

THE EMERGENCE OF SENTIMENTS WITHIN
A SOCIAL SYSTEM

By

Walter E. Freeman

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of Michigan
State College of Agriculture and Applied Science
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Sociology
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Approved

Charles P. Loomis
per Charles R. Hoffer.

Walter E. Freeman

This study explains the persistent qualities of relationship found within a social system which was structured around a problem solving orientation. The relationships of which the social system was composed were empirically grounded to activity manifested in a self-survey of health carried on by seven hundred citizens of a midwestern county. The problem of persistence was complicated by the temporary nature of the system, that is, after the problem was solved (the organization and completion of the survey) the system would cease to exist.

Sentiments expressed by actors within the system were analyzed in order to better understand the quality of existing relationships. An analysis of sentiments provided for an emphasis on the symbolic level of relationships within the social system. These sentiments were traced to relevant cultural patterns within the society from which the social system emerged. Such patterns allowed for an understanding of the historical themes which gave support to the content of the sentiments expressed by the actors.

Since the actors were members of a larger society, the sentiments associated with structures within this society were examined. Themes of individualism and collectivism expressed in terms of health and education were found to be relevant to an analysis of the sentiments manifested by those active in the health survey.

Organizations such as the Public Health Service, Health Council, Cooperative Extension Service, Medical Society, Grange, etc. were treated as part of the relevant structure since members of the survey group also held positions within these organizations or had close ties to them.

It was found that within the social system actors expressed sentiments which displayed a commonality of purpose but there were also indications of extreme disagreement as to methods and objectives held by the group. Such disagreements were frequently manifested in the content of the sentiments and were explained by the divergent ones which were associated with different and conflicting orientations in the relevant structures.

Continuity of the system appeared to be explained by general areas of commonality which were sacred in quality and to which all actors adhered. These areas were marked by beliefs in the intrinsic value of the individual, the importance of good health, the prolongation of life, and the value of the educational process. Such general areas of agreement made possible the condition which we conceptualize as the "fund of good will". This "fund of good will" may be manifested in sets of relationships found in any society and may be utilized for objectives defined by segments of the society as "worthwhile". This phenomenon is to be found in sets of relationship held together by strong bonds of obligation to friends, organizations, and the community. It further explains

the condition of structural continuity within the social system observed. Systems oriented to temporary problem solution may be held together by the overall pervasiveness of pre-existing relationships found in relevant structures of the society. Sentiments which are expressed in these systems feed back to the total culture of the society and provide for a reshaping of sentiments which are found within its structures.

In such a way the persistence of relationships which existed over a period of two years was explained. This process further explains the continued birth, death, and re-birth of many action programs found in our society which include people of different orientations joined together for a "common good" who remain together for brief periods of time in collective unity.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The following study is concerned with the process of social action that leads to the formation of a group of people who, sharing common goals focused upon problems that demand solution, join together for what they believe to be the "common good". The frame of reference is largely determined by the empirical referrent which was observed: a self-survey of health. The health action that took place as a result of the survey, occurred during the years of 1951 and 1952.

The problems presented here are not concerned with the "rightness" or "wrongness" of any position held by the individuals being observed. Nor is there any attempt to view the techniques utilized by these people as more effective or less effective than some other methods which might have been used.

The primary concern is one of observing and analyzing the values held and shared by a specific group of people who were concerned with certain problems of a social content. It is believed that an analysis of a system of values held by these people may lead to a better understanding of what brings people together in social groupings which are service oriented; what provides for misunderstandings and conflict

in value orientation; and why people continue to work together for this "common good" when they apparently disagree on fundamental objectives of their original orientation.

The data for this dissertation was taken from a larger study financed by the Health Information Foundation of New York City and carried on by The Social Research Service of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Michigan State College. The original research design that guided this study, of course, provides the basic orientation for the dissertation but the scope of the problem presented here is of necessity more limited. The dissertation will not deal with such areas as health problems, health needs, nor health facilities. The content of health will only be considered important where it sheds light upon the meaning of certain beliefs held by the individuals being observed.

Although not concerned with questions related to the efficacy of self-surveys it would be impossible for the writer to deny certain values held toward these activities. Values concerning the effect of any action program which is motivated, supported, and carried through by citizens of a community for the benefit of all members of a society, carry a positive bias within a democratic system of values. The belief that communities or the members of communities can solve their problems and during periods of crises can "pick themselves up by their bootstraps", has led many professionals

within the field of community action to take interest in and stimulate activities which have sprung up from the "grassroots."¹ It would also be strange if the writer did not, to some extent, cherish certain values concerning the outcome of group action. Although no attempt will be made to support the value of such action, the writer's awareness of its importance and significance within the framework of a democratic society must be stated.

THE SELF-SURVEY

In the winter of 1951, the county Health Council made up of a small group of professional leaders, met at a hospital in Central City, Michigan for the purpose of deciding what could be done to revive and continue their organization which they felt to be valuable and worthwhile to their county. Its membership had been composed of representatives from various associations who were interested in health action and had participated in activities concerning health.

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1. Literature on community self-generating action is abundant. See: Baker Brownell, The Human Community: Its Philosophy and Practice for a Time of Crisis, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950; James Dahir, Communities for Better Living, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950; Wayland J. Hayes and Anthony Netboy, The Small Community Looks Ahead, New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1947; Earl Hitch, Rebuilding Rural America, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950; Charles P. McCormick, The Power of the People, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950; Jean Carter and Jess Ogden, These Things We Tried, Charlottesville: University of Virginia Extension, 1947; Richard Waverly Poston, Small Town Renaissance: A Story of the Montana Study, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950; Richard Waverly Poston, Democracy Is You, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953; Irwin T. Sanders, Making Good Communities Better, Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1950.

The organization had carried on a few minor programs which in actuality did not advance beyond the planning stage. It had failed to gain the interest of many groups in the area and was facing the probability of disbandment. A few county professionals and members of the Health Department who saw value in an organization which could mobilize the efforts of lay and professional groups in health oriented tasks, considered this an unfortunate outcome. The County Health Department, in particular, needed the cooperation of all community groups throughout the county in order to provide more effective services for the people. It was through the suggestion of the County Health Department Director that at this meeting the group voted and agreed to begin a project which might gain new interest for the organization, gain information for county officials, and pursue a new course of educating all people in the county as to general health problems.

The particular project agreed upon was a survey of health problems throughout the county. Various questions concerning health were incorporated within a questionnaire by the county agencies and professionals who were interested in certain areas of public health, e.g., the Extension Office wanted to know more about health concerning the handling of dairy products and the conditions of farm animals in such procedures pertaining to the communicable diseases transmitted to man.

When the questionnaire had been formulated and agreed upon, one basic problem was faced. If interviews were to be taken of most of the people throughout the county (this had been agreed upon to meet the objective of educating the people), a tremendous labor force of interviewers would be needed. Since no money was available to hire such people and since it was felt that by having people of the county do such a job certain feelings of "worth-while-ness" might result, the problem of involving voluntary help throughout a county of 64,000 in population had to be immediately faced.

No easy solution was found since most of the people responsible for the promotion of such a project had limited contacts throughout the area. Actually several methods were used to gain access to voluntary aid in the different areas of the county. Some were "known" families in their community, others were organization leaders. The School Superintendent of the county was able to contact people within the county school system. Another member of the group was a Superintendent of Nurses in a hospital, in one of the small villages of the county. She had contact with a few professional people throughout the area. In some instances where no particular person was known to the group, contacts were made with organizations which, it was felt, would aid in carrying out the project in their community. With this method of organization one can see that each area could easily give rise to its own peculiar structure of relationships.

It was the organizational activity above that manifested itself in a social system. The interaction of many people sharing similar goals made possible the following analysis.

BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

In the original design, which was structured for the purpose of gathering data as well as for future analysis, certain assumptions were made. These assumptions should be stated at this point, since they provide the foundation for further assumptions and the body of theory that follows.

First, it was assumed that a self-survey of health is a special case of a general type of group action, namely: one which is (1) voluntary, (2) problem-oriented, (3) socially controlled, and (4) with authority diffused.

Second, it was assumed that a self-survey mobilizes the resources of a social unit in such a way that the ensuing action may be viewed as the operation of a unique social system. That is, the actions of individuals and of organizations form a pattern which we may call a social system or quasi-social system. This system operates so as to articulate, at least temporarily, the existing social structures within the county in such a way that the problem (self-survey) is solved. In this process the self-survey social system is itself a social structure, even though temporary, which is activated and de-activated within the framework of existing social systems in the community.

Third, it was assumed that the patterns of behavior which are evoked may be temporary and relatively unstable. That is, many kinds of relationships may be evoked temporarily and then disappear. Nevertheless, the self-survey as a social system has its own structure, even though to achieve it the relatively permanent and stable patterns of relationships in the county must be called upon. Thus viewed, the process of a self-survey is subject to (1) regularities of human interaction common to all social systems, and (2) irregularities of interaction provoked by its temporary and relatively unstable character.

Fourth, the research was guided by the conception of a social system as including (1) a set of functionally interdependent relationships between the social actors of the system, (2) interaction between actors necessary to maintain these relationships, and (3) beliefs, sentiments, and symbolic equipment which develop out of and reinforce this interaction.

THE GENERAL PROBLEM

Certain elements inherent in the above assumptions suggest structural problems related to the social system under analysis. If a social system, as is manifested by the self-survey, is unique and the patterns of behavior evoked are temporary and relatively unstable, the quality of stability which is characteristic of social systems

will appear in a considerably altered form. Whether or not such a condition of instability is unique to all social systems must be considered at this time.

A social system may be considered unique in the sense that its relationships vary in such a way as to contrast with what would be regarded as relationships of an "ideal" social system.² Nevertheless, there are many social systems which may be considered of an unstable nature which are manifested in a society where cultural values support programs related to change. Most action programs in our society are dependent upon such temporary and unstable systems. The word unique must, then, be qualified in order that it might refer to a certain type of social system. The social system being analyzed, will be regarded as a certain class of social systems, that is, social systems which are structured by relationships intended as temporary. Most important to the meaning of this last assumption is the concept of intent. It implies a reciprocal relationship between the individual and the social system. If the relationships are intended to be temporary by the actors who make up the social system, the stability or instability of these relationships become understandable by the nature of the sentiments expressed by the actors. Sentiments will be treated shortly.

2. "Ideal" refers here to the basic assumptions of what constitutes a social system. (See page 6). Instability of relationship suggests a condition not common to the general definition of a social system.

Although the social system being analyzed is regarded as one of a certain class of social systems, it must meet the general requisites of all social systems, that is, it must be made up of entities which are "human beings, in certain relations, which are differentiated from and isolated from all other relations in the universe"³ and it must maintain its structural continuity. The structural continuity of a system is manifested by the repetitious nature of the relationships.⁴ There is also inherent in the meaning of structure, qualities of persistence and continuity.

.....structure is a relatively fixed relationship between elements, parts, or entities...In the interests of realism it is

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3. A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, The Nature of A Theoretical Natural Science of Society, Notes on a discussion in a seminar at the University of Chicago, 1937, Chicago: University of Chicago Bookstore, 1948, p. 25.
 4. See Parson's definition of "boundary maintaining systems", Talcott Parsons, The Social System, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1951, pp. 36, 482-483. Charles P. Loomis in his paper on Elements of Social Systems and the Strategy of Change, (unpublished) defines the concept of boundary maintenance in the Parsonian sense. It is apparent that the problem of structural continuity and persistence is included within such a definition. "Boundary maintenance, may be defined as the process whereby the system retains its identity and interaction pattern; i.e., retains its equilibrium involving both integration and solidarity. In the study of the strategy of change the process of boundary maintenance is especially important because much of the resistance to change may be related to boundary maintenance. Members of organizations often relate what appear to the outsider as insignificant changes to the sacred elements of the system. Thus the House Amish would not introduce electricity into their homes or barns because this they believed would destroy them as a chosen though martyred people."

best to speak of the structure of social phenomena only where there is an important degree of continuity where human activities are so patterned (recurrent) that we can observe a group standardization persisting, although changing, over a considerable time.⁵

A social system is persistent, in that it maintains its structural continuity.

If such a condition of persistence exists in the meaning of structure, the observation of this condition, in terms of the relationships that occur, becomes of primary concern to analysis of the social system.⁶ Radcliffe-Brown has stated that the problem of persistence is fundamental to the understanding of society.

I do not believe there is any problem of society with which a social scientist is concerned that does not fall into one of three groups I have mentioned: "How are societies classified? How do they persist? How do they change their type?" There are problems concerning the nature of social systems which we are not discussing here, but all of them, I believe will fall under these three heads.⁷

Since a requisite for all social systems is the maintenance

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5. Robin M. Williams, American Society, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951, p. 20.
 6. Warner in his discussion of social change, (Lloyd W. Warner, American Life, "Study of Contemporary Society", Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953.) suggests that, "Perhaps the most interesting thing about the study of social change is the fact that so much attention has been given to it and so little to social persistence. We largely take for granted that social groups persist. We rarely stop to ask why persistence occurs and try to determine its nature.", p. 37.
 7. Radcliffe-Brown, op. cit., p. 47.

of their structural continuity. THE PROBLEM OF THIS DISSERTATION WILL BE CONCERNED WITH THE PERSISTENT QUALITY OF RELATIONSHIPS INTENDED AS TEMPORARY.

In the assumption regarding structural relationships which are intended as temporary, the concept of intent, as it is related to sentiments, was mentioned. The concept of intent suggests that the individual actor has become involved in a set of relationships which he recognizes as temporary, since such relationships have been structured around a problem-solving activity which will exist until the solution to the problem is found. It is assumed that whether or not the actor is entirely clear as to what the goals of such activity are, he is aware of the temporary nature of such activity. Therefore, any relationship an actor enters into is recognized as temporary within the system of action that takes place.

Once the reference is made to the recognition of the actor regarding the intent behind his involvement, the concept of sentiment becomes crucial to further analysis. Sentiments will be defined as (1) actor's perceptions of existing relationships within the social system; (2) expressed beliefs within and outside the social system; (3) beliefs held constant through time by the total normative behavior of the society.⁸

8. Although presented within the action frame of reference, the concept of a sentiment defined by Parsons is

An actor, if involved in a particular system of action, must be able to identify his part in such action and be able to see it within a totality of relationships that result. Limitations to such identification result as limitations of relationships occur both inside and outside the social system. Also the body of sentiments to which the actor adheres but of which he is not necessarily conscious provide limitations in such identification. The collective identity of all actors manifests the relationships within a social system and it will be A FURTHER PROBLEM OF THIS DISSERTATION TO TREAT SUCH COLLECTIVE MANIFESTATIONS, AS THEY ARE EXPRESSED IN A BODY OF SENTIMENTS, IN SUCH A WAY THAT THE STRUCTURAL CONTINUITY OF THE SYSTEM ITSELF WILL BE UNDERSTOOD ON A SYMBOLIC LEVEL. Such a problem is concerned with symbols, since human behavior is essentially symbolic. Ernst Cassirer states,

...we find in man a third link which we may describe as the symbolic system. This new acquisition transforms the whole of human life. As compared with the other animals man lives not merely in a broader reality; he lives, so to speak in a new dimension of reality. There is an unmistakable difference between organic reactions and human responses. In the first case a direct and immediate answer is given to an

particularly applicable to the above definition. "...culturally organized cathectic and/or evaluative modes of orientation toward particular objects or classes of objects. A sentiment thus involves the internalization of cultural patterns." Parsons, op. cit., p. 41.

outward stimulus; in the second case the answer is delayed. Is is interrupted and retarded by a slow and complicated process of thought...No longer in a merely physical universe, man lives in a symbolic universe.⁹

Ernest Nagel has defined the symbol as being "any occurrence (or type of occurrence), usually linguistic in status which is taken to signify something else by way of tacit or explicit conventions or rules of usage".¹⁰ Such symbols may be examined for the purpose of better understanding human behavior. As Cassirer has stated, it is this "symbolic universe" that makes man more understandable.¹¹ Thus, the collective manifestations defined as sentiments are symbolic. Such manifestations of sentiments will be studied for the content of meaning they carry.¹²

The symbols which give meaning to human activity are frequently clustered around belief systems found within the total culture of a society and for this reason when examined are better understood in terms of the whole from which they have been abstracted.

...the symbol is in fact a sort of a whole, a component of a field which also contains the so-called thing, as well as the process

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9. Ernst Cassirer, An Essay on Man, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1944, pp. 24-25.
 10. Ernest Nagel, "Symbolism and Science", Thirteenth Symposium of the Conference On Science, Philosophy, and Religion, Symbols and Values: An Initial Study, edit., Lyman Bryson, et. al., New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954, p. 44.
 11. Cassirer, op. cit., p. 32.
 12. For an emphasis on this theoretical perspective, see: C.K. Ogden and I.A. Richard, The Meaning of Meaning, New York: Harcourt, Brace, & Co., 1946.

of symbolizing, and the apprehending individual. In this view, the concept of the symbol is close to the original meaning of the word in Greek. The symbol, the broken off part of the coin given to the parting friend, is not a separate element, but carries with it wherever it goes the whole coin in which it has participated, as well as the situation of hospitality during which the coin was broken in half, and when it is finally matched with the remaining half, the whole has value because the symbol has conveyed - not created or evoked - this value. According to the view presented here, symbols are a part of the process whereby the experienced world, the world of perception and concept is created out of the world of physical reality, the so called given, the undifferentiated mass, or energy or set of relations.¹³

If symbols are to be viewed in the above sense, some understanding must be gained concerning the belief systems from which they have been taken. It must be made clear, however, that such beliefs systems do not necessarily represent the source, nor explain, in a causal sense, all other beliefs or sentiments found within them.

The notion that there must be some fundamental belief from which all other beliefs, so to speak, hang, a belief which supports all others but itself needs no support, is a plausible error. Once we insist upon reducing the situation which evokes the "fundamental decision" to its concrete elements, the decision turns out to be a "conclusion," and like all conclusions depends upon something else. The bogey of an infinite regress is laid when we realize that although one

13. Dorothy D. Lee, "Symbolization and Value", Conference on Science, Philosophy, and Religion, op. cit., pp. 73-74.

problem always involves others, it does not involve all problems, and that it is possible to settle problems even when the answers suggest new problems.¹⁴

This dissertation, then, will be concerned with the symbols which apply to the sentiments expressed by actors within a social system. While it pursues the question of meaning on the "symbolic level", the referrent remains the same, and symbols remain related to the sentiments expressed within the system itself. The problem continues to be one of explaining the persistent qualities of a social system made up of social relationships intended as temporary. In shifting the focus to belief systems it must be remembered that the purpose of such an analysis is to make more meaningful the sentiments expressed by actors within the social system.¹⁵ For this reason certain salient themes found within the cultural pattern of existing society, in which the social system is found, will be selected as relevant to the problem at hand.¹⁶ Although such themes must be expressed in the

14. Sidney Hook, Reason, Social Myths, and Democracy, New York: New York Humanities Press, 1950, p. 7.

15. It will be necessary, ultimately, to drop the level of abstraction to that of the social system and the actors found within it. Because of the importance given to the symbolic level in this analysis and the interest in the cultural patterns which provide meaning for belief systems, the first part of the dissertation will be devoted to this level of abstraction.

16. To the extent that such themes were determined as relevant after data had been collected, some defense of post factum weakness be made. The selection of themes was based upon accumulated data, but also upon a growing operational knowledge of their importance while the research progressed. Rather than being completely post

immediate context of the culture in which they are found, the problem of the historical perspective must be met. Since the analysis of the sentiments is based upon action observed, the meaning found within the sentiments expressed is dependent upon the particular action that occurred. Values expressed symbolically do not always correspond to the action observed. This is often caused by the latency of meaning found within values or beliefs attached to the action. It is felt that latent meaning found with sentiments expressed can be better understood by exploring preceding trends in the cultural patterns which allow for the immediate expression of a belief or sentiment.

For this reason the concept of emergence is introduced. It is a basic assumption of this dissertation that the symbolic meaning carried within the body of sentiments is seriously limited without the understanding of the process of emergence that is responsible for the particular content of such symbols within the system itself. The analysis of emergence also makes more understandable the very process by which a social system is formed. It is the emergence of symbols relevant to the self-survey that makes the involvement process of the individual actor more understandable.

A behavior as an emergent, means that it must necessarily, as a resultant integration, come out of other related behaviors already

factum, they led to the final decision on the part of the writer that an analysis of sentiments expressed within a social system might better explain its structural continuity.

established...A behavior appears or occurs in action, as action, because life is a continuous process, and because of the relative stable configurations of symbols which direct and control the process of living in a given society. Every act emerges as part of a configuration which has itself emerged out of previous acts in similar situations.¹⁷

The concept of emergence created an entirely new dimension to the analysis of this problem and allows for a study of historical themes which have led to the growth of the particular society in which the system is found.

In the selection of historical themes some basic criticisms arise which are fundamental to the consideration of the historical method. The general acceptance of this historical method upon the part of the writer is a position taken in terms of his methodology which carries with it certain basic assumptions regarding the philosophy of science and the meaning of the historical method. It is first of all the position of the writer that the historical method is one of scientific inquiry.

More generally there appears to be no good reason for the claiming that general pattern of explanations in historical inquiry, or the logical structure of the conceptual tools employed in it, differs from these encountered in the generalizing and the natural sciences. The explanatory premises in history, as

17. Walter Coutu, Emergent Human Nature, New York: Alfred A. Knopf Co., 1949, p. 25.

in the natural sciences, include a number of implicitly (though usually incompletely) formulated singular statements of initial condition.¹⁸

Furthermore the selection of particularly significant or relevant themes in historical analysis will not be viewed as a weakness or lack of objectivity.

It is a platitude that research in history as in other areas of science selects and abstracts from the concrete occurrences studied, and that however detailed a historical discourse may be it is never an exhaustive account of what actually happened--there is no *prima facie* reason to believe that, because there are causal determinants for his choice, a historian is in principle precluded--any more than is a natural scientist--from rendering an adequate account of the subjects he is investigating.¹⁹

One last position that must be taken in the light of the historical method is that of determining the point of causality in historical reconstruction. Such a selection of causal conditions is often criticized on the grounds that historical causality can never be exhausted.

The objection under discussion also rests on another misconception; it in effect assumes that since every causal condition for an event has its own causal condition, the event is never properly explained unless the entire regressive series of the latter conditions are also explained. But is there any violence to the truth? Is B

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18. Ernest Nagel, Herbert Feigl, and May Brodbeck, "The Logic of Historical Analysis", Readings in the Philosophy of Science, New York: New Appleton Century Crofts, Inc., 1953, p. 690.
 19. Ibid., p. 691.

not a cause of A simply because C is a cause of B? When some future position of a planet is predicted with the help of gravitational theory and information about the initial condition of the solar system at some given time, is there ground for skepticism simply because the assumed initial conditions are in turn the outcome of previous ones? The supposition that, when a problem is made definite a regressive chain of answers must be sought if any one answer is to be objectively warranted, is patently self-contradictory. On the other hand, the fact that one problem may suggest another, and so lead to a possibly endless series of new inquiries, simply suggests the progressive character of the scientific enterprise; that fact is no support for the claim that unless the series is terminated, every proposed solution to a given problem is necessarily a mutilation of the truth.²⁰

OVERALL STRUCTURE OF THE SYSTEM

It has been stated that sentiments expressed by actors, which are representative of relationships outside the system, may be considered salient whenever relevant to the understanding of the body of sentiments found within the system. By introducing saliency, the area of interest has been expanded, but also the distinction between what is part of the social system and what is part of its total environment becomes less distinct. When saliency is ignored, that which is not expressed within the system or explained by the relationships within the system may fall into a residual category of the total environment. Once interested

20. Nagel, op. cit... p. 691.

in salient considerations, the distinction between the system and the outside environment is one of relevancy. Although such a division is arbitrary, it allows for a more dynamic analysis in the system itself, since all actors playing roles within it have significant parts to play in the outer environment. Such roles, when they are of the nature to evoke sentiments which will play an important part in the roles of the actors within the system, are important to the total analysis. Not only are outside roles played by the actor important, since they provide relevant sentiments, but normative themes within the outer environment (total society) are equally important, since they provide the actors with general values which are in themselves collections of sentiments within the society. These collective sentiments although not always expressed by the actor may play a conscious or unconscious part in the sentiments he expresses within the system. This latter distinction concerning the outer environment is difficult to pursue to any definite end, since the total body of sentiments would be impossible to exhaust.

The distinction must be made, then, as to what is exterior to or outside the system, what is salient or relevant to the system, and what is part of the analysis within the system.

THE SOCIAL SYSTEM

The system has been separated into some distinct segments. These segments have been derived in an operational sense, and therefore will be referred to with respect to the action process in which they were found. Thus actors who were primarily involved in the survey on the level of county-wide organization or those who were the early architects of the survey idea, in respect to their relationships make up the "County Level" segment. Those actors who were more concerned with the recruiting of local help and those active in executing the survey (i.e., those who did the house-to-house interviewing) will be included with respect to their relationships within the "Local Level" segment.

The "Local Level" can be analyzed from the standpoint of organization, primarily. In the process of recruiting help and doing the interviewing, certain distinct elements of organization were observed. These elements lend themselves to analysis and generalization. The former segment calls for less breakdown in analysis and will be studied with a focus upon the major actors of which it is composed.

Further Methodological Considerations

The methodological problem which faces this study is not one of experimentation. The problem has not been structured for the purpose of providing answers of a "why" nature but rather those of "how". In this sense such a study is concerned with the natural or life history of a social system.

It is the task of this dissertation to provide steps of analysis which allow for an examination of the social processes within a social system which explains its structural continuity. The general problem area was spelled out for the purpose of revealing the logical steps by which an analysis of the social system is undertaken. It is not supposed by the writer that the method utilized is the only method but that by this means of investigation one may gain insight into an area of research which is concerned with the symbolic level of social action. It is concerned with how symbols manifested in social action affect and are affected by the total system in which they emerge.

By approaching the analysis in this manner one is able to analytically treat the formation of a social system, the orientation of the actors within it, the direction the action takes, and the effect such action has upon the society in which the action gains its identity. It is apparent that the problem of this study suggests other equally important problems of a more substantive nature. Such problems are formulated and treated in the subsequent chapters.

In a certain sense this study is concerned with the case method, that is, "the general theories are shown to arise out of, and to be supported by, specific, detailed matters of observation."²¹ However, the level of abstraction

21. George C. Homans, The Human Group, New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1950, p. 18.

utilized in this dissertation prevents the method of analysis from being confined to this perspective alone. An actual case study of a social system would be impossible since the social system is not an observable unit. The action and relationships which occur are observable, however, and in this sense the case method was utilized. Data were collected over a period of three years by the field observer technique. The field observer's activities may be described as:

"he attended all county meetings directly related to the survey. He sampled a variety of local meetings dedicated to the same project. All major actors in the survey were interviewed by him. Likewise, he obtained membership lists of organizations which participated in the survey, kept field records on observations concerning general community activities, determined major ecological factors of importance to the survey, observed the actions of major survey participants as a check on the validity of the interviews, and developed a chronological list of events which served to delineate the flow of the action process."²²

In addition to the above method of data collection a formal interview was used and although the data used in this dissertation constituted only a small portion of the questions asked, such information gained by this method provides all of the analysis in Chapter IX, "The Local Level."

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22. The above description has been abstracted from the larger study which is to be found in a manuscript to be published by the Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois. (Christopher Sower, J. Holland, K. Tiedke, and W. Freeman, Patterns of Community Involvement, p. 17.

The historical method was utilized in order to provide an analysis of the cultural themes and belief systems in society. Such a method was complemented by the use of socio-anthropological techniques of field method and analysis.²³

No attempt will be made here to defend one particular method against another. Actually the methods utilized called for both quantitative and non-quantitative or qualitative analysis. The large share of the analysis falls into the category of the qualitative but to the extent that all research in the social sciences is dependent upon qualitative analysis of some sort this is an unfortunate use of terms. Also much that is considered non-quantified data is not necessarily non-quantifiable.²⁴ The choice of analysis has been reached from the nature of the problem and the field method used. The greater portion of the data used here was taken from the field observer's daily notes. Whatever the admitted weaknesses in objectivity,²⁵ the data itself provided a rich store of qualitative information concerning involvement and participation in action programs. It was

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- 23. John B. Holland, "The Utility of Social Anthropology as an Adjunct of a Social Survey," International Journal of Opinion and Attitude Research, 5, 1951-52.
 - 24. Marie Jahoda, et. al., Research Methods in Social Relations, New York: Dryden Press, Part I, p. 295.
 - 25. See: Helen Peak, "Problems of Objective Observation", L. Festinger and D. Katz, Research Methods in the Behavioral Sciences, New York: Dryden Press, 1953.

evident to the writer that an analysis of the content of such data would lead to a clarification of the problem presented above. The analysis of content, content of belief expressed by individuals participating in a social action program, represents the major portion of this work. The analysis of content employed should not be confused with the type of content analysis which has grown in importance in the field of communications. It is not that such methods of analysis differ, because in actuality they contain the same point of interest²⁶ but the growth of content analysis in communication studies has emphasized quantification to a greater degree than will be done here.

To be sure, modern content analysis has added a new feature to the exploitation of communication content for research purposes namely, the development of elaborate techniques for quantification of the material. Indeed, in recent methodological publications quantification is, as a rule, regarded as a necessary element in content analysis.²⁷

The strength of the analytical method used is grounded on the assumption that a qualitative emphasis is necessary.

The emphasis on quantitative analysis has, of course, advanced the study of communication content considerably by adding precision to insight. Yet - and this is the other side of the coin - concern with quantification has become so dominant that it often overshadows concern with the

26. Jahoda, et. al., op. cit., p. 236.

27. Ibid.

peculiar character of communication data. Definitions of content analysis tend to emphasize the procedure of analysis rather than the character of the data available in recorded communications. In addition, they imply a somewhat arbitrary limitation of the field by excluding from it all non-quantified statements.²⁸

To this extent the following analysis is oriented to a qualitative analysis of content.

PLAN OF ANALYSIS

As has been stated, this dissertation is a descriptive analysis of the life history of a social action program which was manifested in a set of relationships defined as a social system. The following chapters will be structured for the purpose of segmenting in logical compartments the concepts which have been partially discussed in this chapter and which will be elaborated on within the content of the analysis.

Part I will be called Relevant Cultural Patterns. This part is concerned with Chapters II, III, and IV. Chapter II will delineate relevant or salient historical themes which allow for an analysis of the emerging sentiments that impinge upon the social system and provide the content by which sentiments expressed by actors within the system can be analyzed. Chapters III and IV describe these emerging and relevant sentiments. Chapter III is devoted to the

28. Ibid., pp. 236-237.

relevant sentiments of health which become expressed within the system of action observed, while Chapter IV describes the relevant sentiments of education. These sentiments become expressed in terms of the preceding historical themes of the cultural system.

Part II reveals the Relevant Structures. These structures provide the social setting in which the social system emerges and gains its identity. Chapter V describes the major structures of Independence County, the county in which the social action took place and in which the relationships that are manifested in a social system occurred. Chapter VI is concerned with the Tangential Organizations which provide further structures of references for the actors in the social system.

Part III is concerned with the Social System itself. It provides for a segmentation of the social system into two distinct parts - The County Level and the Local Level. Chapter VII describes the County Level, the relationships of actors within it, and the sentiments expressed by these actors. Chapter VIII is concerned with an analysis of the sentiments described in Chapter VII. Chapter IX describes the local level in terms of organizational units and provides an analysis of the sentiments expressed within such units.

Part IV is concerned with Feedback or the empirical consequences of the social action and sentiments expressed.

Chapter X includes a description of the known effect of the social action program within the county and suggests the feedback process that occurs between the Social System and the Relevant Structure.

Chapter XI provides conclusions and an assessment of the total analytical design in the light of future research.

PART I

RELEVANT CULTURAL PATTERNS

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL THEMES IN THE RELEVANT CULTURAL PATTERNS

Before examining the historical themes which are relevant to the problem of this dissertation, some discussion concerning the concept of "cultural patterns" is necessary, since Part I will attempt to describe such patterns as they become relevant. The use of the concept "culture" in the following study carries a specific and qualified meaning. This meaning is determined by the fact that it is qualified by the terms "relevant" and "patterns".

The notion of relevancy has been discussed to some extent in the preceding chapter. It should be made clear once again that the treatment of culture serves as a focus for the analysis of the symbolic manifestations of relationships within the social system which provides meaning for the actors intent within the system.

On both levels, however, various elements of the situation come to have special "meaning" for ego as "signs" or "symbols" which become relevant to the organization of his expectation system. Especially where there is social interaction, signs and symbols acquire common meanings and serve as media of communication between actors. When symbolic systems which can meditate have emerged we may speak of the beginnings of a "culture" which becomes part of the action system of the relevant actors.¹

1. Parsons, Talcott, op. cit., p. 5.

The meaning of patterns, in the sense of their past usage in studies of culture, is best illustrated by the works of Ruth Benedict.² Benedict, in attempting to compare three primitive tribes, focused upon the configurational content of their culture.³ Using patterns in this way, she attempted to capture the "Geist" of the culture itself.

Patterns, as used in this study, are applied in a more limited sense. In actuality, the following chapters of Part I are largely concerned with an isolation of specific and relative areas of value in American Culture.⁴ The selection of the areas of value are based upon the following criteria provided by Robin Williams in the selection of dominant values:⁵

1. Extensiveness of the value in the total activity of the system. What proportion of a population and of its activities manifest the value?
2. Duration of the value. Has it been persistently important over a considerable period of time?
3. Intensity with which the value is sought or maintained, as shown by: effort, crucial choices, verbal affirmation, and by reactions to threats to the value -- for example, promptness, certainty, and severity of sanctions.

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2. Ruth Benedict, Patterns of Culture, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1934 and Benedict, The Chrysanthemum and the Sword, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1946.
 3. Benedict, Patterns of Culture, 1934.
 4. American Cultural Characteristics and major themes discussed lucidly by Brogan, See: Denis William Brogan, The American Character, New York: Alfred A. Knopf Company, 1944, and Brogan, American Themes, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949.
 5. Williams, op. cit., pp. 382-383.

4. Prestige of value carriers - that is, of persons, objects, or organizations considered to be bearers of the value. Culture heroes, for example, are significant indexes of value of high generality and esteem.

Instead of using "patterns", Williams uses "system", in the sense that it refers to "some determinate arrangement of parts or entities, that is, to a set of relationships that is more than a chance ordering of parts".⁶ Since there is danger of confusing the usage of "system" as it is applied in this study, such terminology has been avoided.

Part I and the following chapters, then, are concerned with the relevant cultural patterns which are found emergent within the relevant structures of society and provide the content of meaning for sentiments that converge upon the social system.

The historical themes to be described in this chapter have been selected as relevant since they display the process of development that certain basic values have undergone in the American Culture. They are particularly valuable since they provide the descriptive data which indicate the extensiveness, duration, intensity, and prestige that certain values have carried in our society over a period of time. The chapters that follow, Chapter III and Chapter IV, will describe the specific sentiments within the relevant cultural patterns that are found emergent in the relevant structures.

6. Ibid., p. 385.

HISTORICAL THEMES

The following historical treatment will be concerned with the establishment of an arbitrary point in time which will indicate the beginning analysis of certain beliefs. An attempt will be made to trace the development of such beliefs to the point at which they are found manifested in present day society and more particularly in the immediate and relevant environment of Independence County, Michigan. These themes provide for a constellation of beliefs and sentiments which have undergone change throughout a period of specified time. Only the sentiments which have been considered to have particular bearing on the problem of this study will be discussed. This is not done to indicate the lack of importance of other sentiments but to provide a logical operational breakdown for the study of the following patterns.

THEMES OF INDIVIDUALISM AND COLLECTIVISM

The matter of individualism as opposed to collective constraint has long been a matter of struggle and strife in Western Civilization. Problems focused upon the assertion of man's independence and his quest for freedom along with his desire for order and established social controls have set the stage for years of political, economic, and social philosophical interpretations; interpretations which

have considered the optimum point of man's freedom from controls which are against his "best" interest. Such philosophies are not to be traced in this chapter, nor is there any concern in the actual definition of freedom, since it will be assumed that this concept is relative to the culture in which it is found. Instead, the purpose of this discussion will be to consider beliefs in individualism and collectivism in the light of the American cultural tradition.

JEFFERSONIAN INDIVIDUALISM

Although rich with the heritage of European thought, the American philosophical position has been unique and has marked itself in many peculiar ways which have been necessary to meet the requirements of an infant and expanding culture.

American philosophy - if so pretentious a term may be used for things Americans believed in - was, like the American character, an amalgam of inheritance and experience; and if the inheritance is more obvious, the experience is more interesting. To confess that the formal corpus of philosophy was inherited tells us little, for the American was a free agent, and if the term inheritance suggests a passive role it is misleading. That the Declaration of Independence was a recapitulation of John Locke's Second Treatise on Government, was wryly remarked by John Adams and has been monotonously reaffirmed, but it is pertinent to observe that Locke rationalized a revolution and Jefferson inspired one and that Locke is rather better known in the American translation than in the original. The important

inquiry is why the American took what he did from the accumulated store of philosophy and what he did with what he took.⁷

Although the American philosophy has been a rather rudimentary one, it has been distinguished by one basic theme which has run constant through the growth of the nation; the concept of individualism and the glorification of such belief. The main stream of thought finds its source in the Jeffersonian philosophical treatment, if it may be called this. Jefferson's beliefs were hardly of that contemplative nature which distinguishes man in relationship with all other men. Instead such beliefs concerning the individualism of mankind were set in an environment of a natural struggle. Beliefs in individualism accepted man as a free agent who was faced with a set of problems in his natural environment which, although tremendous barriers to his freedom, were hardly insurmountable to human intellect. The Natural Rights theory embraced by Jeffersonians was hardly structured, however, for the purpose of accounting for social restrictions upon conditions related to individual freedom.

We cannot be surprised that the Jeffersonian found this metaphysical apparatus

7. Henry Steele Commager, The American Mind, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950, p. 26.

adequate for his political program. The individual claims which seemed necessary for man's mastery of his environment in Jefferson's day were socially innocuous; man's struggle was still more against nature than against his fellow men.⁸

It is evident that such a basic belief in man's freedom to conquer obstacles in his natural environment, if not tempered with some acceptance of man's relationship with other men, would eventually lead to serious questions related to how free he was. It is the distinction of American social pattern that it eventually faced such a question and was able to shift in such a way that the basic theme of individuality was preserved. Individualism has never lost this basic naivete that was so characteristic of Jeffersonians and the "natural rights" advocates.

That Jefferson was to leave a mark in American philosophical thinking which would last through the years was due largely to the representativeness of such a basic way of life and to the appeal that such beliefs had for the frontiersman and farmer. "The paths of agriculture and natural history attracted the Jeffersonian because he had to follow these in his day if he was to increase the mastery of man over the American Continent."⁹ It is true that other able and more sophisticated thinkers were equally influential

8. Leonard Boorstin, The Lost World of Thomas Jefferson, New York: Henry Holt Co., 1948, p. 196.

9. Ibid., p. 242.

in the establishment of this nation, but their lack of claim upon a distinctive American pattern of thinking lies in the nature of their position, which was akin to the "aristocratic European tradition with its faith in institutions."¹⁰

The American rapidly grasped the principles which glorified the struggle against nature and viewed as evil those un-natural, manmade controls, set up in the name of society. Distrust and suspicion of many of the constitutional founders held by the frontiersmen and states patriots, led to the original Anti-Federalist group that sought to thwart any efforts to establish a federated nation.¹¹ (This group should not be confused with the Jeffersonian party that was formed later and has also been called Anti-Federalist.) The distrust shown toward these founders lies on the grounds that they appeared to ignore the true interests of the new American. Many were merchants and statesmen whose interests were more concerned with international stability and a strong fiscal policy. Such men were important to the establishment of a nation, but despite their realistic position, they often ignored issues which were dominately of frontier and agricultural import.

10. Ibid., p. 240.

11. John Fiske, The Critical Period of American History. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1891, p. 310.

That Jefferson failed to take part in the establishment of the founding document and that he referred to the Federal Convention as "an assembly of demi-gods"¹², points to his early position and his ultimate appeal to the American frontiersman. Many of the representatives from the various states to the Constitutional Convention were equally in disagreement with the general line of thought that dominated during the structuring of this document. This opposition led to difficulties in ratifying the constitution.

Much of the opposition they voiced could be found directed toward the loss of individual rights. Their basic assumption asserted that such rights were better protected by smaller autonomous governments which could respect the feeling of individual citizens. The passage below was taken from a letter written to the Governor of New York concerning the impressions of the New York delegates at the Constitutional Convention. Their opposition explains why New York was one of the last states to ratify the Constitution, and then did so with much reluctance.

Exclusive of our objections originating from the want of power, we entertained an opinion that a general government, however guarded by declarations of rights, or cautionary provisions must unavoidably, in a short time, be productive of the destruction of the civil liberty of such citizens who could be effectually coerced by it, by reason of the extensive territory

12. Ibid., p. 309.

of the United States, the dispersed situation of its inhabitants, and the insuperable difficulty of controlling or counteracting the views of a set of men...¹³

THE COMPROMISE OF THE JEFFERSONIAN POSITION

European as such ideas fostered by Hamilton, Adams, and Marshall might have been, the fact that they altered American life cannot be denied. In the early days of the Federacy when the Constitution was being established, it was necessary for the old institutional ideas inherited through centuries of political thinking to be part of the planning for a new and very weak republic. Jeffersonian thinkers and champions of the natural rights of men were hardly suitable timber for the necessary structure of a government which must spell out elements of control.

