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PROCEEDINGS

of the

WESTERN FARM ECONOMICS ASSOCIATION

Twelfth Annual Meeting

June 14, 15, and 16, 1939

University of California

Berkeley, California

CULTURAL PATTERNS IN RELATION TO ECONOMIC WELFARE*

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In preparing this discussion I have done so with the belief that one of the dominant characteristics of the cultural patterns of modern America is the inter-dependence between the rural-agricultural and the urban-industrial segments. If in my discussion I place emphasis upon the rural-agricultural segments of our culture and its problems, the inter-dependent aspects have not been forgotten.

One of the assumptions upon which I have proceeded is that in a general sense economic welfare cannot be divorced from general welfare any more than the agricultural facets can be separated from the totality of our society. "No individual professes to be an economic man or regards himself and his doings as an economic phenomenon. There are only rich men and poor men, plumbers and antiquarians, fish-mongers and bond salesmen, researchers and doctors and morticians. The world of affairs is peopled with human beings who engage in human activities and whose conduct is human behaviour. Economic organization is not a thing apart, it is an implication of man's entire life in society" and "cannot be detached from its cultural matrix"¹/ We need to be constantly conscious of the fact that while the general welfare goals of a society cannot be attained without satisfactory achievement of economic welfare, at the same time the mere perfection of the economic organization will not guarantee complete satisfaction of general welfare for man is not wholly a rational animal nor does he live by bread alone; he has other basic "needs" or "drives" or "appetites", whatever they may be called, as well as those for food, shelter and clothing and other material needs.

What I shall attempt to do is, first, to review some of the cracks in our cultural patterns; second, sketch the nature of cultural patterns and how they change; and third, outline a few considerations for any planned attempt to change the patterns of our society.

I have taken the privilege of drawing rather freely upon the statements of others because I have construed my function on this program as that of presenting a point of view to stimulate thinking and discussion.

¹ Walton H. Hamilton, "Organization, Economic", Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, 6:484-490.

Broadly speaking, agriculture in the United States is prosperous and the conditions in many of the great farming regions are good. The success of the owners and cultivators of good land, prosperous regions, has been due partly to improved methods, to good prices for products, and also to the general advance in the price of farm lands in these regions. Notwithstanding the advance in rentals and the higher prices of labor, tenants have enjoyed a good degree of prosperity, due to fair crops, advance in the price of farm products approximately corresponding to the advance in the price of land. Farm labor has been employed and at increased wages and many farm hands have become tenants and many tenants have become land owners. There is marked improvement, in many of the agricultural regions, in the character of the home and its surroundings. There is increasing appreciation of the advantage of water supplies and plumbing, of better construction in barns and farm buildings, of good reading matter, of tasteful gardens and lawns, and the necessity of good education. There has never been a time when the American farmer was as well off as he is today, when he considered not only his earning power, but the comforts and advantages of his life. "1" This statement from the report in 1909 of the Country Life Commission appointed by Theodore Roosevelt represents the result of a group of American farm leaders based upon the outcome of thirty public hearings scattered throughout the United States and the answers of 120,000 farmers to questions of the Department of Agriculture. This report was made at the beginning of that period often referred to as the "parity" period between American agriculture and industry; it is the beginning of that "golden era" which is now referred to as "100" in government economic statistics.

But let us look further into this report. In spite of being well off in 1909 than ever before, according to the commission, there was a lack of efficiency in farm life, and in country life as a whole, which could not be measured by historical standards, but in terms of its own possibilities. Considered from this point of view, there are marked deficiencies. "2" And so we find that this bench-mark that we are now trying to get back to also had some cracks in its cultural pattern; it had adjustments in its economic and social order. What were the deficiencies? Briefly, the main special deficiencies, in addition to the over-all one of lack of the proper kind of education, were the "disregard of the inherent rights of land workers", high prices for land, soil depletion, agricultural labor, health, and women's work on the farm. The disregard of the inherent rights of land workers, it was said to result "directly in social depression as well as economic disadvantage", took the form of speculative holding of

