

~~204 F-15~~
NN 0201, 310

Farming in cultural change

B. BENVENUTI

Bibliothek
der
Landbou Hogeschool
WAGENINGEN

Stellingen

1. De uitspraak van Maris en Rijnveld: „het zijn immers juist de verschillen in arbeidseffect tussen kleine en grote bedrijven die de kern van het kleine-boerenvraagstuk vormen”, is slechts ten dele juist, omdat andere factoren dan de zuiver technische hierbij een rol spelen.

LEI-Rapport nr. 347: Het kleine-boerenvraagstuk op de zandgronden, ontwikkeling in de periode 1949-1958, blz. 35.

2. Mc.Donald's stelling: „no one familiar with the substance of life among the farm families... seriously entertains the proposition that the nonpecuniary satisfactions of farm life compensate for the statistical income differences”, kan slechts steekhoudend zijn in geval van verregaande modernisering van de plattelandssamenleving.

Stephen Mc.Donald: Farm out-migration as an integrative adjustment to economic growth; Social Forces, Vol. 34, 1955 pg. 128.

3. De voortschrijdende veranderingen op technisch en economisch gebied maken het noodzakelijk dat, bij de besteding van overheidsgelden ten bate van het landbouwkundig onderzoek, men zich los maakt van te sterk historisch bepaalde opvattingen.
4. Voor een goed arbeidseffect in de landbouw zijn een bewuste levenshouding en een zekere mate van rationeel handelen van de boer ten slotte van meer belang dan een aantal hectaren grond.
5. De ontwikkeling van de economische en technische toestand in de landbouw in de Italiaanse Po-vlakte en in het noord-westelijk gedeelte van Groningen gedurende de 19e en 20e eeuw toont aan, dat de krachten die de tegenwoordige toestand bepaald hebben, behoorden tot een overeenkomstig sociaal en cultureel milieu.
6. De methode van de financiering van de landbouw ingevolge de Wet Fanfani in Italië maakt het mogelijk dat, in strijd met de bedoeling van deze wet, een belangrijk deel van de ter beschikking gestelde bedragen niet benut wordt voor de mechanisatie van de landbouwbedrijven.

7. Een duidelijke en uitgesproken toename in de geografische concentratie van de land- en tuinbouwprodukten als gevolg van de uitvoering van het EEG-verdrag mag men in het algemeen niet verwachten.
8. De algemeen gebruikte wijze om de resultaten van de veredeling van landbouwgewassen af te meten naar oppervlakte en meeropbrengst per ha geeft geen juist beeld van de betekenis van de veredeling.
9. Bij de toekomstige planning op het gebied van de veredeling van land- en tuinbouwgewassen zal in hoge mate rekening moeten worden gehouden met het nijpend tekort aan huispersoneel.

1911

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR LENOX TILDEN FOUNDATION
1911

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR LENOX TILDEN FOUNDATION
1911

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR LENOX TILDEN FOUNDATION
1911

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR LENOX TILDEN FOUNDATION
1911

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR LENOX TILDEN FOUNDATION
1911

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR LENOX TILDEN FOUNDATION
1911

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR LENOX TILDEN FOUNDATION
1911

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR LENOX TILDEN FOUNDATION
1911

Farming in cultural change



Dit proefschrift met stellingen van
BRUNO BENVENUTI, landbouwkundig ingenieur,
geboren te Reggio Emilia, Italië, 29 maart 1928,
is goedgekeurd door de promotor, DR. E. W. HOFSTEE,
hoogleraar in de empirische sociologie en sociografie,
alsmede de sociale statistiek.

De Rector Magnificus
der Landbouwhogeschool
W. F. EIJSVOOGEL

Wageningen, 23 oktober 1961

~~04 E 2~~
NN 0201, 310.

Farming in cultural change

PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor in de landbouwkunde
op gezag van de Rector Magnificus, Ir. W. F. Eijsvoogel,
hoogleraar in de hydraulica, de bevoeiing,
de weg- en waterbouwkunde en de bosbouwarchitectuur,
te verdedigen tegen de bedenkingen
van een commissie uit de Senaat
van de Landbouwhogeschool te Wageningen
op vrijdag 24 november 1961 te 16 uur, door

B. BENVENUTI

te Assen bij

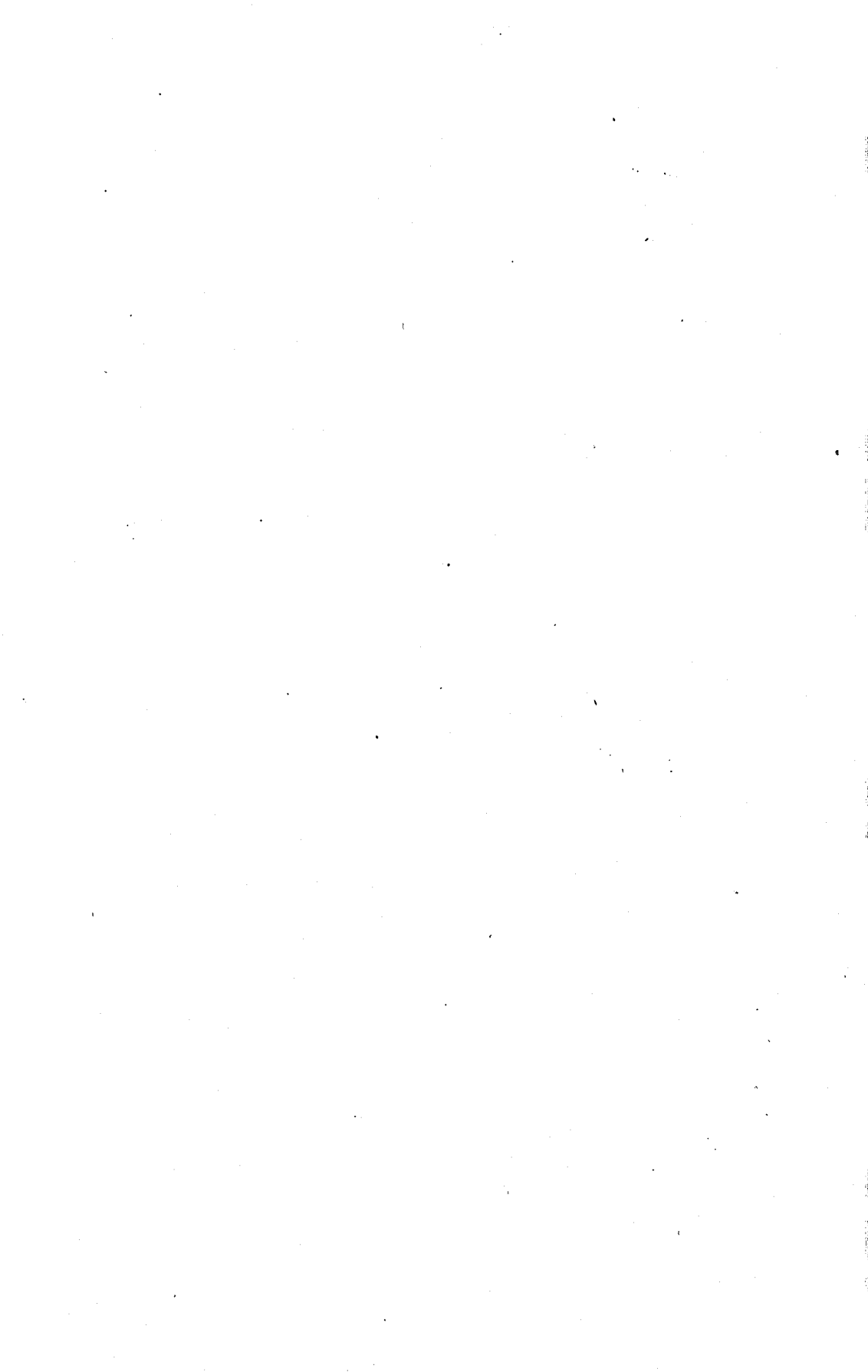
VAN GORCUM & COMP. N.V. - DR. H. J. PRAKKE & H. M. G. PRAKKE

1511-104667-02

**Bibliotheek
der
Landbouw Hogeschool
WAGENINGEN**

To Andrea

that he may know about a type of society
which was in a phase of rapid change
when he was born.



Acknowledgments

This book is the result of four and a half years of research, made possible by a scholarship granted by the Netherlands Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food. This scholarship allowed us to study from the beginning of 1954 to June 1958, in the Department of Rural Sociology of the Agricultural University of Wageningen, the Netherlands.

For the privilege accorded us, we wish to express here our personal gratitude to Dr. S. L. Mansholt, former Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food of the Netherlands, and to Mr. J. J. van der Lee, former Director of the Department for International Organizations of that Ministry.

We also wish to express our gratitude to Dr. Ir. A. W. van de Plassche, at the time Director General of Agriculture of the same Ministry, for the material and intellectual assistance accorded us. Again to Dr. S. L. Mansholt, now a vice-president of the Commission of the European Economic Community, go our particular thanks for sponsoring before the Commission our application for financial help towards costs of printing. We are also indebted to the Commission of the E.E.C., which kindly responded to our request.

To Professor E. W. Hofstee of Wageningen University, we owe very much for many reasons: for his initiation into, and guidance in proper sociological thinking, over a long series of courses and stimulating personal discussions by night as well as by day; for the help and advice frequently asked for and constantly received during four years of scientific research; for the encouragement, the understanding and sympathy, badly needed when a research worker does not yet know what lies ahead in the bulk of material he has gathered. . . ; for the generous hospitality we enjoyed at his Department, and for the warmth with which we were welcomed into the Department's family.

We learned much and we benefited from the friendship, help in the organization and execution of the survey, practical hints on research and advice on theory of E. Abma, H. W. Lijfering, G. A. Kooy, A. W. van den Ban, and A. J. Wickers of the research staff of the Department of Rural Sociology.

We are greatly indebted to Professor I. Samkalden, formerly in Wageningen and at present at the University of Leiden, for his having opened to us his own family circle, and for the generous help he gave us in many fields of life whenever it was needed.

Many others have also contributed to the practical work in this book - from the farmers, informants and local authorities in

Winterswijk, the student-assistants and the technical staff of the Department of Rural Sociology, to all those who took the trouble of going over our English. Unfortunately it is impossible to thank them by name here, just as it is impossible to recall the names of all those who contributed to our work by the sympathetic interest they showed in our activity. Among them we may mention here the family of Mr. J. P. Vering – a Winterswijk farmer of whom we had the privilege of being the guest on several occasions – a good example of conscious, still inner-directed striving for modernization. From them we have learned much in several fields of human experience.

Finally, in the completion of this work we drew much support from the memory of our parents. Among their many other gifts, they supplied an example of what dedication to a cause means, of a pattern of thought and action, and of firmness, resistance and faith in difficult times.

BRUNO BENVENUTI

Preface

This book is actually the history of the development of a dialogue; it began between the writer and some successful farmers and a number of peasants in south-central Italy; it continued in the Netherlands with other farmers; it developed into a discussion with the authors of most of the books and research works quoted in the following pages. . . and it is not yet finished because science has no end.¹

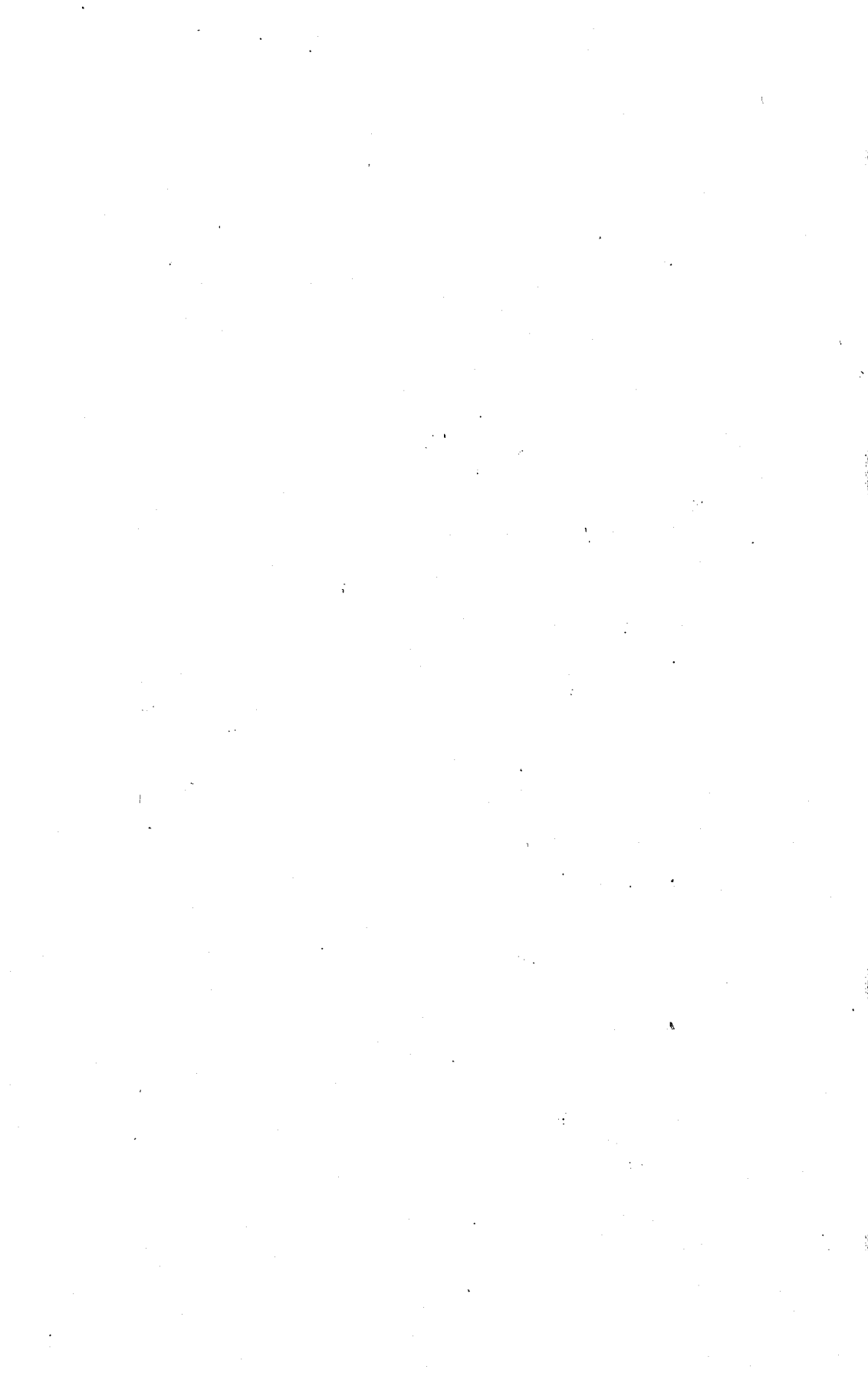
Meanwhile the dialogue itself underwent a change: it started as a question posed by a technician on several technical questions and criteria, and it finished as a sociologist's discussion of the process of modernization of rural society.

In spite of the descriptive and analytical aspects of an entire section of this book, the primary concern of our study has been to discuss in general terms the originating elements of the above-mentioned process. From some generalizations which might have occurred in a work of this kind it should not be automatically inferred that we have light-heartedly underestimated the force of tradition and of traditional society. Coming ourselves from a society still only half "individuated," we fully understand Tönnies' emotional preference for a "Gemeinschaft" – like sort of social organization. Three years after finishing our manuscript we are, however, even more convinced that the only way to prevent both the stresses caused by the persistence of traditionalism in a society subjected to modernizing forces and the dangers of anomie thereby connected, is to facilitate the assimilation of modern norms and values in order to create a mobile mentality.

Brussels, June 1961.

BRUNO BENVENUTI

¹ Owing to a series of practical difficulties this book, though ready by June 1958, could not be printed at an earlier date. Since no research contradicting our practical conclusions has been published since that time, we have preferred to leave the original manuscript unaltered. Therefore, in the present book one will not find any discussion of the doctrinary and methodological developments or of the changes of the situation in Winterswijk, which have taken place after June 1958.



Contents

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	VII
PREFACE	IX
CONTENTS	XI
LIST OF TABLES	XIII
LIST OF GRAPHS	XVII
SUMMARY	XIX
RÉSUMÉ	XXV
SAMENVATTING	XXXI
CHAPTER I - THE PROBLEM	I
Introduction	I
What the results of scientific research tell us	5
The problem	35
CHAPTER II - TOWARDS HYPOTHESES	37
CHAPTER III - THE METHODOLOGY	75
CHAPTER IV - RURAL WINTERSWIJK	103
Economic-geographic situation	103
The Scholten farmers; short outline of their history, function and present position among the farmers of Winterswijk	115
The Neighbourhood as a social unit	123
A sketch of the co-operative movement and its significance for Winterswijk agriculture	134
Agricultural development to the present stage	141
CHAPTER V - IS THERE A CULTURAL PATTERN OF THE PROGRESSIVE FARMER?	149
Typing of progressive and conservative farmers. (Typing of group A and group B according to the answers given to our questions by 25 Winterswijk key-persons;)	160
Direct answers of five key-persons, dealing with the attitudes of group A and group B toward technical progress;	164
Six case-studies of Winterswijk farm families	189
CHAPTER VI - THE ANALYSIS OF THE CULTURE PATTERN OF WINTERSWIJK FARMING POPULATION	229
Some selected aspects of the farm operator's individual life	233
1. The interviewee's age, and the age at which he became an independent farm operator	233
2. The interviewee's age at marriage	237
3. Farm tenure (owners and tenants)	240
4. The training of the farm operator	243
5. Job- and residence-mobility	251
6. Membership of political parties	254
7. Church attendance	256
8. Membership in professional and non professional formal organizations	259
9. Social relations with neighbours and with farmers	271
10. Travelling habits	272
11. Reading habits	281
The home- and family-environment	288

1. The homemaker (wife)	290
a. age;	290
b. provenience;	293
c. formal associational life;	296
d. formal training	296
e. experience of work outside the parental home;.	300
f. the homemaker's help on the farm;.	301
2. The family type	301
a. the extended family;	302
b. the children	304
- the number of children;.	304
- the school-training of the children;.	312
- the formal associational life of the children;.	315
3. Some other aspects of the household	317
a. vacations;.	317
b. presence of guests;.	317
c. facilities present in the household;.	319
d. the length of the working day;.	325
e. visits to selected cultural agencies;.	327
The farm management	334
1. The labour productivity;	335
2. The farm management;	339
3. The small livestock;	342
4. The application of some managerial techniques;	344
5. The adoption of four farm practices;	349
6. The contact with the Agricultural Extension Service;	354
An attempt for a further explanation.	359
1. Some opinions of Winterswijk farmers;	360
2. The distance of the dwelling to the paved roads;.	376
CHAPTER VII - CONCLUSIONS	383
BIBLIOGRAPHY	402
APPENDIX I - Concept interview with 25 key-persons (informants) of Winterswijk - February-April 1956.	417
APPENDIX II - Questionnaire for the survey.	435
APPENDIX III - Codebook survey Winterswijk.	451
APPENDIX IV - Short scale for socio-economic status	465
APPENDIX V - Short scale for measuring modernity of farm management (Winterswijk, summer 1955).	467
APPENDIX VI - Four items of the farm management of Winterswijk farmers examined separately per neighbourhood and per farm-size	469

List of tables

TABLE 1	Total adjustment and formal social participation	63
TABLE 2	The distribution of the "score 10 answers" of 484 Winterswijk farm operators	92
TABLE 3	Percentages of the total number of persons employed in the different professional branches	106
TABLE 4	Bus connections between Winterswijk and the nearest major towns	110
TABLE 5	Railway connections of Winterswijk	110
TABLE 6	Development of the number of employed men in Winterswijk	110
TABLE 7	Variation of the composition of the Municipal Council from 1900 to 1954.	111
TABLE 8	Inhabitants, surface, population-density, and farm-size in Winterswijk	125
TABLE 9	Development of the milk production in Winterswijk from 1950 to 1954.	139
TABLE 10	Average milk production obtained by all Winterswijk farmers during the years 1946-1954	140
TABLE 11	Density of dairy-cows, chickens and hogs on Winterswijk farms	145
TABLE 12	The development of the ratio arable land/grassland in the Winterswijk countryside from 1896 to 1954	146
TABLE 13	Increase of cultivated land and of the number of farm operators in the period 1896-1950 (index 1896 = 100)	146
TABLE 14	Percentage distribution of the total number of farms among the different size-classes	147
TABLE 15	Percentage of the farm operators in the different size-classes.	149
TABLE 16	Distribution of the interviewed farm operators along the continuum	151
TABLE 17	Age of Winterswijk farm operators according to score 10 answers, per size-class, in percents of the totals	154
TABLE 18	Correlation between score 10 answers and style of living of Winterswijk farmers	155
TABLE 19	Relation between the score 10 answers and the analytical scale for farm management	156
TABLE 20	Characterisation of the people of group A and group B according to the spontaneous reactions of 25 Winterswijk key-persons	158
TABLE 21	Typing of group A and group B according to the answers given to our questions by 25 Winterswijk key-persons	160
TABLE 22	Winterswijk farmers' age at becoming independent farm operators, according to score 10 answers.	235
TABLE 23	Age of marriage of Winterswijk farmers, according to score 10 answers	237
TABLE 24	Winterswijk owners and tenants, according to score 10 answers	241
TABLE 25	Average score of Winterswijk owners, tenants of family members, and tenants of non-family members, per size-class	242
TABLE 26	Relation between the type and level of formal education enjoyed by Winterswijk farmers and score 10 answers	244
TABLE 27	Winterswijk farmers' formal education as related to score 10 answers at farm-size constant	246

TABLE 28	The capacity of decision-making of Winterswijk farmers at equal degrees of training and farm-size	250
TABLE 29	Distribution of party membership among the three size-classes of Winterswijk farmers	254
TABLE 30	Relation of party membership with the score 10 answers per size-class	255
TABLE 31	Degree of Church attendance of Winterswijk Dutch Reformed farmers according to score 10 answers	257
TABLE 32	Formal social participation of Winterswijk farmers. Number of membership pro capita, according to score 10 answers	262
TABLE 33	Participation of Winterswijk farmers in farmers' Unions, according to score 10 answers	264
TABLE 34	Qualitative membership of Winterswijk farmers according to score 10 answers	266
TABLE 35	Number of Winterswijk farmers holding at least one board function in agricultural organizations, according to 10 answers score	267
TABLE 36	Winterswijk farmers' membership in non professional organizations, according to score 10 answers.	268
TABLE 37	Degree of extra-neighbourhood association of Winterswijk farmers according to score 10 answers.	272
TABLE 38	"Quantity" of travelling of Winterswijk farmers, according to score 10 answers	273
TABLE 39	Purpose of travelling of Winterswijk farmers, according to score 10 answers	275
TABLE 40	Place of destination of Winterswijk farmers' travels, according to score 10 answers	277
TABLE 41	Manner of travelling of Winterswijk farmers, according to score 10 answers	278
TABLE 42	Manner of travelling of Winterswijk farmers, according to score 10 answers by constant farm-size.	279
TABLE 43	The reading of Winterswijk farmers (non-technical literature) according to score 10 answers	284
TABLE 44	Winterswijk farmers' reading of technical literature according to score 10 answers	287
TABLE 45	Age of Winterswijk homemakers according to the score obtained by their husbands	291
TABLE 46	Economic provenience of Winterswijk homemakers according to the score obtained by their husbands	294
TABLE 47	Geographic provenience of the homemaker, according to the score 10 answers	295
TABLE 48	Relation between Winterswijk homemakers holding memberships of formal women's organizations and the score obtained by their husbands	297
TABLE 49	Relation between the amount of training received by Winterswijk homemakers and the score received by their husbands.	298

TABLE 50	Type of household of the Winterswijk farming population according to score 10 answers	303
TABLE 51	Number of children of the Winterswijk farmers, as related to score 10 answers	305
TABLE 52	Average score obtained by Winterswijk farmers, according to the number of children, in each of the three size-classes.	307
TABLE 53	Relation between the score and the presence in the family of sons younger than 15 years of age	310
TABLE 54	Average score of Winterswijk farmers without children, and of the farmers whose sons have not yet reached the 15th year of age. . . .	311
TABLE 55	Relation between the type of training received by Winterswijk young farmers and the score received by their fathers	313
TABLE 56	Relationship between score 10 answers and the farmers' children being members of formal associations	316
TABLE 57	Presence of guests in Winterswijk households according to score 10 answers	318
TABLE 58	Distribution of the "modernisation favouring" facilities among Winterswijk farming population, according to score 10 answers	320
TABLE 59	Quantitative use of "modernity favoured" household facilities made by Winterswijk farmers according to score 10 answers.	324
TABLE 60	Day-length of Winterswijk farmers according to score 10 answers .	326
TABLE 61	Relation between the score 10 answers and the number of Winterswijk farmers who have visited the A, B and C cultural agencies at least once during the first six months of 1955	329
TABLE 62	Average labour performance of Winterswijk farmers according to score 10 answers	336
TABLE 63	Average labour force per farm, expressed in Adult-Male Workers, according to score 10 answers	338
TABLE 64	Relation between the score 10 answers and the number of farmers who cultivate 72% or less of their arable land with grain crops, expressed in percent of the total for each score group.	339
TABLE 65	Relation between the score 10 answers and the number of farmers cultivate 25% or more of their arable land with fallow crops, expressed in percent of the total for each score group.	340
TABLE 66	Relation between the score 10 answers and the number of farms having a density of 1.4 dairy cows or more per ha grassland, expressed in per cent of the total for each score group	340
TABLE 67	Average number of poultry and hogs present on Winterswijk farms, according to score 10 answers	343
TABLE 68	Average quantities of artificial nitrogenous fertilizer spread per hectare grassland by Winterswijk farmers, according to score 10 answers	345
TABLE 69	Average number of days spent by Winterswijk cattle on the same parcel of grassland, according to score 10 answers.	346
TABLE 70	Average number of agricultural machines used by Winterswijk farmers according to the score 10 answers	348

TABLE 71	Adoption of concreted manure-pits and liquid manure tanks by Winterswijk farmers, according to score 10 answers	351
TABLE 72	Adoption of potato- and green-fodder silos by Winterswijk farmers, according to score 10 answers	352
TABLE 73	The contact of Winterswijk farmers with the Agricultural Extension Service (in 1951), according to score 10 answers.	356
TABLE 74	Average "reasonable" yearly incomes of Winterswijk farmers, per score group and size-class	366
TABLE 75	Relation between the distance of Winterswijk farms from the paved roads and the score 10 answers	379

List of graphs

GRAPH 1	- Distribution of the members of society along a continuum dynamism-fixity	71
GRAPH 2	- The distribution curve of the score obtained by 484 Winterswijk farm operators	95
GRAPH 3	- Relation between the score obtained by 484 Winterswijk farm operators and the size of their farms	150
GRAPH 4	- Relation between the score obtained by 484 Winterswijk farm operators and their exercising agriculture as a principal or a se- condary occupation	249
GRAPH 5	- Relative increase in activity a, b, and c according to score 10 answers	331
GRAPH 6	- Desired facilities in the household	363
GRAPH 7	- Attitude towards income	364
GRAPH 8	- Opinion about bookkeeping for the farm	365
GRAPH 9	- Farmers' opinion regarding the most suitable age for their children to acquaint themselves with the financial situation of farm and household	370
GRAPH 10	- Attitude towards farming tradition	371
GRAPH 11	- Satisfaction with farm life	373
GRAPH 12	- Farmers wives' satisfaction with the school training received. . .	374

Chapter 10

The first part of the chapter discusses the importance of understanding the underlying structure of the data. This is particularly true for time series data, where the temporal dependence between observations is a key feature. The second part of the chapter focuses on the estimation of the parameters of the model, and the third part discusses the diagnostic checking of the residuals.

The first part of the chapter discusses the importance of understanding the underlying structure of the data. This is particularly true for time series data, where the temporal dependence between observations is a key feature. The second part of the chapter focuses on the estimation of the parameters of the model, and the third part discusses the diagnostic checking of the residuals.

The first part of the chapter discusses the importance of understanding the underlying structure of the data. This is particularly true for time series data, where the temporal dependence between observations is a key feature. The second part of the chapter focuses on the estimation of the parameters of the model, and the third part discusses the diagnostic checking of the residuals.

The first part of the chapter discusses the importance of understanding the underlying structure of the data. This is particularly true for time series data, where the temporal dependence between observations is a key feature. The second part of the chapter focuses on the estimation of the parameters of the model, and the third part discusses the diagnostic checking of the residuals.

The first part of the chapter discusses the importance of understanding the underlying structure of the data. This is particularly true for time series data, where the temporal dependence between observations is a key feature. The second part of the chapter focuses on the estimation of the parameters of the model, and the third part discusses the diagnostic checking of the residuals.

The first part of the chapter discusses the importance of understanding the underlying structure of the data. This is particularly true for time series data, where the temporal dependence between observations is a key feature. The second part of the chapter focuses on the estimation of the parameters of the model, and the third part discusses the diagnostic checking of the residuals.

The first part of the chapter discusses the importance of understanding the underlying structure of the data. This is particularly true for time series data, where the temporal dependence between observations is a key feature. The second part of the chapter focuses on the estimation of the parameters of the model, and the third part discusses the diagnostic checking of the residuals.

The first part of the chapter discusses the importance of understanding the underlying structure of the data. This is particularly true for time series data, where the temporal dependence between observations is a key feature. The second part of the chapter focuses on the estimation of the parameters of the model, and the third part discusses the diagnostic checking of the residuals.

Summary

This piece of research, "Farming in Cultural Change," is a study of the social factors influencing productivity in agriculture; among other things it is intended as a study of the influence of the urban pattern of culture upon farm management. This work is carried out by studying the process of urbanisation in which the agricultural population is involved, in varying degrees throughout the country. The effects of the process were examined in the Dutch municipality of Winterswijk; the study of the local society was based on a survey of a group of farmers and their wives chosen at random, on detailed interviews with local key-persons, and on personal participation in the life of the local community at several intervals during the course of the research.

The "labour effect" reached on their farms was taken as a yardstick for judging of the results of farm management obtained by the farmers included in the survey; this labour effect is expressed in standard hours of labour per adult male worker (1 "standard hour" is about 1/10 "productive man work unit").

The author shows first how the need for a study of this type becomes clear as soon as one consults the existing literature on the social factors influencing farm management. Prominent in this literature are the numerous and extensive studies on the acceptance of new farm practices. The author's opinion is that, in order to understand and to explain certain phenomena in which the socio-cultural aspects possibly play an important role, one should particularly take care not to attach too absolute a value to technical elements. This holds good, therefore, also with respect to the study of the manner in which an agricultural enterprise is managed. The function of factors such as size of the farm, or the age of the farmer, etc. can best be understood in its full importance if these factors are considered in the framework of the type of culture in which they are placed; otherwise one meets with seeming contradictions for which the use of only purely technical criteria does not offer the possibility of a satisfactory explanation. For instance, it is certainly not true that all the large farmers are more progressive than the small ones - which, however, should be the case if farmers' progressiveness were in a direct relation of cause and effect with the size of the farm.

During the discussion of the literature attention is drawn to three main points:

1. the insufficiency of several more or less mechanical explanations as such for the results of the total behaviour

of a farmer. The same is true frequently also for many unilateral explanations of pure individual psychological nature.

2. The fact that certain agricultural phenomena in which the human factor is involved show clearly the general characteristics of acculturation. Such is particularly the case, for instance, with the acceptance of new agricultural practices. Furthermore the acceptance of new agricultural practices seems clearly to go hand in hand with the occurrence of urban cultural traits in the life of the farmers concerned.
3. The strong probability of being able to include the factors influencing the efficiency of farm management in a general sociological theory which could facilitate their interpretation. This possibility leads the author to the statement of the purposes of the study, referred to at the beginning of this summary.

In Chapter II the sociological and socio-psychological backgrounds of some aspects of the urbanisation of rural areas are discussed. After some considerations about what should be understood by "urbanization," the author arrives at the conclusion that in the contact of urban and rural culture there is born, among other things, a change of individual attitudes towards everything that is new. This changed attitude derives from the active mental and material participation in the western-industrial social structure based upon a modern western system of values. According to the writer, in bringing about such a change of attitude the primary element is not constituted as such by the material and visible dominance of city life over country life, which mostly draws first the observer's attention; the primary element is the process of contact, through which the rural population acquires a clearer consciousness of the position it occupies in the structure and in the life of society. Through this process the rural population arrives at a conscious modernism which manifests itself in a progressive pattern of culture. *Urbanism and an urban pattern of culture are not absolutely essential to the birth of this progressive pattern of culture; they only are the most important channels through which the traditionalistic and locally oriented forms of community life*

come into contact with the general system of modern western values.

Using sociological and socio-psychological criteria, it is possible to explain how participation within certain social structures influences the individual personality-type, contributing thereby to an understanding of the degree of individual mental dynamism. The four hypotheses to which the author reaches at the end of this chapter can be summarized as follows: there exists a culture pattern typical of the progressive farmer. This modern culture pattern gradually penetrates the countryside and is characterized by the farmer's orientation towards the outside world, and by his having a personal, definite position vis-à-vis the problems and the events of the world around him. Such a culture-pattern develops in the situation of cultural contact with the western town and has a totalitarian character: i.e. it influences the total behaviour of the human group concerned, including therein its farm management. On the basis of the theoretical considerations made in chapter II, in chapter III is developed a rough method to facilitate the comparison between traditional and progressive farmers. The degree to which the individual feels involved in the great modern social structure is taken as a yardstick of his progressiveness. On such a basis a rough operational scale is created by taking into account the capacity of the interviewed farmer to give a clear-cut concrete answer to questions relating to the connexion existing between farm life and modern society. However, neither the particular questions themselves, nor the answers as such were considered to be of primary importance. Then such questions were put to the interviewees, and one point was given to each answer showing clearly that the interviewee had full consciousness of (those) vital problems of which it is reasonable to suppose that a *modern* farmer *should* be aware, irrespective of whether the answer itself was positive or negative. In this way it was possible to obtain a score ranging from 0 to 10. This score constitutes thus a yardstick to which it is possible to relate the other aspects of the interviewees' life in order to analyse them.

In Chapter V the technique of research previously described is applied. Each one of the 520 interviewed farmers is assigned a number of points forming a score varying from 0 to 10. Owing to the lack of technical data, or to too wide deviations from the average in their farm management, 36 interviewed farmers fell out of the group. There remained therefore 484 farmers; from this group were selected the farmers of the two extreme score-

groups (i.e. the 0-4 score group and the 8-10 score group). The breaks in the continuum were made in such a way as to obtain groupings big enough to enable the execution of subsequent tabulations. In the two extreme score-groups are gathered, respectively, the farmers who showed themselves to be insufficiently capable to give an answer to the test-questions (called B-farmers) and those who could answer eight or more of such questions (called A-farmers). These two opposed groups are subsequently grouped in separate type-categories by using the answers obtained during the interviews with local key-persons (see Appendix 1). The direct comparison of the two groups is further facilitated by the case-studies of six farm-families (the families of 3 A- and 3 B-farmers) which give a good example of the psychological and cultural gap existing between the members of the two groups.

This part of the research shows that there exist substantial cultural differences between the two groups of farmers taken as a whole; it shows further, that the members of the A-group are in general more progressive than the members of the B-group. At the same time it becomes clear that the culture pattern of the A-farmers shows a higher degree of urbanisation and that it fosters the individuation of the group's member more than the culture pattern of the B-farmers does. The analysis of some aspects of local culture (chapter VII), carried out by means of the established yardstick (the score), shows that the penetration of the modern pattern of culture in the countryside happens gradually and that the A-farmers' group is particularly characterized by a more active participation in modern social life, both mentally and materially. In other words, it is possible to distinguish among the Winterswijk farming population a socio-cultural stratification with respect to the modern structure and style of life. This implies in fact that in a western country with a reasonably high average welfare level there can also exist culturally "underdeveloped" social groups; in particular, this can happen even within the same geographic administrative unit. As far as the practice of the economic activity (agriculture) is concerned the A-farmers show a more pronounced readiness to accept new farming techniques.

In this respect the difference is even more obvious when the total labour effect attained on the farm is taken into consideration. This phenomenon is clearly shown in the following table, in which the average labour effect attained per score-group and per class of farm size is given.

Relation between score 10 answers and labour effect per Male Adult Worker

Score	Farm size		
	2-6 ha	7-9 ha	10 ha and more
0-4 (B)	3200 S.H.	3300 S.H.	4000 S.H.
5-7	3500 S.H.	3700 S.H.	4300 S.H.
8-10 (A)	3900 S.H.	4000 S.H.	4800 S.H.

At this point the question rises whether or not the differences in labour effect observed here above are related to differences in the farmer's mentality, and whether both are really culturally determined or not. An alternative could be that both differences depend primarily on the farmer's inborn personality traits. That the differences shown here above are related to the way of thinking of the members of the farming population is shown by a number of questions about personal opinions. Of these the most significant is the question about the level of income regarded by the interviewee as "reasonable" for his own circumstances. The following table shows that among the farmers of the same size-category there exist great differences in expectations about income. The farmers who scored higher had also higher income expectations.

Yearly average incomes considered reasonable by Winterswijk farmers

Score	Farm size		
	2-6 ha	7-9 ha	10 ha and more
0-4 (B)	3500 fl/year	4400 fl/year	4700 fl/year
5-7	4600 fl/year	5000 fl/year	6000 fl/year
8-10 (A)	4700 fl/year	5300 fl/year	6300 fl/year

The idea that this way of thinking for a great part is caused by contacts with the environment and not by inborn personal qualities is justified by the data in the following table. In this table it is possible to discern a clear relationship between the distance of the farm from the paved road (i.e. the possibility for more extended participation in the modern social structure) and the score obtained by the farmer:

Distance	Score 0-4 (B)	Score 5-7	Score 8-10 (A)
0 - 250 m	33%	57%	83%
251 - 500 m	37%	21%	10%
501 - 750 m	16%	15%	2%
751 - 1000 m	9%	4%	2%

It is therefore reasonably justified to assume that the farmer's behaviour is influenced in all its forms by the degree of contact with modern life.¹

At the same time this implies that the farmer's behaviour can also to a great extent be consciously influenced, at least as far as this influence concentrates on adapting him to modern culture.

In the last chapter (chapter VII) some considerations are made on the significance and the functions of the élites in the social change; thereafter follow a few considerations about some problems and ideas related to rural life which, in the author's opinion, too frequently are seen exclusively from a technical point of view.

¹ In this piece of research no further reference is made to the practical importance of this phenomenon, which obviously can be seen in every aspect both of the social and of the technical manifestations of life. In this context we intend only to attract the reader's attention to the significance of the phenomenon in the alteration of both individual behaviour and the social structure of rural areas.

Résumé

«Farming in cultural change» est une étude des facteurs sociaux qui influencent la productivité en agriculture. Elle vise, entre autres, à étudier l'influence exercée par un type¹ «urbain» de culture sur la gestion des entreprises agricoles. Ce but est poursuivi en examinant concrètement le processus d'urbanisation auquel, dans tout pays moderne, la population agricole est soumise dans une mesure plus ou moins grande.

Ce processus fut étudié dans la commune néerlandaise de Winterswijk. Une enquête y fut exécutée auprès d'un groupe de chefs d'exploitation (et de leur femmes) choisis au hasard. Il fut ensuite procédé à des interviews détaillées avec des personnalités locales, tandis qu'en même temps l'auteur participa à plusieurs reprises à la vie de la société de cette commune.

On caractérisa la gestion des entreprises par «l'effet du travail»² obtenu sur les entreprises des chefs d'exploitation enquêtés; cet «effet du travail» a été exprimé en «heures standard» par U.T. (1 heure standard équivaut à peu près à 1/10 «productive man work unit»).

L'auteur montre d'abord que l'analyse de la littérature concernant l'influence des facteurs sociaux sur la gestion des entreprises fait apparaître l'intérêt d'une telle étude. On s'est attaché, jusqu'à présent, à des recherches assez complètes sur l'adoption de nouvelles techniques agricoles. L'auteur pense souhaitable de ne pas accorder à des éléments purement techniques une valeur trop absolue, lorsqu'on cherche à comprendre et à expliquer des phénomènes dans lesquels les facteurs culturels jouent vraisemblablement un rôle important. Ceci vaut en particulier en ce qui concerne l'étude de la façon dont une entreprise agricole est gérée. L'effet de facteurs, tels que la grandeur de l'entreprise, ou bien l'âge de l'exploitant, etc., peut être mieux compris si on les replace dans le cadre culturel auquel ils appartiennent. Les seuls critères techniques de gestion ne permettent qu'une analyse parfois trop succincte, qui n'explique pas certaines contradictions apparentes. Par exemple, les gros exploitants n'ont certes pas toujours l'esprit plus ouvert que les petits. C'est cependant la conclusion à laquelle on arriverait si, sur le vu de la relation entre taille et gestion des exploitations, on admettait une relation de cause à effet entre taille de l'exploitation et ouverture au progrès de l'exploitant. Au cours de l'étude bibliographique l'auteur attire l'attention sur trois points principaux:

¹ On a traduit par "type" le terme anglais «pattern.»

² Voir l'explication dans le texte.

1. L'insuffisance de certaines explications plus ou moins mécanistes qui ne sauraient, à elles seules, rendre compte du comportement global des agriculteurs. Ceci est vrai aussi des explications n'ayant recours qu'à la psychologie individuelle.
2. Le fait que les phénomènes agricoles comportant une contribution humaine ont les caractéristiques propres aux phénomènes d'acculturation. Ceci est, par exemple, typiquement le cas de l'adoption des techniques agricoles nouvelles. Il y a, en outre, parallélisme entre l'adoption par l'agriculteur chef d'exploitation de techniques nouvelles, et l'apparition dans sa vie privée de traits caractéristiques d'une culture «urbaine.»
3. L'intérêt que présente l'élaboration d'une théorie sociologique générale dans laquelle on puisse replacer les facteurs influençant l'efficacité de la gestion des entreprises; ceci amène l'auteur à énoncer les buts de la présente étude, dont il a déjà été fait mention au début de ce résumé.

Les causes sociologiques et socio-psychologiques de certains aspects de «l'urbanisation» des campagnes sont discutées dans le chapitre II. Après avoir analysé ce qu'il faut entendre par «urbanisation,» l'auteur constate que le contact entre culture urbaine et culture rurale détermine, entre autres, un changement de l'attitude des individus à l'égard du nouveau. Ce changement d'attitude provient de ce qu'ils font de plus en plus activement partie d'une société moderne, basée sur un système de valeurs et de normes propres à la civilisation industrielle de type occidental. D'après l'auteur, l'élément déterminant est moins l'apparition de conditions matérielles d'existence «urbaines,» que la «prise de conscience,» en elle-même, de leur situation sociale des populations rurales. Grâce à cette prise de conscience le modernisme est adopté en pleine connaissance de cause, et se manifeste à travers un type de culture ouvert au progrès. *Les aspects matériels d'un type de culture urbaine ne sont pas la condition suffisante, ni peut-être même nécessaire, d'un tel processus évolutif.* Ils ne sont que le truchement par lequel les sociétés traditionnelles assez fermées aux influences extérieures sont entrées en contact avec les systèmes des valeurs et des normes de la civilisation moderne occidentale.

A l'aide de critères sociologiques et psycho-sociologiques, on peut

expliquer comment la participation à certaines structures sociales influence le type de personnalité individuelle et justifie les différents degrés de mobilité psychique.

Les quatre hypothèses auxquelles l'auteur arrive à la fin de ce chapitre peuvent être résumées de la façon suivante: il existe un type de culture caractéristique des agriculteurs ouverts au progrès. C'est un type moderne de culture qui pénètre graduellement les régions rurales et dont les caractéristiques sont l'orientation des individus vers le monde extérieur et une certaine aptitude à avoir sur les principaux problèmes concernant leur propre existence, une opinion personnelle. Ce type de culture se développe par un contact socio-culturel entre ville et campagne et possède un caractère total, c.à.d. qu'il influence le comportement du groupe humain intéressé, dans tous ses aspects, y compris la façon de gérer une entreprise agricole. Sur la base des considérations théoriques énoncées dans le 2^{me} chapitre, une méthode est élaborée dans le 3^{me} chapitre qui permet de comparer agriculteurs traditionnels et agriculteurs modernes. La mesure dans laquelle les individus s'intéressent aux structures de la société moderne a été prise comme critère de leur ouverture au progrès. Une échelle empirique fut construite à cet effet, basée sur la capacité du chef d'entreprise enquêté à donner une réponse concrète et bien délimitée à un certain nombre de questions concernant la place des activités agricoles dans la société moderne; mais, le type de question en lui-même et la réponse proprement dite ne sont pas ici des critères primordiaux. Dix questions furent ainsi posées. Lorsqu'il s'avérait, d'après la réponse, que la personne enquêtée avait pleine conscience des problèmes sur lesquels on l'avait interrogée, on lui assignait un point, quelle que fut la nature de la réponse. On obtint ainsi un indice variable de 0 à 10. Cet indice est dans la suite de l'étude utilisé comme une référence à laquelle on compare les autres aspects de la vie des personnes enquêtées.

Le 4^{me} chapitre donne une description sommaire de la vie sociale de Winterswijk. Dans le chapitre v, la méthode de recherche élaborée est mise en application: chacun des 520 chefs d'entreprise enquêtés furent notés et on obtint finalement pour chacun d'eux l'indice global variant de 0 à 10. A cause de l'insuffisance de renseignements techniques, ou parce que leurs systèmes de production étaient trop différents de ceux pratiqués normalement dans la commune, 36 chefs d'exploitation furent éliminés dans les calculs suivants. Il restait donc 484 agriculteurs qui ont été, d'après l'indice, subdivisés en trois groupes: 0-4; 5-7; 8-10. On

a cherché à constituer des groupements suffisamment nombreux pour que les calculs qui suivent soient possibles.

Les chefs d'exploitation des deux groupes extrêmes sont donc, de 0-4, ceux qui ne furent capables de donner qu'un nombre de réponses très insuffisant (appelés agriculteurs B) et, de 8-10, ceux qui, au contraire, répondirent à huit questions ou plus (appelés agriculteurs A). Deux listes, l'une contenant les noms des agriculteurs du groupe A, et l'autre ceux des agriculteurs du groupe B, furent ensuite soumises à vingt-cinq personnalités de la commune; ces personnalités furent ensuite priées, au cours d'une interview, de caractériser ces deux groupes. On montre, par la suite, à l'aide de six courtes monographies concernant trois ménages A et trois ménages B, la distance psychologique et culturelle existant entre les membres des deux groupes. Elles facilitent ainsi la comparaison directe entre les agriculteurs des deux groupes.

La première partie de l'étude montre qu'il existe de sensibles différences culturelles entre les deux groupes pris dans leur ensemble et que les membres du groupe A sont, en général, plus ouverts au progrès que ceux du groupe B.

Il apparaît clairement que les agriculteurs A ont un type de culture qui révèle un degré plus élevé d'individualisation et d'urbanisation que le type de culture des agriculteurs B. L'analyse de certains aspects de la culture locale (7^{me} chapitre), faite sur la base de l'indice élaboré dans la 1^{ère} partie, montre que la pénétration du «type moderne de culture» dans la société rurale se réalise graduellement. Le groupe des agriculteurs A se caractérise en particulier par une participation morale et matérielle plus active à la vie d'une société industrielle plus vaste que la communauté rurale à laquelle ils appartenaient initialement. En d'autres termes, on doit constater que dans la population agricole de Winterswijk il existe, à conditions matérielles d'existence comparables, une stratification sociale en fonction du degré de modernisation du genre de vie. Ceci implique donc que des groupes sociaux «retardés» peuvent exister même dans un pays occidental dont le niveau moyen de bien-être est raisonnablement élevé; ceci est aussi possible en particulier à l'intérieur de la même unité administrative ou géographique.

En ce qui concerne l'activité économique (agriculture), les agriculteurs A font preuve d'une plus grande disposition à adopter des techniques agricoles nouvelles. La différence entre agriculteurs A et agriculteurs B est particulièrement nette lorsqu'on prend en considération «l'effet du travail» obtenu sur les exploitations.

On trouvera dans le tableau suivant «l'effet du travail» moyen par groupe de chefs d'exploitation enquêtés et par grandeur de l'entreprise.

Effet du travail exprimé en Heures Standard

Indice	Grandeur de l'entreprise		
	ha 2-6	ha 7-9	ha 10 et plus
0-4 (agriculteurs B)	3.200 H.S.	3.300 H.S.	4.000 H.S.
5-7	3.500 H.S.	3.700 H.S.	4.300 H.S.
8-10 (agriculteurs A)	3.900 H.S.	4.000 H.S.	4.800 H.S.

La question se pose alors de savoir si les différences enregistrées ci-dessus dans l'effet du travail, doivent être considérées comme allant de pair avec des différences dans la mentalité des chefs d'entreprise et si les unes et les autres sont vraiment déterminées par des particularités culturelles, ou bien si, au contraire, elles dépendent en premier lieu des caractéristiques personnelles innées des individus intéressés. Le fait que ces différences dans l'effet du travail sont en relation avec des différences de mentalité des membres de la population de Winterswijk est confirmé par les réponses données à un certain nombre de questions, portant sur des opinions personnelles. La plus significative d'entre elles se réfère au revenu considéré par l'agriculteur comme «raisonnable» pour un individu dans sa situation. Le tableau suivant montre qu'à l'intérieur de chaque classe de superficie des exploitations il existe des vues très variables en ce qui concerne le niveau de revenu considéré comme «raisonnable.» Les agriculteurs appartenant au groupe A trouvent normal d'avoir un revenu plus élevé et des exigences de vie supérieures à leur collègues des autres groupes.

Revenu considéré comme raisonnable

Indice	2-6 ha	7-9 ha	10 ha et plus
0-4 (B)	3.500 fl./an	4.400 fl./an	4.700 fl./an
5-7	4.400 fl./an	5.000 fl./an	6.000 fl./an
8-10 (A)	4.700 fl./an	5.300 fl./an	6.300 fl./an

La dialectique du développement entre les qualités innées des individus et la mesure dans laquelle les contacts avec le monde moderne sont possibles est mise en évidence par le tableau qui suit.

Il montre l'existence d'une relation très nette entre l'indice qui caractérise l'agriculteur et la distance de sa ferme à la route goudronnée la plus proche.

Distance entre la ferme et la route goudronnée la plus proche, exprimée en pourcentage des membres de chaque groupe.

Distance	Groupes		
	0-4 (B)	5-7	8-10 (A)
0- 250 m	33%	57%	83%
251- 500 m	37%	21%	10%
501- 750 m	16%	15%	2%
751-1000 m	9%	4%	2%

On peut donc admettre avec un bon degré de certitude que le comportement des agriculteurs, dans toutes ses manifestations, est influencé par leurs contacts avec la vie moderne.¹

Une intervention calculée est donc possible pour adapter les agriculteurs à la culture «urbaine,» comme pour tant d'autres traits du comportement des individus.

On trouvera dans le dernier chapitre (chapitre VIII) un certain nombre de considérations sur l'importance et la fonction des élites dans la dynamique sociale; l'auteur fait ensuite quelques remarques sur certains problèmes qui, d'après lui, sont trop souvent pris en considération du seul point de vue de la technique agricole.

¹ Aucune autre considération n'est faite, dans cette étude, sur l'importance pratique du phénomène observé ci-dessus, lequel se manifeste naturellement dans toute sorte d'aspects, tant sociaux que techniques, de la vie des individus. Dans ce contexte il est pour nous intéressant seulement d'indiquer l'importance du phénomène précité pour le changement, soit du comportement individuel, soit de la structure sociale des campagnes.

Samenvatting

Dit onderzoek, „Farming in Cultural Change” genoemd, is een studie van de sociale factoren, die de productiviteit in de landbouw beïnvloeden. Ondermeer beoogt het de invloed van het stedelijk cultuurpatroon op de resultaten van de bedrijfsvoering in de landbouw te bestuderen. Zulks is gedaan aan de hand van een concreet voorbeeld, nl.: het verschijnsel van de urbanisering, waaraan de landbouwende bevolking in meerdere of mindere mate overal in het land onderhevig is. Dit werd nagegaan in de gemeente Winterswijk. In deze gemeente werd een enquête gehouden onder de agrarische bedrijfshoofden en hun vrouwen; verder hadden uitvoerige en gestructureerde interviews plaats met streekkenners; tenslotte werd door de schrijver enige tijd in deze samenleving geparticipeerd.

Als maatstaf voor de resultaten van de bedrijfsvoering werd genomen het arbeidseffect, dat wordt bereikt op de landbouwbedrijven van de geënquêteerde bedrijfshoofden. Dit wordt uitgedrukt in standaarduren per volwaardige arbeidskracht.

Schrijver toont eerst aan hoe de behoefte aan een dergelijke studie reeds duidelijk wordt als men de bestaande literatuur op het gebied van de sociale factoren, die verschillende facetten van de bedrijfsvoering beïnvloeden, raadpleegt. Uit de literatuur blijkt, dat vooral vrij uitvoerige onderzoekingen over het aanvaarden van nieuwe landbouwmethoden zijn gedaan. Schrijver is van mening, dat, voor het begrijpen en verklaren van bepaalde verschijnselen waarin het sociaal cultureel aspect mogelijk een belangrijke rol speelt, moet men er zich vooral voor hoeden een te absolute waarde aan technische elementen te hechten. Dat geldt dus ook t.a.v. de studie van de wijze waarop een landbouwbedrijf wordt geleid. De functie van factoren als de bedrijfsgrootte, of de leeftijd van het bedrijfshoofd, enz. kan in zijn geheel het best worden begrepen als deze factoren op de juiste wijze worden gezien in het licht van het type cultuur, waarin ze geplaatst zijn; anders komt men voor schijnbare tegenstellingen te staan, waarvoor de technische maatstaven alléén geen mogelijkheid voor een bevredigende verklaring bieden. Het is bijv. zeker niet waar, dat alle grote boeren vooruitstrevender zijn dan hun kleinere collega's – hetgeen wel het geval zou moeten zijn, indien de vooruitstrevendheid van de boeren in direct causaal verband zou staan met de bedrijfsgrootte.

Bij de literatuurbespreking trekken drie aspecten voornamelijk de aandacht:

1. de tekortkomingen van verschillende min of meer mechanische verklaringen „an sich” voor het resultaat van het totale gedrag van de boer. Hetzelfde geldt vaak ook voor de te eenzijdige verklaringen van zuiver individueel-psychologische aard,
2. het feit, dat bepaalde verschijnselen op landbouwkundig gebied, waarmee de menselijke factor is gemoeid, zeer sterk de algemene kenmerken vertonen van een „acculturatie” – dat is bijv. uitgesproken het geval met het aanvaarden van nieuwe landbouwpraktijken. Verder schijnt het aanvaarden van nieuwe landbouwpraktijken duidelijk samen te gaan met het voorkomen van stedelijke cultuurverschijnselen in het overige leven van de betrokken boeren,
3. de waarschijnlijke mogelijkheid om de factoren, die sterk de bedrijfsefficiëncy beïnvloeden, in een algemene sociologische theorie te omvatten en te verklaren. Daardoor komt schrijver aan de probleemstelling, waarop bij het begin van deze samenvatting gewezen werd.

In Hoofdstuk II worden enige aspecten van de urbanisering van het platteland besproken in hun sociologische en sociaal-psychologische achtergronden. Na een beschouwing van wat men onder “urbanisering” moet verstaan, stelt schrijver, dat in de aanraking tussen stads- en plattelandscultuur onder meer een verandering in de individuele houding tegenover het nieuwe plaats vindt. Deze veranderde houding vloeit voort uit het geestelijk en materieel actieve deelnemen aan de westerse-industriële maatschappij structuur, die gebaseerd is op de moderne westerse stelsels van waarden en normen. Volgens schrijver is bij de voltrekking van deze verandering niet de materiële, waarneembare overheersing van het platteland door de stad – die meestal het meest in het oog valt – primair, maar de zg. „bewustwording” van het platteland op zichzelf. Daardoor komt het tot een bewust modernisme, dat zich openbaart in een progressief cultuurpatroon. *Urbanisme en stedelijk cultuurpatroon zijn geen „conditio sine qua non” voor de totstandkoming van dit progressieve cultuurpatroon, maar slechts de belangrijke kanalen, waarlangs de algemene, moderne westerse waardestelsels worden gebracht tot de traditionalistische en lokaal georiënteerde samenlevingsvormen.*

Met behulp van sociologische en sociaal-psychologische criteria kan men verklaren hoe het deelnemen aan bepaalde sociale structuren het persoonlijkheidstype van de individu kan beïnvloeden en tevens de mate van geestelijke dynamiek begrijpelijk maken.

De vier hypothesen, waarop de schrijver aan het einde van dit hoofdstuk komt, kunnen als volgt worden samengevat: er bestaat een cultuurpatroon, typerend voor de vooruitstrevende boer. Dit moderne cultuurpatroon dringt langzamerhand door tot het platteland; het is gekenmerkt door de individulëe oriëntering op de buitenwereld en door een zekere mate van eigen, bewuste stellingname tegenover vele levensproblemen. Dit cultuurpatroon ontwikkelt zich in de sociaal-culturele aanraking van stad en platteland en heeft een allesomvattend karakter, d.w.z. het beïnvloedt het totale gedrag van de betrokken groep, met inbegrip van de bedrijfsvoering.

Op grond van de theoretische overwegingen, uiteengezet in Hfdst. II, wordt in Hfdst. III een methodiek ontworpen om een vergelijkingsmogelijkheid te scheppen tussen traditionalistische en progressieve bedrijfshoofden. Als maatstaf voor progressiviteit wordt genomen de mate, waarin de individu zich betrokken voelt in het wijdere verband van de moderne maatschappijstructuur. Op deze basis heeft schrijver een testschaal ontworpen. Hierin is aandacht besteed aan het vermogen van het geïnterviewde bedrijfshoofd om een duidelijk omljnd, concreet antwoord te geven op vragen, die op het verband tussen bedrijfsleven en de grotere, moderne maatschappij betrekking hebben. De aard van de vraag, noch die van het antwoord, werd als primair belangrijk beschouwd. Er werden tien dergelijke vragen gesteld, waarbij een punt werd toegekend, indien uit het antwoord – ongeacht of dit positief dan wel negatief luidde – viel af te leiden, dat de geïnterviewde in volle bewustheid stond, tegenover (die) bepaalde levensvraagstukken, waarvan aannemelijk is, dat de moderne boer er mee op de hoogte moet zijn. Op deze manier werd dus een score gekregen, die van 0 tot 10 varieert. De puntentelling is een maatstaf, waarmee men andere verschijnselen van het leven van de geïnterviewde persoon in verband kan brengen en analyseren.

Hoofdstuk IV geeft een korte beschrijving van het karakter van de Winterswijkse samenleving.

In hoofdstuk V wordt de ontworpen onderzoekstechniek toegepast. Elk van de 520 geïnterviewde bedrijfshoofden wordt op de beschreven manier een aantal punten toegekend, die in een van 0 tot 10 variërende score zijn samengevat. Door het ontbreken

van voldoende technische gegevens, of door te grote afwijkingen in de bedrijfsvoering, komen 36 geïnterviewde bedrijfshoofden te vervallen. Er blijft zo een groep van 484 boeren over. Uit deze 484 boeren zijn de twee uiterste score-groepen geselecteerd (d.w.z. groep 0-4 en groep 8-10). Dit zijn dus respectievelijk de bedrijfshoofden, die te weinig in staat bleken te zijn om een eigen antwoord te geven op de sleutelvragen (B-boeren genoemd) en die, welke acht en meer van de vragen wisten te beantwoorden (A-boeren). Deze twee tegenovergestelde groepen werden als categorie gekarakteriseerd; zulks gebeurt met behulp van de antwoorden, gekregen in de gestructureerde interviews, die werden gehouden met 25 sleutelpersonen – streekkenners (zie Appendix 1). De rechtstreekse vergelijking wordt vergemakkelijkt door zes case-studies, 3A en 3B boerengezinnen, die een duidelijk voorbeeld geven van de psychologische en culturele afstand tussen de leden van de twee groepen.

Dit gedeelte van het onderzoek toont aan, dat er aanzienlijke culturele verschillen bestaan tussen de twee groepen als geheel, en tevens, dat de leden van de A-groep in het algemeen progressiever zijn dan de leden van de B-groep. Tevens is het duidelijk, dat de A-boeren een cultuurpatroon hebben, dat een grotere mate van individualisering en verstedelijking vertoont dan het cultuurpatroon van de B-boeren. De analyse van enige aspecten van de lokale cultuur (Hfdst. VI) door middel van de gebruikte maatstaf toont aan, dat de doordringing van het moderne cultuurpatroon ten plattelande geleidelijk gebeurt en dat de groep van de A-boeren in het bijzonder gekenmerkt wordt door een geestelijk en materieel actiever deelneming aan het moderne maatschappelijke leven. Met andere woorden valt onder de Winterswijkse boerenbevolking een sociaal-culturele gelaagdheid waar te nemen t.o.v. de modernedynamische cultuur en levenswijze. Dit houdt tevens in dat cultureel „achtergebleven” maatschappelijke groeperingen kunnen bestaan ook in een westers land met een betrekkelijk hoog gemiddeld welvaartsniveau, met name zelfs in dezelfde geografische administratieve eenheid.

Wat de uitoefening van de economische activiteit betreft (landbouw), tonen de A-boeren een grotere bereidheid tot het aanvaarden van nieuwe methoden. Het verschil tussen A- en B-boeren is vooral meer duidelijk, wanneer het totale arbeidseffect wordt nagegaan, zoals uit de volgende tabel blijkt, waarin het gemiddelde arbeidseffect per score-groep en bedrijfsgrootte is weergegeven.

Correlatie tussen score 10 antwoorden en arb. effect per a. k.

Score	2-6 ha	7-9 ha	10 en meer ha
0-4 (B)	3200 S.U.	3300 S.U.	4000 S.U.
5-7	3500 S.U.	3700 S.U.	4300 S.U.
8-10 (A)	3900 S.U.	4000 S.U.	4800 S.U.

Op dit punt rijst de vraag of de gevonden verschillen in arbeids-effect samen gaan met verschillen in de mentaliteit van de boeren en of één en ander inderdaad cultureel bepaald is, of dat, integendeel, zij primair afhankelijk zijn van persoonlijke, aangeboren eigenschappen van het bedrijfshoofd. Dat de gevonden verschillen in arbeidseffect samen gaan met verschillen in de wijze van denken onder de leden van de agrarische bevolking is aangetoond door een aantal opinie vragen, waarvan een van de meest veelzeggende de vraag is welk inkomen de geïnterviewde persoon als "redelijk" voor zijn eigen omstandigheden zou beschouwen. Onderstaande tabel toont aan, dat zelfs onder de boeren van dezelfde bedrijfs-grootteklasse er aanzienlijke verschillen in verwachtingen omtrent het inkomensniveau bestaan, en dat tevens die bedrijfshoofden, die een hogere score kregen ook hogere eisen aan het leven stellen.

Theoretisch redelijk inkomen

Score	2-6 ha	7-9 ha	10 en meer ha
0-4 (B)	3500 f. jr	4400 f. jr	4700 f. jr
5-7	4000 f. jr	5000 f. jr	6000 f. jr
8-10 (A)	4700 f. jr	5300 f. jr	6300 f. jr

Dat deze wijze van denken grotendeels door de ruimere maatschappelijke aanraking wordt veroorzaakt en niet door persoonlijke, aangeboren eigenschappen, wordt aannemelijk bij beschouwing van de volgende tabel, waarin een zeer duidelijk verband valt waar te nemen tussen de afstand van de boerderij tot de verharde weg (en dus de mogelijkheid om deel te nemen in de moderne maatschappij-structuur) en de score, die de boer kreeg.

Afstand tussen de boerderij en de dichtstbijzijnde verharde weg, uitgedrukt in percent van de leden van elke score-groep.

afstand	score 0-4 (B)	score 5-7	score 8-10 (A)
0- 250 m	33%	57%	83%
251 - 500 m	37%	21%	10%
501 - 750 m	16%	15%	2%
751 - 1000 m	9%	4%	2%

Met enige mate van zekerheid kan men dus aannemen, dat het gedrag van de boer in al zijn vormen, door de mate van aanraking met het moderne leven wordt beïnvloedt.¹ Dit houdt tevens in, dat het gedrag van de boer ook bewust zeer aanzienlijk kan worden beïnvloed, in zoverre de beïnvloeding gericht is op zijn aanpassing aan de moderne cultuur.

In het laatste hoofdstuk (Hfdst. VII) zijn enige beschouwingen gewijd aan de betekenis en de functie van de élite voor de sociale dynamiek. Daarna worden enkele opmerkingen gemaakt over enige vraagstukken van de landbouwwereld, die, naar schrijvers mening, te vaak uitsluitend worden gezien in een landbouwtechnisch licht.

¹ Op het praktisch belang van het verschijnsel hierboven vastgesteld, dat vanzelfsprekend in allerlei aspecten zowel van het maatschappelijk als van het technische leven zich openbaart, wordt in dit onderzoek niet verder ingegaan. Voor ons is in dit verband slechts van belang te wijzen op de betekenis van voornoemd verschijnsel voor de wijziging van het individueel gedrag en de maatschappelijke structuur ten plattelande.

The problem

INTRODUCTION

The problem of efficiency in the use of human labour in farming is admittedly one of paramount importance both for the welfare of the individual farmer and for agriculture as a whole. It is, in fact, from the ratio between efficiency in agriculture and efficiency in industry, and between efficiency on the small farms and efficiency on the large-sized farms, that many difficulties of organizational, economic, and social nature originate. The gamut of these difficulties ranges from the problem of agricultural surpluses to that of the small-holdings, with all the well known implications for the national economy. It is not surprising, therefore, that efficiency in agriculture has been the object of repeated studies in several countries.¹

It is only natural that such a study in the first place should be carried out according to technical criteria, and this is, indeed, what has so far happened in the majority of cases. The size of the holding, the number of people employed on the farm, the machinery, the cattle, the acreages of grass – and cropland, etc. have been taken into consideration and a number of valuable conclusions have been drawn. According to these studies the size of the farms as an economic unit has been almost universally recognized as the factor of primary importance in this context. However, on a deeper scrutiny of the facts and knowledge gathered on the subject, one must admit that it is rather difficult to explain differences in efficiency of farm management solely through the differences in farm size. It is true that in many recent publications appeared in different countries of Europe the conclusion has been drawn that a too small size of the farm is the most important obstacle against a higher level of productivity in agriculture. Abundant statistical material shows that this conclusion is certainly not unjustified. Nevertheless, some basic objections can be made here. First of all, in those countries where economic life is essentially still free, the size of the farm is not fixed for ever. For example, investigations carried out in the Netherlands showed that, especially amongst the small farms, there are many which often increase considerably during the lifetime of the farm operator.² And, secondly, it is a well known fact that within the

¹ Productivity Agency of O.E.E.C.; Bibliography on Productivity (Project No. 233), April, 1956.

² W. H. Ubbink; *De verandering in het grondgebruik in een zandgemeente (Hengelo, Gld.) in de jaren 1900-1950*. 's-Gravenhage, 1955. Uitgevr. Excelsior. Diss. Wageningen.

same region there can be wide differences in incomes obtained from farming by the different farmers operating farms of the same size and, basically, the same structure. So we see that the (small) size of the farm is certainly not a kind of unavoidable fate in agriculture, which can condemn all the farmers concerned to the same (low) productivity and the same (low) income. It is therefore logic to wonder whether there are also some other factors which determine whether or not farming will be successful from the point of view of productivity and income. Generalizing, we may even add that we think that there must be, on the whole, factors other than the purely technical conditions under which farm operators start their career which determine, at least partly, whether one farmer will obtain a high productivity and a high income while others obtain only a lower productivity and a lower income, and still are satisfied with it.

Is it worthwhile to ask ourselves why from a certain group of farmers who all start under about the same material conditions, in particular as to the size of the farm, some are successful and some are not? We think it is; and it certainly is worthwhile asking ourselves whether or not it is possible to make certain generalizations of some importance, in relation to this question, from the sociological point of view.

It seems, in fact, clear, that the whole problem of efficiency in farming is basically more a matter of people than of technical characteristics of the farm. There are several elements that justify this opinion. Recent investigations have shown that the size of the farm is not the only significant factor in relation to efficiency in farming. It is obvious that a whole series of other elements peculiar to human nature play a great role in it. Factors like the education and professional training of the operator, co-operativeness of the housewife, individual differences in the extent and the manner with which new managerial techniques are applied for a more efficient use of the available resources, etc., often exert a very remarkable influence upon the efficiency of the farm management as a whole. We see, therefore, that the width of the field

¹ W. W. Wilcox, *The Human Factor from the viewpoint of Farm Management*, *Journal of Farm Economics*, Vol. XIV, 1932, pp. 119-127.

G. A. Pond and W. W. Wilcox, *A Study of the Human Factor in Farm Management*, *Journal of Farm Economics*, Vol. XIV, 1932, pp. 470-479.

W. W. Wilcox, A. Boss and G. A. Pond, *Relation of Variations in the Human Factor*

of the study receives a substantial enlargement by this recognition of the importance of the human element in it.

The problem of the adoption of new farm practices is, quite obviously, strictly interdependent with the more complex problem of the efficiency of the farm management. As such, in fact, it has been intensely studied in the last few years by rural sociologists, particularly in America. There already exists an extensive literature from which one can infer that many sorts of economic, personal, and social factors exert a more or less strictly intercorrelated influence upon the attitude of the farmer to look for, accept, and apply new farm practices effectively. Although several different kinds of qualifications have been used to indicate these factors, in the overwhelming majority of the cases they could quite easily be classified under the common title of "human" factors; this title, however, has hardly been used for this purpose so far. So it seems probable that a study of the problem of the efficiency of farm management in agriculture as a whole, from a comprehensive sociological point of view, can give us a more complete insight in the whole problem of which the acceptance of new farm practices is but one aspect.

It has always been assumed as more or less obvious that the personal qualities of the farm operator are a major factor in the level of productivity. But, actually, it is surprising how few are the authors who have wondered what might be the implications behind the qualification "quality of the farm management." Very little is known about this aspect of the efficiency in farming. Actually, what has appeared up to now concerns a vaguely defined "human factor" in agriculture.¹ Little has been done so far to clarify the background and the origin of this "human factor." We know that managerial qualities differ greatly; and we know of many human characteristics which show a correlation with these qualities. But there is no definite answer to the question of why these qualities differ. Are those differences essentially based on differences in inborn qualities, or are they acquired as a result of differences in contacts and experiences in social life? In other words, are these qualities essentially of cultural origin? Although

to Financial Returns in Farming. University of Minnesota, A.E.S. Bulletin 288, June 1932.

W. W. Wilcox and G. Lloyd, The Human Factor in the Management of Indiana Farms. Purdue University, A.E.S. Bulletin 369, 1932.

N. Westermark, The Human Factor and Success in Farming. *Acta Agriculturae Scandinavica*, Vol. 1, n. 2, 1951.

many of the conclusions to which the authors arrive give definite indications of very strong cultural influences upon the degree of efficiency of the farm management, no research has yet been carried out by placing this human factor directly in relation to the existing pattern of culture.¹

It is perhaps the very obviousness of the interconnection of the "human factor" with culture as a whole on the one hand, and with the farm management on the other, which has paradoxically prevented social scientists from paying attention to the practical problem of the impact of culture on the efficiency of farm management. For industry, which is conceived of as being a kind of less "natural" activity for human beings and (therefore?) as a more valuable subject of study, there exists already an extensive literature on the socio-cultural aspects of the productivity of labour. However, the nature of the problem in agriculture is somewhat different from the sort of problems studied by industrial sociology. When dealing with the problem of the human influence upon the process of production, industrial sociology studies mainly the nature of human relations *within* the enterprise, and it is, therefore, mainly a sociology of groups of employees. Rural sociology will have instead to deal with relations between the farmer (and his family) and the social world, with all its manifold complexities, outside the farm enterprise.

Normally, each farm is a separate enterprise or business²; however, it is a business of peculiar nature of its own and, given comparable resources, productivity on a farm is largely a function of the degree to which the operator himself makes correct decisions and implements them, rather than of the social relations within the

¹ Of course, the conclusion that culture itself is an important variable in determining how human and natural resources are treated is an old discovery of rural sociologists. However, what has happened up to now is mostly a comparison between different regional types of cultures. Separate local communities have been studied, and their typical culture traits have been related to agriculture (sometimes with some aspects of it, sometimes with income). For a comprehensive description of this technique see Carl C. Taylor "Techniques of Community Study and Analysis as Applied To Modern Civilized Societies" in Ralph Linton, *The Science of Man in The World Crisis*, New York, Columbia University Press 1945, pp. 416-441. See also Neal Gross "Cultural Variables in Rural Communities," *American Journal of Sociology*, LII (1948), pp. 344-350. A very clear example of a research relating agriculture to culture according to this method is to be found in "Three Southern Appalachian Communities": An Analysis of Cultural Variables, by James E. Montgomery, *Rural Sociology*, 1949, pp. 138-148. Our problem, however, is quite different. In fact, we are not concerned here with the influence of different regional cultures upon the agriculture of different societies, but with the question whether or not differences in

group of his employees. In fact, such a group either does not exist or it exists only as an entity of very little importance from the point of view of the possibility of the productivity of the business being deeply influenced by the internal mutual social relations of the members of the group. In other words, the total productivity in the whole national branch of economic activity, is much more directly dependent upon the immediate managerial capacities, i.e. upon the personality, of the entrepreneur in agriculture than in industry. In fact, the share of the total production of each business enterprise directly dependent upon the personal performance of the entrepreneur, who is subjected to the immediate external social influence, is much greater in agriculture than in industry.³ In dealing with such a problem, therefore, rural sociology will have to deal almost exclusively with groups of independent entrepreneurs and not with groups of dependent personnel. This means that, when dealing with problems connected with the efficiency of the management in agriculture, sociology will never become a "farm-sociology" but it will, instead, remain a "sociology of farmers."

WHAT THE RESULTS OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH TELL US

From the foregoing it will be clear that we seriously tend to believe that it is only by means of a socio-cultural approach to the problem which interests us here that we can hope to find a satisfactory answer. We will have, therefore, to make a substantial review of the literature connected with the problem of efficiency in agri-

farm management within the same society can be meaningfully explained from the point of view of a new pattern of culture gradually substituting the old one.

³ Some authors, for instance Schultz, speak altogether of a *firm*. Cfr. Th. W. Schultz, Theory of the Firm in Farm Management Research, Journal of Farm Economics, Vol. XXI, Aug. 1939; id. Production and Welfare in Agriculture. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1950, p. 31.

⁴ We intend to emphasize that we speak here of the two whole branches of activity. No comparison is suggested between the personal qualities of the single individuals of the one branch and those of the other. The structure of farming as an economic activity is such that the entrepreneur is on his own, and the success of the activity depends almost entirely on his qualities as an *all-round entrepreneur*. In industry, on the contrary, the entrepreneur (in so far as he exists as one real person) is normally assisted by a whole internal bureaucratic structure. This structure, with its economic and technical specialists, has a great influence on the speedy adoption of those functional improvements necessary to allow the enterprise to survive the competition.

culture in order to see whether we can come to a more careful statement of the problem as we see it.

Paradoxically as it might seem, the investigations on the effect of the human element on farm management as a whole are not numerous. However, the idea of the need of a sociological approach to the problem of the efficiency in farming originates directly from the perusal of the existing literature on productivity and on the acceptance of new farm practices.¹ Although the overwhelming majority of these studies deal only with possible connections between a number of so called "individual variables" and the farm productivity – or the attitude towards accepting new farm practices – without attempting to place the whole problem against the background of the culture pattern as a whole, still in most of the cases it is clear enough that the various individual "variables" taken into consideration are mutually interrelated, all fitting in a kind of culturally determined framework. For instance, from the very beginning of the study of the relations between the farmer and the efficiency of the farm management, it was found that the social background is an element of paramount importance in it. So in America Wilcox² and collaborators found that the farmers who had inherited their farms had lower incomes than farmers who had purchased their farm for themselves. The author gives a number of possible explanations for this fact, and one can draw the conclusion, although Wilcox does not do it himself, that the core of the matter lies in greater managerial capacities connected, quite probably, with a highly developed sense of individualism of the concerned farm operators. The conclusion seems obvious, that the young farmers who bought a farm instead of remaining at home were somewhat less inclined to take satisfaction with the standards set by tradition in general. In England M. R. Haswell³ referring to similar findings in her own study remarks: "It is perhaps significant that these qualities have been found in the younger farmers who have broken away from their parents' farms to establish themselves in business of their own." The same

¹ For a comprehensive review of the greatest part of the extensive American bibliography on the acceptance of new farm practices see: *a.* Sociological Research on the Diffusion and Adoption of New Farm Practices (Report of a Subcommittee of the Rural Sociological Society; Kentucky Experiment Station, 1952); *b.* Bibliography of Research on Social Factors in the Adoption of Farm Practices. Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa, April 1956.

² W. W. Wilcox, A. Boss and G. A. Pond, *op. cit.*

³ M. R. Haswell, *Labour Organization on Family Farms*. Unpublished B. Litt.

phenomenon was noticed by H. P. de Bruin⁴ in the Netherlands, with regard to the acceptance of new farm practices. He found, in fact, that farmers who had become independent operators before their 30th year of age kept more in contact with the Agricultural Extension Officer and applied more modern practices than those farmers who had longer depended upon the leadership of their fathers. Our conclusion, however, is not arrived at by Wilcox and his collaborators. They sought the explanation in the field of the immediate personal attitudes and needs rather than in an all-round influence of the whole social environment in which a farmer is being brought up. This is all the more strange, since the same author lays the foundations for a very sound sociological approach in his statement⁵: "Most of the variations in income have been explained in terms of technical efficiency of production and marketing, but there still remains the question of what causes the remaining differences as yet statistically unexplained, and why the variations in technical efficiency?" And, in the same work, he makes the very significant statement "Answers to the questions asked in these studies indicate that most men on small farms do not want the responsibility, or do not want to sacrifice the privacy or the independence of family life for the added money income which they might get by operating a larger farm." We see that, from the very words of an economist, there are sound reasons to believe that culture might play a big role in this context, like, for instance, inducing people on small farms "not to want responsibilities" or "not to sacrifice the privacy," etc.

Another indication that culture as a whole might be of great influence in this context is given by Westermarck, who could establish⁶ that "in all size-groups the earnings of the sub-group 'farmers with at least rural secondary education' exceed those of the sub-group 'farmers with only elementary school education'." It is here interesting to notice that Westermarck himself arrived at the two following conclusions which are, in our opinion, very meaningful:

Thesis, Oxford, June 1954, quoted by G. P. Hirsch in his lecture "The social environment of the farm work" held before the Agricultural Economic Society on the 6th of July, 1956.

⁴ H. P. de Bruin, *De betekenis van de leeftijd, waarop de boeren zelfstandig bedrijfs-hoofd worden*. Wageningen, 1954. Unpublished Engineer Thesis, Dept. of Rural Sociology, Agricultural University.

⁵ W. W. Wilcox, *op. cit.*

⁶ N. Westermarck, *op. cit.*

- a. "a rationalistic way of thinking seems to be relatively commoner among persons with professional theoretical education, while emotional factors take a relatively more significant place in persons with only elementary education," and
- b. "within all size-groups the sub-group 'Farmers with outside practise' shows both higher farm-family earnings and family earnings from agriculture only, than is shown by the sub-group 'Farmers without practise'."

The importance of the technical training for the quality of farm management has been sufficiently proved to be remembered again here. However, the fact that it is not isolated cultural factors or variables which are responsible for efficiency in farming, but that culture, or at least cultural complexes as wholes, are responsible for it is indicated by the following example concerning a research carried out in Denmark.¹ In that study the financial results of five groups of farmers were compared. The first group had received no other education except elementary school, the second had followed an Agricultural Winter School after the elementary school, and the third group had attended a course at a Folkshighschool, while the fourth had Agricultural School plus Folkshighschool, and the fifth had higher forms of training. The interesting fact in this study is that the third group of farmers, who had received no more technical training than the farmers of the first group, but had, on the other hand, come briefly in contact with different sorts of people and different sorts of problems at the Folkshighschool, had the same financial results as the second group. Both groups had considerably higher results than the first group. The objection can be made here that it is not justified to draw from this example the conclusion that there exists a causal relation between environmental influences and the level of earnings of the farmer. In fact, on the ground of the evidence furnished by the above mentioned article we cannot exclude the existence of a

¹ Heller, De betekenis van de opleiding van de boer voor het bedrijf. Algemeen Agrarisch Archief, 1955, pp. 5578-5579.

² E. Broekhuis, Over de Arbeidsproductiviteit op Landbouwbedrijven. Maandblad voor de Landbouwvoorlichtingsdienst, n. 10, 's-Gravenhage, Oktober 1950. pp. 413-422.

³ For labour productivity is intended here the ratio between the quantity produce obtained in a determinate period of time and the quantity of labour dedicated to it

selective attraction exercised by a Folkshighschool upon a group of farmers. The possibility remains open, in fact, that the farmers of the third group might have been naturally "progress-minded," in spite of the fact that they had not received any technical training. As such, higher earnings and visits to Folkshighschools would be both "dependent variables" of this hidden factor. On the basis of this evidence we can, therefore, only strongly suppose that we have here to do with a mutual interplay between influences of the environment on the one hand and an already existing tendency of the farmer on the other. However, apart from the fact that even such things as "tendencies" and "attitudes" are strongly culturally determined, we have other reasons to expect a more decisive share of the factor "culture" on the efficiency of the farm management.

In the Netherlands an article was published in 1950² in which the differences in the labour productivity³ of two groups of farmers were compared. Comparing the labour productivity of a group of farmers members of the "Vereniging voor Bedrijfsvoorlichting"⁴ in the Dutch municipality of Ommen with the labour productivity obtained on the farms of a comparable municipality where no "Vereniging voor Bedrijfsvoorlichting" existed, the author found that not only the first group of farmers had a much higher average labour productivity as a whole, but, also, that the positive increase of the labour productivity of the first group as a whole was mainly due to a strongly increased productivity *on the small farms* of the first group, while no difference existed between the productivity on the big farms in Ommen and in the test village. Westermarck too had noticed the higher degree of response to the human factor on the small farms, and he puts the question. . . "why the relationship between mental capacity and success of farming appears so much more clearly in the smaller than in the larger size-groups?"⁵ Looking for his explanation in personal reasons only, Westermarck gives the answer "smaller farmers have a more personal hold and more individual influence on their labour force and the production apparatus than larger farmers have."⁶

with the help of the factors of production. This way of measuring the efficiency in farming (which finds its clearest expression in the productivity of labour) has been several times used in the Netherlands. For a better clarification of such methodology see pp. 99-100.

² Voluntary Association for Agricultural Extension.

³ N. Westermarck, *op. cit.* pg. 146.

⁴ *id. id.*

The quoted Dutch article makes it sufficiently clear that the smallholders member of the Association for Agricultural Extension have been able to neutralize the shortage of land through a more intensive use of the available surface; so that, for instance, there is no difference in the value of the per capita production between farms of 4 ha and farms of 20 ha of size. As to the reason given by the author we read: "The principal reason for the higher labour productivity in Ommen must be sought in the fact that we have here to do with a special group, namely the members of an Association for Agricultural Extension. This quite probably means a particular psychological attitude which exerts its influence upon farm management".¹

It is somewhat difficult to agree with Westermarck's answer; and Broekhuis' answer makes the impression of being only a partial answer. It seems to us that it is just on the bigger farms that "*ceteris paribus*" the personal entrepreneurial qualities of the farmer have more opportunities to develop and give a fruitful result. If it were only a question of individual capacities, then we must acknowledge the fact that on a big farm there is a greater possibility for the farmer to combine successfully all the factors of production, and to make the most of them. Even Westermarck himself must have wondered before giving the answer quoted above, since he immediately gives another reason: "smaller farmers would probably have more profit from theoretical education, other factors being equal; the reason for this being that larger farmers, even before going to school, have better grounding in their profession".²

We wonder whether the clue to this question could be found only by comparing the proportion of the farmers that can be said to have adopted a modern pattern of culture on the big farms with the proportion of similar farmers on the small farms. Then, under these conditions, we would quite probably see that the operators

¹ È. Broekhuis, op. cit. p. 417 (free translation B.B.)

² An indication that the explanation cannot be sought exclusively in the technical characteristics of each single farm is to be found in almost every attentive study of the socio-economic structure of a farming area. So we read in Herbert F. Lionberger - Low Income Farmers in Missouri: Situation and Characteristics of 459 Farm Operators in Four Social Area-B Counties - Missouri Agric. Exp. Sta. - Research Bulletin 413, 1948 Columbia Mi. pp. 17-18 "*The Farmstead*. The size of the average farm represented in this survey (regarding exclusively *low-income* farmers B.B.) varied considerably from county to county but on the whole was smaller than county averages. The only exception was Vernon county where low-income farmers operated farms averaging about 9 acres larger than the median for the county. . ." "Many

of the bigger farms are in a position which offers them far more opportunities for receiving innovating cultural influences from the external world. In this way, even when a modern institution furthering technical advancement like an Association for Agricultural Extension intervenes, no big differences are found, as a rule, between the style of farming (and, perhaps, the way of life as a whole) of the members and that of the non-members, in the big size classes. This does not hold true in the case of the small-holders. As a rule, just because of their way of life, they are, in a way, protected against the influence of the social forces which could make of them modern entrepreneurs. It is therefore logic that when the factors limiting the impact of such social forces can be overcome or neutralized in some way, the differences resulting from such a change in the way of living will seem all the more evident in comparison with other farmers of this class who have remained unaffected.

The astonishing aspects which this sort of comparisons sometimes assume owe their characters, we think, only to the above mentioned fact. For the reasons explained above it seems, in fact, obvious that the existence of a degree of modernity in the mentality of some small farmers is much sooner noticed than modernity among the large farmers who form, as a whole, a group of people who have already accepted a more modern style of living.

Eventually we quote here a last example somewhat comparable with the one quoted by Broekhuis. It concerns a small study carried out in Hannover (Germany) with a group of farmers member of a "Beratungsring." The "Beratungsringe" are small voluntary associations of about fifty farmers who have obtained from the local extension service an extension officer appointed exclusively for their own use.

The extension which is being given to the members of the association is therefore much more intensive, applying to each farmer

farmers with comparatively high gross farm incomes for this group were living on the poorer land and many with comparatively low incomes were living on the best land. Somewhat over 80 per cent of them were living on land rated as suitable for cultivation. The others lived on land rated as generally unsuitable for cultivation. The gross farm income of those living on land suitable for cultivation and those on land not suitable for cultivation was essentially the same." This observation of the relationship of land quality to income, both within the area as a whole and within counties, demonstrates that land quality is but one of the important factors in farm income. Good land in sufficient quantity makes a good income possible; it does not guarantee the result.

individually, according to an "ad hoc" scheme based upon the farmbooks which each member of the association has agreed to keep always up to date. Operators of farms of all sizes are members of the Beratungsringe. In the particular "Ring" under discussion 82% of the farms ranged from 5 to 50 ha. (from about 12 to 120 acres). Obviously this kind of extension is normally rather expensive. However, after three years of individual extension the value of the net revenue obtained by the members of the "Ring" exceeded by 27% the value of the costs therewith connected, inclusive of the augmented taxation which was imposed as a consequence of the improved production.¹ Owing to the progressiveness of the farmers member of the "Ringe" at present, the result of this experiment cannot be generalized too much; however, the experiment as such gives another indication that when the cultural disadvantages deriving from a too small farm are somehow neutralized the efficiency in farming can be expected to augment in the small farms as well as in the big ones.

However, the Hannoverian farmers just mentioned were, as well as their Dutch colleagues of the former example, to some extent "positively protected" from possible negative cultural influences of the environment by the very structure which they had built around themselves. But how is it in everyday practice? Do we have serious reasons to believe that cultural influences acting upon the farm operator from the normal environment in which he is, so to speak, immersed, are really of primary importance for the determination of the farming efficiency?

As we see, Westermarck places predominant importance upon the element "technical instruction", and Broekhuis upon individual psychological reasons, whereas our logic brings us to question such points of view and to think that we must look, for the solution, in the comprehensive cultural background. It does not seem, in fact, improbable that the explanation must be sought in the disappearance of the social isolation which can subtract the farmer from possible modernizing influences. However, we must not only look for more evidence in order to sustain our statement, but we must also ask ourselves what these "modernizing influen-

¹ H. Glander, *Erfolge der landwirtschaftlichen Einzelberatung durch die Beratungsringe im Bereich Lw. Kammer Hannover, Hannover, Oktober 1954*, unpublished paper.

² A. W. van den Ban, *Enkele kenmerken en eigenschappen van de vooruitstrevende boeren*, I, Bulletin n. 5, *Afd. Sociologie en Sociografie van de Landbouwhogeschool, Wageningen*, 1956.

ces" might possibly be, if they exist at all. For this purpose we can make efficient use of a series of publications all published during the process of our research. Evidently the broad implications connected with the problems of the farm management have not gone unnoticed to social scientists.

Van den Ban², studying the most typical characteristics of the progressive farmers among 832 farm operators in eight Dutch municipalities, arrived at the following conclusions: progressive farmers were particularly observed among those farmers who

1. do not exert a part-time job besides farming;
2. have a farm bigger than 10 ha (\pm 24 acres);
3. operate a mixed farm or a cash-crop farm;
4. received agricultural training, in particular Agricultural Winterschool;
5. are members: *a* - of a farmers' union; *b* - of an Association for Agricultural Extension; *c* - of a cattle herdbook; *d* - of an agricultural Purchasing-Selling Coop. and/or of a Dairy Coop.;
6. are on the board of an agricultural association;
7. have a family with a modern, urban style of living, and
8. probably also those who have more than one son working on the farm.

Wichers³ studying a small group of 45 farmers and horticulturists, most of whom were characterized by a peculiarly low technical competence and lack of progressiveness when compared with the average Dutch Horticulturists, noticed as the most obvious trait a strong relation between low competence and lack of progressiveness on the technical level on the one hand, and a pronounced lack of progressiveness on the household level on the other. Eventually, he

² A. J. Wichers, De beoefening van de bloemisterij en groententeelt te Beesd. (Management of floriculture and vegetable growing at Beesd; a summary in English), Bulletin n. 3, Afd. Sociologie en Sociografie van de Landbouwhogeschool, Wageningen, 1956.

noticed a pronounced backward style of living altogether in the group with the lowest technical competence. That author arrives at the hypothesis that the different degrees of technical competence of the studied farmers are functionally related to the entire frames of reference according to which these farmers organize their life.¹ As far as the concomitance between frame of reference, psychological characteristics, and technological capabilities of the subjects are concerned, Wichers textually writes "Perhaps this old frame of reference is more nearly intact where education and intelligence are lowest, but it must not be seen as a function of education and intelligence. On the contrary, this study leads to the conclusion that education and intelligence may be of little importance for the quality of farming as long as the frame of reference is the traditional one." And further on he makes the significant remark. . . "It can be seen that the younger generation has grown up in a different time. The five competent vegetable growers are younger men, and also the younger generation has grown up in a different time." W. J. van de Ven² studied the diffusion of artificial insemination in a very homogeneous traditionalistic social environment of a village of North Brabant. There the local co-operative system of bull-keeping had to deal with increasing difficulties because more than one half of the old members had resigned their membership in order to join a bigger co-operative for artificial insemination. The conclusions at which the author arrives are very interesting and they can be briefly summarized here as follows:

1. The initiative for joining the new co-operative was started by a few prominent farmers who can be safely classified as "farmers of a modern type." Each of these "new" farmers had his own personal reasons for doing so. The nature of the reason does not interest us here as much as the fact that, obviously, we are dealing with persons who are not so strictly under the influence of the local collectivistic mentality and who dare to challenge the effect of the local social control;

¹ The frame of reference, as intended by this author in his work, is a historically-grown culture complex from which a value system originates. We could, therefore, say that in this sense its function for the individual is comparable to the function of Merton's "reference group." The frame of reference is, however, a more abstract concept than the latter, and it lies almost entirely on the individual's normative system.

² W. J. van de Ven, *Problemen rond de verbreiding van de kunstmatige inseminatie*, Unpublished Engineer Thesis, Wageningen, 1957. Dept. of Rural Sociology, Agricultural University.

2. The ones who followed the initiative of the pioneers were those farmers who were more closely connected with them through intensive social contacts;
3. A very noticeable difference as to the professional characteristics existed between members of the modern Association for Artificial Insemination and the members of the old bull-keeping co-operative. The first group was characterized by higher education, higher contact with the Agricultural Extension Service, more progressive farm management, membership of the Cattle Herdbook, more functions held in Rural Associations;
4. Almost no visiting relations at all existed between the members of the two groups. This study emphasizes two points for further possible study: *a* - the questions of who are the social influentials in a very traditionalistic environment - and why are they so, and that *b* - two social layers typified by different cultural characteristics function as two independent environments, separated one from the other.

The author does not give any further explanation as to the noticed facts; only a few remarks which he makes about the first group indicate that the solution might be found in the dualism between the collectivistic spirit of the old group of old-fashioned farmers and the individualistic awareness of the more modern ones. In this context it is worth noticing here that the group of pioneers is mainly concentrated in the village, whereas the group of more conservative farmers live quite exclusively at the farthest points from the centre of the municipality.

The importance of a strong degree of rationality and individualism upon farming is much more clearly stated in the works of other two authors, namely the American James H. Copp and the Frenchman H. Mendrás.³ Here again, no relations are studied between labour efficiency and the influence of our modern type

³ The studies of Mendrás and Copp, as well as several other works quoted in this bibliographical review, appeared after we had already formulated our main ideas about the relationships between human phenomena in a "technical" field like agriculture and human phenomena of a more general nature. Upon those first ideas is based our research. However, all the works reviewed here have greatly contributed to a refinement of the original hypothesis and have allowed us to check it against the evidence of the results of empirical research.

of culture, nor conclusions are drawn to this effect. But the indications for a possible existence of this relation are, in our opinion, quite clear.

Copp¹ undertook in 1954 a field study in three Kansas townships in order to locate factors in the life situation of farm operators, that might influence adoption of recommended farm practices. This work differs from the great majority of the previous American investigations on this subject for a somewhat broader approach to the problem. The project was designed, in fact, "to study the adoption of recommended farm practices as a *general behavioural predisposition* rather than as a set of independent behaviours.

The objective was not to explain why farmers do or do not adopt a *certain* practice, but to explain why some farmers adopt a large number of practices and other farmers adopt scarcely any."

Having compared the predisposition of 157 cattlemen to adopt recommended farm practices with some 23 "variables" of technical, social, and cultural nature, Copp recognizes that the size of the farm is very important for the adoption of recommended practices, and that the tendency to adopt these practices increases to the extent that the operator's reference group ceases to be local neighbours and becomes one of professional and technical specialists. "Apparently an interest in extremely local affairs is associated with low adoption." Applying the technique of multiple correlation analysis the author comes to the conclusion that "so far as the data available in this study are concerned, the basic factors in this sample of beef producers accounting for their tendency to adopt recommended farm practices are their gross farm income, *their intensity of operations or managerial ability (reflected by income and acreage)*, their number of beef cattle, *their tendency to view farming from a professional standpoint, and their so called "mental flexibility" in operating.* Furthermore, the basic or most important factors seem to be gross farm income, professional-farming orientation, and mental flexibility. *It is noteworthy that two of these three basic factors do not stem from the economic situation of the operator, but rather from the farmer's orientation to his occupation"* (our italics B. B.). In his study the author does not tell us anything as to the possible cause of the particular kind of "farmer's orientation to his

¹ J. H. Copp, Personal and Social Factors Associated with the Adoption of Recommended Farm Practices Among Cattlemen, Agric. Exper. Sta. Kansas State College of Agricultural and Applied Sciences, Manhattan, Technical Bulletin n. 83, September 1956.

occupation." It will, therefore, be interesting to see, for instance, what this variable "mental flexibility" really is. Copp measures the farmers' mental flexibility by means of scale analysis, applying it to a scale of three dichotomous items according to which he had classified the type of answers given by the respondents to three open-ended questions. The questions regarded attitude towards credit, the kind of advice a farmer would give a farm-youth who was considering farming as a career, and the opinion of the farmer as to the factors which determine success in farming. It is obvious that a scale of this type would, in actual fact, measure how much the farmers' psychological attitudes are a product of a strongly individualistic-rationalistic type of culture, like our modern western culture in general. Using the author's own words: "three questions in the interview schedule tapped a personality dimension which, for want of better name, might be termed "rigidity-flexibility." Farmers at the "rigid" extreme of this continuum seemed to regard farm operation in terms of set formulas. They tended to glorify hard work, keeping on the job, and avoiding use of credit. Farmers at the "flexible" extreme of the continuum tended to regard farming as a problem solving situation and varied their farm operations to changing conditions. The more "flexible" farmers seemed to exhibit a progressive mentality in their farming, while the more "rigid" farmers appeared to exhibit a more "traditional mentality."

The observations which H. Mendrás² makes in his statistical-psychological study are also very significant for us. In his study as to the attitudes of the farmers towards modernization the author's foremost conclusion is that social contacts are the most important factors for innovations. He describes the social environment as being typical for the general passive attitudes of the farmers, for the extremely strong personal ties with the community, and for very few personal standpoints present in the farmers as to the happenings of the daily life around them. In such a social atmosphere he found a clear distinction as to the attitudes towards modernization between the people who kept in contact with the town and read papers and people who lived more or less entirely on their own farms, isolated from the rest of the world. He also found a great difference in interest for economic-technical problems

² H. Mendrás, *Attitudes des Agriculteurs du Sundgau vis-à-vis de la Modernisation de l'Agriculture*, C.A.H.R. Comité d'Action Pour le Progrès Economique et Social Haut Rinois, 1956.

between farmers using agricultural machines and farmers who do not use machines.

Further, Mendrás found that visits to town, acquaintance with the Extension Officer, degree of personal information, record-keeping, and mechanization increased with the increasing of the size of the farm. He concludes, therefore, that the farm-size is the decisive factor for the farmer's interest in progress. However, "les opinions sur les problèmes généraux politiques et économiques et les attitudes vis-à-vis des organisations agricoles varient très peu en fonction de la dimension des exploitations." Although he does not draw any parallel between the "outside" world and its possible influences on the farmers' opinions, the author remarks that "une corrélation intéressante peut être notée entre la lecture de journaux et l'écoute de la radio d'une part, et les achats envisagés d'autre part; ceux qui sont mieux informés désirent plus fréquemment acheter de machines, que de la terre; ceux qui sont moins bien informés au contraire pensent plus souvent à un achat de la terre qu'à un achat de machines." Finally, Mendrás notices that if the majority of the Sundgau farmers are characterized by agnosticism and passivity, and in many cases by a clear lack of confidence in one's own possibilities, there are among them a few personalities who can tackle problems rationally, try to solve them, try to improve the farm management to the best of their knowledge, and can weight the value of their own labour contribution.

In most of the cases reviewed so far it is obvious that we are dealing with people whose social and technical behaviour is regulated by laws which reach far beyond the limits of the local community. Furthermore, this broader social orientation seems clearly to correspond to a positive shifting in the *technical* value system. The result is that the "flexible" people tend to consider farming as a problem-solving situation and prefer to augment the efficiency of the farm management by buying new machinery instead of the traditional locally high-valued land. We see, therefore, that we have sufficient reasons to conclude that efficiency in the farm management seems to go together with a sort of "mental flexibility" and a personality free enough from the ties of the local community, so that the farmer can individually tackle his own problems with a certain degree of rationality. Furthermore, these characteristics seem to be concomitant with typical modern

¹ As it will appear further on, this controversy is extremely difficult to solve empirically in the practice of everyday life in agriculture, when one conceives of it in terms of a causal relationship.

cultural traits of the kind more easily discernible in urban conglomerates. This gives us a picture of the modern type of farmer different from the traditional stereotype of "the" farmer known until now, i.e. that of a man who is satisfied with working hard and "minding his own business" and has hardly any interest outside his farm. All seems to indicate that we are confronted with farmers with a particular type of culture, namely the modern pattern of culture; they are characterized by broader social orientation which goes together with a higher average level of technical competence.

However, the explanation of those who attribute the difference in progressiveness of the farm management purely to personal psychological reasons is not entirely done away with.¹ We must not forget that the members of the Association for Agricultural Extension quoted on page 9 indeed seem to form a group of individuals different both as farmers and as members of the society from the average farmer of the localistic community. Frequently they enjoy a high social status among their colleagues and often distinguish themselves for a clear degree of modernity in their style of living. It is, in fact, remarkable that these farmers are quite often sought by the other farm operators of the community for information and for example and practical advice. They can, therefore, be considered as a kind of social influentials. In the example quoted from Van de Ven on page 14 the function fulfilled by these influentials is extremely clear. Here too we find in Van de Ven's description of the group reasons to suppose that the manner in which the farmers of this group participate in social life is vastly different from that of the normal farmer in a "gemeinschaftlich," localistic form of social organization. In other words, it is in the *organization* of their life that these influentials differentiate themselves from the rest of the villagers. Van der Ven gives us a hint as to the possible causes of such a difference when he notices that the progressive farmers were living near the centre of the community (more or less around the village) whereas the group of farmers who proved to be most resistant to the innovation not only distinguished themselves by lower technical capacities and lesser degree of instruction, but also were almost all living at the most distant points from the village. They formed a sort of clique with intense mutual social relations within the group, and entertained very few relations with the economic and social centre of the municipality.

We are evidently faced with an example of socio-psychological

isolation which led to a more or less serious degree of cultural isolation. In this particular example, perhaps, the social aspects of the isolation weighted more than the psychological ones as a factor in the hindrance of the diffusion of the new cultural trait. However, we know, also, of cases where a very low degree of technical competence and efficiency in the farm management can perhaps be ascribed principally to psychological causes.¹

No full empirical proof of this conjecture has been given so far. However, psychology has made us sufficiently acquainted with the fact that when a man feels somehow uncertain and is pervaded by feelings of anxiety, he is very much apt to lose energy, and the power of rational thinking and behaviour. He is also apt to lose interest in new experiments,² whilst dealing with the specific unsatisfactory situation. The given explanation (cfr. Footnote 1) can, therefore, be accepted. To this effect it might be interesting to notice that a study on the acceptance of new farm practices carried out by means of a clinical psychological approach in America³ has shown that the rejection, or the failure to accept new farm practices is clearly concomitant with tensions and feelings of anxiety on the part of the interested farmer. In the Netherlands, Wichers⁴ could show that those farmers who brought about *structural* changes in the organization of their farms not only were those who had a far better and more modern farm management, but, also, that they were those who more actively participated in the modern, organizational pattern of social life (and thus they were the less retreating ones.B.B.).

¹ In many cases the lowest efficiency in the level of the farm management was observed as being particularly pronounced among the farmers residing near urban centra – in fact, all the rural districts around the main Dutch towns are classified in the lowest income brackets (Cfr. E. W. Hofstee – Rural Life and Rural Welfare in the Netherlands; Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, Division of Documentation, The Hague, 1957, Map 47).

In many cases the people concerned were not really farmers, so that they did not dedicate much attention to the farming enterprise. In several other cases, however, we have to do with real farmers (mostly smallholders) who can thus be classified as “psychologically isolated.” (Cfr. J. G. Bakker, *Het oude consumptiemelkgebied rondom de stad Groningen*, Unpublished Engineer Thesis, Wageningen, 1956, Dept. of Rural Sociology, Agricultural University; A. W. van den Ban, *Boer en landbouwonderwijs – de landbouwkundige ontwikkeling van de Nederlandse Boeren* (Vocational training in Agriculture of the Dutch farmers, a Summary in English), Bulletin n. 6, Afd. Sociologie en Sociografie van de Landbouwhogeschool, Wageningen, 1957.; id. *Regionale verschillen in de toepassing van enkele landbouwmethoden* (Regional differences in the application of some farm practices, a Summary in English), Bulletin n. 10, Afd. Sociologie en Sociografie van de Landbouwhogeschool, Wageningen, 1957,

The conclusion that the more progressive farmers belong to families with a modern style of living, reached by Van den Ban and Wichers in the Netherlands, finds a confirmation also in many investigations carried out in America. American rural sociologists have thoroughly studied particularly the relations between socio-economic status, social participation and the acceptance of recommended farm practices and have almost invariably been able to prove that this relationship is of a positive nature. Although it has so far almost never clearly been stated, from the existing literature on the subject we can see how urban cultural traits correlate positively with the acceptance of the new practices. We can, therefore, safely state that, as far as the acceptance of new farm practices is concerned, this phenomenon is related to the existence of an urban modern cultural pattern in the countryside.

In the last years American research has been gradually focussing upon the problem of the "local influentials" of the sort already quoted so far in our review. Omitting any further discussion on the two American works already referred to, we shall, therefore, here proceed only to a rapid review of those studies, which are most prominent (the last bibliography on the subject counts 89 such publications) from our point of view.

The attention of the American Rural Sociologists has been focussing more and more upon the "influentials," particularly since the discussion which took place on the pages of "Rural Sociology" between Wilkening and Lionberger. We shall, however, follow a chronological order in our bibliographic review.

Agricultural University). As to the true reasons of this psychological isolation almost nothing is known with certainty. However, social psychology teaches us that as soon as a person is confronted with a new situation in which, for any reason, he feels a certain degree of uncertainty and of psychic tension, he is more apt to fall back to the old and better known value system and to reject the change. Since the small farmers around the cities have more occasions to compare their own standard of living with the standard of living of the average city-dweller, they are also more apt to develop hidden tensions which would in this way set in motion the mechanism of retreat from social life. This is the explanation which also Van den Ban gives in his bulletin.

² M. Mead ed; *Cultural patterns and Technological Change*, Unesco, 1953. Th. M. Newcomb; *Social Psychology*, The Dryden Press, New York, 1952.

³ Irving A. Spaulding, *Farm Operator Time-Space Orientations and the Adoption of Recommended Farming Practices*, Rhode Island Agricultural Experimental Station, Bulletin 330, Kingston, 1955.

⁴ A. J. Wichers, *De voorlichtingssituatie in de Betuwe; een social-psychologische analyse en een evaluatie van een campagne tot sanering van de fruitteelt*. Bulletin n. 11, Afd. Sociologie en Sociografie van de Landbouwhogeschool, Wageningen, 1958. Agricultural University.

It is quite typical that Wilkening, a recognized authority in the field of the study of the acceptance of new farm practices, in 1950, in the course of his studies, found it necessary to investigate whether the acceptance or rejection of innovations in farm matters is associated with the acceptance or rejection of innovation in non-farm matters.¹ He studied, therefore, the farmers' attitudes in three distinct areas: education, religion, and movies, and arrived at the following conclusions:

1. Attitudes in all three areas tend to be similar;
2. Conservatism in agricultural matters is associated with conservatism in other areas of experience;
3. In those communities where neighbourhoods and familiar ties are strongest there is an accompanying lack of formal organization and contact;
4. One half of those farmers related as "relatively independent" also had "high" acceptance of improved farm practices;
5. Two thirds of the farmers related as "strongly dependent" had "low" acceptance of farm practices.

We see, therefore, that here the influence of social factors demonstrates itself extremely clearly. We see also that if we could discover social forces which tend to render the members of the rural communities "relatively independent" a good step would have been made towards the explanation of the reason of the acceptance of new farming practices. It is by now a widely accepted idea among social scientists that localistic forms of social organization tend to be, at the same time, of an "organic" nature, whereas "organizational"² forms of social organization are concomitant with more modern, heterogeneous societies. So, for instance, Duncan and Kreitlow³ pointed out that: "Homogeneous

¹ E. A. Wilkening, *A Socio-psychological Approach to the Study of the Acceptance of Innovation in Farming*; *Rural Sociology*, 1950, pp. 352-364.

² Such terms are used in this context according to the meaning given them by Saal (C. D. Saal, *Sociale dynamiek, structuurveranderingen in de plattelandssamenleving, openbare les*, J. B. Wolters - Groningen, Djakarta, 1952). However, we use them only provisionally, and it is only with some reluctance that we apply such terminology.

neighbourhoods show greater participation in religious and social organizations, while heterogeneous neighbourhoods show greater participation in agricultural and school organizations." This remark gives us still further support to the idea of the inter-connection between a number of socio-cultural influences and the way in which modern agriculture is being exercised. In 1951 an excellent article by Pedersen appeared in *Rural Sociology* where the author evaluated in terms of acceptance of recommended farm practices the adjustment of a Danish and a Polish ethnic rural group.⁴ That author makes it fully clear in his article how a high rate of acceptance of new farm practices fits much more the dynamic, rational "market-economy" culture complex of the Danish farmers than the "subsistence-farming" culture complex of the Polish farmers, which tended to perpetuate the status-quo. Very valuable observations are made by that author as to the implications of the economic-technical culture complex when related to other spheres of social life. So we read that the Danish farmer came to America in a period when in his home country a very intensive commercial dairy farming-economy was developing. "This was also the period of rural enlightenment in Danish history. It was the period in which the folkshighschool and adult education for rural people reached its greatest development." And further on "... The Danish farmer valued independence - that is, individual freedom - very highly" ... and still further "Innovations are valued in terms of sound management principles and in terms of the extent to which they will enhance the independence and the freedom of the individual." In the Danish group strong emphasis was placed upon participation in social and cultural activities, like membership in a reading circle, frequent attendance at public forums and lectures in the community hall, etc. What we read of the Polish farmers gives us a fairly different picture: "security became a highly desired objective to these people and it was obtained through the development of strong family solidarity... Every member of the family contributed to maintaining the homestead mortgage-free and inviolate." And a few passages later "Frugality, hard work, long hours and co-operative endeavours on the part

The reasons for the objecting to the application of this terminology will become clear in the following chapter.

³ J. A. Duncan and B. W. Kreitlow, *Selected Cultural Characteristics and the Acceptance of Educational program and Practices*; *Rural Sociology*, 1950, pp. 349-357.

⁴ Harald A. Pedersen, *Cultural Differences in the Acceptance of Recommended Practices*; *Rural Sociology*, 1951, pp. 37-49.

of the family all contributed to making it a mortgage-free home-
stead.” Furthermore “Mechanization, soil-conservation, herd
improvement and home conveniences have to wait until the farm
mortgage is paid – frequently until the equipment or improve-
ments can be paid for in cash”; and eventually “The son becomes
the owner when he has demonstrated to the satisfaction of the
father that he can operate the farm in the manner in which tradition
has proven effective.”

Strictly speaking, this example drawn from Pedersen’s article would
not seem to be suitable for our purpose since it concerns people of
two different ethnic groups. However, we have made use of it
here as it is Pedersen’s words and not ours that make it clear
beyond any doubt how value-systems stressing different values
can act upon the individual and can facilitate or hinder the process
of acculturation.

That most of the factors connected with the diffusion of selected
farm practices can quite easily be grouped under the heading of
“culture” results clearly also from the reading of Lionberger’s
article “The diffusion of farm and home information as an area of
sociological research,” which appeared in 1952 in *Rural Sociology*
and of Wilkening’s discussion following the article.¹ While, on
the basis of an extensive number of examples, Lionberger comes
to the conclusion that almost no attention had been so far paid
to the real significance of the separate factors related to the phe-
nomenon of acceptance and use of farming practices, finding there –
by sufficient reason to plead for a clearer formulation of sociological
hypotheses, Wilkening answers with a rejoinder where we can
read that “while studies dealing with sociocultural variables as
related to the acceptance of technological innovations have been
few, certain anthropological studies have provided data of this
type. The works of Bronislaw Malinowsky, Horace Miner, Robert
Redfield, Walter Kollmorgen and others have provided data as
well as a theoretical framework for the consideration of technol-
ogical change as a function of culture”... and further on “the

¹ Herbert F. Lionberger, *The diffusion of farm and home information as an area of sociological research*; *Rural Sociology*, 1952, discussion by E. A. Wilkening and rejoinder by Herbert F. Lionberger, pp. 132-143.

² In order to dispel any cause of doubt we emphasize that we are speaking here of the situation arising out of the gradual process of “modernization,” i.e. a situation in which the prestige needed in order to become a leader comes increasingly more to rest upon individual performance and technical efficiency, and less upon customs, charisma, and the sacred value-system in general.

diffusion of farm and home practices may be regarded as a problem of cultural change. An alternative point of departure is that provided by learning theory.”

As we shall immediately see, in subsequent phases of American rural sociological research the “alternative point of departure” has had the better upon the “cultural” approach. In the publications which appeared in subsequent years we see a strong emphasis put upon the study of individual psychological elements, even if social factors have not been neglected. Anyway, the attentive reader can always detect, even in the later publications, the deep-going cultural implications related to the particular kind of mentality and personality of the different sorts of farmer, ranging from the “innovators” to “non-adopters.” Certainly, as to the significance of the “innovators” or “local influentials” or “local leaders”², or whatever one might choose to call the cultural avant-gardes, the last word on this subject is far from being said as we shall have the occasion to see in a future chapter. As to the matter that interests us here, we can limit ourselves to the remark that the most recent American research about the process of acceptance of new farm practices has made it very clear that the several categories of people detected in the whole process correspond to different types of ways of organizing one’s own life; they belong to different types of social sub-structures and social organization and could quite easily be classified along a complex continuum progressivity-activity versus conservatism-passivity from the point of view of the personal radius of action.³ We see, for instance, that in the same year 1952 Wilkening published an applied sociology note on the new approach to the study of the acceptance of farm practice through the study of local leaders⁴ where we read: “an important distinguishing characteristic of the community innovators was their contacts outside the community. The one who introduced hybrid corn into the community had relatives in Iowa from whom he obtained the first hybrid seed. The one who was the first to build terraces had a reputation of

² “By *radius of action* we understand the extent of the causal sequences directly brought about by our initial activity and remaining more or less under our control.” Karl Mannheim – *Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction* – London 1954, p. 149.

⁴ E. A. Wilkening, *Informal Leaders and Innovators in Farm Practices*; *Rural Sociology*, 1952, pp. 272-275.

taking more farm magazines than anyone else in the community. The farmer who introduced red clover and other methods of soil improvement got many of his ideas from an uncle in another community. He was also active in farm organizations and read magazines and bulletins extensively. The farmer who introduced dairying on a commercial scale (but later discontinued it) was a livestock trader and moved into the community from another part of the country. The farmer who started dairying very early, and has continued to be the largest dairy farmer, had several boys who attended the State Agricultural College. He also had relatives in the Midwest. A further characteristic of the community innovators was that they obtained practically all of their information on the eight improved farm practices considered in the study from agricultural agencies or from the State Agricultural College." A year later Lionberger, reporting on a more widely planned research, launched the term of "local influentials."¹ According to that author, the local influentials possess the following characteristics:

1. They operate larger farms and had higher incomes than their associates;
2. They were given higher prestige ratings than farmers who were not sought as personal source of farm informations;
3. They were more active in all types of formal social organizations and were more likely to be the members of groups dedicated to civic and educational improvement as compared to people less sought after as sources of farm information;
4. They were much more broadly oriented, socially, than other farmers. Consequently they were exposed to a wider variety of new ideas about farming than those who habitually stayed closer to home;

¹ Herbert F. Lionberger, Some characteristics of farm operators sought as sources of farm information in a Missouri community; *Rural Sociology*, 1953, pp. 327-338.

² Herbert F. Lionberger, *Information Seeking Habits and Characteristics of Farm*

5. They were characterized by a higher order of technological competence as farmers, thereby rendering them eminently qualified to act as farm advisers.

The same research is much more extensively reported by Lionberger in another publication in 1955.² We find it necessary to discuss that here also, because, in our opinion, it emphasizes most significant aspects of structural nature. Reporting on his study concerning a group of 279 farm operators living in a north-east Missouri farming community the author starts his description with a series of remarks of a general nature, among which, symptomatically, we find "Most noticeable in this respect (as to cultural differences. B.B.) was an area in which about 50 families resided where average gross incomes were one-third less than the community average and where farming conditions were generally less favourable than elsewhere in the community. (This is henceforth referred to as *an area of relative isolation* as a means of identification.³) Farmers here were less inclined to use direct sources of farm information and life generally was more localistically oriented." Lionberger's bulletin is worth quoting here because besides stressing the usual well known differences between acceptors and non acceptors of recommended farm practices he approaches the problem from the beginning, as it were, from a purposely "organizationally" based point of view. He divides the whole group of farmers into users and non users of institutionalized sources of farm information, whereby in almost the totality of the cultural traits taken into consideration the users of institutionalized sources of farm information are constantly overrepresented at the upper end of the continuum of distribution. So we read "Although users of institutionalized sources of farm information were much more active in localistic farm organizations than non users, differences were decidedly greater with respect to participation in formal organizations which took the individual *beyond the immediate locality*"⁴, or, "the users of county agent services were regarded as unquestionably receptive to new ideas about farming, among whom 64 per cent showed evidence of actively seeking farm information. . . Only 5 per cent of the non users of institutionalized sources gave evidence of actively seeking new ideas and

Operators, University of Missouri, Agricultural Experiment Station, Research Bulletin N. 581, April, 1955, Columbia, Missouri.

² Lionberger's incise and italics.

⁴ our italics B. B.

21 per cent showed evidence of receptivity. This left 75 per cent of the latter group ranging from moderately indifferent to antagonistic to new ideas about farming." This distribution is all the more evident when leadership characteristics – exercise of administrative and advisory responsibility in formal social groups – community prestige, and other symbols of social status in general are taken into consideration. Further, Lionberger in retesting his hypothesis of the "local influentials" finds that "Comparison of farm operators classed as 'seekers' and those classed as 'sought' with respect to the sources of farm information used by them revealed that the latter were much more frequent users, particularly of the institutionalized sources.

Approximately three-fourths of the farm operators named as sources of farm information indicated that they had used a county agent as a source during the survey year compared to only 35 per cent of those who named them as sources. Although less marked, this same type of relationship was in evidence in the proportion of seekers and persons sought who used each of the institutionalized sources of farm information."¹

Lionberger found also a strong tendency to look for personal sources of information to persons who had a high-technology-social status. This, says that author, "is evidence that the 'endless chain theory' of diffusion actually works and that there must be a considerable filtering down of farm information from the technologically competent and receptive farmers to those who are reluctant to accept new farm practices." Eventually, on the basis of his findings Lionberger concludes that "still another type of evidence indicative of both competence of personal sources and resistance to change is the degree of receptivity to innovations in farming. People who are highly resistant to change can hardly be, and certainly cannot remain, competent sources of information in a rapidly changing society. Those who are highly receptive are predisposed to the acquisition of new information and thus to

¹ H. F. Lionberger, *op. cit.* p. 31.