It seems to me a singular piece of fortune that we have this opportunity of watching a remarkable group of men debating the very basis, purpose and limitations of political power. Remarkable they certainly were. No one can read Madison's record of those summer months at Philadelphia in 1787 without being struck by the learning and sense of statesmanship that were shown by many of the delegates who were there to frame the Constitution. They included most of the leading figures in American life: except Thomas Jefferson, who was mercifully away in Paris. For Jefferson, sentimental, uncertain, unprincipled was not the stuff of which Constitutions are made.¹⁴

13. Henry Steele Commager, ed., "Letter of Robert Yates and John Lansing to the Governor of New York 1787," Documents of American History, New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1945, p. 150.

14. Lord Radcliffe of Werneth, The Problem of Power, London: Secker and Warburg, 1952, p. 52.

The belief that these men were completely free from natural rights ideologies is refuted in the very nature of the social contract to which they gave birth. "The men who found it were quite aware that in this they were giving a new political conception to the world"¹⁵ and this awareness was focused upon the novelty of the contract between the government and governed. The provision for amendments to the Constitution gave a flexibility to the contract which allowed for change in cases of dissatisfaction upon the part of those being governed. It is equally significant that the first ten amendments contained the bill of rights which specified the freedom of the individual over certain governmental restrictions.

A constitution that provided for the federation of separate sovereign states in such a way that they were neither wholly merged nor wholly independent, a constitution based upon beliefs of social contract and natural rights and yet drawn up by men who had serious doubts as to the wisdom of a politically free populace, a constitution based upon the belief of separate and divided powers within the government, could not help but be riddled with inconsistencies, and such inconsistencies readily reflect the American philosophical trend through 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. A masterpiece of statesmanship and a model of governmental

15. ibid., p. 51.

wisdom, the Constitution provides us with considerable insight into the dominant themes of individualism and collectivism.

In 1800, when Jefferson had finally gained political ascendancy, the growth in manufacturing and urban centers had already modified to a great degree the fundamental assumption that freedom could be only realized through an agricultural life. The Federalists, also, by this time had conceded that to gain support there was need for an acceptance of the overall importance of agriculture. Alexander Hamilton, architect of the American economic system, had conceded that agriculture had a primary claim over other industry.¹⁶

He further claimed that for agriculture to flourish it was necessary to encourage manufacturing, which was only possible through government protection. Jefferson, while in office, saw that a realistic position as statesman often conflicted with his original philosophical position of individual freedom and a government policy of loose control.

Jefferson himself helped nourish the serpent in his Eden with one of his favorite measures, the Embargo of 1807, which set on firm footing the manufacturing establishments started experimentally along the Atlantic coast during the twenty years preceding. The War of 1812 and the British blockade further stimulated domestic manufactures. A protective tariff followed the war, and behind its wall yet more undertakings sprang up.

16. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., The Age of Jackson, Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1945, pp. 10-11.

The farm remained the statistical center of American life, but business enterprise was exerting stronger and stronger claims on the imagination of the people and the action of the government.¹⁷

If the manufacturing interests had continued their original position related to overt dominance over national government, it is possible that an equally pervasive philosophical position might have emerged upon the American scene. Although weakened politically, Jefferson's position tended to capture the imagination of industrial interests. Not only could cooperation be achieved by admitting to certain basic freedoms of the individual but such an interpretation could be put upon the freedom of industry. After the crucial protective years were over, such a position was far more acceptable to the manufacturer who desired a *laissez-faire* policy in order to operate with maximum freedom in the economic market.

JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY

It was during the period when Jacksonian Democracy flourished that we see emerging upon the American scene a critical denial of much which was called natural concerning individual freedom. The frontiersman was becoming increasingly aware that growing manufacturing interests were controlling the economic market. Although the American System, championed by Henry Clay, had re-dressed the Hamiltonian

17. Ibid., pp. 8-9.

economic position in such a way as to receive the support of much of the West, growing dissension in the light of national banking interests had thoroughly enraged the western farmer.

Clay's pleasant dream of a paternalistic prosperity of America got its first rude awakening from General Jackson and his motley following of western equalitarians and eastern proletarians. Gentlemen were suddenly reminded that the plain people had been overlooked in the distribution of benefits. The waters of prosperity, it would seem, had been trickling somewhat too scantily to them from the great reservoirs where they were impounded; and as they saw the wealth pouring into private ponds through governmental pipe lines, a natural human envy took possession of them. In theory the pipe lines belonged to them, and the impounded waters were to be used for common irrigation; but in practice the mains seemed to conduct only to Lowell industrialists and Philadelphia and New York capitalists, and the waters turned out to be privately owned. As the recognition of this fact came home to the producing mass it provided a rallying point for an anti-monopolist movement and determined the great objective of the Jacksonian attack, the assault on the Bank.¹⁸

It was one thing to convince the farmer that the support of business interests of the East were to the advantage of the West since they were providing and expanding consumers markets, but it was another thing to explain the growing system of loans which was for the best interest of the banker and certainly a hardship on the part of the farmer.

18. Vernon L. Parrington, Main Currents in American Thought, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1930, Vol. 2, p. 145.

The Jacksonian period acted as a safety valve in certain respects, since it now reshaped the principle of Jeffersonian individualism in terms of governmental protection. The belief that the "government which governs best governs least" was replaced by the belief that the government which governs best protects the interests of individualism. Considering themselves chosen disciples of western democracy, the Jacksonians ushered in a period of tremendous party activity which led to a realistic picture of vested interests in this nation. Never again was the concept of individualism to be thought of as simply a random and natural activity, but a state of being that must be constantly protected by social controls and instituted by the parties who felt infringements upon their "natural rights."

Much of the mythical equipment utilized to reinforce ideologies related to individualism remained, however, and it is doubtful that in any sense did the interested parties demanding such rights ever lose entirely the general romantic belief in the sanctity of the individual.

By the middle 1800's corporate interests had become gigantic, and with such a growth in business enterprise there developed an interesting legal interpretation of the definition of a corporation. If any realistic notion of a strong and sovereign nation was to exist in the United States, it would be found necessary to combine it with some

understanding of a strong, independent, and prosperous economy. This was the position of Hamilton, and it was rapidly realized as the position of many statesmen. The industrial revolution had thrust upon an infant nation immediate problems related to commerce and economic controls. The greatest of these problems found their initial focus upon internal commerce, i.e., trade and business interests between the states. It was during this time of growing legal definitions that the status of the corporation was specifically spelled out. In the case of the Bank of Augusta, a dispute had arisen over the rights of a corporation within a state to which it owed no allegiance.¹⁹ The definition in dispute was concerned with whether or not the status of a corporation was not the same as that of the individuals and, if this was the case, did not laws pertaining to individual rights and restrictions apply with equal force upon the corporation itself? The judgment of the case sheds light upon this definition.

The corporation must no doubt show that the law of its creation gave it authority to make such contracts, through such agents. Yet as in the case of a natural person, it is not necessary that it should actually exist in the sovereignty in which the contract is made. It is sufficient that its existence as an artificial person, in a state of its

19. Lawrence B. Evans, "Bank of Augusta V. Earle" --13 Pct. 519, 10 L. Ed. 274 (1839)", Cases on American Constitutional Law, Chicago: Callaghan and Co., 1942, pp. 735-741.

creation, is acknowledged and recognized by the law of the nation where the dealing takes place; and that it is permitted by the laws of that place to exercise there the powers with which it is endowed...²⁰

The judgment in this case was then to be decided as to whether or not the state in which the dispute existed (Alabama) denied rights of contract to citizens of other states.

Does the policy of Alabama deny to the corporations of other states the ordinary comity between nations? Or does it permit such a corporation to make those contracts which, from their nature and subject matter, are consistent with its policy, and are allowed to individuals?...²¹

The judgment was finally made upon the basis that the state of Alabama did not deny the rights of contract to individuals of other states and therefore the same freedom of valid contract on the part of corporations was to be accepted.

The principle of viewing the corporation as a legal individual has given to the business world a restatement of the meaning of individual rights. Although modern and complex business could have hardly endured the reality of free enterprise, it has nourished this myth through the years and at times for reasons related to protection from governmental restrictions has argued its position from the

20. Ibid., p. 737.

21. Ibid., p. 739.

level of rights guaranteed to the individual by the constitution.

An example of such a position occurred in 1938.

In Connecticut General Life Ins. Co. v. Johnson,...involving a California law taxing insurance companies upon the amount of the gross premiums received by them upon business done in the state, the court held the law to be in violation of the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment in so far as it taxed the Connecticut company on premiums received in Connecticut on reinsurance contracts made with companies doing business in California.²²

The significance of this case hardly lies in the judgment made but how it was made concerning the Fourteenth Amendment. It is doubtful that the Fourteenth Amendment, in an ideological sense, was ever considered as a protection of the rights of corporations, but once the legal definition of individualism was placed upon such business interests the logic of the decision became apparent. It is in this direction that the corporate interests have traveled during the last century and it would be difficult to understand much of the business activity that occurs within this culture without some consideration of the myths that support the belief in the autonomy of the individual and private enterprise.

The justification for the preservation of the status quo upon the part of the large wealthy interests in the

22. Ibid., p. 866.

United States follows to a considerable degree the Jeffersonian doctrine of individual enterprise. Since man has been allowed freedom to conquer the natural obstacles in his environment without unreasonable and unnatural governmental controls, it would be the belief on the part of the successful that all individuals in this country have had equal opportunity to prosper. The fact that many have not prospered to the degree that others have, they explain chiefly by the inadequacy of these many to adjust and conquer the environment which has offered abundant opportunities for wealth and success. The justification for inequality in our system, then, has been supported by a doctrine which has refused to recognize inequalities between men. Although the basic philosophical trend of thinking in the last twenty years has undergone considerable change due to a great economic depression and an armed conflict throughout the world, the business world has been unwilling to reject the beliefs of individual opportunity and freedom. The position of the National Association of Manufacturers still suggests that there are new frontiers to conquer and, although they are not to be found in movements westward, the genius of American enterprise offers new and exciting opportunities in businesses not yet established.²³ There may be some evidence

23. A good example of such a position taken by this organization has been the television program they sponsor called Frontiers of Industry.

to question the reality of such beliefs, but as long as they are manifested in everyday behavior by a significant segment of the American population they become realities in the motivation and direction of activities in the life of American citizens.

FRONTIER INDIVIDUALISM AND SECTIONALISM

The period introduced by Jacksonian Democracy was responsible for the rapid growth of sectionalism in the United States. The growth of sectionalism resulted in a redefinition of individualism, yet it is interesting to note that this redefinition was once again the old Jeffersonian philosophy cloaked in the garb of special interest.²⁴ It was within the sections which were defined as Western and thought of as the last of the frontier, where the citadel of individualism was still to be found.

The great scholar of the American frontier and the man tremendously influential in stimulating thought regarding the emergence of sectionalism was Frederick Jackson Turner. Turner had followed the evolutionary growth of American institutions and was convinced that what was to be found as distinctly American had been produced by the struggle westward as the pioneer coped with his environment and succeeded in establishing an advanced civilization.²⁵ Turner emphasized the environmental conditions that had shaped American society.

It was inevitable that such a formula should appeal to a people who felt instinctively that they had created more

24. Commager, The American Mind, 1950, pp. 296-297.

25. Frederick Jackson Turner, The Frontier In American History, New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1950.

than they had inherited and that they owed little to the Old World. It was a nationalistic formula, for it suggested that democracy and freedom and the institutions that gave them meaning were largely American inventions; in so far as it did not inquire into the experience of other peoples with their frontiers, it was almost parochial.²⁶

As narrow as such an explanation of the growth of American democracy might have been, it captured the imagination of the bulk of American agriculturalists. Furthermore it laid the foundation for a definitely western appeal to isolationism. Turner described the growth of America as

...always beginning over on its outer edge as it advanced into the wilderness. Therefore, the United States was both a developed and primitive society. The West was a migrating region, a stage of society rather than a place. Each region reached in the process of expansion from the coast, had its frontier experience, was for a time "the West" and when the frontier passed on to new regions, it left behind, in the older areas, memories, traditions, and inherited attitude toward life that persisted long after frontier had passed by. But while the influence of the frontier permeated East as well as West, by survival of the pioneer psychology and by the reaction of the Western ideals and life upon the East, it was in the newer regions, in the area called the West at any given time, that frontier traits and conceptions were most in evidence.²⁷

That Turner felt the West to be the foundation of American culture is quite clear, but also clear was implication that

26. Commager, Henry Steele, op. cit., pp. 296-297.

27. Frederick Jackson Turner, The Significance of Sections In American History, New York: Peter Smith, 1950, p. 23.

with the disappearance of the frontier grew the need for the preservation of what was generated through life.

...We are now in the third phase of our development; the free lands are gone, and with conditions comparable to those of Europe, we have to reshape the ideals and institutions fashioned in the age of wilderness-winning to the new conditions of an occupied country.²⁸

It was apparent to Turner that the agrarian West was to be the section of the United States in which such ideals found in frontier life were to form the development of a new and growing American culture.

The spirit of adventure, of building to the measure of the opportunity, which the Western movement carried into the more spacious and varied provinces beyond the Mississippi, has changed as the surges of migration have passed over these regions. It has been modified by the growing reliance on association instead of individual competition. Self-reliance is still stronger there than in the East; but there has also developed in those economic organizations, like chambers of commerce, farm bureaus, cooperative societies, Rotarians and Kiwanians, which carry on with a directness and energy that belong to the Far West. There is a growing insistence on conformity to community public opinion, compared with the days of the frontiersman and the "self-made man."

But the West's old initiative, its love of innovation, its old idealism and optimism, its old love of bigness, even its old boastfulness, are still here. As yet it has not played the powerful part in the common life of the Union which it will come to play. This land of farm owners, this land trained in pioneer ideals, has a

28. Ibid., p. 37.

deep conservatism at bottom, in spite of its social and political pioneering. It may yet make new contributions to America, by its union of democratic faith and innovation with a conservative subconsciousness.²⁹

RESISTANCE TO INDIVIDUALISM AND GROWTH
IN COLLECTIVISTIC THINKING

The Midwesterner of the late 19th century seriously viewed the outcome of American society as dependent upon the survival of an agrarian mentality. Even the labor movement that was to grow with increasing momentum in the late 1800's could not be observed as separate from this position. "This philosophy, essentially the philosophy of the "producing classes", - farmers, master workmen, and small businessmen, - long dominated the labor movement."³⁰ It was natural to find within the Midwest certain unrest concerning the Jeffersonian principles since that which could be considered traditional to these principles was largely being questioned by these who espoused the major doctrine of American individualism.

It was during the later period of the 19th century that intense criticism and unrest were being manifested on the part of those Midwesterners who considered themselves to be a minority in American policy-making. It was during such a

29. Ibid., pp. 254-255.

30. Selig Perlman, A Theory of the Labor Movement, New York: Macmillan Co., 1928, p. 152.

period that European thought made greatest inroads in the American culture.

Those movements spun the thread of liberalism that runs through the years from the Gilded Age to the World War - a thread woven of the earlier liberalism that came from the frontier, and the new collectivistic theories that came from Europe. In the eighties and nineties it was still largely native agrarian, but in the early years of the new century it drew heavily on the proletarian philosophies of Europe -- seeking to apply old world experience to American problems. Through it all runs increasingly a note of sobering realism. After a hundred years, political romanticism was slowly dying in America.³¹

Darwinian thought, although being championed by the wealthy as a manifestation of the natural selection of the social process was easily reversed to meet the demands of those who claimed an equal share in American prosperity by a hands off process in terms of special priveleges granted to Eastern interests. The questioning that resulted during this period was significant since it created a growth in thought that hardly supported the belief in complete freedom of the individual. The work of both Lester Ward and Thorstein Veblen in the 1890's was indicative of a philosophy, which although unpopular to the large mass of American people, was to gain considerable adherence in the 1930's.

31. Parrington, op. cit., p. 258.

A significant struggle that marked a serious blow to the romanticism surrounding the concept of individualism occurred with the farm movement in the latter quarter of the 19th century. Although lacking intellectual leadership during the upheavals of the latter 1800's, the farmer still embraced much of the Jeffersonian philosophy of individual rights. The difficulty he frequently found was the fact that his opponent espoused the same doctrine to justify a contrary position. The issues during this period resulted from the general outgrowth of the Jacksonian era and were concerned chiefly with money and banking. Since such movements occurred during the periods of economic crisis, they were usually accompanied with suffering and intense feeling. Although the farmer achieved some success in the realization of national recognition and for a period of time, at least, controlled some state governments, the final outcome was a rather decisive loss of face politically. Failure of the farmer to gain control of the nation's economy, to the same extent that industry has succeeded, was partly the outcome of a general technological trend and partly his inability to collectively act upon issues which most concerned him. The very notion of collective unity was an impossible condition in relation to his fundamental belief in the autonomy of the individual. That he failed to achieve success in what unity he did manifest was more a condition of his lack of belief in such unity, than an adequate attempt to achieve

it. Although the farmer today has shifted considerably in his position he is still fair game for any group that can appeal to the basic beliefs of individual freedom and realization of unrestricted action.

One dominant result of the overall failure of the farmer to achieve a lasting victory in his struggle for economic equality was certainly an awareness of the weakness in the position he held towards individualism. He might still support such a position but he was well aware of the ineffectiveness of it. In a sense the farmer of the middle-west has been involved in a "ghost-dance" for the last half a century in the belief that individualism can once again manifest itself. However, while he waits for this to be realized he has accepted doctrines frequently in contrast to this position in order to meet the problems of a rapidly changing world. The ambivalent condition of the mid-west farmer creates a confusion that makes prediction of his behavior difficult. He may demand that there are less controls manifested in economic life, he may even take stands politically with his age old enemy, industry, for expression of individual enterprise and yet he will vote on certain issues with a highly collective mentality. The wheat elections of 1953 are perhaps the best example of this ambivalence. In 1952 the farmer made a stand which was firm and decisive. He claimed that he no longer needed the protection and aid of government intervention in agricultural

economy. He claimed that an administration which represented a welfare state was incompatible to his way of life and yet having elected an administration pledged to releasing the farmer from governmental bondage he proceeded to vote a year later for high protection quotas on wheat production. The farmer has learned that much of the protection he desires must be founded upon collective principles, and yet he is still prone to deny the reality of collective life since it is contrary to what he and many Americans consider the basic theme on the culture. To threaten the cherished myth of individualism would be highly "unAmerican" and a challenge to the solidarity of the society. The fact that much of what was considered American prior to the 1800's found itself in a climate of criticism and the fact that such criticism often resulted from ideas fostered by European ideologies, resulted in certain basic changes in the American character. As a result the farmer, although he lost a large part of the economic battle with industry and commerce, gained a general victory and along with labor was instrumental in bringing to the American culture ideas of a new order hardly conducive to either Jeffersonian or Jacksonian democracy, and yet cloaked in much of the mythology surrounding the principles supported by such philosophies.

From the agrarian agitation--supplemented by proletarian and middle-class recruits - has come the Australian ballot, the Initiative and the Referendum, the Recall, the

Direct Primary, and popular election of Senators. The only important agrarian principle that has not been adopted is the principle of proportional representation. If agrarianism lost its great battle over the currency, it won the battle over income tax. Nullified by a scandalous court decision after it has been long accepted, the income tax was finally established by the tedious method of constitutional amendment--an outcome that owed much to the Middle Border. In casting up the accounts of American democracy, the largest sums must be credited to the Jacksonian frontier. Whether the new machinery is useful or merely cumbersome, there is much disagreement, but it is agrarian in origin and it came from an honest attempt to democratize American politics.³²

The labor movement in the United States during this same period shared a somewhat similar role with the farmer movement. Although marked by a philosophy which was collectively oriented, the labor movement shared a similar fate and also was responsible for many liberal changes in the American philosophy which ran contrary to the established theme of individualism.³³ It gained its impetus from intellectual Marxian doctrines shared by many of the incoming immigrants in the late 1800's. That it was dominantly European in orientation gave more purposive direction but such an orientation was fundamentally responsible for its lack of effectiveness. Originally gaining the sympathy of

32. Parrington, Vernon L., op. cit., p. 287.

33. Charles A. Beard and Mary R., The Rise of American Civilization, "The Industrial Era", New York: MacMillan Company, 1930, pp. 211-253.

the growing American "middle-class", which was tiring of the period of the "Robber-Barons", it lost their support by evoking sentiments which were contrary to the pervasive feeling of private property.

The enormous strength of private property in America, at once obvious to an observer, goes back to the all important fact that, by and large, this country was occupied and settled by laboring pioneers, creating property for themselves as they went along and holding it in small parcels.³⁴

Since the position of the laborer was one which denied sanctity to private property, it was natural that the movement itself would ignore this basic theme in American life.

A labor movement must, from its very nature, be an organized campaign against the rights of private property...Because the labor movement in any form is a campaign against the absolute rights of private property, the extent to which the institution of private property is entrenched in the community in which a labor movement operates is of overwhelming importance to it.³⁵

Utilizing slogans which sounded basically "foreign", the American "middle-class" withdrew their support with some apprehension as to the outcome of such a movement.

...the Chicago "Anarchists", with a full-blown program of revolutionary syndicalism in all but the name itself, were made to feel the ferocious self-defense of a gigantically growing and self satisfied community against those who would import methods of the class struggle of Russia and Spain.³⁶

34. Perlman, Selig, op. cit., p. 157.

35. Ibid., pp. 155-157.

36. Ibid., pp. 159-160.

Although collectively oriented, the laborer failed to utilize the established institutions in American society. This was partly the result of the aforementioned philosophy of revolt fostered by Marxian doctrines but it was also the consequence of the party system in American politics.

It is to this uncanny adaptability of the established American political parties, meeting with the weak group consciousness of American labor - weakest in regard to politics and political issues, - that the uniform failure of American independent labor parties has been due.³⁷

The laborer, then, failed to establish himself in a political sense and it has only been through the last twenty years that he has achieved some success in collective unity. This success has been achieved, interestingly enough, through the manifestations of the basic symbols of individualism found within his movement. The labor interest is a collective one but it has been established for the purpose of realizing the rights of the individual. The general acceptance of existing institutions has gained it more respect and prestige in the community. The general trend in the last three years for federated unions to deny the communists a place in their organizations has been an indication of their sensitivity to the general public opinion.

The years of the New Deal fostered and championed many of the sentiments expressed by both Farm and Labor

37. Ibid., p. 173.

movements in the United States. Much of the battle which has been lost during the late 1800's was regained in principle during this time. There was, however, a general reaction to the period of the New Deal by both Farmer and Laborer which was quite interesting. Having accepted in part the losses suffered during the last half of the nineteenth century, many farmers and laborers had accepted institutionally what had been repugnant to them in the past. The farmer and laborer, more willing to operate for self-interest through pressure groups, learned to fight the economic battle on much the same level as industry. Although the government policies fostered by the new administration equalized many of the one sided conditions in favor of industry and commercial interests, the organized interests of both farmer and laborer were frequently blocked by governmental interference. Also, large national mobilization and the profits that resulted from the war years, in the 1940's, provided the farmer and the laborer with a more conservative point of view.³⁸ During the elections in 1952 both farmer and laborer had allied themselves on the political side of industry to fight what they verbalized as a growing threat to individualism in the United States.

38. Labor relations at the Jack & Heintz plant during the war years are a good example of this growing tendency. See: Roswell Ward, The Personnel Program at Jack & Heintz, New York: Harper Brothers, 1946.

If one were to consider the national elections of 1952 to be a complete victory for those who champion individualism in the United States, much of the change instituted through the last twenty years would be lost from sight. The changes that occurred in American political, economic, and social thinking from the late 1800's to the present have been of a lasting quality. The American citizen is not readily willing to reject the sanctity of myths surrounding individualism but neither is he willing to accept a philosophy of Jeffersonian democracy which would allow free reign in economic, political, and social life on the part of anyone and everyone. There has been a growing maturity on the part of a people who have become concerned with the increased numbers of their population. This maturity has provided a basis for change in the American philosophy. Collective philosophies are less repugnant and although frequently cloaked in the form of individual interest carry more meaning from the national level down to the local community.

It would also be a mistake to consider the battles fought by farmer and laborer at an end. Although far more conservative, as they have found institutional means of realizing self interests, they are more collectively oriented and more sophisticatedly concerned with the basic differences in ideologies supporting their stand. The Farmer's movement is a continuing process in collective behavior.

The American Farmer's Movement has therefore continued and still continues. It is not so much a social structure as it is a body of ideologies and sentiments about a continuing set of issues. These were the issues of an evolving social order, society, or economy. The movement has been and is most precisely observed in the dramatic episodes marking its course, because they clearly reveal the issues about which it revolves and the ideologies and sentiments which constitutes its norms. These ideologies and sentiments did not arise with each farmer upheaval; they have been in existence in all of the periods between episodes and are still in existence. They are the norms of the current powerful farmer public, which is sustained by farmers' organizations, farmer pressure groups, farm journalists, columnists, and editors, congressmen and senators from rural areas, and government programs. All of these are still attempting to resolve the same issues with which the farmers of America have wrestled as they have become increasingly conscious of their increasing involvement in the commercial economy of modern society.³⁹

The same continuation of the labor movement is an equally pervasive force in the modern economy. The difference in the behavior of both groups can be viewed in terms of recent institutionalization. Both groups have been responsible for reshaping the American tradition and neither of them can be understood apart from such a tradition.

Much of what would be historically necessary in order to follow the growth of the American culture, has been omitted in this chapter. The chief focus has been upon the

39. Carl C. Taylor, The Farmers' Movement 1620-1920, New York: American Book Co., 1953, p. 500.

basic themes of individualism and growing collective tendencies as they have affected certain relevant structures in the society. It has been noted that such collective tendencies are still found in the form of traditional expression and tend to support the belief which is still dominant concerning individual autonomy and the right of the individual to self expression in a society which manifests growing restrictions on freedom.

The American farmer who is the chief interest of this study, since the relevant structure is dominated by sentiments of rural content, has been traced through a period which glorified his position to one which at times degraded it. Yet it is evident that the American culture only shortly removed from rural dominance has far from lost its rural character.⁴⁰ The position of the farmer in the society today is frequently a reflection of certain basic themes which are of a conflicting nature and lead to ambivalent thinking in terms of motivation and action. The ambivalence created by positions which necessitate collective orientation and yet are supported by beliefs in individualism are not exceptional to American society. More directly focused on the problem of the dissertation, ambivalent positions, if expressed in social action, present difficulties in explaining

40. A stress on the necessity for the American farmer to resolve many of his conflicts by adjusting to the trend in the American economy and yet preserving the condition of individualism through the farm family is made by

the structural continuity of social systems. It will be enough at this point to suggest the problem but it must be handled later when the integration of the pattern of sentiments must be explained. At this time it should be sufficient to state that the sentiments found within the social system being observed are converging sentiments or beliefs which are understood in terms of their emergence within the relevant structure.

The large pattern of sentiments that are found clustered around themes of individualism and collectivism have found some integration within the total culture by giving dominance to the former concept. The primary myths of American social life support the former and it is doubtful that any change in this condition can occur without serious change in the total configuration of the American social character.⁴¹

A. Whitney Griswold in a somewhat similar analysis of historical trends in America, A. Whitney Griswold, Farming and Democracy, New York: Harcourt, Brace, & Co., 1948.

41. Although David Riesman has shown a trend toward the "other directed" character type in America, (See: David Riesman, The Lonely Crowd, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), it is significant that such a type, although a change from the "inner directed" character, is still expressed in terms of individualism (See: David Riesman, Individualism Reconsidered, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1954.)

CHAPTER III

EMERGING SENTIMENTS IN HEALTH

In dealing with sentiments in the field of health, it is necessary to view the historical development of certain salient themes which have been expressed through the centuries as man has been concerned with diseases. In histories of medicine it has been common practice to point out the origin through a combination of religious rituals and magical rites.¹ The origin of any phenomenon, at best, can only be speculated on and in a narrow sense is outside the method of science, and yet few presuppositions are based upon anything but rationally conceived notions concerning origin.

ORIGIN OF MEDICINE

Since the knowledge of medicine is concerned with a process over which man has only limited control, it is natural that in its early stages it was closely linked to religion and magic. Birth and death being outside of man's control, other than what assistance he might provide concerning the prolongation of life, necessitated a certain basic philosophy on the part of the early medical practitioner. He found it necessary to link what methods he used

1. H. E. Sigerist, A History of Medicine, New York: Bibl. No. 27 of Historical Library (Yale Medical Library), 1951.

in a curative sense with the religious order or relegate his practice to the realm of magic. It would appear that early medicine would have more in common with practices of magic than with the religious order and yet the social organization of the society and the degree to which a theology was integrated within such an order would control to a great extent the nature of medical practice.

In the sense that Malinowski uses magic, we become aware of its affinity to medicine.

...in order to distinguish it from religion we described it as a body of purely practical acts, performed as a means to an end. Such also we have found it when we tried to disentangle it from knowledge and from practical arts, in which it is so strongly enmeshed, superficially so alike that it requires some effort to distinguish the essentially different mental attitude and the specifically ritual nature of its acts.²

Medicine as it develops into a practical art or part of the social technology may lose its relation to the process of magic, but it would seem safe to assume that much of what emerged as medical practice in the world of modern man found its origin in such early rites.

Although the early practices of medicine were found in the realm of the profane, a connection with the nature of controlling life was closely related to what would be

2. Bronislaw Malinowski, Magic, Science, and Religion, Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1948.

considered as sacred. Thus from the beginning we find that medical interests have carried with them application to both the sacred and profane.³ No medical practitioner from ancient times to the present day has been able to ignore this dual nature of his practice. (This often is illustrated today by the physician who after applying all the skill of his practice, says, "There is nothing more that I can do, the rest is in the hands of God," or in a society which has defied science says, "He has a fifty-fifty chance of pulling through.")

CURATIVE MEDICINE

The early knowledge of medicine runs parallel to growth of science and yet there is found consistently within the philosophy of medicine responsibilities to society that transcend mere scientific advancement. Such a case was set by Hippocrates 2500 years ago, for the responsibility of the physician to the patient, that his oath remains a traditional creed of all present day physicians. It will be demonstrated in this chapter and shown by the later material that the case of the physician is best exemplified by a cluster of sentiments that demand for him an adherence to the recognition of doctor-patient sentiments. Thus while the physician has been receptive to much of the scientific findings in medicine, he frequently neither carries the orientation of

3. For a detailed analysis of these concepts see Emile Durkheim, Elementary Forms of Religious Life, Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1947.

the scientist nor cares to participate as a scientist in the society. As a result, the physician himself has often been found as a resisting element in the process of medical change and those who have recorded the tremendous growth of medicine through the last three centuries have shown that the most severe critics of scientific achievement in medicine have been the physicians themselves.⁴

...the institutionalization of science is.... far from complete within the profession itself. There are many kinds of evidence of this, but for the present purposes, it is sufficient to cite the strong, often bitter resistance from within the profession itself to the acceptance of what have turned out to be critically important scientific advances in their own field.⁵

The resistance on the part of the medical practitioner to scientific advancement has often been passed off by those recording the history of medicine as narrow-mindedness. Talcott Parsons points out the essentially rationalistic and universal nature of the role of the physician and yet indicates the implication of sacred symbols connected with such a role.

It is to be presumed that his association with death is a very important factor in the emotional toning of the role of the physician. If he is not in general tending in our society to take the place formerly occupied by the clergy, an assertion often made, but subject to considerable qualifications, he at least has very important associations with the realm of the sacred. In this connection it is

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4. Sir William Osler, The Evolution of Modern Medicine, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1922.
 5. Parsons, Talcott, op. cit.

interesting to note that the dissection of a cadaver is included in the very first stage of formal medical training, and that it tends to be made both something of a solemn ritual, especially the first day, on the part of the medical school authorities, and medical students often have quite violent emotional reactions to the experience. It may hence be concluded that dissection is not only an instrumental means to the learning of anatomy, but is a symbolic act, highly charged with affective significance. It is in a sense the initiatory rite of the physician-to-be into his intimate association with death and the dead.⁶

Sentiments in this society emerging from the historical role of the physician clearly point out the sacred quality of his activities. That such sacred symbols should at times interfere with a basically rationalistic approach to disease would tend to reflect a different light upon the so-called "narrow-mindedness" of the physician.

Such a position does not deny the highly universalistic role played by the physician nor does it deny that the ideal goals of medicine are inextricably entwined with the goals and objectives of science. The importance of the emphasis in this chapter upon the affective relationship between physician and patient is that it clearly is demonstrated by the two very crucial separations in medical practice; such separations being curative and preventive medicine.

The general relationship between physician and patient through the centuries has been one of cure and release from disease and death. That the physician realizes the necessity

6. Ibid., pp. 444-445.

of prevention, of course, is evident in today's medical practice and certainly it played a part in the early days of magical rite but the important relationship which emphasized the doctor and patient dyad was based primarily upon the immediate crisis of disease. The immediate need for relief and aid on the part of the patient could hardly be viewed as an entirely cognitive reaction to his problem but was tied up to the affective nature of his dependence upon the technology of the physician which although he did not understand he believed in and submitted to according to the prevailing sentiments of his culture. Today with the belief that science can answer many of the problems of mankind, the patient has enormous confidence in the medical practitioner, but such confidence is less based upon the tenets of science than the wishful thinking that the physician has the correct diagnosis and sufficient knowledge to cure. Such a position is frequently displayed in the general controversy over whether or not a patient should be told that he has an incurable disease. It is sometimes thought that it is a more humane approach to offer hope to the patient even in the face of inevitable death.

Through the last few years the medical practice has moved more in the direction of specialization as an outgrowth of a world based upon technological progress and increased specialization. The degree to which this is changing

the image of the physician is frequently evident in American society. In our large citadels of medical practice, the hospitals, the lack of personal and primary contacts is manifested as the physician deals with his patient through the medium of hospital bureaucracy. The reluctance of many physicians to make night calls except in cases of emergency has made the public aware of the change in his role and the sentiments expressed concerning it.

To suggest that the direction of change has completely shifted to an impersonal and secondary level would be highly incorrect. The public still cherishes the ideal image of the country doctor. There have been protests voiced by the public as well as the physician concerning the trend toward complete specialization and lack of interest in the general medical practice.⁷ It is interesting to note that the argument voiced against socialized medicine usually states this case and claims that medical practice would be reduced to "red-tape" while the patient would be lost as an individual. The physician too resents the implication that he be numbered among the many in his practice without some consideration of himself as an individual. This strong identification, on the part of the physician, towards the individualism expressed in his profession, coincides with the sacred identification of his role in society. The role of the physician

7. The New Academy of General Practice is a good example of such concern.

as an individual expresses the combined sentiments of the sacred symbols of his profession which are connected with life and death and the symbols of individualism which have become supported by myth in a society which has emerged with a culture dominated by natural rights. Although more so in the past the physician still prescribes medical treatment which is a mystery to his patients. Although the world is becoming more conscious of drugs and what they actually mean in terms of the chemical part played within the organism, the large bulk of the people still view such medications with a feeling of their miraculous powers, giving labels such as "wonder-drugs". It has also become fashionable in a world oriented to science to give labels to disease which although not understood must be classified. Thus it has become fashionable to have a virus instead of the usual symptoms of a common cold.

The examples just used to support the notion that the physician has found it difficult if not impossible to extricate his role from many of the sacred symbols found within society, indicate the prevalence of tradition and the pervasiveness of sentiments which have been maintained since the existence of man's doctoring of man. That the growth of science has changed the role of the physician has been mentioned before but some statement concerning the very notion of the sacredness of science itself should be mentioned at this time. As science has gained ascendance in the modern

world the rational approach has become internalized within the culture of western society. As this process has taken place the beliefs or value judgments underlying science have become beliefs and values dominant within the culture. The attempt of science to seek the truth and the belief that it may achieve approximations of the truth has led the people of western societies into a dependence upon science for the solution of its many problems. As a society has become more and more dependent upon science as an answer to its problems, the growth of the belief in "scientism" has reached into all areas of life.⁸ The fact that the physician has become involved within this process has led him to be the consumer of scientific knowledge rather than the producer. His condition has left him with an ignorance of much that is scientific medicine, a condition which F. G. Crookshank describes by stating that:

...without History Medicine may only be scientific in the modern sense of the word --a sense imputing little beyond the possession of some attractive form of technical precision. That is to say, the art of the practitioner may be implemented by the exercise of the technical procedures that have become more or less rationalized by appeal to what are called the auxiliary sciences--anatomy, physiology, chemistry, and physics--while in default of proper

8. Robert K. Merton, "Science and the Social Order", Social Theory and Social Structure, Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1949.

first principles pertaining to Pathology, discussion may be assisted by reference to the principles of these sciences.⁹

There has also been a trend in the last fifty years toward the emphasis of psycho-analysis. The realizations reached by the findings of Freud made more apparent that many diseases had no organic origin. Although the general practitioner need not concern himself with this field, the trend of many M.D.'s in taking this direction in medicine has thrown an increasing emphasis upon mental pathology. If the patient has no way of consciously or rationally approaching his problems without the intervention of the psychiatrist, the patients dependence upon one person is exceedingly intense. The psychiatrist must maintain the role of a confidant and though expressing objectivity in the analytical sense, in order to gain rapport with the patient, must establish a bond of complete confidence in their relationship. In order to do this both maintain a confidence in established Freudian theory and practice, a confidence which may not always be tested or found needing in change. In other words, the assumptions and propositions of Freudian theory are accepted and as they are seldom tested, the nature of the psychoanalytic practice is not necessarily scientific but therapeutic. A public which has accepted

9. From an essay by F. G. Crookshank, "Essay on the Relation of History and Philosophy to Medicine," C. G. Cumston, Introduction to the History of Medicine, New York: Alfred Knopf, 1927, p. XV.

much of Freudian theory and popularized it has manifested an adherence which often transcends the sacred sphere of society. The analyst's couch has replaced in many cases the Judo-Christian tradition of prayer.

The emphasis on the sacred nature of themes surrounding the sphere of curative medicine has been espoused in this section since it establishes a linkage between sentiments concerned with curative health and those concerned with the concept of individualism in American society. The physician and patient have inherited a tradition which sets aside a sacred set of rights and duties which must be adhered to with minimum interference from other authority. In a sense the patient completely subordinates himself to the care of the physician to the exclusion of any other interest. He is dependent upon the physician as an agent of cure. The desire of a release from disease and restoration of health are goals which unite both physician and patient into a temporary dyad.¹⁰

PREVENTIVE MEDICINE

The values held by science toward the search for truth and the possibility of prediction mark a rather recent but important phase in medicine.

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10. See: "The Concepts of Familistic Gemeinschaft and Contractual Gessellschaft as Applied to Doctor-Patient Relationships," Charles P. Loomis and J. Allen Beegle, Rural Social Systems, New York: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1950, pp. 112-115.; also Alice Joseph, "Physician and Patient", Applied Anthropology, Vol. I, No. 4, 1942.

We have traced medicine through a series of upward steps--a primitive stage, in which it emerged from magic and religion into an empirical art, as seen among the Egyptians and Babylonians, a stage in which the natural character of disease was recognized and the importance of its study as a phenomenon of nature was announced; a stage in which the structure and functions of the human body were worked out; a stage in which the clinical and anatomical features of disease were profitably studied, and a final stage, into which we have just entered, the application of the knowledge of their prevention. Science has completely changed man's attitude towards disease.¹¹

The modern physician, of course, has become indoctrinated with the beliefs of preventative medicine but once again his primary orientation has been concerned with the patient. As scientists have found new means of inoculation and immunization against disease, the physician has utilized such methods when proven effective. The interesting phase of this particular aspect of immunization, however, is the total unwillingness of the physician to utilize such methods unless approved by the ranking medical societies and licensed as a safe drug by the United States Public Health Service. The objection of the Michigan Medical Society to approve without qualification the polio immunization experiment in the state of Michigan points to the physicians' reluctance to experiment in any way with his patient.¹²

11. Osler, The Evolution of Modern Medicine, 1922, pp. 220-221.

12. It is interesting to note that this dispute finally was resolved with the responsibility of the experiment assigned to the National Polio Foundation. Detroit Free Press, April 20, 1954.

Another phase of medical prevention is in the field of public health and it is in this area that the practitioner frequently divorces himself from preventative medicine. Those physicians and medical personnel who have devoted their time and profession to the field of public health manifest a different type of health interest and are a distinct representation of the growth in the area of preventive medicine.

PUBLIC HEALTH

This group manifests beliefs in health which have developed since the middle of the 19th century. With the research of Pasteur, Koch, and others, rapid advancement has occurred in medicine which has brought to the front the possibility of prevention as well as curative practices. It has been during this period of growth that sanitation movements have emerged in American society.

Prior to the years 1866-1871, which include the beginnings of the present century of preventive sanitation, the health and longevity of the people was regarded as due to the special physical endowments of each person.¹³

With a change in this basic philosophy, large cities became concerned with health problems which were beginning to plague them due to enlarged populations.

13. Stephen Smith, "The History of Public Health, 1871-1921", A Half Century of Public Health, edit., M. P. Ravenel, Jubilee Historical Volume of the American Public Health Association, New York: 1921, p. 2.

With this growing concern in public health, associations were formed in local areas for the purpose of discussing and handling such problems.¹⁴ Health Departments had existed before this time but it was largely this movement that finally began to take form at the turn of the century which gave impetus to state departments of public health with local county units.¹⁵

"Local health units are the cornerstone of the nation's health. The performance of all specialized public health programs depends ultimately on adequately staffed local health units which provide the people with the benefits of modern medical science. Where full-time local health units do not exist, preventive medical services and community sanitation programs are applied only sporadically. People look to the local health officer, the nurse, and the sanitarian for those direct services which in the mind of the public, at least, represent the community's bulward against epidemics and preventable illness."¹⁶

Establishing a public health unit in a county has always been a difficult proposition. Public health administrators have agreed that for a health unit to operate effectively within an area, the following basic staff must

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14. The American Public Health Association which has set up standards of public health administration, largely accepted by public health administrators, was organized in 1873.
 15. The first state board of health in Boston, Massachusetts, was established in 1857.
 16. The National Health Assembly, America's Health, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949.

be maintained in order to function in such a way that the primary services of public health can be offered.

