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ABSTRACT

The product of a lecture series on the role of the rural church and community in the face of a changing society, this collection of 13 speeches includes: (1) "The Face of Poverty: An Economist's View" (insights into the process of identifying and serving the rural poor, emphasizing interdependence); (2) "Regionalism as a New Basis for Planning" (local initiative via use of the regional commission concept); (3) "Industrial Development in the Nonmetropolitan Community" (a Minnesota case history); (4) "National Farmer's Organization: Economic Strength Through Cooperation" (cooperation between farm and business interests); (5) "The University's Participation in Community Development" (emphasizes need for college-community interaction); (6) "Social Action in a Pluralistic Church" ("creative pluralism" proposed as a model for both community and church); (7) "Opportunities for Renewed Rural Ministry" (prescriptive steps); (8) "Cooperatives: An Opportunity for Effective Ministry Among the Poor" (emphasizes the minister's need to identify with and participate in community aspirations); (9) "The Functional Area and the Church's Mission" (use of systems analysis to affect change); (10) "Understanding Prejudice"; (11) "Leisure as a Way of Life" (leisure as freedom); (12) "Conservation of Natural Resources: A Biblical Responsibility"; (13) "Man's Future in a Changing Society" (creative acceptance of change). (JC)

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WHO NEEDS RURAL AMERICA?

*The Church and the Nonmetropolitan
Community In a Changing Society*

Victor J. Klimoski
James F. Krile, Editors

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FOREWORD

The communities of tomorrow will only be the full expression of human life if we make them so. Concern with community development and the utilization of human potential is not an urban prerogative. Although the attention of the American public has been focused predominantly on the plight of the city, it is of equal necessity that we look critically and thoughtfully at the predicament of rural communities. It is with pleasure, then, that I present *WHO NEEDS RURAL AMERICA?* which represents an effort to bring practical ideas and genuine hope to those who are involved in non-metropolitan communities. No book holds all the answers nor can it offer the magic solution to problems that have taken years to develop. But *WHO NEEDS RURAL AMERICA?* can provide exciting insights to those whose vocation and concern is the renewal of the American countryside.

The articles in this volume are the product of a lecture series on the role of the Church and community in the face of change. It was the first project of the Archibald and Edyth Bush Interdenominational Continuing Education Program For Clergy In Minnesota. This is a statewide foundation, centered at St. John's University, dedicated to enriching the theological and pastoral background of all clergymen striving to meet the needs of their communities, whether they are urban or rural. It is the belief of the administrators of the Bush Foundation that an on-going educational process for ministers of all faiths will better enable them to exercise spiritual and temporal leadership.

The goals of the Continuing Education Program are met through out Minnesota, twelve-day independent study scholarships, and a variety of programs under its sponsorship including: one-day workshops at St. John's University, regional workshops through-scholarships for summer sessions at St. John's Graduate School of Sacred Studies.

I would like to add a special note of appreciation to the authors for their cooperation and for their confidence in the future of rural America. I would also like to thank the editors and all those involved in bringing forth this publication.

LUKE STEINER, OSB
Director
Continuing Education Program

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PREFACE

Many of the discussions centering on the future of the American community depict both crisis and promise. If one is a metropolitan dweller, he is confronted with a multitude of problems from overcrowding to pollution of air, land, and water to safety in the streets. If, on the other hand, one is a nonmetropolitan dweller, he faces dying towns, diminishing economic resources, decreasing populations and the accompanying decrease in basic services. Because of these crises, neither the urban or rural citizen can ignore the future; in fact, awareness of man's technological achievements and consciousness of his technological potential force him to deal concretely with its implications. Whether one reads of predictions about a world grown ugly with untamed scientific power, or of a society that has achieved a new promised land of prosperity, the challenge to create the future remains.

While urban man may often feel powerless as he is bombarded with the realities of a changing society and the radical revision of every aspect of his life, the rural man can still enjoy a certain sense of being in command. Perhaps it is only the small town which still holds out the promise of grassroots organization and action. It is here that the common man is not necessarily lost in the shuffle of numbers, but can express his ideas and criticisms and enjoy some control over those factors which affect his daily life. Although this phenomenon is more often accepted as an ideal than acted upon, it is nonetheless a fact. What happens, however, is that the rural citizen is confronted with the future in highly personal ways; to lose a local high school or to see a town slowly die involves his very identity. But instead of utilizing his potential for creative change, the rural citizen experiences an intense desire to turn his back on the future, to be overcome by its demands, and to be frightened by the prospects it might hold.

Change has never been an easy process for man. The established ways of doing things are embraced because they offer a sense of security, a sense of knowing one's place within the structure of social interaction. As a result, we have become quite adept at constructing systems to deal effectively and efficiently with the basic needs of human life. Education, for example, is not a task handled within the home but is largely given over to the local school; and

relations between people and the state are not left to chance but are regulated through government. None of man's essential institutions, then, are haphazard constructs, thrown together at one moment only to be torn apart the next. Even the formal religious experience of man's life is carefully shaped and defined with clear-cut patterns of behavior, modes of worship, and acceptable doctrine.

One of the major aspects of change, however, is that it does not always occur within the established ways of our systems. While it respects the essential purpose of an institution, it often demands that that purpose be expressed in new or even radical ways. This simply means that while education or government has a respected purpose within the community, the educational methods or political strategies it uses are far from sacred. A system conceived in 1800 is inadequate to meet the needs of society if we merely try to duplicate it in its entirety in 1971. Because some structure in the past has proven effective does not automatically guarantee that it will be effective forever. Positive and creative change is too often crippled by man's desire to mimic the past—not in philosophy or purpose—but in structures, forms, and vision.

Vision here does not have to mean some extraordinary sensory power. It can merely refer to the phenomenon of seeing. Men who continually look over their shoulders at the "good, old days" will seldom see potential that lies before them. This tendency to romanticize is most crucial in rural America for our agrarian past embodies some of the most cherished ideals of the nation. The danger, however, is that this can result in being content with the ideal or lead to an attitude that the best way of doing things—educationally, politically, or religiously — has been discovered. On the contrary, the "best way" has yet to be achieved; and the only means of perpetuating rural ideals is to see them with the eyes of twentieth-century man who is not incapacitated by crisis and is given hope by the promise of the future.

Those who wish to aid in the renewal of the nonmetropolitan community will face many problems. First of all, rural people are a minority in an urban nation. We have certain myths about them as we do about other minorities. The most cruel perhaps is that the urban politician or observer tends to gloss over their situation with soothing comments such as, "They have an ideal life and don't want to see it change." But that "ideal" situation is not just a relatively pollution-free environment, low crime rate, and lack of congestion. It holds out economic distress, inadequate services, migrating populations, and the exploitation of resources

(such as building freeways through prime farm land or not rendering fair prices for farm products), With all the possibilities for wide participation in building and developing a community, the rural resident is often left to struggle through from year to year without adequate human and financial resources. The town's homogeneity, furthermore, is fractured by those who want change but lack the power to effect it, those who want change but refuse to accept its broader consequences, and those who oppose all change, choosing to fade away rather than to seize the moment for action.

This situation, however, is not hopeless. This book is testimony to the belief that the nonmetropolitan community has a future. That future, furthermore, will only be accomplished by the very means with which we characterize rural America — its dedicated, cooperative efforts as a people. It means grasping once again the ability to see that changing ways of doing things are not always bad but can in fact resurrect and revitalize the life of a community. It means that by using change, the rural community will not be used by change. It means, finally, that positive change does not occur overnight but is worked towards gradually by people who know they have something worth saving and are committed enough to explore all the ways through which it can be preserved and developed.

Such a challenge for community development, it would seem, is an essential task of the Church in its mission to man. If Faith becomes a shield from reality, an excuse for inaction, or an ornament from the past merely to be clung to, then it becomes a dead thing. True Faith has never encouraged man to accept the worst as though a loving God did not give strength to transform it. The mission of the Church, and certainly the mission of the committed believer, is to heal and build up the community of man, to instill it with purpose and direction. Sometimes men of Faith become fearful of the earth as though it were foreign to their beliefs. The earth and the human community, however, call forth the best within the believer. A ready example of this is the French scientist-philosopher, Teilhard de Chardin. Combining his scientific zeal with his perceptive religious insight, Chardin discovered a renewed source of commitment that is both significant for our age as well as continuous with the tradition of our common Faith:

Lord, this is my dream: to see drawn from so much wealth, lying unused or put to base uses, all the dynamism that is locked up within it. And to share in bringing this about: this is the work to which I would dedicate myself. As far as I can . . . I

would henceforth be the first to become aware of what the world loves, pursues, suffers. I would be the first to seek, sympathize, to toil; the first in self-fulfillment, the first in self-denial. For the sake of the world I would be more widely human in my sympathies and more nobly terrestrial in my ambitions than any of the world's servants.¹

We direct this book to those who are anxious to follow through with this type of commitment to the human community. It is our conviction that those dedicated to the mission of Faith, especially clergymen, can play an important role in the development of our nonmetropolitan communities. The challenges are evident; the solutions will lie in the effective utilization of resources released by a leadership that is sustained by the cooperative efforts of all the people—citizens of the rural community, the universities, the local, state, and federal officials, and the Church. None of the authors give "the answer" for there is no single answer. Rather, they all seek to point out the realities that exist and the possible means we can use to deal with them. The articles offer the concerned clergyman and community leader a basis for reflective consideration. The results of that reflection, however, must be embodied in structures and approaches that are as unique as the towns and people for whom they are intended.

The following articles, therefore, are presented within the perspective of community development that results from awareness, knowledge, and commitment — both as a secular task and a sacred calling. The articles are from a workshop held at St. John's University in the spring of 1970 as the first project of the newly established Continuing Education Program For Clergy. We are grateful to the authors for the time and effort they have given in helping us prepare these articles for publication.

We are also indebted to many people for their assistance in bringing this publication about: Father Luke Steiner, Father Bernard Quinn of the Center For Applied Research in the Apostolate (CARA), Dr. Edward L. Henry and the Micro-City Project, the Fargo Diocesan Rural Life Office, and special thanks to Mary Kay Schoen for her editorial assistance.

VICTOR J. KLIMOSKI
JAMES F. KRILE

Minneapolis, Minnesota
June, 1972

¹ Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, *Hymn of the Universe*. (New York: Harper and Row, 1961), p. 128.

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I. NONMETROPOLITAN COMMUNITIES IN AN URBAN NATION

In these introductory articles the authors attempt to isolate and discuss some of the common problems and assets of contemporary nonmetropolitan America. W. Keith Bryant's contribution, for example, provides an economist's perspective on rural poverty, destroying many of the common myths about the poor while giving insights into the process of identifying and serving the disadvantaged in our local communities. John S. Hoyt, Jr., on the other hand, suggests some inter-community structures that may facilitate economic and social growth.

Another aspect of the renewal of nonmetropolitan areas is examined by Russell Voorhees, who relates his experiences in trying to recruit business and industry into a small community. The article by M. B. Nagel shifts the emphasis a bit to focus in on the desperate situation of the farmer and to present an insider's perspective on the NFO. The final selection by Robert D. Johnson gives still another view of the nonmetropolitan scene by illustrating how the resources of small state colleges can be used by the community-at-large.

W. Keith Bryant

The Face of Poverty: An Economist's View

POVERTY is a tired word. It is yesterday's issue. Today, the attractive issues are peace — the issue for all seasons — and most currently, pollution of the environment. Pollution can be smelled, seen, bathed in, and drunk by the middle class. Hence, Middle Americans can understand it and organize against it. Pollution, furthermore, has to do with air, water, land —inanimate things which man has always been fairly adept at managing creatively.

Poverty, on the other hand, is an attribute of people, not things; and man has often had trouble managing creatively the problems of people, especially poor ones. Poverty is something the Middle American has located himself away from by migrating from the central city and from the depressed rural areas to the sprawling suburbs. Neither smelling nor seeing poverty, neither bathing nor drinking with the poor, and too often driving through poverty, protected from it by fences along the expressways, he assumes that poverty is not there.

The fact is that poverty has been neglected but not overcome. Our task in this discussion is to investigate the face of poverty: Who comprise the poor in our affluent nation? Where are the poor in Minnesota? How has the profile of poverty changed in the last decade? What sort of environment makes possible the conquest of poverty? These are the key questions with which both the secular and the sacred community must deal in deciding upon appropriate responses to the needs of the poor. By discussing the questions from an economist's point of view, we can perhaps dispel some myths about poverty without falling into the danger of substituting new myths for old.

Who Are the Poor?

Each of us has heard or made comments to the effect that "The poor today are better off than most of us were during the 1930's," or "What was considered a decent income a decade ago is considered

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a poverty income today." Such statements illustrate two aspects of the problem of definition. The first is that when most are poor as they were in the 1930's, then poverty is not a tragedy. When, however, the majority of the people are not only *not* poor, but relatively affluent, poverty becomes a festering sore for the individual and a serious problem for the society. This is so because one quite reasonably suspects that, in an absolute sense, the poor need not always be with us.

Since poverty is a relative concept and a relative condition in a dynamic society like ours, the definition of poverty changes rapidly. In the period from 1960 to 1964, for instance, we defined a family as poor if it had a before-tax income of less than \$3000 per year. A single person was said to be poor if he had a before-tax annual income of \$1500. We now use a more sophisticated set of defini-

TABLE I—Distribution of Persons Below the Poverty Level in 1968 and 1959, By Family Status and Race
(Numbers in thousands)

Family Status	1968			1959		
	Total	White	Negro and other races	Total	White	Negro and other races
All Persons Below the Poverty Level:						
Total.....	25,389	17,395	7,994	39,490	28,484	11,006
Percent.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
In families.....	81.5	77.8	89.4	87.6	85.8	91.9
Head.....	19.9	20.8	17.9	21.2	21.7	19.4
Family members under 18 years*.....	42.3	36.6	54.6	43.6	40.0	52.9
Other family members.....	19.3	20.4	16.9	22.9	24.1	19.6
Unrelated individuals 14 years and over.....	18.5	22.1	10.6	12.5	14.2	8.1
Persons in Families with Male Head and Male Unrelated Individuals						
Total.....	15,025	10,995	4,030	29,100	21,369	7,731
Percent.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
In families.....	91.2	90.9	92.0	94.7	94.7	94.9
Head.....	21.9	23.6	17.3	22.0	23.2	18.8
Family members under 18 years*.....	42.1	39.1	50.4	44.9	42.0	53.0
Other family members.....	27.2	28.2	24.3	27.8	29.5	23.1
Unrelated individuals 14 years and over.....	8.8	9.1	8.0	5.3	5.4	5.1
Persons in Families with Female Head and Female Unrelated Individuals						
Total.....	10,364	6,400	3,964	10,390	7,115	3,275
Percent.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
In families.....	67.4	55.4	86.8	67.5	59.4	85.0
Head.....	16.9	15.9	18.5	18.4	17.3	20.9
Family members under 18 years*.....	42.5	32.4	58.9	39.9	34.0	52.7
Other family members.....	8.0	7.1	9.4	9.2	8.1	11.4
Unrelated individuals 14 years and over.....	32.6	44.5	13.2	32.5	40.5	15.1

* Other than head or wife.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 68, "Poverty in the United States: 1959 - 1968." (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1969).

tions based on the knowledge that small families need somewhat less income than large ones, and that farm families, because they produce some of the food they consume, need somewhat less income than urban ones. The farmer's poverty-line income is now considered to be 85 percent of the urban dweller's poverty-line income. This figure is based on a sophisticated system of determining family food costs developed by the Social Security Administration.

Who then are the poor, what are their characteristics, and how many are there? TABLE I summarizes some of the information from the annual Current Population Surveys. As of March, 1968, there were 25.4 million Americans in poverty, a decline of some 55 percent in nine years. Programs begun under the War on Poverty can take little credit for this decline. The reduction in poverty came about primarily from the tremendous growth and development in the American economy. Furthermore, we should be less than content when we discover that the 55 percent decline in overall poverty was made up of a 63 percent decline in the number of poor white Americans, but only a 38 percent decline in the number of poor non-white Americans. Of the 25.4 million Americans who were poor in 1968, roughly 82 percent were members of families; the remainder were individuals unrelated to other members of their households. More than 42 percent of all poor Americans were children under the age of 18.

TABLE II contains additional information on poor families. Columns 2 and 6 show that in 1968 ten percent of all families in the United States were poor; this is a drop from 18.5 percent in 1959. If we knew nothing about you or your family, then on the basis of column 2 we could predict that you or your family had a ten percent chance of being poor in 1968. But if we knew that your family had a male head, we would know that the probability that your family was poor was only 7.3 percent. On the other hand, if your family were headed by a female, then it would have a 32 percent chance of being poor. In column 2, then, one can identify all those percentages greater than 10 percent and thus identify attributes which appear to characterize poverty-prone families. We see that Black families, families with female heads, elderly families, families with many children, families with no income earners, and families with heads who are service workers, laborers, farmers, or farm laborers are all poverty prone.

Columns 3 and 7 tell a different story. They answer the ques-

TABLE II
Selected Characteristics of Families Below the Poverty Level in 1968 and 1959
 (Numbers in thousands. Negro data for the 1-in-1,000 sample of the 1960 Census)

Selected Characteristics	1968				1959			
	Number below poverty level	Percent below poverty level	Percent distribution		Number below poverty level	Percent below poverty level	Percent distribution	
			Below poverty level	Above poverty level			Below poverty level	Above poverty level
Sex and Race of Head								
Total.....	5,047	10.0	100.0	100.0	8,320	18.5	100.0	100.0
Male Head.....	3,292	7.3	65.2	91.9	6,404	15.8	77.0	93.0
Female head.....	1,755	32.3	34.8	8.1	1,916	42.6	23.0	7.0
White.....	3,616	8.0	71.6	92.0	6,185	15.2	74.3	94.3
Male Head.....	2,595	6.3	51.4	85.3	4,952	13.3	59.5	88.0
Female head.....	1,021	25.2	20.2	6.7	1,233	34.8	14.8	6.3
Negro and other races.....	1,431	28.2	28.4	8.0	2,135	50.4	25.7	5.7
Male Head.....	697	18.9	13.8	6.6	1,452	44.2	17.5	5.0
Female head.....	734	52.9	14.5	1.4	683	72.0	8.2	0.7
Negro.....	1,366	29.4	27.1	7.2	1,860	48.1	22.4	5.5
Male Head.....	660	19.9	13.1	5.8	1,309	43.3	15.7	4.7
Female head.....	706	53.2	14.0	1.4	551	65.4	6.6	0.8
Residence								
Total.....	5,047	10.0	100.0	100.0	8,320	18.5	100.0	100.0
Nonfarm.....	4,553	9.5	90.2	95.3	6,624	16.1	79.6	94.3
Farm.....	494	18.8	9.8	4.7	1,696	44.6	20.4	5.7
Age of Head								
Total.....	5,047	10.0	100.0	100.0	8,320	18.5	100.0	100.0
14 to 24 years.....	437	13.2	8.7	6.3	622	26.9	7.5	4.6
25 to 54 years.....	2,731	8.6	54.1	64.2	4,752	16.0	57.1	68.0
55 to 64 years.....	678	8.2	13.4	16.6	1,086	15.9	13.1	15.6
65 years and over.....	1,201	17.0	23.8	12.9	1,860	30.0	22.4	11.8
Size of Family								
Total.....	5,047	10.0	100.0	100.0	8,320	18.5	100.0	100.0
2 persons.....	1,831	10.5	36.3	34.2	2,850	19.6	34.2	31.7
3 and 4 persons.....	1,431	7.1	28.4	41.2	2,420	12.8	29.1	44.9
5 and 6 persons.....	991	10.2	19.6	19.3	1,793	20.2	21.6	19.3
7 persons or more.....	794	24.7	15.7	5.3	1,257	45.6	15.1	4.1
Number of Family Workers Under 18*								
Total.....	5,047	10.0	100.0	100.0	8,320	18.5	100.0	100.0
No members.....	1,700	8.0	33.7	42.9	2,877	15.9	34.6	41.3
1 and 2 members.....	1,465	8.0	29.0	37.2	2,458	14.2	29.5	40.4
3 and 4 members.....	1,119	13.2	22.2	16.1	1,854	24.5	22.3	15.6
5 or more members.....	763	30.7	15.1	3.8	1,131	53.0	13.6	2.7
Number of Earners								
Total.....	5,047	10.0	100.0	100.0	8,320	18.5	100.0	100.0
No earners.....	1,666	540.2	33.0	5.5	1,981	59.1	23.8	3.7
1 earner.....	2,096	10.8	41.5	37.9	4,030	18.7	48.4	47.6
2 earners.....	936	4.7	18.6	41.5	1,659	10.6	20.0	38.0
3 earners or more.....	349	4.8	6.9	15.2	650	14.2	7.8	10.7
Employment Status of Head								
Total.....	5,047	10.0	100.0	100.0	8,320	18.5	100.0	100.0
Employed.....	2,410	6.0	47.7	83.1	4,536	12.8	54.5	84.3
Unemployed.....	146	19.3	2.9	1.3	559	33.7	6.7	3.0
In Armed Forces or not in labor force.....	2,491	26.0	49.4	15.6	3,225	40.8	38.8	12.7
Work Experience and Occupation Group of Longest Job of Head								
Total.....	5,047	10.0	100.0	100.0	8,320	18.5	100.0	100.0
Worked.....	2,880	6.7	57.1	87.8	5,620	14.6	67.6	89.2
Professional and managerial workers.....	322	2.6	6.4	26.3	471	5.0	5.7	24.6
Clerical and sales workers.....	210	3.7	4.1	11.9	284	5.7	3.4	12.7
Craftsmen and foremen.....	327	3.7	6.5	18.6	558	7.2	6.7	19.6
Operatives and kindred workers.....	534	6.4	10.6	17.3	1,064	14.1	12.8	17.6
Service workers incl. Pvt. household.....	526	16.5	10.4	5.8	732	25.3	8.8	5.9
Nonfarm laborers.....	332	15.3	6.6	4.0	701	29.4	8.4	4.6
Farmers and farm laborers.....	629	26.3	12.5	3.9	1,810	54.1	21.8	4.2
Did not work.....	2,107	30.9	41.7	10.4	2,538	45.2	30.5	8.4
In Armed Forces.....	60	6.7	1.2	1.8	162	15.5	1.9	2.4

* Other than head or wife.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 68, "Poverty in the United States: 1959 - 1968," (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1969).

tions: What proportion of the poor have given attributes in 1968 and 1959 respectively? Are the same types of people as likely to be poor now as nine years ago? We can see that while farm families made up about 20 percent of all poor families in 1959, they made up about 10 percent in 1968. It appears that farm families have been getting out of poverty at a faster rate than nonfarm families. Another hypothesis might be, however, that many farm families have simply migrated to swell the ranks of the nonfarm poor. More disturbing is the fact that a greater proportion of the poor now belong to families with female heads than in 1959. This has occurred despite the fact that this type of family has become less poverty-prone than previously.