² In another research about possible connections between social structure and diffusion of farm information Lionberger found that of the three studied information-seeking relationships, those with "local influentials" were most structured by cliques (in other words, by social relations mainly based upon the priority of individual personal attraction of the interacting persons, who chose, therefore, each other) and least by neighbourhoods. About this finding we can read the following passage: "A possible explanation is that a different set of norms operates in the quest for information from local influentials than in the quest for information from other persons. Perhaps with local influentials, rational considerations of farm technology predomi-

social change. Comparison of information seekers and those who were sought with respect to receptivity, revealed that those sought were slightly more favourable to change. However, of much more significance is the fact that the relatively non-receptive persons, readily sought those who in turn were highly receptive to innovations in farming.”

As we see the concomitance found by Lionberger between high formal social participation and adoption of innovation in farming is not absolute new. What is new is the fact that Lionberger, having methodologically approached the problem from the point of view of users and non users of formal social organizations, actually, has carried out a comparison between the performances in a series of aspects of social life of the two groups, according to the degree with which the people of the two groups participated in the social organization and in the type of life typical of the modern western urban pattern of culture.² And the fact is highly significant that, no matter whether the “dependent variable” was the use of ladino clover, the application of commercial fertilizers according to soil tests, terracing or ploughing on the contour, or the number of tractors, the number of completed years of schooling, the number of telephones, or the location on an all-weather road (just to quote only a few of the variables taken into consideration) the picture given by the relationship between the pattern of social behaviour (use of institutionalized or of non institutionalized sources) and the concerned variable remains almost unchanged. In order to fully understand the implications of an intensive social participation in an “organizational” social structure from the point of view of the individual, we must not forget that it is not unreasonable to suppose that a social life which evolves in a modern “organizational” environment almost certainly favours the appearance, among the members of society, of a certain degree of individuality and of a more conscious form of behaviour in general. These, on the other side, are almost unthinkable in a character

nate while the choice of other persons as sources is largely based on traditional, non-rational norms such as prestige and friendship (friendship depending on mere geographic vicinity v. v.). The rational, instrumental norms which may be institutionalized in clique structure are also the type which tend to cut individuals off from locality oriented associational patterns. This may be due to the individualizing influence exerted upon them.” Herbert F. Lionberger and Milton C. Coughenour; *Social Structure and Diffusion of Farm Information*, University of Missouri, College of Agriculture, Agricultural Exp. Sta., Research Bull. 631, April 1957, Columbia, Missouri, pp. 94-95.

structure devoid of a certain degree of rationality and of power of decision-making.¹

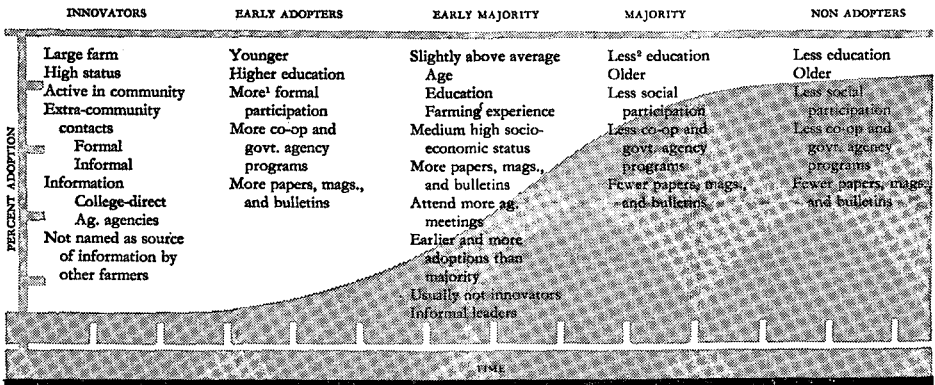
At this point we could stop with our exemplification as, in our opinion, we have sufficient evidence that modernity of behaviour in the farm management and modernity of behaviour in the rest of the social activities of the human being are related to each other. We think, therefore, that we have serious reason to believe that inefficiency in farming does go together with a characteristic absence of modern urban cultural traits from the value system and from the whole frame of reference of the interested farmers. However, before going over to a more precise statement of our ideas, we want to draw the attention to a fairly complete picture of the cultural variables related to the acceptance of new farm practices. This can be useful, also, in order to dispel possible doubts that we might have chosen, out of the very extensive literature on the subject, only those few examples that most suited our thesis.

This picture is given by figure 1, based on the findings of 35 research studies conducted during the past 20 years in various parts of the United States.² Beal and Bohlen, who have developed the concerned figure notice that "Examination of the diffusion curve shows that it is an S curve, which is close to a normal growth curve. There is a slow gradual rate of adoption, then quite a rapid rate of adoption, followed by a levelling off of the adoption rate. If it was a simple distribution curve instead of a cumulative curve, it would approach a normal bell-shaped distribution. For most practices the adoption curve either fits the normal growth curve pattern or approximates it."

We can safely suppose that the process represented in figure 1 is a process of acculturation³ in its theoretical form. It might be appropriate to repeat here that in our opinion what is known so far on this matter seems to indicate that acculturation is not a question of adopting separate cultural traits, but rather a number

¹ We remind here the reader that a very recent study of Beal upon the influence of "dynamic" factors for the participation of Iowa farmers in formal voluntary organizations has showed invariably high degrees of significance between those factors and the degree of participation. The "dynamic" factors studied were such ("members understanding of basic co-operative principles," "knowledge-of-facts scores," "believing to have a 'say' in the organization," "identification with the association," etc.) that they can all be safely classified as symptoms of the degree to which the respondent is (and is aware of his being) a functional unit within the social order of the organization. (George M. Beal - Additional Hypotheses in Participation Research. Rural Sociology 1956, pp. 249-256).

FIG. 1 SUMMARY, ADOPTION CURVE AND TIME CATEGORIES



¹ More refers to significantly more than categories that follow.
² Less, older, fewer refer to significantly different from previous categories.

of traits together, integrated in complexes and in culture patterns. It is therefore logic to suppose that the “technical” acculturation shown by fig. 1 must be related to a culture complex or culture pattern of its own, which, as such, has never been so far the object of a particular study.

From the observation of each of the five groups of variables as related to the rate of adoption we see that the age of the interested person appears to be a very important factor in the adoption of new farm practices – and therefore in the farm management as a whole. We must not forget that the learning of something new (of which the acceptance of new farm practices is but one aspect) costs energy, as well as the process of automatization of a new behaviour pattern does. The more the behaviour to be learned differs in quality and in psychological distance from the behaviour

² George M. Beal and Joe M. Bohlen, The Diffusion Process, Special Report N. 18, Agricultural Extension Service, Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa, March 1957.

³ Acculturation is used here in the general meaning given to this term by Herskovits (Melville J. Herskovits, Acculturation, J. J. Augustin, New York, 1938) i.e. the term is applied to the results of cultural contacts, and it is used to denote the process by means of which cultural elements are transferred from one group to another. However, here this term is not used in Herskovits’ restrictive acceptance of “continuous first-hand contact” (Herskovits, op. cit. pg. 10).

already automatized, the more a reorganization of concepts has to take place within the individual in order to let the new behaviour pattern fit in the personal system of ideas. However, not every novelty has the same psychological distance from the system of each individual. This would explain the importance of age in this context, explaining, at the same time why this "variable" has *not always* been found significantly related to the acceptance of new farm practices. Anyway, the recognition that age is quite probably related to the adoption of new farm practices does not weaken our supposition that the whole process is positively related with the degree of modernity, with the broader orientation and with the degree of integration of the farmer in the dynamic social organization surrounding him. Also, in the quoted report, as we see, the whole problem is viewed almost exclusively from the individual psychological point of view, rather than in the frame of reference of a general sociological theory. However, in a similar special report¹ under the heading "Some Personal and Social Characteristics Related to Adoption of Practices" we read: "*Group and Community variations* – In some groups and communities people place a higher value upon material gains and money than they do in others. In some, changes in farming are encouraged and expected. Prestige is attached to the adoption of new ideas and techniques. In others, more value is placed upon tradition and little freedom is allowed the individual to deviate from the group's pattern in adopting innovations.

If the adoption of new practices goes contrary to the established customs and traditions of the people, the innovator may be ridiculed or lose prestige.

The extent to which changes are adopted depends upon the values and expectations of the group and upon the extent to which the individual is expected to conform. Where there is great emphasis on maintaining family traditions and values rooted in the past, change occurs more slowly. On the other hand, where emphasis is upon individualism and personal success, change occurs more rapidly."

We see that nearly all the limiting conditions quoted in this

¹ Subcommittee for the Study of Diffusion of Farm Practices, Special Report N. 15, Agricultural Extension Service, Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa, November 1955.

² For a more than exhaustive discussion of the various factors of the socio-economic structure in the life of a modern Western European Country favouring the above mentioned contact, cfr. E. W. Hofstee, *Rural Life and Rural Welfare in the Netherlands*, Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, The Hague, 1957.

excerpt would almost certainly disappear as soon as a deep-going process of acculturation would take place by which the localistic value-system would be gradually substituted by a more strictly individualistic and cosmopolitan one, that we might generally call the "modern Western urban value-system." We may emphasize again that we think that it is reasonable to suppose that this substitution of values takes place in the intensified contact between town and country, such as has happened in the last decennia of this century all over the world in general and in the countries of Western Europe in particular.³

Although no exhaustive study has appeared so far, to the present writer's knowledge, on the changes in character and personality structure of *the farm operators* as a consequence of the contact of the rural cultural pattern with the urban pattern of culture,³ a hint is given, for instance, by Ziegler.⁴ That author, studying the adaptations over time of three subsequent generations of a group of German Baptist Brethren to the American culture noticed, as it was to be expected, obvious signs of the acceptance of modern cultural traits in the second and, more, in the third generation of Brethren. It is interesting to notice, however, that the much higher degree of modernity of the third generation manifested itself not only in a much wider acceptance of material cultural traits and in a much wider rate of participation of the individual in the new culture, but also in a "strength" of opinions about matters regarding the normative system (dating, the time at which youngsters must be back home at night, etc.) quite abnormal for the members of the previous generations. Unfortunately the author does not tell us more about this aspect of acculturation; however, this example gives empirical support to the idea that in the contact between an organic-traditional and an organizational-modern culture, a total reorganization of the individual life according to a new value-system takes place, proportional to the degree with which the members of society begin to face the world as separate individuals and not as anonymous components of the group. The quoted example, further, seems to indicate that modernism rather than just as a uniform weakening of all the old norms and values

³ What is known so far is little, of a contradictory nature, and it concerns not farm operators, but only college students from farming areas.

⁴ Jesse H. Ziegler, *A Socio-Psychological Study of a Changing Rural Culture*, Ph. D. Dissertation, Washington D.C., 1942.

previously existing, must be seen as a *reorganization* of the life of a social group *according to other* standards. This process will be studied somewhat more at length in the next chapter. Here it is sufficient to say that, in our opinion, modernism (and urbanism as a vehicle of modernism) brings about a process of individuation¹ of society, and therefore also of the rural society. This process of individuation of the rural society, which sometimes is referred to as an “awakening” or “prise de conscience” of the countryside is bound to bring about also the appearance of a new type of character structure, of personality, of the rural populations.² A changed world view, which finds its expression in a changed personality of the farm operator, will obviously influence the way in which this operator manages his farm. Therefore, although sociologists have not yet reached an agreement as to how the “local influentials” have become such, there are definite reasons to believe that the process of urbanization of the countryside has implications that reach not only the social life of the countryside as a whole, but influence, furthermore, also the technical performance of those who happen to be exposed to the urban pattern of culture.³ We have noticed how the “endless chain theory” of diffusion of new farm practices generally seems to be related to, and concomitant with, the degree to which modern urban cultural traits exist within the society, in all the different steps of the chain from beginning to end. Therefore we think that the question as to whether also farm management as a whole is significantly related to the urban pattern of culture is worth being asked. The acceptance of new farm practices is, in fact, only one aspect of that more complex pattern of social behaviours known as “farm management.”

¹ By this term we understand the process by which a collectivistic, “Gemeinschaft” – like form of social organization changes into a type of social organization in which the existing form of social control leaves mainly to the single individual the task of taking his own final decisions. This does not mean that in an individuated society the individual is not subjected to social influences; his decisions are as much “socially” determined as the decisions taken by the members of a non-individuated society, but he has far less chances to “share,” as it were, with the other components of his society the responsibility for having taken them. Approximately in the same sense the term individuation has already been used by Eric Fromm and other social scientists. This term should therefore be distinguished from the term “individualization” which means: “the process by which one human being acquires characteristics which differentiate him from others.” (E. P. Fairchild, Dictionary of Sociology.)

² As we have seen in several examples of the foregoing pages this “prise de conscience,” this conscious personal attitude toward life at large, is betrayed by the investigator’s

THE PROBLEM

Remembering the whole complex of problems discussed at length in the foregoing pages we can therefore come now to the following statement:

Efficiency in the farm management in general is an essential factor as a source of income from agriculture. In several countries, and in certain districts within each country in particular, the low average productivity per unit of labour-power has been demonstrated to be a very weak point in the efficiency of the farm management. In the Netherlands, for instance, the low productivity of labour in agriculture is very oppressing since the labour factor accounts for 40 to 50 per cent of the costs of production. The needed improvement of the productivity in agriculture will have, therefore, to be sought for in large measure in a rationalization of the labour productivity⁴, which is one of the main elements of the farm management. In connection with the problems around the possibility of a rationalization of the farm management, our study aims at finding an answer to the following set of questions:

1. Is there in the rural areas an increasing, but unevenly distributed influence of a modern urban pattern of culture?
2. Is there any relation between the urban pattern of culture and the efficiency with which the farm operator manages his farm?
3. Does the cultural pattern influence in general the social activities of the group in question?

reference to "a rationalistic way of thinking" as contrasted to "emotional factors," or to "old and modern frames of reference" or to "rigidity-flexibility," "orientation," "deviation from local norms," etc. It is, we think, something that is clearly related to the individual's open attitude towards the "outside" world and it corresponds, in fact, to an enlargement of the world wherein the individual participates either physically or psychologically.

³ Friedmann (Georges Friedmann: *Villes et Campagnes, Civilisation urbaine et civilisation rurale* - Paris, Librairie Harmand Colin, 1953) considers more important the process by which the urban style of life wins its way at the expenses of the rural style than a conceptual territorial definition of what is city and what is not.

⁴ S. Herweijer, *De landbouw in het verband der landelijke planologie, voordracht gehouden in het kader van de Landbouwweek 1957 te Wageningen*. Wageningen, 18 September 1957.

4. Is the influence of the cultural pattern essential? In other words, is it the social situation in which the farmer is involved, and in particular the situation arising out of the evolution of the cultural pattern, which principally influences the economic behaviour of the farmer, or are hereditary characteristics mainly responsible for it?

With our bibliographical review we have purposely concerned ourselves only with pure empirical research as to the factors influencing the development of modern agriculture. This we have done in order to show that is not from speculation but from the very perusal of the literature that our questions derive. From the examples quoted in the preceding pages, and from the discussion of different aspects involved in an empirical research about the economic behaviour of the farm operators at least one thing will have become clear by now: the whole problem is very complicated. It would, therefore, be at least naive to expect a clear-cut solution for it in all its aspects.

Therefore, what we hope to achieve with this study is nothing more than

- a. to try to establish with a sufficient degree of certainty that the influence of our modern type of culture is quite clearly recognizable in the efficiency of the farm management, and
- b. to furnish some material for further subsequent study in this direction, with the hope that, in this way, within a few years a sufficient number of researches can give us some sort of more definite knowledge of the wide field of problems connected with this subject.

Industrial Sociology teaches us that nothing but advantages can derive from a higher degree of certainty about the factors influencing the human relations within the process of production. If the same could be obtained in agriculture much would probably be gained for the farmers, for the social planners, and for the political leaders.

However, the *decision* as to whether the findings of sociology can be consciously used for a social planning, and as to how these findings must be used, is something which belongs to the realms of morals and not to those of science.

Towards hypotheses

In the previous chapter we have seen how the results of empirical research seem to support a theory of an existing relation between the technical performance of the farmer and a progressive process of individuation of the countryside. We have seen, in fact, how amongst farmers the degree of efficiency of the technical performance of various aspects of the farm management is very strictly correlated to the presence of a dynamic and flexible figure of farm operator. Such ideal figure possesses many of the typical features of the fictitious rational, individualistic and capitalistic "entrepreneur."

The relation between the strongly rationalistic modern Western pattern of culture and the process of individuation of societal life has interested social scientists for a long time. It forms, in fact, the background of Tönnies' "Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft" (1887) and Weber's "Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus" (1904). Since the process of individuation of rural life, to which we have referred above, shows strong relations to the process of urbanization of the countryside, it would seem logical that one could expect to find the presence of the progressive, modern type of farmer to be directly proportional to the degree to which the modern mass media and other means of communication allow urban cultural traits to penetrate rural communities. In order to verify this expectation, it is necessary to consider the phenomena taking place in the situation of socio-cultural contact between country and town.

When we try to do so, we seem to be immediately confronted by the difficulty posed by such debated and imprecise concepts as "country" and "town" in an industrialized state of the Western world. But we think that we can avoid this problem. In fact, as it will appear from our later argumentations, we think that a precise definition of "countryside" and of "town" is not needed in this context, and, strictly speaking, meaningless. In our attempt to arrive to a definitive set of hypotheses which could help us to some extent to understand the general trend of the differences in efficiency of farm management between farmers within one region, we wonder whether concepts of highly material nature, as they are mostly used (such as that implicit in such terms as "rural-urban dichotomy" and "rural-urban continuum") and which have in general to do with aspects of the economic structure and the demographic situation, could help us in this context. The performance of a total set of patterns of behaviours like the ones involved in managing a farm, is bound to reflect the total way of

thinking and the total world view of the performer (in other words, his personality), and for an understanding of these phenomena, definitions of "country" and "town," as they are mostly used, are of little value.

We think that it is only by asking ourselves what kind of thinking, and what kind of personality is being brought about by the process of urbanization, that we can get a somewhat clearer explanation of the several aspects of the problem which interests us here.¹ Only in this way the importance of factors like farm-size and vocational training can be estimated rightly, and only in this way seemingly contrasting results like very high efficiency in small farms, or very low efficiency in farms near the towns etc., as referred to in the previous chapter, can be explained. Socio-cultural isolation can be brought about by a number of material and psychological ways, which all hinder the acceptance of "urbanism as a way of life," and one must be very careful not to consider as self-evident the relation between this isolation and "the country," in the material, physical sense of the word.

It is completely impossible to give here a full account of all that has been written about the rural-urban contrasts, the rural-urban continuum and dichotomy, the fringe areas, part-time farming in "rurbanized" regions, etc. Suffice it to say that with the augmenting of the literature, in accordance with the view expressed above, the conclusion becomes more and more clear that the real core of the matter is the organization of individual life according to certain

¹ The importance of the personality of the farm operator for the farm management has long been admitted, although in a purely theoretical and almost incidental way, see: Brinkmann, C. – Die Oekonomie des Landwirtschaftlichen Betriebes, in: Grundriss der Sozialoekonomie, VII. Abt. Tübingen 1922. Laur E. – Einführung in die Wirtschaftslehre des Landbaues, 2. Aufl. Berlin, 1930.

Very recently, von Blanckenburg has made a first attempt towards a general theory of the importance of the personality of the farm operator in agriculture. However, he does not go further than the formulation of a general hypothesis which reminds one very much of von Thünen's concentric circles applied to the predominant forms of life existing around a town. See: Blanckenburg, P. V. "Die Persönlichkeit des landwirtschaftlichen Betriebsleiters in der ökonomischen Theorie und der sozialen Wirklichkeit" *Berichten über Landwirtschaft*. Sonderheft-Hamburg und Berlin – 1957, Band xxxv, pp. 308-336.

² For a very schematic but somewhat comprehensive view of the development of sociological insight as summarized briefly in the foregoing statement see:

Sorokin and Zimmerman – *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology*. Henry Holt Company, New York, 1929.

Redfield, R. – *The Folk culture of Yucatan* – The University of Chicago Press. Chicago-1941.

modern standards, and *not* the place of residence of the farmer as such.² However, some amount of confusion still seems to exist in the whole literature concerning the real implications of the so called rural-urban differences, and of "urbanism as a way of life," so that we cannot use this last concept for a valid frame of reference upon which to base our set of hypotheses, without further clarification.

Starting from the point of view of the farmer himself, we shall, therefore, have to subject the whole concept of "urbanism as a way of life" to a critical examination, in order to see whether or not we can come to the conclusion that the process of urbanization of the countryside could be held responsible for the increased efficiency in the farm management.

Let us start from the phrase that we hear over and over again: "Nowadays it is becoming more and more difficult to be a good farmer." In this phrase there are, in our opinion, all the elements for a complete answer to the implicit problem it poses. The obvious question behind it is: "Why is it becoming more and more difficult to be a good farmer?" The technician's answer is quite ready for it: "Because labour productivity in agriculture is too low as compared with labour productivity in industry. It demands, therefore, increasingly better managerial qualities to make a decent living out of agriculture." This is quite true, but it is only a partial answer. However, even from this partial answer we see

Gross, N. – Cultural Variables in Rural Communities. *American Journal of Sociology* LII (1947-48) pp. 344-350.

Loomis, C. and Beegle, A. – *Rural Social Systems* – Prentice Hall, Inc. New York, 1950.

Redfield, R. – *A village that chose progress. Chan-Kom revisited.* The University of Chicago Press. 1950.

Spaulding, I. – Serendipity and the rural-urban continuum. *Rural sociology* 1951, pp. 29-36.

Beers, H. W. – Rural-urban differences: some evidence from public-opinion polls. *Rural Sociology*, 1953, pp. 1-11.

Redfield, R. – *The primitive World and its transformations.* Cornell University Press – Ithaca, 1953.

Mead, M. – *Cultural Patterns and technological change,* Unesco, 1953.

Redfield, R. – *Peasant Society and Culture: An Anthropological Approach to Civilization.* Chicago University Press. – Chicago, 1956.

Loomis, C. and Beegle, A. – *Rural Sociology – The Strategy of Change.* Prentice Hall, Inc. 1957.

Lowry Nelson – *Rural Life in Mass-Industrial Society.* *Rural Sociology* – Vol. 22, 1957, pp. 20-30.

how any change in the traditional, localistic pattern of culture that would favour among the farming population the appearance of more individuality, independence, and capacity to see the farming business in the broader frame of reference of the national economy, is bound to bring about a type of operator more suited to fulfil the requirements of modern agriculture. However, although in such an answer there is already implicit the relation of the managerial qualities of the farmer to the social system in which he lives, it must be regarded as incomplete from a sociological point of view. What one must realize is the meaning of words like "Nowadays. . . agriculture. . . compared. . . with industry" or of the term "decent living."

The truth is that our Western society is rapidly changing from a type where the lead was given by agriculture, with its customs, traditions, accepted values and patterns of behaviour, to a society where the lead is given by industrial towns, and where these customs, traditions, values and patterns of behaviour are substituted more and more by their urban correspondents. It does not take, therefore, much imagination to see e.g. that "decent living" for a farmer A.D. 1958 has a completely different meaning and a completely different set of implications than "decent living" had for his colleague of A.D. 1858.

The words "decent living" mean that a comparison is being made. In our case, a comparison between life in the country and life in town. The Western farmer is awakening and becoming sensitive to the possibility of another way of organizing his own life. This is happening according to the degree with which he becomes aware of the fact that the local community and the old sets of values, formerly accepted as obvious, are not so obvious any more. Beyond the local community another world exists which does not share its values and where social life answers to different rules.

But is "urbanism" as such, the essential element in this change? At this point, we feel there are two concepts which have long been woven together in most discussions about the influence of the urban pattern of culture upon the rural culture. The evidence of the social reality of a modern Western state where social mobility is effectively great, shows that it is increasingly impossible to regard the countryside and agriculture as a kind of immutable entity –

¹ T. Lynn Smith – *The Sociology of rural life*. Harper & Brothers, 1953, p. 17. For a more thorough criticism of the various manners of classifying the two ways of living see Sorokin and Zimmerman. *Op. cit.*

a kind of watertight compartment of society. The style of living of the countryside loses more and more its peculiarities, so that the blending in each other of the rural and the urban characteristics of daily life, as along the innumerable gradual passages of a continuum, has long been noticed.¹ However, the ways of living as they can be observed in daily life, as all the observable phenomena in sociology, are only manifestations of a more hidden motor. This motor has only to a certain degree to do with urbanism (in the sense of the impact of city-life on our society in general) as such, and it must be found, instead, in the particular value-system according to which a particular society is organized. In the following passages from Wirth's famous article,² lies part of the answer to our question. However, in the very same lines lies also, in our opinion, the cause of much of the misunderstanding regarding this matter: "The degree with which the contemporary world may be said to be "urban" is not fully or accurately measured by the proportion of the total population living in cities. The influence which cities exert upon the social life of man is greater than the ratio of the urban population would indicate, for the city is not only in ever larger degrees the dwelling-place and the workshop of the modern man, but it is the indicating and the controlling centre of economic, political, and cultural life that has drawn the most remote parts of the world into its orbit and woven diverse areas, peoples, and activities into a cosmos. . . The city and the country may be regarded as two poles in reference to one or the other of which all human settlements tend to arrange themselves."

Strictly speaking Wirth's words are true. However, he did not stress strongly enough that the two ways of life about which he was writing contrast, not so much because they are "rural" or "urban," but because they reflect two essentially different philosophies of life and two different types of man. In the years following the publication of his article, therefore, we see the theory appear and become accepted, of a self evident contrast between country and town as pure expression of the physical environment. Wirth himself speaks in his article quite freely of the dominance of the city, and in subsequent years, the writings about the dominance of the metropolis upon the city, of the city upon the town, and of

² Louis Wirth - Urbanism as a Way of life; *The American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV, 1938-'39, pp. 1-24.

the town upon the countryside increase sensibly both in America and in Europe. The (more or less) implicit idea behind it, is that a kind of struggle is going on between country and town, which, out of their very nature, are supposed to be antagonistic and that the dominance of the city, as such, is responsible for the far-going social changes in the countryside. The concept of the rural-urban continuum is extensively applied, and studies are carried out by which the degree of urbanization of the country dwellers is measured by the number of the inhabitants of the nearest urban centre. (!) The concept of dominance interpreted in such a way, which might be accepted when speaking of economic spheres of influence, is not very useful for sociological analysis. To use the words of Malinowsky, the individual, both in social theory and in the reality of cultural life, "is the starting point and the end."¹ To put the problem into the terms of a struggle between urban and rural ways of living for the regulation of the life of the members of society, does not help us much in understanding what is happening to country life when it comes deeply in contact with urban life. There is no struggle, nor is there a completely passive acceptance of urban cultural traits (i.e. a kind of grafting of urban traits upon a human substratum which would remain, as it were, totally unchanged underneath). There is only, for each independent member of a society, the possibility to organize his own life according to one certain value system rather than another. As we shall see in the following pages, the different value systems, through the different types of culture in which they are integrated, influence the individual deeply, so that we can say that different ways of thinking correspond, in fact, to different types of men. Which is then, the value system that is at present exerting an influence upon the Western farmers? Wirth himself in his article, felt it necessary to warn that it is particularly important to call attention to the dangers of confusing urbanism with industrialism and modern capitalism. To these two "isms" we would add also, commercialism, and protestantism which, *together* with urbanism, have contributed to the birth of modern Westernism, understood as an outlook on life and a mental attitude as such.

¹ Bronislaw Malinowsky - "The group and the individual in functional analysis." *The American Journal of Sociology*. 1938-39, p. 964.

² Mannheim had already pointed out that for the progressive-thinking man the present-day is the point of departure, whereas it is the point of arrival for the conservative. Cfr. K. Mannheim, *The conservative thinking*; in *Essays in Sociology and social psychology*, London 1953, Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd. See further H. Verwey-

This modern Westernism as such, is, in our opinion, characterized by a high degree of mental dynamism and flexibility. The mental dynamism is the manifestation of a capacity to put oneself in a rational, almost detached relation with the personal work- and life-situation, to distinguish and to appreciate the new aspects of it.

H. Verwey-Jonker in her discussion of conservative thinking, considers conservatism as an attitude depending upon three factors:

- a. the static concept of history,
- b. priority for institutions and formality in the social relations and,
- c. exclusiveness (resistance to the acceptance of new ideas, intolerance, etc.)²

We see, therefore, that every socio-cultural situation which would confront a social group with new life situations is bound, from its very nature, to weaken sensibly the first and the third category of factors mentioned previously. This, however, is not to say that an augmented change in the social situation automatically brings about a modern attitude in the members of society. Every change, and every introduction of a new (i.e. non-automatic) pattern of behaviour absorbs a certain amount of energy from the individual, and it depends on his state of mind whether he will consciously or unconsciously decide that he can afford spending this extra portion of energy. The human mind has its own kind of inertia, and it is good that it is so. The attitude of the individual towards change will depend much, therefore, on the valuesystem upon which personal or group life is organized.

Therefore, we shall have first to give our definition of modernism, and, thereafter, we shall see whether in the value system and in the social structure of the modern industrial Western society, there

Jonker. *Het Conservatieve denken*, and F. Grewel, *Psychologische aspecten van de conservatieve levenshouding*, in: *Sociologisch Jaarboek van de Nederlandse Sociologische Vereniging*. Vijfde deel 1950; P. Kuin, *Het progressieve denken over Samenleving en Bedrijf*. Amsterdam, 15 Oct. 1956 - Tjeenk Willink & Zoon - Haarlem.

are the elements for the appearance of such an attitude.¹ If so, the unique character of the Western civilization, both as to its capacity to bring about deviant behaviour (innovators), and as to its general readiness to accept innovations could be explained. Finally, we shall have to see whether or not our considerations are valid for the examples taken from the literature quoted in the previous chapter.

In an attempt to give a valid definition of what we call "modernism as such," we would define modernism as *a set of attitudes based on the capacity and the inclination to see the relativism of several phenomena in life* (comprehending norms, beliefs, and institutions). From this capacity and this inclination, derives the conscious striving of the modernist (or progressive reformist, as contrasted to the regressive reformist. Cfr.: H. Verwey-Jonker, op. cit.) to find the optimal solution to concrete life-situations whenever these call for a functional change of relationships. For modern man, the acceptance of the constant search for optimal solutions as a normal element of life (i.e. his implicit acceptance of a perspective of continuous future adaptations to situations which are still unknown to him) is made possible because he is "a priori" open to new situations: he can question old norms and values. On the one hand this implies, at the same time, that "the future", as a class of expectations and a frame of reference, has acquired for him a high value, while on the other it implies also that he has to use his own reasoning powers much more than the traditional man, for whom "the past" is normative.

Our definition furthermore implies that inherent in the concept of "modernism as such," as an attitude of the person concerned, there is also the predisposition to seek the solution of the developments in the personal life situation by means of the scientific knowledge and the help of modern technology that may be available to him.² In our opinion, therefore, we have here to do with a new type of man characterized schematically by a relatively high degree of mental dynamism, by progressiveness as an attitude, by

¹ While both truly traditional and truly modern individuals are entirely assimilable, respectively, to Riesman's "traditional" and "other-directed personalities," the rural people who are at present under the impact of modernizing forces show most of the ideal characteristics of Riesman's "inner-directed personalities." Most of today's modern farmers belong to the latter characterological class. While it could be very interesting to examine whether or not there will ever be a majority of entirely other-directed farmers – or, better, whether the farmer's sons who have become other-directed would eventually continue to be farmers – this is not our main concern. The

a broader geographical and social frame of reference, and by a high capacity to adapt himself to new situations.

We remarked that modernism as an attitude implies the presence of a relatively high degree of rationalism in the human mind. The term "rationalism" in fact, stands for the ability to think discursively in terms of abstractions and classes, which is definitely a conscious type of action. Furthermore, we know that "rationalism is a historical phenomenon peculiar to the modern Western civilization and it is related, among others, to the economic value-complex."³ This is not to say, of course, that for us rationalism and the modern Western pattern of culture are one and the same thing. However, in our opinion, rationalism is a very important factor in the culture-complex of modernism. It is an experience common to all the rural extension officers and to every social scientist with some practice of the countrylife, that in strongly isolated rural communities, or in regions which are only since a short time under the effective impact of the urban pattern of culture, there is a widespread and pronounced incapacity to "think discursively in terms of abstractions and classes," and to give definite concrete answers to theoretical questions. We see, therefore, that rationalism is characteristic for a particular type of man. This new man, as a type, was born when, with Galilei, Erasmus, Sir Francis Bacon, Hume, Descartes and many others both the principles and the system of organization on which authority and knowledge rested at the time were broken. A new way of thinking (which has some of its essential roots back in the old Greek philosophies) was introduced and systematically adopted as normative for the mental climate of the European society of that time. This new way of thinking rested, as well as upon the capacity for abstraction already quoted, also upon self-criticism, empiricism as the basis of knowledge, and upon a generalized capacity for detachment from the object of discussion for the sake of objectivity. We know that the mental attitude, or state of mind, sketched here above (which was, later, to be called "rationalism" or "scientific mind") was to

argumentation of the following pages tends only to bring out the predominant cultural traits or complexes which can be considered instrumental for the birth of a progressive type of farmer in a traditional environment.

² For the construction of this hypothesis we have relied much on a paper of F. J. F. Hogewind; *Sociaal-Psychologische aspecten van de voorlichting* (unpublished paper).

³ W. A. Weiskopf - *Psychology of economics*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd. London, 1955, p. 243.

revolutionize completely the existing mediaeval civilization in which power, knowledge and human relations were mainly based upon charisma, hereditary prestige, and diffuse emotional ties. The new state of mind is the clue to the essence of the uniqueness of the modern Western civilization and it accounts as much for industrialism, trade-unionism and automation in the urban conglomerates, as for the appearance of more contractual relations among the farmers, between farmers and farm labourers, and between customers and shopkeepers in the countryside. Therefore we see here the appearance of a new type of man in the new social order deriving from "Western" acculturation.

We are now ready to admit that this type of man is much more represented in the towns than in the country. This happens because industrialism and capitalism, two of the most direct consequences of the new way of thinking, found logically their most favourable substratum in the human material concentrated in the urban conglomerates of the time. The presence of industry and of the capitalistic economic order in the cities placed the urban man in the permanent necessity of making choices, strengthening in this way the development of the progressive mentality and of a high degree of adaptability intended as personality traits. Also, since the spreading of new ideas is a function of the efficiency of the existing means of communication, it is obvious that for practical reasons, the new philosophy and the mental attitude which went with it at that time, spread much faster among the city dwellers than among the inhabitants of the countryside. But we must not forget that for the birth of a new value system, it is the appearance of a new way of thinking that matters, of a new philosophical current, a new "world view." *Urbanism, as such, is not absolutely essential to the new world view, and the latter has to do with urbanism only in so far as the urban pattern of culture, owing to the development of technology reached in the Western cities, has become standard-setting in the life of society; this has allowed urbanism to function as a vehicle for the propagation of the new way of thinking.*

There are plenty of examples to demonstrate that not all the urban dwellers of the world of A.D. 1958 have an "urbanized" way of life in the meaning given it by Wirth. This is not even true in most Western cities. It is notorious that in certain slum areas, or among

¹ William Bascom, Urbanization among the Yoruba, *The American Journal of Sociology*, 1954-55, pp. 446-453.

² E. W. Hofstee, *Het Oldambt*, Groningen-Batavia, 1938.

the components of certain classes, social relations assume characteristics that have very little in common with Wirth's *Gesellschaft* – like “urban” social relations: see William Foote White's *Street-corner Societies*. Nor are urbanized people always focusses of cultural irradiation: see Haveman's *Ongeschoolde arbeiders*. All the same, in the whole of Southern Europe (Spain, southern Italy, Albania, Greece, the Balkan area) it is quite normal to find many “towns” of 10, 20, 40, and even 60,000 inhabitants, where no discernible difference exists between the way of life of these “urbanites” and that of the few people living in the countryside around the town. As a matter of fact, since the majority of these “urbanites” are actually peasants, we have here to do with a “rural” way of life within urban conglomerates. In the same way, in Nigeria, in the Yoruba territory, up to 1931, 34% of the population lived in sixteen cities of over 2000, and we read that there was a distribution of urban centres “remarkably similar to that of France, Canada, Sweden, Greece and Poland. The real basis of the economy is farming and the farmers are city-dwellers.”¹ On the other hand, there are also examples of new ideals, and new styles of living which were accepted in the country earlier than in the towns; Hofstee² found that in the Dutch northern province of Groningen since the end of the eighteenth century the well-to-do farmers, who had been intensively exposed to the impact of the Enlightenment and of liberal-capitalistic ideas, were even more “urbanized” than the inhabitants of the towns. Eventually, we know also of very small towns which, in the course of History, have played much more important roles than the bigger towns, provided that these small towns were nuclei of new ways of thinking and new ways of life and that, at the same time, they set a standard in their own culture; see, for instance, Urbino or Ferrara in the Italy of the Renaissance, and Weimar in the Germany of the Enlightenment.

So, as we see, “urbanism,” as such, is far from being a clear-cut concept. For this reason we also object, therefore, to the use of the concept of the “folk-urban” continuum as it has been introduced by Redfield, even if, in other respects, Redfield's analytical efforts have rendered great services to social sciences. The objections that have been made to the folk-urban continuum are too well-known to be repeated here. We want to stress, however, that the source of imprecision and indetermination which lies at the very basis of Redfield's concept (i.e. the terminology folk-urban), finds its explanation in the fact that Redfield worked, so to speak,

from the city "folkwards." This whole mental process is quite clear in Redfield's book "The Folk culture of Yucatan" and it can be read also between the lines of the following passage, taken from his article "The Folk-societies," written several years after his fieldwork in Yucatan: "The ideal folk-society could be defined through assembling in the imagination, the characters which are logically opposite to those which are to be found in the modern city."¹ That is to say, here the attention is automatically focussed upon the material manifestations of "urbanism as a way of life" (or, which is theoretically the same, upon the lack of these manifestations) instead of upon Western modernism. Western modernism, as such, does not occupy a place of much importance in Redfield's approach to his study. The most significant statement as to this aspect of the problem can, in fact, be found in the preface of the sixth impression (1955) of his book, and reads as follows: "... The important question may be asked whether, if regular changes of the kind noted result from contact of the isolated-homogeneous society with an other society, the changes would result from the contact with any other society, or only from contact with a more heterogeneous, less isolated, society, or perhaps only from contact with some recent Western Society..."² On the following pages of this chapter we shall have occasion to come back to Redfield's work; however, we can immediately see that we have to do with the modern western pattern of culture as a value-system in particular, and not with urbanism as such, from the following consideration: when the native Maya culture came in contact with the Spanish invaders (who took along to Mexico the values, the way of life, and the material culture of the Spanish city-dwellers), it underwent a great change and reorganization. However, this social reorganization by no means happened in the direction of an "urbanization" as intended by Wirth and Redfield; on the contrary, it is just among these "reorganized" Maya, that Redfield discovered his folk-societies. However, in North America we see that local tribes of Indians, having come into contact with

¹ R. Redfield - The Folk-Societies, *The American Journal of Sociology*, Jan. 1947. pp. 293-308.

² R. Redfield - op. cit. p. 18.

³ Sol Tax - Culture and Civilization in a Guatemalan Society, *Scientific Monthly*, vol. 48, 1939, pp. 463-467.

Sol Tax - World view and social relations in Guatemala, *American Anthropologist*, new series, 43, 1941, pp. 27-42. The difference between the Western expansive and receptive experimental mentality and the non-Western mentality is unconsciously expressed by Tax himself when he writes that in spite of the fact that every Indian of

an entirely different type of culture, show distinct signs of "urbanization," in so far as they are not somehow cut off from the cultural influences of the environment in which they are immersed. In the same way, that modern North-Western acculturation carries a character of its own, is clearly shown by the example of the Guatemalan Indians.

Tax³ tells us how those Indians possess all the prerequisites to form a highly "urbanized" society: their society is characterized by a relatively great social mobility, the principal activities of life are really secularized, the individual is free to act according to considerations of personal gain, they are not isolated and they have a flourishing trade that takes them to far urban centra, etc. However, in spite of all this, they failed to develop into an "urban" society. Tax, reasoning according to Redfield's frame of reference, tells us that these Indians are neither "folk" nor "urban." Evidently a society needs "something" in order to become "urban." This something is, we maintain, the presence of a type of personality among the members of society furnished with an independent, experimental mind. This new type of man is brought about by a form of social organization like the one which has come into existence in the Western World as a result of capitalism and industrialism.

It seems therefore quite clear that it would be much more justified to speak of "Western modernism" instead of "urbanism" as a way of life; or even of "modernism" altogether. We think, in fact, that this mental attitude, because of the very dynamism of its character favouring individualism and freedom of thought (freedom of thought understood in the restricted meaning of the cessation of an uncritical and unconditioned acceptance of the local customs and values), will probably soon lose its peculiar Western geographic colour. In the contact with other local cultures, it will have an easy play in substituting the local world-views once it has been accepted by the local élites and has become, therefore, standard setting; but it will blend with the typical characteristics of these

a municipio knows deeply the customs of at least half a dozen other municipios, he does not get in the least contaminated by them. His attitude is: "that is *their* custom; it is all-right for them" (Tax, 1941). At this point it is enough to think of the readiness shown by the inhabitants of the modern urban centra to accept new cultural traits and innovations (upon this readiness a whole new industry is based, i.e. advertising) in order to realize the extent of the difference in personal attitudes between the latter and non-western people in general. Tax speaks of "a civilized world view," but he does not distinguish between a "North-Europe-and-America world view" and a "South-Europe-and-America world view."

local cultures and a final culture will result with a different "colour" than the one of the present Western world.¹

Long discussions have been held about the "prise de conscience" of the countryside and of the "politicization" of the rural populations.² Again, the processes which have been indicated by such terms are nothing but examples of the fact that the rural populations begin to feel and to think according to modern Western values. The Western cities (we use here this term not in its geographical acceptation, but in the meaning clarified in the previous pages) help the process of reorganization of the individual life of the country people not only as a vehicle for modern thought, but also by furnishing material for comparison. As such, therefore, from the point of view of the peasant of the European hinterland, or from that of the "underdeveloped" areas, the cities fulfil an extremely important function. The so called "conquest" of the rural hinterland is, in fact, a process by means of which the rural populations acquire a more vivid consciousness of themselves and of their life-situations.³ This acquisition of consciousness derives from the increased possibility to make comparisons with life-situations which, up to now, were generally out of the material and psychological reach of the average member of the rural community. Nowadays, such process is clearly noticeable in the rural hinterlands of the Western countries, or in those parts of the society of the so called "underdeveloped" areas which have come more deeply in contact with the modern Western pattern of culture.⁴ It is obvious, however, that the process itself is one of general nature and that it is strictly correlated with the modern development of technology; this development has enormously

¹ This, of course, in the hypothetical supposition that the Western pattern of culture does not extinguish, or change, or is substituted by some other "standard setting" patterns of culture within a sensible lapse of time.

² See for inst. G. Friedmann's introduction to "Villes et Campagnes" – *Civilisation Urbaine et Civilisation Rurale en France* – Librairie Armand Colin – Paris, 1953.

³ Labrousse (in *Villes et Campagnes* p. 5-13) speaks of the rural and of the urban cultures as of "civilisation de fixité" and "civilisation de renouvellement." It will by now be clear that the "renouvellement" or "conquest" of the countryside is a question depending only on the speed with which the one value system is adopted by the rural populations and effectively influences their way of life.

⁴ In Southern Italy the colonization of the areas subjected to land reform (carried out by urban people and institutions, and where the standard-setting element was completely urbanized) had as result, among its complementary effects, a rapid increase of the political mindedness of the peasantry, the organization of syndicates, and the birth of co-operatives. The same example can quite efficiently be used to show that,

augmented the possibilities for the comparison between the different standards and ways of living, instrumental for the awareness of the personal position of each individual in the social system. Karl Mannheim has long ago⁵ magistrally stated the problem in its general terms as follows: "Not only Orient and Occident, not only the various nations of the West, but also the various social strata of these nations, which previously had been more or less self-contained, and, finally, the different occupational groups within the strata and the intellectual group in this most highly differentiated world – all these are now thrown out of their self-sufficient, complacent state of taking themselves for granted, and they are forced to maintain themselves and their ideas in the face of the onslaught of these heterogeneous groups."⁶ As to the particular kind of social awareness that interests us more directly here, Mannheim writes further: "For the son of a peasant who has grown up within the narrow confines of his village and spends his whole life in the place of his birth, the mode of thinking and speaking characteristic of that village is something that he takes entirely for granted. But for the country lad who goes to the city and adapts himself gradually to city life, the rural mode of living and thinking ceases to be something to be taken for granted. He has won a certain detachment from it, and he distinguishes now, perhaps quite consciously, between "rural" and "urban" modes of thought and ideas. . . . That which within a given group is accepted as absolute appears to the outsider conditioned by the group situation and recognized as partial (in this case as "rural"). This type of knowledge presupposes a more detached perspective."⁷ We have briefly noticed that this "relational" procedure (as Mannheim calls it) does not seem to exist in the case of the Guate-

with the acceptance of new standards, new needs are also automatically created: for instance, for the Southern-Italian peasant the first results of market-farming were the adoption of the radio, motorbicycle and cinema. The visits to towns increased also sensibly. The use of better food and clothing came later, which supports the theory that people become conscious of their needs only after having had the opportunity to make comparison with other life situations. For the importance of cultural isolation upon the system of social interactions see, for inst., Neal Gross "Cultural Variables in Rural Communities"; *The American Journal of Sociol.* Vol. 53; 1947-'48, pp. 344-350.

⁵ In 1931 in his article "Wissenssoziologie" in Vierkandt's *Handwörterbuch der Soziologie*.

⁶ K. Mannheim, *Sociology of knowledge*. Translation of Louis Wirth and Edward Shils in *Ideology and Utopia* – a Harvest Book – date unknown, pp. 279-280.

⁷ K. Mannheim, *Sociology of knowledge*. Translation of Louis Wirth and Edward Shils in *Ideology and Utopia* – a Harvest Book – date unknown, pp. 281-282.

malan Indians or in non-western cultures in general, and we have tried to make clear that an empirical and strongly rational personality is needed in order not to take for granted any more values and customs considered as absolute by the forefathers. We have also seen that it is just this aspect of the Western way of thinking that can account for this trait in the human personality. Mannheim himself states that "this type of knowledge presupposes a more detached perspective." In the meantime, it does not take much to see that nowadays Mannheim's country lad does not need to go into town in order to come in contact with the urban culture, its impact, and its social structure which is the result of a certain mode of interpreting the world.¹

We have come here to the question of the influence of culture upon the individual personality and to the importance of the process of socialization. At the same time we must try to relate all this to agriculture and to the operator's performance in the farm management.

The Freudian school, as well as the Neo-Freudian, explains culture mainly in relation either to the libido theory or to general biological characteristics of the individual (the impact of parental influence on elementary instinctive functions). The cultural-psychoanalytical school, instead, explains the development of personality as being the natural result of the exposure of the individual to a certain type of social organization or structured society. It is culture, therefore, that, through the "social character," makes people "want to act as they have to act."² This, which might seem to be a strict cultural determinism leaving no explanation for the source of social change, by making the individuals to be simple reflectors of customs and cultural dictates, needs some further clarification. First of all, culture can possess in its culture-constellation a trait "empirical and independent thinking" as such, as is to a great extent the case with our modern Western pattern of culture. In this way, the appearance of deviant behaviours and of social

¹ K. Mannheim, *op. cit.* p. 282.

² Eric Fromm - Psychoanalytic characterology and its application to the understanding of culture - in *Culture and Personality*, ed. S. S. Sargen and M. W. Smith, New York, Wenner-Green Foundation For Anthropological Research.

³ G. Mead - *Mind, Self and Society*, Chicago, 1934.

⁴ Pitirim Sorokin - *Society, Culture and Personality*, Harper and Brothers, New York and London, 1947, p. 714.

⁵ This conception has now stepped out of the walls of the laboratories for experimental psychology, and it is recognizable also in many empirical research carried out

innovators would be furthered by culture itself. Secondly, there are strong indications that the process of socialization, through which culture comes to exert an influence upon the individual (in Mead's and Newcomb's terminology in the form of "the generalized other") acts only upon that part of the individual personality which Mead has called the "me"³ i.e. the individual is influenced by the values existing in the society of which he is a part, while he learns how to react to the expectations of the various members of that society with whom he comes in contact in different situations. The "me," or the picture the individual gets of himself while he reacts to the different social situations, is something the individual *learns* along with his different roles. It is in this way that society influences his personality which, however, besides a "me," consists also of an "I." The "I" is that part of the personality depending entirely upon the hereditary and biological factors, and it is that part of the individual which really reacts, in the behaviouristic sense, to a concrete life-situation. The function of the "me" is normative, i.e. the "me" tells the individual how he ought to be and how he ought to behave. The final behaviour of the individual results, therefore, from the interplay of the "me" and the "I."

Thanks to Mead's penetrating analysis it is easy to understand and to agree with Sorokin's definition of personality as "a microcosm reflecting the sociocultural macrocosm wherein the individual is born and lives."⁴ In such a definition, there is the full recognition of the importance of the value system regulating the life of a society for the modal personality-type observable among the members of a particular society.⁵ The personality type is therefore a part of culture and not the source of culture (Kluckhohn and Mowrer prefer to speak of "personality *in* culture"). If we now think that culture influences the behaviour of the members of society in two main ways, it will be clear how great is the impact culture can have upon the individual: first there is a direct transmission of the basic values and usages accepted by a society to its members

during normal field work. Particularly in studies concerning more nearly the process of acculturation, it is interesting to see how the old and the new value-systems blend in each other and influence the individual in a complex way, instead of in an all-or-none way. Cfr. Hortense Powdermaker "Social Change through Imagery and Values of Teen-Agers Africans in Northern Rhodesia" *American Anthropologist*. Vol. 58, 1956 p. 783-813; William Candill and George de Vos "Achievement, Culture and Personality; The case of the Japanese Americans." *American Anthropologist*. Vol. 58, 1956, p. 1102-1126.

through the process of education, (which, from the point of view of the individual is mostly passive), and, secondly, there is the individual's active (and, sometimes, even purposeful) identification with all the micro-cultures of the various reference-groups,¹ which the individual usually meets during his life-long career of member of a society. The first process is mainly responsible for the personality-type of the individual, or at least for his character structure, contributing to the building of the personal normative system,² whereas to the second can be ascribed the direct acceptance of new cultural traits.^{3 4}

We see, therefore, that a culture like our modern Western one, so strongly influenced by the principles of capitalism and industrialism can exert a deep influence upon the behaviour of the individual not only through its basic value system but also, and quite as efficiently, through the dynamic character of the particular social structure which goes with it. It will be clear that according to the intensity with which modern technology allows the modern urban pattern of culture to bear upon the countryside, this is bound to be deeply influenced and to undergo a gradual change in the very

¹ Robert Merton. *Social Theory and Social Structure*. The Free Press., Glencoe, Illinois, 1957. Chapter VIII.

² Cfr. David Riesman's "inner directedness" and "other directedness."

³ See the working of advertisement, public opinion leaders, local influentials, etc. Cfr. Katz & Lazarsfeld - *Personal influence* - The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1955.

⁴ Although we are of the opinion that it is difficult to determine exactly the degree of progressiveness of groups and communities as wholes, it is perfectly understandable how, because of the hold culture has upon the individual, in the life of a nation sometimes whole communities are distinguished by an active and progressive character (in this case we have to do with sub-, or micro-cultures) whereas others are typically passive and static. Also the literature, both in Anthropology and in Sociology is full of similar examples. Cfr. R. Redfield - *A Village that Chose Progress*, Chan Kom revisited; Dietze C. v., Rolfes, M., Weippert, G. - *Lebensverhältnisse in Kleinbäuerliche Dörfern - Berichten über Landw.* 158, Sonderheft, Hamburg und Berlin 1953; Margaret Wilson Vine - *Social Change in a Norwegian Valley Community*; *Rural Sociology* 1957, p. 67-71. This, actually, implies that the socio-cultural life of the nation in question as a whole is not amalgamated and dynamic enough, and that a degree of local cultural integrity is still possible. When the set of values which regulates the life of a community is strongly directed towards progress, so that the striving for progress has become a goal in itself, Hofstee speaks of a "progressive culture ideal" Cfr. E. W. Hofstee - *De Selectie van de Kolonisten en de ontwikkeling van de plattelandscultuur in de IJsselmeerpolders* - in: *Langs gewonnen velden* pp. 268-297.

⁵ Herewith is given an answer to John W. Bennet's question whether one needs the concept "culture" at all or if, instead, one could do essentially with concepts like "basic value system" (see John W. Bennet's discussion of the book "The Study of Culture at a Distance" by Mead and Metraux in the *American Journal of Sociology*,

character of its life.⁵ Before drafting our set of hypotheses in a final form, we shall have, therefore, to examine first what changes in the social structure of the country life are observable as a consequence of the impact of the urban pattern of culture in the way already explained. Secondly, we shall have to see what these changes imply on an individual level, and third we shall have to check whether or not our conjectures are satisfactorily confirmed by the empirical data of the literature at our disposal. Further, an attempt will be made for a clearer determination of the relationship between the systems country-town and fixity of attitudes-dynamism of attitudes. Finally, the set of hypotheses will be put forward according to which our empirical research has been carried out.

The by now classical work of Redfield has furnished us with penetrating insight as to the processes that take place in a homogeneous isolated society when it comes into contact with the Western pattern of culture. Redfield speaks extensively of "dis-organization" of culture. This terminology is quite acceptable in

July 1954 pp. 91-94). It is perhaps true that, as Bennet says, at our stage of knowledge, or even at *any* stage, the understanding of whole-culture configurations is mainly an affair of *verstehen*. (But we would rather say of intuition, since a complete analysis of culture in all its aspects is a factual impossibility). This, actually, does not obviate the problem under discussion, instead it reinforces it. Culture, in fact, acts upon the individual not only through its basic value systems, but also, in the routine of the daily-life relations, through its materializations, (institutions as well as cars, Coca-cola advertisements, soap operas, knife and forks, etc.). Professor Herskovits puts it very clearly in the following passages "The adaptation of an individual to an economic milieu reduces itself to the components of his psychological drives as these are shaped by the traditional setting in which he lives. When a total society is under consideration, this becomes a problem in the study of the psychology of culture, or psycho-ethnography. . . Situations involving changes in the economic and technological structure are but phases of the broader problem of cultural readaptation. . . Every culture. . . is made of aggregates of patterns. These consist of cultural elements, which, to the members of a society, appear as integrated units. Behaviour thus takes on its configurational quality, and as objectively discernible, represents overt responses to the internationalization of culturally patterned experiences. From this, it becomes apparent that any study of any segment of a culture to the exclusion of other elements or of the psychological base, makes for a distorted view, whether on the level of cultural stimulus or socially patterned response. Hence, analyzing economic or technological factors alone is not sufficient to develop scientific formulations that strike deeply enough into the causal relationships involved, or point toward workable solutions of the problem of changing conditions" (M. J. Herskovits - Motivation and Culture-pattern in technological change. Intern. Soc. Science Bulletin Vol. VI, 1954 pp. 388-400).

his case, since he was speaking from the point of view of the local culture of the isolated society which interested his study. Redfield found that the community marked by the lowest degree of isolation and homogeneity was characterized by the highest degree of individuation, secularization, and disorganization of culture. On the other hand, the community marked by the highest degree of isolation and homogeneity was marked by the lowest degree of individuation, secularization, and disorganization. Two other communities placed in in-between positions along the continuum of social isolation, were marked by intermediate characteristics. In his own words: "The problem is seen as one of the relation among variables. No one of these is the role cause of the others, but it is assumed, subject to proof, that as certain of these vary, so do others."¹ We entirely agree with these words; for the reasons explained in the previous pages, however, we should have liked to see that isolation and homogeneity of the four communities studied were, themselves, taken as variables clearly stated as being dependent upon the Western pattern of culture. The others, then, (individualization, secularization, and disorganization) could still always have been related to the first two, and in this way perhaps Redfield's analysis could have furnished us with even more meaningful insight.

From the point of view of modern Western society as a whole, we can say that what takes place in the contact between localistic cultures and the culture of the modern urban Westernized societies, is not a disorganization but a "reorganization" of their whole socio-cultural system according to new standards.² Sociology teaches us that the modern Western urban pattern of social organ-

¹ The Folk culture of Yucatan, edit. 1941, p. 34. In later editions, particularly after O. Lewis' critique (see Oscar Lewis - *Life in a Mexican Village: Tepozlan Restudied* - University of Illinois Press 1951, and *Tepozlan Restudied: a critique of the folk-urban conceptualization of social change* - *Rural Sociology* 1953 pp. 121-134) Redfield did try to put the whole matter in the frame of reference of the Western modern pattern of culture. The field-work, however, had already been done with different theoretical premises. We wish, anyway, to emphasize here that Lewis did not stress the relation between cultural change in Tepozlan and Western culture any more than Redfield did, although the connection is quite clearly to be read in every one of the 448 pages of his book. As far as we have been able to see, the words "Western civilization" occur only once in the whole book, at the very end of the last chapter "Summary and Conclusions" (p. 448). What Lewis does openly stress is the clear influence of the Mexican revolution (socialist). The connection between the revolution and the change in the mentality of the Yucatecans is, however, much more clearly stated by Redfield himself: "I was myself struck with the rapidity with which certain Maya Indians living in isolated villages in Yucatan adopted the idea of reform, the notion that they

ization is characterized by a restructuration of the emotional ties among the members of the extended family and by a weakening of the importance of the unvoluntary and geographic social units and of the relations deriving from physical propinquity in general. In the emotional equilibrium of the individual, the emotional links between the above mentioned social categories are being substituted by a deepening of the emotional ties between the members of the nuclear family, and by social relations and associations following personal interests and sympathies (thus another picture than the one given by the *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft* dichotomy). Further, a general increase of the contractual type of social relation can be noticed, while the manner of exerting the social control undergoes a deep reorganization. In the life of the individual, the formalized institutions, both of the voluntary as well as of the compulsory form take an increasingly important place. The individual becomes a member of a "vertical" form of social organization. For instance, he becomes a member of a local "cell" of a national (and even international) party or syndicate; he reads a newspaper or he looks at a motion picture which enlarge his (mental) social participation far beyond the boundaries of his local community. In this way modern society, with its mechanical, organizational and unemotional characteristics, not only gives the individual possibilities to develop personality traits which are quite different from those offered by more traditional cultures, but, also, the individual is put more or less directly in relation to the total national – or we might even say Western – social system. And how is the influence of the new, industrial and mechanical social order upon the individual character structure?

would make over at least the material conditions of their lives when the spirit of the Mexican revolution of 1917-'21 reached them far out in the bush" (R. Redfield – *The primitive world and its transformation* – 1953, p. 135).

² Of course this cannot be taken too literally. Also the "invading" culture undergoes a change to a certain extent. Even rural customs can be taken up by urbanized societies ("rediscovered" as "folklore" by city-dwellers, or out of simple snobbery). Also, some life-situations will always exert their objective influence; as Professor Hofstee says: "A farmer will never spread manure in evening dress." However, we wish to stress here once again that it is not a question of "invasion." The rural culture simply changes and this change happens for the reasons discussed in the previous pages. It is, therefore, in our opinion, completely meaningless to cry because of the disappearance of the "rural" culture. When the crying, then, comes from scientific circles, it means, that those scientists have not clearly understood the meaning of the word "culture" and the implications of such a concept. Further, it is clear that "some" sort of rural culture will always exist as long as human being will not be able to live without vegetal and animal products.

Mannheim shows that in the member of the modern society, there is an increase of the average functional rationality.¹ In fact: "The more industrialized a society is and the more advanced its division of labour and organization, the greater will be the number of spheres of human activity which will be functionally rational and hence also calculable in advance. Whereas the individual in earlier societies acted only occasionally in a functionally rational manner, in contemporary societies he is compelled to act in this way in more and more spheres of life. This leads us directly to the description of a particular type of rationalization of conduct, namely the phenomenon of self-rationalization.

By self-rationalization we understand the individual's (conscious and, *v.B.*)² systematic control of his impulses – a control which is always the first step to be taken, if an individual wants to plan his life so that every action is guided by principle and is directed towards the goal he has in mind."³ We see, therefore, that, here, self-rationalization and capacity for abstract thinking are two very important requisites for the success and the adjustment of the average member of the modern social order – Mannheim himself reminds us that "Abstraction is by no means determined by the object but rather by the form of activity of the knowing subject and especially by the group organization of which the subject is a member. Thinking signifies, then, "thinking for a group."⁴ Referring now all this to a situation of contact between rural and urban socio-cultural environments, it is evident that the type of man and his way of participation in a social order similar to those sketched above, are clearly represented in the examples quoted from Westermarck (pg. 7), Copp (pg. 16), Mendrás (pg. 17), Wilkening (pg. 22), Pedersen (pg. 23) and in most of the community innovators mentioned in the subsequent pages of the first

¹ Mannheim (Cfr. K. Mannheim – *Man and society in an age of reconstruction* – Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd. London 1954 pp. 51-55) distinguishes a functional and a substantial rationality. The functional rationality has little to do with the substantial rationality and it is mainly the product of the individual's participation in a functional social order. At p. 53 we can read "One may strive to attain an irrational escatological goal, such as salvation, by so organizing one's ascetic behaviour that it will lead to this goal or, at any rate, to a state of irrational ecstasy. Nevertheless, we should call this behaviour rational because it is organized, since every action has a functional role to play in achieving the ultimate aim. Whether a series of actions is functionally rational or not is determined by two criteria: a. functional organization with reference to a definite goal; and b. a consequent calculability when viewed from the standpoint of an observer or a third person seeking to adjust himself to it."

chapter. It is from the example of the community innovators or local leaders, or local influentials, quoted in those pages that we can see how much they have become "urbanized" (in our meaning of the word) and how perfectly they have become a functional part in, and are the perfect expression of, the new social order. They are the people whose radius of action and social participation has not remained limited to the local community. They are the people who participate more actively in the modern type of voluntary social units (associations, interest groups, etc.). They are the people who are least bound to the neighbourhood and whose deviant behaviour from the local norms betrays their obedience to another system of social control. It might be worthwhile here, to remember that these local leaders, or community innovators show a striking resemblance to Merton's "influentials."⁵ In an investigation about the diffusion of a national magazine, Merton⁶ discovered two sorts of influentials which he calls, "local" and "cosmopolitan" according to their orientation, respectively, to the local community or to the Great Society. Looking at the two groups we see that the differences in orientation do not appear to be related to the age-composition of the group; several other characteristics seem to justify the supposition that the "cosmopolitans" make greater use of the organizational formal channels where they can profit by their skills and knowledge. They are, also, found to be more represented in professional societies and hobby groups, whereas the "locals" give the preference to less formal but more directly "personal contacts" and to the establishment of personal ties. They belong thus to different types of life-organizations. The explanation Merton gives lies more directly on an individual psychological level. However, he describes the two types as follows: "... The chief criterion for

² We must introduce the word "conscious" in Mannheim's definition; in fact, it would otherwise be imprecise to say that the members of traditional societies are less functionally rational. Cfr. Mannheim's own words and example in footnote ¹ on the foregoing page.

³ K. Mannheim, *op. cit.*, p. 55

⁴ K. Mannheim, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

⁵ R. K. Merton - *Social Theory and social Structure*. 1957, p. 392-393 and *passim*. We made acquaintance with Merton's influentials only in the last phase of our work. The field work had already happened two years before. We report here Merton's example because it illustrates efficiently our views as to the relations between social dynamics and agriculture.

⁶ R. K. Merton, *op. cit.* id.

distinguishing the two is their *orientation* toward Rovere. The localite largely confines his interests to this community. Rovere is essentially his world. Devoting little thought or energy to the Great Society, he is preoccupied with local problems, to the virtual exclusion of the national and international scene. He is, strictly speaking, parochial.

Contrariwise with the cosmopolitan type. He has some interest in Rovere and must of course maintain a minimum of relations within the community since, he, too, exerts influence there. But he is also oriented significantly to the world outside Rovere and regards himself as an integral part of that world. He *resides in Rovere but lives in the Great Society* (our italics, B.B.). If the local type is parochial, the cosmopolitan is ecumenical. . .¹

The difference in the type of social participation (called by Merton "living in the Great Society") between the two groups, is clearly reflected, also, in their selections of magazines, newspapers and radio programmes. In short, "it would seem that the emergence of these two types of influentials depends upon characteristic forms of environing social structure with their distinctive functional requirements."²

At this point we think that we have sufficient reasons to suppose a concomitance between the widening of the individual's frame of reference as described in the foregoing pages and modernity and efficiency in the farm management as shown in the previous chapter. There are, however, other examples to show that in the countryside the change, or the enlargement of the "generalized other" (which influences the whole behaviour of the individual, and not only his technical performance) has consequences upon the total life situation of the farm-operator which reach far beyond the efficiency in managing the farm. We have just seen how social participation in a wide range of social units (particularly in formal units) is the characteristic of the man living in the atmosphere of a nation-wide, modern culture. On the contrary, participation in a restricted number of mainly informal units is the characteristic of the man living in a restricted, geographically determined communitarian type of culture. Saal³ makes, in this respect, a distinction between an organic and an organizational form of society. Writing more particularly about the social dynamics of

¹ R. K. Merton, op. cit. p. 393.

² R. K. Merton, op. cit. p. 406. Merton recognizes also, the similarity between his concepts and Tönnies' *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft*.

the countryside, he shows the development from the first to the second form. Since Saal gives a fairly clear general picture of the social dynamics in the Dutch countryside, we quote his reasonings extensively, even if the readers will find in them much resemblance with what has been said up to now. The main lines of the picture sketched by Saal are the following: the organic form of group life bears a *totalitarian* character, unavoidable for the individual member of the group. The organic groups are, therefore, compulsory or non-free groups, whereas the organizational groups are free groups. The individual can, in fact, *choose* the group of which he intends to become part. Again we see, therefore, that even in his somewhat schematic dichotomy, a degree of individualism is presupposed for the organizational form of group life. Membership in an organic group, instead, is automatically acquired by birth. The traditions, customs and opinions existing in the group are accepted as a matter of course, and they become values for the life of the members, becoming, as it were, a part of their basic personality. Trying to explain why organic and organizational forms of group life are by nature in contrast with each other, Saal arrives at the conclusion that the first form is an obstacle to the development of the individual personality. Using the words of De Vries Reilingh and Tenhaeff the author says: "Education is focussed to bring about shyness and reserve with regard to personal feelings and ideas, and readiness to conform within the bigger connection of family- and neighbourhood-community at the same time. . . The daily social control is strong, questions about personal business are continuous. It is even possible to notice a degree of suspicion towards those who want to get on, to make good."⁴ Saal ascribes, also, the fact that in many Dutch communities leading functions in agricultural organizations are mostly occupied by non autochthonous people, to this lack of personality development sponsored by the organic group life by means of a strong social control.

From the fact that, up to now, we have been speaking of "re-organization" of society it will be clear that we share most of Saal's views in this respect; however, we prefer to substitute Saal's terminology by Merton's "localistic" and "cosmopolitan" orientation of the members of society. Merton's concept is much

³ C. D. Saal – Sociale dynamiek, structuurveranderingen in de plattelandssamenleving, Openbare les, J. B. Wolters – Groningen, Djakarta – 1952.

⁴ Saal, op. cit. pp. 7-8 (free translation, B. B.)

more dynamic, and at the same time clear-cut. Besides, such concept can less easily become a source of misunderstanding as to its implications.

In fact, when one speaks of "reorganization" of the individual's life, there is the actual danger to originate some misunderstanding. By such term we do not intend to infer that participation in one type of group satisfies human needs better than participation in an other. This will logically depend upon the culture in which a person lives, upon the habits and values defined by his society.¹ We only believe that under the impact of modern culture, which sponsors the acceptance of new essential values and the reorganization of the way in which social control is being exercised, the second type of man living in a shrinking localistic form of society will definitely tend to become an isolated minority. Out of the very fact of being a minority, these persons, characterized by a low range of personal contacts, (because they live in static local groups) will probably finish by becoming maladjusted with regard to their social environment.² However questionable every method for measuring social adjustment might be, we remind the reader that in America the relation between social adjustment and social participation has repeatedly been observed. Of course, modern society bearing in America a much less localistic character than in Europe, social participation has mostly been measured by formal social participation – i.e. the degree of human participation

¹ In many communities in the eastern parts of the Netherlands the households organized according to the traditional pattern, i.e. three-or-more generations family pattern (Cfr. E. W. Hofstee and G. A. Kooy – Traditional Household and Neighbourhood Group: Survivals of the Genealogic-Territorial Societal Pattern in Eastern Parts of the Netherlands, Transactions of the Third World Congress of Sociology, Vol. iv pp. 75-79) still constitute a very deeply rooted element of the local rural culture, forming from about 25 to 50% of the total number of households in the community, whereas in the other parts of the Netherlands this type of household has disappeared long ago. The region is characterized by the strongly communitarian spirit of its population; Urbanism and Industrialism have acted upon this region for less than a century. It is, therefore, in this connection that one can clearly see how the Western modern and individualistic value system influences the reorganization of the individual life. Although from a purely statistical point of view the traditional household can be safely called "normal" for these regions, nowadays this type of household is not found so "normal" any more by the interested populations, particularly by the young couples. It is interesting to notice that nearly all the many objections to the maintenance of this household-pattern lie on the normative system (interference of the grandparents in the education of the children, misunderstandings as to matters pertaining to management of household and farm, etc. Quite significant is the following objection: *lack of intimacy for the young couple*). Cfr. G. A-

in the formal groups of the organizational life. The following table and passages taken from Bulletin 264 of Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station³ may give meaningful indications in this

TABLE I *Total adjustment and formal social participation*

Adjustment score	Total	Non participants	Occasional participants	Active participants
Number of families	292	85	136	71
Per cent of families	100	100	100	100
1 (entirely dissatisfied)	3	9	0	0
2 (mostly dissatisfied)	9	19	7	1
3 (equal)	18	20	19	13
4 (mostly satisfied)	45	38	50	47
5 (entirely satisfied)	25	14	24	39
Median score	4,0	3,6	4,0	4,3

By chi-square test (3×3 table) $P < 0.01$

context. "The only persons who expressed complete dissatisfaction with their ways of life 'everything considered' were non-participants in organized community groups. On the other hand, those persons who participated most were most frequently satisfied. . .

Kooy. De oude samenwoning op het nieuwe platteland. Afdeling Sociologie en Sociografie van de Landbouwhogeschool, Wageningen, 1957 (Mimeographed).

² Merton distinguishes five types of adaptations to the pressure exerted upon the individuals by the social structure: conformity; innovation; ritualism; retreatism; rebellion. While the socially approved forms of adjustment are classified under the first three categories, the forms of individual adjustment usually called "maladjustment" are classified either under a category of open rebellion or under retreatism. In this case Merton speaks of people *in* but not *of* the society, indicating thereby that these people are not, or do not feel that they are being meaningfully and positively taken up in the dynamics of the social structure of which they make part. The important thing, from the point of view of the individual, is, therefore, the awareness of being a functional and integral unit of the social order. See the famous example of the decreasing criminality of the people of Irish descent first, than of the Jews, and recently of the Italians, according to the degree of opportunity they were given to become an integral part of the social structure of the U.S.A. (Cfr. R. K. Merton - Social Theory and Social Structure, chapters IV and V about social structure and anomie.)

³ A. R. Mangus and H. R. Cottam, Level of living, social participation, and adjustment of Ohio farm people, Ohio Agric. Exp. Sta. Wooster, Ohio, Sept. 1941, Bulletin 624.

Families which were affiliated with no organized group or with only one such group were less well adjusted than were those affiliated with two or more groups. . ."^{1 2}

In Europe, standards of ideals and values are not yet as much generalized as in America. Isolated types of local cultures are still possible to some extent. However, it is clear that the trend of the general development tends to be the same as in America. Although empirical research in rural sociology in Europe dates back to a much more recent period than in America, there is little doubt that the progressive type of farmer in Europe is as individualistic and tends towards the "organizational" organization of his own life as much as his American colleague.

Van den Ban³ reports a clear positive relationship between favourable attitudes of farm operators towards agricultural organizations and the modernity of the style of living of these operators. Abma,⁴ regarding the reasons of big differences in the degree of farmers' participation in farmers' unions writes: "Poor education, social and geographical isolation, financial weakness, religious ideas averse to secular organization etc. do not further the farmer's insight into the benefits of organization. It is striking that, in several instances, just those districts that are weakly organized are recognized to be inhabited by a "conservative" population and sometimes are called "backward areas."⁵

The influence of socio-cultural isolation and lack of functional relations with the modern social structure on the one hand, and

¹ A. R. Mangus and H. R. Cottam, op. cit. p. 44.

² As to the relations between the individual member (the "me") and the organization (the new type of "generalized other") we refer to the example drawn from Beal's research - see footnote ¹ p. 30. Emory Brown (The self as related to formal social participation - Rural Sociology 1953, p. 313) found that high and low formal participants had developed self-images which correspond closely to their actual participant behaviour, and that they feel they are expected to participate accordingly (Cfr. also Emory J. Brown and Robert C. Bealer - Value orientations and behavioural correlates of members in purchasing co-operatives - Rural Sociology 1957, pp. 50-58). The review of the existing literature on formal social participation, would need a volume of its own and cannot possibly be tackled here. Anyway, there is little doubt that this form of social participation corresponds to the modern industrial - urban frame of reference. Lowry Nelson, for instance, quotes the example of a poll held in 1955 in America as to the farmers' attitude towards the union shop. When the attitudes of the farm-operators who had once held a job in town were compared with the attitudes of those operators who had "always farmed," it appeared that the farm operators who had once held a job in town were for 69 per cent in favour of the union shop as against 38 per cent of those who had always farmed. Further, the undecided responses were, respectively, 9 per cent and 21 per cent, while

little degree of modernity and efficiency in farming on the other, is clearly shown by the quoted examples from Wichers (pg. 13), Van de Ven (pg. 14), Mendrás (pg. 15) and Wichers (pg. 20). Eventually, in Sweden, Israel⁶ noticed similar changes in the personality traits among the inhabitants of an isolated Swedish rural community, who could not avoid the contact with the rapidly changing external social structure any longer.

That the process which we have been discussing so far is a gradual and continual one, can easily be deduced with certainty from any of the quoted examples. However, it may be emphasized here that such process cannot be but continual and gradual, if it is true that social phenomena do not happen in a spaceless and timeless entity. This will form the central point of our hypotheses and, therefore, also of our empirical research.

That the whole question of the efficiency of the farm management is mainly a matter of way of thinking, results clearly enough from the examples drawn from Westermarck (pg. 7), Wichers (pg. 13), Copp (pg. 16), Mendrás (pg. 17).⁷

That, eventually, this way of thinking is the functionally rational and essentially the Western one, remains another central hypothesis to be studied. This hypothesis is supported by our reasoning in the foregoing,⁸ and, also, by Mannheim's analysis of the influence of the changes in social structure upon the personality of the individual. The same conclusion actually, has long been accepted more or less consciously by rural sociologists. For instance,

the opinions against the union shop were 22 per cent as against 41 per cent. (Lowry Nelson, *Rural Life in a Mass - industrial Society*; *Rural Sociology*, 1957, N. 1, p. 29).

⁵ A. W. van den Ban, *Enkele Kenmerken en Eigenschappen van de Vooruitstrevende Boeren*, I, Bulletin n. 5, Afdeling Sociologie en Sociografie van de Landbouwhogeschool, Wageningen, 1956.

⁴ E. Abma, *Boer en Standsorganisatie, een regionaal-quantitatieve analyse (Participation of Farmers in Farmer's Unions - a summary in English)*, Bulletin n. 2, Afdeling Sociologie en Sociografie van de Landbouwhogeschool, Wageningen, 1955.

⁵ E. Abma, *op. cit.* p. 27.

⁶ J. Israel, *Personality change in a socially disturbed rural community*, *International Social Sciences Bulletin*, 1955, p. 15.

⁷ As to this point, it is interesting to notice that among the new smallholders of the land reform areas of Southern Italy the formation of capital reserves as a "cultural trait" appeared after the adoption of radio, cinema, motorbicycle etc. (in other words after having been "urbanized"). We must, however, see all this not in a relation of causability, but as being a functional part in the culture complex of the market economy.

⁸ As to the "elasticity" of mind it might be interesting to notice that Merton's "cosmopolitans" (and therefore also many of the influentials of our first chapter) seem

Sorokin and Zimmerman, speaking of the effects of "rurbanization" say: "as these new conditions are incessantly changing, the adaptation to them means also an incessant process of modification of the modern farmer's ways. His behaviour is forced to become more and more plastic, his activities more and more changeable, his responses less and less traditional and more and more "rational," that is, systematically thought over and incessantly and deliberately adapted to the incessant changes, instead of being conditioned by tradition. Having been shifted from the quiet pond of the isolated local community into the wide ocean of the world money economy, he is doomed to ruin if he does not change his traditional ways of doing things and behaviour."¹ Finally, since we started from Redfield's work and from the folk-urban continuum, we shall, with regard to the point which interests us here, take some of his material into consideration using thereby some intuitive deductions.

It is known that Redfield's concept of the folk urban continuum has been subjected to much criticism. The criticism has been useful, as in Redfield's later books one can notice a sensible striving to come to a valid theoretical formulation of concepts about the whole problem. So in 1953 he writes: "the folk society is that society in which the technical order is subordinated within the moral order. . . . As the technical order develops with the food-producing and urban revolutions - there is a double tendency within the moral order. On the one hand the old moral orders are shaken, perhaps destroyed. On the other, there is a re-building of moral orders on new levels."² Two pages later we read "with civilization (in the author's meaning the same as 'urban culture,'

to be more tolerant of civil liberties than the local influentials. Stouffer (*Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties*, New York, 1955, quoted by Merton op. cit. p. 406) found that the degree of tolerance increased steadily from the South of the United States to the North, and from the isolated rural areas, through the small town to the city *exception made for the college-educated people*, Lowry Nelson (op. cit) commenting upon the small example, writes "it is questionable whether the difference is due to the fact that people are "rural" or to the fact that their level of education is different." We agree completely with the answer implicit in Nelson's question. This is, we think, an outstanding example of the function of the school for the process of acculturation; in casu, the propagation of the Western democratic way of thinking. The levelling function of the school as to "rural" and "urban" differences is shown by Lowry Nelson in the same article with another clear example: a study of rural migrants employed in a Midwestern factory showed that "on some factors, such as satisfaction with pay, the rural migrants were more satisfied than the urban people: but when education was held constant the difference decreased" (Lowry Nelson, op. cit. p. 29 footnote 17).

B.B.) the problems of the moral order move to a new level of struggle and achievement. It is the level marked by self-consciousness, of sense of deprivation, and of conscious creativeness."³ As we see here, we are very near to Mannheim's functional rationality.

Finally, our idea that progressiveness in farming is strongly concomitant with a particular mentality and world view, and that this world view is the modern Western one, concomitant with the urban culture, is strongly supported by Redfield's material in this way. At a certain stage of his theoretical considerations Redfield asks: "Would not a study of the historic beginnings of the systematization of ideas show that it is with cosmology rather than with ethical system or personality type that the beginning is made?"⁴ Leaving aside the questions of what precisely one has to understand under the term "cosmology" in this context,⁵ and that the way of systematizing the ideas is also a part of the character structure so that, strictly speaking, in its present form the question is a tautology, we can, nevertheless follow Redfield's reasoning. Why? The reason is found both in the very words of Redfield and in our own experience. A few passages later Redfield writes. . . "I make a study of Maya Indians of Yucatan. One man of the village in particular is a thoughtful fellow: he really ruminates. When I ask him questions, his mind seems naturally to arrange things into systematic wholes. I find it easy to put down what he says, just because it is so well considered and makes such coherent sense."⁶ But we must remember that it was not a pure chance that the communication of ideas between this particular fellow and the famous anthropologist could take place so easily. In order to allow

¹ Sorokin & Zimmerman, *op. cit.* p. 622.

² R. Redfield. *The primitive world and its transformation*, p. 48.

³ R. Redfield, *op. cit.* p. 50.

⁴ R. Redfield, *op. cit.* p. 88.

⁵ There is no "general" cosmology, valid for all the different peoples of the world at the same time; there is, instead, one cosmology for each philosophy of life. So cosmology and philosophy of life are a part of culture, and this determines both how people experience phenomena and how they react to them and behave consequently. But, although while referring to some forms of civilization it may be meaningful to distinguish between cosmology and culture (e.g. Plato's or Pythagoras' cosmology within the old Greek culture), this distinction cannot be generalized too much; the more a culture is "primitive" and the more the concepts cosmology and culture become strictly interwoven almost to the point of being one and the same thing.

⁶ R. Redfield. *The primitive world and its transformation*, p. 88.

the transmission of ideas from one person to another, these ideas have to "make sense" to both of them, i.e. they have to be conceived, systematized, expressed, received, re-systematized and interpreted approximately in the same way, i.e. with a yardstick accepted by both of the people in question. Now Redfield belongs without any doubt to Western culture and, although he no doubt knows the Mayan culture and mentality quite well, the simple fact that he could communicate much better with Don Eus than with the rest of the population indicates that Don Eustaquio Ceme must have used a yardstick much nearer to the "Western type" than his fellow countrymen. And, in fact, Redfield adds "But does he really represent the other Indians who can say so much less to me about the world they inhabit?"¹ But indeed, we read on pg. 144 of another of his books. . . "There are two or three other men (*only*. B.B.) who occasionally read such copies of the city paper as reach Chan Kom. Don Eus is, of course, one of these. He reads articles on national or even on foreign news and tries to ponder their significance. He has learned how to find in the newspaper the reports of the price of corn on the Chicago Board of Trade and has observed that the market price in Merida is responsive to these quotations; *he applies this information to his own decisions as to buying or selling corn* (our italics.B.B.) He reads also the informational or propaganda papers published and sent out by the officers of the state government; these deal with agrarian or political matters."² . . . So we see that the "orientation" of Eustaquio Ceme is certainly not local. The process of "Westernization" has developed in him much further than his external appearance would distinguish him from his fellow countrymen. He is already so strongly influenced by the Western value system that he can think abstractly, he can think in terms of pros and cons, he sees

¹ id. id.

² R. Redfield. A village that chose progress. Chan Kom revisited.

³ Besides showing clear urban cultural traits, from a sociological point of view they were also "good *citizens*." They were fully aware that they formed a part of a modern state. This awareness, and the realization of their position in the dynamics of the social structure of present-day Italy led, in fact, many of them to belong to currents of thoughts of a revolutionary character, which they quite clearly stated. They had an interest in and understanding of local administrative matters, and not a few of them took active part in the life of national political parties. They were interested in matters of political economy, and several read constantly the papers coming from the capital. They did so not because of a cultural "ought to" (which, in this particular case, did not exist) but because they were interested in it. Cfr. R. K. Merton op. cit. p. 408; "Reading national newsmagazines is an act above and beyond the call of dutiful newspaper reading. It implies an interest in being "in on things," in

the meaning of certain measures in matters of policy taken by unknown "clerks" far away in Mexico city, and his brain is certainly *functionally* rational.

Five years before reading Redfield's words, we had arrived at his same question. In fact, a period of two years agricultural extension work in the hinterlands of central Italy had provided us with experiences comparable with those of Redfield. There we, too, have known so called "local leaders" who were, invariably, the most progressive and the most "urbanized"³ farmers of the community. At the same time they were those to whom the officials of the extension service and other governative institutions used to go every time a demonstrative field was to be instituted or a new practice was to be advised. Being at that time totally ignorant of the principles of sociology, we used to wonder why the extension officers should always make use of their more or less "fixed clients" for such purposes. The conclusion reached when we were still scientifically "unbiased," far from having been weakened by the subsequent years of study, has grown stronger and stronger: *we had our fixed clients, not because the rest of the population was unwilling to receive advice or did not need it, (on the contrary!!) but because we were nearer to each other. Our "clients" were the only ones with whom we had a fair degree of certainty that our scientific instructions would be understood and followed in their main lines, because with them it was easier for us to understand each other.*⁴ Finally, we had our fixed clients because, even outside the pure work situations, it was pleasant to meet them as man to man – we and our world were not so strange to them, and they and their world were somewhat nearer to us than that of the rest of the peasants – so that there was always the possibility to exchange some interesting piece of news or ideas; a joke was a joke for both parties.⁵

developing "responsible opinions," in having a "distinctive point of view." Interestingly enough, it appears that the patterns of newspaper reading also reflect the different orientations of the local and the cosmopolitan influentials."

⁴ The Italian governmental Agricultural Extension Service makes almost exclusively use of academically formed persons.

We have hereby tried to give an explanation of the objective fact that, particularly in Central and Southern Italy, the persons engaged in agricultural extension usually have many more contacts with the progressive farmers than with the conservative ones. We do not intend to express, as yet, any appreciation for this fact as such, which is still one of the most debated points in matter of methodology of extension.

⁵ For the majority of the peasantry in Abruzzi and in the whole Southern part of the country, "Italy" with its cities, government, juridical order, art and sciences, etc. hardly exists (Cfr. Carlo Levi, Christ stopped at Eboli; Rocco Scotellaro – I contadini del Sud – Laterza Editore, Bari, 1954) even if Rome is not further away than two

As we have tried to explain in the preceding pages of this chapter, we are of the opinion that the concomitance of modernity of farm management and of the style of living with urbanization must be seen in a functional relationship. From this follows that we believe that, *with the same degree of urbanization of the farm operator*, the progressiveness of the farm management increases with the increasing of the "underdevelopment" of the area. If, for instance, two farmers have the same high rating for socio-economic status¹ and one of them lives near Amsterdam while the other lives in an isolated community of the Dutch sandy soils, there are more chances for the latter to be a progressive farmer, when compared with his colleagues, than for the former.

Further, if progressiveness is a state of mind, and not merely an acceptance of urban material civilization, the members of human society are ordered not along a rural-urban continuum, but along a dynamism (Western) – fixity (non Western)² continuum. Such continuum applies principally to the value system, and only to a lesser degree to the material culture. Maintaining, therefore, only as a matter of convenience, the dichotomous terminology "rural" and "urban," we think that within the same society the whole population is not ordered along a rural-urban continuum, but along a continuum having as extremes dynamism and fixity as frames of mind. These frames of mind, we suppose, are strongly related to the degree to which the individual has been exposed to the modern Western pattern of culture and, therefore, also to the degree by which the individual is functionally taken up into the organization of the social structure of a society of a modern Western type. The distribution of the members of a society along our continuum, therefore, generally should vary, when the environment changes from town to country and from Western to non-Western

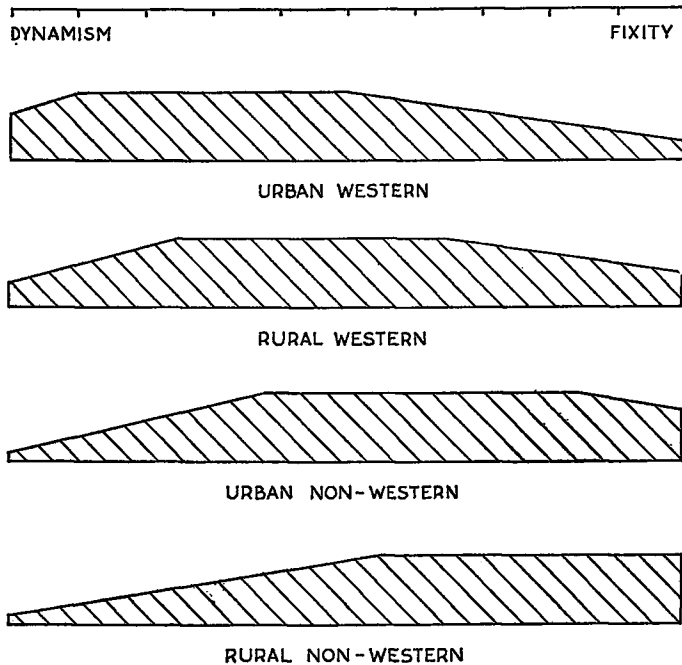
hours by train. As we have stated before (Cfr. p. 68 note 3) however, this is not true for all of them. There are individuals who are as much part of the Italian modern social structure as any inhabitant of Rome. The social structure of the modern political state Italy, therefore, seems to influence the populations living in the rural hinterlands of the Southern parts of the peninsula in a "vertical" way rather than in a "horizontal" one. This is, obviously, in connection with the whole dynamics of the Italian society. As to this subject, we think that the birth of nationalism in the so called underdeveloped countries has fundamentally the same genesis. Nationalism, too, appears when contrasts become conscious and when the awareness of the contrasts is brought about by a comparison with other life situations.

¹ The entity measured by means of a normal scale for socio-economic status expresses, however imperfect such technique might be, certainly to some extent, the degree of intensity of the impact of the urban western culture upon the respondent.

² These terms refer here not to the geographic habitat but to the psychological one.

states.³ Only by way of conceptual approximation, we have tried to sketch how we conceive the four variations of the same continuum in the following way (graph. 1).

GRAPH 1 - Distribution of the members of society along a continuum dynamism-fixity.



³ Gross (Neal Gross - Sociological variation in Contemporary Rural Life - Rural Sociology, 1948, pp. 256-273) remarks that the differential characteristics of the rural and urban worlds may also exist between rural communities and between urban communities. In fact, "the rural-urban frame of reference tends to minimize the differentials within rural life and implies that because one is dealing with agriculture a whole series of factors necessarily and ubiquitously follow. . ." "a rural community may constitute, in actuality, a cultural island within the larger society or may be an integral part of it." He concludes therefore that "rather than setting a frame of reference in an either-or context, it may be more advisable to establish theoretical frame-works in which the focus is centered on analysis of specific variables."

We see that the same principles hold true also if we apply the analysis not to communities, but to isolated individuals within each society. This is all the more true when the "specific variables" according to which the analysis is carried out do not belong to the realms of individual psychosomatic differences but are more specifically cultural variables.

It is clear that to speak of a rural-urban continuum within a purely physical frame of reference would be misleading since in this way many ancient, mediaeval and modern towns would be put on the same line, in spite of the widely different types of social structure and social life which they represent. The same would be with a continuum of times or historical eras: can we put on the same line a town in which human life has ceased to pulsate because of the extinction of the town's functions together with New York, this with the holy town Lhassa, and the latter with an average Asiatic town – in spite of the fact that there, too, human life has remained practically unchanged for centuries – for the simple fact that all of them exist at present? It is clear that the entity with which sociologists are concerned is, in most of the cases, actually the *type* of social organization and the *pattern* assumed by human relations and by human life in general, no matter, in principle, the physical and economic structures in which this life evolves. Therefore we think that, if a continuum exists between country and town at all, it is fundamentally a continuum of the values according to which human life is organized. These values, shaping the normative climate in which social life evolves, are determinant for the modern or conservative character borne by culture. This, on its turn, determines people's mental attitude.

The hypotheses

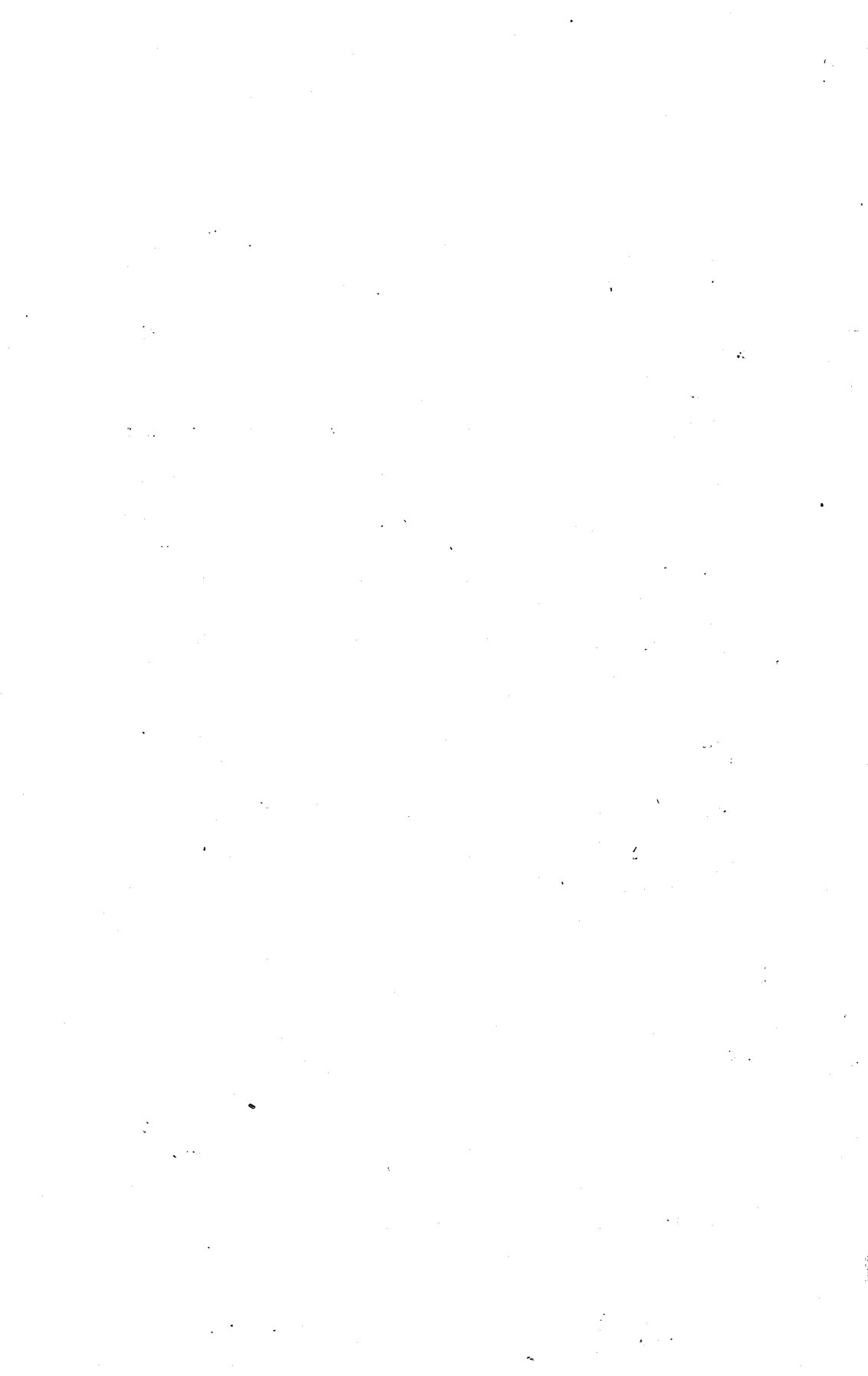
After a discussion of the reasons which justify the placing of the problem of the efficiency in farming in a general frame of reference, such as the one launched in the preceding pages, we are now ready to state the hypotheses which the reviewed literature on empirical research, and the sociological theory together, seem to suggest. From the preceding pages it becomes obvious that when dealing with the behaviour of a farm operator in a certain, undeterminate social group (according to Lewin, an uncontrolled social field), it would be a much greater abstraction from the reality to see the farmer as an isolated individual, as it is often done, and to consider this "variable" apart from the environment in which it is operating, instead of first considering the forces operating in that social reality, and only afterwards studying how the individual farmers are placed in the interplay of the social forces acting in the field. This is one of the crucial points in social sciences as it concerns the theoretical and methodological approaches used by sociologists, social psychologists, and individual psychologists in

their studies. We cannot go deeper into this matter in the present context; we should only like to stress here that, particularly in situations where there is much disparity between the various parts of the social structure of society, cultural differences account for different behaviours in the technological performance of the farmer perhaps even to a greater extent than psychological differences.¹

Concretizing hereafter our set of hypotheses we can now state:

- I. There exists a cultural pattern typical of the progressive farmer. This cultural pattern of the progressive farmer is characterized by the farmer's orientation towards the outside world, and by his having a personal, definite position vis-à-vis the problems and the events of the world around him.
- II. The above mentioned cultural pattern develops in the situation of cultural contact with the Western town, which functions as a vehicle of modernism.
- III. This cultural pattern influences the total behaviour of the group concerned, including its farm management.
- IV. This cultural pattern gradually penetrates the countryside. The measure in which the rural population is thereby influenced depends on the degree of its contact with the outside world in general and with the town in particular.

¹ Admitting that such a distinction could always be made.



The Methodology

In the second chapter, during the discussion of the various theoretical reasons which seem to suggest our set of hypotheses, we have given a brief criticism of the practical value of the attempt to classify real societies according to an unilinear "rural"- "urban" or "folk"- "urban" ideal-typical scheme (in the sense understood by Redfield with this term). In principle, a criticism could be made for *any* attempt to classify real societies according to only one such unilinear scheme.¹ The shortcomings of such procedures have not gone unrecognized by their very creators themselves.

As Redfield clearly states: "the more elements we add (to an ideal type) the less possible it becomes to arrange real societies in a single order of degree of resemblance to the type, because one of the two societies will be found to resemble the ideal type strongly in one character and weakly in another, while in the next society resemblance will lie in the latter character and not in the former."² The main hypothesis launched in the previous chapter is that efficiency in farm management goes together with modernity as a

¹ Before supporting our thesis with further reasonings we should like to raise here the following question: one might reasonably wonder whether, in any approach to the study of the nature of man, it is reasonable to use any other method than a phenomenological attempt to arrive at a comprehensive knowledge of mainly intuitive nature of the essence of the studied phenomenon. All the various two-dimensional analytical devices with which the development of the life of the modern human societies has been approached so far (such as *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft*; mechanical solidarity-organical solidarity; closed societies-open societies; organical forms of social organization-organizational forms of social organization; rational-irrational; communitarian-individualistic; folk-urban; etc.), are all schematic efforts to convey somehow the idea that the societal life of modern man is generally characterized by social heterogeneity, by impersonality in the majority of interpersonal relations, by secular rather than familial and religious institutions of social control, by personal individuality, division of labour, and by a money-economy. It is, however, evident that the human being and the manifestations of his societal life are not bi-, but poly-dimensional phenomena. We must not forget that in the social sciences, the student has to do as well as with the category "human being" (which is already polydimensional in itself), also with the categories time, space, and *change* (which is also one in itself). This is why some social scientists speak of the social sciences as being in a way four-dimensional (cfr. Bart Landheer, *Pause for Transition - an Analysis of the relation of Man, Mind and Society*, Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1957). Some kind of methodology, however, must of course be used. The merit of a scientifically sound approach does not reside so much in the fact that a photographic description of a phenomenon has been given, but in the fact that the understanding of the nature of the phenomenon in question has been helped. This understanding mostly can be helped quite efficiently by giving a schematic picture of what is being studied, in which those particular aspects, or those general main lines of the phenomenon, which the scientist proposes to study, are clearly recognizable.

² R. Redfield, *The Folk Society*, *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 52, p. 294.

frame of mind of the farm operator. This modernity as a whole in the style of living of the farmer is a function of the intensity with which the farm operator has been exposed to the modern western pattern of culture, which is being propagated in the countryside by the spreading of modern urban culture. We are now confronted with the problem of how to measure this complex social reality.

From our discussion in the previous chapter it is clear that we logically reject any theory of the existence of a "rural mind"¹ as a more or less permanent core of the mentality of the rural population. We reject, also, any scheme which would classify the components of the human kind into fixed categories under labels such as "Aristofanic," "Esiodic," etc.² The human social phenomena are polydimensional and dynamic; we are, therefore, of the opinion that the approach to their study must also be dynamic. Furthermore, since it is logical that the quality of the farm management is, to a high degree, a function of the personality of the farm operator, and since human personality is not a mere sum total of individual "traits"³ but an integrated whole developing, interacting, and existing in a social field or social space, it follows that we must find a method which would allow us to put the farm management in relation to the manifestations of the individual as a whole on the one hand, and to society on the other. For this reason we cannot tackle our problem, as it were, "peripherally." In studying the impact of urbanization upon the efficiency of the farm management, one could, for instance, follow the usual way of correlating each cultural variable independently with the degree of efficiency reached on each farm after having measured this efficiency by means of some standardized method. This procedure would furnish us with a compound picture of the relations between the farm management and the different variables taken into consideration. From this picture, then, the sociologist would have to try to understand the implications as to the types of individual farm-operators to which the picture refers. However, as the practice of sociological research has repeatedly shown, by applying this methodology, one might incur the very actual danger of unconsciously giving too much importance to the single

¹ Cfr. Sorokin and Zimmerman, *op. cit.* pp. 331-332.

² Cfr. Carle C. Zimmerman, *Outline of Cultural Rural Sociology*, Cambridge, 1949, pp. 73-87 (mimeographed); *id.* *The effects of Social Change upon the Rural Personality*, *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 14, 1949 pp. 345-352.

³ Cfr. *Studies in Leadership* - A. W. Gouldner editor - Harper & Brothers - New York, 1950 p. 17 and following.

variables as such, and to lose sight of the fact that the central figure of the whole process is the farm operator in his whole complexity of social being, and not the amount of schooling received by him, or the degree of formal and informal participation, etc.

The shifting of the attention of the student from the individual as a whole to the single cultural variables, leads him inadvertently to forget that culture acts upon the individual through the cultural pattern as an integrated whole.⁴ In this way, paradoxically as it might seem, culture finishes in a second-rank position in many a sociological research; this second-rank position is entirely unjustified, because if the fact is true that culture acts upon the individual in a complex way, this implies that a particular cultural variable (for inst. farm size, or schooling, etc.) might have a great importance in a given situation, but might lose importance appreciably when acting within a different pattern of culture or in another material situation.

We must therefore put the pattern of culture *and* the individual at the central point of our methodology at the same time. In other words, we must find the way to measure the result which the impact of culture in its entirety has upon the personality of the farm operator as a whole. In our case, this means that we must find a way to measure the degree with which the individual farmer feels he is an integral part of the dynamism of the modern social structure. In other words, we must try to measure whether or not the individual is aware of the fact that something like a modern social structure exists and, possibly, whether he is aware of his own position in this social structure. As Landheer says. . . "if the structure of Man and the structure of society are made the focal points of a study, it is essential to recognize that a group of individuals can only be regarded as constituting a social group if they possess at least awareness of one another. If this awareness is lacking, there is no social group or society; so we must take into account the widening of social awareness."⁵ This, as we see, is completely in accordance with Mannheim's considerations of the higher social awareness brought about by a quickly changing and strongly anonymous social structure, and with Merton's considerations

⁴ Here Fairchild's definition is accepted: a culture pattern is the arrangement or configuration of the culture traits and culture complexes that make up a particular culture at any given time. H. P. Fairchild; *Dictionary of Sociology*.

⁵ Bart Landheer, *op. cit.* p. 10.

about the widening of one's own reference group when one passes from the localistic to the cosmopolitan type of influential discussed in the previous chapter. The same can be said for Redfield's *Don Eus* and for our Italian local leaders, as well as for almost all the other leaders of the reviewed bibliography.¹ In order, therefore, to see how much the individual is a functional part of the social structure of a modern society (which is the same to ask how large is the size of a man's world), we must know whether or not the interested person has been able to form a particular personal point of view as to the significance of this social structure, and, also, as to his own position in it. If we could build a yardstick that would measure, in one way or the other, the degree of the individual's social awareness, we should then have a functional yardstick with which we could measure all the various manifestations of a pattern of culture (including thereby the way of managing a farm), from the point of view of the individual himself.² If our hypotheses as stated in chapter II are right, such a yardstick could be obtained, for instance, by putting a number of relevant questions to a respondent, and then seeing whether or not he has a definite opinion about them. The exact nature and drafting of the questions themselves do not seem to be of primary importance, in this context, provided these questions clearly refer to several aspects of the individual life, as seen in its relation to a modern social structure and its various organizational aspects. These aspects constitute, in fact, as many problems for the individual who is confronted with them. If a certain value is assigned for each definite answer given to such questions, regardless of the quality of the answer itself (if it only expresses an opinion of some sort), a score is obtained. This score would not be an attitudinal score but, instead, simply an index of the individual awareness of certain problems inherent to life in a modern society. With such a score, we should then have the possibility of correlating the individual's degree of social awareness to any other measurable phenomena that we might choose to take into consideration.

¹ It is true that both groups studied by Merton are formed by "influentials," i.e. by people who play a particularly important role in the complex influence emanating from society upon its members. There does not seem to exist, however, any serious objection to the application of Merton's criteria to all the members of society in general, instead than only to a few of them.

² A way to put the individual directly in relation to the pattern of culture of that segment of society of which he makes part, could be theoretically obtained by relating the individual to his own frame of reference, as indicated by Wichers (cf. chapter I, p. 13) or to his own "style of living." Hofstee (*Levenskunst en levensstijl*, in stad

This method, it seems to us, has the advantage of allowing us to measure directly the individual's awareness of the fact that he makes part of a particular social system. At the same time, it obviates the difficulty of an exact evaluation of two different sets of factors which could possibly trouble a thorough diagnosis of the effects of the impact of the urban pattern of culture upon the members of rural society. If, in fact, in a study of this kind we should not follow this methodology, a clear distinction would have to be made between those factors deriving from the structure of rural society itself, which naturally influence the course of the spread of urban culture (i.e. the internal factors), and those factors which influence the process from the outside. To this last type belong factors of a more general nature, which usually have a connection with general structural changes in the country as a whole.³ It is quite obvious that such distinction is generally very difficult to draw in practice and that, furthermore, the influence of these factors is not always precisely known. Therefore, we should have to study the dynamics of a phenomenon without exactly knowing which are the relationships and the mutual interdependence between two series of factors in which the phenomenon has its roots. With our methodology, instead, we have a tool with which we can appreciate, perhaps, the character of these relationship without having to know them beforehand.

In the autumn of 1954 the decision was taken to make a study of the impact of the urban pattern of culture upon farm management. As the concrete place for our study was chosen the Dutch community of Winterswijk. The reasons that led to the choice of that community were several, many of purely technical nature in connection with the practical organization of the research. However, the main consideration that persuaded us to chose a community of the Dutch sandy soils for a study of this nature, was that we believed that if a substantial influence of the impact of the changing culture pattern upon farm management were to be

en platteland, *Sociologisch Bulletin*, orgaan van het Sociologisch Instituut van de Ned. Hervormde Kerk, 1950, pp. 66-00) recognizes, in fact, in the adjustment of the individual farmer's art of living to the style of living of the group to which he belongs, a clear indication of the degree by which the farmer's personality is developed and fits harmoniously in the cultural environment. However, such concepts, from the point of view of empirical research, have not yet been made practicable. First of all, they are still at the stadium of hypothesis, and, secondly, they are not easily quantifiable and, hence, measurable.

³ Cfr. C. D. Saal, *Sociale Dynamiek*.

observed at all, this would be best obtained by means of a study carried out in this region. In fact, it is not much more than seventy five years since this region was efficiently "opened up" to the possible influences of the western parts of the Netherlands, with all their typical urban cultural traits.¹ Many of the old local customs have not yet disappeared, while the intensive process of industrialization, which this part of the country has undergone in the post-war years, tends to emphasize the difference between the modern individualistic culture-ideal² of an urban-industrial society and the old collectivistic pattern of culture of the autochthon rural populations.

In the summer 1955 a survey took place in the whole territory of the municipality, during which 22 students in rural sociology questioned a sample of about one third (520) of Winterswijk farm-operators (1,508 in 1954, according to the yearly census). The questions were put to the respondents, chosen at random, with the help of a questionnaire (see Appendix II), and from them derives the bulk of the factual knowledge upon which this research is based. Other informations were obtained from the registers of the local Bureau of the Food Commissariate, from the local official of the Agricultural Extension Service, and from the officials of the municipality. Further, by a gentle concession of the author, we could use a rating score as to the technical qualities of the farmers, given by the local Extension Officer to each farmer of the community on the occasion of a previous investigation; also, some of the conclusions, drawn in that study were of great help to us in projecting our research.³

On the basis of certain answers obtained with the help of our questionnaire, a score was built according to the methods which will be more clearly explained in the following pages. Once the score was obtained, we had to control whether it really was that discriminatory tool which we intended it to be. The checking happened in two ways:

¹ Cfr. chapter IV.

² With this term is intended "the whole of expectations and opinions about the best non-material and material forms of human life existing within a given social group" from E. W. Hofstee. *De Selectie van de kolonisten en de ontwikkeling van de Plattelandscultuur in de IJsselmeerpolders*; in "Langs gewonnen velden," Veenman & Zonen, Wageningen 1954, p. 279 (free translation B. B.).

³ W. J. Kneppelhout, *Enkele aspecten ten aanzien van de bedrijfsvoering in de Landbouw te Winterswijk*. Unpublished Engineer's Thesis, Dept. of Rural Sociology, Wageningen, Sept. 1953.

- a.* by cross tabulating the score obtained by each respondent against his own socio-economic status. The socio-economic status of the respondents was measured by a small scale developed with the informations gathered during the survey on the basis of the same questionnaire (see Appendix iv). This operation provided us with an analytical check of the discriminatory power of the score, and
- b.* in a descriptive all-round way, by having a group of 25 key-persons⁴ classify and describe the farmers of the two extreme groups of scores, without being told of the scope of our research.

After the spontaneous description of the members of these groups had taken place, during which the key-persons had typified the two groups according to the traits which they considered as most peculiar for the group as a whole, a detailed interview took place, focussed on possible differences as to certain aspects of social life between the members of the two groups. (For a concept scheme of the interview see Appendix 1). On the answers obtained in this way is based the typification of the two groups of farmers shown in chapter v. The answers concerning agriculture in particular have been reported in extenso. Eventually six case-studies are presented in which the situations of six different Winterswijk farm families are sketched. In these case-studies an attempt has been made to describe the person of the farm operator in particular, and to see him in relation to his farm management, on the one hand, and to his environmental situation, on the other. This attempt has been made by using the operator's own words as much as possible, since these are the most immediate and, perhaps, the most faithful derivate of his character structure perceivable in an interview situation. Also, a few technical data will be found in the case-studies, necessary to give the minimum

⁴ The key-persons were: the Mayor and the Secretary of the municipality, three physicians, two psychiatrists, two veterinarians, six clergymen, the two directors of the local Agricultural Schools, four teachers, the two local officers of the Agricultural Extension Service, the local officer of the Food Commissariate, and the secretary of the Cattle Breeding and Control Association affiliated to the local coöp. dairy-factory.

amount of knowledge needed to receive an impression of the interviewee's level of farm management.

These case-studies are intended as a practical exemplification of the discriminatory capacities of our score; the farm families to which they refer are, therefore, chosen among the members of the two groups referred to above. The farm operators of our case studies were chosen, paying attention to comparability of age, farm-size, representability for the local rural population, etc., from among those farmers about whom we had more informations. These informations derived partly from the data of our survey and partly from our notes of the field-work, made during our participation in Winterswijk during the months February to April 1957. These field-work notes are, obviously, more accurate in the case of people with whom we were better acquainted. We can, however, safely assume that the global impression of the cultural gap existing between the two extreme ends of our continuum, which we receive from these case-studies, responds with fair accuracy to the situation existing at present in the Winterswijk countryside.

With the above mentioned six case-studies, the check of the validity of our score as a discriminatory instrument in the situation of socio-cultural change in the community of our study is finished. In this first part of our work, a more global and qualitative approach to the study of our problem has been used. After this part a more conventionally analytical one follows, which is intended both as a completion and as a more detailed and quantitative study of the cultural pattern of the Winterswijk countryside.

In this second part of our study a rather extensive analysis of the local rural cultural pattern has been carried out by means of a number of cross-tabulations of selected cultural variables against the score. Since the validity of the score as a meaningful instrument for the analysis of the cultural pattern has been proved by our double check, the correlation of the score with a number of so-called "technical" cultural variables furnishes us with some interesting knowledge as to the "behaviour" and significance of such variables in the complex framework of the general cultural pattern as a whole. While with the first, qualitative approach we have sought an answer to the question whether the level of farm management, as a complex set of behaviours, is related or not to the cultural pattern existing in loco, in the second part of our study we have tried to see more clearly to which degree the various principal components of the farm management are interwoven

with this cultural pattern and react to its variations, as these are expressed by the farmer's different positions along the continuum formed by the different scores.

During the processing of the data, those farmers belonging to the small local caste of the Scholten (for more information about this type of farmer see chapter IV), who had been interviewed during the random survey, were excluded from the sample. They were not considered to be representative for the Winterswijk farmers' class, as they could give a distorted picture of the situation, particularly in a study about the relations between the impact of modern "urban" culture and the efficiency of farm management. At a later stage in the study, also, all the widowers and widows had to be omitted from the group. As in fact appeared, their personal status was obviously interfering with the degree of modernity of the household, when the deceased person was the wife and the man had to look after the household himself, or with the degree of efficiency in the farm management, if the deceased was the husband and the wife had to take all the decisions pertaining to it. Eventually, all the farm operators about whom insufficient informations of technical nature about the farm management were available, were also excluded. Thus, the final group of farmers upon which this work is based, concerns 484 farm operators, out of a total of 520 interviewees, distributed over farms of different sizes and of different tenure statuses.

We have now come to more detailed considerations as to our method. As to the principle upon which such method is based, we can say that it is a direct derivate of the considerations made in the second chapter about the meaning of the capacity for abstract and discursive thinking as a sign of the "modernization" of the rural populations. As it will be remembered, we based our discussion on the meaning of the increase of the individual's functional rationality brought about by a certain type of social structure, and the meaning of the awareness of alternatives in one's own life situation. Of course, in the practice of the empirical research, the measurement of this awareness had to be related to the factual situation in which the farmers of the sample were connected to their own society. Although, therefore, the principle upon which our methodology is based is a general one and does not refer to the respondents being "urban" or "rural" in particular, in the choice of our test questions, we had to take into account

considerations deriving particularly from the nature of the farm operator in his quality of a decision-making manager of a business enterprise, which has to exist and to function within the framework of the economic structure of a modern nation.

We have seen in the preceding chapter that the most typical feature of the nature of our modern western culture is that it makes for independence, individualism, and rationality; in Hofstee's words "... rational behaviour in economic-life, matter-of-factness and businesslike attitude in matters of economics. . ., the desire and the acceptance of the hard economic struggle, this all makes part of the economic culture-ideal, which has come into existence in the last centuries in the Western world. . ."¹ Such a strongly secularized and positivistic culture-ideal is bound to further, in the person sharing it, his capacity and willingness to take an independent standpoint with regard to the problems of life in order to satisfy his yearning to take the future into his own hands and to shape the course of his life with reference to distant aims. No wonder, in this way, that the above mentioned system of values should constitute a potent weapon for the disruption of traditional social structures, traditional principles of authority and traditional forms of social control. It gives, in fact, the members of society the moral basis for the acceptance of modern life in its different manifestations.

Therefore the phase of the passage from traditional to modern society (and from traditional to modern individuals) must be characterized by a degree of personalization and of assimilation (inner-direction) of the values of such a culture-ideal on the part

¹ E. W. Hofstee. *De selectie van de kolonisten*, etc. pp. 280-81 (free translation B. B.).

² One should also not forget that the modern democratic conception of social life stimulates, and in many cases even obliges the individual, to have opinions on matters such as politics, public administration, relative and absolute levels of living, etc., which by a traditional conception of social life are not the immediate concern of the "man in the street." Together with the pronounced psychic difficulty of thinking in abstract terms, the traditional man has therefore also a marked tendency to leave to others the task of both having and stating personal opinions about non-private matters.

On the other hand these two characteristics are mutually related, since it is impossible to have opinions on non-private matters without the capacity to think in abstract terms and to systematize knowledge in a detached perspective.

³ Walter A. Weisskopf, *The Psychology of Economics*; Rautledge & Kegan Paul Ltds. London 1953, p. 11.

⁴ Although we do not believe in the idealtypical economic man of Marshallian memory, (modern psychological theory does not support clear-cut divisions of individual actions into rational and non-rational ones. Cfr. A. M. Henderson and T. Parsons

of the modernizing traditionals. In order to get in and of modern society, the (formerly) traditional man must free himself to some extent, from the traditional society, become an individuated personality, and be aware to a certain extent of the relations existing within the new society.

As to the farmer, we can reasonably assume that a farmer who keeps pace with the times should be acquainted with at least the most current problems which somehow have implications on the life of a farmer in a modern western nation. Not only that, but he should be able to form a personal opinion about these problems, and he should also be able to put his standpoint reasonably into words, as mental agility and the capacity of verbal expression belong to the salient cultural traits of our times.²

Also, for the farm operator, seen as a source of organization and action on his farm, we can remark here with Weisskopf that "action, confronted with alternatives, requires the awareness of an 'ought to' as a basis for decision. Moreover, people cannot believe in any norms, values, and ideals without rooting this belief in some basic idea which is part of the world outlook of the period."³ In our opinion this clarifies sufficiently a methodology which takes the degree with which the respondents were able to give a definite answer to a certain number of questions regarding actual "wordly" matters, as an indication of the existence of a particular type of character structure, and as a sign of the degree of the individual's functionalism in the present form of modern western social organization.⁴ In fact, the assumption behind such methodology, is that the individual is selectively receptive to specific ideas,

"Max Weber: *The Theory of Social and Economical Organization* New York, Oxford University Press. 1947, p. 27), we do think that, when referring to a human being grown up in the Western cultural climate, the process of education has brought about a substantial degree of rationality within him. We do not intend to discuss here again at length the relationships between culture, society and the individual. We wish only to stress that a form of social organization which leaves to the individual, at least theoretically, the burden of choosing his own life and of playing a multitude of roles, is bound to stimulate the exercise of the individual's power of reasoning. A human being becomes fully "individuated" - or a "whole" person - when he has become conscious of his potentialities and possibilities. We see therefore, that, in order to become a clearly-defined personality a human being must first perforce acquire some degree of rationality. As to the unseparable relationship of this process with culture, we can use two synthetical excerpts from "Culture and Rationality" by Grace A. de Laguna which appeared in the *American Anthropologist* no. 3, 1949: "A culture is to some extent an integrated whole. Yet neither the institutions which may be said to represent its structure nor the activities which represent its functioning have one existence apart from, or independent of the individual human beings and

especially to those concerning social organization and to those implying social change. This receptiveness is based upon and conditioned by the general pattern and development of the perception of the individual. The individual's perception reflects, in turn, the basic structure of his personality, and this is eventually conditioned by the type of culture in which the individual has undergone the processes of socialization and of education during which his own value system has been formed.¹ Bearing this in mind, and considering the farm in our modern western culture as a free enterprise business, and, therefore considering the farmer as an entrepreneur, we have taken as a measure of his "social efficiency" (the degree to which he can be said to be functionally taken up, *in his quality of farm operator*, into the modern structure of the Netherlands), his capacity to give a definite answer to ten more or less casual open-ended questions, selected out of our questionnaire and referring to normal problems with which a post-war Dutch farmer has mostly to deal nowadays.²

With these questions an attempt was made to test the farmer's degree of awareness of certain problems such as the function of book-keeping for the farm management, the need and function of the modern media of communication, the function of the political and syndicalistic organizations, the problems involved in the choice of a professional future for a farmer's son, the increased

their particular acts. As the human being can develop and realize himself only through his participation in a culture, so, conversely, a culture – itself an ideal reality – is actualized only and through the acts of concrete individuals who are persons. In playing a social role the individual is at once realizing himself as a person and activating the function of the culture" (p. 379) and "since our culture is both highly literate and conceptually articulate, it becomes important, especially for individuals who participate deeply in the culture, to reach an inner adjustment at a conscious and conceptual level" (p. 390). We could therefore, agree with Marshall that "it is deliberatedness and not selfishness that is the characteristic of the modern age" (cfr. W. A. Weisskopf op. cit. p. 164) were it not for the implicit moral judgment that Marshall put, as for granted, into his words. We do not want to express any moral judgment. For us the very fact that Marshall could propagate so vividly his economic views is a proof that such world conception did exist in the society of which he made part.