One physician (health officer) per local health unit.

One nurse per 5,000 people.

One sanitarian per 25,000 people.

One clerk per 15,000 people.

A study showed that only forty-seven counties and seventeen cities in the United States met these standards of staffing in 1948.¹⁷

Since the cost of a county health unit must be met partially through county taxation, i.e., the salaries of the staff and expenses occurred through operation are usually borne by the county while the federal government and state provide funds for the various programs that occur, it has been difficult for many people to see the worth of such a program.

"From 1907 to 1935 the number of full-time county health units grow from 1 to 561. These 561 local units served 762 counties. The passage of social security legislation in 1935 gave added impetus to the growth of our network of local health services so that by 1947 there were 1,284 local health areas accredited as having full-time units. These 1,284 units served 1,874 of the 3,070 counties in the United States. This picture is modified somewhat by the fact that 309 of the 1,284 full-time county health departments had no health officer, and these

17. America's Health, op. cit., p. 61.

309 local health units served 655, or over one-third, of the 1,874 counties allegedly covered by full-time local health units in 1947.¹⁸

The dependence public health has upon the large mass of people creates a different relationship between medical personnel of this type as contrasted with those involved in the curative phase of medicine. The private physician, secure in the knowledge that his income is based purely upon fees which because of the sacred nature of his profession are rarely questioned (although not always freely paid), contrasts sharply with public health physicians and personnel who realize their source of income is sharply controlled by the pursestrings of a public which by its very tradition abhors the existence of taxation.

A further distinction which marks a difference in the roles played by the public health personnel and private physicians and specialists, is the phenomenon of social constraint. The physician and patient gain their relationship from an apparent and conscious need. In the field of prevention the potential health problem may not be immediately apparent to the public. In the first case the patient is willing to subordinate his position to the physician in order to gain release from disease. In the latter instance the lack of an apparent problem in health provides resistance on the part of the public towards any manner of constraint

18. Ibid., p. 60.

that may be applied for the necessity of protecting the general health interests. Also in the case of public health, application of constraint upon the public frequently results in conditions where individual parties feel they have lost certain personal freedoms because of restrictions which have little bearing upon the conditions of their lives.

For public health to be effective, some means of adequate enforcement is necessary. For this reason, although public health officials are reluctant to do so, police and court action is necessary for the purpose of restraining individuals who are considered to be by their actions a threat to the general health of the public.¹⁹ Since health departments find it necessary to include an intermediary for the purpose of enforcing adherence to laws which will protect the public, the constraint of legality enters the picture and runs contrary to the basic sentiments of American life which denies interference from government agencies in order to allow for the individual to live a life by which he can realize the freedom guaranteed to him by his society. In reality, of course, many citizens do not resist the controls set up by public health, realizing the protection they gain by adherence to such controls. But the fact that the controls have been instituted and the fact that the basic

19. See the Supreme Court decision, *Jacobson v. Massachusetts*, 197 U.S. 11, 25 S. Ct. 358, 49 L. Ed. 643 (1905), *Evans, L. B., op. cit.*, pp. 867-872.

beliefs in freedom have been denied, draws from society a certain resistance to the aims of those devoted to the prevention of disease.

Another aspect that those involved in public health must face is the loss of many sacred symbols granted to the practitioner and specialist which are inherent in their medication and technology. The public health practitioner in dealing with the members of a society must rely a great deal upon his ability to understand the value of much that he wishes to achieve. Since all of preventive medicine cannot be instituted through legal enforcement, there is need for a public which is sympathetic to the goals of those who represent it. This necessitates an informed public and one which is educated in the direction of adequate preventive measures in health. For this reason it is necessary for the public health official to present to the public the reasons behind his practice and what a given action on his part of the public will result in. He must avoid any mysterious or unexplained practices in order to educate. The many pamphlets found in any public health unit give support to this position. Also his very medication must be explained to the people who seek his advice. As one public health nurse explained,

"All the doctor has to do is give the patient a little pink pill and say, 'That will make you better.' He doesn't have to tell him what's in the pill, if

anything, nor why he has prescribed such a medicine. In public health we have to explain to everyone just what medicine we are using and what it will do. If we immunize a child the parent must know exactly what is happening. We have to make the people aware of the why of things."

In facing the public in this way, much of what the health practitioners succeed in accomplishing becomes commonplace. It becomes somewhat of a dilemma for the public health official who may be trying to achieve esteem. To be effective he needs an enlightened public but the nature of the enlightenment creates a condition of commonplace which negates much of the esteem he might otherwise gain.

Public health is also tremendously dependent upon planning. In order to provide adequate service in an area, long run plans must be made and careful consideration of the dominant health problems must take place. In so doing, the health officials become involved in a process of rational and careful planning which frequently is dependent upon the necessity of being informed of public conditions. The condition created by such activity is often viewed by the public as an invasion of their privacy and a denial of their individual privileges. People often become irritated with the "nosey public health nurse". In the process of planning, the health official must consider what problem comes first and in so doing must ignore problems which might seem to many of the public as more important. Also the public health official,

because of this orientation toward planning, becomes scientifically involved in his practice. Not only is he using the knowledge of medical science but he has an opportunity to experiment some in terms of the public since he is able to measure effectiveness through the control of certain areas in his domain. If he has accomplished a program of immunization in one part of the county and not in another he is able to note the effectiveness of an immunization program. He also has such large numbers to work with that he has the advantage of large statistical data available. This condition has aided the public health practitioner to view his efforts as partly preventive and partly experimental.

SOCIAL MEDICINE

Since World War II there has been a growing interest in the field of Social Medicine.²⁰ Although such a trend has been greater in Europe and Great Britain, the need for such a perspective has become recognized in this country.

Closely related is the problem of the marked orientation of the modern medical student toward pathology and diagnosis, to the neglect of the total ecology of health, and of the concepts of prevention of disease and social restoration of the disabled. The intense compartmentalization of medical subject matter and the concentration on therapeutic specialties foster a certain narrowness of medical outlook that makes more difficult the achievement of the best standards of total health care. If service programs are to embrace the concepts of health conservation and cooperative medical teamwork, the schools must produce health workers who understand the social and preventive aspects of medicine.²¹

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20. The following are a few of the many publications that have covered this subject since the war: Sir Edward Farquhar Buzzard, "Social Medicine and the General Practitioner," The Practitioner, Vol. CLI, No. 903, September, 1943; Frances Albert Eley Crew, "Social Medicine as an Academic Discipline," Modern Trends in Public Health, Edit. by Paul B. Hoeber Massey, New York: 1949; Iago Galdston, The Meaning of Social Medicine, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954; W. Hobson, "What Is Social Medicine?", British Medical Journal, Vol. II, July 16, 1949; Sir Wilson Jameson, "War and the Advancement of Social Medicine," The Lancet, Vol. II, No. XVII, October 24, 1942; George Rosern, "Approaches to a Concept of Social Medicine", Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, Vol. XXVI, No. 1, January, 1948.
 21. Richard E. Weinerman, "The Quality of Medical Care", The Annals of the American Academy of Political Science, Vol. 273, January, 1951, p. 186.

Although some would draw the distinction between public health and preventive health,²² it has been the main thesis of this chapter that the two are interdependent areas. If this is the case, there is a growing necessity to incorporate within the field of social medicine ideologies which are compatible with private and public health views.

Where is the starting point? It has been suggested that such a starting point may be found in the relationship between physician and patient.

Who is responsible for the proper conception and execution of these activities? They fall, for the most part, upon the family health adviser. Usually this person is the private physician, who aids and guides all members of the family in all matters pertaining to individual health protection.²³

If this is to take place, it is believed by some that the change must occur through the education of the medical student.

Medical education as it is formulated now constitutes a gestalt into which social medicine cannot be fitted. For social medicine also represents a gestalt, and it is not fusible with specificist, curative medicine. This does not imply that social medicine deprecates or rejects the therapeutic competences of curative medicine. It only affirms that the gestalt of social medicine can absorb that of curative medicine, but that the reverse is impossible.²⁴

22. Galdston, Iago, op. cit.

23. Wilson G. Smillie, Preventive Medicine and Public Health, New York: Macmillan, 1946, p. 5.

24. Galdston, Iago, op. cit., p. 90.

Since the trend in medical history would bear out the above statement, it seems rather certain that future trends in health, which are aimed at providing for a more coordinated effort between those engaged in curative medicine and those engaged in preventive medicine, must consider the physician as an important change agent and the education he receives, an important process of the entire movement towards social medicine.

COMMUNITY HOSPITALS

The trend in community organized hospitals has been of growing importance during the last few years through the sponsorship and efforts of certain agencies, such as, the W. K. Kellogg Foundation and the Commonwealth Fund.²⁵ Serving as the greatest agency of change has been the United States government. The Hospital Survey and Construction Act has provided for a program in national and state aid for the purpose of local hospital construction.²⁶ The construction of these hospitals called for a new effort in community health relations. The public was now called upon to

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25. Paul A. Miller, et. al., Community Organization For Health: Selected References, Social Science Research Service, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan, 1950, p. 11.
 26. Congress of the United States, "Hospital Survey and Construction Act", "Public Law 725", United States Statutes At Large, Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, Vol. 60, Part I, pp. 1040-49.

take the responsibility of providing for such institutions through taxation. The involvement of local citizens in hospital construction programs has provided them with a stake in such enterprises.²⁷ Furthermore, the involvement on the part of the public in an area, once defined as either the domain of private enterprise or the medical profession, has led to new relationships which will inevitably result in patterns of health sentiments. New problems must now be faced which can no longer be solved through a segmentalized belief in the curative and preventive divisions of medicine.

HEALTH INSURANCE

The health insurance movement, although a steady one, has taken many sporadic twists and turns through the first forty years, as the American people have tried to provide for some health security in their everyday life. An adequate plan has been sought which will call for prepayment of health care in such a way that the maximum number of people can be covered at the lowest cost. Private insurance companies have offered individual family plans while cooperative plans have been instituted with varying degrees of success by special interest groups.²⁸ Such plans in many cases have failed to solve the problem of health needs because of high cost and limited coverage. Non-profit and

27. Paul A. Miller, Community Health Action, East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State College Press, 1953.

28. Miller, et. al., op. cit., pp. 15-16.

voluntary health organizations have been formed for the purpose of reducing cost and increasing coverage. This has been done, frequently, by the support of certain state legislative acts.²⁹ Even cases such as these are found limited since large numbers of the population are not adequately protected.

The general discontent in the above plans has led to more and more increased pressure for a national compulsory insurance program. Compulsory health insurance has been part of the health insurance movement itself.³⁰ Only in the years following the war has it become a serious political issue, however. This seriousness has been evidenced by both parties offering a national health plan, even though such plans were defeated by a narrow margin. The fear that such a program would lead to the eventual socialization of medicine has provided a great deal of the resistance in the past. Such a fear indicates the concern of the American people in preserving the dominant way of life expressed in individualisms and the sacredness of the medical profession. It

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29. See: Odin Anderson, State Enabling Legislation For Non-Profit Hospital and Medical Plans, School of Public Health, Public Health Economic Research Series, No. 1, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1944; also Guy Benjamin Nerren, "The Origin and Development of Voluntary, Non-Profit Health Insurance in Mississippi", Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Department of Sociology and Rural Life, Mississippi State College, 1954.
30. Odin Anderson, "Compulsory Medical Care Insurance, 1910-1950", The Annals of the American Academy of Political Science, Vol. 273, January 1951, pp. 106-113.

is significant that the American Medical Association is the chief opponent of any nationalized health insurance program. The private physician remains a symbol of the basic individualism found in the relationship between patient and doctor in our society.

Nevertheless a large portion of the American people do desire some form of compulsory health insurance and it is apparent that such a desire indicates a radical change in prevailing health sentiments. Since the health insurance movement is still far from reaching its ultimate goal of adequate protection and medical care for the large bulk of the American people, changes that occur in sentiments shared concerning health are apt to parallel such a movement. Those interested in the change and reshaping of health values during the next few years, could do no better than observe this movement as it develops in the American society.

SUMMARY

It has been shown in this chapter that sentiments concerning health in our society are found interwoven in the historical themes of individualism and collectivism. In this way they have formed patterns which allow us some insight into the basic values held toward health in the American culture.

Individualism has become closely associated with the private medical practice while sentiments associated with public health are seen to be more closely related to

collectivism. In medicine such themes find their cleavage in the divisions of the curative and preventive. Rapid advancements are being made in the area of preventive medicine and as these advancements occur, a greater degree of collective action will be called for on the part of the American people. That the American people are accepting this challenge, is evidenced by the growth of social medicine, community hospital relations, and the compulsory health insurance movement. Although such areas of health are developing, it is unlikely that they will be supported in terms of collective orientations alone. In all probability such developments will be re-interpreted in themes of individualism and the private physician will play a large part in the process of such re-interpretation.

Patterns of health sentiments are seen, then, to have clustered around the historical themes treated in the last chapter and form patterns which carry many conflicting elements within them. Such conflicting elements will be manifested in sentiments expressed in the social system which has been observed. The next chapter will treat sentiments of education in the same way that health sentiments were treated here.

CHAPTER IV

EMERGING SENTIMENTS IN EDUCATION

As in the case of emerging health sentiments, sentiments of educational content must be understood in historical perspective. Education in any particular culture is dependent upon the basic themes of that culture.

The educational processes, even within a small educational unit like the family, depend to a high degree on the spirit of the larger social body in which the persons are living. Any change in the political, economic, or social structure of this larger group, like the nation, deeply affects not only the organization of education, but its whole spirit and technique as well...Times of political change show very impressively the high degree to which education, in nearly all of its aspects, depends upon the social structure of the group. It seems to be easier for society to change education than for education to change society.¹

The very nature of human development has been dependent upon the process of education. Since the meaning of education itself is derived from the Latin educare, "to bring up a child," this symbol carries with it the content of the human learning process which allows for one generation to pass on the knowledge of the past. It also calls for the dimension of change since the very formation of ideas are themselves in a constant state of change. Therefore, although the process of education in any society is dependent upon the

1. Kurt Lewin, Resolving Social Conflicts, Harper and Brothers, 1948, pp. 3-4.

transmission of the past tradition, it carries with it the wisdom of past experience and the suggestions of necessary change.

ORIGIN OF EDUCATION

The origin of education, then, as was the case of medicine and health care can be assumed as emerging with the origin of man himself. In its early stages the process of education could hardly have been considered any more than the transmission of past knowledge by word of mouth. Early transmission of this common heritage was basically the function of the family but even in primitive and pre-literate societies the complexities found in ritual and rite called for experts. These experts were more acquainted with the variations and minutia of ritual life, so necessary to the existence of a culture dependent upon expiation to the many gods. Such experts were usually priests and/or elders. Also as technologies flourished the expert craftsmen would pass on to the next generation the past experience combined with innovations contributed by the contemporary generation.

As societies became literate a few books or records were available to those who maintained such a suitable position as to be fit for such information. The mass of society could not read nor write but for the few who found it a necessity, the transmission of a written language became available by means of the experts or teachers. The rich and

the royalty along with scribes and clerks were educated in order to fit them for public and religious responsibilities.

As civilizations became more complex such teaching became institutionalized. It was in ancient Greece that our first inheritance of a classical education, as we know it in the western world, emerged. Although the process of education was limited to children of citizens the ideas fostered by the Greeks laid the foundation of the mass education today. The belief on the part of Plato that it was necessary to have an educated citizenry in order to realize the ideal republic grew in dimensions with the growth of mass citizenry throughout western civilization. Through the period of the Roman Empire education as the Greeks had known it was much the same. It was once again confined to citizens and the slaves and subjected masses were not considered in such a process.

With the fall of the Roman Empire and the beginning of the Middle Ages, learning and the transmission of the Classical past receded to the monastery and, here, those who maintained the proper position in life could be trained in the knowledge of the ancient world. Much of the ancient knowledge had been lost with the decline of the past cultural attainments but what existed in the western world was to be found in the hands of the church and brotherhoods. As custodians of knowledge they passed on for the main part a heritage of grammar, rhetoric, logic, and theology. More

concerned with the maintenance of a sound institutionalized theology than a progression in knowledge, the education of this period was held somewhat static. To imply that such a condition was a completely static one would, of course, be false since the incubation of modern science and education was occurring at this time.

The growing reaction against the classical period of Medieval learning, found its full expression during the Age of Enlightenment. With learning in the hands of the few and the fact that the church remained the custodian of the accepted knowledge of the day, the revolution of thought which occurred grew with the fundamental belief in the individuals ability to seek and find the truth. In the past it had never been thought, even during the time of the Greeks, that knowledge and learning was the concern of the entire mass of mankind. With the emergence of the Middle Ages the church became the interpreter of knowledge and denied that the mass of the people were capable of the interpretation of truth. The heritage of Aquinas remained intact and those who questioned it were circumspect to the extreme resistance of the established church.

It was John Locke who suggested that man through experience could realize truth and that he was born with equal capacities to find such truth. Locke states that the mind is void of all ideas at birth² and that the primary capacity

2. John Locke, "An Essay Concerning Human Understanding," The Works of John Locke, London: J. Johnson and Co., 1812, Vol. I, Chapters I and II.

of the human mind is the "intellect's ability to receive the impressions made on it, either through the senses by outward objects or by its own operations when it reflects on them."³ Following in the tradition of the Enlightenment, Jean Jacques Rousseau provided an extreme interpretation of human learning which lent itself to the principles of Locke.

Rousseau's theory of education is a plea for natural education, for the free development of the child's natural and unspoiled impulses. Instruction should not begin until the desire for knowledge arises. Hence, education must be largely negative, consisting in the removal of unfavorable conditions, a task requires the greatest care...These ideas are not inconsistent with Locke's principles. If the soul is by nature an empty tablet, then men are by nature equal, and differences between them are the result of external causes of all kinds as Helvetious has already taught. Education and the social environment become the most important instruments for the perfection of the human race.⁴

The glorification of the individual and the importance of realizing the potential capacities of individuals through education was the outgrowth of the Age of Enlightenment, but the entire process of the growth in such beliefs owes itself to the tradition of education in the western world, starting with the Greeks, scholasticized during the Middle Ages, refuted during the reformation and flourishing in this Age of Enlightenment.

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3. Frank Thilly and Ledger Wood, A History of Philosophy, New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1951, Chapter XIII, p. 335.
 4. Ibid., Chapter XIV, pp. 408-409.

The Age of Enlightenment had a major effect upon the incipient growth of American Culture since the thinking of this period coincided with the general growth in colonization and the unrest that led to revolution. Theories which found expression in the American Revolution could not be separated from the belief in an educated populace. It is then understandable that we find in the emergence of the Jeffersonian philosophy beliefs in individualism and the importance of education in realizing the true potential of individual capacities.

EDUCATION IN AMERICA

The notion of an educated populace was part of the American philosophy fostered by Thomas Jefferson. If the individual was to be found naturally endowed with the capacity to adjust to his environment, it would be possible to create in this new world a different sort of nation than had ever existed before. The early colonial had been concerned with this notion even before Jefferson's time, however. The Massachusetts School Law of 1647 laid the foundation for the system of free schools that has existed through the years in the United States.

It Being one chiefe proiect of y^eould deluder, Satan to keepe men from the knowledge of y^e Scriptures, as in forme times by keeping y^m in an unknown tongue, so in these latt^r times by perswading from y^e use of tongues, y^t so at least y^e true sence & meaning of y^e originall might be clouded by false glosses of saint seeming

deceivers, y^t learning may not be buried in y^e grave of o^r fath^{rs} in y^e church and commonwealth, the Lord assisting o^r endeavors,--

It is therefore ord^{red}, y^t ev^{ry} towne-ship in this iurisdiction, aft^r y^e Lord hat increased y^m number to 50 household^{rs}, shall then forthwth appoint one wth in their towne to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write & reade, whose wages shall be paid eith^r by y^e parents or mast^{rs} of such children, or by y^e inhabitants in gen^{ral}, by way of supply, as y^e mai^{or} part of those y^t ord^r y^e prudentials y^e towne shall appoint; provided, those y^t send their children by not oppressed by paying much more y^m they can have y^m taught for in oth^r townes; & it is furth^r ordered, y^t where any towne shall increase to y^e numb^r of 100 families being able to instruct youth so farr as they shall be fitted for y^e university, provided, y^t if any towne neglect y^e performance hereof above one yeare, y^t every such towne shall pay 5 pounds to y^e next schoole till they shall performe this order.⁵

The very early colonization period in American history emphasized the necessity for an educated citizenry. True the emphasis was put upon religious experience and the necessity of the individual to interpret the scriptures himself, in order to gain the truth and thereby salvation. However, this emphasis was only part of the thinking that resulted from the reformation and enlightenment, and the growth in natural rights doctrines fostered by an unconquered continent would change much of the early provincial colonial

5. "Massachusetts School Law of 1647," Henry Steele Commager, ed., Documents of American History, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1950, document no. 20.

thinking to that of a national philosophy, a philosophy less concerned with past institutional struggles and more concerned with adaptation to a new and growing nation. Such a philosophy was to be found in the ideals of Jeffersonian individualism, as described in Chapter I.

The new nation was pre-occupied with growth and it is natural that the transmission of knowledge would be concerned with such growth. An emphasis upon adaptability to a rigorous agricultural and frontier life rather than upon a carefully institutionalized pattern of European education, emerged in the American culture. Universities patterned after European ones were in existence but even these bore the stamp of American ideology. There were intense feelings upon the part of many Americans that a proper education of even a classical nature could be obtained in this country with the elimination of certain serious drawbacks included within a European program of training.

...But why send an American youth to Europe for education? What are the objects of an useful American education? Classical knowledge, modern languages, chiefly French, Spanish, and Italian; Mathematics, Natural philosophy, I mean to include Chemistry and Agriculture, and in Natural history, to include Botany, as well as the other branches of those departments. It is true that the habit of speaking the modern languages cannot be so well acquired in America; but every other article can be as well acquired at William and Mary college, as at any place in Europe... Let us view the disadvantages of sending a youth to Europe... He acquires

a fondness for European luxury and dissipation, and a contempt for the simplicity of his own country; he is fascinated with the privileges of the European aristocrats, and sees, with abhorrence, the lovely equality which the poor enjoy with the rich, in his own country; he contracts a partiality for aristocracy or monarchy; he forms foreign friendships which will never be useful to him, and lose the seasons of life for forming, in his own country those friendships which, of all others, are the most faithful and permanent; he is led, by the strongest of all human passions, into a spirit for female intrigue, destructive of his own and others happiness or a passion for whore, destructive of his health, and in both cases learns to consider fidelity to the marriage bed as an ungentlemanly practice, and inconsistent with happiness...he returns to his own country, a foreigner, unacquainted with the practices of domestic economy, necessary to preserve him from ruin, speaking and writing his native tongue as a foreigner, and therefore unqualified to obtain those distinctions, which eloquence of the pen and tongue ensures in a free country... Cast your eye over America: who are the men of most learning, of most eloquence, most beloved by their countrymen and most trusted and promoted by them? They are those who have been educated among them, and whose manners, morals, and habits, are perfectly homogeneous with those of the country.⁶

RELEVANT EDUCATIONAL MOVEMENTS

Since this chapter is concerned with relevant patterns of educational sentiments emerging within the social structure being observed, it would be impossible to follow the

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6. Thomas Jefferson, "Letter to J. Bannister, October 15, 1785," Henry Steele Commager, Living Ideas in America, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951, pp. 557-558.

trends which have resulted from the previous developments mentioned in the growth of education in America. The entire public school system and the development of compulsory education are in themselves objects of enormous study and analysis. What most concerns us at this point, however, are those trends in American education that demonstrate an emergence of sentiments which make more understandable the pattern of sentiments manifested in the social system. For this reason the trend in American education which has emphasized the transmission of a body of knowledge of a particular useful nature to the masses most concerns us. Further it is necessary to understand the role that a particular type of education such as health education plays in the general picture of community activity. With these considerations stated, it will be clear why the following trend in American education, from the time of Jefferson to the present, emphasizes only a small part of the total movement.

The years ending the 19th century and those beginning the 20th century saw a shift in the American philosophical position. Perhaps it actually was the philosophical position coming of age. The period of Romanticism was shifting to an age where critical considerations of social problems

ruled over beliefs in the reality of absolute ideals.⁷ The Transcendentalism of the 19th century had undergone a radical change and the romantic agrarianism of Jefferson was no longer unquestioned. Into this period was introduced Pragmatism. The pragmatic philosophy was hardly new to the American brought up on Jeffersonian beliefs of the practical struggle between man and his environment. It was fundamental to the thinking of the early pioneer and its interpretation in the hands of William James and later, John Dewey, were proclamations of the fundamental belief in a practical life, a life devoted to scientific advancement as long as such advancement could ultimately prove itself workable.⁸ There was little doubt on the part of the early pragmatist that such an emphasis would lead to basic truths. Pragmatism merely shifted the emphasis upon doing rather than on the contemplation of what limited or directed this doing.

...The division of the world into two kinds of Being, one superior, accessible only to reason and ideal in nature, the other inferior, material, changeable, empirical, accessible to sense-observation, turns inevitably into the idea that knowledge is contemplative in nature. It assumes a contrast between theory and practice which was all to the disadvantage of the latter. But in the actual course of the development of science, a tremendous change has come about. When practice

7. Farrington, op. cit., (See: Vol. III, "The Beginnings of Critical Realism in America").

8. Commager, op. cit., 1950, pp. 90-107.

of knowledge ceased to be dialectical and became experimental, knowing became pre-occupied with changes and the test of knowledge became the ability to bring about certain changes. Knowing, for the experimental sciences, means a certain kind of intelligently conducted doing; it ceases to be contemplative and becomes in a true sense practical.⁹

Pragmatism, then, expressed faith in the practical. It inherited the spirit of the frontier, it drew from Transcendentalism by accepting a division of knowledge (that which is "knowable" and that which is beyond knowing in the material sense), and it provided for a philosophical system which could justify education for all, since such education must answer to the practical problems of all citizens.

This philosophy gave impetus to the educational movements that occurred in American life at the turn of the century. These movements expressed the demand of the American people to make more available to them the practical knowledge which appeared abundant as science opened more and more avenues of inquiry into the world around them. Although dominantly technological, such movements carried with them an appeal towards the social implications of living. Such movements provided the American with new beliefs and accompanying sentiments. The rest of this chapter will be concerned with these sentiments which are relevant to the problem of the dissertation.

9. John Dewey, Reconstruction In Philosophy, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1920, p. 121.

THE LYCEUM AND CHAUTAUQUA MOVEMENTS

The quest for knowledge upon the part of the American masses fostered by the achievement and findings of applied science during the nineteenth century led to a movement of popular education which was to include adults as well as children. It was natural that if man was to learn through education how to adapt to his environment and if the knowledge that might make this adaptation more successful was in a constant stage of progression, it was necessary for the adult to be in touch with the latest findings offered through the process of science. Such a concern on the part of the public lead to the successful Lyceum and Chautauqua in the United States.

The Lyceum movement¹⁰ occurred in the United States at the beginning of the nineteenth century prior to the time that adequate public school and library systems had been established. Generally, the purpose was to improve public schools, set up adequate library and museum facilities, and to arrange for lectures and discussion groups for adults. By the middle of the nineteenth century Boards of Education had taken over the function of improving the school systems as well as libraries and museums. From this time on the major function of Lyceums was the arrangement of lectures and a

10. Paul H. Johnstone, "Old Ideas Versus New Ideas In Farm Life", Farmers In A Changing World, Year Book of Agriculture, Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1940, p. 135.

general adult education program. Prominent American scholars were often found on Lyceum programs and toured parts of the country. For many years this movement functioned primarily as an educational program but near the end of the nineteenth century had degenerated through commercialization to a means of entertainment. The entire movement continued to exist during the early part of the twentieth century but disappeared with the development of the radio and motion pictures.

The Chautauqua movement began during the turn of the century and continued through the first quarter of the twentieth century. Its origin is found in the Chautauqua Institute founded at Lake Chautauqua in 1874 for the purpose of advancing the education of teachers and Sunday school teachers. The Chautauqua movement that spread through rural America during the turn of the century was not the same organization as the institute at Lake Chautauqua but the principle of adult education remained the same. The Chautauqua Institute remained academically inclined and eventually granted degrees while the Chautauqua movement itself became more oriented to lecture series and entertainment. Its appeal was tremendous and for many years it remained the center of rural educational interest, especially in the Midwest.

During this period, however, the same interest in education for the masses was being expressed in the growth of state agricultural institutions. With the bulk of the American population still remaining rural and gaining their support from

the land, any trend in practical education was destined to be oriented to agriculture.

THE "LAND-GRANT" MOVEMENT

The dominant interest on the part of the large body of the American population towards education, as it was expressed in the Lyceum and Chautauqua movements found its full expression in the contemporary growth of the Land Grant System of education that occurred in the middle of the nineteenth century. The growing pressure from many of the states in the Union for the establishment of State colleges of agriculture¹¹ finally led to the Morrill Act of 1862. With an abundance of public land at its disposal, the government, at the close of the Civil War, launched a program of land settlement which was manifested in the tremendous westward expansion following the Homestead Act.¹² In the same year the Morrill Act provided for grants of land to be parceled out to the various states of the Union for the purpose of promoting agricultural education for the citizens. This act provided for a grant of 30,000 acres of public land to each state for each Senator and Representative in Congress.¹³ The funds collected from

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11. Although other states had instituted programs of agricultural education, the state constitution of Michigan provided for an agricultural college. The legislature provided \$40,000 for buildings, maintenance, and teaching. Maryland and Pennsylvania followed shortly afterwards with similar institutions.
 12. The Homestead Act of 1862 marked the period of the growth in a more liberal land policy of the government which allowed the general public an opportunity in the land market instead of just the wealthy speculator which had been the case in the past.
 13. Morrill Act of 1862.

the sale of these lands were to be used for the purpose of supporting at least one college devoted to the learning of agriculture and mechanical arts.¹⁴

This first "land-grant" Act constituted the greatest single piece of legislation ever passed in the interest of agricultural education, and under its provisions institutions were gradually established in each of the states and in Hawaii and Puerto Rico. In some of the states the agricultural or mechanical schools are attached to the state universities or other colleges. In Massachusetts, the income was divided to help found two schools, the Massachusetts Agricultural College and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.¹⁵

The Morrill Act of 1862 was followed by the second Morrill Act of 1890 which provided for grants of money amounting to \$15,000 per year to a state with an increase of \$1,000 annually until the sum reached \$25,000 annually in 1900.¹⁶ The Nelson Amendment of 1907 provided for an additional \$25,000 allotment.¹⁷ Along with this development in the subsidization of the agricultural schools, for the purpose of educating the citizen, was the development of an emphasis upon experimentation and research. In 1887, the Hatch Act was passed and provided for funds which supported experiment stations in the state colleges throughout the United States.¹⁸

14. Ibid.

15. Harold Underwood Faulkner, American Economic History, 6th ed., New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949, pp. 224-225.

16. E. E. Edwards, "Agriculture--The First Three Hundred Years", Yearbook of Agriculture, 1940, pp. 171-276.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid.

Such experimentation led to the growth in agricultural research and enabled the average farmer to face many of the complex problems in cultivation in new and more economic ways. The nineteenth century, then, developed the American notion of education and provided for the advancement and realization of much which had been considered the American destiny. Many of the dreams of Jefferson became realized with the advancement of the "land-grant" movement.

In many ways these years were the brightest in American agricultural history. This was an era of confident expansion in which the future seemed secure. Widening markets in Europe kept pace with expanding farm areas in this country. Factories abroad and at home absorbed the cotton crop and industrial centers purchased foodstuffs. Except for the panic periods, prices were generally higher and farmers were able in turn to buy the products of forge and factory. In the South, slaves, the chief property of the plantation owner, rose in value, and in the old Northwest the rapid settlement combined with good prices pushed up the value of lands. In such a situation it was natural that the talent of the nation should turn to scientific improvements, to the invention of farm machinery, and to agricultural education. Agriculture was the nation's primary interest. Transportation facilities were developed and industry was organized to serve its needs. The period, in truth, was America's agricultural era.¹⁹

THE COOPERATIVE EXTENSION SERVICE

Although much that is extension work today owes its existence to the early developments in farmers' movements and

19. Faulkner, Harold Underwood, op. cit., p. 225.

the organization of "Land-Grant" colleges which occurred during the middle of the nineteenth century, it was in 1914 that the program was finally launched.

The Smith Lever Act was responsible for the establishment of this service.

"While the bill was pending, Congressman Lever explained the purpose of the legislation. He pointed out the essential information that was being gathered by agricultural colleges and stressed the need for putting this information in the hands of farmers. He described the potential extension service as an agency that had been sought for half a century.²⁰

With the early action of farmers' movements, it was not surprising that the Grange and Farm Bureau took an active part in supporting the extension program. In Michigan, Farm Bureau members were charged "...a small membership fee ranging from 50 cents to a dollar a year...to help pay the salary of the county extension agent, pay for the services of a stenographer, and furnish the necessary office supplies and travel."²¹ In the 1920's financial aid was finally withdrawn in Michigan, since,

"It soon became evident...that the programs of the Farm Bureau of Federal and State Extension Service were such that extension work could not continue to receive financial support from the Farm Bureau."²²

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- 20. Michigan State College Cooperative Extension Service, "History of Cooperative Extension Work in Michigan 1914-1939", East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State College, 1941, Bulletin #229.
 - 21. Michigan State College Bulletin #229, op. cit.
 - 22. Ibid.

The break between these two systems has never occurred in some states and today extension policies are often partially determined by the Farm Bureau.

The emphasis given to the cooperative title of the extension service reveals the structure as it exists nationally, statewide, and in the county. The expenses of such a service are handled by all three levels of government. The federal government, state government, and county government share a portion of the cost of the program. There is not a standard ratio of support throughout the United States and in some states a larger proportion of the cost is paid by the federal government than in others. The nature of the control from the local level of this unusual bureaucracy also varies according to each state. It is natural that in areas where the fundamental beliefs in individualism are most strongly championed, there is found the deepest concern in local autonomy.

The extension service operates through the state agricultural colleges. Its chief purpose is to pass on to the people of the state the latest research findings and knowledge that may help with problems of farming, home economics, health, and the like.

The extension service is a bureaucracy of an unusual kind since it gains its chief source of power from the lower levels of the hierarchy. Thus, extension services can be effective only in areas where the people need and want it.

Extension's assistance must therefore, be geared to problems which people recognize and to the discovery of unappreciated needs, or it will do no educational work at all.

But collectively these problems and interests encompass broad portions of human activity. A major problem facing extension forces at all times is, then, one of so distributing its available educational resources to the various problem and interest fields in such proportion that the maximum contribution may be made.²³

Therefore, there are two themes in extension work which, although conflicting ones, are compromised within the system. One is the general belief in individualism and the notion that the process of education is necessary for everyone. The other is the realization that no effective program in education can be carried on in so great a scale, as is extension, without a well organized bureaucracy. This latter realization leads to a general collective mentality on the part of extension workers and those who are served by them.

Although highly bureaucratic in many spheres, the notion of a highly pragmatic educational program has been preserved. The feeling or expression of sentiments which support such a belief are aptly phrased by Dean Eugene Davenport.²⁴

...We called it the "New Education" in those early days, as distinct from the traditional.

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- 23. U.S. Department of Agriculture and Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities, "Joint Committee Report on Extension Programs, Policies, and Goals", Washington, D. C.; U.S. Government Printing Office, 1948, p. 8.
 - 24. Eugene Davenport, "Spirit of The Land Grant College", ed. by R.K. Bliss, et. al., Washington, D.C.: Published jointly by the Graduate School, U.S. Department of Agriculture and the Epsilon Sigma Phi, National Honorary Extension Fraternity, 1952, p. 9.

In the narrowness of our enthusiasm we called it practical and useful, as distinct from the classical and useless. For of what good is it when a man can say "I am hungry" in six or seven languages but cannot earn his own bread and butter?

Nor were we altogether illogical in all this, for the old-time education insisted that education and utility were mutually exclusive. Even the earlier scientific researches in the industries were dubbed commercial and uneducative if the investigator had in the back of his head the slightest notion that the results of his researches might, some time or other, in some way, become of use in the world. Against such tidal waves of prejudice did the Land Grant College Spirit pound in its early efforts to bless mankind, and it is little wonder that sometimes it too might have lacked in breadth of vision. For those were days of narrowness and of intense prejudices.

The perpetuation of the basic sentiments found in the Land-Grant system had been fostered, then, through the extension program. Such a perpetuation has meant that those who are found within such a system manifest to a great degree beliefs in individualism and the capacity for and the right to have an education.

One of the major offices in extension is that of the County Agricultural Agent. Often he is the chief administrator on the county level and in direct contact with the people the service must effect. It is he who often decides the various needs of the people from what he has learned in the area. When specialists are needed he will make requests to the college for such services. In a sense, then, he is a

specialist as well as an administrator since he acts as a source of information.²⁵ It is considered by both Federal and State levels inadvisable to enter an area without the request of the local people and such a request is usually made through the County Agent.

In order to maintain high level standards among the agents employed, the college has functioned as the hiring agency for agricultural agents. For this reason, the agent is technically part of the college faculty.²⁶ Because of the prestige maintained by the Agricultural College in rural areas, this position enhances the effectiveness of the agent in many cases.

The Smith-Lever Act was never intended as an act to establish services for rural areas alone but since such legislation was enacted through pressure and the desire of many farmers for advanced information concerning agriculture, the historical development has largely been that of rural orientation.

SUMMARY

The origins of education indicate that human society, since the beginnings of man, has been dependent upon the educational process. It has also been apparent that since the

25. Edmund des Brunner and E. Hsin Pao Yang, Rural America and the Extension Service, New York: Columbia University, Teachers College, Bureau of Publications, 1949, p. 40.

26. This is not the case in every state but is true in Michigan.

process of transmission and change of culture within a society is characteristic of dominant themes, such a process will be best understood in relationship to these themes. Themes of this nature are characterized by sentiments manifested by the people of a culture and are integrated into systems of belief and ideology.

American Society has been characterized by basic themes of individualism and there has also been apparent growing trends in collectivistic thinking. Nevertheless the former cluster of basic themes dominates; and much of the behavior of the American people can be understood in the light of such themes.

Education in America has been characterized by the glorification of the individual. The belief that all individuals are endowed with the same capabilities has led to a movement of mass education in this country. Along with this belief has been the Jeffersonian dream of the "American Destiny" which has called for an increasingly enlightened citizenry. Associated with these beliefs was the belief that the education process must provide the citizen with practical knowledge which would help him adjust to his environment. Since the notions of Jeffersonian individualism were tightly enmeshed with pragmatic considerations of conquering a vast frontier wilderness, the belief in education as a means of adjusting to a practical and severe world provided a foundation for the educational movement in this country. Pragmatism was developed and redefined by William James and John Dewey.

Illustrative of these beliefs has been the "Land-Grant" movement in the United States. The growth of the Land-Grant colleges, the development of experiment stations and the establishment of the Cooperative Extension Service have led to a realization of the highly pragmatic beliefs in American education. Sentiments expressed within such movements become relevant to the problem at hand since their emergence within the relevant structures makes more meaningful the pattern of sentiments found within a social system that has emerged from such structures.

PART II

THE RELEVANT SOCIAL STRUCTURE

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THE RELEVANT SOCIAL STRUCTURES

The last section, Part I, has been concerned with the relevant aspects of the cultural system or the normative order. Historical themes which revealed the growth of certain patterns of sentiments were described. Also emerging sentiments of a salient nature to both the relevant structure and social system were analyzed. In this section an attempt will be made to describe the relevant social structures which have a bearing upon the emerging social system and the patterned sentiments found within it. No social system can be understood as an emergent without an assumption, if not a previous analysis, of pre-existing social relationships. The realization on the part of the writer of the crucial necessity for describing what he considers to be relevant structure in order to place the sentiments manifested by relationships within the social system, has been mentioned before as a basic assumption of this dissertation. Once again it must be stated that no exhaustive treatment is possible when dealing with relevant structures since, in a chronological sense, any set of relationships emerge from other sets of relevant relationships and the point of setting an arbitrary line related to relevancy is necessary and justifiable on the grounds of scientific necessity in abstraction.

The following chapter will be concerned with a brief description of the county in which the health survey took place and in which were found relationships which were contained within a social system. The next chapter will be concerned with organizations within the county which were primarily responsible for the realization of the health survey and whose members were major actors within the social system yet to be analyzed.

