's special closet, close its door, lie in its armchair, fasten my belt, and push the buttons-- Destination: New York, Waldorf-Astoria Hotel; Meal at 1300 hours G. T.; Passport, Greek 12/31/62; Do not disturb, please; I am not interested in the steward's stories."

"My bubble is taken to the basement of the hotel and through an underground tube to the rocketport, loaded on a rocket, to be unloaded in New York, and guided to my hotel room there by another tube, while I work and rest. I know that I am traveling. I don't have any sense of motion."

"After seven hours, I am told that I have arrived at the Waldorf. Emerging from my bubble, I leave the hotel for a walk on Park Avenue. Now that cars are all underground, the center section of the Avenue has become a sculpture garden. Here, shaded by trees and surrounded by flowers, a great collection of sculpture ranging from Rodin's to Henry Moore's is exhibited. The garden is flanked by marble pavements for those who wish to stroll along the avenue in the open air and by covered sidewalks for those who wish to window-shop."

"Here in the midst of the best that mankind has created, I feel happy that industrial progress has allowed the planned order of New York City to be as enjoyable as the wilderness of the Greek mountains. Buildings and networks of transportation systems and other facilities have developed to the point that they serve man instead of tyrannizing him and imposing their demanding existence on him" [3, p. 13].

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Reaction
CHANGING SOCIAL DISTRIBUTIONS AND THE QUALITY OF RURAL LIFE

Discussion of Edward K. Knapp's Paper

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The position in which I find myself is one characterized by a great deal of latitude. Let me begin by indicating some of the things I will and will not do.

The one thing I will not do is "nit-pick." Having made the promise, let me immediately violate it to the extent of noting that I felt that the references cited in the paper did not, in some instances, strongly support Dr. Knapp's assertions.

There are several things I will attempt to do. First, I would like to try to extend the scope of our considerations to include rural people in general rather than confining ourselves to talking only about farm folks. A good part of Dr. Knapp's material focused on the rural farm population. I would hope that we carry on our discussion from a wider perspective.

Next, I think that Dr. Knapp has provided some interesting points of departure for our discussion. I will attempt to pose questions and suggest some areas that the group may wish to explore.

Finally, I feel I should make explicit my personal biases. I am not an Agricultural Fundamentalist. The result is that I am not overly swayed by discussions of the virtues frequently ascribed to the "family farm." I see the successful farm owner-operator of today as part of the local business community; a business man possessing high managerial skills and controlling a large capital investment. I suspect that my feelings on this matter result, at least in part, from the fact that although I am a product of Land Grant Colleges of Agriculture, I was born and raised in the city.

After that rather lengthy preface, let me turn now to Dr. Knapp's paper.

First, there can be no quarrel with Dr. Knapp's basic assumptions--namely, (a) There does exist a national policy directed towards stemming the flow of people into the metropolitan centers, and (b) the growth of an area is a function of the economic activity going on in that area. With regard to the stated policy of "balanced growth", we might consider the following questions:

1. How, or in fact, can such a policy be implemented?
2. What would be the impact of this policy on non-urban areas?
3. What can rural areas do to (a) promote, (b) get ready for, or (c) fend off such growth?

I would like to focus now on the charge given our group as expressed in the title of the session, "Changing Social Institutions and the Quality of Rural Life." I will make a couple of observations about the key phrases in the title and then pose some questions that the group may wish to consider.

On the matter of the rural institutional structure, dramatic change has occurred, as Dr. Knapp points out. There is no turning back to the "good old days" where life was characterized by the virtues attributed to farm family life and neighborly cooperation. To hope to regain such a pattern of living is wishful thinking. In my view, a fruitful line of discussion might center on examining what changes have occurred and the implications of such changes.

Looking now at the phrase "Quality of Rural Life", let me repeat my desire to focus on the rural scene rather than just the agricultural sector. Under the heading of "quality" I am thinking of such things as health services and facilities, educational facilities, and what might be termed "Amenities of living", that is, access to art, music, theater, sporting events, and outdoor recreation. The availability of such quality factors will certainly play a role in drawing people to the rural areas and in helping to keep people there. At this point we could bring into the discussion how such services and amenities might best be provided in the rapidly changing rural areas. This would take us into the extensive literature dealing with growth centers, FEA's, regionalization, etc. It is sufficient at this point, however, merely to suggest the complexities associated with meeting the changing demands for quality factors.

With these observations as background, let me close by offering four questions for the group's consideration. First, we might explore what additional institutional changes are needed? I am thinking here of such things as moving provision of public services out of the horse and buggy era through the mechanism of regionalization; or controlling land use with tools such as rural zoning ordinances and tax incentives for maintaining open spaces. Next, I feel it is essential that we consider what would be the impact of institutional change on the affected parties. More generally, I would raise the question of just how useful the rural-urban dichotomy is for viewing today's problems? Finally, I think we should take a hard look at how much change can rural people realistically be expected to accept (or be educated to accept, or at least, tolerate)?

Summary

CHANGING SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND THE QUALITY OF RURAL LIFE

Chairman: Austin E. Bennett, University of Maine
Speaker: Edward K. Knapp, University of Massachusetts
Reactor: Edmond E. Seay, University of Rhode Island

A thought-provoking paper was given by Dr. Edward Knapp with a response by Dr. Edmond Seay. The theme was current national policy for balanced growth.

The goal of balanced growth policy is redistribution of population with the objective of alleviating problems associated with urbanization, such as poverty, high crime rates and pollution.

While the problems commonly associated with urbanization do seem to be absent from small community life, there are disadvantages to shifting population to rural areas. These include:

- a. higher costs of facilities and services
- b. more difficulty in providing transportation
- c. more widespread pollution rather than concentration in limited areas

Balanced growth policy implies an assumption that density of population per se results in problems of overcrowding. There is little solid evidence to support this assumption. In fact densities of population exist in other parts of the world far greater than any in the U.S. where overcrowding is not a problem for most people.

The major conclusion was that redistribution of U.S. population may be worthwhile for short term alleviation of some problems, but only if it does not divert attention from finding the causes of those problems associated with urban living.