¹ This mechanism has the function to allow the members of the same group (in decreasing intensity: members of primary group, secondary groups, sub-cultures, cultures, civilizations) to internalize normative systems with the same context, so that people can understand each other, both in the more immediate and in the recondite sense of the word.

Cfr. Eric Fromm	Escape from Freedom
Ralph Linton	The study of man
Theodore Newcomb	Principes of social psychology

need of technical training, and the awareness of the problem of labour rendability in agriculture. The questions bear the numbers 33, 44, 53, 59, 60, 62, 67a, 67b, 67d, 72 of the questionnaire and were stated as follows:

33. Do you think you need a book-keeping for your farm management? Yes/no; Why?
44. Which of the facilities just mentioned do you consider absolutely necessary in your personal situation?

(With question 43 a list of seven household facilities had been previously read out to the respondent, who was subsequently asked to quote the ones he had in his own household).

53. Which one(s) of these professional papers do you think you could not miss at all?

(With question 52 the respondent had been asked to quote the name and the number of the technical periodicals he received).

Robert K. Merton	Social Theory and Social Structure
Karl Mannheim	Ideology and Utopia
Abram Kardiner	The Psychological Frontiers of Society.

^a The rating of the respondent in his *quality of technician* is a common practice among students of rural sociology: C. V. Hess and L. F. Muller (Some Personal, Economic, and Sociological Factors Influencing Dairymen's Actions and Success - Bulletin 577, Pennsylvania State University, College of Agriculture) assigned a score to the respondent for each *correct answer given to 100 technical questions*. The resulting score measured obviously a degree of knowledge which naturally proved to be in close relation to the financial results in dairying. This is a very valuable finding; it rests, however upon quite different suppositions than our methodology. We have tried to rate the respondent in his quality of "citizen" - i.e. to rate his integration in the social structure of a modern western society, - the "Leitmotiv" of our research being that European farmers, as a group, are only now reaching the stage in which man realizes that he has to make choices. Until recently certain existential questions (the choice of a profession, the choice of a political party, etc.) did not even exist for a great part of the rural population because they belong to a pattern of life unknown so far in the countryside. It is from the tensions arising from the contact of the two patterns and the possible alternatives deriving from it, that the lack of confidence and of certainty remarked by Mandrás, Spaulding, Wichers and Israel (see chapter 1) results.

59. What do you think of the initiatives taken by the Dutch political parties for the farmer's interests?
60. In your opinion from which party can the farmers expect nothing good?
62. What do you think of the work of the farmers' unions? Do you find it useless, of a certain value, or very useful?
- 67a. Would you regret it if one of your sons does not become a farmer?
- 67b. If a farmer's son has the *absolute certainty* that he will get a farm some day, does he need to receive a subsequent training after the age of compulsory education?
- 67d. How many sons do you think you can employ on your farm?
72. What income do you deem reasonable for a farmer in your present situation?

The score was obtained by assigning one point for every well defined answer given to each of the ten questions *independent of the nature of the answer itself*.¹ The point was to see whether or not the farmer had ever thought about such questions and whether or not he had his own standpoint regarding them. We intend to stress here that the emphasis is on this second part of the methodology and not on the particular questions as such. Every decision comes into existence through an interplay between personality and the external world. In this way, the notions and experiences taken up from the external world are digested by, and find their expression in the individual human being. It is therefore under-

¹ It is known that the failure of a respondent to give an answer to some questions does not need to signify the absence in him of a personal opinion about the matters under discussion. This is quite correct, but even in this case the respondent's reaction testifies to his being too little under the impact of the urban way of life. There are, in fact, strong reasons to believe that a "closed"-organic type of social structure is strictly related, in general, to a strong degree of reserve and to "closeness" of attitudes of the individuals living in it, in contrast to the open "democratic" type of society which seems to generate the same traits in the individual character structure. Cfr. C. D. Saal, *Het Gezinsleven in Nederland, met name ten plattelande*. Sociologisch

standable that the more "progressive" the subject is (the more he has the attitude of, and the capacity for a personal elaboration of a new experience), and the sooner he will be able to reach a personal decision, or at least, to form a personal point of view about the matter concerned.

Thus we have built a score ranging from 0 = no answer to any of the ten questions, to 10 = all the ten questions put to the respondent received a concrete answer. This score has been assumed by definition, to express the degree of the individual's social functioning in the modern world, and it is used as such as a unit of measure to which several other manifestations of the social life of the respondent will be related in the following chapters.

Hereafter, in order to prevent misunderstandings in the analysis of the several cultural variables, we shall refer to it as to "the score 10 answers" or simply "the score."²

We have now to consider whether or not it is really what we call "social functioning in the modern world" that we are measuring, if we measure a number of phenomena of the present cultural situation of the Winterswijk countryside by such a yardstick. We think this is really what we are doing. In fact, we must not forget that, as Wirth said, "a society is possible in the last analysis because the individuals in it carry around in their heads some sort of picture of that society."³

In our opinion it is clear that such a method, measuring the responses of the individual to questions pertaining to matters, we might say, of personal "policy" with respect to a modern social structure, measures indirectly the psychological width of one's living space. Hence, the whole process of education to which one has been subjected is also being measured. Using G. Mead's terminology we might even say that with our score 10 answers, we measure differences as to the "generalized other" of the different respondents. In other words, we have obtained a continuum ranging from people whose "generalized others" belong to a modern organizational social order, to people whose "generalized

jaarboek van de Nederlandse Sociologische Vereniging, Vierde deel, p. 59.

² The grading of all the 520 farmers was carried out by the same person, i.e. the present writer. Those few cases where one or more of our particular test questions had not been put to the respondent, were coded as "non classified." Also, in the process of grading, the writer had to refer the answer received to the reality of the present Dutch situation, on the one hand, and to the technical data of each farm on the other, in order to see that the answers were not actually absurd.

³ Louis Wirth - Preface to Mannheim's *Ideology and Utopia* - a Harvest book, xxiii.

others" are still ideally placed in a more organic and localistic form of social organization.

The search for objectivity in social sciences gives rise to peculiarly difficult problems when one tries to establish a rigorous scientific method for the study of social life. We must not forget that in contrast with the so called exact sciences, which can limit themselves to the observation of the external uniformities and regularities, in the social sciences the accent is mainly based upon the *understanding* of the inner meanings and connections of the phenomena observed in a given social situation.¹

For this reason we have preferred to adopt this system based on

¹ Cfr. K. Mannheim; *Ideology and Utopia*.

Louis Wirth, in the preface to Mannheim's book makes the point that objectivity in social sciences has to reckon with the fact that the "object emerges for the subject when, in the course of experience, the interest of the subject is focused upon that particular aspect of the world." From this follows axiomatically that in the realm of social sciences, truth, even for the investigator, is always strongly dependent on his evaluations and on the definition of his object of attention. This, however, is in our opinion not a point with which social sciences only have to reckon, but with which also all the other sciences, and even every human being, has to reckon as soon as he comes in contact with the outside world. What is truth? Does not *every* knowledge rest upon a yardstick fixed beforehand, which has made possible the building of theories and systems to classify reality? For instance our "exact" mathematics rests upon the purely speculative Pythagorean conception of the perfection of the unity and of its significance for the functioning of the "cosmos" (i.e. order). However, this has not prevented our using the series of numbers and, therefore, our acquiring some knowledge as to the relative distances between the bodies of the sky, nor has it prevented us from adding other satellites to the ones already existing in the solar system. The same can be said of the arbitrary division of our common musical scale in eight tones. This has not prevented the creation of Beethoven's 7th symphony, nor does it hinder our appreciation of it. In the same way, in the history of knowledge of the matter from the first alchemist to the modern nuclear physicist, the appearance and the becoming obsolete of new yardsticks and concepts has not hindered the furtherance of our knowledge of the matter itself. In fact, out of its very nature, knowledge is nothing but the organization of thoughts according to certain schemes instead of others. The question of the effectivity of knowledge is a problem that has occupied many a scientist's mind from the Greek philosophers down to our modern social scientists. In the meantime, it is quite clear that only with great difficulty can we free ourselves and our studies from the normative notions inherited from outdated systems of thought. It is therefore becoming more and more clear that there is no other objectivity possible apart from agreement. It is clear, for instance, that the way we see ourselves depends on the way in which we are seen by others. It is also clear that what we understand as "social disorganizations," depends entirely upon our definition of "the right" form of social organization. For this reason, therefore, conscious functional approaches are more and more preached by social scientists. Myrdal for instance (cfr. Gunnar Myrdal - *Value in Social Theory* - Kegan Paul, London 1958) pleads for a replacement of abstract valuations by concrete premises derived from observation, and for a replacement of the "neutral" but prejudiced

the factual presence or absence of a clear-cut, concrete answer to a question put by the interviewer rather than, for instance, the technique of attitudinal studies with the help of scale analysis. It is true that a good attitudinal scale could have, perhaps, furnished us a seemingly more sensitive tool for the appreciation of the individual's social awareness. However, if the analysis of the significance of the process of modernization carried out in the preceding chapter is right, and if our hypotheses are right as well, there is little need for scale analysis and it seems rather doubtful whether the application of scale analysis could have given more meaningful results.² We have therefore preferred to limit ourselves

conclusions of orthodox theories by partisan-practical but objective ones. This whole problem is extremely complicated as it is connected with individual psychology on the one hand, and with cultural relativism, on the other. The two are, quite obviously, not easily separable. For a more extensive discussion, as well as the two works of Mannheim and Wirth already quoted in this note, see Gustaf Ickheiser – Misunderstanding in human relations; a study in false social perception. Supplement to the september issue of the American Journal of Sociology, Vol. IV, 1948; Melville Herskovits-Man and his works, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1948; Ruth Benedict – Patterns of culture, Robert Redfield – The Primitive world and its transformations, chapter IV; Julian H. Steward – Comments on the Statement on Human Rights, American Anthropologist N.S.L. (April-June, 1948) pp. 351-52; H. G. Barnett – On science and Human Rights, *ibidem*, pp. 352-54; John. W. Bennet – Science and Human Rights; Reason and Action, American Anthropologist N.S. LI (April-June 1949) pp. 329-36.

² About the uncertainty of what is really being measured by the so called "attitude measurement techniques" much has been written; however not much progress has been made in the technique itself because the old objections are still valid. The main objection is that "the question arises as to whether the interval units (of the scale, B. B.) are completely interchangeable. There is no reason to think that the interval between three and four constitutes a unit which is conceptually interchangeable with the interval between nine and ten, even for a particular judge" (Clifford Kirkpatrick – Methods in Attitudes Measurement – American Sociological Review, Vol. I. 1936, p. 86 Cfr., also, Ross Stagner – Methodology of Attitude Measurement, Research in Social Psychology in Rural Life. John D. Black editor; New York Soc. Science Research Council, 1933, pp. 115-126; Richard La Pierre – The Sociological Significance of Measurable Attitudes – The American Sociological Review 1938, pp. 175-182.) Owing to the difficulties of obtaining the right interpretation of what a respondent really means with his answer, many serious difficulties in sociological research arise. For instance Kendall (Patricia Kendall – Conflict and mood: Factors affecting stability of Response – Glencoe, Illinois – The Free Press, 1954) found differences in the pattern of attitudes towards giving the responses upon which the so called "attitudes" should be measured, which varied greatly from one moment to another for the same respondent, according to education, moods, annoyance, depression, degree of stability etc. For other references on the subject cfr. also E. Cassirer – An Essay on Man – New Haven, 1944; C. W. Mills – Language, logic and culture, American Sociological Review Vol IV, 1939, 670-680; B. Malinowsky – The problem of Meaning in Primitive language: In Magic, Science, Religion and Other Essays – Boston 1948, pp. 228-76;

to as objective a measurement as possible. We may point out here that the implications of the use of a technique such as the one applied in this work, differ greatly from the ones deriving from the use of an attitudinal scale. Although, in a way, even our score is a qualitative yardstick, no attempt has been made to really interpret the meaning of the answers received. So there has been no weight or value attributed to one sort of answer rather than another. Further, our score has been obtained by a mere summing up of the number of answers, regardless of which questions had remained unanswered. Here, again, there has been no pretension to set up a scale of what, in our own eyes, should have been the order of importance of the questions for our respondent. If we now observe the distribution of our sample along the continuum formed by the scores from 0 to 10, we obtain the following picture:

TABLE 2 *The distribution of the "score 10 answers" of 484 Winterswijk farm operators*

Score	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total
No of persons	7	8	22	32	46	61	84	84	71	51	18	484

As one can see, the distribution of the individuals of our sample along the continuum is not quite symmetrical with respect to the median line of the continuum. At first sight, one could wonder whether, with an increased number of questions, the distribution would have been more regular, so that a continuum of more than ten points could have given us a more sensitive tool with which to appreciate better the possible differences in capacity of decision-making of our respondents. However, we think that this conclusion would be wrong. The reasons for it derive from the very nature of the phenomenon that we are investigating here, which makes a symmetrical distribution, in fact, impossible. It is known that if a random attribute of a living organism is measured in an unselected group, the resulting distribution tends to take the form of a symmetrical, bell-shaped curve of compound probability in which the mean, the median and the mode coincide. Our continuum, however, does not consist of random characteristics. We have stated our hypotheses upon the assumption that the individual's capacity of decision-making about the matters to which

L. Schatzman & A. Strauss. Social Class and modes of communication, *American Journal of Sociology* 1954-55 pp. 329-38.

¹ Cfr. Floyd H. Allport: The J-curve hypothesis of conforming behaviour. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol v, no. 2, May 1934, pp. 141-183; see further, of

our questions refer, would increase with the increase of the process of modernization to which the respondent had been subjected. This supposition has, as yet, still to be proven valid: however, one might expect that in the hypothetical case of a theoretically fully "westernized" and modern-integrated universe every respondent should be able to answer questions about problems referring to a modern form of social organization. Thus, one could expect our curve to be more or less rectilinear, and steadily increasing from 0, in the case of a totally traditional society, to the maximum of the score in the case of the hypothetical society consisting of 100 per cent of "modern" people. However, it is clear that this is not the case with our universe. Further, in the practical stage of urbanization reached by Winterswijk rural society, one can rightly wonder whether an increase of the number of the open ended questions referring to a modern form of social organization would have changed much the distribution of the universe. Present-day Winterswijk society has reached a certain stage along the continuum "traditional-collectivism" versus "dynamic-modernism." We can therefore assume that the components of such a society differ from each other in their degree of modern social awareness, but that their responses to any attempt to measure this social awareness will remain in the same mutual relationship. In other words, no matter the method applied, if the modern western pattern of culture has not yet totally penetrated the countryside, the percent of the people who at a given moment will be able to see the problems of societal life in a modern social structure (or, more precisely, the degree to which they will be able to see these problems) will quite probably vary from place to place, but it will always be a function of the phase of modernization reached by the society of which they make part. We can therefore provisionally maintain that the distribution of our respondents along our continuum is not a random one, and further, that the degree of capacity of answering to our questions can be considered, on the basis of our premises, to be a kind of obligatory, or conforming behaviour related to the degree of the individual's exposition to a modern "urban" western pattern of culture. We think, therefore, that we have here to do with an empirical continuum of distribution in a field of conforming behaviour.¹

the same author: Rule and custom as individual variations of behaviour distributed upon a continuum of conformity. *The American Journal of Sociology* 1938-39, XI-IV, pp. 897-921.

An examination of the distribution curve of our score shows in the main lines the rightness of Allport's word: "in any field of conforming behaviour. . . the distribution of measurable variations of that behaviour upon a relevant, but empirical, or non-telic continuum is in the form of a steep, uni-modal, double J-curve (that is a curve having positive acceleration on both sides), in which the mode is likely to be off-center, and the slopes are likely to be asymmetrical."¹

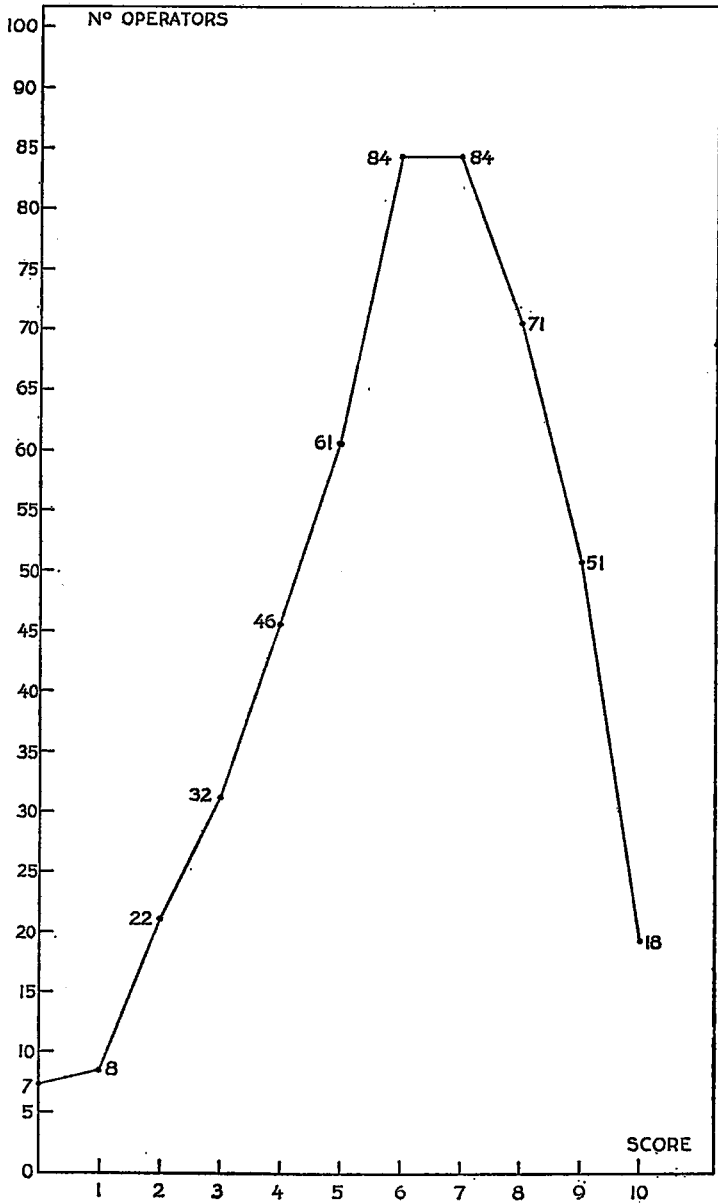
This seems completely in accordance with our hypotheses

- a. of the correspondence between "modernization" and a certain type of personality structure, so that the impact of the urban western cultural pattern reveals itself in a capacity for rationality, abstraction, and in an increase of the "size of the world" of the individual, and
- b. of the existence of a modern Western "urban" cultural pattern gradually penetrating the countryside.
The term "conformity" in this context, is somewhat confusing since it refers here to the capacity of independent decision-making. This capacity of decision-making is supposedly dependent on the degree of urbanization, and this implies that, in certain circumstances, the most "urbanized" individuals in a rural community will be the most "non conformist" when referred to local patterns of behaviour.

The examination of the distribution of our sample along the continuum (see also graph. 2) does not, however, confirm Allport's hypotheses in a definite manner. The curve is not a double-J one. This means that the acceleration is not the same on both sides. On the other hand, at this stage of our research on the influence of urbanization upon the individual we know still too little about this problem to justify the use of Allport's hypothesis for empirical research; we do not yet know how the distribution of a curve built with our criteria should actually be in the practice of different cultural situations; and, for example, we do not know beforehand whether we should expect such a technique to have a greater discriminating power toward the lower end of the continuum than in the middle and the upper end, (although we actually expect it to be so) or vice-versa. Before our knowledge as to this aspect

¹ Allport, The J-curve hypothesis, etc. p. 166.

GRAPH 2 - The distribution curve of the score obtained by 484 Winterswijk farm operators.



of the problem can go as deep as that, we must first check the general validity of our set of hypotheses together with the validity, in principle, of a technique of research such as the one applied in this study. This is, in fact, one of the goals of our work, and we tend to consider all other knowledge, which we might possibly acquire on a matter of methodology, as welcome assets to the study, besides the knowledge which we hope to receive as to the basic problem upon which this research is focussed.

At this point we cannot avoid another consideration: our methodology allows automatically for different distributions along our continuum of different personality traits and, hence, also of that trait which we call "intelligence." We fully recognize that intelligence can have played an important role in the distribution of our sample along our continuum of social awareness. This, however, is not a relevant problem in the context of our research. Two considerations can, in fact, be made here: in the first place, what is important for us here is

- a. to show whether or not urban cultural traits increase when the position of the individual concerned moves gradually towards the upper end of the continuum, and
- b. to correlate this position with the individual efficiency in farm management.

Secondly, there are clear signs that "intelligence," understood as inborn intellectual capacities, besides being a vague and relative concept, cannot entirely be regarded as an independent variable with respect to culture. This finds an indirect confirmation even in our own work, as we shall have occasion to see in one of the following chapters.¹

¹ It is undeniable that what we call "intelligence" is sometimes clearly recognizable in certain hereditary lines, or that great differences can exist between the intelligence of twins. However, nobody has yet told us how much this intelligence is the result of the interplay between cultural forces and the individual's degree of responsiveness to them.

Our position is not an original one. The whole question has been debated long enough in the practice of sociological research to make it unnecessary for us to indulge upon it any longer. As a matter of fact, there are even many reasons to believe that with the term "intelligence" something not much different is implied than the very mental dynamism and plasticity referred to in the foregoing pages, which is so typical of the more urbanized western environments. Of all the many studies to this effect, it is sufficient to quote one by the Dutch Demological Institute (Demologisch Instituut -

We should now proceed to check the validity of our score as a discriminating yardstick for the analysis of the cultural pattern of the rural population in the community of our study. However, since this would bring us automatically into the more specific field of the analysis of our data, we shall tackle this task in the first part of the analysis itself. Suffice it here to say that the double check which we have applied, as we have referred to previously (see pg. 81), is again derived from the striving to combine quantitative criteria, such as a fixed scale for socio-economic status, with the need to understand the deeper meaning of the differences between the groups in the several positions of our continuum. If our suppositions are right, we should have to do here with groups representing a gradual and continual transition, through the several positions of the continuum, between the two patterns of culture as they are expressed by the people at its lower and upper end. In our opinion the manifestations of these differences in patterns of culture acquire a much clearer significance when seen as whole entities, in the form of cultural complexes, and not as separate cultural – or personality – traits. However, this approach implies that, for our purpose, we have to take into account the endless numbers of shades and imponderabilia in which human life manifests itself. It is therefore clear that no statistical analysis known so far can express this endless transition as efficiently as a good description. An individual description presents, of course, many dangers. It is for this reason that we have tried to obviate these dangers somehow by making use, not of one single key-person, but of twenty-five persons pertaining to different professional and social categories. Each of these persons has given his own views and impressions of the people of the two extreme groups of the continuum from his own particular professional point of view and experience of life. In this way, we hope that we

Zeist MCMCLVII, Begaafdheid Onderzoek en Intelligentie Spreiding – Deel II: Intelligentie en Arbeidspotentieel). According to this research, which is quite representative of its type, “intelligence” can be observed, proportionally, more among the higher than among the lower classes, more among factory workers than among farmers, and more among urban people than among rural people. Also the numerous studies about the accomplishments of students in several types of schools have repeatedly shown a very strict concomitance of these results with “intelligence” on the one hand, and with socio-cultural factors typical of an urbanized environment outside the school, on the other; so that no clear distinction can be drawn, as yet, between the three phenomena taken into consideration (Cfr. Rapport over een onderzoek naar de stand van het Gewoon Lager Onderwijs in Noord-Brabant – uitgave van het provinciaal Bestuur van Noord-Brabant – Juni 1957). In this context

have obtained a fairly comprehensive all-round picture of the meaning of the cultural differences represented by the continuum, if they exist at all.

Finally, we must remark here that our twenty-five key-persons are themselves of a definitely more "urbanized" type than the average Winterswijk farmer. This, which might seem, at first sight, a source of bias in our analysis, cannot be considered as such in the case of our study. As we have tried to show in the second chapter, the very fact that a person can speak to, and understand another person, depends mainly on the fact that these two members of society roughly share the same frame of reference and the same world view. Briefly, the fact that two persons can easily understand each other is very indicative for their belonging or not to the same type of social structure and culture. Upon the recognition of this primary fact are based both our whole set of hypotheses and our methodology. In the particular case of a study of the impact of modern urban culture upon the countryside it is of great importance to hear the opinions and the judgments of a group of "urban" persons about a number of "rural" persons. The description given by these "urbanized" people might be significantly indicative for the cultural "distance" or gap separating them from the group of farmers whom we are studying. The same can be said to apply for the criteria according to which our case-studies have been compiled.

The yardstick that we have obtained in the way described above, must be correlated with several aspects of the cultural pattern of our Winterswijk respondents, and, therefore, also with the degree of efficiency of the farm management. This means that we must find a way to measure somehow the farm management in order to allow its correlation with our score. Several methods can be used to measure the results of the farm management, depending on which of its aspects one intends to emphasize. In our case, we think it is most suitable to measure the efficiency of the labour

it is worth noticing that a research carried out in France in 1950 among 95,237 children of elementary schools in order to measure their intellectual attitude showed not only that the performance of the country children was constantly below that of city children, but, also, that *the difference was especially apparent for test questions concerned with an understanding of the logical relations between abstract signs* (see Heuyer, Pieron, Pieron, and Sauvy, *Le Niveau Intellectuel des Enfants d'Age Scolaire*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1950, Cahier n. 13.) In our opinion no really fruitful discussion is possible on "intelligence" since we are here confronted with a typically relative concept of the kind discussed on footnote 1 p. 90, and no agreement has yet

employed on the farm. In fact, as we have explained in our introductory chapter, it is from the level of the labour productivity obtained on the farm that many economic consequences follow, which have their repercussion on the social life of the rural populations. The farmer who succeeds in obtaining a revenue for the labour employed on his farm, at least equal to that paid to labour by industry, will be able to keep his standard of living at about a constant relationship with the standard of living of the industry-worker. The primary cause of tensions between the agricultural and the industrial parts of the society of a nation lies, in fact, mainly in the different speed of evolution of the respective levels of living. Therefore, under the present circumstances, it seems to us justifiable to identify for practical purposes "efficiency of the farm management "with" labour-efficiency" and to measure the latter with one of the standardized methods already existing. Such measurement in this study has been obtained by the so-called method of the standard hours.¹ This method first determines the number of working hours which on normal, reasonably large and well-managed farms, is devoted to the growing of one hectare of the various crops and to the care of one head of the various types of live-stock. The mean found after investigation of an adequate number of farms is taken as the standard for further investigations: the average amount of effective labour per hour produced on these farms is termed the "standard hour of labour."² In this way the norms can be fixed valid within the same agricultural district.

For each separate farm of one district may subsequently be determined the number of working hours per year it would yield if all work were done at a rate corresponding to the standard referred to. In other words, the number of standard hours of labour yielded by each undertaking may be determined. It may be further ascertained how many workers there are available for each undertaking. If sex and age of the workers and the time each person devotes to agrarian work are taken into account, it is

been reached as to what is meant by such a term. For an example of the difficulties connected with the concept of "intelligence" in social sciences see the extensive bibliographical study of A. Anastasi: *Intelligence and Family Size*; *Psychological Bulletin*, Vol 3, n 3, May 1956, pp. 187-209.

¹ The schematic description of this method, as given hereafter, is integrally taken from E. W. Hofstee, *Rural Life and Rural Welfare in the Netherlands*, pp. 215-16.

² The term "standard hour" is comparable with the term "productive man work unit" in American literature. One standard hour can be reckoned equal to 1/10 "productive man work unit."

possible to learn, by means of certain conversion factors how many adult male workers may be taken as equal to this amount of available labour. If the number of standard hours of labour an undertaking yields is subsequently divided by the number of adult male workers thus found, the quotient is the number of standard hours of labour performed per adult male worker per year. The quotient in the Netherlands investigations is usually referred to as "labour effect." It should be distinguished from labour productivity, which refers to the amount of goods produced per worker during a certain time unit, and not, as does labour effect, to a certain amount of effective labour produced per time unit. Labour effect is a standard of the efficiency with which the labour available is employed in a certain undertaking.

If the labour effect has been determined in a sufficiently large number of undertakings, and these undertakings are subsequently classified as to size, it is found that the labour effect diminishes very rapidly with the decreasing size of the undertakings. This is to be attributed to the fact that with the decreasing size of the undertaking, the total amount of labour available decrease at a far slower rate than does the number of standard hours of labour the undertaking yields. A partial cause of this phenomenon lies in the fact that the family farms show the tendency of retaining too large a number of workers, and the smallest family farms are too small even to yield enough work for one person to make his labour remunerative.¹

Calculations made at the Institute of Agricultural Economics (L.E.I.) and elsewhere showed that the amount of money made available per standard hour for the remuneration of the labour of those employed in agriculture, is practically independent of the size of the undertaking. Thus the number of standard hours produced per adult male worker may be taken as standard of the income he acquires through his labour, at least with regard to areas which are more or less homogeneous as to soil, climate etc. From these calculations it may further be deduced that over the period 1950-1955 these labour earnings per standard hour of labour in the sandy soil districts amounted to about *f.* 1.16.

Now that we have described the principal techniques used in our research, we are ready to start with the analysis of our data. We do not think that in this context many words should be dedicated

¹ Cfr. Hofstee, *Rural Life and Rural Welfare*, etc. chapter II, 1.

to the description of the details of the technique of interview, or to the construction of the questionnaires and scales that have been used in this work. The necessary precautions usual in this more practical part of the research were taken, so that it can suffice to refer the reader directly to the appendices of this work. The data deriving from the 484 questionnaires were classified according to the codes as reported in Appendix III and IV. Subsequently they were mechanically processed by the Wageningen Afdeling Bewerking Waarnemingsuitkomsten of the Centrale Organisatie voor T.N.O. The cross-tabulating of the different variables against the score, and the calculation of the statistical significances, were carried out partly by the same Institute, and partly by research assistants of the Department of Rural Sociology of the University of Wageningen, under our direct supervision. The descriptive check of the validity of the score, together with the typification of the two groups of farmers concerned, was carried out directly by us, being the result of a second period of field work and participation in Winterswijk society during the months February-March-April 1957.

Before starting with our analysis, however, a short description of the most salient characteristics of the community of Winterswijk will be given. The material for this description derives mostly from the author's field-work notes, from the data of the survey, and from the interviews with the key-persons - Further information have been drawn from national as well as local statistics, and from the existing literature, as is indicated in the course of the description itself.



Rural Winterswijk

It is not our intention to give a full and thorough account of all the aspects of the economic and social life of Winterswijk society in the course of this work, which is not intended as a community study. The aim of our research is, in fact, rather clearly focussed on the cultural aspects of several problems connected with the productivity of labour in agriculture. However, the very nature of the study should not allow us to forget that the local situation of the society may determine to a certain degree the final results of the phenomena taken into consideration and thereby the conclusions of our research. Therefore, we intend to furnish here the basic data for a schematic picture of Winterswijk society, indulging, if it is the case, in a more detailed description of those aspects of local culture which may be specific of Winterswijk and relevant for our purposes.

Hereafter the following subjects will be treated:

- a.* Economic-geographic situation
- b.* The Scholten farmers; short outline of their history, function and present position among the farmers of Winterswijk
- c.* The neighbourhood as a social unit
- d.* A sketch of the co-operative movement and its significance for Winterswijk agriculture
- e.* Agricultural development to the present stage.

ECONOMIC-GEOGRAPHIC SITUATION

Winterswijk is the most eastern of a group of Dutch municipalities forming, altogether, the region called "De Graafschap" (The County). De Graafschap forms the greatest part¹ of that region of the Netherlands which is sometimes referred to as "de Achterhoek," (the back-corner). This name tells us already, in one word, some of the features that characterize the region (or at least used to), and, at the same time, it tells us, perhaps much more of the stereotyped attitude of the Dutch population toward it.

¹ There are also two other smaller regions: De IJsselstreek and De Lijmers.

The nickname of the region if, nowadays, for the greater part not justified any more by present circumstances (growing industrialization and quick adaptation of urban standards and values), nevertheless reflects a situation which in the past was a relevant reality.

The Graafschap was one of the isolated regions still existing in the Netherlands until about the beginning of the century.¹ The isolation of the Graafschap was caused by the almost total absence of modern means of communication between the region and the rest of the Netherlands "beyond" the IJssel. The river IJssel forms the natural western and south-western boundary of the Graafschap, delineating it sharply from the south-western part of the Netherlands, where big modern towns thrived, where the population density was higher (with all its implications), and where commerce and industry flourished. The obstacle created by the IJssel to communication was quite vividly felt by the local population, until almost World War II. Efficient bridges were extremely rare; on one of the most important roads leading to the Graafschap, the road from Dieren to Doesburg, a boatbridge was used until 1952. This meant that up to 1952, heavy traffic on the road was sometimes impossible during the winter months since the bridge had to be taken away because of the ice blocks floating on the water.

In the nineteenth century, the access to the Achterhoek was even more difficult. In fact, it was not until 1886 that the road between Dieren and Doesburg was built on a dyke. Before that year, every increase in the waterlevel of the IJssel would cause great distress to the traffic on the old low road, which then existed, for at that time the course of the river had not yet been regulated, and floods were therefore rather common.²

Railways existed mainly on the periphery of the Graafschap, that is, the lines Arnhem-Zevenaar, to Emmerick in Germany (built in 1856 by the Nederlandse Rijnspoor), the line Arnhem-Dieren-Doesburg (built in 1865 by the Maatschappij tot Exploitatie van

¹ In general, all the Dutch sandy-soil districts did not possess good communications with the rest of the Netherlands; their centers of isolation were in Drenthe, to the north, and in East Brabant and North Limburg in the south. Other isolated regions were, further, the area between the big rivers, and some of the islands of South Holland.

² Furthermore there were also many administrative obstacles. Staring writes that in 1849 between Winterswijk and Zutphen (about 45 km) there were 9 tollhouses. Cf. C. H. Staring op. Cit.

³ These were the normal roads on which the traffic of the whole region was carried;

Staatsspoorwegen), the line Zutphen-Winterswijk, and the ones connecting Winterswijk with Borken and Bocholt, both of them immediately beyond the German border. Of the three railways, originally built by the Netherlands-Westphalia Railroad Company, the first was, in 1878, handed over to the Holland Railroad Company, and the last two were opened to traffic by a German company.

Practically the major part of the traffic took place, throughout the nineteenth century, on sandy roads.³

It is clear that this situation has considerably hindered the economic development of the Graafschap. It is, in fact, enough to recall that when, in 1878, the railway Zutphen-Winterswijk was opened for the first time to traffic, fifty per cent of the present lines of the Dutch railway system were already functioning in the rest of the Netherlands.⁴

It is no wonder, therefore, that in a country where traffic, commerce, and industrialization were, at the time, in full development, together with every other form of human activity typical of the modern "capitalistic mind," that such a situation should lead to a still further form of cultural isolation. No wonder, also, that with the typical delay with which stereotypes and attitudes disappear, that people should to-day continue to call the Graafschap "the back corner" and this, despite the fact that the material isolation from the rest of the Netherlands has by now virtually disappeared. The nickname is still used today, although the Graafschap is undergoing an unusually rapid process of industrialization.

Having briefly pointed out the characteristics of the past isolation of the area as a whole, a few words are required pertaining to Winterswijk in particular. Winterswijk is one of the three larger centres of the Achterhoek. It is situated in the most south-eastern part of that area, immediately in front of the German border, which delineates three fourths of the territory of the community.⁵ On the other side of the border is the German state of Westphalia, and Winterswijk, almost surrounded by it, has not been able to

however, most of the farms did not even lie on those roads, but were, instead, connected to them by natural paths on the heath.

(Cf. C. H. Staring, *de landbouw op de Nederlandsche Zandgronden*, in *Vriend van den Landman* - 1849 pp. 283-333; G. A. Kooy, *De oude samenwoning op het nieuwe platteland*, Van Gorcum, Assen 1959, pp. 177 and foll.).

⁴ From Ir. H. Vis - *Het Verkeer in de Achterhoek en de Liemers*, in *Jubileumnummer van de Graafschapsbode*, 1 Oktober 1954, Doetinchem.

⁵ The municipality confines with Germany to the North, East, and South, and with the Netherlands to the West.

escape the strong economic and cultural influence from the German environment.¹

Typical cultural influences are to be found in the patterns of farm tenancy (a particular form of share-cropping connected with the existence of the Scholten-farmers, which only recently disappeared), in the inheritance customs (the influence of the institution known in Germany as *Anerbenrecht*), in the use of many dialectal forms in the spoken language, which are adopted on both sides of the boundary in the accent, and in general in much of the way of life of the population.

The whole territory of the municipality of Winterswijk is about 138 square kms. At the date of our inquiry, the inhabitants of the community numbered about 23,000. According to the data of the 1947 general census, of the 21,469 inhabitants of the municipality 12,883 (60%) lived in the town, and 8,586 (40%) in the countryside.² In table 3 the percentages of the total number of persons employed in the different branches of economic activity are presented. These data allow a rough comparison of Winterswijk with the province of Guelderland and the whole Netherlands. From this table it clearly results that in Winterswijk, of the three

TABLE 3 *Percentages of the total number of persons employed in the different professional branches.*

	Winterswijk			Guelderland			the Kingdom		
	1909 (^a)	1930 (^b)	1947 (^c)	1909 (^b)	1930 (^c)	1947 (^d)	1909 (^d)	1930 (^e)	1947 (^e)
Industry	27.0	38.0	34.1	32.0	38.3	35.1	34.3	37.2	36.9
Agric., fish.	50.0	41.0	37.0	38.6	29.2	28.8	28.4	22.2	19.9
Comm., traff.	8.7	12.5	13.8	13.1	16.4	17.9	20.2	24.5	23.7
Others	13.8	8.6	14.4	16.1	16.1	19.2	17.2	17.1	19.5

¹ Since World War II, business relationships, kinship ties, and cultural exchanges between Winterswijk and the adjacent German villages have greatly diminished. Before the war, German farmhands and house maids were quite common on local farms. To some extent, young Winterswijk people used to work beyond the border, although to a far lesser degree, due to differences in welfare. It is only in the last years that this trend has showed a renewed tendency. In 1954, in Winterswijk, there were seven cases (3.4%) of intermarriage between Dutch and German citizens. In the local textile industry, about 150 German women were employed. Further, the weekly market in Winterswijk is actively used by German housewives and farmers living beyond the boundary line as far as the Ruhr area, because the Dutch prices are very advantageous for them.

major branches of activity, up to 1947 agriculture occupied a predominant place.

However, Winterswijk is, by no means, a purely agricultural community. In the last seventy-five years, the village has seen a strong flourishing of its old textile industry. At the moment there are in Winterswijk six major textile factories which employ approximately 2300 persons, while another 2400 persons work in several other industries.⁶ As in other parts of the Dutch sandy regions, the consequence of the new development has been that the ratio of the people living in the town increased much more quickly than the ratio of those living in the countryside. The latter, in the last seventy-five years, has shown a definite tendency towards a steady decrease.⁷

The town⁸ is provided with running water (and has a bathhouse), natural gas and electricity. At present the network is being spread over the countryside as much as possible, preference being given to the houses situated along the main roads.

In Winterswijk there are at present two hospitals, fifteen physicians of various types, four veterinaries, and three notaries. The townpeople's needs for books and papers are normally taken care of by five bookshops, of which two are also newspaper agencies. In the town there is also a library with a public reading room as well as a small museum where historical discoveries are to be seen together with exhibits concerning local folklore. From the guest-book of the museum it is clear that its most faithful visitors are, apart from a few Dutch and foreign holiday-makers, the school-children of the neighbourhood who, evidently, under the guidance of their teachers, visit the museum at least once a year.

Further, in the year of our enquiry Winterswijk disposed of eight hotel-restaurants, some twenty village-cafés, two cinemas, a concert hall, an open-air theatre, a swimming pool, playing fields and camping-areas. This favours the existence of several gym-

⁵ RTI Gelderland: Industrierapport der Gemeente Winterswijk, 1953.

⁶ Beroepstellingen CBS

⁴ Landbouwcijfers LEI

⁵ Adapted from: RTI Gelderland, Industrierapport der Gemeente Winterswijk, 1953.

⁶ In 1953 the industries giving employment to more than ten workers numbered twenty-five. (From RTI Gelderland op. cit.)

⁷ The percentage of the people living in the neighbourhood in 1870 formed about 64% of the whole population of the municipality; in 1915 it was 50%, and at present it is 40% (from RTI Gelderland op. cit.).

⁸ The settlement of Winterswijk is to be considered a town in every respect. The local population, however, still calls it a village.

nastic-, theatrical-, singing- and music associations which occupy a large part of the village youth (and not only the youth). The above mentioned associations have come into existence in answer to a modern, urban-like pattern of recreation and owe their possibility of subsistence for a great part to the needs for recreation of those classes imported to Winterswijk by the industrial development. It is quite natural that the newcomers from other parts of the Netherlands, arriving as single individuals in Winterswijk, and being mostly deprived of connections "in loco," should join a club which can provide for their recreation. The "true" old Winterswijkers find their recreation in the popular cafés, while the youth, as in every other Dutch village, often hang about the corners of the main street in the evening.

The local intellectuals have formed a debating club in which all denominations and political groups are represented. Meetings are held once a month, when a member usually gives a lecture on a particular subject and, afterwards, a brisk exchange of opinions takes place. In this debating club the "outside" element forms the majority.¹

Winterswijk has several types of schools. There are a number of elementary schools and a B.L.O. elementary school², a school for extended elementary education,³ one agricultural elementary school, a lower technical school which also furnishes evening courses for the pupils who work during the day, an agricultural Winter-school, an elementary school for home economics, and several types of highschool.⁴ In order to receive elementary education the rural youth does not need to go to the town of Winterswijk, elementary schools being present in the countryside. This is not the case with the technical school, the Agricultural Winter-school, the H.B.S. and the Gymnasium, which recruit their pupils, not only from

¹ During our interviews, the case was mentioned of a bridge club in which the members were literally 100% "outsiders."

² This is a special school for backward children.

³ That is, a school where the pupils who have gone through the elementary school, but have not yet reached the minimum age of compulsory education (14 years), can continue their education in an advanced elementary form.

⁴ Three U.L.O.-schools, one H.B.S. (Highschool) and one "Gymnasium" (Grammar School).

⁵ In fact, for the technical school and the agricultural Winter school, those pupils coming from the other Achterhoek communities altogether form the majority, the percentage of the pupils coming from the whole municipality of Winterswijk being, in 1953, 44% of the total for the technical school, and 16% for the Agricultural Winter School.

among the young people of the town, but also from the youth living in the different neighbourhoods of the community, as well as from the other communities of the Graafschap.⁵

In this way, during the first half of this century Winterswijk has been assuming more and more the character of a service centre for the eastern part of the Achterhoek, whereas the industrial development and the general institutionalization and bureaucratization of the social life have strongly contributed to amplify the contacts between the members of the local communal society and the cosmopolitan structure of the modern state of the Netherlands.⁶

Naturally too, the connections with other parts of the Netherlands have greatly increased in the same lapse of time. The principal roads from Winterswijk to Aalten and to Groenlo, as well as the ones to Vreden and Bocholt in Germany, have been paved for years together with other roads of secondary importance. In addition, the servicing roads within the municipality are now being gradually paved. Until now, however, most of the roads of minor importance in the municipality were sandy roads, which contributed much to the isolation of the farming population. There is no direct railway connection from Winterswijk to Germany today, there is, however, a bus service going as far as the customs-house in the neighbourhood of Kotten which meets a connection with a German bus service from Kotten to Bocholt. As far as the connections with other parts of the Netherlands are concerned, these are nowadays, as in every other Dutch centre of some importance, excellent. There are a number of bus services connecting Winterswijk with other minor municipalities of the Graafschap. As to the connections by bus between Winterswijk and the nearest major towns, the following table gives a comprehensive view of the situation.⁷

⁶ Nowadays, in contrast with fifty years ago, the great majority of the teachers, as well as the physicians and the clerks of the local administrations, come from other parts of the Netherlands. They speak high Dutch, without any dialect, and many of them have had, directly or indirectly, other experiences in the world before coming to Winterswijk. Some have lived for years in the former Dutch colonies, some have been, or have relatives, abroad, in Canada, or in the U.S.A., or in Australia, South Africa, etc. Their "size of the world" is entirely different, both as to its dimension and as to its significance, from the "size of the world" of the average inhabitant of the neighbourhood communities of Winterswijk country-side.

⁷ From *ETI Gelderland* op. cit.

TABLE 4 *Bus connections between Winterswijk and the nearest major towns*

Connection	time employed	courses day	frequency
Winterswijk - Arnhem line A	2 hours 43m.	8 times	every 2 hours
Winterswijk - Arnhem line B	1 hour 45m.	8 times	every 2 hours
Winterswijk - Zutphen line C	1 hour 17m.	18 times	every 1 hour
Winterswijk - Enschede line D	1 hour 20m.	36 times	every $\frac{1}{2}$ hour

Further, Winterswijk is today directly connected by two railways and modern diesel-electric trains with Zutphen and with Arnhem. From Arnhem, there are hourly trains to the most important Dutch centres, like Amsterdam, Utrecht, The Hague, and Rotterdam. The following table gives the state of the connections by railway.¹

TABLE 5 *Railway connections of Winterswijk*

Connection	time employed	courses/day	frequency
Winterswijk - Arnhem	1 hour 14m.	17 times	every hour
Winterswijk - Zutphen	45m.	8 times	every 2 hours

It is logical that, in accordance with the sketched development, the importance of agriculture in the social and economic life of the municipality has been gradually shrinking even if, up to this day, agriculture still occupies the second place of importance as a source of livelihood for the local population. The following table gives a brief survey of the development made by agriculture, industry and services from 1889 to 1947, expressed in number of men from the whole municipality who find employment in the respective branches of activity.²

TABLE 6 *Development of the No of employed men in Winterswijk*

Year	Agriculture	Industry	Servicing	Total
1889	1675 (55%)	901 (29%)	494 (16%)	3071 (100%)
1899	1717 (48%)	1299 (35%)	642 (17%)	3658 (100%)
1909	1881 (43%)	1673 (38%)	823 (19%)	4377 (100%)
1930	2090 (36%)	2482 (43%)	1225 (21%)	5797 (100%)
1947	2239 (32%)	2672 (40%)	1964 (28%)	6875 (100%)

¹ ETI Gelderland op. cit.² ETI Gelderland op. cit.

The declining importance of agriculture in Winterswijk society is demonstrated also by the declining number of agriculturists in the local government. Here the ratios among the different professions have acquired a new emphasis and show the character of a modern social structure different from that of the local structure at the beginning of the century.

If we compare the composition of the council of the municipality in 1900 and in 1954 we have the following picture:

TABLE 7 *Variation of the composition of the Municipal Council from 1900 to 1954*

	1900	1954
farmers	no. 6 = 47%	no. 3 = 15.5%
industrialists	2 = 15%	0
bankers	1 = 8%	0
shopkeepers	2 = 15%	2 = 1%
civil servants	0	3 = 15.5%
white collar workers	0	3 = 15.5%
factory workers	0	3 = 15.5%
bookkeepers	0	2 = 11%
barristers, physicians	2 = 15%	1 = 5%
housewives	0	2 = 11%

It is typical that the same general tendencies that permeate public life at international and national level are also clearly reflected in the council of this small provincial community. Democratic principles and universal suffrage show their characteristics here also. The capacity to occupy leading positions seems to be lacking in certain sections of Winterswijk society which used to furnish the leadership in former days, and is now gaining ground among other sections. Industrialists and bankers, in the time of the industrialization of the area, have also lost importance, in spite of theories on the imperialism of capital and capitalists. The third factor in production, namely labour, has come much more clearly to the fore, together with all types of clerks (bureaucratization of the modern life). These last, altogether, form almost 32% of the council of this relatively small community, living exclusively on industry and agriculture. What is also quite significant for our times, is that in 1954 housewives are present in the community council, whereas the free professions and the shopkeepers have almost completely lost importance. As far as the farmers are concerned, we can quite clearly see that their importance in determining local policy has diminished at a much quicker rate

than the reduction of the percentage of the people employed in agriculture would lead us to expect.

From the short description given in the preceding pages we have received a picture of the situation in the municipality of Winterswijk. It is as a whole a typical rural community where industrialization and the general social dynamics of the modern western society have inverted the ratio, in number as well as in importance, between the "urban" people and those living directly out of agriculture. In Winterswijk too, as in almost every other place of the industrial western world, the farming population forms a continuously diminishing part of the total population. The lack of possibilities for an expansion of agriculture in general, and in the Netherlands in particular, do not allow any other development in the social life of the nation.

The farming population of the municipality of Winterswijk is, for the greater part, protestant. The ratio between the several denominations is: 11% strict Calvinists (Gereformeerden), 77% Dutch Reformed, 10% Roman Catholic, with 2% comprising several other small denominations. If we think that the percentages of the people belonging to the different churches for the whole municipality are: 70% Dutch Reformed, 7% Calvinist, 14% Roman Catholic, 1.8% other denominations, and 7% non church-members,¹ we can conclude that the rural population in Winterswijk is, in general, more traditionally bound with the church as a social institution than the townspeople, and, in addition, for a larger part Calvinist. If, further, we compare these figures with those pertaining to the urban part of the population of the community, we realize immediately the difference existing between the town and the countryside, with its strong dominance of the conservative, homogeneous protestant element. In the town 40% of the population depending upon industry is registered as be-

¹ C.B.S. Volkstelling, 1947.

² Although this Catholic settlement happens to be near the Catholic municipalities of Lichtenvoorde and Groenlo, it does not originate from any of them. During the time of the conversion to protestantism, Winterswijk never became entirely protestant. A few families remained faithful to Catholicism, both in the town and in the countryside. In the town, Roman Catholic observances were prohibited for centuries. In the country, however, the control upon the different neighbourhoods lost in the woods, was far less efficient. So it was easy for the Catholics of Meddo to keep their faith, with the protection of the strong Catholic community of Groenlo (Groenlo was, for years, a Spanish stronghold in eastern Guelderland). See also: B. Stegeman: *Het oude Kerspel Winterswijk*, Zutphen 1927, pp. 248-257.

³ It is very difficult to give an efficient estimate of the percentage of the active members

longing to no religious denomination. This homogeneity in religious standards among the farmers, registered by official statistics, is also furthered by the fact that in Winterswijk the Catholics in the countryside are few, and live mainly concentrated (125 families), around their church, in the hamlet of Meddo.²

We have just mentioned the homogeneity in religious standards "registered by official statistics." In fact, by a deeper contact with the actual situation it soon appears that a great part of the farmers registered under the denomination "Dutch reformed" show a very limited interest in church matters.³ The fact is that many farmers continue to bring their children to baptism out of simple tradition or because of the strength of local social control. What Keur and Keur say about the collectivist character of the Drents village which they studied, holds true also in the case of the Dutch reformed in Winterswijk: "The strongly co-operative and partly communal character of political economic and social organization has certainly coloured church life, too. One's religion is not a matter of individual faith and action, but a form of adjustment to the impersonal collective opinion of the village."⁴

This opinion was uttered unanimously by all the clergymen we interviewed. We shall have further occasion to discuss the strength of social control in the following pages. As to the strength of tradition on the one hand, and the small significance of religion as such for these farmers, on the other, it is sufficient to say that several attempts of the local clergy to give "a religious colour" to the non-denominational governmental elementary schools in the neighbourhoods have, up to now, always regularly met with the very strong opposition of the farmers, leading even to some heated discussions.⁵ The bulk of the population of the countryside does not wish a change of policy in the elementary schools which

of this church among the farmers of the whole community. From personal interviews with several members of the local clergy we received the impression that about one third of the farmers belonging to this denomination are to be considered active.

² J. Y. Keur and D. I. Keur. *The deeply Rooted. A study of a Drents Community in the Netherlands* - VanGorcum Ltd., Assen, 1955.

³ The person from whom we obtained our information expressed himself literally in this way "whenever a co-operative or an association wants to introduce some innovation it has always many difficulties in getting these people together in a meeting in order to have the novelty approved. But when *we* want to make some innovations. . . then they come, just in order to oppose it. They are very difficult people to work with; I am sorry to say they are a herd of sheep: either you can't get the first one to move a step, or all of them move together without knowing why."

in Winterswijk are, by tradition, "open," i.e. not associated with any particular ideology or religious colour.

There are seven major roads which radiate, like the spokes of a wheel, from the village, situated right in the middle of the municipality. The territory is divided into ten neighbourhoods, nine of which centre about a hamlet of the same name; the hamlets function as service-centres, with an elementary school, a post-office, a recreation building (where, mostly, a co-operative library and other recreational institutions can be found), the buildings of a few local agricultural co-operatives, sometimes a grainmill and a blacksmith, and a few shops.

The tenth neighbourhood, the Dorpsbuurt (the "village"-neighbourhood¹), surrounds the village from every side. It is the most thickly populated neighbourhood of the ten, and the one where small farms are most numerous.

There is a difference in density of population among the various neighbourhoods, which depends on the natural distribution of the soil suited for agricultural purposes as well as on account of the presence of a type of landowners, the "Scholtenboeren."² These farmers have always owned a considerable amount of woodland. Their traditional striving for the maintenance of the family good and particularly of the woodland, (which for these farmers has acquired an emotional value as being considered as an element of family-prestige) has influenced the whole pattern of settlement, and in general it has prevented considerably the increase of the number of new farms and buildings, in certain neighbourhoods.³ In fact, one can recognize at first sight whether or not one is in a neighbourhood where Scholten possessions predominate, since they impart to the environment a definite aspect of its own.

Where no such Scholten farmsteads are present, the houses are usually more or less evenly scattered throughout the entire neighbourhood. The types of farmhouses vary. There is a prevalence of the so-called Saxon type of building, mixed, however, with other buildings of a far less definite type. Further, there

¹ See "The Neighbourhood as a social unit" p. 123

² See "The Scholten farmers etc." p. 115

³ The opening up of new land for agricultural purposes has happened during the course of history according to the technical means that were available to the farming population at the time of the settlement. However, it is quite natural that the best soils had already been put into cultivation for centuries so that, for want of technical possibilities and knowledge, the situation of the local agriculture remained almost unchanged for centuries until its sudden development at the end of the 19th century (allotment of the Marken).

are also some new, small houses of newly settled people, of the almost completely utilitarian model, adopted after World War II. Around the possessions of the Scholten, the picture is totally different. First of all, the wooded areas are much more extended, and, therefore, the whole landscape assumes a different aspect. The farmhouses are far less regularly scattered than in those parts of the municipality where the normal pattern of the isolated owner-operated farm prevails. Among the thin network of farmhouses spread throughout the land, one can notice small groupings of buildings usually consisting of a large central building, surrounded by many smaller houses. Sometimes, the central building is a large, old farmhouse, but not infrequently, it is a real residential countryhouse, separated from the large barn and the other service-buildings. The surrounding farms, sometimes separated from the central one by a thin belt of trees, are the farmhouses of the tenants of the Scholten, and are usually even smaller than a normal farmhouse.

The particular pattern of settlement, unique for this part of the Netherlands, the type of landscape, as well as the type of buildings indicate that the presence of the Scholten has been a factor of lasting and effective importance for the life of the local society throughout a long period of time.

For us it is therefore necessary to gain a deeper knowledge of this type of farmer, almost unknown in the Netherlands, outside the boundaries of the municipality of Winterswijk.

THE SCHOLTEN FARMERS: SHORT OUTLINE OF THEIR HISTORY,
FUNCTION, AND PRESENT POSITION AMONG THE FARMERS OF
WINTERSWIJK

The "Scholtenboeren" (Scholten farmers), also simply called Scholten, are the members of a sort of small social class of a few families living in the municipality of Winterswijk.⁴

As a matter of fact, the Scholten families are not equally distributed over the whole territory of the municipality. Instead, they are at

⁴ The same class, however, exists also in near German Westphalia, where its limits are even more rigidly fixed than in Winterswijk. Further, in other parts of the Netherlands (Twente) there exist a few families who bear the title of Scholten, but it is doubtful whether the two names have the same origin. Further, to the writer's knowledge, the Twentse scholten do not have the same strong tendency to form a clique immediately distinguishable from the rest of the farmers.

present almost entirely grouped in the neighbourhoods of Woold, Ratum, and Miste, that is, in those parts of the municipality under cultivation for centuries. It is significant that the part of the community, where there are farmsteads of the Scholten, is called "oudhoevige grond" (land of the old steads).¹

The Scholten enjoy, in the community, a particular social prestige, and they are generally referred to as the richest families. However, as we shall see, this prestige has, in reality, other deeper reasons. The present economic reality is quite different for, although as a class they own a good portion of the land of the community, individually they are not necessarily big landowners. In fact, the biggest farms in the community are not Scholten farms, they are newly reclaimed farms in the neighbourhood of Meddo.

The origins of today's Scholten are not entirely certain. Not even the members of the class themselves know much about it. Of the seven Scholten farmers interviewed during our survey, one maintained that his family has been uninterruptedly living on the present farmstead since 1300 a.d., another gave the date of 1460 as the year of establishment of his family on the farmstead; a third said "since before 1600," while the others answered "we don't even know how many generations."

It is commonly believed that the title has its origins back in the predial system, when the predials ("hofhorigen") were subjected not to the person of the master but to the "hof," that is to the stead, the limited community that they formed together. For the juridical and economic administration of this community, for the periodical doomsdays, etc. a class of administrators was needed. For this function the class of the Scholten came into existence.² The function soon became hereditary, and thereby the Scholten succeeded in fixing indefinitely the advantages of the semi-plenipotentiary position which, before, they had held only temporarily. Their legal authority and social prestige derived to them from that of the potent master. Through them, the master was legally present even if he had never even once in his life seen his towns and villages. From this situation, to the creation of a solid

¹ T. Heeringa, *De Graafschap, een bijdrage tot de Kennis van het cultuur-landschap en van het scholtenprobleem*, Zutphen, 1934.

² The word seems to derive from the vulgar German "scultatus," "schultheisz," from "Schult" (debt, duty) and "heiszen" (to pull, to draw to oneself) i.e. "the collector of duties." However, this origin is not entirely certain as the term is, etymologically, also the same as "schout," which means sheriff. This might indicate that besides pure administrative functions, the Scholten were charged also with police and juridical

economic position in a time when communications were precarious and possibilities of effective control by the master were almost inexistent, the step was short. The social status of the Scholten class as landowners, therefore, was soon born and consolidated, and a high local prestige remained attached to the name of Scholten through the centuries. However, as far as the present steads are concerned, it seems reasonable to suppose that the unities of farms and buildings that have come through almost untouched to this day originated in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with the division of the common land. In that part of the Netherlands, the common waste lands (Marken) were divided and assigned to the people of the "marke," according to the extent of the acreage which they already possessed, and therefore it is logical that the Scholten took the lion's share of it.

In short, the Scholten farmers reached, toward the middle of the last century, the highest point of the curve of their social position. There were some of them who owned from twenty to twenty-five leased farms, each avraging eight to ten hectares.

What is of interest for us here is that with the name, a very definite and particular social status also remained, which is quite different from what could be derived from the ownership of the same number of acres of land in another part of the Netherlands. It is as if they formed a small, local, second-rate nobility. Nowadays, perhaps, this feeling of closed social caste is much more prevalent among the members of the caste themselves than among the other farmers. Here is what a German scholte writes.³

"The Scholten families consider themselves as forming a social class of their own. It was the custom that scholten sons should ask in marriage only scholten daughters. But there was not always room in the old original scholten stead, where, by preference, the eldest son remained. Then a new farmhouse needed to be built, or an already existing one purchased. But the other farmers would still continue to call and recognize the new pair as "Scholte and Scholtinne."

This pattern is about the same as in Winterswijk, we can add here

powers. According to Stegeman, however, this second type of prerogative was accorded to the Scholten not during the feudal age, but later, about the 17th century, when they had become clerks regularly payed for the administration of the goods of the landowner. Cf. B. Stegeman, *Een en ander over de historische achtergronden der achterhoekse scholtengoederen*, Doetinchem, 1952.

³ Walter Schulte vom Brühl, quoted by Stegeman in "Een en ander, etc." p. 25 (free translation B. B.).

that among the scholten of Winterswijk, although the hereditary customs have remained basically the same, it is not exceptional today to find that the eldest son has left the old farmhouse, and has started farming on a new farm. This happens particularly when the young scholte marries a girl from some other part of the Netherlands (and this has been happening more and more in recent years), who would refuse to conform to the traditional pattern of the household of that part of the country. In Winterswijk, one can also hear the term of "half scholte," being used, in most cases, to indicate that the landowner in question cannot be compared to a 100% true scholte. Very probably, those considered the "true Scholten" are the people living in the old scholten farmstead, together with their direct relatives.

Belonging by tradition to a culture where social prestige was given by the possession of land more than by the availability of liquid capital, the possession of land became, and still is, a basic value for the Scholten families. They have therefore always invested in land as much as possible for the sake of possession in itself while, as a rule, they do not invest enough money in the technical equipment needed for its efficient management. We must also say, that the idea of training their children for a capitalistic entrepreneurial life does not belong to their tradition. The "struggle for life" either did not exist in their culture or, if it did, it was fought on a basis other than for the "normal" farmers.

Be it as it may, the criterium for measuring social prestige nowadays puts more and more emphasis on income, i.e. economic welfare, so that the attitude of the whole community, and even of some of the members of the class themselves, towards the scholten is certainly changing. In spite of this, the consciousness of belonging to a particular class is still very strong, even among the least well-off among the Scholten. One could almost say that such a feeling is more pronounced among the ones who keep running their estates in visible conditions of economic and social distress, for this is a sign that they are most attached to tradition and less apt

¹ B. Stegeman, op. cit. pp. 26-27 (free translation, B. B.).

² The usual pattern of running a scholte homestead was to rent out most of the land on a particular long-lease term, and to retain for oneself the care of the woods and the farmland immediately adjacent to the house and farm buildings. Among the various clauses of the lease contract, there was one which made for a certain number of working days on the land of the owner. The number of the days was fixed at the moment of the stipulation of the lease contract, and it was usually different, according to the ratio between the needs of the landlord and the number of tenants. It could vary from a few days to be paid during the harvest season, to some thirty days

to change their life. During our interviews remarks were heard pertaining to the duty to preserve the "family stock." This feeling is quite clearly exposed by the afore-mentioned German writer:

"The families tenaciously held the idea of thorough breeding and family traditions. In this connection, I still remember with emotion the hopeless striving of one of my uncles against the menacing impoverishment. That was particularly painful for him because he was afraid, as he said, 'to get beneath the infantry'. The character of the Westphalian scholte is, in general, self-assured, a bit obstinate, and reserved, yet under the somewhat stiff shell, he harbours a good heart, as is regularly demonstrated on various occasions. The 'better' education that they received by no means succeeds in changing their fundamental nature as farmers."¹

The same could be said, also, about the scholten of Winterswijk. Family relationships are the same, even if it is questionable whether the marriages within the class are contracted only because of family pride, or if, rather, considerations of enlarging, or at least maintaining, the present acreage of land also come into play. In our opinion, this is the most important reason behind both intraclass and interclass marriages. Nowadays, in fact, marriages with ordinary farmers are not so exceptional anymore, provided that they are "of the same standing." "Les idées marchent" says Stegeman, but much more probably, it is the family fortune which is withering.

Since 1941, sharecropping in the Netherlands has been abolished by law, as well as almost every payment "in natura." So the Scholten cannot have their farms worked by the tenants as it was the case in previous times.² Farm hands are difficult to find, and are very expensive in the Netherlands.³ Further, the maintenance of big estates and fine woods nowadays becomes still more difficult in spite of the observance of all family traditions. These traditions imposed a specific style of living. As we have said, in the past it

spread throughout the year. Families of tenants who have been running the land of the same scholten family for years, and perhaps for centuries, usually had less well delineated service duties; they could be called at the discretion of the master, and it is not entirely excluded that, even today, although they are protected by the law against this sort of personal service, some of them accept the request and give a few days work for the most obviously urgent needs of the central homestead.

³ Since the war, a minimum salary for the farmhands is guaranteed by law. The fixed level is strictly related to the salary paid in industry.

was much easier for the scholten to take care of their large, beautiful mansions because they did not need themselves to cultivate the land attached to it. They would just supervise the work as it was carried out by the tenants. Further, they could dedicate themselves to the noble pastimes of hunting and horse riding.

Another feature by which the Scholten used to distinguish themselves, up to World War II, from the rest of the farming population in Winterswijk was the education of their children. It was normal that the daughters of the owner, who, in most respects, generally lead a very sober life, should receive a better education in a high school and/or in a domestic school. The boys used to attend for three to five years at the local secondary school (high school), which, in former times, was quite abnormal for an ordinary farmer's son. After these years of secondary school, they generally attended the normal agricultural secondary school. Nowadays, this pattern has lost most of its originality, but in Winterswijk, among the farmers, it is still usually followed by all the scholten boys. It is only very recently that the other farmer's sons have started frequenting the Agricultural Winter-school.

The most significant aspect of the Scholten's type of life and their influence on local society are, however, their houses. As we have previously said, the Scholten influenced the pattern of settlement; the whole grouping of their estates, with the protecting ditch and the belt of magnificent oaks separating the circle of the tenants' houses from the Scholten's house is an expression both of a style of living and at the same time of an influence exercised upon local life.

This influence must have been felt very deep in local society until the first decades of this century, i.e. while local life was still entirely regulated by traditional values and norms. One could quote many examples, but we shall limit ourselves to two of the most expressive ones. It is, for instance, common knowledge in Winterswijk that a tenant of a Scholten should not use certain consumer goods and that when a Scholten was seen approaching a tenant's house, sugar, cakes, coffee, eggs, etc. would immediately disappear from the tenant's table. It is likely that either class-consciousness, or the fear of having the rent increased if a certain well being was shown, or both at the same time, caused this phenomenon. Something similar happened in a technological field, i.e. farm management. Apart from the obvious impossibility for a tenant of obtaining the optimum harvest of hay or grain if he first had to go on the Scholten's farm to do the same work when the right time for it had

come, it is known that many tenants hesitated to make technical improvements which would have rendered their farm more efficient than that of the master. This too for both class-consciousness and practical economic reasons.

That this system should have awakened some resentment in a country like the Netherlands is quite understandable, and today, despite the fact that the tenants are protected by law, we still hear many of the most obvious objections and remarks that circulate even today among the common farmers. This is quite understandable, as in earlier days the tenants normally had no option but to accept the system. The Scholten practically had the monopoly of the soil in certain parts of the territory, and it was up to them whether they would keep a tenant or not, clear up some hectares of forest, and open up the new land to lease it out to a new tenant, etc.

Naturally not every influence of the Scholten class upon local life was of the same nature as in the examples quoted above. Their function was also exercised in a positive way. In the second half of the last century, for instance, they became the promoters of the co-operative movement; further, up to World War II they had a decisive influence on local government, as they were naturally accepted as local leaders. Of course, the social and political power of the small caste in the community was great. The Scholten were present in every board, be it of the church, of the old school, of the first agricultural co-operatives, or as aldermen of the municipality; and no initiative was taken without them. However, even this active participation in local community life was a result of their fundamentally paternalistic culture, whose values are not at present shared any more by the rest of the population. Nowadays they still are sometimes addressed as "Scholte," and this is the almost unique sign which distinguishes them from the other farmers. They are members of many co-operatives (for economically understandable reasons), but they are not on the boards of most of the newly developed agricultural co-operatives and associations. Even in the church, it is common for them not to enjoy the front pews any more.

In spite of all the difficulties which they have incurred lately, it is quite clear that there is no Scholte who would easily accept the idea of selling a piece of land even, for instance, in order to improve the part of the farm that remains. However, some improvements have come about, particularly in the buildings, in the utilities of the house, and, in a time of scarcity of man power, in farm ma-

chinery. Here too an important role has been played by family pride and class consciousness. However, most of the elements of this consciousness, in a time when economic welfare is becoming more and more widespread, are, as we have said, mainly a matter of tradition and of style of living. So, for instance, it is quite common for the Scholten to have holidays or excursions abroad at least once every few years. Many of them have subscriptions to magazines and newspapers of national level, and it is not uncommon for them to keep students from other parts of the Netherlands, and even from abroad (mainly girls from schools of home economics), who engage in practical application on the farm for several months.

In their whole style of living there is no doubt that many social functions were, and still are, interwoven. In Winterswijk, as the practice of mutual help is still widely observed among the farmers, it is mainly the Scholten who, in their own neighbourhoods, lend the car for the wedding couple, or for the christening of a baby or a funeral; similarly, it is the Scholten's wife who receives the guests and takes care of their refreshments in the house of the newborn baby or of the dead man. This prerogative to bear the rights and the duties as "hosts" for the whole neighbourhood, comes to them no doubt, from the time when differences in wealth were much bigger than at present. A century ago, the Scholten were probably the only farmers in the whole neighbourhood who owned a cart and a pair of horses to drive in full attire on solemn occasions. If, in the neighbourhood, there live no Scholten, this function is taken up by some other farmers, but otherwise, it goes almost automatically to the Scholte.

Another function which the Scholten still carry out to a certain extent, is to provide the tractor and other farm-machinery for their neighbours when the need arises on their farms. This custom, however, has in the last years fallen somewhat into disuse because of the increasing mechanization of most of the farms and because of the widespread use of the local co-operatives for farm machinery.

Heeringa¹ in 1934 predicted that the Scholten would with difficulty retain their estates and their social status – at least not to the same extent and in the same conditions in which they were in the year of

¹ T. Heeringa op. cit.

² See p. 114

her study. Although, generally speaking, the Scholten have proved to be, as a social class, much more solid and resistant than that writer supposed, her words have proved to contain some truth. In fact, the relative position of the prestige of the Scholten vis-à-vis the other farmers in the local hierarchy has suffered considerably. Nowadays the relative number of farmers who can afford a car or a tractor, or a "better" education for their children, increases continuously. In addition, when looking for a person to charge with an important function, co-operatives and associations nowadays look more for personal qualities of competence and for personality than for hereditary prestige. So, again, in a time of quickly increasing material welfare, the elements on which the distinction between the Scholten and the rest of the farming population rests, tend to be more and more limited on a purely moral level of family tradition, class consciousness, and (until they last) local customs. With the passing of the time, however, the above mentioned distinction is logically bound to rest only upon the name. The question of how long even the name will last is a matter for speculation.

THE NEIGHBOURHOOD AS A SOCIAL UNIT

We have already seen how the community of Winterswijk consists of the small town in the centre of the municipality, and of ten neighbourhoods which are predominantly inhabited by the farming population.² The names of these neighbourhoods are: Miste, Corle, Meddo, Huppel, Henxel, Ratum, Kotten, Brinkeheurne, Woold, Dorpsbuurt. They are, geographically, quite clearly defined from one another so that their identification does not present much difficulty.

At present these neighbourhoods are grouped somewhat differently from the point of view of local administration. The former Dorpsbuurt (i.e. the part of the countryside more immediately surrounding the town) has been abolished, and joined to the core of the town becoming thus a suburban area. The former country lanes have been given formal names, and in most of the cases, have also been paved, becoming proper streets. In the municipal statistics, therefore, the Dorpsbuurt does not appear as a separate unit. Further, in order to obtain areas of approximately the same size, Huppel and Henxel are considered to be a single administrative unit, and the same is the case with Kotten and Brinkeheurne. This change in local administrative policy does not also imply a change

in the opinion of the inhabitants of the neighbourhoods as to which of these they belong to. The neighbourhoods have been functioning as separate social units for too long to be cancelled, by the pen-stroke of a clerk, from the consciousness of their inhabitants.

As we have seen¹ each neighbourhood has a hamlet which functions as a small servicing centre for the most immediate needs of the inhabitants of the surroundings. This facilitates greatly the tendency to form of each neighbourhood a small local community, in which social life develops somewhat independently from the rest of the municipality. This phenomenon has also been greatly favoured by the course of history; first because the different neighbourhoods were sometimes subject to different feudal masters and formed, therefore, administrative and political units sharply distinguished from each other. Secondly because, in the last centuries, there have been several waves of settlers from other communities, who settled down together in different parts of the territory. These groups of homogeneous alien elements therefore conferred upon the chosen neighbourhoods different cultural shades which distinguish each of them from the others. So in Huppel, Henxel, Miste and Corle there are settlements of strongly Calvinistic farmers from the community of Aalten, in Meddo there is the very compact remain of the originary Roman Catholic population: an enclave of 125 farm families. And still in Meddo, on the land of more recent colonization, there are the last settlers, representing a somewhat more individualistic-capitalistic culture pattern.

In our general description of the economic-geographic situation of the municipality we mentioned the different density of the population in the countryside of Winterswijk.² In the following table can be found the area expressed in hectares, the absolute number of inhabitants, the number of inhabitants per square kilometre, and the average farm size of the different neighbourhoods. An exception is made by the Dorpsbuurt which, as we said, at present belongs administratively to the core of the municipality.

As we see the differences are quite appreciable. In the above mentioned description we have given our reasons for this phe-

¹ See p. 114

² See p. 114

³ From the registers of the municipality.

⁴ From the registers of the local P.B.H.

⁵ See p. 114

TABLE 8 *Inhabitants, surface, population density, and farm-size in Winterswijk*

	Dorps- buurt	Miste	Corle	Meddo	Huppel- Henzel		Ratum	Kotten Brink- heurne		Woold
no. of in- habitants ³	—	746	348	1726	587	353	539	867	333	1240
no. of ha ³	—	800	1300	3000	1900		1500	1400		1900
people/km ² ³	—	93.2	26.8	57.5	49.4		35.9	85.7		65.2
average farm size in ha ⁴	6.7	7.4	8.5	10	9.4	7.4	9.1	6.8	5.9	7.4

nomenon.⁵ Here we shall concentrate our attention more particularly on certain social aspects of the life of the neighbourhood. From what we have said in the preceding pages it is clear that the neighbourhoods of the Winterswijk countryside must not be understood to be just informal groupings of neighbouring persons. They are, instead, socio-geographic units of a certain official and historical status in the life of the community since originally they were identical with the Marken. This can be seen quite clearly not only in the community life, where each neighbourhood has its own associations of several kinds,⁶ but also on the occasion of the yearly feasts (called "folk feasts" or "Queen feasts") at present held in honour of the reigning member of the family of Orange, while they presumably originated as harvest feasts. In Winterswijk these feasts take place separately and on different days towards the end of August, in each neighbourhood as well as in the town. A local committee is unofficially appointed and charged with the organization of the events. The feast is officially opened by the chairman of the committee who usually pronounces for the occasion a "feast speech." After the speech, everyone present gets coffee and cake, and therewith the feast has begun. The whole feast develops in a very intimate and "gemütlich" atmosphere for the people of the neighbourhood, and it is generally not troubled by strangers or by too much use of strong drinks. At a chosen day different types of social recreational manifestations for both men and women take place. At the end, there is a general folk dance. It is significant that other associations from other neighbourhoods might be officially invited to co-operate. Quite typical also is that

⁶ For example Corle has 3 agricultural associations, 4 non-agricultural associations of utilitarian character, 3 associations in the field of schooling and intellectual development, 5 recreational associations. Woold, on the other hand has 6 agricultural associations, 3 non-agricultural associations of utilitarian character, 1 association in the field of intellectual development (a public library) and 5 recreational associations.

on such occasions the Burgomaster (the Mayor) visits the festivities. However, his visits are not in the informal, personal way of somebody taking part in a feast. Instead, such visits definitely bear an official and formal character. It is the highest official of the administrative modern social unit (the municipality) who, in this way, tries to maintain the contact with the local traditional unit (the neighbourhood). As we mentioned before, these local units have a certain formal status, but, on the other hand, they get their strength from the many informal functions they fulfil. In such occasions the Mayor is officially received by a committee of the local notables and organizers of the feast, who officially welcome the Burgomaster.¹ This is as much as to say that from the point of view of the neighbourhood the Mayor is a stranger. People from other neighbourhoods, and people "from the village" (Winterswijk) may sometimes be present at these neighbourhood-feasts. However, they "have only come to see." That is, they generally do not take an active part in them.

A special building has even been built for such feasts, the "verenigingsgebouw" or "feestgebouw" (building for communal recreation) with which most neighbourhoods, and the town, are furnished. The building is an important element in the independent status of the neighbourhood. It is used for most social occasions such as meetings, lectures, conferences, plays, etc. Even wedding receptions and other familial parties can take place there. In such cases, the family feast quite soon assumes the character of a neighbourhood feast. The existence and the maintenance of the building is made possible through a co-operative created "ad hoc" which emits shares. The Verenigingsgebouw is administered by an elected board which every year reports in a apposite meeting on the state of the building, with a regular balance sheet, assets and liabilities, etc.

Not only the maintenance of the building, but also the very execution of the feasts, are possible only thanks to the strong communitarian character of the neighbourhood. The money necessary for the feasts (as, in general, the money for any social or

¹ Particularly since the industrial development of the urban centre of the municipality, the feeling of the estrangement of "the village" from the neighbourhoods has grown stronger. This is revealed by the widespread apathy of the bulk of the rural population for the administrative business concerning the municipality as a whole (exception being made for those farmers who, from the very nature of the functions they hold as aldermen or on boards of co-operatives, etc. - are directly in contact with them). Two years before our enquiry the Burgomaster had made the proposal that delegations

communal occasion) is collected from the inhabitants of the neighbourhoods. The subscriptions are not anonymous, so that there is a strong social control, and considerable pressure is put upon personal feelings of honour, prestige, etc.

Here we have reached the problem of the powerful communitarian character and social control existing in the neighbourhoods. These two phenomena influence not only the whole life of the community, but also the state of farm management.

We shall give here a few but meaningful examples.

From the registers of the municipality one can see that, as compared with the total cases, the numbers of marriages between people born within the municipality and people born outside it, has been slowly but steadily increasing in the last half century. The percentages of the marriages in which both husband and wife were born within the municipality are, in fact, 52.1% in 1912, 44.8% in 1938, and 42.4% in 1954.

We do not dispose of the same figures for the town and the countryside separately. However, according to the figures of our survey, among the *farming population* of Winterswijk, for 73% of the cases (343 cases) the marriage had happened between persons born within the boundaries of the municipality. Of these, about a third were marriages between persons born within the same neighbourhood.

The remaining 27% (125 cases) is composed of 2/3 by marriages in which the wife was born outside the municipality and 1/3 by marriages where this is the case for the husband or for both husband and wife. The places of origin of the partners born outside the municipality are, in most of the cases, adjoining municipalities. And, quite typically these municipalities are, mostly, adjacent to the neighbourhood where the other partner was born. There are, it is true, cases in which the partner who was not born in Winterswijk comes from a far away municipality, or even a town. This is particularly the case with the more well-to-do and bigger farmers, in which cases it is usually the woman who is

from the different neighbourhoods, or associations, should witness the meetings of the community council. Until this day he has received no reply to his proposal. The Burgomaster told us that he goes to the neighbourhood feasts because that is almost the only chance he has of reaching people who otherwise would never come to him: "then you have the chance that the normal farmers, in small groups of four or five persons (never alone!) dare to venture some timid questions about local policy."

the "stranger." However, exception made for a few cases, one can conclude that between the town and the surrounding countryside there is a rather sharp difference as far as this aspect of culture (the marriage pattern) is concerned.

Another great difference is, we think, in the family pattern. In the Winterswijk countryside, in about 50% of the cases the young partners in a marriage become a part of an extended family.¹ This pattern of familial organization is quite common in the whole Graafschap and it can be considered a remnant of the local collectivistic cultural complex of the genealogical-territorial form of community organization. The traditional household-organization still existing in this part of the Netherlands can be observed in four sub-types, according to the several genealogical combinations of the people composing the household. For what interests us here is that the newly married couple is completely absorbed in the larger genealogical group and has hardly the possibility of exerting a life and a function of its own, in contrast with what can generally be observed in a town.

Winterswijk, with its 49.3% of extended households among the farming population occupies the sixth place as to the frequency of this type of household among 23 municipalities of this part of the Netherlands studied by Kooy in 1957.² On the contrary we can safely assume that, as far as the population of the town is concerned, this type of household did not occur, at the same date, in more than 20% of the cases.³ This distinction would become even more meaningful if it were possible to distinguish between old Winterswijk urban families and those urban families which migrated from other parts of the country.

Hofstee and Kooy sketch the consequences of this traditional household pattern as follows:

- a. The child is educated by its parents, its grand-parents and possibly by their still unmarried children (the child's uncles and aunts),
- b. if the younger pair lives together with the parents of the husband, the young woman has to adapt herself to the

¹ From: G. A. Kooy - De oude samenwoning op het nieuwe platteland, Van Gorcum, Assen, 1959.

Cf. also: E. W. Hofstee and G. A. Kooy: Traditional Household and Neighbourhood-Group: Survivals of the Genealogical-Territorial-Society Pattern in the Eastern Parts of the Netherlands.

mother of the husband, who is, in her opinion, the mistress of the house,

- c. if the younger pair lives together with the parents of the wife, the young man has to adapt himself to his wife's father, who will claim to be "the farmer" until his last gasp,
- d. the partner who lives with his or her parents, is in danger of remaining in the position of a "child" until "his old age"⁴

The objections against this pattern of family-organizations are becoming more and more pressing, particularly among the young generation. At present, the collision between the old local norms and the new individualism with which the population comes every day more deeply into contact has caused some kind of accommodation. Nowadays particularly among the well-to-do farmers, and on those farms where the young generation is allowed somewhat more say in family business, we can notice a tendency to divide the old farmhouse into separate living quarters for the young couple and for the rest of the family. In this way contact with the old generation is not lost, and consultation or help in case of need is still possible. At the same time, a higher degree of independence is allowed to the young people.

However, these are still exceptional cases. A formal retirement of the aged people, in which the old couple would leave the farm and establish itself in the hamlets or in the town, as it is the case in other parts of the Netherlands, is still unacceptable for most of Winterswijk farmers. Tradition and social control are still strong enough to make the young couple feel ashamed "not to have brought the parents to their end." In any case, tradition and social control weigh more than possible considerations of strong individualistic nature.

During our survey we found that only when one of the partners was born outside the municipality was there a tendency to try to form an entirely separate family, as a pattern of household organization. Perhaps, in similar cases social control is less felt by the new couples, or less heavily exercised by the local community,

Transactions of the Third World Congress of Sociology, Amsterdam, 1957, Vol. IV.

² From G. A. Kooy - De oude samenwoning op het nieuwe platteland.

³ C.B.S. Algemeen Woningtelling, 30 Juni 1956.

⁴ Cf. E. W. Hofstee and G. A. Kooy, op. cit.

while, on the other hand, the native partner is probably more individualistic than the average.

In order to appreciate the importance of the phenomenon mentioned above we must remember how strong are the ties of local customs, particularly on matters of family life. The intimate and "gemütlich" atmosphere of the neighbourhood is sometimes like an iron curtain which it is difficult to break through. A farmer told us that "provided you give them sufficient food, the children grow by themselves". That is to say that because they often remain dependent on their parents till complete physical maturity (sometimes even up to fifty), these children never grow up entirely and it is difficult for them to develop fully independent personalities. Or, at least, most of them do not receive an education which can prepare them to face the exigencies of modern life. As Hofstee and Kooy say, there is a great danger that the young farmer may remain a "child" until his old age; and he needs a strong inborn feeling for independent life if his father is to give up claiming "to be the farmer until his last gasp of breath." It will be clear that these personal qualities can be acquired only through a particular, more or less conscious, form of upbringing and education. This sort of education is not furnished by this type of collectivistic forms of social organization, such as the intimate neighbourhood in which the children "grow by themselves" and "automatically" into their (given by birth and not chosen) society and profession.¹

Another phenomenon in which the strong collectivistic character of the local rural society reveals itself is the universal acceptance by Winterswijk farmers of the "bond of the neighbourhood." This bond is an informal² relationship for mutual help among the farmers of the neighbourhoods, expressing itself through structured groups of persons. The functioning of the bond, through centuries of practice, has reached a high degree of institution-

¹ We do not indulge in the description of the influence of the collectivistic type of community on the sort of education received by the inhabitants.

Cf. for it: De Vries Reilingh H. D., *Sociografieën van Plattelandsgemeenten: Markelo*, Den Haag, 1945; and: Keur & Keur, *The Deeply Rooted*, Assen, 1955.

² The bond bears an informal character only in so far as no written, legal agreements are made on it. As it will appear from the further discussion, it is, however, highly formalized.

³ Even in the neighbourhood of Meddo, where there is quite a sharp religious division among the population, the bond exists normally between Catholic and non-Catholic farmers, as far as mutual help in matters of work is concerned. This does not hold, obviously, in matters where the sacred aspects of life play an important role. According to the Roman Catholic doctrine, for instance, the sponsors at a christening must comply with some requirements which cannot be met by all the farmers in

alization. In fact, both the structure of the group and the various rituals through which its functions are carried out, are strictly patterned.

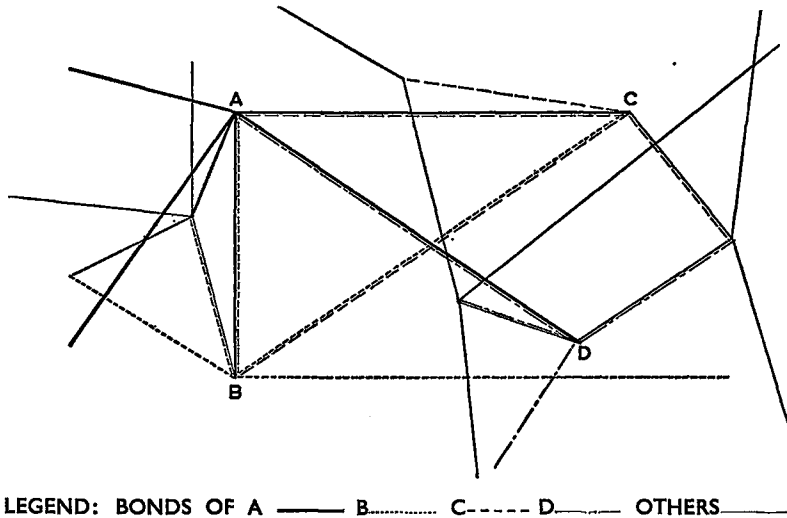
The bond is only formally voluntary. It depends, in fact, formally on the farmer who moves on to a new place, whether he decides to accept it or not. In practice, however, particularly in earlier years when the technical possibilities were much less numerous than at present, he was actually compelled to accept it because otherwise life would have been materially more difficult for him. In addition, he would have been an outcast in the neighbourhood. As we have said above, the new-comer chooses, of course from among his neighbours, the farmers with whom he intends to enter into the bond. Towards these farmers he will have the duties which his position in the group comports, as well as the rights. The fact that he chooses his partners (and, on his turn, is asked by somebody else to contract a bond) implies that those who will become his "neighbours" by force of the bond are not necessarily the people who live nearest to his house.

Every family, on an average, has from a minimum of 6-7 to a maximum of 15-16 "neighbours." The group is therefore not fixed. Nor are all the "neighbours" of a certain family all mutual "neighbours." These "mutual help" groups are not, therefore, closed cliques which do not communicate with each other. The several groups of the bond are linked by their members, who take part, into different groups at the same time. This bond is, therefore, comparable with a kind of social tissue, or texture, expanding over the whole territory which greatly strengthens the feeling of mutual unity of the local population.³

The following figure will help to give an idea of the relationship. The bond comes formally into existence after a formal dinner (intrekkersmaol, literally the "dinner of the one who moves in")⁴

the neighbourhood. Several rituals are, in fact, for Protestants and Catholics, mutually strange. We have, however, the impression that this fact forms much less an objection against the inter-denominational acceptance of the bond for the interested farming population than for the local clergy. The farmers also regularly invite each other on the occasions of family feasts, weddings, etc.; but, as a clergyman told us: "They (i.e. the people of the other denominations) come to church as they would go to the theatre. No, actually it is even worse. For they do not understand anything of what happens; it does not tell them anything. They just cause a great nuisance for the whole service and it would be much better if they stopped coming at all."

⁴ In the local term "intrekkersmaol" the relation is quite clearly established between the farmer's moving into a new house and, at the same time, a new group of neighbours.



has been offered by the farmer who asked for the bond to his chosen partners. With their participation at the dinner, the farmers who have been asked by the newcomer show their willingness to accept the bond. Theoretically, therefore, there is also the possibility that such a proposal be refused. However, this very seldom happens in practice. The same can be said of the unilateral cessation of an existing bond. At the death of a farmer the bonds he contracted go automatically to his son, if he does not refuse them formally. From the figure showed above it will be clear how, particularly in earlier times when the geographic isolation and the practicability of the local roads were far worse than at present, failure to give such a dinner would have meant remaining completely cut off from every normal social relationship with the local community.

From the name of the dinner it is clear how, besides normal mutual help on several occasions during the year (harvest, births, deaths, etc.), the neighbours can play a big role in the farmer's moving into the new house. The neighbours would go with their horses

¹ In "de Nieuwe Winterswijkse Courant" of August 29, 1955, there appeared an article on the occasion of such a ritual, when a farmer was helped by his new neighbours to move from the neighbourhood of Kotten to that of Ratum. The title was: "If a farmer moves, the new neighbours help. Old custom, not applied so frequently anymore" (free translation B. B.)

and carts to the old place of residence of the newcomer, and would bring his belongings to the new house. This is a custom which has lasted up to the present time, however seldom it might actually occur today.¹

Within the groups of "neighbours" there is a sharp division of tasks. For instance, in the case of a death, a neighbour with a particular status in the group is called,² and he must communicate the news of the death to all the remaining neighbours (men). These go together to the house where the death has taken place, and from among them one is chosen who takes care to inform the distant members of the family that the person in question has died. The neighbours, further, dress the dead body, put the corpse into the coffin, and carry the coffin to the cemetery. After the burial they are given refreshments, of which the wife of one of them takes care. Most interesting is the way in which the informant of the death is chosen. Upon arrival at the house of the deceased person, all the neighbours offer a free sum of money from which a part of the costs of the burial will be paid. The one who offers the lowest sum of money must take upon himself the task of being the informant of the death, and of notifying it to all the persons in question. As a sort of compensation, the sum of money which he offered to pay is paid by all the other neighbours together.³

In other cases (marriages, baptisms, etc.) when a carriage or a cart (nowadays a car) is needed to go to the church or to the townhall, it must be provided by another neighbour,⁴ who sometimes may even have to hire it. On the other hand, in the case of a wedding, it is the wife of the "naoste nâober" who helps the women of the house with the many tasks. These are only a few significant examples of the functioning of the bond, but it cannot be denied that the need for mutual help is rapidly declining because technical progress has rendered obsolete many of its functions. There is, however, a tradition about it, which is several hundreds of years old. In this connection it is interesting to notice that during our survey, in the formal situation existing between the "stranger" interviewer and the person interviewed, the farmers answered in the *near totality of the cases* (99.50%) that mutual help was useful and pleasant. Later, during our informal talks with several

¹ The so called "naoste nâober," the nearest "neighbour."

² From a personal communication of Dr G. A. Kooy.

⁴ The so called "dooie boer."

farmers in the second period of our study, it was not uncommon to hear that the bond was reduced to not much more than a formality: "Nowadays there are threshing and harvesting co-operatives, as well as physicians and nurses, and almost all a farmer notices of his bond are the mutual visits which we pay by custom to each other once a year" (in the winter). Or (particularly the young people): "the mutual bond is all well and good, but I assure you it's a nuisance when you have to stay at home in order to receive people, or you must do this and that for the others, whereas you would much sooner prefer to go to the cinema or do some of your own business."

A SKETCH OF THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT AND ITS
SIGNIFICANCE FOR WINTERSWIJK AGRICULTURE

When trying to give a schematic picture of Winterswijk society and life it is impossible to overlook the influence that the co-operative movement has had, and still has, on the development of local agriculture.

The principles of co-operation are widely accepted by the Dutch farmer in general and by the farmers of the sandy regions in particular.

Winterswijk is no exception, in this regard, from the other municipalities of the Graafschap. In Winterswijk, too, the co-operative movement was introduced and propagated by the leading figures of the time – mostly either non-farmers (teachers, veterinarians, clergymen, etc.) or by the local "upper-ten" farmers. In Winterswijk too, the adhesion of the farming population to the new ideas occurred almost "en bloc"¹ about the beginning of the century. Nowadays, there are reasons to think that in Winterswijk the

¹ In the same communitarian pattern the passage from Catholicism to Protestantism in many Dutch communities had occurred in the 17th century.

² The principles of co-operation, from the very fact of having been accepted by the absolute majority of the farmers, have lost much of the "cachet" of the earlier times when polemics and discussions marked the spread of the co-operatives among the farmers. Yet, most farmers think that "nowadays the business runs by itself," that it is somewhat estranged from the farmers, and that "it has become like a common factory."

These were, at least, some of the most common objections we heard whenever we enquired about attitudes toward co-operation. However, the major co-operatives are still referred to as "our" or "the" co-operative. For instance, in Winterswijk there is only one dairy factory which gathers all the milk produced in the community, but this does not mean that it does not feel the consequences of institutionalization. In

movement has acquired a fairly strong institutional character² as elsewhere in the Netherlands.

At present there are fifteen different types of agricultural associations in the community which are, legally or at least in fact, co-operatives.

The major agricultural co-operatives, whose members form by far the greatest portion of the farmers of the municipality and are scattered all through its territory are: the Co-operative Dairy Factory, with 89.6% of Winterswijk farmers (and 96.5% of all the dairy farmers) among its members; the Agricultural Purchasing-Selling Co-operative, with 73%; the Credit Co-operative Raiffeisen Farmers' Bank with 52.7%; the Cattle Breed- and- Control Association with 61% and the co-operative for Artificial Insemination with 55% members³ out of all Winterswijk farmers.⁴ There are further, several other small co-operatives which extend their activity within one or two neighbourhoods only. Such are the several Threshing Associations, Agricultural Machinery Associations, Mutual Insurance Funds, and the several Cattle Funds existing in Winterswijk. The development of co-operatives in Winterswijk, like elsewhere, has been stimulated by the farmers' Unions.

In Winterswijk, as in many other places in the Netherlands there exist three Farmer's Unions, i.e. the General, the Catholic, and the Protestant Farmers' Union. As usual, all the Catholic farmers become almost automatically members of the Catholic Farmers' Union and the great majority of the Calvinist farmers become members of the Protestant Farmers' Union, while only some of them become members of the "Gelderse Maatschappij van Landbouw" (non-denominational agricultural association for the province of Guelderland). The percentages of membership in

spite of the fact that this factory is "the" (co-operative) factory, it has some difficulty at the moment in keeping the farmers interested in managerial matters.

³ 59.5% out of all the dairy farmers.

⁴ These percentages are calculated on the basis of the total farming population. However, since in the neighbourhood of Meddo there live 150 Catholic families who are all members of their own Catholic co-operatives existing there, exception made for the Dairy Factory, it follows that the figures quoted for the Purchasing-Selling Co., and for the Credit Co-operative do not reflect the real co-operation-mindedness of the Winterswijk farmer.

In fact, if the 150 Catholic farmers are included, 83% of all the local farmers are members of an Agricultural Purchasing-Selling Co. and 63% of a Farmers' Credit Bank.

these three associations are: G.M.V.L. (General) 41%, C.B.T.B. (Protestant) 7.4%, A.B.T.B. (Catholic) 10% of the total number of farmers. Although the Farmers' Unions as such are not co-operatives, they support, in general, the co-operative movement, and several co-operatives have even originated from them. Towards the end of the last century the G.M.V.L. took a big part in the propagation of the co-operative idea in Winterswijk.

In Winterswijk, both the Co-operative Dairy Factory, (founded in 1894), and the Credit-Co-operative Farmers' Bank (founded in 1908), are at present quite automatically accepted by the local farming population. This is not the case with the third one, the co-operative "Winterswijkse Landbouwers Bond"¹; this, too, is an old co-operative, and it does not restrict its transactions to its members only. In spite of the fact that this co-operative has more members than the Farmers' Bank, it meets with the strenuous competition of private enterprise and not all its members are always faithful to it. Many of them still buy from, or sell much of their goods to, private merchants belonging to the neighbourhood community. In this way the competition between this Co-operative and private enterprise keeps the co-operative constantly alert. For this reason the co-operative, which has its headquarter in town near the railway station, founded a branch-office in every neighbourhood. However, in the last years, as it became much easier to reach the members directly from the headquarter, the branch offices serve only to keep the necessary agricultural machinery near to the farmers. Nowadays, fertilizers and feeding stuffs are kept in large central warehouses, from where they can be easily brought out to the customers by truck.

As this co-operative is the one which retains to the greatest degree some of the old spirit of the co-operative movement, we outline here briefly its history, which can efficiently illustrate the significance of the movement in local agriculture.

The co-operative was founded on August 23, 1893. The aim of the association was "to sponsor the interests of the members in so far as these interests were connected with agriculture, cattlekeeping, and home economics." The original idea was to carry out the prearranged aim through "the purchase of writings connected with farming techniques and farm life in general: the purchase of goods produced outside the farm, and the sale of farm products;

¹ Agricultural Purchasing-Selling Co.

² From the regulations of the Society. (free translation B. B.).

impartial testing of the declared qualities of the products purchased by the members; efficient measures for the improvement of cattle herds; the introduction of improved agricultural machinery; and finally the foundation and the sponsoring of institutions favourable to the development and improvement of agricultural enterprise.”² The foundation of the co-operative necessitated the joining of several similar small associations already existing in the different neighbourhoods. The oldest of these was actually founded in 1887 in the neighbourhood of Corle, when a group of farmers had started with the common purchase of fertilizer. The association had been created primarily for the common purchase of products, but it also gave advice on matters of agricultural technique, exerting thereby an important function in the extension of new practices. Thus, only a week after its creation, a demonstration was held with a Sack’s “Universal” plough, and in January 1888 the establishment of a “proof field” was decided upon in order to spread in Winterswijk the technique of the tillage of fodder crops. The positive results of what was happening in Corle stimulated the creation of similar small associations in the neighbourhoods of Brinkheurne, Woold, Ratum, and Meddo. Several farmers from Miste also joined the Corle association and similarly some farmers from Kotten joined the association which had been instituted in the Brinkheurne. Although each association was an independent body, the need was already felt for a bigger and more powerful organisation to compete with private enterprise, and a few common purchases had already been made when, in 1893, the creation of the Winterswijkse Landbouwers Bond as a legal body was decided upon. In 1895 the new association obtained for the first time a building of its own; after this date, its activities grew quickly. They were not limited to the care of material interests only. For it was the co-operative which, in 1919, addressed a letter to the government, asking for the institution in Winterswijk of a State Agricultural Winter-school. In the same year, because of this initiative, the school was created. How quickly the importance of the association grew, is shown by the flourishing of the branch-offices in the neighbourhoods (Woold 1924, Meddo 1927, Ratum 1927, Huppel 1928, Kotten 1930, Corle 1931, Miste 1932, Brinkheurne 1932).

In 1924 the co-operative began sending the calves and pigs of its members to markets and export-slaughterhouses. In the same year a start was also made with the purchase of coal and other fuel. After then the activities became still more numerous and in 1930

therefore the decision was taken to charge a salaried manager with the direction of the whole organisation, which until then, had only been supervised by a board of farmers. In 1930 the present manager was nominated director of the co-operative and, to this day, he is still in charge. Under his direction several innovations have come about. In 1938 a potato-steamer was bought, augmenting thereby the possibility of having good fodder available for the cattle. During World War II, a large new silo and a new warehouse were built. In 1948 an adviser for poultry keeping was appointed under the auspices of the co-operative. In 1949 a motor sprayer was bought, with a Dodge jeep as tractor, which has greatly helped to propagate chemical pest-control in the municipality. In 1954 the original advisory work in the field of poultry-keeping had been generally extended, with particular regard to cattle- and pig-feeding.

Besides the director, the co-operative has a managing board of four, and an advisory board of eighteen members (including those of the managing board). There is, further, a third board of governors, composed of the chairmen of the six neighbouring branches of the co-operative. On July, 30, 1954, farm-family membership of the co-operative in the different neighbourhoods reached the following values: 't Woold 87%, Meddo 71%, Ratum 85%, Dorpsbuurt 43,5%, Corle-Miste 87%, Kotten-Brinkheurne 55%. Usually from seventy to a hundred members are present at the annual general assembly.

A good example of an association which is not a formal co-operative, exerting a very obvious influence upon the technical level of local agriculture, is furnished by the "Fok- en Contrôle Vereniging Winterswijk en Omstreken."¹ This association is quite modern, having come into existence on March 15, 1950. However, as the aim of the association was the purposeful improvement of the cattle herds and of the quality of the milk, it became immediately very popular and has already had very encouraging results. This association is sponsored by the local dairy factory.²

In the very year of its foundation, the breed- and control-associ-

¹ Breed and Control Association of Winterswijk and Surroundings.

² Before the date of the institution of this association, there existed a "Controle Instituut voor Melkonderzoek" (Control Institute for Milk Research), founded August 1921. This institute, however, limited its activities to checking the fat percentages of the milk. The new breed and control association receives from the local co-op. dairy factory a subsidy of f 0,50 per controlled cow, besides the normal subsidy given

tion counted 45.5% of the farmers of the municipality among its members, most of whom had previously been members of the existing Contrôle Instituut voor Melkonderzoek. In 1953 the percentage had become 60.7. The average number of controlled cows was 7.5 per member farm, and the local "Fok- en Contrôle Vereniging" controlled, at that date 81.2% of Winterswijk cattle. For the province of Guelderland the percentage of the controlled cattle, for the same year, was 54.1, whereas for the Netherlands it was 57.7.³

In accordance with its name, the association pays attention not only to checking the milk production, but also to checking and improving the qualities of Winterswijk's old herds of cattle.

The following table shows how concrete have been the results obtained by the association in the first four years of its life: average productions per cow of about 6000 kg/year are not exceptional anymore. In the books of the association, however, the classification of the members is done according to the total content of fat in the milk.

TABLE 9 *Development of the milk production in Winterswijk from 1950 to 1954*⁴

	kg milk produced	% fat	days	gr fat per day	kg fat total
Average 1950	3942	3.58	306	461	141
Average 1954	4165	3.68	307	498	153

Although the association is still very young, positive trends are clearly showing up. The "Fok- en Contrôle Vereniging" exercises a definite influence on the milk production of the municipality as a whole. However, other reasons can also be held responsible for the general improvement in the milk production, particularly new feeding methods and control of diseases both of which have contributed much to it. Table 10 gives the average increase of the milk production in Winterswijk since the war. For a good comparison, the same figures for 1954 of the whole Netherlands and of the province of Guelderland have been added.

by the Centrale Melkcontrôle Dienst to similar associations.

³ From: Jaarverslag 1953 van de Fok- en Contrôle Vereniging "Winterswijk en Omstreken."

⁴ From: Jaarverslagen van de Fok- en Contrôle Vereniging "Winterswijk en Omstreken," 1950/51 en 1953/54.

TABLE 10 *Average milk production obtained by all Winterswijk farmers during the years 1946-1954.*

Winterswijk	kg milk	% fat	days	kg fat	daily production	
					kg milk	kg fat
1946/47	3525	3.24	298	114	11.83	383
1947/48	3378	3.37	311	114	10.96	367
1948/49	3836	3.42	313	131	12.26	419
1949/50	3905	3.52	307	137	12.72	446
1950/51	3890	3.54	306	138	12.71	451
1951/52	3915	3.59	306	141	12.79	561
1952/53	4029	3.58	309	144	13.04	466
1953/54	4129	3.63	307	150	13.15	489
<i>Guelderland</i>						
1953/54	4028	3.56	307	143	13.12	460
<i>The Netherlands</i>						
1953/54	4043	3.69	308	149	13.13	484

As one can see, the importance of this association in the economic and technical sphere of the agriculture of the municipality, is only too evident. From the figures published above, it results how the technical level of Winterswijk dairy-farming has quite considerably improved in a short number of years. In this field (and in many others) the technical "underdevelopment" with regard to the rest of the country does not exist any more, and technical accomplishments in the field of dairying go together with high local prestige.¹ It would therefore be interesting in a description of the social structure of this rural community, to make a deeper enquiry into the social groupings from which the local agricultural associations recruit the members of their boards. As this would take us directly to the core of the problems with which our study is concerned, we shall leave the answer to this question for one of the following chapters.

¹ The association publishes every year a list in which the members are classified according to the value of their produce. In this list there are all the technical data necessary for estimating the quality of one's own herd of cattle (number of cows, % fat, kgs milk, no. of days, etc.) and to make mutual comparisons. In this way the spirit of competition is very much stimulated.

² For the historical details of the development of Winterswijk agriculture we have relied on the article of D. J. W. Rummelink. *De Landbouw gedurende de laatste 75 jaar, in Jubileumuitgave van de Graafschapsbode, 1 oktober 1954, Doetinchem.*

³ Landbouwtelling 1954.

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT TO THE PRESENT STAGE²

The cultivated land in the municipality of Winterswijk amounts to ha 10,146 out of the 13,815 hectares of the whole territory. On these 10,146 ha, there exist 1,508 farms.³ In 1950, the farms were 1,514 on 10,173 ha of cultivated land. Even this first rough comparison gives us immediate knowledge of the trend existing in Winterswijk, as elsewhere on the sandy regions⁴; i.e. the number of smaller farms tends to diminish.

As almost everywhere in the sandy regions, mixed farming is the common pattern in Winterswijk. Further, beside the land under cultivation, the majority of the farms have at least some wood annexed, the timber of which is normally cut in rotation every nine or ten years. This sort of exploitation is mainly to be found on the best soils of the wooded areas. Until the first years of this century the worst soils were exploited through peeling the oak for the bark, which was used for the tanneries. Nowadays, since the use of artificial substances has become widely accepted in the tanneries, this form of wood exploitation has been abandoned, and most of these woods are being gradually transformed into high-stemmed woods of broad-leaved growth or opened up for agricultural use.

As for the size of the farm, Winterswijk presents a much bigger concentration of farms in the size-class of five to ten ha than the province of Guelderland as a whole (46% against 32.05% for the province of Guelderland), and a far less pronounced spread towards the extreme size-classes. This is due to a complexity of causes, which will require a deeper analysis in the following pages. Many small rivers and brooks exist all over the territory and many of them, in fact, form the natural boundaries of the ten neighbourhoods.⁵ These brooks contribute much to the peculiarity of the landscape, characterized as it is by fine clumps of trees and woods. Yet, they are often a symptom of insufficient drainage of the land, the lower parts of which, for this reason, are used only

⁴ See: Het Kleine-Boeren Vraagstuk, deel II.

⁵ The names of most of these neighbourhoods can be traced back to before 1300 a.d. (Cf. B. Stegeman. *Het oude Kerspel Winterswijk* pg. 32-35) and quite probably they correspond to some administrative division of the territory during feudal times. It is therefore understandable that their importance has outgrown that of a simple geographical grouping. The presence of big land-ownership in some of them has also contributed much to give them an independent character. For instance, until some years ago, it was not difficult to find, in some farm lost in the woods, maids and stable boys who had never been out of their neighbourhood.

as pastures. The arable land, which is invariably situated on a higher level, is mainly cultivated with grain crops, namely rye and oats. These have been, for years, the traditional crops of local agriculture, which can be said to be determined to an important degree by tradition, and by the land-ownership which favoured various forms of payment in nature. However, some changes have come about, as in the rest of the country, during the last seventy-five years. First of all, a change came along naturally with the increase in population that followed the appearance of the artificial fertilizers. Before that time the sandy regions could not bear a dense population since waste land and heath were necessary to graze the sheep that would furnish the manure for the little available arable land.¹ So seventy-five years ago, this part of the Netherlands was far less densely populated, and only the richest soil and the best-situated pieces of land were used for agriculture. The remainder was at that time covered by woods or even lay entirely barren and almost unproductive.² Agriculture was practiced only to supply the primary commodities needed by the local population. It bore, therefore, a strict subsistence character. Cash production for the international or even the national market was almost unknown. Of course there was some market production for the non agricultural people of Winterswijk, but there were practically no differences as to the demands of consumptions of the farm people and those of the villagers. The pattern of consumption was very sober and adjusted to the local production, which, in its turn, did not offer much choice. In fact, in those days, the sandy regions could not have produced much more than they already did, even if the requirements of the local market had been more complex. Since artificial fertilizers were not yet known, some scanty humic soil (collected from the heath), fallow, and animal dung were the only means with which crops were helped; little more than rye, potatoes, and buckwheat could be grown; as compared with other similar districts, however, these crops gave reasonable results. The way in which agriculture was being practiced up to the twentieth century did not give much opportunity for many, if any, changes, but it is naturally difficult to distinguish between the

¹ Cf. C. H. Staring op. cit., and D. J. W. Rummelink op. cit.

² This is a phenomenon common not only to Winterswijk, but also to the whole Graafschap. Although, in the years 1860-1900, the planting of new woods had been particularly intensive, immediately after the beginning of the twentieth century, the general adoption of artificial fertilizers in agriculture, brought about a sharp change, noticeable in the landscape. It is calculated that about 1940, in the whole Graafschap

stability in the character of local agriculture due to lack of technical possibilities and that due to customs and tradition. There was almost no difference between the working ways of father and son, as there was almost no difference between the machinery and tools of which both father and son, in their turn, disposed. The work was done with a wooden plough, a harrow, a sickle, and a threshing flail. For the heavy work, oxen were generally used, along with horses. Together with rye, potatoes, and buckwheat, which were the stock products, small quantities of other crops were also grown, only for consumption on the farm. In general, flax, rape-seed, and spurry were cultivated. The flax was used for the linen supply, the buckwheat provided the pancakes and porridge, and from the rape-seed came the oil which was necessary for the family. A large number of livestock could not be kept, since they had to be maintained only by what the farm produced. During the winter and summer-months, the milk production showed a sharp decline for lack of fodder. On the other hand, the main function of the livestock, at that time, was to supply manure for the arable land. The whole organization of the farm had to reckon with it, and deal with it accordingly. Livestock highly specialized for milk production, but also more exacting in care and food, were unthinkable in the sandy regions in the days before 1900. The existing local breed had completely adjusted itself to the environment, and it succeeded in putting into reasonably good use the bad sort of grass, which the soils left to grassland could produce. The milk was made into butter on the farm, to be then delivered in the village to some regular clients if it was not used in the house. The surplus cattle were taken to certain markets scattered around the region, that is, to Didam, Doesburg, Doetinchem, Lichtenvoorde, Silvolde, and Zevenaar. Hogs were also raised, but on a much smaller scale than nowadays. The technique of hog breeding was quite different and far less efficient. The animals were slaughtered when they had reached a weight of approximately 150 kilograms, so that their lifetime was much longer than at present. Diseases and epidemics were quite common, mainly because of insufficient care paid to feeding methods and housing.

there existed 13,650 ha of wooded land as compared with the 22,000 ha existing in 1910 (that is a deminution of 40% in less than thirty years). World War II costed the Graafschap another 2,900 ha of woods, mainly used for fuel, (from: G. Sissingh - Het landschap en de bossen in de Gelderse Achterhoek in Verleden, Heden en Toekomst, in Jubileumuitgave van de Graafschapsbode, Doetinchem, 1954).

The adoption of artificial fertilizers¹ brought about a much more visible change on the sand than in any other soil of the country, the only exception being the Veenkoloniën (the Peat colonies). Waste land and woods were sharply reduced, because thousands of hectares of the former marginal land were put into culture. Not only the arable land could produce more, but the possibility of better livestock-raising was increased through the expansion of pastures and through their improved production. An increase of the milk yields was the first reaction to improvement of the livestock. The production of milk was also stimulated by the development of co-operative dairy-factories, which came into existence almost in the same period, and which made milk production more attractive for the small farmers. This technical improvement meant the real beginning of the change of agriculture in the sandy regions, because any far reaching technical improvement not only involves the farmer in managerial organizational problems forcing him to keep up to date, but also causes the birth of a second improvement, thus starting the chain of development. However, the process just outlined did not take place with the same regularity on every farm and did not influence equally every single technique applied on one farm, as it may perhaps have appeared from the foregoing. The whole Graafschap and, therefore, also the municipality of Winterswijk, is an area where the infiltration of new agricultural practices came after years of thoroughly traditional farming. So, if in Winterswijk the local cattle breed has, in general, made room for the black and white Frisian-Holland cattle or for the red and white Meuse-Rhine-IJssel cattle, near the one or two existing barns which have rubber floors, there still are, in the municipality, several old barns where the cattle remains the whole winter on its own manure. In the same way, near the farms where electric fences on the land are used for the cattle, and near the farms where the farmer has built his own electric plant with a wind-mill electric generator, there likewise still exist the farms where the old oil lamp is used to this day. The result is that on these farms as soon as it becomes dark, the members of the family go to bed without much time to dedicate to extra work activities.

As we have already said, mixed farming is almost the only system by which farmers earn their living, in Winterswijk as well as in

¹ The first fertilizers to be introduced were not actually artificial. They were guano and chilisalpeter.

² Mededelingen van het Rijkslandbouwconsulentschap, Zutphen, no. 4.

the whole district of the sandy region. Nowadays local agriculture has lost its previous character of predominant self sufficiency. The herds of cattle have been efficiently improved, and the revenues drawn from the delivery of the milk to the local dairy factory form an important item of the farmers' budget. Another important item for the Winterswijk farmers' income is small livestock. In this way the greatest part of the vegetal products of the farm arrives on the national and international market processed into dairy products, eggs and bacon. Furthermore, Winterswijk farmers also use imported feeding-stuff for their livestock reaching, in this way, fairly intensive investments of livestock on their farms. And it is particularly through the raising of small livestock that the farmers of the sandy regions augment the productivity of the labour present on the farm. Unfortunately the 1947 census does not give figures classified per farm size. According to an existing official publication² in 1954, the density of dairy-cows, chickens and hogs on the Winterswijk farms were as follows:

TABLE II *Density of dairy-cows, chickens and hogs on Winterswijk farms.*

farm size	3-8 ha	8-12 ha	12-20 ha	20 ha and more
cows/ha grassland	1.48	1.29	1.12	0.86
hogs per farm	9.98	14.10	19.19	16.92
chickens per farm	189	184	164	129

In Winterswijk, in contrast to many other municipalities of the sandy region, most hogs are raised on farms larger than ten hectares, while the greatest number of chickens are on the smallest farms.

The general character of Winterswijk agriculture is fairly well summed up by the following table which gives us the possibility of following the development of the ratio arable land/grassland from 1896 to 1954.

Immediately, it appears that the area of land under cultivation in Winterswijk has strongly increased during the last fifty years. This is a consequence of the fact that most of the waste land, which in 1900 amounted to about half of the total area of the municipality, has gradually been reclaimed ever since.

Together with this increase in the area of land under cultivation, the figures show that an appreciable change in favour of grassland is taking place in the ratio of arable land/grassland. This is due partly to the fact that the newly reclaimed land is better suited for

TABLE 12 *The development of the ratio arable land/grassland in the Winterswijk countryside from 1896 to 1954*

year	arable land ha	grassland ha	total	ratio arable/grassland ¹
1896	2801	2696	5497	51:49
1910	2801	3054	5855	48:52
1920	2800	3835	6635	42:58
1930	2927	4685	7612	38:62
1939	3508	6559	10067	38:65
1945	4715	5239	9954	47:53
1954	3485	6646	10146	34:66

pastures because of difficulties in its drainage, and partly because it has also been favoured by the reorientation of the agriculture of the Dutch sandy regions, from crop-farming to dairy-farming in relation with the orientation of the export market. This trend was briefly interrupted during the war years, when many pastures were broken up and used as arable land, mainly for grain and potatoes. Of a certain importance is the question of the degree to which the number of farmers has been changing in these last fifty years, in which the area of cultivated land increased so noticeably. In the following table, are arranged the figures of the censuses, concerning the number of farm operators and the surface of the cultivated land. For a better comparison, the figures of 1896 have been made to equal 100. Further, the data of the municipality have been compared with the data of the whole region.

TABLE 13 *Increase of cultivated land and of the number of farm operators in the period 1896-1950 (index 1896 = 100).*

year	surface cultivated land		number of farm operators	
	Graafschap	Winterswijk	Graafschap	Winterswijk
1896	100	100	100	100
1910	106	106	112	112
1920	118	120	121	128
1930	128	138	128	138
1939	140	195	131	145
1950	159	207	175	175

These figures lead us to the following conclusions:

The increase of the area of cultivated land in Winterswijk has been

¹ Landb. Tellingen c.b.s. We bear in mind that the total area of the municipality is ha 13,815.

² From: E.T.I. Gelderland, op. cit. c.b.s.-L.B.T. 1950.

noticeable greater than the increase of the number of farm operators; Compared to the rest of the Graafschap, Winterswijk, occupies a favourable position as to the percentage of the reclaimed land;

The number of farm operators in Winterswijk increased, possibly more rapidly than in the rest of the Graafschap, until about World War II. However, the stronger tendency to reclaim land neutralized the bad effects of this increase in the number of farms, and allowed the ratio between available land and farm operators to keep within favourable terms; As far as the size of Winterswijk farms is concerned, the following table shows that since 1910, there has been a net tendency for the small farms to diminish. The same has happened in the whole region, but in Winterswijk this tendency is considerably more accentuated and without any doubt, this positive development is related to the continuous reclamation of waste land which has taken place in the territory of Winterswijk during the last forty years.

TABLE 14 (*farms larger than ha 1*). Percentage distribution of the total number of farms among the different size classes.^a

	year	1-5	5-10	10-20	20-50	50 and larger
<i>Winterswijk</i>	1910	59.5	28.1	10.8	1.5	—
	1930	36.6	46.2	15.3	1.7	—
	1945	32.1	46.8	18.4	2.6	—
	1950	32.0	46.8	18.2	2.8	—
<i>Graafschap</i>	1910	59.4	22.3	13.7	4.5	0.2
	1930	47.3	31.8	17.2	3.8	0.1
	1945	44.5	31.4	19.7	4.3	0.04
	1950	42.5	34.0	18.8	4.3	0.04

It is remarkable that, if one distinguishes between rented and owned farms, the average size of the rented farms and the average size of the owned farms are respectively, smaller and larger than those of the whole Graafschap. There are two explanations for this phenomenon. One is the strong cultural influence from beyond the border. In fact, with respect to both land tenancy and farm management, Winterswijk agriculture still reflects the influence of the adjoining german Westphalia, so that the tendency not to divide the farm among the heirs at the death of the father has certainly been an element of importance for the maintainance of larger owned farms. In this respect another important factor

is perhaps constituted by the relatively low number of children of Winterswijk farm-families compared with the families of the surrounding catholic territories. Besides, in Winterswijk the average farm is as a rule, not split up in many distant plots, to the same degree as it is in other parts of the Netherlands.

