

Station Bulletin 482

1966



**Social Change
in Goodhue County,
1940-65**

Lowry Nelson and George Donohue

University of Minnesota

Agricultural Experiment Station

CONTENTS

Introduction	3
Why Goodhue?	3
Purpose And Method Of Study	4
The Sample Areas	5
Dimensions Of Change	8
Changes In Housing Facilities	10
Changes In Population	13
Churches Merge And Change	18
Unchanging Local Government	20
Farm Organizations	22
The World Of Work	23
More People Are Employees	23
The Women In The Sample	25
Hours Of Work	27
Attitudes Toward Labor Unions	29
Attitudes Toward Women Working	30
Preschool Children In Nurseries	32
Parental Aspirations For Children	33
Occupational Aspirations Of Parents	34
Occupational Aspirations Of High School Students	35
Educational Aspirations Of Parents	36
Mobility	39
Education And The Schools	40
Enrollment Changes In 20 Years	40
Education And Place Of Residence	44
The Schools Of Goodhue: Opinions Of Respondents	45
Family Norms	50
Age Of Dating	50
Acceptable Age For Marriage	50
What Is The Ideal Family Size?	51
Should Young Couples Postpone A Family?	51
Provisions For The Aged	52
Use Of Leisure	54
Leisure Time And Residence, Education, And Age	54
Recreational Facilities	55
Time To Read	56
Periodicals On Farming	57
The Cultural Arts	58
Recreational Patterns In Goodhue	59
In Conclusion	60
In Summary	62
The World Of Work	62
Parental Aspirations For Children	63
Education And The Schools	64
Family Norms	65
Use Of Leisure	65



Social Change In Goodhue County, 1940-65

Lowry Nelson and George Donohue

THIS REPORT DEALS WITH SOCIAL CHANGE as it manifested itself in a representative area of Minnesota. It describes and analyzes some modifications in individual and collective behavior that occurred in Goodhue County over a period of time. And time is of the essence. Change is observable only by intervals of measured time—there must be a starting and an ending point. These base marks are not easy to come by in the social sciences, at least not with the precision ideally desired. Nevertheless, some approximations are possible.

A major resource for this study of social change was the U. S. census. We gave major emphasis to the 1940 and 1960 reports. However, the 1940 census was not always comparable with the 1960. Therefore, when 1950 data were more nearly comparable with 1960, they were used instead. Furthermore, several changes in institutional structure, which took place during the time interval concerned, were matters of record.

A supplementary resource was an earlier study of the same area.¹ But the time periods used in the two studies were not uniform. The earlier study was made during late 1946 and early 1947; we interviewed for this report during late 1958, 1959, and early 1960.

The project's design permitted certain judgments and implications regarding change to be drawn. We interviewed a random sample of farm, hamlet, village, and urban residents. Such a cross section of social groups permits some generalizations from the observed differences and likenesses.

Why Goodhue?

We chose Goodhue County for a number of reasons. First, because of its geographic location, all county areas and all population segments are influenced by the metropolitan complex of St. Paul-Minneapolis as well as other nearby cities. Goodhue is crossed by major highways, is on the historic water transportation artery—the Mississippi River, and has excellent communication by television, radio, and daily papers with the Twin Cities.

Decisions affecting the people of the county are often made in distant places—the state capitol, Washington, D.C., New York City, Geneva. Even international decisions, such as trade agreements, affect the county's farmers and manufacturers and, therefore, all its people.

¹Frank D. Alexander and Lowry Nelson. Feb. 1949. *The Social Organization of Goodhue County*. Univ. of Minn. Agr. Exp. Sta. Bull. 401.

Farm, hamlet, village, and city families watch TV programs seen across the country and listen to radio broadcasts emanating from world capitols. They belong to organizations often directed and programmed from outside their immediate area.

Second, Goodhue was selected as a representative county of the dairy farming region in a national stratified sample during World War II. Therefore, representatives of the U. S. Department of Agriculture visited it periodically to detect trends in attitudes and opinions and problems. So, Goodhue is a national sample county.

Third, because of Goodhue's strategic importance in the national sample of 24 counties, a study was conducted in 1946 which described its social organization. Therefore, at least a partial "benchmark" existed against which to measure subsequent changes. We say "partial" because the two studies did not follow identical methods and are not generally comparable.

Purpose And Method Of Study

In view of all that has happened in recent decades, we felt it was desirable and important to measure the impact of events on a local population segment—a county. The propositions or hypotheses tested were these:

- ◆ Many differences between farm, village, and city are disappearing.
- ◆ Existing differences in behavior patterns, values, and attitudes result from differences in educational levels and occupational interests.

We conducted this present study in three phases, beginning in 1958:

1. A systematic survey of secondary sources including local newspaper files, published county histories, reports of public officials, and U. S. census data from 1940 to 1960.²

2. Open end interviews with selected county leaders during June and July 1959.

3. Structured response interviews with 405 citizens from four county communities during May 1960.

Under phase 2, we interviewed 47 leaders—municipal and township officers, farm leaders, clergymen, and businessmen—in Welch, Goodhue, and Kenyon communities. Interview results constituted the basis for the structured response interviews of phase 3. The rural-urban composition and other sample characteristics are shown in tables 1, 2, and 3.

Residential groups differed somewhat in age composition (see table 2). The rural area had a high proportion of both men and women in the 46-64 year old group, while both the urban and hamlet areas had high proportions of males in the 65 and over group.

² Some findings from this phase were published in: Lee Taylor, Marvin J. Taves, and Gordon Bultena, Jan. 1959. "Changing Goodhue County, 1946-1958." *Sociol. of Rural Life Bull.* 1. Univ. of Minn. Agr. Exp. Sta.

Table 1. Number of persons interviewed during May 1960 in Goodhue County by place of residence*

Place of residence	Rural†	Urban†	Total
Welch	63	13	76
Goodhue	53	47	100
Kenyon	67	62	129
Red Wing	0	100	100
Total	183	222	405

* Although the sample consisted of 405, information on the respondent's spouse was also obtained. Therefore, some tables show 386 females and 387 males (some persons were single or widowed).

† Urban refers to residents within corporate limits or the nucleus of unincorporated places; rural means those living in the open country adjacent to Welch, Goodhue, and Kenyon.

Table 2. Age distribution of Goodhue County sample by sex and place of residence

Years of age	Rural		Hamlet		Village		Urban		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	(63)	(120)	(21)	(39)	(26)	(36)	(33)	(67)	(143)	(262)
	(N	(N	(N	(N	(N	(N	(N	(N	(N	(N
	percent	percent	percent	percent	percent	percent	percent	percent	percent	percent
20-45	22	50	28	57	38	45	27	54	27	51
46-64	59	44	43	33	35	33	40	33	48	38
65 or more	19	4	29	10	19	22	30	9	23	9
No response .....	.....	2	.....	.....	8	.....	3	4	2	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 3. Marital status of Goodhue County sample by sex and age

Marital status	Age 20-45		Age 46-64		Age 65 and over		No response	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	(N = 39)	(N = 134)	(N = 68)	(N = 100)	(N = 33)	(N = 23)	(N = 3)	(N = 5)
	percent	percent	percent	percent	percent	percent	percent	percent
Married	92	98	93	90	70	74	100	100
Single	8	2	7	10	30	26	.....	.....
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

The Sample Areas

The four centers chosen represent inhabited places ranging from the small hamlet to the urban community (see figure 1). Welch is the smallest center with around 100 people. It is unincorporated. It has a

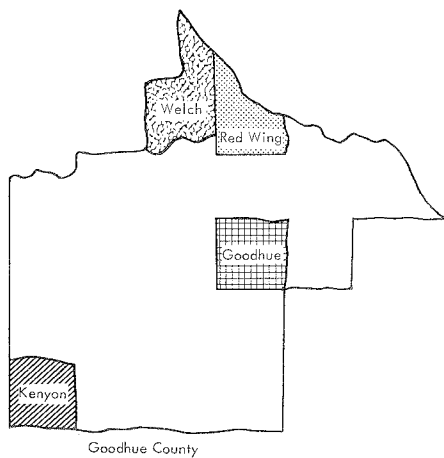


Figure 1. Areas from which we selected the random sample of respondents.

general store, restaurant, beer parlor, feed mill, creamery, and lumberyard. There is also a two-room school, one of the few schools in the county not yet consolidated. A town ("township") hall, two churches, and a few residences complete the nucleus. A park provides a recreational area.

Next, in the category of hamlet, is Goodhue. It is incorporated and has a population of around 500, a number which has not changed much in the past 20 years. In its center is a bank, not locally owned, two grocery stores, a drug store, a hotel, a restaurant, a garage, a milk-processing plant, and several service stations. There are also several churches, a consolidated elementary school, a new doctor's office which was built to help keep a physician, and a new Roman Catholic church building. Several homes were built in recent years and two wings added to the school.

Most homes are old, some in the Victorian style, dating from the turn of the century. They are located on well laid out blocks with numerous vacant lots. A local development committee tries to attract industry. But the cost of providing sewage, water, and fire protection is considered too much for the village to undertake. U.S. Highway 58, a major artery, passes through the community and connects it with the county seat, Red Wing.

The village of Kenyon, located at the opposite side of the county, is removed both spatially and socially from the county seat. Its growth has been slow but continuous. In 1940, it consisted of 1,500 people; by 1960, 1,624. Kenyon is now the third largest community in the county, exceeded by Red Wing (10,528) and Cannon Falls (2,055).

This village is large enough to meet, at least in part, the challenge for industry. Its people have an image of their community as a city. Indeed, its main street extends for several blocks with business houses on both sides. Many firms are absentee owned, franchise or contract operated, or have a local manager. Among the buildings are consolidated

grade and high schools, churches of several denominations, and numerous homes. Kenyon has a variety of clubs, some of which are civic-oriented.

The effort of business leaders to attract new industries has received much attention—and considerable antagonism. Besides being a progressive business community, Kenyon is a retirement settlement. A large home for the aged is within village limits and many private dwellings are homes of retirees.

Kenyon is sufficiently distant from Red Wing to escape being a satellite of the county seat. But it is near enough to Faribault in Rice County and Rochester in Olmsted for many residents to commute to employment there. Business leaders complain of the amount of business thereby taken to these cities. So Kenyon faces in a real and direct way the challenge for growth if not survival as a community in the hinterland of larger centers.

Red Wing is Goodhue's county seat. Its population has changed little in 20 years. In 1940, the population was 9,962; in 1950, 10,645; and in 1960, 10,528. In addition to shopping facilities and a full complement of services, Red Wing has several manufacturing and industrial concerns. It is large enough to have several blocks of business houses and firms besides those on the main street.

Red Wing is a river town, built in an area of bluffs and hills. It is an "old" city where family and position are important in social organization. Social stratification, in several respects, can be identified as one travels from the river flats up the bluff and hillside to the residences overlooking the river and low land. It has a country club and parks; in short, a variety of places for various recreation.

Each sample area has its rural farm hinterland; farm people, as well as residents in the centers themselves, are among respondents. In the analyses, rural includes the sampled open-country residents from around Welch, Goodhue, and Kenyon; hamlet combines the nuclear residents of both Welch and Goodhue; village refers to Kenyon, and urban to Red Wing.

Dimensions of Change

DIMENSIONS OF CHANGE IN GOODHUE COUNTY are both broad and deep. Everything and everybody have been affected. A casual observer might remark that "life goes on much as it always did," a statement both true and false. It is true that people still farm, run service stations or stores or barber shops, send their children to school, work in factories. But their ways of life are not the same as they were, say, 20 years ago.

In 1940, 4 out of 10 Goodhue County people lived on farms; in 1960, only 3 out of 10. Before 1950, children attended elementary schools in 155 school districts and most of the schools were the one-room type. By 1960, Goodhue's rural children were commuters, attending schools administered in only a few school districts (see figures 2 and 3). By 1964, there was practically complete consolidation with seven districts maintaining secondary as well as elementary schools and three having elementary schools only.

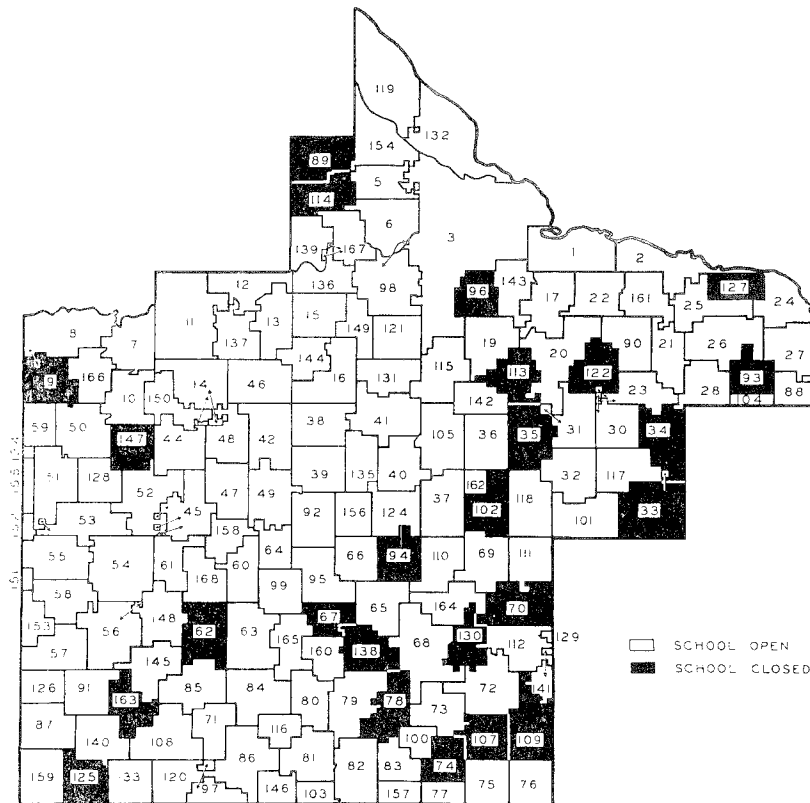


Figure 2. School districts of Goodhue County, 1946-47.

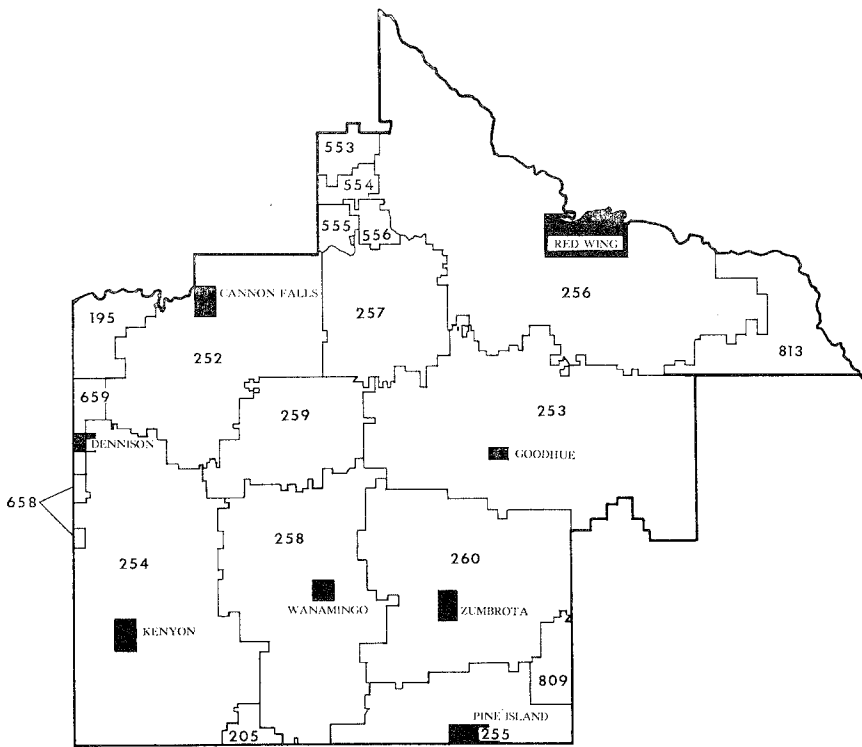


Figure 3. School districts of Goodhue County, 1960.

(The schools in some of the border districts were administered within other counties.)

In 1940, there were 3,037 farms compared with 2,475 in 1960. But farms are larger now—176 acres on the average in 1960 compared with 152 acres 20 years ago. And the average value per farm has increased remarkably (see figure 4). While there are fewer dairy farms, 1,035 compared to 2,802, there are more cows per farm and they are producing more milk. Automation in farming, as in other industries, is making gigantic strides.

Goodhue County, like all others in the United States, has felt the impact of war; World War II was still going on 20 years ago. It has also felt the continued strains of the cold war. Its soldiers came home from World War II, but its sons continue to be drafted. In short, these years have been “war years”—the economy has been a war economy. Moreover, it has been a relatively prosperous period. Changes have come in the material aspects of civilization, in machinery we use, communication devices, and the ways of producing.