CHAPTER V

DESCRIPTION OF INDEPENDENCE COUNTY

Independence County has been referred to by both its citizenry and outsiders as the "Independent State". It is doubtful that the independence it displays varies a great deal from the entire spirit manifested by the mid-west and the cultural themes which are best expressed in the sentiments of Fredrick Jackson Turner and others who understood and believed in the heritage of frontier life in America. This "independence" frequently referred to is accepted as a heritage from the founders of Independence county who established a society in land which had been considered in the past as unfit for human habitation.¹ Although slow to begin in the rapid advancement of western migration, once settlement had been made in the county it was quick to gain its ascendancy in the new territory of Michigan and became one of the early established counties. The founders of this County were not amateurs at pioneering and settlement. For

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1. Competition in the settlement of the Northwest Territory resulted in considerable manipulation and deceit. The Ohio Territory which was settled prior to that of Michigan jealously held to a program of increasing settlement in order to become a state. As a result politicians of this area spread distorted rumors related to the hostility of Indians and the poor quality of land in Michigan. For a short period of time they were successful in delaying the settlement of this area.

the most part they represented residents of New York State who had already a vast experience at settling a new nation. As a result rapid advancement was possible within this mid-west territory.²

This rapid pattern of settlement is illustrated by Figure 1 which indicates the dates of township settlement in Independence County. The first township to be settled was that of Mohawk in 1824 and the last was Clark in 1869. Although the range of 45 years appears lengthy, all but two of the townships were settled in a period of 17 years. Independence County was the first established in September 10, 1822, by the Territorial Law I, 335³ and was organized November 20, 1826, by Territorial Law II, 292.⁴

The settlement pattern of the County, although similar to many in the Northwest Territory, led to a population growth which was to strengthen the frontier sentiments of individualism and establish a heritage not to be changed radically by any large European immigration in later years. Table I illustrates the pattern of a high proportion of native

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2. See: Walter E. Freeman, Impact of Industry Upon a Rural Community, (unpublished masters thesis), Michigan State College, 1952, for an understanding of the rapid advancement of this area and what it meant politically, socially, and economically to its inhabitants.
 3. George Newman Fuller, Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan, Lansing, Michigan: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., 1916, p. 533.
 4. Ibid.

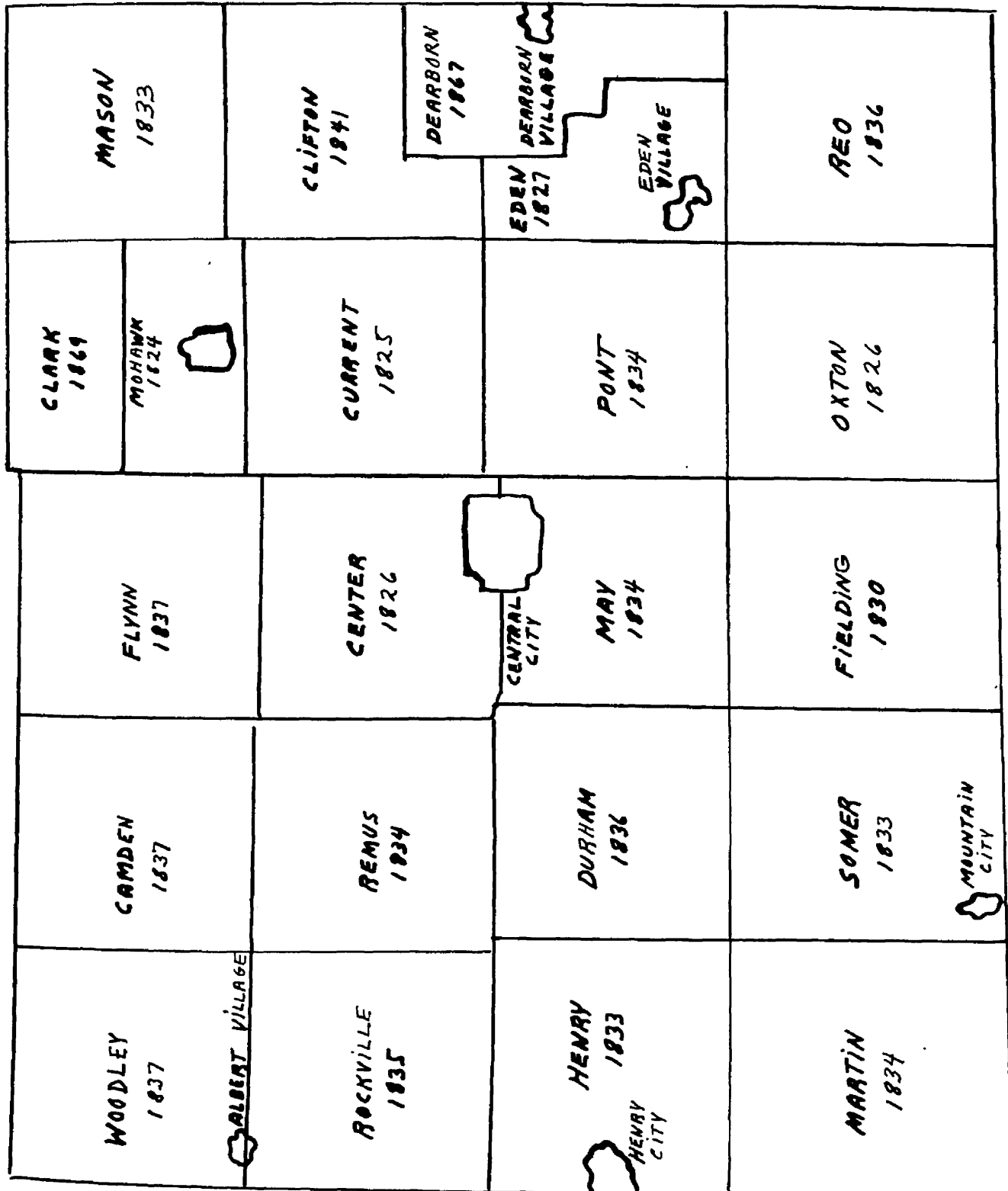


FIGURE 1
INDEPENDENCE COUNTY
FOUNDING DATES FOR TOWNSHIPS

TABLE I
TRENDS IN NATIVITY
INDEPENDENCE COUNTY COMPARED WITH STATE
1860-1950

Year		Percent Native Born	Percent Foreign Born	Negro
1950	Independence State	96.7 83.4	2.8 9.5	0.5 6.9
1940	Independence State	96.0 82.9	3.6 13.0	0.3 3.9
1930	Independence State	94.8 78.8	4.6 17.5	0.5 3.5
1920	Independence State	93.9 78.4	5.6 19.8	0.5 1.6
1910	Independence State	92.1 77.9	7.3 21.2	0.5 0.6
1900	Independence State	90.4 76.8	8.9 22.3	0.7 0.7
1890	Independence State	88.8 73.1	11.2 26.0	--- ---
1880	Independence State	88.6 75.0	11.4 23.6	--- ---
1870	Independence State	88.1 84.5	11.9 15.5	--- ---
1860	Independence State	88.6 80.1	11.4 19.9	--- ---

Source: Figures obtained from United States Census of the above years.

born inhabitants, even during years which witnessed large immigration trends in the United States.

It is in this setting that contemporary Independence County is found. A setting of intense individualism which has been fostered by years of growth which have not upset the fundamental values of American life. Independence County is, therefore, noted for its historic individualism. Local residents take pride in this reputation. Also, people in state agencies and organizations indicate that they approach working in Independence County with considerable caution in the face of its vaunted self-sufficiency. Although Independence County is a productive farm region, it is also an area of considerable industrialization.* The county seat, Central City, located approximately in the center of the county, is

* A Note On Rural-Urban Differences - It would appear unnecessary to emphasize to any great degree the differences found between rural and urban life since it is rather generally accepted that differences do exist and vary according to the region or specific area in which they are found. Briefly, then, it will be stated that within the relevant structure there are to be found general sentiments which are shared by both rural and urban people and certain sentiments which emphasize differences.

In Independence County the overall cultural theme is still dominantly rural. It must be remembered that "rural" is used advisedly since today such a concept has only relative meaning with communication and transportation reaching such complexity. However, the cities and villages still remain service areas which care for the needs of the farmer. They still remain centers of rural communication and they continue to function as centers for retired farmers. Tremendous modifications have occurred with the introduction of industry and such modifications have resulted in changes within the composition of the population and their way of life. (See Freeman, Walter E., op. cit.). People with urban orientations have

about thirty miles from a fairly large industrial city, sixty miles from a major metropolis, and seventy miles from the state capital, a medium-sized industrial city. There are a number of local and some national trade and manufacturing organizations in various places throughout the county, with the principal concentration located in the county seat.

Table II shows the population of Independence County by its political subdivisions. The great majority of the county residents are native born white. Of the county's 64,629 residents, 30,078 live in the towns and cities, while 34,551 live in the open country.⁵ The largest urban center is Central City, the county seat. This city was incorporated as a village in 1836 and as a city in 1853. It includes an area of four and one-half square miles and a composite trade

entered the county and have become active citizens in community projects and policy making decisions.

It was often the contrast between the urban way of life and the rural way of life that set up areas of sensitivity in the survey action. In actuality the differences were not so extreme as to provide for empirical categorization throughout the description of the social system. It will be noted that with the exception of Central City and Mohawk, the dominant phase of the survey was concerned with the rural areas. This will be explained shortly as the result of the activation of certain structures in the county which were dominantly rural in orientation. Such differences effected the pattern of expressed sentiments within the social system. Whenever such differences are observed they will be emphasized for the purpose of describing the meaning of the sentiments with the system.

5. United States Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1950, Vol. II, Characteristics of the Population, Part 22, Michigan, Washington D. C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1952.

and service area of 250 square miles. Dun and Bradstreet list 445 businesses for this city.

The next largest trade area is the village of Mohawk, which is historically older than Central City and located about 10 miles to the northeast. It was founded in 1824 and was the first settlement in the area to prosper as a frontier town. Rivalry has always been keen between Mohawk and Central City, even though the latter is four times larger than the former. This still exists between these two communities on both economic and political issues. While Central City has many more industries, one manufacturing concern in Mohawk organized in the early 1930's has brought considerable prosperity to that village. Through the generosity of this concern and its officers, the town has received many improvements, including major additions to the hospital and the schools. In this rivalry Central City, however, has some advantage by having two colleges, one Protestant and one Catholic, though it would appear that the industry and trade of the city exert more influence upon local affairs than do the colleges.

There are also some industries in other small towns, villages, and cities. In addition, an increasing income is being derived from the "tourist trade", particularly in the northwest corner of the county. In this section the lake areas are used for recreational purposes not only by residents of Middle State but also by vacationers from neighboring states.

TABLE II

1950 POPULATION, INDEPENDENCE COUNTY

	Number of Persons	Number of Households*
Central City	18,393	5,568
Center Township	2,600	585
Eden Township	3,168	961
Eden Village	2,365	751
Camden Township	1,567	490
Clney Village	486	169
Clark Township	1,869	538
Clark Village	1,344	389
Dearborn Township	1,547	428
Dearborn Village	725	219
Durham Township	1,336	365
Clark Village (part)	254	75
Fielding Township	2,025	569
Flynn Township	1,499	418
Henry City	2,733	842
Henry Township	1,179	332
Claycomb Village (part)	213	67
Mason Township	1,000	256
May Township	2,990	745
Martin Township	1,345	361
Mountain City	1,983	653
Oxton Township	1,249	388
Pont Township	1,767	513
Current Township	1,767	472
Clifton Township	1,470	432
Bryan Village	517	169
Reo Township	1,646	452
Rockville Township	2,229	670
Albert Village (part)	252	88
Spirit Beach (part)	1,107	343
Remus Township	1,111	319
Somer Township	1,262	353
Mohawk Township	5,052	1,485
Mohawk Village	4,020	1,208
Woodley Township	1,802	548
Albert Village (part)	236	77
Spirit Beach (part)	166	53
TOTAL	64,629	18,743

Source: 1950 U. S. Census of Population. (All names are fictitious)

*These 1950 figures were received from the United States Bureau of the Census, by correspondence, February 11, 1952.

FARM PRODUCTION

Independence County is one of the most agriculturally productive counties in the state and one of the richer counties in the Midwest. According to the U. S. Department of Agriculture, it is classified as a corn belt county; that is, the principal source of farm income is corn. In this respect Independence County is similar to many of the other 469 corn belt counties located in Iowa and Nebraska, northwestern Ohio, northern Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, southern Michigan, and Minnesota. Other sources of farm income in Independence County are from dairy, poultry, small grain, and tomatoes. In 1950 there were 2,999 commercial farms, and 773 other farms in the county.⁶

The production of corn is confined principally to the southern part of the county. Tomatoes are grown commercially almost exclusively in the extreme southeast corner of the county. The northeast part of the county is also characterized by high farm incomes, but the type of farming is not concentrated on the production of corn to such an extent as in the south. While all of Independence County has good soil, the less productive soils are to be found in the northwest part of the county. In this area there is a greater amount of marginal and sub-marginal land. This is true particularly

6. U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Agriculture: 1950, Vol. I, Counties and State Economic Areas, Part 6, Washington D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1952.

of the lake areas which are almost wholly located in that part of the county.

In the more productive farming areas there is less concern about health. This results in a belief in the adequacy of the township as a unit for providing health services and a greater opposition to the existence of the County Health Department. For instance, the two townships where the opposition was sufficiently strong to prevent the survey from being done were the two most productive townships in the county. Also, the fact that Independence County has the next to the highest agricultural income of any county in the state helps to explain the high degree of independence which the county maintains with state organizations. Additional information on the nature of the agriculture of the county will demonstrate this condition.

Independence County sold over 11 million dollars worth of farm products in 1944. This figure increased to over 17 million in 1949. In only three other counties in the state did the sale of farm products exceed 15 million in 1949. At the same time, the farm income was under one million in 13 other counties of the state. There are 425,009 acres in farm land. In 1949 the value of corn harvested was worth over 7 million dollars, dairy products sold reached almost 4 million dollars, and livestock sold alive was worth almost 5½ million dollars.⁷

7. Above figures taken from the United States Census of Agriculture, op. cit.

. Of the 3,772 farms in the county: 3,527 or 93.5% have electricity; 2,387 or 63.3% have telephones; 3,227 or 85.6% have automobiles; 2,898 or 76.8% have tractors; and 996 or 26.4% have corn pickers. Farming in this county, as it can be seen by these figures, is becoming more and more mechanized, necessitating fewer farm operators. While there were 3,976 farm operators in 1945, the number decreased to 3,635 (a decrease of 8.6%) by 1950. Of the 2,906 commercial farm operators, only 411 worked off their farms for 100 days or more in 1950.⁸ Also, only 313 of these reported that their non-farm income exceeded their farm income. The following table shows the high level of living for farm families in Independence County.

TABLE III

Level of Living Index for Farm-Operator Families
in Independence County as Compared With State,
Region, & Nation

	1930	1940	1945	1950
Independence County	117	136	154	156
The State	84	99	118	135
North Central Region	104	104	128	147
United States	75	79	100	122

Source: Farm-Operator Family Level of Living Indexes for Counties in the United States, 1930, 1940, 1945, and 1950, Margaret Jarman Hagood, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, May, 1952.

8. Ibid.

The farm population of Independence County is made up of white, prosperous, full time middlewestern farmers.

If one were to ask those who live in the corn belt to characterize it, the picture given would be of its superlatives. They would reply that it has the richest land and the most up-to-date farms in the country; that its people are the most independent, the most democratic, and the most typically American in all the United States; that its wealth is more equally distributed, and the rights of everyone to advance according to their abilities are more zealously safeguarded and promoted than in most other sections of the country. And if an inquirer searches for the facts, he will discover that the corn belt does have the highest percentage of its land graded in classes 1 and 2, the highest percentage of its farms in the \$1,5000 to \$4,000 gross income group, and the highest and evenest level of living among farm families to be found in the nation. He will also find that, as compared to any other commercial farming belt, a similar percentage of the farm operators do off-farm work and a higher percentage of all of the farm work is done by family labor. To repeat, life is not uniform in the corn belt...⁹

BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

Perhaps the most significant fact about the non-agricultural enterprise of Independence County is the trebling of manufacturing production workers from 3,122 in 1937 to 9,185 in 1947.¹⁰ The actual number of manufacturing establishments increased from 85 to 122 during this same period. The urban and industrial impact upon this previously agricultural

9. Carl C. Taylor, et. al., Rural Life in the United States, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949, Chapter 21, The Corn Belt, pp. 360-361.

10. U. S. Census of Population, op. cit.

county is indicated by a comparison of the 17 million dollars of farm products sold in 1949¹¹ with the 28 million dollars paid to the 10,426 manufacturing employees in 1947.¹²

Table IV presents the distribution of manufacturing enterprise by size of establishment. Here it is seen that food, furniture and metal products make up the bulk of the manufacturing. In addition there are establishments employing one hundred or more workers in textiles, paper manufacture and printing, and stone, clay and glass products.

Independence County residents are proud of their manufacturing enterprises. They consider it a credit when their towns and cities are selected as locations for new industries. This is especially true when it concerns large establishments. For instance, Independence County residents discuss with pride how a war time aluminum factory has installed a very large press imported from Germany, so large in fact that additions had to be made to the height of the buildings. Industrial development, and the mechanization of agriculture are the significant developments in this midwestern county.

POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

Independence County has, with few exceptions, been consistently Republican in the national presidential and state

11. U. S. Census of Agriculture, op. cit.

12. U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Manufactures Vol. III, Part 22, Michigan, Washington D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1947.

gubernatorial elections since the creation of the Republican Party. In this respect it was similar to the rest of the state until about 1932. Since this time, however, while the state as a whole has fluctuated in the amount of Republican national sentiment, Independence County has remained a Republican stronghold. Table V illustrates this clearly.

Likewise, the county has consistently voted high majorities for the Republican gubernatorial candidate, even when the state has elected a Democratic Governor. In 1948 with the election of a Democratic Governor, the Republican candidate for Governor received 63% of the total 20,608 votes cast. In 1952, Independence County favored the Republican gubernatorial candidate with 68% of the total 28,276 votes cast for the major parties.

TABLE IV

TYPE OF MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY BY NUMBER OF EMPLOYEE GROUPS

Independence County, 1947

KINDS OF MANUFACTURING ESTABLISHMENTS	<u>1 to 19</u>	<u>20 to 99</u>	<u>100 and over</u>
Food and Kindred Products	15	5	2
Tobacco Manufacturers	1	0	0
Textile Mill Products	1	0	1
Apparel and Related Products	1	2	0
Lumber, except Furniture	5	2	0
Furniture and Fixtures	2	0	2
Paper and Allied Products	0	1	1
Printing and Publishing Industries	0	1	0
Chemicals and Allied Products	2	1	0
Petroleum and Coal Products	1	0	0
Rubber Products	1	1	0
Leather and Leather Products	0	0	0
Stone, Clay, and Glass Products	4	1	1
Primary Metal Industries	4	1	4
Fabricated Metal Products	9	3	2
Machinery, except Electrical	22	3	4
Electrical Machinery	0	1	1
Transportation Equipment	2	1	2
Instruments and Related Products	0	0	0
Miscellaneous Manufactures	1	0	0
County Total	79	23	20

Source: U. S. Census of Manufactures, Vol. III, Part 2C,
Michigan.

TABLE V

COMPARISON OF THE PROPORTION OF REPUBLICAN VOTES CAST IN
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS FOR INDEPENDENCE COUNTY, AND THE STATE

Year	Independence County	The State
1928	75%	70%
1932	51%	44%
1936	57%	39%
1940	70%	50%
1944	71%	49%
1948	68%	49%
1952	73%	55%

Source: "Election Statistics", The World Almanac And Book of Facts, New York World Telegram, (for above years).

Further analysis shows that there has been a generally heavy Republican vote in all townships. In 1948, with the exception of one precinct in Central City, all political subdivisions voted a Republican majority. In 1952, these same results occurred with the exception of one precinct in the extreme northwest lake country township, and a newly created precinct adjacent to Central City.

While some townships cast considerably larger numbers of Republican votes than others, there does not appear, as far as the present analysis is concerned, to be any particular trend in terms of geographical patterns.

The significance of these voting results to this study is related to the general beliefs and platforms of the candidates and parties being voted upon. This kind of voting record in the Midwest indicates strong beliefs in local rights, in contrast to the development of governmental services at the county, state, or federal level. This coun-

ty would normally be expected to give primary consideration to individual and local community rights in its social planning.

MEDICAL SERVICES AND HEALTH

The medical facilities to be found in Independence County are shown in Table VI. The numbers of doctors, dentists, osteopaths, and hospital beds are shown for each community.

This gives some indication of the number of doctors and hospital beds available, in relation to the geographical areas of the county.

Independence County appears to be fairly typical of other counties in the state in its health facilities. It has had a County Health Department since 1947. It has 1,621 persons per physician compared to 1,728 in 22 strictly rural counties of the state. While the average for the whole state is 919, a major city in the state has 725 persons per physician.¹³

Infant death rates, i.e., number of infant deaths per 1000 live births, are often used as a meaningful index of health facilities and care. This rate for Independence County was 27.4 in 1950 compared to 26.3 for Middle State. While this rate can be affected by particular disturbances, it is revealing to compare the county with others which have had a longer experience with public health work. The infant death rate for several such counties in the state is under 20.0.

13. J. F. Thaden, "Distribution of Doctors of Medicine and Osteopaths in Michigan Communities", Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station Special Bulletin 370, 1951.

Community**	Hospital Beds	Population of Community	M.F.'s	Number of: Osteo- paths	Den- tists	Per M.D.	Per M.D. and D.O. Combined
Central City ¹	79	30,400	17	2	10	1,788	1,600
Eden ²	0	8,300	4	2	2	2,075	1,383
Claycomb	0	3,700	2	1	1	1,850	1,233
Henry ³	28	11,500	8	0	3	1,438	1,438
Mountain ⁴	14	5,400	3	0	2	1,800	1,800
Olney	0	2,400	1	0	0	2,400	2,400
Mohawk ⁵	34***	8,000	8	2	4	1,000	800
TOTAL	154	69,700	43	7	22	1,621	1,394

* Source: J. F. Thaden, "Distribution of Doctors of Medicine and Osteopaths in Michigan Communities", Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station Special Bulletin 370, 1951.

** Community here is defined essentially as the trade area. Some of the community boundaries are outside the county.

*** Includes additional beds now being built.

1. Includes Pont Township.
2. Includes Dearborn and Reo Townships.
3. Includes Albert Village, Rockville Township, the village of Claycomb, and one town outside the county. Albert Village has 3 doctors, 1 dentist, and 10 hospital beds.
4. Includes Webster.
5. Includes Bryan and Title.

TABLE VI

MEDICAL FACILITIES IN INDEPENDENCE COUNTY, 1950*

Number of persons, doctors of medicine, osteopaths, and hospital beds, by communities and number of people per M.F. and per M.D. and Osteopaths combined for Independence County, 1950.

Consequently, although the rate for Independence County is comparable with the rate for the state, it is not comparable with the rates for other counties which are economically similar but have a longer history of public health work. Independence County infant death rates for other years are as follows: 1940, 47.1; 1946, 26.5; 1947, 31.9; 1948, 43.5; 1949, 29.8; 1951, 25.2.¹⁴

When an increase in manufacturing enterprise brings many new employees to rural communities, certain health problems are likely to develop, especially in the area of sanitation. In this instance, about 65 percent of the county's increase in population between 1940 and 1950 occurred outside the county seat. With the high rural prosperity, there has been a great increase in the number of septic tanks, which often produces sanitation problems. Such difficulties are especially evident in the stream and lake areas of the county, where many summer cottages have been converted into year-round residences. Sanitation, therefore, is the most urgent and generally recognized health problem in this county.

SUMMARY

Independence County is a rich and productive farming region, typical of many other such corn belt counties in the Midwest. Characteristic of the area, is the rapid industrialization and the attendant increases in population in many of the cities and towns. There is a continued drain of

14. Above figures from Vital Statistics of the State of Michigan.

farm manpower from the land, but this is offset by increased agricultural mechanization. Hence farm productivity continues to be high.

In addition to income from the farms there is a continued increase in wealth and earnings from industries in the cities of the county. This is augmented by the present general level of wages and earnings for the United States as a whole.

Politically, Independence County is strongly conservative in its voting behavior. Many Independence County citizens are cautious in accepting change and antagonistic to outside intervention, whether at the state or at the Federal level. In this, as in other activities, they continue to live up to the record of individualism of which they are so noted.

Independence County is thoroughly Midwest in appearance, character, and action. It has the highly productive farm land, along with the ever increasingly heavy impact of industrialization with its attendant problems of welfare, housing, health, and education.

CHAPTER VI

TANGENTIAL ORGANIZATIONS

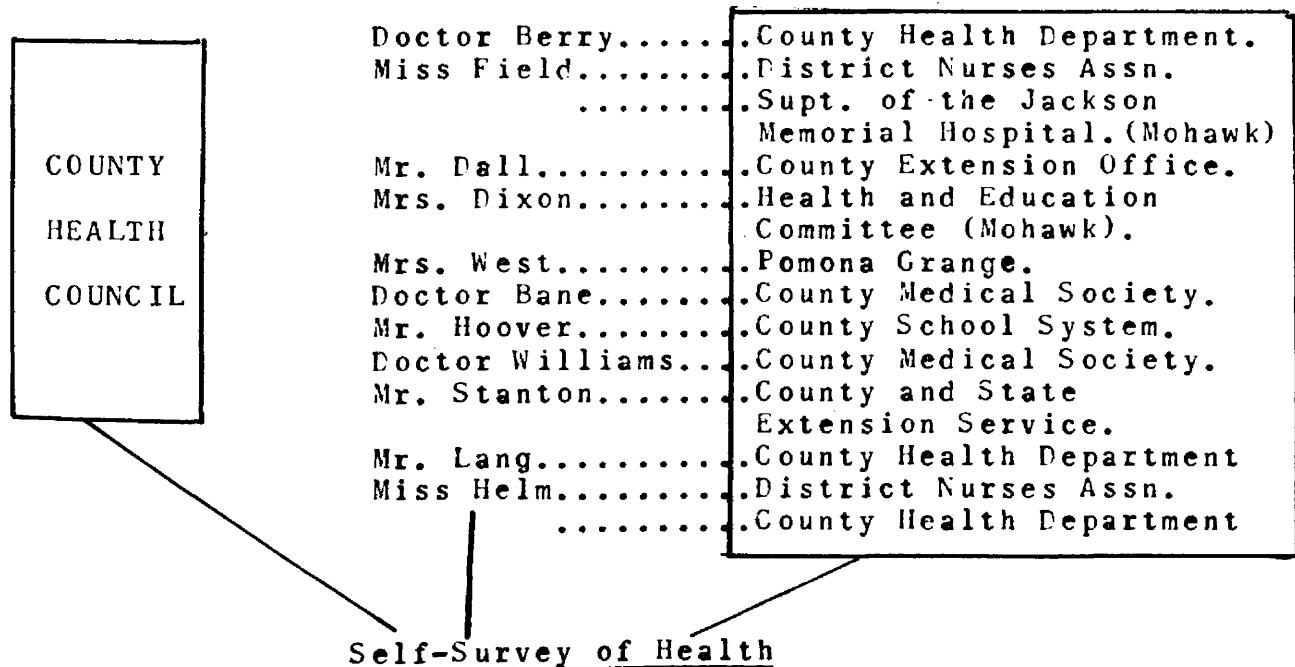
In order to discuss the tangential organizations which make up the relevant social structure, it will be necessary to briefly consider the nature of the activity that took place which gives meaning to such structures. It will be remembered that the county level group was for the most part made up of professionals and viewed the health survey as necessary for the good of the public and a means by which certain county agencies might be strengthened. The arena of activity was centered around the health council which provided a nucleus for the activity which emerged in the self survey social system. Certain major actors involved in the survey were members of organizations which justified their attendance at health council meetings as representatives from these groups.

In the next section major actors will be considered from the standpoint of the social system. For the present it is necessary to mention them in relation to the organizations in order to give meaning to the later consideration of the roles played by these major actors inside and outside the social system. It may be well to consider why roles played outside the social system will be discussed in the chapters which are concerned with the social system instead of this section where the relevant structures are to be considered. The major reason for this decision lies in the nature of the abstracted

data. Although the roles played by the actors outside the system logically belong within the relevant structure, such roles were observed during the time that complementary roles were being played within the system, i.e., in observation of roles played within the social system, roles which were of a tangential nature became evident. To isolate them in this section would be to detract from the total analysis of the roles played within the system. For this reason the structure that will be discussed at this point and the sentiments associated with such structure, will be considered apart from the social system itself.

Figure II

TANGENTIAL ORGANIZATIONS TO THE SELF-SURVEY SYSTEM AND MAJOR ACTORS ON THE COUNTY LEVEL WHO PROVIDED THIS TANGENCY



THE COUNTY PUBLIC HEALTH DEPARTMENT

In the summer of 1950, Dr. Berry arrived in Independence County, as Director of the County Health Department. Recognizing that the Health Department was new and that there were a paucity of facts concerning health problems, he suggested that there was a need for a survey of health conditions in the county.

With this recognition of need and a positive suggestion toward action, an idea was introduced into the county which was ultimately responsible for the activation of some 700 individual citizens in a community self survey of health. The structure or organization, then, responsible for the initiation of such action was the Independence County Health Department.

Some attention must be paid to its founding and certain health activities that occurred prior to its establishment in the county.

Public Health Development Prior to the Establishment of the County Health Unit

It would indeed be a mistake to view the structure of public health in Independence County with only a consideration of the immediate implications in regard to the health unit. Independence has felt the influence of several major health activities. Such activities have resulted in such a way as to be pertinent to the analysis of the Health Department.

Certain of these activities which took place were influenced by organizations outside the county. They are:

- (1) The Kellogg Foundation experimental program in adjoining counties has had an influence upon health developments in Independence County, through the spread of health ideas from these neighboring counties. At least two of the people who were influential in the establishment of a County Health Department had participated in these health activities.
- (2) The Michigan Health Council has been another sphere of influence. Its Executive Secretary made the initial contacts with the Director of the County Health Department about the possibility of organizing the Independence County Health Council.
- (3) The Michigan State Health Department, as well as the University of Michigan School of Public Health, have been continuously consulted by various health professionals in the County for advice about the county health program.
- (4) The traditional relationships between Michigan State College and the rural people of the County through the Cooperative Extension Service has been instrumental in the development of health interest in general.

These previous developments illustrate the important fact that health planning has not developed in Independence County alone but has also been affected by outside agencies and individuals.

Establishment of the County Health Department

The County Board of Supervisors for many years had refused to approve the idea of a county health department. Apparently this was done despite the possibility of cooperative financial assistance from the Kellogg Foundation. However, in 1940, two organizations began working quite

energetically to persuade the County Board of Supervisors to set up a county health unit. One of these was the Educational Executive Committee, made up largely of school superintendents and other educational administrators. The other was the District Nurses Association.

In 1946 these two groups combined and jointly brought pressure to bear upon the County Board of Supervisors. This was done first by building favorable public opinion through extensive publicizing of health needs throughout the county and by presenting to the public vital statistics on births, deaths, and diseases. Informants indicate also that considerable work was done to gain the support of physicians who had previously made up an important segment of the opposition. Finally these two organizations sponsored a large dinner meeting, with the members of the County Board of Supervisors attending as guests. At this meeting, upon the ground work which had been previously laid, a climax of emotion and feeling about health needs were achieved. Shortly thereafter, the Board of Supervisors voted to authorize a County Health Department, which was formally created in 1947.

It must not be suggested at this point that the establishment of this organization was achieved free of opposition or that once established it received complete support. The following excerpt from an interview made by the field observer with one of the nurses responsible for the success of the aforementioned drive to establish the unit will shed light on

the feeling of opposition that existed and also reveals certain dominant sentiments mentioned in Chapter III.

She said that the organizations that were most influential in getting the health department in were the Mother's clubs, the PTA's, the Federation of Women, the Grange and the Farm Bureau. They were all working but the only trouble was that they never really went to the men who could say yes or no to their idea of getting it in. Eventually they were faced with the problem of going to the supervisors with this and selling them on this idea. After all, these were the men that they should have gone to in the first place. She said they finally were able to get them out to this banquet we have heard of - a bitter, cold night when three or four hundred came. She said that the various nurses took it upon themselves to contact the supervisors at their homes and make sure that they would be at this banquet. She said that she was given the project of contacting Matt Bender (an influential supervisor of Durham township). She said she was scared stiff at the idea because she knew that he was one of the most violently opposed to the health department. When she talked to Matt Bender he told her he couldn't come because he had to milk his cows. She said, "Well if you'll come, 'I'll milk your cows for you.'" He chuckled at this and at least she got him to come. While she was talking to me at this time, explaining how she had spoken to these men, she put on an act just as if I were one of the supervisors. It was quite interesting to note the intent in her voice and the sincerity involved in why she thought the health department was a good idea... she went on to explain that she contacted the supervisor in Seneca. He was opposed to it because of getting a county sanitarian. He said, "You know, a sanitarian could come into your home and tell you whether or not you should dig a well and where you should dig it." She answered this by saying that she doubted very much that the health department or the sanitarian would ever interfere in private lives unless they became a menace to public health and the individuals were reported to the

health department. She said, "After all, if you become a menace to your neighbors' health, then you deserve to be reported and, of course, that is the reason for the health department."...even when the unit was voted in, three supervisors voted against it... She said the reason that Mason township was opposed was because that up until the early forties, it had been practically owned and run by Henry Ford. He had taken care of the health problems by transporting the children to the Ford Hospital. He had also taken care of all the schools. However, in the early forties, he moved out and left them high and dry. She said it was just plain stupidity that these people depended upon Henry Ford in the first place and she seemed to look down on them for this. She said, however, that when he moved out, Mason township was forced to provide their own schools. This resulted in a tremendous amount of taxation and it was felt that if a county health department was established more taxation would be levied on the township. She said for this reason they were slow in taking on any type of a unit in the county as it might cause more taxation and they were skeptical of further outside interference.

The feeling of opposition that existed after the establishment of the health unit and the general resistance upon the part of many toward interference caused by public health activities had operated as a deterrent to effective public health action. Also since its establishment, there had been a large amount of public apathy toward the unit. Many citizens did not even know that it existed. The Health Department, then, although established had yet to prove itself in the light of public apathy and resistance.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE INDEPENDENCE COUNTY HEALTH DEPARTMENT AND ITS RELEVANCE TO THE SURVEY

The Health Department became involved within the self survey action since the original idea of a survey had been

contributed by one, then existing, Health Director. Unfortunately for both the health unit and those involved in the survey, the Director resigned his position for a better one, early in 1951 before the self-survey action took place. The members of the health unit were committed to the support of an idea that they as individuals had not originated. They were in favor of the project, however, and the Supervising Nurse (who became Acting Director) and Sanitarian were actively engaged in the organization of the survey that followed.

The effect that the resignation had upon the Health Department was significant since it left the unit without a director of which it was badly in need. It had one director previous to Dr. Berry and he had been in the county for only a year and a half before he was offered a better position elsewhere. The weakened condition of this unit explains certain roles played by its members in the self-survey.

Although difficult to establish, the Independence County Health Department is today a reality but it has been badly understaffed, if we are to use the standards mentioned in Chapter III.¹ It has been without a health officer during the half of its existence. Those who have remained permanently on the staff feel that they have been continually training the directors only to lose them when they start to become effective. Since the salary is not high and few physicians

1. See page 79, Chapter III, "Emerging Health Sentiments".

have had training in public health it is extremely difficult to fill this position. The loss of a steady director has been one of the chief weaknesses of the unit. Without a physician heading the unit, departmental liasons with other physicians in the county are limited. Without the cooperation of the county physicians, the unit is seriously handicapped. Once the private physician views the Health Department as a competing agency, resistance emerges. This is less apt to happen with a qualified and perceptive physician as administrator.

During the time of this study there were only two active nurses on the staff; one sanitarian, and two clerks. Since all members of the organization are overloaded with work, the outcome has been one of intra-departmental tension.

The effect such conditions have had upon the roles of the public health people on the county level will be described in the next section. With the loss of the director, neither the Supervising Nurse nor the Sanitarian felt free to take positive steps that might eventually interfere with the overall program of public health in the county. They considered the health survey extremely important, since the objectives of the survey would meet some of the needs of the unit and were basically in accord with the philosophy of the entire social movement of public health.

Public Health today is set up by Federal, State, and local funds. Unlike the extension service, it has not

received the full support of the local people. This is due partially to the fact that it has not been specifically a social movement which has derived its impetus from the people but rather one derived from a general advance in techniques and science. Ultimately, to achieve any degree of success, the people must be behind such a movement. This fact is witnessed by the difficulty in establishing local health units throughout the United States. Since public health administrators agree that a successful program is dependent upon the establishment and support of local units, the problem that faces such an organization can be seen.

THE COUNTY HEALTH COUNCIL

It has already been mentioned how dependent the public health program is upon voluntary assistance from both lay and professional groups. When Dr. Berry arrived in Independence he found, already in existence, a Health Council which had been established partially through the efforts of his predecessor. It was natural for him to become active and show his interest in such an organization. Ultimately he viewed the Council as a legitimate body of voluntary personnel that could aid his entire program in the county.

He approached the Council with the survey idea since they were faced with the problem of an inactive organization and felt a program with well defined objectives might provide a revitalization. The idea was later accepted by the members of the group since it met their objectives and needs.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COUNTY HEALTH COUNCIL

The formation of the Independence County Health Council occurred in 1949. The initial step in the creation of this Council was undertaken by the Executive Secretary of the Michigan Health Council as part of his organizing job in the State. He contacted the Director of the County Health Department, who then took the lead in the formation of the Council. It will be remembered that the County Health Department had been in existence no more than two years and was still in its infant stage. Thus, it was considered important that the newly established council give support to and generate favorable public opinion for the Health Department. As a result of this development, the local health unit became an original sponsor of the council.

Independence County was one of the first counties in Michigan to establish such an organization. Today, there are thirty-nine health councils in the state with Independence leading as one of the charter groups.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE INDEPENDENCE COUNTY HEALTH COUNCIL AND ITS RELEVANCE TO THE SURVEY

It has been the representative membership of the Health Council which has provided the nucleus of the survey organization group. In order to understand the participation of major actors within the social system it is necessary to understand the structure of this organization and certain sentiments expressed in its objectives. The original

objectives of the council, according to its charter, provide that it should function as a discussion and coordinating organization in the area of health.²

The objectives of this organization are to coordinate as far as possible the thinking and planning of all organizations concerned with county health through study by means of appraisals, surveys, inventories, and other fact-finding activities; to stimulate public interest in health problems and their solution; to develop a county health program related to those problems discovered; and to work to prevent overlapping and duplication in health efforts.³

However, up until the time of this project, its primary function has been one of discussion.

The membership of the Health Council consists of various organizations throughout the county. It sends notices out to twenty organizations inviting them to appoint representatives.⁴ The usual attendance consisted of about eight representatives from about six organizations. The largest proportion of those attending meetings consists of health professionals.

Up until the time of this study, the Council had been associated with two action programs. One consisted of correspondence to assist in obtaining the second Director of the Health Department. The results of this action, separate from

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2. W. S. Groom, "The Health Council, What It Is and How It Works", Journal of Health and Physical Education, Vol. 17, June, 1946, pp. 332-334.
 3. From a letter written to health council members by the President of the organization, dated September 7, 1950.
 4. Organizational membership increased during the survey, that is, the list increased. The number given here indicates the list at the time immediate to the survey beginning.

similar attempts by other individuals and organizations, cannot be completely assessed, but a new health Director was obtained.

The second project has been to conduct discussions on the need for a proper sanitation code for the County. To date, there has been no real plans to build extensive support for such a code.

Events Leading To The Survey Program -- The executive Secretary of the Michigan Health Council was invited to attend a meeting of the County Health Council. He talked to the group about revitalizing their program, in order to strengthen membership. The minutes of the meeting state, "All were urged to bring to the next meeting those pressing needs in the way of health problems in the county on which we might advantageously work as a new project or projects."

The survey idea was discussed again at a later meeting of the Health Council. There was some opposition as certain members thought it better to carry on a health educational program. The minutes of the meeting record the following: "After a great deal of discussion, the motion was made and seconded that the subject of public education be the first project of the Health Council for 1951."

At the next meeting of the Health Council, proposed projects were brought up for discussion concerning whether or not the Health Council should take them on for the next year. At this meeting Berry stressed the importance of a health

survey but several members opposed the idea. A rural minister of the county felt that the job was too large and involved for a group of inexperienced people to accomplish. The opposition was effectively met by rewording the proposal and final agreement for the next Health Council project was stated as "public education in health." It was felt by many of the members that a health survey could be covered under this project heading.

At the January, 1951 meeting several committees were formed for the purpose of structuring the group membership around the project selected at the previous meeting. Berry brought up the subject of a survey again. The minutes of this meeting read as follows:

A very interesting and enthusiastic discussion followed regarding the scope and interpretation of the work to be done by the Education and Publicity Committee in relation to a possible survey.

And so, within the activities of the Health Council, the survey received its birth and the emergence of a social system occurred. An idea conceived of by a public health director and acted upon by other health professionals and lay people, resulted in the convergence of many interests and the emergence of certain significant sentiments found within the cultural system which ordered and orders the existence of these peoples' lives.

It is evident that within the structure of the health council are to be found dominant sentiments shared by all

members and it is also the case that there are to be found many conflicting sentiments since the makeup of such an organization is dependent upon members from various groups which share different interests and are dedicated to different goals.

The differences will be revealed with an analysis of each tangential organization and later through an analysis of sentiments expressed by actors within the system. The difference in sentiments becomes more understandable and meaningful when viewed in terms of the reference group of the actor; in this case tangential organizations.

The sentiments which are dominant in the field of health and education are significant and relevant to an analysis of the County Health Council. Since its purpose was one devoted to public health considerations, it found itself sharing similar goals and objectives with the Health Department. The weaknesses of the Health Council are largely due to the same weaknesses found in the public health movement. It has been difficult to secure active members, since most of the lay people in the county do not view health in the same way as the professional. Such a condition has, of course, affected the process of the survey. The constant referral to the project, as one which might awaken the people of the county to health needs, made apparent the concern, on the part of the regular Health Council members with the weaknesses of the organization. Also implicit and explicit in the thinking of all

members was the unqualified belief in education. Education in terms of improvement became one of the major objectives. What education included specifically was a clouded issue, an issue which remained clouded since the content of the educational process was concerned with health and sentiments concerning health were held in a markedly different manner by certain members of the county level.