A further explanation of the relatively high concentration of the rented farm and of its changes in the years of the land reclamation, can be found in an exceptional form of relationship, existing in those years in Winterswijk, between owner and tenants. As was mentioned before, there exists here an exceptional class of farmer-landowners (the Scholtenboeren), who used to rent out small parts of their property, as whole small farms, to other farmers. The tenants were called "onderwoners" that is, underresidents.¹

When the big drive for land reclamation started, a part of these very small farms were enlarged, mostly by the tenants themselves becoming more or less autonomous. However, the uncertainty of permanence on the farm² and the non existence of the right to receive a compensation for the improvements brought about on it made the ownership of the farm necessary for the small farmers before they could undertake important works of reclamation.

Thus, our short picture of Winterswijk agriculture can be considered finished for our purposes. In the following chapters we shall therefore dedicate ourselves to the analysis of the cultural pattern of the Winterswijk countryside.

¹ From: B. de Hoogh: *De Economische Betekenis der Ontginningen, Wageningen, 1932*, pp. 36-37.

² It was not until 1941 (*Pachtbesluit, 1941*) that the right of continuation on the rented farm was recognized to the farmer and his heir, provided a number of requirements were met.

Also, by force of the same law, the payment of the lease in natura was abolished in the Netherlands, with the exception of leases of soil destined to a few highly specialized horticultural products. For them several forms of share-cropping are still allowed.

Is there a cultural pattern of the progressive farmer?

If we now want to check empirically the rightness of our hypotheses we will have to carry out an analysis of the cultural pattern of Winterswijk farming population. We must therefore start by checking our sample of 484 interviewees as to its representability with respect to the whole farming population of the municipality. A brief survey of the trend of the changes in farm size in this Dutch municipality has been given in chapter IV. If we now express the figures for the year 1950 (the last official figures available in 1957) in percents, and we confront them with the figures of our sample arranged in the same way, we see that the sample can be held as fully representative (Table 15). The existing differences are, we think, due to the already noticed tendency of the farms bigger than 5 ha to increase their acreage at the expense of those smaller than 5 ha. We can, in fact, safely suppose that the same trend existing before 1950 has been functioning also in the years between 1950 and the summer of 1955, in which the survey was held. However, another cause of difference, which is clearly reflected by the figures of the size classes 1-5 and 5-10 ha, is that we purposely excluded from our sample the operators of enterprises smaller than 2 ha; in fact, they cannot furnish much information in a study about farming seen as a full profession and a way of life.

TABLE 15 *Percentage of the farm-operators in the different size-classes*

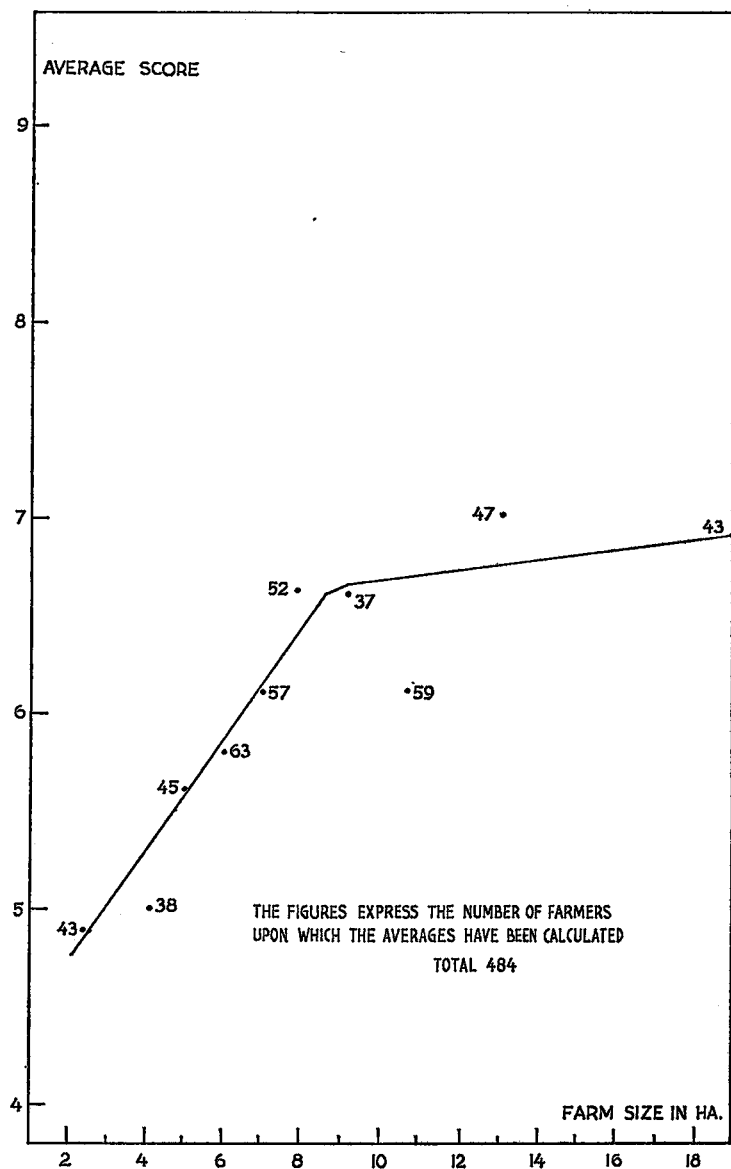
size-class	1-5 ha	5-10 ha	10-20 ha	20-50 ha
Municipality (1950)	32	47	18	3
Sample of 484 farmers (1955)	26	52	18	3

We must now see how our score is correlated with the size of the farm and with the age of the respondent; these are variables which presumably influence the respondent's reactions to our test questions, without being directly in relation to the impact of modern culture.

An examination of the development of the score shows that it follows a curve which seems to be almost a linear function of the size of the farm up to a certain size, to deviate clearly afterwards. In fact, if we form groups in such a way as to have about the same number of farmers in each group we have the following relationship:

Farm size in ha	2-3;	4;	5;	6;	7;	8;	9;	10-11;	12-14;	15-43;			
average score	4.9;	5;	5.6;	5.8;	6.1;	6.6;	6.6;	6.1	;	7	;	6.9	;

The same relationship is expressed graphically in graph 3. We see that farm size 8-9 ha is a critical value in this relationship. The



GRAPH 3 - Relation between the score obtained by 484 Winterswijk farm operators and the size of their farms.

existence of this relationship is a direct consequence of our very approach. In fact, by introducing this new value "Score" we intended to measure the degree of modernity and of independence of Winterswijk farmers. It is therefore plausible that, when the scores of all the respondents are taken into consideration altogether, a direct relationship should exist between the farm size and the score.

Our hypotheses, in fact, assumes that the respondent's degree of independence is directly related to modernism, and that this finds its expression in the degree of social contacts, cultural activities, social participation, etc. If this is right, it is also reasonable to expect that life on a big farm gives the farmer much more opportunities to take part in this sort of activities than the life on a small farm. Also, if a farm is a firm, it is logical that it should put much higher requirements on the organizational attitudes and on the capacity of decision making of the operators employed on larger farms, rather than on the same potential attitudes and capacities of the small farmer. The environment is, therefore, on a large farm much more favourable than on a smallholding for the development of the farmer's capacity of decision making. This does not imply, however, that *within* each size class our score cannot furnish a valuable yardstick with which to measure the degree of individualism of the farmer. We must therefore see how is the distribution within each group of farms. A classification of the farms in groups of 1 hectare each would not be possible, because in some size-classes there would result some empty spaces in the continuum. Further, we must also aim at the formation of groups containing about the same number of people. At the same time these groups should be large enough in order to make possible comparisons of some statistical significance. We made, therefore, three size classes. The first containing farms from 2 to 6 ha, the second farms from 7 to 9 ha, and the third farms larger than 9 ha. The distribution of our population along the continuum in the three size-classes, results then, as follows:

TABLE 16 *Distribution of the interviewed farm operators along the continuum*

Score	Total	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
No. people per size class												
2-6 ha	189	2	5	17	16	27	26	32	29	25	5	5
7-9 ha	146	3	1	3	8	7	21	29	28	20	21	5
10 and more	149	2	2	2	8	12	14	23	27	26	25	8

From the examination of these first data we think we may conclude that it is justifiable to note that:

- a. the influence of the size of the farm upon the farm operator (and hence also upon his performance as manager of the farm) exists; that
- b. this influence is particularly strong in the lower size classes; and that
- c. particularly from a certain critical value onward other influences are stronger than the influence of the farm size.

This relationship is repeatedly found also in the more detailed analysis of the cultural pattern carried out in the following chapter;¹ there we will have more precise occasions to see which are the factors influencing the capacity of decision-making of the farm-operator.

In the bibliographical review carried out in the first chapter of this work we have seen how the age of the farm operator generally seems to be positively related to his attitude towards the acceptance of new farm practices. This is explainable by the fact that the more a behaviour-pattern is distant from the value-system according to which a personality is organized, and the more difficult it will be for the interested person to carry out the set of behaviour in question. The above mentioned relationship has, however, not always been found present, and the influence of the age upon the performance of a certain set of actions is still far from being clear. If we now want to compare the respondent's age with his score it is reasonable to expect that, theoretically, the young farmers should

¹ As to this respect it might be interesting to notice that Allport, speaking of his J-curve hypothesis of conforming behaviour (op. cit. p. 145), states that "this device illustrates roughly the fact that individuals of typical personality characteristics are the ones who conform, and also the fact that the individuals who deviate in their personal traits are distributed in successively diminishing numbers on the side of the 'more than' and 'less than' the customary behaviour."

As we will have occasion to see in the following pages, when the size of the farm is kept constant, there are many "variables" which show a definite positive correlation with our score both in the upper and in the lower size-classes, but not, or to a far lesser degree, in the middle-size class. We wonder, therefore, if the operators of

be more up-to-date and more efficiently taken up in the social structure of modern society than the old ones. However, the ways through which culture influences the individual are so many, and so complex that actually there are also plenty of chances for the old people to occupy every position of the continuum. If our cultural approach is right, there should be in fact no reasons why a young Winterswijk farmer should be more independent and more self-conscious than an old Winterswijk farmer *provided the latter has been "exposed" to the impact of modern culture with the due intensity.*

The implications of our procedure will actually be that many more cultural channels, out of the whole multitude of ways through which culture exerts an influence upon the members of society, will have been engaged in order to let an old farmer occupy in the continuum the same position of a young farmer. We can therefore, say that we can expect that the old farmers who are situated at the upper positions of the continuum must have been exposed more intensively to cultural influences making for modernity than their younger colleagues. Or, we can also say, at the *same extent of exposure* the older generation will tend to concentrate at the lower end and the younger at the upper end of the continuum. A very rough way to measure comparable extents of exposures which the Winterswijk farm operators might have somehow undergone is to check the relation between the score and the age of the respondent within the same size class of farms.

We see therefore that there is an all-round trend in the expected fashion in all the three size classes. However, this trend is not statistically significant. The question arises here whether with a score formed by a larger number of questions, and a larger number of people in the sample, the trend would have resulted more clearly. As to the differences between the various size classes it is interesting to notice that, again, the size of the farm seems to be a controlling factor in this relationship. In fact, in the class 2-6 ha, where we can suppose that for economic reasons the farmers are

these farms form a sort of middle group, which can be supposed to represent the "customary behaviour" in the present Winterswijk cultural situation; this group is, in fact, preceded and followed by two other groups with other types of behaviour which can be identified, respectively, with Allport's "less than" and "more than." In our case, therefore, the two extreme groups can be supposed to represent a variable "urbanized less than the average Winterswijk farmer" and "urbanized more than the average Winterswijk farmer." In such case it would be easy to understand why the discriminatory power of our yardstick is greater in the upper and the lower groups of farms, while it is not so pronounced in the case of the middle group. This is, however, not so in the totality of the cases taken into consideration.

TABLE 17 *Age of Winterswijk farm operators according to score 10 answers, per size class, in percents of the totals*

Farms 2-6 ha	Score				
	Total	0-3	4-5	6-7	8-9-10
in the whole class	189 = 100	21.-	28.5	32	18
born in 1900 and before	68 = 100	29.3	31.-	28	12
born in 1901-1910	66 = 100	17.-	33.3	27.2	22.7
born in 1911 and later	55 = 100	16.-	20.-	42.-	22.-

$$\chi^2 = 9.9 \quad P = 0.13$$

Farms 7-9 ha	Score				
	Total	0-3	4-5	6-7	8-9-10
in the whole class	146 = 100	11	18.5	39	31.5
born in 1900 and before	40 = 100	17.5	15	42.5	25
born in 1901-1910	52 = 100	9.6	25	38	27
born in 1911 and later	54 = 100	7.4	18	37	40.7

$$\chi^2 = 6.7 \quad P = 0.36$$

Farms 10 ha and more	Score				
	Total	0-3	4-5	6-7	8-9-10
in the whole class	149 = 100	9.3	18	34	38.2
born in 1900 and before	48 = 100	8	20.4	39.5	31.2
born in 1901-1910	43 = 100	9.3	23	37	30
born in 1911 and later	58 = 100	10.3	12	27.5	50

$$\chi^2 = 6.4 \quad P = 0.37$$

less in contact with the outside world (less radios, less reading, less trips, etc.) the relationship between the score and the age of the operator is more regular and much nearer to the statistical significance than in the other two classes. In the latter the relationship is not so significant and the supposition seems therefore justified that, where modernizing cultural influences have the possibility to act upon the individual, the influence of the individual's age upon certain patterns of behaviour loses importance.

We are now confronted with the central question of our work, i.e. whether it is justified to maintain that there exists a cultural pattern typical of the progressive farmers and that this fact is reflected in the professional as well as in the extra professional aspects of the farmers' way of living. As we have explained in chapter III this problem has been tackled in two ways: first through an analytical,

more "objective" form, and then in a descriptive way in order to render better the implications of the significance of this phenomenon for the life of the interested persons.

If we first cross-tabulate our score against a scale for socio-economic status in which various aspects of the style of living of the Winterswijk farmers have been taken up (see Appendix IV) we obtain the relationship shown in the following table:¹

TABLE 18 *Correlation between score 10 answers and style of living of Winterswijk farmers.*
Farm size 2-6 ha

	Standard Distribution		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Scale points 0-7	137	72.4	55	83.3	66	75	16	45.7
more than 7	52	27.5	11	17.6	22	25	19	54.2
Total	189	99.9	66	99.9	88	100	35	99.9

$\chi^2 = 16.752$ $P = 0.0002$ 2 degrees of freedom

Farm size 8-10 ha

	Standard Distribution		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Scale points 0-7	81	55.4	16	69.5	41	53.2	24	52.1
more than 7	65	44.5	7	30.4	36	46.7	22	47.8
Total	146	99.9	23	99.9	77	99.9	46	99.9

$\chi^2 = 2.207$ $P = 0.33$ 2 degrees of freedom

Farm size 10 ha and more

	Standard Distribution		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Scale points 0-7	57	38.2	18	69.2	26	40.6	13	22.0
more than 7	92	61.7	8	30.7	38	59.3	46	77.9
Total	149	99.9	26	99.9	64	99.9	59	99.9

$\chi^2 = 17.275$ $P = 0.00013$ 2 degrees of freedom

¹ We emphasize that such scale for socio-economic status measures the respondent's orientation towards the world outside his farm as well.

As we can see the relationship is extremely clear and with a high degree of significance in the lowest and in the highest size class, whereas there is no significance in the middle-size class. This might be a proof of the fact that our score has a more discriminating power in those cases where the conditions are such that the influence of cultural factors are more relevant.

If we now cross-tabulate the score against an analytical scale designed to measure the modernity of the farm management (see Appendix v),¹ we obtain the following table:

TABLE 19 *Relation between the score 10 answers and the analytical scale for farm management. Farms 2-6 ha*

	Standard distribution		Score 0-3		Score 4-5		Score 6-7		Score 8-9-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
12 points and less more than 12 points	123	65	30	78.9	43	74.1	36	62.0	14	41.1
	66	34.9	8	21.0	16	27	22	37.9	20	58.8
Total	189	99.9	38	99.9	59	101.1	58	99.9	34	99.9

$\chi^2 = 10.6$ $P = 0.01$ 3 degrees of freedom

Farms 7-9 ha

12 points and less more than 12 points	76	52	13	81.2	11	40.7	33	57.8	19	41.3
	70	47.9	3	18.7	16	59.2	24	42.1	27	58.6
Total	146	99.9	16	99.9	27	99.9	57	99.9	46	99.9

$\chi^2 = 9.8$ $P = 0.02$ 3 degrees of freedom

Farms 10 ha and more

12 points and less more than 12 points	51	34.2	9	60	12	46.1	18	34.6	12	21.4
	98	65.7	6	40	14	53.8	34	65.3	44	78.5
Total	149	99.9	15	100	26	99.9	52	99.9	56	99.9

$\chi^2 = 6.8$ $P = 0.08$ 3 degrees of freedom

¹ For the construction of both scales we are very much indebted to Ir A. W. van den Ban of the Department of Rural Sociology in Wageningen.

As we can see, an all-round positive relationship exists between the two variables. There are, therefore, some reasons to believe that our hypothesis is right, even if the statistical significance was not reached in the size class of 10 ha and more.

This fashion of measuring the relationship between the cultural pattern and the progressiveness of the farm management is, however, somewhat simplistic and schematic. Therefore, as we have explained in the third chapter, we have preferred to apply also another check to our hypothesis. In fact, if our score really measures what it is supposed to measure (i.e. the degree of the individual functionality in the modern social structure) a relationship must exist also between the score and the respondent's orientation towards the outside world.

Further, even between the score and the individual's capacity to function more or less on the same intellectual level (or on the spheres of interests) of a number of urbanized judges there should be a clear relation. Eventually, a relation might theoretically be expected between the degree of individual leadership and the score. All this complex of factors is bound to reveal itself in several cultural complexes, one of which is the technological cultural complex. Therefore, in order to appreciate this phenomenon in its entirety, a purely analytical approach does not seem suitable. We need a qualitatively more subtle way to appreciate the expected cultural differences. This, as a matter of fact, might even imply an individual appreciation of the character structure and of the personality type of the farmers at the different levels of the continuum.

If our presuppositions were right, distributing our interviewees along the continuum we should find that the type of man represented in it should vary from the "closed" at the beginning of the continuum to the "open" at its end.² This is already proved, to some extent, by the very fact that people at the one extreme could not give any answer to our questions whereas the people of the other extreme had easily been able to put into words their responses to all our test-questions. Further proof of the validity of such a tool as a yardstick discriminatory of cultural differences within the same population can be obtained from the comparison of several cultural variables at different points of the continuum. In order to facilitate the procedure, and because of the type of

² This with reference to the socio-cultural situation of the Dutch sandy region.

distribution of our interviewees in the three size classes of farms the comparison has been effectuated between score groups 0-1-2-3 and 9-10 in the assumption that the cultural differences between these two groups would be the most appreciable. This comparison has been carried out in the following way: The names and addresses of the members of the two groups were shown to a number of judges in Winterswijk. The score group 9-10 was called Group A, whereas score group 0-1-2-3 was called Group B. There were 25 judges as explained in chapter III. Without being told of the aim of our research the judges were first asked whether they could notice any difference in the composition of Group A and Group B. They were therefore asked to express a first all-round impression about the two groups as wholes. This procedure was followed in the first part of our interview in order to prevent influencing the judges, and not to risk any biased responses. The answers obtained in this way were purely spontaneous, and, as it might have been expected, regarded several different aspects of the personality of the members of both groups. They already form, thus, a first rough typification of our material in two different approximate ideal-types.

The opinions expressed by the judges in the above mentioned manner have been reported in their totality (in a few cases more than one opinion per judge) in Table 20. In the compilation of the two groups of definitions, however, we have striven at some sort of logical order about the aspect of the groups dealt with each answer, so as to facilitate the comparison between the corresponding aspects of the two groups.¹

TABLE 20 *Characterization of the people of group A and group B according to the spontaneous reactions of 25 Winterswijk key-persons.*

GROUP A

More interest for things and events outside the farm; stronger spirit of initiative; more entrepreneurial mentality; more daring spirit; people with an own standpoint; people who can speak of more than one thing; people who sometimes surprise you for the things they have an interest for; more part-time jobs; people active in the life of organizations; more "developed" people; a few families of this group are to be found in the board of a group of associations; more tradesmen; more hobbies; people who frequent lectures and who give themselves lectures about trips or personal experiences; more people who frequent the theatre; more the "democratic" type of family; more people who follow somewhat closer their children and keep more in

¹ For a full understanding of the socio-cultural background of the material which is being presented in the rest of this chapter, one should first attentively read the concept-scheme of the interviews with the key-persons (Appendix 1) at the end of this volume.

contact with the teacher; also more women members of associations; children more independent, make earlier a choice about their own future; people with more schooling; "the people" upon which one has to rely to organize any public business whatever; people who can make choices and therefore live more consciously; less uniformity of ideas and customs within the family. Those who are liberal are more definitely and personally so, and those who are religious are more consciously active than the others; more (little) renewing on the farm and household since the war; more objective, rational attitude in matters where the interests of the family contrast with that of the society; more time purposely subtracted from work and dedicated to recreation; more rationality and efficiency on the farm, the accent being laid more on the high average revenue than on perfectionism and beauty of every single piece of work; sometimes even purposely rough and approximate farming, because of lack of man power; farming according mainly to the local tradition, but individual experimenting and individual examples of variation in the farming scheme not unfrequent; more pronounced tendency towards a critical and empirical attitude with respect to farming and to new things; more children have white-collar jobs; the possibility that a child makes a career as intellectual is not regarded as strange; bigger mobility within the family, both of job and of residence; tensions within the family tend to be talked out or given a definitive solution; more possibility of differences of outlook within the family, therefore more chances of individual families.

GROUP B

More mentally slow; the followers' type; hard workers; drought animals; no interest for things outside their own farm; as a matter of fact, also "really conscientious" farmers; more "little" men; more conservative; more out-of-date households; people one seldom sees and almost never meets neither materially nor mentally; people you do not know what to talk about with, except their own farm; children more dependent upon the parents or even upon the "situation" of the neighbourhood pattern; not certainly the type who would come to the foreground on any particular occasion; they feel unsure as individual; they are under the influence of neighbourhood and events rather than influencing neighbourhoods and events; no particularly conscious upbringing of the children; the father almost completely outside of the child's world; matters regarding the children must be discussed with the women; they identify much more with the neighbourhoods; little or no personal contact with the boards of the organizations, when they have contacts these are of personal character and not with the collective board; people who cannot make a personal choice; things happen because that is the way they "should" happen and neither parents nor children think of an other possibility; more uniformity within the family; when a personal standpoint is present, it is very seldom a quite precise standpoint and even less seldom is this standpoint communicated to others in an exact and unmistakable form; goalless; little renewing in the farm and household since the war; the family is a unit for the better and for the worse; less lack of man power, but farming more out-of-date, rough and approximate as an average; farming totally according to local tradition, attitude towards farming entirely "orthodox"; empiricism with new methods on own farm regarded with suspicion and even commiseration; no individual pioneering; individual experimenting (seldom) following the example of a neighbour; intellectual work is "no work"; small or no mobility; either very little or very great tensions within the family, according to the degree to which the children are aware of other possibilities than those adopted in the family.

Subsequent to this first phase, an extensive interview of the judges took place, focussed upon a certain number of cultural aspects of the social life of the members of the groups; during the interview the judges were asked to draw comparisons between the life-situations of the people of the two groups (see Appendix 1). Since up to this point the key-persons had not been told of the aims of our study, some of the questions asked were not completely understandable to them. We had, therefore, to supply at this point the explanation that we were doing a study about efficiency in farming, without mentioning which of the two groups of farmers were expected to have the highest efficiency.

The cultural variables considered in our interview with the key-persons were: attitudes towards local and national government; family and kinship behaviour; recreation; attitudes towards religion; farming and attitudes towards innovation in farming; and education and attitudes towards education. In this way we obtained several different series of answers from the key-persons. Since this is a study concerned particularly with the question of the influence of modern culture upon the efficiency of farm management, the answers given to the questions regarding technical matters have been reported in extenso. This procedure would obviously have been impossible for all the other answers as they could form a volume of their own, and would need a careful study in order to co-ordinate and compare all the various aspects of social life in Winterswijk which they touch upon. Instead of reporting all the judge's answers in extenso, therefore, we have used them in order to build the typology presented hereafter. This typology obtained from the totality of the answers obtained – many of which are of a rather specialized nature – tries to give a comprehensive picture of the psycho-cultural environment in which the members of the two groups live:

TABLE 21 *Typing of group A and group B according to the answers given to our questions by 25 Winterswijk key-persons.*

A	B
1. Fathers' authority mostly strong, but children are given more responsi-	1. Fathers' authority sometimes strong. In most of the cases totally absent. The

¹ With "horizontal" and "vertical" we distinguish patterns of activities which reflect a localistic orientation (the individual life evolving within the limited circle of the neighbourhood relations) as contrasted to activities that put the individual immediately in contact with the organizational life of the nation (activism in a political party, membership in a labour union, etc.).

² Several respondents gave evidence that people of the A-group let themselves be less controlled by the social control of the neighbourhood, but that they are very

A

lity and allowed a certain degree of individuality.

In some families there is a division of "roles" between father and mother, father and mother sharing the same responsibilities and taking the same interest in the child's life.

Type of the family from the democratic to the mildly patriarchal, particularly among the strongly religious people.

2. Limited influence of the grandparents on the upbringing of children. The contact between mother and child is almost never interrupted. In many cases separate households for the two couples. Influence of the grandparents upon the farm management not strong.

3. Woman's influence more in the family than in farm business. Openly recognized.

4. Woman discretely active outside farm and neighbourhood. Vertical¹ activities.

5. Family ties still strong, but the family tends to serve the goals of its components, "family ideals" being gradually substituted by individual ideals.

6. Intrusion of neighbours in family business not tolerated.

Opinion of the neighbourhood at large feared, but no identification with it.²

People may go to a clergyman to talk difficulties over.

much annoyed by it. Some of them, actually, developed some feelings of resentment against the local community. In informal talks with the people of the two groups themselves we had occasion to hear many remarks as to this effect. The mother and the wife of a farmer of group A told us that when the grandchild, respectively son, was sick and had to be walked up and down in the sunny afternoons they were promptly given the nickname of "the ladies." For the neighbours that was "a lot of fuss about nothing," a sort of leisure activity of a "city" woman; a "true" homemaker

B

care of the child is left over to the women.

In many cases children are left over to themselves to grow up in the homely atmosphere of the neighbourhoods.

Type of the family sooner matriarchal than patriarchal, or no clear structure at all. No conscious education for a life of responsibility in the modern society.

2. Grandparents educate as a rule the child. The mother works out in the fields.

Influence of grandparents upon the farm management very strong.

A teacher coming to talk about the child and a visitor asking about farm business are usually received, entertained, and answered to by the grandparents.

3. Woman's influence very strong both in the family and in the farm's business. Silently acknowledge, but never clearly on the foreground.

4. Woman almost completely inactive outside farm and neighbourhood. Activities definitely horizontal.¹

5. Family ties very strong; the components of the family serve the common family goal. Other possibilities are not even talked of, as long as there is a chance to make a living on the farm as a unit.

6. Intrusion of neighbours in family business not tolerated.

As for the rest, complete identification with the neighbourhood.

From a clergyman one does not expect more than the fulfilling of purely external ritual functions.

A

Principles ruling life either more consciously christian or more consciously agnostic.

7. There is a conscious attitude for recreation. Time is quite frequently subtracted from farming purposely for recreation. Recreation takes place both within the family and farm, in the form of reading or hobbying and outside the farm. Almost always in the form of individual recreation; no clear division of place and environment for the recreation of adult and young people.

8. Muscular work not prized. Intellectual work normally accepted as an alternative for the individual members of the family. Farming seen, besides as "a" way of life, also as a source of income. No time allowed for gossips and chatting while an important chore has to be done.

9. Farmers become earlier independent managers of the farm. The factor that keeps the old generation on the farm is a lifetime of farming from which it is difficult to separate. The old farmers do not want to think of themselves as inactive or useless.

10. More people both psychologically and technically capable to emigrate. Some farmers have relatives in the North East Polder.¹

and farmer's wife cannot have any spare time and must constantly be near the man. If the child really needed walking they could have entrusted it to a farm maid. Another farmer's wife who was rather sick told us how she was deeply ashamed to "sit and do nothing." This feeling was reinforced by the meaningful smiles of the women of the neighbourhood. Two other women of families of the A-group, who used to practice some sport at a gymnastic-association, told us of the "dumb and odious people of the neighbourhood who come and stare at us through the windows." The "dumb and odious people," referring to the two ladies in question, told us that "those are people who take farming as a hobby."

¹ New polder in the Zuiderzee area. For the selection of the new colonists attention has been paid to the technical capabilities and training of the farm operator and of the homemaker, and to the disposal of a certain amount of capital (credits were allowed).

B

Life more deeply rooted on the old pagan substratum; little conscious individual principles ruling life.

7. Little conscious recreation. No time is subtracted from farming for recreation, exception made for the days of local and neighbourhood festivities. Recreation for the adults takes place almost exclusively within the family in the form of reciprocal family visiting during the winter evenings. Collective recreation. Recreation of the young people almost exclusively outside the house.

8. Muscular work sometimes prized. Intellectual work is almost always "no work."

Farming seen entirely as "the" way of life. People work continuously the whole day long from sunrise to bed time, but three or even more hours per day can easily be spent in chatting with neighbours and visitors.

9. Farmers become later independent managers of the farm. The factor that keeps the old generation on the farm are the customs of the traditional environment from which derives the psychological impossibility to think of themselves in any other role than that of the official farm manager.

10. Migration is mostly thought of as an alternative for "the others." Personally totally unprepared for it.

A

11. Several people are at present themselves or have relatives who are on the municipality council (or have been). Most of the rest could occupy quite well a seat in the council.

The majority of the group is normally involved in occasion of municipality initiatives.

12. Attitudes towards government (local or national) somewhat businesslike. Reactions in a few cases individualistic, in most of the cases through local organizations. The attitudes of the members of this group come better to the foreground, because it is largely from this group that the organizations draw the components of the boards. Neighbourhood gossips and malcontent are channelled through the organizations. Thus, vertical reaction to government's moves.

B

11. Nobody is at present personally, nor has relatives on the municipality council (nor was or has had).

Very few possible candidates for such an office.

No one of the group is actively involved in occasion of a municipality initiative.

12. No known conscious attitude with respect to the government and its initiatives. Reaction never individualistic and almost never through organizations. People of this group either do not belong to any organization, or, if they do, they form the layer most distant from the board. Many marginal members of organizations.

The few reactions, given by the members of this group, are developed at neighbourhood level and limited to disorganized gossips.

In cases of more widespread malcontent the neighbourhood as a whole takes a definite standpoint (with the exception of the members of group A).

Thus, horizontal reactions to government's moves.

This typology gives us a picture of the two studied groups of farmers clearer than the one given us by the first two groups of all-round definitions. The total image of the studied sample of farmers that we receive from Table 20 and Table 21 together is that of an universe sharply divided in two groups: one group of "more or less independent individualists" contrasting with the other of "collectivistic conformists." Further evidence of the existence of these two different types of farmers can also be directly drawn from the key-person's answer to our questions about farming and technical progress, as well as from the six case-studies reported hereafter. From both of them the implications of the existence of the two types of farm-operators for the local farm management result clear enough. The case-studies, besides, help to see in six concrete life-situations the level of farm management on the background of the non-technical aspects of an operator's social life. In two brief comments following both judge's answers and case-studies we finally give our synthetic opinion as to the meaning

of the differences in attitude towards farming discernible between the two extreme groups of our continuum. Detailed discussion of other people's statements has been avoided as much as possible. Exceptions have been made, however, in those cases when there were reasons to believe that the respondent's answer might lead to a misinterpretation of Winterswijk's social reality. Judgements expressed about the interviewee's degree of competence as to the technical problems of agriculture and as to the politico-economic situation of his society at large are obviously subjective, relative, and dependent on our own experience as technician and citizen member of a modern western social structure.

DIRECT ANSWERS OF FIVE KEY-PERSONS, DEALING WITH THE ATTITUDES OF GROUP A AND GROUP B TOWARD TECHNICAL PROGRESS.

QUESTION

1. *In Winterswijk there are some farmers who take much better care of their cattle than the rest of the farmers (making use of the advices of feedings experts, of prophylactic measures, herd-book cattle, rubber floors in the stables, etc.). They are the ones who normally attend the breeders' days; they are also the people usually active on the board of the Association for Artificial Insemination. Do these people belong to a (closed) exclusive fixed little group? Or are we sooner in presence of a kind of diffuse activity that gradually spreads among the whole farming population?*

Would you identify this type of farmers sooner with one of our A and B groups rather than with the other?

ANSWERS

a. "I really think that it is always more or less the same group of farmers that shows an interest for innovation.

One meets them constantly on all the markets, shows, contests, etc. Without any doubt farmers type A have also a much stronger interest for technical progress; but, of course, in many cases it is a question of time; when the introduced practice is not so new any more, then the others also start to apply it.

In my opinion the financial aspects of the concerned technique play a decisive role for its immediate application."

b. "In most of the cases this sort of people are those farmers who belong to the 'active ones' of the organizational life.

Quite clearly they form the elite, a sort of upper layer in the farmers' society. It is a selected, but not a closed group, for first of all their example is sooner or later followed by the others, and, secondly, the members of this elite can change in the long run. Farmers of type A possess many more characteristics for belonging to this elite than farmers of group B.

c. I can definitely identify the people whom you are talking about much better with the farmers of group A than with those of group B. Most of the A farmers do indeed belong to the elite of Winterswijk farmers, if I may use that term in this context. I believe, however, that you must not think of them as a group in the sense that these

farmers think of themselves as a group. They are much sooner *thought of* as a group by the others. Let us say, therefore, that it is the others who somewhat force farmers A to become a group. But in itself group A is not a closed group."

d. "Yes, I can sooner identify your A farmers roughly with the 'above average' group of Winterswijk farmers – if that is what you mean. But it is difficult to make a comparison purely between personal characteristics. First of all, in group A the well-to-do farmers are overrepresented, whereas in group B they are under-represented. Secondly, it seems to me that your A farmers are as an average younger than the B farmers. On the other hand, also in group B you have a couple of good farmers. But, indeed, on the whole, the farmer represented in group A is of another type than farmer B. Whether or not they form a real group I do not know. But there are no doubts that they form a selection. Almost all of them are, for instance, members of the Alumni Association of the Agricultural Winter School."

e. "The practices you mentioned do tend to penetrate gradually among the whole farming population, once their economic convenience has been proved. However, now that I think of it, it is not always a question of pure economic convenience. Sometimes there are 'modes', and it seems to me that these modes of modernity come along in waves. Anyway, when they come it happens mostly through more or less the same number of families. I see several of these names in your A group. For instance, at present there is the mode of the milking machines. I can assure you it is no use telling them that the use of a milking machine is not always convenient. Someone bought a machine in the neighbourhood (in most of the cases a big farmer, in order to spare man-power) and now the others do not want "to remain behind". By the way, I see that Mr. . . ., the commissioner of the X-brand of milking machines is among your A farmers."

QUESTION

2. *What determines, in your opinion, the progressiveness of the farmers? Is it purely a matter of available capital and manpower, industriousness, a liking for farming, and technical knowledge?*

ANSWERS

a. "No, the progressiveness of the farmer must be there already – only then can he make good use of his labour, capital, activity and technical knowledge. In my opinion therefore progressiveness is linked with other human characteristics like upbringing (education), wide range of interests, choice of the right school, etc."

b. "No, it is much more a question of attitudes and interests. In fact, we can see that, for instance, in the field of cattle breeding there are certain families who are excellent at it, all of them. There must also be something that brings them together, because among these families there is much more mutual contact than among the other families. Is it not peculiar how people notice immediately if a member of one of these families is not so good at cattle breeding as his own folk have been before him? Then people say 'He is a variant in his family line.'

Farmers type B make it a rule not to experiment in any case. It might be nothing more than just a case, but a couple of farmers of this group told me once, talking about another farmer, 'He had constantly something new on his farm, but he ended up completely ruined.'

The point you make in your question about capital and labour is not relevant for

the small farmers, at least in Winterswijk. Here the small farmers are usually better off¹ than the big ones."

c. "I am convinced it is a question of businesslike attitude towards farming. That is all. The trouble is that in Winterswijk there are not many businesslike farmers."

d. "This is not an easy question to answer. Of course one is inclined to say that progressiveness is the name we give to the fact that one is ahead of the others both with respect to intellectual development and to vitality. But of course this is not the final answer. I am not sure, but I suppose it all boils down to education and to the mentality of the environment where one has been brought up. As for the factors you mention, like availability of capital and labour, technical capacity and good willingness towards farming, I suppose that one is inclined to answer that they are all factors of progressiveness. . . because we have been hearing it since our childhood. But I am afraid that nowadays it takes much more than just good willingness in order to be a successful farmer."

"I do not know what *determines* the progressiveness of the farmers. What I know is that if I look at those farmers who are supposed to be the progressive ones here around, they all seem to possess a number of characteristics ranging from more general education to more specialized technical knowledge. They display a wider range of activities. I should think it is a question of mentality more than of available resources. I think the resources can be found, if one knows how to manage. On the other hand one must be careful not to take intensity of farm-management as the only sign of progressiveness. Many of your A farmers, just because they are less traditionalist than the others, are beginning to shift towards extensification of the farming scheme. They cannot get sufficient man power, and life on a mixed farm begins to get too heavy for them. The young folks do not feel like to be bound to the farm from sunrise to late in the night. For instance, Mr. . . ., and . . ., and . . . and . . ., are doing away with their small livestock, and Mr. . . . and . . . are reducing the area of cropland and augmenting that of grassland."

QUESTION

3. *Quite probably also in Winterswijk a new method is, in the end, more or less unconsciously accepted.*

But how big is the number of those people who consciously adopt something, for instance, from the technical press, from agricultural radio-programs, from lectures, from experiences of colleagues, etc.? How many are those who come purposely to you in order to ask for advice? From which of the two groups A and B would you expect something of that kind? and why?

ANSWERS

a. "I do not think that the number of farmers that consciously pick up something new is a great one. But, indeed, if one speaks with people of group A, one can notice quite often that they have assisted to lectures or to demonstrations, or that they have read the technical articles of the farmers' press, and that afterwards they have gone on thinking independently about the subject of the discussion."

¹ The median value of the total investable capital present on sandy soil farms in the Netherlands in 1952 was as follows: fl. 1400/ha for the farms from 4 to 6.99 ha; fl. 1000/ha. for the farms from 7 to 14.99 ha; fl. 800/ha. for the farms from 15 to

b. "The new practices spread themselves gradually. But it is clearly only a selected group of farmers that possess an 'experimentalist's mind.' For instance pig-breeding was started in Winterswijk by a few farmers. I can see some of their names in group A. When I came to Winterswijk 40 years ago there was, in general, no interest at all for more intensive farming. Farmers paid very low rents, and people lived, very, very cheaply – particularly those farmers who were share-croppers of the Scholten. They paid their rents with a few days' work on the farm of the Scholten and that was all. People led a good-natured life, but there was no speaking of doing one's own best on the farm – there were no stimuli for higher productions. Of course it was also completely a self-sufficiency farming and not a farming for the market. It was as though there were no reasons for making higher incomes. But there were already in those days a few farmers who were a bit more progressive. I do not know whether they had stronger needs or stronger interests. Anyway, they were more exacting towards life than the rest of the farmers here. Then I took them to my father's farm in. . . There he kept some 200 hogs and 500 chickens, which he used to breed himself. For those days this was something really uncommon. Nowadays almost every farmer here breeds his own hogs and keeps some hundred fowls, but you can still see from the form of the hog's houses how my father's example spread around here. He had developed a particular building of his own for housing the hogs and the very first farmers who started keeping hogs in Winterswijk just copied that model. – Later, of course, several modifications appeared of the original idea. People of group A are very clearly more progressive than those of group B, but, even among them, those who used to come to me purposely in order to have an advice were not numerous. It is much more congenial to the mentality of the Winterswijk farmer to ask something indirectly during the visits I had to pay on the farms for some reasons inherent to my job."

c. "The number of people that purposely adopts something new is not big. Most of them have their eyes shut for new possibilities. But even if their direct interest is awakened by somebody else, they just cannot make up their mind to make a step in a direction which is new for them. Take for instance the example of the r.b.c.-control for the cattle. In the thirties' the government had decided to give a subsidy for the reduction of the stocks of cattle. With a lot of trouble I could eventually get the farmers to come together in a big meeting. They came. They were about 1400. The subject under discussion interested them deeply, of course. So I took the occasion to explain to them that they had a chance to improve their stocks at favourable conditions. Everybody seemed to agree to the general idea, but when I went to draw the conclusions I heard a lot of silly objections. Actually, these were nothing but rationalizations in order not to do what they did not want or did not dare to do. After a lot of discussion I found 200 farmers willing 'to try the experiment.' At that time among the farmers the gossips circulated that I had an immediate financial interest in the number of the slaughtered cattle."

d. "Oh, among the young people those who *at least would like* to try now and then something of which they had read on the papers is not so very small. The trouble is that most of them cannot have their way because of the older generation. Anyway I definitely would expect something like that from group A because they have a

29.99 ha; and *f*. 300/ha, for the farms from 30 to 49.99 ha. (Cfr. L.B.I. rapport N. 213, table 20).

progressive drive in themselves, and, as an average, they are very rational, for a sandy-soil farmer.”

e. “I really could not say how big is the percent of those farmers who adopt something consciously. I only know that people who come to me for advice, or who participate to lectures, or who read with interest a technical paper are not many. They are quite definitely more represented in your group A. In group B, as far as I know, there are only two of such farmers.”

QUESTION

4. In your opinion, why certain farmers become members of Farmers' Unions whereas others do not?

Do people become members just "because"?

Do you think that the contribution-fee really plays a decisive role in the farmers' decision?

And the time? (which one has available)

ANSWERS

a. “For some groups of farmers it is a question of standing. Some other farmers are influenced by the fact that most of their neighbours are already members. They do not want to be different from the others; sometimes they clearly follow the example of a farmer who enjoys a high prestige for some reasons. (‘He has become a member and he knows what he does. Therefore it would not be harmful for me if I become a member too’).

The fee is really not high at all, but it does play an important role for those who cannot see the material counter-part of the payment. These mostly are the ‘short-run materialists’ who cannot look further than their nose. The objection of missing the time is stupidity.”

b. “The farmer becomes a member of an organization only when he clearly sees the financial advantages of the membership. This means that, mostly, those who do not become members fail to see any connection between their own interests and the farmers’ organization. They are short-sighted. This sort of people is strongly materialist. But you must not idealize too much and think that the others are not materialist. For the most short-sighted the contribution-fee forms really an insurmountable obstacle. The time? No, the smallholders have more time than the large farmers.”

c. “For the religious associations it is only a matter of course. For the G.M.V.L.¹ it is really a question of personal interest. Those farmers who claim that they cannot afford the contribution-fee are people who do not look further than their own immediate little interests. On the other hand, you must think also that there is always a group of people who would gladly get into as many associations as possible. — they are those who just need to be seen being active. I think the biggest reason for not becoming member is the lack of interest and, quite seldom, also the lack of time. You must think that there is no interest, even for the meetings of the very little cattle-funds.”²

d. “Those who think they have something to say — those who believe it is in their own interest to have a word into many matters regarding agriculture — become much

¹ In the Netherlands there are 3 main farmers’ associations. The neutral, the Calvinist and the Roman Catholic Association. The Gelderse Maatschappij van Landbouw is

sooner members of farmers' associations than the others. But also among those who are members there are many who have taken the membership because some relative or some friend whom they esteem was already a member. In some neighbourhoods this way of 'being swept along' is quite widespread. For instance in Huppel. There are some good farmers who give the lead. If, among a group of neighbours, one or two remain outside the organization they do not feel at easy any more. They do not want to be the exception. But further if you ask them why they became a member they cannot give you a single personal reason. The strangest thing of all is that people do have always lots of reasons to justify their *not* being members of the association."

e. "Yes, I definitely think that the contribution-fee weighs very much on the farmers' decision as to whether to become a member or not. At least, this is what you can commonly hear. And I am quite sure that the small farmers pay more attention to it than the big farmers – although, I cannot understand why, since the fee is proportional to the acreage. They say they just do not see any difference between being a member or non-member."

QUESTION

5. *However, there are also other farmers who become a member of more modern associations too. For instance they become either members of cultural associations (music- and play-associations; Association Alumni Agr. Winter School, etc.) or of associations with a more specialized goal (herdbooks, cattle-sale co-operatives, etc.) From which of our two groups would you expect something of the kind? and why?*

ANSWERS

a. "Group A. It is evident from the number of memberships they have. They have more interest in this sort of things."

b. "Certainly group A. They are more progressive. Getting a membership into a farmers' organization is more along their line."

c. "I think that people of group A see better the meaning and the use of a membership."

d. "From group A because that is the group of the more progressive farmers."

e. "From group A. I think I already answered partly to this question in a previous answer. Why? Because among the farmers of group A there are more cattle-, pig-, chicken-breeders, more old Alumni of the Agricultural School, of course."

QUESTION

6. *Does a farmer gain in social prestige if he joins an organization? Or perhaps the number of memberships which one accepts is a completely personal matter, to which the environment does not pay any attention?*

ANSWERS

a. "The environment has a lot of influence on the decision to get a membership or not – but much more the moral environment than the material environment of the

the branch for the province of Gelderland of the Neutral Farmers' Association.

² Associations for mutual cattle-insurance

limited neighbourhood. If somebody's group coincides with the neighbourhood, than it might seem that the neighbourhood influences his decision. But if he associates with people from outside the neighbourhood, than he will act according to the accepted standards of his friends' circle anyway. Is it not typical that when a young farmer, coming from a small farm, where there is no tradition of being a member of the farmers' association, marries a girl of a family active in the associational life and goes to live on her farm, in most of the cases also the young farmer will abandon his own standards and accept those of his wife's family?"

b. "The prestige of the farmer grows only if he is *active* within the organization. I do not think that this sort of thoughts influences the decision of the farmer. In my own opinion a large number of memberships generally means that the farmer has a wide field of personal interests."

c. "Of course, even among the farmers there are a few job-hunters. But on the whole I do not think that one becomes a member of a farmers' organization in order to improve his personal prestige."

d. "This is a very interesting question. Before the war people did not pay much attention to somebody being a member of an organization. But, of course, those who belonged to agricultural organizations came for 95 % from the same social group, and the prestige which one enjoyed depended not upon belonging to an organization, but on belonging or not to that particular social group. If you ask those people, even today they will tell you that the number of memberships does not make any difference. On the other hand, for the rest of the farmers the number of memberships one has does make some difference because it is always a consequence either of higher education, or of higher financial interests, or of a larger sphere of interests and activity. Possibly it is a consequence of all these things together, and of many more too."

e. "No, I do not think a farmer gains in social prestige if he joins many organizations. But those who do enjoy social prestige *are* at the same time members of organizations."

QUESTION

7. *How are the members of the boards of the different associations chosen? Do people pay particular attention to the inherited social prestige, or to the economic situation, or to the degree of personal activity and competence of the person in question?*

ANSWERS

a. "Here in Winterswijk there is the general tendency to silently let the functions in the organizational life become more or less hereditary. But in many organizations nowadays people pay more attention to personal qualities. In a few other organizations people think more of the economic conditions (Waterschappen)."

b. "In earlier days it was normal to pay attention to family-prestige. Nowadays this sort of things change quickly – particularly in the newest organizations. I cannot say, however, that the old custom has entirely disappeared. For instance, in the G.M.V.L. it is a tradition that the Scholten be overrepresented on the board. The 'Brandassurantie Onderlinge X' (Antifire co-operative X) was instituted by a member of the X-family and more members of that family have always been on the board of that co-operative.

The same is with the 'Brandassurantie-Y.' In the council of the Netherlands Reformed Church until some years ago there were almost exclusively Scholten. But nowadays the members are elected, and politics and electoral rights have their influence there too. Now there are far less Scholten on that board."

c. "In the older associations there was, indeed, traditionally a kind of social prestige connected with membership of the board. This social prestige comes from a few definite old families. In the newest associations people pay much more attention to efficiency."

d. "I must give you the same answer as to the preceding question. Only, here the terms are more clear because when the members of a board must be chosen, the gap existing between the two criteria for the selection becomes wider. In the majority of the associations nowadays people choose the members of the board according mainly to the personal prestige enjoyed by the concerned person. In the older associations, however, criteria of selection based upon class prestige are still functioning. But, here too severe conflicts appear from time to time. Take, for instance, what happened within the council of the Gereformeerde Kerk. A divergence of opinion around a certain problem aroused between the representatives of the old group of families who have a seat in the council out of tradition and the representatives of the 'newcomers.' Some members of the first group resigned their seats as a sign of protest. This fact gave new arguments to the 'democratic' ones and strengthened their position. And still, even to-day there are many small farmers who think that it is not proper that those representatives of the old stock do not have a place in the council any more. It is not good and they have a kind of right to be there."

e. "I think that nowadays by far the majority of the members of the boards are chosen purely on the ground of personal capabilities. However, this phenomenon is much clearer in the new associations than in the old ones."

QUESTION

8. *In your opinion is it really the lack of time, and the financial situation that hinder the smallholders from an active participation in the associational life?*

Do you have also in Winterswijk the saying 'who is good for the Union is not a good farmer?' Or is this active participation perhaps hindered also by other reasons?

ANSWERS

a. "This saying does indeed exist here. But you can hear it only among those people who spend all their evenings playing cards with the neighbours, instead of participating to the meetings of the associations. Thus, they say, 'a good one for the organization is not a good farmer' but actually it is neither a question of money nor of lack of time. It is just the mentality. They even say: 'I cannot come to the meeting; I have no time for it because I must pay a visit to the neighbours'."

b. "It seems to me that lack of time and of money are a bad justification for refusing a membership of an organization in the case of a Winterswijk farmer. What is much more plausible, is that the smallholders think that it is not proper of them to come to the foreground in a meeting or in a board where also big farmers are present. Sometimes this feeling is rendered even more complicated by the different prestige enjoyed by owners and tenants. Farmer-owners are thought of much higher than farmer-

tenants of the same size-class.¹ But all this mutual scaling has strongly diminished in the last years.”

c. “Yes, here also there is that saying. As a matter of fact, you must think that it takes a lot of energy for a farmer who has worked the whole day out in the fields, to do something else during the evenings. Most of them just cannot find the energy for it. This is why, perhaps, those who are active in the organizational life are also, in general, better farmers. It is a kind of indirect selection that some organizations apply.”

d. “No, lack of time and money have little to do with active participation in organizational life. Some farmers might join because they have a positive attitude towards it, others just follow the whole neighbourhood if they happen to live in a neighbourhood where a high degree of participation is the normal pattern. As a rule, however, I think that the most decisive factor is whether or not one feels at home in the organization. Therefore, in my opinion both class consciousness and personal qualities cannot be overlooked if one wants to explain the reason of the different degree of participation in organizational life.”

e. “Oh yes, we have that saying, but of course it is commonplace. What hinders the smallholders from an active participation in the associational life is, in my opinion, the lack of interest for it. Why the smallholders have less interest in this sort of things? I do not know; class consciousness perhaps, but I am not certain of it. And, after all, one must not think that *all* the smallholders keep away from the organizations.”

QUESTION

9. *In Winterswijk there are no big differences in the farm structure between large and small farms (exception made for a few specialized farms).*

What is it then that actually hinders a deep-going intensification of the farm management on the smallholdings?

If the smallholders had enough capital and manpower, would they intensify their farm management?

Or is that too difficult for them, since “we practice mixed farming, and you cannot change much in it?”

ANSWERS

a. “The only thing that keeps the smallholders from intensifying the farm management is, generally speaking, traditionalism. The average smallholder nowadays does not lack capital. And even if they lacked capital they still could intensify gradually, if they wanted to. That intensification of the farm management could be hindered by labour shortage on the small farms is nonsense. The truth is that nobody wants to be the first, or perhaps it is better to say that new things are ‘a priori’ thought of as being strange.

Do you want one of the many classical examples, although this does not deal directly with intensifying the farm management? Once I was called by a farmer. He wanted me to have a look at a newly born litter of pigs. They were too weak and they would not eat. And the farmer wanted, of course, some ‘medicines’ for them. The sow was in

¹ This remark does not refer to the general Dutch situation, but to the particular Winterswijk one. Cfr. Chapter IV.

very bad conditions too. Quite probably, she lacked vitamins and exercise. After the visit I told the farmer that in the future he would do better to keep his pregnant sows out on the pastures. In those days this was something new. 'Oh, but they would not keep on the pastures, they'll go out on the arable land and ruin all the crops' he said. I told him all he had to do was to add one more line of barbed wire to the existing fences used for the cattle. 'But they'll open up all my pastures.' I told him he could put some irons in the nose of the sows, so they would not ruin the sod. We went on with this silly discussion for a while, but then, when it was clear that he could not object any longer, his mother interrupted us 'Doctor, we have always kept our sows indoors and it has always been all-right. I do not see why we should change now.' I was just graduated from the University in those days, and I was completely knocked out of the discussion by the authority of this grandmother. Of course, that farmer went on keeping his sows in the old way for another number of years. To-day he keeps them outside, as also all the others do."

b. "Yes, the idea that one has a mixed farm, and that this belongs to the 'data' of life is very strong among the Winterswijk farmers. Still, the small farmers are not satisfied with their own situation, they protest a lot, but they have not quite clear themselves what is the matter with them. If one talks to them about intensifying the farm management they answer quite positively that their farm is quite well managed as it is, and as it has always been. They do not see the need for intensifying and they would, therefore, not do it."

c. "It is a question of mentality. Sometimes there are also differences in the soil structure, but in most of the cases it is the farmers themselves who just cannot come to think of the possibility of a change in the farm management. When a farmer thinks of intensifying his farm management, then all he does is to raise a few more pigs and a few more chickens. But it is completely impossible for them to think of a complete re-orientation of the whole farm structure."

d. "Yes, here they all practice mixed farming, and that is much more a goal in itself than a means. You can see it clearly also by the uniformity of the farming style. They just cannot get free from the existing pattern. The only two horticultural enterprises existing in Winterswijk belong to two brothers coming from a big farm. Further there are two or three nurseries and a number of licensed producers of hatching eggs.

On the other hand, even if it is true that these people here are not very active, one must not forget that nowadays it is impossible to change from mixed farming into horticulture in a couple of days. People need a licence for exerting horticulture, and they cannot bring their products on the market. They must bring it to an auction. The nearest auction here is in Zevenaer, and that is, of course, a big obstacle."

e. "Only in a very few cases some young farmers who just start farming would perhaps borrow some money. And one would do so only if he could not manage otherwise. I think therefore that one would prefer keeping the farm management going as usual, if he has to borrow money in order to improve it. But further, I do not think they feel the need of improving the farm-management, because if they really did, they could improve it. Particularly, the small farmers are not so bad off nowadays. There are some cases, which I know about, where I have the impression that the only thing that prevents the farmer from making many investments is the fear of having his rent raised. However, you cannot generalize this conclusion because

not all Winterswijk farmers are tenants. In a way, I must say, your question is a bit strange. Everyone does his own business as he is used to, of course. Why do you keep on those queer Italian dresses, why don't you use normal Dutch ones?"

QUESTION

10. *For the Winterswijk farmers is it possible to reorganize completely the small farms from mixed farming into specialized farming, with the help of borrowed capital, if that is needed?*

ANSWERS

a. "Winterswijk farmers do borrow some sums of money for small improvements on the farms. But I am certain that the idea of a total change of the farm structure, completely subsidized by borrowed capital, is more or less like a capital sin for them. One simply does not do things like that here. But further, as far as the smallholders are concerned, I do not think they would need to borrow much money. In general they are much better off than the large farmers. Just look at all the improvements that have come around in the last years in their standard of living. I am certain they could pay also to intensify the farm management."

b. "I do not know exactly what is the cause for not intensifying the farm management. Perhaps they just do not see the reason for doing so. But I do not think that in Winterswijk the smallholders are much worse off than their larger colleagues. I think, indeed, that the small farmers have here an easier life than the bigger ones. Anyway, perhaps, also the difficulty of marketing the products is a strong obstacle."

c. "No, something like that is completely impossible for them. First of all, they simply do not see any possibility of farming, other than going on doing as they have been doing up till now. But, further, it is also greatly a consequence of the fact that here everybody wants to farm in the same way as the neighbour, does and wants to deliver to the dairy factory the same proportion of milk as his neighbours. An outsider would not believe how much attention is paid to this sort of things. Therefore the idea of a total change just does not happen to pass through their minds. However, one must admit that it would not be so easy to change one's farm management. There are lots of difficulties with the situation of the market."

d. "No. I do not think it is possible. Really, I do not think that they would find the courage for it. But it is not even a question of courage, because they cannot even come to such an idea by their own forces."

e. "I think I have already answered to this question. As far as I know only a farmer who starts farming would use borrowed capital – and even so, only if it is absolutely necessary."

QUESTION

11. *If the Agricultural Extension Service tries to propagate a new practice, do people wait (before adopting it) until some prominent (large?) farmers give the example? Who are for you the easiest to convince, the small or the large farmers?*

ANSWERS

a. "Farm-size makes no difference. There are progressive farmers in all the size-classes."

b. "It is not particularly the farmer with a large-sized farm the one who is the most ready to experiment with new practices. See for instance the pilot-farm in 't Woold (7 ha). The probable influencing factor is that the large farmers have usually received more schooling."

c. "I have the idea that the real followers of the Extension Service must be searched among the average and small farmers rather than among the big ones. The first ones need much more care and alertness than the latter, if they want to make a decent income on their farms."

d. "It is not a question of small or large farm. It is a question of attitudes and of human qualities."

e. "Yes, in general the bulk of the average farmers waits for the example of the few prominent ones. In general, again, the farmers with a large farm are more easy to get going. However, the picture is not so simple as that. Quite frequently novelties mean more labour needed. Then you will understand that a lot of people just cannot adopt them. Sometimes, instead, a novelty means clearly a labour economy. Then it will be particularly the big farmers who will adopt it. But, as a matter of fact, on the whole I do not think that it is a question of farm-size."

QUESTION

12. *Has the farm management of group A changed (less, as much, more) than the farm management of group B since World War II?*

Could you give some examples?

ANSWERS

a. "It is difficult to say whether the farm management of group A has changed more than that of group B. He who knows the farmers in question would expect so anyway, therefore it is easy to make mistakes. Perhaps there really is some difference, but even within group B there are very big differences between the farm management of nowadays and that of the years immediately after the war."

b. "Yes, people of group A in general bought more agricultural machinery than the people of group B. But we must fully realize that lack of labour forces must have played a decisive role here."

c. "Yes, farmers type A have been quicker in intensifying the farm management through poultry keeping. Further, among the farmers of group A pig breeding is more widespread than in group B. If you go to talk to some farmers of the latter group, and you ask them why they do not breed their own pigs, you always get the same standard answer: 'No, I am not going to breed pigs because one does not always have positive results. If one starts breeding one loses his freedom. First of all, I have no idea of how to do it and further, it takes lots of time and care.' - But then they take a part-time job as milk collectors for the dairy factory."

d. "Yes, the A farmers have adopted more machinery since the war, and not always because they have more money, they also dispose of more 'experimental-mind' than group B. For most of the farmers of group B lots of the modern machinery are a source of trouble rather than a means for a higher income. They are not familiar with them, and they find the machines much too complicated. In this attitude there is a

lot of the typical attitude of the profane. They are afraid to break the machine, or something of the kind. You can also quite clearly notice that, as soon as they can, they rather leave the care of, and the work with, the machines to their sons or to farm labourers."

e. "It is difficult to answer to such a question. I am quite certain that, on the whole, farmers A are always a step ahead of farmers B, even with the results of their farm management. However, it is difficult to make examples, because it is a matter of a thousand little things. There is no real great difference between the farm structure of farmers A and B, but farmers A can organize things better, do things more on time and are quicker to switch over to new practices. Also, many of the B people are easily taken to make use of cheap or second quality products offered by salesmen – in order to save a few guilders –. You know, they are the people who tend to say too often 'better one bird in the hand than two in the bush'."

QUESTION

13. *What is the attitude (reaction) of the neighbours if a farmer suddenly adopts a new technique, or buys a new machine?*

Is there some kind of gossip and irony about it?

Or is there only non commitment, and curiosity as to the results?

ANSWERS

a. "As a matter of fact nowadays it is much better than 20 years ago. These days there is not such a definite disapproval, but any new practice has to prove its worth before being accepted. Twenty years ago I had to buy a car for my job. The farmers strongly disapproved of it. They considered that it was show and an unnecessary luxury. To-day lots of them have a car."

b. "There is much more a general attitude of waiting than of open disapproval. If the experiment proves good then it is also rather quickly accepted by the others."

c. "The attitude of the Winterswijk farmers with respect to something new is quite reserved. In earlier days it was much worse. Nowadays they do see that it pays. I can even say that for certain aspects they have contracted a mania, as, for instance, for tractors, redrays lamps for the small pigs, and for sow-cages, etc. The ridiculizing of every new application, as used to be the case before the thirties, is quickly disappearing to-day. Now they are satisfied to look and say nothing. They must just wait a little. They have grown accustomed to mechanics through all sorts of machinery and so they take them much more naturally. You should have seen when the first tractor appeared. People crowded on the field to see it work. It looked like being at a party meeting. The same was when my father bought the first mowing machine. I actually think that in earlier days there must have been also some sort of envy or jealousy."

d. "It all depends on *how much* new is the new thing, really. Too much beyond normality becomes 'strange' (gek). But there is not much direct disapproval. Rather, they do not take you seriously. When I wanted to give up mixed farming for specialized dairy farming they all laughed at me. They told me that I was crazy, that nothing of the kind had ever existed before, that I was going to go bankrupt."

e. "Of course there is much non committment. But there is some gossip, and a bit of mockery too. Sometimes there is even clear and open adversion. In most of the cases those who buy some new machinery are the best farmers. They are obviously in the best economic conditions. Some of the others do not want to remain behind, but they cannot afford the expenditure. In that case open adversion and disapproval easily appears. This has happened a couple of years ago in a neighbourhood where the farmers are engaged in a kind of game, each trying to be more modern than the other – a couple of them built completely new barns. I know of some other families which because of that, have got into serious economic difficulties in order to build a new barn, even when they could have done without it. Now they are watching each other like cats and dogs. The same is also going to happen, I am afraid, with the new mode of the milking machines."

QUESTION

14. *Admitting for a while that some degree of ridicule and irony exists among the neighbours, is it then easier for a prominent farmer to go on his own way, in spite of the mockery, than for an average farmer who also would like to try something new?
In such a case would you expect a different behaviour from the farmers of groups A and B?"*

ANSWERS

a. "As I said before, there is not much ridiculizing any more. But anyway, for farmers of group A it would be much easier to ignore the ridicule to which they could be subjected. They are already, even now, 'abnormal' farmers in some way."

b. "I should think so. But I cannot say that there is an extremely evident difference between the two groups. Group A has in general a much more positive attitude with respect to all sorts of initiatives. After a while the others also follow."

c. "The large farmers can afford trying something strange without necessarily causing either opposition or the desire for the others to follow. If somebody of the same class does something new, then, if the new thing is acceptable, after a while his example is followed. If it is not acceptable, in 90% of the cases he gives it up himself."

d. "Yes, I think that people of group A would find it somewhat easier to go on with their experiment in spite of the comments of the others. They are much more self confident. The farmers of group B are generally very dependent on the opinion of the neighbourhood."

e. "Of course for a prominent farmer it is easier to go his own way. This kind of farmer is definitely mostly represented in group A. I do not know whether for them it is easier to go their own way because they are prominent, or whether they are prominent because they go their own way. In your B group there are many people who really pay a lot of attention to the opinions of the neighbourhood. Further, among your B farmers there are somewhat more tenants. If they are tenants of another farmer it could become difficult if they try to be more progressive than the owner of their land. They are afraid that if they give clear signs to be in good economic conditions their rents will be raised.¹ Now there is a new rent-control law, but they are afraid anyway. Perhaps it is also a question of a sort of class inferiority feeling. One can notice it quite clearly among those who have been tenants of the same family for generations, particularly now that the Scholten have not enough ready cash to have an up-to-date farm management."

QUESTION

15. *Are those farmers who come to you spontaneously to ask for advice more or less always the same persons?*

Do you find any of them among the names of group A and B? In which (more)?

ANSWERS

a. "Yes, quite probably they are a selected group. And I should think that this sort of people belong much more to group A than to group B. Two or three years ago I remember having a discussion with the local Extension Officer about a group of farmers whom I held in esteem of being modern, up-to-date farmers. They had attracted my attention because of all the 'good' farmers they constantly had the lowest milk productions. Well, during the discussion it appeared that those were people who, for some reasons, had never been in contact with the Extension Officer. On the other hand, there was another group of farmers who after the war had visibly improved their stocks of cattle, the quality of their pastures and the average milk production. These appeared to be people who, in the last years, had had several occasions to come in contact with the Extension Service either through reciprocal visits or on occasions of other meetings, excursions etc."

b. "Yes, they are always the same persons. Actually they do not even need to come to you, because you meet them always on all sorts of meeting, shows, etc. I have never had any special professional contact with more than the half of group B. However, not all of them are so bad. They see things from neighbours and so they do make a little progress, be it with a great deal of time in between."

c. "Yes, there is a group of fixed clients, and around them there are all the others with which we have only some accidental contacts. The few who come spontaneously to ask for advice belong to group A. With the people of group B I never have the occasion to come in contact during my professional tasks. I know them from contacts outside my professional life."

d. "There are not many people who come spontaneously for advice. Those who do, belong to a selected group. The rest would sooner go to a neighbour, to a layman, to witches, etc. Among the names of group A I see people who indeed came spontaneously to me on various occasions. This is not the case with the names of group B."

e. "The farmers who come to me for advice are not *too* few, really. I am never free. You know how it is in a village, they think of you as Jan or Piet, and not in your professional role. So I am always on duty and never on duty at the same time. Last night a farmer phoned me at 11 p.m. to ask for instruction about a weed-killer. But I must admit that mostly they are always the same people - whereas there are others whom one just never meets. But you know, I cannot take half a day off my time in order to go and call upon one of the latter farmers, running the risk that he won't even listen. In that time I could have delivered three or four advices spontaneously requested by people who are sure to apply them. For instance, of your group A,

¹ In the Netherlands the rents are regulated by law. The fact mentioned by our key-person would not therefore be easily possible. The situation sketched in this answer reflects, therefore, much more a mentality and an attitude grown out of the historical situation as it was before the institution of the rent-control, than the

Mr. . . . , and Mr. . . . called this morning, Mr. . . . yesterday afternoon, and three days ago I went to Mr. . . . He intends to change the present farm structure a little, and we discussed about a new one the whole evening."

COMMENT TO ANSWERS 1 TO 15 OF THE TECHNICAL RESPONDENTS (KEY-PERSONS)

There is no much need for an extensive comment to such strongly unanimous answers. Therefore, we shall here limit ourselves to a few points of technical nature which need further clarification. We shall also eventually draw our own conclusions, limiting ourselves, however, to the very general lines. As for the rest, the reader will draw many details from the very answers of our respondents.

In our opinion the only answer which deserves a real comment is the answer given by the first respondent to question 1. We firmly believe that the assumption that the financial aspects of the new practice play a decisive role on its adoption cannot be generalized too much. Of course there is always the exception, and everybody could quote several of such instances. However, this procedure cannot be relied upon in a scientific work because of its obvious basic psychological fault. It is a well known fact that the observer's attention is attracted much more by the exceptional phenomena, rather than by the normal ones, and that human beings have the tendency to abstract these impressions, make concepts out of them, generalize these concepts and apply them as yardstick for similar phenomena.

Apart from the fact that in several other answers we read other considerations which justify our doubts as to the validity of the point in question, our argument here is that if the financial aspects of a new farm practice are indeed of so much importance we could rightly expect this to apply for every farmer, whereas why only a restricted number of people are used to introduce the new practice, and why they invariably come from the same group? The reason is, in our opinion, to be found in the fact of the *change* in itself. Innovating something means in most of the cases changing some patterns of behaviour. In order to be able to do this one has to dispose of a particular mental set-up. That the argument of the financial reasons is a rather weak one is clearly shown by the fact that innovation does not necessarily always need to mean building a new barn or buying a tractor. If the obstacle to innovation was of financial nature only, how could we then explain the existence of the thousands of disfunctional small things and habits with which every one comes in contact in his daily life? One could then ask "why did they not yet change?" Which, after all, is not so stupid a question as it might appear at first sight. It seems to us that the objective truth is that the bulk of innovations concerns mostly either only a few manual details of an already existing practice, or the intellectual capacity to draw the logical consequences out of certain factual situations. The only real obstacle to the adoption of the thousands of variants that a farmer could apply to the routine of his daily work on the farm is the very fact that these variants are new, and that they have to become habitual. It is a well known fact that extremely complicated actions can be performed without visible distress as soon as they have become a habit. It is, therefore, clear that it is firstly a matter of mental attitude toward the change as such (and it is on this aspect of the individual's position towards change that culture can have an influence);

immediate reality. If this answer corresponds really to what happens in such cases, we are confronted with a most evident example of a cultural-historical hindrance of technical progress.

secondly it is, also, a matter of mental energy (not of physical energy, because an old farmer who refuses to substitute his sickle for a mowing machine compels himself thereby to use much more time and energy than what he would do by accepting the innovation). On this second aspect of the problem both cultural causes and the age of the interested person can play a large role in various forms. For instance, age can act directly, in the form of a higher amount of energy, and, indirectly, because of the presence of a different life-plan. Culture, instead, can act through the influence of the training in abstract thinking. We see for instance that the exercise in abstract and empirical thinking obtained by scientists through a life-long career of study enables many *old* scholars to obtain outstanding results in many *new* scientific fields. This is, it seems to us, a good example of mental energy applied to the study and the acceptance of the new "par excellence." Age does not necessarily need to be an obstacle to the principle "the new for the new."

It is universally accepted, even outside the scientific circles, that it takes "much more" to be a good farmer in 1958 than what it took to be good in 1858. But what is this "much more" that society exacts from the farmer of A.D. 1958 and that did not exact from the farmer of A.D. 1858? When this question is put to a number of agricultural experts, nine to one the answer is "the organizational attitude" of the farmer. It is only too natural that if a farmer can see things in their right proportions, and if he can weigh advantages and disadvantages, the financial problems can be solved somehow, provided the man possesses the right cultural background. See, for instance, those farmers who have the capacity and the spirit of initiative to leave the old village and start farming, with high rates of borrowed capital, in the North East Polder or abroad. But what are "the organizational attitude," the capacity to see things in their right proportions and to weigh "advantages and disadvantages," and "strong character and constance," if not typical cultural traits required for "the" entrepreneur of A.D. 1958?

To go back to our point, we are of the opinion that the "organizational attitude" of the farmer *when considered from a sufficiently vast series of instances*, is a factor much more important than other ones, such as those of incidental nature varying from farm to farm. We think, therefore, that to the availability of capital, when discussing the style of farming of a group of farmers as a whole, cannot be attributed the same importance as to the organizational attitude of the farm operator, which, obviously, is very strongly cultural determined. Progressiveness is not to be identified with the number of tractors bought in a certain number of years. From our study it results also that the average number of agricultural machines owned by the farmers of group A is not so much greater than that owned by farmers of group B. According to our informants, between group A and group B there is a difference in progressiveness or modernity which finds its concrete manifestations, rather, in a number of small differences; among others also in the different number of agricultural machines. In this light must be seen, we think, also the answers d. to question 9, and c. to question 10. Such answers might lead to the suspicion that an important obstacle to the intensification of local agriculture may lie in the present local economic structure (absence of a local auction for horticultural products, the need of a legal licence in order to cultivate particular products, etc.). An official of the governmental organization which takes care of this matter, upon our enquiring commented as follows: "It is neither lack of capital, nor of auction. If a few farmers would start with intensive horticultural business it would not be difficult to institute a regular service to transport the produce to the nearest auction. As to the licence, if one meets the requirements there are no difficulties. But here the difficulties seem to start even before thinking of demanding a licence. Since I am here (10 years) there has *never been any application*

for a licence. The real question is, in my opinion, that a specialized business needs organization, exactness, timing and a commercial mentality that these people here just do not possess."

We have, therefore, sufficient reasons to think that we are confronted with a particular culture-complex. However, this problem will be more thoroughly discussed at the end of this chapter, and it will form the main question of the next chapter. We can, therefore, spare us the discussion at this point, since we still have to comment on some more points of our set of answers.

Questions 1 to 15 deal only with the technical aspects of the problem, and they were put to 5 technical experts. However, the interrelations existing between the technical and the general aspects of our problem are so evident in their answers that we decided to report these answers in extenso. By reading the answers of our informants in many cases the reader should pay attention not to take them as "the" truth. He should try, instead, to get his own personal all-round picture of the situation in Winterswijk. Our respondents are not psychologists, they are agricultural specialists, each one in his own branch. Their answers are, therefore, neither devoid of the stereotypes common among the Winterswijk farmers, nor of personal stereotypes. For instance, in answering question 11 one informant speaks of "human qualities" when it is quite obvious that the right term in this context should be "socio-cultural" qualities. Another informant, answering to our question 10, states quite clearly that Winterswijk farmers "simply do not see any possibility . . . other than going on doing like they have been doing up to now." This is also quite typically a stereotype, for, if the statement were true no progress would have ever taken place in the history of Winterswijk farming. On several other occasions the same respondent has stated that, in fact, changes do slowly come about. Therefore, what he really means with the above mentioned statement is, obviously, that the slowness with which changes are brought about in the farm management of *the average* Winterswijk farmer is so great that he almost cannot recognize it at *first sight, within a limited period of time*. In the same answer, which is a very good one for our purposes, the same respondent states that people want to act like their neighbours do. Here again the correct answer would have been that, quite probably, in Winterswijk collectivism and social control are so strong, and that the local culture is so strongly geared upon these two "data", that the average Winterswijk farmer cannot easily desire to do anything which lies outside the practices already accepted for years in the community.

The answers given by our respondents to questions 4 to 7 supply us with instructive material to consider how a purely cultural element of general nature like the vanishing of the class-feeling can become so (inextricably) interwoven with "purely technical" characteristics like having a membership of a cooperative for agricultural machinery, or a cooperative for artificial inseminations, etc. Answers 4 to 7 show us the progressive influence of the process of democratization – a typical trait of the 20th century. Paternalism is dying, as well as class feelings and feelings of servitude and of collectivism. However, such feelings are so deeply rooted into the conscience of the Winterswijk farmer since his birth, that they have become very difficult to change, and they tend to shape his whole life. And even to-day we see that these characteristics are at work, even in the newest Winterswijk associations in the form of a tendency to let the managers' posts become again hereditary. Collectivism does not favour the appearance of the type of man who gladly takes responsibilities on his own shoulder – and who can do it also.

Further, it seems that in Winterswijk at present a distinction can be made as to the motivation towards associational life. We can observe, in fact, two types of membership-patterns:

a. memberships as a consequence of other social attributes. The number of different memberships a man might hold is not important in itself when it is a function of his inherited position on the social ladder. No distinctions are made between a Scholten with ten memberships or one with two or even no membership in any association at all. In this case the number of memberships (or of seats on some boards) held by the same person, is not important as such, because when the high social status enjoyed by that person is a manifestation of a historical situation, the concerned person can equally afford to have many as well as few memberships without any implication of this phenomenon as to his degree of progressiveness.

b. memberships deriving from the individual degree of functionalism in the modern social structure. This sort of membership has become a factor of prestige in itself. The membership of any sort of association has acquired significance and prestige in itself partly because of its socio-historical implications, and partly because of the fact that a membership has become a new yardstick to measure the "social efficiency" of the farmer.

For the average farmer the position on the social ladder is determined also by the number of memberships one has. Therefore we begin now to see even in Winterswijk the appearance of the modern social phenomenon of the "board-hunters."

The picture given us by the foregoing series of answers shows us how many aspects of several problems of so called "pure" technical nature are deeply interwoven with the cultural aspects of the life of Winterswijk farmers. Also, both from those answers and from the short typology of the two groups of farmers which precedes them, we must admit that a striking resemblance exists between our type-A farmers and the "influentials" encountered in the review of the bibliography carried out in chapter 1.¹ From the perusal of the answers received we get the impression that we have here to do with a kind of local elite. No matter whether it is a purely technical aspect which is being discussed or a question of a more general nature, the more complete participation of farmer-type A into an "organizational" form of social structure, with respect to the pattern of participation of farmer-type B results quite evident. Since our material gives us the possibility to test this hypothesis, we shall complete the typing of our two groups of farmers to this respect firstly by putting in evidence the number and type of formal activities held individually by the members of the score-groups 9-10 and 0-3, apart from the practice of the farm management. We obtain, in this way, the following picture.²

¹ The same resemblance exists, also, with Merton's influentials. As we have explained in a preceding footnote (5 p. 59) our typology had already happened when we made acquaintance with Merton's study.

² This is only a first approach to this problem. We have considered only the formal activities here, in order to give a quick impression of the difference between the two types of farmers as wholes, but we knew already from our key-persons that the A-farmers have much wider social interests and contacts than the B-farmers. This will be better emphasized in the next chapters.

We reduced the length of the following lists by choosing the farm-operators of two equal groups (69 farmers each), starting from either end of the continuum. In these groups the existing differences are more evident.

GROUP A

Score 10

1	-	Farm operator	
2	-	Cattle fund appraiser	
		Agricult. Purchasing-Selling Co-op.	Board member
		Agricult. Machinery Association	Board member
		Mutual Insurance Fund	Board member
3	-	Cattle Sale Co-op.	Board member
		Mutual Insurance Fund	Board member
		Community Council Member	
		Poultry Breeder, Hatchery	
4	-	Carpenter	
5	-	Cattle merchant	
6	-	Mutual Insurance Fund	Board member
7	-	Agric. Purchasing-Selling Co-op.	Board member
		Co-operat. Cattle Fund	Board member
8	-	Agricult. Purchasing-Selling Co-op.	Board member
		Specialized Poultry Farm	
9	-	(Qualification omitted in order to safeguard anonymity)	President
		(id.)	President
		Milk testing Association	Board member
		Mutual Insurance Fund	Board member
10	-	Cattle dealer	
11	-		
12	-		
13	-	Specialized Poultry Farm	
		Farmers' Union	Board member
		Threshing Co-op.	Board member
14	-		
15	-	Pig Breeder	
16	-	Co-operative Farmers' Bank	Board member
		Agric. Purchasing-Selling Co-op.	Board member
		Cattle Sale Co-op.	Board member
		Milk testing Association	Board member
		Association for Artificial Insem.	Board member
		Mutual Insurance Fund	Board member
		Threshing Co-op.	Board member
17	-	Co-operative Dairy Factory	Board member
18	-		

Score 9

19	-		
20	-	Farmers' Union	Board member
21	-		
22	-		
23	-	Threshing Co.	Inspector
24	-		
25	-	Horse dealer	

26	Farm operator		
27	-		
28	-		
29	-		
30	-	Association Alumni Agr. Wint. School	Board member
31	-	Co-operative Dairy Factory	Board member
		Milk testing Association	Board member
32	-		
33	-		
34	-	Farmers' Union	Board member
		Association Alumni Agr. Wint. School	Board member
		Milk testing Association	Board member
35	-	Real Estate Agent	
		Pachtkamer	Appraiser
36	-	Horse- and Cattle-dealer	
		(Qualification omitted in order to safeguard anonymity)	President
37	-		
38	-	Photo amateur	
39	-		
40	-	Cattle dealer	
41	-	Co-operative Farmers' Bank	Board member
		Agric. Purchasing-Selling Co-op.	Board member
		Cattle Sale Co-op.	Board member
		Association for Artificial Insem.	Board member
		Agric. Machinery Co-op.	Board member
		Mutual Insurance Fund	Board member
42	-	Co-operative Farmers' Bank	Board member
		Association Alumni Agr. Wint. School	Board member
43	-		
44	-		
45	-		
46	-		
47	-	Waterschap	Board member
		Farmers' Union	Board member
		Cattle Sale Co-op.	Board member
		Cattle Herdbook	Board member
		Milk testing Association	Board member
		Treshing Association	Board member
		Poultry Breeder	
48	-	Co-operative Farmers' Bank	Board member
		Milk testing Association	Board member
49	-		
50	-	Co-operative Farmers' Bank	Board member
		Milk testing Association	Board member
51	-	Co-operative Farmers' Bank	Board member
		Agricult. Purchasing-Selling Co-op.	Board member
		Agricult. Machinery Co-op.	Board member
52	-	Association for Artificial Insem.	Board member
		Mutual Insurance Fund	Board member

53	Farm operator	Co-operative Dairy Factory	Board member
		Co-operative Cattle Fund	Board member
54	-		
55	-		
56	-		
57	-		
58	-	Association Alumni Agric. Wint. School	Board member
		Boar keeper	
		Representative X firm for agricultural machinery	
59	-		
60	-		
61	-		
62	-		
63	-		
64	-	Agric. Purchasing-Selling Co-op.	Board member
		Cattle Sale Co-op.	Board member
		Threshing Association	Board member
65	-	Farmers' Union	Board member
		Pigs Herdbook	Board member
66	-	Saloon Keeper	
		(Qualification omitted in order to safeguard anonymity)	President
67	-	Co-operative Farmers' Bank	Board member
68	-	Cattle dealer	
69	-	Co-operative Cattle Fund	

GROUP B

Score 3

416	-	Threshing Co-op.	Board member
417	-		
418	-		
419	-	Wood cutter during the winter	
420	-	Co-op. Agricult. Machinery	Board member
421	-		
422	-	Carpenter on commission	
423	-	Hogs and pigs dealer	
424	-		
425	-		
426	-	Milk Collector	
427	-	Carpenter	
428	-		
429	-		
430	-		
431	-		
432	-		
433	-		
434	-		
435	-		
436	-		

437 Farm operator

438 -
 439 -
 440 -
 441 -
 442 -
 443 -
 444 -
 445 -
 446 -
 447 -

Sawmill Worker

Score 2

448 -
 449 -
 450 -
 451 -
 452 -
 453 -
 454 -
 455 -
 456 -
 457 -
 458 -
 459 -
 460 -
 461 -
 462 -
 463 -
 464 -
 465 -
 466 -
 467 -
 468 -
 469 -

Boar Keeper

Truck driver

Mailman

Milktest Collector

Score 1

470 -
 471 -
 472 -
 473 -
 474 -
 475 -
 476 -
 477 -

Waterschap Worker

Milk Collector

Loan Worker

Poultry Breeder

Score 0

478 -
 479 -

480	Farm operator
481	-
482	-
483	- Milk Collector
484	-

From the evidence given in the foregoing pages it can be assumed that a structural and cultural process is at present in full development within the rural society of the Winterswijk countryside. In order to allow a better understanding of how this is to be related to the concrete life situation of the local farming population, we report hereafter three case-studies of farm-families of the upper end of our continuum (A farm-families) and three case-studies of farm-families of the lower end of the continuum (B farm-families). In these case-studies besides purely material facts we have also reported the opinions and the statements of the interviewees as faithfully as possible, together with the impression which we, as an urban visitor, received from the situation which we found in the farm-families as a whole. These case-studies must, therefore, be considered as a complex attempt to give a few examples of the material and psychological implications which the structural development of the local society has for the people involved in it. These examples show concretely how wide is the cultural gap separating the persons at the extreme ends of our continuum. These persons must be seen, in their turn, as unique wholes, i.e. in their complex quality of individual members of society, members of their own families, and farm operators at the same time. They are "the starting point and the end" of the type of culture to which they belong.

SIX CASE-STUDIES OF WINTERSWIJK FARM FAMILIES

A FARM-FAMILIES

CASE-STUDY AI (No. 7 of the continuum)

Farm operator	Homemaker (wife)
<i>Farm-size</i> 6 ha (2.40 ha arable land; 3.60 ha grassland)	—
<i>Neighbourhood</i> ... ¹	... ¹
<i>Place of birth</i> outside the community	neighbourhood of ... ¹
<i>Age</i> 32	32
<i>Training</i> Elem. School; Elem. Agric. School; one year Agric. Winter school; Evening course milking; Evening course animal husbandry (cattle); Evening course bookkeeping; Evening course German language	Elem. School; ULO ² Evening course home economics; Evening course sewing
<i>Extra-professional activities</i>	
a. Formal Footballclub Theatrical association Oranje club ³ Shooting club	Gymnastic association Song association
b. Informal (hobbying) Reading Hunting Playing trumpet	Reading Gardening Listening to the radio Making short excursions with the bicycle
<i>Membership of</i>	
<i>political party</i> Yes	
<i>Union membership</i> Yes	
<i>No. children</i> One boy	
<i>Age children</i> 7 year	
<i>Schooling children</i> Elementary school	
<i>Profession father</i> Farm operator, 2.5 ha	
<i>Type of family</i> Nuclear	
<i>Brothers and sisters</i> One brother in the N.O.P. ⁴ One brother technician in a factory One sister married to a white-collar in town	

Footnotes on the following page.

Impressions

The buildings. The buildings are old and not too well maintained on the outside. But the interiors are well kept; in the living quarters there is modern "town"-like furniture of a "bourgeois" taste. In the "good" room some pieces of a more personal character and taste; a beautiful oil-painting of a landscape of the low-lands at the beginning of the 19th century in a sober frame of black wood; an old Dutch clock of carved and varnished wood; a linnen chest of beautiful carved oak-wood bearing a German inscription and the date 1776; two modern, polished hunting guns on the wall. The house is furnished with electricity and running water. As there is at present neither electricity nor running water in the neighbourhood, the farmer has had the installations for these facilities built especially for his own convenience. In this way it was also possible to provide the household with an electric iron, electric washing machine, a shower, toilet flush and a kitchen sink. For cooking, liquid gas (butagas) is used.

The farm. The farm, which is rented, is quite well equipped with silos and light farm machinery. For heavy labour extensive use is made of the local co-operative for farm-machinery. The barn is modernized with a stable of the modern Holland type and there are separate mangers and automatic drinking troughs for the cattle. The functionality of both barn and machinery is in excellent condition. However, there is some disorder about the barn, the yard, and the farm in general. The farmer's remarks were: "I cannot waste my time in nonsenses that do not pay. A clean yard is nice, it is true; but I prefer spending my time in ploughing my soil deeper."

The livestock consists of eight black and white cows,¹ twentyone hogs and threehundred chickens. The cattle are kept half a day on the same parcel of grassland. On the grassland the farmer spreads, besides manure, 600 kg/ha of nitrate of lime and ammonia per year. Mr. A1 has soil samples "regularly" taken on his farm. The last was in 1953. In the same year he asked also the Agric. Ext. Service for advice as to a nutritional balance for his cattle.

(footnotes page 189)

¹ Qualification omitted in order to safeguard anonymity

² The ULO is one of the several types of highschoools existing in the Netherlands, see pg. 108. An idea of the place taken by the ULO in the Dutch educational system is perhaps most efficiently given by saying that the "normal" highschoool, which prepares the bulk of the Dutch youth for university education, is the H.B.S. The training at this school lasts five years. The relationship between the ULO and the H.B.S. is such that

Milking is done by hand. All the cattle are registered in the herdbook. The farm's financial accounts are kept by the book-keeper of the Farmers' Union. The farm is managed by the husband and the wife helps during the high seasons.

Mr. A1 keeps in constant contact with the local officer of the Agricultural Extension Service. Also, quite often Mr. A1 exchanges information with the operator of the pilot farm. The two operators are personal friends and have almost daily contacts.

Type of persons. Both, farmer and homemaker, make the impression to be modern and very independent persons, with a sharp view on farm- and neighbourhood-matters. Easy to talk with, but rather reserved and businesslike. Mrs. A1, who had just returned from a visit to the town, was dressed in a definite urban fashion, wore nylon stockings and a good hair dressing. In town she had been shopping for her son's birthday which was two days later. The child was at present at school. Mrs. A1 told us with evident pleasure that the boy did rather well at school. He could read quite well for his age and was frequently asked by the teacher to read short stories before his class. The parents seem to stimulate his instruction intelligently. Among other presents brought from town there were a box of water-color paint and a book of short travel stories. Answering upon our compliments of appreciation Mr. A1 remarked: "we have always liked reading and travelling in our home. Father had never known anything other than his small farm, and he wanted us to study and to see something. I like to know what happens outside Winterswijk, so I made a subscription to the 'Arnhemsch-Dagblad' (daily newspaper for the province of Guelderland, B.B.). I should like travelling too, but one cannot leave the farm alone. I have been three years in Indonesia with the army. In spite of being in the army, I liked it very much. My brother has wanted to become an electrotechnician purposely in order to get out of. . . Also, he could not tolerate too much interference of my father. So he chose a profession different from agriculture." Upon a question whether he could imagine himself in a profession outside of

the training given at the ULO (four years) is supposed to be equivalent to three years H.B.S. training.

² See pg. 125

⁴ See pg. 162 footnote 1

¹ This means that on Mr. A1's farm there are 2.2 cows per ha grassland, Cfr. also table 11 on page 145 for the comparison.

agriculture Mr. A1 answered: "Certainly I could, in a certain way. If I did not have this farm I would either apply for the N.O.P., as my brother did, or else get some other job outside agriculture. Nowadays farmers on old farms do not have it easy, you know? What holds me down here is just this one particular farm, which I brought to the present level of efficiency entirely with my own hard work. It cost me a great deal to arrive at this degree of intensity of farm management, now I like it. But I am not one who thinks that agriculture is the only thing in the world." The farmer had the following definite opinion as to the present difficulties of agriculture. "The large farmers are continuously complaining that their farm-hands (in this part of the Netherlands the sons of the small farmers - B. B.) prefer a job in town instead of working on the farm. They are afraid to remain without any help at all. But what should those poor farmers' sons do? I cannot say they are wrong. What the large farmers actually mean, is that they cannot find any more young people who are ready to work from 6.30 a.m. to 8.30 or 9 p.m. as they themselves do, and really *do not want* any other type of workday for their employees, but they will cheat their own object in the end."

Besides Indonesia the farmer has been several times in all the provinces of the Netherlands, with the exception of South-Holland. Most of these visits were excursions organized by the Farmers' Union. He has also been several times in Germany, where he has some friends. He and his wife take two or three days vacation every year. The vacations are spent either in a small place at the sea-side in North-Holland by a married sister, or in Germany, with their German friends. The family has friends in the neighbourhood, whom they meet on several recreational occasions. The "neighbours"¹ are not considered personal friends. One of the best friends of Mr. and Mrs. A1 is a horse-trader. At the house of this particular friend Mr. and Mrs. A1 have sometimes had the occasion to meet Italian merchants. So they are not astonished of our presence in Winterswijk. They know something about Italy: "The people I have met knew their job. And Italy is a great importer of our chickens. They tell me you have a lot of unemployed people in agriculture in your country. They should send a few of them over here." We talk at length about politics. Mr. A1 is very interested in our study. He puts many intelligent questions to which we cannot give a satisfactory answer. Our not

¹ For the right understanding of this term cfr. pg. 123 and following.

being able to say whether some immediate and practical improvement of the farmers' life is to be expected out of this study receives the following remark: "It does not matter; it is always useful and interesting to know how things are."

CASE-STUDY A2 (No. 58 of the continuum)

Farm-operator		Homemaker (wife)
<i>Farm-size</i>	17.5 ha (7.25 ha arable land; 10.25 ha grassland)	—
<i>Neighbourhood</i>	.....¹	
<i>Place of birth</i>	.....¹	.....¹
<i>Age</i>	30	21
<i>Training</i>	Elem. School; ULO; Agric. Winter school; Evening course General agriculture; Evening course hand-milking; Evening course mechanical milking; Evening course animal hus- bandry (Cattle); Evening course animal husbandry (Poultry); Folkshighschool. ¹ Folkshighschool. ¹ 6 months practice on a big farm in the province of Gro- ningen (cropland)	Elem. School; ULO; School for home economics; one year pri- vate course English language; Evening course General agri- culture; Evening course mechan- ical milking; Evening course sew- ing; Folkshighschool. ¹ 3 months practice on a big farm in the province of Groningen (cropland); 3 months practice in an urban household in the city of ¹
<i>Extra-professional activities</i>		
a. Formal	Football club Horseback-riding club Theatrical association Music association	Gymnastic association Horseback-riding club
b. Informal (hobbying)	Reading Playing checkers Playing piano Swimming	Reading Gardening Excursionceering Swimming Ice-skating Hunting Driving (auto)
<i>Membership of political party</i>	No	
<i>Union membership</i>	Yes	
<i>No. children</i>	One girl	

¹ Quali fication omitted in order to safeguard anonymity.

Farm operator	Homemaker (wife)
<i>Age children</i>	One year
<i>Schooling children</i>	—
<i>Profession father</i>	Formerly farmer (at the moment occupying a job outside agriculture)
<i>Type of family</i>	Nuclear. (In the same house live also Mr Az's parents in separate living quarters)
<i>Brothers and sisters</i>	One brother has a specialized poultry-farm in the municipality One brother is a civil servant in North-Holland One sister is married to a shop-keeper in town One sister is married to a civil servant in the city of ¹

Impressions

The buildings. Rather big farm-house of a definite standing. Accurately maintained on the outside. Inside the greatest part of the living quarters does not make the impression of being particularly modern. However, the furniture is of a definite well-to-do character and shows the flavour of a personal taste. The sitting-room is clearly organized and furnished according to modern ideas of personal comfort. There is a big veranda on the south, overlooking the garden. On the veranda there are several pots with flowers and plants. The floor is of polished light oak wood and the whole interior of the room is quite light – a rather uncommon colour for a farm-house in Winterswijk. Three big easy chairs are placed around a gas-heater on a new matting with nice modern patterns on it. A portable tea-trolley in a corner, with a modern tea-set of pottery on it. Further in the room there is a beautiful linnen chest of light and dark wood, and a modern book shelf with some fifty books and several national magazines on it. The house is furnished with telephone, electricity and running water. The household is enriched with an electric iron, electric washing-machine, electric sewing machine, electric vacuum-cleaner, a kitchen sink, a shower and a flush toilet. For cooking and for the shower butagas is used.

¹ Qualification omitted in order to safeguard anonymity.

The farm. The farm is owned by Mr A2 and is managed by the operator and two farm-hands, of whom one works on the farm the whole week, while the other works two days per week. On the farm there are silos and nearly all the machinery suited for mixed farming. Sowing machine, cultivator and potato harvester are owned together with a brother-in-law. There is a jeep. The stable, of the Holland-type, is provided with automatic drinking troughs, vacuum apparatus for the milking machine, and with a rubber floor for the cow-shed of which the farmer is very proud. This improved technique is very new in the community. Mr A2 was one of the first to apply it, but he says: "The others have seen it now and they will adopt it sooner or later." Mr A2 himself read about the device in an agricultural paper. The rubber-floor allows the farmer to sell a great part of his straw and to realize, therefore, an extra income which was thus far "inexistent" for the Winterswijk farmers. Other sources of income, besides from farming, come from keeping five pedigree boars for breeding. Further he is a representative for a firm which sells a type of agricultural machinery. Mr A2's task consists of handling for the first two days every new machine sold in this part of the Achterhoek, and in taking care that the farmers learn how to serve the machine properly.

The livestock present on the farm consists of sixteen¹ black and white cows, seven calves, and three hundred chickens. Further there are six sows for breeding.

The cattle are kept one day on the same parcel of grassland. On his grassland the farmer spreads 500 kg/ha of nitrate of lime and ammonia per year. Soil samples are taken from time to time. The last one was in 1950. Milking is done mechanically by the operator and his wife, or by his wife and a farm-hand when Mr A2 is away. The farm's financial accounts are kept by the bookkeeper of the union. Farm-buildings, farm machinery, stable and yard look in perfect order.

Type of persons. Mr A2 and his wife are a young couple with a high level of instruction and of interests. They are definitely modern in their style of living and up-to-date with what happens outside their own farm. The farmer is often away from home, so he has a definite consciousness of the value of time and of the importance of a good organization within the farm. As we were very much interested in meeting this farm-operator, because of his being a

¹ This means that on Mr A2's farm there are 1.5 cows per ha grassland.

member of the board of the Alumni Association of the Agricultural Winter school, we had to make an appointment beforehand by telephone. His wife came with the jeep to meet us at the railway station. On the way back she bought yoghurt and oranges (quite abnormal consumergoods for a Winterswijk rural family), then she went to the deep-freeze cell to retrieve some meat for dinner.¹ During the ride home we talked about household matters. Upon our enquiring about the local pattern of family organization Mrs A2 made the following remark, which we report in extenso: "I am very satisfied with the arrangement we have home. You see? As soon as we had electricity from 'the village,' I bought an electric iron, an electric sewing machine, an electric washing machine and a vacuum-cleaner and nobody has said anything about it. You know, some times old people consider many things as unnecessary luxury. But they are not unnecessary, particularly if you have to look after the farm-hands, and to milk sixteen cows when your husband is away. I am quite happy with my parents-in-law, but I know of cases when some old people interfere with everything. A friend of mine is married. She and her husband went to live with her mother. She has a child now and the situation in that house is such that her mother (45 years old) has *never* yet cooked once in her life, since the mother's mother is still there! After they got running water in the house, my friend wanted to put up a modern kitchen. But that was impossible, because neither mother nor "grandma" saw any use in it. She did not give it up, though, and she organized a small kitchen of her own in a hut outside the house. But that was not quite practical because they all ate at the same table, and one cannot go on long in a situation like that. So she gave it up, eventually, and she says she'll never start something of the kind again, until the old people have died. But she might have to wait some forty years!"

Mr A2 was waiting for us at home repairing a potato-harvester. He spoke to us in a very good Dutch with a slight regional accent. He was very interested in our being foreign and started immediately asking questions on the Italian land-reform, agriculture, and the economic conditions of the farmers in Italy. After our answers, upon hearing that we had some practice of agriculture and of agricultural extension ourselves, Mr A2 showed us the new rubber floor of his cow-stable, and he took us for a walk on his land in order to show us a new type of fodder-crop – so far un-

¹ At the time of the interview a deep-freeze installation had just been opened by the local co-operative dairy factory, where the farmers can have their wares conserved

known in Winterswijk – with which he was “experimenting.” The crop did not do too well, and Mr A2 wanted to know whether it was cultivated in Italy and whether we could give him some advice. The crop was not cultivated in Italy, to our knowledge. We talked about the whole matter at length and Mr A2 said next year he would anticipate the sowing of at least 30 days. Back home he let us see a register in which he keeps all the technical records of the rotational schemes applied during the last five years on his farm. Each year Mr A2 makes a detailed map of his farm, where the location and the acreage of the soil dedicated to each culture are noted. The rotational system is established with the help of the officer of the Agricultural Extension Service.

Mr A2 is well acquainted with the problems of Dutch agriculture and agricultural policy, and we talked at length about the future European Common Market as he wanted to know in what branches of local agriculture a competition from the Italian agriculture should be expected in future.

Mr A2 has a subscription with the national daily newspaper *TROUW*, but he regrets that sometimes he cannot read it so peacefully as he would like. Mr A2 has a rather busy time with the meetings of the Unions and other associations and he is therefore often away from home in the evenings. “One cannot do everything at once” he says.

To the question as to the reason of his not being a member of a political party, Mr A2 gave the following answer: “I do not like the Socialists (he is afraid of a possible nationalization of the land, *v. v.*), but I do not like the right-wing people either. They do not seem to see that the post-war farmers owe much of their present favourable conditions to the policy of the Government. So I have no party; but I am a strong supporter of the Unions. I would like to see that some more administrative and executive power is given to the Farmers’ Unions in the Dutch political system.”

Mr and Mrs A2 take short periods of vacations outside the municipality every year. Such vacations are spent mostly at their relatives in town. None of the “neighbours” are comprised in their circle of personal friends, which is composed of the owner of a garage, the owner of a café, a nurse and two white-collars. All of them live in the town of Winterswijk. Further a farmer (Mrs A2’s brother) and a cattle-dealer belong to the regular visitors of Mr A2’s house.

against payment of an annual rental. At the time of our interview this was a big novelty for the local rural population.

Mr A2 could think of himself as leaving agriculture, if the need arose; although, he does not like the idea.

Mr A2's parents live in the same house. However, they went to live in separate living quarters when Mr A2 married. By that occasion Mr A2's father who formerly operated the farm with the help of his son, retired completely from agriculture. Mr A2's parents are very polite and distinguished aged people of about seventy, with a style and a personal civility of their own. Their views on life are certainly not limited. Having enquired why they chose to live separately from their son, considered that both families live in the same building (which is quite uncommon for Winterswijk) Mr A2's mother answered quite simply "young people must have their own life for themselves" and Mr A2's father explained more thoroughly his views in the following statement: "It is wrong to say that people are, or must be, educated by their parents. That is good in theory, but it does not work out in practice. What was good for us in our own days is not good any more for you to-day. People only need to be given the chance to develop and to educate themselves. It is life that educates one and not the parents; and it is no use denying that life and the times change. So one must adapt himself to its exigencies." Mr A2's father, who at present has an administrative job in town, reminds us much more of an old village doctor, or teacher, than of a (Winterswijk) farmer.

Mrs A2 is a member of the Alumni Association of the school for home economics and a member of the Society of Country-Women. She tries to take part as much as she can in every initiative of these two associations. She enjoys particularly the excursions. Mrs A2 and her husband have visited nearly every Dutch province and are well acquainted with the north-western part of Germany as far as Cologne.¹ Mrs A2 has been also to Belgium, to Luxemburg and, for several months, in Switzerland by relatives. Mr and Mrs A2 have visited the Palace of Peace and the House of Parliament in The Hague.

Mr A2 is a member of the board of the Alumni Association of the local Agricultural Winter school. He is very proud both of the school and of the function he occupies. He says: "The Agricultural Winter school and the Folkshighschool are much better than the elementary agricultural school, not because of *what* you

¹ It is a pleasure for us to remember here that on occasion of this interview we received the invitation to stay a couple of days with Mr and Mrs A2. During our stay they showed us around Bocholt, Vreden and Münster in Germany.

learn. What one has learned at school is grown out-of-date or forgotten within the first two years one is out of school. But the important thing is that you learn the reason of things, and to think critically. Quite often when the young farmers start the Agricultural Winter school they are just average farmers. But later, *after* attending the school, they *become* a kind of selected group. For instance, the three farmers member of the Community Council are three alumni, the president of the local section of the G.M.V.L. (a Farmers' Union - B.B.), the president of the Co-op. Dairy Factory and all the members of the advisory committee of our school are alumni, plus the operator of the pilot farm, etc. All these sort of people are members of our club! We organize meetings nearly every fourteen days and we have big discussions about both politics and technique. This is not the case with those farmers who received their training from a simple course in general agriculture, or from the elementary school. They just learn that one particular practice should be carried out in one particular way, and that's all. I have here a typical example: one of my neighbours had that sort of training. From time to time he comes to me with his booklets of fifteen years ago, and he asks me to help him find his way through them. Of course they are too old! Some times ago I told him to throw them into the stove; So now he comes and looks just how I do the things here around. But the other day he saw that my new fodder-crop does not grow too well, so he made fun of me."

During our conversation a neighbour had come to ask Mr A2 whether after dinner he would go over to his house in order to castrate a young litter of piglets. Mr A2 asked whether he could take along an Italian agronomist who was making a study of the Dutch agriculture on the sandy soils. His demand was open-heartedly accepted.¹

Mr A2 quite evidently enjoys a high technical social status. In fact, during the visit to the neighbour's house, after having operated on the piglets, the neighbour complained to him about prices and costs in agriculture. With paper and pencil Mr A2 demonstrated that by the acreage and yield of rye such as the neighbour's, the crop had given almost no revenue at all. In Mr A2's opinion the neighbour should diminish the acreage of rye, increase the acreage of fodder-beets and keeps more cattle.

¹ As the neighbour's name happened to be in our group of B-farmers, one can read the notes we jotted down during the visit to his house in our case-study B2.

On our way back Mr A2 remarked: "Funny how some people seem never to come across simple ideas like that. Of course, in reality it is not all so simple, as a change of the present plan would necessitate a complete rearrangement all-round, and it would give him very much less of the easy time of which he is so fond."

CASE-STUDY A3 (No. 46 of the continuum)

Farm operator		Homemaker (wife)
<i>Farm-size</i>	14 ha (5.50 ha arable land; 8.50 ha grassland)	—
<i>Neighbourhood</i>	.....¹	
<i>Place of birth</i>	One of the three biggest Dutch towns	.....¹
<i>Age</i>	31	27
<i>Training</i>	Elem. School; H.B.S.; 2 years University; Agricultural Winter school	Elem. School; ULO; 1 year school for home economics; Evening course sewing
<i>Extra-professional activities</i>		
a. Formal	Musical association	—
b. Informal (hobbying)	Reading Playing card Listening to the radio Going to the pictures Going to the theatre	Reading Gardening Listening to the radio Going to the pictures Taking excursions
<i>Membership of</i>		
<i>political party</i>	Yes	
<i>Union membership</i>	Yes	
<i>No. children</i>	Two, one girl and one boy	
<i>Age</i>	3 and 1	
<i>Schooling children</i>	—	
<i>Profession father</i>	White collar	
<i>Type of family</i>	Extended (mother-in-law pre- sent in the household)	
<i>Brothers and sisters</i>	One brother technician in a factory	

¹ Qualification omitted in order to safeguard anonymity.

² The farm of mr A3 is on reclaimed land near the German border. At the time of

Impressions

The buildings. Comparatively new building on reclaimed land. Not too well maintained on the outside. On the inside, the lodging makes a definite impression of an urban-bourgeois style of living. There are only a few pieces of "rural" character: a big stove, the table and the chairs in the kitchen. The rest of the furniture is of modern, wholesale production. In the sitting-room the walls are covered by a new light coloured wall-paper and embellished with some hanging plants. Other plants and flowers are at the window and on the table, which is covered by a modern, new table-cloth. In the room there is a divan, two easy-chairs, a low table for magazines and papers, and a modern dresser with new glass-services in it. By the divan there is a modern portable lamp. Also a small harmonium, rather aged, is in the room. In the house there is a telephone. Lighting is scarce as a generator furnishes the electricity for it. The same generator also serves for the radio.² None of the modern electrical facilities for the household are present, nor is there running water in the house. For cooking butagas is used.

The farm is rented and the farmer seems to encounter serious difficulties in convincing the owner to bring about more extensive improvements to the buildings.

The farm. The farm is furnished with a potato-silo and has a fairly good machine-park. The cow-stable is of the Holland-type. The barn and the yard are rather untidy, as the farmer has to manage without paid help. The farmer excuses himself for it by saying: "One must disregard aesthetics, and try to work as efficiently as one can." Great use is made of the co-operative for farm machinery. The live-stock consists of thirteen³ black-and-white cows, four calves, three sows and two litters of pigs, and onehundredfifty chickens. The cattle are kept four days on the same parcel of grassland.

Upon our questioning as to the quantity of nitrogen fertilizer spread on his grassland in a year, Mr A₃ gives the following answer: "Well, of course, it depends on what fertilizer one uses. Sometimes there are variations in the prices of the different fertilizers. I always manage to spread on my pastures about 120

our interview the electrification of Winterswijk countryside had not yet reached this area of the community.

³ This means that on Mr A₃'s farm there are 1.5 cows per ha grassland.

kg Nitrogen (element - B. B.) per year. If I use nitrate of lime and ammonia, as is mostly the case, this would come down to about 600 kg per year. Besides, there is the organic manure. But I do not know how much that is."

Soil samples are regularly taken on the farm. The last sample had been taken a few months before the interview. Milking is done by hand. The farm's financial accounts are kept by a private book-keeper. The farmer keeps in regular contact with the local officer of the Extension Service (mutual visits about once a month plus consultations by telephone).

The farmer is rather dissatisfied with the rental contract which, in his opinion, prevents heavier investments in the management of both farm and household.

The people. The farmer is very businesslike and his intelligence is highly developed. He has very definite ideas and knows what he wants; he is quite competent in his work. Although Mr A₃ is known as one of the "good" farmers in his neighbourhood, he himself showed us how the efficiency of the farm-management could be highly increased if a number of improvements were made on the farm. Under the present Dutch civil law these improvements cannot be brought about directly by a tenant, without a written permission of the owner. The written permission has not yet come, and the farmer does not want to start a judicial suit against the owner. The farmer, who formerly has been a technical employee of a governmental agricultural organization in The Hague, reads much and has a subscription to the *Algemeen Handelsblad*, one of the principal national daily papers. In his youth he has taken piano and English lessons. At present he has no time for such things. Upon a question as to whether he could imagine himself leaving agriculture Mr A₃ answered: "Of course I could; if things keep going like this I do not think I will stay here much longer.¹ I quite enjoy farming, otherwise I would not be here. But it is discouraging when one cannot make alterations where necessary; this situation does not stimulate one's own spirit of enterprise, and, furthermore one spends twice as much time to do certain chores than necessary. So one has no time left for himself."

¹ About one year after this statement Mr A₃ left Winterswijk and went with his family to . . . where he at present works as a specialized technician in an agricultural institution.

² By the bulk of the population of the neighbourhoods (B. B.)

Mr A₃ has visited all the Dutch provinces, exception made for South-Limburg. He has been abroad in Belgium, Luxemburg, Germany and France.

Normal visiting relations are entertained by Mr A₃ and his family with the neighbours, whom Mr A₃ "inherited" from his dead father-in-law. However, among his friends there are also several city-people and a mailman, a carpenter and a tax officer living in the hamlet. Mr A₃ emphasizes that he himself is a sort of outsider in the neighbourhood. In a very polite Dutch, without any special accent Mr A₃ says: "I do not know many people here around. As a matter of fact, I find many of the customs here rather strange myself." So, at present he is not very active in the neighbourhood life. He has been for a while a board-member of his union, but then he resigned the function: "You see? These people here are only too glad if they can find a leader who does everything for them. If you do not take care you have no time left for your own business before you realize it."

About local collectivism, the localistic pattern of life, and about the life of a leader in the community Mr A₃ says: "Oh, the people of the boards of the biggest associations, the burgomaster, or the people who sit in the community-council have a hard time here. If what they do is all-right, not a word is said.² However, if nothing is said, it does not in every case imply that what they have done is all-right. Some words are said only in the case that what they do is obviously wrong; but even in this case, you come to know the people's opinion only after a couple of months, through one or the other side-way."

Mrs A₃ is a gentle and polite young, modern woman, dressed in a flowery dress of printed cotton. She regrets that the present situation on the farm prevents her from improving her education. She would like to study some foreign language. She was born in the same neighbourhood, but she sees that the local social control is an obstacle to one's own more individual life. About the local custom of holding extensive and big wedding-parties³ Mrs A₃ says: "It is horrible. But particularly for those who have to do business with the people here (local traders, breeders, etc.) it is impossible to avoid it. Otherwise they would lose their customers. I wish that on such parties no jokes were made for which the bride

³ To a wedding-party one is practically compelled by the social control to invite at least one member of each family of the neighbourhood, plus a large number of people from the other neighbourhoods and "the village."

should have to blush. But people here say "that one must know how to stand such jokes."

Mr and Mrs A₃ have sometimes guests staying for short periods of time on their farm. These are mostly Mr A₃ relatives from the city, who come for short vacations. They also manage to have a couple of days vacation from time to time, in spite of the very difficult labour-situation on their farm. Mrs A₃ helps her husband in the farm management in the high seasons (hay-making, harvesting, etc.) and with milking twice a day. As to the minor chores around the farm (feeding chickens and pigs, collecting eggs, feeding the calves, the horse, etc.) they are left to her mother, so that Mrs A₃ has more time to attend her own children, who are well looked after by both parents. The eldest, the daughter, has several dolls and many other toys of typical urban character. The son spends most of his time playing with a teddy-bear in a play-pen either in the kitchen or in the yard, when the sun shines. These children have not the aspect typical to most farm children of this part of the Netherlands. This may be the result of a somewhat more accurate toilet, but it may derive also from the fact that they are very friendly and lack any trace of shyness. The mother explains that they are quite accustomed to seeing strangers on the farm itself or in town, where she takes them often on visits to friends, the doctor, and to the weekly market. Also, great attention is paid to the childrens' diet. Mrs A₃ takes her son regularly once a month to Winterswijk to a health-office for consultation, as she had also done with her daughter up to the age of two years. As she says, she does not want her children to grow up "rosy and white, fat and weak." "I do not like all that porridge and cream they give the children here." Mrs A₃'s mother, who is an intelligent, broad-minded woman, agrees entirely with Mrs A₃'s views. "I know by experience what an improvement in the people's diet means. Before the courses in home-economics started, forty-three years ago, people knew very little about diets. There was no canning and people ate salt or smoked meat all the year long. Not every day, though. The normal diet was potatoes, porridge and some fat. I remember, at home, only on sundays could we have one egg, and sugar in the tea, and a biscuit. You could not believe it, but there are still a few households where this is the case, even to-day. However, this does not happen here - it is mostly in the 'old places,' such as Ratum and Woold. Here around, the 'new places,' there are mostly modern families. And there were not many true Winterswijk people among those who reclaimed

this land. Coming here, to live so far from the village, so near to the German border and without a true neighbourhood, it was, for the average Winterswijk farmer as if they had to emigrate to Canada."

One of the biggest worries of Mr A₃ is that he has not much time left for personal recreation, if he wants to make ends meet. "Until last year I was a member of the local theatrical group. But if one works all hours of the day, as I have to do, it is impossible to do much at night. And one cannot rehearse when one is tired. So, last year I gave it up. Before I go to bed I spend now my evenings in reading the paper. That I will not give up, even if my wife reproaches me for keeping late hours."

At the end of the interview, showing us to the door, Mr A₃ says: "When you have finished with your study, will you tell me the results of it?" We tell him that in our study there will be very little about local agriculture which he does not know already. Besides, our study will be written in English. "Oh! that is a pity. It would have been very interesting anyhow to know how things look like here when they are seen through a stranger's eye. Those who, as we, are connected with this country cannot be equanimous about it."

BFARM-FAMILIES

CASE-STUDY BI (No. 483 of the continuum)

Farm operator		Homemaker (operator's mother)
<i>Farm-size</i>	5.50 ha (1.50 ha arable land; 4 ha grassland)	
<i>Neighbourhood</i>	.....¹	
<i>Place of birth</i>	.....¹	.....¹
<i>Age</i>	42	67
<i>Training</i>	Elementary school	Elementary school
<i>Extra professional activities</i>		
a. Formal	—	—
b. Informal	Playing cards Visiting	Visiting
<i>Membership of</i>		
<i>political party</i>	No	
<i>Union membership</i>	No	
<i>No. of children</i>	Four; three boys and one girl	
<i>Age of children</i>	13, 8, 6, 4	
<i>Schooling of children</i>	Elementary school (the two oldest)	
<i>Profession father</i>	Farm operator 5 ha	
<i>Type of family</i>	Extended	
<i>Brothers and sisters</i>	One brother, lives at home One sister, married to a farmer in the municipality	

Impressions

The buildings. The farm is rented. The buildings are in a rather miserable state of maintenance, both on the outside and on the

¹ Qualification omitted in order to safeguard anonymity

inside. They badly need several repairs, not to speak of modern improvements. There is no electricity in the house, either from the local net or from own generator. Even water is not present in the house, in spite of the fact that there is a well and a pump outside. The house is damp, dark and chilly. The furniture, in so far as it exists, is very old and rather badly kept. The furniture of the kitchen consists of a table, six old-fashioned cane-bottomed chairs and a broken cupboard. The wooden parts present in the kitchen (the door, the frame of the window and the furniture) are all of an unpolished, dark wood and the only ornaments present in the room are the white and blue tiles of the big old fashioned stove under the chimney. The chimney has a broken mantelpiece with some boxes and two candles on it. The meals are prepared on the stove. The kitchen is full of dubious smells and there is rubbish under the table, on some chairs, on the cupboard. No other parts of the living quarters were visited, exception made for a dark corridor connecting the kitchen with the barn. Great numbers of flies are present in the kitchen, the barn and in the yard.

The farm. The farm is very poorly equipped with farm machinery, only minor tools, like spades, forks, etc. being present. Even these do not testify for much care on the part of the farmer. A great disorder is all around the farm buildings; on the yard before the barn there is a broken cart, rusty and soaked by the rain, which could have been easily recovered, either in the barn or in the empty shed across the yard. The cow-stable is of the old Saxon type and the cattle are fed directly on the barn-floor, since there is no manger of any sort.

The live-stock consists of five red-and-white cows,^a one calf, one sow with a litter of seven piglets, and "about" onehundred and forty chickens. The cattle are kept on the grassland "until there is grass." Upon a second effort on our part it turns out that the period which the cattle of this farm spend on the same parcel of land can be roughly estimated at about a month. On his grassland the farmer spreads "about" one hundred kgs nitrate of lime and ammonia. No soil-samples have ever been taken on the farm of Mr Br. Upon our question as to the contact with the Agricultural Extension Service the farmer answers "yes" without, however, being able to give more concrete details about it.

^a This means that on Mr Br's farm there are 1.2 cows per ha grassland.

A second source of income comes to the farmer from collecting the milk in the neighbourhood on behalf of the local dairy factory. After having fed his own livestock, and milked his own cows, Mr B1 is every morning engaged in this part-time job from 7.30 a.m. till 1.30 p.m. For this service he receives £ 10,—, which presumably — considering that he has to provide also his own horse and cart — does not make a rendable investment of his own work and time.

The farm is managed partly by Mr B1 himself, partly by his 66 year old father, together with the daughter-in-law (Mr B1's wife). Besides, it is also quite probable that even Mr B1's 13 year-old son helps with minor chores when he comes home from school.

No financial accounts of the farm management are kept, so that it is actually difficult for Mr B1 to realize whether his farm management, and particularly the allocation of labour on the farm is efficient and rendable enough. This question actually puzzles Mr B1 when we put it to him, as if he had never thought of it before.