TABLE II warrants reflection, for it challenges many myths widely cherished and poses many puzzles. If most of the poor are lazy and do not work, why are almost half of them children and not expected to work? Again, if the poor are shiftless and do not work, why did 57 percent of the heads of poor families work in 1968? If it is the non-whites—Black, Latin, and Indian Americans—who are of no account and thereby poor, why are 72 percent of all poor families white?

TABLES III and IV show the distribution of poor people, both families and unrelated individuals, in the rings around the central cities of metropolitan areas. TABLE III shows that poverty is most prevalent outside metropolitan areas, next most prevalent inside the central cities of metropolitan areas, and least prevalent in the suburban rings around the central cities of metropolitan areas. TABLE IV indicates that the prevalence of poverty has declined most rapidly in areas outside metropolitan areas and least rapidly in the suburban rings. Migration undoubtedly helps to explain these trends.

The Rural Poor in Minnesota

So much for poverty in general; but what are the characteristics of the rural poor in Minnesota? We begin by admitting that we economists know very little about the poor in Minnesota. The reasons are fairly clear. Poverty as an issue first came before the public in the early 1960's; and it died during the agonies of the spring and early summer of 1968. Since poverty as an issue rose and fell in the period between censuses, neither the 1960 nor the 1970 census has much of the data we would like to have.

We are forced to fall back on the population census data for Minnesota already ten years old, the Census of Agriculture now six years old, and the Current Population Survey quoted earlier. The Current Population Survey samples the entire United States once

each year; and in recent years has been asking pertinent questions about poverty.

We do not have data for the Minnesota poor—rural or urban—as we do for the country as a whole; but if the data did exist, it would tell the same story. That is, families are poverty-prone if they are elderly, have female heads, have no income earners because of unemployment, disability, or old age; if they are Black or Indian, live in rural areas, or are in the low paying and low skill occupations.

Figure 1 shows the low income rural areas in Minnesota in 1959.

TABLE III — Persons Below the Poverty Level in 1968 and 1959,
By Type of Residence and Race

(Numbers in thousands. 1959 data from the 1-in-1,000 sample of the 1960 Census)

Type of Residence	All Races		White		Negro	
	1968	1959	1968	1959	1968	1959
Number Below Poverty Level						
United States.....	25,389	38,766	18,394	28,336	7,616	9,927
Metropolitan areas.....	12,871	17,019	8,473	11,825	4,144	5,002
Central cities.....	7,754	10,437	4,394	6,513	3,235	3,816
Suburban rings.....	5,117	6,582	4,079	5,312	909	1,186
Metropolitan areas of 1,000,000 or more.....	6,273	7,344	3,906	4,985	2,227	2,258
Central cities.....	3,989	4,711	2,045	2,813	1,846	1,836
Suburban rings.....	2,284	2,633	1,861	2,172	381	422
Metropolitan areas under 1,000,000.....	6,597	9,675	4,567	6,840	1,917	2,744
Central cities.....	3,764	5,726	2,349	3,700	1,389	1,980
Suburban rings.....	2,833	3,949	2,218	3,140	528	764
Outside metropolitan areas.....	12,518	21,747	8,922	16,511	3,472	4,925
Percent Below Poverty Level						
United States.....	12.8	22.0	10.0	18.1	34.7	55.1
Metropolitan areas.....	10.0	15.3	7.6	12.0	26.6	42.8
Central cities.....	13.4	18.3	9.8	13.8	26.2	40.8
Suburban rings.....	7.3	12.2	6.2	10.4	28.3	50.9
Metropolitan areas of 1,000,000 or more.....	9.0	12.1	6.6	9.3	23.0	33.9
Central cities.....	13.2	15.8	9.4	11.7	23.6	33.3
Suburban rings.....	5.8	8.6	5.0	7.4	20.2	36.5
Metropolitan areas under 1,000,000.....	11.3	19.1	8.8	15.2	32.6	54.8
Central cities.....	13.5	21.0	10.2	16.0	30.5	51.6
Suburban rings.....	9.3	17.0	7.7	14.3	39.6	65.1
Outside metropolitan areas.....	18.0	33.2	14.2	28.2	54.6	77.7
Percent Distribution						
United States.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Metropolitan areas.....	50.7	43.9	48.7	41.7	54.4	50.4
Central cities.....	30.5	26.9	25.3	23.0	42.5	38.4
Suburban rings.....	20.2	17.0	23.5	18.7	11.9	12.0
Metropolitan areas of 1,000,000 or more.....	24.7	18.9	22.5	17.6	29.2	22.8
Central cities.....	15.7	12.1	11.8	9.9	24.2	18.5
Suburban rings.....	9.0	6.8	10.7	7.7	5.0	4.3
Metropolitan areas under 1,000,000.....	26.0	25.0	26.3	24.1	25.2	27.6
Central cities.....	14.8	14.8	13.5	13.1	18.3	19.9
Suburban rings.....	11.2	10.2	12.8	11.0	6.9	7.7
Outside metropolitan areas.....	49.3	56.1	51.3	58.3	45.6	49.6

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 68, "Poverty in the United States: 1959 - 1968." (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1969).

It would be surprising if the situation today differs markedly from what is portrayed there—not in terms of absolute incomes but in the relationships among them. Rural income levels are lowest in the southwest and in a band of counties running through the State just east of the counties bordering the Dakotas.

In conjunction with Figure 1, Figure 2 will dispel another poverty myth. Many farm people and farm organizations insist that healthy, profitable farms spell prosperity for the rural community. It is on this basis that our support is enlisted for higher farm prices. The second map shows the counties in which profitable farms were the most prevalent in 1964. To determine these counties we have taken all of the farms that grossed more than \$10,000 per year in

TABLE IV — Change in Families and Unrelated Individuals Below the Poverty Level, 1959 to 1968, by Type of Residence and Sex and Race of Head
(Numbers in thousands. 1959 data from the 1-in-1,000 sample of the 1960 Census)

Type of Residence and Sex of Head	Below Poverty Level in 1968				Percent Change, 1959 to 1968		
	All races	White	Negro		All races	White	Negro
			Number	Percent of all races			
Metropolitan Areas							
All families.....	2,477	1,657	779	31.4	-25.9	-30.1	-17.1
Male head.....	1,367	1,057	289	21.1	-44.9	-42.7	-52.6
Female head.....	1,110	600	490	44.1	+28.9	+14.3	+48.5
Unrelated individuals.....	2,913	2,383	485	16.6	-16.2	-18.5	-6.0
Male.....	834	634	178	21.3	-36.8	-41.8	-11.0
Female.....	2,079	1,749	307	14.7	-3.5	-4.6	-2.9
Central Cities							
All families.....	1,464	823	620	42.3	-27.3	-35.0	-15.0
Male head.....	732	508	215	29.4	-48.7	-47.2	-52.3
Female head.....	732	315	405	55.3	+25.1	+4.0	+45.7
Unrelated individuals.....	1,836	1,409	393	21.4	-20.8	-24.9	-6.2
Male.....	552	397	139	25.2	-35.9	-41.7	-13.1
Female.....	1,284	1,012	254	19.8	-11.9	-15.3	-1.9
Suburban Rings							
All families.....	1,013	834	159	15.7	-23.8	-24.5	-24.6
Male head.....	635	549	74	11.7	-39.7	-37.8	-52.6
Female head.....	378	285	85	22.5	+37.0	+28.4	■
Unrelated individuals.....	1,077	974	92	8.5	-6.8	-7.1	-4.2
Male.....	282	237	39	13.8	-38.4	-42.1	■
Female.....	282	237	53	6.7	+14.1	+15.3	■
Ourside Metropolitan Areas							
All families.....	2,570	1,959	587	22.8	-44.5	-46.5	-36.0
Male head.....	1,925	1,538	371	19.3	-51.0	-51.8	-46.6
Female head.....	645	421	216	33.5	-7.7	-10.1	-1.8
Unrelated individuals.....	1,781	1,465	292	16.4	-26.4	-29.8	-2.7
Male.....	486	365	103	21.2	-49.8	-55.6	-17.8
Female.....	1,295	1,100	189	14.6	-10.9	-13.1	+8.0

n Base less than 75,000.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 68, "Poverty in the United States: 1959 - 1968," (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1969).

1964 and divided them by the total number of farms in each county. As we can see, these counties are in the southeast and in a band running northwest of Fargo-Morehead from the southeastern corner of the State. Many of the areas where the most profitable farms prevail also contain the lowest rural income levels. Clearly, a profitable agriculture does not necessarily lead to an affluent rural community.

Some Thoughts on the Nature of Poverty

Using the above facts, we can try to outline a useful way to think about poverty. Economists, with some reservations, maintain that being poor is simply not having enough income to sustain an adequate standard of living. From this point of view, we can reflect upon the process by which families derive their incomes, and the various factors that affect that process. Where we find factors which impede the process or block it altogether, there we may find the causes of poverty. And it is there that we must concentrate our efforts to think of ways to remove the blockages and to reduce the impediments.

Let us first look inside the family. In our society families derive their income from two basic sources: (A) the employment of

TABLE V - Distribution of Poor Families and Unrelated Individuals And Aggregate Income Deficit in 1968 and 1959, by Sex and Race of Head

Year and Sex of Head	All Families and Unrelated Individuals		White		Negro and Other Races	
	Number below poverty level (thousands)	Aggregate income deficit (millions)	Number below poverty level (thousands)	Aggregate income deficit (millions)	Number below poverty level (thousands)	Aggregate income deficit (millions)
1968						
Total	9,741	\$ 9,849	7,465	\$ 7,062	2,276	\$ 2,787
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Families	51.8	65.5	48.8	61.2	62.9	76.3
Male head	33.8	38.6	34.8	40.3	30.6	34.2
Female head	18.0	26.9	13.7	20.9	32.2	42.1
Unrelated individuals	48.2	34.5	51.6	38.8	37.1	23.6
Male	13.6	10.1	13.4	10.5	14.1	9.1
Female	34.6	24.4	38.2	28.3	23.1	14.5
1959						
Total	13,248	\$13,668	10,226	\$ 9,811	3,022	\$ 3,857
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Families	62.8	71.8	60.5	68.1	70.6	81.1
Male head	48.3	52.3	48.4	51.4	48.1	54.6
Female head	14.5	19.4	12.1	16.6	22.6	26.5
Unrelated individuals	37.5	28.2	39.5	31.9	29.4	18.9
Male	11.7	8.7	11.3	9.0	13.0	8.1
Female	25.5	19.5	28.2	22.9	16.3	10.8

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 68, "Poverty in the United States: 1959 - 1968." (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1969).

whatever resources they have at their disposal, and (B) gifts from other families or from the government (such as Social Security payments, unemployment compensation, and welfare payments). The family's resources may be many or few. They might include its labor, its past savings and its investments in the form of pension plans, stocks, bonds, physical capital, and land.

The resources may be managed inexpertly or indifferently so as to produce less income than is possible. The inability to get to work on time, the inability to stick at a job, the inability to identify problems that must be solved in one's own business (be it household, a farm, or a firm) may be examples of poor management.

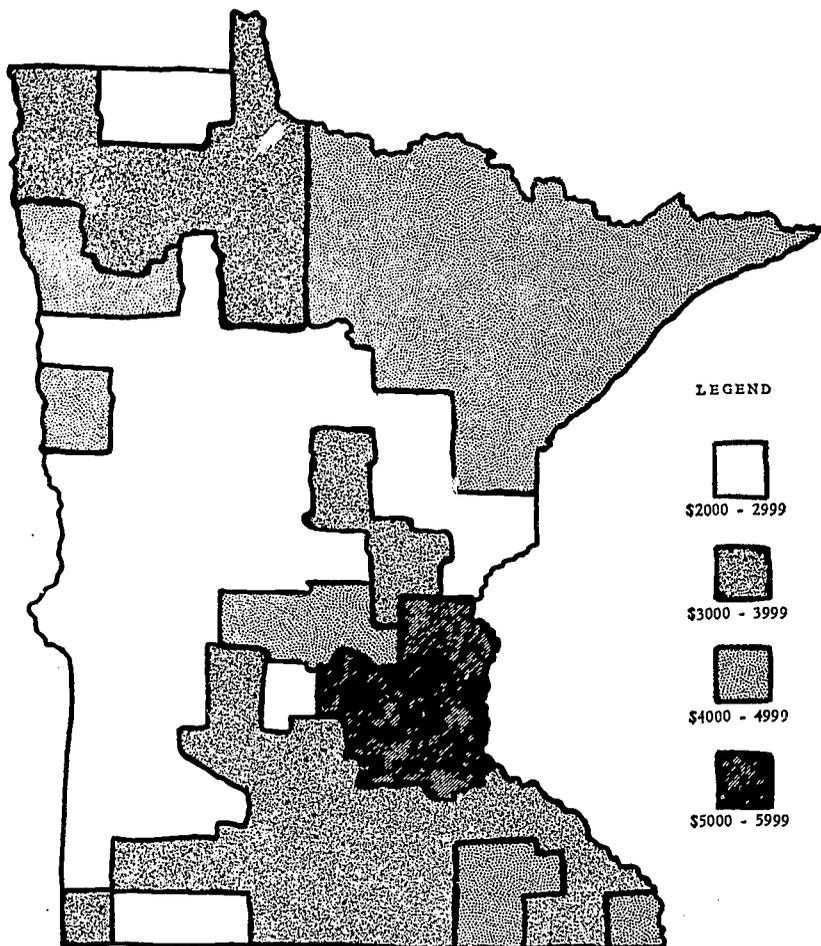
Some of these impediments, however, may be simply the effects of low income itself, either currently or in the past. Income is not only a means of gaining a satisfactory level of living, but it is also the means of gaining access to income earning opportunities. Without an adequate income one cannot purchase and operate reliable transportation to get to work, to stores with low prices, to distribution centers to obtain free food or food stamps, or to prove eligibility so that one can accept welfare payments. Without an adequate income one cannot gain access to the credit necessary to take advantage of income-producing opportunities. Without income and credit, one cannot move to a locality which offers a good education for one's children. Without an adequate income one cannot obtain the curative and preventative health care necessary to keep oneself in condition to work and to manage effectively. Low income itself, therefore, can impede the most skillful manager or homemaker, can create or prolong the ill health and the disability which prevents work, and can prevent one from gaining the education and skills required to earn a nonpoverty income.

Few resources, poor or indifferent management, and low income itself are impediments to a nonpoverty income which may be found within the family. Knowing this can help us devise some routes out of poverty and avoid some deadends. One may be able to impart more education and training to those who lack it and to raise the managerial skills of others. One may be able to juggle the rewards and punishments meted out by society so that those uninterested in managing effectively become better managers.

By supplying more income via welfare payments, we could close the poverty gap, bringing all family incomes at least up to the poverty line. TABLE V indicates that a little under ten billion dollars

would have been necessary to have closed the poverty gap in 1968. To put that amount of money into perspective, we might note that Americans spent 9.2 billion dollars on tobacco in 1967. The amount is a little larger than the budget for the U.S. Department of Agriculture in 1968; it is about 13 percent of the defense budget for 1968. Poverty need not be a difficult problem, for if we wished we could get rid of poverty for a small sum. We may argue, how-

FIGURE 1 — Median Family Rural Income, 1959

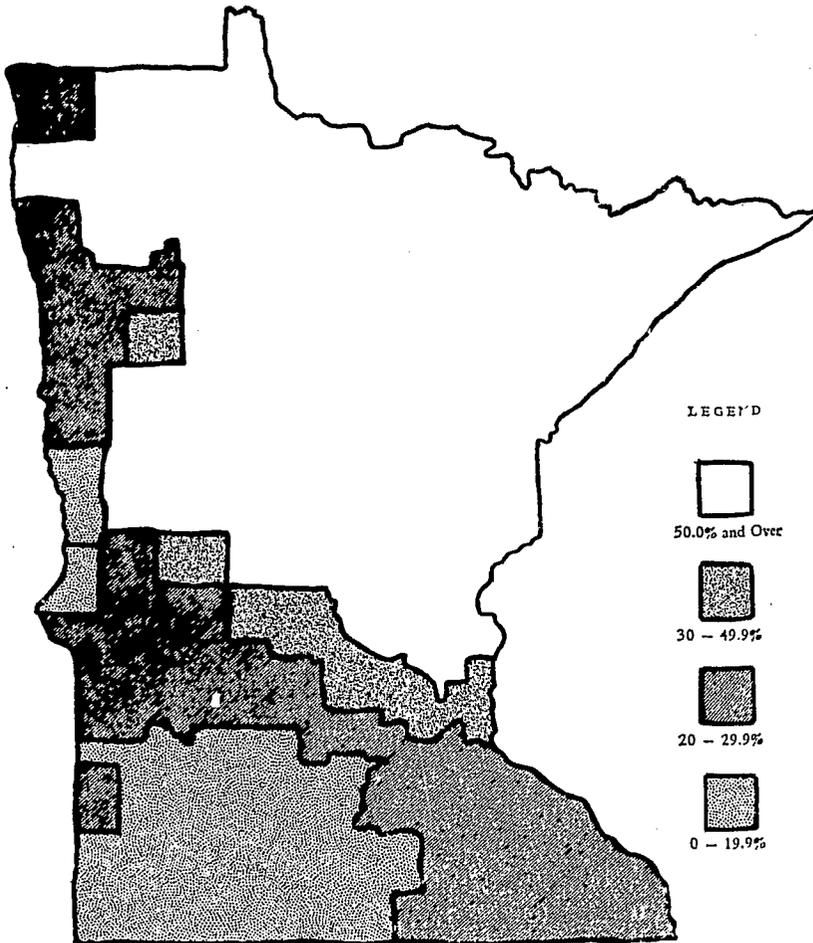


Source: 1960 Census of the Population

ever, whether we would have ridded society of the conditions that produce poverty.

Knowledge of income impediments within the family, however useful it might be for identifying possible cures for poverty, is of only limited usefulness in identifying its causes. Nor is the knowledge very useful for finding out why there seem to be more poor in rural areas and in specific sections of the country. To find answers

FIGURE 2 — Percentage of Farms Selling At Least \$10,000 of Farm Products Per Year, 1964



Source: 1964 Census of Agriculture

to these kinds of questions, we must look outside the family to its economic and social environment.

However much they may wish to work, if there are no jobs, men will be unemployed and their families poor. And even if all their resources are fully and efficiently employed, the family will be poor if its resources are not valued highly in the marketplace. The family with few resources and no way to obtain more will be poor if society or friends fail to provide generous enough gifts and welfare payments. If their community has few resources or refuses to allocate them in ways which build, maintain, and refurbish its citizens, then the family has difficulty adjusting to economic and social change. The children, furthermore, may not grow up with enough "human capital" to keep themselves out of poverty. Why are these situations more prevalent in rural than in suburban America?

Rural areas historically have depended on industries based on natural resources: agriculture, forestry, mining, fisheries, and once upon a time, hunting and trapping. Economic growth and technical change over the course of the past forty years have increased the labor productivity in these industries faster than people's demand for their products has increased. The labor so released was available for employment in manufacturing, services, and government—sectors of the economy whose labor productivity has been growing less rapidly than the demand for their outputs. Most manufacturing and service industries found it advantageous to locate and to expand in and on the edges of medium and large cities rather than in small towns and rural areas. Too few of the industries attracted to small towns and rural areas had rapidly expanding manpower needs. The well-documented result has been the steady migration out of rural areas and the decline of the village and small town.

The results were hastened by developments in the transportation and communications systems along with the expanded network of roads and highways. These changes have confronted many villages and small towns with competition from large towns and cities as the latter found it profitable to extend their trade areas into places once served by the village and small town.

The consequences have been many-faceted and severe. Many areas in the Great Plains and the western parts of the Midwest are suffering from declining employment opportunities, out-migration, aging populations, lowered tax bases, and meagre local government. The resulting absence or inadequacy of school, medical, dental, library, public welfare, legal, church, police, fire, water and sewer

services have come at the very time when the need for such services is the greatest.

Much of the rural environment, then, contrary to the myth of a countryside which nurtures and succors its inhabitants, appears to be hostile to them. It has failed in the past thirty years to provide its citizens with what they most need: jobs, education, training for other jobs than agriculture, health services, legal services, and public welfare assistance. Even a casual perusal of the statistics on the labor market, health status of the population, educational level, and legal and public welfare services supports this conclusion.

In such an environment the family that becomes unemployed tends to remain so. The middle-aged family head on a small farm with diminished earnings is caught there because migrating elsewhere is difficult, if not impossible. The family that encounters health problems may not be able to obtain the needed health services in the area and may not be able to travel to where they are available. The parents who are short-sighted and do not encourage their children to stay in school, or simply cannot afford to have them in school, bequeath to them a legacy of low income and unstable employment. Once a family, for whatever reason, gets into financial trouble, it has a more difficult time digging its way out in such an environment because the services it needs are not as available in the rural areas as they are elsewhere. Poverty breeds the conditions for continued poverty.

Conclusion

This is an economist's view of rural poverty. It has emphasized the impediments in the environment surrounding the family rather than the impediments within the family. This emphasis on the environment is necessitated by the process of urbanization in this nation. Urbanization implies greater and greater interdependence—one area with another, one urban place with its trade territory, city with suburb, metropolitan area with its hinterland, and one city with suburb, metropolitan area with its rural hinterland, and one family with another and with the community. Greater interdependence implies that the control of the family's economic and social destiny is no longer within its own power but more and more lies in the community and higher social and economic organizations. It is, however, in this very interdependence and cooperation that the hope of the future lies; and it is towards interdependence and cooperation that we must constantly move.

Regionalism As a New Basis For Planning

The concept of regionalism is not new. Geographic areas within which people share goals, objectives, resources, and problems and within which they have political and economic ties are perhaps as old as organized society itself. In this essay we are using "regionalism" to describe a process of planning and action which many state governments are following. It is a response to the realization of individuals and communities that the problems of the future and their solutions cannot be dealt with adequately on a community-by-community basis. With this realization has come an understanding that the "problems" are not solely economic; but in fact, they demand consideration of certain noneconomic factors such as institutional change, social conflict, and political parochialism.

The advantages of regional planning, however, are not limited to the good of individual states. If one of our national goals is to achieve a more balanced urban-rural population, then planning on a workable, realistic basis is essential. As the Minnesota experience will illustrate, regionalism has served as a very adequate planning tool. The goal, however, is more than achieving a population balance in terms of numbers. We must be equally concerned with the quality of life such redistribution attempts to offer. Simply defined, quality of life refers to that amorphous mix of economic opportunities, social equality, and political structures which make a community a desirable place in which to live—whether it is a "micro-city" (7500–50,000 population), a "midi-city" (2500–7500), or a "mini-city" (2500 or less). Although we realize it is not possible to equalize the standards of life in every single community, we can hope to decrease the socio-economic discrepancies, thus offering a wider range of choices in life-styles and life-settings.