All members shared the belief that a strengthened Health Council was important to the county. All members of the Health Council, then, viewed, to some degree, the project as a means of strengthening the organization. All-out effort had been expended in order to involve as many lay people as possible and to encourage them to attend the county meetings. The sentiments shared by the various actors in the social system, although different and conflicting in many cases, converged in the common belief in the process of education, good health as important, and the strengthening of the Health Council.

THE COOPERATIVE EXTENSION SERVICE

The Extension Specialist in health at the state level and the local county agricultural agent both played crucial roles in the survey. Through a contact made by Dr. Berry at the end of 1950 with the Extension Health Specialist, interest was generated at this level concerning the survey idea and resulted in communication between the specialist and the

County Agricultural Agent. Until this time, the Agricultural Agent had not played an active part in the Health Council but through the contacts made by the specialist and the interest generated from such contacts, he became actively interested in the survey project. Such an interest led to the involvement of the extension system and as a result resulted in the emergence of certain sentiments common to the extension program within the system itself.

GENERAL STRUCTURE OF THE SERVICE

The Cooperative Extension Service has been in operation throughout the United States since its establishment in 1914 by the Smith Lever Act. It was the outgrowth of the farmers' movements which gained their impetus during the middle of the 19th century. Therefore, sentiments which emerged through such movements play an important part in the total extension program.

One of the major offices in "extension" is that of the County Agricultural Agent. He is the chief administrator on the county level and in direct contact with the people the service must effect. It is he who often decides the various needs of the people from what he has learned in the area. When specialists are needed he will make requests to the college for such services. It is considered by both Federal and State levels inadvisable to enter an area without the request of the local people. Although the staff of the county extension office may vary according to the demands of that particular county, most desirable is a staff that is made up

of: an Assistant Agent (usually specializes in whatever the particular agricultural interest of that county is, i.e., livestock, poultry, etc.); a 4-H Club leader; and a Home Demonstration Agent. This personnel attempts to meet the needs of both the adult and the youth population of the county.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COOPERATIVE
EXTENSION SERVICE IN INDEPENDENCE COUNTY

Establishing County Agents within the county and beginning a successful program in extension has never been an easy task. Even though the people requested aid and education from the "Land-grant" system they were reluctant to admit outside agencies and agents who were strangers and who would represent a drain on the local taxes.

In Independence County, the present Agricultural Agent has been established for the last fifteen years but the agents who preceded him remained in the county a much shorter period of time. This was largely due to the resistance shown towards the early program. The following table indicates the length of time each agent remained in the county.

TABLE VII

COUNTY AGRICULTURAL AGENTS IN INDEPENDENCE COUNTY
FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SERVICE TO THE PRESENT

Curtis Linden Coffeen.....	Aug. 23, 1915 - Apr. 1, 1920.
Ralph Joseph Carr.....	Apr. 1, 1920 - Mar. 31, 1922.
Curtis Linden Coffeen.....	May 1, 1922 - May 10, 1926.
Alfa Butus Van Schoik.....	Nov. 1, 1926 - Nov. 30, 1928.
Clarence E. Ripper (Emergency Assistant)....	Aug. 1, 1933 - Oct. 31, 1933.
Clinton Pomeroy Milham.....	Feb. 11, 1934 - Feb. 29, 1936.
Louis G. Pall.....	Apr. 6, 1936 -

Source: Office of the County Agent, Independence County,
Michigan.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE COOPERATIVE EXTENSION
SERVICE AND ITS RELEVANCE TO THE SURVEY

Although it has taken many years, the Extension System in Independence County is a well established organization with stable and lasting lines of relationship which give it security and stability. The entire service is dependent upon the support of the local people and this it has obtained. During the year of 1951 a growing agitation had emerged in conflict with the National Administration and its farm policy. This agitation finally reached its peak during the "Family Farm Policy Review" that was established by the Department of Agriculture. It is interesting to note that with all the resistance to governmental agencies interfering with the farmer, the position of the extension service remained stable and intact. The following editorial from the Farm Journal illustrates the climate of feeling.

You have probably seen that beguiling document the "Family Farm Policy Review" sent out by the Department of Agriculture to gather opinions as to how the family farm can better be helped.

It is interesting to be assured that the Department of Agriculture wants to serve the family type of farm. Since about 98% of the farms of the country are family farms, we venture to say that the Department is on the right track.

Come to think of it neither the present administration nor USDA originated the family farm.

Family farming in America began at Jamestown when the first women arrived. The Pilgrims began family farming soon after their arrival with Indian Squanto as the first "County Agent."

Subjected, especially in Virginia, to innumerable regulations from London, agriculture experienced many difficulties. In due time - after American freedom was established - the family farm grew in importance and in productivity.

Until well into the 20th century, the family farmer heard little from Washington. Now he can spend a day in the county seat going from Federal office to Federal office, and he has to spend at least every Monday earning his Federal income tax.

The family farm nevertheless, has adjusted to economic changes, becoming fewer in numbers, larger in acreage. It made gains as industry brought out new inventions. It seized upon engines and electricity. It adopted new methods as science made them known. The family farm has been served well by the research activities of the Department of Agriculture, and by its educational facilities.

No other kind of American has enjoyed more complete freedom, and no other has been more vigilant generally to maintain his freedom. Farmers have never been herded to the polls to vote for machines. They have voted their convictions, right or wrong.

The "Family Farm Policy Review" program has been organized through the Production and Marketing Administration and its County Mobilization Committees.

It may be an under-statement to say that these are not entirely non-political groups in all instances.

The "information" which has been submitted to farmers is incomplete, naturally uncritical, and perhaps in some respects misleading. It reports few of the objections to the Department's programs. It is a rush job, trying to gather in a few weeks opinions that should be studied and debated for a year. Moreover, farmers have their own organizations to convey their desires to Congress.

Nevertheless, we believe farmers should express themselves. If you do not, you can be sure that those who desire more power, more jobs, and more pay will put in their reports. The Department can then tell Congress that an overwhelming majority wants more of agriculture run from Washington.

If the Department wishes to be strictly ethical, it will not accept such a report, however, on the ground that its own servants should not be expected to reflect accurately what independent farmers think and want.

If you want to run your own business, why not just say: "Give us twice as much research, keep up a good extension program, and then LEAVE US ALONE?"⁴

The above editorial is an excellent illustration of the feeling of many farmers towards outside control and constraint. Sentiments expressed above indicate the emergence of sentiments related to education and the transmission of knowledge to the masses even when such a program may call on the planning and control of an outside agency. It is, of course, apparent from other chapters that such planning and control is subject to limitations by the local people. Such sentiments in the face of considerable conflict, indicate the stability of the Extension Service. During the time of wide spread agitation on the part of the farmer, a questionnaire was taken at the Independence County Fair. Farmers were asked for their opinions concerning various farm agencies in the county. The information gained through the efforts of the Farm Bureau and the Grange indicating 204 farmers' opinions is shown in Table VIII.

This survey indicates the stability such a system has in terms of the farmers' support, if we are to believe that such

4. "Leave the Family Farm Alone", editorial, Farm Journal, October, 1951.

	YES No. %	NO No. %	NO RES.* %
<u>Production Marketing Administration</u>			
Do you consider this agency necessary in Independence County	29-14%	153-75%	11%
Do you favor soil conservation payments.....	38-19%	156-77%	4%
Do you favor acreage allotments.....	8-4%	188-92%	4%
Do you favor marketing quotas.....	16-8%	174-85%	7%
Do you favor price controls below parity.....	14-7%	158-78%	15%
Do you approve direct subsidies.....	23-11%	171-84%	5%
<u>Soil Conservation Service</u>			
Do you consider this agency necessary in Independence County	129-63%	68-33%	3%
Do you approve of this service.....	122-60%	68-33%	7%
<u>Rural Electric Cooperative Association</u>			
Do you consider this agency necessary in Independence County	104-51%	80-39%	10%
Do you approve of this service.....	104-51%	75-37%	12%
<u>Farm & Home Administration (Farm Loans)</u>			
Do you consider this agency necessary in Independence County	100-49%	87-43%	8%
Do you approve of this service.....	97-48%	81-40%	12%
<u>Cooperative Extension Service</u>			
Do you consider this agency necessary in Independence County	159-70%	28-14%	8%
Do you approve of this service.....	158-78%	27-13%	9%
Would you favor spending more money for research, to be accompanied by an expanded Extension Service to get out the information to the farmers.....	127-62%	33-16%	22%

* It will be noted that often the responses do not reach the total of those interviewed, indicating that some abstained from opinions on certain questions or did not complete the questionnaire.

TABLE VIII
SURVEY OF OPINIONS HELD TOWARD FARM AGENCIES BY INDEPENDENCE FARMERS

a survey was a random sampling of farmers in Independence County. It is interesting to note that even on an issue of increased taxation, a large group favored an expanded Extension Service. It is difficult to make many more generalizations from the above data since they were collected by the people themselves and there is no information to indicate the conditions under which such data were collected, other than that the survey was taken at the County Fair. This factor might partially bias the data since those who attended the County Fair might be considered of a different type than those not attending. What effect this would have on the above information is unknown.

The sentiments expressed in Extension favor education and research and it is therefore not difficult to understand why two extension professionals would become actively engaged in such a program. Since the network of relationships built up by Extension serve as channels by which programs are carried on by the County Agent, it was natural that these lines of relationship were utilized in the survey. In viewing the sentiments expressed by Extension and the pre-existing relationships that were available for activation during the survey, it is quite apparent why this organization was of crucial importance to the program and why it provides a central focus in the relevant structure.

In summary much of the activity which occurred within the social system finds meaning in terms of this particular

relevant structure. Neither the Agricultural Agent or the Health and Safety Specialist from the College could feel free to present the survey to the people without some approval of the large mass of people on the local level. The very nature of the structure in which they operated required that they organize decision meetings where the local people were free to decide for themselves whether or not they wished to participate in the survey in their localities.

Because of his established position in the county, the agent was able to contact enough key people on the local level to make possible a successful amount of participation.

Because of the rural orientation of the extension service, the agent was not able to achieve the same amount of success in urban areas. This allowed few channels for the Specialist to operate in and limited his effectiveness in the villages.

Sentiments expressed within this relevant structure concerning education, research, rural-urban differences, and those clustered around themes of individualism have played an important part within the social system.

OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

The three tangential organizations that have just been discussed have been emphasized to a greater degree than the following organizations since the extent to which the sentiments expressed by these groups effected the social system

was of more importance. The following organizations were important to the survey process, however, and sentiments expressed by such organizations represent relevance to those found within the system.

COUNTY SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENT'S OFFICE

Although loosely organized from the state down, the public education system has played an important part in the survey, since it has provided part of the pre-existing relationships from which the county people were able to mobilize interviewers on the local level. It was also through these original lines of relationship, activated by the Superintendent, that Central City was organized and took part in the survey.

The very nature of the school system in Independence County provides for an autonomous group of people in each locality who run their school affairs and carry on the business of educating their children. Such people express the sentiments common to education in the American culture and demand that such an education be part of their concern. It is this group of people who are largely interested in civic affairs. As one would expect, these people were a resource for the implementation of the survey in the local areas.

The strength of the school system channels was, therefore, important to the survey. The sentiments expressed by people within such patterns of relationship were crucial to the meaning of sentiments expressed in the system itself.

COUNTY MEDICAL SOCIETY

This organization represents most of the physicians of Independence County. Since some of these physicians had been openly antagonistic toward the Health Department, it might have been assumed that many would feel the same way about the Health Council which was one of the chief sponsors of the survey.

Certain indications of indifference toward the Council was shown by the lack of interest in representation during the early development of this organization. It was only through the interest of the society's president in 1951 that this organization became involved in the survey. This involvement was strictly of an advisory sort.

Although little is known about the actual operation of the Medical Society, it might be assumed that the members do not usually participate in group projects. Even after the organization had gone on record as being for the survey, some of its members were unaware of the actual nature of the project. Such lack of interest is largely explained by the sentiments of health expressed by this organization. Made up dominantly of private physicians, this group is oriented to the level of curative medicine. Programs in public health are of less interest to most and their intervention into such activities usually results when they fear that the outcome of a particular project may be undesirable without their advice and control.

The important factor in the relationship of this organization with the survey, however, was the nature of its sponsorship. Just as school people took an active part in the survey partly because it had been sponsored by the county office, so it is probable that many people would not have supported the survey if their family physician had been actively opposed. The sacred nature of the role of the family physician and its close tie-in with themes of individualism would discourage any notion of ignoring this group.

Knowing this, the two actors on the County Level representing this organization, did all they could to acquaint the local physicians with the nature of the survey. Such a rule allowed for the successful completion of a project that might have failed because of the doubts of certain localities as to who was behind such an idea. It gave a true legitimizing stamp upon the entire health survey.

THE DISTRICT NURSES ASSOCIATION

The District Nurses Association represents the nurses of Independence County. As in the case of the Medical Society, it is a professional organization to which all nurses belong. Since two of the major actors, instrumental in the early initiation, were members of this organization, its relevance is apparent.

It is interesting but certainly not an unusual phenomenon that such an organization commends little of the prestige that is given to the medical profession. The nurse

must first of all bear the burden of being a woman which makes it difficult to operate with the same effectiveness of the physician. Secondly the profession itself is devoted to the assistance of the physicians as well as the patient and the nurse can seldom extricate herself from a role which is ultimately dependent upon the decisions of the physician.

Even with such limitations toward independent action, the nurses of Independence County have been a driving force. As was mentioned earlier in the chapter, this group along with others was influential in establishing the County Health Department even in the face of opposition from certain physicians. On record this group has been actively interested in civic programs and has taken part in such activities. Its members have, as individuals, played important parts within the communities throughout the county. Its sponsorship of the survey, if not as imposing as that of the Medical Society, represented the active support of nurses throughout the county and resulted in further lines of contact made possible through tapping the sources of this organization.

THE POMONA GRANGE

The Grange has been structured from the beginning by neighborhoods. The Granger movement, though of political significance at one time, has never maintained a strictly national orientation towards politics and pressure groups as has been the case of the Farm Bureau. Bureaucratic organization with a structured hierarchy would defeat the major functions

of the Grange which are organized around the family and evoke sentiments of primary group orientation. This makes it impossible for the National, State, or County Granges to dictate policy to the subordinate groups, since the objectives of such groups do not necessitate the combined efforts of all.

Because the Pomona Grange was of County-wide membership, it was thought by the Health Council that policy decisions might be made here. As a result this group was called upon to sponsor the survey activity throughout the county and encourage individual Grange members to participate in such activity. The Grange did sponsor the survey project but, although it is a legislative body, its membership is determined by the ritual of degrees and not the representativeness of the people in it. As a result this group was not responsible for the activity that many of its members engaged in at a later date. The actual participation of Grange members in the survey was largely due to their residence in school districts, memberships in service organizations, and their general tie-in with the Extension system. Grangers are representative of the farmers of Independence County since the movement was so widely accepted in this area. Those who are part of this relevant structure manifest the general sentiments already mentioned in the other structures and are strongly bound to beliefs in individualism along with community responsibility which marks the objectives of the group.

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN TANGENTIAL ORGANIZATIONS
AND MEMBERS OF THE COUNTY LEVEL

It has already been shown that the members of the initiating set represented certain offices and roles within the existing social structure of Independence County. Thus, these members served to relate a number of organizations and offices to the self-survey social system. This relationship is one which we may call of tangency. That is, the organizations involved were tangentially related to the self-survey through the participation of certain members in both the organizations concerned and the self-survey. These tangential relationships are diagrammed in Figure II.⁵ At this point, we may inquire into the character of the relationships among the members of the initiating set insofar as they represent these organizations rather than the self-survey.

The Agricultural Extension Office has a history of long cooperation with the Health Department dating from the establishment of this unit in the county. The Sanitarian, for example, expressed his complete satisfaction with the manner in which the County Agent has always been willing to cooperate in any way possible. He felt that, since the survey, there had been even more cooperation between the two organizations.

The County School Commissioner's Office has also operated cooperatively with extension service but the relationship has

5. See page 139.

not been close since the problems of the two offices differ considerably. On the other hand, the Health Department necessarily must use the channels of the public schools for the implementation of much of the work of the public health nurse. There is not, however, reason to believe that this relationship has necessarily been harmonious at all times. Nor has the joint participation in the survey affected, to any extent, existing relationships between the two organizations.

Prior to the survey, there was no direct relationship between the County Medical Society and the Health Department. The Health Council now provides a tangent relationship between the health unit and the physicians of the county. Since, to some extent, public health is sometimes viewed negatively by many physicians, it is possible that this relationship, which has developed out of the survey, will serve to bring the two groups closer together. However, in terms of the present analysis, the more important point is that, prior to the development of the survey, there had been no direct relationship between these two groups. This is also true of the relationships between the Medical Society and both the County Agent's and the County School Commissioner's Office.

The Pomona Grange was, and continues to be, indirectly related to certain other organizations which were tangent to the survey through its representation on the Health Council. Because of the basic interest that this organization has in

rural people, it is also true that, through various members of the Grange, many contacts and relationships with the County Agent also existed prior to the survey. Except for such relationships as occur through the Health Council, however, this organization had no direct relationship with other organizations represented in the survey.

The District Nurses Association has been related both through interest and membership to both the Health Council and the Health Department. The president of the Health Council is a former president of this group. The Superintendent of Nurses for the Health Department was president of this association at the time of the survey. There were no other direct relationships between the Nurses Association and the other organizations except as they were or have been effected through the Health Council.

It should be clear, of course, that the Health Council is an organization which itself serves to relate a number of other organizations in the county. Prior to the survey, the relationship of the Health Council to the County Agent and County School Commissioner's Offices was not strong. This was likewise true of the relationship to the County Medical Society. It should be extremely important to see if, in the future, the relationships between organizations developed directly and indirectly as a result of the survey, continue to grow or disappear. Although the time span of the research limited this phase of analysis, the chapter of Feedback will treat this important problem.

PART III

THE SOCIAL SYSTEM

PART III

THE SOCIAL SYSTEM

The following analysis will be concerned with the anatomy of the social system, i.e., dominant aspects of its structure. Since the social system gained its emergence from a problem orientation level and the converging sentiments which are found patterned within the social system gained their convergence through a problem-solution orientation, the analysis of the system will be concerned with the patterning of sentiments according to the significant structures which have emerged.

Since the general problem which led to the emergence of the system was predicated on a set of sentiments found within the relevant structure, such sentiments will be found expressed in a different dimension within the system in which they converged.

The social system has been separated into two distinct segments: the County Level and the Local Level. Since the general and overall problem of the self-survey of health was based upon the general notion that large numbers of people should be involved in the project in order that the goal of public education be reached, the problem of mobilizing interviewers within the survey although a means to an end soon reached the proportions of an end in itself.

Therefore mobilization of a large number of people in the survey provided for a general problem orientation which was to be expressed in the system by the major actors or County Level initiators. Interesting enough, the problem orientation was partially based upon the increasing structure of the system. Although not shared as a goal by those who joined the survey in its later stages, this particular problem led to certain peculiarities which manifested themselves in expressed sentiments which were often divergent and conflicting in nature.

The County Level, then, was responsible for the problem orientation and initiation of action. The Local Level which was viewed by the County Level as a means to an end provided the source of activity which led to the realization of the problem solution. The confusion in means and ends led to certain conditions which can be better expressed in the final section, concerned with "feedback". For the present, it must be made quite clear that the analysis of the two separate segments is based upon the nature of the system itself, a system which was made up of County Level actors responsible for the creation and initiation of an idea which led to the emergence of sentiments attached to certain goals. Such goals ultimately involved a new set of actors who were to be found activated in local units. These actors achieved some solution to the problem set by the survey system and therefore acted as vehicles for carrying through the ideas of the County Level.

CHAPTER VII

THE COUNTY LEVEL

This chapter is concerned with an analysis of the roles played by the major actors at the county level in the initiation of the survey. Once a social system has been identified in such a way that the social actors, relationships between actors, relationships between actors and organizations, and the relationships between other organizations and the self-survey system can be ascertained in fact as well as in theory, it is possible to make empirical distinctions between various elements in actions of this social system. One segment of the social system has been termed the County Level, which in this case is comprised of certain people whose actions ultimately reached out and encompassed nearly four hundred other people in local areas within the county. What roles do these initiators customarily play in the county? What were their roles in the survey? How are they perceived by other people who also participated in the survey? What relationships do they have as resources through organizational and informal contact for the initiation of action? How did they perceive the importance of their reasons for participating in a self-survey in health?

It is necessary, first of all, to distinguish a further division between actors of major significance on the county

level and those who played such a peripheral role that it became difficult to say they were part of the system at all. The reason for this difficulty arose from the fact that the Health Council provided an "arena" for action and yet this organization, although the sponsor and the official parent of the survey, on analytical grounds, can be designated only as a tangential organization to the self-survey social system.

The empirical meaning this had to the collection of data was clear. Only certain members of the Health Council could be considered as actors involved in the self-survey social system. If the Health Council had been an active and strong organization, such a classification or division would have been more difficult, but, since active membership in the Council tended to be comparatively small, it was not difficult to narrow the limits of relevant activity on the part of the various Health Council members.

Since Health Council members represent organizations located in the county which are interested in county health problems, organizations which were also tangential to the survey became apparent. One difficulty that arose during the observation of the actors and the collection of data was that of distinguishing between the role played by an actor in an organization and the role played by the same actor in the emergence of the initiating set¹ which had been activated.

1. When speaking of the county level actors in terms of action, the "initiating set" will be used.

In many cases, these positions or roles varied little as far as actual description of events was concerned.

The following is a list of those individual actors who were or became most important for the actual initiation of the self-survey and were treated as observable units.

Dr. Berry - County Health Director.

Miss Field - Superintendent of the Jackson Memorial Hospital in Mohawk.
President of the Independence County Health Council.

Mr. Dall - County Agricultural Agent.

Mrs. Dixon - Chairman of the Health and Education Committee of Mohawk.

Dr. Bane - President of the Independence County Medical Society.

Mr. Hoover - County Commissioner of Schools.

Dr. Williams - Representative on the Health Council for the Independence County Medical Society.

Mr. Stanton - Health and Safety Extension Specialist from Michigan State College.

Mr. Lang - Sanitarian for the Independence County Health Department.

Miss Helm - Supervising Nurse for the Independence County Health Department.

Mrs. Hatt - Chairman of the Health Committee for the Pomona Grange.

Each of these persons will be considered from the standpoint of their structural position, that is, their relationships to others in Independence County. Some attention will be paid to imagery, i.e., how other major actors view the individual actor and his or her participation in the survey.

COUNTY LEVEL ACTORS

Dr. Berry - County Health Director

The part played by this actor, although crucial to the survey, was of short duration. Obtaining a new job, he left shortly after he had served to focus the interests of several other actors in the project.

It was his belief that such a survey would reinforce the position of the Health Department in the county and allow it to be more effective in certain areas of health problems that could not be discovered without the aid of statistical information.

His belief in the Health Council and its ability to support the health unit was displayed by his interest in it and active participation in meetings. Carrying through the idea of a survey, even in the face of some opposition, indicated the support of the members of the group towards this man.

His interest in public health and a desire to carry such a program on was shown in the chapter of events. In viewing the problems that he faced as a director, he said, "People consider the Health Department as being primarily here to answer nuisance complaints and to pick up dead dogs..." It was this concern in educating the people in public health that provided his chief motivation towards a health survey that might partially achieve this goal.

No information concerning imagery held by other actors toward him was obtained because of his early departure from the county.

Miss Field - Health Council President

The president of the Health Council is also Superintendent of the Jackson Memorial Hospital in Mohawk and member of the District Nurses Association. The first two positions that she maintains are largely responsible for her position in the survey.

She has lived in Mohawk for the last 12 years. The only other Mohawk citizen playing a role as major actor was Mrs. Dixon who is a personal friend of Miss Field. According to Mrs. Dixon, "Jean is an awfully cool person. I had known her for some time before we actually became close. I believe I am about the only close friend she has in town. The reason for this is that Jean will never allow herself to be human. She is all wrapped up in her hospital and work. She takes each individual patient as an individual responsibility but will never let it be known that she is personally concerned about them. Actually she is. She is a regular work horse and takes little time for social affairs. The work she has taken on as president of the Health Council is a good example of this. Without her there would be no Health Council."

Her previous acquaintances with other actors in the survey were limited to professional contacts on a formal level. In viewing her own reasons for being active in the survey,

she said. "All of us are interested in seeing improved community health facilities. All of us like to be proud of our own communities. Nothing is more important in community activity than health."

The others, when interviewed, revealed that few were concerned with Miss Field from the personal standpoint. All imagery appeared to be in the light of the contacts people had with her on the Council and during the survey. The following comments were made about her:

Mr. Fall - "I don't think the survey could have been done without her. I doubt if anyone could have carried it along the way she did. I think that Miss Field has done an outstanding job. She is possessed with great imagination and organizational ability. She can get people to work in a very quiet but positive way." Mr. Fall went on to say that he had only known her before through professional lines. She had brought student nurses who were training at the hospital to his office to show them how the extension office operated.

Mrs. Hatt - "I know her through the Health Council but have no opinions about her."

Dr. Dane - "Miss Field acted as a constant factor in the survey. She was always working on it and at all the meetings. At least all of the meetings I attended. I doubt whether the survey would have been done without her. She acted as an individual and was probably in it for individual reasons alone, whereas some of the others were probably active for reasons of the organizations they represented." He explained that he had known her through professional lines for the three or four years he had been in the county.

Mr. Hoover - "I think she did an excellent job on moving the people. She was not indispensable, no one is indispensable, and somebody could have taken her place. It would have to have been somebody with drive, foresight, and personality. This person would have to be able to sell people a bill of goods. I think all in all she did a fair job. I have known her for about three years through the schools."

Dr. Williams - "She really stimulated people in an effort to get the job done. (asked how indispensable she was) Probably could have been done without any one person." Williams had known her for about six years professionally. He has been living for six years in the county since the war.

Mr. Stanton - "She is a conscientious nurse and hospital superintendent who has great interest in community health improvement, some ability to get other people to work along with her, but not the ability to move everyone. She is a person who has had a feud with Miss Helm. Field is a person who has few really close friends."

Mr. Lang - "She has kept the survey going. If she hadn't been in it someone else could have taken over. That someone would have had to be dynamic. Mrs. Dixon could have taken her place." Lang had known Miss Field through the Health Council since it was organized in 1949.

Miss Helm - "Survey couldn't have been done without her. She was constantly calling people on the telephone or writing post cards. I never knew so many post cards could be sent out. A great deal of credit should go to her." There has been a great deal of rivalry in the past between Miss Helm and Miss Field. The Mohawk community has operated independently in Independence County without much consideration for the policies that direct the action of the health unit. It has been through this that considerable animosity has grown between the two. Miss Helm has known Miss Field for about ten years through nursing circles. She believes that Miss Field "does not understand good public health".

Such statements indicate that people generally saw her as a competent leader in the survey. Some thought she was not indispensable but went along with the idea that "someone else wouldn't have been much better". The two that knew of her beyond her relationships in the survey had mixed feelings. These were Miss Helm and Mrs. Dixon; Mrs. Dixon for personal and friendship reasons and Miss Helm for professional reasons. Both Miss Helm and Mrs. Dixon are volatile personalities who are willing to express an opinion without much prompting.

They make decisions rapidly and do not always consider any group feeling that may exist. Miss Field, on the other hand, has a slower and more quiet manner. She is quite sensitive to group expression in meetings, however, she appears to circumvent most opposition by ignoring it. Miss Field has a tendency towards including people as supporting an idea when they may have only suggested a neutral opinion towards it.

The only change in previous relationships that seem to have come from action within the survey is that between Miss Field and Mrs. Dixon. Their friendship appeared to have been considerably strained. Mrs. Dixon admires Miss Helm but has said more than once that she feels that Jean Field is trying to "sabotage" the County Health Department. A heated quarrel occurred between Miss Field and Mrs. Dixon when the latter had taken the side of Miss Helm in an argument between the two nurses.

Mr. Dall - County Agricultural Agent

The County Agent has held his office for the last sixteen years. During this time, he has maintained the respect of rural people throughout the county. Before the survey he had not been an active member of the Health Council although he had known some of the actors through professional lines. When he was contacted by the extension sociologist at the College, for whom he had a great deal of respect, he felt the idea of a health survey sounded worthwhile. He had been contacted by the college since they had wanted to clear with him

before they entered the area for the purpose of their study. Until this time, he had not heard about the survey nor had he been concerned about it. He acted as a temporary chairman and organized a meeting with the college shortly after this original contact. At this time he became involved with the Health Council and its members, although he had known many of them through his extension work.

Few people are close to Dall on the personal level. As the supervisor of Mason township said, "Louis has lived in Central City for fifteen years and yet he has few close friends who he visits with or has to his home. He is wrapped up in his garden and his wife." Dall has no children and is now in his late fifties. He has recently suffered from poor health and has tried to slow down some. Although not intimately concerned with his neighbors he is known by most farmers and deals with them on an informal basis. He is quite conscientious in most of his activities and has been considered by the college to be one of the best Agricultural Agents in the State of Michigan.

In reference to his own reflections as to why he was involved in the survey, he says, "Good health is the prime essential in all communities. Without it nothing else matters. What good does it do to take in a cash farming crop if your health is poor? Sanitation, a clean home, clean farms, a clean community, etc., become symbols which are a religion to some people. In general these symbols stand for a good

way of life. I felt that a survey would call attention to the problems that existed in this area. People, through an inventory of health problems, could ascertain the severity of them and then act upon the solutions. I guess that is why I was for the idea and got involved." Mr. Dall also sympathized with the position of the Health Department and felt that this information would probably help them. At a Health Council meeting he said, "When I first came to this county I studied statistical, census data, in order to find out about information concerning crops, live stock, etc. The survey, in the same way, will help us to find out about health information." Later he showed his disappointment in the lack of involvement on the part of those of the Health Department. "Their fear of criticism has been a deterrent to the survey."

Dall was made co-chairman of the survey and played the part of original contact man for the rural areas. Because he was weakly staffed at the time of the survey he used the services of Mr. Stanton who met with the people he had suggested. The following comments reflect the imagery that the members of this selected group held towards him:

Miss Field - "Mr. Dall has done an outstanding job. Contacting people and getting their support has been his chief contribution. He is well thought of. I don't think it could have been done without him in the rural areas." She had met Dall five years before when she brought a student group of nurses to his office.

Mrs. Dixon - "I think he is real nice. He's been the controlling factor on anything that has happened. He is a peacemaker. He has kept everyone happy. He understands

what is going on. No one else could have brought the rural area in as well as he did. It could have been done without him but the survey has been carried by Jean Field and he." The first time they had met was at the February Health Council meeting in 1951.

Mrs. Hatt - "He helped organize the survey. I don't think that Mr. Dall gets out as much as he used to." She has known Mr. Dall for several years through home extension club work.

Dr. Bane - Dall functions like Miss Field. Miss Field acted as an individual while Mr. Dall represented the extension branch of the college. I think that he must have been stimulated by involvement of Michigan State College." He met Dall shortly after he had come to the county through his work since Dall was one of his patients.

Mr. Hoover - "I think he was responsible in getting people in mind and he also got the survey under motion. Beyond that point I don't think he did a whole lot." He has known Mr. Dall for about twelve years through professional lines.

Dr. Williams - His chief contribution to the survey has been the stimulation of people. He has had quite a responsibility in seeing that the townships carried through the survey." Hewes met him at the April 1951 Health Council meeting.

Mr. Stanton - "He is a highly skilled operator in his area of helping farm people with their farm problems. He has ways of getting the county board of supervisors to accept his plans, even though he does not have complete support from all of them and all areas of the county." Stanton met Dall in January of 1951 with the college group.

Mr. Lang - "He has been the balance wheel of the survey. Without Dall the survey wouldn't have gone. He has a very good standing with the rural group and they are the ones that did the survey. I got to know him better through the survey and because of it we are working closer together in areas of pasturization, health of herds, rat control, and farm water supply." He met Dall five or six years before when he came to the county and has known him through professional lines.

Miss Helm - "We couldn't have done without him. He knew who to contact and did some contacting himself. I told Dr. Berry at the beginning that Louis Dall was the key

person in connection with a survey. He made the biggest contribution with the exception of Miss Field." She had known him professionally for five or six years.

Lall's stature with this group did not lessen through time. There had been a certain respect held for him at all times since he was a man and male leadership was at a premium. His calm personality and past experiences in dealing with people helped him in his relationship with the various members of the Health Council. He let people know that he was a busy man and if he had time for these sort of things certainly they should.

Mrs. Dixon - Chairman of the Health and Education Committee of Mohawk

The role of this actor is one more limited than that of other actors to activities concerned with the survey. Her more customary role was that of mother and housewife. She is, however, a former professional, having been, before her marriage, principal of an elementary school in a large town. The organization she represented in the survey is a welfare association which owes its origin and maintenance to her efforts. She became active in the survey through personal friendship with the Health Council president who resides in the same community.

Mrs. Dixon came from Albion, Michigan, twelve years ago with her husband who is now an executive with Fresco, a large division of a thriving refrigerator compressor factory in Mohawk. In 1943 she became concerned with the health records

in the school system of Mohawk. Finding that there was no record for immunization of the children, she organized the Child Study Club, of which she was a member, around a town survey of school children concerning immunization. From this an immunization program was started and a Health and Education Committee formed. This committee is now made up of only Mrs. Dixon who acts as a contact for welfare cases not handled by the county welfare agency. It was because of these past experiences along with her positional title that she was invited to the Health Council meetings.

Like the president of the Health Council, her interest in health is more community than county oriented. This interest, together with her position, made it difficult for her to contribute greatly to the organization of the survey. She did play an important part as co-chairman of the survey committee and was active in committee participation. She also was responsible for the original acceptance of the survey idea, since it was her enthusiasm that helped neutralize opposition within the Health Council. Her final contribution was the involvement of her village in the survey. Although somewhat delayed, the involvement of this community in the survey provided for a more general and successful coverage throughout the county.

In observing her activity over a period of a year and a half, it became apparent that she enjoyed a certain amount of responsibility but also felt somewhat inadequate when dealing

with professionals. She often said, "Mr. Dall could do this because of his position but I'm just another citizen and that doesn't carry much weight." She was quick to respond to group discussion but refused to give talks or lead the group.

The following information displays some of the imagery concerning her that is held by the group:

Miss Field - "I felt I made a bad choice in Mrs. Dixon. Especially in choosing her for the chairmanship of Mohawk. It is difficult for her to work with others. She has not learned the trick of assigning others to carry the load with her. She also does not have the ability to get along with the people with whom she must work. There were others who had this ability but were busy at the time. I feel the failure of Mohawk in this survey has been largely due to my poor selection."²

Mr. Dall - "She is a good organizer and mobilizer. She is a good pressure person and will work. She is also good around the round table, good at personal contacts (especially over the telephone), and a good cog in the gears. You have to have some people like her to get the work done. She is 'valuable because there are not too many people like her.' Dall met her through the survey at the February 1951 meeting.

Mrs. Hatt - "All I know about her is that she is chairman of the survey committee on the Health Council." She had, at an early date, made mention of the fact that many of these village women were for the survey because they were looking for things to keep them busy. She said that rural women did not have to look for work since it was all around them." She met Mrs. Dixon in February 1951 at the Health Council meeting.

Dr. Banc - "She has a great deal of enthusiasm. She was pretty good all along. She is important because she represents the lay people without any affiliations. These people are at meetings because they have personal reasons of interest." Banc met her through some welfare work concerning the Health and Education committee of Mohawk.

Mr. Hoover - "I just know her through the survey. I think she did some work and is quite energetic. Beyond this I couldn't say much."

2. This comment was made prior to the involvement of Mohawk.

Dr. Williams - "I have just met her through the survey. I never knew her before. Apparently she contributes quite a bit in meetings."

Mr. Stanton - "She is a conscientious, civic-minded Mohawk citizen, who found it difficult to tie her local concerns in with those of the whole county. (A difficulty not confined to her). One of the original movers for the survey, she gave the impression that Mohawk would lead the county. She has many skills in human relations but seemed in the group often to rise ire in others." Stanton met her at the February 1951 Health Council meeting.

Mr. Lang - "She had an active and personal interest. She was active but the survey could have been done without her." He met her at the Health Council meeting in December of 1950.

Miss Helm - "I think she made a nice contribution. Her enthusiasm for the group was a shot in the arm. I knew her ever since I've been here. I met her when I first came here. She came to me and reported what the Health and Education Committee had done in Mohawk. She is public health and civic minded. I suppose it could have been done without her."

Although many could see the limits to Mrs. Dixon's contributions, most appeared to be aware of her enthusiasm and energy. As was explained before, her relations with Miss Field have been strained considerably. One might question how much her "public health and civic mindedness" might have to do with this strain. In referring to her part in the survey she said, "Anything I learned about public health was through the Kellogg Foundation. I suppose part of my interest has come from that. I had a certain amount of curiosity for the job. I also thought it was a good idea."

Mrs. Hatt - Chairman of Health Committee for Pomona Grange

Mrs. Hatt is fifty years old and wife of an established and influential farmer. She had lived on a farm all of her

life in Independence County. She and her husband have had no children but have raised two county wards who are now twenty and forty years old. Mrs. Hatt was one of the early group that made contact with the college from the Health Council as a member of the Education and Publicity Committee of the Health Council. When the idea of a survey was first presented, she and Reverend North (a rural minister who no longer lives in the county but when residing there was openly antagonistic to the Health Department) opposed it from the standpoint that it was too much work and not worthwhile.

When the Health Council went ahead with the idea of a survey she still remained negative. At a February meeting she complained that so many of the rural people were busy with civil defense projects that this just would add to the load. It was at this time that the group circumvented this line of opposition by calling the survey one of Civil Defense and Health. Civil Defense questions were later added to the questionnaire.

Her original opposition to the survey was expressed in terms of socialized medicine, fear of communism, and fear of growing government agencies with an increase of taxation. Her reason centered around socialized medicine and fear of communism lie in her suspicion of who was behind the idea. Since Mr. Dall had gone on record as saying that the information gathered from the survey might benefit his office and explained that if certain information showed that animal

diseases were prevalent in the county, he might be able to bring a veterinarian into the extension office full time, she had become extremely negative to the idea. "This", she said, "is a good example of what is going on in Washington and all over the country. The government goes around looking for problems and once they find them they build a new office or department and the taxpayer has to pay some more. What if they do find health problems down here? Will it cost us more money? What is the Health Department for? It seems to me this is their job. They don't even have to take a survey. If they look out their windows in Central City, they will find plenty of privies along the river. This would keep them busy enough. They are always worried about the farmer but actually there should be less concern. If a farmer has a privy and no septic tank he is living far enough away from his neighbor so that the only harm is to him but in the city people are so crowded together that it really is a problem there. It seems to me that part of this survey is to give the village women on the Health Council something to do so that it will stay alive. Rural women don't have to look for work, there is plenty all around them." Mrs. Matt's opposition never disappeared and for several meetings after the decision of the Health Council to do the survey, she was not present. This was partly due to the illness of her husband, but she had certainly wanted little or nothing to do with the planning of the survey.

An attempt had been made to get the approval of the Pomona Grange. It was felt that if they co-sponsored the idea with the other organizations, the subordinate Grange members would follow suit. In reality this decision manifested the vagueness that Health Council members had toward the actual structure of the Grange.³

Mrs. Matt, being representative from this organization, brought up the idea to the Pomona Grange. A lady present at that time said, "It didn't look like she was much for the idea. Many of the others had objections but for the most part they didn't understand what the survey was all about. For this reason they made no decision on the matter when it was first brought up."

Later the Pomona Grange went on record as being for the idea although many were still convinced that it was a waste of time. Mrs. Matt remained one of these people and stated that a minority were able to get the idea through because they were so energetic while most people were just plain apathetic towards it.

Because the Pomona Grange had gone on record as being for the survey, when the Health Council organization group, represented by Stanton and Dall, asked her to be chairman of the survey in her township, she accepted the job. She said that she could hardly refuse since she was chairman of the health committee on the Pomona Grange.

3. See pages 165-66.

Mrs. Hatt had few reflections of imagery concerning other actors that she revealed to the observers. One apparent reflection that she indirectly verbalized at meetings and interviews was concerned with the recognition of rural-urban differences. It was the conclusion of the field worker that Mrs. Hatt had certain feelings of inferiority in reference to her rural background. These were manifested by a constant defense of the rural way of life as contrasted to the urban. It was observed by the field worker that Mrs. Hatt often felt uncomfortable around many of the village women who often represented a higher educated group and in terms of urbanization more "sophisticated". Research data was not collected in reference to the imagery others had toward Mrs. Hatt but comments made by Miss Field and Mrs. Dixon at various times indicated a respect for the position of Mrs. Hatt even though they knew she was not supporting the survey. This can be partly explained by the fact that she represented the Grange people and rural element that had to be dealt with in the future relations of the Health Council regardless of the survey. There was a feeling, too, that they did not quite understand rural life as well as Mrs. Hatt understood urban living and, as a result, they felt that she possibly had more insight than they.

As the survey came to an end Mrs. Hatt made comments as the findings were revealed, concerning the lack of knowledge and concerning health problems in Central City which she

considered to be the center of health difficulties in the county.