In 1940 the farm people of Goodhue County were a “segregated” group. They operated their own elementary schools, maintained their

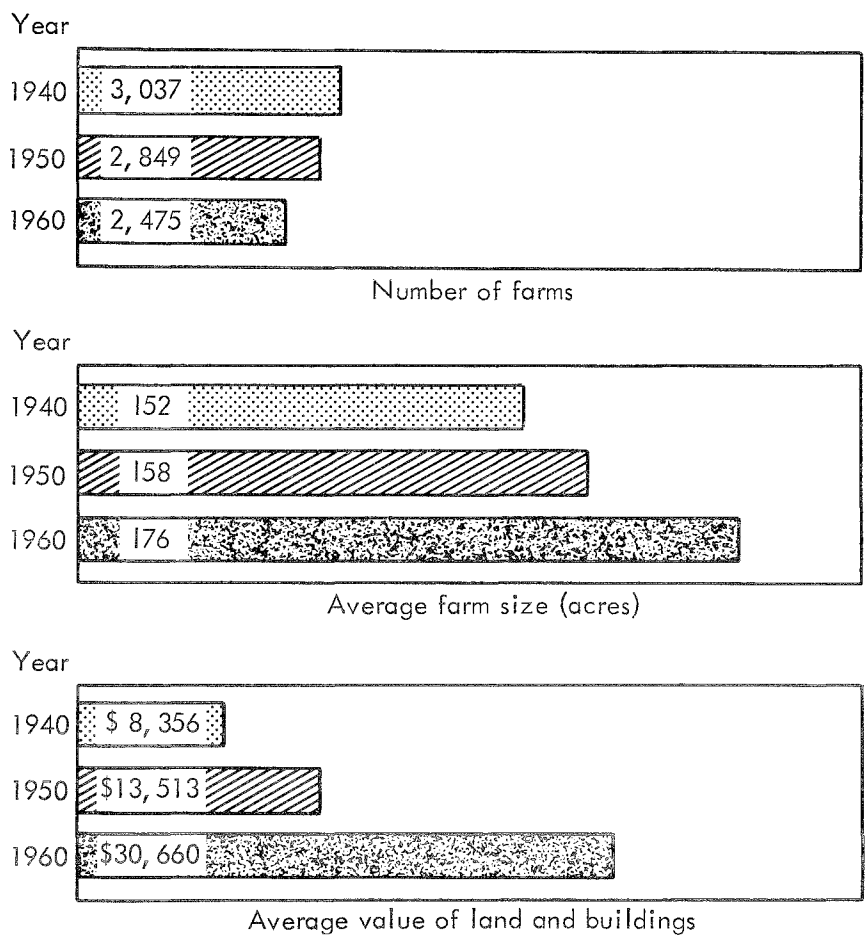


Figure 4. Number, size, and value of Goodhue County farms, 1940, 1950, and 1960. Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census. 1940, 1950, 1960. *U. S. Census of Agriculture.*

own open-country churches, and had their local township governments. They still do to an extent but the character is different.

The hamlet, village, and city have also changed. Above all, the various groups have become more "integrated." Instead of farm life being distinctly different from town or city life, it is now similar to it. Instead of identifying themselves as from primarily farm trade centers, hamlet and village residents now see themselves closely related to city ways.

Changes In Housing Facilities

Most observable changes, especially material ones, are identifiable elements diffused from outside the county. Consider electricity on farms

from central generators. Before the federal government created the Rural Electrification Administration in 1935, few Goodhue County farms had electrical service. Even in 1940, only 38 percent of the farms had electricity. The percentage grew rapidly in succeeding years to 61 in 1945 and over 90 in 1950. This item was not even reported in the 1960 census because virtually all farms were involved.

Along with electrical service came many other facilities. Before 1940, most radios in farm homes were operated by batteries which, often as not, needed recharging. Today, radios are in almost all homes, in most automobiles, and even on tractors and trucks. During the last decade, TV became practically universal in Goodhue homes—farm and nonfarm alike. So the onetime isolation of the farm family has disappeared—farm people are in instantaneous contact with the world. These changes did not have a rural origin. What is important, however, is the people's receptivity to these innovations.

A piped water supply for the home has been one great lack on American farms. Drawing water from a well by hand and carrying it to the house are burdens which only electric power can remove. In 1940, just 18 percent of the farm homes in Goodhue County had running water; 14 percent, indoor flush toilets; and 13 percent, a bath or shower. By 1960, the corresponding percentages were 83, 73, and 71. The urban population (Red Wing) has long had these facilities. Now, as figure 5 and table 4 show, the rural area is rapidly catching up.

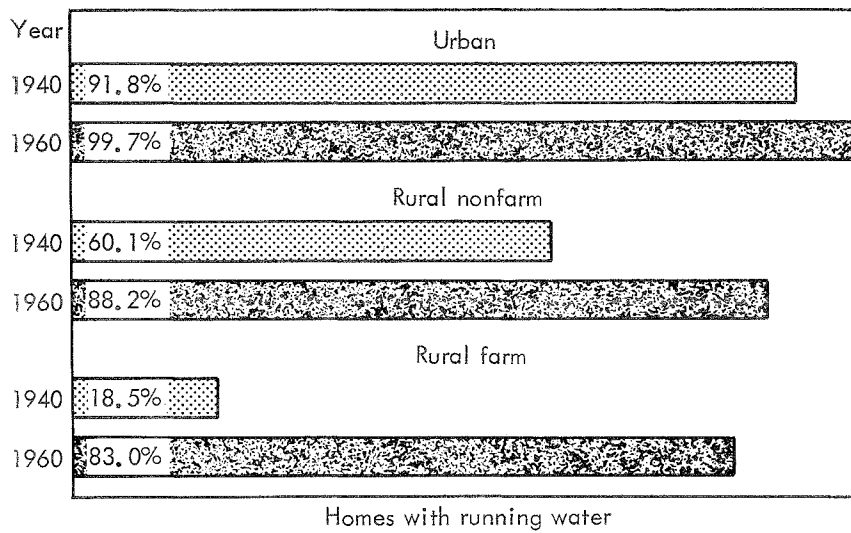
Other amenities are widely shared by urban and rural dwellers. Refrigerators, freezers, electric washers and dryers, and innumerable

Table 4. Percent of occupied houses with running water, bath, and indoor toilet, Minnesota and Goodhue County, 1940 and 1960

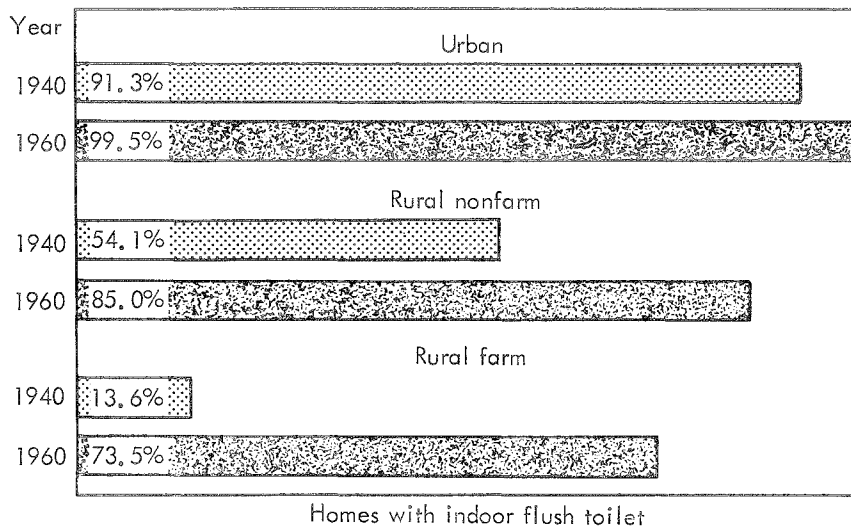
Location	Percent of all housing units					
	Bath and/or shower, private or shared		Indoor flush toilet, private or shared		Running water	
	1960	1940	1960	1940	1960	1940
Minnesota	83.5	52.2	85.9	56.8	89.6	59.7
Urban	97.2	84.5	98.3	91.2	98.7	90.9
Rural	64.1	18.6	67.8	20.8	76.3	27.1
Nonfarm	63.8	33.5	69.1	38.7	75.9	47.6
Farm*	64.6	7.7	65.2	7.8	77.0	12.0
Goodhue County	83.7	41.5	87.1	50.3	90.8	54.1
Red Wing	96.5	72.7	99.5	91.3	99.7	91.8
Rural	77.1	26.2	80.7	30.2	86.2	35.6
Nonfarm	81.0	45.3	85.0	54.1	88.2	60.1
Farm*	70.6	12.9	73.5	13.6	83.0	18.5

* For 1960, only occupied housing was enumerated for the rural farm areas. For 1940, occupied and vacant housing were enumerated.

Source: 1960—*U.S. Census Report, Housing*, HC(1)-25, Minnesota-State and Small Areas.
1940—*U.S. Census Report, Housing*, Second Series, General Characteristics, Minnesota.



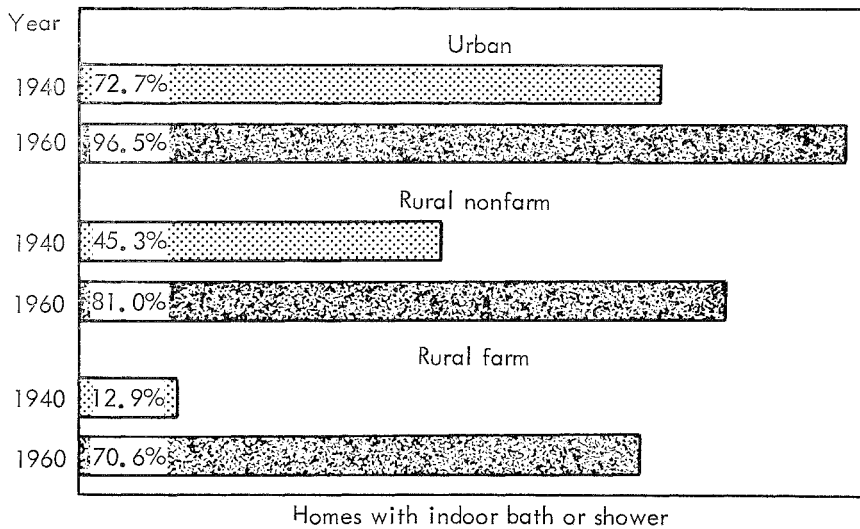
5A. Percent of homes with running water, 1940 and 1960.



5B. Percent of homes with indoor flush toilets, 1940 and 1960.

Figure 5. Housing characteristics by urban, rural nonfarm, and rural farm areas of Goodhue County, 1940 and 1960.

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census. *U. S. Census of Housing, 1940*, Vol. II, Part 3; and *U. S. Census of Housing, 1960*, Vol. I, Minnesota.



5C. Percent of homes with indoor bath or shower, 1940 and 1960.

appliances are everywhere. Many farm kitchens now resemble those found in new suburban homes.

Changes In Population

Of course, differences do exist between rural and urban populations. The differences are partly due to migration and partly to differential fertility. Rural birth rates have, for a long time, exceeded those for the city. Counties such as Goodhue, with a large proportion of rural people, tend to have a higher rate than more urban counties.

Death rates are likewise different. Generally, lower rates prevail in the country than in the city. Since World War II, there has been little difference in rural and urban birth rates; both segments now have the highest rates since the period following World War I. These fluctuations in birth rates tend to change the shape of the population pyramid (figures 6, 7, and 8).

Composition

Remarkable contrasts exist between the age-sex composition of Goodhue County for 1940 and 1960. Birth rates were very high in the late 1940's and the 1950's, as shown by the long black bars at the bottom of figures 6 through 9. The 1940 population reflects the low rate years of the 1930's. The short bars for 1960 in the 20-34 age groups reflect the relatively few persons born in the 1930's. Again, longer 1940 lines for these same age groups resulted from the high birth rate years of the

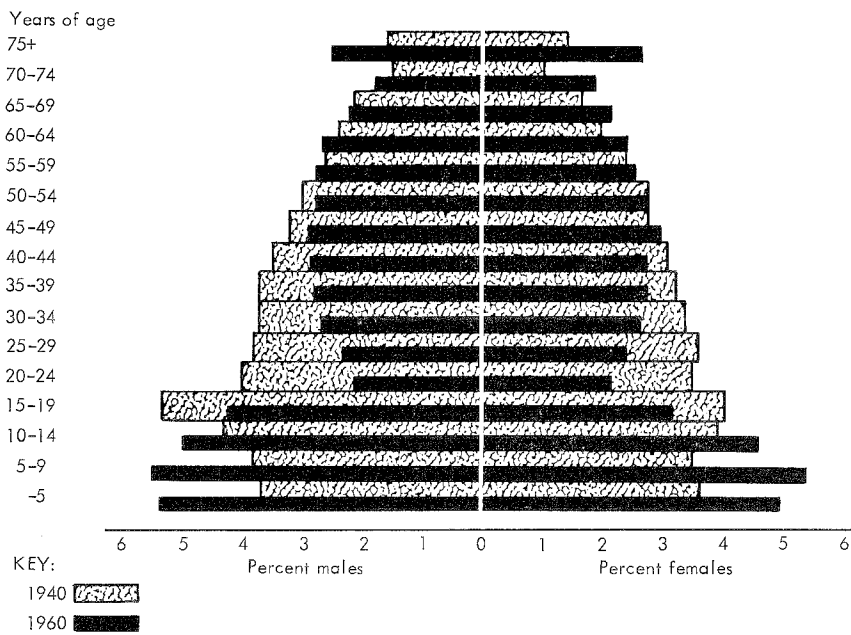


Figure 6. Percent of population of Goodhue County by age and sex, 1940 and 1960.

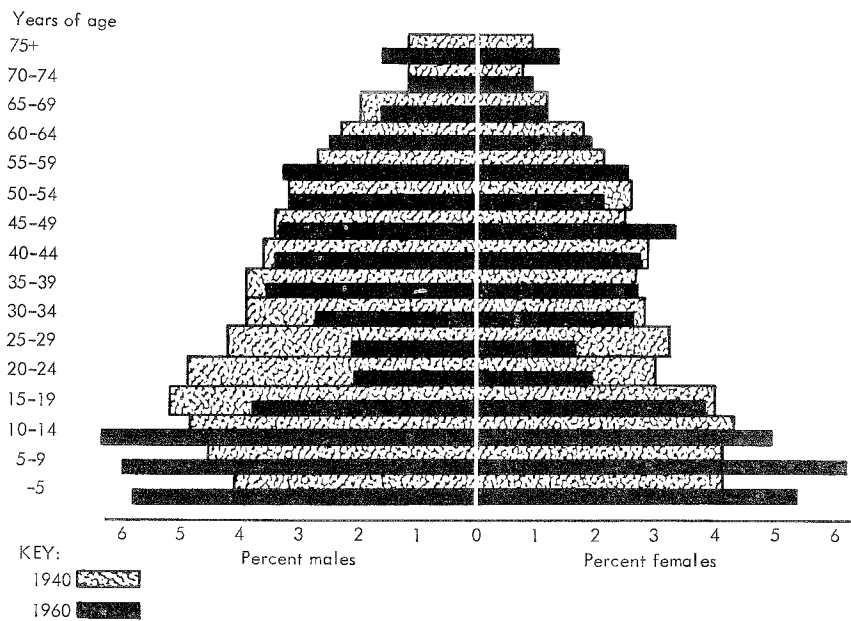


Figure 7. Percent of rural farm population of Goodhue County by age and sex, 1940 and 1960.

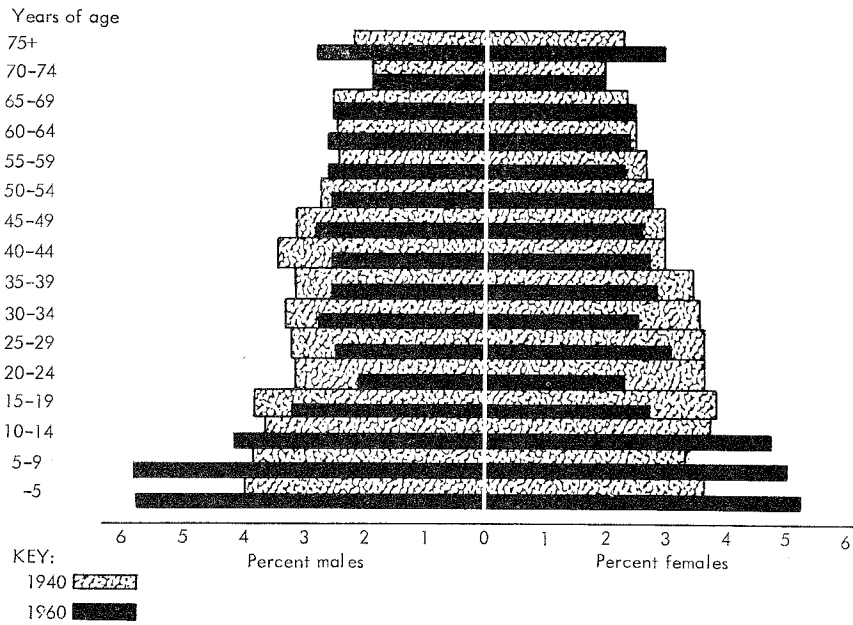


Figure 8. Percent of rural nonfarm population of Goodhue County by age and sex, 1940 and 1960.