While regionalism implies a necessary involvement of a community as a whole, it also needs the active cooperation of all the concerned institutions. The responsibility of the Church is not insignificant for it can help in the essential task of communicating the

alternatives to people so that they can participate in the decision-making process. This would seem to be a very valid aspect of ministry for it involves enabling people to deal realistically with the future without having to resort to unnecessary despair, panic, or anger.

With these general reflections on the various dimensions of regionalism as a background, we can now move into a description of our experience in Minnesota. Perhaps our implementation of regional planning will help illustrate what it is about as well as point the way to the task ahead.

The Minnesota Experience

In 1966, a research group in which I participated began to examine seriously the question of industrial location: Why was industry in Minnesota, for instance, located where it was? What were the characteristics that seemed to predominate in particular kinds of industries which determine where they locate themselves? Our reason for undertaking this effort was to see if we could identify the characteristics that would indicate whether a community or group of communities should concentrate their efforts in economic development and planning. It very quickly became apparent that we could not do this on a county-to-county basis. First of all, the counties were not big enough as units, and, second, there were not enough industries in many of them for a characteristic to be significant. Furthermore, there was a great disparate distribution between the metropolitan area and the rural areas, between the Red River Valley and the Iron Range, between the cash grain crop and the dairy belt. It was a problem of developing an analytical tool that would make sense out of the levels of diversity existing throughout the State. We soon recognized a need for some sort of regional delineation for Minnesota that would serve such a purpose.

We began by examining a number of concepts that were already available and that had already been tested by regional scientists. We eventually adopted a concept used in Iowa by Karl Fox called "functional economic areas." Practically speaking, it refers to grouping counties together into regions without eliminating natural or established boundaries. The result was a set of eleven, multi-county regions which we felt were useful for research purposes and based on consistent criteria: location of state and federal agency offices, location of major cities and micro, midi, and mini-commu-

nities, transportation access, newspaper distribution, similarity in industrial labor force mix and population distribution, and rate of population change.

This regional blueprint was published and circulated among the academic community. Through the structure of the State Planning Agency, it also became available to senior agency officials. In November, 1967, an executive order identified the eleven regions and directed that over the course of the next year all statewide planning was to be done on the basis of those regions. During the interim the regions were to be reviewed and evaluated and, if necessary, restructured. That review and evaluation was done in the subsequent year. In April, 1969, a total of thirty counties were identified as "transitional counties;" that is, they were counties peripheral to groups of counties around major urban centers. The residents, through their local elected officials, were asked to indicate to the Governor by April, 1970, towards which set of urban or core counties they wished to relate themselves for development planning. A new executive order in June, 1970, laid out a final delineation of regions. We must note in this regard that "final" does not have as absolute a meaning as it might appear. When the State Legislature passed the Regional Development Act of 1969, it provided for any county at any time to request for reassignment. The county can go to the State Planning Officer and request reassignment; should he refuse, the county board can appeal to the Legislature. The boundaries, then, are not fixed in any legal sense of the word.

The Regional Development Act is enabling legislation; it is not mandatory. This fact is important in terms of the communication process. The major portion of the problems in Minnesota with regional development is worry, and worry is there because of a lack of communication. Let me cite a few things that the Act does and does not do:

- It does not in any way change the rights, prerogatives, functions, or powers of the local government. It provides them an opportunity, at their initiative, to do things together that they might not be able to accomplish alone.
- It provides no funds to the Regional Development Commission for sewer and water or other physical, hardware-type grants either from the federal or state government. These still go to the communities. The Commission is asked to comment on these applications, but it is a comment, not an approval or veto.

- The representation on the Commission includes at least two representatives from every county—the county commissioner and a representative of local municipalities. In a few counties with larger micro-cities, there may be another representative from that city. Although the Commission's chairman is appointed by the governor for the first two years, after that time it elects its own chairman.

The Act is enabling legislation whose intent is to help local government very directly in meeting and solving some of the problems that face it today—a decreasing tax base, a shifting population, the delivery of public services, the application for federal grants. Over one thousand programs are available which provide money or assistance, in one way or another, to levels of government below that of the state. Is it reasonable to expect the part-time public officials of the 600 mini-counties in Minnesota to be familiar with the provisions of all those federal grant programs in addition to those of the state? Or does it make sense to have the professional staff of a regional development commission which can assist these communities? We have argued that higher educational institutions could serve as resource centers for these commissions when and if these commissions are formed. The Arrowhead Region in northeastern Minnesota has a regional commission, its chairman has been appointed, and the University of Minnesota-Duluth has received approval from the Higher Education Coordinating Commission for an initial grant to assist that region in its planning.

The Future

The prospects for the immediate future may mean that one or two more regional commissions in Minnesota will be organized and tested. In the long run, many see the eventual disappearance of most townships and some county boundaries; but it is my conviction that that disappearance must come on the basis of local initiative. Counties have to ask the State Legislature to merge or consolidate, and townships and villages have to ask for this sort of authority where they do not have it already. In one sense, counties, villages, and townships are creatures of the State Legislature for they derive all their powers from the Legislature. In view of the lengthy history and structure of local government in this country, any changes that come will have to be based on local initiative. The regional commission forms a vehicle for that change to take place more rapidly and more efficiently than might otherwise occur.

Industrial Development in the Nonmetropolitan Community

In the United States today we seem to be confronted with a two-fold situation that is devastating our human and economic resources. ~~On the one hand~~ we have the appalling condition of the urban poor; and, on the other hand, we have the equally appalling circumstances of the rural poor. And it seems to me that both stem from the migration of the rural population to the cities and subsequent lack of effort on the part of the remaining nonmetropolitan areas to recruit industry into their communities. In other words, we are packing too many people into our cities and doing little or nothing to make rural areas a viable alternative for our people. Therefore, I would like to use this article to focus in on some of the possibilities and problems that the rural area has to work with in order to alleviate this crisis.

It is a fact of life that people must go where the jobs are and right now the jobs are in the cities. For more years than many care to remember, young people who are the income producing segment of our population, have been forced to move to the cities where the universities and jobs are located. I cannot state emphatically enough, however, that such moves need not be their goal. The disastrous shift of population and talent can be reversed if we take the necessary action to show our young people that there are opportunities in rural America.

Moreover, we must point out to industry the advantages rural areas can present in terms of space for development, productivity of the work force, favorable tax base, and so forth. We must also mention that there are obvious advantages in terms of shipping costs and availability of resources for agriculturally-related industries that locate in the rural areas.

To bring about the necessary reallocation of human and economic resources from the nonmetropolitan regions will require a penetrating change in attitude and perspective—whether we are a part of business, government, or the general population of the communities involved. We should view the move back to the rural areas as both good and possible, realizing that the changes required are compatible with the economic, social and technological advancements of the past decade.

We must also realize that public opinion and community planning are the ingredients for development and relocation over which industry has little control. The general consensus of the residents of a community that growth is vital to its livelihood is indispensable.

On the other hand, we must not deny that movement of industry into a small community can bring with it immeasurable sources of upheaval in patterns of class, status, leadership, and economic wealth. Invariably, those individuals within a community who have the most to lose in terms of community position are also the quickest to perceive the threat that new industry may create. Industry becomes the intruder, and unless the residents of the community are sufficiently committed to growth, a vocal and negative minority is likely to cause enough headaches to discourage a potential visiting industrialist.

It is often the more conservative leaders in the community opposing industrial development and government programs who are the most sincere in their convictions that these programs will bring more harm than good. They are not able to appreciate the fact that short-term sacrifice is necessary for the long term gain of bringing a sound economic base to a small community. It is extremely important, then, that a large and active segment of our small community be favorable to growth even at the expense of the status quo.

The historian, Arnold Toynbee, once remarked that you had to shoot somebody, burn yourself alive, do something violent, to get any attention at all no matter how good your cause, or how patient you may have been, or how well you have put your case. In our large cities today an increasing minority of people, desperate for improving their situation, are doing just such things. Those of us who see small community development as the answer to urban problems do not need to go to these extremes, but we must be vocal in our belief that community development is positive and vital.

Pawnee Corporation of Pipestone, Minnesota: A Case History

For the past nine years, I have been involved with the community of Pipestone, Minnesota, where I started as an attorney in community development. All the predictable problems were there. What I thought was good and made sense was not consistent with the views of the mainstream of leadership in the community which had, for the most part, written off the possibility of industry locating there. For them it was pointless to look for industry since they believed that people did not want to live in a small town or invest money in developing its economy. This pessimism was so pervasive that we were not able to interest anyone in overall programs for industrial development; in fact, we were not able to get the local financial institutions interested even to the extent of doing face-lifting on the buildings.

To begin our work, then, we had to find an outside investor and thus go around the power structure. An insurance company was impressed with our plan for development and lent us the necessary funds to purchase some of the readily available real estate on Main Street. Taking our basic development plan, we were soon involved in urban renewal, in a federally-sponsored, comprehensive development program, and in an industrial development program.

I put some of my thoughts into Pawnee Corporation, which was created to take advantage of the positive concept of using rural locations for agricultural processing. We developed a company that is oriented toward both acquisition and internal growth. It now does approximately one hundred million dollars in sales in about forty or fifty communities. In the Midwest, we have made a studied effort to stay in smaller communities since we feel that we understand the psychology particular to them. A major advantage of rural location is that employees have a better identity with their jobs in the small town. This often results in much higher labor productivity. In many such ways, the advantages outweigh the disadvantages.

As a person gets more involved in development and growth, there are many sacrifices that need to be made. On an interim basis, there are higher taxes to be met. There are also very human factors with which to deal; for instance, there is the 60 year old businessman on Main Street who was at one time the social leader of the town. He intended to operate his store another five years before re-

tiring and the town is going to last long enough for him. All of a sudden, with new growth, he is faced with new competition and new capital investment. A multitude of problems face him which otherwise would not have arisen if it were not for the situation of a revitalized economy. This man, together with others like him, are furthermore in control in the town and have been for 30 or 40 years. While sympathizing with them, we need to look at the overall good of the whole population in a given community. If a group of interests needs to be sacrificed, perhaps it is that group of more conservative community leaders. Although they might be brought around to the point where they can become involved in the program, such a feat does not happen gracefully.

Every community, no matter what its size, has the opportunity to survive. Even a town of 200 people could have the opportunity for a future, perhaps as a special type of community such as a strictly residential community. This, of course, does not mean that all will necessarily be able to take advantage of the chance. There must be a well-defined format whereby state and federal funds become available for comprehensive planning programs for development which take into consideration such things as zoning services, suitability to the area, availability of specific sites, and community objectives.

In any size community—whether it is Minneapolis, New York City, St. Cloud or Pipestone—there are certain management functions that have to be accomplished. There must be planning on a broad scale in order to insure quality in government, in education, in recreation, in social services, and in auxiliary financial aid. In a town of 5,000 there might only be 50 people who are capable of leadership, and it is these same 50 people who are performing all these different functions. In other words, to make a small community work, it will be necessary to achieve a much higher degree of involvement by all citizens. They will in turn discover that their efforts will not lie idle; for once we affirm our confidence in human potential and accept a sound formula for growth, we are going to see a major transition to development in the rural areas. Instead of merely begging for new citizens, rural communities will begin working toward proper programming and development.

A New Future for Rural America

There has recently been much greater consciousness of the need for rural area development on the federal, state, and local levels.

For so long the people of rural America have been hearing only that their communities will die and fade into history. Indeed, for the past 20 or 30 years, they have seen friends and neighbors joining in the procession to the city. Their young people cannot believe that such a trend can be reversed. As these people do see the "inevitable" trends reversed, however, they like to get involved in insuring the continued growth of their town. Often they want to accomplish great feats without undue risk and do not like to have the status quo interrupted. If instead they find the vision and will to meet the risks involved and to cooperate with the creative efforts of business and government, they will be part of the renewal that is resurrecting rural America.

National Farmers' Organization: Economic Strength Through Cooperation

There is a story about the rural pastor who made his rounds with a horse and buggy. The horse was well-groomed, the buggy painted, and the harness oiled; yet the pastor himself looked threadbare. One day a parishoner asked him, "Why are your horse and rig and harness in such fine condition, while you always look a little tacky?" The pastor replied, "Well, it's like this: I take care of my horse and buggy; my congregation takes care of me."

The Economic Hazards of Agricultural Disorganization

Like the pastor in the story, our real problem in agriculture today is that we do not take care of our own. Professor George Donohue of the University of Minnesota refers to the farmer's problem as "trained incapacity for interdependence." Professor Homer Smothers, formerly of Drake University and the University of Iowa, is a little more blunt. He calls the problem, "controlled ignorance." No one enjoys hearing such prophets of doom; but it would be wrong to turn our backs on reality and hide our heads in the sand. The undeniable results of the farmers' own lack of cooperative action are reflected in some very grim price and income statistics.

In July, 1967, for example, the House Committee on Agriculture released a brochure entitled "Food Costs and Farm Prices." It states that prices received by farmers in 1966 were still lower than such prices 19 years ago in the 1947-1949 base period."

From August, 1966, to April, 1967, agricultural prices suffered their sharpest decline since the late 1920's and early 1930's. In these eight months prices received by farmers relative to the rest of the economy dropped 10% to the lowest level in 33 years. Although there was some recovery during May and June, the April

parity ratio dipped to 72 %—the lowest for any month since 1934.

In other words, the prices received by farmers in relation to the prices they must pay to produce their crops and livestock and to live on the farm were in April, 1967 at the lowest point in 33 years. Meanwhile, during the past 20 years, the hourly earnings of industrial workers have increased 123 %, and corporate dividends are up 232 %. During the same 20 year span the average farm prices dropped by 11 % (comparing 1947 prices with prices in April, 1967). Pound and bushel output was up nearly 40 % during this same period.

Such bleak prospects for a future in farming have led to a vast population migration with far-reaching consequences. Between 1947 and 1967 the farm population dropped from 25 million to 10 million of whom 2,895,000 are active farmers. This means that 15 million people have moved to the cities where so many are now wondering what to do with themselves. Seventy percent of our people today are on 2% of the land and we are experiencing an urban crisis. I do not want to suggest that the people leaving the farms for the cities wind up in ghettos. They are desirable workers, they know responsibility, they know how to work; but their migration pushes less qualified persons into those ghettos. If we could in some manner remove 15 million people from our greatest problem areas and scatter them over the land where they want to work, this might solve a tremendous number of urban problems.

NFO — Organizing for a Solution

In response to these desperate conditions in agriculture, the National Farmers' Organization was created. In 1955, there was a disastrous decline in hog prices—from twenty-four dollars a hundred to between nine and eleven dollars a hundred. In northwest Missouri and southwest Iowa a feed salesman named Jake Lowry saw the anger, distress, and hopeless frustration of the farmer and started meeting with other concerned people in agriculture. They met at auction barns, at sales, wherever farmers were gathered together, and talked. Membership at that time was a dollar a person; so we were labeled the "Dollar and Holler" guys. The organization's only purpose then was to raise enough money to send a representative to Washington to see what could be done about low income for farmers, especially in regard to hog prices. NFO spread over Iowa, and in two years' time members had made enough

trips to Washington to know that there was absolutely no hope of ever solving the problem there. And we still maintain that position today.

We do not think there is any place to solve the problem except with the individual farmer himself. There is no hope that any population explosion with an increased need for food products is ever going to solve his problems. There is no hope that legislation can be engineered when six percent of the population is agriculturally oriented and ninety-four percent is interested in cheap food. Even if a group manages to get 100 percent of the farmers moving in one direction, that would still represent only six percent of the vote, which today is split three ways. But when he works on production as a solution to his problems, the farmer has the potential for 100 percent cooperation regardless of political party. This is the direction toward which the NFO aims.

It is because of these aims, then, that our organization has become more than a mere protest group. We discovered, for instance, the Capper-Volstead Act of 1922 which in essence says that farmers working together may form a monopoly on food provided they observe two main restrictions: (1) That they use only their own members' production to accomplish the objectives they are seeking. The use of outside production or organizations would therefore dissolve the monopoly. (2) That they do not unduly enhance prices, which we interpret to mean not going above parity prices. If this restriction is violated, the Secretary of Agriculture can intervene or seek an injunction to protect the consumer.

With this Act as our organizing principle, we have been a collective bargaining agent for eleven years and have grown from 17 members to an organization spreading throughout the 48 contiguous states. This places us in every major agricultural production area in the United States. Furthermore, within the next two years, we hope to add at least 2,000 field men to our operating staff.

At the time we started signing members to the present membership agreement, we had a complete, comprehensive, and sophisticated marketing program to solve the problems about which we were complaining. Up until 1965 this country had the worst marketing system for agricultural production that could possibly be fashioned by mankind. The farmer brings his production to market and then asks, "What will you give me?" The dairy farmer, for example, owns the farm and machinery, the cows, cans, milkers,

and cooler. He supplies the feed, labor, and veterinary costs. By belonging to a cooperative creamery, he owns the truck that hauls the milk and pays the driver and the manager and staff of the milk plant. He owns 98 percent of the production and distribution system for milk; yet the remaining two percent of the system tells him what he will get for it, and then he has to wait six weeks for his money!

Nevertheless, in spite of the fact that we have been trying to give the farmer what is rightfully his, we have been called communists, activists, militants, radicals, revolutionaries, pig shooters, milk dumpers, simplistic dreamers, and sophists. All of these labels raise the question of how changes can be made without upsetting people. How do we effect change in an orderly fashion? In a Sunday school text called *The New Creation*, there is a pertinent observation on this problem:

The German poet, Goethe, said that "men would rather die than change." Many people have actually broken themselves against these offensive new conditions rather than adapt themselves to the unfamiliar state of affairs. But even such heroic defiance may come within a hair's breadth of a childish, suicidal, stubbornness that is much more common, that seems to say, "If the world is going to be that way, I refuse to live in it anymore," or, "Stop the world, I want to get off."¹

The resistance to change has many causes. Perhaps the most fundamental is that a change in the world requires a person to change himself; and people tend to be perfectly content with themselves as they are. There is fear of the unknown, fear of becoming a very different person, fear of upsetting the habits of a lifetime, fear of having to quicken one's pace, and fear that life may require more energy and imagination of me as an individual than it has before. The old rut may be wrong and boring, but it certainly is comfortable and familiar.

And so change in the marketing system is beginning to take shape in a fashion that is somewhat like the first train that came to Fargo, North Dakota. A farm wife on the prairies heard about it and told her husband that she wanted to see it. Although he could not be bothered by any foolish thing like a train, he went to please her. When they got to the depot, the train was about to leave. It had stopped at dead center with steam coming out of every valve.

¹ Stephen Crites, "A Revolutionary Faith in a Revolutionary Age." *The New Creation* (Winter, 1969), United Methodist Church Publications.

"It will never work," the farmer kept saying to his wife. Soon the train began to move, gathering speed as it disappeared over the horizon. The farmer turned to his wife and said, "They will never stop it!"

The American farmer is the most successful and efficient of all the farmers in the world. Yet, according to his critics, he has never been right once. He has been told he has planted either too early or too late, that he did not get up early enough, used the wrong seed, was not big enough, was not efficient, or was a poor manager. In short, the farmer is conditioned to failure. He cannot, however, be that wrong that often—not with the job he has done. His efficiency has doubled over that of the industrial worker. How can he be denied a fair price for that kind of effort?

Our present program is working toward solving this problem of conditioned failure. It is primarily a task in education which can best be judged by the results it has achieved. For example, in the four years previous to our milk-holding action in 1967, the average price of milk increased nine cents a hundred pounds—at the most, an average increase of about two cents per hundred. Since the milk-holding action, the prices have advanced in some areas as much as \$1.70 per hundred pounds. All we are selling to individuals is a means of tying his production together. Instead of assuming the additional investment and tax and labor load of extreme competition that only kills and destroys, he can work together with others to achieve a fair price for his product.

Until the NFO came along with its established marketing procedures, there was an open market system which gave the farmer in any given area a limited choice in creameries, grain elevators, packing plants, and buying stations. They all shared in the same system and did not so much bid for the product as divide it. It resembled a perfect gentlemen's agreement: do not bother me, and I will not bother you. That was until 1965, however, when we began setting up collection points throughout the country and putting together a larger block of production than the farmers normally sold. Now there is a second way to market — one based on interdependence.

When all those concerned with the economic and social life of people in production realize how vital agricultural price is, they will join in urging the farmer not to sell for less than a fair price. But those of us in agriculture cannot expect support from others

until we learn to support one another, until we give up some of our independence for more creative, more constructive interdependence. If we insist on being so self-sufficient that we cannot be bothered with business methods and the cooperation that their successful use demands, then we must be ready to accept the economic and social consequences that such disorganization, stubbornness and self-centered independence bring.

The University's Participation In Community Development

There are an increasing number of junior colleges and small state colleges appearing in nonmetropolitan areas. Southwest State College is such an institution which has moreover publicly declared itself to be involved in service to the local community. This article is intended not only for those in the academic community but also for those in helping agencies such as the Church who wish to utilize new sources of community development.

Southwest State is concerned with serving the community of southwest Minnesota. Its working concept of community is based on Webster's definition of a community as, "a body of people living under the same laws; restrictively, the people of a particular region or place. Hence, the region itself." The community involved here is an area of Minnesota that is probably a little larger than the state of Maryland and has a population of over 300,000 people.

The people of Southwest State College have come to one rather solemn conclusion: any community, whether composed of a town, county, or a number of counties, is vastly more difficult to understand than anything they have undertaken to do before. It seems that humans know how to develop the specifications to produce and operate a landing on the moon, but not the specifications and operations for our communities. A community may be viewed as a varied and intricate combination of interacting systems—social, economic, political, technological. The evidence is not convincing that it is easily known how this community is going to react to actions of a part of that community or the injection of a force from outside its boundaries. The initial question, then, for those at Southwest is how a new state college, injected into a countryside area in the 1970's can relate to it.

The College As Participator

The answer to this question can be sought by emphasizing that a college must be a partner of the community; a college has muscle for getting things done if it is mobilized in the right manner. At Southwest State College such a mission has been approved by the legislature and by the State College Board. It is three-pronged: (1) An undergraduate liberal arts and technical college in selected areas has been developed. (2) Certain specialized efforts such as a teacher education program which cuts across the entire institution and special work with the handicapped has been initiated. (3) The college is to function as an educational-cultural-research source that is available not only to the students and people on campus but also to the community-at-large. That end by itself, however, is not seen as license to unilaterally inject the college into the mainstream of the community without careful thought and planning. One thoughtful observer has noted that a college has three alternatives as it attempts to relate to its area. It may not involve itself at all, or it may involve itself indiscriminately—if someone wants something, it tries to accommodate them no matter what the circumstances are; or, finally, it may involve itself selectively.