There are many other questions on the farm management about which Mr B1 is startled and puzzled as if it were the first time that he came across such thoughts; or as if the answers were so self-evident that one did not need to put the question at all. A question about the reason of there not being any manger for the cattle at all in the barn is answered by a mere staring of the yes. The same answer is given to a question as to whether it would not be easier and more efficient to have a pump, communicating with the well outside, installed in the barn. Having enquired whether there is a particular reason for keeping red-and-white R.M.IJ.-cattle instead of the more selected black-and-white, we receive in answer a thoughtful "Well. . .," followed, after a while, by "we have always had them. They do quite all-right." Which is probably true, in the present conditions of farm management. A question on the total lack of complex farm-machinery does not receive, at first, an immediate answer. Only after a while Mr B1 says: "machinery is harmful for the farmers' happiness; when we really need some machines we borrow them from the neighbours." Having asked why on Mr B1's farm as much as 80% of the arable land is tilled with grains ("about" ha 1.20 as against "about" ha 0.30 fodderbeets) we are stared at in real amazement. No true discussion about farm management is possible as, evidently, in

¹ One of our key-persons told us that this kind of servile attitude is still quite widespread, particularly in Ratum and Woold, which form the two most traditionally

Mr B₁'s opinion things are as they should be, nor is there any other way possible. Anyway, they are just like that.

The persons. The household consists of Mr and Mrs B₁, Mr B₁'s parents, an unmarried brother of Mr B₁, who works as a farm-hand on an other farm and as a labourer with the Threshing Association in the high seasons, and of Mr B₁'s four children. The homemaker is Mr B₁'s mother. As to the management of the farm, it is not quite clear whether the real manager is Mr B₁ or his father, who, for the whole length of the interview, remained sitting near the stove stirring with a broken tin spoon some kind of porridge without saying a word. Mr B₁, however, kept consulting him with his eyes the whole time.

The three persons, who took part in the interview – i.e. Mr B₁, Mrs B₁, and Mr B₁'s mother (Mr B₁'s brother and the two older children were absent) made upon us the impression of possessing neither a vivid intelligence nor a particular interest on their own life-situation. They were just there. All of them encountered some difficulty in answering many question and they were rather passive. Perhaps they were embarrassed or shy; in any case they were not very helpful. Many questions were actually superfluous in the life-situation of these people and, from their own point of view, truly strange (for instance to the question whether their own personal friends were farmers from the neighbourhood or non-farming people from the town. Mr B₁'s mother answered: "the neighbours!" with a tone of voice as if to say: "Where on earth can one draw one's own friends from, if not the neighbourhood!") Also, the two women kept looking at each other and laughing nervously or shyly for the greatest part of the interview. There is some kind of indifference mixed with servility in the way they always answered first "yes" to nearly every question.¹ A more concrete exemplification of our original question gave, sometimes, other results.

After half an hour the conversation grows quite tiring for both parties. There seems to be, also, very little to talk about; it is difficult to find points of interests and, as a matter of fact, there is not even real conversation. The interview proceeds only through direct questions to which follow short answers (if there follows an answer at all). However, it is not through direct suspicion that "closed" neighbourhoods. Having once asked a boy: "Do you parents still live?" he received the answer: "Yes, but they are both dead."

these people do not answer; it is that, in their own way, there is just nothing to answer.

The two women are clothed in black, old fashioned heavy clothes. We cannot distinguish any significant difference in the way of dressing between mother and daughter-in-law. Mr B1's father is dressed in black too, Mr B1 has an old blue overall on.

The members of this farmer-family do not read papers, nor do they have any particular personal hobby. There seems to be no need for a conscious recreation; there is, also, no regularly free time for it, and we cannot help wondering whether they would know what to do with it if there were. There is no free time, because all which is not work (according to their own conception of this term) is shameful laziness. The only "allowed" recreations are the visiting with the neighbours, the yearly neighbourhood-feasts, and other more incidental parties during the year.

Primitivism is perhaps the only suitable term to appropriately render the material and moral situation of Mr and Mrs B1's home. Evidently, the normal visitors of this family are not usually received at the front-door. The door has neither a handle nor any mechanical system to notify one's own presence to the people inside the house. Besides, grass grows between the stones before the door, the lower part of which is covered by a thick layer of dried mud spilt on it by the rain. It looks like as if the door has not been opened for ages. The other opening in the lower part of the facade, a window, is shut too. On the back-side, the door of the barn is widely open. Through the empty barn we walk to the door of the living quarters, where we are met by a small boy in rather poor hygienic conditions. At the sight of the unexpected visitor the child remains motionless for some time and gives no answer to our questions, then he runs away into the house. For the rest of our visit he, his sister of 6, and two other neighbouring boys remain always at the farthest point of the kitchen, staring at us shyly. The four children are all rather shabbily dressed and dirty; their faces express astonishment and awe. No much attention is paid to them by the presten adults; when we enquire more particularly about them, they are

¹ This sort of aloofness in the personal relations among relatives in the rural population of this part of the Netherlands has been repeatedly observed and it is quite typical for a non-individualized pattern of family-life. Also, the resignation with which personal physical injuries are accepted is typical of people not yet accustomed with the idea of the possibility of an artificial intervention upon natural phenomena regarding the human body.

Cfr. F. B. M. G. van Ditzhuyzen - "Sociale wetgeving in verband met het karakter

not shown to us; the mother communicates us briefly what we want to know, without turning to the children who stand behind her. We cannot help noticing that this is a rather unpersonal attitude for a mother, and that there is an unmistakable matter-of-fact tone in her voice when she says "jammer" (pity) about her own daughter, who is crippled.¹ Grandmother says apologetically: "They are shy. They have never seen anything new in their life. *We* have never seen much either," and then she adds (we cannot decipher the tone of her voice) "we are just ignorant farmers." During the interview it appears that only Mr B1 has been once outside the municipality. That was during the war, when the Germans brought him to work as a farm-hand in Westfalia, some thirty miles away. Nobody else in the family has ever passed the boundaries of the municipality. How comes? This is one of the many questions which are answered only by an embarrassed smile and an expressionless stare of the eyes, as if it were obvious that one should never leave his place of birth. After a while Mr B1 – visibly forcing himself – says: "Well, we had here for so long such a difficult cow. Only father could milk her!" This is meant as a partial justification, but the incompleteness of this answer needs no comments.

About the future of the two boys that during the interview were at school Mr B1 says: "I do not know; they must know by themselves. They want to become farmers."²

As to the question whether the boys will get some technical training after the elementary school, their father says that they might perhaps follow an evening course in general agriculture or milking. He tells us, however, that the eldest son already knows how to milk quite well and he is proud of it.

Politics of any kind do not interest Mr B1. The answer is, again, "We are just poor farmers, we do not know much." However, there is a trace of resentment in his voice, and we have the feeling to have touched upon a sensitive point. When we eventually leave the farm Mr B1 puts his first and only question in our whole conversation: "What is the idea of so much enquiring?"³

van een 'Twentse Bevolkingsgroep' – (Delden). Lochem, 1955, Uitgev. Mij "De Tijdstroom."

¹ N.B. Their age is, respectively, 13 and 8 years.

² We stress that the first thing of which we took regularly care during our interviewing was to explain to the interviewees that we were an Italian agronomist who was making a study of the conditions of agriculture on the Dutch sandy soils. Even in the course of the discussions the emphasis was always upon the technical aspects of the farm-management, rather than upon other aspects of the family life.

CASE-STUDY B2 (No. 471 of the continuum)

Farm operator		Homemaker (wife)
<i>Farm-size</i>	7.80 ha (2.30 ha arable land; 5.50 ha grassland)	—
<i>Neighbourhood</i>	.....¹	.....²
<i>Place of birth</i>	.....¹	.....²
<i>Age</i>	36	32
<i>Training</i>	Elementary school	Elementary school Evening course sewing
<i>Extra professional activities</i>		
a. Formal	—	—
b. Informal	Visiting	Visiting Knitting
<i>Membership of political party</i>	No	
<i>Union membership</i>	No	
<i>No. of children</i>	Three, two boys and one girl	
<i>Age children</i>	10, 7, 5	
<i>Schooling children</i>	Elementary school	
<i>Profession father</i>	Farm operator (dead)	
<i>Type of family</i>	Extended (one of Mr B2's sisters is living in the house)	
<i>Brothers and sisters</i>	One sister, married to a farmer outside the community One unmarried sister living at home	

Impressions

The buildings. The house is rather old, but well maintained and newly painted of a brick-red on the outside. Indoors, nothing particular distinguishes it from the average Winterswijk farmhouse. The floors are of painted red bricks. Inside it is dark. The walls, as well as the doors in the kitchen are painted with a brown-green dark colour. In this house there is electricity and running

¹ Qualification omitted in order to safeguard anonymity.

² This means that on Mr B2's farm there are 1.1 cows per ha grassland.

water; however, besides a rather old radio, none of the modern facilities are present in the house, and – on the whole – the rooms are rather bare and not furnished according to criteria of personal comfort. Cooking is done on the stove.

The farm. The farm is private property. There are no silos on the farm, the machines are few (one hay-rake, one hay-shaffler and a mowing machine) and all rather old. The other machinery is either borrowed from the neighbours or is hired from a local co-operative for farm machinery. The barn is of the Holland type and it has a very clean aspect. There is a manger for the cattle, but there are no automatic drinking troughs.

The livestock consists of six black-and-white cows,² six calves, one sow with a litter of nine, and seventy chickens. The cattle are kept two weeks on the same parcel of grass; on this grass Mr B₂ spreads 150 kgs nitrate of lime and ammonia per year. Soil-samples are very seldom taken on Mr B₂'s farm. The last had been "before the war." About the contact with the Agricultural Extension Service Mr B₂ is rather vague. It is "a long time" that Mr B₂ last spoke to Mr X, the local officer of the Service. As a justification he added: "He has been sick for so long now."² Upon our remark "But there is his own assistant to whom one could go" Mr B₂ replied "Oh yes, but he is not one of us, he is a stranger. I do not know him. And, after all, we just feel much better with 'our' Mr X." This remark is a meaningful expression of a localistic-collectivistic "Gemeinschaft-like" mentality, but as a justification has hardly any value at all, since we know from Mr X himself that Mr B₂ used to consult him only very sporadically. The farm is operated by Mr B₂, his wife and by his sister, when she is at home. The latter has a small job as a housemaid on an other farm, where she goes three times a week. Milking is done by hand. No financial records are kept of the farm management.

The people. Mr B₂ and his family are nice and helpful people. However, they are rather shy and they do not feel completely at ease at having a Dutch-speaking non-farmer foreigner among them, who comes from a country they cannot exactly locate in their minds. Among other things, this gives them the feeling that they

² At the time of this conversation Mr X had been in the hospital for two months.

should express themselves in good Dutch, but they cannot do it easily.

The appointment made by Mr B₂ with A₂ was for after dinner. However, when we arrived Mr B₂ and his family were still eating; we took a seat in the kitchen and we watched them eat. The kitchen-table, around which Mr B₂'s family was gathered, had no cloth or dishes on it. In the middle of the table there was a pan with boiled potatoes and bacon in it, and a dish with some salad. Each member of the family had his or her own fork, and with it they ate from the communal dishes. Only the two smallest children ate from their own small dish. Mrs. B₂ explained: "If one has to be on the land and in the household at the same time, one has to try to spare one's own time as much as possible." In this way there are no dishes to wash, a table-cloth is spared, and everything is so much simpler. And, further: "it does not matter much to us, we never come out of our farm anyway!" The green salad on the table was a favourable sign for the modernity of the household; however, the salad was just merely washed and not garnished at all, as Mr B₂ clearly demonstrated by taking it with his hand from the dish, squeezing the surplus of water on the ground under the table, and putting then the salad back in its original place.

In Mr B₂'s family the care of the children is left to Mr B₂'s wife and sister. Mr B₂ himself has very little authority over his children. These, after the first moment of shyness because of our presence, became rather wild and naughty for the rest of our stay. Repeated orders from their father to be quiet, or to leave the room, were not paid the least attention. One of the children stammered. This came evidently as a surprise to our companion, Mr A₂, who asked Mr B₂ how long had his son been stammering. Mr B₂'s answer was: "In one's quality of father one does not know this sort of things!" ("Als vader weet je zulke dingen niet!"). Father and children addressed each other with "ie" which is a local old-fashioned pronoun not used any more either in the town, or on the countryside among the most modern families.

Mr B₂ does not make the impression of possessing the qualities or the authority to give the necessary leading to the family. It seems to us that what authority he enjoys derives entirely from the ability to act as speaker of the traditions and customs existing in the local community. He finds some difficulties in answering to many of our questions; however, he does his best and, as a matter-of-fact, he does most of the speaking for the family. The two

women listen to him and let him speak as long as he unmistakably voices the accepted traditions. As soon as he is not clear enough, or forgets something, or "makes mistakes" they correct him.

Mrs B2 is dressed in the usual black heavy clothing and wears thick black woollen socks, without shoes. Mr B2's sister, who is younger, wears a grey blouze, a dark skirt and thick cotton stockings of a light colour. She wears a pair of low black shoes. There is no trace of a developed personal taste in either of them. The two women, Mrs B2 in particular, make the impression of being used to hard work on the fields as a matter of course. The subject of the hard physical work is one of Mr B2's favourite themes and comes back now and again during the conversation. About the future of his children Mr B2 says: "They must do what they want. If they shall remain on the farm they will have to work hard, because a farmer must always gain his own bread with hard work. But I have no objection to their studying. If they receive some training they had better try to get a small *secure* job in town as a clerk."

Beside this there are no active social ambitions or interests in this family. They just work and seldom get out of their farm, as they themselves say. Also, there is little consciousness of the value of time. They can talk on indefinitely and leave their work unfinished for a while. Great controversies arise as to exact data (ages of children, data of local happenings or great events, etc.) and Mrs B2 and her sister-in-law make great fun of Mr B2, because on those few occasions in which he had left Winterswijk he almost did not sleep at night for fear of loosing the train or the bus.

The farmer has no clear idea as to incomes. We must wonder whether he knows the concept at all. After many *concrete* examples we succeed in understanding each other, but he could not say what his income was. He could not say either how it is that as much as 82% of his arable land is tilled with grains (ha 1.90 as against ha 0.20 potatoes and ha 0.20 fodder-beets). He does not say that this is the ratio between the different crops that his own father used to apply (the father died immediately after World-War II), however, this appears clearly during the discussion.

On the whole Mr B2 has a difficult time on his farm and gives the impression that he has a slight feeling of being fundamentally a sort of social failure. He says: "I can understand Y quite well, who committed suicide. People here around are very hard. They say the neighbourhood has a familiar spell ("sfeer"). That might be true, but if one does not do everything as it should be done,

if you remain behind with some chores, than they immediately start gossiping after your back. So the farm must be kept going" ("het möt maar draaien").

We asked whether he would not rather leave farming; Mr B2 looked at us astonished; "Why should I leave farming?" he answered after a while. It is as if they could not imagine themselves in any other situation than the present one. Mrs B2 exclaimed: "How is it possible, we just belong here!" ("Dat kan toch nê, wie hört hier!") and Mr B2 again: "Where on earth should I go?" ("wor zuk hen mötten?"). They simply did not understand the frame of reference of our question.

In Mr B2's house the local church pamphlet comes regularly, and the periodical publication of a local co-operative. However, it is quite dubious whether they are read at all. Neither does any of the members of Mr B2's family regularly cultivate any other sort of lecture, exception made for the small boy of 10, who must read his own school books. Mr B2 has a small motor-bicycle, with which he goes to town or to his married sister in a neighbouring community, but neither he nor his wife have ever been on the other side of the German border, which is only two miles away. Since the war Mr B2 has only been three times to one of the main towns, e.g. twice to Arnhem and once to Utrecht, on occasion of an excursion organized by the Farmer's Union.

Normally no vacations are taken by the family and they do not receive guests or friends from town, limiting their friendships to the people of the neighbourhood, who, however, are not exclusively farmers.

When the visitors (Mr A2 and the present writer) leave rather late in the night, they are offered a pankake and a cup of porridge "just to put something in the stomach before going to bed" according to an old local tradition. On our way back Mr A2 tells us that such customs are dying nowadays. They do not do it any more in his own family.

CASE-STUDY B3 (No. 440 of the continuum)

Farm operator		Homemaker (wife)
<i>Farm-size</i>	13.48 ha (3.48 ha arable land; 10 ha grassland)	—
<i>Neighbourhood</i>	.....¹	
<i>Place of birth</i>	.....¹	.....¹
<i>Age</i>	75	72
<i>Training</i>	Elementary school Evening course general agriculture	Elementary school Evening course home economics
<i>Extra professional activities</i>		
a. Formal	Oranje club ²	—
b. Informal	Visiting	Visiting Knitting Gardening
<i>Membership of political party</i>	No	
<i>Union membership</i>	No	
<i>No. of children</i>	Two, one son and one daughter	
<i>Age of children</i>	33 the son and 27 the daughter	
<i>Schooling children</i>	The son has followed the elementary school and only one year of Agricultural Winter school; the daughter has followed the elementary school and, afterwards, an evening course for sewing	
<i>Profession father</i>	Farm operator (dead)	
<i>Type of family</i>	Extended	
<i>Brothers and sisters</i>	One brother, unmarried, lives at home One sister, unmarried, lives at home	

¹ Qualification omitted in order to safeguard anonymity² Cfr. p. 125

Impressions

The buildings. Rather big and well-to-do farm-house. Very well maintained, both on the outside and on the inside. The furniture is old fashioned, but polished and shining. Everything is polished and shining in this house from the floor of red tiles, to the red-and-white tiles on the chimney under the mantelpiece. No trace of disorder reigns in the house and the lodgings resemble a museum for old folkloristic rural interiors. However, in the house there is electric current, running water, telephone, radio, an electric iron and an electric washing machine. These improvements to the household were brought about on the occasion of the marriage of Mr B₃'s son, who lives now in the house, together with his wife and three children.

There is no bath tub or shower, nor is there a flush toilet. Butagas is used for preparing the meals.

The farm. The farm is not provided with silos, nor is it furnished with much farm machinery. There is a hay-rake, a hay-shuffler, a plough and a mowing machine. Further, there are some minor tools. A sowing machine and a potato harvester are borrowed from a neighbour when needed. Other chores are executed with the help of a co-operative for farm machinery. The machines, present on the farm are rather well kept, as well as the stable. This is of the Holland type. There are no automatic drinking troughs for the cattle.

The livestock consists of eight red-and-white cows,¹ seven calves, three sows with two litters, and one hundred and thirty chickens. The cattle are kept "from two to three weeks" on the same grass; on this grass Mr B₃ spreads 250 kgs nitrate of lime and ammonia. He could not say exactly when he last spoke the local officer of the Agricultural Extension Service, but it was to be assumed that he had not done so within the last year. The farm is managed by Mr

¹ This means that on Mr B₃'s farm there is 0.8 cow per ha grassland.

² At the beginning of the interview there were some moments of confusion when we asked who was the farm operator. In the registers of the local office for the Food Commissariate (from which we had drawn our random sample of the farming population) the farm appears as inscribed stock of Mr B₃'s son. It was, in fact, mainly because of the comparability of the son's age with the age of the operators of the other case-studies that we had chosen this farm family. It was, however, quite soon clear who was *de facto* the real manager of the farm.

Cases such as this are not very infrequent in Winterswijk. There can be, however, several degrees of strength in the dominance of the old generation. In the case

B₃ himself and his 73 years old unmarried brother, who find "full employment" on it. "Besides," Mr B₃'s son works on the farm (and it is to be assumed that he is the one who really does most of the physical work), together with his own wife. During the high seasons a young man from a neighbouring farm is called in to help. The financial accounts of the farm are kept by "the family" – which quite probably means either Mr B₃ himself or his wife. Milking is done by hand by Mr B₃'s son, his wife or Mr B₃ himself as there is no fixed rule.

The persons. This is a typical example of an extended household, in which the leading² and the style of living is set by the old generation, while the young generation contributes the greatest part of the real physical work displayed on the farm. Mr B₃'s son and his wife probably have an outlook on life which differs rather much from that of Mr and Mrs B₃; however, they apparently do not have much to say in the matter. During the whole interview Mr B₃'s authority and views were never seriously disputed, it is therefore rather improbable that such differences in opinion can cause an open internal conflict. There seems to be more chance, instead, for personal tensions and difficulties in store for the young couple. Mr B₃ continuously emphasizes how he has had to work hard his whole life. When he inherited this farm from his father the surface of the tillable land was less than the half of the present. There were 8 ha wood which he and his brother opened up with hard physical work. And at that time there was neither much time, nor money, to think of a training higher than elementary school; he then stated: "we had to work to gain our bread – I was not yet twelve when my father taught me how to milk a cow. We had no pocket-money; I have never received a cent from my father. We were also very poor and we could not afford any luxury. Now things are going much better, but still I could not miss my son from the farm for long."³

described with this case-study the whole moral and material situation was such that we have thought it justified to disregard the *legal* reality altogether, and to describe the social reality as it is.

² This was certainly meant as a justification for the son having not completed his training at the Agricultural Winterschool. However, this looks very much like a rationalization, since the young farmers have to frequent the school only in the winter months when there is not much to do on the farm. In any case, the works on the farm could not form a hindrance to the son frequenting an evening course from 7 to 9 p.m. twice a week in the winter.

Mr and Mrs B₃, Mr B₃'s brother and sister do not read much ("no time for it"); they just have a look at the local news in the local "Nieuwe Winterswijkse Courant," to which Mr B₃'s son has a subscription, and which is issued twice a week. Also, the old people do not travel much. Before World War II Mr B₃ has been several times to the Western provinces of the Netherlands, while in his youth he has been for a long period in South Limburg in military service. Mr and Mrs B₃ have also been many times on the other side of the state boundaries, in Germany, where relatives of Mrs B₃ live. After World War II Mr and Mrs B₃ have been only once to one of the western provinces (South Holland), where they paid a visit to a family member. Their visits to their German relatives continue regularly. Mr B₃'s son and his wife have been in the last years several times outside the community, mostly in occasions of excursions, organized by a local Farmers' Union. They also read something from time to time; mostly, of course, they can read during the winter months. The books they read, borrowed from a public library, are mostly local rural fictions; some twenty books of the same type are present in the house. Mr B₃'s son receives also a technical farm-periodical; however, it appears that he has not many chances of applying on his father's farm what he reads in it. During our interview a discussion took place between the young man and his father about the desirability of fertilizing and ploughing in the winter the soil which is to be sown with oats in the spring. Mr B₃ would not hear of it because "that is just working for the weeds and not for the oats." Evidently Mr B₃ either ignored the existence of chemical weed-killers, or he did not believe in their efficiency, or he thought that the chemicals might bring some kind of harm to the soil. He did not say which, limiting himself to refuse the whole reasoning; his brother supported him. Another clear difference of opinion on a technical subject between Mr B₃ and his son was about the most suited acreage for an efficient farming. Mr B₃ thought a size of 10-12 ha to be the best "It is enough to live, and one can cope with it all-right." His son should have preferred a farm of 20-25 ha, which he would manage with the help of much machinery. His father disapproved of it most decidedly: "either you cannot cope with it, or your work yourself to death," and further: "mechanization and factories will finish by destroying the farmers class in the end, within a few years there will not be enough young farmers and many farms will lay abandoned." Mr B₃ regrets very much that Winterswijk has changed so much in the last fifty years.

"There is too much difference now between the village and the countryside. Years ago it was not so, and one felt at home there as much as here. Now I do not go there any more. There are nothing but houses of stones, roads of stones, lots of strangers and not a tree to look at." Mr B₃'s son goes to town regularly, where he has some friends (a mailman, a merchant of beer, a cattle merchant and a textile industrialist).

The same kind of differences exists between Mrs B₃ and her daughter-in-law. Mrs B₃ cannot understand farm women organizing themselves in associations, going to meetings and lectures, etc. She does not agree and she does not believe there is anything to be gained from that sort of things. Anyway, she minds her own business. The younger woman differs and is strongly in favour of women's associations: "One can always learn something new." Mrs B₃ is satisfied with the life on her own farm, but her daughter-in-law thinks that in town a woman has an easier life and "in the household many things are so much easier, and one has many more possibilities for arranging it as one wishes." The younger woman should like to change her life for that of a wife of an industry-worker, because in that way "both you and your husband have more free time together." She has no objection towards loosing in this way, the "freedom" she at present "enjoys" on the farm: "anywhere is all-right, and perhaps one earns more money." Therefore she does not care for her children becoming farmers. Mrs B₃ cannot agree with these "strange" views.

The old people of this family have no clear idea of personal recreation. They just take part in the normal neighbourhood-life, with its visiting and its feasts. Mrs B₃ likes knitting, visiting, gardening and, seldom, listening to the radio. Her daughter-in-law likes reading, gardening, going to the pictures, visiting and taking excursions.

The old generation works just in order to provide for their bare maintenance. Improvements in household and farm-management do not interest them any more. Neither are they interested, at present, in politics. Mr B₃ is fanatically against co-operation and he protests loudly against the compulsory sanitary measures for the cattle taken by the government in 1952 and 1954. "It is the fault of all the clerks of nowadays. They just have to invent things in order to keep their jobs."

Mr B₃ possesses a certain capacity for reasoning, but in it, there is a kind of hard, old-fashioned and reactionary stubbornness. He "minds his own business." Therefore he has no interest in any-

thing but his own farm. He is not even curious about the reasons of our interview and he just remarks, to himself, "what do I gain from all that writing of yours?" But he must have taken for granted that we are some kind of clerk, making some bureaucratic work as, on our departure, he bursts out in the following tirade: "I am in no co-operatives or farmers' association, because I do not want to mix up with people who stink of communism. The world today is drifting towards communism and there is no more freedom, nor is there reward for people who work hard. The government are just a bunch of demagogues who find it more convenient to give old-age pensions to no-good-doers instead of preventing the depopulation of the countryside. People have become easy-going and they do not like to work hard any more. I tell you, the best thing to do is to work hard and to mind one's own business. And the government must know the truth; you just tell them what I have told you. They should know what the truth is. Before the war I was a N.S.B.-member (a Dutch nazi - B. B.), because on the other side of the boundaries farmers were much better taken care of than here. But that too has been a disillusion. Do not believe in much talk, one must help oneself."¹

Synthetic comments of the interviewer

Farmers A₁, A₂, A₃

- I People whose way of living clearly impresses the interviewer (urban visitor) as if being organized according to a conscious personal scheme.
- II Most of what he has seen or heard was perfectly understandable to him.
- III When the urban visitor did not understand a particular phenomenon in some aspects of the interviewee's life, a discussion was possible and an explanation was mostly understood, since between the urban visitor and the interviewee there existed many points of reference.

Farmers B₁, B₂, B₃

- I The interviewer (urban visitor) has not understood much of the way of living and of the scheme according to which the life of these people is organized, in the sense of the type of knowledge deriving either from direct personal experience, or from the similarity and comparability of the frames of reference within which two phenomena take place. However, the interviewer was able *to locate*, and *to relate*, in his mind, most of what he has seen or heard to a certain socio-cultural situation. What he has been able to observe is a general tendency toward primitivism, stern sobriety, and lack of personal ambitions in the life of this

¹ This type of retreatism, which is so evidently and consciously expressed in Mr. B₃'s words, is also quite discernible in the two preceding case studies. Using Merton's

group of farmers. Also, both the material and the non-material horizons of these people seemed to him quite limited. This is not to say that the life of Messrs. B₁, B₂, B₃ does not obey to fixed rules. It is only to say that the majority of these rules are not the same as the interviewer's.

- ii The impression received is that the life of the people of this group is strongly localistically orientated and fully regulated by local custom and tradition. Gesellschaft-like form of social organization seems to form the common motive according to which their life is organized.
- iii Possibility of extensive discussions about several manifestations of modern social life either does not exist, or is very limited. The farmers of this group seem to possess little consciousness as to the reasons of their following, or failure to follow, certain particular patterns of behaviours in the course of their social life (the "technical" part of social life is herein included). The interviewer's questions either were not understood in their right implications or, if understood, they were somehow left mainly unanswered. The interviewer's opinion is that the interviewed persons were either culturally unprepared to follow certain reasonings, or that they could not afford the mental effort necessary for the discussion.

We do not intend to discuss here the soundness of the many opinions and statements reflecting the personal philosophies of life, as reported in the six foregoing case-studies. We are not interested here in deciding whether Mr X or Mr Y were right in what they said or in what they did at the time of our interviews. What interests us here is, instead, the evidence that the facts, as well as the statements, related in the first three case-studies show us a type of person, a type of family life, and a type of farm-operator entirely different from those shown from the last three case-studies. For obvious reasons we shall not engage hereafter in a detailed analysis of the case-studies, lest we should fall in mere repetition of what already has been written. We shall merely point out that these differences, which in our opinion derive from a different conception of life, can be noticed even within the same family as case-study B₃ shows. As to case-study A₃, it results that, although Mr and Mrs A₃ certainly belong to the urbanized modern farmers, they do not participate extensively into the formal organizational type of social life in their neighbourhood. This, as it is shown from the case-study itself, derives from the too pronounced difference existing between the cultural pattern of the local community at large and the type of culture represented by Mr and Mrs A₃. Further, the particular contractual situation in which Mr A₃ was engaged at the time of the interview hardly left them any free

terminology we could say that Mr. B₂ and B₃ are perhaps *in* but not *of* the Dutch modern social structure.

time, much as they would have wished it. The answer Mr A₃ gives about the quantity of fertilizer which he used for this pastures (120 kg N) is quite revealing for the farmer's frame of reference. Such an answer means that Mr A₃ has quite clear to his mind the functioning of a fertilization. He can judge a fertilizer according to its contents in nitrogen, potassium, phosphorus, etc. (and the answer shows that, in fact, for Mr A₃ this is the normal way according to which he chooses his fertilizers). The answer makes highly improbable the supposition that Mr A₃ might apply fertilizers according to fixed formulas without understanding the reason for it. In our opinion the case-studies make it clear that, in comparison with the B-farmers, the three A-farmers possessed more of that "quid" which is commonly called "practical intelligence."¹

Also, they certainly possessed a broadness of views and interests with respects to modern society, which was completely unknown to the three B-farmers.

Besides, the A-farmers were more satisfied than their colleagues *with what they had been able to make of the material possibilities given to them.*²

This should not be surprising since intelligence is defined largely in terms of problem-solving ability, and adjustment is mainly dependent upon the ability to meet crises. The foregoing evaluation is, however, based purely on personal impressions and not on a psychological test. In our opinion, the possibility of a meaningful application of a standardized psychological test for inter-group comparisons, in conditions such as those in which this study was carried out, is greatly handicapped by the fact itself that the life-situations of the A and the B farmers are "a priori" not

¹ See footnote 1 on p. 96.

² This is not to say that they were *in general* more satisfied with their life than the B farmers. This is a question of an entirely different nature.

³ It might be interesting also to draw a comparison between the groups of our A-farmers and Lionberger's "users of county agent and of other institutionalized sources of farm information," referred to in chapter 1, pp. 27-29. In order to fully understand the implications of such a comparison we must keep in mind the two different techniques used for the selection of the two groups which are compared here. On p. 45 of his bulletin "Information Seeking Habits," Lionberger writes: "Almost without exception, users of county agent services exhibited the opposite extreme with respect to the characteristics possessed by non-users. In general, they were younger, technologically more competent, were larger operators, had larger incomes, and were more alert to new developments in farming than farmers who made no use of county extension agent services. They were much more active in both church and secular groups. They were also accorded a higher prestige rating

comparable since they are organized according to different premises. The complex picture of the A and B farmers, formed by the totality of the techniques applied in the foregoing pages of this chapter does not need many comments. The difference between the two groups is quite evident.

We must not forget that the people compared in the preceding pages are situated at the opposite ends of our continuum, and that, therefore, it is quite logical that the differences should be so sharp. However, just because of that, we see that, altogether, the picture which we have received by the foregoing analysis is one of a harmonious and strict mutual connection between all the activities and attitudes of the two groups of people situated at the opposite ends of our continuum. This holds true also for the link between the professional and the extra-professional spheres of activities of our respondents. In our opinion, it is therefore entirely justified to maintain that the farm management, like every other form of human activity, must be seen in the frame-work of the whole cultural pattern existing in a certain place at a given time. This implies, actually, that in the case of progressive farm management we can consider the farm operators as individuals whose behaviour is regulated by a cultural pattern particular of the progressive farmers. The evidence furnished in this chapter strongly supports this hypothesis. At this point an other question arises. From the very methodology applied so far follows that this cultural pattern of the progressive farmers can coexist, in the same rural area, with some other cultural patterns. For a matter of convenience let us suppose that against the type of cultural pattern just mentioned only one other type of cultural pattern exists; for the sake of clarity let us call them, respectively, the "progressive"⁸ and the

by their associates, and were more active in formal social groups of all kinds than other farmers. They were assigned more positions requiring administrative and advisory responsibility. By practically all measures of mass society status they were rather above the other two groups.

Users of other institutionalized sources of farm information generally occupied an intermediate position between users of county agent services and non-users of institutionalized sources with respect to the foregoing characteristics. However, in nearly all cases, they more closely resembled users of county agent services than those who used no institutionalized sources. In many respects the chief difference between users of county agent services and users of other institutionalized sources was the fact that the latter did not make use of the county agent during the survey year."

We should like to substitute for the term "mass society" the one "cosmopolitan, Gesellschaft-like form of social organization." Mass society is an unclear and misleading concept in this context, as well as in the practice of social science as a whole. Mass society is only a vague term, which conveys approximately the idea of a form

“traditional” cultural pattern. If this supposition is true, which evidence is fully supported by our complex analysis carried out so far, the question arises whether or not these two different cultural patterns are distinguished by differences in the practical manifestations of the everyday life of the local rural population which can be said to be meaningful and significant.

This question has partly already been given an implicit answer in the foregoing chapters. However, it needs here a more concrete, empirical exemplification. This can be obtained, in our opinion, by carrying out a detailed analysis of some of the foremost manifestations of Winterswijk rural culture using our score as a discriminatory device. At this point the question arises as to whether an analysis of culture in its separate parts can be at all carried out without causing violence to the very concept of culture itself. Of course, connected with such a concept there is the one of its integrative character. It is very doubtful that culture is a mere sum total of “variables,” the really important thing being its complex total influence upon the people.

Cultures are wholes, and, therefore, analyses and divisions of any kind cannot be but abstractions and, perhaps, even great distortions of reality.¹ However, although it is quite obvious that cultures are neither mere and fortuitous conglomerates of elements nor the algebraically predictable combinations of a certain fixed number of factors, they do not always show the same degree of integration.² Since cultures can be subjected to cultural change, at any time an X number of elements can usually be found in them which are not functional any more. Furthermore, each culture has its own peculiar aspects and traits and has a logic of its own.³ Therefore an analysis of Winterswijk rural culture in the way mentioned above – i.e. by means of a yardstick which measures the degree of

of social organization in which the danger for anomie is much greater than in a *Gemeinschaft*-like form of social organization. This, however, has little to do with the subject under discussion in the present text. Quite apart from the above mentioned objection, however, we must notice how Lionberger's description and the total picture of the A-farmers, as we receive it from this whole chapter, are in almost complete agreement. So, while from Lionberger's, and from our own work, we have found the proof that the more progressive farmers are full members of a modern, *Gesellschaft*-like, organizational form of social organization, from our own analysis we received the confirmation of the fact that participation in this particular form of social organization goes together with a higher degree of rationality, capacity for abstract thinking, and capacity for decision making. We are therefore confronted with a phenomenon of general sociological nature, and not of local “*einmalige*” or unique origin.

¹ This is the reason why we think that for the right understanding of the implications

influence of the modern pattern of culture upon the human mind – allows us to see more particularly which are the cultural variables that show a definite tendency to be related to either extreme of our continuum and to the type of farmer represented by it. Hence, through such analysis we will be able to see whether between the appearance or development of certain cultural elements or variables and that of certain types of farmers a relation can be actually expected. Some variables might turn out to be more sensitive to our yardstick, others less. Putting the problem in slightly different terms, we might say that what we need is a more detailed study of the cultural complex to which innovation in farming is connected. It is, therefore, a study related also to the question of how the cultural type of a farming élite comes into existence in the socio-cultural situation of transition between a traditionalistic and a modern form of social organization.

This analysis will form the subject of the next chapter.

of a social phenomenon the bare statistical analysis does not suffice. If the analysis tells us that some correlations are significant while others are not, without telling us at the same time in what light, or in what frame of reference such correlations must be seen, the research misses the greatest part of its function. It does, in fact, not further much our understanding of the phenomenon itself. On the other hand, social significance is not the same as statistical significance. A number of statistically insignificant phenomena, when seen in a particular frame of reference may acquire a significance of their own and become, therefore, meaningful.

² Cfr. Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Forms and Problems of Culture-Integration and Methods of their Study*, Rural Sociology, 1936, pp. 121-141, 344-374.

³ We might not be able to understand this logic, but the logic must be there; otherwise culture would not be a culture, but a conglomerate of human products thrown together as in an anthropological museum.

The analysis of the culture pattern of Winterswijk farming population

According to what we have stated in the concluding remarks of chapter v, in this part of our study we intend to investigate whether it is possible to detect the most prominent aspects of the local pattern of culture which are correlated with either end of the continuum formed by the sequence of our scores. In the foregoing chapters we put forward the reasons which lead us to maintain provisionally that the efficiency of farm management must be seen in a functional relation with the modern western pattern of culture. Chapter v, in particular, has shown both that the score created by us is a meaningful analytical device, and that on the whole a relationship exists between the degrees of progressiveness – respectively, conservatism – in the technical and in the non technical aspects of the life of a rural population. With a more detailed analysis of the culture pattern of our 484 Winterswijk farm families, carried out by means of our analytical device, we now hope to gain some deeper knowledge as to the cultural elements which are more specifically correlated with a high – respectively low – degree of labour productivity in agriculture.

As it will be remembered from the chapter on the methodology used in this study, we have divided a sample of the population of a random Western community (Winterswijk) into ten theoretical groups of a continuum bearing characteristics which, according to our hypotheses, should gradually vary from relatively old-fashioned to relatively modern. This continuum has been obtained on the basis of a score which can be taken as a functional yardstick for the type of analysis we now propose to carry out. We hope, in fact, that an analysis of the manifestations of Winterswijk rural life carried out by means of this yardstick can give us some answer to the questions:

- a. Is there any difference in the efficiency of the farm management of the people of the different score-groups?
- b. In that case, who are the people composing these groups? (as we have already seen in the foregoing chapter, for the sake of clarity in the practical analysis we have, in fact, limited the comparison to the extremes of the continuum only).

Are our A farmers to be reduced to one or the other particular psychological group of exceptionally gifted people? And are our B farmers really the biologically-determined “last-comers?” Are

they nothing but the negative psychological selection, natural of, and present in any society? Or does not, instead, our continuum represent a continuum of the intensity with which the Winterswijk farmers have been subjected to the cultural influence of the modern western society?

Apart from every consideration of immediate, practical nature and importance, a possible answer to such questions is quite interesting from a theoretical point of view since it logically leads to doubt whether in the future we shall still continue to speak of "rural" and of "urban" people, in a distinct way, as if they belonged to two different sets of phenomena measured according two completely different sets of standards.

We are individualized personalities merely by means of knowledge. The human being acquires knowledge of itself only in the moment – or in the action – by which it makes a choice: in this way man changes and acquires thus a sort of depth, a perspective view of himself. This perspective-view of oneself – i.e. this consciousness of one's own situation with respect to the outside world, is acquired in the moment by which man becomes aware of the dualism between the knowing subject (in this case himself) and the object of his knowledge. At this point he accepts – be it unconsciously – the problem facing him: "is this phenomenon which my senses perceive true, or is it not true? should I do this, or should I do that?" Once this process of relation has taken place it is, as a rule, very difficult for the subject not to make a choice. He must pronounce himself, he must give a judgment, no matter its soundness. Judging is thinking, and it is with the beginning of thought – i.e. with the beginning of the judgments or choices – that man develops "*his own*" personality.

This sort of self-consciousness is acquired by every normal human being, to a higher or lesser degree, during his growth from childhood to adulthood; and while the process by which this consciousness is acquired is usually called "growing up," it is experienced by the (knowing) subject as a "changing" and it could metaphorically be termed "a continuous awakening to life." Since knowledge and change are possible, for the individual, only if he has the possibility to effect a choice between two or more alternatives it follows that the degree of consciousness and the degree of individuation reached by each individual is strongly influenced by the degree of dynamism reached by the life continuously evolving around and within him. Without repeating here what

has already been written in chapters II and III, we can say that it follows that the more a social structure is dynamic the more it will tend to be, at the same time, an "individuated" social structure. In fact, the individuals acting in it will have had more occasions to face new life situations, to make choices (and, at the same time, to make the choice by themselves) and to become "full" personalities. Therefore, if it is true that it is the contact with something new that makes mankind evolve, it is also obvious that an industrial culture of the modern western type can offer to mankind a much wider range of possibilities for alternative individual solutions (be it only the choice whether to go to the pictures or not) than the range of possibilities offered, let us say, by a society based upon the exercise of agriculture in a feudal caste-system.

The preceding considerations are enough to justify, in our opinion, an analysis of the efficiency of the farm management in the frame of reference of the culture pattern. As we have said, a form of social life which increases the possibilities for extensive and varied personal experience, favours the arousal of a conscious attitude and brings about, in the long run, the necessity of a certain capacity of decision making in those people who have to make perennial choices as to the organization of their own life. From the ascertainment of this fact follows directly the importance of consciousness and individuation for the successful exercise of every activity, where – as it is the case with agriculture – the influence of the management is so directly reflected upon the production process. In chapter V we have clearly seen that, indeed, those farmers who seem to organize their lives more than the others according to an urban set of values seem to obtain, according to the judges' estimates, roughly speaking, better farm results than the more traditionalistic farmers. In view of the fact that learning depends directly upon the possibility of correcting errors it can be easily deduced that those farmers who have learned to make the best use of the labour force available on their farm must perforce be also those who, through extensive contacts, have had more opportunities to exchange views with colleagues, to see other methods applied, and to draw comparisons, etc. Already from the direct answers quoted in chapter V we know that this is, indeed, the case. However, it could be worthwhile for practical purposes to make a detailed analysis of a certain number of factors (like reading, travelling, participation in associations, etc.) in order to see how each of them is related with respondent's capacity of decision making.

There is also another reason, concerning individual psychological nature, that encouraged us to try to study the existence of possible relationships between extra-work activities, social participation, means of mass communication on the one hand, and capacity of making decisions on the other, and to put them in relation with achievements of the farm management. Quoting directly from Maier we can say that "ideas are constantly suggested by chance events, by the remarks of others, and by the things we look at. However, the ideas that are used or selected depend on our direction (of thought). Thus, a failure to solve our problems is due to our inability to react to suggestions when we have a false or fruitless direction. Such directions are far worse than none at all, and this is one of the reasons why many problems are solved when we are engaged in recreational activities or when we make a fresh start."¹ We see, therefore, that we have another good reason to wonder what kind of relationship there might possibly be between a type of society that offers occasions to make many a "fresh start" and the "problem-solving" activity of agriculture.

Summing up all these reasons and restating them in a more general statement we can say that a detailed study of the degree of correlation between our score 10 answers and a number of cultural variables taken independently can give us, we hope, a deeper insight as to the correctness of many current ways of thinking about farm life. We can see, for instance, in how far "hard work and minding one's own business" still accounts for success in farming in a modern western country as it did years ago – if it ever did at all, as many people would gladly have us believe. We can also see in how far from the very point of view of productivity, the attitude of the farmers to keep out of active politics, or the fear to spend a few days away from the farm (just to make only two examples) is justified.

Our analysis will consist of three main parts: first some traits or cultural variables will be taken into consideration, which refer more particularly to the farm operator only; then an attempt will be made to consider together the farm operator and his immediate

¹ Maier, R. N. F. The Quality of Group Discussion as influenced by a discussion leader. *Human Relations*, III, 1950.

² In this context it is worth mentioning a very interesting research on the opinions of city dwellers about the farming population (Stedeling en Boer, Rapport in opdracht van het Landbouwschap, uitgebracht door Vorm N.V. te Amsterdam, date unknown, Landbouwschap, Raamweg 26, 's-Gravenhage). According to this study it appears that the opinions held by urbanites about countrylife tend to conform more faithfully to the existing stereotypes, and to be less positive with the increase of the respondent's

socio-cultural environment, in particular his home- and family-environment. Eventually, in the last part of our analysis of the local culture-pattern, the same methodological approach will be applied for the so-called "technical" aspects of our respondents' life, so that we might possibly be able to relate certain characteristics of Winterswijk farming to either of the two culture complexes which we have schematically distinguished in Winterswijk rural life (see chapter v).

SOME SELECTED ASPECTS OF THE FARM OPERATOR'S INDIVIDUAL LIFE.

I. *The interviewee's age, and the age at which he became an independent farm operator.*

In the foregoing chapter (page 154) we saw that although the score seemed generally to increase with the decreasing of the age of the interviewee, such relationship was not shown to be statistically significant. As to this result, which seems to be in contradiction with the most common expectations, we reasoned that the score is quite probably connected with age only in so far as the latter is a more or less accidental vehicle for modernity.² However, this does not necessarily need to be always the case; somebody's modernity does not depend on his age only.

The question of the importance of the age of the farmer for the quality of his farm management takes a relevant place in our discussion, because up to now rural sociologists in explaining it (for so far as they have tried to do so) have given reasons which tend to make of the more progressive farmers a kind of individual psychological élite, rather than to depict them as those people who are the most typical products of the impact of modern culture upon a farming environment. For instance de Bruin³ says that a delay of the moment in which the young farmer can assume the responsibility of the farm management entirely for himself probably hinders the development of the managerial capabilities of the

age. However, when age was held constant, the differences in attitudes varied greatly with the varying of the formal education received, but when education was held constant the differences in attitudes between the several age groups nearly disappeared. This finding gives therefore strong support to our opinion that the respondent's age does not matter much *when the respondents have been subjected to the same degrees of cultural influencing.*

² H. P. D. Bruin, op. cit.

interested subject. This explanation, no doubt, contains some degrees of truth in it. However, that is only the secondary clue of the matter, the primary being "why do people become independent farm-operator at X age?" We see that, therefore, we have again to resort to cultural explanations for a question originated at the individual psychological level. A different approach of Van den Ban on the same material of De Bruin gave reasons for a more careful consideration of the influence of this "variable" upon the quality of the farm management. Quoting directly from Van den Ban: "It is indeed possible that those farmers who give early their own farms over to their sons also assume a less patriarchal attitude towards them than those farmers who remain the bosses on their own farms practically for their whole lives. There are some signs that sons of "democratic" families are more easily in state to develop personal initiative than the sons of patriarchal families. One could therefore quite well imagine that it is not the age at which a farmer becomes an independent operator which is important, but that, rather, it is the environment where one has been brought up which determines both this age and the degree of progressiveness of the farmer."¹ We see therefore that when we consider this "variable" as being linked by a functional relationship with the existing pattern of culture, the several combinations between this trait and the other cultural traits which typify the culture pattern can easily account for the possible lack of a constant relation between age and quality of the farm management. The possibility for this explanation is, instead, missing in those approaches where the age of the farm operator is considered independently.

It is therefore worthwhile examining what kind of relationship might exist between our score and the variable "farmer's age at becoming independent farm-operator" (variable 27, Appendix III). To our regret we had to group the several ages into four age classes owing to the exiguity of the figures when examined per class of farm size. It is interesting to notice that there is no significant relationship between this variable and the farm size; however the importance of an examination of our figures per farm size derives from the very way in which we view this whole problem. The different size of the farm can give different weight

¹ A. W. v. d. Ban, *Enkele kenmerken en eigenschappen, etc.*, I, p. 19. (free translation B. B.).

to different aspects of the culture pattern (more education, more travelling of the farmers of one class with respect to those of other classes, etc.), so that the relative importance of the age as a factor of progressiveness might vary in the different size classes. In the following table we can see the relationship between score and the farmer's starting age as independent farm operators.

TABLE 22 *Winterswijk farmers' age at becoming independent farm operators, according to score 10 answers.*

Farm size 2-6 ha

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
younger than 30 y.	86	45.5	28	42.4	37	42.0	21	60.0
at 30-31 y.	32	16.9	11	16.6	17	19.3	4	11.4
older than 31 y.	64	33.8	24	36.3	31	35.2	9	25.7
interviewee is not an independent operator	182		63		85		34	
	7	3.7	3	4.5	3	3.4	1	2.8
Total	189	99.9	66	99.9	88	99.9	35	99.9

$$\chi^2 = 3.731; 0.5 > P > 0.3; 4 \text{ degrees of freedom}$$

Farm size 7-9 ha

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
younger than 30 y.	72	49.3	10	43.4	33	42.8	29	63.0
at 30-31 y.	19	13.0	2	8.6	12	15.5	5	10.8
older than 31 y.	52	35.6	10	43.4	30	38.9	12	26.0
interviewee is not an independent operator	143		22		75		46	
	3	2.0	1	4.3	2	2.5		
Total	146	99.9	23	99.9	77	99.9	46	99.9

$$\chi^2 = 5.009; 0.3 > P > 0.2; 4 \text{ degrees of freedom}$$

Farm-size 10 ha and more

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
younger than 30 y.	62	41.6	10	38.4	27	42.1	25	42.3
at 30-31 y.	26	17.4	7	26.9	9	14.0	10	16.9
older than 31 y.	55	36.9	7	26.9	26	40.6	22	37.3
	143		24		62		57	
interviewee is not an independent operator	6	4.0	2	7.6	2	3.1	2	3.3
Total	149	99.9	26	99.9	64	99.9	59	99.9

$$\chi^2 = 2.822; 0.5 > P > 0.3; 4 \text{ degrees of freedom}$$

As we see, although there seems to be an all-round trend of a positive relation between our score and this variable, the chi-square test shows that this relation is not significant in any of the three size-classes.

We can, however, notice that this trend is much clearer in the lower size-classes. In the last class the highest score group shows an unexpected concentration in the age class "older than 31 years." This result tends therefore to confirm our thesis of the relative importance of the age as a culture variable. The age at which a farmer has become an independent operator seems, in fact, to be relatively more important in the lower size classes where the manifold influences deriving from living on a big farm are lacking. In this case, therefore, age differences as a factor of progressiveness become relevant. In the highest size class, where other aspects of the culture pattern are in a better position to let their influence be felt, this purely personal variable loses much of its importance. It can remain important, however, if this variable remains concomitant with a whole set of other variables typical of the "old" culture pattern.

Also in other cases during our work (see training, travelling, part-time jobs, etc.) with the disappearance of the influence of those aspects of the cultural pattern more typically dependent on the farm-size, the remaining variables (and, hence, also the age) become more influent. We can notice, thus a definite concentration of the younger age classes in the 8-10 score group by the small and medium sized farms.

2. *The interviewee's age at marriage*

In the foregoing paragraph we have seen that the highest scores show different groupings in the different size classes. This difference in "behaviour" of the examined variable will be observed also in other cases during the present analysis. Why? In all probability the reason is that the norms to which the farmers' lives obey are different (or have different accents) in the different size classes.

Quite often a farmer becomes an independent farm operator by the time he gets married. This is not always the normal way things happen in Winterswijk (see chapter v), but, anyway, the age at which people get married is such a fundamental cultural trait that quite probably an examination of this variable according to our functional yardstick might give us some more insight into the still widely unknown field of the study of the cultural pattern as related to agriculture.

This trait has been coded according to variable 28 (Appendix III). In Table 23 we find the figures concerning the age of marriage of our interviewees grouped per farm-size.

TABLE 23 *Age of marriage of Winterswijk farmers, according to score 10 answers.*

Farm-size 2-6 ha

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No. Farmers married at 25 or before	50	26.7	15	22.7	22	25.0	13	39.4
No. Farmers married at 26-29	69	36.9	25	37.8	34	38.6	10	30.3
No. Farmers married at 30-31	25	13.3	10	15.1	11	12.5	4	12.1
No. Farmers married after 31	33	17.6	10	15.1	18	20.4	5	15.1
	177		60		85		32	
No. Farmers not married	10	5.3	6	9.0	3	3.4	1	3.0
Total	187	99.9	66	99.9	88	99.9	33	99.9

age of marriage unknown 2

$$\chi^2 = 3.744; 0.8 > P > 0.7; 6 \text{ degrees of freedom}$$

Farm-size 7-9 ha

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No. Farmers married at 25 or before	43	29.4	11	45.8	21	29.1	11	21.5
No. Farmers married at 26-29	55	36.9	5	20.8	26	36.1	24	47.0
No. Farmers married at 30-31	17	11.6	—	—	10	13.9	7	13.7
No. Farmers married after 31.	28	19.1	6	25.0	13	18.0	9	17.6
No. Farmers not married	142		22		70		51	
	4	2.7	2	8.3	2	2.7	—	—
Total	146	99.9	24	99.9	72	99.9	51	99.9

$$\chi^2 = 7.253; 0.3 > P > 0.2; 6 \text{ degrees of freedom}$$

Farm-size 10 ha and more

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No. Farmers married at 25 or before	34	24.1	7	29.1	17	26.9	10	18.5
No. Farmers married at 26-29	52	36.9	5	20.8	24	38.0	23	42.9
No. Farmers married at 30-31	21	14.9	3	12.5	10	15.8	8	14.8
No. Farmers married after 31.	28	19.8	7	29.1	10	15.8	11	20.3
No. Farmers not married	135		22		61		52	
	6	4.2	2	8.3	2	3.1	2	3.7
Total	141	99.9	24	99.9	63	99.9	54	99.9

age of marriage unknown 8 4 2 2

$$\chi^2 = 5.110; 0.5 > P > 0.3; 6 \text{ degrees of freedom}$$

Although the chi-square test tells us again that there does not seem to exist a significant relationship between this variable and our score, a few considerations can be made here:

- a. this seems to be one of those variables that within the size class "behave" differently when grouped according to our score; further, the figures of the foregoing table tell us our that
- b. there is no significant relation between this variable and farm-size as such. In all the three classes there is about the same percentage of people who marry at the same age (standard column).
- c. Within each size class the score group 0-4 contains less farmers who married. This is exactly according to the expectations. In fact, the absence of family life takes away from the farmer most of the incentive to farm as good as possible in order to fulfil the requirements needed to maintain a family in the conditions of the present age. In other words, a bachelor farmer cannot be compared to a bachelor who exerts another profession, of which he can make the goal of his existence. Agriculture, as it is generally exercised in the western world, asks for a family; and its primary goal is, also, the maintenance of a family. When the family is lacking also the real goal of a farmer's life is lacking. It is logical then that if the very goal ceases to exist there is no need any more of a "life-plan" for the individual. Then the individual lives because he has happened to have been born. But without the existence of a life-plan there cannot be much speaking of that *functional* rationality, that purposeful, conscious striving to the prefixed goal¹ which is so characteristic of the fundamental value-system upon which the life of the modern type of man is based. The farmer will then live on his farm, doing something, but not much more than what is needed in order just to live. With respect to this aspect of the culture pattern our finding is in exact

¹ The goal aimed at does not need to be *essentially* rational. It can be as emotion- or as tradition-determined as any other goal. From this Mannheim makes his distinction between essentially rational and functionally rational behaviour.

agreement with those of Wichers.¹ That author observed a pronounced lack of any clear life-plan in a group of clearly backward Dutch gardeners. The number of the unmarried people was also very high among them as well as the number of people without children. We cannot say that the percentage of unmarried people in score group 0-4 is exceedingly high but we must not forget that in our case, we still have to do with fairly "normal" human material.

- d. In the size class 2-6 ha the farmers of the 8-10 score group married decidedly at a younger age than the farmers of score group 0-4. We notice therefore a decided decrease of the age of marriage with the degree of modernity in this size class.
- e. In the other two classes we can notice another pattern. The most urbanized farmers, represented by the highest scores, decidedly tend to marry more frequently around their 29th year of age. In the lower score, instead, the age of marriage shows a greater spreading: they marry either before 25 or after 31. At the present stage of our knowledge it is not quite clear which are the reasons that lead to such a different behaviour of the studied group of farmers. Several hypotheses can be put forward, but they are not of interest in the context of this work.

3. *Farm tenure* (owners and tenants)

The farmer's striving for the possession of the farm he manages has always been a stronghold of the value system upon which the farmers' life is organized. At least, this is what is thought in the circles of rural sociologists. However, the fact that ownership is the ultimate goal towards which a tenant normally strives should not let us take ownership as being something in any way superior to tenantry from the point of view of productivity. In fact, the tenants' striving for ownership is, quite probably, an incentive for more, hard and efficient work on the farm. Incidentally, we may remark that in the Netherlands the tenants are not considered to be

¹ A. J. Wichers. *De beoefening van bloemisterij*, etc.

of a lower status than the owners, exception made for a few special cases (as it was, for instance, in Winterswijk with the Scholten and their tenants). And, as far as the technical capacities of a farmer are concerned, it is generally believed that the Dutch tenants tend to be more competent and progressive than the owner operators. However, no decisive proof of this supposition has been given yet.

In trying to study farm tenure as an aspect of the culture pattern of Winterswijk farming population we have coded it according to the scheme of our variable 26 (Appendix III) where not only a distinction was made between owners and tenants, but also the existence of possible kinship ties between the interested parts was recorded. We expected to find the most modern farmers to be overrepresented among those people who have put property relationships within the family on a legal, business-like basis. When we subtract from the whole number of Winterswijk tenants all those farmers who rent the farm from some family member, we can very roughly assume that what remains is formed either by the Scholten's tenants or by families who have been under the tenancy of the Scholten for generations and generations, and have changed of owner only lately when the economic conditions of the Scholten had worsened, compelling them to dispose of part of the inherited goods. The Scholten group, on the whole, has certainly not been an agency which has favoured the spirit of independence of Winterswijk farming population (see chapter IV: The Scholten farmers) during the centuries of their semi-feudal dominance on the material and cultural life of Winterswijk microcosm. We see therefore that the social stratification is extremely dependent on many historic-economic situations of local nature. If we now make of our variable 26 a dichotomy "owners versus tenants" we obtain the figures gathered in the following table.

TABLE 24 *Winterswijk owners and tenants according to score 10 answers.*

Farm size 2-6 ha

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
owners	87	45.8	31	46.9	39	44.3	17	47.2
tenants	103	54.2	35	53.0	49	55.7	19	52.7
Total	190	100.0	66	99.9	88	100.0	36	99.9

$$\chi^2 = 0.144; 0.95 > P > 0.90; 2 \text{ degrees of freedom}$$

Farm-size 7-9 ha

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
owners	59	41.2	12	52.1	30	39.4	17	38.6
tenants	84	58.7	11	48.8	46	60.5	27	61.3
Total	143	99.9	23	100.9	76	99.9	44	99.9

$$\chi^2 = 1.354; 0.7 < P < 0.5; 2 \text{ degrees of freedom}$$

Farm-size 10 ha and more

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
owners	85	57.4	16	61.5	39	60.9	30	51.7
tenants	63	42.5	10	38.4	25	39.0	28	48.3
Total	148	99.9	26	99.9	64	99.9	58	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 1.273; 0.7 > P > 0.5; 2 \text{ degrees of freedom}$$

As we see the deviations from the standard distribution are too small to be significant. Since it was not possible to prove the validity of our theories mentioned above by means of the chi-square test we tried another procedure. We calculated the average score per size class for each of the three following groups: owners, tenants of family members, and tenants of strangers. These values are to be found in the following table.

TABLE 25 *Average score of Winterswijk owners, tenants of family members, and tenants of non-family members, per size-class.*

Farm-size	AVERAGE		SCORE
	Owners	Tenants of family	Tenants of non-family
2-6 ha	5.4	6.-	5.2
7-9 ha	6.2	6.6	6.4
10 ha and more	6.5	8.2	6.4

As we see we have some reasons to believe in the soundness of our theories. The higher scores booked by the category "tenants of family members" give us another valuable proof of the function

of the process of "vergesellschaftung" of country life. If, at a later stage of the present analysis, it will appear that our score is also related to the efficiency of farm management, the present finding could give us a meaningful hint as to the significance of the appearance of a businesslike attitude among a farming population for the process of production in agriculture. In fact, we must not forget that in this part of the Netherlands, people usually try to keep the farm in the family, mainly on an informal, non-contractual basis. This custom is strongly interwoven with and favoured by the tradition of "het introuwen" (i.e. when the successor marries, no matter whether male or female, he or she goes to live, with his or her partner in the house of the parents and remains with them even when the children are born). From this custom originates the local traditional household-pattern (cfr. chapter v). We can therefore safely assume that, under the present conditions, those farmers who *rent* their farm from a relative are, on the whole, more favourably disposed towards innovation and change in their total life situation. It remains subject to prove that this "general" progressiveness is reflected on the technical behaviour of the farmers.

4. *The training of the farm operator*

It is generally acknowledged that the school is one of the foremost agencies of acculturation, renewment, individualization and individuation both for society as a whole and for its members.¹ Also as far as farm management is concerned the influence of training in general, and of vocational training in particular, has repeatedly been proved. A comparison of this variable with the score would therefore seem almost superfluous, were it not for the fact that it could tell us something about the influence exerted by the different kinds of education upon the capacity of decision making of the farmer and, at the same time, it could give us some more insight into the suitability of our score as a meaningful yardstick to measure capacity of decision making. For the cross-tabulation of this variable (Appendix III No. 37) against the score we adopted the following code:

¹ It is obviously impossible to give here even a very short account of the very extensive literature on this subject; we remind the reader here of the two examples quoted from Lowry Nelson (p. 65, footnote 8) and from the report Stedeling en Boer (p. 232 footnote 2).

- a. attendance at elementary school only;
- b. as a. plus attendance at agricultural courses;
- c. attendance at elementary school and also to courses other than agricultural courses;
- d. attendance at elementary school plus Junior High School (ULO) plus elementary agricultural school and/or courses;
- e. attendance at elementary school plus Junior High School plus Agricultural Winter School or secondary Agricultural School.

The reason for adopting such a classification is that it was known that in the Netherlands the influence of the Agricultural Winter School for the technical qualities of the farmer is in general much stronger than the influence of the elementary agricultural schools or of the various technical courses. The level of the training is rather high, so that we thought we could record this type of schooling together with the Junior High Schools. Further, we wanted also to see whether any appreciable difference was to be found between the influence of agricultural courses and that of other more general courses. In the following table we give the figures for the whole universe.

TABLE 26 *Relation between the type and level of formal education enjoyed by Winterswijk farmers and score 10 answers.*

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
a	185	38.4	62	54.4	90	39.3	33	23.7
b	177	36.7	32	28.0	91	39.7	54	38.8
c	37	7.6	8	7.0	14	6.1	15	10.8
d	40	8.3	7	6.1	16	6.9	17	12.2
e	43	8.9	5	4.3	18	7.8	20	14.9
Total	482	99.9	114	99.9	229	100	130	100

$\chi^2 = 32.300$; $P = 0.0001$; 8 degrees of freedom

We see that there is a clear relation between our score and the amount and type of education received by our respondents. —

However, since a highly significant relationship exists also between this variable and the size of the farm of our respondents ($P = 0,005$), on the basis of the preceding table we cannot draw any meaningful conclusion. The only thing that seems to result with a fair degree of certainty from table 26 is that the discriminatory power of our score seems to be much more pronounced with regard to the least educated people (deviation from the standard distribution) than with regard to the people of all the other categories. For an explanation of this fact we can give three hypothetical reasons:

- a.* the levelling influence of higher forms of schooling upon the individual capacity of decision making.
- b.* the influence of the size of the farm, as such, upon the degree of modernity and the capacity of decision making of the operator, and
- c.* perhaps, the fact that the first portions of the education received give more appreciable results than the last ones – i.e. schooling would, in this case influence the human mind according to a parabolic function, when the manifestations of the latter are measured in the fashion used in this research.

While the validity of this last hypothesis could not be proved in this study, the material furnished in the following pages seems to support both the first two hypotheses.

As we have seen, the amount of training received by our respondents is significantly correlated with the size of the farm. This is a well-known fact to students of rural sociology. If we now want to see whether the training is related to our score we must cross-tabulate these two entities within each size class. Because of the very small number of the farmers who received a training higher than elementary school we had to make three categories of education. Namely, farmers whose total training does not exceed elementary school, farmers who followed some kind of courses after the elementary school, and farmers who received any other form of school-education “higher” than the two already mentioned types.

TABLE 27 *Winterswijk farmers' formal education as related to score 10 answers at farm-size constant.*

Farm-size 2-6 ha

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
a. Elementary school only	98	51.8	39	59.0	46	52.2	13	37.1
b+c. courses after elementary school	72	38.1	20	30.3	36	40.9	16	45.7
d+e. higher forms of training	19	10.0	7	10.6	6	6.8	6	17.1
Total	189	99.9	66	99.9	88	99.9	35	99.9

 $\chi^2 = 6.587$; $P = 0.16$; 4 degrees of freedom.

Farm-size 7-9 ha

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
a. Elementary school only	63	43.4	15	68.2	34	44.1	14	30.4
b+c. courses after elementary school	64	44.1	5	22.7	33	42.8	26	56.5
d+e. higher forms of training	18	12.4	2	9.0	10	13.0	6	13.0
Total	145	99.9	22	99.9	77	99.9	46	99.9

 $\chi^2 = 9.044$; $P = 0.05$; 4 degrees of freedom.

Farm-size 10 ha and more

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
a. Elementary school only	24	16.2	8	30.7	10	15.6	6	10.3
b+c. courses after elementary school	78	52.7	15	57.7	36	56.2	27	46.5
d+e. higher forms of training	46	31.0	3	11.5	18	28.1	25	43.1
Total	148	99.9	26	99.9	64	99.9	58	99.9

 $\chi^2 = 11.397$; $P = 0.02$; 4 degrees of freedom.

As far as the expected concomitance between education and capacity of decision making is concerned, this table presents us with an unexpected picture. The relationship seems to exist in all the three size categories. However, on examining the table, one can see at first sight that the relationship is much less significant in the lowest class of farms than in the other two, whereas one would rather expect the influence of school training to be generally more felt just in the smallest farms; in fact, in that category the levelling influence of the high socio-economic status is missing. The observed phenomenon, at first sight, seems a mysterious puzzle challenging much of the existing notions about the function of education.

Just to make only one example we may recall here that, for instance, Westermark had already come to the conclusion that "the marginal value of theoretical professional education for smaller farmers is. . . more tangible than its marginal value to the larger sort of farmers."¹ However, our finding does not challenge our fundamental thesis of the paramount importance of the influence of the cultural background for the accomplishing capacities of the individual.

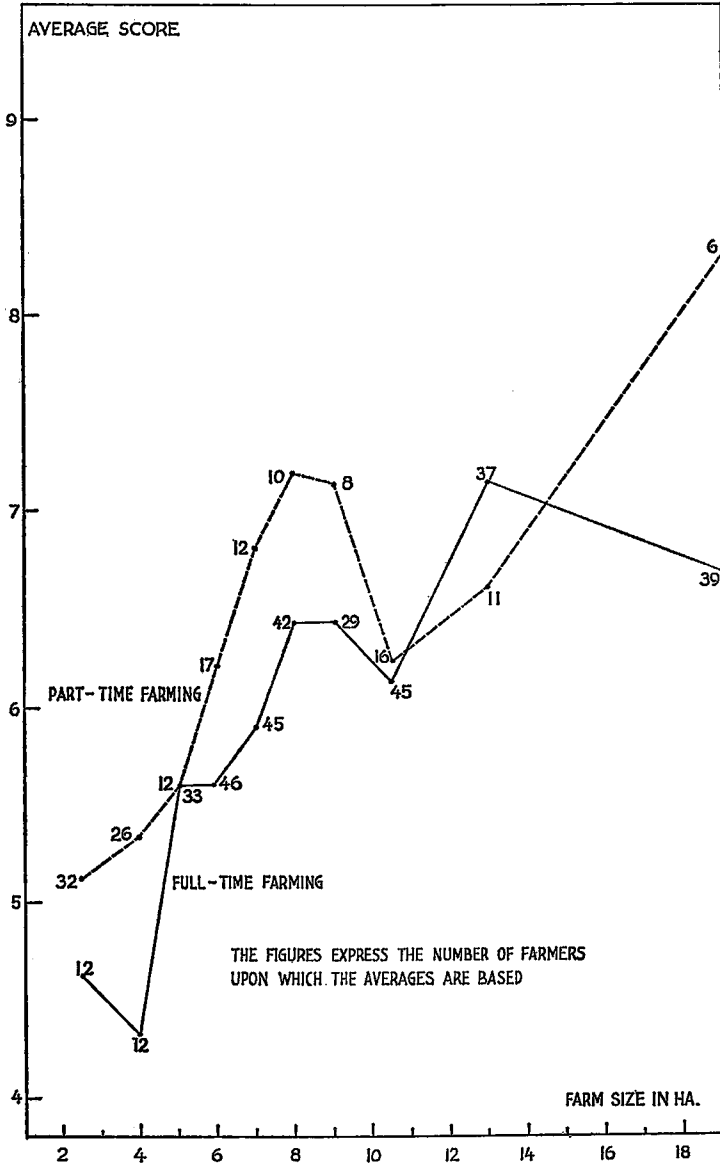
If we now look for a possible explanation of our results we cannot, at the present stage of our knowledge, do much more than voice some hypotheses. Our first supposition was that the reason for the less discriminatory capacity of our yardstick was to be searched for in the fact that, perhaps, the composition of the group d+e varied greatly in the different size-classes (the training received by the farmers of this group ranges from agricultural elementary school to university; see Appendix III, variable 37, points 3 to 7). It might therefore have been possible that group d+e in the lowest size-class was composed mainly of people with lower, and in the highest size-class, with higher forms of training. Unfortunately, the smallness of the figures of this group, when divided into the five different types of training of the code, does not allow a reliable check of this hypothesis. Therefore, for us there remains open only two other possible reasons for the weaker significance of the relationship between education and our score, observed in the lowest size-category. Both of them emphasize the importance of the "cultural" aspect of the problem. The first reason is that, comparatively, in the size category of 2-6 ha the percentage of the farmers with part-time jobs outside agriculture

¹ N. Westermark, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

is much higher than in the other two classes. In this class, therefore for the educational needs of the farmers, part-time jobs form a valid subsidy to formal schooling through the provided possibility of more extensive social contacts. We know (see graph 4) that farmers with part-time jobs have received higher scores than the full-time farmers, particularly in the low size class.¹ Even from the consultation of the list of the activities of our A farmers reported on p. 184 we can see that 13 out of the first 15 farmers (who belong to the 2-6 ha class) have part-time jobs, while only 2 of them have received a kind of schooling falling under our c category. We can therefore safely assume that part-time jobs smoothen greatly the influence of the lack of schooling upon the modernity and the capacity of decision making of the farmer.

The second explanation comes from the examination itself of our last table; it is known that formal education and size of the farm are generally strictly correlated. This fact is sometimes given even too much credit, and many differences in style of living, farm management, etc., observable among the operators of farms of different sizes, often are automatically explained away by the more extensive (formal and vocational) training received by the operators of the large farms. However, it seems to us that the influence of the size of the farm – which means in fact, influence of socio-economic status – is manifold and that it certainly does not exhaust itself only in presenting the farmers of different size categories with varying degrees of opportunity to receive a satisfactory education at school. Just like the influence exerted by part-time jobs on operators of farms of the same size category, the educational influence of living on a large farm is quite different from that of living on a small farm. We see, in fact, that *within the same educational group there seems to be* a degree of relationship between the farm-size and the score received. For instance, in the group “elementary school only,” there are 39 farmers out of 98 (i.e. 59%) in the 0-4 score group for the lowest size class, whereas they are 8 out

¹ From graph. 4 two things result very clearly: *a.* part-time jobs are a valuable source of integration into the modern social structure (as expressed by the higher average score received by the part-timers), and *b.* the influence of the part-time job as a source of integration into the Great Society is much greater among the operators of smaller holdings than among larger farmers. This seems quite logical since the latter probably have also other opportunities and means to come in contact with the world outside their farms. In the graph the figures by each dot express the number of cases upon which the average scores have been calculated. When the respondent's income was drawn *entirely* from the exercise of agriculture he was classified as “full-time,” in every other case he was classified as “part-time.”



GRAPH 4 - Relation between the score obtained by 484 Winterswijk farm operators and their exercising agriculture as a principal or a secondary occupation.

of 24 (i.e. 31%) in the highest size class. Similarly, 17% of the small farmers have received score 8 to 10 against 43% of the farmers of the largest farms who scored the same score, when the variable "higher forms of training" was considered.

If we now want to test this hypothesis, when the score is cross tabulated against the size of the farm, by the same amount of schooling received by the farm operator, we should find that if the hypothesis were true a positive correlation should be present between the two variables. For the group "elementary school only" (which is the most uniform type of training) we obtain the following table:

TABLE 28 *The capacity of decision-making of Winterswijk farmers at equal degrees of training and farm-size.*

Farmers with no other schooling than elementary school.	Score	Standard Distr.		Farm-size					
		2-6 ha		2-6 ha		7-9 ha		10 ha and more	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
	0-4	62	33.5	39	40.0	15	23.8	8	33.3
	5-7	90	48.6	46	46.9	34	53.9	10	41.6
	8-10	33	17.8	13	13.2	14	22.2	6	25.0
Total		185	99.9	98	100.1	63	99.9	24	99.9

$$\chi^2 = 6.100; 0.2 > P > 0.1; 4 \text{ degrees of freedom.}$$

Average score obtained 5.31 4.95 5.60 5.80

Although, therefore, a trend in the expected direction might possibly exist, the chi-square test does not confirm the hypothesis

¹ The fact that schooling, as such, (i.e. the fact itself that one has received a good training, more than the specific type of training enjoyed) is one of the most important "channels" through which modern culture can influence the technical performance of the farmers, is shown by a research of Wilbur Perry Ball, (Influence of High School Vocational Agriculture on Farm Mechanics used by Participants in the Veteran Farm Training Programme; Doctoral Thesis, 1956, Iowa State College, in Journal of Science, no. 2, 1957, volume 32, Ames, Iowa, pp. 124-126). He found that "chi-square analysis did not reveal very many important differences in the responses of vocational agriculture and non-vocational agriculture graduates (our emphasis v. v.) regarding the extent to which each of 44 selected farm mechanics jobs, skills, and decisions had been performed."

Further, besides the already quoted example from Lowry Nelson on p. 65 (footnote 8) another interesting hint as to the primary function of the Western School for the

put forward here above. The conclusion seems therefore justified that of the two entities "size of the farm" and "training" as a factor of modernity, the latter is by far the most important.¹

Unfortunately the smallness of the figures concerning the farm operators who received some selected vocational training after the elementary school, does not allow us to inquire more deeply into the possible differences as to the modernizing character of the different types of schools. However, the data shown so far seem to allow at least the two following conclusions:

- a. there is a clearly positive relationship between the total amount of training received by the farm operator, the degree of his integration into the modern Dutch social structure and that of his capacity of decision-making, as they are expressed by our score; and
- b. there is, perhaps, an influence of the size of the holding upon the operator's capacity of decision-making, quite apart from, and beyond the influence of, the better training usually enjoyed by the operators of larger farms. However, this influence, according to the material at our disposal, shows up only as a trend and it was not confirmed by the chi-square test.

5. *Job- and residence-mobility*

While trying to explain a particular phenomenon connected with the preceding variable we maintained that part-time jobs might have an educative influence upon the farmer – at least as far as his

way of thinking and the attitudes of the members of society can be found in the already quoted Dutch report "Stedeling en Boer," which is an empirical research on the attitudes and opinions of city dwellers with respect to the farming population.

The training received by the respondents appeared to be one of the most important determinants of the attitudes of the urban populations – i.e. the attitudes become increasingly positive with increasing degrees of schooling. With *decreasing* degrees of the education received, the respondents conformed more faithfully to the existing stereotypes about countrylife. The authors find here reasons to conclude that this phenomenon is due to less critical attitudes and less capacity for independent thinking of the less schooled respondents. In fact, by some degrees of schooling, even differences in profession, age, etc. did not appear to be highly determinant for the respondent's attitude towards countrylife.

capacity to form a personal opinion is concerned. Theoretically this presupposition is quite maintainable, and it might therefore be worthwhile to verify now its validity on a more general level. Part-time jobs, we know, favour the individual's degree of contact with people from branches of activity other than agriculture, and help therefore the farmer to enlarge his views and life-orientation from the farm to the national level. Therefore, at least with regard to the probability the individual has to participate in a static-conservative, or in a dynamic-modern social structure, we think that part-time jobs can be a meaningful source of renewal and integration into the latter form of social organization.

One could expect the same function to be exerted, at least theoretically, by professional and residential mobility. By the first term we understand both a (present) farm-operator having exercised, in the course of his life also some professions outside the field of agriculture, while by the second term we understand his having worked on several farms within and without the municipality. The grouping of our variable 40 (Appendix III) in two groups of farmers: *worked in agriculture only* and *worked also outside agriculture* (before becoming farm operator, in which quality the farmers were interviewed) and the cross tabulation did not show any significant relationship between score and job-mobility. A subsequent tabulation of the same variable in the three following groups: "*worked always on the present farm*," "*worked on several farms within the municipality*," and "*also some periods of practice spent on other farms outside the municipality*" did not give for the latter category figures large enough to be statistically significant. However, they clearly indicated that only in the size class 10 ha or more the farmers who have made some practice outside the municipality have scored higher scores than the rest of their colleagues. For the other two size classes this does not seem to be the case. The different "behaviour" of this variable cannot be attributed to a possible higher percentage of farmers in the highest size class having done practice outside the municipality. In fact, this percentage is 7.58% (11 out of 145) in the size class 10 ha and more, as against 8.33% (15 out of 180) in the size class 2-6 ha.

Eventually, as a last resource, we pooled part of the figures in the hypothesis that the formative influence of job-mobility (if it exists at all) is comparable with the influence of residential mobility. This allowed us to make of our universe three categories: i.e. farmers who had worked always in agriculture, always on the present farm; farmers who had worked always in agriculture, but

had been on several farms within the boundaries of the municipality during their career; while the third category was formed by those farmers who had always worked in agriculture, but had also spent some time farming outside the community plus those who had worked also outside agriculture before becoming farm operator. (respectively points 1, 3, and $2 + 4 + 5 + 6 + 7 + 8$ of variable 40).

The cross-tabulation of this variable showed a positive correlation with the score only in the categories of farms of 2-6 ha and 10 ha and more. The farmers who had spent all their lives on the same farm booked proportionately more lower scores than those who had been in more places or more jobs during their lives; these latter showed a concentration in the score group 8-10. This time the chi-square test showed that this correlation is nearly significant for the 2-6 ha class ($P = 0.055$) whereas for the class of 10 ha and more the found value was 0.65. For the size class 7-9 ha, χ^2 showed a P of 0.16.

Although these partial results seem therefore to be generally in accordance with our views (greater importance of external factors favouring social contacts for the operators of the smaller enterprises), for the complete interpretation of these results we cannot draw any conclusion. It is definitely certain that the farmers who exerted part-time jobs scored higher than the full-time farmers, particularly in the farms smaller than 10 ha. However, when other forms of contact with the outside world (such as the ones we chose) were taken into consideration, the results obtained were all but clear, even if some indications exist that a positive correlation between the score and this contact is present. This failure to show the reliability of our presupposition might depend either on the code chosen for this variable, or on the fact that other factors may trouble the picture (for instance it is not totally unthinkable that the influence of the farm-size softens the influence of this variable). In the smaller farms, where farmers show a greater degree of mobility, the trend is more marked than in the other size classes. In the higher classes the formative influence of having to farm on a big farm might compensate for the initial disadvantage of having remained on the same farm for a whole lifetime. We must not forget that on the larger farms usually people have more occasions to travel, to read more, and to receive better education. From all this it follows that for the majority of the small farmers, whose economic conditions sometimes prevent them from participating in the cultural life in the narrow sense of the word, (thus, reading,

schooling, going to the theatre, etc.) this form of mobility has a meaningful educative character.¹

6. Membership of political parties

Question number 58 of our questionnaire (Appendix 1) asked: "Are you member of a political party?" From our point of view it was not so important to know of which party the farmers were a member, as much as to know whether or not they did participate into the national political life more than just by giving their vote once every few years to the polls. It was expected that the farmers who are more fully integrated in the Great Society (represented by the high scores) would also take a more active part in the Dutch political life. The possible correlation between party-membership and the score can be somewhat biased by the way itself in which the score has been calculated. Namely, among the questions upon which we based our calculations there are two (No. 59 and 60) which refer to the importance of political life for the farmer. It is therefore logical that those farmers who are also party-members might have had some more competence, or interest, to answer those two questions. However, this is a bias which is difficult to avoid, being it impossible to overlook the political up-to-dateness of a universe when the impact of the culture pattern upon it is being studied.

If we look now at the number of the party-members in the different size classes we obtain the following picture:

TABLE 29 *Distribution of party membership among the three size classes of Winterswijk farmers.*

Total		Class 2-6 ha		Class 7-9 ha		Class 10 ha and more		
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
125	26.1	39	20.6	37	25.3	49	34.2	Party members
478	100	189	100	146	100	143	100	Total

$$\chi^2 = 7.905; P = 0.02; 2 \text{ degrees of freedom}$$

¹ If the job- and residence-mobility helps the farmer integrate himself into the social system of the modern state of which he makes part - as the correlation with our score would seem to indicate - the political rationality and "appropriateness" of several measures of agricultural policy striving towards an immobilization of the smallholders on their holdings, such as the fascist laws on job - and residence-mobility for the

We see therefore that party membership is clearly correlated with the size of the farm. Since also the 10 answers score is correlated with it, if we want to see if a relationship of any significance exists between party-membership and the 10 answers score we shall have to study this relationship within each size-class.

TABLE 30 *Relation of party membership with the score 10 answers per size class.*

Farm-size 2-6 ha

Total		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10		
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
39	20.6	6	8.9	19	21.5	14	41.1	Party members
189	100	67	100	88	100	34	100	Total

$$\chi^2 = 14.405; P < 0.001; 2 \text{ degrees of freedom}$$

Farm-size 7-9 ha

Total		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10		
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
37	25.3	3	12.5	19	26.4	15	30.-	Party members
146	100	24	100	72	100	50	100	Total

$$\chi^2 = 2.705; 0.3 > P > 0.2; 2 \text{ degrees of freedom.}$$

Farm-size 10 ha and more

Total		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10		
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
49	34.2	2	8.-	21	32.3	26	49.-	Party members
143	100	25	100	65	100	53	100	Total

$$\chi^2 = 12.925; 0.01 > P > 0.001; 2 \text{ degrees of freedom.}$$

From tables 29 and 30 we can conclude that the score (with all its implications) as shown in chapters III and V, augments with the increase of party membership. The latter - which, in case of Winterswijk farmers can safely be identified with membership in clerical parties exception made of a few cases - makes therefore decidedly for integration of Winterswijk farmers in the wider Dutch society, and also for modernity even if, as it is the case, the great majority of the farmers are members of parties which do not

peasants in Italy, acquire now a new significance. The less people are socially conscious the easier is the life of a system based upon paternalism and clientele. So we see that the limitations of freedom on the labour marked usually imposed by totalitarian-authorocratic systems becomes a need for the ruling class if it intends to survive.

consciously strive for progress. We can say therefore, that such parties have partly acted as agents of renewal in spite of their principles.¹ From this example it can quite clearly be seen that the *function* of a party membership has consequences which are far wider-reaching than the prefixed *goal* of the party itself. We are confronted with a practical example of the two sociological concepts of function and goal applied to the same institution. As for the practice, one might wonder as to what is more important between political mindedness itself and the *quality* of the political mindedness. As to the relationship between politics at large and the technical efficiency of the farm management it seems to us that we can safely conclude that the political mindedness of the farm operator as such is, without any doubt, of more weight for the production process than the formal goals of the party.

Table 30 shows that the relation between membership of political parties and our score is highly significant in the lowest and the highest size-class, whereas it is not significant in the class of farms of 7-9 ha. The trend, however, is clearly present even in this size-class. As to the possible reasons for the lack of significance for the middle category, we are not yet in the position to furnish any suitable explanation.

7. Church attendance

Apart from any consideration about the nature and the intrinsic rightness or value of any religion, it is undeniable that religion, as such, is quite efficient in that it gives man the possibility to strive for something definite. From this point of view, even if based upon strongly irrational feelings or convictions, religion gives to its adepts the opportunity to adapt consciously their own life to a goal. As such, religiousness increases man's *functional* rationality. However, on the other hand, one can also maintain that it will be quite difficult that strong emotional and metaphysical drives can go together, in the same individual, with a high degree of rationality. At the same time, it is generally held that with the increasing of the secular and contractual forms of human relations, the sacred forms (and therefore even religiousness) tend to diminish. It might therefore be worthwhile to inquire whether a relationship exists at

¹ It can be safely assumed that the great majority of the protestant farmers who are members of a political party, are members either of the C.H.U.-party (Christian Historic Union) or of the A.R.-party (Anti Revolutionary Party) - Both of them are of conservative inspiration. Furthermore the latter, as its name indicates, should consciously strive against the principles of the French revolution.

all between our score – which expresses the degree of the respondent's participation in the modern Dutch social structure – and religiousness of our Winterswijk farmers.

If we take the church attendance as a very rough indication of such religiousness, we see that about the same conclusions as in the analysis of the previous item can be drawn from the figures reflecting the degree of church attendance of Winterswijk farmers. The figures are, however, not as clear as the ones regarding party-membership, and we suspect that this is due to a basic fault in the coding of the data. Namely, our universe was divided into two groups, the one comprising people who use to attend at least one church service in the month and the other people whose church attendance is less than once a month. This tabulation resulted meaningless for the Roman Catholics and for the Calvinists. Obviously different criteria should have been set for the different doctrines independently; but then we could not possibly have hoped to obtain a regular distribution in all the positions of the continuum, owing to the small number of the interviewed farmers of certain denominations. Since we wanted to obtain a distribution of our universe along the continuum as uniform as possible, we decided to continue our coding in the ordinary way. In the elaboration of the data it is obvious that only the figures pertaining to the Dutch Reformed Church should be taken into consideration. The following table, containing the figures concerning the Dutch Reformed farmers only, does not denounce deviations from the standard distribution big enough to be statistically significant. However the trend of a direct relationship between the score and a higher degree of church-mindedness is clearly present.

TABLE 31 *Degree of church attendance of Winterswijk Dutch Reformed farmers according to score 10 answers.*

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
at least once a month	220	58.6	53	53.5	101	58.7	66	63.4
less than once a month	155	41.3	46	46.5	71	41.3	38	36.5
Total	375	99.9	99	100	172	100	104	99.9

$$\chi^2 = 2.058; 0.5 > P > 0.3; 2 \text{ degrees of freedom.}$$

Table 31 shows that, in Winterswijk, the attendance to religious services instead of diminishing tends rather to increase with the

increasing of the score. However, this relationship was not shown to be statistically significant and we do not feel entitled to draw any definite conclusion. There is a consideration, however, that cannot be avoided here: the fact that the visits to church do not diminish, but, sooner, increase with the increasing of the score is very interesting; in fact, we can assume that the latter is strongly concomitant with the respondent's degree of rationality – which is supposed to be a trait contrary to religious mindedness. However, the surprise which our finding might have caused at first is not justified by a deeper reconsideration of the meaning of the relation between the two entities cross-tabulated in the above table. It is, in fact, quite logical that with the increasing of the farmer's capacity for rational thinking also the interest for what happens outside and beyond his limited farm should increase (this is, in fact, the reasoning upon which the creation of our score is based) and therefore also the interest for church- and religious-matters in general. Further, out of the very nature of our score it follows that also the individual's degree of consciousness and of activity should increase. This is confirmed, in fact, by the opinions expressed by our key-persons, by the list of activities of our A and B farmers, and by the case studies reported in the foregoing chapter. It should therefore not be surprising that among the widespread apathy such as the one observable among the local rural population with regard to religious matters, the most active and religiously conscious farmers should be overrepresented in the highest score groups.

Since in Winterswijk the religious denomination of the farmers does not seem to go together with anyone farm-size in particular, it is not necessary for us to analyze here the same figures within each class of farms. It is sufficient to say that the same trend is present in all the three size-classes and that the deviation from the standard distribution is greatest in the size class 10 ha and over. However, none of the calculated P values of the chi-square test is significant (respectively 0.41; 0.28; 0.16). The one interesting conclusion deriving from the analysis of the church-mindedness of Winterswijk farmers in separate size classes is that, against all expectations, there is not the slightest indication that church-mindedness augments with the decreasing of the farm-size. The contrary seems sooner to be true, which is in perfect accordance with our previous remarks. However, owing to the values of the chi-square tests we cannot state this impression more definitely than

in the present form. A more detailed study of this aspect of social participation seems therefore highly advisable.

The analysis carried out here above, as well as the analysis of the relation of the variable "party-membership" with our score, carried out in the previous pages, seems to allow the following general remark: if our score should be proven to be significantly related to the degree of efficiency in farming the conclusion would seem justified that, at least as far as this efficiency is concerned, political as well as religious mindedness are important primarily in so far as they stimulate the appearance of a conscious attitude in the subject. Therefore, to this respect, this is a function more important, perhaps, of the particular colour or creed of the party or religion concerned.

8. *Membership in professional and non professional formal organizations*

One of the most typical, if not the most typical characteristics of the modern urban western culture is that the life of the people who are under its influence quickly becomes "organized" in an endless number of formal, goal-centered, organizations.

The notion that under the impact of modern culture the countryside is assuming a more conscious attitude towards life is being more and more generally accepted by social scientists. The formal organization of many manifestations of societal life is a symptom of a conscious attitude towards life; as to this respect, therefore, the repeatedly observed relation between participation in formal social organizations and acceptance of new farm practices is quite understandable.

An account of the reasons which make for the acceptance of the hypothesis of such a conscious attitude has been given in chapter II. Isolating now only a very small portion of the whole process, we intend to study somewhat more carefully the possible relation between our score and formal social participation. In fact, we are of the opinion that the above mentioned process of assumption of a personal conscious attitude towards life is not only a symptom of this modern culture, but that it favours the growth of this type of culture too. It is quite clear that the modern farmers should be found more represented in this type of organization: in fact, these are typically "formal," free-participation units, and purposely goal-centered in contraposition with the informal, unfree, not

goal-centered type of social units (like family and neighbourhood) upon which "gemeinschaftliche" forms of social organization are based. Social participation in the first type must therefore perforce presuppose some degree of an individual act of personal acceptance (formal application, payment of duties, observation of the statutes, etc.), whereas social participation in the second type of units does not need to presuppose any particular personal conscious attitude towards it. The second type of participation tends to give the individual's life a character of "being lived" by the unit rather than its "living" the life of the unit.

Of course one cannot view such things too much in a black-and-white fashion, since there are naturally also in-between situations. As to formal social participation and agriculture in particular, from the existing extensive literature it is already known how modernity of farm management and high farm returns normally are directly correlated with the number of memberships in agricultural co-operatives, or with participation in a particular *kind* of association (4 H-clubs, "Vereniging van bedrijfsvoorlichting,"¹ Ring,² etc.). We are therefore now interested to see how *quantitative* and *qualitative* social participation are related with our score.

The foremost reason why we are not satisfied with just the aforementioned considerations is that formal social organizations are subjected to the phenomenon of "institutionalization," whereby the participation loses much of the particular characteristics which should favour the process of conscious individuality within the members. It is neither our task nor our intention to give here a definition of the term institutionalization. Be it enough to say that we consider it to be a consequence of the consolidation of the success of new movements and initiatives.³ The individual member of an organization loses direct contact with the directive board of the association, (party- or trade-union-"machines" make their appearance) and the organization lives a more or less long-lasting life of its own, ruled by its bureaucratic apparatus. Of course, practically all the existing formal associations are already, in varying degrees, in an advanced phase of the "institutional cycle"; a long way from the initial phase of spontaneous social movement.

¹ Voluntary Association for Agricultural Extension; cfr. p. 9.

² Also a similar institution; cfr. p. 11-12.

³ For a more extensive discussion of this subject with regard to agricultural organizations in the Netherlands, cfr. E. Abma and J. H. W. Lijfering, "Institutionalization in Agrarian Organizations in the Netherlands" Transactions of the Third World Congress of Sociology, Vol. II, pp. 326-334.

However, there are several degrees of "distance" between the individual farmer and the several associations. So in the Netherlands, Abma, Franssens and Hofstee⁴ in their pilot study about the co-operative mindedness of the Dutch farmers found that, for the oldest type of co-operatives, individual acceptance of membership can become almost as traditionally determined and as unfree as the participation in informal, unfree social units (for instance in the cases of the co-operative dairy factories in some parts of the country). In such cases the farmers are very little aware of the implications of their having accepted a membership in a free association – if at all – and they "do not see that they themselves by means of their votes can stimulate co-operative activity instead of leaving private enterprise to act as a corrective; their ignorance in matters pertaining to co-operative association is too great."⁵ We have already seen how for the Netherlands an empirical study⁶ has established that the progressive farmers are more often than the average Dutch farmer members of

- a. a farmers' union,
- b. an association for Agricultural Extension (vereniging voor bedrijfsvoorlichting),
- c. a cattle herdbook,
- d. a purchasing-selling co-operative, or a dairy factory, and
- e. they are more often on the board of these associations.

We see hence that the progressive farmers are clearly the most organization-minded group in the farmers' society. We have here therefore already a first indirect proof of the assumption of a direct relationship between modernity of the culture pattern and modernity of the farm-management. If, however, our score is a meaningful tool to measure the modernity of the cultural pattern, this relationship should result quite regular also when all the different aspects of formal social participation of Winterswijk farmers are measured with it. Namely, the scores obtained by the

⁴ E. Abma, D. H. Franssens and E. W. Hofstee, "Boer en Coöperatie in Zelhem, een sociografische studie" van Gorcum, Assen, 1956.

⁵ E. Abma, J. H. W. Lijfering, op. cit. pg. 329.

⁶ A. W. van den Ban – Enkele kenmerken en eigenschappen van de vooruitstrevende boeren, I.

components of our universe should steadily increase with the increasing of formal social participation, no matter the way of measuring it.

If, at a later stage of our analysis, our score should reveal a significant relation with farming efficiency, this would be an indirect way to correlate efficiency of farm management with social participation (formal).

Already from the control of the validity of our score, as given in chapter v, the more intensive associational life of the A farmers came strongly to the fore. We must, however, apply now our score to the whole universe.

1. If now in our tabulation we apply the dichotomy: *less than six memberships in formal associations pro capita*, versus *more than six memberships pro capita* (respectively points 0, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7 and 4, 5, 8, 8, of variable 41, Appendix III) and we examine its relationship with our score, we obtain the following table:

TABLE 32 *Formal social participation of Winterswijk farmers. Number of memberships pro capita, according to score 10 answers. Farm-size constant.*

Farm-size 2-6 ha

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0-6 memberships	139	73.5	53	80.3	64	72.7	22	62.8
more than 6 memberships	50	26.4	13	19.7	24	27.3	13	37.1
Total	189	99.9	66	100	88	100	35	99.9

$\chi^2 = 3.633$; $P = 0.16$; 2 degrees of freedom.

Farm-size 7-9 ha

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0-6 memberships	74	50.4	14	60.9	39	50.6	21	45.6
more than 6 memberships	72	49.3	9	39.1	38	49.3	25	54.3
Total	146	100	23	100	77	99.9	46	99.9

$\chi^2 = 1.421$; $P = 0.48$; 2 degrees of freedom.

Farm-size 10 ha and more

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0-6 memberships	59	39.6	15	57.7	21	32.8	23	39
more than 6 memberships	90	60.4	11	42.3	43	67.2	36	61.-
Total	149	100	26	100	64	100	59	100

$\chi^2 = 4.792$; $P = 0.09$; 2 degrees of freedom.

The division in groups of farm-size had to be made since a strict relationship between almost all types of formal social participation studied in the present research and the farm-size appears to exist. As to table 32 we can notice that the trend indicative of a direct relationship between social participation (quantitative) and the score is present in an all-round way, even if not statistically significant. This relationship seems to be more meaningful for the highest size-class and least significant for the medium size-class (deviations from the standard distributions and P values).

2. Adopting another dichotomy in the tabulation of the same variable 41, namely 0, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 1, 6, 7, 8, 9, together, (respectively, non-members of farmers' unions and members of farmers' unions) we can now see how membership of farmers' unions correlates with our score. Farmers' unions in the Netherlands have reached a high degree of institutionalization¹). However, the fact that 39% of Winterswijk farmers are not members of farmers' unions seems to indicate a certain degree of individuality, and awareness of the function of the union in those who accepted the membership.²

Table 33 shows the existence of this relationship.

¹ E. Abma, Boer en Standsorganisatie. (Participation of Farmers in Farmers' Unions.) Bulletin No. 2 Afd. Sociologie en Sociografie Landbouwhogeschool, Wageningen, 1955.

² According to the figures of our survey, in 1954 190 out of 484 Winterswijk farmers did not belong to a farmers' Union. The percentage of union-membership in the different size classes is as follow: 47% for the farms of 2 to 6 ha; 71% for the farms of 7 to 9 ha; and 69% for the farms of 10 and more hectares.

TABLE 33 *Participation of Winterswijk farmers in farmers' Unions, according to score 10 answers. Farm-size constant.*

Farm-size 2-6 ha

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Union members	89	47.1	20	30.3	45	51.1	24	68.6
non-members	100	52.9	46	69.4	43	48.8	11	31.4
Total	189	100	66	100	88	99.9	35	100

$$\chi^2 = 14.528; P = 0.0007; 2 \text{ degrees of freedom.}$$

Farm-size 7-9 ha

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Union members	103	70.5	14	60.9	53	68.8	36	78.2
non-members	43	29.4	9	39.1	24	31.2	10	21.8
Total	146	99.9	23	100	77	100	46	100

$$\chi^2 = 2.468; P = 0.29; 2 \text{ degrees of freedom.}$$

Farm-size 10 ha and more

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Union members	102	68.4	12	46.1	44	68.7	46	78
non-members	47	31.5	14	53.8	20	31.3	13	22
Total	149	99.9	26	99.9	64	100	59	100

$$\chi^2 = 8.465; P = 0.0014; 2 \text{ degrees of freedom.}$$

We see that the relationship is present and constant in all the three size-classes. In the lowest and highest size-class the significance of this relationship is very high, whereas in the medium size-class the relationship, however clearly present, was not shown to be statistically significant by the chi-square test. On the total of the three size-classes the chi-square test reveals a very high degree of significance ($P = 0.0001$). This does not tell us much since membership in farmers' unions is very highly correlated with the

farm-size.¹ However, we believe we can safely assume that membership in farmers' union and our score are directly correlated. It is worth noticing here that from table 33 we get the impression that farmers' union-membership is more significant for the capacity of decision-making of the small farmers than of the other farmers. This relation is quite understandable in view of the fact that while union-membership is widely accepted among the medium-sized and large farmers, forming, as it were, a part of their style of living, this is not the case with the small farmers. It is therefore logical that this variable should be more highly connected with a conscious attitude in the lower size-class than in the higher ones.

3. If we now want to see what kind of relationship might exist between our score and the *different types* of associations (with the exception for the membership in farmers' union, just taken into consideration) we must remember that in Winterswijk not all the farmers' associations seem to enjoy the same degree of popularity among the local farmers.² For technical reasons, in tabulating the several co-operatives of which a farmer is a member we had to group them into a limited number of groups. We made therefore three groups, the criteria being the frequency with which the membership of a certain association occurred among our universe of interviewees. So we obtained the groups *a*, *b* and *c*,

- a.* being comprehensive of membership of: co-operative farmers' banks, purchasing-selling co-op., cattle-sale co-op., mutual insurance funds;
- b.* of: Associations for Milk-testing, Associations for Artificial Insemination, Co-operatives for Agricultural Machinery;
- c.* of: Cattle Herdbook, Horse Herdbook, Pigs Herdbook, Alumni Association, Bookkeeping bureau.

Incidentally we remind the reader here of the fact that the group of the *a.*-association seems to gather the oldest and most institutionalized associations, whereas the *c.* group comprehends the youngest associations with either a highly rationalistic goal (book-keeping, animal breeding) or a cultural one. (Ass. Alumni Agric. Winter school).

¹ See footnote 2 on page 263.

² See chapter iv, sub. d.

TABLE 34 *Qualitative membership of Winterswijk farmers according to score 10 answers.
Farm-size constant.*

Farm-size 2-6 ha

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
C- Assoc. members	65	35.1	16	25.8	33	37.5	16	45.7
members A and B	120	64.9	46	74.2	55	62.5	19	54.3
Ass. only								
Total	185	100	62	100	88	100	35	100

$$\chi^2 = 4.297; P = 0.12; 2 \text{ degrees of freedom.}$$

Farm-size 7-9 ha

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
C- Assoc. members	78	53.8	11	47.8	39	50.6	28	62.2
members A and B	67	46.2	12	52.2	38	49.3	17	37.8
Ass. only								
Total	145	100	23	100	77	99.9	45	100

$$\chi^2 = 1.919; P = 0.38; 2 \text{ degrees of freedom.}$$

Farm-size 10 ha and more

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
C- Assoc. members	99	66.9	13	50	41	65.1	45	72.3
members A and B	49	33.1	13	50	22	34.9	14	23.7
Ass. only								
Total	148	100	26	100	63	100	59	100

$$\chi^2 = 5.780; P = 0.057; 2 \text{ degrees of freedom.}$$

We see therefore that there seems to be a direct constant relationship between membership in associations of group C and our score. The deviation from the standard distribution is the smallest among the medium-sized farms and the highest among the largest farms. Since the picture shown by the (M x N) tables is constant in all

the three classes, we pooled the three χ^2 obtaining a P value = 0,06, which indicates a quasi-significance at the 0.05 level for the relationship of this variable with the score.

4. Another of the characteristics of social participation positively related to farm-management, often noticed by rural sociologists, is the number of board functions held by the farmers in these associations. We tabulated this aspect of formal social participation (see appendix III, variable 43) with the intention to see whether or not it correlates with our score. The most important thing which immediately appeared from the cross-tabulation was that the number of functions held by a farmer *is not significantly correlated with the size of the farm* ($P = 0.23$). This, although unexpected, is a fortunate circumstance. In fact, if the same variable should prove to be significantly related to our score, the finding would acquire a clearer meaning as to its implications. The cross-tabulation showed that this variable is highly correlated with our score as shown by the following table. Because of the above mentioned lack of correlation with the farm-size we report here immediately the total global figures, without splitting them up into size categories.

TABLE 35 *Number of Winterswijk farmers holding at least one board function in agricultural organizations, according to 10 answers score.*

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Farmers holding no board functions	424	87.4	109	94.8	201	87.7	114	80.8
Farmers holding board functions	61	12.6	65	5.2	28	12.2	27	19.1
Total	485	100	174	100	229	99.9	141	99.9

$$\chi^2 = 11.231; P = 0.003; 2 \text{ degrees of freedom.}$$

As one can clearly see the relation between our score and the number of functions held in agricultural organizations is quite definite.

5. Almost exactly the same picture is obtained if the membership in non-agricultural organizations is related to the score. This is a very important aspect of our problem (namely how far efficiency

of the farm management is related to the cultural pattern) because there are sound reasons to believe that the renewing of ideas, ideals and attitudes comes to the farmers from outside his own daily work (i.e. through his extra professional life) certainly as much as from his purely professional activities. By extra professional or non-agricultural associations we understand associations (question No. 57 Appendix 1) such as musical associations, football clubs, play groups etc., where the cultural and recreational functions are the main goal of the association. It must be said that the number of farmers holding a formal membership in this kind of organization is not great, even if in practice almost everybody has to have some kind of recreational life. Out of our whole universe we made three groups:

1. farmers with no membership at all in any such associations,
2. farmers with one membership, and
3. farmers with more than one such memberships. (Appendix III variable 43).

Actually, in the third group we counted also those farmers holding board functions in such kind of associations.

Putting now this classification in relation with our score we obtain figures as shown in the following table:

TABLE 36 *Winterswijk farmers' membership in non professional organizations, according to score 10 answers.*

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Farmers with no membership at all.	283	58.5	79	68.7	134	58.5	70	50
Farmers with one membership	142	29.3	27	23.5	73	31.9	42	30
Farmers with either more than 1 membership or at least one board function.	50	12.2	9	7.8	22	9.6	28	20
Total	475	100	115	100	229	100	140	100

$$\chi^2 = 15.695; P = 0.0035; 4 \text{ degrees of freedom.}$$

Also in this case it was possible for us not to split our universe into groups of size classes since the variable taken into consideration *was not shown to be significantly related to farm-size* ($P = 0.16$). As we see, the chi-square value shows that the same variable is very highly correlated to our 10 answers score.

This last example, as well as the one illustrated by the previous table, is, in our opinion, the best proof that *culture is of more influence both on the general social activities of the farmer and on the expressions of his personality than the farm-size*. Clarifying better our statement, we could say that the size of the farm holds a derivate importance in so far as, on the whole, it gives the farmer more possibilities to come in contact with the outside world, and to make good use of the findings of techniques *once he has accepted them*. But the really important thing is *the contact with the outside world, and this acceptance*, as such. We see that when this contact already exists even outside the limits of the farm-size, it is very highly correlated with our score, which is supposed to give a rough measure of the modernity of the culture pattern (i.e. also of the interviewed person's attitudes with respect to new cultural elements). Closing this analysis of formal social participation we should like to launch the hypothesis that the reason why membership in the C-associations is, in general, more correlated with progressiveness than the other two types of association, is that the C-associations, out of the very fact of being new, select more consciously living people and, therefore, people who supposedly will try to get the best out of their own possibilities.

Further we must notice how from the way itself in which this variable was coded it follows that notwithstanding the fact that the farmers of the low score groups are relatively more interested in the A- and B-associations than in the C-associations, it does not mean that, at the same time, the farmers of the higher score group are less interested in the A- and B-associations than their colleagues of the other two groups. In fact, a farmer who is member of a C-association is almost sure to be member of an A- and B-association too.

This means that also the *total number* of memberships held by a Winterswijk farmer is significantly related to the score. As an explanation for this finding can be taken the one given by Franssens, Abma and Hofstee¹ in their study about the co-operation-mindedness of the Zelhem farmer. These authors try to show that farmers

¹ A. Abma, D. H. Franssens and E. W. Hofstee, op. cit.

with a more rational and businesslike attitude are more apt to do their business with co-operatives just because of the general impersonality of the relations entertained by these institutionalized bodies with their customers. For the same general principle, those authors argue, it is mainly the more traditionally-minded farmers who entertain more personal relations with private merchants and who usually prefer the latter to the co-operatives.

According to the results of our research the sequence of the significance of the relation between formal social participation and our score is, by decreasing degrees, as follows:

- a. membership in non-agricultural organizations.
- b. holding board functions in agricultural organizations.
- c. membership in farmers' unions.
- d. membership in C-associations.
- e. the total number of memberships held pro capita.

Therefore, if this sequence cannot be explained by some reasons pertinent either to the methodology followed in this research, or to the local situation, we can suppose it to express a sequence of importance with respect to the degree of individuation, progressiveness and rationality of the respondent. Thus, the following final conclusions seem to be justified:

- i. If the conditions of Dutch Agriculture are similar to those of Winterswijk, then for a future attempt to measure the degree of modernity of the frame of reference of the Dutch farmers it is much more advisable to measure directly the degree of participation in non-agricultural (or extra professional) associations rather than to spend much time in measuring numbers of memberships, active or passive participation, monetary contribution, participation in meetings, etc. of the agricultural organizations;
- ii. If no extra professional organizations are present for the farmer to become a possible member, then the number of

functions held in the professional organizations is the most meaningful tool for a massive measurement of the modernity of the farmers' frame of reference;

- III. *The quality* of the social participation seems to be more important than *the quantity*.

9. *Social relations with neighbours and with farmers*

If it is true that our score discriminates a degree of modern, individual mentality from locally determined, neighbourhood-mentality, it could be interesting to see who are those of our interviewees who draw most of their acquaintances from the neighbourhood, and who, on the other hand, are those who associate with people from outside the local neighbourhood. Or, putting the same question into another form, it might be interesting to see whether empirical research can confirm that the entertaining of social relations with people from beyond the local neighbourhood correlates with a more pronounced individuality, as contrasted with relations within the secure and well known limits of the neighbourhood. The same can be said about association with farmers and non-farmers as contrasted to association with farmers only. It seems logical that progressiveness in farming, the acceptance of novelties, and modernity of the frame of reference would be favoured by not associating with farmers only.

In our questionnaire we had put a question (No. 65, Appendix II) as to the effect of the kind of people with whom the interviewees were mostly in contact during their normal, everyday life. The answers received were coded according to the double dichotomy: *mainly association with neighbours* versus *mainly association with non-neighbours*, and *mainly association with farmers only* versus *mainly association with non-farmers* (variable 44, Appendix III). The first positive result of the tabulation is that *neither of the two variables is significantly correlated with the size of the farm*. We must therefore conclude that in a collectivistically-structured society the size of the farm is not the limiting factor for the associating customs of the farmers. In a community of the "gemeinschaft" type everybody knows everybody else, and no or little distinction is made, within the local group, of profession and (to a lower degree) of farm-size. We consider this fact as being the cause of the lack of clear differences between high and low scores in our second dichotomy (association mainly with farmers only versus as-

sociation with non-farmers). The chi-square test showed a value of 0.57.

On the contrary, a significant correlation appeared to exist between the score and the variable: mainly association with neighbours only / association with non-neighbours, as showed by the following table:

TABLE 37 *Degree of extra-neighbourhood association of Winterswijk farmers, according to score 10 answers.*

Association with	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
neighbours only	331	69.5	81	71.7	166	73.8	84	60.9
also non-neighbours	145	30.4	32	28.3	59	26.2	54	39.1
Total	476	99.9	113	100	225	100	138	100

$$\chi^2 = 7.049; P = 0.028; 2 \text{ degrees of freedom.}$$

As we see, although the linearity of the relationship is not unequivocally clear we can conclude that our methodology shows how modernity of the frame of reference is associated with extra-neighbourhood¹ contacts.

10. *Travelling habits*

One aspect of the culture pattern which might quite reasonably be thought to be strictly in relation with modernity of attitudes and of frame of reference is travelling, in its various forms. We have therefore coded the travelling customs of Winterswijk farmers in four different ways (Appendix III, variables 38 and 39): i.e.

- a. according to the estimated number of times the interviewee had been beyond the boundaries of the community since World War II;
- b. according to the purpose of travelling;
- c. according to the place of destination, and
- d. according to the manner of travelling.

¹ As to the meaning of the term neighbourhood used here see chapter IV.

It might now be interesting to examine the kind of relationship existing between these variables and our score.

1. We shall, therefore, examine hereafter the figures pertaining to the "quantity" of travelling. This variable is strongly related to the farm-size, ($P 0.0001$) so that we will have to keep the figures separated according to the size-class.

TABLE 38 "Quantity" of travelling of Winterswijk farmers, according to score 10 answers.

Farm-size 2-6 ha

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Less than 4 times	123	65.4	46	70.8	58	65.9	19	54.3
More than 4 times	65	34.6	19	29.2	30	34.1	16	45.7
Total	188	100	65	100	88	100	35	100

$$\chi^2 = 2.749; P = 0.25; 2 \text{ degrees of freedom.}$$

Farm-size 7-9 ha

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Less than 4 times	83	56.8	16	69.5	45	58.4	22	47.8
More than 4 times	63	43.1	7	30.4	32	41.5	24	52.2
Total	146	99.9	23	99.9	77	99.9	46	100

$$\chi^2 = 3.130; P = 0.22; 2 \text{ degrees of freedom.}$$

Farm-size 10 ha and more

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Less than 4 times	57	38.2	14	53.8	31	48.4	12	20.3
More than 4 times	92	61.7	12	46.1	33	51.5	47	79.6
Total	149	99.9	26	99.9	64	99.9	59	99.9

$$\chi^2 = 13.500; P = 0.001; 2 \text{ degrees of freedom.}$$

As we see, our presuppositions are only partially confirmed. The trend of a direct relationship between the number of times a farmer has surpassed the community boundaries and the score is clearly present and constant. However, this relationship is significant only in the highest size-class (and highly significant, as such), whereas in the other two classes the P values of the χ^2 are far above the 0.05 level of significance.

2. In trying to discover whether or not a relationship exists, as we had supposed, between our score and the goal of the travelling, we divided our universe in three groups:

- a. the farmers who travel for agricultural purposes (market visits, a trip to a nearby town to buy a tractor, etc.) together with those whose excursions maintain the character of a one-day trip (for fun, for visit to relatives and for business):
- b. those who travel for particular cultural reasons (i.e. in order to visit the yearly national show in Utrecht, the international agricultural show in Cologne, those who go somewhere else to attend short courses at Folkhigh-schools, etc.) together with those farmers whose travelling has had for reason to get some practical experience on some farm in another municipality, and with those farmers who take vacations of more than one day together with their wives; and
- c. those farmers whose travelling is caused by reasons common to both a and b groups.

The tabulation showed that groups b and c are so small that they had to be added together. This variable, which we named "purpose of travelling" is *significantly correlated to farm-size*. ($P = 0.005$).

TABLE 39 Purpose of travelling of Winterswijk farmers, according to score 10 answers. Farm-size constant.

Farm-size 2-6 ha

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
a	145	89.5	42	85.7	73	92.4	30	88.2
b + c	17	10.5	7	14.3	6	7.6	4	11.8
Total	162	100	49	100	79	100	34	100

$$\chi^2 = 1.517; P = 0.46; 2 \text{ degrees of freedom.}$$

Farm-size 7-9 ha

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
a	115	88.5	19	95	60	89.5	36	83.7
b + c	15	11.5	1	5	7	10.4	7	16.3
Total	130	100	20	100	67	99.9	43	100

$$\chi^2 = 1.866; P = 0.39; 2 \text{ degrees of freedom.}$$

Farm-size 10 ha and more

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
a	108	77.1	18	81.8	50	83.3	40	69
b + c	32	22.8	4	18.2	10	16.6	18	31
Total	140	99.9	22	100	60	99.9	58	100

$$\chi^2 = 3.771; P = 0.16; 2 \text{ degrees of freedom.}$$

We see, therefore, that against all expectations we cannot conclude that our 10 answers score is related to the purpose of travelling of the Winterswijk farmers, as we have recorded it. Some constant trace of the expected relationship can be seen in the medium size

class; but in the highest size-class this incipient constancy is again absent. As to the reasons of this unexpected result one might argue that the cause must lie in an improper way with which the questions have been put to the interviewees, or in mistakes in the process of recording the answers. Also, one might ascribe the failure to show the existence of a significant relationship between the two variables taken in consideration to the extremely small figures of the variable (pooled) *b* and *c*. Actually none of the above mentioned reasons seems to be valid, since exactly the same tabulation showed that the variable "Purpose of travelling" as we have recorded it, is significantly associated with the size of the farm.

3. The relationship between the place of destination of the travels of Winterswijk farmers and the score is shown by the following table. Also this variable is significantly correlated to the farm-size ($P = 0.005$). The three different groups of localities have been selected according to the frequency with which the locality had been visited.¹ So group I is comprehensive of the most visited, and group III of the least visited localities. (Appendix III, variable 39) We reasoned that in order to evade from the normal pattern of travelling (for instance by going abroad for the vacations) a Winterswijk farmer must possess a highly developed spirit of independence. We expected therefore a clear correlation between this variable and our score. Also with this variable we had to pool the figures pertaining to groups II and III owing to their smallness.

¹ When the places of destination of the travels of 100 Winterswijk farmers chosen at random are ordered according to the number of farmers who have visited them at least once, we have the following sequence; *Germany a.* (Öding, Vreden, Bocholt, and other places immediately beyond the German border), 48; *Zuid-Holland*, 41; *Ysselmeer Polders*, 36; *Overijssel*, 30; *Noord-Holland*, 27; *Friesland*, 25; *Utrecht*, 23; *Limburg*, 19; *Germany b.* (Wuppertahl, Ruhr area), 18; *Drente*, 17; *Noord-Brabant*, 14; *Germany c.* (farther than Ruhr area), 6; *Groningen*, 4; *Zeeland*, 3; *Other foreign countries*, 4. The code for the variable "destination" was determined on the basis of these figures. Group I comprehends the places which have been visited at least once by 23 farmers or more, Group II the places visited at least once by 14 to 19 farmers, Group III comprehends the places visited by less than 14 farmers.

TABLE 40 *Place of destination of Winterswijk farmers' travels, according to score 10 answers. Farm-size constant.*

Farm-size 2-6 ha

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Farmers visiting localities of group I	88	54.3	27	55.1	44	55.7	17	50
Farmers visiting localities of groups II and III	74	45.7	22	44.9	35	44.3	17	50
Total	162	100	49	100	79	100	34	100

$$\chi^2 = 0.328; 0.9 > P > 0.8; 2 \text{ degrees of freedom.}$$

Farm-size 7-9 ha

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Farmers visiting localities of group I	66	50.8	13	65	34	50.7	19	44.2
Farmers visiting localities of groups II and III	64	49.2	7	35	33	49.2	24	55.8
Total	130	100	20	100	67	99.9	43	100

$$\chi^2 = 2.373; 0.5 > P > 0.3; 2 \text{ degrees of freedom.}$$

Farm-size 10 ha and more

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Farmers visiting localities of group I	52	37.1	13	59.0	23	38.3	16	27.6
Farmers visiting localities of groups II and III	88	62.8	9	40.9	37	61.6	42	69.9
Total	140	99.9	22	99.9	60	99.9	58	99.9

$$\chi^2 = 6.846; 0.05 > P > 0.02; 2 \text{ degrees of freedom.}$$

Here again we have to acknowledge only a partial realization of our expectations. In the lowest size-class there is no clear relationship between the place of destination of the travels of Winterswijk

farmers and the score they received. In the size-class 7-9 ha the trend of a positive relationship between the two variables is present, however weak, and in the highest size-class the trend is present and quite clear. As to the reason of these different "behaviours" of our variables we think that this difference is, quite probably, mainly due to the fact that travelling costs time and money. Therefore only the better-off farmers, and those who can leave the care of their farms to some farm-hands or to some relative can afford travelling for with a certain regularity. It is clear that each of these limiting conditions can better be met on the larger than on the smaller farms. However, this explanation is only partial, as it does not completely clarify the different pattern of distribution of those farmers who travel, in each of the three size-classes.

4. Finally, let us now observe whether or not some kind of relationship exists between the score 10 answers and the last variable "manner of travelling." (Appendix III, variable 39). With this term we intended to indicate whether the farmer travelled on his own, for his own needs and interest, or if, instead, he had been travelling only because he took part in an accidental trip organized, for instance, by the farmers' union totally outside his own knowledge and interest. In the latter case the farmer can be suspected to have been influenced by the social control of the neighbourhood more than by his own power of decision-making. We rationalized that the relationship between this dichotomy and our low and high scores should be quite clear for obvious reasons. Since this variable is *not* significantly associated with the farm-size ($P = 0.095$) we can afford to examine the figures pertaining to our universe all together.