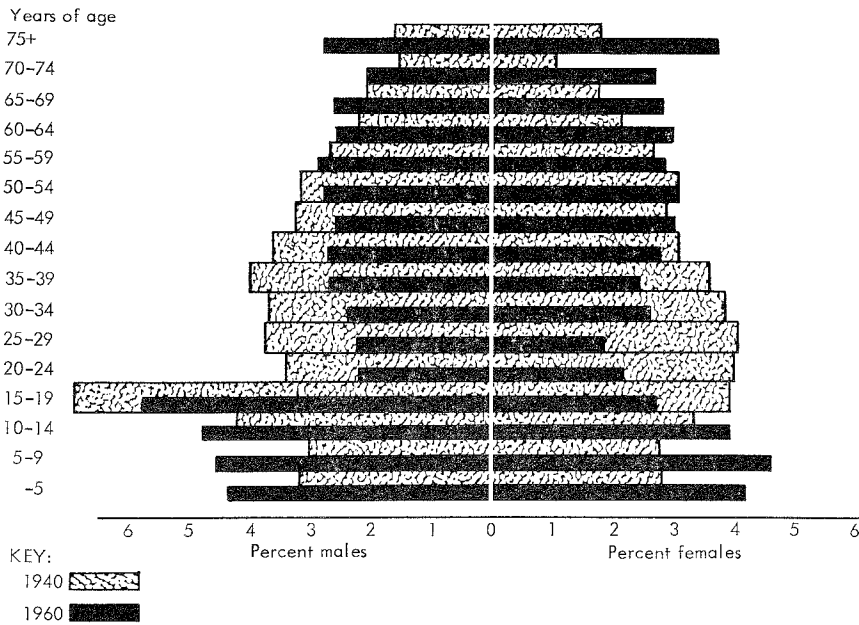


Figure 9. Percent of urban (Red Wing) population of Goodhue County by age and sex, 1940 and 1960.

1920's. The two distributions show less differences from age 35 on, except for the long 1960 bar at the top.

Declining death rates are also reflected in these figures, especially for the old and the very young. Although the county's total population increased little between 1940 and 1960, the population of children under 15 increased 40 percent and that of adults 65 years old and over by 46 percent.

A comparison of the urban, rural nonfarm, and rural farm pyramids shows mainly the distortion due to migration. This distortion is especially evident in figure 9. While this urban pyramid resembles the total county population with high proportions in the low bars, the age group 15-19 has an excess of males due to the State Training School for Boys. Moreover, the top bar (75 and over) for Red Wing shows a marked excess of women. This situation can be explained by a greater migration of women than men from the remainder of the county and by the higher survival rate of women. Death rates for men are higher at all ages than those for women.

The rural nonfarm pyramid is more symmetrical than the urban one. The almost equal distribution for age groups from 25 years and older is remarkable. In fact, it looks less like a pyramid than a rectangle. Here, as in the other charts, the aging of the population is manifested by the long top bar.

Table 5. Comparative dependency ratios, United States, Minnesota, and Goodhue County, rural and urban, 1940 and 1960*

Area	United States		Minnesota		Goodhue	
	1960	1940	1960	1940	1960	1940
	dependency ratio					
Total	402	319	429	323	446	328
Urban	392	282	417	288	437	287
Rural nonfarm	427	349	464	355	462	361
Rural farm	418	382	430	358	434	339

* Dependency ratio is the number of persons under 15 plus those 65 years of age and over per 1,000 total population. Calculated from census data for 1940 and 1960.

Another way of examining these population changes is to compare the dependency ratios for 1940 and 1960. Dependency ratio is the number of persons under 15 plus those 65 and over per 1,000 total population. The ratio for 1940 was 328; for 1960, 446 (table 5). In other words, less than one-third of each 1,000 people were in these dependent ages in 1940 but almost one-half belonged in this category in 1960. Furthermore, those aged 15-19 could reasonably be added to the young group because almost everyone now goes through high school. Changes since 1940 place an increased burden on educational and welfare institutions. The existing labor force can maintain this high ratio of "dependents" only because of the vastly increased productivity achieved in the recent past.

Migration

In 1900, 31,137 people lived in Goodhue County. Forty years later there were 31,564, and by 1960, only 33,035. So Goodhue has been feeding into the larger society practically all of its natural increase. Assuming a birth rate of 25 per 1,000 and a death rate of 10 per 1,000 per year, and multiplying by 32 (32,000 being an approximate average of the population since 1940), we get a figure of 480 per year. If all 480 had remained in the county, the estimated increase would have been 9,600 over 20 years. But even more than this number of Goodhue people left the county of their birth, because people came in who were born elsewhere. How many we cannot say because no records were kept. Nevertheless, the figure of outmigrants was even larger, as much larger as the number of replacements from outside.

Migration is important in "mixing" society. Thousands of farm people and their descendents are now urban dwellers. They have memories or traditions of rural life. They have relatives still in the county of their

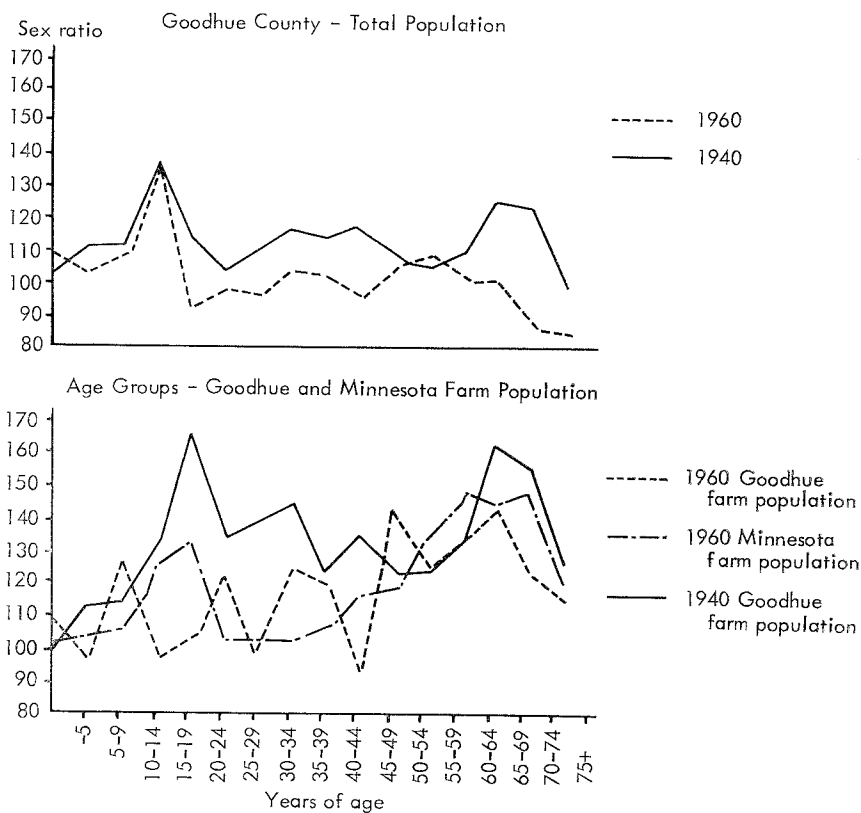


Figure 10. Sex ratios of total population of Goodhue County and of the county farm population, 1940 and 1960, and of the Minnesota farm population, 1960.

origin. "Urbanization" is not a one-way process—these people have, to an extent, "ruralized" the city. This reciprocal action tends to erase old rural-urban differences.

We have spoken of "distortion" of population composition due to migration. This distortion comes about through the differential rates of migration by age groups and by men and women. Up to 1960, a regular migration pattern persisted in Minnesota as well as the nation. The 10-24 year age group in the national farm population consistently showed a great excess of males. The same was true for Goodhue County in 1940 when the 15-19 year old category had 130 males to 100 females; in the 20-24 group, there were 162 males per 100 females (figure 10). The 1960 figures for the Goodhue County farm population were irregular. Those 15-19 years old had only 98 males per 100 females; those 20-24 were practically even at 101. Yet the age group 10-14 had a ratio of 127 males to 100 females and the 25-29 group had a ratio of 120. At the same time, ratios for the Minnesota total farm population followed the usual pattern.

The female population increased much more rapidly than the male during 1940-60 in Goodhue as a whole and in the farm population. The sex ratio for the total farm population in 1940 was 128 males to 100 females compared with only 113 to 100 in 1960. Fewer men are needed in agriculture now and more of them migrate. For the total county population in 1940, the ratio was 112 males to 100 females; in 1960, 102 to 100. In Goodhue, as in rural areas in the state and nation, the sexes are approaching numerical equality.

Churches Merge And Change

Rural churches of Goodhue have been undergoing modification similar to what the schools experienced. "In 1930 there were 83 congregations representing seventeen denominations. By 1958, there were only sixty-eight congregations representing fourteen different denominations, . . . Several of the rural churches had such small congregations by 1958 that they were unable to keep a full-time minister. However, such congregations showed great internal strength and little or no interest in consolidating even with nearby churches of the same denominations."³

Merging of churches is proceeding more slowly than did the consolidation of schools due to structural differences in the institutions. Being private and usually controlled by the local congregation, the church is not subject to as many outside pressures as are schools. The state itself was a factor in local school consolidation.

Basic attitudes also differ concerning school and church. The "true believer" thinks of the church as the instrument of his eternal salvation. It mediates his relations to the Supreme Power. Moreover, his forebearers probably attended the same church—many of them may be buried in the churchyard. The thought of merging with another church, even of the same denomination, arouses many questions. Who will be the min-

³ *Ibid.* p. 10.

ister? Will the ritual be the same? What about church property? In the open country, church buildings are usually more substantial structures than schools and are built by contributions of the congregations. What if there is a mortgage on one church structure?

Since Christians are notoriously ingenious in finding ways of differing with each other on doctrine, ritual, and theology, even within the same denomination, schisms have been more common than mergers. So the urbanward drift of the rural population leaves rural churches with the painful merging decision. Merging for several churches appears inevitable. The continued decline of population, together with movement in and out of parishes, leaves little other alternative except abandonment.

Although the number of congregations declined, the number of members increased between the two census times.⁴ In 1936, there were 20,597 members or 62 percent of the population; by 1957, there were 27,631 members or 84 percent. Since denominations differ in their definition of members—many include children under 8 while others only include those 13 and over—84 percent must represent practically the saturation point.

But why this increase in membership, a nationwide phenomenon? It is a complicated problem with many facets. We will merely point out some relevant demographic changes which were involved. Basic to a demographic explanation is the question: Who mainly supports organized religion in our society? Here are some tentative answers:

1. Women more than men.
2. People with more formal education, beyond 8th grade, than those with less.
3. People in moderate to high income brackets.
4. Urban and nonfarm more than rural farm people.

And what happened in Goodhue County?

1. The number of women in the population increased 1,419 compared with only 52 men between 1940-60.
2. The median school grade completed for the population 25 years old and over in 1940 was 8.2 for males and 8.5 for females. Medians for 1960 were, respectively, 8.9 and 10.7.
3. The median income of Goodhue families in 1950 was \$2,809 compared with \$4,830 in 1960. In 1950, 30 percent of the families had less than \$2,000 annual income compared with 14.8 percent in 1960.
4. While the farm population declined by 4,833 during 1950-60, the urban and rural nonfarm population (villages, hamlets, etc.) grew by 5,314.

⁴ U. S. Bureau of the Census. 1936. *The Census of Religious Bodies*. Washington, D.C. National Council of Churches in the U. S. A. 1958. *Census of Churches and Church Membership in the United States*. New York.

Granting the four assumptions made previously, these factors changed sufficiently to account for the increased church membership. Of course, other factors were involved, but the ones mentioned are frequently ignored.⁵

Unchanging Local Government

Local government in Goodhue County has changed little over the years. The county enlarged its welfare service and some other activities but its structure remained the same. There are 23 organized townships today—the same as in 1946. At the annual town meeting, a board of supervisors and four or five officials are elected, including a tax assessor and justice of the peace. At this meeting the tax levy to support activities and pay officials is decided. Town meetings are attended mainly by men, the number often being but a fraction of the eligible voters.

Membership of the Goodhue County Township Officers Association is composed almost entirely of farmers. Annual dues are \$10 per member, paid from township funds. The group's purpose is to foster and preserve township government. The county organization is affiliated with a state-wide organization, concerned with legislation regarding township interests.

Four township officers were interviewed in 1959. The oldest, 88, had been on the board 45 years. Two others, age 62, had been on their boards 23 and 25 years.

Question: "Did you want to be township officers before being elected, *i.e.* did you seek the office or were you 'talked' into it?"

Answers: "I was put on. Nobody runs. Nobody really wants the job, but someone has to do it."

"I was appointed to fill a position vacated by death. My father was an assessor and was known, and plus that, from the right area of the town. So I guess I was chosen and then the two other supervisors asked me if I would serve."

"Just put in my name. No one seems to want to run. Do it as a duty."

Apparently, no spirited election campaign is necessary for election. Furthermore, functions of the township board are extremely limited—mainly road maintenance and weed control. And, citizens are so apathetic that few attend the annual meeting.

Township government, being primarily a government for and by farmers, suffers from outmigration from farms. In this respect, it faces problems similar to past rural school districts. In Minnesota, the number of town governments fluctuates: in 1950, 1,844; in 1952, 1,883; and by 1957, only 1,828.

⁵ For further discussion on this matter, see: Lowry Nelson. 1960. *The Minnesota Community*. Minneapolis: Univ. of Minn. Press. pp. 114-25.

Authorities in government repeatedly recommend the abolition of township governments. They contend that its few functions could more effectively be performed by the county; that it is not a satisfactory social unit, being based upon the surveyor's township; that it is, in short, an anachronism. Then why keep it?

Said the officers interviewed:

"Represents grassroots government. Although it has few functions, need to keep them so people have a hand in things."

"Government should stay close to the people."

"The rural people like to feel that they have a say in things concerning them."

Township government has become a symbol of rural opposition to urban power dominance. Any threat to the township promptly arouses the State Association. The appeal is always to the ideology of "grassroots democracy" and similar slogans. Allied with the Association are local weekly newspapers who, in effect, shout "woodman spare that tree." Yet, officers admit little interest by local people. One reported that 20 out of 300 eligible voters attended the last meeting.

Since boardmembers receive only about \$100 a year, salary is not a motive for seeking the position. Only prestige, and perhaps a sense of duty, can persuade a person to devote time to it. Often it is a family tradition—son follows father on the board. Almost life tenure prevails. A farmer said: "The reason we keep him on the board is because we have a lot of respect for what he has done." So respect for the position is no doubt a factor also. Even though the boardmember has little or no chance for patronage or favoritism to anyone, he can gain prestige by fulfilling his neighbors' expectations for honest dignified service—no matter how limited. Moreover, he might get elected to a higher position if he has such ambitions.

After all, it must be concluded that the real benefit of township government is psychological. A citizen may derive satisfaction from being close to a unit of government which he can more or less directly control, whether or not he actually does so through active participation.

Citizen apathy is also true in village government. Little interest is shown in elections. Two of three officials interviewed said they "were drafted" for their jobs. The other was "appointed" to fill the term of a deceased officer. Yet, once a person gets into office—in these cases by appointment—he wants to remain. So long tenure prevails in village affairs as it does in the township. Public service in the small town is also a labor of love. Elected officers get around \$100 a year, but may put in hundreds of hours on village business.

While the township is essentially a farmers' government, village government is mainly a businessmen's concern. However, village officers must consider farmers as well as their own citizens. Farmers use the village for many services so it competes with other service centers now accessible to farm families. It must keep the patronage it has and gain

more. Township government is not beholden to the village for support. But village people have to be wary of creating rural ill will.

In Kenyon, many young businessmen desire to escape from this dependence upon the countryside. They press hard for municipal action to obtain industries which would help make the village self-sufficient. Apparently, they want to shed the village role as a "rural trade center" in favor of a nice clean business-industrial town. They would spruce up main street, improve facilities to attract industry, and organize to "sell" aggressively the place as a site for some industrial concern. These proposals have not been met with undiluted enthusiasm by some older businessmen, those who have always depended on rural trade. Therefore, internal conflicts between young and old are at best latent in the community and, at times, are manifest.