It is this third tactic that is being implemented at Southwest State. The people of the college have developed a philosophy that they will have one major opportunity to prove themselves to the community; if they fail, another chance will not come up. This, then, is their bias: if a college tries to act in a high-handed, unilateral fashion, no matter what it has to offer, it is not going to succeed.

The people in this area, as in any other nonmetropolitan area, are constantly being confronted with new problems—whether it is the phenomenon of poverty, pollution, regionalism, or racial conflicts. To many it seems there is no place to go for help. Moreover, the resources from both the public and private sectors in a countryside area are very diffused; also, it is difficult for the people of an area to identify with a group outside their particular town so that resources do not come to their door even though they may be available.

The characteristic response of the college is to withdraw into abstractions, to draw models, to theorize about decision making, or to simulate experiences. The result is that professors can keep busy with studies and fill their shelves with ever more complex and

technical verbiage, less and less understood by the practiced public whom they are supposed to serve. The professor, of course, can withdraw to his theories; but man, in public or private actions in the marketplace, does not have that alternative available to him. College professors, then, should have to defend themselves on the firing line and in the marketplace. If they do not have a saleable skill or resource, they should be held accountable for this. No one at this time can retreat to some place and strike out at something; we have to become involved.

Underlying all of this is the growing conviction on the part of many community people that higher education is not only ineffective but is controlled by the wrong people. Faculty members and students at Southwest have been getting an increasingly significant role in the decision-making process; and now, the community demands a voice in the planning. Hopefully, this heightened participation by all those involved in the educational "establishment" of the community will provide strength to meet the problems, challenges and future of the greater community of which any college is a part.

Because of this need for participation and problem-solving, many of the old suppositions of higher education as they relate to a community are obsolete. The unhappiness of some of our colleges comes in no small part because they are trying to function in a classical manner in a situation that is not classical anymore. The age of innocence is over.

The premise of Southwest State is that colleges should undertake without delay the building of a new role for higher education, with new assumptions, new roles for faculty, students, administrators, and people of the area. The people of Southwest feel that if college and university faculties wish to have a role in developing the new administration, then the first thing they will have to do is to leave the campus and get into the community, the schools, the social agencies, the city government. It is not enough just to be a casual observer; college personnel need to stay in the community to face the problems and to help work out the solutions.

In the past, colleges have seen communities primarily as laboratories in which to do their research. It was the professor's interest that determined what went under study rather than the need or the interest of the public. There are too many college professors who have tunnel vision; there are too many who are more closely

tied to their discipline than they are to to the college or to the community. They are going to hunt around one way or another to find a way to do their research, which is an 180° wrong turn.

It is this author's contention that we have not been concerned with what we as a college people can do for the community, but rather what it can do for us. My impression is that schools and communities have seen their fill of such studies and that problems in the community are so urgent and vital to the survival of effective education that local leaders have no use for the college specialist unless he is willing to work on the problems deemed to be of the highest priority in that community. These criteria demand an 180° reverse: we focus on the needs of the people and then we look at the resources of the institution that can be brought to bear on them. We thus need to work out new attitudes on the part of both specialists and college people. We also need to change the assumption that any institution by itself has all the answers. The answers that we are looking for cut across discipline lines; and we have to join hands with others in solving the problems for which they are designed.

Steps to Public Service

In light of the experience of Southwest State College, the following might be suggested as some fundamental concerns a college must have if it is going to commit itself deeply to public service.

First of all, the college must assess the needs of the people it hopes to serve. It must conduct some kind of meaningful survey. It must seek to discover the needs, resources, and limitations of the area. This survey must focus on the community, not on the institution.

Secondly, the college must make an objective assessment of the particular resources it is in a position to provide. After this has been accomplished, the college must decide whether its resources will be dedicated to public service as an overtime or extracurricular thing or as something that is of the very essence of what the institution stands for. This, of course, means that the faculty involvement in public service via the college will be ranked with classroom teaching as regards salary increases, promotions, and grants.

Thirdly, it is also vitally important that the people of the area know about and understand the public service commitment of the college. This places a demand not only on the academic community

to reach out and make contact with the people of the area, but also on the leadership of the nonmetropolitan community itself (such as the Church) to try to discover and tap the resources of the local college.

Finally, the key factor to all of this is of course the concept of partnership. The college and all other institutions that intend to help the rural society must take a cooperative approach in which the goal is not domination or self-gratification but service to the community. If there is mutual trust on the part of the school and the community, then progress will take place.

Rhetoric of Concern versus Reality of Action

The contrast between the rhetoric of concern and the reality of action is so sharp that the first step to be taken is to accept without equivocation or debate that this is a nation of communities, that we will not survive their destruction. In these times, educational institutions cannot remain isolated from their communities or states. Colleges and universities can no longer be withdrawn or uninvolved like intellectual enclaves while there is violence in the streets and rural and urban decay all around. If they choose to do so, their constituents will not continue to give them full support and freedom.

The world today demands that our colleges and universities be more than centers of learning and enlightenment for those who can afford to get into them. They must be made more than research centers where rural sociologists and ghetto pathologists analyze the underlying causes of decay, riot, pollution, and insurrections. The colleges have got to become part of the action. All concerned institutions must turn their resources and facilities to the problem of the survival of our communities and mankind, whether that community embraces a particular town, county, or state. Most immediately, our colleges and universities must think about the communities they serve. Higher education, along with great groups of people from the private and public sectors of our economy, can become a catalyst in the struggle for what is the survival of our country.

II. THE CHURCH AS A SOURCE OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The articles in this section highlight some of the many facets of nonmetropolitan life that are of legitimate concern to the Church and suggest some ways in which the Church may aid in both the spiritual and temporal growth of the community. Wilson Yates, for instance, analyzes the change and fragmentation that has rendered our communities and congregations hapless and nearly helpless. He does not suggest, however, some sort of false unanimity as a solution to the problem, but rather purposes what he calls a "creative pluralism" as a model for both Church and community. William Sherman's article not only illustrates the urban bias that most clergy have but points out some very practical means to a more sensitive and effective rural ministry.

Another approach to ministry is represented by Albert McKnight, who feels that the minister must truly identify with and participate in the legitimate aspirations of his people. Based on his own work, he indicates how cooperatives can be used to spread the Good News and give financial self-determination to the rural poor. Moving away from the particular role of the individual minister, Arleon Kelley deals with the need for changes in certain nonmetropolitan church structures. Employing the concept of regionalism discussed by Professor Hoyt, Kelley offers examples of how systems analysis can be used to plan and expedite change.

The functions of the age-old problem of prejudice are explored in depth and with great clarity by Sylvester Theisen as he discusses the churches' role in bringing about attitudinal change. The last two articles add an interesting and vital dimension as Osgood Magnuson describes the creative use of leisure as a challenge to the clergyman; and Giles Ekola exhorts the minister to take seriously the biblical mandate of stewardship of the earth, making use of the local private and public conservation services.

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Social Action in a Pluralistic Church

We no longer question the centrality of change in interpreting American Society. It is in fact a condition of all social and cultural reality. It is much like a stream in which all are moving, from which we cannot flee, and in which we cannot anchor—an Heraclitian river to be navigated or wrecked in its currents.

Nor do we question the centrality of pluralism. For this is an age of diversity in which cultural myths and values, social forms and life styles vary from group to group and person to person. Ideologies range from radical to reactionary, institutional philosophies from meritocracy to democracy, and strategies of action from dropping-out to intense activism, from nonviolence to violence. Indeed, since all of them differ and none can claim universal acceptance, the various interpretations of and responses to change as well as the crisis issues they spawn attest to the demanding significance of both diversity and change.

Thus change and pluralism are root presuppositions for interpreting the meaning of contemporary social existence. Furthermore, they must be employed in any intelligent analysis of the current situation of the Church.

The Church in its slow pace has attempted to respond to change. It has produced a theology, a reexamination of structures, and a call for action which have taken a variety of forms. It has been willing to see itself in some manner responsible for the needs of a changing order and has sought to define a social mission in light of that responsibility. Moreover, it has attempted to define and engage the pluralism of society as an initial step in responding to the crises of change.

The Church has failed, however, at the most crucial point of all—that of realistically accepting the fact that it too is a part of that world of change. It has failed to come to terms adequately with the nature and significance of change within its own religious system of beliefs and practices. It has failed to see itself as a ship

in the midst of the river and has chosen instead to see itself docked, free from the force of the currents.

Furthermore, it has failed to creatively recognize that it has a multiplicity of perspectives within its own structures as to what change means and how it is to be dealt with both within itself and in the larger society. The Church has failed to accept the fact that it has its own radical-reactionary continuum running from those who are insisting that the old symbols and structures are dead, to those who are attempting to place the same symbols and structures beyond the reach of change. And it has remained a prisoner to the classical American dilemma of whether the individual should be ministered to on the assumption that the social order is unimportant or ministered to through the transforming of that order.

As a consequence, the Church has been caught in an irony of its own existence, for while it has acknowledged change in the world around it, it has failed to recognize its full participation in that change. While it has accepted pluralism as a fundamental condition of society, it has failed to adequately accept and creatively engage the pluralism within its own structures.

It is this irony I wish to explore specifically as it is related to pluralism; for I maintain that the Church could respond more effectively to change as it is manifest within itself and within the large community if it could come to terms with and engage that pluralism creatively. Indeed, the Church might well become a microcosm of how "the world" could proceed in understanding and utilizing its pluralism.

In this discussion, therefore, we will examine the question of pluralism within the Church. Our specific focus will rest on the relationship of a pluralistic Church to social crises. The approach we will unfold, however, will hopefully be applicable to other concerns of the Church.

Pluralism Within Church and Society

We have stated that society is pluralistic. Its pluralism can be seen in terms of ethnic distinctions, class divisions, and ideological differences. With regard to ideological pluralism which is of most importance here, we can see its range in the radical-reactionary continuum which includes radical, moderate, conservative, and reactionary positions.

When we look at the Church we find a similar range of groups

and perspectives. For example, when we deal with theological orientations to social issues, it is possible to apply many of the same criteria we use in differentiating ideological perspectives in society. Furthermore, these perspectives are not only similar in name but in content and form of action. Thus, the liberal in the Church may parallel clearly the non-Christian liberal in terms of his definition of social responsibility and responsible forms of action. He may use different symbols and different language but at the level of *meaning* and *action* his orientation is similar.

There are many reasons for this similarity. One of the most important is that the American value system is in part a child of Christian myths and symbols. Therefore, the overarching cultural value system—the American civil religion as Robert Bellah has defined it—contains certain religious and moral perspectives which are consonant with those found in the Church. As a consequence, fundamental experiences which cause the questions of ultimate meaning to be raised have been symbolized in Christian and quasi-Christian images by those outside the Church as well as those within. The prophetic impulse within the Church, for example, that seeks to reform institutions in society is equally present among groups who have no relationship with the Church. The commandment to love one's neighbor which lies at the root of the Christian Church's view of mission is at the same time deeply rooted as a moral value within the broader cultural perspectives of American society.

This is important to recognize when we talk of dealing creatively with pluralism, for it reminds us that a group within the Church is by no means limited to other church groups for allies in a cause. Rather, a fluid, vertical movement is possible in which the liberal within the Church can join with the liberal outside of it in the pursuit of social goals. This process, of course, can already be seen in situations where religious groups join secular movements dealing with crises such as those of civil rights, the Vietnam war, pollution, and so on. Whether it has been exploited as much as it should, however, is open to question.

But if there are parallels between groups within the Church and those without which allowed both to join in constructive social action, there often exists the reverse situation in the Church. For within the Church diversity exists to the point of polarization, and little common agreement has been reached as to acceptable forms of social response. Thus a focus on pluralism *within* the

Church forces us back to our basic concern of how we might creatively engage it.

The Church's Response to Pluralism

In responding to pluralism, the Church has taken many approaches ranging from ignoring and tolerating it to subordinating and eliminating it, but all have been negative. It can be pointed out that at given periods in history each of these tactics may have served the Church effectively. In our age, however, I think each represents not only an inadequate approach but one which contributes to precisely that which it has been created to avoid—disunity and fragmentation. It is for this reason that another approach is in order which we shall call *creative engagement* and one which we shall spell out as an alternative strategy. Before turning to this strategy, however, let us examine the four negative modes of response.

The first consists of *ignoring* that pluralism exists, or at least that it is a significant condition within the life of the Church. At the core of this strategy lies a focus on the need for unity. It is assumed, and rightly so, that all members of the Christian family share certain common overarching beliefs. It is assumed that they all share a oneness in Christ, that all are called to serve their neighbor and nurture their own moral life. The argument is that all Christians share a commonly articulated set of symbols and are at heart "one in the Spirit." What is ignored is that the Spirit manifests itself in different fashions; that symbols, when spelled out in terms of their concrete, pragmatic implications, give rise to different views of mission and different views of what is necessary to implement that mission. While it is recognized, for example, that Christians affirm the centrality of loving their neighbor, there is a failure to realize that "loving the neighbor" means for some meeting the immediate personal needs of individual acquaintances, while for others it means reordering social structures which affect the neighbor negatively.

The second negative response is that of *toleration*. In this approach pluralism is recognized but only as a temporary manifestation of a transitional age. In turn, the strategy consists of "seeing the Church through" to that end point in time when unity can be restored and homogeneity re-enthroned. Again, the strategy is negative. It does not focus on how we can shape pluralism into a creative force, but how we can survive it.

The third stance is that of *subordination* in which diverse perspectives are subordinated by some one group or position which has the power to dominate. In turn, this one group often plays the role of an elitist body which assumes responsibility for planning and acting for all the others. In the case of the social mission of the Church, this means that mission goals are established and strategies determined without reference to the broader plurality in the Church which is, nevertheless, expected to endorse and implement them. This approach, of course, does not neutralize the effects of diversity. It simply entrenches those who are subordinated into a deep and encompassing stance of opposition.

The fourth response has been to acknowledge pluralism and in a straightforward way *eliminate* it. The strategy involved here leads to one of two courses of action: purge or schism. It leads to purge if the diverse elements or groups are in the minority or to schism if the dissenters are many. Advocates of this approach recognize that a belief may be given diverse interpretations which have diverse pragmatic consequences; but rather than work with this as a potentially creative condition, they argue that believers should be watched precisely because of this possibility. In this case, belief is considered important for its catechetical purity rather than its pragmatic consequences. Those who hold power, then, believe that any pluralism is therefore heretical.

All of these responses are based on the assumption that the Church should be an homogenous body sharing a unified code of belief and practice. As strategies they differ in degree as they move from the point of ignoring to the point of purging; but all remain variations on a theme of single-minded unanimity, and all view pluralism as a threat to that unanimity.

The root danger of these strategies is that when they are carried to their logical conclusions, they invite an imposition of unity. Underlying each of them is a fear that the real continuity and self-identity of the Church is threatened by pluralism, and such a fear is an invitation to a forced and therefore false unanimity. Ironically, the winds they raise are the whirlwinds of divisiveness and fragmentation.

Realistic Pluralism

Against the backdrop of these approaches, I should like to argue that another approach is more in order for our day. This approach

involves engaging pluralism in such a way that it becomes a useable force for the Church rather than a polarizing condition within the Church. For this engagement to occur, however, there must be a vision of pluralism as a positive condition in the life of the Church. This is particularly crucial in light of our negative views which, at best, do little more than acknowledge pluralism as a condition to be tolerated and by no means something to be celebrated.

Central to an image of *realistic pluralism* is the judgment that a pluralistic context provides a situation in which man can express himself most freely and creatively. It is therefore to be affirmed as good. This judgment rests on two suppositions regarding the nature of man. The first is that man is finite and limited; he "sees as through a glass darkly" and therefore never possesses a vision of truth so complete as to justify its being imposed on all men.

The second supposition, which complements the first, is that all men in some degree provide unique expressions of reality. All men have the capacity for creative acts which will bear the mark of innovation. All men, therefore, are potentially bearers of new insights and images which may provide the necessary perspective to a problem's solution.

Given these suppositions, it follows that if a pluralistic context is maintained, then ideally man is protected against the imposition of other's beliefs upon him and, at the same time, given rein to express his views. In turn, he is open to receive the viewpoints of others that may provide in their uniqueness the added corrective, the new direction, which is needed by all.

Further, there is basic to this image a particular ethical orientation which has at its core the principles of *inclusiveness*, *freedom*, and *community*. The principle of inclusiveness implies an openness to all groups or individuals to be creative; it is an invitation for all to participate and contribute. The principle of freedom implies a context of liberty in which the group or individual is free to create in his own particular fashion—to actualize his uniqueness through his own imaging and response to reality. The principle of community implies a recognition that all men and groups are interdependent, for all their creations are limited and incomplete and therefore in need of the other's contribution and response. Furthermore, this principle implies a responsibility on the part of individuals and groups to make their search in light of the needs of the others with whom they are interrelated. Such principles are crucial for pluralism

to work; without them the tendency towards exclusiveness, foreclosure, and elitism dominate. We are then forced back into a position where an elite body is deemed the interpreter and controller of reality.

If we translate the above judgments about man and pluralism into an approach for the Church, we can conclude that if the Church accepts and protects a pluralism within its own structures, it can potentially free men and groups to be more creative and effective. As a result, the creativity and effectiveness of the Church as a whole will increase.

Finally, there exists in this view of pluralism an understanding of the necessity of unity, but it is a unity understood in different terms than the single-minded unanimity noted above. This unity has three loci upon which it draws and in which it is rooted.

First, there is the unity of overarching symbols to which all in the Church respond. All Christians in the midst of their diversity still draw from a common reservoir of basic values and images such as exodus and the cross, salvation and hope. All Christians have some doctrine of creation, even though they may have many interpretations. All Christians have a Christology though many views of Jesus Christ are reflected. All Christians have a common commitment to serve the neighbor even though "neighbor" and "service" may be defined in varying ways. As we have pointed out earlier, the unity found through overarching symbols and beliefs does not eliminate diversity. What it does do, however, is provide a ground for all to return to in the midst of their differences.

Secondly, there is a unity which is found in the common commitment to pluralism. It is a unity born of a faith in the capacity of man to control, create, and celebrate life more completely in a pluralistic context than outside of one. It is a unity born of a commitment to a morality of inclusiveness, freedom, and community.

Thirdly, there is in a view of realistic pluralism a continuing "silent" ground of unity. This silent ground refers to the points of agreement which exist among groups even in the midst of their disagreement. It implies that total alienation never occurs. Although radical differences may exist regarding any given issue, there still remains the realm of communality which can act as a boundary on the tendency to become unreconcilably alienated.

Realistic Pluralism and the Church

Given these general suppositions regarding realistic pluralism and the unity in which it is grounded, I should like to return to the Church and suggest what action is necessary for institutionalization of such pluralism. Thus far we have been dealing with the image as an ideal. What now is at issue is the transfer of that ideal to the actual situation of the Church.

This transfer involves the creation of six basic conditions, each of which can be summarily stated in the following fashion:

- 1. Realistic pluralism should be affirmed as a creative condition for the Church. This means that pluralism should be recognized not only at the empirical level as a condition which already exists, but at a normative level as a condition which ought to exist.
- 2. Within this pluralistic context groups should be given the freedom to develop their own approach in dealing with the issues without any single one of the groups having to fear it will be rejected simply because its pattern of action is different or unique.
- 3. At the same time, groups should have held before them the unity they share even in the midst of their diversity.
- 4. Each of the groups should be responsible for carrying to its logical conclusions its own concept of mission and structural changes, insofar as is possible, in order that it might accomplish its goals, discover the limitations and possibilities in its approach, and discover points of communality it shares with other groups.
- 5. Communication media should be employed to keep the different groups sensitized to what other groups are doing. Free debate and sharing should also be facilitated regarding the merits and limitations of different approaches. This provides an opportunity for groups to push each other to explore the possibilities and shortcomings of their approach.
- 6. The budget and other resources of the Church must be structured in such a fashion that all groups will be granted some sum of seed money and facilities for the initiation of their program and the opportunity for requesting additional funds and resources.

These are conditions which would help create a realistic pluralism within the Church. Bearing them in mind, I should like to move to a more specific examination of how such pluralism might actually manifest itself in the Church's struggle to deal with the question of social mission.

The Local Congregation

Let us assume that in a given congregation there exists a plurality of perspectives regarding the nature and style of Christian social action. As a consequence, individuals and groups could potentially disagree on everything from the type of issues that ought to be dealt with to the way the Church should structure its response to the extent to which action should be taken. Let us assume, furthermore, that all are generally agreed on an issue and its legitimate claim for response—namely, the needs of the elderly, particularly those economically and socially disenfranchised. Diversity exists, however, over the type of action which should be taken. At this point we have two choices: to attempt to reconcile the differences through an explicit search for unanimity and agreement or to acknowledge the different action orientations that are present, assuming that such a pluralistic situation can be engaged creatively and effectively. Taking the latter option, let us suppose that we discover four social action orientations, all of which have been used at various times by Christian groups as legitimate approaches to a situation.

The first is a *philanthropy orientation*—a very old and traditional approach not uncommon to a nineteenth-century middle class image of social action. It essentially involves giving resources directly to the elderly or to groups working with the elderly. There exists in this congregation a group which sees this as the most viable and responsible form of action.

The second is a *social service orientation*—which is primarily concerned with personal involvement with individuals or groups in service to the elderly. It could be something as simple as visitation and programming in senior citizens housing or for the elderly living alone or meeting such needs as that of direct participation for senior citizens in the larger community. This approach involves a commitment of time, talents, and personal involvement in a direct fashion to the group in need. It may or may not lead to change in social structures. Its general thrust is usually limited to types of change within established structures which are not likely to provoke conflict. Within our hypothetical congregation, this approach is one of the most popular.

The third orientation which emerges is that of *direct-action involvement*. Let us suppose that one group in the church is much more concerned with dealing with the underlying causes of negative

and unjust conditions with which the elderly are faced. Let us suppose, further, that they create task forces to investigate the present state laws on public and private housing for the elderly and the adequacy of their enforcement. Their strategy is to report any negative findings to the appropriate public agency and, if that agency is unresponsive, to whatever agency or news medium that will help initiate action. If they find that the laws themselves are inadequate, they may form a lobby for the achievement of new legislation. In this process they may also choose to help organize the elderly into a pressure group with a power base for changing present structures that now directly affect the way they live.