The position played by this actor in the survey was largely the part of a critic. Although a member of the Education and Publicity Committee of the Health Council which originally set up the survey, she persisted in her disapproval. This actor, from her position in a rural county group, could not see the advantages such a survey would have for the people she represented.

Her feeling that urban and rural differences were at play in such a project made it difficult for her to continue with support. However, when her organization went on record as supporting the survey, she was compelled, by virtue of the office she held in this organization, to take a part in the action that resulted.

Her criticism played an important part in the formation of the charter or self-survey goal. It made those who supported the survey idea more clearly aware of other interests than theirs and forced them to sharpen the objectives of the survey in a more realistic way in order to gain justification and sponsorship.

Doctor Bane - President of the Medical Society

Although representing the Medical Society from the beginning, this actor was not an official representative of the society in the Health Council. Since it was he, however, who favored the idea of the survey and gained the support of his group at an early date, he became an active participant.

Doctor Bane is a newcomer to Independence County, having resided in the area for three years. He is a thirty-five year old Eye Specialist who has come from Ann Arbor, where he took his medical training. His interest in this area, where there was apparent need for his services, was expressed when he said, "I believe that the future development of this country is best expressed in moderate sized cities such as Central City and areas such as this county which are away from dense city population. I think this is the case because more and more young and able professionals are being attracted to these places where they can get a start and raise their families." Bane is married and has three children.

He first appeared at a Health Council meeting in March of 1951. This was a month after the Health Council had decided on doing the survey, or at least committing themselves to future work on it. Bane at this time was President of the County Medical Society. The Medical Society had an official representative on the Health Council but he had hardly ever attended in the past. It was felt by all that no survey would be possible in the County without an official Cl and sponsorship from the doctors. Since practically every doctor in the county is a member of this society, it was felt that this was the correct group to approach in order to legitimate their project. As a result, Miss Field sent him a letter requesting his attendance at the next Health Council meeting in March.

During the March meeting he expressed his interest in the survey and said although he could make no official statement as to what the doctors would say, he was sure that they would probably endorse it. He suggested that they might become interested on one point alone and that was the fact that this might be a way to combat socialized medicine. The fact that the individuals of the county were interested in their own health problems instead of having some outside agency interfering would certainly make the idea worthwhile.

He said that he would bring it before the doctors and although he would not attend Health Council meetings he would assign a new representative that he was sure would be an active member.

. Later he received an OK from the Medical Society to sponsor the survey, but it was probably more implicit in the understanding of the group than explicit since, when the opposition occurred in some parts of the county and the doctors were questioned, many had not even heard of the survey before and did not understand what it was all about.

Although a study was not made of the Medical Society, such indications point to the possibility that it was not an overly active body in civic affairs. They have active membership of around forty to fifty doctors ranging in all ages.

The following comments were made about Bane through interviews:

Mr. Dall - "He is the only doctor who has communicated maximum interest in the survey. It was fortunate that

he could represent the County Medical Association. He is a good physician and a good analyst. He is also a good man to have around a conference table. He can see through a ladder without becoming confused." Fall had met him about three years before when he went to him as a patient.

Miss Field - "His endorsement of the Medical Society helped a lot. He also has done work on the publicity committee and has become quite active recently (referring to the period following the survey itself)." Miss Field has known him for a short time professionally.

Mrs. Fixon - "He was very important to the survey. From the very beginning I felt that the doctors would have to be for the survey if it was to be done. Professional and lay people think in terms of doctors when it comes to matters of health. He has definitely clarified the Medical Society's position and they endorsed it through him. He is certainly a key person." "I have met him professionally when I brought kids over to Central City to have their eyes tested on welfare cases."

Mr. Hoover - "I don't know him. Only as a member of this town."

Dr. Williams - "He has more time than most doctors to spend on these sort of things. He is a specialist and at four or five his day is over. That's when most of us are just starting out on our house calls. I think his biggest interest right now is to see that the Health Council does not fall down."

Mr. Stanton - "A physician with some liberal ideas who is operating in a county where he wants to be accepted by other physicians as well as patients; who therefore proceeds very cautiously in any new health programs. Right now he is concerned with seeing that the findings of the survey are not mishandled." Stanton met Banc at the March 1951 meeting.

Mr. Lang - "I met him about three years ago when I had my glasses changed. The survey couldn't have been done without him. There are not enough medical men interested to sell the idea of a survey or anything like it to the doctors. He has a lot of good ideas. He should be involved in the Health Council and brought up to date on Public Health."

Miss Helm - "He got the cooperation of the Medical Society. Without their backing the Health Department wouldn't have been behind it. He is a man of integrity and influence. I have known him professionally since he has been here."

During the early part of the survey, Bane was not active but occasionally dropped by at several Health Council meetings "just to say hello and see how things were going". He became more interested around the end of 1951 when the survey was coming to an end in some areas and still going on in others. He had become active on the Advisory Committee at the College concerning the project and this probably played some part but also growing opposition in certain areas began to concern him.

Bane indicated that there were two factors that governed his interest in the survey and probably got him started with the idea. First of all he said that he had the suspicion that Hamilton, the doctor who had represented the Medical Society on the Health Council the year before, had not been active. When he appointed Williams he felt that he should show up to some of the meetings just as a check to see if his organization was being represented. During this period he had become involved by getting the Medical Society to sponsor the idea of the survey.

The other factor which probably governs the action of Bane in the survey and explains his original interest in a representative on the Health Council, is his belief in "individual effort on the part of the people who live in this

area". He said that he felt that perhaps the findings from the survey were not too important in themselves. He said that he believed that the individual has the ability in this area to take care of his own health problems. He said he also felt that this very ability was expressed in the Health Council which he believes in (although he is somewhat disillusioned by its ineffectiveness). This belief makes him feel that he should take an active part in stimulating interest in this group. He saw the survey as part of this effort.

Once the survey got started and the Medical Society was committed to the idea he became sensitive to any comments that had to do with "outside interference", since he had sold people on the idea (fellow colleagues) of the individual and local nature of it.

In further reflections about the Health Council, he indicated his concern in its weak membership. He felt that since organizations are represented, that a new representative be appointed from each organization every year. This would involve more people (maintaining the individual character which he would like to see develop) and would take the load off of specific individuals who are constantly attending.

Mr. Hoover - County Superintendent of Schools

Mr. Hoover, who is County Superintendent of Schools, has lived in Independence County all his life and is from a well-known and influential family line. He is thirty-nine, married, and has one child. For many years he was a teacher

and principal in Fielding Township and an active 4H club leader. People living in the area where he worked and lived have mixed feelings. Some feel that "he is a fine and jolly sort of a fellow" and others admit that he is a jolly sort but doubt his sincerity. All seem to think, however, that he is a politician by nature and few would deny that much of his sociability is not influenced by his own desire for personal gain.

He received the position of County Superintendent of Schools in 1945, the first year that it became a political appointment and not an elected office. Although he determines to some extent the organization and policies of the rural schools he has little jurisdiction in the village school systems. He often is a mediator in disputes that arise between school boards and teachers.

His participation on the survey was a crucial one but his largest contribution occurred near the end of the survey when he was responsible for the activation of Central City. Although he went on record as being for the idea, at the very first, he gave little active support. He was responsible for clearing opposition in one area and interesting one or two superintendents in the survey for their village.

He had been assigned four townships to organize at the meeting in April but found it impossible to take on this responsibility. He made one contact in Dearborn that ultimately proved to be a failure and he accompanied the Health Extension

Specialist to Oxtown where they involved this township. Out of the four townships assigned to him only one did the survey without any difficulty or opposition and two of the others never did it. It was felt by some that his lack of cooperation at this time was partly responsible since he knew the people in this area and owned land in one of the townships.

He had for a long time had difficulties with Miss Helm at the Health Department. She feels that he is actually an antagonist of the unit while he denies this. He feels that most of the trouble between he and the Health Department has been through her personality.

He recognized his limited efforts on the survey and said, "I didn't do everything I should have but I was busy night and day here. I tried to get the thing going but I didn't have time to do more. Had it been a school survey where school results would have come up, I would have said it was my responsibility. People in the Health Department should have pushed it more since it concerned them but, of course, they needed a Director at the time and a full time staff."

Early approval of the survey by this actor and clearance from his office allowed for greater acceptance of the survey on the local level. Relationships based on local interest in schools was important in many local areas for the execution of the survey. This actor on the county level, although himself not very active in local organizations, provided the support of his office for the implementation of existing school organizational channels.

It was felt by many of the members that the Superintendent played an important part at the meetings where he verbalized and justified objectives that might be met by such a project.

In his own words he stated that, "Education is more than just classroom activity. The welfare of the community is also at stake. I think today you have quite an increased interest in welfare of the people at large. People will turn out today for school affairs that they wouldn't have before. People are more conscious of problems confronting us and also of the advances in health. I think this is the reason that I have been interested."

The following comments illustrate what this selected group thought about Mr. Hoover:⁴

Mr. Ball - "He was difficult to pin down to any great responsibility. He displayed ability and ideas when he was with us that were helpful. We were not able to get the maximum from him. I doubt if he sees fully the objectives of the survey. This has been a disappointment." Ball has known him for about ten to fifteen years. He originally met him when he was a 4H club leader. The contacts they have had have only been professional ones.

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4. This imagery was manifested prior to the involvement of Central City, made possible by Hoover's influence and contacts through the school system. Because of this he gained considerable prestige in the group. Central City had been "a hard nut to crack" and his ability in "pulling this one off" was viewed as a solid commitment to the survey idea. After this event it also became apparent that he was finding more interest in survey activities and the general Health Council program. It was not long after that he was nominated for the position of Health Council President. He accepted and after being elected took over the office that Miss Field had previously held.

Miss Field - "His help has been of the vocal sort. He attended a few meetings. He has been active in his support, however, and has kept the school people for the idea." She first met him at a Health Council meeting.

Mrs. Dixon - "I met him at the Health Council meetings. The teachers could have choked him when he said, 'let the teachers do it'. Outside of that I know nothing about him."

Mrs. Hatt - "I have heard him say; 'It certainly won't do any harm (referring to the survey) and it might do some good'. He doesn't have to do anything so it isn't a bad idea for him."

Dr. Bane - "I don't know of anything he did. I don't know him."

Dr. Williams - "I don't know him or anything about him."

Mr. Stanton - "A political appointee who may do a fair job of school administration but whose first and last concern is to do things which are politically expedient. I rejoiced in how Louis Dall got me to get Hower on the spot last September where he had to publicly support the survey at a meeting." Stanton met Hoover at the joint meeting with the college and county on January 27, 1951.

Mr. Lang - "I met Hoover when he went into office in 1948. We worked close from 1949 on. I don't think he contributed much of anything to the survey. He probably offered suggestions. Milt is a brilliant man. I have been able to work closely with him. He stands up for what he feels is right in the schools. The nursing division never could get along with him. Nobody has taken time to explain to him the contribution of the nurses in the Health Department. Sanitation is visual, not nursing. Of course, there is a personality clash between Miss Helm and Hoover but on the other hand, Miss Helm clashes with everyone."

Miss Helm - "He gave support to the survey. He represented school support. He helped interpret the Health Council to the school superintendents. In areas where he did any work on the survey it wasn't too successful. I have known him through the Health Department since he has become Superintendent."

In the minds of most people Hoover's support has been valuable but few felt that he had done any active work on the

survey. There was little that tied Hoover together with the rest of the group from the standpoint of any common objectives. Yet, after involving Central City, his social capital increased and he ultimately became President of the Health Council.

Doctor Williams

Doctor Williams is a young man of thirty-seven who has been practicing as a pediatrician in the county for the last six years. He is married and has two children. He is the son of Doctor A.E. Williams, also a pediatrician and an old and influential member of this area. Young Williams has been slowly taking over his father's practice. His father has been an open opponent of the Health Council since it has been in the county.

Doctor Williams does not share his father's animosity towards the Health Department and has tried to work with them in the past. He has admitted a personal bias against public health work but mostly from the standpoint that it is not his interest. He looks back on his medical experience in the army when he had to deal with sanitation problems as a most disagreeable time in his career.

Williams interacted with very few members of the Health Council and his only connection with most of them occurred after he was appointed representative for the Medical Society in April of 1951. He attended the meetings quite regularly but never seemed to be too enthused nor did he take an active part in the job of organization.

As the tabulations started to come in he began to show quite a bit of enthusiasm towards the results of the survey. He was appointed chairman of the publication committee, which had the job of putting the information together and publicizing it.

When questioned on his own interest in the survey he said, "I feel that the project is of community benefit. After it got started I could see how we could use information for future health activities. I guess I am primarily interested in the results and what can be done with them."

Comments made by people in this group are as follows:

Mr. Dall - "Mr. Williams will be of value only in interpreting results. He had no desire or ability to mobilize Central City (for a while it was thought that he might be able to achieve this goal). He doesn't have a research mind. He wants to see what it looks like. I doubt whether he can handle people. He is a fine Child Specialist." Dall met him at the Health Council meetings.

Miss Field - "He was the second appointment from the Medical Society. He has been more active than his predecessor. He has been working on the problems of publication." Miss Field has known him a short while professionally.

Mrs. Nixon - "I don't know him or anything about him except that he comes to the meetings." She met him at Health Council meetings.

Mr. Lane - "I appointed him representative. I don't know what he has done on the survey except for the broadcast he was on in the summer. I know him professionally and he is a friend."

Mr. Hoover - "He had an active part in the survey. He was in on the first meetings. He started off with interest but I wasn't around after that. I have known the name for several years."

Mr. Stanton - "A young physician, son of a reactionary MD. Young Williams is not possessed of all of his father's prejudices. He seems busy in his work but ready to spend time available on such a new thing as the survey and not so concerned as Bane with bottling up the results until it is exactly as physicians want it presented." Has known him through the Health Council.

Mr. Lang - "He helped on our Child Clinic program in May township. He can be interested in most anything worthwhile." Lang has known him a few years professionally.

Miss Helm - "Same as Dr. Bane. Without the Medical Society backing this idea, the Health Department wouldn't have been behind it. I have known him since he has practiced here."

The activity of Williams and the observations made by the actors of this group developed later in the history of the survey. As a result, those who remained active over the entire period of time might be expected to have had more of an image of him than the others. Actually this was not the case. Most either knew of him through some minor contacts or saw him as a representative from a crucial element of the legitimate order or sponsoring group.

Mr. Stanton - Health and Safety Extension Specialist

This actor became involved in the survey at an early stage of its development. Since his position is one which provides activity on the state level of extension services, he is acquainted with many areas in the state of Michigan. Through an original chance encounter with the Health Director of Independence County, he first became active in the health survey.

The primary interest on the part of this actor resulted from the fact that offering assistance and helping with the survey was part of his extension work. His major interest was that of performing in such a way that the people of the county might have a successful survey. In this he was fulfilling an obligation of his office.

Mr. Stanton is a young married man who entered the Extension System in the state of Michigan in 1949. He is a Health and Safety Specialist and thoroughly concerned with the problems of his job. He came from Texas A & M where he had been an instructor in Sociology.

When he had first met Berry from the Independence County Health Department and heard that he wished to do a health survey, he was quick to offer his services, explaining that this was one of his functions in the extension system. He hardly realized at the time that for a good part of a year the Independence project would be the major part of his job.

Stanton's position at the college is rather a unique one in the extension service. This is because he has his office in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology and many of his contacts occur here. He attends the regular staff meetings of the Sociology Department and maintains the position of sociologist as well as extension worker.

It was this unique position which allowed him to hear of a project being developed between the Health Information Foundation and the Social Research Service which is an adjunct

to the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. The project was aimed at a study of a community which was doing its own survey of health. Having heard from Berry before this time, he passed on the information that the Independence County area might be a likely spot for the study. The events that followed proved he was correct and arrangements were made between the Research Service and the County. Stanton repeated his offer to assist in whatever capacity he could in order to help the county as a specialist.

A new development occurred, in the role that Stanton played in the county. Not only was he assisting as a specialist in the area, but as a member of the Sociology staff he was equally involved in the research policies that were developing. This was not too difficult to handle on analytical grounds but in practice it created problems. Since the policies behind all the research that was to occur were of such nature that the research role was confined to observations, it became important to separate the consultant or specialist role from that of the researcher. To put it more explicitly, how could the researcher fail to influence the survey if he played the role of the consultant as well.

An attempt was made once this difficulty was realized to separate Stanton from as many research commitments as possible. He continued to use the facilities available to him in the Department, such as, the advice of experts, the latest findings in the research, and the general research machinery available at the college.

Stanton's identification with the extension office from the beginning gave him the support of the rural people but such a role had certain implications as to his effectiveness with non-rural people. The fact that Mr. Ball needed most of Stanton's time for rural contacts and the fact that there were no urban counterparts to Ball's role resulted in his ineffectiveness in many urban areas.

Stanton, in his process of involvement, appeared to identify himself with the survey and the people working on it. It became more than just another one of his functions and took on the size of a full time job. In becoming so involved, Stanton lost some insight into the general feelings of the people he came in contact with. It was difficult for him to see, if he was putting this much of his time in for these people, (for no selfish motives but just to help them out) why they could not give some assistance along the lines of his work, such as, organization, training, etc. Certain resentments developed in his feeling towards some of the major actors.

It might be said for these people that they recognized their lack of effort at times but often they could rationalize it by saying that "Stanton is payed for this kind of work whereas I have another job to handle as well." Since Stanton at an early date had made comments as to the fact that this kind of work was what he was paid for and that the people could receive aid from the extension service at any time along

these lines, it was difficult for this opinion to be changed.

The following comments by the group mentioned in the paper indicate reflections towards the role of Stanton in the survey:

Miss Field - "The survey couldn't have been possible without him. He did the groundwork. I am very grateful for all that he has done. Any misunderstandings that have occurred in his work have been our fault. In the case of the Eder opposition, no one went with him."

Mr. Ball - "The longer you know Dave the better you like him. Your evaluation of him goes up with each contact. His position in local meetings was fine in that he got down to the local people and talked their language. He could outline objectives. His part in developing the survey was greater than my own effort. It would have been difficult to do without him. I would have needed another agent."

Mrs. Dixon - "He was very evasive. I never knew exactly what he was talking about. He never really said anything. He has done a lot but I'm not sure what."

Mrs. Hatt - "He organized the survey and works through the extension office."

Dr. Lane - "He is identified with the college and therefore an outsider. He probably originated some of the opposition. It is important to remember that he was down here because he is paid a salary for these sort of things. He played an important part but I'm sure the survey could have been done without him."

Mr. Hoover - "I think he did a good job. As I think back, he should have had more drive but I don't think that was the intention of this thing. If he had put more drive into it people might have resented it. Come to think of it his attitude was good. He didn't get excited. If I got into it, I would have got excited."

Dr. Williams - "He contributed the most to the survey. He acted in a general supervisory capacity. We might not have gone as far without him."

Mr. Lang - "Dave was a key figure in the set up. We would have had to take someone with his ability and knowledge. An outsider. No one in this county has the

ability. It had to be someone who knew the principles and outlines of surveys."

Miss Helm - "I think he did a great deal. If he hadn't gone out and made contacts, I don't know who could have. I don't think it could have been done without him. The time element was always there and when we felt we couldn't do it because we were busy, Dave was there to bridge the gap."

All these people had met Stanton through the Health Council during the year of 1951.

In final analysis of Stanton's role in the survey and the county as a whole, it is significant to observe the reflection he held towards his own position. He said, "a conscientious consultant who made errors in this first experience as an advisor to a health survey group, but who, in the main, did a good job in a county not readily accepting such new ideas as a health survey. He was irked at times by Helm, Matt, Hoover, the Eden group, but does not think this seriously hampered his efforts on the survey."

Mr. Lang - County Health Department Sanitarian

The Sanitarian has held his office in the county for the last five years. It is his conviction that the public must be educated in the functions of public health in order for the county health unit to make it self secure.

He is interested in publicizing the activities of the Health Department more than has been done in the past. He feels that the only way for the Health Department to become an established part of the county machinery is the education of the people as to what they do. This, he feels, means

"advertising in such a way that the people are made constantly aware of what the unit does and can do."

As a member of the Health Department he is sensitive to the criticism that exists in various parts of the county towards this service. Since the Health Department has always had powerful critics, much of his interest in public education is aimed in this direction.

In many areas of the county, especially rural, Mr. Lang is referred to by some as the "shit-house engineer". Some people felt that his job which is along sanitation lines has been neglected badly. They point to individual family shacks where people live in filth and in one recreation area they point to the sewage that is contaminating a lake where children swim. His answer to these criticisms appears to be concerned with problems of jurisdiction. He said, "The Health Department cannot force a family to clean up their property unless it has been proven without a doubt through court action that they are a public menace. Since none of the complaintants are usually willing to go to court, the Health Department is powerless." In the lake question, the Health Department has been trying for the last few years to find a sample of contaminated water. Even though sewage was observed the water still tested pure and this prevented the Health Department from condemning the area.

Criticisms of this sort have made him and other members of the Health Department cautious in their dealings with the

public. It is largely this position that has modified his activity on the Health Council and in the survey. Fearing that the opposition towards the Health Department might reflect on the survey, the members of this unit tried to play a minor part. According to Lang, "The Health Department should have kept out of the survey. If we had really entered our opposition would have hopped on it. This was for the people and by the people."

In speaking of his interest in the survey, he said, "We must have a clean and good county to keep progressive. The survey may help achieve this."

Lang appears to operate well with the nurses' division under Miss Helm but has indicated that her personality made it difficult to gain cooperation from other agencies, particularly through the office of County School Superintendent. He feels that he gets along well with other groups in the county and thinks it is only a matter of time before the unit becomes better established.

The reflections of others toward him are included in the following comments:

Miss Field - "Mr. Lang was very helpful. He set up the sanitation questions for the questionnaire. He has also spent a great deal of time running off the minutes of Health Council meetings on the mimeograph machine at the Health Department." She has known him since he came to the county through professional lines.

Mr. Dall - "Charlie has had the same deterring influence that bothers Miss Helm. He has added information and "know how" in sanitation for the needs of the survey. His action in connection with the program has been limited.

Like Hoover, when you get him working it's worth something, if you can get him working." He has known Lang through his sanitation work in rural areas.

Mrs. Nixon - "He knows what he is talking about. With Miss Helm he has held the County Health Department together. He supplied questions for the survey and knew why he wanted information and how to get it. I wonder if he'll ever get it (the health information)?" She has known him through her connection with the Health Department since he has been in the county.

Dr. Bane - "I met him at the Health Council meetings. I don't know what he has done on the survey."

Mr. Hoover - "I think he did what he could. He has cooperated 100% with the schools. With us the Health Department is Mr. Lang. He has helped us get better facilities, such as running water, heating, etc. If someone had designated Mr. Lang to spearhead the survey, he would have done it."

Dr. Williams - "I met Mr. Lang through the Health Council. I don't know anything about his activities."

Miss Helm - "He deserves a great deal of credit for the interest he showed from the beginning. He gave professional help and interpretation. Without him there would not have been any minutes for the Health Council meetings. He is a very civic minded person." She has known him through the Department since he has been in the county.

It would appear that although somewhat limited in his activity with the survey, for which he gave definite reasons, Lang gave to the survey as much time as many of the others. As in the case of these others his lack of participation had to be explained.

Miss Helm - Supervising Nurse of the County Health Department

This actor was President of the District Nurses Association at the time of the survey, a professional in the Health Department, and a member of the Health Council. She recently

became a member of the Health Council for the purpose of helping and giving advice on the survey.

Miss Helm has already been discussed to some extent when mentioning the "Mohawk conflict" with the Health Department. Although much of the trouble has resulted from a different philosophy of health shared by Miss Helm and Miss Field, other evidence makes it clear that many people find her difficult to get along with. This is, of course, somewhat true of Miss Field. It would seem that both of these women have characteristics which aid in leadership but are competitive by nature.

Miss Helm had not been a member of the Health Council and had only attended meetings after the survey started. The reason for this lack of attendance had been the concern of the Health Department in not having the Health Council over-represented by this unit. From the beginning the Health Director who organized it and the Sanitarian were the ones who represented the unit. She had always felt that the Health Department was the parent of the Health Council and, although guidance and help should be given, interference should be avoided. Another reason Miss Helm gave, concerned memberships. She felt that there were enough nurses represented at the meetings.

Miss Helm has been in the county for about five or six years. She was hired as Supervising Nurse at the time the Health Department was founded. Dr. Harris, president of

Central City College, who had been active in getting the health unit accepted, was responsible for her appointment. He had known her as a friend and able nurse for many years before and through his suggestion she came to Independence county. Since this time there have been three Health Directors and during the times when the unit has been without one, she had to run the Department herself.

The following comments reveal imagery of others towards her:

Miss Field - "I have known her for ten years. I knew her briefly in Washtenaw County through the Red Cross Home Nursing Institute. Her part in the survey has been rather small. She had attended meetings and offered some suggestions. She has been busy with other things."

Mr. Dall - "She has done good work in meetings and in calling attention to objectives of the survey. Her fear of criticism was a deterrent factor, otherwise she could have been more useful. I have known her for six years through professional lines."

Mrs. Dixon - "I've always liked her. Everyone likes her. I didn't know there was feeling about the Health Department that was negative but apparently there is. They have been consulted by the Health Council and then ignored. Miss Helm tried to get some questions in to the questionnaire and they were ignored at one meeting. I met her when she first came to the county. She worked with the schools then."

Mrs. Matt - "I hear quite a bit about her. She is active in the health of the county. As for the survey I don't think she has been active."

Dr. Bane - "I don't know much about her concerning the survey. She has been one of my patients and I know her that way."

Mr. Hoover - "I don't know what she has done on the survey. I have known her through the Health Department for the last five years."

Dr. Williams - "I have known her for the last three or four years. She helped me with the Well Baby Clinic in May Township. She has a tendency to be pessimistic about things more than others. I don't know what she has done on the survey."

Mr. Stanton - "A conscientious public health nurse supervisor who has worked hard on her health concerns and measures most of her acceptance of other health programs in terms of how it will aid or bother her regular health program. She doesn't seem to know much about how to win friends and influence people." He met her during the early part of 1951.

Mr. Lang - "She didn't contribute much of anything to the survey. I have known her informally since I have been here. She is a hard person to get along with."

As in the case of the Sanitarian, her part was limited by the belief that existing opposition toward the Health Department might result in the failure of the survey if the members of this organization became too active in the survey.

She said, in reference to her own interest in the survey, "As a professional person, I became interested in this survey. In public health our primary purpose is teaching health and organizing communities and then getting health action. We are interested in having people find out what their problems are and have them do something about it. The objectives of the survey, then, were the same ones as the Health Department."

SUMMARY

This chapter has been concerned with an analysis of the actors on the County Level. The relationships that existed between major actors on the County Level prior to the health survey were of a formal and professional nature. These relationships were not extensive prior to the survey. However,

certain other relationships developed out of the survey which may serve to bring together still other active people who are interested in health and health problems of Independence County.

Those who participated in the County Level activities did so for a variety of reasons most of which were associated with their own professional interests. As might be expected, certain actors were considered as of greater importance to the development of the survey than others.

Three facts, however, stand out as of greatest importance. First of all, the actors in the initiating set were enabled to act as they did because of certain positions which they held in the existing social structure. Second, the nature of certain positions provided additional strength while that of others provided fewer resources and sometimes certain obstacles, but all were utilized and became essential to the initiation of action. Finally, and perhaps most important of all, the nature of the positions occupied by members of the initiating set in other organizations served to relate tangentially to the survey a number of major county groups.

It will now become necessary to analyze the sentiments expressed by actors in this chapter which provide an understanding of these relationships and therefore allow for an analysis of the structure itself.

CHAPTER VIII

AN ANALYSIS OF SENTIMENTS EXPRESSED BY ACTORS ON THE COUNTY LEVEL

In the last chapter an attempt was made to describe the prevailing sentiments expressed by actors on the County Level. These sentiments were expressed in the form of justification for involvement and imagery held toward one another. Although the latter pattern of sentiments, concerned with imagery, is important to the understanding of each actor's total position in the system, most important is the pattern of sentiments displaying the manifest reasons for involvement.

The involvement process explains the nature and intent of the actor regarding the part he played in the social system. Since this process can be understood in terms of the sentiments he manifests, an analysis of such a pattern of sentiments reveals the qualitative conditions of relationship that exist between the actor and the goals he seeks and the significance of such relationships. Similarities and differences between sentiments shared by actors become apparent, just as in the case of sentiments displayed within the relevant structures. It now becomes evident that such similarities and differences do not occur by chance within either the relative structure or social system but are the result of the process of emergence that calls upon a body of sentiments relative

to the cultural system. If emergence itself is dependent upon chance, such chance must be equated with the unique conditions related to the chronological process of historical development. Why a particular culture emerged at a particular time is not as important to the problem at hand as is how a particular pattern of sentiments emerged or converged within a particular social system.

The similarities and differences found expressed in terms of sentiments displaying involvement will be analyzed in terms of the relevant structure and the cultural system. Later an analysis will be made of the Local Level on the basis of organizational units. At such a time a consideration of the total body of sentiments will be made in order to assess the nature of structural continuity found in the continuing process of a self survey of health.

AN ANALYSIS OF SENTIMENTS EXPRESSED

In analyzing the sentiments expressed in the previous chapter, it is necessary to state once again that the content of such sentiments is concerned with health since the nature of the problem is focused upon this phenomenon. Very shortly it will become necessary to discuss what typologies may be constructed as health sentiments are expressed by actors.

Of the eleven actors on the County Level, it was found that, although not all mentioned education in terms related to involvement, all but one shared agreement in the belief that the "people should be educated in public health". This was

the statement of a formal project commitment and therefore underlies all activity that occurred. It appears to be the one area of total agreement and provides for an integration and continuity of sentiments. It is necessary to examine how such an agreement was possible when there were so many other sentiments which conflicted and found little common meaning among the actors.

There are two areas to be examined carefully; one education and the other public health. It may be stated at this point (in the light of previous chapters) that although all agreed to the above statement of involvement, in reality, many differed as to their belief in the content of sentiments expressed in the last part of the statement (that part which manifests public health as a goal). The disagreement found in this particular area of thinking leads one to question - Upon what did they agree? This question can only be answered in terms of the education process itself and in the general belief of good health.

SENTIMENTS EXPRESSED CONCERNING EDUCATION

In the chapter on Emerging Sentiments in Education, it was pointed out that the very notion of public education for all was tightly interwoven in the fabric of Jeffersonian thought and preserved through the years as a manifestation of the importance of individualism. An educated citizenry illustrated and preserved the belief in the individual. Although such a process led fundamentally to amalgamating the individual

into a society, its offering to the total population displayed the notion that each individual had the capacity to offer something of value to his particular society.

The notion that change was inevitable and that progress was a persistent and prevailing quantity in the American society led to the acceptance of the belief that education, although a means to an end (the end being an enlightened society), was an end in itself since it established and reified the sacred nature of the individual.

There is little doubt that the actors within this system did not share this common belief. Whether they differed in their beliefs of individualism or collectivism, they could hardly disagree with the sacred quality of individualism itself. Education was, then, something intrinsically good. If this were not enough, the relevant structures from which the major actors came supported such ideologies. The three actors who verbalized their reasons for survey activity along the lines of educating the people were the Health Director, Sanitarian, and School Superintendent. The two Health Department professionals shared with each other the belief that a public health program was dependent upon an enlightened citizenry to be successful and effective.

The County Superintendent's entire program was based upon the belief in education. It is interesting that his expression of education as a process which must extend beyond the classroom adds to the total belief that education is

dedicated to all and that it must continue through the entire life of an individual.

Although not verbalizing education in particular, the County Agricultural Agent suggested that the importance of such a project was in the possible action that might evolve from an inventory of health. Here, he demonstrated the general theme of thinking manifested in the extension program. People must become aware of their own problems and then appeal to experts for aid. Education, then, in the extension sense, springs from the people themselves. Since extension grew out of such a demand (a demand related to the need for a wide spread adult education program), it is not unusual that such sentiments were expressed by the major actors in this organization.

The Extension Health Specialist, although found in the same system as the Agricultural Agent, was more organizationally minded. It was important from his standpoint that a successful program in health be carried out and, although he was sensitive to the demands of the people, he was equally concerned that his ideas be accepted. If these people should have failed to accept him as a consultant, he could have hardly claimed credit for his activity in such a program. As a specialist he was therefore interested in educating the people but less concerned with their notions of what that education process consisted. That he functioned successfully was largely because of his willingness to accept the general sentiments of

the people, even when they conflicted with his own. This was best displayed by the fact that he worked, in effect, as a member of the County Agent's staff while in actuality such an involvement was not to the best interests of his specialist role.

Both Mrs. Dixon and Miss Field of Mohawk believed in and were concerned with the notion of public education but their interests were oriented most specifically to community problems. The actors, previously mentioned, viewed the program from the standpoint of the total county. These two actors were concerned with the county but a county made up of individual communities. Both had experienced effective community action in their own city and worked from this frame of reference.

The two physicians both verbalized their belief in the program but it was evident on the part of the Medical Society president that the final source of knowledge was to be found in the medical group. It was his belief that once a survey had been completed the physician should interpret the facts and this would lead to the education of the people. His doubt in the results of the survey indicated an interesting denial in his beliefs related to the individual. Although accepting individual action toward the solution of health problems, he nevertheless was doubtful as to the individual's ability.

Dr. Williams appeared to be more concerned with future planning than did Bane but then, his past experience had shown

that although finding certain aspects of public health distasteful, he had been cooperative with the health unit in the county. Neither of these two actors would have favored a program in public education that excluded the physicians as the final judges in the health educational process. They were, therefore, more greatly concerned with the content of the process than the process itself.

Mrs. Hatt of the Grange was observed as a rather peripheral member of the survey system and remained in a position of opposition. Not opposed to education she felt deeply opposed to the content of the project. This opposition was to be manifested by her extreme sentiments towards health related to individualism.

SENTIMENTS EXPRESSED CONCERNING HEALTH

It has already been mentioned that there was a general agreement on the part of all that good health was a desirable goal of the proposed action. Since good health was to be defined in the area of public health and therefore viewed in terms of preventive medicine, certain dimensions related to sentiments concerning health must now be considered. In the chapter on Emerging Sentiments in Health it was shown that much of the resistance that occurs in public health movements results from the fact that sentiments expressed in such movements frequently conflict with the general themes of individualism which are dominant in the American Culture. An emergence of such conflicting sentiments occurred within the

social system under analysis. Such an emergence explains the general area of disagreement that occurred on the County Level. This disagreement was confined to the content of the education process; that concerned with public health. Although, in terms of the sentiments expressing the reasons behind involvement, it is not readily apparent that there were any conflicting sentiments, an appraisal of the sentiments shared by actors in terms of the relevant structures immediately suggests areas of serious disagreement. First of all it is necessary to view the sentiments which express involvement from the standpoint of health.

The response given to the question of "why did you participate in the survey project and show an interest in its objectives?" resulted in the classification of sentiments which is shown in Table IX. These sentiments were expressed previously in describing the County Level but for the purpose of analysis will be listed at this time.

The reasons given by actors for their involvement suggest agreement and little conflict. All these reasons for involvement would suggest a commonality of purpose. When we view the sentiments shared by the actors in regard to the organization of which they belong, this commonality is less apparent.

Perhaps the best way to proceed in terms of analysis is, then, to set up a typology of public health interest.

TABLE IX
REASONS GIVEN FOR INVOLVEMENT
IN THE SURVEY BY THE COUNTY LEVEL ACTORS

Specific Reason	Selections*
Educating people	4
Community or county improvement	4
Good health as important	2
Working on future programs concerned with health	2
Strengthen Health Department	2
To encourage individual action toward health	1
Past experience	1
Part of my job or responsibility	1

*Some selections were made by the same person, i.e., an actor might have expressed more than one reason for involvement. Also actors shared reasons for involvement that they did not express when asked in terms of the informal interviewing made by the field worker. Through observation over a two year period it became apparent that certain actors shared sentiments that were not expressed during the time the data were collected. Operationally this explains the tremendous emphasis upon the relevant structure throughout this analysis and the previous chapters.

Such a typology will be considered in respect to "constructed types"¹ and the health interests which are mentioned within this dissertation will not be considered as exhausting the possible alternatives of such types. It has been stated that

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1. For a more detailed discussion of the constructed type see: Howard Becker, Through Values To Social Interpretation, Chapter II, Purnam, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1950.

all shared the belief in good health and all manifested concern and interest in a program which was dedicated to goals found within public health. Whatever interests occurred, the center of attention was focused upon public health and the implicit belief in public health action.

In the chapter on Emerging Sentiments in Health, it was stated that all public health programs carry with them the condition of restraint and control. Since public health is ultimately concerned with preventive medicine, it is dependent upon some measure of control in order to achieve its objectives. What type of control, then, is exercised over the people to realize such objectives? In answering this question the following typologies may be set up since it is the type of control exercised that marks the type of public health interest. It is also to be found that such interests in relation to control are inextricably interwoven into the fabric of American individualism. Control must be understood in the sense of any type of constraint, i.e., coercion itself is not the only type of control that might be manifested. Control may be viewed in terms of the manipulation of educational goals or direction of programing. In this sense the following analysis will suggest three basic types of public health interest: The Federated Type, The Community Type, and the Individual Type.

FEDERATED PUBLIC HEALTH INTERESTS

This type of health interest is oriented to beliefs in central control and bureaucratic structure. It is the essence of this type that specialists, administrators, and all person-

nel are carefully organized under one central planning unit. This type, when manifested as a concrete program of action, cannot tolerate local units which operate autonomously within the same framework of action. All policy decisions must, then, be ultimately dependent upon a central source and some hierarchy is necessary in the total organizational structure.

Although sentiments concerning health become necessary and worthwhile objectives, equally important are sentiments concerned with organizational procedure. In terms of active projects, the total program becomes more important than any one problem or set of problems. Any community action that might be viewed as important to the welfare of the people, if not oriented to the total program of a specific federated organization, will be considered a threat by its personnel.

Organizations which best represent such a typology of interests are the Public Health Service and the Red Cross. These organizations are so structured that the various attributes mentioned in the above typology present the core of the total structure. Since programs of education, planning, and action initiated by the Health Department are first of all subject to high level approval and in the end must depend upon collective response from the people, this program becomes ordered in such a way that the individual becomes obscured in the total picture of action. Action programs of this sort open themselves to criticism because of "red tape", "lack of emotion", "meaningless activity", etc. Both the Health Department and the National Red Cross have found constant

opposition and difficulty from these conditions. All other programs of public health interest which are organized on a large national basis and are found within this typology share similar problems. Failure to preserve many of the dominant sentiments attached to individualism often presents such programs in an unfavorable light. It often becomes necessary for organizations of this type to carry on intensive programs of publicity in order to make objectives and goals more personal and meaningful.

LOCAL OR COMMUNITY HEALTH INTERESTS

This typology is centered around the concept of local autonomy. Groups which fall within this type express strong beliefs in the betterment of health within a given territorial unit. Beliefs in action programs are controlled largely by a rationale that, inherent in these units, are to be found individuals who are capable of performing in such a way that health action is undertaken and achieved with the minimum of assistance from the "outside". Health betterment, as expressed by this type, may often be held secondary to the beliefs and sentiments which express feelings of local autonomy.

It is within the community that individualism has been preserved. An ideology embracing individualism could hardly survive in the modern complex world without some moderation in a collectivistic sense. Complete anarchy, since it cannot be achieved, must be substituted by collectivistic action. It is within the community that the individual may still

maintain his identity and feel comparatively free from unreasonable constraint. The history of American population growth has been marked by the attempt on the part of the people to maintain the autonomy of the small political units. Thus in many cases governmental bodies found on the township and county level, although obsolete, are held to jealously by the people since they interpret such governmental bodies as a guarantee of their rights as individuals.

Community health action programs fall into this classification. They are often expressed by the organizations within a community which are attempting to solve health problems or prevent them. These programs are usually dependent upon crisis situations or general feelings of need. When such conditions exist they are characterized by a feeling that immediate action is necessary. Organizations of this type may often cooperate with groups found in the federated type but they clash with these groups when outside power attempts to control any program or slows up the procedure of the proposed action even though it may be necessary to the eventual success of the given objectives. The important element to be found in this group is the belief in community action since, within the community, individual rights are more apt to be protected and problems solved more swiftly.

INDIVIDUAL PUBLIC HEALTH INTEREST

This typology by title appears to be logically impossible and yet it is this very condition that distinguishes this

type from the others and provides for the peculiar notions related to public health. The Individual Type is usually expressed in terms of individual achievement. Individuals who fall into this type recognize health problems but believe in the inherent ability of the individual to solve his own problems. Recognition of cooperative effort is often displayed but the right of any individual to decide or act differently from what the group to which he belongs decides is frequently manifested. Interests of this type often coincide with and are compatible with community interests although for the reasons already stated they may conflict at any time. Individual interests can never tolerate a central control which takes from the individual the right to make decisions. If they recognize the need for control over individuals, it must be limited and on the local level.

The groups and individuals found within this type represent the manifestation of individualism in American Society and in an extreme sense are manifested by the "rugged individualist" but significant to the problem at hand, people found within the type may be deeply concerned with public health problems and in this sense differ from those apathetic to any action related to public health. This type is often represented by opposition in health action programs but only in the sense that it shares a different set of means to the achievement of the common goals within these programs.