Farm Organizations

In 1946, the only important farm organization in Goodhue County was the Farm Bureau. It claimed a membership of 1,396, 44 percent of the farm operators, and had organized units in 21 of the 23 townships. In 1946, a new farm organization, the United Farmers of America, had recently entered Goodhue County. It claimed a membership of only 100 and seems not to have survived.

At that time, the Farm Bureau had some statutory responsibility for the Agricultural Extension Service. But since the state legislature separated them, other organizations successfully established themselves in the county. As of 1964, the Farm Bureau membership in Goodhue was 735. Also in 1964, the Farmer's Union reported seven local units in the county with a membership of 346. (It is not organized on a township basis.) The National Farmers Organization also has members in Goodhue County.

Among farmers, therefore, organizational loyalties once held almost wholly by the Farm Bureau are now divided among several organized groups. The broad objective of these organizations is, no doubt, similar. They all wish to improve the farmer's economic condition but they differ greatly in the means they espouse to reach this objective.

The World of Work

HOW PEOPLE "MAKE A LIVING" INFLUENCES what they are, their outlook upon life, and, vastly important, their position in society. Occupation is a major means of identification. Are you a farmer? And if a farmer, do you own your farm or rent? Are you a farm laborer, a merchant, a clerk, a salesman? Are you a doctor, a school teacher, a minister? Do you drive a truck, a taxi, or work in a factory? Are you a public official—mayor, councilman, judge, policeman? By knowing a man's occupation, we can "place" him in the social world. If America has a class system, it is based mainly on what people do for a living.

American society is an open-class system—a person may move from one class to another if he has the ability, the will, and the industry. In short, it permits vertical mobility—up or down. Moreover, American society is dynamic, subject to rapid changes. Old occupations disappear—blacksmiths, wheelwrights, livery stable operators—and new ones emerge. The automobile brought with it numerous occupations unknown at the turn of the century; the recent mechanical and technological revolutions brought many more.

Agriculture has been modified from planting to harvesting and throughout all its crop and livestock branches. Farming today requires fewer workers than it did in the past. In 1940, 40.7 percent of the Goodhue County labor force was engaged in agriculture; by 1960, only 25.2 percent. Farm operators declined by 17.2 percent and farm laborers by 51 percent. But even with this smaller labor force, farms produce a greater value of products than formerly. The difference is the substitution of the machine and modern technology in growing—and saving—crops and livestock and livestock products.

Compensating for the decreased agricultural labor force between 1940-60, employment increased in construction, manufacturing, communications, transportation, and the service category. The total labor force actually increased. Therefore, one marked change in the total occupational structure of Goodhue society was the move from farm to nonfarm jobs.

More People Are Employees

The vast majority of our respondents and their spouses—387 males and 386 females—were employees, except for farmers. In farming, the proportion of the labor force which was self-employed increased over the decades due to the reduction of those classified as farm laborers.⁶ Considering total male respondents, only 13 percent were self-employed in 1960 (table 6). As Peter F. Drucker pointed out, the general trend in American society is toward the employee status.⁷ Goodhue County is following this trend.

⁶ U. S. Bureau of the Census. 1950 and 1960. *Census of Population*. Washington, D.C.

⁷ Peter F. Drucker. Jan. 1953. "The Employee Society." *Amer. J. Sociol.* 58: 358-63.

Table 6. Employment status of male respondents by place of residence, 1960

Employment status	Rural (N = 176)	Hamlet (N = 58)	Village (N = 60)	Urban (N = 93)	Total (N = 387)*
	percent				
Self-employed	1	35	24	16	13
Employee	5	43	47	63	31
Farmer†	74	3	5	.....	35
Retired	6	12	17	12	10
Multiple occupations‡	14	5	7	8	10
No response, unemployed .....	.....	2	.....	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100

* Employment status was obtained from married (or widowed) respondents and their spouses. Therefore, totals for males and females do not correspond to the number in the sample given previously.

† Includes those with land in soil bank.

‡ A person regularly engaged in more than one means of obtaining his livelihood.

The Rural Area

In the rural category, 74 percent were farmers, 1 percent was otherwise self-employed, and the balance was made up of employees, those engaged in multiple occupations, or retirees. Farming lends itself to multiple occupations; many farmers are “part-time” operators. Even so-called “full-time” farmers may take an occasional job on the side. Often a farm boy or girl may regularly work in a town or village while residing on the farm.

Nonfarm occupations do not lend themselves so readily to such conditions, although “moonlighting” is by no means uncommon. For one thing, farming has periods of high and low activity. Also, farmers can now reach town or city in a few minutes. Besides, tasks which formerly required many hours are now done in an hour or less due to automation.

The Hamlet

While most hamlet respondents were employees, a large proportion was self-employed. If we add the 3 percent reported as “farmers,” the proportion becomes only slightly less than those who were employees. Hamlet entrepreneurs mostly engaged in retail and service enterprises serving the farm area.

Multiple occupations were not characteristically found in the hamlet. Most businesses were operated almost exclusively by individuals and their families; people worked long hours through all seasons. So extra employment opportunities were limited, as was time for other pursuits.

The shortage of employment opportunities in the hamlet is a cause for migration to places where employment is more readily available. The result is a static or decreasing population.

The Village

The most striking fact about the village’s occupational structure was that 17 percent of the males sampled were retired. Apparently, the village

is more popular for retirement than the open country, the hamlet, or the city.

Employee status occurred with slightly greater frequency in the village than in the hamlet, yet at a lower rate than in the urban area. The village occupied a middle position between hamlet where self-employment was high and the urban area where employees were more numerous.

The Urban Area

Nearly two-thirds of the males interviewed in the urban center were employees. The proportion of retired persons was 12 percent, the same as the hamlet but smaller than the village. Traditionally, retired farmers move—if they move from the farm—to the nearest trade center. Many keep some interest in the farm, especially if it is operated by a son or son-in-law.

Multiple occupations are somewhat more common in the city than in the village or hamlet but less than in the rural area. Hours of work are limited and opportunities to “moonlight” are more abundant.

The Women In The Sample

Women were 17.3 percent of the labor force in 1940 but 29.3 percent in 1960. The trend toward women working has been especially marked since 1950, according to census data. Table 7 shows the employment status of women in the sample, including spouses of male sample members. The conspicuous facts regarding female employment are:

1. Most farm women gave their occupation as “housewife.”
2. The smallest percentage in the housewife category was in the hamlet. Otherwise, the decline went from rural to urban where only 57 percent were “housewives.”

Table 7. Employment status of female respondents by place of residence

Employment status	Rural (N = 169)	Hamlet (N = 59)	Village (N = 60)	Urban (N = 98)	Total (N = 386)
	percent				
Self-employed	3	7	5	1	3
Employee	7	45	20	31	21
Farmer	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Housewife*	89	41	70	57	71
Retired .....	.....	7	3	5	3
Unemployed, no response .....	.....	.....	2	6	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100

* Only those women engaged in homemaking who did not consider themselves unemployed.

Farming tends to be a partnership of husband and wife. The wife's occupational identification is that of the husband but she functions as the unpaid worker. In the hamlet, where many enterprises are "pa and ma" affairs, the wife may regard herself—and actually be—an employee. But urban women have more opportunity for jobs other than—or in addition to—that of housewife.

What Farm Wives Do

Farm women were asked to specify what they did on the farm and the approximate amount of time spent. The mean number of hours worked by the farm housewife outside of her usual household duties was 22.9 hours per week (table 8). The most frequent activity in which she engaged was family gardening; 86 percent devoted some time each week to it. Gardening is a seasonal activity, one engaged in by many non-farm wives as well.

Activities reported in table 8 are traditionally those assumed by farm women in America. With the mechanization of milking, women can hold even larger responsibility now than formerly. Moreover, with milking machines and bulk tank equipment, she may now do the entire job in much less time than she previously spent even though she was then only one of several milkers. Over half of the farm women kept records and accounts and about one-fourth participated in fieldwork. However, fieldwork today means operating machines rather than doing heavy hand labor.

In regard to the work of farm women, the 1946-47 study reported:

Although the family-sized farm predominates, there is a sharp division of labor in the family. The wives and daughters of a large majority of the farmers tend to restrict their work almost exclusively to the household and care of poultry and garden.⁸

The number of women employed in agriculture in Goodhue County declined from 523 in 1950 to 344 in 1960, according to the census. This decline was due to the large reduction in the number of women listed

Table 8. Hours of work per week contributed by farm wives (N=130) to farm operation by type of activity

Activity	Hours worked				
	0	1-5	5.1-10	10.1-20	20.1 or more
	percent				
Family garden	14	39	31	15	1
Keeping accounts and records	43	53	3	1	.
Raising and care of chickens	49	15	17	15	4
Dairy operations	49	24	10	13	4
Fieldwork	75	7	5	7	7
Other	69	8	16	6	1

⁸ Alexander and Nelson. *op. cit.* p. 33.

as unpaid family workers in agriculture—435 in 1950 compared to only 188 in 1960.⁹ It is impossible to say whether women did less or more farmwork in 1960 than before, but apparently they did much of the same kinds of work. The reduction in paid workers from 1950 to 1960 was in line with the general reduction of hired workers on farms.

Concerning care of poultry by the farm wife, the trend has been towards specialization. In 1959, 1,431 farmers raised chickens compared with 2,729 in 1945. But farm women are increasingly assuming managerial roles in farming. For example, in 1950, 45 women were reported as farmers and farm managers; in 1960, this figure was increased to 95.

What Nonfarm Wives Do

Women who did not give their occupation as “housewife” were otherwise engaged. The professional group had the higher percentage in the city and progressively lower percentages in the village, hamlet, and farm. Nurses, teachers, and other professionals are drawn to urban centers where more job opportunities are available.

A high proportion of hamlet women were in the clerical and sales group. Village and urban groups showed high percentages in craftsman and operative occupations. The professional and owner-managerial categories were proportionately low in all residential areas.

According to 1950 and 1960 census data, the number of professional women increased by 61 or 13.4 percent in the county. A decline of 27 in the urban segment was counter-balanced by an increase of 10 in the rural farm and 78 in the rural nonfarm labor force. If this trend continues, remarkable redistribution of this occupational group will result. People working in the city might choose to live in the country or fringe area.

Hours Of Work

Except for the rural group, most men and women in this sample were employees. The pattern of self-employment varied somewhat with the hamlet showing a high proportion. Therefore, differences in hours of work among the residential areas were expected. Employees usually have fixed hours of work while farmers and other self-employed have less rigid schedules (see table 9).

Nearly 80 percent of the rural male respondents reported 49 or more hours per week.¹⁰ But, 74 percent were farmers. Without doubt, a farmer has greater difficulty in estimating hours of work than do employees and even the nonfarm self-employed. However, agriculture is largely

⁹ U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1960. *U. S. Census of Population, 1960, Minnesota*. Final report PC(1)-25C. p. 282.

U. S. Bureau of the Census. 1950. *Census of Population, 1950, Minnesota*. P-B23. p. 109.

¹⁰ According to the census, farmworkers put in about 5 fewer hours per week in 1959 than they did in 1949. Or on a daily basis—around September 1, 1959—farm operators averaged 9.8 hours of work a day. Hired workers averaged 8.9 hours. Comparable lengths of workdays 10 years earlier were 11.1 and 9.5 hours, respectively. U. S. Dept. of Agr. 1960. *Power To Produce. The Yearbook of Agriculture*. p. 321.

Table 9. Hours worked per week by male respondents by place of residence*

Hours worked	Rural	Hamlet	Village	Urban	Total
	(N = 143)	(N = 77)	(N = 62)	(N = 104)	(N = 386)
	percent				
Less than 40	7	34	13	12	14
40	4	18	14	39	18
41-48	3	12	18	20	12
49 or more	79	31	44	19	48
No response	7	5	11	10	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100

* Does not include retired, unemployed, or women but does include spouses of women in the sample.

geared to the season; hours of work vary accordingly. As the 1946 study pointed out:

Agricultural activity articulates with the climatic cycles. Dairying, which is the dominant type in Goodhue County, makes somewhat continuous and uniform labor demands on the farmer. Even so, seasonal variations in labor requirements result if farmers attempt to produce their own feed, as is the case in the county. During the winter and far into the spring, when cows must be left in the barn, feeding and cleaning require on the average of about six hours per day. The farmer's dairy activities decrease during the late spring, summer, and early fall, but crops require large outlays of time. During these seasons, farm women are especially busy with young chickens, gardening, and canning.¹¹

In any case, the industrial labor concept of limiting hours of work has never been fully accepted by farmers. Of course, they do give some recognition to this norm in regards to their employed workers. But, for themselves, the length of the workday or week is incidental to getting necessary work done.

Although the village also had a large proportion in the 49 hour or more category, the three other residential groups had shorter work weeks

Table 10. Hours worked per week by male respondents by their employment status*

Hours worked	Employment status			Total
	Self-employed	Employee	Farmer	
	(N = 63)	(N = 197)	(N = 126)	(N = 386)
	percent			
40 or less	13	57	6	32
41-48	17	16	2	12
49 or more	57	19	87	48
No response	13	8	5	8
Total	100	100	100	100

* Does not include retired, unemployed, or women but does include spouses of women in the sample.

¹¹ Alexander and Nelson. *op. cit.* p. 66.

on the average. The 40-hour week was not strictly held in any area; but in the hamlet and urban areas, half the persons worked 40 hours or less. Overtime and multiple employment increased weekly hours worked. Frequency distributions of the self-employed and employees were roughly in reverse order; 57 percent of the former worked 49 hours or more; the same percentage of the latter worked 40 or less (table 10).

Differentials noted by residential groups in hours worked per week were obviously related to occupation and employee status. Responses were estimates of the people interviewed. So differences according to residence might have been less than those shown in the table if time records were kept on farmwork.

Attitudes Toward Labor Unions

Traditionally, the work ethic of rural people has highly valued hard work, long hours, and willingness to work even for low wages. The rural idea of work is epitomized by the tall tale of physical strength and achievement—the man who plows the straightest furrow or pitches the most hay.

One reason for this ideology is that the rural population has been predominantly Protestant in religion. The economic virtues of Calvin and other reformers have retained their force far longer among farmers than city dwellers.¹² Moreover, American farmers have had to depend upon their own strength and that of their families. Attempts to organize agricultural workers into unions have been notoriously unsuccessful, due not only to the migratory character of so many of them, along with their extreme poverty, but also to the hostility of employers. Farmers, for other reasons, have not welcomed the organization of industrial workers.

Farmers appear never to have been in a position to sympathize generally with organized industrial labor. So long as urban workers looked like independent craftsmen, their situation could be regarded sympathetically through symbols familiar to the farmer.

. . . But by the time trade unions of a modern character began to develop, the farmer was conscious of himself both as an employer and as a commercial proprietor and was already partly converted to the association of virtue with economic status. Therefore, in spite of his continuing antipathy to trusts and great capital accumulations, he was not prepared to look kindly upon the outlandish innovation of militant unions or the violence incidental to strikes . . .

Much of the trouble came from the fact that higher pay and shorter hour agitation by labor unions sometimes offended the rural mind, which out of its own experience had acquired a deep respect for long hours of hard work for humble rewards . . ."¹³

¹² See: Max Weber. 1930. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (tr. by Talcott Parsons). London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.

R. H. Tawney. 1926. *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co.

¹³ Paul H. Johnstone. 1940. "Old Ideals Versus New Ideas in Farm Life." *Farmers in A Changing World. The Yearbook of Agriculture*. USDA.

Periodically in American history, attempts were made to organize farmers and industrial workers together for their mutual benefit. One relatively recent attempt was the formation of the Farmer-Labor Party in Minnesota which later merged with the Democratic Party. Practically all these attempts proved unsuccessful. More than ever before, the farmer today tends to identify with the managerial class rather than with labor. Because of this historic antipathy of farm people to unions, marked differences would expectedly appear among respondents, especially between rural and nonrural categories.

For the self-employed the question read: "Would you prefer to have employees who are or are not labor union members?" For employees the question was: "Would you prefer to work as a member or as a non-member of a labor union?"

The null hypothesis that there would be no significant difference among residential groups in the opinions regarding labor union membership was sustained. Only 3.2 percent of the self-employed preferred union members as employees. Most self-employed were farmers or small businessmen who hired few workers. A large percentage was undecided, perhaps indicating little experience with this phenomenon.

However, 42 percent of the employees preferred to work as members. Again, residential groups did not differ significantly but the difference between attitudes of employees and self-employed was great. A larger proportion of self-employed preferred nonmembers than the proportion of employees who preferred nonmembership. This fact simply indicates the expected status differences and the respective conceptions of their self-interests rather than a rural-urban difference.

A comparison of attitudes toward labor unions by occupational classifications revealed that owners and managers were the most strongly opposed to the employment of union members. Persons engaged in crafts and operative type occupations were the most strongly in favor; less than half of them preferred to work as nonunion members. By the nature of their industrial employment, they stand to benefit the most from unions. Professional and clerical and sales workers were in an intermediate position between the others, but indicated a greater preference for working as nonunion members. However, in both these latter occupational classifications, advantages of organization are becoming increasingly apparent. Differences reported in this section were statistically significant at the 1-percent level.