Report of the Country Life Commission, Senate Document No. 705, 60th Congress, 2nd Session (1909).

monopolistic control of streams, wastage and control of and the restraint of trade. The point on restraint of trade particular application to the railroads and to marketing, and interesting to note that the committee said "if the farmer because his business is small, isolated, and unsyndicated, is the part of government to see that he has an equal opportunity among his fellowmen and a square deal". Although soil depletion its effects was a main deficiency, it was carefully noted which land well farmed does not necessarily mean high ideals of society". Agricultural labor was a problem because it was although the deficiency was complicated by the fact that for labor was not continuous and the laborers had long hours, conveniences for living, lack of companionship and in some low wages.

The culture with which these deficiencies were associated was the product of a period characterized by expansion westward and city-industrially and agriculturally, characterized by exploitation of natural resources and characterized by speculation as a result of a policy geared to constant expansion of population and declining of resources in relation to potential demand.

Let us now shift the scene to 1939. What forces have been at work during the thirty year interval, since the appraisal by the Life Commission appointed by the Roosevelt of the "square deal" to produce the cultural patterns of today? We have become increasingly urbanized; 1920 marked the first census to show over 50% of our people living in urban areas. We have been increasingly mechanized; a sample census of 1938 shows seven out of every ten cars with automobiles, one out of every three with tractors and out of every four with motor trucks; the studies of the Works Progress Administration on "Reemployment Opportunities and Recent Changes in Industrial Techniques" show the nature and extent and of the consequences of this mechanization. We have become increasingly specialized in our division of labor. We have become increasingly commercialized with the result that the majority of us are thrown almost entirely into a price and market economy. Over and interwoven with these urbanized, mechanized, specialized commercialized trends we have had the influence of applied science to work changes. We have organized into "interest" and "pressure" groups of one kind or another, some for non-utilitarian purposes but many to advance the welfare of a special group at the expense of, or regardless of, the general welfare.

In some ways the era of which 1909 was a part marked the end of the period of infancy and adolescence of our nation; in others it gave promise of what was to come, for in the emphasis of today on conservation, upon bringing about a parity between the rural and urban elements of our national life, we see the shadow of the "square deal". We are recognizing that the past thirty years have marked a transitional period during which we as a nation have been emerging into maturity. If there were cracks in the cul-

terns of the time marking a turning-point in the shift from wholly rural to one dominantly urban, from the hoe-farmer to tractor-farmer, from the tallow candle to the electric light, from isolation to modern ease and speed of contacts with other parts of the world, from a subsistence economy to a dollars and cents economy. We well know that there are dislocations in the cultural patterns of today.

Let us look for a moment at a few of the places in our national life where our cultural patterns are not giving us the kind of society which many believe desirable. What are some of the deficiencies of today?

Although income is not a complete index to economic and social conditions, low income is one of the most powerful conditioning factors leading to reduce families to low economic and social status. We have had our attention constantly drawn during recent years to the existence of low income groups, families with low income because of unemployment, part-time work and poorly paid work or because of low productivity for what was produced, or because of lack of adequate production resources. The report on distribution of consumer's incomes for 1935-36, based upon surveys of the Bureau of Home Economics and the Bureau of Labor Statistics in cooperation with the National Resources Committee, estimates that of the thirty-nine million consumption units the lowest one-third had under \$780 per year income, the middle one-third between \$780 and \$1450, and the plutocrats of the upper one-third were those with more than \$1450. ^{4/} The average income of consumption units in the lower one-third was \$471, in the middle one-third, \$1076, and in the upper one-third, influenced by the extremely high income of a few families, the average was about \$3000. Of each \$100 of the estimated national income of about \$30 billion dollars, ten went to the lowest one-third, twenty-four to the middle one-third, and sixty-six to the upper one-

While low income may be one of the best criteria of inequality and of disadvantaging conditions, it must be remembered that it is interwoven with other social and economic factors. The "chronic spots and persistent problems" within agriculture which were highlighted by the jamming of the economic machinery have been outlined in the report of Taylor, Wheeler, and Kirkpatrick called "Disadvantaged Classes in American Agriculture". ^{5/} What has been the result? The answer is that since the early thirties has been leading to impoverished rural people since the early thirties has

Consumer Incomes in the United States, Their Distribution in 1935-36, National Resources Committee, 1938, p. 8-10.