The fourth orientation is that of *secular organization involvement*. The term "secular" is admittedly limited. Let us suppose here that it refers to any organization not directly affiliated with a religious institution. This approach is one in which a group in the church finds that its concerns in such an issue can be best expressed by involvement in an organization already concerned with the issue and structured to deal with it. In essence, it means that the church would operate through an existing structure in society. Such organizations might be social service agencies or, more likely, pressure groups utilizing confrontation or pressure tactics.

Following our commitment to pluralism, what we choose to do is encourage all four groups to initiate action in light of their general strategies. To do this, however, all four groups must be willing to acknowledge the rights of the other groups to so act and in turn to be open to modifying their approach in light of the success or failure of other approaches. Further, for this to take place each group must be provided financial underwriting.

Finally, some type of communication system within the congregation must operate to channel the programs, their development and results to other groups as well as to the congregation as a whole. It is in this manner that cross-fertilization occurs, that comments and criticisms may be made, that differences as well as new insights may be revealed. Such a system might include a central council, periodic reports, or the appointment of an arbitrator whose task is interpretation rather than polemics on behalf of any given approach.

Ecumenical Context

Accepting the principle of ecumenical cooperation, let us suppose that we have in a number of churches in a community small groups

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vitaly concerned with responding to the question of pollution along the four paradigmatic lines considered above. The task is to get together those groups of differing individuals from, for example, the Catholic, United Methodist, United Church of Christ, and the Lutheran Churches. Operating according to the pattern of the pluralism model, they together form a relatively large group which might implement three of the approaches sketched above. The difference, however, is that the composition of the action groups would cut across lines of denominational identification.

Intentional Congregations

Thus far we have dealt with pluralism within the local congregations. As a final example, I should like to suggest how we might *create* a pluralistic structure where it does not already exist. In this illustration the cue is taken from the Catholic Church which throughout its history has created a diversity of religious orders or "congregations" which deal with specific types of tasks such as education, aid for the poor, health care, and so on. By extending this model to Catholic and Protestant lay people in a limited, more short-ranged form, we might create congregations primarily concerned with a given issue — for example, racism, housing, drug abuse, or ecology—or a given group such as young adults, the elderly, or young families. A particular congregation, then, of perhaps twenty or thirty could be formed from several different congregations or denominational bodies. Upon entering their special congregation, they would agree to deal with a particular issue for three to five years rather than shifting to other issues or overextending themselves as they so often do now. Such an approach would allow for a differentiation of interests within the larger church and an intense form of service, use of talents, and overall involvement. It would provide an alternative for the persistent demand that a congregation tackle all problems by encouraging specialization in a new fashion. Such development of specialized lay congregations, however, is dependent on the recognition that a plurality of congregational forms is good among the laity rather than simply one form to which all should adapt.

Conclusion

My overall purpose has been to establish the viability of realistic pluralism as a condition in the Church for facilitating social action. It is built partly on the sociological reality that pluralism does exist

within religious institutions but has been inadequately engaged at the point of creative action.

At one level what we have suggested is a strategy based upon the assumption that the Church, given the limited impact it can make on society, should seek means that will allow optimal use of its resources. It could be charged that it is little more than a blatant invitation to escape finding and implementing a "true" Christian response to social issues. But one could also say that it creates opportunities for action within the Church for radically-oriented groups who might otherwise be continually silenced by the Church's "silent majority" as well as for that majority which otherwise might remain defensively silent. Certainly it provides hope for working around the continual cancellation which so often occurs as groups compete or attack one another until all are simply stalemated at the expense of any action, and it maximizes the opportunity for a broader spectrum of participation in the development and execution of mission programs.

At another level, however, it is more than just strategy. It is an acknowledgment that we are living in a time of cultural and social change in which a range of forms need to be developed and initiated. Too often in the past the development of diverse forms led to purge or schism. In our own time, it has led to an exodus from the Church. An acceptance of pluralism may meet this situation by legitimating the expression of different forms already existing as well as the development of new ones while avoiding the divisiveness and polarization that can occur as a consequence.

Underlying this view of realistic pluralism, however, there must be a theological affirmation of inclusiveness and freedom, innovation and experimentation. There must be a vision of a church called to celebrate the pluralism of its community by accepting it and encouraging its members to explore and build out of their reservoir of creative possibilities. There must be a recognition that indeed all do see through a glass darkly and, therefore, need desperately to be free to see what vision the neighbor has. There must be an awareness that in an age when present visions may be fragments of a new perspective yet to be born, there is a need to provide fertile ground for birth.

The creative engagement of pluralism involves the transformation of the present context into a situation where the existing pluralism is realistically freed to serve the demands of a polarized Church and world.

Opportunities For Renewed Rural Ministry

Recent decades have been marked with the decline and, in some places, even the demise of clergy interest in rural matters. The town and country movement, in the words of a national leader, "is all but dead." "Almost no new leadership," comments Dr. Shirley Greene, Field Secretary for the Methodist town and country program, "is emerging with a commitment to the town and country Church." "Town and Country" and "Rural Life Conference" conjure up the vision of old men "trying to keep them down on the farm after they've seen Patee." Today's energetic young pastor, if he is given a rural parish, is likely to tolerate it for only two or three years, looking over his shoulder all the while at some sort of "active" ministry in the city.

Why this lack of interest among many of the clergy? Part of the answer, as Dr. Greene notes, is that the urban crisis stole the center of the stage. Protestantism discovered the inner city, eyes turned away from rural concerns, and the imagination and real altruism of young people have since been preoccupied with city problems. This is a sad situation, as American Protestant denominations have had a magnificent rural life movement in the past. In fact, many of the first great rural sociologists were divinity students or clergymen who discovered rural problems in their work and subsequently specialized in these matters on various university faculties.

This lack of appreciation of rural matters has been a special problem for Roman Catholics in the sense that Catholic concerns traditionally have focused on urban centers where the mass of Catholic workers first arrived at the turn of the century. Social legislation and the growth of unions have occupied the center of the stage of Catholic social concerns. Rural life questions were left to the attention of Midwestern and a few Southern bishops.

Another reason for this current lack of focus on nonmetropolitan problems is that the major educational institutions of all religious groups have been in the city. Our scholarly journals are edited by people who live in the city. Our seminaries and graduate faculties are there also. We send a young man away from the small town to the urban schools of theology, and he returns six or eight years later, a stranger to his environment. The mass of information which has so ably portrayed the woes of the city in the past ten years—drugs, alienated youth, the slums, the racial situation—has troubled the conscience of the entire nation; and it is no wonder that our young clergymen find it almost an act of cowardice to go to a rural area.

A further cause of declining interest in the rural ministry, Dr. Greene says, is the growing assumption that modern technology, the mass media, rapid communication, and higher education have swept away any dissimilarities between urban and rural areas. This premise, however, is a false one. Hundreds of studies have confirmed that urban and rural areas are indeed different, a fact easily illustrated by practical observation. Look to the employers, for example, who flock to the Midwest to hire young men from small towns and farms; they know the difference. There is the often-repeated observation of Army recruiters about the low rejection rate of young men who come from rural areas. Presidents of our land-grant universities are the envy of many college officials. Where are the revolutions on these campuses? Students coming from elsewhere say, "Where are the beards? Where's the action?" This may be good or bad, but it does indicate a difference. Today's rural areas have become modern but not urban. They have their own distinctive pattern of living.

A New Realization

There does seem to be a hint of new things to come for pastors and those involved in rural problems. For one thing, we hear rumors that the people of inner city really do not want an invasion of outsiders tampering with their problems. The young pastor who yearns to be an apostle in the inner city, in fact, may be a liability rather than an asset.

There is also a new and significant element, something we have all become aware of in the past year. With increasing frequency, the popular press has been telling us that urban life is in a crisis of decay: pollution, congestion, overcrowding seem to be wrecking

our civilization. The machine and its systems seem to be depersonalizing the human being.

As a sort of unspoken corollary there arises the thought that perhaps rural areas, rural living, may not be so bad after all. The hippies, for example, have now formed rural communes. It is interesting that these young people, sometimes our brightest and wealthiest youth, are going back to a rural style of life which their grandfathers left as they sought the bright lights of the city. Even among the clergy there is a kind of optimism: "We've got something good out here; it's a nice place to live."

Interestingly enough, the rural region is now becoming the place where some urban problems can best be dealt with. Many of the problems of the city have come about as a result of the continued flow of rural people into urban centers. Whether in search of jobs or excitement, these rural migrants have intensified congestion, complicated the educational processes, and aggravated employment and welfare situations. Many scholars and a great number of national leaders have said we must stop the movement of people into the already overcrowded metropolitan regions. Employment, education, and welfare matters can often be better handled in smaller towns.

Identifying the Problem

The task, then, is to look at our small town and its surroundings to see what is happening and perhaps initiate some changes. The initial problem is that it is hard to see what is going on. Poverty, crime, and injustice in America's cities are not new and have been present for generations. Yet only in recent years have we become intensely aware of their existence. Why this delayed awareness? It may be partly due to the fact that when urban sociological findings finally became unmistakably clear, the concern of the people begins to stir. The convergence of research and public interest produced the avalanche of urban studies, articles, movies, and programs which occupy our interests so completely at this time.

Such dramatization of problems in the rural areas has not as yet come about. Millions of dollars are being spent in the study of such things as potatoe bugs, insecticides, better methods of cultivation, and plant breeding; but only a few thousand is being spent investigating small town and rural social problems. At North Dakota State University, for example, a half-million dollar project is underway attempting to determine the effects of certain plant

extracts on animal and insect life; several dozen specialists work in this field. We have, however, only three or four men involved in the study of human problems of the countryside and some of these work only part time. In my own field of rural sociology, it is difficult to get up-to-date textbooks for courses, and yet at least a dozen books a year are published on urban affairs. Our first task as rural clergymen is to see what is happening; and we must do this often in the absence of dramatic studies which could have focused our attention on the problems of life about us. In a way, we must become our own ground-breakers.

Information Sources

The place to start, of course, is with the information sources already available, meager though they may sometimes be. Most important, we must locate the people who have the necessary data at their fingertips. For instance, seek out and make friends with the county agents. These men often have an excellent background and should be well versed in the publications and studies of governmental agencies. Get to know what is put out by the agricultural extension departments of the state universities. Contact the local banker. If he hopes to be successful, he must know what the people in his locality are doing. See the people on the welfare board; many have a surprising supply of ready information and some have very profound insights into the community situation. Visit the county and multi-county poverty and community action people. Talk to the local politicians and the school superintendent. See the denominational rural life people. They should be the voice of the Christian social conscience in their areas.

After exhausting these sources, the rural pastor may have to make his own survey. He might go to the courthouse, the school, or postoffice and make his own head count, setting up his own analysis. What happens, for example, to the young people who graduate each year from our local high schools? If the majority migrate to the suburbs of Minneapolis or Chicago, then perhaps we should restructure the religious education in our little country parish to prepare them for that kind of life. Perhaps even the public high school curriculum should be changed.

What about the older residents in our community? How many are there? Are they looking for recreational programs? Why do they stay or why do they leave our community? Is it because of

the availability or lack thereof of medical services and housing facilities? Would they prefer living in our small town rather than going to the cities and being part of a housing project for the aged?

What do we know about the average income of the people in our community or the cost of living? Our findings may be very surprising. How many people are wage earners? We must remember that these workers are not protected by unions and often do not come under much of the wage and hour legislation. In North Dakota, for example, it is entirely legal to pay some small town workers as little as ten cents an hour. How many of these men have a second job? How many wives work? How many commute and how do they commute? Why don't they leave town and go elsewhere?

What is the birth rate in our town? Can we assume that ten years from now we will still have the same proportion of children or adults as we have at present? Does this mean the expansion or merger of our schools or church facilities? How many people are moving into our neighborhood? We see them move out, but often there is a significant number of people moving in. What brings them and why do they stay? How does it change the community? Our locality may have a special ethnic character. Today's rural German descendent can still differ remarkably from a Norwegian who in turn may not think like a rural Irishman. Studies show that even third and fourth generation German, Polish, and Norwegian towns have unique characteristics. If we were to disregard this fact or say that it should not be so, we may rightfully be accused of living in a dream world.

Although his type of analysis can be laborious and time consuming, there may be help at hand. Often there is in the neighborhood a young man or woman who during college worked on surveys and would be willing to set one up and help compile the data. Gradually, through our own investigations and the aid of professional sources, a profile of our surroundings will emerge and social questions demanding serious attention may often turn up. This compiled information can be the basis of intelligent action.

A Word of Caution

Even the most painstaking collection of information can give a distorted picture if the compiler sets out with preconceived notions or reads his results incorrectly. In this regard, I would like to make several random suggestions.

— (1) As we evaluate our small towns, we must try to avoid an *urban bias*. We have to remember that most of us at one time or another were in urban theological schools. Since then our reading, our television and movies have reflected the perspective of the city. The social sciences use the term "ethnocentrism" to describe a propensity to judge others by one's own peculiar set of standards. Accordingly, we warn the young people in the Peace Corps, "Beware of the Western bias, the old Yankee 'know-how' attitude." Sometimes in approaching the rural regions we are guilty of a subtle form of the same thing.

Today, for example, we are concerned about the community; we have sensitivity labs to make us aware of community concern for our brother. We seek not just formal structure, but a community ideal in our parishes and neighborhood projects. Yet we do not see that our little rural towns already have a community. Educators call our Midwest schools "suitcase colleges." It is a strange thing, they say, that our students so frequently go home on weekends, sometimes travelling a distance of two or three hundred miles. One thing this may indicate is that the small town is warm, comfortable, and a happy place—a place in which community is present.

If we are going to set up a program, a parish liturgy, or a parish organization, then we must understand that we are not dealing with the anonymous and isolated urban dweller. We are in the midst of a people who have lived for a long time deeply involved in a set of stable and certainly intense relationships. It is hard for someone from the city to realize what this means. Moreover, community means not only concern but also a definite lack of privacy. At best, it means recognition, support, assistance, and love; at worst, gossip, criticism, pettiness, and deep resentments. It is all mixed together in what must be called the human condition. Rather than building a community, our task is to uplift and enhance that very precious thing that already exists.

Our urban bias can blind us to many other tiny but significant things. In the cities, for example, everyone seems to be a specialist. Maybe metropolitan clergymen should also be specialists — in exegesis, linguistics, philosophy, political science. On the other hand, in the rural areas it is still the jack-of-all-trades that is admired. It is the fellow who is a good manager, a bit of a plumber, a carpenter, a mechanic, and an efficient farmer who is held in esteem. Perhaps that is why the old country pastor was a kind of all-around

handy man. He unconsciously realized that his people respected this special type of person. Unless we are careful, too much modern specialty training may make us permanent foreigners among our rural people.

We must also keep in mind that rural cultures move slowly. The feeling seems to be that what is new is not always good. The urban man of industry and business, on the other hand, knows only too well that if he does not change and move ahead, he will quickly fall behind. Progress, new ideas, and change are respected values. But this is often not true in the countryside, and this is what is so exasperating in farm areas. A pastor may have to wait years to effect changes that are vitally necessary. He must first undergo the long process of becoming an established part of his community; only then can he see his ideas realized.

— (2) In the analysis of our region, we must have a *relentless honesty*. Though it may cause us pain, we must accept hard facts. Thus, we may have to admit that our town will decline, that some businesses will leave, that people will depart, and, indeed, that some little towns may go out of existence.

It is axiomatic that today's rural towns and neighborhoods are not self-sufficient. As it has so often been noted, in the old days a person could go five miles by wagon or buggy, and this generally determined the dimensions of his community, encompassing his recreational, educational, church, and business life. Now that radius is fifty miles or more. Authorities tell us that due to this change in living patterns, some towns will become no more than a place for a bar, a gas station, and a grain elevator. Others will disappear from the map in the next ten years.

Some scholars are working to delineate the various factors that have a bearing on a community's viability, so that at least educated guesses can be made concerning a town's future life. We must consider such matters before undertaking any amount of construction in small villages; otherwise we can be in trouble. Fourteen years ago a small North Dakota town built a \$100,000 school; two years ago that same building was sold for \$5000 and is now being used as a pig factory. The problem clearly was lack of foresight, for which the penalty is financial and human tragedy. A partial remedy is cooperation with other towns so each may complement the other in a sort of hierarchy of specialized services. In this way, a larger total community can emerge.

— (3) Finally, we must beware of analyzing the situation in strictly economic terms. Much of the work in rural research has been done by agricultural economists who have access to federal funds. An economist's approach is dollars and cents, profit margins, productivity, and investments. We are forgetting other human qualities, however, if we assess things in just these terms. In an age of alienation and uprootedness, the man in the countryside can say, "here I belong." Maybe the reason why our rural people fight so desperately to keep a town alive is the fact that it defines who they are. This small town is often where a man went to school, where his relatives reside, where his grandmother and grandfather homesteaded, where his father courted his mother. All these things enable a man, caught in twentieth-century confusion, to say, "This is who I am and I want my children to be a part of it."

It would be interesting to list the many people in our town who have lived elsewhere and have returned. Invariably, they will admit they can make more money in the bigger city, but they are returning for other than economic reasons. This is why they fight to save the little church and will pay more to keep it going. This is why they do not want schools consolidated—because "it is part of me and when it leaves, something of me has left."

Clergymen Can Be a Central Figure

As a rural town decreases in independence, the clergymen can increase in importance. We have noted that the small town is part of a greater community stretching forty to fifty miles in every direction. It has frequently been observed that the controlling interests, the real vital core of social institutions in small towns are not in the town itself but in the county seat or in a nearby large town. The school is no longer its own master but answers to a county superintendent, state officials, and the people in Washington who supply the funds. The local business is likely to be a branch of International Harvester of Chicago. Politics is no longer just a question of local concerns, but more and more a matter of the state capitol and the federal building where government aid programs have their centers of power. Even such seemingly local groups as the American Legion and the Homemakers have close contact with leaders in large cities.

This means that to get things done in a small community, someone must know the ropes. The book, *Small Town In Mass Society*,

by Vidich and Bensman, graphically shows that the school superintendent, the county agent, the local politician, and also the local clergyman are key men in the process of change because, in a way, they are both on the inside and the outside of what is happening. They are educated, they have contacts on higher levels of administration, and they can thus regulate development of local areas. If a sewer and water project is needed, then somebody has got to know how to approach and pressure the OEO, the FHA, or other governmental agencies. Someone has got to know where funds are available for the various necessary projects if anything is to be accomplished. This can make the small parish pastor a central figure in the community.

It Can Be Done: Some Examples

In the small prairie village of Epping, North Dakota, Lutheran pastor Duane Lindberg found his town in trouble. With a declining population, there was no vision and little optimism. Over a period of five years, Reverend Lindberg obtained almost \$20,000 from federal and state agencies. Mustering the people together and matching funds and resources, he and the townspeople combined a hall and old church to make a regional museum. It is now called the Buffalo Trail Museum and is a source of pride for the whole community.

St. John's, North Dakota, an historic French-Indian town whose population had dwindled to 400, was virtually in decay. The Catholic pastor, Edward Sherman, took it upon himself to start a race track. Fondness for horses is characteristic of the local Indian culture and soon there were widely acclaimed races throughout the summer. It gave impetus to a sense of community solidarity in meeting other serious problems. There was one town pump, for instance, from which both horses and people drank; hepatitis was rampant. Eventually, the priest got a quarter of a million dollars from the federal government to put in proper water and sewer systems. For the first time in years, the town is moving ahead: houses are being built and people are moving in from elsewhere.

In Mandan, North Dakota, Fr. Thomas Sullivan, with the assistance of the local welfare people, aroused concern for the town's elderly and poor. They became the leaders in a public housing authority which has built 140 units and supplied jobs for fifty men. Seeing their example, neighboring towns have set up similar programs, and 174 more housing units will soon be completed.

Elsewhere in the nation there are dozens of unsung clergymen at work. Rev. Joseph Devlin is the present chairman of a local development corporation in Anita, Iowa. Using only federal funds, he has been a catalyst in a series of projects which has provided the town with a new nursing home, a housing addition, a golf course, and an airport. Father Nathaniel Machesky is the head of a large number of social programs among the poor in Greenwood, Mississippi, which includes a credit union, a cooperative market, a center for referring needy people to the proper agencies, an adult education program, and even a nutritional program for the aged.

Someone should publish a book detailing their example for others who are discouraged with the prospects of a "real" ministry in rural America. It is obvious, at least to the pastors mentioned above, that the small town can be a challenging and bright place for a clergyman. The social sciences, his own investigation, and the example of other clerics can provide him with insight; the grace of God can supply his compassion and endurance.

Cooperatives: An Opportunity For Effective Ministry Among the Poor

The concern for the poor that motivates a person committed to a belief in God and in the Gospel can be manifested in a variety of ways; but it took me several years to learn that my direct spiritual approach was having very little impact upon the people with whom I worked. A closer examination, however, showed that the reason was fairly evident. It is extremely difficult for people who are suffering from pangs of hunger to listen to an announcement of the "Good News." It is impossible for a family of ten, living in a two-room shack, to practice Christian modesty. I soon realized that it was necessary to leave my sanctuary and become involved in the dehumanizing problems my people were facing daily.

We who are ministers of a transcendent, personal, and all-loving God are being seriously questioned about the growing gulf between what we preach and what we do. The Christian churches have not manifested a social consciousness commensurate with their sermonizing about the brotherhood of man under the common fatherhood of God. James Forman issued a prophetic warning in his *Black Manifesto*. No matter how much we may disagree with his semantics and ideology, we find at the core of his condemnation a naked and distressing truth. Religion has far too often been the handmaid and supporter of the injustices and inequities perpetrated by the Establishment upon oppressed and alienated people. In fact, the churches in many instances have been oppressors themselves.

The Minister as Participator

The social apostolate, a very essential part of the Gospel of Christ, today requires creative new forms if it is to effectively express our Christian concern for the corporal and spiritual needs of our brothers and sisters. The old patterns tinged with paternalism, with a tendency to do for people instead of trying to work with

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people, are no longer viable or acceptable. Our present crisis-ridden, God-denying milieu requires attitudinal changes, especially on the part of the clergy who are the propagandizers of the "Good News." Too frequently in the past, clergymen have been accustomed to form and guide the goals and destinies of their flock. This mode of conduct has become anachronistic and only creates hostility among the dispossessed to whom it is directed.

To lay the basis for the alienated to hear the message of Christ, the minister must identify with the legitimate aspirations and desires of his people. When faced with a controversial decision, he must be willing to take risks and side with his people rather than assume the safe position of the white majority and the established institutions. His people must have no doubts as to where he stands. This means that those working among Blacks must think "Black"; those working among Chicanos must think like Chicanos; those working among Indians must think like Indians and identify themselves with the Indians; those working among the poor whites must assume their way of thinking. Although no individual can totally abandon who and what he is, the minister must immerse himself in the art and culture of the people—which means that he must be willing to forsake something of his own historical self.