Attitudes Toward Women Working

Employment for women is most commonly available in the city. The farm woman also works outside the home but often not for "pay." We felt that attitudes might differ by residential categories concerning married women in the labor force. Obviously, opinions on married women working would vary according to the phase of the family cycle and the woman's changing role as mother and wife. So we set up five categories, beginning with women who would be most likely available for paid employment:

1. *Young wives*—All women who have no children—those recently married and those who never had children.

2. *Older wives*—Women who are past the reproduction, child-rearing, and child-launching cycles of life and who no longer have children at home. Women in this category usually reside in larger and older dwellings than younger wives so more of their time is required for housekeeping.¹⁴ Consequently, less time is available for working at paid jobs.

3. *Pregnant wives*—All women who are pregnant. This category overlaps with at least two others—young wives and young family wives. However, differential attitudes probably are held relative to a woman who is working and pregnant than to one who is not, regardless of her position in the life cycle.

4. *Older family wives*—All women who have all their children of school age. With the youngest child no longer at home during at least part of each day, the woman has more free time available to her.

5. *Younger family wives*—All women who have children of pre-school ages. They have the least amount of time available to them for working outside of the home because they must care for and rear their children.

Apparently, a high concensus existed among residential areas relative to the times when a wife should work (table 11). The “older wives” received the greatest approval (78 percent). “Young wives” were approved by 72 percent. But when children entered the picture, the attitude shifted rapidly to disapproval.

Significant differences for male responses were found only between the open country and urban areas. Open-country males generally gave lowest approval. Women manifested no difference by rural and urban residence. The only differences were found between the hamlet and the village and urban areas. More women in the hamlet favored women working under all conditions. When responses from both sexes were

Table 11. Percent of respondents approving women working at various times in the life cycle by place of residence

Life cycle position	Rural (N = 183)	Hamlet (N = 60)	Village (N = 62)	Urban (N = 100)	Total (N = 405)
	percent				
Young wives	67	86	71	71	72
Older wives	76	88	73	76	78
Pregnant wives	7	30	11	19	14
Older family wives	27	33	19	31	28
Younger family wives	3	7	7	6	5

¹⁴ Glenn H. Beyer, 1958, *Housing: A Factual Analysis*. New York: The Macmillan Co. pp. 55-56.

combined for analysis, differences between residential categories tended to disappear except for the hamlet. There was no sex difference relative to attitude towards wives working when they have children of school age.

As to pregnant wives working, there was great disapproval in all residential groups. Only 10 percent of the men and 16 percent of the women approved of the pregnant wife working. Once again, probably due to the kind of work which women customarily do there, the greatest approval was found in the hamlet. The lowest approval occurred in the rural area. The difference for the rural and urban categories was statistically significant. It was perhaps due to age differences in categories, the rural being older on the average, and to differing educational levels, rural respondents having less formal schooling on the average.

Preschool Children In Nurseries

We expected that working wives with preschool children would meet with widespread disapproval. Therefore, we asked respondents whether they would approve if the children were in a nursery while the mother worked. When responses were compared with the respondent's educational attainment, a revealing pattern became manifest. The percentage of those approving increased steadily, starting from those with least education to those with most:

Formal educational level	Percent approving wife working if child is in nursery
8 years or less	12
9-12 years	14
Beyond high school but no college degree	19
College education or more	24

Differences found in this analysis were statistically significant at the 1-percent level.

Persons with more education were probably more familiar with the nursery school and better able to evaluate it. Numbers in educational subgroups were too few for an analysis by residence. When responses were compiled for all those with 9th grade or more education, disapproval of mothers placing preschool children in a nursery while they worked ranged from 71.2 percent in the urban area to 87.4 in the rural area. Percentages for the hamlet and village were 73.2. These residential differences were statistically significant. This result, although inconclusive, suggests that differences in educational levels alone cannot explain differences in response.

Because of the few cases in some categories among respondents with 8 years or less formal education, the village, hamlet, and urban groups were combined and compared with the rural group. Differences were statistically significant, with 75 percent of the nonrural group disapproving compared to 92 percent of the rural category.

Parental Aspirations for Children

IN BELATED RECOGNITION OF THE BASIC IMPORTANCE of an occupation in an individual's life, behavioral scientists amassed a vast literature on the subject in the past 15 years.¹⁵ The studies mainly dealt with aspirations of young people, usually high school seniors; factors influencing their choices; and occupational and educational levels desired by parents for their children.

"Numerous studies over a long period of time have shown that farm youth have lower educational and occupational aspirations than village or urban youth," said Sewell.¹⁶ He went on to show that: "Variables related to the socio-economic and educational level of the student's family are among the most powerful determinants of educational and occupational perspectives."¹⁷ Haas, Taves, and Shaw, while agreeing with Sewell, included the "peer group" along with the family as a potent factor in vocational choice.¹⁸

In view of such evidence of the family's influence, we asked Goodhue County respondents to indicate the occupations they would like to see their children follow. Answers were classified into these occupational groups: professional, clerical and sales, craftsmen and operatives, and farmers. Since occupational outlook is inevitably tied to educational planning, and both or either may involve migration, respondents were also asked about their perspectives on these matters with reference to their children.

¹⁵ Some examples: Lee G. Burchinal. June 1961. "Differences in Education and Occupational Aspirations of Farm, Small-Town and City Boys." *Rural Sociol.* 26: 107-21.

Lee G. Burchinal. Nov. 1962. *Career Choices of Rural Youth in a Changing Society*. Univ. of Minn. Agr. Exp. Sta. Bull. 458.

James D. Cowhig, Jay Artis, J. Allan Beegle, and Harold Goldsmith. 1960. *Orientations Toward Occupation and Residence: A Study of High School Seniors in Four Rural Counties of Michigan*. Univ. of Mich. Agr. Exp. Sta. Bull. 428.

Archie O. Haller and William H. Sewell. Jan. 1957. "Farm Residence and Levels of Occupational and Educational Aspirations." *Amer. J. Sociol.* 62: 407-11.

William H. Sewell. Feb. 1964. "Community of Residence and College Plans." *Amer. Sociological Review* 29: 24-38.

Raymond Payne. June 1956. "Development of Occupational and Migration Expectations and Choices Among Urban, Small Town, and Rural Adolescent Boys." *Rural Sociol.* 21: 117-25.

Walter L. Slocum. 1956. *Occupational and Educational Plans of High School Seniors from Farm and Nonfarm Homes*. Wash. State Univ. Agr. Exp. Sta. Bull. 564.

¹⁶ *op. cit.* p. 24. The use of "higher" and "lower" regarding aspirations requires explanation. The rating was based upon the prestige of occupations developed by Alba M. Edwards of the U. S. Bureau of the Census. He ranked occupational groups as follows: professional persons; proprietors, managers, and officials; clerks and kindred workers; skilled workers and foremen; semiskilled workers; unskilled workers. Farmers, whether owners or tenants, were included in the second category, but in some research reports they were placed much lower in the occupational scale.

¹⁷ William H. Sewell. Sept. 1963. *The Educational and Occupational Perspectives of Rural Youth* (mimeo). National Committee for Children and Youth. Washington, D.C. p. 18.

¹⁸ Eugene Haas, Marvin J. Taves, and David Shaw. Apr. 1961. "Primary Group Influence on Vocational Choice." *Sociological Quart.* 2: 87-96.

See also: Edward Gross. 1958. *Work and Society*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell.

Table 12. Occupational aspirations of respondents for all children by place of residence

Occupational aspirations for children	Rural (N = 281)	Hamlet (N = 63)	Village (N = 65)	Urban (N = 104)	Total (N = 513)
	percent				
Professional	52	84	66	58	59
Clerical and sales	6	2	12	3	6
Craftsmen and operatives	5	6	6	4	5
Farmer	18	6	3	.....	11
Don't know or no response	19	2	12	35	19
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Occupational Aspirations Of Parents

Respondents generally had high occupational aspirations for their children (table 12). The professional classification was the first choice of all residential groups. As expected, a high percentage of the rural (farm) group also chose farming.

Farming, more than almost any other occupation in American society, "descends" from father to son. "Keeping the farm in the family" is a major goal of many farm families. Nevertheless, farmers are more realistic today than a generation ago. They realize that some of their children will have to choose other ways of life.

Hamlet respondents were all but unanimous in choosing the professions; few were undecided. In contrast, 35 percent of the urbanites expressed no choice. But those who did choose gave the professions a high rating. Only village residents gave a significant number of votes for the clerical and sales group, although the professional classification was the overwhelming first choice.

Table 13 presents data on aspirations for the first or only child. In order to isolate the origin of variation in this table, all possible pairs of residential categories were compared by chi square analysis. Significant differences appeared between all residential categories except rural. Among hamlet, village, and urban residents, proportions aspiring to professional occupations for their children were 88, 75, and 71 percent, re-

Table 13. Occupational aspirations of respondents for first or only child by place of residence

Occupational aspirations for child	Rural (N = 108)	Hamlet (N = 33)	Village (N = 24)	Urban (N = 49)	Total (N = 214)
	percent				
Professional	62	88	75	71	70
Clerical and sales	6	.....	13	4	6
Craftsmen and operatives	6	3	8	4	5
Farmer	13	6	.....	.....	7
Don't know or no response	13	3	4	21	12
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Table 14. Occupational aspirations of respondents for children by size of family

Occupational aspiration for children	Number of children in family						Total (N = 486)
	1 (N = 39)	2 (N = 87)	3 (N = 127)	4 (N = 133)	5 (N = 48)	6 (N = 52)	
	percent						
Professional	87	59	56	58	56	42	58
Clerical or sales	3	12	6	2	8	2	5
Craftsmen and operatives	3	1	8	2	10	10	5
Farmer		11	13	11	11	21	12
Don't know or no response	7	17	17	27	15	25	20
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

spectively. In the rural group, the percentage was only 62 but the aspiration level was not necessarily low. Farming, rating 13 percent, ranks high in the occupational scale next to the professional. If this 13 percent is left out, the rural percentage voting for "professional" rises to 74 which is on a par with the village and urban.

We thought that comparison of occupational choice with the father's current occupation might provide further insight. When this comparison was made, no statistically significant differences were found between parents who were self-employed, employees, or farmers and the occupational aspirations they held for their children.

Occupational aspiration of parents was also related to family size (table 14). First and only children received the highest occupational rating. A somewhat lower rating was found for families with two or more children; little difference existed as family size increased beyond two.

Occupational Aspirations Of High School Students

We asked students in two county high schools to indicate their occupational preferences. One high school was in Red Wing, the other

Table 15. Current occupational aspirations of students in rural and urban schools by place of residence*

Occupational aspiration	Rural school		Urban school	
	Rural (N = 37)	Urban (N = 16)	Rural (N = 30)	Urban (N = 94)
	percent			
Professional, managerial, or kindred	30	44	37	60
Farming	24	0	0	0
Clerical, sales, craftsmen, or operative	41	44	56	32
Household, service, or labor	5	12	7	8
Total	100	100	100	100

* Respondents include only those reporting a specific occupational decision.

in an incorporated hamlet of around 500 population. We interviewed only the 151 seniors in the Red Wing school but included seniors, juniors, and sophomores (N=82) from the other school. Since the schools were consolidated, both had some commuters from the countryside. These commuters are called "rural" in table 15; those from within the incorporated limits are designated "urban."

After comparing this table with that giving responses of parents (table 12), the following observations seemed justified:

1. Parents had higher ambitions for their children than the high school group had for themselves, except for urban students in the urban school.
2. One-fourth of the rural students in the rural school, who were mainly from farm homes, aspired to farming. No one in the other three categories chose farming.
3. Occupations including clerical, sales, craftsmen, and operatives ranked relatively high in the rural school and among rural students in the urban school, but parents gave them little attention.
4. Because farming is a "managerial" occupation, rural students from the rural school showed a higher aspiration than the other groups except urban students from the urban school.

Educational Aspirations Of Parents

Since most respondents wanted their children to enter professional occupations, which require extended education, their responses on educational aspirations were also important. High occupational aspirations for children were characteristic of respondents in all residential categories. A high correlation between educational and occupational aspirations was expected and was found (tables 13 and 16).

In each instance, the hamlet had the highest degree of correspondence. Parents were obviously aware of educational requirements. Indeed, the percentage preferring college training exceeded the percentage favoring professional occupations. When a first or only child was involved, respondents wanted a college education regardless of occupation. How-

Table 16. Educational aspirations of respondents for first or only child by place of residence

Educational aspirations for child	Rural (N = 108)	Hamlet (N = 33)	Village (N = 24)	Urban (N = 49)
	percent			
High school or less	29	6	8	16
Some college or more	69	94	92	82
Don't know	2	.....	.....	2
Total	100	100	100	100

Table 17. Occupational and educational aspirations of respondents for all children

Educational aspiration	Occupational aspiration				
	Professional (N = 302)	Clerical or sales (N = 28)	Craftsmen or operatives (N = 27)	Farmer (N = 58)	Don't know (N = 106)
	percent				
High school or less	7	57	41	55	39
Some college or more	92	43	59	41	54
Don't know	1	.....	.....	4	7
Total	100	100	100	100	100

ever, large percentages in rural and urban categories settled for high school or less. The “don’t know” group, which was high in tables 13 and 14, almost disappeared in this tabulation regarding the first or only child and when all children were concerned. The commitment to education is indeed marked.

Table 17 again shows the correspondence between occupational and educational aspirations for children. Although many parents refrained from projecting their occupational ambitions on children, a rather large percentage preferred college even for occupations other than professional. Forty-one percent wanted at least some college for children entering farming. And 54 percent of those who “didn’t know” what occupation they wanted still voted for a college education.

To further refine this analysis, we analyzed the sibling order of children and the corresponding educational aspirations held by parents. A nonuniform pattern was revealed (table 18). The highest aspirations appeared for the third child in sibling order. However, the aspirational level tended to reduce with movement toward later sibling positions. No statistically significant differences were found between the children occupying the first and third positions. However, significant differences appeared between children in the first and second positions and between

Table 18. Educational aspirations of respondents for their children by sibling order

Educational aspirations for child	Sibling order of children					
	First (N = 214)	Second (N = 151)	Third (N = 86)	Fourth (N = 41)	Fifth (N = 16)	Sixth (N = 7)
	percent					
High school or less	20	27	19	24	50	57
Some college or more	79	72	81	71	50	43
Don't know	1	1	.....	5	.....	.....
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

the second and the third child. Moreover, no significant difference occurred between the second and fourth positions.

When educational aspiration was compared to family size, the pattern cleared. Data revealed that parents of large families had lower aspirations for their children than did parents of one child. Perhaps aspirations are associated with family size rather than sibling order.

Concerning educational aspirations by the child's sex, a pattern similar to that of occupational aspirations was found. The female received a higher aspirational level than the male. Rural people who preferred farming for their sons often did not deem advanced training or education as necessary for them as for the daughters. Yet, census data show a steady rise in the educational level of farm operators with a growing percentage of college graduates. Advanced training in scientific aspects of agriculture may well be a prerequisite to the fullest success in farming.

When the father's occupation and the educational aspiration for the first male child were compared, the same pattern was revealed as for occupational aspirations. Employees indicated the highest level, the self-employed next, and farmers the lowest educational aspirations. However, the number of respondents was too small to draw valid conclusions.

Table 19. Educational aspirations of respondents for children by educational attainment of parents

Educational aspiration for children	Parents' educational attainment			
	8 years or less (N = 121)	9-12 years (N = 251)	13-15 years (N = 84)	16 years or more (N = 36)
	percent			
High school or less	42	20	11	.....
Some college or more.....	57	79	86	100
Don't know	1	1	3	.....
Total	100	100	100	100

A clear-cut relationship was apparent when educational aspirations for children were compared with the educational level of respondents (table 19). More than half of the persons with 8 years or less schooling and more than three-fourths of those with 9-12 years desired some college education for their children. In the group with 13-15 years of schooling, 86 percent indicated college education for the children, as did all parents with 16 or more years of education.

Data on educational attainment by residence revealed a generally lower educational level among rural respondents. When this fact was considered in conjunction with the information just reviewed, we justifiably concluded that the lower educational aspirations indicated by rural residents were partly a function of their own lower educational levels.

Table 20. Desire of respondents for children to pursue their projected occupation in the home community or some other community by place of residence

Future residence of children	Rural (N = 284)	Hamlet (N = 63)	Village (N = 65)	Urban (N = 104)
	percent			
Home community	49	35	26	25
Other community	51	51	68	66
Don't know		14	6	9
Total	100	100	100	100

Mobility

If the high aspirational levels for occupational and educational attainment are to be realized, most of the children will have to leave the county. College training is not available there; available professional occupations cannot accommodate all those aspiring to them. To determine if parents were aware of this condition while preferring professional occupations, we asked them whether they wished the children to remain at home or to go to another community (table 20). The percentage favoring the home community was greater than would be possible if all children fulfilled their parents' aspirations. However, more than one-half of the parents apparently realized that children would have to pursue their occupations elsewhere.