Issued by United States Department of Agriculture as Social Research Report No. VIII, 1938.

summarized in "Seven Lean Years" by Woofter and Winston. 6/ Agriculture, according to Woofter and Winston and supported by him and his associates, there are nearly five million families suffering from definite handicaps and living at an income level below minimum subsistence levels as defined in recent budgetary reports. This imposing proportion of the people engaged in agriculture who are among the low income and disadvantaged group is made up of a majority of the 2,700,000 wage workers, at least 700,000 tenants and croppers, probably 750,000 subsistence and marginal farmers and a number of small operators living on sub-marginal land. 7/ While within every community, persons and families are continually operating at all levels of success and failure, certain areas have been defined as problem areas because of the presence of a combination of such factors as high tenancy, high proportion of farm laborers, high relief rates and low standards of living. The highest rates of reproduction are found in problem areas which often have a lack of adequate educational facilities and a lag in public health programs; thus each successive generation is drawn in large numbers from economically disadvantaged groups and depressed economic areas. Although important, in many of these areas the rise of income does not solve the basic problems for "they will remain until there is a fundamental and large scale effort made toward solving them," as Woofter and Winston state. 8/ They expand, contract, expand again and contract again as rural-cultural conditions swing from depression to prosperity and back again to depression.

There may be some who think exclusively of the physical or economic aspect of agriculture who are prone to dismiss these disadvantaged classes and their problems with the statement that they are weaklings, "a permanently submerged class which will continue to be a burden to relief agencies". The realistic student of rural culture will not adopt such a defeatist attitude nor will he shrug this problem aside so arbitrarily. "Trained in observation of human traits and institutions, he realizes that many of our people suffer from social, personal and economic defects that can be remedied...these are human handicaps subject to removal by a strengthened system of social institutions and a determination to create a balanced society". 9/

Published by University of North Carolina Press, 1939.

Woofter and Winston, Seven Lean Years, p. 87.

p. 133.

p. 151.

deficiencies, these cracks in our culture, are subject
 As we cannot accept the inevitableness of these deficiencies
 1939 nor of the immediately preceding years, we have
 trend, or at least an increase in the trend, toward gov-
 erned activities and this in turn seems to be leading toward
 planning.

Until the present time I have not stopped to define terms
 As I should here briefly review the nature of cultural pat-
 terns will not be new to say that we think of culture, or the
 heritage, of any group as that complex whole which includes
 goods fabricated by man, knowledge, beliefs, art, morals,
 science, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man
 as a member of society. The simplest unit of culture is a culture
 trait, for example, the button on my coat, or a dinner plate, or
 the act of saying "Mr. Chairman". Traits do not exist, as a
 rule, independently of each other. They are combined into what is
 called a culture complex or culture pattern. These patterns gener-
 ally develop around some felt need or situation. A culture pattern,
 locally speaking, is any arrangement of culture traits in
 space that may be regarded, for purpose of study, as having
 a certain degree of unity or wholeness. In our complicated industrial and
 organization there are literally hundreds of culture patterns
 which do with the production, manufacturing, distribution and con-
 sumption of material goods. Various combinations of divergent cul-
 ture patterns in turn form even larger units of the total culture.
 Perhaps somewhat straining the usual sociological conception of
 culture patterns when I use the term as I have in the larger sense.