TABLE 41 *Manner of travelling of Winterswijk farmers, according to score 10 answers.*

Farmers travelling ...	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
... in collective trips only	117	27.1	32	35.1	56	27.2	29	21.4
... in individual or family-trips only	122	28.2	27	29.6	60	29.1	35	25.9
... in both ways	193	44.7	32	35.1	90	43.7	71	52.6
Total	432	100	91	99.9	206	100	135	100

$$\chi^2 = 7.918; P = 0.09; 4 \text{ degrees of freedom.}$$

As we see, table 41 seems to suggest the existence of a positive relation between the extent to which the farmers travelled in an individual way and the score they received. Whether it is this form of travelling which increases with the increasing of the farmer's individuation, or whether this type of travelling favours the obtainment of high scores is a question which we cannot make out from the evidence given by table 41 alone. Furthermore, the chi-square test tells us that the observed relation is not statistically significant when it is studied on the whole universe all together. However, we are inclined to support the first explanation above the second.

The lack of significance of table 41 and the picture shown by the previous variable (destination) gives reason to suspect that there might be different relationships, or different degrees of intensity in the same relationship between this variable and the score in the different size-classes. As a consequence of this possibility it is logical that the picture presented by the above table would be biased and that the possible different "behaviours" of the variable would result hidden in the totality of the figures. Therefore, contrary to what has been done up to now every time that the relationship between the considered variable and the farm-size was not shown to be significant, we examine hereafter the same figures split up per size-class.

TABLE 42 *Manner of travelling of Winterswijk farmers according to score 10 answers by constant farm-size.*

Farm-size 2-6 ha

Farmers travelling ...	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
... in collective trips only	48	29.6	15	30.6	22	27.8	11	32.3
... in individual or family-trips only	50	30.8	17	34.7	23	29.1	10	29.4
... in both ways	64	39.5	17	34.6	34	43.0	13	38.2
Total	162	99.9	49	99.9	79	99.9	34	99.9

$\chi^2 = 1.073$; $P = 0.91$; 4 degrees of freedom.

Farm-size 7-9 ha

Farmers travelling ...	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
... in collective trips only	40	30.8	7	35	21	31.3	12	27.9
... in individual or family-trips only	37	28.4	6	30	19	28.4	12	27.9
... in both ways	53	40.8	7	35	27	40.3	19	44.2
Total	130	100	20	100	67	100	43	100

$\chi^2 = 0.549$; $P = 0.97$; 4 degrees of freedom.

Farm-size 10 ha and more

Farmers travelling...	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
... in collective trips only	29	20.7	10	45.4	13	21.6	6	10.3
... in individual or family-trips only	35	25.0	4	18.2	18	30.0	13	22.4
... in both ways	76	54.3	8	36.3	29	48.9	33	67.2
Total	140	100	22	99.9	60	99.9	58	99.9

$\chi^2 = 14.170$; $P = 0.007$; 4 degrees of freedom.

The examination of the table tells us that in the size-class 2-6 ha there is not even a clear trend between the two variables taken into consideration. In the size-class 7-9 ha a relationship shows up, with a trend in accordance to our presuppositions. However, it is far from being statistically significant. In the highest class, instead, the same trend is definitely clear and the relationship between the two variables is strongly significant. Here too, the different "behaviour" of this variable in the different size-classes depends, we think, on the different material conditions prevailing within each class. Also as far as this variable is concerned, individual differences in income and in leisure time play an important

role. As a consequence of this fact it is, therefore, only on the larger farms that the farmer's degree of progressiveness and individuation gets better chances to find an expression in the form of activity taken here into consideration.

As far as the variable "travelling" is concerned, we have seen how two cases out of the four considered gave totally unexpected results. In the other two cases they were only partially in accordance with our expectations.

II. *Reading habits*

It is commonly acknowledged that reading is one of the most efficient educative forces. Reading, in fact, acts upon the human mind in two ways:

- a. through a direct transmission of cultural traits which, through reading can be known and adopted. This would be the more immediate mechanism of reading, functioning, therefore, as one of the most potent means for acculturation; and
- b. out of its very nature reading presupposes and stimulates, at the same time, a higher or lesser degree of power for abstract thinking within the individual. In fact, the use of written language is a form of communication in which the essence of what the writer intends to communicate is conveyed to the reader not through sensorial ways like gestures, expressions of the face, intonation of the voice, etc., but, instead, entirely through the symbols (letters and words) and concepts into which he materializes the object of the communication. This is, we think, the second - but by no means the secondary - function of reading which has a very strong formative influence upon the human being. This second function of reading, creating the conditions for consciousness and independence of the human mind, has a not negligible share in the process of individuation of a society and in the formation of a modern type of man.

The importance of the first function of reading has been shown in many empirical works either in a general sense or in connection with technical acculturation. As to the second aspect we are reminded of Merton's study (pg. 59), of Mandra's (pg. 17), of Redfield's

(pg. 67), of Lionberger's (pg. 27) and, however it concerns a somewhat different matter, of Lowry Nelson's article (pg. 65 footnote 8). Finally, the relation between reading and the "cosmopolitan" or "localistic" orientation of the individual, on the one hand, and reading and the individual's attitudes and outlook on life, on the other, is clearly shown by the already quoted report "Stedeling en Boer": the attitudes towards the farming population of the city dwellers who read *national* daily papers were much more positive than the attitudes of those city dwellers who read local papers. Among the latter a relatively greater number of negative attitudes and stereotypes was found than among the former ones (op. cit. pg. 33).

Interestingly enough, exactly the same phenomenon was observed by increasing degrees of "cosmopolitanism" of the city where the interview took place. This fits Stouffer's study on conformity and tolerance. So "cosmopolitanism" is not an abstract concept, but, instead, quite a material frame of mind. In fact, from the evidence furnished by the same report, it is interesting to notice that those city dwellers who maintain that the farmer is a different type of human being than they themselves are (i.e. the people who do not entirely accept the farmers as making part of their own "generalized other," and whose size of the world is, in this way, smaller than the one of those who accept entirely the rural world) have a far more negative attitude about the farming population than the rest of the respondents.

As far as Winterswijk farmers are concerned, from a study about the reading habits of the Winterswijk rural population, based on a sample of our own material,¹ it is known that the reading habits in Winterswijk do not change with a variation of the age, but that, on the other hand, they change very much with the changing of the training received by the farmer, with the membership of farmers' unions, contact with the Extension Service, participation in excursions, religious denomination, and farm-size. We see that, again, we are faced by a phenomenon related to a whole culture-complex. With regard to the relation between reading and the professional life of our farmers in particular, Warmenhoven's analysis makes it clear how the farmers who read more also show a better farm-management. The quality of the respondent's farm-management was subjectively estimated by the local Extension

¹ B. A. Warmenhoven - De leesgewoonte van de Boeren. Een Onderzoek in Winterswijk - mimeographed paper, Wageningen, 1958.

Officer and expressed in a comprehensive score. Considering more particularly the function of reading as a channel for direct extension - i.e. what we have called the *first* function of reading - that author arrives at the conclusion that the several means of extension support one another and are interdependent. Already from this analysis we can see quite clearly how this "variable" fits harmoniously with all the other traits of the culture pattern. For instance, farmers who read more technical papers have also more contact with the Extension Service, have a radio and have more generally accepted a pattern of culture sharing more traits common to the urban culture pattern than the pattern which regulates the life of those farmers who read less technical papers. We could therefore easily omit this variable from our analysis of the culture pattern were it not for the fact that, knowing already in which way the reading habits of our farmers are related to local culture, an examination of how reading is related to the respondent's capacity to answer our test questions would acquire more value: it could provide a meaningful check both of our hypotheses and of our methodology at the same time, and give us a deeper understanding of the importance of what we have called the second function of reading and of the place occupied by this variable among the other traits of the local culture pattern as an agency of individuation. In fact, by studying separately the possible relations between our score and the reading of non-technical and of technical papers we can, indirectly, have some hints as to whether reading is more important, as to the effects of efficiency in farming, as a pure means of diffusion of better techniques and new farm practices, or if, instead, it is important in so far as it is a manifestation of a particular type of culture. The value of this question is not purely academic since it is reasonable to wonder whether many of the energies, money and time presently dedicated to printing highly specialized and valuable complicated scientific notions into pamphlets could be more adequately dedicated to the propagation of that particular culture complex in which regular and systematic reading is not considered practically wasted time by the farmers. Once the cultural trait "reading as a normal occupation for a farm operator," as such, has been accepted, not only more papers will be read, but, because of the implications of the culture complex to which this trait belongs, they will also be more thoroughly understood and most of the changes which the new techniques require in the farm management would not encounter with much opposition any more.

TABLE 43 *The reading of Winterswijk farmers (non-technical literature) according to score 10 answers. Farm-size constant.*

	Farm-size 2-6 ha						Farm-size 7-9 ha						Farm-size 10 ha and more					
	Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
<i>Periodicals:</i>	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Subscriptions to dailies of national or provincial level	3	4	11	12.5	9	26.5	3	12.5	14	19.4	17	34.3	3	12.5	22	33.8	27	50.1
Regional papers (mostly edited twice a week)	102	152.2	113	128.4	45	132.4	34	141.7	106	147.2	61	124.5	40	166.6	87	133.8	70	132.1
Religious weeklies	14	20.9	20	22.7	10	29.4	2	8.3	22	30.6	12	24.5	6	25.0	10	15.4	16	30.2
Other weeklies	11	16.4	19	21.6	9	26.5	6	25	16	22.2	15	30.6	11	45.8	19	29.2	24	45.3
<i>Books present in the home</i>																		
none	43	64.2	48	54.5	12	35.3	18	75	35	48.6	21	42.9	13	54.1	33	50.8	22	41.5
two or three	14	20.9	16	18.2	9	26.5	2	8.3	20	27.8	12	24.5	6	25.0	17	26.2	12	22.6
more	10	14.9	24	27.3	13	38.2	4	16.7	17	23.6	16	32.7	5	20.8	15	23.1	19	35.8
No. of persons in the group	67=100		88=100		34=100		24=100		72=100		49=100		24=100		65=100		53=100	
	χ^2		Deg. fr.		P		χ^2		Deg. fr.		P		χ^2		Deg. fr.		P	
Periodicals only	12.517;		6		0.1>P>0.05		9.856		6		0.2>P>0.1		13.914		6		0.05>P>0.02	
Books only	9.575		4		0.06>P>0.02		8.174		4		0.1>P>0.05		3.109		4		0.7>P>0.5	
Total	22.092		12		0.05>P>0.02		18.034		12		0.2>P>0.1		17.023		12		0.2>P>0.1	

In examining, first, the possible relation between our score and the reading of non-technical papers, several trends were discovered, according to the type of papers concerned. Since, owing to the positive relation between reading and the farm-size, we have to keep the figures separated per size of the farm, a good comparison of the figures can become a difficult task. We have therefore grouped them in a single table per each class, using thereby a somewhat simpler scheme than the one usually followed so far in this analysis.

The examination of the foregoing table shows us the existence of three main phenomena:

1. There exists an all-round positive relation between our score and the variable taken into consideration.

This relation is stronger in the lowest size-class than in the higher ones, which means, in our opinion, that reading – seen as a vehicle for modernism and individuation – is more important for the small farmers than for the larger sort of farmers. This is quite natural since the operators of large farms can reach the same results – in this case, can come under the impact of cultural influences making for individuation and modernism – also through other means, i.e. by travelling – because of their more favourable economic conditions. In the case of this variable the factor time which a farm operator has at his disposal is not so important, being practically equal for all the farmers: usually Winterswijk farmers who read regularly, do so only at night, when the chores on the farms are done. This finding reminds us somewhat of Westermark's remark that the marginal value of schooling is greater for the smaller than for the larger farmers.¹

2. Whereas for the operators of the lowest class of farms the significance of the studied relationship is quite clear in every category in which this variable was coded, for the other two size classes this is not the case. It is interesting to notice that whereas in the size-class 7-9 ha it is only the reading of books which is on the limit of the significance in its relationship with our score, in the case of size-class 10 and more hectares it is only the relation between the reading of periodicals and the score which is clearly significant. For this phenomenon we cannot furnish, at the moment, any valid explanation.

¹ N. Westermark, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

3. The detailed examination of this table in each of its items shows beyond any doubt the function of reading for the farmer's degree of consciousness and for his "orientations." In fact, while the subscriptions to daily papers of *national or provincial* level increases quite regularly in all the three size-classes with the increasing of our score, the number of *local* regional papers decreases steadily with it. Also the number of weeklies read by the farmers of the different score-groups increases with the increasing of the score, although not as regularly as the number of national or provincial dailies.

A similar picture is given by the relation between the number of books present in the respondent's home and his score: while in each class of farms the number of farmers in whose homes there were no books at all diminishes regularly with the increasing of the score, quite the contrary is shown by the number of farmers who had in their homes more than three books. The category of farmers between these two shows unclear responses to our score.

We shall now examine the relation between our score and the reading of technical press. After the analysis of the reading of non-technical press one could almost anticipate the results of this second analysis. However, we do not lose sight of the fact that we make a study of the culture pattern in connection with productivity in agriculture. For us it is therefore important to receive an answer to the question "Do farmers who are most individuated and most socially conscious read *also* more *technical* papers than the others?" In order to get an answer to this question we grouped together points 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and points 6, 7, 8, (of our variable 77 Appendix III), obtaining in this way a dichotomy: *farmers reading 2 or less technical papers* versus *farmers reading more than 2 technical papers*. The tabulation of our data showed that the variable thus obtained is highly correlated with the farm-size ($P < 0.0001$). We will have therefore to examine this relationship within each class of farms.

TABLE 44. *Winterswijk farmers' reading of technical literature according to score 10 answers. Farm-size constant.*

Farm-size 2-6 ha

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
reading 2 or less papers	154	81.5	57	86.3	74	84.0	23	65.7
reading more than 2 papers	35	18.5	9	13.6	14	15.9	12	34.3
Total	189	100	66	99.9	88	99.9	35	100

 $\chi^2 = 7.210$; $P = 0.027$; 2 degrees of freedom.

Farm-size 7-9 ha

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
reading 2 or less papers	99	67.8	20	86.9	51	66.2	28	60.9
reading more than 2 papers	47	32.2	3	13.0	26	33.7	18	39.1
Total	146	100	23	99.9	77	99.9	46	100

 $\chi^2 = 4.957$; $P = 0.085$; 2 degrees of freedom.

Farm-size 10 ha and more

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
reading 2 or less papers	86	58.1	17	68.0	44	68.7	25	42.4
reading more than 2 papers	62	41.9	8	32.0	20	31.2	34	57.6
Total	148	100	25	100	64	99.9	59	100

 $\chi^2 = 9.976$; $P = 0.0065$; 2 degrees of freedom.

As we see, also for the reading of the technical press there are noticeable differences among the different classes of farms. At this stage of our knowledge about this complex matter such differences cannot be entirely explained. However, the preceeding table enables us to draw the conclusion that:

a. with due regard to the different situational exigencies of the different farms, the reading of the technical press keeps to the same general rules to which reading of non-technical press is subjected.

b. the stronger significance of the P values observed for the reading of the technical press shows that this trait must be regarded as a step further with respect to the acceptance of the cultural trait "reading" in general. As such, the difference between the farmers who read technical papers and those who do not shows more clearly in the cross-tabulation of this variable against our score. It is therefore justified to assume that social awareness and the reading of the farmers are directly related. This is a consequence of the fact that with the increasing of the modernity of the culture pattern the number of farmers who read regularly increases sensibly. With the increasing of the regular reading also the reading of technical papers logically increases; the implications of this conclusion for the efficiency of farm management are too obvious to be dealt upon here.

Eventually, although we are of the opinion that reading must be seen within the total frame of the culture pattern and that, therefore, no absolute importance should be placed upon this culture trait alone, we must notice that our analysis has shown the correlation of reading with individuation of society. Therefore it seems justified to wonder whether what we have called the second function of reading is not perhaps more important than the first one.

THE HOME - AND FAMILY - ENVIRONMENT

From the extensive American literature about the adoption of new farm practices, we know that it has been repeatedly observed that this adoption is normally correlated with the so-called "level of living" or "socio-economic status" of the farmer. No matter how one is to interpret such terms, the one certain thing about them is that the basic criterium upon which such concepts have been

created is always an entity in which the factor modernity or "integration into the Great Society" of the individuals to which the terms refer is of the utmost importance. We can say, therefore, that the various American analytical methods based on the concept of the level of living and our method of the 10 questions are two different ways of measuring the type of culture to which the individual belongs. By the American methods, attention is paid mainly to the material manifestations of culture, whereas our method is based upon the possible formative character which culture has with respect to the personality of the individual.

As we have seen (page 155), our score shows a high degree of correlation with the "style of living," as measured by our scale. Obviously, inherent to the concepts of "level of living" or of "style of living," there is the implication of the absolute importance of the home- and family-environment for the determination of the individual's position in the frame of reference of such scales. It might therefore be now worthwhile to examine how our score varies when some of the most important aspects of this home- and family-environment are taken separately into consideration. This question has not only a purely academical value. In fact, owing to the methodology applied in this research, we can now acquire some deeper knowledge about the relations between the farmer and his most direct environment and, possibly, about the influence exerted by this environment upon the individual.

Is the home- and family-environment a generalized whole, a kind of abstract atmosphere, the influence of which is exerted upon the individual in an all-round and total way? Or, rather, is this entity to be considered as a complex of easily recognizable different traits and characteristics, each of which fulfils its determinant function for the formation and development of the individual and for his degree of individuation?

As we see, the very fact of having taken an entity such as our score as a yardstick for the analysis of the home- and family-environment, gives bearings and meanings to the results of this analysis, which are rather different from those the analysis would have acquired if it were carried out by means of a score merely measuring the degree of individual welfare, as is the case with the already mentioned scales for socio-economic status. With respect to the interviewed person, in fact, our score measures an "internal" factor, whereas with a socio-economic scale it is an "external" factor which is being measured.

1. *The homemaker (wife)*

Obviously, by any analysis of the relationship between the home- and family-environment and the score the question of the relationship between the score obtained by the interviewed person and various aspects of the life of his wife, so far as she is present in the household, arises immediately.

It is a well known fact to all those who have some practice of farming life, that the co-operativeness of the wife with regard to the efficiency of farm management is a factor highly praised by the farmers themselves. This shows, without any doubt, that the direct or indirect influence of the woman upon farming is quite clearly felt. However, as such, this does not need to have anything to do with the question of modernity in farming. Women are not necessarily always a factor of progress. König, for instance, thinks it very likely that in most of the so-called "underdeveloped countries" they rather form a factor of conservatism and opposition to innovation.¹ This is quite obvious, since in such countries the women have not yet entered the phase of emancipation. In other countries, however, where women are already fully emancipated, they do not need to form a factor of conservatism. Finally, in countries, as in Western Europe, where they are at present actively undergoing this process of emancipation, women probably constitute a quite powerful drive for modernization. This comes from the fact itself that in such countries the process of emancipation of the women is still in the fruitful phase of the "social movement."² There the social position of the women favours their susceptibility for innovation, just as youth's biological conditions favour the susceptibility for innovation of young people.³

a. *The age.* For the compilation of our questionnaire, in 1954 we based ourselves upon the logical expectation of a clear influence exerted by the homemaker upon the efficiency of farm management, our intention being to carry out a detailed analysis of the modernity of the households of Winterswijk farmers. Since then some works

¹ R. König, Einleitung zu einer Soziologie der sogenannten rückständigen Gebiete. Congresso Internazionale di Studio sul problema delle aree arretrate. Milano 10-15 ott. 1954, *Aspetti Sociologici*, pg. 16.

² Sj. Groenman, De cultuuroverdracht van stad naar land. *Sociologisch Jaarboek*. Uitgegeven door de Ned. Sociol. Vereniging. 1x deel pg. 28.

³ K. Mannheim, *Diagnosis of our time* - Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd. London, 1954 (pg. 31 and foll.) Sj. Groenman, op. cit. id.

have appeared which have greatly clarified the implications of a modern household for the efficiency of farming. In particular, Van den Ban found that the progressive farmers are characterized by a general modern style of living which clearly manifests itself even in the tendency to accept and use modern technical findings in the management of the household,⁴ while Miss A. A. ter Cock found a significant degree of mutual advising between farmer and homemaker both in farm- and household-matters.⁵ This mutual advising seems to decrease with the increasing of age and seems connected with several aspects of modernism of the homemaker, which also decreases with increasing age. In examining possible relationships between the age of the housewife (Appendix III variable 48) and our score, the first result given by the tabulation is that no significant relationship seems to exist between farm-size and the age of the homemaker ($P = 0.37$). We can therefore examine our figures for the whole sample together.

TABLE 45 *Age of Winterswijk homemakers according to the score obtained by their husbands.*

Homemakers born	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
in 1920 and after	86	17.8	15	13.0	45	19.6	26	18.6
in 1910-'19	129	26.6	17	14.8	59	25.7	53	37.8
in 1900-'09	147	30.4	37	32.2	71	31.0	39	27.8
in 1899 and before	102	21.1	34	29.5	49	21.9	19	13.6
no wife in the household	20	4.1	12	10.4	5	2.2	3	2.1
Total	484	100	115	99.9	229	99.9	140	99.9

$$\chi^2 = 37.333; P < 0.001; 8 \text{ degrees of freedom}$$

We see therefore that there is a very clear negative relationship between the farmer's capacity to answer our questions and the age of the housewife. A better understanding of the possible implications of this finding is perhaps furthered if we remember the fact that no significance was found between the age of the

⁴ A. W. van den Ban, *Enkele kenmerken en eigenschappen van de vooruitstrevende boeren*, II. Bulletin No. 10, Afdeling Sociologie en Sociografie van de Landbouwhogeschool, Wageningen, 1958.

⁵ A. A. ter Cock, *De vrouwen van de Herveldse Fruittelers en hun waardering van voorlichting*. Unpublished Engineer Thesis. Dept. of Rural Sociology, Wageningen, 1958.

respondent himself and the score he made (page 154). For this finding a number of reasons can be furnished none of which, actually, completely excludes the others. These reasons can best be summarized, we think, in the following three hypotheses:

- a. there is a clear influence from the part of the wife on a man's degree of independency, mental dynamism and progressiveness. In this case it is easily understandable that those farmers who are married to younger women have shown a higher capacity to answer our test questions. The younger age of their wives would then have functioned as a channel or liaison between the farmers and the modern world; or
- b. those farmers possessing a higher degree of rationality or a particular world-view, selected younger women as their life-partners. In this case the wife's younger age would be nothing but a symptom of the already existing "orientation" of the husband; or
- c. the farmers who marry younger women, as a first consequence of this very fact, usually have different expectations from, and different attitudes towards life (in other words, a different "life-plan") than those who marry women older than, or as old as themselves. In this case the women's younger age is a complementary cause of the man's type of orientation.

Apart from these considerations, one might hold the opinion that the picture given by the foregoing table is against the common acceptance of modernism, the disappearance of systematic age differences between husband and wife being one of the most peculiar characteristics of modern times. However, we must not forget that Winterswijk cannot be considered as being already entirely under the influence of urban-industrial culture. We have seen that the family type of our A farmers tends to be either more democratic or more patriarchal than the family type of the B farmers. Patriarchy is in this case better than no clear distinction between the parental roles for lack both of patriarchy and of democracy in the organization of the family. Further, these two

forms of family organization, however unequal they might be and whatever different results might follow of the type of education which they supply to the human being, still furnish a conscious form of education; which is in any case better (in the sense of giving people a direction in life) than no conscious education at all. It would seem easy, therefore, to deduce a direct influence of the wife's modernity upon the personality of the husband. However, the choice between the possibilities quoted above is rendered even more difficult by the fact that, strange as it might seem, no significant relationship was found between the score and the school education received by the homemaker. This result is therefore in favour of possibilities *b.* and *c.*

Another important conclusion which we can draw from the preceding table, is that most of the people who did not marry finished in the score group 0-4 (60%), while only a minority (15%) is to be found in score group 8-10. This gives us a direct confirmation of the importance of a life-plan for the individual's performance as a meaningful member of society. The farmers who did not marry, as we have pointed out on pg. 239, lost one of the most important sources of perspective for life, which a farmer can usually have. It is common knowledge that in the eastern parts of the Dutch countryside the custom was faithfully observed, until a few years ago, that if a farmer's son could not get enough land to start farming on his own, he remained unmarried on the farm inherited by one of his brothers. This typical cultural trait had the function of not letting the family-farm be split up beyond the minimum size sufficient in order not to fall on the accepted scale of social prestige. It is clear that with the acceptance of new urban values, fewer and fewer farmers are ready to be satisfied by such a custom, and it is typical that we find the remnants of that custom in score group 0-4. The concentration of the unmarried farmers in score group 0-4 can therefore be also directly related to the lack of the wife's influence, or to the lack of a personal family. For the possible direct influence of the wife upon the personality of the farmer, see the pages following hereafter. As to the possible influence of the lack of a personal nuclear family we would remind the reader of our discussion on this subject in part I of this analysis.

b. *Provenience.* It is common knowledge that in agriculture the size of the farm is significantly correlated with the socio-economic status. Our scale for "style of living" is, in fact, highly correlated

($P = 0.0001$) with the farm-size. This means that the different welfare classes form socio-cultural environments bearing quite different implications. It is therefore only a matter of course that we should examine whether a correlation exists between the "social provenience" of the homemaker and the farmer's position in our continuum.

In looking at the provenience of the homemaker (Appendix III variable 49) we have first cross-tabulated the variable "size of the farm of the father-in-law" against the size of the respondent's farm. Against all expectations the correlation between these two variables is not significant ($P = 0.52$). Table 46 shows that, instead, the correlation between the size of the farm of provenience of the homemaker and the score is on the limit of significance.

TABLE 46 *Economic provenience of Winterswijk homemakers according to the score obtained by their husbands.*

Wives coming from	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
a smaller farm	172	37.1	45	43.7	90	40.1	37	27.0
a farm of the same size	149	32.1	32	31.1	64	28.6	53	38.7
a bigger farm	111	23.9	23	22.3	51	22.7	37	27.0
outside agriculture	32	6.9	3	2.9	19	8.5	10	7.3
Total	464	100	103	100	224	99.9	137	100

$$\chi^2 = 12.290; P = 0.055; 6 \text{ degrees of freedom.}$$

We see that we are here again confronted with the same question as the previous example, namely, is it the wife coming from a bigger farm (and therefore probably with higher level of living) that influences the man, or is it the more modern pattern of culture of the farmer which enables him to choose a wife coming from a family with a higher level of living? However psychologically stimulating and intellectually challenging these questions might be, we do not intend to dedicate further attention to them in this context, since they lie entirely outside our line of research.

A possible proof of a more definite relationship between the provenience of the homemaker and the score could theoretically be obtained from a scrutiny of the geographic provenience. One

might reason that if the homemaker is such an important factor of renewal for the whole environmental atmosphere in which a farmer operates, it is probable that "ceteris paribus" the innovation deriving from the influence of a wife who has not been brought up in the same environment of the man will be greater than that deriving from a mate chosen in the same neighbourhood.

Grouping together the points 0, 1, 2, 3 and 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8, 9, 11, 12 of our variable 49, we have obtained the three following groups of geographic provenience: homemaker coming from the same neighbourhood as the farmer; homemaker coming from another neighbourhood within the municipality; and homemaker coming from without the municipality. In the table hereafter we can examine the correlation between the wife's geographic provenience and the way the farmers could answer to our 10 questions. There is no significant correlation between this variable and the size of the interviewee's farm ($P = 0.40$).

TABLE 47 *Geographic provenience of the homemaker, according to score 10 answers.*

Wives coming from	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
the same neighbourhood	105	22.6	21	20.3	44	19.6	40	29.2
another neighbourhood	236	50.8	63	61.1	115	51.3	58	42.3
another municipality	123	26.5	19	18.4	65	29.0	39	28.4
Total	464	99.9	103	99.8	224	99.9	137	99.9

$\chi^2 = 11.101$; $0.05 > P > 0.02$; 4 degrees of freedom.

We see that, in spite of the significance of the P value, we cannot speak of a direct all-round clear correlation between geographic provenience of the homemaker and the score. However, with the exception of the troubled picture of the first line, we can say that the rest of the table shows a trend in the expected direction. Eventually, from the comparison of the two foregoing tables, we can draw the final conclusion that a very strong impression is aroused that under the present Dutch circumstances, social distance among farmers is more important than geographic distance for the determination of the pattern of living (and, therefore, perhaps even of the style of farming and of the labour efficiency). This

impression is confirmed also by the average scores obtained by the farmers whose wife was not brought up on a farm. If split up into size-classes the figures in question are too low to attach statistical significance to them. Therefore, in order to have at least an impression of a possible relationship between the social provenience of the wife and the degree of capacity of the farmer to answer to our questions, we calculated the average scores obtained by the concerned farmers in each size class. The averages scores obtained by the farmers whose wife was not brought up on a farm resulted to be respectively 62; 68 and 71. These values are steadily above the average of the respective classes (see also Chapter v, pg. 149).

c. *Formal associational life.* It is common opinion that women's associations fulfil a prominent function in the renewing of country life. With our variable 53 we have coded the homemaker's number of memberships in rural organizations. However, because of the small figures obtained, we had to pool points 2, 3 and 4 of our code, obtaining thus the dichotomy: *no membership* versus *one or more memberships*. This variable has been cross-tabulated against the score. It might be worth noting that the relationship between this variable and the interviewee's farm-size is significant ($P = 0.02$), but that the relationship between the same variable and the score altogether shows a higher degree of significance ($P = 0.0002$). Of course there is an influence of the size of the farm on this relationship; but, still, the strength of the relationship between the associational life of the homemaker and the score obtained by her husband obviously exceeds that of the relationship between the farm-size and the associational life of the homemaker. Hereafter we can examine the same relationship in all the three different classes of farms.

As we see, the trend of a direct relationship between the number of memberships held by the homemaker and the way the farmer answered our questions, is present in the upper and lower classes of farms, whereas, as we could notice also in other cases, the middle-sized class does not show a significant correlation between the concerned variable and our score. In spite of this we can feel entitled to conclude that the modernity of the culture pattern accepted by the family is reflected by our score.

d. *The formal training.* In a country or society where women are still in the process of emancipation, it is reasonable to expect that

TABLE 48 *Relation between Winterswijk homemakers holding memberships of a formal women's organization and the score obtained by their husbands.*

Farm-size 2-6 ha

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Homemaker holds memberships	44	25.3	10	16.9	18	21.9	16	48.5
Total	174	100	59	100	82	100	33	100

$\chi^2 = 12.070$; $P = 0.002$ 2 degrees of freedom.

Farm-size 7-9 ha

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Homemaker holds memberships	43	30.3	6	26.1	24	32.4	13	28.9
Total	142	100	23	100	74	100	45	100

$\chi^2 = 0.393$; $P = 0.82$; 2 degrees of freedom.

Farm-size 10 ha and more

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Homemaker holds memberships	56	40	5	22.7	20	33.3	31	53.4
Total	140	100	22	100	60	100	58	100

$\chi^2 = 8.216$; $P = 0.016$; 2 degrees of freedom.

some degree of progressive influencing (i.e. a type of influence favouring renewal) is exerted by them upon society in general. In a Western country, one of the most classic agencies which strongly favours this emancipation is the school-system. Examples of the function fulfilled by the school in the development of women's position in our society in the last century, are well known. We shall therefore pass immediately to examine whether any relation exists between the schooling received by the homemaker and her husband's capacity to answer to our 10 test questions.

With variable 50 (Appendix III) we coded the homemaker's schooling in six categories, according to the quality of the education received, graded in order of importance. However, owing to the smallness of the figures concerned, we had to group our population into a dichotomy: *followed the Elementary School plus one or two courses only*, versus *received higher forms of training*. At first there appeared to be an all-round positive relationship between this variable and the score, when the cross-tabulation was made on the whole undivided sample ($P = 0.02$). However, since there is also a very strong positive relationship between this same variable and the size of the (husband's) farm ($P = 0.001$), we proceeded to examine the same relationship within each size-class. Thus we obtained the figures shown in the following table:

TABLE 49 *Relation between the amount of training received by Winterswijk homemakers and the score received by their husbands.*

Farm-size 2-6 ha

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Elem. School plus one or two courses only	140	81.-	47	82.4	68	80.9	25	78.-
Higher forms of training	33	19.-	10	17.5	16	19.1	7	22.-
Total	173	100	57	99.9	84	100	32	100

$\chi^2 = 0.250$; $P = 0.88$; 2 degrees of freedom.

Farm-size 7-9 ha

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Elem. School plus one or two courses only	111	77.-	18	78.-	59	78.6	34	74.-
Higher forms of training	33	23.-	5	22.-	16	21.3	12	26.-
Total	144	100	23	100	75	99.9	46	100

$\chi^2 = 0.386$; $P = 0.83$; 2 degrees of freedom.

Farm-size 10 ha and more

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Elem. School plus one or two courses only	88	63.-	14	63.6	43	72.9	31	52.5
Higher forms of training	52	37.-	8	36.3	16	27.1	28	47.4
Total	140	100	22	99.9	59	100	59	99.9

$$\chi^2 = 5.235; P = 0.075; 2 \text{ degrees of freedom.}$$

The foregoing table shows that against every expectation, we cannot speak of an existing relationship between the two variables here taken into consideration. In fact, the expected relationship shows up clearly only in the highest size class; even there, however, the P value of the χ^2 does not reach the 0.05 limit of statistical significance.

Table 49 allows us to make two considerations, namely:

- a. of the three hypotheses we launched with regard to the relationship existing between homemaker's age and the operator's capacity of decision making, *b.* and *c.* are more strongly supported by the figures of table 49 than *a.* In other words, it seems much more probable that, as far as this relationship is concerned, the personal qualities and attitudes of the operator are primary with respect to those of the woman for the determination of his position in our continuum. Quite probably it is the operator's life-plan which finds its expression in the observed relationship.
- b. A comparison between table 49 and the previous one tells us that the influence of the women's emancipation does not necessarily need to find its most meaningful expression in the amount of schooling received. Other patterns of modern social participation (e.g. formal social participation) seem to express more clearly the socio-cultural position of Winterswijk women in the first half of the present century.

As to the lack of significance of a positive relationship just noticed between the degree of schooling received by the homemaker and the score, this seems to suggest that, again, perhaps the Dutch formal system of schooling is not the most typical agency through which innovation reaches country women. In fact, it is not possible to ascribe the above mentioned lack of relation either to too small figures or to a fault in the coding of the data. To this effect, we must remember that the same figures, when cross-tabulated against the farm-size showed that a high degree of significance exists between these two variables. Again, our presupposition of the partial functioning of the school as a factor of modernism in this context is confirmed by the fact that the significance of such a possible relationship between schooling of the homemaker and her husband's score is the lowest in the lowest class of farm-size ($P = 0.88$), whereas the previous table shows the significance between memberships held by the homemaker into formal associations and the score to be the highest in that same class. With regard to this point, it will be remembered that also upon commenting the relationship between schooling of the farm operator himself and the score, we arrived at the conclusion that in the lowest size-class other forms of social participation quite probably play a much bigger role than the schooling received by the farmer (see page 247).

e. *Experience of work outside the parental home.* With variable 51, grouped in a dichotomy: *worked always at home* versus *worked also outside the parental home*, we tried to see whether a correlation of the same type found for the part-time jobs of the farm operator (see page 248) was present between one kind of mobility of the homemaker and the score. We reasoned that particularly for the small farmers, the experiences which the homemaker might have made when acting as a maid on some larger farms might be reflected on the farm management of her husband. No correlation was found existing between this variable and our score. We cannot therefore, draw any conclusion. We do not know, in fact, whether the lack of correlation is due to the inexistence of the supposed influence of work experiences outside the parental home or if, instead, it is due to an insufficient refinement of our system of measurement.

f. *The homemaker's help on the farm.* Finally, also the degree to which a farmer's wife helps her husband on the fields or around the farm with minor chores was cross-tabulated against the score. We reasoned that a modern homemaker would object to the execution of hard physical work on the farm. However, the results of the tabulation did not confirm our hypothesis in the least; for no significant relationship was shown to exist between the degree with which the homemaker helps the husband around the farm and the modernity of the farm operator, reflected in his capacity to give a definite answer to our test questions. This does not necessarily mean that our hypothesis was wrong. It might just as well mean that the wife's help on the farm still belongs to the basic and most deeply rooted cultural traits of the Dutch mixed farming of the sandy regions. In fact, out of a sample of 464 married couples only 6 cases (i.e. 1.2%) were noticed where the wife did not help at all on the farm, whereas in 24 cases (i.e. 5.1%) the wife helped with 3 or less chores out of a minimum list of seven chores quoted in our question 36 (Appendix III).

In this context it is perhaps useful to remember that Miss ter Cock also, in her study,¹ found not the least indication of a diminution of the extent to which women work on the farm with the increasing modernity of the homemaker. Finally, it is interesting to notice that the degree of women's work on the farm seems to belong to the normal traits of the present local culture pattern. In fact, with exactly the same tabulation a significant positive correlation ($P = 0.03$) was found between this variable and the size of the farm. This result is perfectly understandable, in view of the acute shortage of manpower which has been affecting Dutch agriculture in the last years. It is logical that on a big farm the farmer's wife helps at least with feeding the small livestock and the calves, whereas even this cooperation can be spared to the wife of a farmer whose farm does not even furnish full employment for the operator himself.

2. *The family type*

One of the most typical and most frequently quoted characteristics of the urban culture is that, under its impact, the family generally assumes a more limited size. This phenomenon is due not only to the disappearance from the household of relatives other than the

¹ A. ter Cock, op. cit.

direct descendants (children), but also to the direct limitation of the number of children in the family. It seems to us that the conscious control of the number of offsprings has sometimes been given even too much credit as belonging to the typical urban cultural traits. In our opinion, more than with a question of rural and urban culture, we have here to do with a certain attitude towards life. The increase of the number of children in urban Dutch, French and American families after World War II, or the size of urban families belonging to certain religious denominations, and the strict observation of the two-children family among certain classes of farmers, testify to this fact. It is much more probable that a real family-plan has more to do with the degree of a conscious way of life of the parents than with the fact that they belong to urban or rural environments as such. However, it is generally true that a small number of children as a cultural trait is mostly represented in the Western urban pattern of culture, whereas the contrary is true for the countryside.

This was the conception present in our mind when we planned our research. We had more or less implicitly expected to find that with the increasing of the urbanization of the farming population, the size of the family in general, and the number of children in particular, would decrease.

a. *The extended family.* In Chapter IV we have seen how the pattern of a traditional household is extremely widespread in Winterswijk. It is therefore logical to wonder whether a relationship exists between the type of household and our score. With variable 34 (Appendix III) we have coded the type of household; grouping together points 1, 2 and 3 we obtain a dichotomy: *nuclear family* versus *traditional household pattern*. Table 50 shows the results of the cross-tabulation of such a dichotomy against the score. The relationship between the traditional household pattern and the farm size is positive and highly significant ($P = 0.0001$).

TABLE 50 *Type of household of the Winterswijk farming population according to score 10 answers.*

Farm-size 2-6 ha

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Nuclear families	93	49.7	28	43.7	45	51.1	20	57.1
Traditional households	94	50.2	36	56.2	43	48.8	15	42.8
Total	187	99.9	64	99.9	88	99.9	35	99.9
non classified	2							

 $\chi^2 = 1.753$; $P = 0.41$; 2 degrees of freedom.

Farm-size 7-9 ha

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Nuclear families	63	43.4	9	39.1	35	45.4	19	42.2
Traditional households	82	56.5	14	60.8	42	54.5	20	57.7
Total	145	99.9	23	99.9	77	99.9	45	99.9
non classified	1							

 $\chi^2 = 0.325$; $P = 0.85$; 2 degrees of freedom.

Farm-size 10 ha and more

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Nuclear families	45	30.6	7	26.9	17	36.9	21	36.2
Traditional households	102	69.3	19	73.0	46	63.0	37	63.7
Total	147	99.9	26	99.9	63	99.9	58	99.9
non classified	2							

 $\chi^2 = 1.411$; $P = 0.49$; 2 degrees of freedom.

The chi-square tests tell us that we cannot conclude that there is a statistically significant relationship between the two variables taken here into consideration. However, for the lowest and the highest size-class a trend of relationship in the expected direction would seem to exist. Curiously enough, here too, as in several other cases, this trend does not seem to exist for the size-class 7-9 ha.

The only thing that we can conclude from the foregoing table is that in Winterswijk the traditional extended family belongs to the most deeply rooted cultural variables, so that it is possible to observe its presence also among people who, for other aspects of the culture pattern, show a remarkable degree of urbanization. Two observations could be made here:

- a. Van den Ban, also, in studying the pattern of acceptance of new farm practices, did not find any definite correlation between the degree of acceptance of such practices and the type of the family¹ to which the operators belonged.
 - b. Quite probably there is a correlation between the extended family type and the age of marriage. It is, in fact, highly probable that those farmers who marry earlier become members of extended families. In this way the lack of the expected relationship in table 50 would be explained.
- b. *The children (the number of children)*. The number of children present on a Winterswijk farm is positively and significantly related to the farm-size ($P = 0.013$). This shows us already that the urbanizing forces possibly deriving from the size of the farm and influencing the farmers' life do not give the expected results as far as this cultural variable is concerned. As to this observation, the explanation can be supplied that as a rule the small farmers marry at a later age than their colleagues from larger-sized farms. If, then, we examine the relationship between score and number of children, we are faced with a positive significant relationship between the two variables.

¹ A. W. van den Ban. Enkele kenmerken en eigenschappen van de vooruitstrevende boeren. II.

TABLE 51 *Number of children of the Winterswijk farmers, as related to score 10 answers.*

Farm-size 2-6 ha

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Farmers with 0 or 1 child	58	30.7	28	42.4	17	19.3	13	37.1
Farmers with 2 or 3 children	70	37.0	23	34.8	38	43.1	9	25.7
Farmers with 4 or more children	61	32.2	15	22.7	33	37.5	13	37.1
Total	189	99.9	66	99.9	88	99.9	35	99.9

$\chi^2 = 12.209$; $P = 0.016$; 4 degrees of freedom.

Farm-size 7-9 ha

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Farmers with 0 or 1 child	28	19.1	8	34.8	16	20.8	4	8.7
Farmers with 2 or 3 children	61	41.8	10	43.4	31	40.2	20	43.4
Farmers with 4 or more children	57	39.0	5	21.7	30	38.9	22	47.8
Total	146	99.9	23	99.9	77	99.9	46	99.9

$\chi^2 = 8.422$; $P = 0.075$; 4 degrees of freedom.

Farm-size 10 ha and more

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Farmers with 0 or 1 child	28	18.8	12	46.1	11	17.2	5	8.5
Farmers with 2 or 3 children	65	43.6	10	38.4	28	43.7	27	45.7
Farmers with 4 or more children	56	37.5	4	15.4	25	39.0	27	45.7
Total	149	99.9	26	99.9	64	99.9	59	99.9

$\chi^2 = 18.488$; $P = 0.001$; 4 degrees of freedom.

The chi-square tests tell us that, even in this case, in the size-class 7-9 the positive relationship between the two variables is not significant; its P value is, however, on the edge of significance. The foregoing table shows us results which are, at first sight, entirely against our conception of the implications of the process of urbanization for the countryside.

Besides, we see that, although in the lower size-class the χ^2 test shows the existence of a significant correlation, the sign, or direction of such correlation is not so clear as it is in the other two size-classes. Perhaps a factor which accounts for this finding is the already quoted inverse relation between the farm size and the age of marriage.

However, the figures of table 51 can be explained quite easily, if we consider that birth control is a typical form of human rationalization. It is therefore easily understandable that the farmers of the upper end of our continuum should behave in different ways according to the size of the farm they have at their disposal. While a limited number of children on a small farm can be supposed to be the result of a rational family-planning, it cannot be said that the farmer who, on a large farm, has more than three children did not plan his family according to (other) criteria, as much rationally and consciously as his smaller colleague.

However, this whole problem is certainly not so simple as this; it is, for instance, known that the number of children a farmer has is positively related to his degree of progressiveness.¹ Further we had even objections of a technical nature against the results of table 51, deriving from the very way in which our score had been created. Test questions 67a, 67b and 67d, refer more directly to problems facing the farmers who have children. It is therefore possible that those farmers who have no children might have given no answer to them, even if they were independent and modern enough to have a personal opinion about the matters discussed in our questions. We decided, therefore, to test the found relationship. In the following table we can see the relationship between the number of children of our interviewees and the average score obtained by the farmers.

¹ A. W. van den Ban, *Enkele kenmerken, etc.*, II.

TABLE 52 *Average score obtained by Winterswijk farmers according to the number of children, in each of the three size-classes.*

Farm-size 2-6 ha											
No. of children	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9-10	More than 10
No. of families per group	23	35	42	28	22	11	13	3	2	7	3
Average score	4.1	5.1	5.1	5.5	5.8	5.4	5.9	6.3	4.5	7.7	6.3

Farm-size 7-9 ha											
No. of children	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9-10	More than 10
No. of families per group	8	20	37	24	22	16	6	6	2	4	1
Average score	4.3	6.-	6.3	5.4	6.9	6.9	7.6	7.-	6.-	5.-	3.-

Farm-size 10 ha and more											
No. of children	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9-10	More than 10
No. of families per group	12	16	31	34	21	4	7	7	3	5	9
Average score	4.3	4.8	6.6	6.5	6.9	8.-	7.8	5.7	7.3	8.-	6.8

This approach shows that, whereas the average score of the farmers who had no children at the time when our enquete took place, remains almost constant owing perhaps to the systematic bias of the score, in the rest of the universe the average scores show that a definite positive relationship exists between the number of the children and the interviewee's capacity to answer to our 10 questions. The optimal number of children for this relationship seems to lie somewhere beyond the number of five. However, the small figures upon which the average scores are based for the categories of farmers with more than five children do not allow us to draw any more definite conclusions. In trying to explain the figures of the two preceding tables we can, therefore, only put forward the following set of hypotheses:

- a. Our score is correlated with the homemaker's younger age (Table 45). This means, therefore, more possibility for reproduction.

- b. Large farmers have more children than small farmers.¹ We have seen in Chapter v that the farmers of the upper end of our continuum are thought of on the whole as being more progressive and better farmers than the ones at the lower end of the continuum. This qualitative approach has still to be checked in a quantitative empirical way in this research. For the time being, we can therefore only hypothesize that the farmers of the 8-10 score group come from *economically* larger farms than the ones of the 0-4 score group. This would account for a higher average number of children per family in this score group.
- c. High-score farmers are known to be professionally more successful, to possess a more daring spirit and higher vitality. These factors are bound to be of great influence upon their life-plan.
- d. To behave rationally means to consider what one consciously wants. However, both content and results of conscious behaviour can be quite different. We have no yardstick to judge as to the appropriateness of one's own life-plan, neither does such a problem interest us in this context.

So, on the basis of the evidence furnished so far by this research, we can conclude that in Winterswijk a higher number of children in the family seems to go together with a higher degree of modernity of the farm operators. This finding, which is in complete accordance with the results obtained by Van den Ban in the already quoted researches, does not allow us, however, to draw any definitive conclusions as to which is the cause and which the effect between the two terms of the relationship. In a large family there is more need for a higher income, and this is, as such, a stimulus for a greater efficiency in managing the farm, which might not exist in a small farm-family. On the other hand, a definite degree of influencing exerted by the children upon the acceptance of new farm practices, seems to exist. This means an indirect influencing of the rational behaviour of the farmer, taking, sometimes, the function of a real "adult education." Such a function is clearly

¹ A. Maris, C. D. Scheer, M. A. J. Visser, *Het Kleine-Boeren Vraagstuk op de zandgronden - Van Gorcum N.V., Assen, MCMLI.*

² E. A. Wilkening, *Change in Farm Technology as Related to Familism, Family*

shown, for instance, by Wilkening, who found that fathers who had discussed farm matters with their sons had adopted more total practices than those who had not.²

Wichers, studying the degree of progressiveness of farm management in two different Dutch communities, found that in the community (Roman Catholic) with a larger average family, the farm management was more modern than in the second community (Protestant).³ However, he does not draw the conclusion of an immediate relation of cause and effect between these two phenomena since, once the farm management of the farmers of the latter community is examined according to the size of the family, the differences are almost insignificant. He therefore concludes that the degree of modernity of the farm management depends more on the pattern of culture, as a whole, accepted in the village rather than upon the number of children present in the family.

Table 52 confirms thus the findings of table 51. When we think that, particularly for the small farmers, the number of children might be important in so far as more children practically mean more ways with which the respondents come in contact with the Great Society (on a small farm more children must find a job outside agriculture than on a big farm), the obtained picture assumes an unexpected significance, indirectly confirming the main hypothesis upon which this work is based.

It is not always easy, nor perhaps correct, to speak of a direct influence exerted by the children on the fathers; the reasons of the found relationship might lie more on indirect psychological causes. As we said, the presence of children, as such, might function as a stimulus for the operator to keep up-to-date with technique and expectations. We tried a preliminary test of this hypothesis.

Starting from the presupposition that the acceptance of jobs outside agriculture, and outside the community, would be indicative of a certain degree of individuation of the sons from the local community, we had coded this variable according to the number of sons working in agriculture and outside agriculture, within or without the community (variable 45, Appendix III). Since the number of sons working in agriculture in Winterswijk is directly related to the farm-size ($P = 0.0025$), in comparing this variable with the score we had to keep our figures separated per size class. The smallness of the figures thus obtained does not

Decision Making, and Family Integration. *Am. Sociol. Rev.* v, 19 Febr. 1964, No. 1, pp. 29-37.

³ A. J. Wichers, *De Voorlichtingssituatie in de Betuwe*, etc.

allow the detection of any particular relationship between the two variables. We cannot conclude, yet, that no relationship exists between destination of the sons after the fifteenth year of age and the score. The only conclusion justified, however, is the following: when cross-tabulated against the score, there is a very clear difference between the farmers who have no children at all, and those farmers whose sons are under 15 years of age (and, therefore, are too young to allow us to speak of a direct influence of the jobs which the sons occupy outside agriculture upon the father's degree of progressiveness). In the following table these two categories of farmers are tabulated against the score.

TABLE 53 *Relation between the score and the presence in the family of sons younger than 15 years of age.*

Farm-size 2-6 ha

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No. of farmers with no children	23	32.55	15	78.90	6	15.—	2	16.8
No. of farmers with sons younger than 15 years of age	48	67.80	4	21.10	34	85.—	10	83.2
Total	71	100.35	19	100	40	100	12	100

$$\chi^2 = 25.708; P < 0.001; 2 \text{ degrees of freedom.}$$

Farm-size 7-9 ha

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No. of farmers with no children	8	13.85	4	50.—	4	15.40	—	—
No. of farmers with sons younger than 15 years of age	50	86.15	4	50.—	22	84.60	24	100.—
Total	58	100	8	100	26	100	24	100

$$\chi^2 = 12.759 \text{ } 0.01 > P > 0.001; 2 \text{ degrees of freedom.}$$

Farm-size 10 ha and more

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No. of farmers with no children	12	19.62	6	54.50	6	30.—	—	—
No. of farmers with sons younger than 15 years of age	49	80.38	5	45.50	14	70.—	30	100.—
Total	61	100	11	100	20	100	30	100

$\chi^2 = 17.195$; $P < 0.001$; 2 degrees of freedom.

The relationship is extremely evident. In order to avoid the influence of the bias in the score we checked our findings by calculating the average score of the two groups *after having systematically subtracted three points from the scores of the components of the second groups* (i.e. assuming that all of them had answered the three questions referring to the sons – which is obviously not true). The sensible difference in average score between the two groups shows that the farmers who have no children in general have been *also* less able to answer to the *other* test questions.

TABLE 54 *Average score of Winterswijk farmers without children, and of the farmers whose sons have not yet reached the 15th year of age.*

Farm-size	2-6 ha	7-9 ha	10 ha and more
Farmers without children	4.1	4.3	4.3
Farmers with sons younger than 15 years	5.8	5.8	5.7

Although the differences between the two above mentioned classes of farmers are very small we see that this aspect of our work seems to open a whole series of new possibilities for deeper studies. We cannot go into it, for the time being, since such kind of research would bring us much too far away from the main line of this work. However, incidentally we remark here that we can notice in the farm class of 2-6 ha the biggest difference between the average scores of the two groups taken into consideration here above, whereas in the highest size-class this difference is the smallest. We think that this finding reflects other formative aspects of the farm-size for the personal capacities of the farmer.

Farming, as such, is a manifold activity, but the implications of farming on a big farm, are somewhat different from those deriving from a small farm. In the part dedicated to the study of the cultural characteristics of the farm operator, we have already had occasion to see how this point repeatedly comes into discussion.

c. *The school-training of the children.* We have just seen that the problem of the relationship between the presence of children in the family farm and the score obtained by the farmer, is far from being a simple one. Continuing our analysis of the possible concomitances between certain aspects of the culture pattern and the capacity of the interviewees to answer to our test questions, it is worthwhile examining how the farmers' score varies with the different types of schooling their sons have enjoyed. From the quoted works of Kneppelhout, De Bruin and Van den Ban, we know already that the presence on the farm of at least one son who followed some years of vocational training, has a positive influence on the farm management.

One could theoretically expect that the schooling received by the sons of the farmers of our continuum would range between two extremes expressing, to a great extent, the different degrees of modernity and of rationality present in the fathers' attitudes towards life. In the situation of present-day Dutch agriculture one would expect that a progressive and rational farmer would, generally speaking, tend to give an agricultural professional education to only one or two of his sons, while favouring a non-agricultural education for his possible other sons. So one could imagine the school-training of the young Winterswijk farmers to vary gradually as along a continuum, the lower end of which is formed by the total lack of technical agricultural training, the middle position formed by indiscriminated agricultural training and the upper end formed by a planned, differentiated training enjoyed by the farm youth. This reasoning is highly theoretical, but, seen in the framework of our research, none the less worth checking. We coded, therefore, the schooling received by the interviewee's sons accordingly (variable 46, Appendix III). Our expectations were partially fulfilled. In fact, the tabulation of this variable showed that against an average score of 4.7 for those farmers whose sons above the 15th year of age did not receive any vocational training, there is a score of 6.6 for the farmers who gave their sons agricultural training, and a score of 7.3 for those farmers who gave agricultural vocational training to only one of

their sons, the others having followed a vocational training of a non agricultural type. However, this last class of farmers comprehends only 3% of our total sample. When we exclude the first two categories of farmers (i.e. those whose sons older than 15 years did not receive any vocational training, and those farmers who had naturally given an agricultural vocational training to their only son), and we reduce the rest of our sample to the dichotomy: "indiscriminated agricultural training for the sons" versus "planned discriminated training," we observe the following relationship with the score.

TABLE 55 *Relation between the type of training received by Winterswijk young farmers and the score received by their fathers.*

Farm-size 2-6 ha

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-6		Score 7-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
indiscriminated agricultural training	23	35.4	10	25.6	13	50.-
planned training	42	64.6	29	74.3	13	50.-
Total	65	100	39	99.9	26	100

$$\chi^2 = 4.049 \quad 0.05 > P > 0.02; \quad 1 \text{ degree of freedom.}$$

Farm-size 7-9 ha

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-6		Score 7-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
indiscriminated agricultural training	22	43.-	15	53.6	7	30.4
planned training	29	56.9	13	46.4	16	69.5
Total	51	100	28	100	23	99.9

$$\chi^2 = 2.754 \quad 0.1 > P > 0.05; \quad 1 \text{ degree of freedom.}$$

Farm-size 10 ha and more

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-6		Score 7-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
indiscriminated agricultural training	29	56.9	5	29.4	24	70.6
planned training	22	43.1	12	70.6	10	29.4
Total	51	100	17	100	34	100

$$\chi^2 = 7.845 \quad 0.01 > P > 0.001; \quad 1 \text{ degree of freedom.}$$

Table 55 shows that, in spite of our theory, the relation – where it is significant – is of a negative nature. Furthermore we are here in the presence of a clear contrast. For the class-sizes of 2-6 and 10 ha and more, the farmers who received the highest score have in general given more agricultural schooling to their sons and have discriminated less between the various possibilities among the gamut of school-types that Winterswijk offered them. In this case, we can still maintain that with the increase of the score, the number of farmers' sons who received agricultural training also increased, but we cannot maintain that the process of urbanization or of rationalization is so advanced that the farmers allow only one of their sons to receive agricultural training and send the others to other sorts of training. Perhaps this finding has its reason in the fact that those farmers who are more successful and who succeed in maintaining or improving their economic and social status, are, at the same time, obviously more liable to have confidence in the future and in their own profession. This might lead them to give both objectively justified and unjustified agricultural training to their sons.

Another reason for the observed relation between high scores received by the fathers and more agricultural training received by the sons, can be sought in a direct influencing of the fathers from the part of the sons. We remind the readers here of the already quoted studies of Wilkening (pg. 24) and Van den Ban (pg. 20). Another possible cause is that in Winterswijk the agricultural school and agricultural courses enjoy a high prestige among the farmers. It is, therefore, not entirely impossible that those farmers who form the "avant-garde" of the local rural population and who enjoy themselves a high prestige (see answers of our respondents in Chapter v) and who received more agricultural training, preferred to send their sons to the local agricultural schools and courses, instead of preparing them for a life outside the profession in which they believe and in which they feel at home. Similar factors of local prestige are always interrelated with each other. However this explanation is only partial. For the farmers of the size-class 7-9 ha, the situation is exactly the opposite. Does this mean that, for some reasons, the farmers of this class are already in a more advanced phase of the process of becoming an urbanized lower-middle-class? Or is it, perhaps, the very in-between position they occupy which protects them from the influence of some factors which are more felt by the two extreme groups? The definite opposition of the figures of this class with respect to

those of the other two classes does not seem a chance event and is not easily explained by giving the responsibility of the found results to a fault of the methodology. Are we perhaps in presence of a different kind of social dynamics between the different classes? To this question, too, we are not in a position to give a satisfactory answer, for the time being.

d. *The formal associational life of the children.* One of the most prominent and characteristic aspects in which a modern urban culture pattern finds a concrete manifestation, is the subtraction of the individual from the all-round totalitarian influence of the informal collectivistic way of life. The importance of the formal, goal-centered, organization of the individuals' life is directly related to the degree of "Vergesellschaftung" undergone by the concerned society. As we have seen (pg. 259) there is a clear direct relationship between the associational life of the interviewees and the score they received. This is logical and quite easily acceptable. In studying the relationship between several aspects of the home environment of the farmer and his score, it is now worthwhile to make an examination of the implications that might derive from the children's partaking in formal associational life and the score the farmers received. The partaking of the children in modern forms of social participation, means that in the concerned society the process of "Vergesellschaftung" has reached a rather advanced stage. The degree to which the children of a family are active in formal associational life, can be taken as a very sensitive tool for roughly determining the stage of development reached by the micro culture of a particular family within a whole macro culture, which is actively busy to develop from "gemeinschaftliche" to "gesellschaftliche" forms. However, it would not be unreasonable to think that children are open for innovations and are apt to undergo their influence and that, therefore, their attitude towards life can very easily be quite different from the attitude and degree of modernity of their parents. It is therefore justified to study here the kind of relationship which might exist between the cultural trait "children participating in organizational life" and the score their fathers received.

With variable 47 (Appendix III), we had coded the kind of formal association in which farmers' children participated into a number of possibilities. However, in the tabulation of this variable, we had to reduce it to the dichotomy: *no membership at all* versus *membership in any kind of association*, owing to the extremely small

figures obtained. This variable appears to be highly significantly related to the size of the farm ($P = 0.001$).

TABLE 56 *Relationship between score 10 answers and the farmers' children being members of formal associations.*

Farm-size 2-6 ha

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
no membership	38	30.4	18	45.-	15	24.2	5	21.7
membership	87	69.6	22	55.-	47	75.8	18	78.2
Total	125	100	40	100	62	100	23	99.9

$\chi^2 = 5.974$; $P = 0.052$; 2 degrees of freedom.

Farm-size 7-9 ha

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
no membership	17	17.-	5	35.7	8	15.7	4	11.4
membership	83	83.-	9	64.3	43	84.3	31	88.5
Total	100	100	14	100	51	100	35	99.9

$\chi^2 = 4.308$ $0.2 > P > 0.1$; 2 degrees of freedom.

Farm-size 10 ha and more

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
no membership	25	24.-	6	37.5	13	27.1	6	15.-
membership	79	75.9	10	62.5	35	72.9	34	85.-
Total	104	99.9	16	100	48	100	40	100

$\chi^2 = 3.617$ $0.2 > P > 0.1$; 2 degrees of freedom.

The figures of the foregoing table tell us that there is only an all-round positive relationship between the children's being members of formal associations and the capacity of their fathers to answer to the 10 test questions. Furthermore, the significance of the relationship diminishes sensibly from the lowest to the highest size-class.

The finding reflected by the foregoing figures is quite understandable. In fact, quite probably there are two factors which have played an important role in the distribution of the figures of table 56:

- a. if any influence is being exerted by the young, modern farmers (such as the ones who take part in formal organizational life) upon their fathers at all, this influence is bound to be more felt on the small farms than on the larger ones. In fact, there this influence would be, as it were, diluted by the influences of the many other factors which usually put a large farmer in contact with the world outside his farm. This does not happen so much in the case of a small farmer;
- b. In the Dutch countryside there is a clear cultural lag noticeable as far as the acceptance of the trait "associational life of the youths" is concerned. The larger farmers have accepted this trait much sooner than the smaller ones, and therefore in the case of the highest size classes, this cultural trait no longer thoroughly reflects the family's degree of conscious modernism. In the case of the smaller farms, on the other hand, such a trait is still discriminatory with respect to modernism in the culture pattern.

This finding can therefore be regarded as an indirect confirmation of our original hypothesis of the cultural gap existing between large and small farmers, and of the function of the farm-size as a vehicle for modern cultural influences.

3. *Some other aspects of the household*

a. *vacations*; b. *presence of guests*. In our investigation of the possible relations between the score and the cultural traits belonging to the environment of the farm family, we paid attention to the possible presence of guests and of paying guests in the household during the year, and to whether or not a period of vacations of more than 2 days was taken together by husband and wife. (variable 54, Appendix III). This last variable is significantly correlated with the farm-size ($P = 0.023$). However, when the farm-size is kept constant, the tabulation shows that, as to a possible relation-

ship between customary vacations and score, only a slight trend in the direction of our expectations is present. The P values of the chi-square tests are too low (respectively 0.46; 0.08 and 0.28) so that we cannot draw any conclusions; therefore we omit to present the concerned figures here. A strong degree of significance is, on the other hand, presented by the cross-tabulation of the score against the variable "presence of guests in the household." The correlation between this variable and the farm-size is not significant ($P = 0.085$), so we can present our figures in one table for all the size classes.

TABLE 57 *Presence of guests in Winterswijk households according to score 10 answers.*

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
In the household there are periodical guests	167	36.7	29	28.1	75	34.5	63	46.6
In the household there are no guests	288	63.3	74	71.8	142	65.4	72	53.3
Total	455	100	103	99.9	217	99.9	135	99.9

$$\chi^2 = 9.433; P = 0.0085; 2 \text{ degrees of freedom.}$$

We see, therefore, that the presence of guests in the household is highly significantly correlated with the score. One could wonder whether the presence of guests could be taken as a consequence of a modern frame of reference of the farm family, and not as a cause of modernity in itself. But quite probably, as in most of the phenomena studied by sociology, we can safely assume that the found relationship functions in both directions. However, we feel that we must draw attention to the fact that people seem to be much more important as influentials for other people than material things (like press, school, etc.). Post-war American research has made this undoubtedly clear.¹ Although we do not want to give the impression that the cause of the higher progressiveness of the farmers of score-group 8-10 is to be found particularly in the

¹ See, for instance, the bulk of empirical knowledge as to this effect excellently summarized in Katz Elihu and Lazarsfeld Paul F., *Personal Influence*. The Free Press, 1955, Glencoe, Illinois.

possible guests present in the household, we want nevertheless to emphasize that it should not be at all astonishing that those farmers who repeatedly have in their household a kind of "human bridge" between the farm and the outside world, are more up-to-date and show more individuality in their whole behaviour, and therefore also in the farm management, than the other farmers. The importance of the social personal contacts for the determination of one's own frame of reference is well known. As to their importance for agriculture, it is enough to remind the reader here of the quoted examples of Van der Ven, Westermarck and the Danish study on the influence of the Folkshighschool quoted in Chapter 1.

c. *Facilities present in the household.* In examining the relations between the score and the several facilities present in the household, we thought it better to make a division between a supposedly "modernization favouring" type and a "modernization favoured" type of facilities. It is immediately obvious that such a dichotomy cannot withstand even a superficial theoretical scrutiny. We only intended to build a rough schematization that would allow us to make a distinction between two types of material manifestations of culture. On the one hand, those materializations which might be to some extent considered as the tools or weapons through which innovation propagates, generally, from a more modern to a more out dated pattern of culture, and, on the other hand, those materializations which are normally considered as characteristic *manifestations* of that same propagation. So we have, quite arbitrarily, reckoned radio, radio-journal, telephone, transfer account, motorbicycle and auto as belonging to the first group, and book-keeping for the household, central heating, electricity, electric stove, electric iron, electric washing-machine, electric sewing-machine, vacuum-cleaner, centrifugal machine, running water, kitchen-sink, shower-bath or bath-tub, modern W.C., boiler, butagas or city gas, and cellar to the second group.

It is obvious that there are little reasons why electricity should be considered a more "modernization favoured" element than, say, a transfer account. Both of them are typical traits of an urbanized culture pattern, but we had to draw our arbitrary break somewhere, for the sake of the analysis. Therefore, the criterium according to which the different elements were classified in the present dichotomy, was whether these facilities mainly served the internal life of the farm family, or whether they tended to put the farm family

in contact with the modern social structure outside the farm. Table 58 gives us a picture of the relationship between the way the farmers answered to our 10 questions and the "modernization favouring" material cultural traits. We present our figures divided in classes of farm-size, since the possession of such concrete things is naturally greatly influenced by welfare.

TABLE 58 *Distribution of the "modernization favouring" facilities among Winterswijk farming population, according to score 10 answers.*

Farm-size 2-6 ha

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No. of farmers possessing:								
Radio	152	80.-	55	83.3	68	77.3	29	85.3
Radio programme	94	50.-	31	46.7	41	46.6	22	64.7
Telephone	30	15.9	5	7.7	12	13.6	13	38.2
Transfer account	7	3.7	2	3.0	2	2.3	3	8.8
Motorbicycle	40	21.3	7	10.6	21	23.8	12	35.3
Auto/Motorcar	3	1.6	1	1.5	0	-	2	5.9
No. of farmers	186	100	66	100	88	100	32	100
NOT CLASSIFIED	1							

$$\chi^2 = 34.966; P < 0.001; 10 \text{ degrees of freedom.}$$

Farm-size 7-9 ha

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No. of farmers possessing:								
Radio	126	86.3	20	86.9	65	84.4	41	89.1
Radio programme	90	61.6	13	56.5	45	58.4	32	69.5
Telephone	27	18.5	2	8.7	12	15.6	13	28.2
Transfer account	12	8.2	1	4.3	5	6.5	6	13.0
Motorbicycle	61	41.3	2	8.7	32	41.5	27	47.8
Auto/Motorcar	10	6.8	1	4.3	3	3.9	6	28.2
No. of farmers	146	100	23	100	77	100	46	100

$$\chi^2 = 20.629; 0.05 > P > 0.02; 10 \text{ degrees of freedom.}$$

Farm-size 10 ha and more

	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No. of farmers possessing:								
Radio	137	95.8	22	88.-	62	95.4	53	100.-
Radio programme	98	68.5	14	56.-	42	64.6	42	79.2
Telephone	57	39.8	8	32.-	23	35.4	26	49.0
Transfer account	11	7.7	2	8.-	4	6.1	5	9.4
Motorbicycle	71	49.6	5	20.-	38	58.4	28	52.8
AutojMotorcar	17	11.9	1	4.-	5	7.7	11	20.7
No. of farmers	143	100	25	100	65	100	53	100
NOT CLASSIFIED	6							

$$\chi^2 = 15.439; 0.2 > P > 0.1; 10 \text{ degrees of freedom.}$$

The first remark which we feel entitled to make after an examination of table 58 is that evidently in the Winterswijk countryside there still is a cultural lag in operation as far as is concerned the acceptance of the "modernization favouring" facilities by the farmers of the different size-classes. The regular way in which the significance of the differences between high and low scores diminishes from the lowest to the highest class of farms, testifies to the advancement of this form of material acculturation proceeding from the greatest to the smallest farms. Within each size-class certain figures are too small to attach statistical significance to them. However, the all-round trend is quite constant, so that we feel entitled to make the following considerations: We see that with the increase of the use of these "modernization favouring" elements, the capacity of our interviewees to give an answer to our 10 questions also increases. However, not all the different elements seem to grow in the same proportion with the growing of the score. There are typically accepted goods like the radio, the use of which grows the least, and other typically new elements like telephone, motorbicycle and cars, the use of which grows the most with the growing of the score. Finally, also the use of typically "rational" and "pattern-conditioned" goods like the radio-journal and the transfer account, show a remarkable positive correlation with our score. Can we, therefore, speak here of a direct influence of the one variable upon the other? If so, which variable is the influencing one and which the influenced? Just in order to make

clear how this relationship is far from being clear, let us take the use of the radio into consideration. One could think that the absence of electricity in several neighbourhoods of the community would influence the use of the radio – since many “modern” people would not have the possibility to use it, and therefore the relationship with our score would cease to exist. Our table 58 tells us that this is not the case. The number of the radios used by the Winterswijk farming population augments with the increasing of the score (or the score increases with the augmenting of the number of the radios). This happens because many of the farmers belonging to the 8-10 category have an own pile-battery or generator installation for their radios. So, which is the cause and which the effect? We do not know. What we know is that the presence of a radio in the household is nowadays hardly discriminatory any more as to modernity of the culture pattern in the Dutch countryside.

Examining now the possibility of the existence of a relationship between the “modernity favoured” cultural elements and our score, we must first make a few considerations. It is commonly accepted by those who are interested in the welfare conditions of the countryside, that certain material signs of culture, like electricity, running water in the homes, or the custom to record the household expenditures and to hold regular vacations during the year, are indicative of the degree to which the concerned persons have accepted a modern culture pattern. Such materializations of culture are considered as, let us say, milestones along the way of development of modernity. This sort of reasoning is so obvious, that it is just upon the presence of this sort of material elements in the household, or on the adoption of customs like the ones mentioned above, that normally the so-called scales for socio-economic status, or level of living, or style of living are built.

As we have seen, at the date of our enquiry in Winterswijk the electrification of the countryside had not taken place in every part of the community, nor was this the case with the pipeline for drinkwater. This fact furnished us, therefore, with still a greater justified curiosity to see how our interviewees had been able to answer our test questions in relation to their having or not yet reached the “electricity- and water-pipe-milestone” of the culture pattern. Our “modernity favoured” cultural elements were, therefore, coded in three different ways:

- I. according to the presence or absence of electricity and/or running water in the home;
- II. according to the presence or absence of a recording book for the expenditures of the family; and finally,
- III. according to the pure numerical quantity of the facilities present in the home out of the list quoted in our questionnaire (Appendix II, page 9, question 12).

Let us therefore see what are the results of the cross-tabulations with our score.

First of all we take into consideration the element which is supposed to be a sign of modernity and rationalistic attitude "par excellence": the presence of a recording book for the household expenditures. We cross-tabulated this variable against the score, but neither within each size-class, *nor on the totality of our population altogether*, was it possible to discover the least trace of a significant relation in the way we expected it. Our figures showed sooner that a slight tendency of a relationship might exist *in the inverse direction*. However, the P values of the chi-square test make it quite clear that we cannot yet draw any conclusion as to this variable. Nor did this variable show any significant relationship with the farm-size. A trend in this direction, however, seems to exist. The figures show that, at least in Winterswijk, the *small farmers* use more bookkeeping records than the big ones.¹

The tabulation of the variable "electricity and current water" against the score also did not give the expected results. A clear trend of relationship in the expected direction is present in the size classes 2-6 ha and 10 ha and more; however, the chi-square test revealed P values of respectively 0.21 and 0.16. This variable appeared to be highly positively correlated with the size of the farm ($P = 0.0001$).

There remained, therefore, only the cross-tabulation of our score against the total number of the facilities present in the home. The coding of such a variable gave us some difficulties because of the above mentioned partial extension of the water and electricity lines all over the community. It is obvious that with the absence of electricity, a whole series of other facilities will also be absent

¹ For the exactness, the small farmers who keep a household recording are respectively 3.18% more, and the big farmers 0.53% less than the statistically expectable. However, the chi-square showed this correlation not to be significant ($P 0.31$).

from the household. We adopted, therefore, a special code (see Appendix III, variable 71), whereby we used systematically the dichotomy "more than X facilities present / less than X facilities present," X being an entity dependent on the local circumstances (presence of water and electric nets).

The following table shows that, eventually, a positive relationship exists between this purely quantitative variable and the way our farmers answered our questions.

TABLE 59 *Quantitative use of "modernity favoured" household facilities made by Winterswijk farmers according to score 10 answers.*

Farm-size 2-6 ha

No. of farmers using in the home..	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
... more than X facilities	141	74.6	47	71.2	62	70.4	32	91.4
Total	189	100	66	100	88	100	35	100

$$\chi^2 = 6.431; 0.05 > P > 0.02; 2 \text{ degrees of freedom.}$$

Farm-size 7-9 ha

No. of farmers using in the home..	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
... more than X facilities	117	80.1	17	73.9	63	81.8	37	80.4
Total	146	100	23	100	77	100	46	100

$$\chi^2 = 0.697; 0.8 > P > 0.7; 2 \text{ degrees of freedom.}$$

Farm-size 10 ha and more

No. of farmers using in the home..	Standard Distr.		Score 04		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
... more than X facilities	123	82.5	20	76.9	53	82.8	50	84.7
Total	149	100	26	100	64	100	59	100

$$\chi^2 = 0.770; 0.7 > P > 0.6; 2 \text{ degrees of freedom.}$$

Here again we can notice the same phenomenon observed with the previous table; namely, the figures of Table 59 also show that a cultural lag exists in the acceptance of the number of the household facilities, and that the large farms are nearer to saturation than the small farms. It is therefore quite logical that the modernity of attitudes of the farm operator should be reflected by the compound variable considered in the foregoing table much better in the lowest class of farms than in the higher ones.

At the end of this analysis, we wish to make the following consideration. In the future it will be necessary, or advisable, before choosing the items to build any sort of "modernity scale," to submit the implications of the choice of each item to a careful scrutiny before adopting it into the scale. One might answer that this check happens automatically with the standardization of the scale. We should like to answer to our hypothetical opponent that *modernity is a mentality, a state of mind*. It is true that the presence of modern facilities in the home is a consequence and a cause of modernity as well, and that, therefore, it is probable that a positive relationship will be usually found between presence or absence of certain elements in the daily environment of the studied people and their degree of modernity; but, nevertheless, the fact remains that this state of mind can be arrived at in an endless number of ways. Who is, in fact, more modern – the multi-millionaire, conservative baron of industry, whose household scores 100% in any hypothetical "welfare scale" or the Jewish peasant of the collectivistic Kibbutz in Palestine?

d. *The length of the working day*. Another variable to which we have paid attention in our analysis of various aspects of the culture pattern, is the length of the working day of our interviewees. On a mixed farm of the Dutch sandy soils, there are practically no divisions in "work" and "rest" periods during the day (with the exception of 1/2 to 1 hour rest immediately after lunch). Around a mixed farm the farmer has always something to do from dawn until late into the night. The normal pattern, until a few years ago, was that as soon as the last normal chores around the livestock were finished after dinner, the farm family went to bed, to start at the next dawn with the same rhythm. However, electricity with the consequent night reading, pictures, autos and motor bicycles, club-meetings, etc., are all ways with which the modern social structure is attracting Winterswijk farmers into its orbit

during the time when their presence is not requested on the farm. The logical consequence is that many farmers actually sleep much too little, and that the youngest people, who are most integrated into the Great Society, begin to find the old schedule of work much too heavy. There are already clear rumours of people (not farm-hands only) who are in favour of the 8 hours-day and, if possible, the free week-end, be it with modalities modified to the exigencies of farming.

We have added together the hours a farmer usually spends out of bed, obtaining thus a variable which we have named "day length." Since the normal time at which Winterswijk farmers get up is 5.30 to 6.— a.m., we can be sure that the sensibly longer "day-lengths" indicate how far in the night a farmer goes before going to bed.¹ It might, therefore, be now interesting to know which position the farmers with a "long day" take in our continuum.

TABLE 60 *Day-length of Winterswijk farmers, according to score 10 answers.*

Farmers whose day-length is	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
17 hours or longer	52	10.9	10	9.1	22	9.7	20	14.4
16.30 hours	58	12.2	9	8.1	26	11.5	23	16.6
16 hours	97	21.3	19	17.1	44	19.5	34	24.4
15.30 hours	126	26.5	25	22.5	61	27.1	40	28.8
15 hours	108	22.7	35	31.5	56	24.8	17	12.3
shorter than 15 hours	34	7.1	13	11.7	16	7.1	5	3.6
Total	475	100	111	99.9	225	99.7	139	100
day-length unknown	9							

$$\chi^2 = 25.313; P = 0.006; 10 \text{ degrees of freedom.}$$

We see that the preceding table leaves no doubt as to who are the farmers who "sleep less" (in the real and figurative sense of the word). It might be worth noticing here that the cross-tabulation of the present variable against the farm-size, showed it to be on

¹ During our enquiry we had asked both the time people get up and the time they go to bed (Appendix 1, question 38). However, owing to lack of space in the Hollerit card we could quote only one variable. We opted therefore for a comprehensive "day-length" which could possibly be of some use also in connection with other aspects of the labour productivity. There is, obviously, no fixed hour at whichas

the edge of significance ($P = 0.055$), but that the signs of the ($m \times n$) tables did not show any particular clear trend in this relationship. The examination of the same variable per each size class delivered P values of 0.15 for the 2-6 ha farms, 0.03 for the farms of 7-9 ha, and 0.002 for the farms of 10 ha and more. This confirms once again our presupposition of the importance of the farm-size as a factor favouring the influence of modern culture traits upon the farmer. In fact, this means that, on the larger farms, there are differences between the day-lengths of the high and low scores which are greater than the differences in day-length observed on the small farms.

e. *Visits to selected cultural agencies.* We have just seen that our 8-10-score farmers, for some kind of reason, go to bed later than the 0-4-score farmers. Why? What do they do? This question is indirectly answered by the several tables showing that the 8-10 score farmers read more, attend more meetings in recreational clubs and professional associations, etc. It is, therefore, quite easy to agree with De Vries Reilingh when he makes the remark that in order to make a profitable use of spare time through recreation, one has first to be conscious of the positive value of time (he has to recognize the "spare" time) and of that of recreation (i.e. the need must be felt for recreation).² We see, therefore, that there are good reasons to think that of the many traits which distinguish a modern from a traditionalistic farmer, the recreational activities (or better, whether and how "spare" time is dedicated to such activities) are perhaps among the most discriminative ones, since in such activities, the degree of the subject's consciousness will be highly reflected.

From the recognition of this fact to the examination of possible relationships between our score and some of the most formal and conscious ways in which a Winterswijk farmer can spend some of his "spare" time, there is only a short step. With question 46 (Appendix 11), we tried to get some information as to certain kinds of cultural activities, namely the visits to cinemas, theatres, football matches, shows, etc. during the first six months of 1955. Since the tabulation showed that the figures for many items were far too

Winterswijk farmers go to bed, but, for the chronicle, the usual time ranges from 10 to 12 p.m.

² H. D. de Vries Reilingh, *Cultureel Werk ten Plattelande; Het Gemenebest*, Mei 1947, pg. 25.

small to allow any conclusion, we had to group them in three groups. With *group A*, we indicated the visits to theatre, open-air theatre, cinema, and museum. These can be considered to be, for a Winterswijk farmer, cultural activities "par excellence." With *group B*, we indicated the visits to football matches, the visits to the show E 55, which was being held that year in Rotterdam, and the visits to a concours hippique. This sort of activities can be classified as being a more popular type of recreation among Winterswijk farmers. The reason why we put the visit to the show E 55, is that in that year the Farmers' Union had organized a trip to Rotterdam and many farmers had joined it (particularly small farmers and 0-4 score farmers). Finally, *group C* comprises visits to the annual agricultural show in Utrecht, to any other agricultural show, to a cattle-breeders-day (show- and classification day), and to a horse-selection show. This category is, therefore, comprehensive of cultural activities of a definite agricultural-professional character. The coding of this variable did not happen according to the number of visits paid by each farmer to the several cultural agencies quoted under question 46; attention was paid, instead, only to the fact whether each of these agencies had been visited or not during january to june 1955. Subsequently, we grouped the different agencies into the A, B and C groups. The figures shown in table 61, express therefore both the total and the percentual number of farmers per each score group who visited any of the quoted agencies at least once during the chosen period of time. In examining Table 61, one must remember that many farmers had visited not one of those cultural agencies only, but several at the same time. This fact explains why the sum total of the figures of each size-class or score group does not correspond to the total number of farmers in the same class or group.

After the examination of this table, we do not need many words to let the reader see that the capacity of the interviewees to answer to our test questions shows to be in a strict and direct relation with the increase of the activities quoted under the headings A, B and C.

Another observation which comes spontaneously, is that there seems to be a great difference between the different size-classes as well as between the score groups, as far as these three different types of activities are concerned. This is an aspect of the relations between modernity of attitudes and the recreational activities of the farmer, which is worth examining somewhat deeper.

TABLE 61 *Relation between the score 10 answers and the number of Winterswijk farmers who have visited the A, B, and C cultural agencies at least once during the first six months of 1955. Farm-size constant.*

Farm-size 2-6 ha

Farmers visiting	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Group A (Theatre, etc.)	34	18.-	6	9.0	9	10.2	19	55.9
Group B (Football, etc.)	68	35.9	18	27.3	30	34.1	20	58.8
Group C (Agric. show, etc.)	87	46.7	14	21.2	47	53.4	26	76.5
No. of farmers	188 = 100		66 = 100		88 = 100		34 = 100	

$\chi^2 = 55.792$; $P < 0.001$; 4 degrees of freedom.

Farm-size 7-9 ha.

Farmers visiting	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Group A (Theatre, etc.)	41	28.-	7	31.8	12	15.6	22	47.8
Group B (Football, etc.)	77	53.-	7	31.8	35	45.4	35	76.1
Group C (Agric. show, etc.)	125	86.3	17	77.3	59	76.6	49	106.5
No. of farmers	145 = 100		22 = 100		77 = 100		46 = 100	

$\chi^2 = 21.223$; $P < 0.001$; 4 degrees of freedom.

Farm-size 10 ha and more

Farmers visiting	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Group A (Theatre, etc.)	64	45.-	11	44.-	21	32.3	32	60.4
Group B (Football, etc.)	56	39.6	7	28.-	21	32.3	28	52.8
Group C (Agric. show, etc.)	125	87.-	8	32.-	54	83.1	63	118.8
No. of farmers	143 = 100		25 = 100		65 = 100		53 = 100	

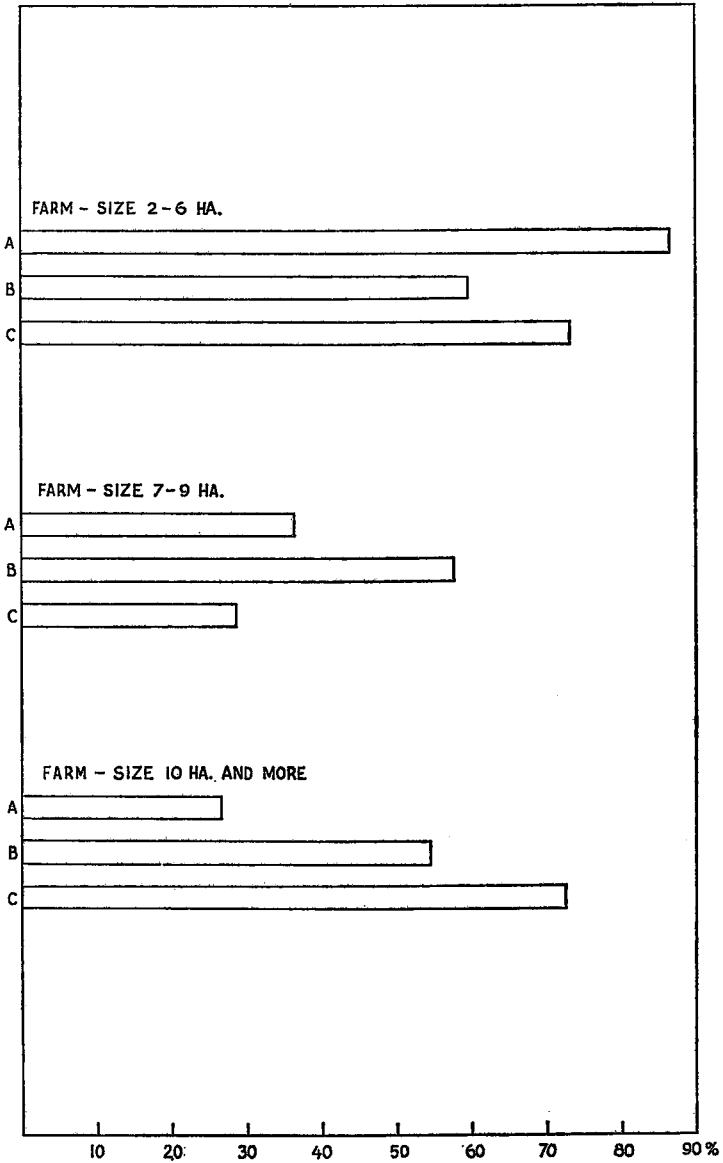
$\chi^2 = 24.166$; $P < 0.001$; 4 degrees of freedom.

The scrutiny of the activities quoted under question 46 of our questionnaire, immediately revealed a few peculiarities. Together with the increasing of the score, the cultural activities considered by us with question 46, show an all-round increase. However, the rate of increase is different. Hereafter, we have listed them according to their absolute increase from score 0-4 to score 8-10. Visits to cattle-breeders-day 36.6%; horse-selection show 23.2%; concours hippique 20.6%; football matches 19.3%; agricultural shows 12.2%; theatre 10.3%; open-air theatre 10.2%; cinema 8.9%; yearly national agricultural show in Utrecht 5.5%; museum 3.5%; E 55 2.7% (evidently not many of our 8-10 score farmers took part in the trip organized by the Farmers' Association). This is rather interesting in itself, because it shows us that manifestations of pure agricultural character still held the supremacy in the habits of Winterswijk farmers. This supremacy is, however, undermined by the growing popularity of the football sport. The so-called "cultural" activities are not too badly off (with the exception to museum-visits, which are obviously still entirely outside the culture pattern of the Winterswijk farming population), when the rate of increase is considered, but their absolute figures, even for score group 8-10, are rather low.

The picture just sketched, however, is obviously troubled by the fact that there is also a very high significant relationship between the score as such and the farm-size. If we want to carry on the same analysis of the same variable within each size-class, we again have to resort to the A, B and C grouping owing to the smallness of our figures. In graph 5 is expressed the relative increase of each of these groups in the three different size-classes of farms.

As we see, the visits paid by Winterswijk farmers to such agencies, in each of the three size-classes show a very distinct pattern. In the class of 2-6 ha with the increasing score the "cultural" activities have the greatest relative increase. In class 7-9 ha, the more popular, or lower-middle-class forms of this kind of entertainment show the greatest increase, whereas in the highest size-class the purely agricultural-technical forms of entertainment show the biggest relative increase. Are we, therefore, in the presence of three different "sub-cultures?"

This is quite interesting, and it allows us to put forward three hypotheses. The observed differences in relative increase of the activities taken here into consideration do not mean that the big farmers entertain less "cultural" activities than the small farmers.



GRAPH 5 - Relative increase in activity a, b and c, according to score 10 answers (% score 8-10 - % score 0-4) % (score 8-10).

The absolute figures show that this is quite the contrary. In our opinion, our finding means either that:

- a.* the figures depicted in graph 5 express a difference in emphasis put on different sorts of activities by farmers of the same score group in the different size-classes. This would seem to support, therefore, Hofstee's hypothesis of the possibility that the countryside will succeed to give a particular character of its own to urban culture. A certain group of farmers clearly shows a particular adaptation of the urban culture, to which they have been exposed, to the particular needs and attitudes inherent to their status. However, this possibility seems to depend very much upon the farm-size which will be the most represented in the future. Before accepting this explanation of our findings, further data will have to be gathered; or that
- b.* the phenomenon reflected by the figures of table 61 is, again, nothing but the cultural lag existing between the three classes of farmers, as far as the acceptance of each of the three types of activity is concerned. This hypothesis is only a variation of the former one in that no particular emphasis needs to be consciously put on any of the three types of activities. The process of acculturation proceeds automatically, but whereas the farmers' degree of progressiveness in the class of 10 ha and more is shown more clearly in connection with technical-professional activities (A and B activities have been more generally accepted as a natural class-prerogative amongst these farmers), this is not the case with the farmers of the lowest size-class; for the generally accepted pattern of living among the farmers of the lowest class is such that any degree of dynamism and progressiveness is perhaps sooner revealed in the extra-professional than in the professional spheres of life. It is easier for a modern-thinking small farmer to visit a cinema or a theatre at night than to take a day off from his work in order to visit a cattle-show. This too will come, in the long run, but only when the process of modernization has proceeded enough within him to counterbalance possible situational disadvantages in the professional life; or, finally

- c. the three different types of activities grouped under A, B, and C have different "individuation values," so that among the small farmers only those who have been able to develop individual independent personalities have engaged in what we have called "cultural activities par excellence." With the increasing of the farm-size the same result (the same capacity to give a definite answer to our test questions) has been also reached with a less selected and more lower-middle-class type of cultural entertainments. Eventually, with a further increase of the farm-size, our interviewees could reach the same score also with a kind of activity much more directed towards a purely technical form of culture. Here, therefore, we see the influence of the farm-size come out again as in the case of several other variables. Large farmers seemed not to need such a big share in "cultural" activities as their smaller colleagues did in order to be able to obtain a high score.

We have quoted this hypothesis last, since, at the present stage of our knowledge, we do not yet know whether it is justified to link individuation of society and a type of activity such as the ones of our A-group by a such direct relation of causality. Furthermore, it is obvious that individuation is brought about by a much more vast series of phenomena. However, individuation is, in fact, brought about by something; so we could not exclude at least the theoretical possibility of the effective functioning of the relation explained with our last hypothesis.

At the end of the discussion on this subject, we should like to remark how, from the perusal of the questionnaires, it appears that the most common answer given by those respondents who had visited none of the agencies listed in question 46 was: "no time for it." However, these are generally the people (score 0-4) who produce less, go to bed earlier, and have no idea that time is money. Do they work less efficiently too? This is our strong impression. It might not be out of place to remind the reader that the farmers of score group 8-10 seem to work harder, or in any case more efficiently; at night they engage in all sorts of activities, like meetings of associations or any other kind of extra-work activities, and they go later to bed. This presupposes a certain degree of mental energy. Once again we see, therefore, that the

presuppositions upon which we based the construction of our score seem to be confirmed.

Concluding the analysis of the relationships between the variable "visits to selected cultural agencies" and our score, we notice how our figures strongly support our opinion that the farm-size is a vehicle or channel through which culture can exert its influence upon the farmer. If the modernization of the countryside is aimed at, it seems advisable to stimulate the "cultural" activities in order to let the cultural lag existing between large and small farmers disappear. Also an efficient program of farm consolidation would probably serve this purpose; at the same time this could probably guarantee, to some extent, the survival of a specific culture in the countryside, since it would prevent the process of proletarianization of the countryside, with consequential derivate phenomena. This, however, is a point of no importance in the context of this work.

THE FARM MANAGEMENT

We have made a rather long journey to prove in two different ways the validity of our score as a meaningful yardstick by the use of which the existence of cultural differences in a given farming population can be perceived. The two different techniques which we followed up to now showed that not only our score is, in fact, a yardstick (i.e. is an entity with which certain manifestations of social life can be measured), but that, furthermore, certain manifestations of the social life of the local population show comparable trends when analyzed with the help of our score. As we have seen in the preceding pages, when we look at these manifestations in the frame of reference of a modern "urban" pattern of culture which is gradually penetrating the countryside, it is mostly possible to place these manifestations into a complex relationship with the cultural change which is at present taking place in the municipality of Winterswijk. Putting the foregoing into more technical-analytical terms, this means that the behaviour of most of the "variables" taken into consideration showed how it is in fact possible to consider them as cultural traits which are all functionally related either to the traditionalistic or to the modern culture

¹ See for instance the case of differing responses to our score shown by the same variable in the groups of operators of the different size-categories. Such varying response seems to be mainly related to a diversity in "tempo" of acculturation; this diversity is allowed by different material circumstances in the farms of the different size-categories.

complex. The "behaviour" of those variables, as such, can in fact be related, in most of the cases, to the process of cultural change (acculturation) in itself.¹

1. *The labour productivity*

As it will be remembered from the discussion which led to the formulation of our set of hypotheses (chapter II), we maintain that

- a. man, as a complex and polydimensional social being is strongly influenced by the type of social structure of which he makes part, and by the value-system integrated in that social structure, and
- b. that this influence of the environment finds its expression in the personality type of the members of society. The behaviour of the different types of personality will be, therefore, always more or less integrated in a pattern reflecting faithfully that personality.

A conservative man will tend to be conservative in all his manifestations, while a progressive man will tend to act, in different circumstances, in a way which will always be to some degree a function of his progressiveness. Therefore, there should, logically, be no need to repeat here the well known fact that human behaviour will always be "social" behaviour. However, we intend to mention it here because in this way the untenability of the division of human behaviour in "technical" and "non technical" behaviour will become all the more clear.²

Maintaining, merely for a matter of clarity the above mentioned division, it follows that, now that we transfer our technique of analysis from the "non technical" to the "technical" manifestations of the life of our respondents, we have arrived at the crucial point of our investigation. Namely, if our score is a yardstick which effectively discriminates cultural differences we will now have sufficient occasions to see *whether cultural differences in the culture pattern existing in a rural locality are related or not to differences in the efficiency of the farm management.*

Leaving a short analysis of several "technical" variables for the

² Of course we are speaking in general terms, and we are ready to admit the existence of cases in which frustrations in one sphere of life (e.g. family life) are compensated by sublimated high efficiency in other spheres (e.g. professional life).

subsequent pages in order to facilitate, at the same time, an interpretation of the possible differences in labour performance, we shall immediately cross-tabulate our score against the number of standard hours expressing the efficiency of labour obtained by the operators of the different segments of our continuum (labour performance).

In order to obtain comparable and meaningful results we had to keep constant the size of the farm, since the labour performance obtained in agriculture is highly correlated to it.¹

Further, the comparability of the data had to be controlled, also, within each size-class.

If we eliminate from each size-class those farmers whose management cannot be regarded as representative for the normal Winterswijk farmer for a number of different reasons (income mainly drawn from activities outside agriculture; specialized poultry farming, horticulture, nurseries, hobby- and old-age farming, etc.) we obtain the following table:

TABLE 62 *Average labour performance of Winterswijk farmers according to score 10 answers. (Expressed per Male-Adult-Worker)*

	Farm-size 2-6 ha	7-9 ha	10 ha and more
Score			
0-4	3200 St. H. (49)	3300 St. H. (16)	4000 St. H. (22)
5-7	3500 St. H. (67)	3700 St. H. (61)	4300 St. H. (51)
8-10	3900 St. H. (26)	4000 St. H. (40)	4800 St. H. (49)
	P = 0.02	P = 0.01	P = 0.01

The figures between brackets express the absolute numbers of farmers upon which the averages have been calculated.

Table 62 gives the most significant answer, without need of much help on our part, to our central hypothesis. We must therefore conclude that the efficiency of the farm management is highly responsive of cultural differences; in casu, differences between the modern cosmopolitan progressive pattern of culture and the traditional, localistically oriented and more "Gemeinschaft"-like, culture pattern.

¹ Cfr. A. Maris, C. D. Scheer, A. A. J. Visser; Het Kleine-Boeren Vraagstuk op de zandgronden, Van Gorcum & Comp. N.V., Assen. MCMML.

² Apart from any other consideration, the regularity itself according to which the figures of the above table are ordered, makes it highly probable that the entity which has caused such distribution must be of a very general, objective, nature. In our case we have to do with culture itself, which functions roughly in a harmonic way, i.e. it knits together the figures expressing the efficiency of human labour obtained on the Winterswijk farms by a principle of unity running throughout them and linking each term of the series to its predecessor by the same bond. In fact, the differences

As to table 62 itself, we should like to draw here the attention to the meaningful regularity of its figures both between score groups of each size-class, and between the size-classes as such.² Making perhaps a somewhat daring statement for the sake of the efficiency deriving from schematic thinking, we can say that these figures justify the conclusion that, at least as far as productivity of labour in agriculture is concerned, a modern operator on a small farm is certainly worth an old-fashioned operator on a bigger farm. Putting the same reasoning in more concrete terms we can say that in the socio-cultural situation of Winterswijk of 1955 A.D. a *minimum* of 4 hectares of land (i.e. the difference between 6 and 10) were needed in order to allow a conservative farmer to obtain, with the labour available on his farm, the same results obtained by the labour used by a modern and progressive farmer. This shows, therefore, once again the importance of the size of the farm *as far as its influence as a vehicle for acculturation is concerned.*

An increase of the labour productivity in agriculture can be obtained both by diminishing the number of people working on the farm (i.e. decreasing the labour supply), while keeping the farm structure unchanged, or by keeping the number of people unchanged while intensifying the farm management in several ways (i.e. increasing the demand for labour). In a time of increased possibilities for communication and personal mobility, and, particularly, with the increasing industrialization of the countryside, one might expect to find that the Winterswijk farmers of score group 8-10 had adopted the first solution, as being the more obvious. However, once again, this would mean that one is looking at the problem from a purely technical point of view and, actually, that he fails to understand that the farmer, instead of being an "homo economicus" is, fundamentally, a social being. It would, in fact, *seem* reasonable to expect to find that the more rationalistic farmers and those more integrated into a modern form of social organization would keep less people on their farms. This has been in many cases actually assumed as being the reality,

between high and low score-groups are quite constant in the three different size-classes. This gives definite support to the opinion already implicit in these pages that if we could free the impact which culture exerts upon the members of society from several conditioning factors (as, for instance, farm-size) we would see that its effect is almost constant both as to intensity and as to its direction. The limiting factors, however, exist and are, themselves, to a great extent part of culture. This makes therefore it inavoidable that the comparison between the different sets of behaviours taken into consideration must be drawn within the limits of comparable classes.

and technique has even tried to propagate this way of improving the labour efficiency. A look at table 63 persuades us, however, that this is by no means the case, since the number of the people present on the farm shows, rather, an increase with the increasing scores. This gives another proof of how unreal is the pretention to consider agriculture as an independent system of technical manualities, free from social influences. Which of the two solutions will prevail, will in our opinion depend entirely upon the socio-cultural situation existing in loco.

TABLE 63 *Average labour force per farm, expressed in Adult-Male Workers, according to score 10 answers.*

Farm size	2-6 ha	7-9 ha	9 ha and more
Score			
0-4	1.49	1.99	2.10
5-7	1.47	1.99	2.43
8-10	1.54	1.80	2.44

The chi-square test shows no significance between the distribution of the average labour force expressed in Adult-Male Workers and the score. So, there are no reasons to assume that the higher labour productivity obtained by the higher scores depends on a reduction of the labour employed on the farm. This means, therefore, that the most integrated people realized their need to obtain a higher labour productivity for the persons working on their farms, and found it by improving the farm management.¹

If we now want to know on what part of the farm management the found differences in productivity depend, we shall have to restrict ourselves to the analysis of a few limited aspects of it, where we can reasonably expect the existence of major differences. In fact, such methods cannot deliver us clear-cut, definitive explanations because each farm is a little world of its own, and

¹ The figures shown in this table clarify greatly the meaning of the figures of the preceding table. Since on the farms of score group 8-10 there are more people employed than on the other farms of our continuum, and since the average performance of these people is much higher than that of their colleagues, in reality the differences in farm management between the farms of the three groups must be more sensible than at first would appear.

² We took the figures of 72% of the surface of arable land tilled with grains, 25% tilled with fallow crops, and 1.4 dairy cow per ha grassland, as reasonably expressing a demarcation line between a modern and a non modern farm lay-out in

the final financial result deriving from its management can be influenced in an endless number of subtle ways, most of which are quite difficult to be efficiently expressed in figures – not to speak of attributing them a weight in the whole process.

2. *The farm management*; the structure of the lay-out of crops, and the importance of the stock of cattle.

With the preceding table we have just seen that the availability of labour on the Winterswijk countryside does not show any diminution with the increasing of our score. This is, therefore, already, an important discovery for the analysis of the structure of Winterswijk agriculture. Continuing here this analysis, we have taken into consideration also the percentage of the grains and of fallow crops out of the total cultivated arable land, as well as the average number of cows per ha grassland present on the farms at the time of our survey. One could theoretically expect that with the increase of the score the lay-out of crops would gradually vary, agriculture assuming a more intensive character. Therefore, grains could be expected to decrease, whereas fallow crops would, proportionately, increase. However, it was reasonable to doubt of the existence of differences great enough as to be statistically significant.

TABLE 64 *Relation between the score 10 answers and the number of farmers who cultivate 72% or less of their arable land with grain crops, expressed in per cent of the total for each score group.^a*

	Total	Score		
	Standard Distribution	0-4	5-7	8-10
<i>Size 2-6 ha</i>	62.1	65.6	59.7	61.7
<i>Size 7-9 ha</i>	45.5	37.7	42.8	55.5
<i>Size 10 ha and more</i>	36.2	26.9	34.3	42.3

the situation of local agriculture in the year of our survey. In fact, in Winterswijk, in 1954 the pilot farm had 58% of its arable land tilled with grains and 48% tilled with fallow crops, against about 75.5% grains and 24.5% fallow crops as an average for the total arable land of the community. The same procedure was followed for the average number of cows per ha grassland, the difference between the pilot farm and the municipality average being 2.2 as against 1.2 adult cows. (From C.B.S. Landbouwtelling Mei 1954, and Mededelingen van het Rijkslandbouwconsulentschap Zutphen No. 4).

TABLE 65 *Relation between the score 10 answers and the number of farmers who cultivate 25% or more of their arable land with fallow crops, expressed in percent of the total for each score group.*

	Total	Score		
	Standard Distribution	0-4	5-7	8-10
<i>Size 2-6 ha</i>	63.8	72.7	56.3	65.7
<i>Size 7-9 ha</i>	46.5	22.7	50.-	52.1
<i>Size 10 ha and more</i>	33.7	23.-	34.9	37.2

A scrutiny of the two foregoing tables shows that the expected intensification in the structure of the lay-out shows some trends in the presupposed direction only in the farms of 7 ha and more, and not in the smaller holdings. Furthermore, the chi-square test did not reveal any significance in the correlation between these trends and our score, so that it would be unjustified to say that, in Winterswijk, with the increasing of the modernity of the farm operator the acreage tilled with grains decreases, while the acreage cultivated with fallow crops increases.

If now, in the following table, we take into consideration the average number of dairy-cows per ha grassland present on the Winterswijk farms, and we cross-tabulate it with our score, we obtain similar results:

TABLE 66 *Relation between the score 10 answers and the number of farms having a density of 1.4 dairy cows or more per ha grassland, expressed in percent of the total for each score group.*

	Total	Score		
	Standard Distribution	0-4	5-7	8-10
<i>Size 2-6 ha</i>	60.6	60.6	60.9	60
<i>Size 7-9 ha</i>	58.6	54.5	58.4	60.8
<i>Size 10 ha and more</i>	25.5	30.7	29.6	18.6

¹ A. J. Wichers; De evaluatie van een Voorlichtingscampagne in de Betuwe. Bulletin No. 11 Afd. Sociologie en Sociografie van de Landbouwhogeschool - Wageningen 1958.

² Also Lindstrom (David E. Lindstrom, Diffusion of Agricultural and Home Economics Practices in a Japanese Rural Community, Rural Soc. Vol. 23, June 1958,

As we see, the foregoing table repeats on the whole the picture given by the preceding two tables. Furthermore, the deviations from the standard distributions shown by the three score groups are not big enough to be statistically significant.

Two explanations can be given in our opinion for these results: in the size-class of 2 to 6 ha the highest scores (i.e. a greater capacity of the respondents to answer to our test questions) are generally linked with part-time jobs outside agriculture. These are, obviously, only very seldom related to a more intensive structure of the lay-out; however, this recognition does not account for the failure to appreciate a structural intensification in the farm classes 7-9, and 10 and more hectares. Therefore, besides the above mentioned partial explanation, there must be also a principle of more general nature in the play. We mention here that in a recent study about the efficiency of the Agricultural Extension Service in two Dutch villages, Wichers¹ found strong indications that when technical improvements of some importance are brought about on the farm, which can increase sensibly the final results of farming, they mostly concern the *management, but not the all-round structure as such.*² From Wichers' findings and from the figures of the preceding tables, measured by means of a yardstick purposely created in order to perceive cultural variations, we feel entitled to conclude that, obviously, the structure of the lay-out of a farm, as such, belongs to one of the most traditional and less variable cultural traits of the culture pattern of the Winterswijk agrarian population. This hypothesis would fully account for the failure of the farm lay-out to change quickly, and not to react to cultural influences making for innovations. The process of acculturation must therefore have reached a deep-going phase in order to induce a farmer to make important changes on an entity (the structure of the agriculture in which he has grown up) which, evidently, he is rather apt to take for granted. From the answers received from our key-persons, reported in the preceding chapter, we know that this is in actual fact the normal course of events, at least in Winterswijk.

pp. 171-183), studying the acceptance of new practices in a completely different socio-cultural environment, found that the practices adopted most often were those requiring changes in techniques or operations and did not require a structural change of the enterprise.

3. *The small livestock*

From table 62 we had the occasion to see that on all the three size-classes, there is an improvement in the performance of the human labour employed on the farm when the position of the farmer along our continuum passes gradually from the lowest to the highest scores. At the same time, with table 63, we saw that this increase in labour productivity is not obtained by means of a decrease of the labour supply. Eventually, we saw that there are no significant differences in structure of lay-out between the farms of different score-groups, which could account for the observed higher productivity of the respondents of the upper end of our continuum. It is therefore to be expected that the higher productivity of labour reached by those Winterswijk farmers who could be said to be more integrated into a modern form of social organization (the farmers of the highest score-groups), is obtained through other improvements or intensifications of the farm management. However, the validity of this supposition must be proved.

An improvement, or an intensification of the farm management can be, theoretically, obtained in an endless number of ways and of different manualities. We shall chose only a few of them, namely those who can be supposed to be more meaningful for the state of agriculture of the Dutch sandy regions, in order to cross-tabulate them with our score. Subsequently we shall also follow this procedure for the acceptance of four farm practices, and for the contact with the Extension Service. Strictly speaking, these "variables" can be considered to pertain both to the farm management and to the farm structure. Furthermore, it has already become a tradition of rural sociological research to consider them as a sort of independent analytical items. - We have therefore preferred to follow this more "orthodox" way and to consider apart the above mentioned variables.

On the Dutch sandy soils one of the most important ways of increasing the labour productivity is by keeping a higher number of small livestock on the farm. This managerial improvement has repeatedly been shown to be of great help for the financial results of farming, and, as such, it has also been propagated and advised by the several forms of extension, from the Governmental Agricultural Extension Service, to private forms of extension and to the technical press. More or less unconsciously it has always been assumed that the small livestock is very important for the

income obtained by the farmer on the smaller farms. However, after the preceding pages, we wonder whether this aspect of the farm management is not just as important for the larger farms as for the small ones. Since, with the increasing of the size of the farm the amount of available labour, up to a certain size, invariably increases proportionately.

It is therefore now interesting to see whether there exists any correlation between the number of the small livestock present on Winterswijk farms and the degree to which the farm operator is (or is not) fully taken up in the modern Great Society. One might reasonably expect that, both from the fact that the farmers of the highest scores are more in contact with official and institutionalized organizations, and from the fact that they can be assumed to possess a higher degree of functional rationality and are somewhat less tied up by the local traditions, with the increasing of the score a substantial increase of the number of small livestock present on the farm could be noticed. A look at the following table shows that this is, in fact, the case.

TABLE 67 *Average number of poultry and hogs present on Winterswijk farms, according to score 10 answers.*

Farm-size constant.

Farm size	2-6 ha		7-9 ha		10 ha and more	
	poultry	hogs	poultry	hogs	poultry	hogs
0-4	200	9	225	10	250	17
5-7	330	13	280	14	275	19
8-10	458	15	350	16	300	23
	P = 0.005		P = 0.055		P = 0.01	

Other meaningful conclusions which we can draw from the preceding table are:

- a. in Winterswijk the raising of small livestock, as a form of intensifying the productivity of the human labour present on the farm, maintains its importance also on the holdings larger than 6 hectares. This conclusion had already been reached, although by means of a totally different approach, in a publication of the Agriculture Extension Service.¹

¹ Mededelingen van het Rijkslandbouwconsulentschap Zutphen, No. 4, Zutphen, November 1954.

- b. Our supposition that the farmer of the highest size-class form a group with a more uniform style of living (see pg. 78, note 2) receives a further confirmation when the "technical" aspects of this style of living are taken into consideration. We can speak here, therefore, of "style of farming" following Hofstee's example.¹
- c. Our supposition that the possible influences of modernizing forces should be much more noticeable among the operators of the small farms, when the many limiting factors which hinder an efficient "acculturation" are somehow obviated is confirmed.
- d. The efficiency of our differentiation of the (Winterswijk) farming population between farmers who are highly integrated in a modern form of social organization and farmers who are not, is confirmed when the differentiation is applied to this important item of the farm management.
- e. Finally, the foregoing table gives us a partial but substantial answer to the question of where the increased labour productivity of the operators of score-group 8-10 derives from.

4. *The application of some managerial techniques*

Another common advice given in order to augment the labour productivity is to increase the yield of the grasslands. In some cases this goal can be obtained by purposely improving the botanical composition of the field through the adoption of selected specimens of grass; but in most of the cases the same goal is obtained through an improvement of the fertilization of the fields. Both the production of the existing botanical species and the composition of the sod result rapidly improved as a consequence of a continued intense fertilization. If we now look at the number of kilograms of nitrogenous fertilizer spread on one hectare of grassland in one year by our interviewees, we obtain the following table. As can be observed there are great differences between high and low scores and no doubts are possible as to their meaning.

¹ E. W. Hofstee, *Sociaal-Economische Problemen der Groninger Veenkoloniën Van Gorcum, Assen, 1943.*

TABLE 68 *Average quantities of artificial nitrogenous fertilizer spread per hectare grassland by Winterswijk farmers, according to score 10 answers. Farm-size constant.*

Score	Farm-size 2-6 ha	Farm-size 7-9 ha	Farm-size 10 ha and more
0-4	290	275	243
5-7	340	353	352
8-10	400	383	425
Total average	333	350	360
	P = 0.02	P = 0.05	P = 0.01

The influence of a better management of one's own grassland is bound to be reflected in the quality of the cattle stock and in the milk yield obtained in each farm. The care of the grassland can, therefore, safely be taken as a meaningful index, however partial, of the efficiency and intensity of the farmer's management. Another meaningful index is furnished by the number of days which the cattle spend on the same parcel of grass. In Winterswijk, as in other parts of the Netherlands, the cattle are taken to the grassland about April-May, according to the stage of development of the grass. They usually remain on the pastures until October-November. About this time, depending upon the climatic conditions, they are taken back to the barns, where they spend the winter months. Until before the war the general practice was to keep the cattle altogether on a large pasture, and to leave them there until all the grass was grazed. Following this system, generally, the average period of time that the animals spent on the same field ranged from one to two months. After the war gradually more interest has been put upon cattle raising, and several improvements in the methods of cattle keeping have come about (see chapter iv). Much attention is being devoted to the grazing schedule, and in the last years a 1/2-day schedule has been applied by several farmers, particularly by the ones living in the neighbourhood of the pilot farm in 't Woold. This system is not yet much widespread since it obviously presupposes an almost perfect organization of the whole farm. To give an example, the farmers who kept the one-day schedule had applied, during the last year, more than 750 kg/ha of nitrate of lime and of nitrate of ammonia on their grassland, whereas the average fertilization for Winterswijk is

E. W. Hofstee, *Over de oorzaken van de verscheidenheid in de Nederlandsche Landbouwgebieden*, Wageningen, 30 Oct. 1946.

300 kg/ha. Nowadays the most frequently applied grazing schedule ranges from 12 to 14 days, but farmers applying a schedule of three weeks or more are still numerous. An analysis of this aspect of Winterswijk agriculture can, therefore, be quite instructive as to the progressiveness of the farm management. In Table 69 the average grazing schedule per farm class and per score has been calculated.

TABLE 69 *Average number of days spent by Winterswijk cattle on the same parcel of grassland, according to score 10 answers.*

Score	Farm-size 2-6 ha		Farm-size 7-9 ha		Farm-size 10 ha and more	
	No. of farms	Average days	No. of farms	average days	No. of farms	average days
0-4	65	15.8	24	16	24	17.4
5-7	86	9.4	70	9.7	64	10.7
8-9	32	9	46	8.3	51	7.3
Total	183	11.6	140	10.3	139	10.6
	P = 0.05		P = 0.01		P = 0.005	

Again, important differences are found in all the size-classes between high and low score groups, which are much more meaningful than the differences existing among the various whole size-classes as such. In the foregoing table another phenomenon is quite noticeable: while among the operators of the farms of 2 to 6 hectares the difference in progressiveness of the farm operator manifests itself in a difference in the grazing schedule of 6.8 days, among the farmers of the highest size-class this difference results in a schedule 10.1 days shorter for the more progressive farmers. We cannot furnish, for the moment, a sufficient explanation for this fact, but we suppose that here factors of personal technical prestige are in operation, which have a much greater influence upon more "status-sensitive" farmers (i.e. in general the operators of the larger farms). As we have seen in chapter v, it is particularly in a matter of dairying and cattle raising that personal questions of pride are presently being given a great weight in the automatic formation of a farming élite in the Winterswijk countryside. As to the more general implications of the significance of a more intensive management of one's own herds of cattle for the final results of farming, their influence for the organizational and technical balance of the activities of the whole farm-management

are too well known to indulge upon them any longer in this context.

The same analytical procedure by means of our score can be applied in order to detect whether or not the changing of the operator's position along our continuum modernity-conservatism goes together with an increase in the degree of mechanization of Winterswijk farms. An analysis of this aspect of Winterswijk agriculture is, however, not easy. In Winterswijk the small farmers own proportionately much less farm machinery than the farmers of the larger farms, and at the same time they make less use of co-operatives for agricultural machinery than the latter. The bulk of the works carried out mechanically on the small farms is, in fact, carried out by paid crews of wage workers; on the other hand, the operators of the larger farms make less use of hired machinery. They mostly own, either fully or in co-operation with a neighbour, the machinery they use, or else they use the machinery of some co-operative.

During the calculation of the average labour performance obtained on Winterswijk farms we had the strong impression that the higher performance obtained by the operators of the upper end of our continuum is rather strongly influenced by the higher use of farm machinery made in one of the forms explained here above. With the increasing of the score *particularly the works which were not, or only partially, carried out by the farm family itself seemed to increase sensibly*. However, owing both to the intricateness of the local customs and to the difficulty to determinate exactly which chore is carried out by whom, to what extent, and how, we were unable to develop a code which would allow us to satisfactorily appreciate the extent of the above mentioned phenomenon. Our presupposition remains, therefore, in the form of a rather vague and unchecked feeling.

Another difficulty of such sort of study is given by the problem of which significance (or, better, which weight as labour-saving factors) should be attributed to the presence of different types of machinery on different farms, or to the different brands of the same type of machinery, or to its different forms of use, ownership, state of maintenance, etc. These are all factors which have a definite weight and that must be taken into consideration if the effect of the use of machinery on the labour performance obtained on a farm is to be determined exactly.

We see, therefore, that, as far as farm machinery is concerned, there are several interfering factors which tend to make this study

too complicated; it is therefore difficult to globally infer, only on the basis of the machinery merely present on a farm, how far management profits from mechanization in general. A thorough knowledge of this single aspect of Winterswijk agriculture, in relation with the process of modernization of the countryside should require a study of its own. However, the use of farm machinery is much too important a factor in the general organization of a farm, for us to overlook it. Therefore, in spite of the incertainties connected with this aspect of the analysis of the local agriculture, we thought it necessary to have at least some indications of the state of the machine-mindedness of the farm operators of the different score-groups. In the following table the use of agricultural machinery made by Winterswijk farmers has been examined with the help of our score. Our intention being to discover whether the more integrated farmers make a more extensive use of mechanization than the less integrated ones, in the compilation of the table all the machines used by a single farmer have been directly counted, without paying attention as to whether the interested machinery was totally owned, borrowed, hired or shared by the farmer. We fully realize that, technically, great differences exist between the use of the different types of machinery, that technical objections could be raised as to the significance of a direct count of all the used machines, without taking into account the type, the age, and the trademark, of it, etc. Our method is therefore very rough and does not give much information except to allow a recognition of a steadily increasing degree of machine-mindedness with the increasing of the score.

TABLE 70 *Average number of agricultural machines used by Winterswijk farmers according to the score 10 answers.*

Score	size 2-6 ha	size 7-9 ha	size 10 and more ha
0-4	3.7	6	7.3
5-7	4.5	6.4	9.1
8-10	6.1	7.3	10.4
Total	4.5	6.2	9.3

As we can see, the differences shown by the foregoing table between the highest and the lowest score-group are not great. The figures,

¹ Of course the bibliographic study carried out in the first chapter, our whole reasoning of the second chapter, and our synthetic analysis of the 5th chapter give us, already, a

however, increase steadily with the increasing of the score within each size-class, almost in the same rate as they increase with the increasing of the farm-size. We think that this is a meaningful finding; we are, in fact, confronted with a regularity in the machine-mindedness of the farm operator which reminds us very much of the regularity shown by table 62, in which the labour performance was cross-tabulated against the score.