It would normally be expected that the higher the occupational aspirations of parents for their children, the more they would realize the need for migration, since opportunities for professional employment would require it. The pattern of response roughly corresponds to this expectation. However, there were exceptions. The rural sample showed lowest aspirations and the hamlet highest of all, yet they were equal in their expectation of migration at 51 percent. The rural group had the highest preference of all for the "home community," which would be expected. But, greater proportions of hamlet residents declined to indicate where they wanted their children to pursue their occupations. Due probably to the small number of persons interviewed, there were no statistical differences between the hamlet, village, and urban residents. Nevertheless, village and urban residents apparently were more prone to consider migration as an alternative for their children than were hamlet respondents.

Education and the Schools

ALTHOUGH EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY IS WIDELY DIFFUSED in American society, not all people have equal access to it. Moreover, the value placed upon education is not equally shared by all groups. The U. S. census reveals considerable differences in educational attainment by various segments of society. Generally, urban adults have the most formal education and rural-farm adults the lowest. State populations also differ widely; those in the North and West generally rank higher than those in the South. Moreover, educational level varies by occupation; professionals rank highest and the unskilled lowest.

Enrollment Changes In 20 Years

Marked differences even exist among Minnesota counties. This variation was studied by University of Minnesota sociologists after the 1940 population census. They found, for example, that Minnesota farm people were apparently not convinced of the importance of sending children to high school. Concerning the percentage of native white farm boys 16 and 17 years of age enrolled in school, Minnesota ranked 47th among 48 states—only Kentucky was lower.¹⁹ The percentage of native white farm girls was somewhat higher than boys. When the two sexes were combined, the increase in percentage gave Minnesota a rank of 40. By the 1950 census, Minnesota had raised its rank to 24, farm boys and girls combined. Minnesota ranked 24th in 1940 also when all color and both rural and urban groups were combined, but was 5th in 1960 (table 21).

In 1940, the high Minnesota county had 85 percent of all 16 and 17 year olds—urban and rural—enrolled in high school while the contrasted low county had only 50 percent. But the poor agricultural counties did not rank low; low ranking counties included some of the state's best farm areas. By 1950, the top county showed 90.5 percent and the low 62.5 percent enrolled. In 1960, the high county reported 98.3 percent enrolled and the low county 67.4. In all these comparisons, different counties were high and low—not the same ones (see table 22). The spread between high and low remains great but all percentages are rising.

Changes in percent of 16 and 17 year olds enrolled in school in Minnesota by rural and urban areas since 1940 are shown in table 23. The rural farm population gained spectacularly, from 52.7 percent in

¹⁹ See: Lowry Nelson. 1944. *Education of the Farm Population of Minnesota*. Univ. of Minn. Agr. Exp. Sta. Bull. 377.

Lowry Nelson. Nov. 1953. *Marked Progress Made by Minnesota in Rural Education, 1940-1950*. Univ. of Minn. Agr. Exp. Sta. Misc. J. Series Paper No. 835.

Douglas G. Marshall and Milo J. Peterson. July 1948. *Factors Associated with Variations in School Attendance of Minnesota Farm Boys*. Univ. of Minn. Agr. Exp. Sta. and Bureau of Education Research, Graduate School.

Table 21. Percent of all 16-17 year olds enrolled in school by states, 1960 and 1940 (Alaska and Hawaii not included)

State	Rank		Percent	
	1960	1940	1960	1940
Oregon	1	5	90.5	79.2
Idaho	2	8	89.4	78.1
Nebraska	3	17	89.3	73.7
Washington	4	3	89.1	83.8
Minnesota	5	24	88.7	70.9
Montana	6	9.5	88.4	78.0
North Dakota	7.5	31	88.3	65.0
Wisconsin	7.5	13	88.3	75.7
Utah	9	1	88.1	86.8
South Dakota	10	22	87.6	72.0
Wyoming	11	7	87.4	78.7
Nevada	12	4	87.1	80.1
Iowa	13	23	86.2	71.6
Kansas	14	11	84.9	76.1
Michigan	15	19	84.7	73.1
Oklahoma	16	25	84.6	70.4
Ohio	17	6	84.0	79.0
Colorado	18	21	83.5	72.2
California	19	2	83.3	85.5
Connecticut	20	16	83.1	73.9
Vermont	21	29	82.3	65.6
New Jersey	22.5	26	82.1	70.1
New York	22.5	9.5	82.1	78.0
Pennsylvania	24	14.5	81.8	75.0
New Mexico	25	34	81.5	62.9
Maine	26	28	81.3	66.8
Illinois	27	20	81.0	73.0
Indiana	28.5	18	80.9	73.5
Mississippi	28.5	38	80.9	59.2
Massachusetts	30	14.5	80.7	75.0
Arkansas	31	39.5	79.8	57.6
Florida	32.5	36	79.4	62.1
Louisiana	32.5	43	79.4	55.9
New Hampshire	34	27	79.3	67.3
Arizona	35.5	32	79.1	63.5
Delaware	35.5	30	79.1	65.3
Missouri	37	35	78.6	62.8
District of Columbia	38	12	77.6	76.0
Alabama	39	41	77.5	57.4
Maryland	40	42	77.0	56.7
Texas	41	33	76.3	63.1
Georgia	42	48	75.1	50.7
Rhode Island	43	37	74.7	61.0
Tennessee	44	46	74.5	54.1
North Carolina	45	45	74.3	55.4
West Virginia	46	39.5	73.4	57.6
Virginia	47	44	72.8	55.5
Kentucky	48	49	70.1	50.7
South Carolina	49	47	69.0	53.2

Table 22. Percent of all 16-17 year olds enrolled in school by counties, Minnesota, 1940 and 1960

County	Rank		Percent	
	1960	1940	1960	1940
Traverse	1	58	98.3	62.9
Norman	2	42.5	98.0	65.0
Wilkin	3	29	96.9	66.8
Lac qui Parle	4	38.5	95.7	65.9
Pope	5.5	61.5	95.5	61.6
Redwood	5.5	48	95.5	64.2
Douglas	7	40	95.0	65.3
Stevens	8	56.5	94.7	63.0
Red Lake	9	76.5	94.4	56.3
Faribault	10	36	93.9	66.0
Otter Tail	11	74	93.3	56.5
Sherburne	12	36	93.2	66.0
Hubbard	13	24.5	93.1	67.5
Grant	14	45	93.0	64.8
Fillmore	15.5	56.5	92.9	63.0
Kandiyohi	15.5	54.5	92.9	63.2
Watonwan	17.5	28	92.7	66.9
Yellow Medicine	17.5	53	92.7	63.3
Waseca	19	64.5	92.4	61.2
Martin	20.5	47	92.3	64.3
Rock	20.5	67	92.3	59.8
Clay	22	11	92.2	72.2
Marshall	23	83	91.9	54.1
Koochiching	24	8	91.8	72.9
Renville	25	81	91.5	54.7
Chisago	26	5	91.3	76.4
Chippewa	28	14	90.9	69.8
Brown	28	72	90.9	57.2
Swift	28	16	90.9	69.0
Kittson	30	15	90.6	69.4
Todd	31	76.5	90.5	56.3
McLeod	32.5	63	89.9	61.4
Wabasha	32.5	24.5	89.9	67.5
Mille Lacs	34.5	66	89.8	60.0
St. Louis	34.5	1	89.8	85.1
Lincoln	36.5	68.5	89.6	59.3
Mower	36.5	18	89.6	68.7
Carlton	38.5	7	89.5	74.2
Stearns	38.5	68.5	89.5	59.3
Nobles	40	80	89.4	55.0
Wadena	41	59.5	89.2	62.4
Benton	43	82	89.1	54.3
Jackson	43	38.5	89.1	65.9
Lyon	43	31.5	89.1	66.6
Pine	45.5	36	89.0	66.0
Polk	45.5	46	89.0	64.5
Morrison	47.5	86	89.9	51.2
Murray	47.5	73	88.9	56.9
Blue Earth	49.5	20	88.8	68.4
Wright	49.5	51.5	88.8	63.8
Aitkin	52	30	88.6	66.7
Crow Wing	52	21	88.6	68.3
Roseau	52	84	88.6	53.3
Cass	54.5	42.5	88.5	65.0
Ramsey	54.5	4	88.5	82.1
Washington	56	9.5	88.4	72.8
Hennepin	57	2	88.2	84.4
Le Sueur	58.5	59.5	88.1	62.4
Steele	58.5	44	88.1	64.9

Table 22 (continued).

County	Rank		Percent	
	1960	1940	1960	1940
Pipestone	60	61.5	87.9	61.6
Nicollet	61	33.5	87.8	66.4
Big Stone	62	9.5	87.7	72.8
Goodhue	63.5	54.5	87.5	63.2
Lake	63.5	3	87.5	84.2
Itasca	65	6	87.4	76.0
Kanabec	66	64.5	87.3	61.2
Olmsted	67	17	87.2	68.9
Dakota	68.5	12	86.9	70.1
Houston	68.5	51.5	86.9	63.8
Beltrami	70	26	86.6	67.3
Scott	71	71	86.4	57.4
Cottonwood	72	49	86.0	64.1
Becker	73	78	85.3	56.1
Mahnomen	74	79	85.2	55.2
Carver	75	50	85.1	63.9
Freeborn	76	33.5	84.6	66.4
Anoka	77	13	84.4	69.9
Sibley	78	87	84.3	50.4
Dodge	79	19	84.0	68.5
Winona	80	22	82.4	67.7
Meeker	81	41	81.4	65.2
Pennington	82	31.5	79.2	66.6
Clearwater	83	85	79.0	52.2
Rice	84	70	77.6	57.9
Isanti	85	75	67.4	56.4
Cook	*	27	*	67.0
Lake of the Woods	*	23	*	67.6

* No percentages were reported by the census when the base was less than 200.

Table 23. Percent of all 16 and 17 year olds enrolled in school in Minnesota by place of residence, 1940, 1950, and 1960

Year	State	Urban	Rural-nonfarm	Rural-farm
	percent			
1960	88.7	88.2	88.5	90.0
1950	80.3	84.7	82.7	72.1
1940	70.9	83.4	77.5	52.7

Source: U. S. Census of Population, 1960-1950-1940.

1940 to 90.0 in 1960. While the rural nonfarm and urban segments also made gains, the gains were less because they already had high percentages. In 1960 the rural farm group exceeded both other residential groups in the attendance of 16 and 17 year olds. Goodhue County raised its rank from 54th among the counties in 1940 to 17th in 1950 but fell to 63rd in 1960.

Table 24 compares the education of adult populations 25 years and older for the random sample of this study, Goodhue County, the state, and the nation. Both 1950 and 1960 census data were used. Sample interviews were made mostly during 1960. Although both the state and county

Table 24. Number of school years completed by the population 25 years and over for the United States, Minnesota, Goodhue County, and the research sample, 1950 and 1960

Area	Year	School years completed				
		8 or less	9-12	13-15	16 or more	No response
		percent				
United States	1950	47.0	37.2	7.1	6.0	2.7
	1960	39.7	43.8	8.8	7.7	.....
Minnesota	1950	49.7	33.7	8.7	5.6	2.3
	1960	41.0	41.1	10.4	7.5	.....
Goodhue	1950	52.9	30.1	10.1	5.2	1.7
	1960	49.5	37.1	9.0	5.3	.....
Sample	1960	40.0	44.2	11.6	4.2	.....

have reduced percentages with 8th grade or less education, they exceeded the nation in both years. The state and county gained in proportions at the high school level but still lagged behind the national percentage. At the college graduate level, Minnesota was close—but lower—to the national percentage. Goodhue was far below. The sample distribution was close to the national, although it was expected to compare more nearly with that of Goodhue County.

Education And Place Of Residence

U. S. census information for 1950 and 1960 showed that a population's educational level was associated definitely with the size of the place of residence. Particularly in the past, farm and rural nonfarm populations suffered by comparison with urban groups.

In 1960, Goodhue County still had a higher percentage with the lowest educational level than did the state or nation. The sample group was drawn nearer to the 1960 than the 1950 census so comparison should be with 1960. Level of education was not a criterion in drawing the sample. But, since it was randomized, deviations from the census distribution should not have been great. Actually, the sample had a higher educational level than did the county as a whole.

Nevertheless, the sample showed the same relationship between amount of formal schooling and place of residence (table 25). The percentage with 8th grade or less was highest in the rural group and decreased in a gradient towards the urban. This finding was true for both males and females but females had significantly higher educational levels.

Practically every child now has an opportunity for at least a high school education. Since older members of the population did not have similar advantages, they suffer in comparison with younger ones. This inverse relation between age and level of education appeared clearly in our sample (table 26). The proportion of those with 8 years or less schooling increased rapidly with each older age group until it more

Table 25. Educational attainment of the sample by place of residence and sex*

Years of school completed	Rural		Hamlet		Village		Urban	
	Male (N = 174)	Female (N = 170)	Male (N = 58)	Female (N = 60)	Male (N = 61)	Female (N = 58)	Male (N = 81)	Female (N = 98)
	percent							
8 or less	62	43	45	27	38	24	32	18
9-12	32	38	40	47	43	60	51	64
13-15	5	16	12	18	7	10	11	15
16 or more	1	3	3	8	12	6	6	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

* Differences were all significant at the 0.01 level.

Table 26. Age and number of school years completed by sample respondents

Years of age	Years of school completed				Total
	8 or less	9-12	13-15	16 or more	
	percent				
20-45	33	53	9	5	100
46-64	64	27	6	3	100
65 or over	72	21	2	5	100

than doubled for those 65 years of age and older. On the other hand, those with some college education ranged from only 7 percent of the oldest group to 14 percent of those 20-45 years of age.

The Schools Of Goodhue: Opinions Of Respondents

Goodhue County schools were completely reorganized since the 1946 study. School consolidation reduced the number of school districts from 155 to 10; only 8 of the 10 operated schools in 1964.²⁰ As a result, the open-country school largely disappeared. At the same time, school enrollment increased 25 percent between 1940 and 1960. Besides quantitative changes, some qualitative changes also occurred including upgrading of teacher's qualifications, expansion of courses offered, and more and better school facilities and equipment.

Occupational Counseling

We noted earlier the high occupational and educational aspirations held by parents for their children. We also mentioned that the family greatly influenced the child's decision. Still another significant factor on the child's decision is the occupational counseling received in the public schools.

²⁰ Taylor, Taves, and Bultena. *op. cit.* pp. 9-10.

We asked our respondents about the occupational counseling. Nearly half (47 percent) thought this service was adequate in their high schools. A large number did not respond. Only 15 percent described the service as inadequate. No statistical difference existed between residential areas or between the adequacy of counseling for boys and girls.

However, when the parents' educational levels were compared to their opinions of high school counseling, a slight negative association was found. Apparently, persons with higher levels of education themselves tended to be more critical of this service.

High School Equipment And Instruction

Although the State Board of Education requires a core curriculum of specified subjects, the local school can offer additional courses. Opportunity for selection by the student is also part of current school policy. In small systems, this course expansion often increases requirements for equipment or instruction which can be met only by reducing other services. So the quality of instruction may suffer.

Equipment was considered adequate by most respondents in all residential groups except the village. Facilities for teaching subjects which required less equipment were considered adequate in more cases than were facilities for teaching science, art, and home economics (see table 27).

Some differences were found according to place of residence. A greater proportion of the hamlet and urban residents than rural or village residents considered equipment adequate. Naturally, because the urban school was largest, it had more resources available to provide facilities. Moreover, some hamlet residents attended urban schools. The opinions held by village residents were partly the result of Kenyon having recently undergone school consolidation which placed new demands upon equipment. The median position of rural residents may have resulted from the fact that they represented various school systems; the sample was composed of open-country dwellers on the outskirts of Welch, Goodhue, and Kenyon.

Table 27. Opinion of respondents of the adequacy of high school equipment for specified subject fields by place of residence

Area of study	Rural	Hamlet	Village	Urban
	..... percent regarding facilities adequate			
Business	74	94	41	91
Vocational agriculture	75	98	38	97
Home economics	59	96	14	97
Science	61	93	17	87
Mathematics	87	96	63	97
Arts	66	80	37	100
Sports	84	94	71	100
Social science	88	100	76	98

Most respondents considered high school teachers' preparation for teaching adequate. Urban and village residents, in consistently higher proportions than rural and hamlet residents, considered the preparation completely adequate. For example, the vocational agriculture instructor was not considered adequately prepared by a high percent of rural respondents. Perhaps the familiarity of rural residents with the subject matter, as well as the possibility of observing results of this instruction with their children, led to this conclusion.