Considering the nature of culture one should realize that
 it grows by two general means, (1) the invention of new culture
 traits and (2) the diffusion of traits. In the accumulation, which
 takes place with some selection, there is a tendency for the old
 traits of the social structure to linger on past their optimum
 utility. Invention of new cultural traits may be, of course,
 material and non-material. The Australian ballot or the city
 form of government are just as much inventions as the auto-
 telephone or television. Mere efficiency or practicability
 is not enough to make an invention be generally accepted in the
 society. The successful invention is merely one which is accepted
 and incorporated into general use; many inventions may
 actually achieve the purposes for which their inventors invented
 them but their acceptance hinges upon the evaluation of the society
 at the time and place. For example, we know that the Alexandrian
 steam engine which was effective. We know that during
 the last hundred years fire arms were in use, that perfectly fea-
 sible machine guns and repeating rifles were developed; yet both of
 these inventions failed to "take" at the time because the cultural
 climate was not set for their acceptance.

cultures have grown chiefly by borrowing.¹⁰ There is no culture existing today which can claim more than ten of its total elements as inventions made by members of its own race. Because we live in a period of rapid invention, we tend to think of our own culture as largely self-created but in fact diffusion may be brought home to us as we consider only a few of an average person's day. For example, this morning I got up in a bed built on a pattern which originated in the Near East, modified in Northern Europe before it was transmitted to America. I then threw back covers made from cotton, domesticated in the Near East, and wool from sheep domesticated in the Near East. I slipped into moccasins invented by the Indians of the eastern United States, and went to the bathroom where the fixtures were a mixture of European and American inventions. I took off my pajamas, a garment invented in India, and washed with soap invented by the ancient Gauls. I then shaved, a personal rite which seems to be derived from either Sumer or Egypt. Returning to the bedroom, I removed my clothes which were of Southern European type, and proceeded to dress, putting on garments which were originally derived from the skin clothing of the Asiatic steppes, putting on shoes made from leather treated by a process invented in Ancient Egypt and cut to a pattern derived from the classical civilizations of the Mediterranean. I tied around my neck a strip of bright colored cloth which is a direct descendant of shawls worn by the seventeenth century American Indian. On the way to breakfast I stopped to buy a paper, paying with coins, an ancient Lydian invention. At breakfast I ate a waffle made from a form of pottery invented in China with a knife of steel, an alloy first made in Southern India, with a fork, an Italian invention, and a spoon which is the derivative of the original. I began breakfast with an orange, native of the eastern Mediterranean, drank coffee, an Abyssinian plant, went to eat waffles, which are cakes made by a Scandinavian technique, and a pancake domesticated in Asia Minor. Over the waffles was poured maple syrup invented by the Indians of the Eastern United States. On the other side I had an egg of a species of bird domesticated in America. After this I settled back to smoke, an American-Indian invention consisting of a plant domesticated in Brazil, in a cigarette domain of Mexico. While smoking I read the news of the day in which I saw characters invented by the ancient Semites upon material derived from China by a process invented in Germany. And as I read of the troubles of foreign troubles I, as a good conservative citizen, thought of a Hebrew deity in an Indo-European language that I am 100 percent American.

The particular arrangements of the various items of culture into more or less distinct patterns may be said to be due chiefly to the influence of geography and history. For example, I doubt if when the survey system of the United States was put into operation the result was that farms were laid out in rectangular blocks and

This section adapted from Ralph Linton, The Study of Man, pp. 324-346.

s were tilled on straight lines regardless of natural
of the earth, that much thought was given to the fact that
dure would accelerate erosion of the top soil so that
there would be a great national agency, called the Soil
on Service, put into operation to correct the ailment at
cially due to our land survey system.

is axiomatic to say that cultures have not chosen but have
to the patterns which characterize them. And if we do have
ies and problems they have most likely come about without
tion on the part of anyone that they should be so. Planned
ted invention in society is indeed recent; the planning of
for the larger needs of society has only begun. The lack
ment between production and consumption, the alternation
rity and depression, with differential consequences for
us classes and groups of society, the anomaly of idle fac-
d unemployment and the paradox of people in need amidst
plenty has vested the economic segments of our culture
blic interest. It is now becoming reputable to believe in
bility and necessity of economic planning. But even as the
organization is not a separate and distinct thing like a
a checkerboard with its own jurisdiction and a law of its
is an aspect of all life and all culture so likewise in
ing plans for direction of the economic organization there
ain broad considerations not purely economic which are im-