5. *The adoption of four farm practices*

While speaking of the machine-mindedness of our respondents we have reached a more particularly psychological aspect of the complex problems involved around the question of efficiency in farming. Of course, also all the other aspects of farming which were taken so far into consideration have each their own psychological aspect. However, machine-mindedness is a trait typical of the subjects who have undergone a somewhat deep-going acculturation from a modern culture. Quite apart from the evidence repeatedly given by the analysis of the non-technical aspects of the respondents' life, carried out earlier in this chapter, we are here confronted with the *acceptance*, as such, of a new cultural trait which comes to the local rural population from the modern western world and which belongs, at the same time, to the realms of agriculture and to those of a modern social structure. We have therefore reached the question of the acceptance of new farm practices; such question was, however, already implicit also in the cases so far taken into consideration in this part of the chapter. We intend now to see whether our distinction between farmers highly integrated in a modern social structure and farmers who are less so still maintains its meaning and its significance when confronted with this problem.¹ This problem is much more interesting than at first considered at this stage of our analysis; in fact, it is obviously connected with the problem of who are the cultural "avant-gardes" in matter of technique in agriculture. Of course, *every* trait in any cultural complex, out of its very "cultural" nature, cannot exist if it is not sooner or later accepted by a relevant number of the members of society. So, from this particular point of view, we can say that it is culture itself which is at stake here. The problem of its existence – or,

significant answer to this question. However, here we are now empirically testing the validity of our theoretical approach.

rather, the problem of its spreading – is nothing but the problem of the acceptance of new cultural traits, of how, when and under which conditions, and by whom these traits are accepted first.

Referring all this more particularly to agriculture in the socio-cultural situation of the Winterswijk countryside, we will now have occasion to see whether, when the acceptance of new “technical” traits is tested with our yardstick, we can gain any further insight as to the nature of the above mentioned problem. At this point we must first remember that as soon as one of these practices has become accepted by the great majority of the population – and has become, therefore, a part of the existing culture pattern – the discriminative efficiency of our score will obviously cease to function. In this way we could actually determine, one by one, which are the practices, or any other aspect of social life, that have become a stabilized part of the culture pattern.¹ Making four examples, we can examine how the adoption of liquid-manure tanks, of concreted manure-pits, of green-fodder silos, and of potato silos vary with the varying of the score. All of them are improved technical practices adopted in order to increase the final result of farming. However, the first has been known for a long period in Winterswijk, and is accepted by nearly every farmer, whereas the last is a technique still fairly young. The “age” of introduction of the other two techniques lies in an in-between position. Therefore, on the one hand, we can test again the validity of our yardstick, and on the other we can obtain new proof of the reason of the increased labour productivity of the highest score groups in all classes of farms; at the same time we can see if a difference in intensity of application of the newest techniques can be shown among the different score groups. Tables 71 and 72 clearly indicate that *a.* the ratio of application of all the four practices clearly augments with the increase of our score, *b.* that the deviation from the standard distribution is the smallest for the eldest practice and the greatest for the youngest one. This comes as a consequence of the percent of farmers applying the practice out of the total farming population, *c.* that the significance of the dependence of the found distribution upon our score is very strong for the usage of potato silos, and decreases for the green-fodder silos, down to the cement manure-pits and is the least strong for the liquid-manure tanks.

¹ As we have had occasion to see in the foregoing pages of this chapter, this is actually what has been automatically happening all through the analysis of the cultural pattern of the Winterswijk farming population.

TABLE 71 *Adoption of concreted manure-pits and liquid-manure tanks by Winterswijk farmers, according to score 10 answers.*

Farm-size 2-6 ha	Standard distrib.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	% of Total	No.	% of Total	No.	% of Total	No.	% of Total
Farmers using concreted manure-pit	151	79.9	47	70.1	73	82.9	31	91.1
Farmers using liquid-manure tank	179	94.7	62	92.5	83	94.3	34	100
No. farmers in the whole class	189	100	67	100	88	100	34	100

$\chi^2 = 1.580$; $P = 0.4$; 2 degrees of freedom.

Farm-size 7-9 ha	Standard distrib.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	% of Total	No.	% of Total	No.	% of Total	No.	% of Total
Farmers using concreted manure-pit	133	91.1	21	87.5	66	91.6	46	92.-
Farmers using liquid-manure tank	141	96.5	22	91.6	70	97.2	49	98.-
No. farmers in the whole class	146	100	24	100	72	100	50	100

$\chi^2 = 0.068$; $P = 0.97$; 2 degrees of freedom.

Farm-size 10 ha and more	Standard distrib.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	% of Total	No.	% of Total	No.	% of Total	No.	% of Total
Farmers using concreted manure-pit	129	90.2	23	92.-	57	87.7	49	92.4
Farmers using liquid-manure tank	141	98.6	24	96.-	64	98.4	53	100.-
No. farmers in the whole class	143	100	25	100	65	100	53	100

$\chi^2 = 0.116$; $P = 0.95$; 2 degrees of freedom.

TABLE 72 *Adoption of potato- and green-fodder silos by Winterswijk farmers, according to score 10 answers.*

Farm-size 2-6 ha	Standard distrib.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	% of Total	No.	% of Total	No.	% of Total	No.	% of Total
Farmers using potato silos	35	18.5	5	7.4	17	19.3	13	38.2
Farmers using green-fodder silos	37	19.5	10	14.9	17	19.3	10	29.4
No. farmers in the whole class	189	100	67	100	88	100	34	100

$\chi^2 = 14.063$; $P < 0.001$; 2 degrees of freedom.

Farm-size 7-9 ha	Standard distrib.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	% of Total	No.	% of Total	No.	% of Total	No.	% of Total
Farmers using potato silos	35	23.9	5	20.8	16	22.-	14	28.-
Farmers using green-fodder silos	61	41.7	7	29.1	29	40.2	25	50.-
No. farmers in the whole class	146	100	24	100	72	100	50	100

$\chi^2 = 2.288$; $0.5 > P > 0.3$; 2 degrees of freedom.

Farm-size 10 ha and more	Standard distrib.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	% of Total	No.	% of Total	No.	% of Total	No.	% of Total
Farmers using potato silos	44	30.7	1	4.-	21	32.3	22	41.5
Farmers using green-fodder silos	54	37.7	8	33.3	24	36.9	22	41.5
No. farmers in the whole class	143	100	25	100	65	100	53	100

$\chi^2 = 8.238$; $0.02 > P > 0.01$; 2 degrees of freedom.

We intend to emphasize here the obvious different discriminatory capacities of our score when one passes from the eldest to the youngest of the four cultural traits. For instance, if we calculate the value of the chi-square for each of the two new farm practices apart (which, together, show a significant correlation with the score) we obtain for the newest of the two (acceptance of potato-silos) a value $0.01 > P > 0.001$, while for the (relatively) older practice the value is $0.07 > P > 0.05$. From a sociological point of view, this finding is very interesting for the implication it bears. It is to be expected that the discriminatory capacities of a yardstick such as the one we used decreases proportionately to the degree to which the variable taken into consideration has been accepted (i.e. with the cultural "saturation" of the variable). If we now go back to one of the quoted studies of Lionberger we find that in the case of an already established farm practice "closely related to existing farm operations, . . . all the three groups (of interviewees, B. B.) were more highly dependent on friends and neighbours than any other source. . . "whereas" . . . with respect to. . . a practice requiring the use of more technical information, users of institutionalized sources (of farm information, B. B.) were much more likely than non users to consider institutionalized sources, particularly the county agent, farm meetings and adult classes, as most valuable."¹ This excerpt, together with the short analysis carried out so far, seem to authorize at least the three following conclusions:

- a. with increasing degrees of novelty of a practice – i.e. with *decreasing* degrees to which a practice has already been accepted into the existing pattern of culture of a rural population – the "orientation" and the "reference group" changes from local to cosmopolitan; and the difference in attitudes towards that practice between the modern and the non modern farmers result all the more clear.
- b. the acceptance of a new farm practice which is a product of a highly mechanistic and rationalized culture (a new machine, or a new chemical method for pest control, etc.) is strongly related to the degree of independent thinking and functional rationality of the farmer.

¹ Herbert F. Lionberger: Information Seeking Habits, etc. pg. 34.

- c. because of the process roughly sketched with sub *a.* and *b.* it is reasonable to expect that with the increasing of the modernization of a certain rural district the local cultural "avant-gardes" will tend to belong more and more to a modern form of social structure. There will obviously always remain a "local" leader, but it will become increasingly difficult that the local leader will be "localistically-oriented" in his world-view and in his form of social participation.

As we see our empirical analysis has brought us to the conclusion reached already, by means of another approach, in chapter v.

6. *The contact with the Agricultural Extension Service.*

After the quotation from Lionberger's publication, and after having seen that a strong relation exists between the shifting of the position of the farm operator along our continuum and the acceptance of new farm practices, it is quite logical to ask oneself what are the relations between our score and the degree of the farmer's contact with the State Agricultural Extension Service. Our score is an expression of the interviewee's participation in a more modern mechanistic social-structure and culture; the agricultural extension service is the expression of a highly formal and institutionalized State; the degree of contact farmers have with it can reasonably be expected to correlate with our yardstick. Quite apart from these theoretical considerations, it is logical to expect that the sensible differences in adoption of new farm practices shown by the different segments of our continuum should go paired with sensible differences also in the extent of contact with the Agricultural Extension Service. The concomitance of the farmers' contact with the Extension Service and the adoption of new farm practices has been sufficiently proved by social research both in America and in the Netherlands. Therefore, it is not our intention to study the possible existence of a direct relationship between contact and adoption, since we know that this is more or less bound to exist. For us it is much more interesting to see whether this concomitance exists also indirectly, via the score 10 answers for the theoretical implications connected with it. In fact, far from considering the adoption of new farm practices and

the increased productivity as a direct *consequence* of an intensified contact with the Extension Service – as several of the existing studies on the subject seem to suggest – we strongly maintain that contact with the Extension Service is only one of the many ways in which the farmers' culture pattern manifests itself. It is clear that for us this would be one of the many traits of the modern culture complex, just like adoption of new farm practices and the consequential high productivity are.

The certainty that our score discriminates contact from no contact is roughly given already by several of the answers quoted in the preceding pages. However, one might argue that our groups A and B, with respect to which the respondents' answers were given, were formed by farmers of the two extremes of our continuum, and that therefore no valuable conclusions can be drawn as to the distribution of the variable "high"- versus "low"-contact *along* the continuum. Therefore, in order to see whether the relations between the degree of the farmers' contact with the local extension agencies and our score is valid for all the segments of our continuum, we have used a score, given by the local assistant of the Extension Service to each one of the 1500 farmers of the community in connection with a previous work.¹ The score was assigned according to the scale: 5 = no contact at all (in one year); 4 = little contact; 3 = normal contact; 2 = frequent, and 1 = very frequent contact. It is clear that such a scale does not guarantee absolute exactness – the more so since the score had been assigned three years before the date of our field-work. In order to determine with a certain exactness the extent of the contact, we had put in our questionnaire a rather exactly formulated question (Appendix 1 question 27). In the practice it soon appeared, however, that the variable "contact with the Extension Service" is extremely fluid, and that it cannot be appreciated by means of a clear-cut question. Therefore we eventually decided to resort to the "all-round" impression of the local Officer of the Extension Service. Our purpose, is – as for all the other variables – to detect the possible existence of general trends. We consider, therefore, that the adopted scale does respond to our requirements. In our analysis, in order to facilitate the comparison, we have grouped together the groups 1 and 2, and 4 and 5. In this way we have obtained a group of farmers entertaining "normal" contacts with the extension service, a group "little or no contact,"

¹ J. W. Kneppelhout, op. cit.

and a group "frequent and very frequent contact." If we now look at the distribution of the variable along our continuum we get the following picture:

TABLE 73 *The contact of Winterswijk farmers with the Agricultural Extension Service (in 1951), according to score 10 answers.*

Farm-size 2-6 ha

Contact	Standard distrib.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	% of Total	No.	% of Total	No.	% of Total
1-2	19	10.3	3	4.4	9	10.8	7	20.5
3	51	27.7	16	23.8	25	30.1	10	29.4
4-5	114	61.9	48	71.6	49	59.3	17	49.9
Total	184	100	67	100	83	100	34	100

$$\chi^2 = 8.195; 0.10 > P > 0.05; 4 \text{ degrees of freedom.}$$

Farm-size 7-9 ha

Contact	Standard distrib.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	% of Total	No.	% of Total	No.	% of Total
1-2	17	11.6	1	4.1	8	11.1	8	16.-
3	60	41.-	6	25.-	29	40.2	25	50.-
4-5	69	47.2	17	70.8	35	48.6	17	34.-
Total	146	100	24	100	72	100	50	100

$$\chi^2 = 9.182; 0.10 > P > 0.05 (P = 0.06); 4 \text{ degrees of freedom.}$$

Farm-size 10 ha and more

Contact	Standard distrib.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	% of Total	No.	% of Total	No.	% of Total
1-2	24	17.6	1	4.-	12	20.7	11	20.7
3	53	38.9	5	20.-	20	34.4	28	52.8
4-5	59	43.4	19	76.-	26	44.8	14	26.4
Total	136	100	25	100	58	100	53	100

$$\chi^2 = 18.225; 0.01 > P > 0.001; 4 \text{ degrees of freedom.}$$

We see, therefore, that also as to the contact with the Extension Service a very high degree of uniformity is shown by the different segments of the continuum. Table 73 shows that great differences in contact exist *among the farmers of the same size-class*, in connection with differences in culture pattern. Our table confirms, further, the fact, already known, that the degree of contact with the Extension Service augments with the augmenting of the farm-size. However, the steadiness of the figures for the number of people with no or little contact in the score groups 0-4 (respectively 71, 70 and 76% of the total) seems to be a strong indication that the degree of contact depends much more on the culture pattern than on the size of the farm.

Similar analyses of every aspect of the farm management could be endlessly carried out. To us it is enough to have shown the existence of a constant and deep correlation between the aspects of the farm management taken so far into consideration and the position occupied by the farmer in our 10-points continuum.

As to local agriculture in particular, we feel entitled to conclude that the increased labour productivity shown by the highest score group does not derive so much from great differences in the structure as such of the Winterswijk farms; it derives, rather, from the more intelligent and intensive use of a number of small practices, varying from the application of newer farming methods to a generalized modern form of farm management. Here we want to draw the reader's attention to the very steadiness of the differences between high and low scores noticed in all the respects of the farm management taken into consideration. This steadiness gives strong support to our supposition that the culture pattern exerts a deep-going influence upon the efficiency of farm management in a complex and, perhaps, integrated whole variety of small ways, rather than through one or two main isolated forms. This is the reason why, we think, of all the tables that have been shown in this part of our analysis, the table expressing the labour performance obtained on Winterswijk farms, is the one which shows the highest regularity and the highest difference between the upper and the lower end of our continuum, in all the three classes of farms. In fact, the final degree of efficiency with which the labour force present on a farm is being used is nothing but the total expression of all the partial degrees of efficiency reached by the farmer in each aspect of his farm management.

Drawing the conclusion of this part of our analysis we can say that:

- a. The differentiation of our universe in participants and non participants in a modern form of social organization retains fully its validity when applied to the "technical" aspects of the way of living of a rural population.
- b. For the productivity of labour in agriculture the importance of the size of a farm as a limiting factor with regard to possible modernizing cultural influences is certainly not smaller than the importance attached to it because of technical reasons.
- c. Within each size-class the efficiency of the farm management is strongly subjected to cultural influences, so that it is justified to speak of acculturation on the technical spheres of a farmer's life. "Technical" acculturation is, however, only one aspect of the general process of acculturation.
- d. As to the question of where this "technical" acculturation comes from, our technique allows us to maintain (from a purely socio-cultural point of view) that it derives from the degree to which the farmer is functionally taken up into a modern form of social organization.

Social phenomena do not happen in a timeless and spaceless entity. One could therefore rightly wonder how time and space influence the process of acculturation just studied. The fact that we are dealing here not with the acceptance of one determinate technique only, but with efficiency in the farm management as a whole, and the recognition that this efficiency is strictly related to the degree to which the farmer is functionally taken up into a modern form of social organization make it extremely difficult to determine empirically how this process is related to time. When does a human being start to be "functionally taken up into a modern form of social organization?" Will it be possible to arrive at the determination of an exact moment in which such process can be supposed to start? If the process is to be studied empirically in its relations to time the exact determination of such a moment is needed. But in practice, this moment can vary greatly from individual to individual; so, again, for the approach of this type of study a static entity will not function and the approach itself will have to be dynamic and functional.

Admitting that the empirical study of this aspect of our problem will be needed, social-research techniques will have to be some steps ahead of what they are at the moment before this problem can be tackled fruitfully.

The study of acculturation in relation to space is, fortunately, somewhat easier and it bears, for us, also a deeper value.

The changes in the labour productivity noticed in our research are, strictly speaking, the result of the changed (i.e. accultured) human mind. The changing of the latter should manifest itself in a different way of thinking of the interested farmers, which should be concomitant with the socio-cultural changes that take place in the rural society under the impact of modern culture. The process of acculturation is, on its turn, strongly related to the existing possibility for social contacts.

All this has already been repeatedly shown by sociologists, and it is clearly implied also all through the analysis carried out in this research. However, from our analysis we can do no more than infer that individual, society and culture are all related in a functional relationship.

We have neither shown, yet, that to the changing of our score there corresponds a real changing of the individual's way of thinking, nor have we shown whether or not the changing of our score is related to the space- or geographic factors. An answer to such questions, which are already rather important in themselves, could give us, indirectly, also an answer to the implicit question as to whether inborn intellectual qualities have a predominant influence upon the general process of socio-cultural change studied here, and upon the "technical" acculturation in particular. An answer to this question will be attempted in the next pages, with the help of the very simple material at our disposal.

AN ATTEMPT FOR A FURTHER EXPLANATION

After the demonstration given in the previous analysis of the connexion between high labour productivity in agriculture and the modern pattern of culture, we could consider our main task finished. However, at this point it is worth at least trying to go a step further in the study of the observed relations.

High labour productivity is connected with the acceptance of a modern pattern of culture. It is, therefore, the product of the "modern-accultured" mind.

Owing to the complexity of the concept itself of culture, it is somewhat difficult to make clear-cut distinctions in the way culture itself functions. However, in our case, to the effect of the obtainment of a high labour productivity we can distinguish between the working of the operator's mind upon the performance obtained in the management of the farm, and the working of the process of acculturation, as such, upon the operator's mind. One could analyze these two points separately and see how and to what degree they are related to high labour productivity on the one hand, and to each other, on the other hand. In fact, the question arises immediately whether it is the individual who is of primary importance in this context, or culture.

Obviously one cannot hope to carry on a thorough discussion of this problem, stated as it is here above, without a deep-going psychological analysis. We shall tackle here this problem only with the intent to see if the material which we have at our disposal allows any conclusion on the matter or if at least, can furnish valuable hypotheses for a further testing.

1. *Some opinions of Winterswijk farmers:* The relation between score and the "modern-accultured" operator's mind.

If high labour productivity in agriculture is a product of a particular way of thinking or mentality, we should find a clear changing of this mentality with the changing of the operator's position from the lower to the upper end of our continuum, i.e. with the change in the culture pattern of the population.

The soundness of what we propose to check hereafter would seem too obvious to carry out the check altogether. But the interest of this check lies, for us, not in the soundness of the proposition, but in the fact that the technique of research applied in this study gives the possibility to arrive *empirically* to conclusions which are often taken for granted and which are normally used as *starting* points for research instead of an ending.

¹ Obviously such a completion cannot be but very sketchy, and no more than a complementary or orientative value can be attributed to it. A study of the opinions which go together with particular material differentiations in the pattern of culture, if it is to furnish meaningful and comparable results, is obviously bound to become an extremely complicated research of its own. In this part of our research, therefore, we shall try to detect only whether or not with a change in pattern of culture, the

In order to get a better understanding of the relations between progressiveness, farm management and our score, a certain number of questions were put to our interviewees during the interview, which we thought could furnish us with some deeper insight into the attitudes of the rural population towards certain aspects of farm life.

Without carrying out a real attitudinal analysis, we intend to use the answers given to a number of our questions in order to render somewhat more complete the picture of the differences in culture pattern existing between the farmers of the lower and the upper end of our continuum, which appeared already all through the analysis of the material cultural traits carried out so far.¹ In order to facilitate the appreciation of the phenomena studied, the figures referring to them have been expressed graphically, the graphs having been made upon the percentages of the totals.

In our analysis of the different ways through which modern urban culture reaches the countryside and finds its expression in the local culture pattern, we had several occasions to see that the transmission of culture does not seem to happen at the same time and with the same intensity for all the aspects of human life. We have seen, for instance, that certain cultural traits like the total number of facilities present in the household, the visit to selected cultural agencies, reading habits, etc. seem to "react" very quickly to our score, while other traits such as the traditional household pattern and land tenure show a minimum reaction to it. In the same way, the analysis of the technical aspects of the culture pattern showed that the number of silos, the quantity of nitrogenous fertilizer spread per ha grassland, and the contact with the local extension officer change very much with the changing of our score, while the adoption of older techniques, as well as the basic farm structure remain almost unchanged with the variation of the same.

We shall not enter here into the debated question of whether or not it is exact to maintain that the transmission of materialized cultural traits happens more easily than the transmission of non material culture. This theory at first sight would seem to furnish promising perspectives for the explanation of many of the observed

more immediate and personal way of thinking changes - i.e. whether or not also that part of culture changes which is not yet concretized into material forms, relationships and customs. The acquisition of this knowledge is striven at by examining, with the help of our score, the farmer's responses to seven of our questions pertaining to different aspects of farm life.

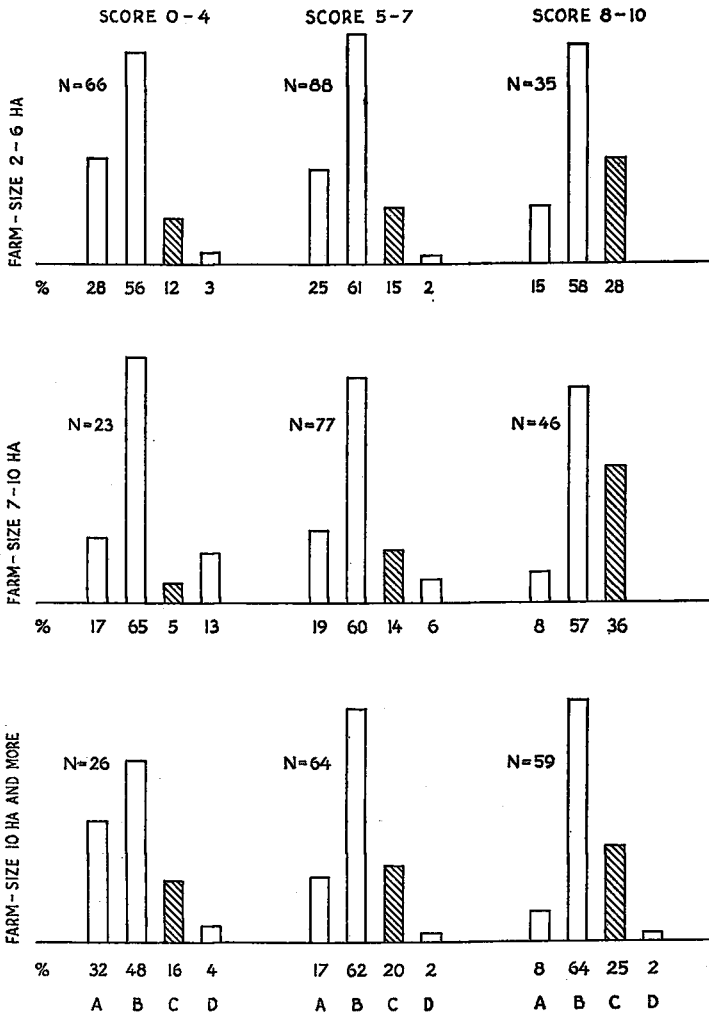
differences between the distinct variables.¹ However, since it is culture as a whole which changes on the countryside – or at least the type of culture – it is difficult to hold such a point of view because of the implications inherent to the very concept of culture itself. We can, therefore, perhaps summarize better the complex relations existing between culture and the human mind by referring to our already stated opinion that modernity is a mental set-up, or mentality. This statement is supported by the figures expressed in graphs 6, 7 and 8. In our analysis of the relationship between facilities present in the household and the score we had fictitiously divided these facilities into “modernity favouring” and “modernity favoured” facilities. With question 44 of our questionnaire (Appendix II) we asked the interviewee which were the facilities of the first group that he thought he really needed. We have already seen that in the households of the farmers who scored 8-10 points relatively more “modernity favouring” facilities are present than in the houses of the low-score farmers. However, graph 6 tells us that, in spite of this fact, *the same farmers are the ones who still desire more of the same kind of facilities than what they already possess.*

Of course the same question would have given a different distribution in the several percentage-groups according to the degree to which this kind of facilities are available to the population of a certain community. However, we think that the general trend is quite clearly expressed by our graph 6 and that it is not necessary to comment upon the meaning of this finding².

With question 72 we had asked the interviewee what income he considered “reasonable” for a farmer in his own circumstances. Graph 7 tells us that, what the farmers of score group 8-10 want “to get out of life” is much more than that of the farmers of score group 0-4. As we see, there is a logical shifting towards the higher incomes with the increase of the farm-size. However, within the same class, there is a shifting towards the higher incomes with the increasing of the score which is of the same order of value as that

¹ This theoretical distinction does not seem to offer much resistance to a less than superficial examination. For instance “values” are supposed to be non material cultural traits: is “farming,” or the “optimal farm-size,” a value or not, is it material or non material, does such a concept change or not with the changing of culture?

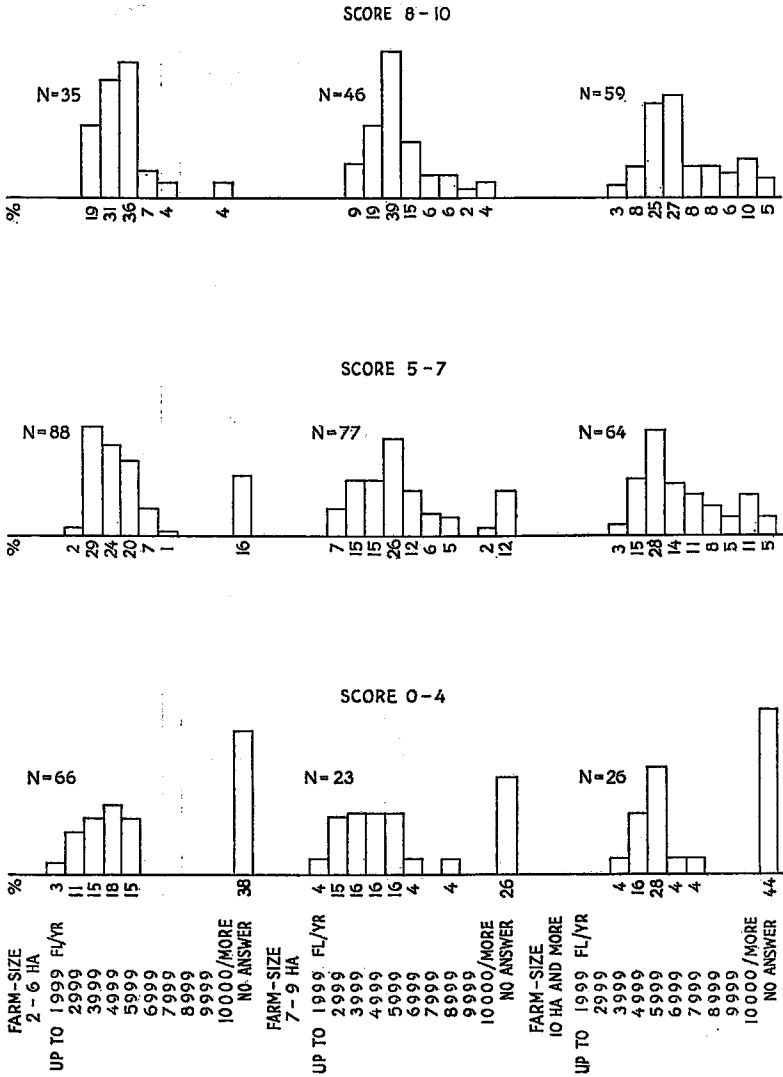
² Incidentally, one can, easily remark how graph 6 makes it quite clear that our distinction of the household facilities in “modernity favouring” and “modernity favoured” is rather arbitrary and that, therefore, one can use it only for special methodological purposes.



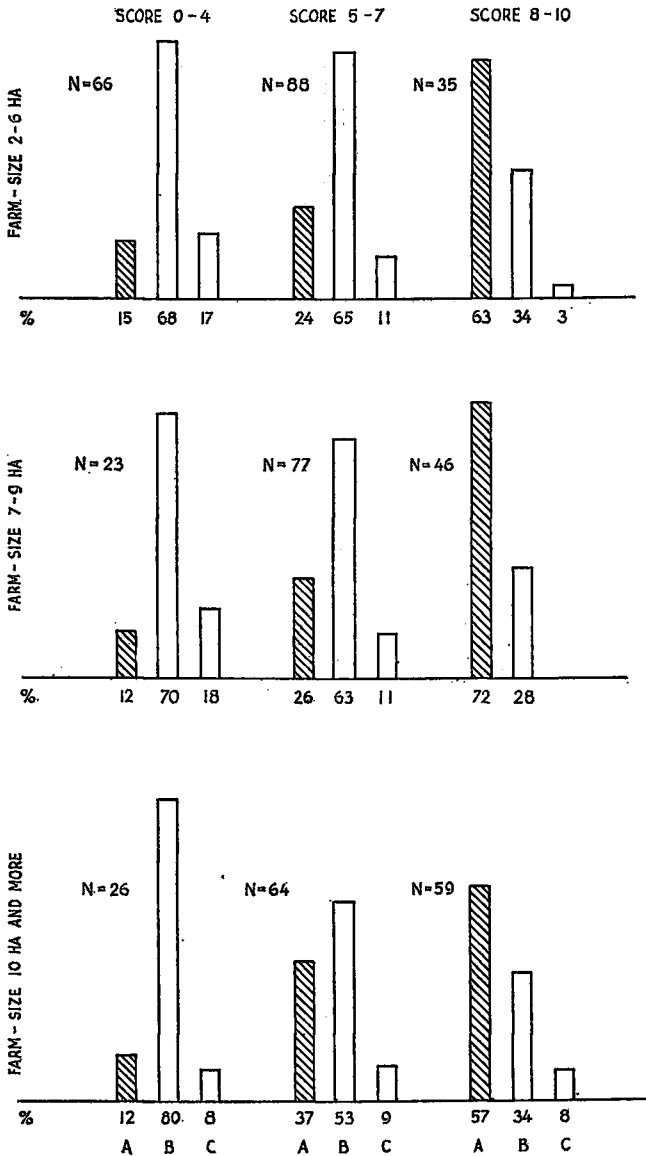
LEGEND:

- A = no particular desires
- B = satisfied with the present facilities
- C = wants more facilities
- D = no answer

GRAPH 6 - Desired facilities in the household (question 44)



GRAPH 7 - Attitude towards income.



LEGEND:

- A = bookkeeping also for farm management
- B = bookkeeping for other items (taxes)
- C = no answer

GRAPH 8 - Opinion about bookkeeping for the farm.

due to the increase in the size of the farm. In fact, if we make the averages of the incomes mentioned as "reasonable" by our respondents we obtain for the three score groups the following values:

TABLE 74 *Average "reasonable" yearly incomes of Winterswijk farmers, per score group and size class.*

	Score 0-4	Score 5-7	Score 8-10
Farm-size 2-6 ha	3.500 Fl/year	4.000 Fl/year	4.700 Fl/year
Farm-size 7-9 ha	4.400 -	5.000 -	5.300 -
Farm-size 10 ha and more	4.700 -	6.000 -	6.300 -
	P = 0.001	P = 0.01	P = 0.001

Graph 7 tells us that there are clear differences in the theoretical "reasonable" incomes mentioned by Winterswijk farmers. This "reasonable" income seems to vary quite regularly with the varying of the farmer's position along our continuum. Furthermore, the entity of the differences between high and low score groups and the regularity of the variation of this "variable" reminds one quite clearly of the pattern found for the differences in real labour efficiency ascertained between our three score-groups.¹ If we now remember that, for the period in which we held our survey, one standard hour was supposed to be equivalent to f 1.15 labour income per year, we will realize how striking is the similarity between these two entities in their relations with the modern pattern of culture.

The supposition that it is the differences in value-system between the interested groups which causes the differences in farm management would, therefore, seem to find a justification in graph 7 since it strongly supports the idea that it is the desire for a particular level of income which makes the farmer adapt to it his labour productivity. However, one must be very careful with this sort of explanations; graph 7 cannot be taken as a proof of such a relationship of cause and effect – nor, for that matter, any of the

¹ In the case of the desired average income, even more than in the case of the labour performance, in fact, it can be noticed how the figures of the farmers at the upper end of the continuum are higher than the figures of the farmers who follow, even if these farmers operate larger farms. We must further remember that in the foregoing table "income" refers to the global family-income which a farmer thought "one" needed in his own situation, whereas the differences between high and low score

other six graphs presented in this part of our work – because of the fact that expectations about income – as any other expectation – are strongly influenced by past successful or unsuccessful experiences. One could, therefore, hold the opinion that the expected income is the result of the farmer's awareness of his own performance, and strongly adapted to it. This reasoning seems to be supported by the fact that among the farmers with very low labour efficiency the number of those who seemed to have neither ideas nor wishes with regard to their income, is strikingly high; on the contrary, the disappearance of the farmers coded under the category "no answer" did not seem to augment so much the number of farmers of the low-income brackets as much as the number of those of the high-income members of the group at the upper end of our continuum.

But, in trying to clarify relationships between cultural variables, the explanation of cause and effect is always a very daring one owing, again, to the very nature of that totalitarian entity which is culture. Against to what one can do when the relationships between human and non-human elements are studied, in comparing human characteristics only, usually we cannot push our analysis much further than the acknowledgment that they all vary in a functional way. As far as the variable presently under examination is concerned, it is known that motives and goals change with circumstances, with past experiences and with group-belongingness. We know, also, how the reference group can influence the level of performance, on the one hand, and the level of aspirations in general – and the income expectations in particular,² – on the other. We know, further, that the farmers of the upper end of our continuum participate much more in the life of the modern, money-minded social structure of the Netherlands; graph 7 supports fully this relationship amongst the above mentioned phenomena.

The relation between modernity of the farmer's frame of reference, efficiency of the farm management on the one hand, and a more strictly economic mentality on the other, is even more clearly shown by graph 8. This graph gives the relationship between

group in table 62 express material differences between the average performance obtained by Male Adult Worker on the different score-groups. The differences in total farm-performances are bound to be even greater than those reflected in table 62.

² G. Katona, *Psychological Analysis of Economic Behaviour*. Mc. Graw-Hill Book Comp., Inc. New York, Toronto and London, 1951, Chapter vi.

our score and the interviewees' answers to our question about what use they made of bookkeeping (question 33, Appendix II). As we see, graph 8 does not leave much possibility of misunderstanding as to the differences in frame of reference and attitude towards farm management of the farmers composing the three score-groups.

With the last graph we have directly arrived at the very complicated problem of the relative importance of goals and values as components of the culture pattern. This aspect of the problem has not yet been explored enough to give here occasion to a very fruitful discussion. Nevertheless, apart from the difficulty to come to a clear-cut definition of what one has to understand, in practice, under such terms, the fact remains that different cultures – or different culture patterns – seem to favour strongly the existence of, and to be based mainly upon certain unmaterial cultural traits peculiar to them. Such unmaterial cultural traits like opinions, ways of interpreting the phenomena of life, "world-views," etc. are (mainly) culturally determined and, we think, form the basic drive for the human social behaviour. They form, therefore, the basic drive for a man's professional behaviour as well.

As to the connection between this problem and agriculture it is worthwhile remembering here that also E. A. Wilkening in his various social and psychological approaches to the study of the acceptance of new farm practices, through the interpretation of his empirical data arrived eventually at the conclusion that the "imponderabilia" in the whole process are very many.¹ However, he concluded also that the acceptance of new farm practices is perhaps more connected with the existence of new goals and values than with structural factors. These goals and values are the most deeply rooted cultural traits and, as such, should be the last to be influenced.

In our survey we had asked also a number of questions in order to test the interviewees' degree of modernism in relation to family matters. The cross-tabulation of three of these variables against our score showed only minimum differences in responses between low and high score groups. The questions (67e, f and g, Appendix II) tapped the farmer's opinions about the most suitable age for the children to be taken up into the routine of the farm-works and about the degree of financial independence to be left to them.

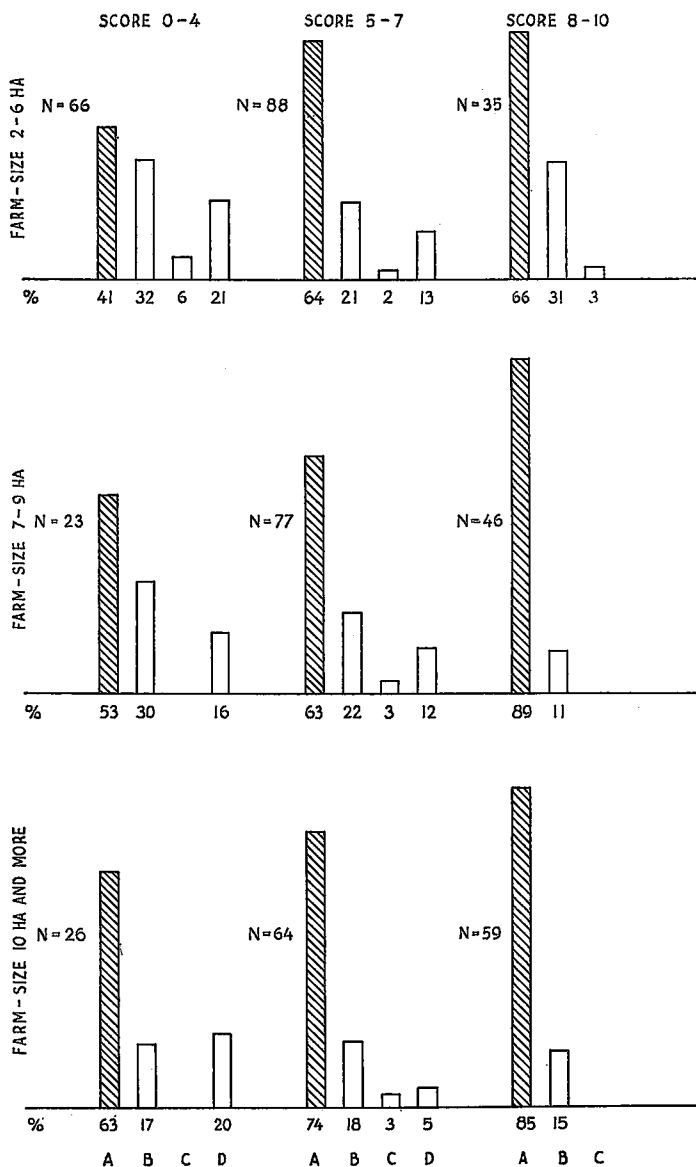
¹ E. A. Wilkening – A Socio-psychological Approach to the study of acceptance of innovations in farming. *Rural Sociology*, 15 Dec. 1950 pp. 352-364.

A somewhat higher degree of discrimination is shown by the responses given to question 68 and 67. (Appendix II). With the first we enquired as to the farmers' opinion about the most suitable age for their children to get acquainted with the financial situation of the farm and of the household (Graph 9), whereas with the latter we had asked whether the interviewee would regret if one of his sons would fail to become a farmer. The answers given to the latter question were considered as indicative for the attachment to farming tradition (Graph 10). We must observe, that the higher percentage of A answers in the 8-10 score groups of Graph 9 is not due to a diminution of the B answers, but to the disappearance of C and D groups. This means that the percentage of the negatively reacting farmers in fact seems to diminish much with the increasing of the score.

Further, the percentage of the B answers in the same graph, as well as the percentage of the A answers in the following would seem to indicate a higher tendency towards conservatism of the small farmers. These findings are in accordance with our main supposition, and, although it is reasonable to expect that among the large farmers there might be stronger reasons for the desire to keep the farm in the family, they do not seem to support the opinion that the degree of familism – understood as the tendency of the farm family as a whole to maintain strict relation with, and to exercise strong control upon its members – increases directly with the increasing of the size of the farm.

Another conclusion which we can draw from the following two graphs is that it is rather doubtful whether attachment to farm life and tradition, as such, is to be regarded as a positive quality for the farm management. Many modern sociologists, seem to regard this cultural trait as something valuable in itself (i.e. there is a moral judgement attached, consciously or not, to this cultural trait which makes of it a *positive entity* upon which a "healthy" social life in the countryside should be based). On the basis both of the figures expressed by graph 9 and 10, and of our descriptive study of the two groups of A and B farmers of the upper and lower end of our continuum, we must conclude that this cultural trait is not likely to be positively related to a higher labour productivity in agriculture.

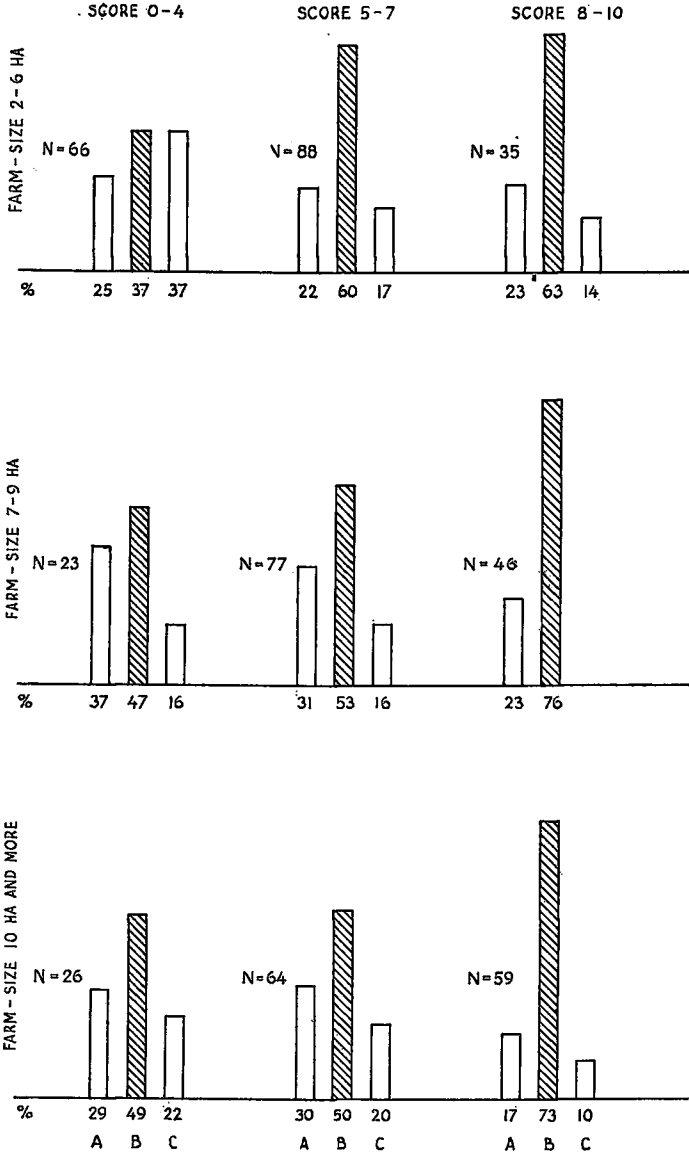
With question 69 of our questionnaire we had asked whether or not interviewee would like to become a farmer if he could start



LEGEND:

- A = interviewee answered any exact age up to 20 years
- B = interviewee answered any exact age after 20 years
- Or: "When the are grown up", "it comes by itself", etc.
- C = other type of answer
- D = no answer

GRAPH 9 - Farmers' opinion regarding the most suitable age for their children to acquaint themselves with the financial situation of farm and household.



LEGEND:

A = would regret if a son did not become a farmer

B = would not regret it

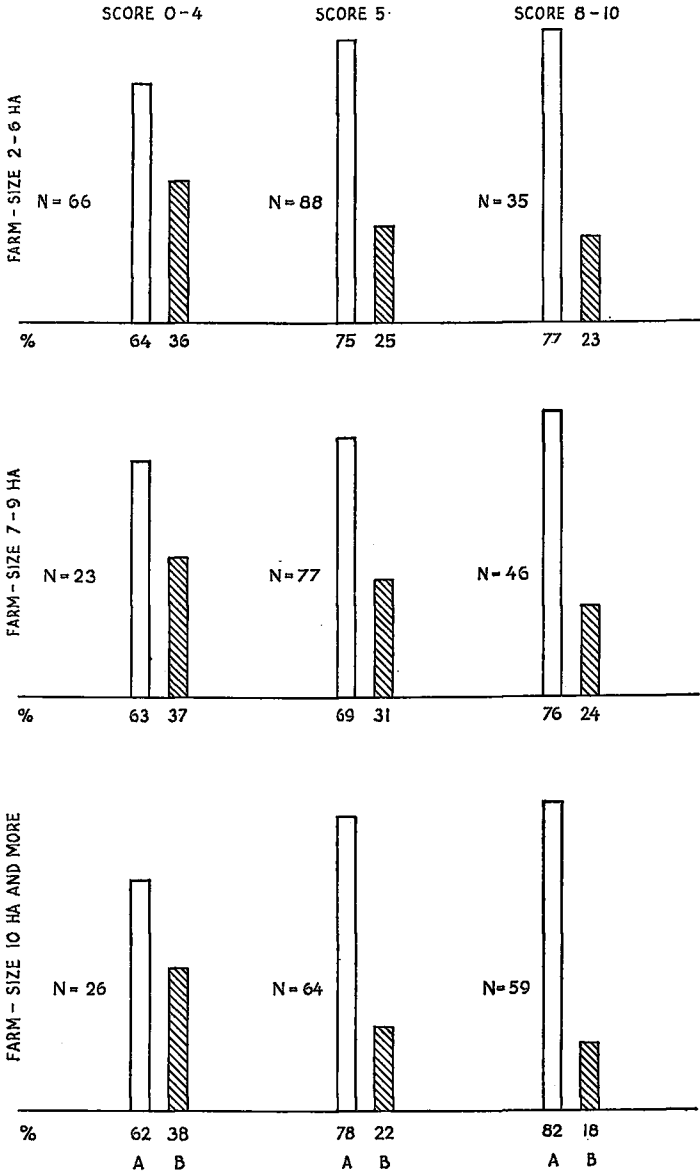
C = no answer

GRAPH 10 - Attitude towards farming tradition.

his career again. The answers given to such a question can be taken as a rough indication of the farmers' degree of satisfaction with farming life. In the first part of this work we had maintained that the people who are less well adapted to the present cultural circumstances (progress of urbanization of the countryside) should be expected to be less satisfied with their own life situation.

Graph 11 tends to give support to our presupposition. Furthermore, the farmers of score group 8-10 are more successful operators than their colleagues of the lower groups, so it is understandable that they should be more satisfied with their situation than the latter ones. However, we had expected to find more dissatisfied people among the smallholders, because of their being, generally, culturally handicapped; this expectation is not confirmed by our figures. It is probable that a more complicated technique, capable of appreciating small cultural differences in the different life situations, should have been applied in order to give a definite answer to this question. Graph 11 fully supports, however, the findings of Mendrás, Wichers, Bakker, Cottam and Mangus, and of Israel which have been discussed in Chapter 1 of this work.

In the part of our questionnaire dedicated to the homemaker there was also a question to the effect of her satisfaction with the education she had received at school (Appendix 11, question 6, homemaker). In our analysis of the home- and family-environment we have seen how certain characteristics of the homemaker, like the age, social provenience, etc., are undoubtedly related to the degree of progressiveness of the farmer. Against all expectations the degree of formal education received by the homemaker, was not found to be related to the score received by the interviewee. Graph 12 tells us, that the score is, on the contrary, quite unmistakably related to the degree of dissatisfaction of the homemaker as regard to the amount of schooling she had received. The satisfaction with the amount of schooling received can be considered as a measure for the progressive attitudes of the homemaker; therefore this finding is extremely interesting because, besides confirming the relation between progressiveness of the homemaker and progressiveness of the farm operator, it would seem to imply that the amount of schooling received by a homemaker is more a consequence of a modern mentality than a cause for it. This explanation, which could perhaps account for the lack of correlation between school-training of the homemaker and the farmer's score, brings us, however, back into a dualism of cause and effect quite difficult to solve in this context. Further,

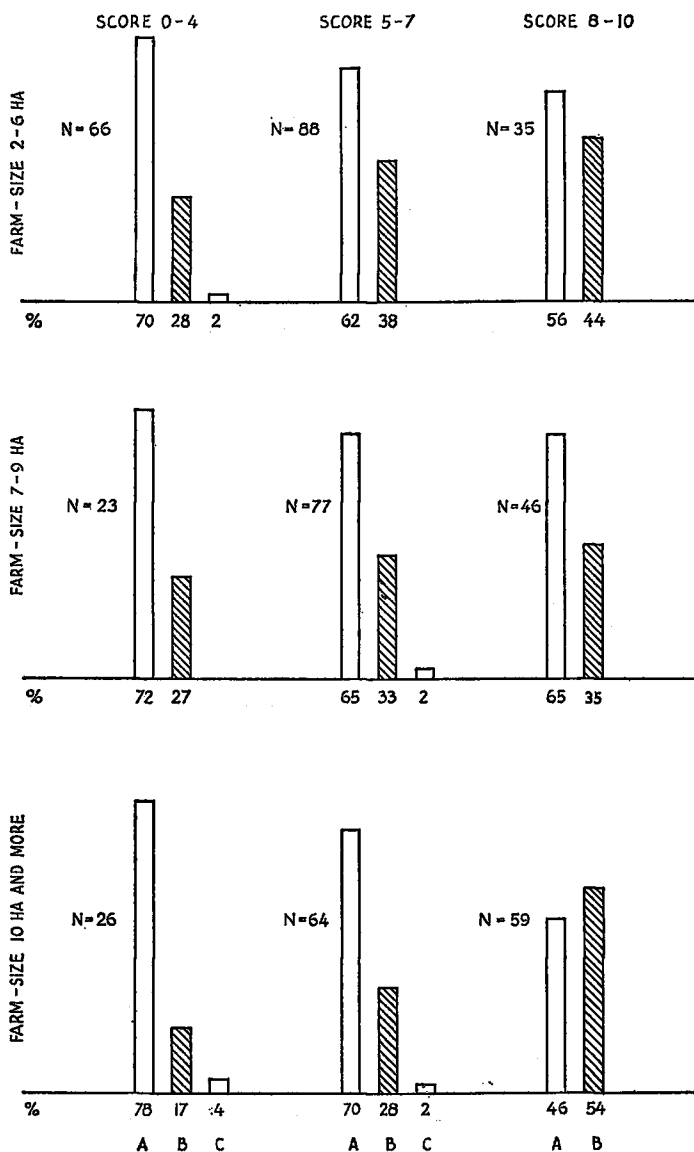


LEGEND:

A = would become farmer again

B = would not become farmer again (or: no answer)

GRAPH 11 - Satisfaction with farm life.



LEGEND:

- A = satisfied
- B = not satisfied (desires more)
- C = no answer

GRAPH 12 - Farmers wives' satisfaction with the school training received.

graph 12 shows another peculiarity: the degree of satisfaction with the received schooling in score group 8-10 is the highest in the size class of 7-9 ha. If we connect this finding with several other instances in which the results for this class of farmers were different from those of the other two classes, we wonder if we are again in presence of an indication that these farmers are the most comparable with the "petit bourgeois" of the non-agricultural parts of society.

The last consideration which graph 12 allows is that the homemaker's dissatisfaction with the received schooling is the greatest in the larger farms. In view of considerations of cultural development and of considerations of social status this is perfectly understandable and it furnishes us a powerful help in understanding why the farmers of such farms have been repeatedly found to be more progressive than their colleagues of the smaller farms.

Concluding this examination of some of the opinions existing amongst Winterswijk farming population, we must notice how from the preceding eight graphs one can see that the increase of the answers showing a modern progressive way of thinking comes about not so much by a corresponding diminution of the conservative attitudes as by a diminution of the category "no answer."

Restating the same statement in slightly different terms we can say that the farmers who have been able to answer to a higher number of our questions have, at the same time, answered more positively. This seems to support the impression that, in a socio-cultural situation such as the one present in Winterswijk at the moment of our survey, a decrease of undecided attitudes mostly does not mean an increase of the conservative, but of the progressive traits. This finding is quite interesting, and it gives an indirect proof of the positive influence (from our relative point of view) of the process of individuation upon a partially individuated society. Further testing of this hypothesis seems highly desirable.

Finally, we must state that we tend to attach to this part of our study only an indicative or complementary value. Particularly in dealing with a problem of a general nature, such as the one handled in this research we cannot forget that entities such as opinions and attitudes are so much determined by historic as well as geographic local factors, economic conjuncture, different values attached to the same object in the different social classes, etc. that the student must be very careful in dealing with them during an allround

comparative study of culture. This is, however, no denying the utility of such techniques in certain cases.

As far as the task of this short analysis is concerned, the seven graphs shown in the previous pages indicate that with the gradual changing of the cultural pattern also the way of thinking of the concerned people undergoes a change. The depth of the change and the percentage of the attitudes involved in this change, obviously depend on very many factors of local and of individual nature.

However, with the recognition of this functional relation between change in labour productivity, change in cultural pattern, and change in individual attitude the problem remains unsolved as to whether it is the individual change which brings about the cultural change and the change in the labour productivity, or the cultural change which brings about the other two changes. We shall, therefore, have to involve in our research also a structural, non human trait, in order to try to give at least a valuable hypothesis for the solution of this last problem.

2. *The distance of the dwelling to the paved roads.*

Several, if not all the pictures obtained up to this point while studying the culture pattern of Winterswijk farming population present the characteristics peculiar to a process of acculturation. This is in perfect accordance with our presupposition of an influence gradually expanding from town to countryside, and affecting deeply the rural way of life of the local population.

About this process of acculturation, which rural societies of Western countries are undergoing under the influence of the modern, urbanized pattern of culture, much has already been written. The manner in which the influence of urban centres is exerted upon the rural societies of the nearby territories has been mostly compared with the expansion of an oil spot.¹ This is quite logical; however, a perfect oil-spot-like process of acculturation is nowadays not possible any more because the modern means of communication tend to minimize the geographic factor. It is, in fact, obvious that the speed and the manner in which such process

¹ One of the very first propagators of this theory – if not the first one, according to the degree of response which his doctrine found on subsequent schools – was Von Thünen. In his “Der isolierte Staat in Beziehung auf Landwirtschaft und National-Ökonomie,” Jena, 1910, he emphasized the concentric zone and gradient effect of city influence on the rural areas. Although he did not openly speak of a direct *active* influence of the city upon the hinterland, he developed his famous scheme of concentric

proceeds are an inverse function of the existing possibilities for intercommunication. Nowadays it is therefore possible to have modern urban cultural traits accepted in a far away village – provided it is furnished with electricity, radio, telephone, cinema, paved roads, etc., connecting it to the city, sooner than in a territory geographically nearer to the city, but much more culturally isolated.

Our analysis indicates not only that the higher labour productivity of our farmers is strictly related to the acceptance of a modern culture pattern, but, furthermore, that there is a gradual transmission of cultural traits from the one end of the continuum to the other. Upon such transmission many factors of local nature exert a strong influence – for instance the size of the farm, or feelings of class consciousness, etc. – so that the process advances through transformations and cultural lags; but still, the acculturation does take place in the long run. For those who are somewhat interested in the complex of problems concerning agricultural productivity it is therefore of the utmost importance to know whether and how high productivity can be propagated, and whether it is reasonable to expect that it propagates by itself. These are very complicated questions to which we cannot hope to give here a definite answer; however, the methodology applied in this research makes it perhaps somewhat easier for us to come nearer to the solution of these questions. Our research has shown that high labour productivity in agriculture is – strictly speaking – nothing but one of the many cultural traits of which the modern culture pattern is composed. High labour productivity is, therefore, itself a part of culture – be it not in the form of a simple trait, but of a compound one. We have seen that this compound trait, being the total expression of the farmer's personality, answers much better to our yardstick than the single traits by which it is determined. As a part of culture, therefore, high labour productivity must be transmissible, and its transmission takes place, logically, in the very process of acculturation by which the culture complex to which it belongs is transmitted from the one to the other member of society. We have succeeded in measuring, however roughly, this process of

circles surrounding the town, in which different types of agriculture and of economics should develop as a consequence of the selective influence of the town – using Martin's words the gradient principle can briefly be stated as follows: "The extent of urban-influenced changes in rural areas varies inversely with the distance to the nearest city and directly with the size of that city" (Walter T. Martin, *Ecological Change in Satellite Rural Areas*, *Am. Sociol. Review*, Vol. 22, April 1957, pg. 173).

acculturation. If we now could show concretely that this process really happens through, or seems to be in strong connection with, one of the orthodox cultural "channels" we would reach two very concrete and meaningful results at one time. Namely, not only would we have shown that labour productivity in agriculture propagates through, or is strongly influenced by that channel, but also that, since it propagates regularly, it really is primarily of cultural nature; which means that inborn psychological qualities of the operator have only a secondary influence on the whole process, reducible, perhaps, to that of a catalytic element in a physic or chemical reaction.

As we have stated at the beginning of this paragraph, it is reasonable to expect that nowadays the geographic spread of culture results somewhat troubled in its oil-spot-like natural advancement. Still, the process of acculturation must proceed through some way. After World War I with the expansion of electricity, radio, pictures and papers it is logical that the ways in which the farming population can come in contact with urban culture are manifold and complex. Until about World War I, however, the most obvious way through which a Winterswijk farmer could have become acquainted with the way of life of the modern social structure were the main traffic roads. In fact, until that time the different neighbourhoods led a rather autonomous life, and the farmers who were living far from the road lived in almost complete isolation among the numerous woods. The streams of cultural influences which might have existed at the time are bound to have happened almost solely through the four or five paved roads which, passing through the various hamlets, connect Winterswijk with other centers outside the boundaries of the community (see chapter IV). Simplifying perhaps much the whole process of acculturation, we can still maintain that the conditions of the community of our study were such that we could hope to find clear signs of the influence

¹ It is only too logical that in a situation of relative recent cultural isolation the paved roads should have exerted an appreciable influence upon the process of acculturation. Not only through them modern culture literally "reaches" the farmer in the countryside, but it is also much easier for the farmer to go "towards" innovation (admitting that this distinction could be made). It is, logically, much more easy for a farmer living near a paved road to visit meetings of associations, selected cultural agencies, etc. than for a farmer living lost somewhere in the woods. About the importance of roads for the whole socio-economic development of the region Ralph Beal made the statement that under certain conditions "one road is worth about three schools and about fifty administrators" (quoted by Charles P. Loomis and John C. Mc. Kinney in "Systematic Differences between Latin-American Communities of Family Farms and Large Estates," *The Am. Journal of Sociol.*, 1955-56, pg. 404). Further,

of the vicinity of the paved roads in the way of life of the majority of our farmers, if such a factor exerted an influence at all.¹ We have therefore located on a military map (scale 1:25,000) all the dwellings of our 484 respondents, and we have measured the distance as the crow flies between the farm and the nearest road which was already paved at the time of our survey. Obviously a certain degree of approximation must be allowed for such a technique. Also, this type of distance is somewhat different from real road-distance. However, we estimated that for a first rough appraisal of possible differences in culture pattern due to geographic isolation even such a rough technique would suffice. The correlation between the score obtained by the interviewees and the distance of their dwelling from the paved roads is shown in the following table. The figures are given per size-class since the doubt existed that the main roads might have been laid, in the old time, mainly with the purpose of connecting the large farmsteads to one another. In this case an examination of our figures all together would have given a biased picture, since our score is significantly and positively correlated with the farm-size.

TABLE 75 *Relation between the distance of Winterswijk farms from the paved roads and the score to answers.*

Farm-size 2-6 ha

Distance	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
within 250 m.	105	55.5	24	36.3	54	61.3	27	77.1
from 250 to 500 m.	52	27.5	24	36.3	23	26.1	5	14.3
farther than 500 m.	32	16.5	18	27.2	11	12.5	3	8.5
Total	189	99.5	66	99.8	88	99.9	35	99.9

$$\chi^2 = 18.661; P < 0.001; 4 \text{ degrees of freedom.}$$

that the more intensive participation in urban patterns of activities is not only a peculiarity of rural elites, *but that it varies with the gradient pattern of distance* is shown, among others, by N. L. Whetten and E. C. Devereux Jr., *Studies of Suburbanization in Connecticut N.I. "Windsor: A Highly Developed Agricultural Area,"* Bulletin 212, Storrs; Agr. Exp. Station. Connecticut State College, Oct. 1936; Harold Hoff-sommer, "Relation of Cities and Larger Villages to change in Rural Trade and Social Areas in Wayne County, New York," Bull. 582, Ithaca, Cornell University, Agr. Exp. Station, Febr. 1954 - Indirectly the same relation is shown also by Lionberger in his Bulletin 581 already quoted (table 3); id. Bulletin 441, Missouri Agr. Exp. Sta., Low Income Farmers in Missouri. Their contacts with potential Sources of Farm and Home Information; May 1949, id. Bulletin 472, Sources and use of Farm and Home information by Low-Income Farmers in Missouri, April 1951.

Farm-size 7-9 ha

Distance	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
within 250 m.	90	61.6	8	34.7	45	58.4	37	80.4
from 250 to 500 m.	30	20.5	8	34.7	17	22.0	5	10.8
farther than 500 m.	26	17.8	7	30.4	15	19.4	4	8.7
Total	146	99.9	23	99.8	77	99.8	46	99.9

$$\chi^2 = 17.611; P = 0.001; 4 \text{ degrees of freedom.}$$

Farm-size 10 ha and more

Distance	Standard Distr.		Score 0-4		Score 5-7		Score 8-10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
within 250 m.	93	62.4	13	50	38	59.3	42	71.1
from 250 to 500 m.	33	22.1	4	15.3	17	26.5	12	20.3
farther than 500 m.	23	15.4	9	34.6	9	14.0	5	8.4
Total	149	99.9	26	99.9	64	99.8	59	99.8

$$\chi^2 = 15.297; P = 0.004; 4 \text{ degrees of freedom.}$$

As we see from the preceding table, the farm-size does not vary much with the increasing of the vicinity of the paved road (standard distribution) whereas the score varies quite sensibly. The very high correlation in each size-class does not leave any doubt as to the importance of this "variable" for the process of acculturation. With this table many aspects of this study are explained.

Table 75 shows, first, that the cause of the differences in high labour productivity in agriculture – which we know to be highly related with our score – lies in cultural factors; although, therefore, table 75 furnishes no irreputable proof, it nevertheless furnishes very strong indications that the cause of high labour productivity in agriculture does not lie primarily within inborn individual qualities; it is, in fact, obviously the increased possibility for social contacts which brings about the cultural change, or acculturation. At the same time the figures of the foregoing table imply that the efficiency of human labour in agriculture is quite clearly to influence – even on purpose, if that is needed.¹ Secondly, since the significance of the found relationship decreases regularly from the lower

¹ As to this point, we must not forget the already quoted thesis of Kneppelhout, in which he showed the high concentration of the "very good" and "good" farmers

to the higher size-class, the distance of the dwelling from the paved roads is clearly more important for the determination of the interviewee's position along our continuum in the group of small farmers than in the other two groups. In other words, the paved roads function more as individuation-factors for the small farmers than for the large ones. The reason for this phenomenon is quite obvious, and we do not think we need to go deeper into details about this subject. This finding, too, is of great practical value; we think here of the function of reallocation schemes, country planning, etc.

Drawing our conclusion we must notice how table 75 indicates that the process of acculturation is strongly influenced (in this case negatively) by the geographic distance. Perhaps in the found relationship there is a historic factor of local nature – upon which we shall return in a moment – that has made such influence be strongly felt. However, the general phenomenon in itself remains, and the existence of such a phenomenon means that any change in the situation of the existing structure (i.e. any increase in the penetrating power of modern culture) can have sensible repercussions upon the efficiency with which human labour is employed in agriculture.

Table 75 gives us, therefore, sound material to think of an explanation of causability for many of the studied relations in this research, and it supplies a new piece of knowledge to the compound picture which we had obtained by all the two-dimensional tables examined in this study. The conclusion suggested by the foregoing table is quite orthodox, since “society is a field of forces, and no social changes ever occur in a purely intellectual fashion.”² These words tell us why the form of social organization is important for the awakening of the social awareness; Landheer's statement seems, in fact, to be confirmed by our empirical research. The measure of social awareness is gradually decreasing with the increasing of the distance between the farmstead and the paved roads. We see, therefore, how a modernization of the socio-economic structure goes together with an increase of the individual capacity for independent (in the relative sense) judging power and decision making.

Finally, at the end of this discussion, we want to make a final remark of a more general nature. In our opinion the strong

around the pilot farm in the community of our study, mainly along the four paved roads lying near it.

² Bart Landheer, *op. cit.* p. 239.

significance of the correlation of this variable with the score is due to the very collectivistic spirit of the local "Gemeinschaft." It is not at all improbable that there is a greater difference between the ways of life of two farmers, of whom one lives near a paved road and the other far from it, in Winterswijk than, for inst., in a municipality near Amsterdam. This consideration, and the recognition that the importance of the proximity of the road for the place occupied by our respondents on the continuum varies inversely with their welfare status (size of the farm), lead automatically to the conclusion that the importance of the roads as means of welfare, renewal and acculturation varies directly with the extent to which the area concerned suffers from underdevelopment.

Conclusions

The foregoing research leads to a two-fold conclusion of a general nature. The first applies to the whole dynamics of rural society; the second, to the level of the relationship between the farm operator and the farm management:

1. Both, the creation of our analytic yardstick, and its application to the analysis of the culture-pattern of the Winterswijk countryside, show that there is a culture-pattern typical of the progressive farmer, characterized by the subject's orientation towards the outside world. This culture-pattern, which is gradually penetrating the countryside, comes into existence in the situation of socio-cultural contact between the rural world and the modern industrial culture.
2. This culture-pattern has a totalitarian character, since it influences the total behaviour of the group concerned, and therefore its farm-management also. With respect to the latter it seems reasonable to suppose that the most important socio-psychological elements responsible for the degree of efficiency reached by the operator in the management of his farm, are the farmer's consciousness of behaviour, the degree of awareness of his personal position within the structure of which he is a part, and his reference group.

Consciousness of behaviour, social awareness, and the enlargement of the reference group are strongly related to the subject's orientation towards the outside world; all these elements, the latter included, are the result of the impact which modern western culture has upon localist cultures in general.

After having stated our conclusions, we must give a few clarifications. It would be obvious difficult to maintain that Winterswijk society has been totally outside modern western culture until the last decades of this century. Making the necessary allowances for the lapse of time needed by a cultural trait to penetrate from the city into the countryside, it can easily be assumed that some exterior signs of western acculturation could have been easily discovered in the Winterswijk countryside at almost any time since the birth of western industrial culture. But only recently the local pattern of culture has begun to show clear signs of a deeper, more complex change integrally and in depth transforming the type of

culture which regulates the life of rural society. It is to this change in the local patterns of culture that the transformations at the level of individual life are related. So, if it cannot be maintained that Winterswijk has been outside the western cultural complex up to the last years of this century, it can nevertheless be maintained that perhaps until recently, western culture had acted only upon the more external and peripheral elements of the societal life of this rural community. The traditional system of values guiding the life of the people of the community had, in fact, fundamentally retained its integrity. It is only with the changes of values brought about by the sudden increase of possibilities for contacts between the two cultures that the inner reorientation of life of the individual member of Winterswijk society has become possible.¹

Looking once again at the result of our research we see that it is reasonable to assume that the factual differences existing between our A and B farmers, are both of a general sociological and of a psychological nature. This was actually to be expected. In fact, one of the most relevant aspects of our study is, in our opinion, that the 25 key-persons whom we had asked to typify the two groups of farmers of either end of the continuum, gave, as immediate reactions, answers which lie strongly on the psychological level. The key-persons tended to consider the A-group of farmers if not as a group of clearly individual leaders, at least as a general social élite, and certainly as a "higher" prestige class. It was only after a deeper examination, in a sociological frame of reference, of the background of these psychological differences that the key-persons gave the structured answers which allowed us to build the typology shown in chapter v. Altogether, both the typology and the first group of unstructured answers give the clear idea that when our 484 Winterswijk farmers are ordered along our continuum we can observe a patterned development as to the group- and individual way of experiencing societal life, from the lower to the upper end of the continuum. Our case studies and the list of activities exercised by A and B farmers not strictly related to farm operation, show that this development is, on the whole, related to the degree of individuation of the social system in which the farmer takes part. The traits characterizing this differentiation of the original traditionalistic Winterswijk culture are, we maintain, typical of the modern-industrial-urban culture, or Western culture.

¹ With an increase in the size of the farmer's world, i.e., with the widening of its "generalized other," his ideas about how reality ought to be undergo a reorganization. This reorganization corresponds to a substitution of the old normative

The analysis of the local pattern of culture carried out in chapter VI enables us to view empirically how the several traits of the local culture pattern considered relate to each other in the various positions of our continuum. The following technical traits seemed to be typical of those farmers showing a higher labour productivity, forming the group at the upper end of the continuum: such farmers spread more nitrogenous fertilizer on their grassland, they keep their cows a smaller number of days to graze on the same grass, they read more technical literature, adopt new practices earlier, and operate larger farms than the rest of Winterswijk farmers.

From the point of view of Winterswijk agriculture, A.D. 1955, between modern and traditionalistic farm-operators there existed a constant difference in the total efficiency of farm management (as measured by the labour-effect) of about 20 to 22 per cent in favour of the modern operators. It is interesting to notice here that the modern operators of the smaller farms obtained a total labour effect superior or equal to that of the traditionalistic operators of larger farms.

As far as the operator's expectations of "reasonable" incomes are concerned, the differences as to the expected level of income existing between the two groups of farmers range from 20 to 40 percent higher in the case of the modern operators. With respect to this important variable, too, it must be noticed that the expectations of the modern operators of the smaller farms were higher or equal to those of the traditionalistic operators of the larger farms. As to the non-professional aspects of the life of these persons, our research showed that: these farmers generally live nearer to paved roads and are more frequently members of political parties, cooperatives and farmers' Unions than their colleagues of lower positions on our continuum. They are also more frequently on the board of several associations; they visit more frequently selected cultural agencies and have more guests in the household. Their wives are usually younger, come from economically better situated families, and are more frequently on the board of women's associations than the wives of the farm-operators of lower positions of the continuum.

In all these respects the farmers of the upper group differ significantly from the farmers at the lower end of our continuum.

system by a new one. With this substitution new types of conduct come into existence, new mentalities are shaped, and, as Redfield says, new types of human beings are created (Cf. R. Redfield - *The primitive world and its transformations* - p. 30, 50).

Furthermore, the farmers of the A group generally had a higher number of children than their colleagues; in particular, they had more children younger than 15 years. A great number of children usually contributes greatly to lowering the productivity of the labour employed on a farm. If, in spite of this fact, our A-farmers showed a higher labour productivity than the B-farmers, it means that great cultural and socio-psychological differences between them must have accounted for it. This means, in practice, the existence of great differences in the whole pattern of life between the two groups of either end of the continuum.

The idea that such differences are, in fact, of cultural and psychological nature is further strengthened by the fact that the score to which we related the variables chosen was formed by summing up the number of times the farmer in question could show to have a definite personal opinion about matters concerning his life in the modern society of the Netherlands. Also other variables, which proved to be related in a general way to our score, although not reaching the 0.05 level of significance, sustain this conclusion. Such variables are: the training received by the farmer, the quality of the agricultural associations of which he is a member, the relations with his neighbours, the quantity, the destination, and the manner of his travelling, the taking of vacations, the presence of modern facilities in the household, the amount of schooling received by his wife, the reading of non-technical literature and the contact with the Agricultural Advisory Service.

Therefore, not only the synthetic approach applied in chapter v, but also the analytical approach of chapter vi show once again that these traits are interwoven in a structured pattern.

Recognizing the above fact, we must immediately observe that the traits highly correlated to our score are on the whole of the same type as those normally found indicative for "innovators," "leaders," and "early adopters" and, *at the same time*, the "higher" classes.¹ Except for those traits of a particular agricultural nature, the same also holds true with reference to an urban environment. This recognition calls for further clarification, otherwise the

¹ It is reasonable to suppose that by selecting those operators who could give a definite, concrete answer to general questions we automatically selected "middle" or "higher" class people in a socio-cultural situation where the non material climate is more and more conditioned by middle class "bourgeois" values. Cfr. L. Schatzman and A. Strauss, Social class and modes of communication. *The Amer. Journ. of Sociol.* 60, 1954-55, pp. 329-338; J. A. Clausen and Melvin L. Kohn, The ecological approach in social psychiatry - *The Amer. Journ. of Sociol.*, 1954-55, pp. 140-151. The existence of a functional dependence between material possessions and services

phenomenon studied in our research might leave untouched an important element for correctly interpreting its results on even wider contexts.

First of all let us try to see whether there might be any reason to justify the existence of a relation between our score and the possible "local leaders" or "early innovators." Secondly we must consider what might be the significance of such leaders or innovators in a situation such as the one found in Winterswijk. It is clear that by taking our 10 answers score as a yardstick for our analysis we have automatically made the socio-cultural trait "integration into the modern social structure" the common denominator to which the several traits of the local culture pattern have been related in the foregoing pages. Ours has therefore been a functional approach to the problem we proposed to study.

As we have seen in foregoing pages of this book, this integration is related on the one hand to a high degree of social awareness, and, on the other, to a whole series of related phenomena which find their total expression in the "individuation" of society. Here we are concerned with the first of these two types of phenomena, i.e. with the increased degree of social awareness which usually accompanies certain levels of social integration. Social awareness is, in fact, one of the distinctive characteristics of social leaders.

The literature on leadership and élites is extremely copious. However, whatever particularly different aspects of the problem of leadership each study might have treated, to our knowledge no new study has yet significantly questioned the validity of the established opinion, that in a group the leaders usually fulfill their obligations with much greater regularity than the persons of lesser status.² This and other observations, lead Homans to formulate the hypothesis that, the higher the rank of a person within a group, the more nearly his activities conform to the norm of the group.³ In other words, within a group, the leaders are the best interpreters of the normative system accepted by, and existing within, the group. In a time when the prestige of technology is increasing, as is presently the case with all the societies which have come in

on the one hand, and the role-status positions of individuals, and their value-attitude systems on the other has long been openly recognized. Cfr. Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Rural Levels and Standards of Living, The Rural Sociological Society, Sociological Research in Rural Levels and Standards of Living, *Rur. Sociol.*, 1956, pp. 183-195.

² F. J. Roethlisberger and W. J. Dickinson, *Management and the Worker*, Cambridge, 1939 pp. 412-423; T. M. Newcomb, *Personality and Social Change*, New York, 1943 pp. 65-73; W. Foote White, *Street Corner Society*, Chicago, 1943 p. 259.

³ G. C. Homans, *The Human Group*, New York 1950, p. 141.

contact with western industrial cultures, we witness to a substitution of the traditional types of leaders by new ones. As we have seen in chapter v this is also the case with the rural society studied in this research. At a time of dimensional changes of social phenomena, and of rapidly expanding size of one's world, leadership automatically shifts from the traditional leader to one who has the capacity and the power necessary to oversee the whole field of "his" world and the phenomena taking place in it, and to attempt to coordinate somehow these phenomena and to influence their course. The fact that the appearance of a new élite is mainly based upon the substitution of the old normative system by a new one is brilliantly shown by Reissman.¹ On the escort of classic works on social stratification, he points out that not only the "higher" class people are more active in present-day societies, but, also, that they are "diversely" active; i.e. an entirely *different* pattern of social participation is revealed by the two classes ("high" and "low") to which he draws attention. This indicates that individual life in these two classes within the same social structure is organized mainly according to two different sets of norms. This difference is clear not only for formal-organizational activities, but also as far as aspirations, aims, valuations and values are concerned. The interesting point in Reissman's study is, that the observed differences remain basically the same regardless of how the "high" and "low" classes are distinguished – whether according to occupational prestige, (by means of the North-Hatt occupational scale), income, or education. As far as our point is concerned, it is very interesting to notice in this context that most of the studies taken into consideration by Reissman refer to urban environments; however, *no sensible differences are found, on the whole, between urban or rural environments.* As to the differences found between "high" and "low" classes the author expresses the opinion that such class aspirations

¹ Leonard Reissman, Class, Leisure and Social participation, Am. Sociol. Review, 1954 n. 199, pp. 77-84.

² Modern social and economic structure oblige man to consider change as normal. From the former institutionalization of a generally unchangeable personal life-situation he has passed to the institutionalization of change. The only thing which does not change for modern man is his knowledge that the overall number of his social interactions, as well as their type, intensity, frequency, regularity and direction normally *will change*. Furthermore modern man accepts, at least unconsciously, the fact that even the composition of the total group of people with whom he interacts is subject to constant variations, and that the same holds true for the type of situation in which he interacts with these people. This is the same as saying that he accepts his augmented chances to be involved into unknown situations. Such acceptance

can be considered as necessary prerequisites for mobility. We agree with this point of view, but we tend to see the whole relationship in a wider context. Not only are the observed differences necessary prerequisites for mobility, but they are also the expression of a kind of *mobilization of the mind*. Here it is a general cultural trait, an attitude towards being dynamic, that is being expressed through a degree of personalization, individuation and consciousness which increase steadily in the transition from the more traditionalistic to the more modern sectors of society. The "mobilization of the mind" to which we referred above comes about with the shaping of individual attitudes favourable to a *refusal to accept customary situations merely because of their being customary*. This brings about an independent way of thinking in the subject, which reflects his changed attitudes towards traditional forms of social control, traditional and revealed knowledge, authoritarian and charismatic leadership, etc. Thus a new way of thinking comes into existence, and knowledge as to how one should organize his personal life, as well as to the norms for the organization of this life, are sought in another frame of reference. Hence, prestige too is now derived from the new frame of reference. This new frame of reference presupposes in the individual the capacity to see the relativity of many phenomena of life, which is now possible, since with the disappearance of traditionalism "per se" knowledge is neither revealed nor automatically transmitted from ancestors to descendants, and therefore no longer fixed and immutable. From this individual capacity to recognize and accept the relativity of what happens around oneself there follows *the acceptance of change "per se" as a normal ingredient of human life*.² See, for inst., in our case study A², the words of Mr. A²'s father (page 198).

This individual attitude has little to do with rural or urban worlds

of new situations by modern man is expressed by a particular psychic structure. In fact, full participation in a modern social structure (i.e. to be entirely *in* and *of* it) implies something more than just the knowledge and the passive acceptance of it. Knowledge and acceptance must become first positive attitudes influencing the individual personality in order to allow it to develop a high capacity to identify itself with environmental changes (objective and subjective). Mental mobility cannot develop into a personality „variable" if knowledge and acceptance of the modern structures cannot become positive attitudes for want of a modern value system in the culture pattern of the individual concerned, influencing his ideas about authority, the right of self-decision, the value of future and past, social control, etc. . . This is why the mere fact of living in a town – even in a modern one – is not, as such, a sufficient guarantee that one will become modern as an individual.

as such, being instead related to the acceptance of certain value-systems instead of others.

As to the point that interests us here, we must notice how the lack of concern noted by Reissman among the lower class about matters of friendship, politics and religion betrays an entirely different frame of mind and a substantial lack of awareness or of interests for one's own position in the social environment: there is neither desire, nor perhaps need for a more personal organization of one's own life. As Reissman himself says, members of the "lower" class are not only less active in the life of the community, but they are also more willing to sacrifice their personal views. This means that the sociological differences of the pattern of social participation are coupled with psychological differences (degree of social awareness, degree of consciousness of the own personality, degree of personalization in the interpretation of reality, etc.).¹ On the whole, the impression one receives from Reissman's paper is that the members of the "higher" class are more individuated, more fully integrated in the (modern) social structure of their community, and have a great willingness to become involved in its life and to exert leadership therein.

The élites in such a dynamic socio-cultural situation and mental atmosphere, are the ones who propagate such an attitude and who generally first introduce the changes. They open the path on which the others will follow. We emphasize that we have purposely written "in such a dynamic socio-cultural situation and mental atmosphere"; this takes us immediately back to the point of the importance of the normative system existing in the concerned society.

The creation of a new élite, as is true of any process of mobility in an existing social order, naturally involves some degree of disturbance of the existing social equilibrium. The altered equilibrium calls for a re-equilibration in the various fields of social interaction, and it seems reasonable to maintain that this re-equilibration means, in fact, the acceptance of a new set of norms by the society as a whole. This acceptance of new sets of norms takes place mainly along the lines of the transmission of value-orientations within society.

The upholding of norms and transmission of value-orientations

¹ In this context we can remember that farmers and "peasants" at every degree of evolution of society are frequently said to "be lived" by reality rather than to live it personally and to be conscious of their own self.

must obviously occur through certain specific channels. Eisenstadt, who intensively studied the problem of social mobility in Israel, clearly states the importance of the élites as follows: "It is here that the problem of intergroup leadership within the process of mobility becomes important. As is well known from many researches, within almost every group there exist special channels of communication in the form of various leaders who hold key positions within the group, organize its activities and symbolize its values. Even more important than these internal and – perhaps – rather informal leaders are those leaders whose positions of leadership in regard to certain groups are institutionalized within the social structure – the so-called "élites" of various kinds and types and of different levels of importance. It seems that such persons perform mainly two kinds of functions in regard to the various groups led by them: First, they help them to resolve various role conflicts which may occur through the necessity of acting within relatively unknown spheres and/or through conflicts of orientations and interests; and secondly, they may also (although sometimes these two functions may be performed by different sets of individuals) transmit the main values and symbols of identification of the society. In a general way it may be stated that it is through these activities of élite persons that the various levels of consensus are upheld within a society. Thus their importance necessarily increases during a period of mobility. But there is a more intimate relation between these activities and the processes of mobility. These processes may – both through their general transplantation of persons from position to position, and through their intensification of interpersonal and intergroup contacts within a society – give rise to new leaders and élites, who would then, in their turn, affect intergroup relations."²

Empirical research of small localistic communities has clearly shown that not always the local leaders are the most progressive persons in the community, and that in many cases the chance exists that as soon as a leader distinguishes himself for outstanding performances he might even be abandoned by his followers. Loomis and Beegle argue that under certain circumstances the potential leaders may lose their followers when they are brought into contact with a new social system.³ Perhaps this can help

² S. N. Eisenstadt, *Social Mobility and Intergroup Leadership*, Int. Sociol. Assoc., Liege Congress, 1953, *SSM/Conf.* 2/10, p. 2-3.

³ C. P. Loomis and A. J. Beegle, *Rural Social Systems*, 1950, p. 687.

explain why “innovators” are sometimes not the already accepted local leaders in farm matters,¹ however, this ascertainment does not necessarily contradict our manner of considering the whole problem. The leaders are those persons who most perfectly embody the spirit of their times, both in conservative and in progressive cultural settings. They are, therefore, entirely brought forward by their culture, of which they are the first spokesmen and the forerunners. “Forerunners” is a somewhat unfortunate term since it implicitly gives a progressive taste to the élites, whereas it will entirely depend upon the normative system of which they are the embodiment whether the élites will be progressive or not. In a somewhat less scientific but more expressive way, we can say that for us the élites are not the engine of the ship of society, but the prow through which the ship opens its way through the waters of socio-cultural development. The élites are progressive only when the vessel is in a steady or in an accelerated motion. When it is still, or when it loses speed the élites will be, or tend to be conservative.² The élites are, therefore, forerunners, only because they react first to cultural trends since they are more sensitive to them. Actually this means, that if one is too sensitive to the first traces of innovating forces, when these are not yet perceived by the rest of the population, he is bound to become an isolated star. It is quite logical, therefore, that in a very conservative structo-cultural environment – i.e. in an environment which has not yet sufficiently undergone the influence of innovating forces – the persons who most thoroughly personify the existing culture and normative system might function as factors of conservatism with respect to social change. Every leader will become a factor of conservatism when the normative system which he represents is on the declining curve of its existence and on the point of being substituted by a new one. If the leading class does not quickly switch over to the new system of norms – which is very difficult to obtain since new normative systems correspond, in fact, to different concepts of life – it is gradually substituted by more functional élites. That is, society is forced to bring forward

¹ There seem to be, however, some founded reasons to doubt of the general validity of this statement, at least as far as the Netherlands are concerned. So far all the operators identified as formal leaders have always been found to belong to the most progressive part of the farming population.

² This seems to be true, as far as we can judge, also for the communist countries. Cf. J. Szczepanski, *Changes in the Structure and Function of the Intelligentsia*, Intern. Soc. Science Bull. Vol. ix, No. 2, 1957, pp. 180-192. Milovan Djilas, *The*

a new class of leaders who will take up, in the changed socio-cultural situation, the function formerly fulfilled by the old élite. If the élites are only forerunners, it means that the bulk of the population must follow the path they have opened under the impact of culture. In other words, we have acculturation. We have, therefore, a clear influencing of man by the structure and the culture of the system in which he takes part. This could not be otherwise. For instance, in a modern society which, from the individual's point of view, is continuously widening and where an increasingly greater number of undertakings are executed by machines or institutions with a standardized type of performance, man must perforce learn how to think systematically. There is therefore a very strict relation between the type of culture and the way human beings think or, more precisely, systematize their ideas. This is probably what made Redfield think that it is with the systematization of ideas that the beginning of the process is made.

We agree with Redfield that "where there is little or no systematic and reflective thinking the customary solution to problems of practical action only imperfectly take the form of really effective and understood control of the means appropriate to accomplish the desired end."³ As we have seen, the methodology followed in this research shows that the increased use of the mass media of communication has, among others, also the function of increasing the capacity for abstract thinking of the modern-"acculturated" subjects.

With the increasing of the dimensions of the world in which they participate, individual members of society are forced to classify, to order, to make concepts and to constantly relate a great number of new phenomena one to the other.⁴ If the individual does not follow a standardized way of systematizing his thinking he will in no time lose his way in the attempt to place somehow into his mind the stream of new stimuli which he receives from the outside world. And in fact, we know by experience that such cases are all but exceptional. So we are again reminded of the very limited

New Class, an Analysis of the Communist System; Thames and Hudson, London, 1957.

³ R. Redfield, *The Folk-Societies*, *The Am. Journal of Soc.* 1947, p. 304.

⁴We have found this concept clearly stated, although in somewhat different context, also in Sj. Groenman, *Woord en Beeld in de communicatie. Mens en Maatschappij*, No. 1, 1958, pp. 19-31.

capacity for abstract thinking generally noticeable among the inhabitants of isolated and rural communities. For them only one reality exists – or better, only one picture is possible of reality: that is the picture of the world which they know “in concreto” and which they interpret according to their traditional norms. There is no cinema nor press to show that reality could be different. Their world is not only a “small world,” but it is also “the only” (absolute and total) world, at the same time. Their sense of relativity is not yet developed enough.

In a situation of disturbed equilibrium of a traditionalistic and locally-directed society caused by the sociocultural contact with the modern western culture, it is obviously the individuals most integrated into the modern society and culture who will become the innovators of the traditionalistic society. A good explanation of this fact is given in a challenging hypothesis launched by Eisenstadt. He, in fact, proposes that “only those types of deviance which do not arise out of utter social and psychological insecurity, but which are formed *within some minimum security, both social and psychological, can be productive of any progressive and continuous change.*¹ But it is also obvious that this security, or the lack of it, is not merely an individual psychological attribute, but is closely related to some basic structural functions.”² That is to say, that an effective innovator has to feel at home, to feel secure in the cultural atmosphere in which he is acting. Since the ability to lead comes from an inner sense of security and since this security is only seldom found in the breakdown of a “Gemeinschaft”-like community it is now clear *why only a person who has sufficiently undergone the process of individuation can become an innovator on the transitional situation of sociocultural contact between an individuated, “Gesellschaft”-like social structure and a traditionalistic, collectivistic and “Gemeinschaft”-like one.*

The expression “culture change” has become almost a symbol for sociologists and anthropologists. This symbol is used to express in a concise way a whole series of phenomena and concepts all dealing with the critical changes in outlook which cause a community to turn to new models. “Culture change is an inade-

¹ Our italics, B. B.

² S. N. Eisenstadt, *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Studio sul Problema delle Aree Arretrate*, Milano – 10-15 Ott. 1954, II, p. 523.

³ S. F. Nadel, *The Concept of Social Elites*, *Intern. Soc. Sciences Bull.* Vol. VIII, No. 3, p. 423.

quate phrase to describe this transformation” writes the late professor Nadel. “Once more we deal with a ‘recasting’ of human ideals and of whole philosophies of life.”³ The models embodying the “recasted” philosophies of life are the people forming the élites, who thus are nothing but “permanent interpreters” of what is already ripening within a given society. As we have seen, it is a common assumption that the élites are “standard-setting” and that they “enact” the values existing in the social system of which they are a part. As we have already said, we think that it would be more correct to say that the élites are standard setting *because* they enact those values.⁴ It is obvious that, in this way, we view leadership not as an isolated trait of single individuals, but as a complex process of group action. It is, in fact, for us clear that it is the group which, by process of interaction, sets goals and indicates means in accordance with its orientation to a particular situation, during a definable period of time. The group to which we are referring here is the reference group. The whole difference between the traditionalistic, localistically-oriented and the modern and cosmopolitan-oriented person consists, in fact, of difference in reference group. With the widening of the size of a man’s world not only the group which the person uses as a reference point in making evaluations of himself or others, widens, but, also, these evaluations will obviously acquire an increasingly greater general validity. The result of the process will be that, on the whole, there is not much difference in the way of thinking, the aims striven for, and the values accepted by two persons separated by thousands of miles, *provided their reference group is the same*, – i.e., provided they are cosmopolitan to the same degree. In the meantime it is clear that for high degrees of cosmopolitanism the reference group becomes a rather abstract and generalized entity. When the abstraction is so great that people do not behave according to the example of concrete persons of their most immediate environment but, instead, according to a very large “generalized other,” the entity that regulates their behaviour has lost most of its physical characteristics. At the same time, this entity maintains only the rather abstract complex normative system which permeates the generalized other. Meanwhile, with

⁴ We must not forget that there is, however, at least one form of leadership – i.e. the one conferred by charismatic prestige – which allows for significant deviations from the accepted rules without danger of being ostracized or banished from the community.

the widening of the reference group the modal personality of the cosmopolitan-oriented members of society has become widely different from the modal personality of the localistically-oriented ones. This is logically to be expected, in view of the fact that the two social structures to which they belong are so widely different and place upon the individual strongly different, and distinctive functional requirements. This is indicated also by our study. In fact, we must stress that the allround answers given by our key-persons do not pertain to the individual farmer A^I , A^{II} , A^{III} ... A^N , or B^I , B^{II} , B^{III} ... B^N , but to the two entire groups of the A and the B farmers, mentally opposed. The two sets of definitions give, therefore, a kind of "idealtypical" picture of the two modal personality types represented by the groups of A and B farmers, as seen by the 25 key-persons, in the socio-cultural situation of Winterswijk, summer 1955. On the other hand, in spite of the many questions which have remained unanswered, the subsequent analysis has made it sufficiently clear that the modal personality represented by the upper end of our continuum differs widely from the modal personality of the farmers at its lower end. The latter belong, typically, to the remnants of the localistic, homogeneous, gemeinschaft-like form of local social organization.

In consideration of what we have exposed in the preceding pages, we feel entitled to maintain that:

- a. the results of our study are applicable to societies other than Winterswijk's, and
- b. problems connected with the acculturation of "underdeveloped areas" are basically of the same nature, even if of different proportions.

Finally, at the very end of this study, we should like to make here a few very general remarks about agriculture – or, better, about

¹ To this respect the case of Israel is very instructive. The spectacular flourishing of its highly specialized agriculture is mainly the result of the work of people who had never been on a farm before, and who now apply their energies to the agricultural production after having had previous experiences in other sectors of economic and social life. It is also highly probable that Israeli officers of the agricultural advisory service in the fulfilling of their tasks encounter much less difficulties among the western-acculturated, cosmopolitan and modern-minded, ex-urban element than among the traditionally-minded farmers coming to Israel from non-western parts of the world.

So a modern mind is the essential requisite for a modern agriculture, in general,

the world in which the agricultural activity of man takes place. These considerations are not to be seen as scientific conclusions of our research – which were already drawn in the preceding pages, – but, rather, as considerations that also a layman, we think, could make, and which logically follow the analysis carried out in the present research.

For the same person “social” bearing is not the same as sensorial bearing, and his “social” ability to do something is completely different from his physical capacities to do the same thing. This is a postulate which should always be present in the minds of all those who are interested in any kind of advisory work, particularly those active in such work in the countryside.

The Agricultural Advisory Services of nearly all the European countries have made it their aims to enhance the efficiency of the farm enterprise, and at the same time to enhance national agricultural productivity as a whole. They try to propagate these aims and to let them become the farmers’ aims as well. But nobody can reach an aim without means; not even a farmer. It is therefore much more sensible to propagate the means rather than the aims. We want modern farmers in order to have a modern, efficient agriculture¹ We do not want farmers using tractors and other modern discoveries just for the sake of it. Telling a “bad” farmer that, in order to “improve” his “business,” he should invest more money in his enterprise and that he should direct his farm management towards a particular type of production rather than another, or towards absolute specialization, might be nonsense. Quite probably the “bad” farmer will not do it, and the popularity of the Service among the farmers would not gain in the least by this procedure. The “bad” farmer will not apply the advice received because, he says, to do so would be a gamble. And, indeed, it would be a gamble, for the very fact that he is a “bad” farmer. The words in quotation-marks here above indicate that there usually is a discrepancy between the behaviour of the farmer in

and for a *modern organization* of the agricultural production in particular. For instance, it is quite evident that the vertical integration of the agricultural producers is not likely to be accepted easily in those districts where agriculture bears a strongly traditional character. In fact, out of its very features, the vertical integration of producers does not correspond to the stereotyped conceptions of the traditional farmer’s ethos. It is also very interesting to notice that in the U.S.A. a great percentage of the farmers who are associated with some types of vertical integration are either part-time farmers with a job in industry, or else they are people who had some non-agricultural jobs before taking up farming.

question and the yardstick or the frame of reference to which his behaviour is referred by many agricultural experts. These are mostly *technological* yardsticks or frames of reference.

Some farmers cannot make efficient use of the techniques advised them because they themselves are not in the right psychological frame of mind. No one can too often let several old customs fall and adopt simultaneously new ones if he is not in a favourable frame of mind for doing so. He will too miss this favourable frame of mind if the moral and material climate of the culture in which he is raised does not furnish the means enabling him to do so. Most of the machines, as well as the terms, concepts and devices of economic-administrative nature (such as the practice of bookkeeping, "fiches d'exploitation," schemes of internal organization, budgetary forecasts for the enterprise, etc.) usually employed or suggested today in order to increase the economic results of the agricultural enterprise are, essentially, machines, terms, concepts and devices originating directly from modern urban-industrial culture. Leaving aside here the ethical question as to whether or not advisory bodies should consciously try to stimulate the urban acculturation of the countryside, it is nevertheless obvious that nowadays it is impossible to conceive of agriculture, considered as a field of human endeavour, as a watertight compartment in the whole of society. This conception cannot but lead to misinterpretations of reality, and to tensions both on the national and on the international level.

Excessively orthodox technical thinking is also, in a sense, traditionalistic thinking. We are often so biased by the welcome surprises given us by the difficult struggle and success of technique in the battle for the slow betterment of humanity, that we sometimes overlook too easily the astonishing possibilities for such betterment already inherent in human nature itself. Huge quantities of money, of time and of human energy are dedicated to the investigation of the possibility of increasing the efficiency of farm management by a few fractions of units through ever more perfect technical inventions and devices; and then, out of sheer tradition in too positivistic thinking, the greatest part of our agricultural educational institutions are mostly quite unaware of the scope for such increase in efficiency that resides in the human factor.

Another example of traditionalistic thinking and, at the same time, of confusion of the means with the aims, is often given by the arguments of most of those who declare that they are striving for the final happiness of the farming population, while they try

at the same time – for many reasons – to tie this population down to rural areas and to the land in order to prevent its urbanization. One may wonder, objectively, whether by working “for the maintenance of the healthy traditional values of rural society,” etc. . . etc. . . in an urbanizing nation, these people will eventually finish by furthering the happiness, or will they sharpen the mal-adjustment of the farming population?

At present, we hear frequently of international integration of the different branches of economic activity. The opinion is generally held that in order to arrive at a political integration of the agricultural sectors of the national economies, the efficiency of the marginal enterprises should first be improved. This may be dictated by obvious practical political reasons, but it nevertheless seems too a confusion of the means with the aims. We do not want farm efficiency (i.e. economic efficiency) in order to have political efficiency, but we want social and political efficiency in order to obtain economic efficiency. As the results of this research indicate, the broadening of the world in which the farmer can participate is strictly related to economic efficiency in agriculture. The efficient farmer in a modern social structure is a “full” member of his society since he is *in* and *of* it. In other words, he is a “citizen” and not one “who minds only his own business,” not even as a technician. Being a “full” member of a modern social structure means to partake fully in the social, economic and political life of the nation and of the largest politico-territorial unit into which one’s own society is organized. As the behaviour of the human being out of its very nature, cannot but eventually be a social behaviour, so the behaviour of the citizen cannot but eventually be a political behaviour. Democracy and integration are, in a total form, concepts completely opposite to traditional paternalism and caste system. From this point of view it is quite understandable why it is particularly from the circles of certain vested interests that the commonplace is frequently voiced that farmers, and, above all, “peasants,” are best off if they “only work hard and mind their own business.” Such expression is not only a commonplace, but it has also become an unfortunate stereotype accepted by many farmers themselves. At a time when local norms and customs occasionally prove to lose much of their former general validity, it can be easy and convenient to fall back into such forms of retreatism and short-run materialism. However, although there is an increasing number of people who nowadays do not seem to be aware of the rules governing their lives, human life

still adheres to general rules. Paraphrasing Ortega y Gasset we might say that, in a time of increasing danger for anomie, life is and remains collectively and individually a task and a program. With the steadily increasing radius and intensity of our participation in national and supernational life it becomes increasingly clearer that what really is important for the members of society in our era is not so much what they have been yesterday, but what they together shall be tomorrow – and how they are going to unite themselves in new forms of social organizations.

Bibliography

- ABMA, E., Boer en Standsorganisatie (Participation of Farmers in Farmers' Unions), Bulletin No. 2 Afd. Sociologie en Sociografie van de Landbouwhogeschool, Wageningen, 1955.
- ABMA, E., FRANSSENS, D. H., HOFSTEE, E. W., Boer en Coöperatie in Zelhem - Van Gorcum, Assen, 1956.
- ABMA, E. and LIJFFERING, J. H. W., Institutionalization in Agrarian Organizations in the Netherlands, Transactions of the Third World Congress of Sociology, Vol. II, pp. 326-334.
- Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Rural Levels and Standards of Living, The Rural Sociological Society, Sociological Research in Rural Levels and Standards of Living. Rural Sociology, 1956, pp. 183-195.
- ALEXANDER, FRANK D., The problem of locality-group classification. Rural Sociology, 1952, 3, pp. 236-244.
- ALLPORT, FLOYD H., Rule and custom as individual variations of behaviour distributed upon a continuum of conformity. The American Journal of Sociol. XLIV, 1938-39, pp. 897-921.
- ALLPORT, FLOYD H., The j-curve hypothesis of conforming behaviour. Journal of Social Psychology, V, 1934, pp. 141-183.
- ANASTASI, H., Intelligence and Family size. Psychological Bulletin. Vol. 3, No. 3, May 1956.
- ANDERSON, THEODORE R., and COLLIER, JANE, Metropolitan dominance and the rural Hinterland. Rur. Sociol. 1956, pp. 152-157.
- ANDERSON, W. A., Family Social Participation and social status self-ratings. Am. Sociol. Review, Vol. XI, 1946, pp. 253-258.
- ARENSBERG, CONRAD, The community-study method. The American Journ. of Sociol.
- AURBACH, A., A Guttman Scale for Measuring cultural isolation. Rural Sociol. 1955, pp. 142-145.
- AXELROD, MARIS, Urban structure and social participation. The Amer. Sociol. Review. Vol. 21, 1956, No. 1, pp. 13-18.
- BACHMAN, KENNETH L., Changes in Scale of Commercial Farming and their Implications. Journal of Farm Economics. XXXIV, May 1952.
- BAKKER, J. G., Het oude consumptiemelkgebied rondom de stad Groningen. Wageningen, 1956, unpublished.
- BANNING, W., Enige sociologische opmerkingen over het secularisatieproces. Sociologisch Bulletin, 3, 1951, pp. 84-90.
- BARDOSCIA, A. and SACCO, G., La diffusione delle moderne tecniche di gestione e di direzione aziendale come fattore necessario dello sviluppo delle aree arretrate italiane. Centro Nazionale di Prevenzione e Difesa Sociale. Atti del congresso internazionale di studio sul problema delle aree arretrate. Milano, 1954, pp. 529-539.
- BARNETT, H. G., Innovation. The basis of cultural change. Mc Graw-Hill Book Company MC - New York, Toronto, London, 1953.
- BARNETT, H. G., On Science and Human Right, American Anthropologist, N.S. I, 1948, pp. 352-354.
- BARNEW, VICTOR, Acculturation and Personality among the Wisconsin Chippewa. The American Anthropologist, Vol. 52, Oct. 1950, No. 4, Part 2. Memoir N. 72.

- BASCOM, WILLIAM, Urbanization among the Yoruba. *The American Journ. of Sociol.* 1954-55, pp. 446-453.
- BEAL, GEORGE M., Additional Hypothesis in Participation Research. *Rur. Sociol.* 1956, pp. 249-256.
- BEAL, GEORGE M. and BOHLEN, JOE M., The Diffusion Process, Special Report No. 18, *Agricult. Extension Service, Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa, 1957.*
- BEALS, RALPH L., Urbanism, Urbanization and Acculturation. *American Anthropologist*, LIII (1951), pp. 1-10.
- BEERS, HOWARD W., Rural-Urban differences: some evidence from public opinion polls. *Rural Sociology*, 1953, pp. 1-11.
- BELCHER, JOHN C., The non-resident farmer in the new rural society. *Rural Sociol.* 1954, pp. 121-136.
- BENEDICT, RUTH, *Patterns of Culture*. Pelican Books edition, 1946.
- BENNET, JOHN W., Science and Human Rights: Reason and Action. *American Anthropologist*. N.S. L I, 1949, pp. 329-336.
- BERTRAND, ALVIN L., Rural Locality Groups: Changing patterns, Change Factors, and implications. *Rural Sociol.* 1954, pp. 174-179.
- Bibliography of Research on Social Factors in the Adoption of Farm Practices. Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa, 1956.
- BLACK, R., Group participation and personality adjustment. *Rural Sociol.* 1954, pp. 183-185.
- BLACKBURN, JULIAN, *Psychology and the social pattern*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1953.
- BLANCKENBURG, P. VON, Die Persönlichkeit des landwirtschaftlichen Betriebsleiters in der ökonomischen Theorie und der sozialen Wirklichkeit. *Berichten über Landwirtschaft. Sonderheft, Hamburg und Berlin, 1957, Band XXXV*, pp. 308-336.
- BOAS, F., The methods of Ethnology. *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 22, 1920, pp. 311-321.
- BOUMAN, P. J., Gezinssociologie: problematiek en systematiek. *Sociologisch Jaarboek uitgegeven door de Ned. Sociol. Veren. Vijfde deel*, 1951.
- BOUMAN, P. J., *Sociologie, Begrippen en Problemen*. Philosophische Bibliotheek, 1953.
- BROEKHUIS, E., Over de Arbeidsproductiviteit op Landbouwbedrijven. *Maandblad voor Landbouwvoorlichting, 's-Gravenhage, No. 10, 1950*, pp. 413-422.
- BROWN, EMORY J., The Self as Related to formal participation in three Pennsylvania Rural Communities. *Rural Sociol.* 1953, pp. 313-320.
- BROWN, EMORY and BEALER, ROBERT C., Value orientations and behavioral correlates of members in purchasing co-operatives. *Rural Sociol.* 1957, pp. 50-58.
- CAMPISI, PAUL J., Ethnic Family Patterns: The Italian Family in the United States. *The Amer. Journ. of Sociol.* Vol. L III (1948), pp. 443-449.
- CANDILL, WILLIAM and DE VOS, GEORGE, Achievement, Culture and Personality: The case of the Japanese Americans. *Amer. Anthropol.* Vol. 58, 1956, pp. 1102-1126.
- CASSIRER, E., *An Essay on Man*. New Haven, 1944.
- C.B.S., *Beroepstellingen*.
- C.B.S., *Criminele Statistiek*.
- C.B.S., *Landbouwtelling 1950*.
- C.B.S., *Landbouwtelling, Mei 1954*.
- C.B.S., *Volkstelling 1947*.

- C.B.S., Volkstelling 1955.
- CHAPIN, STUART F., Social Participation and Social Intelligence. *Amer. Sociol. Review*, Vol. IV, 1939.
- CAPLOW, THEODORE, The definition and Measurement of Ambience. *Social Forces*, 34, Oct. 1955, pp. 28-33.
- CHEVALIER, LOUIS, Urban Communities and the Social Evolution of Nations in The Metropolis in Modern life, Robert M. Fisher ed. The Doubleday & Co., New York, 1955.
- CLAUSEN, JOHN A. and KOHN, MELVIN L., The ecological approach in social psychiatry. *The Amer. Journ. of Sociol.* 1954-55, pp. 140-151.
- COCHRANE, C., Role and Sanction in American Entrepreneurial History in: Change and Entrepreneur. *Sepruposium Volume of the Harvard Research Centre in Entrepreneurial History - Harvard Univ. Press. Cambridge, 1949.*
- COLEMAN, LEE, Differential Contact with Extension Work in a New York Community. *Rur. Soc.* 1951, pp. 207-216.
- COLEMAN, LEE, and MARSH, PAUL, Differential Communication among Farmers in a Kentucky Country. *Rur. Sociol.* 1955, pp. 93-101.
- CONSTANDSE, A. K., Sociale hiërarchie in Kamerik. *Mens en Maatschappij* 1954, pp. 293-307, 342-362.
- COPP, J. H., Personal and Social factors Associated with the adoption of Recommended Farm Practices Among Cattlemen. *Agr. Exp. Sta. Kansas State College of Agricultural and Applied Sciences. Technical Bulletin No. 83, Manhattan, 1956.*
- CORNFORD, F. M., From Religion to Philosophy - A study in the origins of Western Speculation. A Harper Torchbook, 1957.
- COWLES, MAY L., Changes in Family Personnel, Occupation Status, and housing occurring over the Farm Family's Life-cycle. *Rural Sociol.* 1953, pp. 35-44.
- DAVIS, BEVERLEY, Eminence and level of social origin. *The Am. Journal of Sociol.* LIX, 1953-54, pp. 11-18.
- DAVIS, KINGSLEY, The origin and growth of urbanization in the world. *The Amer. Journ. of Sociol.* 1954-55, pp. 429-437.
- DEAN, ALFRED, AURBACH, HERBERT A. and MARSH, PAUL, Some factors related to rationality in decision-making among farm operators. *Rur. Sociol.*, 1958, pp. 120-135.
- DE BRUIN, H. P., De betekenis van de leeftijd, waarop boeren zelfstandig bedrijfshoofd worden - Wageningen 1954, unpublished.
- DE HOOGH, B. D., De economische betekenis der ontginningen. Wageningen, 1932.
- DE HOOGH, J., Landbouw en Textielnijverheid in de gemeente Winterswijk. Wageningen, 1951, unpublished.
- DE JONGE, L. J. A., De verstadings van het platteland. *Gemenebest* 1940/41.
- DE LAGUNA, GRACE A., Culture and Rationality. *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 51, No. 3, 1949, pp. 379-391.
- DEN HOLLÄNDER, A. N. J., Cultuurconflict als sociologisch begrip en verschijnsel. *Sociologisch Jaarboek uitgegeven door de Ned. Sociol. Veren. Achtste Deel, 1954.*
- Demologisch Instituut, Begaafdheid Onderzoek en Intelligentie Spreiding. Deel II: Intelligentie en Arbeidspotentieel, Zeist, MCMLVII.
- DE VRIES REILINGH, Cultureel Werk ten plattelande. *Het Gemenebest*, Mei 1947.

- DICKINSON, DOROTY, The Southern Farm Family in an era of change. *Rural Sociol.* 1950, pp. 232-241.
- DINGWALL, E. J., The American Woman, Duckworth, 1956.
- DODD, STUART C. and WINTRUP, HENRY, A Dimensional Theory of Social Diffusion. Intern. Sociol. Assoc. Liege Congress, 1953. *SSM/Conf.* 2/14.
- DUBE, S. C., Some problems of Communication in Rural-Community-Development. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. 2, No. 2, 1957, pp. 129-146.
- DUNCAN, J. A. and KREITLOW, B. W., Selected Cultural Characteristics and the acceptance of Educational Programs and Practices. *Rural Sociol.* 1950, pp. 349-357.
- DYLAS, MILOVAN, The new class, an analysis of the communist system. Thames and Hudson, London, 1957.
- EISENSTADT, S. N., Social Mobility and Intergroup leadership. Intern. Sociol. Assoc. Liege Congress 1953, *SSM/Conf.* 2/10.
- EMERY, F. E., OESER, O. A., Information, decision and action. Melbourne University Press, 1958.
- E.T.I. GELDERLAND, Industrierapport der Gemeente Winterswijk, 1953.
- FAIRCHILD, E. P., Dictionary of Sociology. Philosophical Library, New York, 1944.
- FANELLI, ALEXANDER A., A typology of community leadership based on influence and interaction within the leader subsystem. *Social Forces*, Vol. 34, pp. 332-338.
- FARIS, R. E. L., Cultural Isolation and the Schizophrenic Personality. *Am. Journal of Sociol.* Vol. xxxix., Sept. 1934, pp. 155-169.
- FISHER, ROBER M. ed., The metropolis in modern life. Doubleday & Company, Inc., New York, 1955.
- FLIEGEL, FREDERICK C., A Multiple-correlation analysis of factors associated with adoption of farm practices. *Rural Sociol.* 1956, pp. 284-292.
- FOOT-WHITE, W., Street Corner Society. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1943.
- FOSTER, GEORGE M., What is Folk Culture? *American Anthropol.* LV (1953), pp. 159-173.
- FRANCIS, E. K., The Adjustment of a peasant group to a capitalistic economy: The Manitoba Mennonites. *Rural Sociology* 1952 pp. 218-228.
- FREEDMAN, RONALD and FREEDMAN, DEBORAH., Farm-reared elements in the non farm population. *Rural Sociol.* 1956, pp. 50-61.
- FRIEDMANN, GEORGES, Villes et Campagnes, Civilisation urbaine et civilisation rurale. Paris, Librairie Harmand Colin, 1953.
- FROMM, ERIK, Escape from Freedom, Rinehart, 1941.
- FROMM, E., Psychoanalytic characterology and its application to the understanding of culture. *Culture and Personality*, S.S. Sargent and M. W. Smith ed. Wenner-Green Foundation for Anthropological Research, New York.
- GAMIO, MANUEL, An Analysis of Social Processes and obstacle to agricultural progress in Mexico. *Rural Sociol.* 1937, pp. 144-146.
- GARTLY, JACO E., The social isolation hypothesis of schizophrenia. *Am. Journ. Review*, Vol. 19, No. 5, Oct. 1954, pp. 567-576.
- GEOFFREY, GORER, The Americans, a study in national character, London, 1948.
- GERT, HANS and WRIGHT, MILLS, C., Character and Social Structure. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1954.

- GINSBURG, NORTON, s., The great city of Southeast Asia. *Am. Journal of Soc.* 1954-55, pp. 455-462.
- GLANDER, H., Erfolge der landwirtschaftlichen Einzelberatung durch die Beratungsringe im Bereich Lw. Kammer Hannover, Oktober 1954, Unpublished.
- GOLDSCHMIT, WALTER, Ethics and the structure of society. *American Anthropologist*, LIII (1951), pp. 506-524.
- GOULDNER, A. W. ed., *Studies in Leadership*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1950.
- GREER, SCOTT, Urbanism Reconsidered: A comparative study of local areas in a metropolis. *The Amer. Sociol. Review*, Vol. 21 1956, No. 1, pp. 19-25.
- GREVEL, F., Psychologische aspecten van de conservatieve levenshouding. *Sociologisch Jaarboek uitgegeven door de Ned. Sociol. Veren.*, Vijfde deel, 1951.
- GROENMAN, SJ., Als cultuurpatronen langs elkander schuren. *Sociologisch bulletin* 1951.
- GROENMAN, SJ., De cultuuroverdracht van stad naar land. *Sociologisch Jaarboek uitgegeven door de Ned. Sociol. Vereniging*. 1xde deel.
- GROENMAN, SJ., Sociale opbouw op territoriale grondslag: in *De Schalm*, Ned. Bond voor Sociaal-Culturele Vorming, No. 4-5, 1947.
- GROENMAN, SJ., Woord en Beeld in de communicatie. *Mens en Maatschappij*, No. 1, 1958, pp. 19-31.
- GROSS, NEAL, Cultural Variables in Rural Communities. *American Journal of Sociology*, LII (1948), pp. 344-350.
- GROSS, NEAL, Sociological variations in contemporary rural life. *Rural Sociology*, Vol. XIII, Sept. 1948.
- GROSS, NEAL, The differential characteristics of acceptors and non-acceptors of an Approved Agricultural Technological Practice. *Rur. Sociol.* 1949, pp. 148-156.
- HAER, JOHN H., Conservatism - Radicalism and the Rural-urban continuum. *Rural Sociology*, 1952, pp. 343-347.
- HAY, DONALD G. and DOUGLAS, E., Leader-Follower Patterns in Selected Marine Towns. *Rur. Soc.* 1949, pp. 160-163.
- HAY, DONALD G., The Social Participation of Household in Selected Rural Communities of the Northeast. *Rural Sociology*, 1949, pp. 140-148.
- HAY, D. G., Social Participation of individuals in 4 Rural communities of the Northeast. *Rur. Soc.* 1951, pp. 126-136.
- HALMOS, P., *Solitude and Privacy*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd. London, 1952.
- HALSEY, A. H., Genetics, Social Structure and Intelligence. *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. IX, No. 1, 1958.
- HARDIN, CHARLES M., „Natural leaders” and the administration of Soil Conservation Programs. *Rural Sociology*, 1951, 279-281.
- HARRIS, MARY JORDAN and STAAB, JOSEPHINE, The Relationship of Current Net Income to the Socio-economic Status of Southern Farm Families. *Rural Sociol.* 1951, pp. 353-358.
- HAWKINS, R. and GARDNER, BRUCE, Adjustment characteristics of rural and urban children. *Am. Sociol. Review* Febr. 1957, pp. 81-87.
- HEERINGA, T., De Graafschap, een bijdrage tot de kennis van het cultuur-landschap en van het Scholten-probleem, Zutphen, 1934.
- HELLER, De betekenis van de opleiding van de boer voor het bedrijf. *Algemeen Agrarisch Archief* pp. 5578-5579.

- HENDERSON, A. M. and PARSONS, T., *Max Weber: The Theory of Social and Economical Organization*. New York, Oxford University Press, 1947.
- HERSKOVITS, J., *Acculturation*. J. J. Augustin, New York, 1938.
- HERSKOVITS, M. J., *Man and his works. The science of cultural anthropology*. New York, 1948.
- HERSKOVITS, M. J., *Motivation and culture-pattern in technological change*. *Int. Soc. Sci. Bulletin*, 1954, no. 3, pp. 388-400.
- HERWEIJER, S., *De landbouw in het verband der landelijke planologie*. Voordracht uitgesproken in het kader van de landbouwwEEK 1957 te Wageningen, Wageningen 18 sept. 1957.
- HESS, C. V. and MULLER, L. F., *Some Personal, Economic, and Sociological Factors Influencing Dairymen's Actions and Success*, Pennsylvania State University, College of Agriculture, Bulletin No. 577.
- HIRSCH, G. B., *The social environment of the farm work*. Lecture held before the Agricultural Economics Society, 1956.
- HENTER, PIERON, PIERON et SAUVY, *Le niveau intellectuel des enfants d'âge scolaire*. Presses Universitaires de France, Paris 1950, Cahier No. 13.
- HOFFSOMMER, HAROLD, *Relations of Cities and Larger Villages to change in Rural Trade and Social Areas in Wayne County*. New York, Bull. 582, Ithaca, Cornell University, Ag. Exp. Sta. Febr. 1954.
- HOFSTEE, E. W., *De selectie van de kolonisten en de ontwikkeling van de plattelandscultuur in de IJsselmeerpolders*. In „Langs gewonnen velden,” facetten van Smedings werk. Veenman & Zonen, Wageningen, 1954.
- HOFSTEE, E. W., *Die „Normalarbeitsstunden”-Methode. Untersuchungen über die Feststellung der zweckmäßigen Größe landwirtschaftlicher Familienbetriebe*. Sonderdruck aus der Zeitschrift für das gesamte Siedlungswesen, 1952.
- HOFSTEE, E. W., *Economische ontwikkeling en bevolkingsverspreiding*. Rijksdienst voor het Nationale Plan, Nota Nr. 3. Tijdschrift voor Volkshuisvesting en Stedebouw, Jan. 1950.
- HOFSTEE, E. W., *Het Oldambt, Deel I. Vormende Krachten*. J. B. Wolters - Groningen, Batavia, 1938.
- HOFSTEE, E. W., *Inleiding in de sociale wetenschappen*. College-dictaat 1955-1956. Wageningen 1956. Mimeographed.
- HOFSTEE, E. W., *Levenskunst en Levensstijl*. Sociologisch Bulletin 1950.
- HOFSTEE, E. W., *Over de oorzaken van de verscheidenheid in de Nederlandsche Landbouwgebieden*, Wageningen, 30 Oct. 1946.
- HOFSTEE, E. W., *Rural life and Rural welfare in the Netherlands*. Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, The Hague, 1957.
- HOFSTEE, E. W., *Sociaal Economische Problemen der Groningse Veenkoloniën. Practische onderzoekingen op sociaal-economisch gebied*. Van Gorcum & Comp. Assen, 1943.
- HOFSTEE, E. W., *Sociologische aspecten van de Landbouwvoorlichting*. Bulletin No. I, Afd. Sociologie en Sociografie van de Landbouwhogeschool, Wageningen 1953.
- HOFSTEE, E. W. and KOOP, G. A., *Traditional household and neighbourhood group. Survivals of the Genealogic-Territorial Societal Patterns in Eastern Parts of the Netherlands*. Transactions of the Third World Congress of Sociology, Vol. IV, pp. 75-79.
- HOGEWIND, F. G. F., *Sociaal-Psychologische aspecten van de Voorlichting*, unpublished.
- HOMANS, C. G., *The Human Group*. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London 1951.