The School And Migration

Previously, we mentioned that many respondents considered it desirable for their children to seek their future occupations outside the local community. Table 28 contains responses to a question asking whether parents thought the high school affected migration.

In the urban community, where migration has been predominantly "in" rather than "out," 84 percent felt that the school had "no effect." But more rural people than those from other areas indicated the effect as "too much;" more than half of the hamlet residents indicated "not enough." Statistically, differences appeared between all residential categories except between village and urban areas.

Table 28. Opinions of respondents on the school's effect on outmigration by place of residence

Extent of school's effect	Rural (N = 102)	Hamlet (N = 41)	Village (N = 35)	Urban (N = 45)
	percent			
Not at all	56	41	77	84
Too much	16	5	3	2
Not enough	28	54	20	14
Total	100	100	100	100

School Consolidation

Statements concerning attitude toward school consolidation are shown in table 29 along with a general summary of responses. Some of our statements were positively related to school consolidation; others were negatively related.

Based upon this summary, we concluded that rural residents were relatively less favorably disposed toward some aspects of school consolidation than were other residential groups. Opinions of the other groups tended to cluster with small differences, but urban residents were the most favorably inclined. An analysis of variance of the means of the four residential areas was carried out; they were found to be statistically different at the 0.01 level.

Table 29. Attitudes of respondents toward school consolidation and related subjects

Our statement	Summary of responses
1. Students get a better education in consolidated schools.	When education was held constant, no significant differences were found among the residential categories. About 25 percent of the respondents agreed with the statement, 39 percent disagreed, and the remainder were undecided or neutral toward it.
2. Urban residents generally control school policy after consolidation.	Little difference appeared among residential categories with low agreement by all.
3. Small schools are better than big schools.	Among respondents with 8 years or less formal education, there were no significant differences among residential groups; about two-fifths agreed with the statement. However, among respondents with 9 years or more education, less than one-third of the urban residents agreed with the statement compared to about two-fifths of the hamlet residents and over one-half of the village and rural residents.
4. Students get better personal attention and guidance in large schools.	Generally, few respondents from any residential group agreed with this statement. There was slightly more agreement by village and urban people.
5. School consolidation places an excessive tax burden on rural residents.	Among those with 9 years or more education, 60 percent of the rural residents agreed with the statement compared to 24 percent of the village residents, 11 percent of the hamlet residents, and 7 percent of the urban residents. However, among those with less education, about two-thirds of the rural and urban residents agreed compared to one-third of the village residents and less than one-fifth of the hamlet residents.
6. Consolidation means that better teachers can be hired.	There was a high level of agreement with this statement, but no clear pattern of differences among residential groups was apparent.
7. Small rural and village schools should be consolidated into larger units.	No significant differences were found according to residential groups among those with 8 years or less education. However, among those with more education, four-fifths of the urban residents agreed with the statement compared to about one-half of the respondents in the other residential groups.
8. It is easy for rural youth to come to town for extra-curricular school activities.	Generally, there was low agreement with this statement by all respondents except village residents with 8 years or less education.
9. Rural and urban parents can never seem to agree on school policy.	Most respondents disagreed with this statement.

Our statement	Summary of responses
10. Small rural and village schools provide sufficient social activities.	One-half or more of the rural, hamlet, and village residents agreed with the statement compared to about two-fifths of the urban residents.
11. Attending urban schools makes rural students disinterested in their home towns.	All residential groups generally disagreed with this statement.
12. Consolidation disrupts the family life of rural students.	There was generally a low level of agreement with this statement. However, more rural residents agreed with it than did other residential groups.
13. Rural and urban students get along together very well in consolidated schools.	This statement was agreed to by the majority of respondents. However, fewer urban residents agreed than did respondents in the other categories.
14. Consolidation places a strain on the school's physical plant.	A low level of agreement was reported by rural, hamlet, and urban residents with 8 years or less education and by hamlet and rural residents with 9 years or more education. Nearly 50 percent of the village residents agreed with this statement. Village residents recently underwent school consolidation and faced the problem of strained facilities.
15. Small rural children have emotional adjustment problems in consolidation.	Considering only those respondents with 8 years or less education, there were no significant differences among residential groups on this item. About one-half agreed with the statement. However, when considering those with 9 years or more education, percentages agreeing with the statement decreased as one moved from rural, with 51 percent agreeing, to urban, with 28 percent agreeing.

Family Norms

RURAL AND URBAN DIFFERENCES IN FAMILY LIFE and values have long been assumed to exist. The beliefs that “the country is the natural habitat for the family” and “the farm is an ideal place to rear a family” are inbedded in American folklore. Do rural-urban differences exist in Goodhue County? Hoping for at least a partial answer to this large question, we asked respondents their opinions on several matters.

Age Of Dating

Responses to the question, “At what age do you think young people should start dating?” is shown in table 30.

Table 30. Age to start dating considered acceptable by respondents by place of residence

Acceptable dating age	Rural		Hamlet		Village		Urban	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
	..... percent							
15 years and under	19	37	23	35	23	42	40	52
16 years	39	43	42	48	45	37	37	32
17 years and over	40	19	35	17	29	18	16	10
No response	2	1	.....	.....	3	3	7	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

All residential groups agreed on a younger age for girls than for boys, but differences between urban and rural were rather marked. Rural-urban differences were even more apparent concerning the age for boys; 40 percent of the rural respondents voted for 17 years or over compared with only 16 percent of the urban group. The gradient of percentages on 17 or over ran from rural to urban—from high to low.

Acceptable Age For Marriage

We asked respondents, “At what age do you think young people should leave home and start living on their own?” and “At what age do you think young people should marry?” Most people, regardless of place of residence, favored age 18 as a home-leaving time for both sons and daughters. However, they were more tolerant of a girl than of a boy marrying before age 18.

Therefore, the generally observed age differential between bride and groom, with the latter a couple of years older, was approved by our sample. Nearly half of the respondents thought the husband should

be older; practically none thought he should be younger. Yet, around 40 percent of the village and 39 percent of the other group residents thought age made little or no difference.

What Is The Ideal Family Size?

While opinions varied widely on this question, four was the modal number of children selected by all residential groups. Three received the next highest percentage (table 31). No one voted for “no children” or for one child; no one considered as many as nine an ideal number. However, 4 percent of the urban and 2 percent of the village residents mentioned eight and 2 percent of hamlet and village respondents chose seven. The rural group did not go above six, although farm families tend to be larger than nonfarm. Urban residents voted rather heavily for two children compared with the other groups.

Table 31. Opinions of respondents as to ideal number of children by place of residence

Number of children	Rural (N = 183)	Hamlet (N = 60)	Village (N = 62)	Urban (N = 100)	Total (N = 405)
	percent				
No children	0	0	0	0	0
1	0	0	0	0	0
2	6	8	8	16	9
3	26	25	24	32	27
4	51	52	54	39	49
5	8	8	2	1	5
6	6	3	2	3	4
7	0	2	2	0	0
8	0	0	2	4	2
No opinion	0	0	0	0	0
No response	3	2	6	5	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Should Young Couples Postpone A Family?

Even to raise this question may be regarded as improper by some people. However, family planning is now so much in the domain of public discussion that respondents had no hesitancy in answering. Rational family planning is an extremely pertinent question. The major justification for postponement approved by Goodhue County respondents was to finish formal education (table 32). On this matter, there was almost uniform agreement. But simply to postpone raising a family until the couple achieved “marital adjustment” received over 50 percent approval only from urban respondents.

To wait in order to “build financial reserve” got small but almost equal approval among residential groups. There was little rural-urban

Table 32. Opinions of respondents as to married couples' postponement of family by place of residence

Reasons for delay in having children	Rural (N = 183)	Hamlet (N = 60)	Village (N = 62)	Urban (N = 100)
..... percent				
Achieve marital adjustment:				
Approve	36	48	35	57
Neutral	24	12	16	15
Disapprove	40	40	47	26
No response .....	.....	.....	2	2
Build financial reserve:				
Approve	23	22	21	30
Neutral	8	10	11	16
Disapprove	69	68	65	54
No response .....	.....	.....	3	.....
Finish education:				
Approve	68	62	68	67
Neutral	19	10	11	15
Disapprove	13	28	19	16
No response .....	.....	.....	2	2

difference on this point but postponement was supported most by urban people.

Provisions For The Aged

Multiple ways of providing for the aged were approved in Goodhue County (table 33). Respondents showed as much approval for placing parents in homes for the aged as for keeping them in their own homes.

Table 33. Attitudes of respondents concerning care of aged parents by place of residence

Place of care for aged	Rural (N = 183)	Hamlet (N = 60)	Village (N = 62)	Urban (N = 100)
..... percent				
Respondent's own home:				
Approve	77	67	66	55
Neutral	9	5	16	7
Disapprove	11	18	18	23
No response	3	10	.....	15
Home for the aged:				
Approve	61	58	68	62
Neutral	12	10	13	16
Disapprove	19	17	19	13
No response	8	15	.....	9

Care of the aged in the respondent's home was given greatest approval by rural residents and least by the urban group. This widespread approval of institutional care reflects the contemporary growth of social welfare institutions. They are a part of urbanized society and are widely accepted by both rural and urban people.

Support for social welfare institutions in urbanized society was further illustrated by approval of social security, local government aid, private insurance, and individual savings as approximately equally acceptable forms of providing for the aged (table 34). Approval of each type of care was expressed by 71 to 98 percent of all area residents.

Table 34. Attitude of respondents toward different types of care for aged by place of residence

Types of care	Rural (N = 183)	Hamlet (N = 60)	Village (N = 62)	Urban (N = 100)
..... percent				
Social security:				
Approve	87	85	87	95
Disapprove	11	15	8	2
No response	2	.....	5	3
Government aid to dependents:				
Approve	83	88	76	84
Disapprove	15	8	18	11
No response	2	4	6	5
Private insurance:				
Approve	84	95	71	93
Disapprove	12	5	18	2
No response	4	.....	11	5
Individual savings:				
Approve	95	98	89	84
Disapprove	3	2	5	7
No response	2	.....	6	9

Use of Leisure

A MARKED REDUCTION IN HOURS OF WORK and increased hourly, weekly, or monthly income characterize recent industrial trends in the United States. Moreover, vacations with pay are widely accepted for industrial workers and the amount of time allowed is steadily increasing. Farm families also have increased time for activities other than farmwork. Demands for long hours of farmwork in certain seasons still exist. But, due to mechanization and improved management, many tasks can be performed in a small fraction of the time formerly necessary. Leisure—time free from one's regular job—is an important fact of life.

Table 35. Hours of leisure time available per week to respondents by sex

Sex	Hours of leisure time available each week				Total
	Less than 19	19-26	27 or more	No response	
	percent				
Male (N = 386)	65	15	15	5	100
Female (N = 387)	61	16	19	4	100

We asked respondents how much leisure time per week they had available (table 35). Although almost two-thirds of both the men and women indicated less than 19 hours, a significant difference (0.05 level) existed between the sexes. Women mentioned a consistently greater amount, perhaps because:

- Women engaged primarily in housekeeping often make no clear-cut distinction between their work and leisure activities.
- The woman, especially the farm wife because of the husband's heavy workload, may have most social activities delegated to her.
- Laborsaving devices and the availability of prepared foodstuffs have decreased time needed for homemaking.
- Employed women mainly work on an established time basis without the possibility of extending working time.

Leisure Time And Residence, Education, And Age

Because of the long hours of work previously reported by rural males, we expected less leisure time for them than for urban residents. This expectation was borne out (see table 36). From rural to urban residence, proportions with 19 or more leisure hours per week progressively increased.

Females showed a slightly variable pattern; hamlet residents equalled rural women on this matter while more village women than urban had over 19 hours.

Table 36. Percent of respondents reporting 19 or more hours of leisure time per week by place of residence and sex

Sex	Rural	Hamlet	Village	Urban
	percent			
Male	18	28	43	45
Female	24	24	57	49

Table 37. Percent of respondents having 19 hours or more leisure time per week by age and sex

Sex	Age		
	20-45 years	46-64 years	65 years or over
	percent		
Male	24	30	54
Female	31	34	59

Occupation is partly a function of an individual's educational attainment. The data revealed a positive correlation between availability of leisure time and educational achievement. Differences appeared between males with 8 years or less education and the other educational categories. However, significant differences were not found between respondents with 9-12 years of school and those with 13 years or more. This result may have been due to the small number of cases in the latter category. There were no differences between female educational categories.

The long life expectancy has increased the number of old people with leisure time at their disposal. Respondents in the most productive years of life—20-64 years of age—had less leisure time than those 65 and over (table 37).

Recreational Facilities

Only in the urban area did more than 50 percent of the residents consider recreational facilities adequate for children under 15 (table 38). The trend was clearly one of increasing satisfaction as one moved from rural to urban.

Recreational facilities for those 15-21 years old were reported to be least satisfactory in all residential areas. Urban respondents showed a higher degree of satisfaction than rural people but a lower level of satisfaction with facilities for this age category than for others.

The dissatisfaction with facilities is closely related to the ambiguous position of teenagers in a society that does not provide clearly defined roles for them. The end result of this lack of definition is the adolescent's quest for his psychological identity. He finds this identity in his peer group which tends to seek recreational outlets outside the family. So a high demand is placed upon the community for recreational facilities.

Table 38. Percent of respondents reporting recreational facilities to be adequate for various age groups by place of residence

Age group using facilities	Rural (N = 183)	Hamlet (N = 60)	Village (N = 62)	Urban (N = 100)
	percent.....			
Children 14 or younger	36	40	44	60
Children 15 or older	26	13	24	46
Adult males	62	43	73	85
Adult females	59	47	74	86

Failure to provide satisfactory recreational facilities for teenagers has immediate and highly visible results. Teenagers tend to congregate in public places where they often engage in boisterous behavior. Or they travel outside of the local community, attracted by supposedly better recreational opportunities. The availability close at hand for wholesome recreation may not forestall antisocial juvenile behavior, but it cannot fail to be a positive influence for good.

Respondents considered facilities for adults more satisfactory than those for children. A marked difference appeared between residential categories. However, differences with respect to men and women within residential categories were small. Hamlet residents indicated the least satisfaction; urban residents indicated the most.

Time To Read

Modern transportation makes it possible for almost any Minnesota resident to have a daily paper delivered to his doorstep within a few hours after leaving the press. Several daily papers, including four from the Twin Cities, are accessible to Goodhue County residents.

In our sample, some households received more than one daily paper. Therefore, in table 39, the sum of percentages in some columns exceeds 100 percent. In the urban area, practically everyone took the local daily and many respondents subscribed to metropolitan papers as well. The weekly paper had 95 percent of the village and three-fourths of the rural and hamlet residents as subscribers but, apparently, it had little attraction for urban people.

Slightly less than a fifth of the village and urban men and one-sixth of hamlet men read sports magazines. "Other" magazines, such as *Argosy*, *Popular Mechanics*, *True*, and *Popular Science*, were most popular in the rural and hamlet areas and least popular in the urban areas (table 39).

Proportionately more women than men read magazines. We asked the women to respond to a list of magazines which included: *American Home*, *Better Homes and Gardens*, *Good Housekeeping*, *Ladies Home Journal*, *McCall's*, *Family Circle* or *Woman's Day*, *Harpers Bazaar*, *Vogue*, *Mademoiselle*, *Glamour*, *House and Garden*, *House Beautiful*,

Table 39. Reading matter read by respondents by place of residence

Type of reading matter	Rural (N = 183)	Hamlet (N = 60)	Village (N = 62)	Urban (N = 100)
	percent			
Newspapers, daily:				
<i>Faribault News</i>	5.2	.....	20.7	1.1
<i>Minneapolis Star or Tribune</i>	21.5	25.4	63.8	24.2
<i>Red Wing Republican Eagle</i>	63.3	84.8	15.5	96.7
<i>Rochester Post-Bulletin</i>	1.2	1.7	1.7	.....
<i>St. Paul Dispatch or Pioneer Press</i>	15.7	20.3	15.5	18.7
Others	1.7	.....	.....	3.3
Newspapers, weekly:	73.2	76.3	94.8	4.4
Magazines, recreational, men:				
Sports	8.1	16.9	18.9	18.7
Others	38.4	40.7	10.3	3.3
Magazines, recreational, women:				
Housekeeping	26.7	36.7	53.4	37.4
General type	33.2	55.9	34.4	35.3
Fashion	2.3	1.7	1.7	3.3
Family	11.6	15.3	20.7	18.7
Other magazines:				
News	22.1	16.9	36.2	33.0
General	40.7	55.9	48.2	62.6
Travel	6.4	3.4	6.9	9.9

Parents' Magazine, and movie magazines. The magazines were grouped roughly into categories: housekeeping, general, fashion, and family. There was rather heavy readership of the first two types, scant attention to the third, and only minor attention to the fourth (*Parents' Magazine*).