to characteristics of the people for whose welfare the plan-
being done is one of the first considerations. How many
are there? How are they distributed? What is their age,
ethnic composition? What are their mobility patterns? We
know the trends and changes in the population numbers and
eristics so the prescribed plans will be good for more than
eration. We need to know what differentials exist among the
economic-social groups and in various geographic areas. 11/

second consideration is the social organization or social
re. Here are included the spatial patterns of society, the
ment into groups within the spatial pattern, and the institu-
zed agencies and services. As parts of the spatial pattern,
ghborhood, the community, and culture areas have particular
elevance for the planners, depending upon the scale of opera-
The culture area, or social region, may be studied just as

The Problems of a Changing Population, Report of the Com-
tee on Population Problems to the National Resources Com-
tee, 1938.

ist maps crop areas or soil types or the economist e-of-farming areas. The arrangements of the elements into a pattern, a configuration, peculiar to a region, character of uniqueness. 12/ The significance for planning spatial patterns is that they delimit geographic areas in which there is most likely to be homogeneity and consciousness of the people of these similarities.

groups include the family and other "primary" groups, or special interest groups, class groups (including farm organizations) and ethnic groups. Another concept which helps in the nature of the group structure is the "in-group" versus "out-group" or "we-group" versus "others group". These cut across the first named groups and are found in every society. The "in-group" or "we-group" is any association towards which we have a sense of loyalty, friendliness, and a definite sense of obligation, especially at the time of a critical situation; the "others group" is that for which we feel dislike, disgust, competition or antagonism. There is much "we-feeling" with individuals when an effort is made to divide states into regional administrative purposes; our family is better than the neighbor across the line fence; our neighborhood is better than Skunk County. The significance for planning of these group alignments is that on the one hand, if understood, they offer resources which may be used effectively; on the other hand, they present hazards which may block the operation of plans.

Institutionalized agencies and services depend definitely upon their survival; it is important to know the optimum number and the best spatial relationships of schools, churches, hospitals, health, recreational, and economic institutions and agencies which most adequately and efficiently meet the needs of the population.

A third important consideration is the attitudes and opinions of the people which are probably grounded as much in the social environment as in habit and custom, as they are rational reactions to a particular social milieu. Planning needs not only to consider attitudes and opinions but the mood of the people for the proposed action. There are times when people are in a mood for social adventure and there are times when there is a lack of faith in older and less drastic methods of action.

Howard W. Odum and Harry E. Moore, American Regionalism; R. Lively and R. B. Almack, A Method of Determining Rural Sub-Areas with Application to Ohio, Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station and Farm Security Administration, 1938. The U. S. Progress Administration, Division of Social Research, has a project in process for the delineation of areas within the rural-farm and rural non-farm population.

planning to overcome maladjustments, we must not become
 optimistic and think that we can overcome all problems; a dy-
 namic society must always have some "lags". No culture can achieve
 integration and complete internal adjustment as long as it
 is a growing thing. To paraphrase Professor Read Bain:
 "It is, nothing is what it appears to be, because everything
 is in process. It is not realistic to expect to be able to circumvent all
 problems arising from changes in our culture. Likewise, the goals
 set up as the objectives will constantly shift; exactly what the
 people will strive to attain, will be determined by
 themselves, not by the planners alone."