SENTIMENTS CLASSIFIED IN HEALTH INTEREST TYPOLOGIES

Of the actors on the County Level, those who could be considered as manifesting sentiments common to the federated type were the Health Department professionals and to some degree the Extension personnel. The first three actors, believing that an adequate program in public health must be centered around Health Department action, were far more concerned in long range action programs, which through planning and careful organization, could lead to a county adequately protected against public health problems. The Extension actors were also concerned with long range programs and viewed as a necessity careful organizational development. These actors, however, were equally concerned with the problem definitions of the people and were less susceptible to any higher level decisions which might or might not have coincided with what was considered to be an immediate problem by the people. Both groups were bureaucratically minded and even though the latter gained its force of activity from the people it was concerned with a hierarchy of professional specialists. Such groups transcend the community concept and believe that it is necessary to utilize outside sources for information and aid. It is largely for this reason that an outside consultant played an important and dominant role in the survey and continued to take part in the activity.

The actors, then, who were involved in the health survey for reasons most common to the federated type were those

found in these two organizations. These actors were: Dr. Berry, Miss Helm, Mr. Lang, Mr. Fall, and Mr. Stanton.

Those who manifested sentiments common to the community type were those who had been active in community programs in the past and had achieved some success through these programs. These actors were Miss Field and Mrs. Dixon. Miss Field had been connected with the community hospital in Mohawk and had learned that many effective programs related to health could be accomplished by utilizing community resources. The hospital operated as a focus of many community health programs and therefore she had often been a part of such activities. Mrs. Dixon, who had been an active leader in one health program in the community, had also been actively engaged in other projects of community importance. Most significant was her position on the Community Chest and her chairmanship of the Health and Education Committee which was set up for the purpose of handling welfare cases related to health problems. In most cases these two actors shared similar goals with those found in the federated type, and in the case of Mrs. Dixon there was a growing interest in the public health movement on her part. Nevertheless both were concerned from the standpoint of their own community and such a concern was dominant in their thinking and behavior within the survey system.

The two physicians represent the second type in a modified sense. The interests of the physicians in this health activity were marked by feelings of anxiety related to interference from the "outside". The physicians represented the

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The two physicians represent the second type in a modified sense. The interests of the physicians in this health activity were marked by feelings of anxiety related to interference from the "outside". The physicians represented the

second type because they viewed the medical group within an area as part of the community resources but their belief in the sanctity of the roles played by physician and patient emphasized their adherence to the control of health problems through individual-patient relationships. Such an emphasis, although it did not call upon pure individual interpretation, was dependent upon sentiments expressed in individualism and denied any controls or restraints that might interfere with it. The physicians, then, were community oriented, operated within the community framework but frequently expressed sentiments reinforcing interests of the last type, the individual type.

This last type was represented by Mrs. Hatt, the representative from the Grange. Since she provided so much opposition to the project, a question might be raised as to whether she was interested in public health at all. However, when interviewed, she showed considerable interest in community health but was skeptical of the decisions made by county personnel and those from various communities in the county. To an extent, sentiments which manifested rural-urban differences explained much of her opposition, but such opposition was usually verbalized in terms of beliefs related to the individual and his ability to solve his own problems, a belief which dominated over any other possible interests in community welfare.

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG THE COUNTY LEVEL ACTORS

Imagery manifested by actors indicated that they viewed each other in terms of professional relationships. Only two had been friends and this friendship was not a close one.

For the most part, any contacts that the major actors had with each other previous to the survey were on a professional level. In some cases they were involved through the overlapping services of the organizations for which they were working or because of their particular position or membership in the Health Council. All but two members of the initiating set were professionals whose jobs or professions in some way coincided with the objectives of the survey. The two members who were lay people were involved through organizations which had certain stated health objectives. One of these, by virtue of her position in her organization, was induced to accept responsibility in the survey even though she did not fully accept the justification for the survey.

Although related by professional interests, most members of the County Level or initiating set had little contact with each other in everyday affairs. The doctors were specialists, each of a different kind. The nurses were separated by certain differences in philosophy about public health which, in turn, was related to differences in their positions within the relevant structure. The agricultural extension services provided a common basis for relationships between two members of the initiating set, but prior to the survey, they had not

met nor were their specific extension jobs similar. The two Health Department members, excluding the Director who left the county, shared a common philosophy and worked together in the same organization. Thus, there was, for them, a prior established relationship which mutually reinforced their participation in the survey. Even so, they differed in specific interests, the nature of the responsibilities assigned to them in the health unit, and professional training.

The ages of the members of the initiating set ranged from 35 to 55 years of age. Five of them were under forty and all were men. The others were forty and over. Every man who became involved had some professional objective which supported and justified his involvement.

Of all the actors of the initiating set, only two had been friends prior to the survey. It is of interest to note that the relationships among members of the initiating set did not change greatly during the course of the survey. There was little stress developed among them and, on the other hand, few became better acquainted personally as a result of their relationships in the system. This is not hard to account for when it is considered that practically all the interaction that occurred among them was small group meetings where the survey was discussed and planned. Since, during the period of over a year, only about twelve such meetings occurred, the amount of interaction was not great, although, of course, it exceeded that which had occurred prior to the survey. Since

few members attended meetings, there was even less observable interaction than was theoretically possible. A few contacts were made outside of these meetings but, for the most part, these were by telephone or letter and had to do directly with the survey business.

Although little could be observed of a developing sense of close relationships among members of the initiating set, there was apparent, as the survey progressed, a growing esprit de corps. That is, the group developed certain common sentiments which they shared as part of their working together to attain a common objective. With the completion of the survey in a large part of the county, there was also developed a feeling of pride of accomplishment.

In two respects, however, relationships among members of the initiating set underwent considerable change as the survey developed. This came about, first, through the growing interest and concern of the doctors, who belonged to the County Level group, with the execution of the survey and the tabulation and interpretation of the survey findings. At first, these people were included because of their strong position in the social structure of the county and their ability to obtain certain sanctions for the survey. But as they became active in the initiating set, they became more and more interested in goals which lay beyond the immediate task of completing the survey. Hence, they began to assume leadership with respect to both problems of completing the

survey in areas where it had not yet been successful and in arriving at a solution to problems concerning the analysis, publication, and use of the survey findings.

In the case of the County School Superintendent, it was noted that original imagery suggested that most actors felt he had played a minor if not ineffectual part in the survey. With the activation of Central City through his efforts, respect for his ability and strength in the relevant structure grew to such an extent that this actor rivaled the physicians in leadership. His final election to the presidency of the Health Council gave him an important and prominent position in the system. It is interesting to note that leadership of the initiating set had been originally in the hands of women but with the development of the survey, male leadership became more apparent.

SUMMARY

It has been demonstrated in this chapter that sentiments expressed by actors on the County Level were not all shared in a totality of agreement. Those sentiments which appeared to converge in agreement were concerned with general sentiments of education and good health which find their meaning in terms of the relevant structure and cultural system.

Certain sentiments emerged over which there was considerable disagreement. This disagreement was expressed in the content of public health and public health interests. The source of disagreement could once again be traced to the

relevant structure and cultural system. This disagreement was expressed in three typologies of health interest: The Federated Type, The Community Type, The Individual Type. To what extent the variation in health interest effected the continuity of structural relationships will be considered at the end of this section.

Imagery expressed by actors revealed that most images reflected professional relationships. There were apparent changes occurring in the relationships that existed on the County Level and to the degree that these relationships effected imagery, it may be suggested that the sentiments in turn were effected and changed.

CHAPTER IX

THE LOCAL LEVEL

This chapter is, of course, dependent upon the previous chapters of Part III. The Local Level will be described in terms of organizational units since this level and the sentiments expressed within it are dependent upon the involvement process by which local actors became part of the social system. Since the County Level actors utilized pre-existing patterns of relationship within the local areas, it became evident that such patterns determined to a great degree the type of sentiments expressed.

As the self-survey developed on the county level, certain obstacles appeared which made difficult the flow of action from the county to the localities. Actors on the County Level represented county organizations and viewed the process of the survey in a particular way. Their interests in health were, however, not exactly the kind that could stimulate local leaders and people toward action. The primary difference concerned the justification for the health survey. The professional approach of the county leaders to the survey assumed that facts were needed for effective health planning, especially on a broad countywide basis. On the other hand, local people tend to view health in an action-curative framework, i.e., to take action on obvious health needs, and on any visible threats

to the good health of the community. Differences in health interest provided certain blocks to action.

It was necessary for the county group to utilize the already existing social relationships in various localities. These relationships provided the basis for involving people at the local level in such a way that the self-survey would result. Since interests in health varied, other appeals were used. These appeals aimed at sentiments associated with various beliefs about the locality, local organizations, the community, friendship, etc. Such appeals were rarely made directly. Rather, people were often asked to help without any direct verbal appeal.

The purpose of this chapter will be an analysis of the types of organizational developments that took place on the local level. Attention will be paid to events which served to activate certain sets of pre-existing relationships. These relationships will be analyzed in this chapter as well as the sentiments associated with them. These sentiments reveal the symbolic level of the involvement process.

As the organization committee on the county level was faced with the problem of activating all the township units in the area, it was necessary to establish some basic type of procedure for setting up the local survey committees.

At earlier Health Council meetings it was agreed that the best possible approach would be to contact a key person in each township and have this person call a meeting to

organize the representatives from the various school districts in the township. It was felt that the school districts would be more natural units of organization, especially as people were accustomed to working on community affairs through these units. This plan was considered more realistic than to have formal organizations in the various communities take over the responsibility. Parent Teacher Association organizations had been suggested, for instance, but when it was revealed that many rural areas did not have PTA's it was seen that such a plan was fairly unrealistic. It was felt, too, that if organizations were to do the job, they would not represent the majority of the people.

Plans at the April 26 meeting were set so that specific County Health Council representatives were given assignments to contact a key person in each local area who in turn would call a group of local people together. By this time, however, certain complications had been observed in the township plan of organization. For instance, wherever there were cities or good sized villages involved the question arose as to whether these units could work together with the township in which they were located. The only division between towns and townships finally decided upon were for Henry City, Mountain City, Mohawk, and Central City.¹ Wherever other villages were concerned, equal representation was planned for both the village

1. The latter two were not contacted for over a year following the April 26 meeting and thus were analyzed after the others.

and rural elements, but they were organized as single units.

As explicit as the plan was for utilizing the townships, the pattern of organization never entirely followed it. Even areas that began this way changed. One reason given for these changes concerned the confusion that would arise from this division, since school districts in some parts of the county overlapped state lines, county lines, and township lines.

On the other hand, another major factor in the difference in type of local organization was related to the county person making the local contact, representing the Health Council. For the most part, the contacts in the southern part of the county were made by the Extension Health Specialist and the County Agricultural Agent. The County Agent knew the people of this area quite well and, especially in the rural areas, had operational knowledge of the social structure. Most contacts made were names he suggested. These people in turn knew most of the other people in the township by school districts. As a result the local areas in which these men initiated the contact organized the survey largely around the local county school districts.

ORGANIZATIONAL TYPES

In analyzing the appeals made by organizers and the strategy they employed to mobilize interviewers, four distinct empirical types were derived.² These types are

2. For a discussion of analytical and empirical concepts see: Talcott Parsons, The Structure of Social Action, Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1950. p. 34.

empirical representations of the more constant elements of organization that were found within the county during the period of organizational activity. Each element is not contained within the type mentioned in an exhaustive sense but each type represents a configuration of elements around which specific activities took place. The following analysis, then, will be concerned with the organizational activities that took place and the elements of such activities.

TYPE I - THE TOWNSHIP - SCHOOL DISTRICT TYPE

This type was characterized by rural neighborhood or community groups. It was based upon geographic and political divisions common to this rural area.

1. An influential or key person of the township was contacted and the survey was explained to him.
2. He was asked if he would call a meeting of school district representatives, at which time the Extension Health Specialist and possibly some other representative of the Health Council would be present to explain the objectives of the survey and see whether these people would be willing to do the survey. He was sometimes given a list of people to contact, such as the school district directors.
3. A meeting was called of representatives from each school district to meet at some central location such as the township hall, a school house, or a grange hall.
4. At this meeting, the Extension Health Specialist presented the general plan of the health survey, giving the health implications. He then asked the school district representatives present whether or not they would accept the responsibility of seeing that the survey was completed in their areas. They were not necessarily asked to do the interviewing themselves, but to see that it was done in their school districts. If the group consented, a permanent chairman was appointed. This person was usually not the one who called the meeting.

5. Those who attended the meeting were told that when the survey project was ready for action they would be contacted by their new chairman for a training meeting on how to do the survey.
6. Later, when the survey was ready to move, the Extension Health Specialist contacted the various local chairmen and had them call training meetings. In many instances, these meetings were for more than one township.
7. At this meeting the objectives were repeated and questionnaires passed out. A training period then took place where the individuals present were instructed in the mechanics of interviewing.
8. Those not present at these meetings were later contacted by the chairman or a representative from the group and given the questionnaire forms. This person explained some of the training information and called attention to the instruction sheet.
9. The survey commenced at this point.

The Type just described generally represents the Type of organization that took place in nine of twenty-two townships which organized to do the survey. Figure III shows the general plan used by each of these townships.

TYPE II - ASSOCIATIONAL TYPE

The second type of local organization is called the Associational Type. In this, one or more formal organizations in a community accepted the responsibility for completing the survey in their community. In these communities, the sponsoring organizations were active and influential, and accustomed to carrying on community activities.

This type consists of the following elements and procedures:

1. The County Health Council representative contacted either one or several individuals who were members

Figure III

TYPE I - TOWNSHIP-SCHOOL DISTRICT TYPE

AT THE REQUEST OF SOME FORMAL OR INFORMAL SPONSORING GROUPS, A LOCAL INDIVIDUAL ACCEPTED RESPONSIBILITY FOR ORGANIZING THE SURVEY, AND USED LOCAL SCHOOL DISTRICT LINES OF ORGANIZATION (EITHER FORMAL, OR INFORMAL AS A NEIGHBORHOOD).

Two kinds of responsibility:

1. To call a decision making meeting.
2. To organize the survey.

Township	How contact was made from County Health Council	How decision was made for survey to be done	Who accepted responsibility to organize survey
Henry	Dall and Stanton	At meeting called by farmer	Woman school district representative (not school official)
Durham	Dall and Stanton	At meeting called by farmer, school district Director.	Woman school district official, Extension club representative
Central City	Dall and Stanton	At meeting called by farmer	Woman, unofficial school district representative, teacher
Current*	Dall and Stanton	At meeting called by Township Supervisor, farmer	Same man
Martin	Dall and Stanton	At meeting called by farmer	Woman school board member
Somer	Dall and Stanton	At meeting called by School District Director, farmer	At first, by man who called meeting. Later carried out by Extension Clubs.
Oxton	Hoover and Stanton	At meeting called by woman, wife of farmer	Same woman who called meeting

Figure III
(continued from page 244)

Township	How contact was made from County Health Council	How decision was made for survey to be done	Who accepted responsibility to organize survey
Remus	Dall and Stanton	At meeting called by young woman active in Grange, daughter of farmer.	Same woman who called meeting
May	Dall and Stanton	At meeting called by woman, Grange representative on County Health Council.	Same woman who called meeting
Pont	Dall and Stanton	At meeting called by woman school district secretary Extension Club leader. Decision made later.	Same woman who called meeting

* Survey not completed

of a certain organization. Here there was the belief that it would be better to work through this group rather than to try the school district lines. In some cases doing the survey project provided a means of strengthening an organization. After hearing the objectives of the survey, the representatives of the local organization agreed to bring it before the group for decision. In most cases the positions held by these people assured agreement from the club members since they were for the most part officers or leading members.

2. The survey idea was brought before the group and was officially accepted as a project for the organization.

3. The individuals originally contacted transmitted the decision to the Health Council Representative. In some cases the Extension Health Specialist met with the group and explained the objectives of the survey.
4. The organization representatives were told that they would be contacted when the survey was ready to begin at which time a training meeting would be held.
5. When the survey time was ready, the Extension Health Specialist arranged a date for the training meetings.
6. Training meetings were organized in the same manner as for the preceding type.
7. It was expected in this case that for the most part the organization's members would do the interviewing, so as many club members as possible were urged to attend. Those not present were contacted later, in the same manner as Type I.
8. The survey commenced shortly afterwards.

There were six local units represented by this Associational type of organization. Some details of these plans are shown in Figure IV.

TYPE III - THE INDIVIDUAL FRIENDSHIP-ACQUAINTANCESHIP TYPE OF ORGANIZATION

The third type utilized more personal lines of influence into the local community and was based upon more intimate relationships. Except for one instance in this Type, the Health Council representatives making the contact were both trained nurses, these being either the Health Council President or the Supervisor of Nurses for the County Health Department. It consists of the following elements:

1. The County Health Council representative contacted an individual in the township or town (often they were friends or acquaintances). This person, as with the other Types, usually had been suggested at the April 26 committee meeting described in an earlier chapter.

2. The survey was explained to this person, who then asked to help take the responsibility for getting the township or town surveyed.
3. After the individual had accepted the responsibility of organizing the area, he agreed to involve enough people to do the survey when it was ready to launch. Since in this type there had evidently been no emphasis on any organizational lines there appeared to be no need for the approval of anyone but the individual contacted. As a result no decision meetings were held.
4. At the time that the survey was ready to begin and sometimes earlier, the people who were thus contacted either acted as chairmen and obtained interviewers or involved a friend or acquaintance who agreed to take the organizing responsibility. The interviewers were recruited from the ranks of friends and acquaintances of the people already involved. In some cases they were also selected because of their location in the township, i.e., they had access to certain areas of the township through friends and acquaintances because of neighborhood ties.
5. These people were notified through the chairman that a training meeting would be held at a certain time. Those present received the same training as those in the preceding types. Those not present were contacted in the same manner as the preceding types.

There were six local units represented by this type of organization. See Figure V.

TYPE IV - THE URBAN-PRECINCT TYPE

This Type is found in only one instance, the county seat. It is in a sense a residual type since no other units were characterized by the same organizational elements. Although only represented by one local unit, this type is of considerable importance since it represents a typically urban organizational plan. Also it must be remembered that this unit contained over 180 interviewers.

Figure IV

TYPE II - ASSOCIATIONAL TYPE

Responsibility for conducting the local survey accepted by a local organization.

Town or Township	How contact was made from County Health Council	How decision was made for survey to be done	Who accepted responsibility to organize survey
Rockville Township	Contact made from local Grange to County Health Council.	At Township Grange meeting.	Rockville Township Grange.
Mountain City	County Health Dept. Supervisor of Nurses to wife of local physician	At meeting of several womens' clubs called by physician's wife	Child Study Club.
Fielding Township	County Agent and Extension Health Specialist	At meeting called by Extension Club Pres., wife of county official. All in attendance were Extension Club women except one who was an influential woman in one local area	Extension Clubs except for one local area, organized by one woman.
Camden Township	County School Sup't to local Sup't., followed by Extension Health Specialist	Local school Sup't made decision to accept responsibility.	School Sup't. took responsibility. Used PTA and other school and community minded people. Made contacts as individuals, not as organizations.
Dearborn Township	Contact made to local school Sup't from: a. Co. Health Dept. & b. Co. School Sup't	Decision made at PTA meeting	PTA organization
Mohawk	Co-chairman of Health Council Survey Committee. Leading member of town.	Decision made at separate club meetings	Service clubs of Mohawk

Figure V

TYPE III - INDIVIDUAL FRIENDSHIP - ACQUAINTANCESHIP TYPE

One individual accepted responsibility for getting local survey done; used friendship and acquaintanceship lines of organization.

Town or Township	How contact was made from County Health Council	How decision was made for local survey to be done	Who accepted responsibility to organize survey
Henry City	The local Health Association, which has been assisted by the Health Department Sup't. of Nurses, sent rep. to Health Council.	At community meeting called by woman who attended County Health Council meeting. She, a Catholic, also involved a Protestant minister to call meeting.	Two people who called original meeting.
Woodley Township*	Rockville Grange Master.	By farmer originally contacted.	By same individual.
Flynn Township	Health Council President.	By trained nurse living in community, wife of farmer.	By same individual.
Clifton Township	Mrs. Dixon and Health Council President.	Made by influential wife of local physician, also representative to County Health Council.	By same individual. Became ill, delegated to another woman.
Mason Township*	Health Council President.	By wife of township supervisor.	By same individual who did half of interviewing, and obtained assistance of another woman to do the other half.
Clark Township	Health Council President.		

* Survey not completed.

This type consists of the following elements:

1. The form of contact initially made was through the educational channels of the Central City community. The County School Superintendent, acquainted with women active in the PTA groups throughout the city, was able to receive the support of two civically active mothers of school children who agreed to organize the community in the most effective manner known to them.
2. Aware that most large scale social activities were carried on by organized campaigns, localized by political precinct divisions, they contacted by telephone women who were willing to take on the responsibility of organizing their own precinct for the survey project.
3. Contacts as a rule were made by either strangers or casual acquaintances.
4. Responsibility was accepted individually as a matter of civic obligation.
5. One-third of the interviewers were trained at a meeting in the County Court House located in Central City. Many were not trained, however, and worked from written instructions or suggestions made by the precinct chairmen.
6. The survey commenced shortly after the training meeting.

The emphasis for the four Types just mentioned was on organization and the means of involvement. There are differences, however, in the areas of decision-making and acceptance of responsibility.³ In the first Type, decision-making was a group and community matter. The people present at these

3. For a detailed analysis of the "decision-making process" see: Paul A. Miller, "A Comparative Analysis of the Decision-Making Process With Community Organization Toward Major Health Goals", Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State College, 1953.

meetings were made aware of a choice they had and also of the fact that they represented the people in their school district. Therefore a decision made by them must include others who might be involved by the survey.

The second Type, although geared to group decision, left less up to the individual as far as decision and responsibility were concerned. The individuals originally contacted usually were influential enough in their organizations to be able to depend on their decisions being upheld by the group. In so influencing his group, this officer, at the same time, was also committing himself to major responsibility and to giving his own time to working on the health survey. Also, the various groups contacted were organized for certain service goals embodied in their charters. These, for all practical purposes, committed the members to work on any project of this nature, once it had been made an approved project of this organization.

The third Type was dependent upon the decision of only the one individual contacted. A friend or acquaintance could refuse to help but could hardly, in a collective way, either provide opposition or accept responsibility for what happened in the survey.

Although Type four corresponds to Type three in the elements of organization, that is, people that were contacted accepted individual responsibility for the completion of the survey, it nevertheless differed considerably in the nature

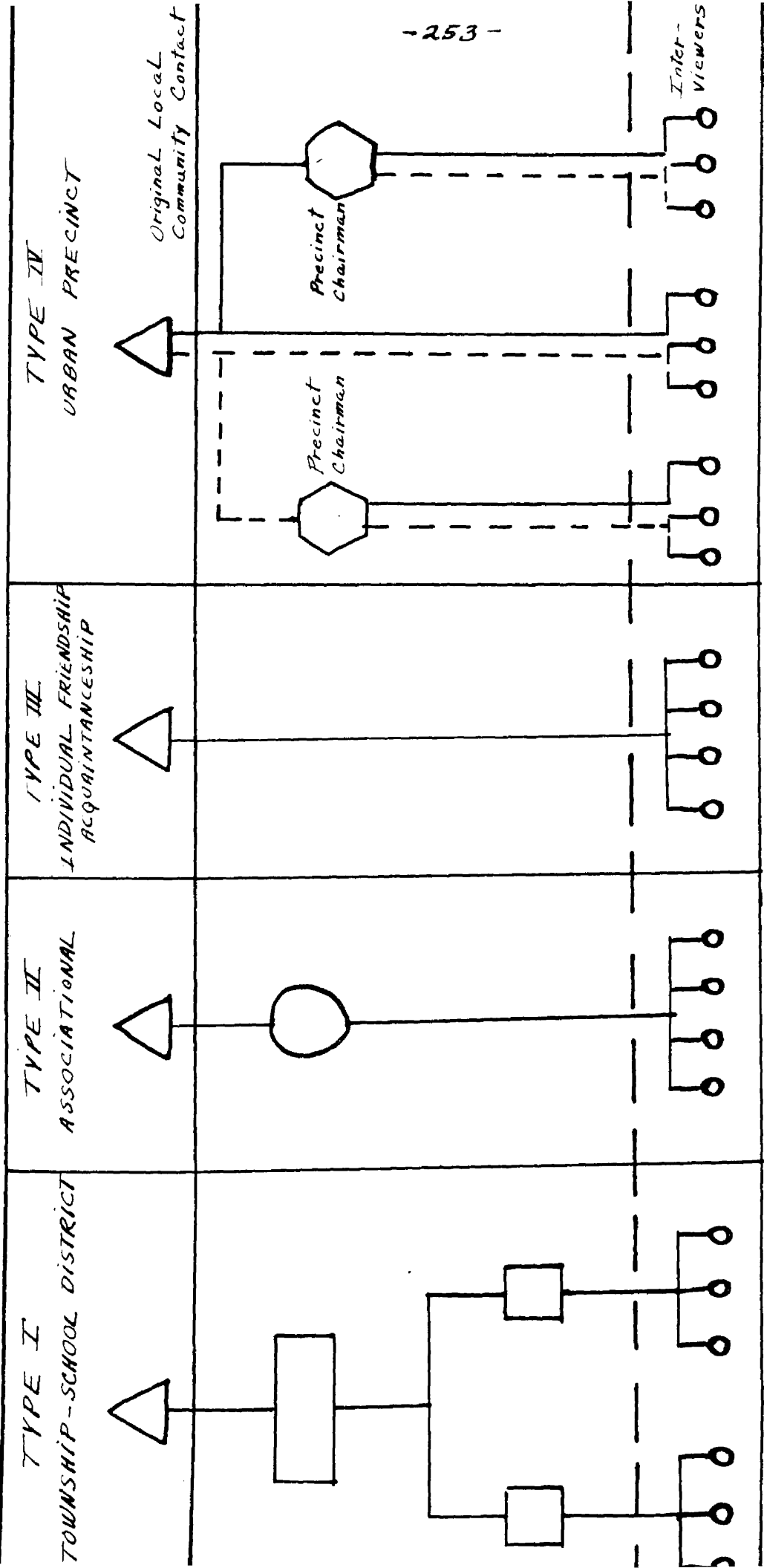
of obligation. Since this group was made up of people who were mostly either mere acquaintances or strangers, the patterns of obligation were more directed toward personal reasons or community loyalty. The content of relationship within this group was more typically urban than the other rural and village groups.

Figure VI demonstrates by diagram the four empirical types of organization that have been described in this chapter.

SENTIMENTS OF INVOLVEMENT

The empirical typologies, just presented, have been structured from the elements of organization that occurred on the Local Level. When examining the sentiments concerned with involvement of the local actors it would be hypothesized that such sentiments would correspond to the types of organization in which they were found. This is borne out by the following analysis of involvement patterns. In a cross tabulation of sentiments the χ^2 test showed a relationship that was significant at the one-tenth of one percent level (See Table X).

In Type I, the Township-School District Type, participants indicated loyalty or obligation to their community as being most important while loyalty or obligation to a friend, relative, or neighbor rated second. It may be explained that since the Type I was organized around lines of relationship in the rural neighborhood and since the rural school



○ Indicates that a formal organization was used. (PTA, Child Study Club, etc.)

□ Indicates that a formal office was used. (Local School District Director, etc.)

— Solid line indicates that friendship or acquaintanceship lines were used.

- - - Broken line indicates that contact was made to strangers.

FIGURE VI

THE FOUR TYPES OF LOCAL COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

district is a familiar political and community demarcation in such areas, sentiments which evoked obligation towards community and friends would be expected to rate highest.

In Type II, the Associational Type, the most frequently mentioned reason for participation was loyalty to an organization, with loyalty to a person in second place. With involvement of service organizations whose charters committed members to community activity, it was natural that the major reasons for participation would center around this type of obligation.

In Type III, the Acquaintanceship-Friendship Type, most of the participants mentioned loyalty to a friend which would be expected since the personal lines of relationship were used to involve people.

In Type IV, the Urban-Precinct Type, the most frequent reason given was obligation to the community and second, obligation to a friend, relative, or neighbor. This type corresponds with Type I since it is the urban counter-part of the rural type. The Urban-Precinct organization represents the lines of interrelated neighborhood relationships that exist in the city, just as do the school district lines of relationship in the rural areas. It is interesting to note that this type ranks higher than the others in terms of idiosyncratic reasons for involvement and a possible explanation for this would be the numerous alternatives for involvement in urban life.

TABLE X
SENTIMENTS OF INVOLVEMENT EXPRESSED BY LOCAL LEVEL ACTORS

Type of Sentiment	Organization Type			
	I	II	III	IV
	%	%	%	%
Obligation to Friend, Neighbor, or Relative	44	30	59	26
Obligation to an Organization	10	46	0	0
Obligation to Community	50	30	26	41
Obligation to an Individual because of his Position	9	10	17	7
Idiosyncratic Reasons	9	11	16	23
N's*	124	186	68	150

$$\chi^2 = P > .001$$

Source: The above information and the following data in this chapter are based upon 528 interviews taken of local actors during 1951 and 1952.

None of the organizational types indicated any high degree of interest in health as reasons for involvement. For this reason the following data, which is concerned with sentiments expressing interest in health and the objectives of the survey, will not be broken down into organizational types.

* Above responses exceed 100% in most cases since more than one reason for involvement was indicated by many respondents. Slightly less than 100% in Type IV is caused by elimination of an "other" category.

SENTIMENTS EXPRESSED IN HEALTH AND EDUCATION ON THE LOCAL LEVEL

It has already been mentioned that actors on the Local Level expressed few sentiments of involvement through health interests. This is further supported by the fact that when asked - Looking at Independence County as a whole, do you consider health to be much of a problem?, 90% indicated that they either felt that there were only moderate problems or no problems at all. Only 2.5% felt that health was a serious problem and only 7.2% stated that it was a problem at all. The general sentiments expressed concerning health in the county showed little interest on the part of the local actors.

In terms of community health problems there appeared to be more concern. Table XI lists the problem recognized on the community level. It is interesting to note, however, that 40% were either unaware of or did not believe there were any health problems in their community. On the other hand, 40% of the local actors viewed certain community health problems as serious. The rest of the local actors fell into a neutral category. Therefore, on the local level at least 40% were seriously concerned with health problems in their community but 60% were either neutral or not concerned at all.

Of the 60% that recognized health problems, the question was asked as to - Who should set the standards for the solution of the problems? Table XII ranks the order of selections.

TABLE XI

WHAT PROBLEMS OF COMMUNITY HEALTH DO YOU FEEL
ARE MOST IMPORTANT IN THIS TOWN OR TOWNSHIP?

Problem	Number of Responses	Percent
No problem or don't know of any	211	40.0
Sanitation	175	33.1
Need for contagious disease control	23	4.4
Slums	22	4.2
Need for more health personnel	17	3.2
Need for more health exam programs	13	2.5
Need more health facilities	11	2.1
Need for control of milk supply and animal diseases	8	1.5
Need for more health education	4	.8
Mental health	2	.4
Other	41	7.7
No response	1	.2
Total	528	100.1

TABLE XII

WHO SHOULD SET THE STANDARDS FOR THE
SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM?

The Community as a whole.....	33.5%
The County (and county agencies).....	30.4%
Individuals or Families.....	12.5%
Organizations.....	12.5%
The State.....	8.5%
Neighborhood.....	1.9%
Federal Government.....	.6%
Don't Know.....	6.6%
No Response.....	5.0%

111.5%*

* Multiple Responses

There appeared to be a strong percentage who believed that the solutions to these problems could be solved on the local level. These actors represented health interests of the Community Type (Chapter VIII), while 12.5% represented the Individual Type. Only 9.1% of those who recognized community health problems believed that outsiders should set the standards for their solution.

An even greater indication of the Individual Type and Community Types of health interest was manifested in beliefs related to the solution of the problem. Table XIII indicates, by rank, who the local actors feel should be responsible for the solution of the health problems mentioned before. It would appear that the local actors are more willing to accept advice concerning their health problems than they are willing to accept actual aid in the solution of them.

Of the 528 local actors who were interviewed 34.5% stated that they did not know whether anything would happen as a result of the survey, while 13.3% thought nothing would be done and 2.5% felt that nothing need be done. There were 11.7% of the local actors who hoped something would be done and 6.4% who believed in a general sense that something would occur as the result of the survey. Only 11.5% thought any improvement in health would occur and 12.3% believed that education of the people would result.

TABLE XIII

WHO SHOULD BE MOST RESPONSIBLE
FOR THE PROBLEM?

Individual Families.....	37.9%
The Community.....	33.5%
Neighborhood.....	10.0%
County.....	9.1%
State.....	4.1%
Federal Government.....	.9%
Other.....	.6%
Don't Know.....	.9%
No Response.....	2.8%
	99.8%

SUMMARY

The County Level actors involved actors on the Local Level by activating previous sets of relationship which carried with them sentiments of obligation. The way in which local units were organized allowed for an empirical typology which is related to the expressed sentiments of involvement.

The County Level actors were interested in long range health plans and therefore differed from the Local Level actors who were not concerned with the total county picture and in many cases were not concerned with local community health. Those interested and concerned in local health displayed sentiments which were representative of the Community and Individual type health interests. The local people believed that, for the most part, the solution of health problems should be left in the hands of individuals or the local community.

In regard to objectives concerning the survey, it was hoped by the County Level that people would be educated in public health and that health action would result from the project. Few shared this belief on the Local Level, even after the survey had been completed.

It is apparent that the social system which has just been described is made up of many conflicting elements. It will be the burden of the next chapter to view the concept of feedback, the effect that the action manifested in a social system of this kind has upon the relevant structures from which it emerges.

PART IV

FEEDBACK

CHAPTER X

FEEDBACK

The concept of "feedback" is the most difficult to deal with in regard to the theoretical design of this dissertation. It calls for an analytically closed system, which when considered in terms of an empirical demonstration cannot be met. Yet it is the description of sentiments expressed within relationships which emerge within the relevant structure and are found convergent within the social system that provide an understanding of structural continuity when dealt with in terms of "feedback". The concept has been borrowed from George C. Homans¹ who uses it analogically.

A more illuminating analogy is an electrical one. We think of the current in an electrical circuit as flowing in a definite direction: from the positive side of the battery or generator through the circuit to the negative side. Many electrical circuits are, moreover, so arranged that, when the current reaches a certain point in the circuit, part of the current is, as the electricians say, "fed back" by some appropriate hookup to an earlier point in the circuit - earlier as defined by our assumption that the current is flowing in a definite direction. This kind of arrangement may be used to accomplish some useful purpose; it may allow the circuit to "build up" more rapidly to its full load or to carry its load without fluctuation. Even when every part of the circuit is fully energized, we still think of feedback and build-up as going on continuously.

1. Homans, George C., op. cit.

The circuit has attained a steady state, but we think of that state as being maintained by a continuous, circular, and dynamic process. We can also think of the behavior of a group as this kind of process, and if in describing the process, we choose to begin with the external system, we can say that the internal system is continually emerging out of the external and continually feeding back to modify the external system or, rather, to build up the social system as a whole into something more than the external system we started with.²

Homans uses the concepts of external and internal systems much in the same way as the cultural system-relevant structure and social system have been used in this dissertation, the difference being largely the scope of analysis. Homans views the cultural system and relevant structure as the external system and the internal system much the same as the social system in this problem. Although such comparisons are not exact in terms of definition, since Homans is operating from a somewhat different frame of reference, the similarity allows for the use of his "feedback" and provides a concept which is useful in the design of this dissertation.

Since "feedback" calls for a change in the relevant structure and the total cultural system as a result of the particular patterning of sentiments within a social system, it is the burden of this chapter to demonstrate the process of "feedback" that has occurred as a result of the system of relationships found within the self-survey of health. It will become apparent immediately that any complete description

2. Ibid., p. 153.

of "feedback" as it effects the cultural system is impossible. However, some considerations of probable effect will be treated in the summary chapter. It is also difficult to demonstrate the effect of "feedback" or as Romans defines it "build up" within the relevant structure. Regardless of the difficulty, this chapter will attempt to demonstrate some effects of the above process in order to provide some understanding of how action systems of a temporary nature persist through time and maintain their structural continuity.

An attempt will now be made to view the empirical consequences of this process in terms of health action. Health action is emphasized here since other activities which might have occurred are either outside the scope of relevance or are obscure.

THE LOCAL PICTURE

In the spring of 1953, a field observer was sent to Independence County for the purpose of discovering any health action that might have occurred as a result of the survey. Action in the county and in the various localities had been followed for over a year but the apparent non-existence of any program in health which might have been related to the survey seemed to be dominant throughout the county. The attempt at a more intensive search for activity was then pursued. The observer sampled various areas of the county and talked to the organizers on the local level as well as those

who held county positions during the survey. Concluding from the time spent at this approach, that activity, in the sense of organized projects stimulated by participation in the survey, was not occurring, the decision was made to emphasize at least two selected areas and then to approach the county level where action of a different sort was taking place.

Two villages were chosen: one which had taken part in the survey and as a result had formed a local health council and another which was a highly organized community and had committed itself to the project but apparently with no follow up activity as a result.

DEARBORN

The village of Dearborn is located in the extreme east and central part of Independence County and borders Sheridan County. It is incorporated and has a population of 725. Historically it has been the scene of pioneer growth and rural productivity. It never has aspired to any great size nor has it attempted to urbanize in the sense of large industry. Nevertheless it now has an industry which employs 600 people from those living in town and those living in neighboring areas. This industry builds units for deep freezers and refrigerators and adds to the belief that Independence County is the "refrigerator capitol of the world".

Dearborn is essentially oriented to agriculture, however, and is located in the rich and productive Raisin valley. At one time the area which surrounds and occupies Dearborn was

settled by French farmers who set up a system of long rectangular farms perpendicular to the Currant River. Although this tradition has disappeared with the growth of large and typically prosperous middlewest farms, the early influence may still be found in a few old families and plots of land. The religious influence that began with the inclusion of the French still remains and has attracted a small but influential group of German Catholics. The Catholic influence dominates to a certain extent but in the long run has been absorbed into the area. For this reason there is no parochial school and the children of catholic parents attend the public school in town. This has resulted in a cooperative effort on the part of both Catholic and Protestant in school affairs as well as the total civic picture.

Dearborn has an active PTA organization and it was this group that ultimately became involved in the survey project which was introduced to the village in 1952.

Some understanding of events prior to the mobilization of the Dearborn PTA should be discussed at this point in order to understand that the accomplishment of the survey was largely dependent upon pre-existing systems of sentiments shared by certain community members.

Before the survey, as early as 1950, the Health Department had been trying to encourage the growth of small voluntary groups of private citizens in the various parts of Independence County to form independent health councils which might work

as local units for the purpose of solving health problems and serve as a source of voluntary help in whatever capacity the health unit might find necessary to use them. The supervising nurse had achieved some success in Henry City and another staff nurse had received the cooperation of the Superintendent of Schools at Dearborn and had interested him along the same lines.

He said during an interview, "I was interested from the point of view of the community. Where I came from I was responsible for starting a health council and I felt if I could get one started here that it would help the community in general. It would enable us to find what our health problems were and work on them. We would also like to get a dental program started in this community and we would like to bring a dentist in, since at the present time we have none."

It was with the view of a planned program in health, based upon a particular need for a dentist and a planned dental program, that both the Health Department and Superintendent found common interests.

Obtaining voluntary help and the efforts of many people was a problem that faced the Superintendent in achieving these objectives. It was not surprising, then, that he showed interest in the survey, since the very objectives of the survey not only coincided with his but to mobilize for a survey would allow him a reservoir of people to draw from for the creation of a health council. It was for this reason that,

when he had committed himself to the initial organization, he appointed an acting chairman and called for the formation of a health council for the immediate purpose of a health survey. The very legitimation of the survey lies in the fact that a collection of facts concerning health would provide a council with projects on which to work. Obviously one important project in mind was that of the dental program just mentioned.

At the last observation the Dearborn Health Council is an active organization with twelve members who represent other interested associations within the village. They frequently have some of the members in attendance at the County Health Council meetings and take considerable interest in the activities at this level as well as their own.

They boast of a successful fluoride treatment program which required considerable publicity and contact with the townspeople before the skeptics could be convinced and public approval gained. They have also promoted a pre-school clinic and home economics classes in cooperation with the Health Department. Although these projects are small in number, they represent the successful efforts of an organized group of people around common problems in health. They still plan to induce a dentist to establish a practice in the community.

Although the survey proved to be a movement on the part of certain people concerned with the health problems in Dearborn, it has proven to be an effective instrument for

consolidating major efforts towards the solution of these problems. In all probability the information which has been provided by the publication of the survey data will be used for the justification of certain projects that are now being discussed and also provide suggestions for new ones.

Dearborn stands out as an exception to the rule in Independence County. In most cases local units had not acted upon any particular problem as the result of survey participation. This unit had not acted upon the problem which was considered to be most important but the organization of a health council and a taking of a survey better assures them of success in the primary aim of obtaining a dentist. The lack of any essential and shared problem in the other units explains to a considerable degree this difference. It is important to note that health problems were viewed largely in a local sense and not on a county wide basis. It will be shown later that the failure on the part of many county people to view community health in a local and personal way was largely responsible for the apathy that occurred during the survey action.

The next community to be discussed contrasts with Dearborn as do other localities throughout the county. Yet it will be shown that this particular community is well organized and has the reputation for being highly civic minded. Why it has not acted as yet is part of the following description.

MOHAWK

The village of Mohawk is located in the northeast corner of the county. It is incorporated and has a population of 4,020. It is a town with a rich historical past; a past that most members of the community are proud to display. It was the first community to be settled in the county and one of the earliest settlements in the state. Its location was largely determined by its accessibility to an adequate water and power supply and its location along the route between Sheridan and Chicago made it an ideal stopover for early traffic. With the development of the interior in the United States, stagecoach routes were constructed along what were previous indian and pioneer trails. It was during this period that Mohawk began to grow and flourish. It was not only gifted in terms of location but it also was surrounded with rich and tillable farm land. For over a hundred years it remained dominantly rural during a period when many large urban and industrial areas were in growth.