Readership of news magazines (*Life, Look, Time, Newsweek*, and *U. S. News and World Report*) varied from 17 percent in the hamlet to 36 percent in the village. However, "general" magazines (*Saturday Evening Post, Readers Digest, Coronet, Holiday, Harpers, Atlantic*, and *Redbook*) were twice as popular. *The National Geographic* or other "travel" periodicals fared poorly.

Periodicals On Farming

Probably no other occupation than agriculture has as many publications devoted to those engaged in it. Some of these magazines are technical and specialize in such fields as dairying, fruit growing, cotton production, and animal breeding. About one-third of the rural respondents received this technical type. The more general type contains information on various farm topics (*Wallace's Farmer, Farm Journal*, and *Successful Farming*). These magazines were found in practically every rural home—95 percent subscribed or bought one of them. Moreover, 43

percent of the hamlet and village and 12 percent of the urban residents also read them.

A third category of periodicals consisted of those published by farm organizations and farm cooperatives (*Farmer's Union Herald*, *Farm Bureau News*, *Midland Cooperator*, and *Land O'Lakes News*). Subscriptions to these farm organization house organs are part of membership dues. Some 53 percent of the rural and 41 percent of the hamlet respondents received such publications.

The Cultural Arts

Interest in music, painting, and literature varied by sex as well as residence. Nearly three times as many women as men could play a musical instrument; nearly four times as many attended painting classes. No urban male was involved in a literary club but some men in all

Table 40. Participation of respondents in recreational activities by rank order, sex, and place of residence

Rural participation		Hamlet participation		Village participation		Urban participation	
Activity	Percent	Activity	Percent	Activity	Percent	Activity	Percent
Males							
(N = 175)		(N = 58)		(N = 60)		(N = 93)	
Fishing	48.6	Fishing	72.4	Fishing	61.7	Fishing	45.2
Dancing	21.7	Dancing	32.8	Swimming	20.0	Dancing	25.8
Movies	12.0	Bowling	31.0	Dancing	18.3	Bowling	18.3
Bowling	9.1	Movies	15.5	Golf	18.3	Swimming	18.3
Swimming	8.6	Swimming	14.0	Bowling	16.7	Movies	15.1
Baseball	1.7	Golf	12.1	Movies	15.0	Golf	15.1
Golf	1.1	Baseball	3.4	Tennis	3.3	Baseball	3.2
Tennis	0.6	Tennis	3.4	Baseball	1.7	Tennis	2.2
Females							
(N = 169)		(N = 59)		(N = 61)		(N = 98)	
Fishing	36.1	Fishing	47.5	Fishing	41.0	Fishing	25.5
Dancing	21.3	Dancing	39.0	Swimming	26.2	Dancing	24.5
Movies	13.6	Bowling	18.6	Dancing	21.3	Movies	16.3
Swimming	8.9	Movies	16.9	Movies	13.1	Swimming	11.2
Bowling	3.6	Swimming	11.9	Golf	13.1	Bowling	11.2
Golf	1.2	Golf	8.5	Bowling	4.9	Golf	9.2
Tennis	1.2	Tennis	1.7	Tennis	1.6	Baseball	2.0
Baseball	0.6	Baseball	.....	Baseball	.....	Tennis	1.0
Children							
(N = 108)		(N = 33)		(N = 24)		(N = 49)	
Fishing	53.7	Fishing	60.6	Swimming	87.5	Swimming	69.4
Swimming	49.1	Swimming	39.4	Fishing	58.3	Movies	40.8
Movies	30.6	Baseball	30.3	Movies	29.2	Fishing	30.6
Baseball	20.4	Movies	15.2	Bowling	20.8	Tennis	24.5
Dancing	14.8	Dancing	12.1	Dancing	16.7	Dancing	16.3
Bowling	12.0	Tennis	9.1	Baseball	12.5	Baseball	10.2
Tennis	1.9	Golf	3.0	Golf	12.5	Bowling	10.2
Golf	1.9	Bowling	.....	Tennis	8.3	Golf	10.2

three other groups did belong to one. Women excelled in this activity, although surprisingly few urban residents were represented.

Music claimed wide interest. Singing in a choir or attending concerts was reported by about two-thirds of the women and three-fifths of the men. Undoubtedly, much participation in musical activities was related to church attendance; no distinction was made in interviews between special choir concerts and regular church services. But the musical presentations ranged from the local choir to the Metropolitan Opera (which annually appears at the University of Minnesota auditorium). Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra concerts were also attended by some Goodhue County residents.

Recreational Patterns In Goodhue

Fishing was the most popular pastime by far for men and women in all residential areas and for children in the rural and hamlet groups. Dancing was second in importance for adults in all areas except the village where swimming displaced it. But to village and urban children, swimming was of first importance; it was second choice in the other areas. The least amount of participation was in such sports as tennis, baseball, and golf (see table 40).

Hamlet residents participated more than other adults in recreational activities. Village residents ranked second, urban third, and rural last. However, children participated to a greater extent in the village and urban areas, thereby suggesting some inadequacy of facilities for children in more rural areas.

In Conclusion

WHAT HAS HAPPENED AND IS HAPPENING in Goodhue County characterizes rural America generally. Indeed, urbanization of the population is a worldwide phenomenon. Everywhere, cities are growing faster than the population as a whole—a situation called demographic urbanization.

We have used the word “urbanization” to indicate the growing cultural homogeneity of all Goodhue people. But relations of town and country, urban and rural, are reciprocal. It is not possible to say—and it was not our problem to determine—how much “ruralization” has accompanied so-called “urbanization” in Goodhue County. Rather, our problem was to determine whether past differences between rural and urban folk are still important, and whether persisting differences are due more to educational levels and occupational concerns than to residence.

Differences due to educational levels may be expected to diminish or disappear as these levels approximate equality. This leveling appears to be taking place.

Differences in attitudes towards many problems due to differences in occupation are bound to persist. Matters affecting farm income bring different opinions from urban than from farm people. But these are only incidentally rural-urban differences. Conflicting opinions among occupational groups in town and city also exist and are frequently more turbulent than those between urban and rural.

Within occupational groups, moreover, opinions differ. Our study found marked differences in attitudes regarding union membership between employees and the self-employed. Not all farmers agreed on farm policy—quite the contrary. Farmers want high prices. But some want to obtain this goal by government intervention, others want collective bargaining, and some wish to withhold commodities from the market.

So when we speak of growing homogeneity, we do not mean that all differences will be eliminated. Such broad conformity is as impossible as it is undesirable. But differences based upon place of residence—farm, village, or city—are diminishing; some have disappeared, and others will disappear, which are not occupation linked.

This study emphasized the changes transpiring over the past 10 to 20 years. They have been notable. But if a longer look is taken, contrasts are dramatic. A century ago the Civil War was still in progress, but the stage was ready for the vast movement of people to the frontier. Industrial development was in its infancy. Land, farms, and homesteads were desires of millions here and overseas. The Homestead Act of 1862 offered the way for even the poor to find a place in the New World. The plow that was to break the plains had only recently been invented and manufactured.

Not until after the Civil War did horses replace many oxen as the source of farm power. In the 1920's the horse was rapidly replaced by the gasoline motor. Each of these power changes raised the productive

efficiency of the human factor in farming. This power revolution, with all the mechanical devices associated with it, was accompanied by a revolution in farm technology, in improved varieties of plants and livestock breeds, in ways of controlling pests and diseases, and in the wide use of artificial fertilizers.

The impact of these innovations on the farming population is well known. The U. S. farm population reached its highest peak in 1935 but has declined steadily since. Agriculture is a vast exporter of human labor, using less and less on its own account and spilling its surplus workers into the national pool. Farm people now must look to nonfarm occupations for their children. And what occupations would they have their children enter? Mainly, the professions—the major choices of hamlet, village, and urban residents as well. Farming is not an unpopular occupation, but agriculture no longer provides employment opportunity for increasing numbers of people.

The decline in the farm population means a decreased demand for services of traditional trade centers—the hamlet and village. Small places are not growing; many face a struggle for survival. Our field interviews showed that all residential groups looked primarily to industry for needed jobs. Business expansion came second as a way of getting employment with the professions third and farming last.

So the wheel turned in a century. In the early 19th century, Jefferson urged that the new nation become one of small husbandmen and recommended that we leave factories in Europe. Today, the outlook for Goodhue County is clearly a composite rural-industrial society. Farming plays a diminishing role as far as employment opportunities are concerned; industry and the various nonfarm activities must take up the slack. In this process, farm, hamlet, village, and city are merging to form a vast mass society.

In Summary

CHANGE HAS BEEN APPARENT IN GOODHUE COUNTY since 1940, but not all segments of society have changed at the same rate. Units of local government have changed slightly as far as observable features are concerned. County government evidently now assumes some functions which townships traditionally performed but, generally, towns and villages function as before. Churches, also slow adapters to changing demographic and economic conditions, yielded in some cases to inexorable pressures.

Schools, of course, succumbed to these forces and were completely reorganized. Farms and farmers are yielding to the technological revolution. Styles of life, once highly variable between rural and urban, are becoming more alike.

Population composition has changed greatly since 1940—more young and more old, more women than men, fewer in the working ages relative to the total population. The dependency ratio is much higher than it was. Still, generally, incomes are higher and people are better off financially.

War itself was a catalyst in these changes. It created new pressures on the county's productive capacity. It increased incomes for those working at home. It took boys and girls from city, town, and farm to far places. And those who returned came with a different outlook and a consciousness of the world's breadth and nature.

In this report we tried to show the magnitude and the nature of change in Goodhue County, not only in the material aspects of life and society, but also in the attitudes and opinions of farm, town, and city residents.

The World Of Work

Occupationally, Goodhue County experienced these changes between 1950-60:

1. A 17-percent decline in farmers and a 51-percent decline in farm laborers.
2. A 25-percent increase in professionals, a 26-percent gain in clerical workers, and a 17-percent increase in service workers.
3. A 6-percent gain in operatives, mainly those employed in factories. This group was the most important numerically in the labor force next to farmers.
4. An 11-percent decrease in males but a 13-percent increase in females in the labor force. Most women were employed in the professional (14.4 percent), clerical (18.7 percent), service (17.5 percent), and operative (13.9 percent) categories.

5. An increase in the labor force engaged in nonfarm occupations who lived in the open country. The number of rural residents not engaged in farming increased.

In regard to attitudes:

1. Labor unions were not popular in either residential group; attitude differences were not statistically significant by residence. However, employees were more favorable toward unions than were the self-employed.

2. Among occupational groups, "owners and managers" favored employment of union members the least. "Crafts" and "operatives" were most in favor; over half preferred to work as union members. Intermediate in the classification were professional and clerical and sales workers, although the majority preferred nonunion status.

3. Attitudes toward wives working—in various stages of the family cycle—showed few significant differences based upon residence. Major differences were between rural and urban male respondents.

4. Should a woman with preschool children work and place children in a nursery? There were significant differences by educational level—those that had least education were most opposed; those with the highest education were most in favor. Also, significant differences were found among residential groups with 9th grade or more schooling.

Parental Aspirations For Children

The following general conclusions from the data seem warranted:

● Aspirations, although partly a function of place of residence, were not in a unilinear relationship.

● Rural residents were the most likely to hold low educational and occupational aspirations for their children. However, this finding must be qualified by the biasing factor that farming as a choice was almost exclusively limited to rural residents.

● A widely held opinion was that education beyond the high school level was not necessary for farmers.

● Occupational aspiration of parents was related to family size. First and only children received the highest occupational rating. A somewhat lower rating was found for families with two or more children; little difference existed as family size further increased.

● Father's occupational status—self-employed, employee, or farmer—appeared unrelated to parents' occupational aspirations for children. However, if occupations had been specified in detail, some difference might have appeared.

● Parents' aspirations for their children were above and different from their own occupational and educational levels.

● The child's sex was related to parents' occupational and educational aspirations; daughters received higher aspirational levels than sons in both cases.²¹

● The possibility of migration was recognized to a significantly greater degree by village and urban residents than by rural people.

Education And The Schools

The Goodhue County school situation may be summarized as follows:

1. Marked disparities in school attendance between rural and urban population segments were practically erased during 1940-60. Nevertheless, the disparity between educational levels of those 25 years and over still exists. This situation resulted from the earlier disparity in school attendance between rural and urban people. As the current generation moves into the upper ages, differences will tend to narrow. Goodhue, being largely rural, lags behind the state average in the level of adult education.

2. The drastic overhaul of the school organization since 1948, reducing the number of school districts from 155 to 10, required major adjustments in attitudes and values. These adjustments were not complete in 1960. Farm people still had more negative reactions to school consolidation than did town and city residents.

Nevertheless, changes in value orientation are in process. All segments—rural and urban—now share responsibility for schools; farm children no longer attend a "segregated" school. Since rural schools exclusively for rural people and urban schools for urban people were abolished, greater homogeneity must result.

3. Opinions among residential groups regarding teaching facilities for academic subjects were generally favorable. But village residents were critical of facilities for science and vocational subjects, business, agriculture, home economics, and the arts. Apparently, consolidation made demands upon the village high school which required time to meet.

4. Many respondents apparently were not well informed about vocational counseling in the high school. But 47 percent considered it adequate. Responses were definitely related to the parents' level of education; those with highest levels were the most critical.

5. Opinions varied on the effect of high school education on migration. Most village and urban residents thought it was not a factor, 77 and 84 percent, respectively. These results compared with 56 percent for rural and 41 percent for hamlet residents. And 54 percent of the hamlet residents thought its influence "not enough."

²¹ Choices for daughters almost invariably were teacher, nurse, social worker, etc., all of which fell into the professional grouping.

Family Norms

Rural-urban differences do exist concerning certain family norms and values. Fewer rural, hamlet, and village respondents than urban respondents approved of girls or boys dating at 15 years or younger. Concerning the acceptable age for marriage, there was little difference according to residence of respondents. Concerning the "ideal" number of children, responses varied but were not consistently different on a residential basis.

Almost two-thirds of all residential groups approved of married couples postponing a family in order to finish an education. Almost the same proportions indicated disapproval of postponement to "build financial reserve." A lower proportion of urban respondents than of the other residential groups disapproved. Also, differences between rural and urban respondents appeared in regard to postponement for "marital adjustment," with more rural than urban residents disapproving.

In the matter of caring for aged parents, more rural than other respondents wanted them in their own homes. Yet, rural people approved of homes for the aged by about the same proportion as urban people. Of course, the respondent probably answered this question in terms of his own conditions. An urbanite is often an apartment dweller. Rural farm and rural nonfarm families usually live in individual houses where it is easier to accommodate aged parents. All groups overwhelmingly approved of social security and government aid.

Use Of Leisure

The findings suggest the following conclusions:

1. Recreational facilities for adults were considered adequate by most rural, village, and urban respondents. Adults spent most of their time in their occupations and, therefore, placed low demands upon the community for recreational facilities. Moreover, long working hours predominated in the area studied, precluding the necessity for extensive facilities. And, adult activities usually do not require extensive equipment.

2. Adult recreational facilities were considered least adequate by rural and hamlet respondents. The urban area, with its larger population, provides a wider variety of facilities.

3. Residential groups considered facilities for children, especially teenagers, to be inadequate. Inevitably, the urban center was better off. But the significant point for the study was the uniform recognition of the inadequacy of teenage facilities.

4. Rural and hamlet adults had less free time than did village and urban adults. This result was essentially the difference between the self-employed and the employee.

5. All residential groups had contact with the world through the daily metropolitan or county press. Nine out of 10 homes also had TV

sets; all had radios. Little difference appeared among residential groups relative to coverage by mass media.

6. Participation in cultural arts—music, painting, writing, etc.—interested only a limited few, regardless of residence.

7. As far as physical recreation was concerned, rural-urban likenesses were striking. Golf was most popular in the town and city but many hamlet and even some rural people participated.

8. Patterns of the use of leisure time could not be designated as rural, or urban, or village. They were common cultural traits of the county.

Lowry Nelson is a professor emeritus and George Donohue is a professor, Department of Sociology, University of Minnesota.

Since this project was inaugurated in 1959-60, several persons associated with it are no longer on the campus. Marvin J. Taves and Lee Taylor left for other positions in 1961 before the analysis of the data was completed. The following graduate research assistants were associated with the project: Gordon Bultena and Glenn I. Nelson, the former now on the staff of the University of Wisconsin and the latter a member of the faculty of Luther College.

In fall 1964, Lowry Nelson assumed responsibility for the project.

The authors gratefully acknowledge the contributions of Clarice Olien who supervised much of the statistical analysis and Agnes Kohan who prepared the manuscript.

The inclusion of trade names does not imply endorsement by the Agricultural Experiment Station; exclusion does not imply criticism.

Submitted for publication June 8, 1965

Approved for publication September 9, 1965

7M-12-65