Among the hazards to the planning of our cultural patterns,
 one of the greatest is the expert or specialist. As Harold
 Laski says, the expert has his limitations.¹³ For one thing, he
 does not "understand the plain man"; he tends "to make his subject
 the measure of his sub-
 jectivity of life, instead of making life the measure of his sub-
 jectivity. His intensity of vision destroys his sense of proportion."
 He fails to see that every judgment he makes not purely
 in his nature brings with it a scheme of values which has no
 validity about it." What can be done by society is not what
 the expert thinks should be done, but what the scheme of values of
 society will permit. This is not to say that all experts should be
 eliminated or that their functions are non-essential; they have their
 own important role. But if I as an expert, with the cooper-
 ation of specialists in other fields, work out a social system for
 the Southern Great Plains which is perfectly logical and rational and
 there is no assurance that the plan can be put into opera-
 tion. I may have determined the optimum number of people which can be
 supported at a desirable minimum level of living from the land resources
 and laid out a spatial pattern for the location of people so that
 schools, churches, and other institutions and services have the
 "volume of business" to serve the people most efficiently and
 cheaply; I may have determined the age and sex composition which
 will maintain the population stable in number without a decrease in
 income. I may have utilized the results of farm management and business
 management and public finance research so that the size of farm and
 livestock enterprises are such as to give maximum efficiency
 and are equitably distributed. I may have designed machinery to put the
 plan into operation so that the Southern Great Plains will have a cul-
 tural security and stability to the people. But to know what ought
 to be done is not enough; it is imperative to know what can be done.

Another second great hazard in planning is human inertia. It
 is a general tendency to value highly those things to which

¹³ Harold J. Laski, "The Limitations of the Expert", Harper's
Magazine, December, 1930.

customed; we must remember that habit is the great flywheel. Of one thing we may be certain and that is that the solutions of our problems will not be in the nature of blueprints conceived solely by experts, either for agriculture or rural life or for any other part of our society. The ideal plan on paper must be based on the recognition of the habits, customs, attitudes, and opinions of the people concerned; only as the ideas of the people change and their attitudes and opinions and convictions, caught up by the experts will progress be made towards achieving the goals. The experts must help and must be utilized at all times. The solutions must be worked out in the everyday lives of the people. The planning that does not consider the needs of the farmer, the share cropper, the tenant, the low income farmer, the share cropper, the tenant, the low income farmer, which these groups have not been and do not feel a part, will not be integrated into the daily living which really constitutes our cultural patterns.

Whether planners should be trend-benders or trend-followers is not as important as the fact that trends must inevitably be taken into consideration in planning. One example of such a trend is the fact that between now and 1955 the United States will have, if foreign immigration remains negligible, an increase in the working ages (from about sixty to sixty-five years) of over 14,000,000 people.^{14/} On the basis of the 1930 proportion, approximately 65 percent of these will be men; that is, 9,000,000 new places must be found by the expansion of agriculture and industry over and above the millions now unemployed. Of the total increase, assuming, to visualize the picture more clearly, that those now on farms stay on farms, those now in villages stay in villages and those now in cities stay in cities-- 7,000,000 new workers, 7,000,000 will be on farms, 4,000,000 in villages and 3,000,000 in cities; in the farm areas, the poor land and low income areas will have the greatest relative increase of workers. No prediction is made without any speculation as to future birth rates; it is only applying arithmetic to the babies already born. The pressing problems from this trend will arise within the next few years; the greatest annual increase in persons of working age will be during 1939-1942. In charting our future course, this trend shows the futility of expecting great relief for the unemployed by promoting a back-to-the-farm movement; "an unhardened agriculture has no room for the farm increase and the unemployed is to be expected not from a back-to-the-farm movement but from the opposite trend".^{15/}

In conclusion, one of the characteristics of our society is our confidence and faith in the democratic process; we are adopted the belief that we can direct our cultural patterns by this process.

after and Winston, op. cit. p. 43.

the best welfare of society as a whole. Democracy is some-
thing more than a chance to vote "yes" or "no" at the polls on stated
personalities; it is a way of living and unless planning
is thoroughly democratic it is not likely to be incorporated into
the cultural patterns of our society. Whatever form our cultural
life takes, it will be "people in group relationships who fabricate
themselves a society, the warp of which is that organizational
life which is built over a comparatively recent
weave of the woof is that great background of culture, tradition,
customs, opinions and attitudes which people pass on as a
heritage from one generation to another...the old and the new must
be synthesized in the living design". 16/

Quoted from an unpublished speech by J. H. Kolb, University of
Wisconsin.