Seventeen years ago an industry was founded as a result of rapid advancements in refrigeration. The village has undergone considerable social change as the result of the establishment of the Mohawk Products Company which manufactures refrigerator compressors. From a factory run by a few men and a capital worth of \$800 it has grown in size to a large industry employing over 3500 men and worth several million dollars.

Changes which have been noted, as resulting from the industrial impact are: the growth in population; the desire for a more modern business district; a growing agreement that the town must have a new type of government; and the large accomplishments in community health, symbolized by modern and rapidly growing hospitals.

With the introduction of large numbers of people to maintain the plant and the policy of executives to reside in town, a new type of people has been introduced and with them has come a contrasting culture from that which had been dominant in the past. Through the years both the old timers and the newcomers have adjusted to one another although each group has maintained part of its past. The newcomers, who have been largely urban oriented, in most cases dominate in terms of certain cultural changes. It is not hard to imagine how those representing a corporation worth 75 million dollars might over a period of time have a great deal to say regarding village policies. Yet there has been equally in force a strong conservative element that can never be ignored. Compromises have been reached for the most part and the community has a reputation throughout the county as being particularly active in civic matters. Both old timers and newcomers have joined each other in an attempt to build their town and face the future with rationally planned programs. These programs have been the responsibility of the many service groups found in Mohawk. Whenever a worthwhile project is selected by an

organization it usually receives approval if not the active support of other organizations.

When the survey was introduced into Mohawk the channels used to receive support were through the service organizations. Mrs. Dixon (mentioned in the County level) who had been responsible for a successful survey in child immunization in 1943, had been selected by the County Health Council as chairman of the survey organization in Mohawk. She was also co-chairman of the county committee on organization. Because she was recognized as being active in worthwhile projects and had cooperated with many civic organizations, some of which she was a member, it was not difficult for her to receive the support and approval of these groups. Over two-thirds of the civic organizations cooperated and took an active part in the survey. In contrast to most other parts of the county, men's groups were involved and men participated. One-third of those who interviewed were men while in the county only 8% of the total number of interviewers were represented by the male group. The implication from such a contrast is that the total structure of civic organizations was rather thoroughly tapped. Why was it then that no activity resulted as a consequence of the survey project within the village?

Once again activity must be viewed locally. The people of Mohawk who participated in the survey did so largely because they accepted it as an obligation. As members of service groups dedicated to civic action, it was their duty to take

part in projects which their organization had agreed to support. It was viewed as a community undertaking rather than a county one. If problems were found in their community, it was assumed that some action would be taken to solve them. Problems of a county nature which did not affect Mohawk were not viewed with any particular importance. The real questions were related to the state of the community. It was felt by many, previous to the survey, that health problems would be at a minimum. With an adequate number of physicians and dentists in town and a modern hospital, it was difficult for many to view community health in any serious light. It was true that there had been contamination of the Current River which ran through town and that faulty sewage disposal was the cause but already this was being corrected by the building of a new sewage system. The people who were active in the survey, for the most part, were not seriously concerned with community health.

When tabulations were made few were interested in the results and those who took part in the tabulations soon found that there did not appear to be any problems of an extreme nature. A letter written by a local physician to the community chairman was representative of the medical feeling. He commented that after examining the tabulations of the community and comparing them with the rest of the county he was convinced that the town was in good shape in terms of public health. He further stated that as some of the

physicians had expected there was room for improvement in immunization and perhaps some future program might be launched by them in order to improve this condition. Except for this nothing else had occurred.

If in tabulating the local information a problem of serious nature had been detected, would the Monawk people have become active? In answering this a great deal would depend upon the definition of the problem. A half year after the survey was taken a crisis occurred in the community which lead to immediate action on the part of the people.

On Decoration Day, a young girl was drowned in a stone quarry while she was swimming. This stone quarry is located on the edge of town and has been used as a community swimming pool for the last few years. There was a life guard in attendance and the shallow area had been roped off to provide safety. It had always been considered safe and had been carefully supervised. The tragedy which occurred on the holiday made people aware that because of the natural source of the water supply in the quarry and the variation of depth from year to year, the further use of this public swimming hole was dangerous and inadvisable. One week after the tragedy a committee made up of members of various service clubs and Monawk Products employees met for the purpose of planning a new swimming pool for the protection of the town's children. It was decided that an adequate community swimming pool would cost around \$67,000 and the President of Monawk Products

pledged half of this cost. A week later the total was at \$47,000 and the ground was being broken for construction. Meantime the Exchange Club had donated enough money to purchase an insulator for future emergencies of the above kind.

It is interesting to note that out of the 52 interviewers six months previously in Monawk sampled by the research none indicated the quarry as a potential hazard. It is likely that if they had, the survey would have been used as a tool to convince the general public of the need. Since it appears that critical and immediate problems are ones which motivate people, they are defined largely by crisis situations. This provides a serious barrier to planning in terms of public health. From the observation of Monawk it was apparent that if a problem were viewed as a local one and an element of crisis was at hand, health action would result rapidly. As to whether public health planners are able to expand the local definition of the problem and whether or not they can develop an understanding of the worth of planning depends a great deal upon their own conception of public health and the utility of such instruments as self health surveys. The next part of this report will be devoted to this aspect of the survey and will be concerned with the county level initiators who are concerned with future health planning.

COUNTY IMPLICATIONS

OBJECTIVES OF THE SURVEY

Since the objectives of the survey were formulated by the people on the county level, it now becomes important to

examine these objectives and then attempt to observe to what degree they were met.

The major objective of the survey, as it was viewed by its initiators, was to educate the public in matters related to community health. The initiators were advised by experts in the field of research that a sampling procedure would be most adequate if they intended to administer the survey by the use of formal schedules. They ignored this advice on the grounds that since the main objective of the project was public education it was imperative that a maximum number of people be contacted by those who interviewed.

Although there appeared to be few dominant health problems of a community nature in the county which might have called for group action, it was felt by most of the initiators that an intensive survey might indicate weaknesses in public health behavior which would allow for future planning in preventive medicine.

More implicit in the objectives but an equal force in the survey efforts was the belief that such a project would help strengthen two health organizations within the county; the County Health Department and the County Health Council. The Health Department had been established in the county five and a half years previous to the project but there were still many severe critics. It was hoped that the survey would not only make people more aware of health problems but also recruit a favorable body of public opinion for public health

efforts. It was further hoped that the data gathered might help the department focus its attention upon immediate problems and make it more effective.

PUBLIC EDUCATION IN HEALTH

The problem of educating the people of the county in terms of public health was never carefully defined by those who verbalized the objective. There was implicit in their approach the belief that participation in the interviewing process, either by being interviewed or interviewing, would make people more aware of health problems by the content of the questions asked. This assumption appears to be somewhat ungrounded if we are to observe the behavior of those who interviewed.

Assuming the educational value of involvement, it was felt that a natural state of curiosity would develop when the interviewers on the local level collected their data. For this reason it was felt that these people should tabulate their own findings and in this way their locality would receive findings of a local interest faster than would be possible if it were tabulated in total by the county workers. The belief that the people were interested in the findings was apparently not the case, at least to the extent that they were willing to do their own tabulating. The job of tabulating was interpreted as one more task and "a dirty trick to play on us after all the time we have put in". In some cases certain local groups refused to tabulate and the job had to be done by a county worker.

The interest of the people on the local level in terms of health problems seemed to be negligible. In terms of the research findings much of this can be explained by the lack of any critical health problems within the county. No serious epidemics or large scale fatalities such as communicable disease epidemics had occurred in the county in recent years. People, although they were aware of certain areas of health problems, tended to view them as unpleasant conditions but for the most part not particularly dangerous to the community. Few viewed any problem as a potential threat to public health and well-being.

Public education in health problems as related to participation appeared to be limited. It is true that if there appeared to be certain general problems of an immediate nature when the publication of the survey is distributed, some action may occur, but this is unlikely since if the people had felt any problem to be serious enough by this time some action would have been taken. It is more than likely that many of the local people will feel that what problems do exist can be handled by the proper agency which in most cases would be the Health Department. An awareness of this possibility would help meet another objective however, and indicates that an awareness of the functions of the county health unit is to be interpreted as part of the educational process.

The concept of education implies the necessity of the educated to be interested in learning. In this case lack of

critical problems and a different belief upon the part of the local people as to what constituted public health, made difficult the program of education. The general weakness of many objectives related to the education of large bodies of people is the failure on the part of the educators to understand the people they wish to educate. Many well-meaning programs in community action have failed when they have been blanketed with the general concept of education. To educate is to form or change ideas and the county level people were never clear as to what ideas they wished to form or change. They of course wished for a body of community-minded and thinking people. This they had but it was not enough for the process of health action by participation alone. The fact that they failed to see that local people view health problems in either a curative or community sense was largely responsible for the lack of meeting this objective. The survey itself without some previous efforts in terms of molding public opinion could not serve as a satisfactory tool in the process of education.

PLANNING IN TERMS OF PUBLIC HEALTH PROBLEMS

There is little that can be written concerning plans related to public health at this time. Since, at the last observation, the publication was just in the process of distribution, the county people were only discussing the possibilities for a future program. There had been only one case of planning on the local level and that was mentioned in the description of Pearborn.

There are indications that some difficulty will result in terms of future planning. One of the most important indications seems to lie in the vagueness of goals and objectives following the collection of the data. Since a great deal of importance was given to participation in itself many felt a sense of completion when the publication was in their hands.

There had been a tendency through the entire survey to avoid hard feelings that might result from comparing one part of the county against the other, i.e., to show some particular health problem for one community or area might lead to resistance upon the part of these people when their local pride was attacked. For this reason the findings of the survey were tabulated in total without breakdowns in localities. As was mentioned, if the localities felt that they had serious problems to work on, they would have had the opportunity during the period of local tabulation to take advantage of the situation. This of course did not take place.

Also in the presentation of the facts of the survey, the county people avoided a statistical description, believing that the local people would not be interested in it, if this should occur. As a result recommendations were based upon generalizations which the survey showed to be important, while evidence of the importance was rarely given. In so doing, the county people lost a comparative basis to work from and at the present time disagree as to what is the most immediate health problem.

Once again as in the case of the objective related to education, the difficulty lies in the lack of clearly perceived goals. Values related to what is a health problem, what constitutes a critical problem, the degree to which any one problem becomes primary to the goals of a group of people, what makes this problem more immediate than another one, etc., must be answered. Since these questions are now in the process of being asked, the extent to which they are answered and examined may well mean the degree to which any program that follows may succeed.

It has been mentioned in a previous chapter that part of the confusion of goals that has taken place is the result of particular historical themes which are found to be manifest within the symbolic environment of these people. The individuals who have been actively engaged in the survey project are members of a midwest culture; one which has had ambivalent political goals. Since public health is dependent upon public control and since public control lies in the field of political analysis, the historical theme of political ideals that underlie midwest thinking are important to an analysis of values related to health. Since the formulation of the American System by Henry Clay the midwest farmer has partially aligned himself with the Hamiltonian philosophy of the protection of private enterprise. The basic distrust of governmental controls and the belief in a "laissez-faire" economy has been equally strong. The incompatibility of

protection and independence has continued to be a struggle of values throughout the last century. Since in the past the midwest has been remote from the center of legislative decision making and has felt at times that it has been duped by those in "wall street", midwest blocks combined with farm interests throughout the United States have effectively waged war against other interests. The battles have been primarily economic and political ones and in other areas of social living an effort has been made to free the individual as much as possible.

With the recent growth of a feeling in public responsibility, the midwest farmer has found it difficult to defend his original position of political freedom. But he has cherished the small political unit of the township and has believed that as long as this unit could maintain itself in terms of meeting the needs of a modern society that he and his friends could preserve the life that was held to be most ideal. The ideal that a government which governs least governs best persists among the midwest farmers.

It has been a losing battle for the most part, since the growth of cities and large villages due to industrial and commercial development has made obsolete the township and county type of government. Yet the farmer, although sophisticated in the understanding of Federal politics has wished to retain some of the past cultural symbols which he has held sacred.

Any inroads in the secularization of such sacred symbols has met with resistance. Public health has been the area of the maintenance of many such symbols. The belief that one has a right to own property, live on it and do as he pleases as long as he provides no threat to his neighbor has been a cherished ideal of the midwest farmer.

With the growth of medical science, this ideal has been more difficult to maintain. The growing values of sanitation have become equally important to the farmer as well as values related to prevention against communicable disease through immunization and the control of irresponsible carriers. But past values still continue. The belief that cleanliness and maintenance of good health is an individual matter, the belief that one should care for his own health, the belief that public health care is equated with charity, the fear of the public health system as growing bureaucracy which infringes upon individual freedom both economically and socially has made difficult any program in public health planning. Those members of the survey who wish to plan for the future face these problems of indecision. Many of the county people themselves who hold bureaucratic positions share some or many of these past and sacred beliefs. Those who do not are often blind to the goals that result from such a condition. The lack of a clear understanding of the values which underlie public health and the inability to communicate with the people on this level often results in well meaning efforts with little realization of concrete objectives.

STRENGTHENING OF THE COUNTY HEALTH DEPARTMENT
AND THE COUNTY HEALTH COUNCIL

This objective, which was certainly of considerable importance to those who took part in the survey on the county level, has probably been more successfully met than any other. The growing pattern of relationships which have resulted because of the survey has meant increased strength and prestige for both organizations.

THE HEALTH DEPARTMENT

In a previous chapter the basic weaknesses of the Health Department were given. At this point it would be wise to make clear again that the health unit was not powerless in the county. It had been steadily strengthening its position in the area. Old timers who had scoffed at the idea of a health unit and had been part of the opposition at the time of its founding were now outspoken advocates of the unit. Obvious decreases in TB and VD which had been expensive to the county were responsible for this along with an excellent program in the health of school children and the improvements of the school buildings.

There was, however, a large segment of the society that appeared to be totally unaware of the services of the health unit and also a large number of people who were equally outspoken in their criticisms of this unit.

To what extent has the survey provided the public with more of an awareness of the health unit and to what extent

have the opponents been neutralized? This question is difficult to answer in terms of direct relationship. Since the Health Department has been attempting to present to the citizens of Independence County an enlightened program in health for the last five and a half years, it is reasonable to believe that to whatever extent the people have become more aware of its importance is due to these efforts. The survey then should be viewed in terms of the Health Department as part of its total program in the county. Although it did not actively participate within the survey activities it took part in the conception of the idea, furnished questions for the schedule, and acted in a general advisory role. Its reluctance to take an active part was due primarily to the belief that lay activity would allow for more people to experience direct contacts with health problems and give the public a feeling of self direction.

There are no indications that the critics of the Health Department are less antagonistic, but there have been no clashes of any significance between this organization and any other group of individuals in the county during the last two years.

There is a belief on the part of the Health Department that they are dealing with a progressively enlightened citizenry. When they first entered the county it was necessary for them to spend much of their time investigating the areas where problems existed. Today they receive requests for their

services from communities with sewage problems, from school boards, parents, home builders, and restauraners. They believe that the survey project has been instrumental in the development of this condition. In one area particularly, it was felt that the survey schedule was responsible for the people becoming more aware of one of their services. A question was asked on the schedule as to whether the informant had tested his water supply recently. Until this time the Department had found it necessary to inspect various areas that had questionable water sources. Today they are far more busy in answering requests for water testing than investigating possible problem areas.

Equally important to the Health Department have been the lines of relationship set up by the survey. Although they had worked effectively with other county offices previous to the survey, most of the personnel were far more acquainted with those in the Extension Office, School System, and Medical Society. The latter group was of considerable importance to the future effectiveness of the health unit in the county because without a sympathetic group of private physicians, future plans would be made difficult.

Relationships of a non-professional or lay groups of people were equally important to the strength of the unit. Public health is always dependent upon a voluntary group of lay people to support its programs in the county and offer assistance when necessity emphasized this need. This was one

of the reasons for the encouragement of the health councils and projects surrounding them. Although some of the people referred to it as the "sucker list", the Health Department felt that they had the names of people who were willing to work and help them on future projects. These names were of those who participated in the survey and whether they were right or not in their assumption that this group of people would continue to help in health programs can only be tested through time as they are called upon. It is the belief of those who observed the survey activity and interviewed these people that many may be willing to offer their assistance in the future.

The Health Department has been less concerned with the actual findings of the survey. This vagueness of health goals has been discussed before but finds itself manifested in terms of this county office as well. Although they verbalized an interest in the findings and said that such a project would help make the unit more effective in the county, it is doubtful if they intend to use the data for future plans, other than to support programs that are already underway.

THE HEALTH COUNCIL

The County Health Council, organized for the purpose of aiding the health unit, was in a stage of complete disintegration at the beginning of 1951. The proposed project of the health survey was hoped to be one of the solutions for strengthening this organization. Not only would such a project

meet the objectives of its charter, but it was further hoped that more people would become active in a project which would bring more members into the "fold". At the time the survey was proposed the council meetings had a minimum of members in attendance, general apathy was the primary condition of those in attendance, and goal orientation appeared to be the major problem.

In the observation of health council activities since the time of the survey, it has been obvious that certain changes have taken place which have added to its strength and prestige in the area. These changes show direct relationship to the survey project which was undertaken by this organization.

One of the more outstanding changes has been related to the composition of membership. In early 1951 those who attended health council meetings rarely numbered more than six or seven and each meeting usually had the same people in attendance. This group was the core of the organization and was made up mostly of women, the larger proportion being nurses. The only men in attendance were those connected with the County Health Department.

There has been a gradual change in this condition since the survey has been undertaken. Many more new faces were seen at the meetings as various localities sent representatives to the meetings for information concerning survey organization in the county. Although many of the new faces were only seen

once or twice, some continued in attendance and today are numbered among the "regulars".

More important was the characteristic of continued change in membership attendance. Whereas before the same people were seen at all meetings, it became apparent that although the "regulars" were present at each meeting someone new could be seen as well. The new people rarely repeated their visits. At first glance this may appear to be a weakness since a large build up of regular attending members did not take place. It was actually viewed as a success by most of the Health Council since it was realized that the council was formed for the purpose of bringing people together around certain problems. Since all problems did not contain the same appeal it was natural to suppose that different people would be attracted to certain meetings where their interests were met. Over a period of time this assumption seemed to prove itself since the number attending rarely dropped as low as it had been before.

Also conspicuous by their attendance were male members. In the past the orientation of most meetings had been centered around the interests of professional women. Now along with the interests of more lay members, mentioned above, was to be found the active interest of various men. Doctors, dentists, hospital technicians, water works officials, school superintendents, and school teachers were among those attending. The men have given to the meetings a more businesslike

procedure. Decisions seem to be made more easily and public policy discussed more freely than had been the case before. In the past, the women had always been reluctant to make any decision without consulting some of the men who often held superordinate positions in the society. A further indication of male control was evidenced by the election of a male president for the year of 1953.

At last observation the meetings average between 15 and 20 in attendance. This membership along with a large reservoir of newly interested people has given the Council much more strength and assurance. It is interesting to note that all "regulars" consider anyone that has been invited to a health council meeting or shows an interest in it to be a member. As a result the membership list continues to grow and invitations to each meeting become increasingly larger. A recent comment made by the County Superintendent of Schools (the council president), illustrates the all inclusive nature of membership.

The Superintendent, in addressing a group of PTA members, had been discussing a health problem related to the schools. One of those present suggested that it be referred to the health council. At this time the Superintendent said, "That's right and all of you are actually members of the Health Council". He explained that many who had worked on the survey were present and that the rest were essentially potential members. The implication has been that this organization belongs to all

the interested citizens of Independence County. As a result, membership is more loosely defined and somewhat stronger.

The future of the organization in many respects lies in the degree to which membership becomes more clearly defined. This is only possible in the growth of more clearly defined objectives which will appeal to groups of people willing to dedicate themselves to programs which have meaning to them. The difficulty in acquiring this stage of development has already been discussed. Until county oriented individuals can better understand the position of the locally minded people and the values inherent in their positions, little actual progress can be made in terms of clearly defined goals and objectives.

The above strengthening of membership is directly related to the survey project. The overall contact with the many people in the county has been made possible through the survey activity. More people are aware of the health council and its function. A good illustration of this factor and a final suggestion of general growth in prestige for the group is to be found in a crisis that occurred in Independence County in the Fall of 1952.

ANNUAL TURKEY DINNER BACKFIRES³

It is a well established custom for the Ladies Aid of the Episcopal Church at Camden Junction to serve turkey dinners as a money-making proposition. It is an

3. The above description of the events occurring in Independence County were written in a report by J. F. Thaden, Winter, 1953.

annual event during the month of November. Camden Junction (listed as Camden on most maps) is a cross-roads place in northwest Independence County. Besides an Episcopal Church there is a stop light, a combination grocery and oil station, and a gift-novelty store. It is the junction of U. S. Highway 112 and State Highway 50. It is too small even to have a post office and for this reason newsworthy events that take place here are commonly credited to either Newton or Anton, the two nearest post offices.

The annual turkey dinner prepared by the Ladies Aid of this country church has acquired an enviable and far-flung reputation over the years. Yearly an increasingly larger number of people from a gradually lengthening radius treated themselves with a special trip to Camden Junction for a turkey dinner. The one in 1952 will be remembered with regrets because 161 people got sick from eating the turkey, of whom 40 were hospitalized, and two died. The cause...Salmonella typhimurium.

The procedures that the Ladies Aid undertook in 1952, in preparation for this event, were essentially the same as in previous years. However, in 1952 the event was advanced to the middle of October, a month earlier than usual, and thereby hangs part of the tragic aftermath of the bountiful feast. Other years, the middle of November was satisfactory to leave stuffed turkey, ready for the oven, overnight in the cold outdoors. This particular weekend in October was an abnormally mild one and not ideally suited for over-ready turkeys. The turkeys were dressed and stuffed ready for oven one day, heated the next day at a very high temperature for a relatively short time, and reheated and served the third day. The turkeys should have been heated for a long time in order to permit the filling to become thoroughly heated. If this had been done probably no one would have become sick. Under the circumstances the filling of the turkey became an excellent environment for the development of bacteria and which was the case of illnesses that followed. Many turkeys have salmonella infection, picked up from eating the mice and rats about the farm yard.

The onset of the illness varied from six to seventy-two hours, so that virtually all had returned to their homes before they became ill. Very young children and elderly persons are generally affected more seriously by salmonella typhimurium

than others. Even so, it is the concensus of doctors that the death of the two elderly persons might have been prevented if they had been treated in the early stages with chloromycin.

Some people in and around the little village of Anton resent the adverse publicity it received from this affair. Some daily papers gave the impression that this turkey feed took place in Anton community. Normally, Anton people commonly claim Camden Junction as a part of the Anton community.

Some people are resentful of the Schenk family from whom the Episcopal ladies bought the turkeys. They say that those turkeys should not have been sold so soon after they inoculated against blackhead. Medical authorities say that there is no justification for this attitude, that illness could not have been caused because of the inoculation, however recent.

Another tragic aftermath of this affair is that very probably four to seven persons of the 161 persons who became ill will be "carriers" of this disease. There is every likelihood that others will become innocent victims of salmonella typhimurium because they will be eating food handled by these "carriers".

Shortly after this tragedy, a monthly meeting of the Health Council was held. At this time a socially prominent woman of Mohawk was in attendance. She had been active in early Health Council efforts towards activating the survey, although since this time she had taken no part in the project and had not been meeting with the county group. Her expressed reason for making this meeting was "to bring to the attention of the Health Council the immediate problem of hysteria which had resulted from the above crisis".

She explained that first of all the rumors that had spread to her community had seriously threatened the business of the poultry raisers. People were refusing to buy turkeys

and with Thanksgiving season approaching, the loss of such business would present tremendous hardships for these farmers and businessmen.

She also said that there was the problem of the annual dinners held by many of the church groups. These dinners were usually counted on in order to supply such organizations with funds which were so necessary for carrying on the functions related to support of the church and social welfare.

People were also criticizing the Health Department and felt that the reluctance of this group to make a public statement concerning the cause of poisoning was an indication of its incompetence. She felt that some public statement was necessary, not only to quiet the many rumors that were in circulation and causing the above problems but also to save the Health Department from future embarrassment.

The Supervising Nurse and Sanitarian of the Health Department were present and it was apparent that they were immediately on the defensive. They made the statement that the Health Department had made no public statement concerning the cause since this could not be determined. They said that it was definitely the result of food handling, though, and that if the dinner had been properly prepared, any harmful bacteria that might have been present in the turkey would have been destroyed. They went on to say that they could make the statement that it was no fault of the turkey raiser and that future dinners could be held with no risk if proper

precautions in food handling were taken. The Sanitarian said that he would be willing to meet with any group that was planning a dinner and discuss food handling problems in order to assure safety.

The result of the entire discussion was that, at least in the village of Mohawk, annual dinners were held as planned and previous to these dinners a special class in food handling was given at the hospital by the Sanitarian.

Such an event re-emphasized the charter of the Health Council and showed the organization to be an effective sounding board for public health problems. The woman from Mohawk was quite impressed by the cooperation she received and felt both the Health Council and the Health Department had met the problem with considerable effectiveness. Although the survey had played only an indirect part in this affair, it is certain that the woman would not have attended the health council meeting if it had not been for previous contacts with the organization that resulted from the origination of the project. If she had gone directly to the Health Department the officials would have been more reluctant to make a statement which was not socially sanctioned in terms of public meetings with both lay and official members present.

The survey has then been responsible for extending the lines of social relationship with the County Officials of the Health Council and local people to such an extent that membership has increased and more contacts with the public made.

With increased contacts it has received favorable publicity and has been utilized more often, both conditions resulting in increased prestige in the county.

Although still vague in terms of objectives, many of the goals of the organization, as expressed by its charter (See Chapter VI - Tangential Organizations), have been met and have given more impetus to future efforts concerning these goals. Practical application in terms of social involvement has made the members more aware of what an effective Health Council must be. The future activities of the organization are still to be determined by the analysis of their findings. Success can only be measured in terms of the course this future action takes.

SUMMARY

The difficulty in any generalization which attempts to evaluate the success of a particular project or action process in terms of the stated objectives, is to be found in the nature of social process. In isolating an action process from the rest of societal activity, one can never be certain as to the actual nature of the effect such a process has upon the total society. In the case of the health survey, it has been difficult to assess its total effect upon Independence County. Because we have concentrated upon the organized groupings which were formed as a result of the survey, generalizations concerning effectiveness have been limited to this dimension. It should be stated, however, that a total

knowledge of effect in terms of social action can only be approximated at best and that the theoretical design which governed the collection of data originally limited the area of observation in order that a more systematic analysis of the action process could be realized. Therefore, generalizations that have been made in the body of this chapter are limited to problems of relevancy. One can only speculate as to other patterns of social relationship that may have been established as the result of the survey. It may, moreover, be safe to suggest that in cases where such projects mobilize large bodies of people for the purpose of some civic "good", that certain groups of people remain as a future source for community activities. Such a source may be referred to as a "fund of good will".⁴ It is important to mention this qualification in terms of evaluation since it is possible that community value received from the health survey was even greater than such an appraisal suggests.

In viewing the action that took place in the localities as a result of survey participation, we are faced with certain conclusions related to failure. Since the objectives of the county people related to local action were those which expected action as the result of participation, it can be stated that the survey failed. This was largely caused by the lack of clearly perceived goals on the part of county

4. This concept was introduced by John B. Holland and used by the research project responsible for this study.

people who were successful in activating the local units. Also operating as a deterrent to future action was the apparent lack of any immediate local health problem in the minds of the people who were activated. Since the survey in the minds of these people was related to local objectives and not to the county as a whole, future planning toward action was made difficult with the lack of any extreme feeling toward local problems. It was further noted that in the case of well organized communities, there is a tendency to act immediately upon crises and to a certain extent planning is held at a minimum since the existing structure assures a certain stability in times of stress. It was also mentioned that lack of published results has made difficult future planning and that certain projects now in the minds of local people may become legitimized by the support of statistical information. It is unlikely that action will result unless there is some evidence of immediate local need.

In viewing the county implications, it was seen that the health survey proved to be far more effective than was evidenced by local developments. As an instrument in the strengthening of two primary health agencies in the county, it proved to be considerably successful. Although it was pointed out that the survey was often part of a general effort in strengthening these agencies rather than being directly instrumental in a causative sense, the value of such a project seemed to be established in the minds of the members of these

organizations. There is little doubt that the County Health Department and the County Health Council are now stronger and more effective organizations than they were before the introduction of the survey.

Also the general interest taken by other county organizations has resulted in an overall interest in county health. Today the County Medical Society is planning a program in Immunization and is receiving the support of the Health Department along these lines. A state planned program in TB X-raying is going on in the county through the direction of the Health Department. The Extension Office is emphasizing pasteurization of milk. The County School system has cooperated with the Health Department in food handling classes for school cooks. All projects have had either a direct or indirect relationship to the survey.

Chief limitations of the survey have been the failure to educate the people in terms of public health, and the failure to motivate the people towards future health planning. These limitations are related to serious problems in the field of public and community health. The conflict between sentiments of a sacred nature which call for individualism and local autonomy and sentiments which call for planning, control, and prevention continue to produce a gap between the health professional and the community. Since even a self-survey of health finds its origin in the area of professional health planning, it is natural that it will suffer from such a

condition. Convincing people that they are acting upon their own health problems and not being the dupes of outside "do-gooders" is only half the battle. Until the members of a community are thoroughly convinced that preventive health must include collective action, it is unlikely that self-surveys can ever reach a high degree of success.

CHAPTER XI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The previous chapters have demonstrated a process of emergence which has provided a certain dimension of meaning for a social action process. It was assumed that the action process being observed was a social system since it met the requirements of definition. These requirements included a set of functionally interdependent relationships between the social actors of the system, interaction between actors necessary to maintain these relationships, and beliefs, sentiments, and symbolic equipment which developed out of and reinforced this interaction. Part III, the Social System, described these relationships, the patterns of interaction and the sentiments which gave meaning to the system of action that resulted.

Since the problem of the dissertation was to demonstrate and explain the persistent qualities of relationships intended as temporary through an analysis of a body of sentiments which explained on a symbolic level the continuity of the system, it was necessary to develop a theoretical design (See Figure VII) as the process of analysis expanded. The following description of the design may be considered a model by which one may understand the process of structural continuity in a social system which is essentially temporary and problem oriented.

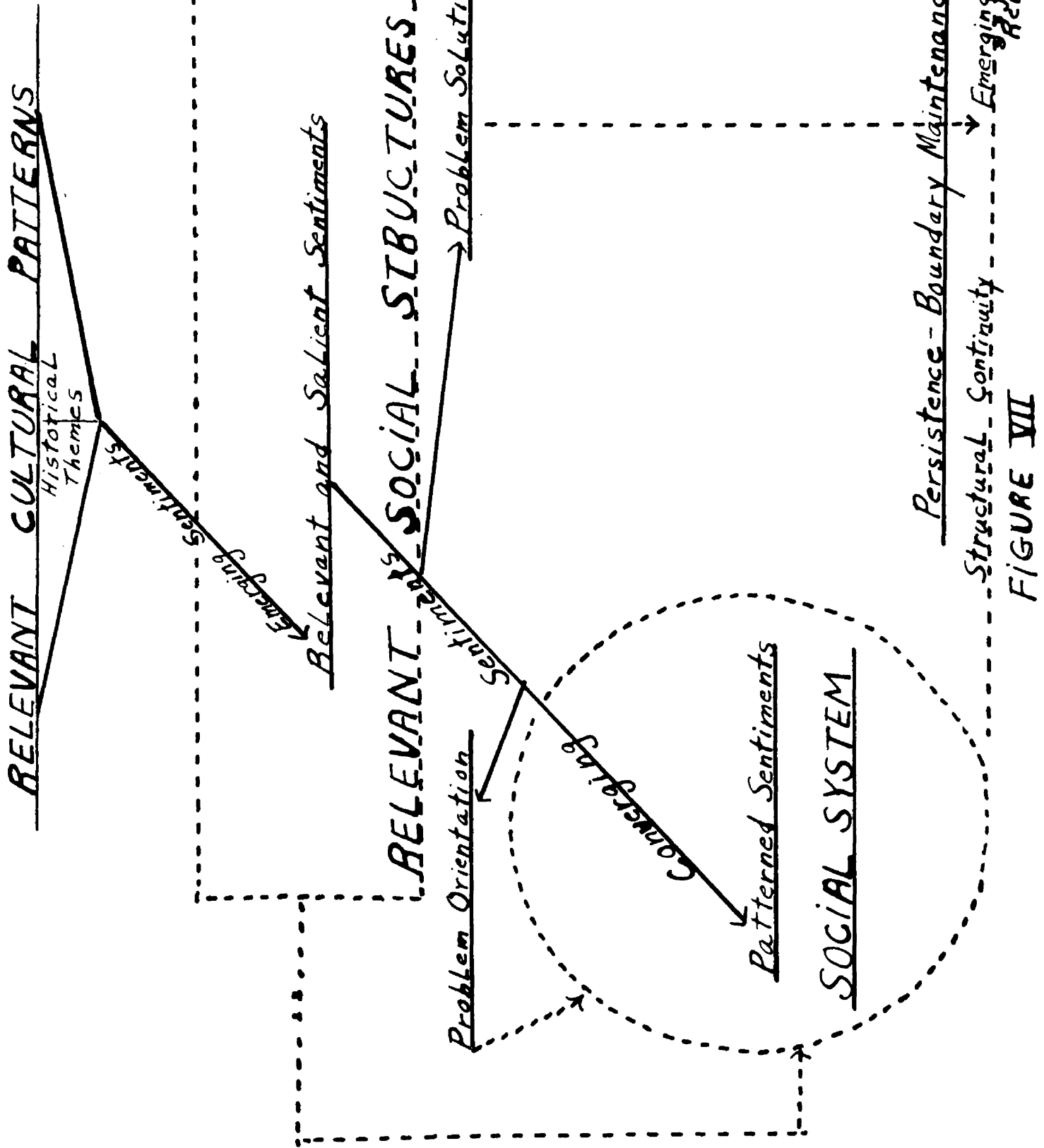


FIGURE VII

Found in the Relevant Cultural Patterns of any society are basic themes which tend to order the behavior of the people and serve as a means to the understanding of the total configuration of the culture. Institutions and associations found within a society share sentiments which have emerged from these themes found within the cultural system. The process of emergence follows the pattern of life which is structured by the society and found in the culture itself. It is not a one way process but a reciprocal one since the institutional and associational structures not only take from the culture certain basic sentiments, but provide the culture with new sets of sentiments which result from innovations and changes brought about through the process of social interaction. Sentiments, then, emerge within a social structure in terms of the particular activity that structure represents. All structures in society, whether institutional or associational, give rise to activities which are beyond the scope of their own action. This ultimately results in new structures of systems which persist through time and are understood in terms of the sentiments which have emerged as a result of the structures which have been responsible for their existence.

The Relevant Structures must be understood as any structures in society which are relevant to the specific social system under analysis. As has been discussed in Chapter I, it is difficult in an empirical sense to exhaust the relative structures which impinge upon a system but analytically they

stand as an explanation for the emergence of any particular social system. Since the Relevant Structures set the stage for the problem orientation of any social system, the sentiments expressed which are relevant to this problem become crucial to the understanding of sentiments within the social system itself.

Within the Social System are found the patterns of relationships which may be expressed in terms of patterned sentiments. These patterned sentiments are indicative of the nature of the system's structure since they manifest the relationships found within the system. It has been further assumed that a quality of all social systems is that of persistency or social continuity. If a social system is intended as being temporary then a question of how continuity is possible becomes curcial.

It has been shown that the social system observed did maintain its structural continuity and persisted through a time span of over two years. Such persistence may be explained by the nature of the basic themes found in the cultural system and the relevant structures. Themes related to the extreme importance of the individual, the beliefs in education, and concern in good health are such basic themes in this dissertation. Although many sentiments found within such themes conflicted with one another, the general agreement which was found in them provided for a commonality of purpose found within the problem orientation which resulted in the system.

The process of feedback allowed for a further quality of persistence, since sentiments generated within a problem orientation and re-structured in terms of its solution did not disappear with the completion of the system but fed back to the relevant structures in a different form from which they emerged. The process found within a social system of this kind provides a reshaping of sentiments which are found within the structures of society and in the cultural system itself.

The process of cultural change, then, can be understood in the very nature of the social systems found in society which emerge through the existence of certain themes and sentiments, redefine such themes and sentiments in the process of their life span and then allow for feedback which provides reinterpretation of such themes and sentiments.

IMPLICATIONS

The major drawback to the theoretical design just proposed is the all inclusive nature of many of the concepts and propositions. In structuring a design to meet the requisites of emergence, it is necessary to broaden the analytical scope to the point that a precise consideration of action and human behavior is difficult. A study in motivation in the social psychological sense or a study in decision making would be difficult to defend by such a model.

The value of a theoretical approach such as this lies in the broad interpretation of meaning found in the content of human interaction. In a purely formalistic approach one

frequently loses sight of much of the meaning behind human activity. A functional explanation of human behavior would find such an analysis difficult to accept and from the functionalist's standpoint an interest in the historical process by which a cultural heritage is acquired would be unnecessary. Yet the functionalist must deal with the cultural makeup of a society and loses some of the crucial meaning through a complete rejection of the historical method. The distinct contribution of this approach, then, is the incorporation of the historical method into a methodological area of sociology which often ignores it.

A further contribution lies in the analysis of the community action programs and social organization. Frequently in their zeal to provide expedient means of organizing successful programs in community action the scientists interested in applied research have emphasized the organizational methods to the exclusion of understanding the relative meanings of such organization in the various levels of the action program. As a result a successful program in organization may be carried out with many unanticipated consequences resulting. It is suggested in this study that an emphasis on the meaning of sentiments found in the various areas of a culture minimize the danger of such results.

It was seen that action programs of this sort do not always meet the primary objectives or goals which were originally set as their orientation. In fact, it is interesting

to note that if such goals were clearly specified, conflicts might arise which would make difficult the accomplishment of any action. This, of course, presents a serious problem in community action. It has been supposed that adequate communication in social action between the communicator and those who receive the communication results in clarified goals and a more successful completion of such action. This study suggests that a clarification of objectives or goals may seriously hinder the program by producing early and immediate conflict in orientation. It is difficult to generalize from this case to all action programs but it certainly seems possible that objectives of any action program should be realized to be multiple and that the true orientation of each segment should be considered, if cooperation is to be realized. A final synthesis of objectives may be necessary but the action that takes place may justify the postponement of any immediate agreement upon orientation.

"FUND OF GOODWILL" RECONSIDERED

Action programs of the sort demonstrated by this dissertation are representative of a large body of projects that take place in community life throughout the country. The intensity that is displayed which such programs are underway seems incomprehensible in the light of the individual objectives manifested. Yet, when viewed in terms of the "fund of goodwill", it can be seen that there exists a potential for action in any community. Such a potential is explained by

existing structures which provide for groups sharing beliefs and sentiments that will serve as a justification for particular programs that are initiated. This "fund of goodwill" that stands as an existing potential in any community not only provides for future action but also receives its "life's blood" from such action, since through the process of feedback each action program that takes place results in the formation of new sets of relationships which are manifested through new and changing sentiments. Thus new friendships are formed, new patterns of obligation created, new formations of values emerge, and finally such relationships that result from the above are fitted into the meaningful whole of the societal behavior from which they gain their identity. The "fund of goodwill", then, becomes a source of willingness on the part of the citizen of any community to dedicate his or her time to activities such as civic projects, club programs, etc., which may be defined as "good for the community". It has been seen in this study that one cannot lightly pass over such symbols as "community good" since they often carry different meaning in content to the person holding them but there is a general pervasiveness in any culture that may provide for a commonality of meaning which gives general support to such symbols. In the case of "community good" it has been shown that the history of American social life has in one way or another supported the theme of individualism. Often running contrary to such beliefs have been those of collectivism.

It was further mentioned in Chapter VIII that a preservation of the autonomy of community action has often been the result of the general belief that the community preserves the autonomy of the individual. It would appear from this study that the many actors observed felt the community to be a guarantee of American Individualism. Any symbols manifested which appeared to be a threat to this belief were frequently opposed. Community action for a community good in many cases, then, was not an attempt to accomplish any specific end in itself, but closely analogous to a ritual by which each actor affirmed his belief in his community. Such affirmation was, of course, tightly inter-connected with the many patterns of obligation that existed in the community prior to the time of the emergent action.

The "fund of goodwill" is therefore dependent upon strong beliefs in the good of the community. Once action has been defined as good for the community, pre-existing patterns of relationship may be activated. Whether any action program is defined as good for the community is dependent upon the meaning that symbols, manifested in the program, have for the individuals contacted. If a program runs in serious conflict with beliefs of the individuals concerned, this "fund of goodwill" may be turned in opposition to the existing program. Certain actors observed in this study at various times provided insight into the latent opposition that existed.

The reason for discussing the "fund of goodwill" in a summary and including it in implications for future research lies in the fact that the problem of structural continuity posed in this dissertation was revealed as the result of a process of action which continues by perpetually feeding back to the relevant structures of society. On an abstract level the "fund of goodwill" is actually an outcome of such a process. When viewed on another level of abstraction, it provides for a reconsideration of all social action programs. The "fund of goodwill" is not to be thought of as some a priori force which acts upon individuals concerned with community action, but instead must be viewed as the natural outcome of a set of traditional patterns of belief linked with existing social relationships in the community. It becomes important to those concerned in community action to be aware of the existence of these patterns and relationships and in this sense it is felt that the above dissertation has provided a descriptive analysis in this direction.

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