The crucial demand on the minister today is to identify with the desires of the oppressed for self-determination. Far more than material things, a dehumanized people must have the capacity to participate effectively in deciding their own needs and the power to command resources to meet those needs. The failure of our welfare system is that it has deepened the dehumanization of people by doing things for them instead of enabling people to do things for themselves. In carrying out the corporal works of mercy, we have often fallen into this very pitfall. Bread alone is not the answer; the problem goes much deeper. In practical terms, what Black people, Indians, poor whites, and even low middle-income people are revolting against is their lack of control over their own lives. They feel purchased, possessed and exploited. The houses, stores and institutions are owned by others; they lack self-determination. They see their community as something akin to a colony and theirs is a colonial revolt. It is a revolt against economic, cultural, and social imperialism, and hence we have the slogans—"Black Power," "La Raza," "Indian Power." These slogans become meaningful as an aspiration — a goal — and unless

the minister can identify with legitimate aspirations of his people, they will see religion as part and parcel of the colonial oppression of the wider society.

When he is among the dispossessed, the clergyman is foremost a learner and supporter, apart from his more direct spiritual role. He should help alienated people to obtain power. He must be committed to the self-determination that is their right. Acceptance of his role will lead him to a continuous discovery of things he can contribute, for out of his identification with the people will come the minister's desire to work for innovative structural change within those institutions—civil, religious, educational, economic—which, in fact, confine minority groups to second-class status. It is not sufficient to practice the spiritual and corporal works of mercy according to the accustomed meanings of those words, since in so many instances these very works of mercy serve only to pacify minority people and maintain their present dehumanized status. Our involvement in the works of mercy has to be in the context of enabling people to achieve self-determination.

While the minister who works with the downtrodden and the poor must be a learner, he must at the same time be a creator. The minister who does not ask new questions and seek new answers cannot be viable in a community which, because of social circumstances, is searching for true value and self-identity. He must come to see the total human development as a moral imperative.

Furthermore, the minister should articulate and give vocal approval to the hopes of the dispossessed lest by his silence people should conclude that he or the church is disapproving or indifferent or, worse, that such hopes are a purely civil rather than a genuinely religious concern. This is indeed God's work because no man can love another man unless he loves himself. We do not seem to really grasp that this society has inflicted the greatest evil upon its minority groups — namely, self-hatred. Because they are constantly receiving negative images of themselves, minority groups tend to hate themselves for what they are.

The second great commandment of God is, "Love your neighbor as you love yourself." Self-love is presumed; one must love himself before he can love his neighbor. In working with the poor, we have to create an environment in which people can come to love and accept themselves for what they are. No group can value the truth in others unless they perceive the essentials of their own truth.

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The down-trodden, the poor, and the alienated must learn to love themselves and their communities. They must be impressed with the profound sense of that community's brokenness, its oppression, and its need. They must be challenged to see its life and liberation as their first calling, as their Christian calling.

The Cooperative Movement

Participation in the budding movement to establish low-income cooperatives among Blacks, Indians, Chicanos, and poor whites throughout the country offers a readily available and excellent way of becoming involved in the social apostolate as well as identifying with the self-determination of one's people. It is also a providential opportunity for the worshipping community to respond to the anguished outcry of the dispossessed.

A cooperative is a group of people who, faced with a need, organize and pool their financial resources to arrive at a solution. Different kinds of needs lead to credit unions and housing, consumer and service cooperatives. Credit unions and housing cooperatives can readily be developed through the present church structure. The important thing, however, is not the kind of need that people try to meet, but the philosophy undergirding their efforts. Cooperatives among the poor must be concerned with human development and not just economic development.

A philosophy which encompasses this two-fold concern and which has supported the cooperative movement in the South is an adaptation of the Antigonish Movement developed by the extension department of St. Francis Xavier University, Nova Scotia. The Antigonish Movement is based on five general principles:

1. Man is made to the image and likeness of God and therefore the human person is more important than money or material things. Thus, in a cooperative, every member has one and only one vote, no matter how much money he has invested. This one member — one vote principle helps to generate in members a sense of control, importance, and ownership.
2. To achieve genuine social progress in a democracy, people themselves must change, not just their environment. This qualitative change can only be effected through education which, in the case of cooperatives, means adult education.
3. Education will not take place unless the learners are motivated.

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Every educator is confronted with the problem of motivating his pupils. In dealing with the dispossessed and the alienated, the problem is intensified. It is my experience that to motivate alienated people, one has to discover where they are and deal with the problems which the people themselves feel very strongly about—so strongly, in fact, that they are willing to put forth the necessary effort to deal with them.

I was a pastor in a small Louisiana rural community in which seventy-five percent of my parishoners over twenty-five years old could not read or write. Illiteracy seemed to be the most pressing problem facing the community. After much organization we nonetheless ended up with more teachers than students!

Why were we unable to involve these people in something that had never been offered them before? It was only through a closer scrutiny into the psychology of the poor, the culture of poverty, and the psychological scars of racial discrimination that we acquired some deeper insights into the hopelessness and self-hatred of people immersed in poverty and racism. Such people consider it impossible to improve their situation. It is necessary to enkindle hope: people must believe that tomorrow can be a better day.

With this understanding, we started a new approach. We began listening to people. Instead of telling them what their problems were, we began to ask them what they felt they needed. We soon discovered that there were some problems which people felt so strongly about that they were willing to put forth some effort to do something about them. These problems were basically economic, dealing with bread and butter issues. We started with these because we could obtain the people's interest and involvement. Although economics may not be the most important area of life, it provided the foundation from which we were able to move into other areas of human development—the educational, political, spiritual, cultural, and physical factors affecting their lives.

Direct evangelization among the poor, especially among the young poor, is very ineffective today. If the minister hopes to attract the poor to religious practices, it must be through social action, through being concerned with the physical needs of their people—adequate food, housing, jobs, educational opportunities.

4. The problems confronting people are group problems and require group activity for solutions. Individuals by themselves in this society cannot accomplish anything. Only by working as a team can they effect change.

Working from this principle, we have organized many small group discussions utilizing the laboratory methods which we have found effective in dealing with self-hatred. Through the interchange of ideas and experiences in small groups, individuals develop trust and confidence in themselves which lay the basis for developing the positive social ego so necessary for cooperative action.

5. The culturally-rooted, anti-Black racism which has developed in this society can only be destroyed by a fundamental change of economic and social institutions.

The ways that Blacks, Chicanos, Indians and the poor in general think and act towards themselves must be changed. The ways that affluent whites think and act towards the dispossessed must be changed.

As Charles E. Silberman says in *Crisis In Black and White*, "The Negro will be unable to take his place in the main stream of American life until he stops despising himself and his fellows. The Negro will be unable to compete on equal terms until he has been able to purge from his mind all sense of white superiority and black inferiority, until he really believes with all his being that he is a free man and acts accordingly. For freedom and equality, like power, cannot be given or handed down as a gift. They must be taken by people unwilling to settle for anything else."¹

Participation in a cooperative activity undergirded by these five principles amounts to a new concept of education which uses the tools of economic motivation and team effort to effect social and economic reforms. This new education, not confined to the conventional concepts of curriculum or textbooks, is education designed to enlist the participation of the dispossessed in making their community a decent place in which to live and, through collective efforts, to equip them with a sense of belonging and purpose which come with ownership and participation.

¹ Charles E. Silberman, *Crisis In Black and White* (New York: Random House, 1964), p. 12.

Through this educational process, members of the affluent society who cooperatively participate paradoxically receive much more than they give, and those who are helped, those who belong to the "other America," give much more than they receive. This is an educational process which makes pupils of everyone — black and white, minister and people, middle class and low-income class, those who lead and those who follow.

Southern Cooperative Development Fund

Ventures in education and social change based on these principles of self-determination are already working. At present, I am the administrator of the Southern Cooperative Development Fund, a financial institution attempting to serve the credit needs of over one hundred low-income cooperatives which have organized themselves into the Federation of Southern Cooperatives. The Federation serves as an umbrella organization providing technical assistance and training to low-income cooperatives in thirteen southern states. The Ford Foundation gave F. S. C. a grant of twenty thousand dollars to make a feasibility study into the best way of meeting the credit needs of low-income cooperatives.

The Southern Cooperative Development Fund is the result of that study. We hope to raise the initial capital for the Fund from church groups, foundations, and unions. The low-income cooperatives who borrow from the Fund will have to invest five percent of each loan into the Fund and in this way build equity in it. If we are successful in this endeavor, over one hundred credit unions, agricultural marketing cooperatives and consumer cooperatives will have a financial institution from which they can borrow in order to strengthen and expand their self-help activities and more fully determine their own future.

The Functional Area and the Church's Mission

For better or worse, and whether we like it or not, the Church as an institution is being forced to change. The Church faces the necessity of changing its theological symbolism; but even more important, it is finding that to minister more effectively to both individuals and communities, it must revise its structures. Systems analysis is a new tool which provides a means for assessing both the community's needs, its potential to meet those needs and the role of the Church as a social sub-system in that community. In other words, this method gives us a means to analyze, plan and expedite change in church structure.

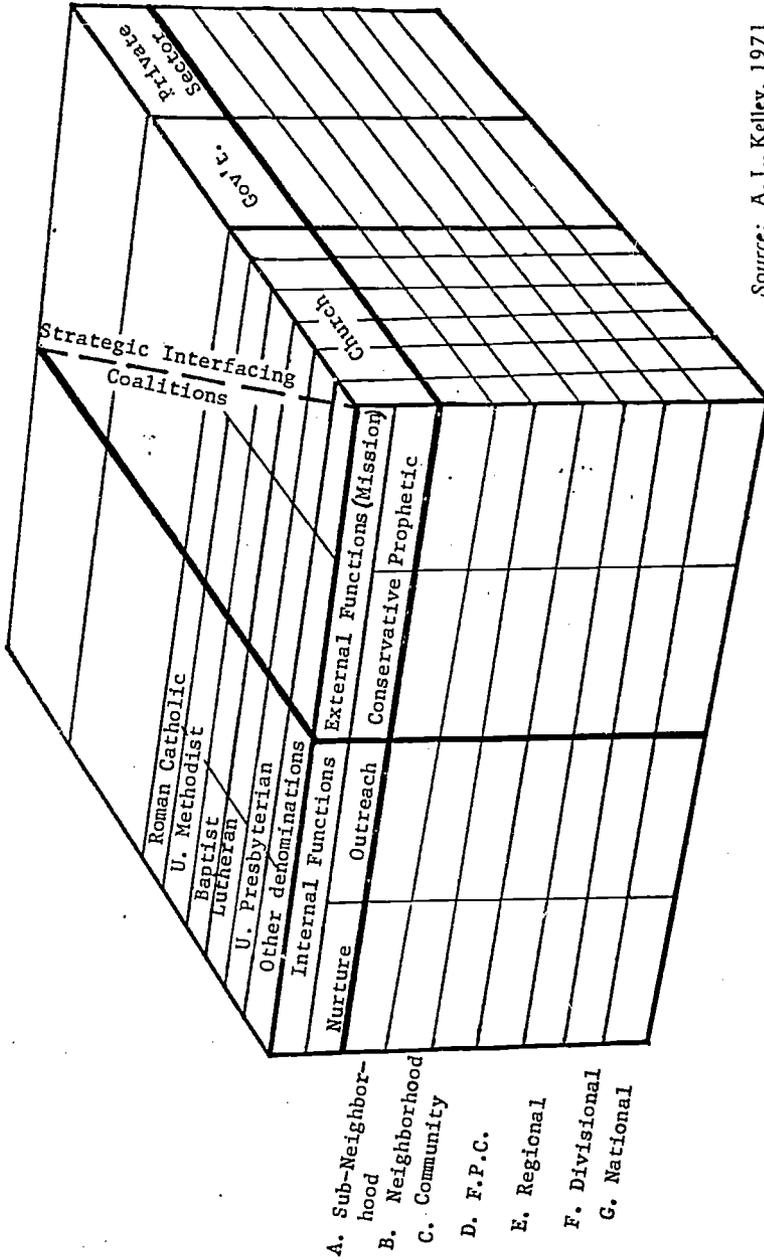
The Functional Area

The first step in employing systems analysis is to determine the nature of the system in which the Church functions. (See Figure I) The diagram suggests that the larger system is comprised of horizontal levels, ranging from the neighborhood to the national scene. My thesis is that the Church needs to begin its planning at the fourth level, because it is here that there is regular contact with the grassroots, as well as adequate functional resources to do what needs to be done.

In order to understand regionalism, or the functional area, it is important to grasp the differentiation of functions both within and between regions. John Hoyt has explained differences in region levels in terms of the size of the community. I have come to the conclusion that the population of a place is not as important as the function which that place provides for the people in that area. Thus, the levels of the diagram represent functional levels rather than aggregates of people.

Functionally, there are cities such as Washington, D.C., for government and New York City for finance which function in behalf of the whole nation (level G). The second level of functional cities in the United States could be called divisional cities —

FIGURE I — Social and Institutional Systemic Relationships

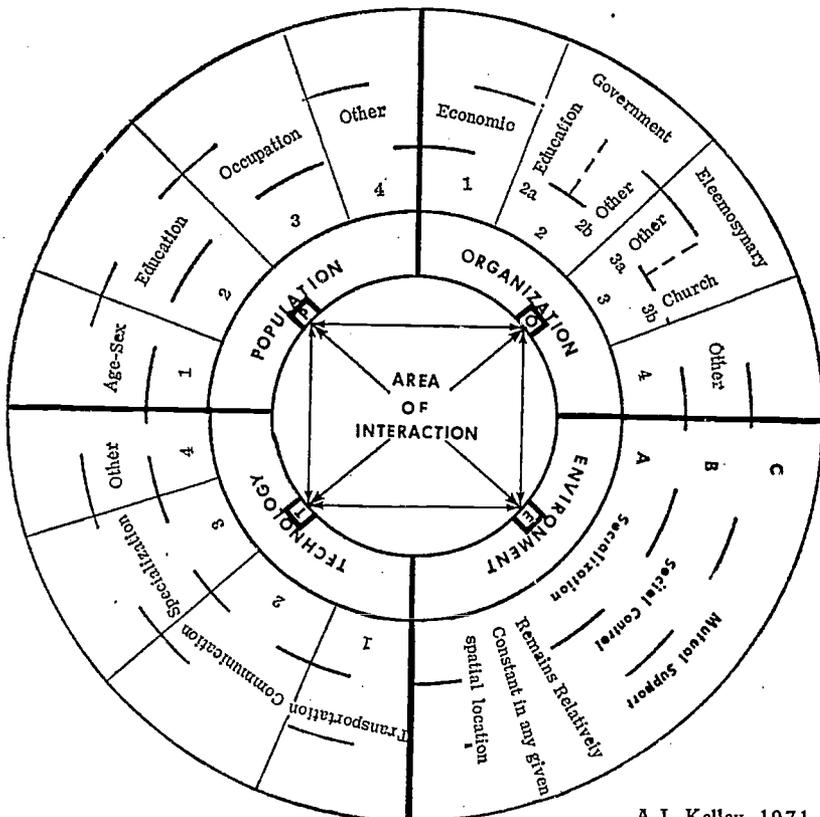


Source: A. L. Kelley, 1971

Chicago, Los Angeles, Atlanta, etc. These provide a whole range of specialized goods and services for whole segments of the nation (level F). A third level is the functional region which is comprised of those regional cities that orbit the divisional cities. The Twin Cities, for example, are probably in the Chicago orbit, and in fact function as a regional city. They provide specialized goods and services to a whole region of the country, but they are tied to the divisional city for still more specialized functions (level E).

In the orbit of these regional cities are what Professor Hoyt terms "functional areas." Each is composed of a fourth-eschelon (level D) city and its rural hinterland (I call such an area a human ecological system or "ecosystem" — a term which will be used interchangeably).

FIGURE II — Hypothetical Model of Variables which Interact in a Functional Ecosystem (P. O. E. T. Model)



A.L. Kelley, 1971

Most of the Minnesota ecosystems would be in the orbit of the Twin Cities and would look to the Twin Cities for sophisticated goods and services. Each of these functional area cities, however, do in fact provide their surrounding areas with certain day-in and day-out kinds of services.

On the fifth level (level C) are the county seats, and at the A and B functional levels are the towns and hamlets. It is important to note that this model is not based on differentiation in terms of size, but rather in terms of function, moving from low functional sophistication or simplicity at Level A to high functional sophistication at Level G. The Church, as an institution, has a vertical decision-making and support system which cuts across these seven levels. This vertical system is not always able to be responsive to the horizontal needs.

Diversity in the Church's Functions

How does the Church function at one of these levels? In Indiana we began to do some depth research on two D level ecosystems in the Indianapolis orbit: the Marion Ecosystem and the Bloomington Ecosystem. We had theorized that the life style of an area, its people's way of doing things, was determined by the interaction of four elements: the type of population, the existing organizational structure, the kind of technology present, and the environment. (See Figure II) We wanted to find out if these two areas functioned as ecosystems, what the dynamics of an ecosystem are, and how the Church as a subsystem functioned within an ecosystem. We assumed that the religious needs of the people within these two ecosystems would be diverse because their values, their style of life, and their mobility patterns were diverse. Thus, the religious institutions should reflect this diversity in the way they were structured. Research has proven this first hypothesis to be generally valid.

We went on to question the homogeneity of the religious needs and the resulting institutions within the functional area. For instance, distance from the center of growth (Marion or Bloomington) might influence values, organization, and demographic characteristics of the Church and its constituents. The question was whether the Church in the most rural part of the ecosystem functioned differently than the Church which is in the growth center. We wanted to test the long-standing assumption that town and country churches are in fact different from urban churches.

The research did indicate that as distance from the growth center increases, conservatism (not open to social change) also increased among the congregations. To determine this we used two different kinds of tests. One is based upon the "open and closed mind" typology of Milton Rokeach of Michigan State University. The open mind can be roughly equated with "liberal" attitudes and the closed mind with "conservative" attitudes. We also used another more recent test developed by Dr. Rokeach which measures two scales of values: (1) terminal values, which indicate what is ultimately important to people, and (2) instrumental values, which indicate the means utilized to achieve the terminal values.

Using these two scales, we were able to prove what most of us who have served in a small rural church at some time in our ministry already knew. People in a small church, away from the growth center, tend to operate in the context of a closed value system. They are not readily open to new ideas. As one moves toward the growth center, however, there is a statistically significant trend within the church constituency toward a more "open" value system, probably indicating a greater willingness to accept new ideas.

The research also indicated, however, that as the educational level decreases in a given congregation, the value structure tends to be more closed; and as the size of the church decreases, regardless of where it is — rural hinterland or urban growth center — there will be a tendency toward a closed value structure. Thus difference in religious attitudes seemed to be not simply a function of distance from the city, but part of a more complex pattern.

What was that pattern? It was theorized that in the most peripheral rural areas the Protestant churches would typically have a one-room church providing a church-school experience and a worship experience. This could be labeled Function A. It was the simplest form of institutional church life.

Further, it was theorized that in the county-seat towns which orbit the functional area city, we could expect to find churches that would offer broader services such as a choir, a more sophisticated youth program, a rather complete church-school program, and a men's and women's program. Furthermore, we hypothesized that there would also be one-room churches serving small congregations such as those in the more remote areas. Thus, at this level we would have church institutional functions AB.

In the growth center we therefore expected Church institutions

performing the A and AB sorts of functions described above, and a third type as well, that is, some churches at this level would function more like the cathedral churches of medieval days. They would serve as symbols of their denomination in the community and in the whole functional area. Such a church would provide a much more complex scale of programs and activities in behalf of the whole area, possibly including radio broadcasting, ministries with aged people, youth, and students, along with the church school, men's and women's programs as well as the other functions provided by the two less complex types of churches. Thus at the ecosystem level churches would provide functions A, AB, and ABC.

The research in the two Indiana functional areas has proven this concept generally valid. It can be stated that the hierarchy of Church functional complexity in the ecosystem is directly related to distance from the growth center.

Investigation has also proven, however, that any given denomination does not usually provide all those functions as it moves from the hinterland to the growth center with the possible exception of the largest denomination in that community. In Indiana, that denomination happens to be Methodist; in Minnesota, it would be Roman Catholic and Lutheran. It may be the case that the Lutheran churches in a functional growth area in Minnesota, for instance, would provide the whole hierarchy of functions. It is the size of the individual church and the program it can provide for its constituency and community which finally determines its place on the hierarchy of church functions, not simply whether it is urban or rural. Further, the research indicates that when the Church in an ecosystem is seen apart from denominational labels, it forms a complementary functional whole. It will meet the whole range of human religious need. This is "functional ecumenism."

Towards a Planning Methodology for the Church

With these statistically validated theories, we then began to search for ways to utilize this understanding of the functional diversity the Church possesses in institutional change so that the Church can have maximum impact upon the life of the ecosystem. In part, this is an efficiency question. Many of the churches were functioning with an inadequate number of people to be efficient or viable. To get at this question and the others which were raised we began to build some models, via a group process. As we began

to build models, it became clear that we should functionally and pragmatically join our resources across denominational lines. It was also obvious that we were not going to link our denominational resources at the local level simply because the ecclesiastical hierarchy said we were going to do it. People at the grassroots must be involved in the decision-making process.

This problem led to another kind of question: How do we get people who all their lives have been accustomed to worshipping in a one-room church with fifteen or twenty other families to develop relationships with a church down the road which may have similar kinds of problems and similar value structures, but is of a different tradition in the Christian faith? Can their resources be linked so that a valid manifestation of the Church can exist in that community? Past research, particularly by the U.S.D.A. Extension Service, had indicated that when somebody comes into a rural area with a new idea which threatens present life styles and patterns, there is great resistance. Again, it seemed necessary to look at the values of the congregations. If we understood the motivation of people in the churches, we might begin to understand what the options were for the religious institution in the functional area.

Three generalizations emerged which have strong implications for the strategy the Church adopts in the next decade as it faces necessary institutional changes. First, the problems which we face in relating the Church to its community mission are not unique to any given denomination. Second, changes must be effected in such a way as to insure the diversity of function in the Church. Because the psychological, social, and religious needs of the people in any given functional area are myriad, the institutional religious alternatives must also be diverse. The Church in any given functional area, therefore, must not be monolith. There must be the diversity available which the historic Roman Catholic and Protestant movements have provided.

Our third conclusion was that traditional patterns of cooperation between local churches and their denominational bureaucracies would be inadequate to fulfill the task. We must experiment with dramatic new models if we are ever to rise to the challenge before us. We must develop new means for the denominations to get their work done without wasting resources.