DISCUSSION OF PAPER BY OLAF F. LARSON ENTITLED
"CULTURAL PATTERNS IN RELATION TO ECONOMIC WELFARE"

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I have not deemed it wise to attempt a detailed discussion of parts of Doctor Larson's paper that I agree with or even of those parts that I may disagree with or which I do not understand. My approach, rather, shall be to give very briefly my general impression of the paper as a whole and then proceed to a few ideas of my own on the points under discussion. My discussion will be in the nature of broad generalizations rather than of details.

My impression of Doctor Larson's paper is that it was not finished in that it failed to show clearly the relationship between cultural patterns and economic welfare. The discussion was devoted almost entirely to the cultural patterns aspect of the subject and very little to economic welfare or how the two are related--if at all. It might be said that he did give a background, and an excellent one, against which to project a discussion of the topic under consideration, but stopped short of the actual discussion. The paper also dwelt at some length on the cracks or deficiencies in our culture without much discussion of how they came about, why they exist, or what can be done about them.

Doctor Larson gave no definition of economic welfare other than that it cannot be divorced from general welfare. In order that we might begin with the same thought as to economic welfare, a statement as to its meaning seems desirable. The term, as I shall use it, means essentially the amount of economic goods and services possessed by a people, or the amount that they have the wherewithall to acquire. Note that the topic is with economic welfare and not general welfare. With economic welfare construed, the topic might be stated: "Cultural patterns in relation to the amount of economic goods and services available."

It is clear, I believe, to all who have thought about the subject that there exists a very close relationship between the culture of a people and their economic welfare. In fact, no doubt many of us in our general thinking fail to differentiate between them. If I correctly understand Doctor Larson's discussion, the economic organization, the mechanical and social techniques for carrying on the work of producing and distributing economic goods and services is part of the culture of a people. Not the whole of a people's culture, of course, but an essential part. I assume that Doctor Larson would include here as a part of culture the degree of efficiency with which a people apply their mechanical and social techniques to the task of adapting their natural resources to usable form. The way goods and services are divided among the people. It logically follows then, it seems to me, that the amount of capital available, the manner in which it occurs, and the uses to which it is put may be attributed,

This paper was prepared with the assistance of Walter U. Fuhrman.

culture although greatly conditioned by the natural resources. If this is so, then the problem of the economic welfare of a people divides itself largely into two main divisions--culture and natural resources. Then, if one considers the people themselves, or at least their doing physical labor, as a natural resource, one might, through the influence of the people toward eugenics, nutrition, etc., find a connection between culture and natural resources. However, in a very material sense the natural resources of an area exert a conditioning influence upon the culture of a people. So much so that one may be tempted to conclude that the culture of a people is the result of the resources at their command. At a moment the culture of a people of the Arctic regions as compared with that of a people of temperate or tropical climates. In the Arctic resources are very restricted and the chief harvest is the seal, which has also been restricted. In the tropics the resources, although abundant, are also limited in variety and great cultures have not developed. In temperate climates where a much wider variety of resources has been developed the great cultures of the world. Even in the temperate climate of America the native Americans developed great cultures, each in keeping with local resources. This, however, suffices it to say that a great, complex many-sided culture such as that which characterizes the people of the leading nations of the world cannot develop without adequate natural resources.

To test this interrelation between culture and natural resources best, it should be pointed out that to the exclusion of economic welfare, it should be pointed out that any given time both culture and natural resources condition economic welfare. This is clearly seen when we remember that the American people before the days of Columbus had all the natural resources that the American people have today, and more, but the amount of goods and services per capita today, even by the low income third of our population, is many times far greater than that obtained by the early American Indians.

Many examples of the effect of culture upon economic welfare can be found among peoples today. For purposes of illustration it is easier to find smaller than the nation, and my own state, Utah, offers many such examples. Perhaps Doctor Larson would prefer to call these examples cultural traits rather than cultural patterns but as a trait is a part of a pattern the examples should still be valid.

Utah has in many parts of the state a type of rural organization which is rather unique. I refer to the village type of organization in which the people live in a village on a lot of one or two acres of land. This is the headquarters of their farming operations while their farm is located in the area surrounding the village. Each farmer's land is divided up into all in one parcel. His farm may consist of several parcels of different sizes and kinds of land and at varying distances from the village. A survey of a small group of farmers in one such village showed an average of 4.7 separate parcels of farm land per farmer for a total average of 40 acres of crop land. These parcels were located at varying distances up to 8 miles apart. It is not necessary, I believe, to go into details before this group of the economics of such a farm pattern or to discuss its effect upon economic welfare. The point for discussion is: "Why do these farms get that way?" The answer is that in the main they were

way and they were planned that way because of particular culture possessed by the original settlers. The village type of settlement was planned by a people motivated by religious impulses. Settlement in villages made it much easier for the people to discharge their obligations and engage in the social activities that were thought desirable. In the beginning it facilitated protection against accidents, but this seems to have been of secondary consideration. Religious considerations for those people were more important than social considerations. Time, with the inventions, developments and progress it has wrought, has largely removed the necessity for the village organization in order for the people to get together but the village, which is a point that planners might well keep in mind.

As far as we have explained only the reasons for the compact village. Why are the land holdings outside the village divided into small parcels? The answer to this question is also found largely in the culture of the settlers although it has some economic considerations as well. The division of the land and the uses to which it can be most profitably put are different as one moves from the base of the mountains to the center of the valley. It was considered more equitable and just for each man to have a small class of land than for one man to have all first-class land and the rest be forced to take all poor land that probably could be used only for grazing. Then the matter of distance was a factor. It was scarcely possible for a man to have all his land right adjacent to the village while others have been located several miles away. By dividing the land into small parcels each man obtained some land close to town and some farther away. The division of divided holdings has been accentuated by sub-divisions between parcels and by purchases and sales, yet it had its origin in the culture of the settlers. This culture explains also the altogether too common practice of farm unit and the cooperation that made possible the building of schools and of public buildings, and of the processing of farm produce, and of giving the people with the essential food, clothing and supplies. It explains to buy as well as many other characteristics of the social and economic organization of Utah's agriculture. As times and conditions have changed, many of these phenomena such as the cooperative store have passed into history. Others, such as the mutual irrigation companies, are still in existence. Undoubtedly, many equally good illustrations from other areas are available showing the effect of culture upon economic welfare, but let

As was earlier pointed out that there exists a relationship between resources and culture. More specifically in a society such as ours today the economic welfare of a people is probably one of the most important factors in moulding their culture. It, in a sense, is self-perpetuating. The economic income for most of the people has made possible a higher level and an acquaintance with the things that a larger income would have and that had heretofore been available only to the wealthy. The desire has led to desire. The desire for possession of those things, stimulated by the art of advertising and salesmanship, has no doubt been a powerful force in stimulating people to seek ways of increasing their income. As a result this has stimulated men to make inventions, discoveries, and improvements of methods of doing the world's work. In so doing, men have opened up new fields or paths that after a time have been recognized as either beneficial or inequitable. Society has then built up a public opinion

some cases has enacted laws to prevent or regulate the activities based on. I refer to such things as monopolies, stock market operations, and The early development and financing of the railroads and of the oil industry in this country illustrate the point. Our attitudes and laws on things become a part of our culture. Probably we have in the process of development now, public attitudes toward many social and economic problems affect general welfare and that will later definitely be incorporated in our culture. Such problems as soil conservation, controlled production, security, socialized medicine, unemployment, in short the New Deal philosophy, could be cited as examples of problems on which the public mind has yet become quite settled.

In conclusion, the cultural pattern of the United States people includes a most pressing desire for a tremendous output of goods and services for all the people, and it puts pressure upon our existing economic system to provide and distribute them satisfactorily. Perhaps we are suffering from cultural growing pains and that what is needed is a uniform growth in phases of culture and economic processes. European peoples have long held that American cultural patterns are essentially materialistic. Perhaps what is needed is for someone to sell us the desire for a culture that places greater emphasis on non-material things and less on material