The problem then becomes how to accomplish this feat of cooperation in a complex society in the face of the churches' dimi-

nishing resources. Our systems analysis had offered a method of describing the reality of the situation. Now can systems analysis offer an equally good approach to planning which can take the whole situation into consideration and meanwhile respect the integrity of all participants? We believed that it could. A methodology of planning was developed.

This methodology is now in process of implementation in the experimental areas. So far, it is bringing together coalitions of laymen, ministers, and denominational leaders from across area and across denominational lines. These coalitions are in the process of (a) defining the real needs of the community from the social, ethical, and religious perspective; (b) assessing the total resources of the churches in terms of manpower, buildings, and actual dollars; and (c) in the light of these two things, building priorities so that they can begin to focus the resources of the churches at the critical points in the system which will bring about the greatest changes.

At the same time, these coalitions are assessing social issues in the same systematic way as processes parallel to or interacting with the concerns of the Church. The goal is to be able to link resources in the church subsystem with those of the total system to bring about maximal community improvement. If this can be made to work in these two functional areas, we will have demonstrated a new model of "how to get things done."

Although the denominations in these two areas are just beginning systematic analysis of the issues, the rewarding fact is that this new method is already beginning to change the churches' agenda. They are not looking within themselves but outwards at how they, in their diversity, can serve the needs of the secular community. If they can bring it off, it will be one of the first times in American church history that the churches will have functioned as the Church!

Understanding Prejudice

There are certain common problems that face religious leaders, whether they exercise their ministry in rural or urban areas. One such concern is the phenomenon of racial prejudice. This problem presents itself concretely to the nonmetropolitan clergyman not only in his contact with minority groups such as migrant farm workers or native Indian Americans, but also in his attempts to deal with the hostile racial feelings of white congregations. In attempting to deal with such feelings, the clergyman must arrive at some understanding of the dynamics of prejudice.

Toward a Definition

Prejudice, unlike discrimination, is an attitude, not an act; therefore, laws themselves cannot reduce prejudice directly. That is why the clergy who are concerned with religious values and human relations have an important role to play. No matter what the state or federal government does in regard to legislation, there remains the fact of peoples' attitudes toward one another. We have to deal with these attitudes, not merely with acts. Prejudice is a predisposition to act, to respond to a given stimulus in a given way. It is an attitude which leads us to make a prejudgment which is at the same time a misjudgment. While we all have to make certain prejudgments in order to deal systematically with new experiences, judgments involving prejudice are based on a misinterpretation of reality. And perhaps even more importantly, prejudiced judgments are maintained and defended even in the face of contrary evidence.

This, of course, is a source of the difficulty. Why do people hold on to this misjudgment despite contrary evidence? It is partly because they use stereotyped thinking; they have images that are too rigid and do not adequately describe the people about whom they are talking. An even more important reason is related to the basic question of the functions of prejudice: what needs are ful-

filled by prejudiced thinking and acting? This approach to the problem allows us to perceive the process in people; it helps us to be humble and compassionate when dealing with them. Let us analyze prejudice, then, from three different levels — personality, social groups, and the general culture.

Prejudice and Personality

If we approach prejudice on the level of personality, we are dealing with what this attitude does to fulfill the needs of the individual. We are not trying to say that it is good because it fulfills needs; but viewing prejudice as part of the process of personality makes it easier to understand why it persists.

This means we must study the prejudiced personality itself — the process by which the person was socialized, the values that were instilled by family, school, neighbors and community, and the degree to which these values have come to be externalized in his everyday life.

Over the past few decades, a conceptualization of personality has emerged in the social sciences which is of great value in the analysis of prejudice. Personality is taken to be a process which is neither a collection of fixed traits nor a fixed instance of the category "human nature." Prejudice, therefore, cannot be seen as a static trait which can be studied in isolation by itself, but rather as a part of an ongoing process of behavior.

No personality functions in a vacuum; there is always some context to which it must relate. The tendencies in a given personality that will be set in motion depend quite often upon the nature of the context in which it finds itself. Therefore, the attempt to reduce prejudice requires not only changing the individual but also the situation in which he lives and acts. If we can change the situation, then even if some slight prejudiced attitudes are present in the person, their expression will not be fostered. This is the reason why laws do make a difference; by minimizing the social context in which prejudiced attitudes can find expression, they contribute indirectly to the reduction of prejudice itself.

If personality is seen as dynamic and is thought to function in concrete situations, then those who are concerned with reducing prejudice must deal with some of the following questions: To which reference groups does the prejudiced person attach the greatest importance? With whom does he identify at the moment? Which

potentialities of his personality are being encouraged by the present situation? To what degree are these various dimensions of the personality being brought into play?

Another important consideration in this matter of prejudice is that persons have goals, and they act to achieve these goals. Therefore, blocking of this goal-directed behavior creates hostile, negative impulses. Oftentimes, however, one cannot take out these feelings against the person who caused them—either the person is not there, or he is in a position of power, or he is a person considered dear, or the hostile person is not conditioned to express his feelings. His hostility, then, becomes free-floating.

Rapid change in living conditions may also prevent people from achieving their plans and fulfilling their expectations. The resulting frustration can cause hostility. The point is that the higher the degree of free-floating hostility, the more necessary it is for a person to direct it against some target. Moreover, under certain conditions the target will become a minority group. Thus, if there is a great deal of social change or social confusion, a person may direct his hostility against a group that is visible or considered by society to have an inferior status. For such a personality, prejudice, although socially bad, is psychologically functional. It relieves the individual from the pressure of hostility by giving him a target against which to direct it.

Another personality need which may be met by prejudice is the need to bring meaning into a confusing situation. If the world is in turmoil and if a person can put the blame—even falsely—on some specific source, then life seems easier. If the blame for causing World War II can be placed on a conspiracy of the Jews, meaning is bestowed on a chaotic situation. There is not any virtue, then, in ridiculing small town persons who are confused by a world of change and disorder. Instead, what they need is some kind of help in fulfilling their personality needs through other means than prejudice.

It should also be kept in mind that when people lose their sense of worth, they are much more likely to be prejudiced. This might well cause us to ask if rural people today perhaps lose their sense of worth because of a changing society, increasing urbanization, and the loss of control and direction over their children's lives. If they do, it is understandable that prejudice is one of the ways in which they might attempt to bolster their self-esteem. Prejudice,

in this case, causes one group to be pushed down while another is pushed up.

Some personalities find it important to hold on to their misjudgments in spite of overwhelming and powerful evidence to the contrary. A woman, for example, insisted that she was a dead person. Her relatives could not dissuade her from the belief so they finally took her to a doctor. The doctor tried to show her that she was wrong. He asked her, "Do dead people bleed?" "No," she answered. "Well," said the doctor, "if I pricked your finger, would you bleed?" "No," she replied. "But see this," said the doctor as he pricked her finger. When the woman saw the drops of blood on her finger, she remarked in great surprise, "I was wrong! Dead people do bleed!"

This same persistence of misinterpretation can also be seen in social situations. Some people hang onto the original prejudice, the original misjudgment, in the face of contrary evidence because it gives them some sense of importance. It is not enough, however, to present one fact at a time or to get into an argument on the basis of a few facts, because facts are slippery. As the example above shows, people who have a need for prejudice put their own interpretation on the facts.

Here we might reflect briefly on another important dimension of the individual personality—the way he thinks. The human mind works in terms of categories; this helps orderly living as well as thought. We cannot handle each event as though it were our first experience of it, so to think in categories is valid. But if we want to reduce prejudice, we have to eradicate stereotypes which give an exaggerated picture of a few characteristics. A person, for example, may have a certain picture of a Black man, and the traits he ascribes to Blacks are those that fit into his limited conception. His stereotype fails to show how different people share the same tendencies. He may say that Blacks in America have a high rate of illegitimacy, a high crime rate, a low rate of marital stability, and poorer academic performance in school. These happen to be facts, and it is foolish to say that they are not true. The question we should ask, however, is not whether these facts are true in themselves, but rather what sequence of historical events brought them about.

The person who tends to say, "This group is like that," or "It is due to something innate in their nature," never seriously

raises the question of what the causes were; he simply uses stereotypes. That is why when we are speaking about Indians or Blacks, we should not speak about the Indian or the Black problem. We should talk to some extent about the Indian-white relationship or the Black-white relationship. There has been a bending-over-backwards so that we now tend to call it the white problem instead of the Black or Indian problem in order to correct the imbalance of the past. But this is also not quite accurate; the reality is two-sided. From an historical perspective, we must ask what factors caused some of these problems? What processes caused the kind of situation that now exists? The dominant group was often more responsible than the minority group. It therefore becomes the burden and the obligation of the majority or dominant group, as well as of the minority group, to correct the situation.

Prejudice and the Societal Structures

The next level for the explanation of prejudice is found in the structure of society and the kind of power arrangements it maintains. This is the level on which the charge of white racism makes the most sense, provided that the accusers mean that the structures of society are such that they tend to foster the growth and power of white people—growth in terms of education and power, in terms of politics and economics—so that Blacks and Indians are kept back. This is not to say that every person is prejudiced; but rather, it means that the structure of power existing within our society is organized in favor of the whites.

We can not focus, therefore, solely on individual personalities when probing the extent to which prejudice—even of an unconscious sort—is used to make societal decisions as favorable to the majority as possible. Nor will this structural situation be changed by changing the individual personalities. This is because prejudice is in part a manifestation of group conflict and in part a rationalization of discrimination.

Here we might appeal for compassion. It is not entirely valid to blame people for their "ethnocentrism." Everywhere on earth people hang together; they choose to work, play, mate, eat, and associate with their own group. They reside in homogeneous clusters, visiting and interacting with people with whom they share much in common. Much of the cohesion is natural and desirable. It is simply unfair to say immediately that these people are preju-

diced. They function in this fashion, not because they have negative feelings toward outsiders, but because it is convenient and meaningful for them to associate with people whom they know and with whom they share a great deal. It would be ridiculous to say that every person should go out every day and interact mostly with strangers or should make a point of avoiding the people with whom he feels most at home. If he did, he could neither function properly in society nor find satisfaction for his own needs.

We should therefore avoid the exaggerated criticism of people who tend to seek out their own. It is rather a question of how they relate to others who are not of their own group. Once a person has experienced belonging to his own group, the separateness of the group may lead to exaggerated notions about other groups. This simply means that once we have the separation of groups, then we have the groundwork for a psychological elaboration that promotes a negative sense of otherness mixed with hostility and fear. It allows people to think of themselves as better and others as inferior. Those are the things we ought to criticize about ethnocentrism, but we should not criticize the simple fact that people adhere together in the first place. Contrary to the popular slogan that "familiarity breeds contempt," familiarity breeds comfort whereas lack of familiarity allows fear and hatred to grow.

To understand these things, one does not have to understand race as much as one must understand human groups and the processes of conflict. Those who are very concerned about understanding racial groups sometimes think we have to study race. While it is a good thing to do, it is not very fruitful. Studying the biological characteristics of Blacks or Indians yields very little understanding of minority group life styles, attitudes, or relationships to the dominant society.

Prejudice and Culture

Prejudice is related to the psychological needs of individual persons as well as to the dominance of societal structures by majority groups. But a third perspective for understanding prejudice is in its relationship to culture. To some extent, this is to say that prejudices are simply folk ways. We learn prejudice from contact with prejudiced people more than we learn it by contact with minority people. One should ask himself, for instance, where he first received his image of an Indian. Did it come from interaction with Indians? If he gained it from Indians, how many of them?

Was the sample adequate for generalization? The same type of questioning should be done about our first images of Black people, of Polish or Italian people. The answer usually is that our images came from other people who probably did not know very much about the other groups, but had a certain fixed image, a certain kind of terminology connected with them. The source of prejudice for the average person is other prejudiced people and not the minority group itself. There are exceptions, of course, where persons have had an unfavorable childhood experience with one member of a minority group that left a memory difficult to overcome.

Once an attitude of prejudice is launched it keeps on going because there are symbols and definitions of situations which support it. Some prejudice may have had its source in a bit of unfortunate human interaction, but at the present time it is maintained by symbols and images which are handed down in the literature or the culture of the prejudiced group. As an illustration one can recall an incident from *Huckleberry Finn*. Huck, a white boy of the old South, tells a woman about an accident on a Mississippi River steamboat. "Good gracious," the woman exclaims, "did anybody get hurt?" "No, ma'am," says Huck, "just a nigger got killed." "Well, it's lucky," the woman replies, "because sometimes people get hurt." Someone might point out that this is in a fictional story. In 1960, however, after the Democrats adopted a convention platform pledging action to protect the civil rights of Negroes, the governor of a southern state went home grumbling. "The platform is horrible," he told reporters. "I do not see how the people of the South can accept it." When he said "people," he was not thinking about one-half of the people of Mississippi who are Black; he was speaking about the whites. When he said "people," he did not think of Blacks. He defined them as outside the category of what he meant by people.

This way of speaking, this tendency to call whites the people of the South, is an example of what I mean by saying that the culture tends to define different groups in ways that lead to prejudice, even among the young participants in that culture who are completely innocent when they hear these definitions. We might say, of course, that we do not think that way; but we should be careful because we might be doing it in a more subtle fashion. When we say Protestants or Catholics or Jews, or when we say Blacks and whites, what is the imagery we have? With what roles

do we associate them in the occupational world? What are the roles in which we tend to see them? What roles do they have in television and the rest of the mass media? What roles do they have within the community in which they live? Do they tend to foster the stereotype?

If we want to break the stereotype, we must get persons into roles other than those in which they are constantly pictured. If people visualize Negroes as capable only of menial occupations, confronting them with Negro janitors is not going to break the stereotype. On the other hand, if prejudiced people have an opportunity to meet and talk with a Negro high school teacher, then for some the image of the Negro will change. It is important to meet stereotyped people in different roles in order to realize that it is not because of their race that they have to be this way, but because of a sequence of cultural and historical factors.

Let us look at another example of the cultural tradition of prejudice. The definition given to Jews by the fact that one of their members was crucified still lingers on. A 1969 survey of Protestant clergymen contained the question, "Do you agree with the statement that the reason Jews have so much trouble in the world today is because God is punishing them for rejecting Jesus?" In the sample, 6 percent of Methodist clergymen, 7 percent of the Presbyterian, 21 percent of the American Lutherans, 22 percent of the American Baptists, and 38 percent of the Missouri Synod clergymen answered Yes. It might be wise to pause and reflect for a moment on how their cultural heritage predisposes clergymen to misjudge the cause of anti-Semitic behavior.

History as Part of the Process of Prejudice

The analysis of personality needs, power struggles, and cultural heritage can explain many aspects about the nature of prejudice. It does not explain, however, why the prejudice is directed against a particular group. To explain that, one has to study history.

Each individual implicitly understands his own history. The direction he is going, however, might cause him to misjudge the other person, whose history has been going in a different direction. He can assume that he knows his own history because it is embodied in him to some extent; but he cannot assume he knows the history of another group unless he studies it more formally. That is where he must start asking questions. Let us say, for example, that a

person believes the average Black man is lazier than the average white man. An intelligent response based on history might follow along these lines: as a slave, the Black man worked hard with nothing to show as a result; he would have been a stupid human being to keep on working harder despite gaining nothing. His frustration would have been so great that he would have felt suicidal. Therefore, he slowed his pace of work, which is an intelligent adjustment in the condition of slavery. Once this occurred, it may have continued within the Black culture as other things have continued in the white culture. While a person, therefore, might have a hard time finding adequate evidence to back up a generalization about the laziness of Blacks, he could show that *any slave*, after a period of time, will have slowed his pace of work as an intelligent, human adjustment to the realities of existence.

We might also consider the knowledge we have about the Indian. How much is really knowledge and how much is myth perpetuated by the way our history has been taught? Members of the various Indian cultures probably saw the invading Europeans as a band of barbarians. They were not of the Indian culture or cultivated in certain ways. The Europeans did not even know how to grow crops and would have died without the kindness of the Indians. Yet, the European response to that kindness was to overrun Indian camps, killing their inhabitants with pleasure. Our historical images are not all that accurate. While noting this historical imbalance, we might also note that there is the danger of going to the other extreme in defending minority groups, an approach that leads to an equally exaggerated and false picture of the majority group.

The Process of Reducing Prejudice

With this discussion of the causes of prejudice as a backdrop, we might turn our attention to the means for reducing prejudice. It might be wise to note that we cannot treat prejudiced persons as though they were some clean, clear-cut package. We cannot assume that all prejudiced persons are alike even in regard to their prejudiced attitudes; they operate on various levels and in different situations. Some persons who are very concerned about getting rid of prejudices are, in fact, very destructive personalities. One of the saddening things in this kind of work is to learn that some of the people who say they want to eliminate prejudice against minority groups are really filled with hatred against the majority group.

If a person is seriously interested in reducing prejudice, there are a few realistic things he has to accept. First of all, we will never get rid of it; it is utopian to think in terms of eliminating prejudice once and for all. The sources are ever present. What we should more realistically devote ourselves to is the reduction of prejudice. Otherwise, if we set a goal of eradicating prejudice from the fiber of American society in the next three years and do not care who gets hurt in the process, many more people will be prejudiced — if against no one else, then against us. Second, we should try to find allies rather than to figure out who are the enemies. If a person is slightly prejudiced, we should not attack that person, but try to help him fulfill his personality needs in such a way that he will be released from the need to be prejudiced. One can cultivate a favorable climate for human relations without causing a crusade against those who are prejudiced. If one reflects on the complexity of human motivation, he will realize that some persons who are concerned with better human relationships have mixed motives. A college student in New York, for instance, has written a book calling for a better society. In an interview about it, he said, "We want to have a more humane society, and if these establishment people do not start working harder for a more humane climate soon, we will put them up against a wall and shoot them!"

A practical way for clergy to deal with prejudiced persons is through effective use of preaching and exhortation. Although the usefulness of exhortation has been exaggerated to the point where social scientists have tried to prove it useless, the fact remains that in a certain context, it can be useful. If people have values to which one can appeal, then exhortation can bear fruit. They can be exhorted to living up to their professed values, while making explicit that they cannot at one and the same time be a prejudiced person and be a good Christian or a good Jew. They are confronted with making a choice.

As far as church life and organization is concerned, Reverend Dr. Campbell says, "I would like to suggest that instead of seeking a solution to the race problem through the inner life of the church and synagogue, it would be more realistic for clergymen to seek a true inner life for the church and synagogue through the race problem."¹ He means this in the sense that the race problem serves to

¹ *Race: Challenge To Religion*, ed. Matthew Ahmann (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1963), p. 16.

expose peoples' real values. If the question, "How much is religion going to help the race problem?" is raised, we might turn it around and ask, "How much is the race problem going to help clarify and test religious values?" "In the religious arena," says Franklin Littell, "race is not the basic issue. It is the moment of truth which exposes our nakedness."²

An individual once stood on the floor of the United States Senate and launched a violent attack on American citizens whom he called kikes, niggers, dagoes, etc. When decent men rose to protest, he asserted defensively that he was a "good Christian." This prompted a Protestant leader to write that the church ought to have sufficient ethical sensitiveness and power to remove from membership persons whose ideas and actions are so totally contrary to Christian standards. Indeed, if people have a creed in which they believe, then their deeds ought to somehow come into line with that creed. If they do not have values in which they believe, there is no point in exhorting them.

Another means of reducing prejudice is learning how to deal with negative propaganda—any form of information that tends to increase racial animosity. Perhaps the first step should be to discover the source of the propaganda and try to establish the reason why this misinformation is being produced. Secondly, no attempt should be made to counteract the propaganda directly; rather, correct information and more constructive solutions to racial problems should be offered. More often than not, direct rebuttal does little except provide publicity for the very views we are trying to change. Furthermore, in response to such propaganda, a person might have the tendency to say, "Don't you want a better life for the poor, oppressed minorities?" That is a very bad appeal because the person being addressed might feel very oppressed and poor himself, and he might think that the minorities are getting too much the way it is. If an appeal is made to the things we all have in common ("Don't you want to have a sense of social justice in the country where your children will live?"), we may be more successful in our aims.

² *Ibid.*, p. 40.

Conclusion

The future of a just society, one based on the principles of integrity, understanding, and brotherhood which flow from our Judaeo-Christian heritage, will depend upon the success we have in breaking down the barriers of prejudice. This necessarily implies meeting the conditions of prejudiced thinking and acting that function at individual, social, and cultural levels of human life. We should not be so utopian as to claim total elimination of prejudice as our goal. Nevertheless, we can now help people to re-educate themselves, to discover why they are prejudiced, why they feel hostility, suspicion, and hatred toward other groups of men. To do this, we must facilitate an atmosphere in which men can participate comfortably in an informal situation of discovery—a discovery of the truth about myths, faulty prejudgments, and historical inaccuracies. The process of change is motivated and propelled by ideals that are part of our religious heritage as well as of our American creed. The community of man can only benefit from each modest achievement in healing the gap that exists between these professed convictions and contradictory actions.

Leisure As a Way of Life

There was a time in our history when someone speaking about leisure as a way of life would be considered a fool or one of the lazy rich. Work was essential for survival and equated with goodness. We are witnessing, however, the beginnings of a dramatic revolution in the area of work and leisure. The technological transformation of man's society has not left untouched any of his traditional values; not even work, which is one of the most cherished. Leisure is both promise and threat to the citizens of nonmetropolitan America as well as to their urban counterparts. It is a promise because it offers a boost to sagging economies; it is a threat because it challenges our very concept of human worth.

For generations, in this country, a man has accepted work as a way of assuring himself of an identity and a relationship with a work-oriented society; leisure was his reward for a job well done. But how often does the average person stop to reflect on himself as a person, as a creation of God seeking fulfillment in life among fellow creatures and a meaning in life beyond work? As we look at ourselves and our way of life, we often see a life-style dictated by a timepiece or by a schedule of activities and commitments. Sometimes we seem to have become items for production or consumption. Is it possible that because our heritage, our religious beliefs, our educational experience, or our necessity for earning a living we have missed the meaning of being and failed in sensing and celebrating life?

Leisure is usually considered to be free time, something we have little of; but we should examine this concept further. When a man is unemployed or when a woman spends all day as a homemaker, are they at leisure? Do children at the various stages of their formal educational training feel they are living a life of leisure? Is it possible that in order to protect our employment opportunities we are in effect forcing our children to find a life-style that has meaning outside of deferred work opportunities and work's satisfaction?

The implication is that our heavy emphasis on education for young people is keeping them in leisure activities out of the labor market so that the rest of us will have jobs. If some of our young people in college exhibit what we like to think of as somewhat abnormal behavior, perhaps it is because we have denied them a means of finding self-satisfaction or identity through their vocations.

The Perennial Burden of Time

Leisure, however, can be a way of life and an opportunity for fulfillment as an individual. "Leisure" comes from the Latin word *licere*, meaning "to be permitted," or "absence of coercion or restraint. Hence, the root meaning of leisure is freedom. It is a freedom to be a creature of God, to be a man, to participate in the whole life. Our definition of leisure, then, is time freely lived.

Man, however, has several concepts of time. The Greeks, for instance, spoke of time as either *kronos* or *kyros*. *Kronos* is the root word for expressing our concept of chronological time, i.e., an orderly movement of time. To make time seem more chronological, man invented the calendar, the watch, and the clock. Sebastian de Grazia noted recently that perhaps the most vicious machine man has invented in terms of the lives of all people is the timepiece. It is ironical that we reward a man for a lifetime of good service by presenting him with a gold watch, so he can sit and look at the time slowly crawl by in his retirement. Yet no one would question the value of a clock which allows us to divide a twenty-four hour job into eight-hour shifts. The tragedy behind the gold watch at retirement is that we have not equipped people to live without their work.

Kyros, the other Greek word for time, means time as a celebration of life and being. If one accepts the concept of *kyros*, he will understand the concept of leisure as the "joy-of-the-moment" which Robert Lee espouses in his book, *Religion and Leisure*. This joy-of-the-moment is one concept which offers some possibilities for a new kind of appreciation of life. Those who have lived on a farm or have farm-related experiences can appreciate that there are many joys-of-the-moment that occur in the world of nature. Anyone who has ever seen a quarter section of wheat or barley just golden ripe for the harvest can understand what "joy-of-the-moment" means as an experience and celebration. The housewife who looks up from the kitchen sink and watches a couple of birds

playing on a branch outside the window can experience the same thing. Somehow, at that particular moment, a person is lifted out of his work.

Leisure in a Technological Society

In this period of history we are beginning to ask questions about our concepts of time and the ways in which they affect our lifestyles. Man has always looked forward to the day when he would not have to spend all of his waking hours in productive effort for survival. Technology is beginning to free man from that responsibility and at the same time changing the nature of his effort from body-oriented to mind-oriented work. Leisure historically has been seen as a reward for a job well done: if a man works until he is able to retire, then he is entitled to a reward in the form of time to do those things he has always wanted to do. Now that a much larger segment of society is about to reach that level of freedom, establishing leisure as a life-style in itself, we are discovering that man is threatened by the possibility that he may have to live with leisure. He has so welded his identity to his vocation that without it he does not know who he is. This is rather dangerous.

A friend once remarked that the four basic sins in the days of his childhood were drinking, dancing, smoking, and sitting still. Our whole Western culture with its Judaeo-Christian tradition has helped us build a value system that espouses work and condemns non-work. We are going to have to pay a price, at least temporarily, for failing to have a theology of leisure. If the Church is a builder of value systems, then it is now being caught in its own trap; that is, it has fostered work to the point where man feels guilty when he is not working and feels he has lost his identity without his vocation. Consider the three basic questions usually asked when we meet people for the first time. The first question is, "What is your name?"; the second, "Where do you live?"; and the third, "What do you do?" The person does not really count. It is really quite an experience to try to tell someone who you are without telling him what you do.

Other problems accompany this loss of identity. Recently, two pastors were explaining problems encountered when employees who belonged to the steel workers' union received their first thirteen-week vacation. They agreed that in all their years in the ministry they had never been so swamped with marital counselling as they were

the first year their parishoners experienced the thirteen-week vacation. Many a husband and wife could not stand that much of one another without someone getting out and going to work. It is indeed a sad commentary on our values that we have so lost ourselves in our work that we cannot stand ourselves or our spouses for an extended period of time without work.

The steel workers' situation, however, is not terribly unique. In 1972 we introduce our calendar with five three-day weekends; and it is suggested that soon many of the non-agricultural workers will be on a 35-hour work week. In addition to less working days, there will probably be a steady rise in personal incomes. The Hudson Institute predicts that by the year 1999 twenty-seven percent of our family units will have annual incomes of over \$25,000. Perhaps of greater importance is the fact that an ever-increasing percentage of our population will have retired from the work force. Social scientists predict that by the year 2000 the average retired person can look forward to twelve to fifteen years of life.

Leisure as a Challenge to Ministry

All this should say something to the Church, posing the question of how to equip people to live with shorter work weeks, more money, and earlier and longer retirements. The churches need to recognize that the leisure revolution demands a serious effort to develop a program of leisure education. Other concerned organizations have already responded to this need. Three years ago, for instance, the electrical workers union in New York made provisions for members and their spouses to be subsidized for a full quarter of study. This is one way of helping people adjust to a new style of life while increasing their knowledge. There are, however, pressing factors still to be dealt with: the loss of identity, the challenge to the meaning and sense of social relationships as a result of the decline in importance of work; the tendencies toward self-indulgence; the psychological turmoil and social conflict arising out of a negative moral and/or religious attitude toward leisure; the kinds of destruction, depletion, and pollution of natural resources so vital to leisure and recreation; and the inadequate or obsolete political institutions meant to deal with the problems of the future now present today.

People need to discover how to be themselves without identifying with their work. Leisure is freedom, not free time; and the

Church needs a theology of leisure to insure its own future, if not to give direction to social change. The Church will fall short if it limits its view of leisure ministry to providing traditional worship services in the nontraditional settings of recreational areas. Leisure education is more than a ministry to vacationers; it is a ministry to equip people to live in a leisure-oriented society. This is particularly true for our young people who will spend more years in a society where less time will be spent on work and more in non-work activities.

A staff scientist for Univac recently said that his company has a computer which in sixty seconds can do the work fifteen men would accomplish in a lifetime. This suggests that these men will have time to do other things — but what? About ten years ago, fifty percent of the people were earning a living at vocations which were not dreamed of twenty-five years prior to that time. As the knowledge explosion continues, will the Church and other institutions develop educational programs that will enable people to live in a future society that we cannot even contemplate? We have to begin to deal with value systems, including those which encompass leisure orientation.

Leisure as Responsible Freedom

Leisure is freedom—freedom to be, to love, to participate in all of life. It is not equal to free time; we need to keep that in mind. Economically speaking, leisure means freedom from exploitation, deprivation, and waste; politically, it means freedom from coercion, collectivism, and conflict; psychologically, leisure is freedom from fear, inhibition, and obsession; religiously, it is freedom from dogma, deception, and despair. Sociologically, leisure means freedom from manipulation, prejudice, and repression. And theologically, leisure means the freedom conferred upon men by God's creative, redemptive, and sanctifying activity on their behalf. It is freedom to explore and expand the range and role of human expression; freedom to affirm and celebrate the life of the world; freedom to pursue the quality of life in an age of unprecedented abundance and alternatives. It is freedom to love and serve one another in a variety of human relationships; freedom to be and become the new man in Christ, to come alive in the new age and to participate in the new creation.

Conservation of Natural Resources: A Biblical Responsibility

Winston Churchill once said that the most important battles in life are won or lost by the narrowest of margins. Today mankind is deep into a crucial battle for its existence. The battle is not to "conquer nature" but to learn to live with nature without destroying it.

Our purpose here is not to inventory the damage contemporary man and his technologies have done to our natural resources, although an occasional example will be necessary here and there, but to discuss conservation of natural resources as a valid outgrowth of the biblical faith. Further, we will illustrate how Christian people—both clergy and layman—are taking part in the conservation effort by working through existing government agencies.

Saving a Creek

In DeKalb County, Illinois, there is a creek that the local Soil and Water Conservation District is trying to save. I learned about it from Maurice Swedberg at the Geneva District meeting of the Illinois Synod (Lutheran Church in America).

Mr. Swedberg said that when he was a boy the creek in question was safe and clean, recreative and life sustaining. He and other children swam in it. The fish they caught in the creek made fine meals for many families. Then factories began to flush volatile chemicals into it. Sewage, too, was emptied into the creek to be carried away as waste (rather than being kept in the county and used as an asset). The fish died; the children could no longer swim in the creek. Recently, measures were taken to feace it off. What was once an instrument of life had, indeed, become an instrument of death. Mr. Swedberg reported, however, that the DeKalb Soil and Water Conservation District was working to reverse the condition of that stream.

I think Mr. Swedberg might have forgotten me but I have not forgotten him. He is one of the many Christian men I have been privileged to meet who has been giving his time, energies, thoughts, and actions voluntarily in the mighty work of our nation's soil and water conservation districts. When you hear him speak, you get the clear realization that he is speaking out of a biblically grounded concern for life — life in terms of both God's creation and redemption.

Church agencies often make the mistake of thinking that nothing is happening in a field of concern about which they have only recently become aware. By and large, denominations, church agencies, congregations, and clergymen in America are quite unaware that an extraordinarily fine federal, state, and county operational team has been conserving natural resources for decades; and thus in fact assuming the biblical role of stewardship. That team is made up of the county soil and water conservation districts, state level coordinative and service staffs, and the Soil Conservation Service (SCS) of the United States Department of Agriculture.

During an initial meeting of a Faith-Man-Nature dialogue, Dr. E. W. Mueller of Augustana College of Sioux Falls, S. D., was asked to speak on the role of the denominations in the National Association of Soil and Water Conservation Districts' Soil Stewardship Week. To do this it was necessary for him to present basic information about the natural resources conservation work of local districts, the foundational nature of soil surveys, the scientific work of the Soil Conservation Service (USDA), and the like.

When Dr. Mueller finished speaking, the conference moderator, a professor at the Chicago School of Divinity, commented: "I've never heard of the Soil Conservation Service, soil surveys, or soil and water conservation districts. You would be surprised what major areas we theologians have been able to ignore."

Land Use Capability

The theory has been clearly outlined for the Christian community in the ever refreshing well-springs of biblical faith: man is responsible to God and his neighbor. The principle for the application of biblical responsibility for the earth's resources has been made clear by the Soil Conservation Service: Use land according to its capabilities.

To assist housing developers, city planners, and municipal gov-

ernments, as well as cottage owners, farmers and county commissioners in making urban and agricultural land-use decisions, SCS has built an indispensable classification of land. In briefest outline, the eight classes are:

CLASS 1 — Level, deep soils. Good management will keep it productive generation after generation. Not advisable for urban use.

CLASS 2 — Gentle slope, relatively deep soil. Needs careful conservation practices.

CLASS 3 — Slopes moderately, mixed soil. Requires stringent conservation.

CLASS 4 — Moderate steep sloping. Limited uses; conservation practices intensify.

CLASS 5 — Wet, stony, or flood plain. Recreation, watershed, or wildlife habitat uses.

CLASS 6 — Steep slopes. Uses are similar to Class 5.

CLASS 7 — Very steep slopes. Grazing and woodland uses require highly stringent conservation practices.

CLASS 8 — Exceedingly steep slopes. With precise conservation practices, it may be used for recreation.

Any of the three thousand soil and water conservation districts throughout the United States will supply free pamphlets that describe more thoroughly the eight classes of land. The district's soil conservationists will gladly help the inquirer to interpret the classifications for the community and county in question.

While some clergy employ this ready knowledge of conservation for the effective development of their areas, other clergy never really get interested in projects concerned with the care of the earth. The local ministerial associations summarily dismiss any invitation by the conservation district to go on ground or air tours of their counties. Few citizens take scientific knowledge of the soil seriously. Some farmers, for example, persist in putting row crops on Class 3 and 4 land. Many urban land developers misuse the surface earth and soils. As a result, sedimentation and silt choke drainage ditches, creeks, and finally the rivers. Houses built on organic soils show obvious signs of rapid deterioration. In general, both farms and municipalities suffer for having worked against nature rather than with it.

Responsibility for the Future

In *The Ethical Imperative*, Richard Means rightly says that Americans tend to have a superficial knowledge of American history that is a peril to the life of the nation. This generation needs to know about the solutions to the dust storms of the 1930's. We have to a large extent forgotten how the dust bowl battle was won and what its meanings are for today. When legislators in Washington were debating the feasibility of creating the Soil Erosion Service, the parent of our present Soil Conservation Service, a providential event took place. High winds carrying tons of fine red dust darkened the skies of our nation's capitol. Someone advocating the new USDA agency was quick to remark in full voice, "Here comes Oklahoma." The legislation passed.

Since that time, soil scientists and citizens have learned to keep the organic lid on the prairies; but it is imperative that we make the conservation issue just as immediate to urban users throughout the country.

A few years ago, as I was passing through Washington, D.C., I picked up a newspaper. The lead story told of a critical water shortage the city faced if there was no rain within the next twenty-four hours. Thousands of urban land users had created an erosion-caused crisis in the whole eastern community of states, watersheds, and river basins. By ripping the lid off the surface of the land for housing tracts, factory sites, and road beds, silt and sedimentation eroded into the Potomac River. This drastically reduced its water capacity compared to what was available before the compounding of urban land misuse. Fortunately for the people of our capital, it rained. Unfortunately, the basic mistakes are still being made.

Role for Clergymen

Clergy in every pulpit in the country must seriously try to imbue the values for the environment in the minds and hearts of the people. People adhering to the biblical faith have both the opportunity and the responsibility for making sound land use decisions based on soil surveys of land capability. Conservation is a great work for all of our people.

III. THE DYNAMICS OF CHANGE: THE PROMISE OF THE FUTURE

All of the previous articles have dealt in some way or another with the phenomenon of change. In this final article, therefore, John Brantner employs his skills as a psychologist to discern the spirits of change in crisis-ridden American society.

On the one hand, he points out the inevitability of change and the personal and social harm that can occur when this inevitability is denied. On the other hand, he emphasizes that if change is accepted, it can be used creatively to foster health for both the individual and the community.

We must decide whether our lives will be directed by change or if we will live so as to help direct the course of our changing world.

Man's Future in a Changing Society

Today we are truly in a state of crisis. It is a crisis of worldwide change involving all of us as individuals and affecting all of man's institutions. It is a phenomenon that takes many forms and shows many faces; it troubles our state capitols and intrudes into our own families; it distresses the leaders of nations and spoils our holidays and vacations. There is no place left in the world where we can go to escape it. Paradoxically, when we try to do something about it, it often eludes us and leaves us feeling powerless, frustrated, helpless, and angry. The cause of this crisis of change is very simple: tomorrow is already here, and most of us are somehow caught up in yesterday.

The future is here and most of us are either living in the past, alarmed at what we see, or unhappy in the present and dissatisfied. Nonetheless, tomorrow is here making this without a doubt the most challenging and stimulating period in all of man's history; and as many people have noted, we are in trouble.

Margaret Mead, for instance, recently said, "Today, nowhere in the world are there elders who know what children know, no matter how remote and simple the societies are in which we live."¹ She went on to say that those of us who grew up before World War II are like immigrants in time, living in an age essentially different from anything we have known before. Peter Drucker, looking at man's economic development, has seen a complete break in the slow progress of economics and calls ours "the age of discontinuity."² Victor Ferkiss has recently noted that at the deepest level of experience, man as we have always known him is on the verge of becoming something else.³

¹ Margaret Mead, *Culture and Commitment* (New York: Natural History Press, 1970), pp. 60-61.

² Peter Drucker, *The Age of Discontinuity* (New York: Harper and Row, 1969).

³ Victor Ferkiss, *Technological Man* (New York: George Braziller, 1969).

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John Platt says that for the first time in history we have a chance to become what we have always known we should be, what we have always wanted to be—fully developed human beings realizing all our potential for all people.⁴

These people are not saying that all of the past is wrong, but rather that a new world calls for new ways of thinking and acting. A process that began just over a century ago has now resulted in a challenge to most of man's institutions, beliefs, and ways of doing things. The most fundamental assumptions on which human arrangements have been based are, for the most part, overthrown. Stability is now, and may be for several generations, an empty dream. Change in everything is our way of life. The Church, for example, typifies the dilemma we face in all areas. Its traditional approach has been, "This is the way it has always been; this is the way your father and grandfather knew it, and the way you will know it." But dramatic changes in liturgy, morality, and even approaches to dogma suggest that this is not true anymore.

Another fundamental concept that has met its demise is the romantic notion of the family, often pictured as gathering after dark in a large room around a big table with the one bright lamp in the middle: the father reading his newspaper, the mother shelling peas, the grandmother sewing, the children doing their homework. The fact is that as soon as it was possible to light the bedrooms, they fled the kitchen; and after Henry Ford made it possible, they fled the house altogether. At the present time, we think of the family not as the large extended family, but rather as a nuclear family of two parents and their children who maintain a highly mobile life-style stressing the individuality of each family member.

Communications technology has also brought about fundamental change. Satellites have made worldwide, instantaneous sight-and-sound communication a fact. The most trivial events happening in Minneapolis are known throughout the outlying areas of our nation. This means that even nonmetropolitan areas are caught up in fads, controversies, and the issues of the moment.

The future is already here. Change is our constant companion. Yet what do we see? Henry Steel Commanger recently said:

At the end of a generation of unparalleled advance in science and technology, mankind found hunger more widespread, vio-

⁴ John R. Platt, *The Step To Man* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966).

lence more ruthless, and life more insecure than any time in the century. Nor was this disappointment confined to the backward people of the globe. Even in America, which boasted almost unlimited resources and the most advanced technology, poverty was familiar in millions of households, white as well as black, rural as well as urban, cities decayed, the countryside despoiled, air and streams polluted, and lawlessness—official and private—was contagious; and war and the threat of war filled the minds of men with hatred and fear.⁵

We are in a crisis of change that affects every area of our lives both as individuals and as a society. The good and bad possibilities almost exceed belief and pose the continual question of what we can do to meet the situation before us. Let us examine some of the different dilemmas:

— If psychologists were to try to devise a welfare system that would guarantee to produce two, three, or four generations of dependency, they could not devise one better than our present one. Now we are at least looking at new possibilities in the area of population and welfare through the debate on guaranteed incomes, sound delivery of welfare services, and rehabilitation. Using the model of the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation, experts can also devise rehabilitation programs that will produce economic independence in a matter of five years.

— Those of us who grew up before World War II have only the dimmest suspicions of what is going on in the area of sex and marriage. We are alarmed by our guesses so we try to prevent sex education in the schools and establish programs opposing pornography in our communities. Still, communal marriages exist, as well as communal living institutions, which are increasing in popularity in our country. Alternate family styles, like group homes and the Israeli kibutz, are being tried successfully.

— In both town and country we have available to us all of the world's intoxicants, many of which did not exist as little as three years ago. Yet, rather than allowing the scientific community to explore these chemical agents, we choose repression and ignorance as a means of dealing with these new realities. In this country we attempt to limit man's experience of intoxication to that drug which has been his dubious companion since the Neolithic Age—

⁵ Henry S. Commanger, "1918—1968: Is the World Safe For Anything?" *Saturday Review* (November 9, 1968), p. 23.

ethyl alcohol. Something is wrong here. The future is upon us, and we are still dealing with the facts in terms of our old notions.

— What will be the glory of man having his time at his own discretion, no longer forced to toil from sun to sun? Perhaps we see the answer in the fact that more guitars have been sold in the last ten years than were manufactured since the invention of the Spanish vihuela and that more pianos have been sold in the last decade than have been produced since Cristofori invented it. What might man achieve with his time so that his creative abilities could be fully realized? How sad that we do not perceive the situation in these terms but choose to view it only as a problem—the problem of leisure time.

— We are free for the first time in history from the tyranny of native dress and prescribed costume. We are free, and yet we have fired public employees who do not make their sons cut their hair short. We suspend children from school because they will not cut their hair. We are even troubling the Supreme Court with school dress codes.

— Money is destroying itself in a flurry of inflation and economic crises. An economist recently remarked that when the desalinization plants are operational, with pure water coming out one side and lumps of magnesium, copper, and gold coming out the other side, it will be a boon for the artists and tableware manufacturers. It will not, however, have an effect on the economy at all which is already demonetized. The future is here. Last year *Fortune* magazine reported that forty percent of the people in this country between the ages of 18 and 24 could best be described by their lack of interest in making money.

We could spend many more pages on these changes in life today. Our point, however, is that we must be willing to change or we may be forced to change. If we do nothing, time and youth will force us into the future; but if we choose, as individuals and as institutions, to deal realistically with change, we may all learn to live with each other in a new kind of freedom never known before in man's history. Still, it is a freedom that is risky and that involves some real dangers.

To meet this challenge, there are some things that we must do. We will have to learn to accept instability, we have also to learn to

rejoice in change, for with change can come great creativity. This is one lesson that the young can teach us.

As we have to learn to accept instability, we have also to learn a new approach to others, especially to those who are different from ourselves. Throughout our history, our response to those who are different has been exclusion: "He is different from me; keep him out! He is different from me, kill him!" Part of our exclusiveness in the past has been our fear. A new insight, however, has come into the world: my comfort no longer depends on the discomfort of others; my affluence no longer depends on the poverty of others. Now we have to learn inclusion rather than exclusion. Without threat to myself, I can afford to reach out to others for the enrichment of my own life. I must now say, "I want my children to grow up among as varied and diverse acquaintances and relationships as possible."

If we are going to do anything with the future which is already here, we are going to have to accept enormous challenges in money, time, and effort. When he was Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, John Gardner said, "The prospects have never been brighter, the problems have never been tougher. Anyone who is not stirred by both of these statements is too tired to be of much use to us in the years to come."⁶

Not only must we accept challenge and diversity, but we must also be open to change, seeking out new ideas, new life-styles, new experiences. The difficulty with all this, of course, is that as a people we have valued consistency. We have given it all kinds of names: statistical reliability, predictability, responsibility, dependability. We have come to regard changes in behavior and personality as pathological. When people are unpredictable, we consider them psychopathic. We place such a high value on consistency that we assume a constant environment and unchanging life conditions. But when the environment and man's condition change, then adaptability is the desired response.

We are facing total change in our environment and total change in our condition; those people who cannot adapt to it will die angry, frustrated, bewildered, and alarmed. In another place, John Gardner has said,

Time-honored institutions are turning into something other than they were, time-honored ways of thinking are changing . . .

⁶ John W. Gardner, *No Easy Victories* (New York: Harper and Row, 1968) p. 168.

As the pressure rises, we feel the need to strike out, to fix the blame, to find the villain. It is not easy to accept the fact that the world's ills are complex in their origin and that part of what is wrong is in our own hearts and minds.⁷

Part of what is wrong does very truly lie deep within us; and yet the surest way to change our hearts and minds is to change our behavior. Changing our behavior is something we can do. It is something we must do.

⁷ Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

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WHO NEEDS RURAL AMERICA?

The Church and the Nonmetropolitan
Community In a Changing Society

All the problems are not in the big cities. Rural America faces daily its own crises of dying towns, decreasing financial resources, and overburdened social services. Its residents experience the fear and sense of helplessness which arise in the context of a changing society.

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