- HONINGMANN, J., *Culture and Personality*. Harper & Brothers, 1954.
- HOSELITZ, B. F., *Social Structure and Economic Growth*. *Economia Internazionale* Vol. VI, No. 3, Aug. 1953, pp. 52-72.
- HOSELITZ, B. F., *Sociological Approach to Economic Development*. *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Studio sul probleme delle Aree Arretrate*, Milano, 10-15 Ottobre 1954, II, pp. 755-778.
- HUGES, P., *Dilemmas and Contradictions of Status*. *Am. Journal of Sociol.* Vol. 50, 1944, pp. 353-357.
- HULSE, FREDERICK S., *Some Effects of the war upon Japanese Society*. *Far Eastern Quarterly*, VII, 1947.
- ICHHEISER, GUSTAV, *Misunderstanding in Human Relations - A study of false social perception - The University of Chicago Press*. *The Amer. Journal of Sociol.* Supplement to the September Issue, 1949.
- ISRAEL, J., *Personality change in a socially disturbed rural community*. *Intern. Soc. Sc. Bull.* Vol. VII, 1955, pp. 15-22.
- KATONA, G., *Psychological Analysis of Economic Behaviour*. Mc Graw-Hill Book Comp. Inc. New York, Toronto and London, 1951.
- KATZ, E. and LAZARSFELD, P. F., *Personal Influence*, The Free Press, 1955. Glencoe, Illinois.
- KELLEY, HAROLD H., *Two functions of reference groups -*, in *Reading in Social Psychology*. ed. Guy E. Swanson, Th. M. Newcomb and E. L. Hartley, New York, Henry Holt and Co. 1952.
- KEUR, J. Y. and KEUR, D. L., *The Deeply Rooted*. A study of a Drents community in the Netherlands. Van Gorcum Ltd. Assen, 1955.
- KIMBALL, SOLON T., *Rural Social Organization and Co-operative Labor*. *The Am. Journal of Sociol.* 1949-1950, pp. 38-49.
- KINGSLEY, DAVIS, *The Origin and Growth of Urbanization in the World*. *Am. Journal of Sociol.* 1954-55, pp. 429-437.
- KIRKPATRICK, CLIFFORD, *Methods in Attitude Measurement*. *Amer. Sociol. Review*, Vol. 1, 1936.
- KLEIN, JOSEPHINE, *The study of Groups*. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1956.
- KLOKMAN, G. J., *De Achterhoekers*, in P. J. Meertens en A. de Vries, *De Nederlandsche Volkskarakters*, Kampen, 1938.
- KNEPPELHOUT, W. J., *Enkele aspecten ten aanzien van de bedrijfsvoering in de landbouw te Winterswijk*. Wageningen, 1953, unpublished.
- KNUPFER, G., *Portrait of the Underdog*. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Spring 1947.
- KOLB, J. H. and DAY, L. J., *Interdependence in town and country relations*. *Research bulletin* 172. Dec. 1950, University of Minnesota Agric. Exp. Sta.
- KÖNIG, R., *Einleitung zu einer Soziologie der sogenannten rückständigen Gebiete*. *Congresso Internazionale di Studio sul problema delle aree arretrate*. Milano 10-15 ottobre 1954. II *Relazioni Teoriche*, pp. 737-754.
- KOOY, G. A., *De oude samenwoning op het nieuwe platteland*, Wageningen 1957 (mimeographed).
- KOOY, G. A., *De oude samenwoning op het nieuwe platteland*. Van Gorcum, Assen, 1959.
- KRUIJER, G. J., *Over de methode der individualiserende sociografie*. *Sociologische gids* No. 2, Februari 1956.
- KUIN, P., *Het progressieve denken over samenleving en bedrijf*. Oct. 1956. Amsterdam, Tjeenk Willink & Zoon, Haarlem.

- LANDHEER, BART, *Pause for Transition – an analysis of Man, Mind and Society.* Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1957.
- LANDIS, PAUL, H., *Personality differences in girls from farm, town and city.* *Rural Sociology*, 1949, pp. 10-20.
- LANDBOUWSCHAP, *Stedeling en Boer – Rapport in opdracht van het Landbouwschap – 's-Gravenhage.* Date unknown.
- LA PIERRE, RICHARD, *The sociological significance of measurable attitudes.* *The Amer. Sociol. Review*, 1938, pp. 175-182.
- L.E.I., *in samenwerking met C.B.S., Landbouwcijfers.* 1954, id. 1955, id. 1956.
- L.E.I. RAPPORT NO. 213, *De financiële positie van de Nederlandse landbouwbedrijven.* 's-Gravenhage 1955.
- LEMERT, EDWIN M., *An exploratory study of mental disorders in a rural problem area.* *Rural Sociol.* 1948, pp. 48-64.
- LENSKI, G. E., *Status Crystallization: A non-vertical dimension of social status.* *Am. Sociol. Review*, Vol. 19, 1954, pp. 405-413.
- LEVI, CARLO, *Cristo si è fermato a Eboli.* Einaudi, Saggi 55, 1952.
- LEWIS, O., *Life in a Mexican village: Tepozlan Restudied.* University of Illinois Press. Urbana, 1951.
- LEWIS, O., *Tepozlan Restudied: a critique of the folk-urban conceptualization of social change.* *Rural Sociology* 1953, pp. 121-134.
- LINDSTROM, DAVID E., *Diffusion of Agricultural and Home Economics Practices in a Japanese Rural Community.* *Rural Sociol.* Vol. 23, June 1958.
- LINDSTROM, DAVID E., *Outlook for the land reform in Japan.* *Rural Sociol.* 1956, pp. 164-170.
- LINTON, RALPH, *The Cultural Background of personality.* Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1952.
- LIONBERGER, HERBERT F., *Information Seeking Habits and Characteristics of farm operators.* *Univ. of Missouri, Agr. Exp. Sta. Research Bull.* 581, 1955, Columbia, Missouri.
- LIONBERGER, HERBERT F., *Low income farmers in good farming areas of Missouri.* *Missouri Agric. Exp. Sta. Research Bulletin* 668. Columbia, Missouri.
- LIONBERGER, HERBERT F., *Low Income Farmers in Missouri, Situation and Characteristics of 459 farm operators in four social area B counties.* *Missouri Agric. Exp. Sta. Research Bulletin* 413, Columbia, Missouri.
- LIONBERGER, HERBERT F., *Low Income Farmers in Missouri. Their contacts with potential sources of farm and home information.* *Bulletin* 441. *Missouri Agr. Exp. Sta. May* 1949.
- LIONBERGER, HERBERT F., *Some characteristics of farm operators sought as sources of farm information in a Missouri community.* *Rural Sociol.* 1953, pp. 327-338.
- LIONBERGER, HERBERT F., *Sources and use of farm and home information by low-income farmers in Missouri.* *Bulletin* 472. *Missouri Agr. Exp. Sta. May* 1949.
- LIONBERGER, HERBERT F., *The diffusion of farm and home information as an area of sociological research.* *Rural Sociol.* 1952, pp. 132-143.
- LIONBERGER, HERBERT F., and COUGHENOUR, MILTON C., *Social Structure and Diffusion of farm information.* *Univ. of Missouri, Agr. Exp. Sta. Research Bull.* 631, 1957, Columbia, Missouri.
- LIONBERGER, HERBERT F. and HASSINGER, EDWARD, *Neighbourhoods as a factor in*

- the diffusion of farm information in a Northeast Missouri farming community. *Rural Sociol.* 1954, pp. 377-384.
- LIVELY, CHARLES E. and GREGORY, CECIL, The Rural Sociocultural Area as a Field of Research. *Rural Sociol.* 1954, pp. 21-31.
- LONGMORE, W. and TAYLOR, C. C., Elasticity of Expenditures for Farm Family living, farm production and savings, United States, 1946. *Journal of Farm Economics*, Vol. 33, Febr. 1951, pp. 1-19.
- LOOMIS, CHARLES B., The Nature of Rural Social Systems - A typological Analysis. *Rural Sociology*, 1950, pp. 156-174.
- LOOMIS, CHARLES B. and BEEGLE, J. ALLAN, *Rural Social Systems*. New York, Prentice Hall, Inc. 1951.
- LOOMIS, C. and BEEGLE, A., *Rural Sociology - The Strategy of Change*. Prentice Hall, Inc. New York, 1957.
- LOOMIS, CHARLES P. and MC. KINNEY, JOHN C., Systematic Differences between Latin-America communities of family farms and large estates. *The Am. Journal of Sociol.* 1955-56.
- MAIER, R. N. F., The quality of group discussion as influenced by a discussion leader. *Human Relations*, III, 1950.
- MALINOWSKY, B., *Magic, Science, Religion and other Essays*. Boston, 1948.
- MALINOWSKY, B., The group and the individual in functional analysis. *The Am. Journ. of Sociol.* 1938-39.
- MANGUS, A. R., Personality Adjustment of rural and urban children. *The Am. Sociol. Review*, 1948, pp. 566-575.
- MANGUS, A. R. and COITAM, H. R., Level of Living, Social Participation and Adjustment of Ohio Farm People. *Ohio Agric. Exp. Sta. Bulletin* 624, Sept. 1941, Wooster, Ohio.
- MANNHEIM, K., *Diagnosis of our time*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1954.
- MANNHEIM, K., *Essays on Sociology and Social Psychology*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1953.
- MANNHEIM, K., *Ideology and Utopia*. A Harvest Book, Date unknown.
- MANNHEIM, K., *Man and Society in an age of Reconstruction*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1954.
- MARCH, G., Group norms and the active minority. *Am. Sociol. Review*, Vol. 19, 1954, pp. 733-741.
- MARIS, A, SCHEER, C. D., VISSER, M. A. J., *Het Kleine-Boeren Vraagstuk op de zandgronden*. Van Gorcum N.V. Assen, MCMLI.
- MARSH, PAUL C. and COLEMAN, LEE A., Farmers' Practice-adoption rates in relation to adoption rates of „leaders.” *Rural Sociology* 1954, pp. 180-181.
- MARSH, PAUL C. and COLEMAN, LEE A., Group influences and agricultural innovations: Some tentative findings and hypotheses. *The Am. Journal of Sociol.* 1955-56, pp. 588-594.
- MARSH, PAUL C. and COLEMAN, LEE A., The relation of neighbourhood of residence to adoption of recommended farm practices. *Rural Sociol.* 1954, pp. 385-389.
- MARSH, PAUL C., MARSH, MARGARET and MAYO, SELZ, C., Tentative Hypothesis concerning designated leaders in two rural locality groups in Wake Country, North Carolina, *Research Notes, Rural Sociology*, 1951.
- MARTIN, WALTER T., Ecological Change in Satellite Rural Areas. *Am. Sociol. Review*, Vol. 22, April 1957, pp. 173-183.
- MAYO, ELTON, *The social problem of an industrial civilization*. Harvard, 1945.

- MC. LUNG LEE, ALFRED, Attitudinal Multivalence in relation to culture and personality. *Am. Journal of Sociol.* 1954-55, pp. 294-299.
- MC. KAIN, WALTER JR. and BURNIGHT, ROBERT G., The sociological significance of the rural-urban fringe, from the rural point of view. *Rural Sociology*, 1953, pp. 101-120.
- MEAD, G., *Mind, Self and Society*. Chicago, 1934.
- MEAD, M., *Cultural patterns and technological change*, Unesco, 1953.
- MEADOWS, P., The city, technology and history, *Social Forces*, Dec. 1957, No. 2, pp. 141-147.
- MENDRAS, H., Attitudes des agriculteurs du Sundgau vis-à-vis de la modernisation de l'agriculture, C.A.H.R. Comité d'Action pour le progrès économique et social Haut Rinois, 1956.
- MERTON, ROBERT K., Social Structure and Anomie. *Am. Sociol. Review*, 1938, pp. 672-682.
- MERTON, ROBERT K., *Social Theory and Social Structure*. The Free Press. Glencoe, Illinois, 1957.
- MILLS, C. W., Language, logic and culture. *American Sociol. Rev.* Vol. IV, 1939, pp. 670-680.
- MINDERHOUD, G., *De Nederlandse Landbouw v.u.b.*, Tweede Druk.
- MINDERHOUD, G., *Landbouw-coöperatie in Nederland*. J. B. Wolters, Groningen-Batavia, 1949, Tweede druk.
- MINER, HORACE, A new epoch in Rural Quebec. *The Am. Journ. of Sociol.* LVI, June 1950, pp. 1-10.
- MINER, HORACE, Culture and agriculture; An anthropological study of a Cornbelt County. Ann Arbor; University of Michigan Press, 1949.
- MINER, HORACE, *St. Denis: A French-Canadian Parish*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1939.
- MIN. VAN LANDBOUW, VISSERIJ EN VOEDSELV., *Memorie van Toelichting bij de Landbouwbegroting voor 1958*. 's-Gravenhage.
- MINTZ, SIDNEY W., The folk-urban continuum and the rural proletarian community. *Am. Journal of Sociol.*, LIX 1953-54, pp. 136-143.
- MONTGOMERY, JAMES E., Three Southern Appalachian Communities: An analysis of cultural variables. *Rural Soc.* 1949, pp. 138-148.
- MUMFORD, LEWIS, *Technics and Civilization*. Harcourt Brace, New York, 1935.
- NADEL, S. F., The concept of social elites. *Int. Soc. Sc. Bull.* Vol. VIII, No. 3, 1956, pp. 413-424.
- NELSON, LOWRY, Rural life in mass-industrial society. *Rural Sociol.* 1957, pp. 20-30.
- NELSON, LOWRY & MC. VOY, EDGAR, How Satisfying is Rural Life? *Rural Sociol.* 1942, vol. 7, No. 3.
- NEWCOMB, TH. M., *Social Psychology*. The Dryden Press, New York, 1952.
- NEWCOMB, TH. M., *Social Psychology*. Tavistock Publications L.T.D., 1955.
- NICOLSON, HAROLD, *Good Behaviour - being a study of certain types of civility*. Constable and Co. Ltd., London, 1955.
- NOBUTAKA, IKE, *The beginning of political democracy in Japan*. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1950.
- NYE, IVAN, Adolescent-Parent Adjustment. Rurality as a variable. *Rural Sociol.* 1950, pp. 334-339.
- ODUM, HOWARD W., Folk Sociology as a subject field for the historical study of total human society and the empirical study of group behaviour. *Social Forces* XXI, 3 (March 1953), pp. 193-223.

- OLDENDORFF, A., *De psychologie van het sociale leven*. Erven J. Bijleveld, Utrecht, 1955.
- OSBORNE, TRAVIS R., GREENE, JAMES E. and SANDERS, WILMA B., *Urban-Rural differences in personality of college students as measured by an adjustment inventory*. *Rural Sociol.* 1952, pp. 61-62.
- OUWELTJES, J., *Boer en Organisatie*. Wageningen, 1957, unpublished.
- PARSONS, H. KENNETH and MAPLES, ELIOT O., *Keeping the farm in the family*. Madison: Wisconsin AES Research Bulletin 157, Sept. 1945.
- PEDERSEN, HARALD A., *Cultural differences in the acceptance of recommended Practices*. *Rural Sociol.* 1951, pp. 37-49.
- PENDERS, A. J., *Rondom de Landbouwvoorlichting*. XIII *Landbouwvoorlichting*, 2 Febr. 1957.
- PERRY BALL, WILBUR, *Influence of high school vocational agriculture on farm mechanics used by participants in the veteran farm training programme - Doctoral thesis, 1956, Iowa State College, in Journal of Science No. 2, 1957, Vol. 32*.
- POLAK, F. L., *Over de vooruitgang van het maatschappelijk denken*. *Sociologisch Jaarboek, uitgegeven door de Ned. Sociol. Veren. Vierde deel, 1950*.
- POND, G. A. and WILCOX, W. W., *A Study of the Human Factor in Farm Management*. *Journal of Farm Economics*, Vol. XIV, 1932, pp. 470-479.
- PORTFIELD, A. L., *Suicide and crime in Folk and Secular Society*. *The Amer. Journ. of Sociol.* 1951-52, Vol. LVII, pp. 331-339.
- POWDEMAKER, HORTENSE, *Social Change through imagery and values of teen-agers Africans in Northern Rhodesia*. *Amer. Anthropol.* vol. 58, 1956, pp. 783-813.
- PROVINCIALE BESTUUR VAN NOORD-BRABANT, *Rapport over een onderzoek naar de stand van het gewoon Lager Onderwijs in Noord-Brabant*. Juni 1957.
- QUEEN, STUART A. and CARPENTER, DAVID B., *The sociological significance of the rural-urban fringe. From the urban point of view*. *Rural Sociology*, 1953, pp. 101-120.
- RAPER, ARTHUR, F., *Some recent changes in Japanese village life*. *Rural Sociol.* 1951, pp. 3-16.
- REDFIELD, R., *A village that chose progress, Chan-Kom revisited*. The University of Chicago Press, 1950.
- REDFIELD, R., *Peasant Society and Culture; an anthropological approach to civilization*. Chicago University Press, Chicago 1956.
- REDFIELD, R., *Primitive Merchants of Guatemala*. *Quarterly Journal of Inter-American Relations*, Vol. 1, No. 4, 1939, pp. 48-49.
- REDFIELD, R., *The folk culture of Yucatan*. The University of Chicago Press. Chicago, 1941.
- REDFIELD, R., *The folk society*. *The Am. Journal of Sociology*. Jan. 1947, pp. 293-308.
- REDFIELD, R., *The little community*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1955.
- REDFIELD, R., *The primitive world and its transformations*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca 1953.
- REDL, FRITZ, *Group Education and Leadership*. *Psychiatry*, 1942, pp. 576-583.
- REISS, ALBERT JR., *An analysis of urban phenomena*. In *The Metropolis in modern life*, Robert M. Fisher ed. Doubleday & Co., New York, 1955.

- REISSMAN, LEONARD, Class, Leisure and Social Participation. *Am. Sociol. Review*, 1954, No. 19, pp. 77-84.
- REMMELINK, D. J. W., De landbouw gedurende de laatste 75 jaar; in Jubileum-uitgave van de Graafschapsbode, 1 oct. 1954, Doetinchem.
- ROGERS, EVERETT, M., A conceptual variable analysis of technological change. *Rural Sociol.* 1958, pp. 136-145.
- ROMEIN, J., Gedachten over de vooruitgang. *Sociologisch Jaarboek*, uitgegeven door de Ned. Sociol. Veren. Vierde deel 1951.
- ROSS, STAGNER, Methodology of Attitude Measurement. *Research in Social Psychology in Rural Life* - John Black ed. Soc. Sc. Res. Council, New York, 1933.
- ROWER, ROBERT A., Family Farming as a value. *Rural Sociol.* 1951, pp. 330-339.
- ROWER, ROBERT A., Fewer Full-Time Farmers. *Current Farm Economics*. Vol. 23, No. 5, Oct. 1950, pp. 153-156.
- ROWER, ROBERT A., Organized Farmers in Oklahoma. *Rural Sociol.* 1952, pp. 39-47.
- ROWER, ROBERT A., Social Relations in beginning as a farm operator in an area of prosperous, commercial farming. *Rural Sociol.* 1949, pp. 325-335.
- RUTTAN, VERNON W., Industrial Progress and Rural Stagnation in the new South. *Social Forces*, 1955, Vol. 34, pp. 114-118.
- RUTTAN, V. W., The impact of urban-industrial development on agriculture in the Tennessee Valley and the South East. *Journal of Farm Economics*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 1, Feb. 1955.
- RUTTEN, F., De overgang van het agrarische volkstype in het industriële. *Kon. Ned. Akad. van Wetenschappen. Akademiedagen. Deel 1, 's-Hertogenbosch*, 1947.
- RYAN, BRYCE, The Ceylonese village and the new value system. *Rural Sociology*, 1952, pp. 8-28.
- RIJKSLANDBOUWCONSULENTSCHAAP ZUTPHEN, Mededelingen No. 4, Zutphen, November 1954.
- SAAL, C. D., Het gezinsleven in Nederland, met name ten plattelande. *Sociologisch Jaarboek*, uitgegeven door de Ned. Sociol. Veren. Vijfde deel, 1951.
- SAAL, C. D., Sociale Dynamiek. *Structuurveranderingen in de plattelandssamenleving*. Groningen 29 Feb. 1952 - J. B. Wolters, Groningen-Djakarta.
- SCHATZMAN, LEONARD and STRAUSS, ANSELM, Social Class and Modes of Communication. *Am. Journal of Sociol.* Vol. 60, 1954-55, pp. 329-338.
- SCOTELLARO, ROCCO, I contadini del Sud, Laterza Editore, Bari, 1954.
- SCHULTZ, TH. W., Production and Welfare of Agriculture. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1950.
- SCHULTZ, TH. W., Theory of the firm in farm management research. *Journal of Farm Economics*, Vol. XXI, Aug. 1939.
- SHU-CHING LEE, Employment Conditions of the Agricultural Labour in China and his prospects for social advancement. *Rural Sociology*, 1951, pp. 238-245.
- SISSINGH, G., Het landschap en de bossen in de Gelderse Achterhoek in verleden, heden en toekomst, in Jubileum-uitgave van De Graafschapsbode, 1 oct. 1954, Doetinchem.
- SJÖDBERG, GIDEON, Folk and „Feudal” Societies, *The Am. Journal of Sociol.* Nov. 1952, pp. 231-239.
- SKRABANCK, R. L., Commercial Farming in the United States. *Rural Sociol.* 1954, pp. 136-142.

- SLOCUM, WALTER L. and CASE, HERMAN M., Are neighbourhoods meaningful social groups throughout rural America? *Rural Sociology*, 1953, pp. 52-55.
- SMITH, LYNN, *The sociology of rural life*. New York, Harper & Bros. III Edition, 1953.
- SOROKIN, P. A., *Forms and Problems of culture-integration and methods of their study*. *Rural Sociology*, 1936.
- SOROKIN, P. A., *Society, Culture and Personality*. Harper and Brothers, New York and London, 1947.
- SOROKIN, P. A. and ZIMMERMAN, C. C., *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology*. New York 1929, Henry Holt Company.
- SOROKIN, P. A., ZIMMERMAN, C. C. and GALPIN, C. J., *Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology* - University of Minnesota Press I, Minneapolis.
- SPAULDING, IRVING A., *Farm Operator Time-Space Orientations and the Adoption of Recommended Farming Practices*. Rhode Island Agric. Exp. Sta. Bull. 330, Kingston 1955.
- SPAULDING, IRVING, A., *Serendipity and the Rural-Urban Continuum*. *Rural Sociology* 1951, pp. 29-36.
- STARING, C. H., *De landbouw op de Nederlandse zandgronden*, in *Vriend van den Landman*, 1849, pp. 283-333.
- STEGEMAN, B., *Een en ander over de historische achtergrond der Achterhoekse Scholtengoederen*. Doetinchem, 1952.
- STEGEMAN, B., *Het oude kerspel Winterswijk*, Zutphen, 1927.
- STEWART, JULIAN H., *Comments on the Statement on Human Rights*. *American Anthropologist*, N.S.L., 1948, pp. 351-352.
- STOGDILL, RALPH M., *Personal Factors Associated with leadership: a survey of the literature*. *The Journal of Psychology*, Vol. 25, 1948, pp. 35-71.
- STRAUS, MURRAY A., *Personal characteristics and functional needs in the choice of farming as an occupation*. *Rural Sociol.* 1956, pp. 257-266.
- STRONG, E. B., *Individual Adjustment in Industrial Society*. *Am. Sociol. Review*, Vol. xiv, No. 3, June 1949.
- Subcommittee for the study of diffusion of Farm Practices, *Special Report No. 15*, Agric. Extension Service, Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa, 1955.
- SZCZEPANSKI, J., *Changes in Structure and Function of the Intelligentsia*. *Intern. Soc. Sc. Bull.* Vol. IX, No. 2, 1957, pp. 180-192.
- TAVES, MARWIN J., *Farm versus village living; a decade of change*. *Rural Sociol.* 1952, pp. 47-55.
- TAX, SOL., *Culture and civilization in a Guatemalan Society*. *Scientific Monthly*, Vol. 48, 1939, pp. 463-467.
- TAX., SOL., *World View and Social Relations in Guatemala*. *The American Anthropologist*. XLIII No. 1 (new series), 1941, pp. 27-42.
- TER COCK, A. A., *De vrouwen van de Herveldse Fruittelers en hun waardering van voorlichting*. Unpublished Engineer Thesis, Dept. of Rural Sociology, Wageningen, 1958.
- THOMPSON, L., *The challenge of change*. Oxford University Press, London, New York, Toronto, 1956.
- THORNDIKE, EDWARD L., *The influence of disparity of income on welfare*. *The Amer. Journ. of Sociol.* XLIII, 1938-39, pp. 25-35.
- THURSTONE, L. L., *Attitudes can be measured*. *Amer. Journ. of Sociol.* 1928, Vol. 33.
- TÖNNIES, FERDINAND, *Community and Association - Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*

- translated and supplemented by Charles P. Loomis. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1955.
- TURBEVILLE, GUS and SCHULER, EDGAR A., Reading and reading interests of housewives in a rural county. A comparison of county library users and non library users in families of leaders and a cross-section sample in Lenawee county, Michigan, 1946-1947. *Rural Sociol.* 1949, pp. 220-232.
- UBBINK, W. H., De verandering in het grondgebruik in een zandgemeente (Hengelo Gld.) in de jaren 1900-1950. 's-Gravenhage, 1955, Uitg. Excelsior.
- U.N. and F.A.O., European Agriculture. A Statement of problems. Geneva, 1954.
- UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES INSTITUTE, Psychology and Life. Madison, Wisconsin, 1950, II.
- VAN DEN BAN, A. W., Boer en Landbouwonderwijs - de landbouwkundige ontwikkeling van de Nederlandse boeren. Bulletin No. 6, Afd. Sociologie en Sociografie van de Landbouwhogeschool, Wageningen, 1957.
- VAN DEN BAN, A. W., Enkele kenmerken en eigenschappen van de vooruitstrevende boeren, I. Bulletin No. 5, Afd. Sociologie en Sociografie van de Landbouwhogeschool, Wageningen, 1956.
- VAN DEN BAN, A. W., Regionale verschillen in de toepassing van enkele landbouwmethoden. Bulletin No. 10, Afd. Sociologie en Sociografie van de Landbouwhogeschool, Wageningen, 1957.
- VAN DE VEN, W. J., Problemen rond de verbreiding van de kunstmatige inseminatie. Wageningen, 1957, unpublished.
- VAN DITZHUIZEN, F. B. M. G., Sociale wetgeving in verband met het karakter van een Twentse bevolkingsgroep. Delden - (Diss.), Lochem 1955, Mij. „De Tijdstroom.”
- VAN DOORN, J. A. A., De Nederlandse ontwikkelingsgebieden als sociologisch vraagstuk. Sociaal-wetenschappelijke verkenningen. Uitgave bij gelegenheid van het 15-jarig bestaan van het Instituut voor Sociaal Onderzoek van het Nederlandse Volk - Assen, 1957, pp. 62-85.
- VAN LIER, R. A. J., Cultuurconflict in de heterogene samenleving. Sociologisch Jaarboek, uitgegeven door de Ned. Sociol. Veren., Achtste Deel, 1954.
- VAN LOON, P. C. J., De factor „Mens” bij de industrialisatie der Nederlandse ontwikkelingsgebieden. Maandschrift Economie, 1951/52, pp. 422-430.
- VON DIETZE, C., ROLFES, M., WEIPPERT, G., Lebensverhältnisse in Kleinbäuerliche Dörfern. *Berichten über Landwirtschaft* 158, Sonderheft, Hamburg und Berlin, 1953.
- VERWEY-JONKER, H., Het conservatieve denken. Sociologisch Jaarboek, uitgegeven door de Ned. Sociol. Veren. Vijfde deel, 1951.
- VIS, H., Het verkeer in de Achterhoek en de Liemers, in Jubileum-uitgave van De Graafschapsbode, 1 oct. 1954, Doetinchem.
- WARMENHOVEN, B. A., De leesgewoonten van de Boeren. Een onderzoek in Winterswijk. Wageningen, 1958, mimeographed.
- WARRINER, CHARLES K., Leadership in the small group. *Am. Journal of Sociol.* 1954-55, pp. 361-369.
- WEISSKOPF, WALTER A., The psychology of Economics. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1955.

- WESTERMARK, N., The Human Factor and Success in Farming. *Acta Agriculturae Scandinavica*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1951.
- WHETTEN, NATHAN L., Suburbanization as a Field of Sociological Research. *Rural Sociol.* 1951, pp. 319-330.
- WHETTEN, N. L. and DEVEREUX, E. C. JR., Studies of Suburbanization in Connecticut N.J. „Windsor: A highly developed agricultural area,” *Bulletin* 212, Storrs, Agr. Exp. Sta, Connecticut State College, Oct. 1936.
- WICHERS, A. J., De beoefening van de bloemisterij en groententeelt te Beesd. *Bulletin* No. 3, Afd. Sociologie en Sociografie van de Landbouwhogeschool, Wageningen, 1956.
- WICHERS, A. J., De voorlichtingssituatie in de Betuwe: een sociaal-psychologische analyse en een evaluatie van een campagne tot sanering van de fruitteelt. *Bulletin* No. Afd. Sociologie en Sociografie van de Landbouwhogeschool, Wageningen, 1958.
- WILCOX, W. W., The Human Factor from the viewpoint of farm management. *Journal of Farm Economics*, Vol. XIV, 1932, pp. 119-127.
- WILCOX, W. W., BOSS A. and POND, G., Relation of variations in the human factor to financial returns in farming. *University of Minnesota, A.E.S. Bulletin* 288, June 1932.
- WILCOX, W. W. and LLOYD, G., The Human Factor in the Management of Indiana Farms. *Purdue University, A.E.S. Bulletin* 369, 1932.
- WILKENING, E. A., A Socio-psychological approach to the study of acceptance of innovations in farming. *Rural Sociology*, Dec. 1950, pp. 352-364.
- WILKENING, E. A., Change in Farm Technology as related to Familism, Family Decision Making, and Family Integration. *Am. Sociol. Review*, Vol. 19, Febr. 1954, pp. 29-37.
- WILKENING, E. A., Informal leaders and innovations in farm practices. *Rural Sociology*, 1952, pp. 272-275.
- WILKENING, E. A., Sources of Information for Improved Farm Practices. *Rural Sociol.* 1950, pp. 19-30.
- WILKENING, E. A., Techniques of assessing farm family values. *Rural Sociol.* 1954, pp. 39-49.
- WILSON-VINE, MARGARET, Social change in a Norwegian Valley Community. *Rur. Sociol.* 1957, pp. 67-71.
- WINSEMIUS, J., De Verstedelijking in Nederland. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 43ste Jaargang, No. 5, Mei 1952.
- WIRTH, LOUIS, The Urban Society and Civilization. *The Amer. Journ. of Sociol.* Vol. XLV, 1939.
- WIRTH, LOUIS, Urbanism as a way of life. *The Amer. Journ. of Sociol.* Vol. XLIV, 1938-39, pp. 1-24.
- WOODWARD, J. W., The Relation of Personality Structure to the Structure of Culture. *Am. Sociol. Review* 1, 1938, pp. 637-651.
- WURZBACHER, G., Das Dorf im Spannungsfeld industrieller Entwicklung. *Unesco Institut für Sozialwissenschaften, Ferdinand Enke Verlag, Stuttgart*, 1954.
- ZIEGLER, JESSE H., A Socio-Psychological Study of a Changing Rural Culture. Ph. D. dissertation, Washington D.C. 1942.
- ZIMMER, B. G., Farm Background and Urban Participation. *The Americ. Journ. of Sociol.*, LXI, pp. 470-475.

- ZIMMERMAN, CARL C., *Consumption and Standard of Living*. New York, D. van Nostrand Co. Inc. 1936.
- ZIMMERMAN, CARL C., *Outline of cultural rural sociology*. Cambridge, 1948, mimeographed.
- ZIMMERMAN, CARL C., *The effects of Social Change upon the Rural Personality*. *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 14, 1949.
- ZIMMERMAN, CARL C., *The Family Farm*. *Rural Sociol.* 1950, pp. 211-221.

*Concept interview with 25 key-persons (informants)
of Winterswijk - Februari-April 1956*

Algemeen I. (Burgemeester en gem. secretaris).

i. Zijn de boeren in het algemeen op de hoogte van wat er ter discussie komt in de gemeenteraad?

Zo neen, komt dat door algemeen gebrek aan belangstelling? Zo neen, door een mogelijk gevoel dat tegenwoordig de zaken veel te ingewikkeld worden en dat ze hun "boven de pet" gaan?

Zo ja, hebt U het idee, althans voor de boeren die wel belangstelling tonen, dat deze belangstelling samenhangt met een bepaalde standing (bedrijfs grootte, naam, vermogen, enz.); of hangt deze eerder samen met andere menselijke eigenschappen (algemeen brede belangstelling, scholing, algemene vorming, enz.)?

ii. Als U deze twee groepen namen bekijkt, hebt U dan het idee dat een groep meer mensen omvat die in aanmerking zouden kunnen komen voor de gem. raad, of voor andere maatschappelijke functies dan de andere? Welke is deze groep dan?

iii. Als het gaat om bepaalde gemeentelijke initiatieven (collecten voor liefdadigheid, commissies voor volksfeesten, besturen van scholen en bibliotheken enz.) is het dan steeds min of meer dezelfde kring van mensen die daarvoor in aanmerking komt?

Zoudt U dat dan kunnen verklaren? Wat speelt naar Uw mening hier een grotere rol: de economische en sociale belangen van degenen die er wel aan mee doen, of het gebrek aan belangstelling, aan durf, en aan initiatief van degenen die er *niet* aan meedoen?

iv. Welke is de houding van de boeren t.o.v. de overheid (ook t.o.v. het lokale bestuur)

a. ze nemen zonder meer wat de overheid doet, zonder reactie van betekenis

b. de reacties beperken zich tot kleine

General I. (Mayor and secretary of the municipality).

i. Do the farmers generally know what is being discussed during the meetings of the town council?

If that is not the case, does it depend on a general lack of interest? If not, does it depend on a possible feeling that at present the administrative matters become much too intricate and that they cannot cope with them?

If yes, do you have the idea, at least for the farmers who do show some interest, that this interest is connected with a particular standing (farmsize, prestige, family-fortune, etc.); or is this interest sooner connected with other human characteristics (general wide interest, training, general culture, etc.)?

ii. If you look at these two groups of names, do you have then the idea that one group includes more people than the other who could be considered apt to occupy a seat as alderman in the town-council, or to occupy other social functions? Which group is it then?

iii. When some particular community initiatives are undertaken (collections for charity, commissions for fairs, bazaars, boards of schools and libraries etc.) are generally always the same group of people who are resorted to for the occasion?

Could you explain the reason for it? What does in your opinion play here a bigger role: the economic and social interests of those who are usually active, or the want of interest, of dare, and of initiative of those who are *not* active?

iv. What is the attitude of the farmers with regard to the government (National as well as local)

a. they accept without reserve what the public authorities do, without any reaction of importance.

b. the reactions are limited to small

(meestal niet materiële) tekenen van tevredenheid of van critiek

c. men gaat vrij gemakkelijk over tot grotere acties (stukken in de krant, protesten, enz.).

v. In geval van c komen deze acties dan uit individuele personen of uit organisaties?

Zoudt U ook een paar voorbeelden kunnen noemen?

vi. Omtrent de onderwerpen besproken in iv en v zoudt U verschillende houdingen verwachten van groep A en groep B?

En is er ook een waarneembaar algemeen verschil tussen de boerenbevolking en de dorpsbewoners?

vii. Heeft U het gemakkelijk in Winterswijk?

Wat zijn de dingen die U de meeste zorg veroorzaken?

Voor zover U moeilijkheden met de agrariërs hebt, welke zijn dit dan?

viii. De volgende vraag is misschien een zeer abstracte vraag, maar had U het liever dat de gehele Winterswijkse boerenbevolking bestond uit mensen van type A, of uit mensen van type B? En waarom?

Algemeen II. (Landbouwdeskundigen, artsen, dierenartsen, predikanten, leraren).

ix. Woont U hier al lang?

x. Vindt U dat er verschil bestaat tussen de Winterswijkse boerenbevolking en de dorpelingen?

xi. Is naar Uw mening de boerenbevolking zich van dit verschil bewust?

Hoe reageert zij daarop, doet zij mee aan feesten, vergaderingen en andere sociale aangelegenheden waarin ook de dorpsbewoners deelnemen?

(usually not material) signs of satisfaction or of criticism

c. also actions of some importance (articles in the newspaper, protests etc.) are easily undertaken.

v. In the case of c are these actions undertaken by individuals or by organizations?

Could you quote a few examples?

vi. With regard to the subjects discussed in iv and v would you expect different attitudes from group A and group B?

And is there also a visible general difference between the farming population and the villagers?

vii. Do you find life easy in Winterswijk? What causes you the most serious trouble?

When you have any difficulties with the rural population, what are they usually about?

viii. This question is perhaps a very abstract one, but would you prefer the whole Winterswijk farming population to consist of people of the type A, or of people of the type B? And why?

General II. (Agricultural experts, physicians, veterinarians, clergymen, teachers).

ix. Have you been living here a long time?

x. In your opinion is there a difference between farming population and villagers in this municipality?

xi. In your opinion, is the farming population aware of this difference?

How do they react thereupon? Do they participate to festivals, meetings and other social manifestations in which also the villagers participate?

xii. Voorzover er een verschil bestaat zoudt U het kunnen verklaren uit een gevoel van „valse schaarnte,” uit een soort van minderwaardigheidsgevoel t.o.v. de burgerij, of uit een gebrek aan belangstelling en initiatief, vooral als het gaat om manifestaties die niet bepaald tot hun eigen milieu behoren?

Als er ook jongere, „verstedelijkte,” boeren zijn, doen ze dan wel mee met het dorp?

xiii. Was het (is het) gemakkelijk voor U zich in te werken bij de agrariërs?

xiv. Komt U, in Uw verschillende hoedanigheden (als beoefenaar van Uw beroep, als burger van de gemeente Winterswijk, als lid van mogelijke commissies of besturen) steeds in dezelfde mate in aanraking met de agrariërs? Of kunt U meestal ergens een scheidslijn tussen de wereld van de dorpsbewoners en die van de landbouwers opmerken?

xv. Nu ga ik U twee lijsten met namen van boeren tonen, ik heb ze genoemd *groep A* en *groep B*. Wat mij interesseert zijn niet de verschillende afzonderlijke personen die in de groep zitten, maar het type mens dat in elk van de twee groepen het meest is vertegenwoordigd. Voorzover U deze mensen kent, zoudt U ze dan in kort bestek kunnen typeren? Is er enig verschil in het soort mensen die deze twee groepen omvatten? U moet überhaupt *niet* aan bedrijfs-grootte denken, daar ze al naar bedrijfs-grootte gegroepeerd zijn.

N.B. De hierna volgende vragen hebben alle betrekking op de boerenstand alleen. Wilt U bij het beantwoorden van deze vragen a.U.b. aandacht besteden aan de aanwezigheid van mogelijk verschillend gedrag tussen groep A en groep B t.a.v. het onderwerp van de vraag?

xii. As far as a difference exists, could you explain it as being a consequence of a feeling of “false shame,” of a sort of inferiority complex with regard to the villagers, or is this difference sooner due to a lack of interest and initiative, especially if manifestations are undertaken which definitely do not quite belong to the “rural” environment? If there are also younger, “urbanised,” farmers, do they actively participate in the social life of the village?

xiii. Was it (is it) easy for you to be accepted by the rural population?

xiv. Do you come, in your different roles (in the exercise of your profession, as a citizen of the Winterswijk community, as a member of possible boards and committees) always in contact in the same degree with the rural population? Or can you somehow notice, as it were, a kind of demarcation line (within the life of Winterswijk society) between the world of the villagers and that of the rural population?

xv. Now I shall show you two lists of names of farmers. I call them *group A* and *group B*. What interests me are not the different individual persons mentioned in each group. I am interested in the general type of person as such, most represented in each of the two groups. As far as you know these people, could you typify them briefly? Is there any difference in the kind of people comprised in these two groups as whole?

When you think of possible discriminating characteristics you must *not* think of the size of the farm, since these people are already grouped according to farm-size.

N.B. The following questions are all related to the farming population only. Please will you pay attention, in replying to these questions, at the presence of possible different patterns of behaviour between group A and group B with regard to the subject of the question?

- xvi. Is het gezag van de ouders nog sterk binnen het gezin? (A. B.).
- xvii. Tellen de grootouders ook sterk mee in de opvoeding van kinderen en in de beslissingen inzake het bedrijf? (A. B.).
- xviii. Heeft de vrouw grote invloed in het gezin? en in het bedrijf? (A. B.).
hoe:
a. deelt ze in feite achter de schermen de lakens uit?
b. in de vorm van openlijke medezeggenschap, als gelijkwaardig aanvaarde levensgezel. (A. B.).
- xix. Is in het algemeen de vrouw actief buiten de kring van bedrijf en bureu? (A. B.).
- xx. Welke is de rol van de vader t.o.v. de kinderen?
Is hij een goedmoedige adviseur, een soort kameraad, of is hij in het algemeen meer een afzijdige figuur die alleen maar ingrijpt als het echt nodig is? (A. B.).
- xxi. Is het individu ondergeschikt aan het gezin, a.h.w., in dienst van het gezin; of is het eerder het omgekeerde, d.w.z. dat veel wordt gedaan om elk van de kinderen te helpen bij een zo goed mogelijke voldoening van persoonlijke (individualistische) idealen? (A. B.).
- xxii. Bestaan er *bewust* nagestreefde persoonlijke idealen onder de boerenjeugd, of is het hele gezin gepolariseerd om het gemeenschappelijke bedrijf? (A. B.).
- xxiii. Wat zou de houding van gezin en familie zijn bij een duidelijke overtreding of schending van de bestaande gezins-idealén, door één van zijn leden? (A. B.).
- xxiv. En wat zou de houding van gezin en familie zijn bij een duidelijke schen-
- xvi. Is the influence of the parents in family life still strong? (A. B.).
- xvii. Do the grandparents also have a strong influence upon the education of children and upon the decisions regarding the farm-management? (A. B.).
- xviii. Has the wife a big influence in the family? and in the farm? (A. B.).
how:
a. does she boss in fact the show behind the scenes?
b. by means of an open and recognized sharing of all the responsibilities, as an equivalent accepted companion in a man's life? (A. B.).
- xix. Is in general the wife active outside the circle of farm and neighbours? (A. B.).
- xx. Which is the role of the father with regard to the children?
Is he a good natured adviser, a kind of friend, or is he in general more a reserved and distant figure, that intervenes only when it is really necessary? (A. B.).
- xxi. Is the individual subordinate to the family, as it were, employed for the common family aim; or is it sooner the contrary? I mean, is much being done in order to assist each of the children satisfactorily for the fulfilment of their individual and personal ideals? (A. B.).
- xxii. Is there amongst the farmers' youth any *conscious* striving for personal ideals, or is the whole family-activity focussed upon the family's possession, the farm? (A. B.).
- xxiii. What would be the attitude of the family if it were confronted with a clear transgression or breaking of the existing family ideals by one of its members? (A. B.).
- xxiv. And what would be the attitude of the family towards a clear breaking

ding van de bestaande zeden en normen, door één van zijn leden?

Zouden ze de schuld openlijk erkennen, en zelfs veroordelen, of zouden ze proberen de overtreder te helpen en te beschermen t.o.v. de „buitenwereld” (zij het slechts d.m.v. morele bijstand)? (A. B.).

xxv. Heeft de oudste zoon (of het oudste kind) buitengewone rechten en plichten t.o.v. de ouders enerzijds en de andere kinderen anderzijds? (A. B.).

xxvi. Duldt men menging in gezins-aangelegenheden?

bv. kunnen de burens een woordje meespreken en wordt dan naar hen geluisterd? (A. B.).

xxvii. Wordt een bestraffing van een kind door een buitenstaander (buurman) getolereerd? (A. B.).

xxviii. Trekken tegenwoordig de kinderen meer naar het dorp toe voor ontspanning, of gaan ze ook over de grenzen van de gemeente? (A. B.).

Is er een aanzienlijk verschil tussen de twee laatste generaties?

xxix. Spelen bij de huwelijkskeuze praktische overwegingen en materiële belangen een belangrijke rol?

Zijn er veranderingen opgetreden in de laatste jaren? (A. B.).

xxx. Bestaat er zoiets als gezinsplanning onder de boerenbevolking? (A. B.).

xxxi. Is er sprake van een *bewuste* vrijetijdsbesteding?

Bestaat er een behoefte aan recreatie, en voorzover aanwezig, wordt dan in deze behoefte binnen het kader van bedrijf en gezin voorzien, of is er een tendens om voor ieder lid van het gezin afzonderlijk in deze behoefte te voldoen? (A. B.).

of the generally accepted moral and rules by one of its members?

Would they openly admit the fault of, and even condemn its guilty member, or would they rather try to aid and to protect the transgressor against the “outside world” (being it only by means of moral support)? (A. B.).

xxv. Does the eldest son (or the eldest child) have extraordinary rights and duties with regard to the parents, on the one hand, and to the other children on the other? (A. B.).

xxvi. Do people bear interference (of outsiders) into family business?

For instance do the neighbours have any saying in the matter, and do people listen to them? (A. B.).

xxvii. Is a punishment to a child by an outsider (neighbour) tolerated? (A. B.).

xxviii. Nowadays do the children go more frequently to the village for recreation, or do they also cross the boundaries of the community? (A. B.).

Is there a visible difference between the last two generations as to this respect?

xxix. Do practical considerations and material interests play an important role by the choice of a partner for a marriage?

Have there been any changes in the last years? (A. B.).

xxx. Among the farming population is there anything like family-planning? (A. B.).

xxxi. Would you say that one's own leisure time is *consciously* used?

Is there need for recreation?, and, as far as it is present, is this need then met within the cadre of farm and family, or is there a tendency to satisfy this need for each member of the family separately? (A. B.).

xxxii. Wordt spierenarbeid hoog gewaardeerd?

Ook een baantje als laag ambtenaar buiten het bedrijf wordt in het algemeen door een boerenzoon gewaardeerd.

Is dat misschien juist zo, omdat er *geen* spierenwerk hoeft verricht te worden? (A. B.).

xxxiii. Meent U dat de ouders het moeilijk vinden om plaats te maken voor de jongeren?

Zo ja, komt dit dan door:

a. het feit, dat de boer het liefst zo lang mogelijk de touwtjes in eigen handen houdt, zoals men wel eens zegt

b. het feit, dat het boerenwerk, waarin de mensen zijn opgegroeid, als zodanig een zeer belangrijke plaats inneemt in het leven van de oude boeren? (A. B.).

xxxiv. Denkt U dat de factor die de boeren aan het bedrijf bindt de gehechtheid aan hun speciale bedrijf als zodanig is, of de gebondenheid aan het vertrouwde milieu, dat op zijn beurt elke ontwikkeling van te sterke individualistische verlangens tegenwerkt? (A. B.).

xxxv. De volgende vraag is een zeer abstracte vraag, maar als het enigszins denkbaar is dat in Winterswijk een boer zich zou kunnen losmaken uit het oude milieu om bv. naar de IJsselmeerpolders te gaan, van welke van onze twee groepen zoudt U dan eerder een dergelijk gedrag kunnen verwachten? (A. B.).

En hebt U ook een reden daarvoor?

A. Landbouwkundigen.

1. In Winterswijk zijn er enige boeren die hun vee veel beter verzorgen dan de anderen (gebruik van veevoeder-adviezen, profilactische maatregelen, stamboekvee, rubbervloeren in de stal, enz.) boeren die meedoen aan fokvedagen, die actief zijn in het bestuur van de K.I. vereniging.

xxxii. Is purely physical work highly appreciated?

Also a job as third rate clerical worker outside the farm is generally appreciated by a farmer's son.

Are these kinds of jobs perhaps appreciated because in such professions muscular work is *not* necessary? (A. B.).

xxxiii. Do you think that the parents find it difficult to make room for the younger people?

If that is so, does it depend on:

a. the fact, that the farmer eagerly wants to maintain his leadership as long as possible

b. the fact, that the work on the farm, in which the people grew up, takes as such a very important place in the life of the old farmers? (A. B.).

xxxiv. Do you think that the factor which ties the farmers to the farm is the affection to their special farm as such, or their being bound to the familiar environment, which in its turn, hinders every development of too strong individual desires? (A. B.).

xxxv. This question is a very abstract one, but could you possibly imagine that a Winterswijk farmer should be able to extract himself from the ties of the old environment, and go for instance to the IJsselmeerpolders? From which of our two groups would you sooner expect such a movement? (A. B.).

Are there any sound reasons that lead you to think so?

A. Agricultural experts.

1. In Winterswijk there are some farmers who take much better care of their cattle than the rest of the farmers (making use of the advises of feedings experts, of prophylactic measures, herdbook-cattle, rubber floors in the stables, etc.). They are the ones who normally attend the breeders' days; they are also the people usually active in the board of the Association for Artificial Insemination.

Behoren deze mensen tot een gesloten groepje, of is het eerder een kwestie van een soort diffuse activiteit die langzamerhand de hele boerenbevolking doordringt?

Zoudt U dit type mensen eerder met één van onze 2 groepen A en B kunnen identificeren dan met de andere?

2. Wat bepaalt, naar Uw mening, de vooruitstrevendheid van de boeren?

Is het zuiver een kwestie van beschikbaar kapitaal en arbeidskrachten, ijver, zin in het werk en technische kunde?

3. Het zal vermoedelijk hier ook zo zijn dat een nieuwe methode op den duur min of meer onbewust wordt aanvaard. Maar hoe groot is het aantal mensen dat iets *bewust* overneemt van bv. vakliteratuur, radiopraatjes, lezingen, ervaring van andere boeren enz. of dat expres naar U komt voor een advies over bepaalde dingen?

Van welke van onze 2 groepen mensen *zoudt* U zoiets, in ieder geval, *kunnen* verwachten? En waarom?

4. Waarom worden naar Uw mening bepaalde boeren wel lid van een standsorganisatie en andere niet? Wordt men „zomaar” lid?

Denkt U dat het contributiegeld inderdaad een beslissende rol speelt bij de beslissing van de boeren? En de tijd?

5. Maar er zijn echter ook mensen, die lid worden van andere, jongere, verenigingen, hetzij van verenigingen van culturele aard (muziek- of toneelvereniging, of de Bond van Oud-leerlingen van de l.w.s.), hetzij van verenigingen met een meer gespecificeerd doel (stamboeken, veeafzet-coöperaties, enz.).

Van welke van onze 2 groepen mensen *zoudt* U zoiets *kunnen* verwachten? En waarom?

Do these people belong to a (closed) exclusive fixed little group? Or are we sooner in presence of a kind of diffuse activity that gradually spreads among the whole farming population?

Would you identify this type of farmers sooner with one of our A and B groups rather than with the other?

2. What determines, in your opinion, the progressiveness of the farmers?

Is it purely a matter of available capital and manpower, industriousness, a liking for farming, and technical knowledge?

3. Quite probably also in Winterswijk a new method is, in the end, more or less unconsciously accepted.

But how big is the number of those people who *consciously* adopt something, for inst. from the technical press, from agricultural radioprograms, from lectures, from experiences of colleagues etc.? How many are those who come purposely to you in order to ask for advice?

From which of the two groups A and B *would* you expect something of that kind? And why?

4. In your opinion, why certain farmers become members of Farmers' Unions whereas others do not?

Do people become members "just because"?

Do you think that the contribution-fee really plays a decisive role in the farmers' decision? And the time? (which one has available).

5. However, there are also other farmers who become members of more modern associations too. For instance they become either members of cultural associations (music- and play associations; Association Alumni Agr. Winter School, etc.) or of associations with a more specialized goal (herdbooks, cattle-sale co-operatives, etc.) From which of our two groups *would* you expect something of the kind? And why?

6. Stijgt een boer in aanzien als hij zich organiseert? Of is het aantal lidmaatschappen dat men aanvaardt een zuiver persoonlijke kwestie, waaraan het milieu geen aandacht besteedt?

7. Hoe worden de bestuursleden van de verschillende verenigingen gekozen? Let men in hoofdzaak op het *geërfde* sociale aanzien, of het vermogen, of op de vlijt en op de persoonlijke bekwaamheid van de betrokkenen?

8. Is het naar Uw mening inderdaad het gebrek aan tijd en de financiële omstandigheden die de kleine boeren verhinderen in een *actieve* deelneming in het verenigingsleven?

Geldt ook hier het gezegde „een goeie voor de organisatie is geen goede boer?”

Of zijn er ook andere redenen?

9. In Winterswijk er zijn geen grote verschillen in de indeling van het bouwplan tussen grote en kleine bedrijven (behalve voor een paar gespecialiseerde bedrijven). Wat is het eigenlijk dat een verdergaande intensivering op de kleine bedrijven tegenhoudt?

Als de kleine boeren kapitaal en werkkrachten genoeg zouden hebben, zouden ze dan intensiveren?

Of is dat misschien te moeilijk voor hen want „men heeft nu eenmaal een gemengd bedrijf, waarin weinig valt te veranderen?”

10. Is het in de ogen van de boeren in Winterswijk mogelijk de kleine bedrijven volledig te reorganiseren van gemengd bedrijf tot een gespecialiseerd bedrijf, *desnoods met behulp van geleend kapitaal?*

11. Als de R.L.V.D. pogingen doet om een nieuwe methode te introduceren, wacht men dan meestal tot de één of

6. Does a farmer gain in social prestige if he joins an organization? Or perhaps the number of memberships which one accepts is a completely personal matter, to which the environment does not pay any attention?

7. How are the members of the boards of the different associations chosen? Do people pay particular attention to the *inherited* social prestige, or to the economic situation, or to the degree of personal activity and competence of the person in question?

8. In your opinion is it really the lack of time, and the financial situation that hinder the smallholders from an *active* participation in the associational life?

Do you have also in Winterswijk the saying “who is good for the union is not a good farmer?”

Or is this active participation perhaps hindered also by other reasons?

9. In Winterswijk there are no big differences in the farm structure between large and small farms (exception made for a few specialized farms).

What is it then that actually hinders a deep going intensification of the farm management on the smallholdings?

If the smallholders had enough capital and manpower, would they intensify their farm management?

Or is that too difficult for them, since “we practice mixed farming, and you can't change much in it?”

10. For the Winterswijk farmers is it possible to reorganize completely the small farms from mixed farming into specialized farming, *with the help of borrowed capital* if that is needed?

11. If the Agricultural Extension Service tries to propagate a new practice, do people wait (before adopting it) until

andere vooraanstaande (grote?) boer het voorbeeld geeft?
 Wie zijn voor U het gemakkelijkst te bewegen, de grote of de kleine boeren?

some prominent (large) farmers give the example?
 Who are for you the easiest to convince, the small or the big farmers?

12. Is de bedrijfsvoering van de bedrijven van groep A en die van groep B veranderd in dezelfde mate sinds de oorlog?
 Zo neen, zoudt U een paar voorbeelden kunnen noemen?

12. Has the farm management of group A changed (less, as much, more) than the farm management of group B since World War II?
 Could you give some examples?

13. Welke is de houding (reactie) van de burens als iemand plotseling iets nieuws gaat toepassen, of een nieuwe landbouwmachine aanschaft?
 Is er een beetje spot en geklets over?

13. What is the attitude (reaction) of the neighbours if a farmer suddenly adopts a new technique, or buys a new machine?

Of is er alleen maar afwachting?

Is there some kind of gossip and irony about it?
 Or is there only non commitment, and curiosity as to the results?

14. Als in een dergelijk geval spot bestaat, is het dan voor een vooraanstaande boer gemakkelijker om desondanks de spot toch door te gaan, dan voor een andere, doorsnee boer, die ook iets nieuws graag zou willen proberen?

14. Admitting for a while that some degree of ridicule and irony exists among the neighbours, is it then easier for a prominent farmer to go on his own way, in spite of the mockery, than for an average farmer who also would like to try something new?

Zoudt U in zo'n geval iets anders van de boeren van groep A verwachten dan van de boeren van groep B?

In such a case would you expect a different behaviour from the farmers of groups A and B?

15. Zijn de boeren die spontaan bij U komen om advies steeds min of meer dezelfde mensen?
 Vindt U iemand van die mensen tussen de namen van groep A en groep B?
 In welke (meer)?

15. Are those farmers who come to you spontaneously to ask for advice more or less always the same persons?
 Do you find any of them among the names of group A and B?
 In which (more)?

B. Leraren.

B. Head of the Agricultural Winterschool, of the Elementary Agricultural School, and Teachers of the Elementary Schools.

16. In Winterswijk heeft ongeveer 50% van de boeren één of andere vorm van landbouwonderwijs gehad.

16. About 50% of the Winterswijk farmers have received some form of agricultural vocational training.

a. Hebben de overigen dit niet gehad door gebrek aan geldmiddelen?

a. Did the rest of the farmers not receive such training because of lack of money?

b. Komt dit door gebrek aan belangstelling?

b. Or because of lack of interest?

c. Zijn er velen niet in de gelegenheid geweest landb. onderw. te volgen, omdat dat in hun jonge jaren nog niet gegeven werd?

d. Hebt U ooit de indruk gehad dat hierbij ook het idee dat veel scholing de boerenzoons naar een andere bedrijfstak oriënteert (en dus een verlies voor het boerenbedrijf betekent) enige rol speelt?

17. Waarschijnlijk is het zo, dat de belangstelling voor het landb. onderw. in Winterswijk nog steeds toeneemt. Hebt U dan de indruk dat deze belangstelling gelijk is gestegen tussen de boeren van alle grootteklassen, of dat bepaalde boeren meer belangstelling zijn gaan tonen voor het landb. onderw. dan andere boeren?

Het type onderwijs dat men kiest (cursussen, L.L.S., L.W.S., M.L.S., enz.) is dat afhankelijk van een bepaalde bedrijfstagrootte of van een bepaalde instelling van de mens?

18. Blijven de leerlingen op de L.L.S. nadat ze niet meer leerplichtig zijn?

19. Meestal wordt, als men meent geen zoon op de boerderij te kunnen missen in verband met bepaalde werkzaamheden, deze zoon tijdelijk uit de school terug geroepen. Doet men dat even gemakkelijk in alle gezinnen, of hebt U ook bepaalde gevallen kunnen merken waar aan de belangen van de jongeman meer aandacht wordt geschonken?

Zoudt U kunnen zeggen dat deze gezinnen tot een bepaald type behoren? (A. B.).

c. Or only because many farmers just missed the opportunity for it, owing to the fact that courses for vocational training did not exist when they were young?

d. Did you ever receive the impression, that the old idea that too much schooling stimulates the young farmers to leave agriculture (which means, therefore, a loss for the farm) might be the reason of the disregard for technical training of many a Winterswijk farmer?

17. The interest for agricultural vocational training is probably increasing at present in Winterswijk. Do you have the impression that this interest has increased in the same measure among all the farmers, or that, rather, the operators of farms of certain farm-sizes show more interest for this type of training than the farmers of other size-classes?

In your opinion does the type of vocational training that the farmer chooses (evening courses, Elementary Agricultural School, Agricultural Winterschool, Agricultural Senior Highschool, etc.) depend on, or go together with a certain farm-size or with a certain frame of mind of the interested person?

18. After the end of the period (age) of compulsory education do the pupils voluntarily remain for some time on the Elementary Agricultural School?

19. Mostly, when the farmers *think* that they cannot miss their sons because of certain chores (labors) on the farm, the young farmers usually stop frequenting the school for some time. Is this custom applied with the same easiness in every family, or did you have the occasion to notice that in certain families more attention is being paid to the interest of the young son?

If this is the case, could you say that such families belong sooner to one or to the other of our two groups? (A. B.).

20. Heeft U in de laatste jaren enig verschil kunnen merken in de tijdstippen, waarin de kinderen aan het werk worden gezet, of worden ze nog steeds het liefst zo vroeg mogelijk terug geroepen naar de boerderij?

Is er enige belangstelling voor een derde jaar l.w.s.?

Als de kinderen zo vroeg mogelijk aan het werk worden gezet, denkt U dan dat de beslissing wordt genomen hoofdzakelijk op grond van economische overwegingen, of van het idee dat „de praktijk toch de beste school” is?

21. Tegenwoordig hoort men overal de mening uitspreken dat in eenvoudige, traditioneel ingestelde boerengezinnen de scholing van de kinderen zou leiden tot spanningen binnen het gezin.

Heeft U hier in Winterswijk ook iets van dien aard kunnen merken?

Is het niet eerder zo, dat de grotere vakkennis van de jonge boerenzoon meestal stilzwijgend wordt aanvaard en dat de jongere dus in de praktijk de bedrijfsleider wordt?

22. Zoudt U dan ook kunnen zeggen of binnen de gezinnen van groep A meer spanningen voorkomen dan in die van groep B?

Zoudt U kunnen zeggen dat de ene groep meer het moderne „democratische” type van gezin vereenzelvigd dan de andere?

23. Heeft U ooit bemerkt dat onder de Winterswijkse boerenstand *bewuste* behoefte aan meer scholing bestaat (zij het vaktechnisch, zij het van algemene aard)? Komen er wel eens concrete voorstellen naar voren voor een verbetering, of aanvulling van het programma van de school?

Zo ja, komen deze voorstellen uit individuen of uit organisaties? Zoudt U ook een paar voorbeelden kunnen noemen?

In dit opzicht zegt onze onderscheiding van type A en B iets, of zijn allebei de groepen even passief (actief)?

20. Have you been able to notice any change of the age at which the youth is being put to work on the farm in the last years? or are the children still held back (from school) as soon as possible?

Is there any interest for a third year-course of the Agricultural Winterschool? If the children are put to work as soon as possible do you think that this decision is taken mainly because of economic reasons, or mainly because of the idea that “after all, practice is still the best school”?

21. These days one often hears saying that the school education of the children of simple, traditional farm families gives occasion to tensions inside the family.

Do you notice anything of this kind here in Winterswijk too?

Does it not happen, rather, that the higher technical knowledge of the young farmer is silently accepted (by the older generation) and that, therefore, he becomes the effective manager of the farm?

22. Would you say that within the families of group A there exist in general more tensions than within the families of group B?

In which of these two groups would you say that the “democratic” type of family is more represented?

23. Did you ever notice whether among the local farmers’ class there exists a feeling of a *conscious* need for more training (technical as well as general)? Are concrete proposals ever made for an improvement or a completion of the school-programmes?

If this is the case, are then such proposals made generally by individuals or by organizations? Could you give a few examples?

As to this point, do you consider that our discrimination in farmers’ group A and farmers’ group B is meaningful, or are both groups equally passive (active)?

24. Als de school iets organiseert (een excursie, of een cursus buiten het normale onderwijs, enz.) hoe is dan de reactie van de boerenstand, in het algemeen?

Is er een bepaalde groep boeren die op de één of andere wijze, meer verbonden is aan de school dan de anderen?

Zoudt U daaromtrent verschillende houdingen verwachten van groep A en groep B?

C. *Doktoren.*

25. Kunt U mij zeggen welke de meest voorkomende ziekten in Winterswijk zijn?

Is er in dit opzicht een verschil tussen Winterswijk en de rest van de Achterhoek, of tussen de Achterhoek als geheel en de rest van het land?

Kunt U daarvoor ook een verklaring geven?

26. Tijdens onze enquête in 1955 kregen wij het idee dat het aantal debielen, zwakzinnigen en geestelijk onvolwaardige personen onder de boerenbevolking nogal hoog is.

Hebt U enig idee omtrent de oorzaken daarvan?

Is er verschil tussen dorp en platteland?

27. Is onder de boerenbevolking het aantal gevallen die in aanmerking komen voor een psychiater hoog?

Voorzover dergelijke gevallen bestaan is er een oorzaak daarvan te vinden?

28. Ook zelfmoord schijnt vrij regelmatig voor te komen in Winterswijk. Denkt U dat een dergelijk verschijnsel in verband staat met:

a. zwakke gezondheid;

b. maatschappelijke spanningen buiten het gezin;

c. spanningen binnen het gezin;

24. If the school organizes something (an excursion, or a course outside the normal programme, etc.) how is the reaction of the farmers' class in general?

Is there a special group of farmers who are, in one way or the other, more partial to the school than the others?

As to the first part of our question, would you expect different attitudes and reactions about such initiatives from group A and group B?

C. *Physicians.*

25. Can you tell me which are the most common diseases in Winterswijk?

As to this respect, is there a difference between Winterswijk and the rest of the Achterhoek, or between the Achterhoek and the rest of the country?

If this is the case, could you explain such difference?

26. During our survey in 1955 we received the impression that among the farming population the number of the backward, feebleminded, and deficient people is rather high. Is that really true? If so, do you have any idea as to the possible reasons?

Is there a difference, to this respect, between the town and the countryside?

27. Is there a large number of people, among the farming population, who require (or should require) the help of a psychiatrist?

If such cases recur, can they be related to a general clear cause?

28. Suicide seems to happen rather regularly in Winterswijk.

Do you think that this phenomenon can be related to:

a. weak health;

b. social tensions outside the family;

c. tensions within the family;

d. een leven dat in de ogen van de betrokkene geen duidelijke (of een onbegrijpelijke) lijn volgt;

e. andere oorzaken.

29. Men vertelde mij eens, van boerenzijde, dat de zelfmoord zich schijnt te gedragen „als een besmettelijke ziekte” (in Winterswijk). Dat zou dus wijzen in de richting van collectieve suggestie. Wat denkt U daarvan?

Kunt U mij misschien ook zeggen of de zelfmoord het meest voorkomt onder de meest gesloten mensen, de meer ouderwetsen, de mensen met minder sociale contacten, of integendeel, het meest onder de meest modern ingestelde mensen?

30. Is er veel baldadigheid onder de jeugd in Winterswijk?
Komen er nog vechtpartijen voor?

Is er een verschil tussen dorp en platteland?

Heeft deze baldadigheid iets te maken met de afgeslotenheid van dorp en buurtschappen?

Heeft het moderne systeem van verenigingsleven er een verbeterende invloed op?

31. Komt het ooit voor dat men voor *normale* bevallingen naar een kliniek of ziekenhuis gaat? (Op het platteland).

32. Krijgen de baby's borst- of flesvoeding?

33. Wordt er veel gebruik gemaakt van het consultatiebureau voor de kinderen?

34. Zijn er veel boerengezinnen waar men in geval van nood, gauw een vroedvrouw, een kraamverpleegster of een zuster roept?

Of geeft men nog steeds de voorkeur aan de buurvrouwen?

35. Wordt U gewoonlijk ook vrij gauw geroepen, of wacht men liever totdat interventie beslist noodzakelijk is?

d. a way of living which, in the subject's opinion, is contrary to the conventional ideas about life;

e. other causes.

29. Some farmers have told me that suicide seems here to function as a contagious disease. This seems to indicate a kind of collective suggestion. What do you think of it?

Could you say whether suicide happens more among the most closed people, the most old fashioned, the people with less social contacts, or if, instead, it is committed more among the more modern people?

30. Is there much wantonness amongst the Winterswijk youth?
Do scuffles happen more or less regularly?

Is there a difference, hereabout, between town and countryside?

In so far as some wantonness exists, has it something to do with the isolation and closeness of town and neighbourhoods?
Has the modern system of associational life any corrective influence upon it?

31. Are clinics and hospitals used for *normal* deliveries by farmers' wives?

32. Are babies usually suckled, or are they bottle-fed?

33. Is there much use being made of the health-centre for the children?

34. Are there many farm-families where in case of need a qualified maternity nurse (nurse, obstetric nurse, doctor, etc.) is immediately called?

Or do people still recur first to neighbouring women?

35. In general, is a physician soon called by the farming population, or do they usually wait until medical intervention cannot be avoided any more?

Is het hierboven genoemde verschijnsel algemeen op het platteland, of denkt U dat het speciaal voorkomt daar waar sterke banden met voor- of schoonouders, buren, kwakzalvers, enz. bestaan?

36. Kunt U zich ook gevallen herinneren waar jonge getrouwde echtparen zich bewust hebben verzet tegen de ouders, of tegen de gangbare gewoonte, en de dokter of de verpleegster hebben geroepen?

Zo ja, kunt U een paar voorbeelden noemen?

37. Van welke van onze 2 groepen zoudt U een enigszins minder traditionele houding t.o.v. de onderwerpen genoemd in de punten 31 t/m 36 verwachten?

38. Kan men enig verschil merken tussen de voeding van de meer moderne boeren en die van de meest ouderwetse?

Nemen vet, suiker en meel nog steeds zo'n grote plaats in?

En vooral genieten ze nog steeds groot prestige?

Zijn er gezinnen waarin men fruit, tomaten, yoghurt en dierlijke eiwitten gebruikt?

Zoudt U deze twee typen gezinnen eerder met de ene dan met de andere van onze 2 groepen mensen kunnen identificeren?

39. Kunt U mij ook zeggen of U denkt dat in dit proces van „modernisering” dat wij hebben geprobeerd op te sporen, de invloed van de man even groot is als die van de vrouw?

40. Bestaan er naar Uw mening ook andere opzienbarende verschillen tussen de 2 groepen mensen (op vermogen en algemene ontwikkeling na)? Welke dan?

D. Geestelijken.

41. Is de Winterswijkse boerenbevolking kerkelijk meelevend?

Could you say whether the phenomenon to which I just referred is of a general nature on the countryside, or if, instead, it is more frequent where the ties with grandparents, parents-in-law, neighbours, quack-doctors are more strong?

36. Can you remember any cases in which a young couple recurred to the help of the doctor or nurse, opposing consciously the will of the parents, or the accepted custom?

If so, could you make some examples?

37. From which of our two groups of farmers would you expect a somewhat less traditional attitude with respect to the subjects handled with point 31 to 36?

38. Is here any difference noticeable between the diet of the more modern farmers and that of the more old-fashioned ones?

Do fat, sugar and starch still occupy an important place in the farmers' diet? And, particularly, do they still enjoy such a high prestige?

Are there families who use fruits, tomatoes, yoghurt and animal proteins?

Can you refer either type of diet sketched here above sooner to one or to the other of our two groups? If so, to which group?

39. Could you tell me whether you think that in this process of “modernization,” which we have tried to detect, men's influence is as great as that of women?

40. Are there, in your opinion, other important differences between the people of the two groups (exception made for wealth and general education)? Which then?

D. Clergymen.

41. Does the farming population in Winterswijk sympathize with the church?

A. Protestanten

Hoeveel leden telt Uw kerk?

a. belijdende leden.....

b. doopleden.....

Hoeveel gaan er per zondag ter kerk?

a. 1 maal.....

b. 2 maal.....

Zijn er veel kerkleden die hun kinderen niet laten dopen?

Hoeveel?

Gaat men geregeld a.h. Avondmaal?

Aantal per Avondmaalviering (±).....

Betalen allen hun „kerkelijke belasting“?

Zo neen, hoeveel niet? (± 1/2, 1/3, 1/4).

B. Rooms Katholieken

Hoeveel leden telt Uw parochie?.....

Hoeveel gebruiken de H. Communie per zondag?.....

Is het aantal nonpaschanten hoog?.....

Hoe is de deelname aan parochie missie of parochie retraite?.....

Hoeveel zijn de mensen die zich opgeven voor charitatief werk?.....

Hoe is de opkomst voor godsdienst cursussen voor 18-jarigen?.....

Komen er vele gemengde huwelijken voor?

Hoeveel?.....

Alle Geestelijken

42. Bent U tevreden met de meelevendheid van Uw gemeente (parochie)?

43. Merkt U een verschil in de meelevendheid van de verschillende generaties?

Zo ja, is dat in verband te brengen met bepaalde vernieuwingen in de Winterswijkse samenleving (stijging van bepaalde behoeften, verandering van levenshouding, enz.), of is dat terug te brengen tot de gewone verschijnselen van verschil in leeftijd?

A. Protestants

How many members belong to your church?

a. communicant members.....

b. baptized.....

How many are those who go to church on Sundays?

a. one time.....

b. twice.....

Are there many church-members who do not have their children baptized?

How many?

Do people regularly partake of the Holy Communion?

N. of Communion-services (±).....

Does everybody pay his church rates?

If not, how many? (± 1/2, 1/3, 1/4).

B. Roman Catholics

How many people are there in your parish?.....

How many go to communicate each Sunday?.....

Are there many people who do not communicate on Easter?.....

How is the participation to the parish mission, or the parish retreat?.....

How many are the people who volunteer for charity-work?.....

How is the participation to the religious courses for the youth of 18?.....

Are there (frequent) mixed marriages?

How many?.....

All Clergymen

42. Are you satisfied with the way your parishioners participate in church life?

43. Is there a noticeable difference in the participation of the different generations?

If there is, could you say whether this difference is related to certain innovations in Winterswijk society (an increase in certain needs or wants, a change in the general attitude towards life, etc.), or is it only related to the usual phenomena connected with difference in age?

44. Onder welke bevolkingsgroep vindt U hoofdzakelijk Uw kerkleden?

- a. grote boeren
- b. matig grote en kleine boeren
- c. middenstanders, kl. ambtenaar
- d. fabrikanten en profession.

voor de Hervormde Kerk:

Waar zijn de „orthodoxen” en waar zijn de „vrijzinnigen” onder te brengen? Zijn er bepaalde groepen die meer meelevend zijn dan anderen?

- a. rijtje vraag 44
- b. de kerkeraad bestaat uit
..... grote, kleine boeren
..... middenstand, upper ten.

45. Neemt het geloof een belangrijke plaats in het leven der agrariërs in? Wordt de zondagsrust strikt gehandhaafd, ook in geval van buitengewone werkzaamheden?

46. Is de Winterswijkse boer actief op kerkelijk gebied, of heeft hij geen eigen mening? Is hij volgzzaam of recalcitrant?

Kunt U, in dit opzicht, enig verschil merken tussen de mensen van groep A en die van groep B? Of zijn allebei de groepen even meelevend?

47. De volgende vraag is waarschijnlijk een nogal abstracte vraag, maar zoudt U mij ook kunnen zeggen hoe groot het aantal mensen is waarvoor het geloofsleven een *bewust geloofsleven* is? (zeer groot, betrekkelijk groot, betrekkelijk klein, bijzonder klein).

Is er enig verschil, wat dit betreft, tussen onze A en B boeren?

48. Zijn er in Winterswijk ook piëtistische secten?

44. From which of the following professional groups does your church (parish) mainly draw its members?

- a. farmers from large farms
- b. farmers from average and small farms
- c. retailers, craftsmen, and lower civil servants
- d. industrialists and professionals.

for the Dutch Reformed Church only:

In which of these classes are the “orthodox” and in which are the “liberal?” Are there certain groups which participate in church life more than others?

- a. series question 44
- b. the board of the church officials is composed of large farmers, small farmers retailers, etc upper ten.

45. Does religion occupy an important place in the life of the rural population? Is the Sunday-rest strictly observed, even in case of exceptional chores?

46. Is the Winterswijk farmer active on church matter, or has he, instead, no personal standpoints? Is he docile or refractory?

As to this regard, could you say whether there is any difference between the farmers of group A and those of group B? Or do both groups sympathize in the same measure with the activities of the church?

47. This question will perhaps sound rather abstract to you, but could you tell me how big is the number of people who practice their religious life *in a conscious way*? (very great, rather great, rather small, very small).

Is there a difference hereabout between the A and the B farmers?

48. Are there in Winterswijk pietistic sects?

Zo ja, wat voor soort mensen behoren daartoe? (A. B.).

49. Komt er in Winterswijk bijgeloof voor?

Zo ja, onder welke groep mensen (stands- of geografische groep) komt het het meest voor? (A. B.).

Kunt U ook een paar voorbeelden noemen?

50. Denkt U dat in het geloofsleven van de Winterswijkse boerenstand verschillen van betekenis zijn opgetreden sinds de laatste eeuw?

Zo ja, hoe kwam dat?

51. Er bestaan ongetwijfeld conflicten binnen menig gezin in Winterswijk. Worden deze conflicten dan überhaupt onderdrukt, of uiten ze zich op de één of andere wijze?

Is de betere opleiding van de kinderen hiervan soms één van de voornaamste oorzaken?

Of zijn er andere, meer dringende vraagstukken?

Is er enig verschil tussen de A en B boeren?

52. Nu kom ik met een meer concrete vraag. Zoudt U kunnen zeggen dat de ene groep meer het „moderne, democratische” gezinstype vertegenwoordigt dan de andere?

Zoudt U ook kunnen zeggen of binnen de gezinnen van groep A meer spanningen voorkomen dan in die van groep B?

53. Hebt U het idee dat in het milieu waarin de boeren van de ene groep verkeren (hun activiteitskring, hun ouders, familieleden, vrienden en kennissen) soms meer tegenstrijdige levensbeschouwingen-opvattingen vertegenwoordigd zijn dan in het milieu van de andere groep?

Zo ja, in welke groep dan?

If so, from what kind of people do they draw their adepts? (A. B.).

49. Is there much superstition amongst the rural population?

If so, is this superstition to be found more among certain people (social class or geographic grouping) than among others? (A. B.).

Could you quote a couple examples?

50. In your opinion, in the last century have come about differences of some importance in the religious life of the Winterswijk farmers?

If so, how comes?

51. Certainly there are cases of conflict within some Winterswijk farm families. Are then such conflicts automatically completely repressed, or do they show up (find their expression) in one or the other way?

Is perhaps the better training, which the children have normally received, one of their foremost causes?

Or are there also other, more important, problems?

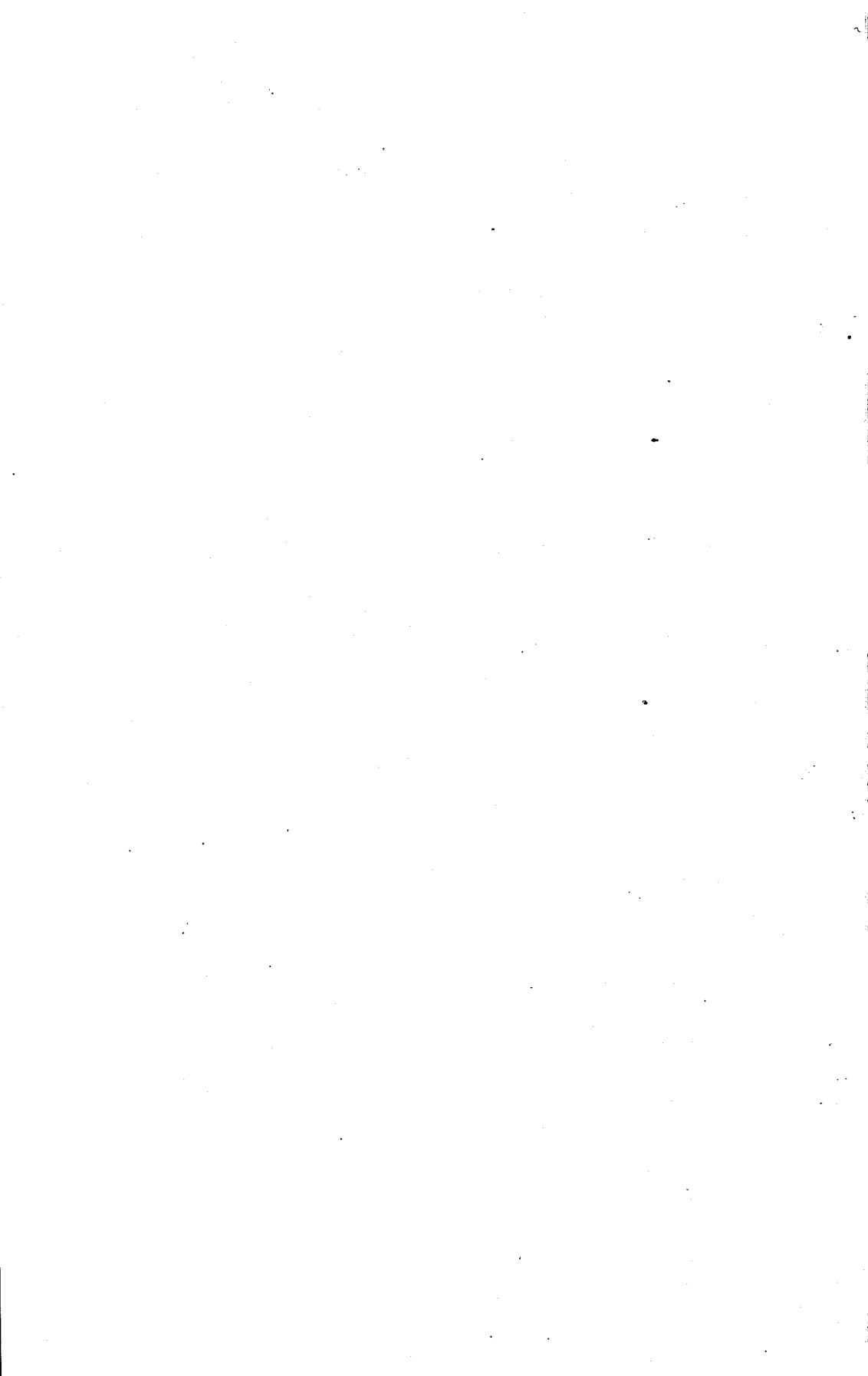
Is there any difference between our A and B farmers as to this respect?

52. Now I will try to be less vague. Which of our two groups of farmers would you say that is more representative for the “modern, democratic” type of family?

Would you say that within the families of group A there are more tensions than within the families of group B?

53. Do you have the impression that in the environment in which the farmers of one of our two groups live (their sphere of activity, the parents, other relatives, friends etc.) there are more contrasting philosophies of life and opinions represented than in the other?

If so, in which group?



Survey Winterswijk (translation)

FARM-OPERATOR

Name: neighbourhood: house number:

1. *The operator and his farm*

1. date of birth: place of birth:
 present address/same neighbour. / neighbour. of / outside the municipality, i.e.
2. Marital status: married/unmarried
3. school training: LO / LLS / LWS / Ambs / KWS / MULO / 3y.
 HBS / 5 y HBS / univ.
 unfinished schooling
 courses (specify)
4. do you have a part-time job? no/yes, namely
 if yes, a. dependent/independent
 b. which of your professions
 I. is financially more important?
 part-time job/agriculture
 II. costs you more time?
 part-time job/agriculture
 comments:
5. Did you ever work outside agriculture before becoming farm-operator yes/no
 if yes, how and where as independent/dependent
 at
 if no, before becoming farm-operator
 you worked at home/on another farm, in
6. are you at present the independent manager of this farm, or do you run it together with somebody else? independent/together with
7. when did you become the (independent) manager of this farm? in the year i.e. succeeding father/
 father in law/through marriage/.....
8. did you always operate this farm since then? yes/no
 if no, where else did you also farm?
 1. in on a farm of ha
 2. in on a farm of ha
 3. in on a farm of ha
 4. in on a farm of ha

9. who was there on this farm before you?
 father/father in law/relatives/strangers/
 the farm is a new farm/
 if it is a new farm, has it come into
 land reclamation/splitting up of.....
 existence through
10. the farm is
 I. private property/mostly private pro-
 perty
 II. totally rented/mostly rented from:
 father/father in law/relatives/stran-
 gers/
11. what was (is) your fathers' profession?
 I. operator on a farm of ha
 II. or else..... independent/dependent
12. if he was a farm operator, what
 happened to his farm?
 a. he still manages it
 b. he still manages a part (.....)
 c. has been transmitted *undivided* to
 the rest (see c or d).....
 I. the eldest son
 does he also *own* the whole farm?
 II. another son
 III.
- d. has been devided amongst
13. was the farm (is the farm) owned or
 rented?
 owned/rented
14. what was (is) your father-in-law's
 profession?
 I. operator on a farm of ha
 II. or else..... independent/dependent
15. if he was a farm operator, what
 happened to his farm?
 a. he still manages it
 b. he still manages a part (.....)
 c. has been transmitted *undivided* to
 the rest (see c or d).....
 I. the eldest son
 does he also *own* the whole farm?
 II. another son
 III.
- d. has been divided amongst
16. was the farm (is the farm) owned or
 rented?
 owned/rented
17. how many generations has your
 father's farm been in your family?

- II. A. Farm management
18. what was the acreage of this farm ha
 when you took it over?
 and what is it now? ha

19. do you have a potato-silo? no/yes
do you have one or more green-fodder-silos? no/yes
do you have a concreted manure-yard? no/yes
do you have a liquid-manure tank no/yes
do you have a tractor no/yes
do you have a jeep or truck no/yes
do you have a wagoon on tires no/yes
do you have a hayshuffler no/yes
do you have a mowing machine no/yes
do you have a hayrake no/yes
do you have a milking machine no/yes
do you have a lighted battery (poultry house) no/yes
20. do you saw your rye mechanically or by hand? mechanically/by hand
21. how much kg. nitrate do you spread on your grassland, and what? kg/ha, i.e.
.....
22. how many days do you keep your cows on the same plot of grass? days
23. do you apply strip - grazing? no/yes
-
24. do you borrow machines from your neighbours? no/yes i.e.
25. do you also use machinery of a co-operative for agric. machinery? no/yes i.e.
do you own certain machines together with one or more neighbours? no/yes i.e.
26. do you leave certain chores to loan workers (teams)? if yes, what and to whom? no/yes i.e.
-
27. how many contacts did you have in the last year with the Agricultural Extension Service? assistant to you.....times
you to the assistant.....times
28. what do you think of the work of the Extension Service?
(interviewer insist!!!)
.....
29. did you ever have soil-samples taken on your farm? no/yes
if yes, when was it the last time? in 19....

30. did you ever have a nutritional balance made for your cattle? no/yes, if yes how many times in the last two years?times, by
31. Do you know the Landbouwgids?¹ no/yes, if yes do you have the 1955-issue? no/yes
32. who keeps the books for your farm?
33. do you think you need a book-keeping for your farm management? no/yes, because.....
if yes, why? if no, why not?

II. B. The labour force

I - males present in the household (interviewer pay attention to times and works)

persons and their ages	the whole year		temporarily	
	whole-day occupation	part-day occupation	whole-day occupation	part-day occupation
interviewee				
..... years				
..... years				
..... years				
..... years				
..... years				
..... years				

II. hired labour

..... years				
..... years				
..... years				
..... years				
..... years				

¹ Handbook for practical technical information for farmers; it is used only by a small minority of (up-to-date) farmers.

34. what are the activities outside the farm of those of your male housepartners who find only a partial occupation on the farm? (specify: go to school, work as loan worker with....., etc.)
35. are there also male housepartners who do not work at all on the farm? no/yes if yes: how many? respective ages and occupations (interviewer pay attention whether they have an independent or a subordinate occupation)
36. which of the following chores are sometimes or usually done by (also) your wife? milking no/yes taking care of the chickens no/yes taking care of the hogs no/yes taking care of the calfs no/yes haymaking no/yes harvesting no/yes lifting potatoes no/yes
37. can you always get sufficient manpower? yes/no; if no, when can you not?
38. at what time do the working members of the family get up during the summer and at what time do they go to bed? get up to bed are you accustomed to take a nap during the summer? yes/no observations

III. The Environment

A. Provenience, family and household

39. how many children were born in your father's family (besides you)? total..... of whom..... boys and girls
40. which was your parents' attitude towards studying? did they find it necessary that the children should follow another school after the elementary school or not? was there great interest for it? not necessary / not much interest / necessary / comments

41. how many persons live in this house? interviewee / husband (wife) / children,
i.e. boys and daughters
father / mother / f. in law / m. in law/
other persons
42. (if in the house there lives an extended family) Did *you* go to live with your relatives (other than those of the nuclear family) or did *your relatives* come to live with you? What is the reason of your living together with your relatives?

B. Contacts with the outside world

43. do you possess the following facilities at home? radio yes/no
telephone yes/no
transfer account yes/no
motorized cycle yes/no
motorcycle yes/no
automobile yes/no
radio - journal yes/no
44. which of the facilities just mentioned do you consider absolutely necessary in your personal situation?
45. did you ever participate to an excursion after the war? if so, by whom was the excursion organized? *place* *organization*
.....
.....
46. *during* 1955 did you ever visit: a theatre no/yes
open-air theatre no/yes
a cinema no/yes
a museum no/yes
a football match no/yes
the E 55 no/yes
a horse-show no/yes
the agricultural yearly exhibition no/yes
a breeder's day no/yes
an agricultural show no/yes
47. have you been in one of the following provinces since the war? If so, why? Groningen no/yes because
- Friesland no/yes because
- Drente no/yes because
- Overijssel no/yes because
- Gelderland no/yes because
- Utrecht no/yes because
- Noord-Holland no/yes because
- Zuid-Holland no/yes because

- | | | |
|---|----------------------|---------------------|
| | Zeeland | no/yes because..... |
| | Noord-Brabant | no/yes because..... |
| | Limburg | no/yes because..... |
| | IJsselmeerp. | no/yes because..... |
| 48. Have you ever been abroad?
(reasons of stay) | no/yes namely | |
| 49. Do you read a regional paper? | no/yes, namely ..... | ..... |
| 50. Do you have a subscription to a daily
paper? | no/yes, namely | |
| 51. which weekly papers do you receive?
I mean, <i>non-professional</i> weeklies. | none / | |
| 52. which professional papers do you
receive? | none / | |
| 53. which one(s) of these professional
papers do you think you could not
miss at all? | | |
| 54. Do you also read books? If so, what
type of books interest you most? | | |

C. Participation

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------|--------------|
| 55. Do you <i>regularly</i> play cards (or chess
or checkers) | no/yes | |
| if so, where? | at home / | |
| with an established group of friends? | no/yes | |
| if so, are your friends neighbours? | yes / mostly / mostly not / no | |
| are your friends farmers? | yes / mostly / mostly not / no | |
| 56. did you ever get music lessons? | no/yes | |
| 57. are you an active collaborating
member in one of the following
associations? are you, or have you
been on the board of some of them? | football group | no/yes/board |
| | horseback riding club | no/yes/board |
| | shooting association | no/yes/board |
| | play group | no/yes/board |
| | billiard club | no/yes/board |
| | card-playing club | no/yes/board |
| | musical association | no/yes/board |
| | sing-club | no/yes/board |
| | neighbourhood assoc. | no/yes/board |
| 58. are you member in a political party? | no/yes | |

59. what do you think of the initiatives taken by the Dutch political parties for the farmer's interests? no idea / they do a bad / insufficient / enough / good job
60. in your opinion from which party can the farmers expect nothing good? no idea /
61. hereafter I shall quote a number of associations. Will you tell me those in which you are a member and those where you are or have been on the board?
- | | |
|--|--------------|
| GMVL / CBTB / ABTB | no/yes/board |
| tenant's association | no/yes/board |
| farmer's bank | no/yes/board |
| purchasing-selling co-op. | no/yes/board |
| cattle-sale co-op. | no/yes/board |
| GOS / ABTB | no/yes/board |
| cattle herdbook | no/yes/board |
| pigs herdbook | no/yes/board |
| horse herdbook | no/yes/board |
| milk testing association | no/yes/board |
| ass. for artificial insemination | no/yes/board |
| ass. for agricultural machinery | no/yes/board |
| mutual insurance funds | no/yes/board |
| association for freedom of enterprise in agriculture | no/yes/board |
| young farmer's association | no/yes/board |
| Alumni Association Ag. | |
| Winter School | no/yes/board |
| N.F.O. | no/yes/board |
| treshing association | no/yes/board |
| bookkeeping-bureau | no/yes/board |
62. what do you think of the activity of the farmers' union. Do you think it useless, of a certain value, or very useful? useless / certain value / very useful
(interviewer if respondent answers: very useful, enquiry as to the reason of the very: is that conscious or not?)
63. what do you think of mutual help among farmers? do you find it annoying because of the duties which it creates, or do you find it useful for Winterswijk?
64. are all your neighbours farmers? yes/no, viz.
65. do you mostly associate with neighbours or with non-neighbours? with neighbours / non neighbours / both
with farm people/non-farm people / both
if you associate mostly with farm people, are they farm hands
operators of a farm larger than yours
operators of a farm smaller than yours

iv. *General*

66. what do you think of all the checks and controls which nowadays are exercised upon a farm, as e.g. collections of data for statistical purposes, t.b.c. control for the cattle, etc.?
67. a. (if there live on the farm sons younger than 20 years) would you regret if one of your sons does not become a farmer?
67. b. if a farmer's son has *the absolute certainty* that he will get a farm some day, does he need to receive a subsequent training after the age of compulsory education?
67. c. and if a young farmer does not have that certainty, what should he do?
67. d. how many sons do you think you can employ on your farm?
67. e. what age do you think suitable to teach the children how to milk a cow?
67. f. if the children work on the farm or in the household, they get:
67. g. if the children earn money somewhere else, they must:
- if 3. up to what age?
68. at what age do you think that the children should get themselves acquainted with the financial situation of the farm and household?
69. if you had to begin your career a second time, would you like to become a farmer again?

.....

yes/no, reasons.....

yes/no, if yes, what reasons?.....

.....
 do you think of any form of vocational training, if so, what?

.....

.....

full loan / pocket money / nothing
 if they get pocket money, how much?.....
 per week?

1. hand over the whole salary at home, and receive pocket money
 2. pay (only) for their board and lodging
 3. hand over the whole salary at home up to a certain age, and afterwards pay the board
- up to

.....

yes/no; comments

70. if you should begin farming again, ha, why?
 what farm size do you think would be
 necessary for a farmer in your own
 situation?
71. do you think that in Winterswijk too enough / too many / too few / no idea.
 many/enough/too few farmers youths
 find an employment in industry?
 comments
72. what income do you deem reasonable per year
 for a farmer in your present situation?
73. Money-saving has always been a as much necessary / more / less; why?
 farmer's quality. Do you find saving
 nowadays as necessary as in former
 years?
74. Are you insured?
 A. the farm (against fire, hailstorm, yes/no
 etc.)
 B. the persons
 life yes/no
 health yes/no
 accidents yes/no

 what else?
 did you open a deposit-book for the
 children? yes/no

Wife and children

I. WIFE

1. Name:
2. date of birth
3. place of birth present address / same neighbourhood /
 the neighbourhood of.....
 outside the municipality i.e.
4. School training LO / HBS / LLS / MULO / 3y. H.B.S. / 5y. HBS.....
 courses (specify)

5. what was your occupation before
 your marriage? did you work in your
 parental house or somewhere else?
 where?

6. Are you satisfied with the training you received, or should you like to have received more training?

7. in which year did you marry? in the year.....

8. how many children were born from your marriage? total.....; of whom..... boys and..... girls.

(interviewer, fill up the loose sheet)

CHILDREN

(INTERVIEWER: M = male; V = female)

Date of birth					
Chr. name + sex					
Training					
Place of residence					
Unmarried, married since					
Profession (or if v) husband's profession					
Profession father-in-law					

Date of birth					
Chr. name + sex					
Training					
Place of residence					
Unmarried, married since					
Profession (or if v) husband's profession					
Profession father-in-law					

9. Do you think that your children enjoy more freedom than what you were used to in your childhood? yes/no comments:
10. of which association(s) are (have been) your children members?

II. Household

11. who takes care of the household works? resp. /..... daughter(s) /..... other family members /....., paid personnel, i.e. (specify period of time or work-hours)
12. are there (some of) the following facilities in this household? central heating no/yes
 electricity no/yes
 el. cooking range no/yes
 or other
 el. flat-iron no/yes
 el. washing machine no/yes
 el. sewing machine no/yes
 vacuum cleaner no/yes
 centrifugal machine no/yes
 running water no/yes
 modern wash-stand no/yes
 shower or tub no/yes
 modern W.C. no/yes
 boiler no/yes
 gas installation no/yes
 cellar no/yes
13. do you make yourself underwear for the family? no/yes
14. where do you buy the clothing for the family? by salesmen who come at the door / Aalten / Bredevoort / Winterswijk / Zutphen / Arnhem / Amsterdam /
15. do you slaughter on the farm for the meat-supply? no/yes; if so, how many hogs..... year
 calf or cow..... year
16. do you keep a recording book for the household expenditures? yes/no

III.

17. do you ever have guests staying for some time on the farm? no/yes

- if so, how often? per year / per month
 (interviewer 1. relatives (profession)
 enquire as to 2. friends (-)
 the profes- 3. acquaintances (-)
 sion) 4. people for practice (-)
18. do you ever receive formal visits no/yes i.e. (profession).....
 from non-farm people?
19. do you ever take vacations? no/yes
 if so, are you going by
 relatives or not? no/yes, i.e.....
20. did you ever participate to an no/yes
 excursion after the war?
- if so, by whom was it organized?
21. In 1955 did you ever visit an agricultural exhibition no/yes
 an exhibition for home econ. no/yes
 a breeder's day no/yes
 a horse show no/yes
 the agricultural yearly exhib. no/yes
 the E 55 no/yes
 a football match no/yes
 a cinema no/yes
 an open-air theatre no/yes
22. have you been in one of the following Groningen no/yes
 provinces since the war? if so, why? Friesland no/yes
 Drente no/yes
 Overijssel no/yes
 Utrecht no/yes
 Noord-Holland no/yes
 Zuid-Holland no/yes
 Zeeland no/yes
 Noord-Brabant no/yes
 Limburg no/yes
 IJsselmeerpolders no/yes
23. have you ever been abroad? no/yes i.e.
 (note date and reason of visit)
24. do you have a subscription to a no/yes, because.....
 woman's magazine or paper?
25. do you also read books? no/yes, 2 or 3 per year / more i.e.
 if so, what type of books interest you
 most?
26. does the family possess books? no/yes, approximately.....

iv. *Participation*

26. to which religious denomination does you family belong? NH / Geref / R.K. / Non-church /
27. do you (and your husband) go to church regularly? yes/no; if so, how many times per month? (or per week)
 and do your children go more regularly to church or less regularly? less regularly / more regularly i.e.
 what kind of religious education have your children received? catechism
 sundayschool
- comment:
28. are you member in one or more women's organizations? no/yes, i.e.
29. do you find it necessary that farm women participate into (formal) associational life? not necessary / no idea / necessary, because
 (interviewer pay attention whether the answer is given on the basis of conscious reasons or not.)
30. are there any other associations of which you are an active member? no/yes, i.e.
31. of which association are you (have you been) on the board?

v. *General.*

32. which are your hobbies? knitting and crocheting no/yes
 reading no/yes
 gardening no/yes
 listening to plays on the radio no/yes
 taking walks no/yes
 cycling no/yes
 neighbourhood visiting no/yes
33. do you think that the wife of an industry worker has a finer life than you? if so, would you like to change your life for that of the wife of an industry worker? no/yes, because.....

 yes/no, because.....

34. did you constantly endeavour in order to let your children find their future in agriculture? yes/no, because.....

 if so, *a.* even at the cost of the size of the farm? yes/no

 b. and even if they would have to search for an extra income by taking up a part-time job on somebody'else's farm? yes/no

 35. what would you personally choose between: *a.* a dependent position with a high salary
 b. living on the farm with the possibility of a low income?
-

FOR THE INTERVIEWER:

The questionnaire is not completely filled up if the following information is missing:

1. Was any particular attention dedicated to your visit?
 - a.* Where were you received?
 - b.*
2. Did the respondents take the trouble to answer correctly?
3. Impressions:
4. Modernity of furniture and clothing.
5. The buildings: very well maintained / normal / badly maintained / ramshackled

Codebook survey Winterswijk

column

1	name (number)
2	-
3	-
4	address 0 = B, Miste (neighbourhood) 1 = C, Corle 2 = D, Meddo 3 = E, Ratum 4 = F, Huppel 5 = G, Henxel 6 = H, Kotten 7 = I, Brinkheurne 8 = K, Woold 9 = L, Dorpsbuurt
5	operator's age— = unknown; 99 = born in 1899, 00 in 1900, 01 in 1901, etc.
6	- -
7	farm size in ha.: 00 = farm size unknown; 01 = farm size 1 ha, etc.
8	- - - -
9	10-answers score 0 = 0 1 = 1 2 = 2 3 = 3 4 = 4 5 = 5 6 = 6 7 = 7 8 = 8 9 = 9 11 = 10 12 = not classified
10	contact with Agr. Ext. Service 0 = not classified 1 = very frequent contact 2 = frequent contact 3 = normal contact 4 = little contact 5 = no contact at all
11	score style of living: 00 = not classified; 30 = maximum (see Appendix IV)
12	- - - -
13	interviewer's overall appraisal of operator's modernity 0 = not classified 1 = modern

- 2 = normal
3 = old fashioned
- 14 synthetic score for the quality of the farm management
1 = very good
2 = good
3 = normal
4 = bad
5 = very bad
11 = not classified
- 15 score farm management: 00 = not classified; 22 = maximum (see Appendix v)
- 16 - - -
- 17 percent of the total arable land tilled with grain
18 - - - - -
00 = not classified or no grains tilled
- 19 percent of the total arable land tilled with fallow crops
20 - - - - -
00 = not classified or no fallow
- 21 N. dairy cows per ha grassland; 000 = not classified or no cows
22 - - - - -
23 - - - - -
- 24 labour force: 00 = not classified; 05 = 05 A.K.; etc.
25 - -
- 26 farm tenure
1 = owner or mostly owner
2 = tenant or mostly tenant: a - of father
3 = - - - - b - of other family members
4 = - - - - c - of non family members
5 = leaser unknown
6 = other tenure conditions
11 = not classified
- 27 age at becoming independent farm operator
0 = up to 25 years
1 = 26-27 years
2 = 28-29 -
3 = 30-31 -
4 = 32-33 -
5 = 34-35 -
6 = 36-37 -
7 = 38-39 -
8 = 40-41 -
9 = 42 years and older
11 = interviewee is not independent
12 = not classified

- 28 age at marriage
 0 = up to 25 years
 1 = 26-27 years
 2 = 28-29 -
 3 = 30-31 -
 4 = 32-33 -
 5 = 34-35 -
 6 = 36-37 -
 7 = 38-39 -
 8 = 40-41 -
 9 = 42 years and older
 11 = interviewee is unmarried
 12 = not classified
- 29 profession
 1 = full time farmer
 2 = main profession is farming, plus part-time job
 3 = part-time farming, plus main profession outside agriculture
 4 = retired persons and hobby farming
 5 = special undertakings (nurseries, hatcheries etc.)
 11 = not classified
- 30 destination of father's farm
 0 = father was/is not a farmer
 1 = father's farm is still operated by father
 2 = the elder son operates the whole enterprise in usufruct, while being only one of several legitimate heirs
 3 = the elder son operates and owns the enterprise
 4 = the whole farm went undivided to another family member
 5 = the whole farm went undivided to a non family member
 6 = the farm was divided between two persons
 7 = the farm was divided between more persons
 8 = other possibilities
 11 = not classified
- 31 destination of father in law's farm
 0 = father was/is not a farmer
 1 = father's farm is still operated by father
 2 = the elder son operates the whole enterprise in usufruct, while being only one of several legitimate heirs
 3 = the elder son operates and owns the enterprise
 4 = the whole farm went undivided to another family member
 5 = the whole farm went undivided to a non family member
 6 = the farm was divided between two persons
 7 = the farm was divided between more persons
 8 = other possibilities
 11 = not classified
- 32 composition of the labour present on the farm
 0 = only the operator works on the farm, part of the day
 1 = - - - - - , full-time

- 2 = farm operator plus member(s) of the nuclear family *a.*
 3 = farm operator plus member(s) of the extended family *b.*
 4 = farm operator plus non family members *c.*
 5 = farm operator + *a.* + *b.*
 6 = farm operator + *a.* + *c.*
 7 = farm operator + *b.* + *c.*
 8 = farm operator + *a.* + *b.* + *c.*
 9 = other possibilities
 11 = not classified
- 33 number of children
 0 = no children
 1 = 1 child
 2 = 2 children
 3 = 3 -
 4 = 4 -
 5 = 5
 6 = 6 -
 7 = 7 -
 8 = 8 -
 9 = 9 and 10 children
 11 = more than 10 children
 12 = not classified
- 34 types of households
 0 = household formed by members of a nuclear family only
 1 = - - - - - an extended family
 2 = - - - a nuclear family and non-kin persons
 3 = - - - members of an extended family and non-kin persons
 11 = not classified
- 35 day-length (summer only; afternoon nap = 1/2 hour)
 0 = daylength 18 hours and more
 1 = 17 1/2 hours
 2 = 17 -
 3 = 16 1/2 -
 4 = 16 -
 5 = 15 1/2 -
 6 = 15 -
 7 = 14 1/2 -
 8 = 14 -
 9 = 13 1/2 -
 11 = 13 hours and less
 12 = not classified
- 36 religion
 1 = Dutch Reformed (Ned. Herv.): church attendance (parents)
 a. at least once a month
 2 = Dutch Reformed (Ned. Herv.): church attendance
 b. less than once a month

- 3 = Strict Calvinists (Gereformeerd): church attendance *a.*
 4 = Strict Calvinists (Gereformeerd): church attendance *b.*
 5 = Roman Catholic : church attendance *a.*
 6 = Roman Catholic : church attendance *b.*
 7 = other denominations : church attendance *a.*
 8 = other denominations : church attendance *b.*
 9 = no church members
 11 = not classified
- 37 school training of the farm operator
- 0 = elementary school only
 1 = elementary school plus vocational courses
 (agricultural courses only)
 2 = elementary school plus vocational courses
 (other than agricultural)
 3 = elementary agricultural school (LLS)
 4 = higher-grade and secondary non-vocational education
 5 = as 4 plus vocational education (LLS and/or courses)
 6 = as 4 plus vocational education (Agricultural Winterschool)
 7 = secondary non-vocational education plus secondary and/or higher
 vocational education
 8 = special elementary school
 11 = not classified
- 38 respondent's travels beyond the provincial boundaries (number of times;
purpose)
- 0 = was never outside Gelderland; has been abroad only through
 necessity (war)
 1 = up to three times *a.*
 2 = up to three - *b.*
 3 = up to three - *c.*
 4 = from 4 to 6 - *a.*
 5 = from 4 to 6 - *b.*
 6 = from 4 to 6 - *c.*
 7 = more than 6 - *a.*
 8 = more than 6 - *b.*
 9 = more than 6 - *c.*
 11 = not classified
- a.* = for agricultural purposes; one-free-day trip; visits to
 relatives; business
b. = for particular purposes (non agricultural) such as visits
 to public institutions, parliament, national and inter-
 national shows etc.; vacations with the wife (more than
 one day); a period of practical experience on another farm
c. = *a.* + *b.*
- 39 respondent's travels beyond the provincial boundaries (place of destina-
tion; manner)
- 0 = was never outside Gelderland; has been abroad only through
 necessity (war)

- 1 = ia
- 2 = ib
- 3 = ic
- 4 = na
- 5 = nb
- 6 = nc
- 7 = nna
- 8 = nnb
- 9 = nnc

11 = not classified

I = Friesland, Overijssel, Utrecht, N. Holland, Z. Holland, N. O. Polder; a short trip beyond the State boundaries, Oding, Bocholt, Vreden, etc.

II = Drenthe, N. Brabant, Limburg; Germany (Wuppertal, Ruhr area)

III = Groningen, Zeeland; Germany (Cologne and farther); other foreign countries

a = participation in an organized excursion

b = private trip or excursion

c = a + b

40 mobility of job and work-place

1 = worked always in agriculture; *a*. always on the same farm

2 = - - - - ; *b*. period of practical experience on another farm outside the municipality

3 = - - - - ; *c*. on several farms

4 = - - - - ; *d*. as *c*. plus *b*.

5 = worked also outside agriculture; later *a*.

6 = - - - - ; later *b*.

7 = - - - - ; later *c*.

8 = - - - - ; later *d*.

9 = other possibilities

11 = not classified

41 membership of organizations (quantitative)

0 = no membership

1 = Unions membership only

2 = no membership of Union; 1 to 3 other memberships

3 = - - - - ; 4 to 6 - -

4 = - - - - ; 7 to 9 - -

5 = - - - - ; more than 9 other memberships

6 = Union membership ; 1 to 3 other memberships

7 = - - - - ; 4 to 6 - -

8 = - - - - ; 7 to 9 - -

9 = - - - - ; more than 9 other memberships

11 = not classified

42 membership of organizations (qualitative)

0 = no membership

1 = membership of A associations only

- 2 = membership of B associations only
 3 = - - C - -
 4 = - - A + B associations
 5 = - - A + C associations
 6 = - - B + C associations
 7 = - - A + B + C associations

II = not classified

A = farmers' bank; purchasing-selling co-op.; cattle-sale co-op.; mutual insurance fund;

B = milk testing association; association for artificial insemination; association for agricultural machinery;

C = cattle herdbook; horse herdbook; pigs herdbook; association of alumni of the Agricultural Winterschool; bookkeeping bureau.

- 43 activity in agricultural and non-agricultural organizations
 0 = no membership in non-agr. org.; no functions held on the board of agr. organizations
 1 = - - - - - ; 1-2 functions held on the board of agr. organizations
 2 = - - - - - ; more functions held on the board of agr. organizations
 3 = one membership in non-agr. org.; no functions held on the board of agr. organizations
 4 = - - - - - ; 1-2 functions held on the board of agr. organizations
 5 = - - - - - ; more functions held on the board of agr. organizations
 6 = more memberships in non-agr. org. or at least one board function in non-agricultural organizations; no functions held on the board of agr. organizations
 7 = - - - - - ; 1-2 functions held on the board of agr. organizations
 8 = - - - - - ; more functions held on the board of agr. organizations
 II = not classified
- 44 association (regular) with neighbours and with agrarian people
 0 = interviewee does not associate with neighbours and with agrarian people
 1 = interviewee associates with neighbours *a.* with agrarian people
 2 = - - - - - *b.* with non-agrarian people
 3 = - - - - - *c.* with agrarian and non-agrarian people
 4 = interviewee associates with non-neighbours *a.*
 5 = - - - - - *b.*
 6 = - - - - - *c.*
 7 = interviewee associates with neighbours *a.* and with non-neighbours
 8 = - - - - - *b.*
 9 = - - - - - *c.*

11 = other possibilities
12 = not classified

- 45 profession of the sons older than 15 years (born after 1940)
- 0 = no son older than 15 years
- 1 = one son employed in agriculture }
2 = 2 sons employed in agriculture } all sons employed in
3 = 3/more sons employed in agriculture } agriculture
4 = no son employed in agriculture; in other activities, working
in the municipality
- 5 = one son employed in agriculture; others in other activities,
working in the municipality
- 6 = 2/more sons employed in agriculture; others in other activities,
working in the municipality
- 7 = no son employed in agriculture; and at least one in other
activities working outside the
municipality
- 8 = one son employed in agriculture; and at least one in other
activities working outside the
municipality
- 9 = 2/more sons employed in agriculture; and at least one in other
activities working outside the
municipality

11 = no sons at all
12 = not classified

- 46 schooltraining received by the sons *after the elementary school* (planned
discriminated/unplanned and undiscriminated)
- 0 = no son had a training higher than elementary school
- 1 = the only son (of age) received agricultural vocational training
- 2 = the only son (of age) received non-agricultural vocational training
- 3 = all sons (more than 1) received agricultural vocational training
- 4 = all sons (more than 1) received non-agricultural vocational training
- 5 = one son received agricultural vocational training, other(s) non-
agricultural vocational training
- 6 = more sons received agricultural vocational training, other(s) non-
agricultural vocational training
- 7 = sons with higher-grade education and sons with only elementary
education together
- 8 = one son had agricultural vocational training, other(s) had secondary
education
- 9 = more sons with agricultural vocational training, other(s) had second-
ary education
- 11 = all sons (the only son of age) had secondary education
- 12 = not classified, no son at all, no son of age

- 47 children's participation in organizations
- 0 = no children beyond the age of 10 live on the farm
- 1 = children beyond the age of 10; no membership of organizations
- 2 = " " " " " " ; membership of sport and/or reli-
gious organisations a.

- 3 = children beyond the age of 10; membership of cultural organisations b.
- 4 = - - - - - ; membership of agricultural organisations c.
- 5 = - - - - - ; $a + b$
- 6 = - - - - - ; $a + c$
- 7 = - - - - - ; $c + b$
- 8 = - - - - - ; $a + b + c$
- 9 = other possibilities
- 11 = not classified

48

homemaker's age

- 0 = born before 1885
- 1 = in 1885-1889
- 2 = 1890-1894
- 3 = 1895-1899
- 4 = 1900-1904
- 5 = 1905-1909
- 6 = 1910-1914
- 7 = 1915-1919
- 8 = 1920-1924
- 9 = 1925-1929
- 11 = 1930 and afterwards
- 12 = no homemaker

49

homemaker's provenience

- 0 = from the same neighbourhood as the husband a. from a smaller farm (per classes of 5 ha)
- 1 = - - - - - b. from a farm of same size
- 2 = - - - - - c. from a larger farm
- 3 = - - - - - d. from a non-farm family
- 4 = from another neighbourhood in the municipality a.
- 5 = - - - - - b.
- 6 = - - - - - c.
- 7 = - - - - - d.
- 8 = from another municipality a.
- 9 = - - - - - b.
- 11 = - - - - - c.
- 12 = - - - - - d.

50

homemaker's schooltraining after the elementary school

- 0 = no training after the elementary school, followed one or two vocational courses a.
- 1 = no training after the elementary school, followed more than two vocational courses b.
- 2 = school for home economics or elementary school for home economics

- 3 = school for home economics or elementary school for home economics + *a.*
 4 = school for home economics or elementary school for home economics + *b.*
 5 = higher-grade non-vocational school (ULO, MULO)
 6 = - - - - - + *a.*
 7 = - - - - - + *b.*
 8 = secondary or higher education
 9 = - - - - - + *a.*
 11 = - - - - - + *b.*
 12 = not classified, no homemaker
- 51 homemaker's pre-marital occupation
 0 = no homemaker (wife)
 1 = worked always in the parental home
 2 = worked (also) as a maid *a.* with another farm family
 3 = worked (also) as a maid *b.* outside agriculture
 4 = worked (also) *not as a maid* outside agriculture
 11 = not classified
- 52 wife's participation in the work of the farm
 0 = no wife
 1 = wife helps with 1 type of chores
 2 = - - - 2 types - - -
 3 = - - - 3 - - - -
 4 = - - - 4 - - - -
 5 = - - - 5 - - - -
 6 = - - - 6 - - - -
 7 = - - - 7 - - - -
 8 = more than 7 - - - -
 9 = wife does not work on the farm
 11 = not classified
- 53 wife's membership of organizations
 0 = no wife
 1 = no membership
 2 = membership of one organization
 3 = membership of two organizations
 4 = membership of more than two organizations
 5 = not classified
- 54 presence of guests in the household; vacations
 0 = no wife
 1 = guests present, not relatives *a.* vacations by non relatives
 2 = - - - , - - - *b.* vacations by relatives
 3 = - - - , - - - *c.* no vacations
 4 = guests present, relatives *a.*
 5 = - - - , - *b.*
 6 = - - - , - *c.*
 7 = no guests *a.*
 8 = - - *b.*
 9 = - - *c.*
 11 = not classified

- 55 farmers' opinion about the function of bookkeeping; question 33
 0 = not classified
 1 = bookkeeping for taxes only
 2 = bookkeeping for farm management / farm management and taxes
 3 = interviewee does not consider bookkeeping necessary
 11 = no answer
- 56 desire for household facilities; questions 43-44
 0 = not classified
 1 = possesses none of the quoted facilities; *a.* desires nothing; no opinion
 2 = - - - - - ; *b.* desires what he already has
 3 = - - - - - ; *c.* has precise wishes; wants more
 4 = possesses radio; radio and radio journal; *a.*
 5 = - - - - - ; - - - - - ; *b.*
 6 = - - - - - ; - - - - - ; *c.*
 7 = possesses more (something else) than radio *a.*
 8 = - - - - - ; - - - - - ; *b.*
 9 = - - - - - ; - - - - - ; *c.*
 11 = no answer
- 57 opinion about the function of the Farmers' Unions; question 62
 0 = not classified
 1 = useless; respondent is against the Union
 2 = Union is of a certain value / very useful
 3 = other possibilities
 11 = no answer / no opinion
- 58 opinion about farm tradition; question 67a
 0 = not classified
 1 = would regret if a son did not become a farmer
 2 = would not regret it
 11 = no answer / no opinion
- 59 opinion about giving a training to the sons after the age of compulsory education; question 67b
 0 = not classified
 1 = vocational training (courses or agricultural elementary school)
 2 = - - - - - (agricultural winterschool / secondary agricultural school)
 3 = higher-grade and secondary non vocational training
 4 = "nonsense" / "farming is the best teacher" / "no" / etc.
 11 = no answer / no opinion
- 60 opinion about the possibility for employment for the sons on the farm; question 67d
 0 = not classified
 1 = there is no employment possibility for sons
 2 = can employ one son

- 3 = can employ two sons
- 4 = can employ more sons
- 5 = other answers
- 11 = no answer / does not know / no opinion

- 61 opinion about the theoretical "reasonable" income; question 72
- 0 = not classified
 - 1 = "reasonable" income up to 1999 £/year
 - 2 = - - - - 2999 £/year
 - 3 = - - - - 3999 £/year
 - 4 = - - - - 4999 £/year
 - 5 = - - - - 5999 £/year
 - 6 = - - - - 6999 £/year
 - 7 = - - - - 7999 £/year
 - 8 = - - - - 8999 £/year
 - 9 = - - - - 9999 £/year
 - 11 = - - - - 10000 £/year or higher
 - 12 = no answer / no opinion
- 62 opinion about the most suitable age to learn the children milking; question 67e
- 0 = not classified
 - 1 = before fourteen/as soon as possible
 - 2 = 14-15 years
 - 3 = after fifteen
 - 4 = no answer
- 63 opinion about remunerating children's work on the farm; question 67f
- 0 = not classified
 - 1 = full loan
 - 2 = each other form of calculated loan/pocket money (if the amount is mentioned)
 - 3 = pocket money (without amount) / nothing / "according to needs"
 - 4 = pocket money + bank account
 - 5 = other answers
 - 11 = no answer / no opinion
- 64 opinion about the use the children should do of the money received in payment for work done outside the farm enterprise; question 67g
- 0 = not classified
 - 1 = pay the whole salary over to the parents and receive pocket money
 - 2 = pay only for board and lodging
 - 3 = pay whole salary over up to a certain age, and afterwards pay board and lodging
 - 4 = keep the whole salary without paying anything
 - 5 = other answers
 - 11 = no answer / no opinion
- 65 opinion about the most suitable age for children to acquaint themselves with the financial situation of farm and household; question 68
- 0 = not classified
 - 1 = before the eighteenth year

- 2 = 18-19-20 years
 3 = 21 years / "on his coming of age" / etc.
 4 = 25 years / "around 25" / "not before 25" / etc.
 5 = "it goes automatically" / "they learn by themselves" / etc.
 6 = other answers
 11 = no answers / no opinion
- 66 opinion about (satisfaction with) farming: question 69
 0 = not classified
 1 = would become a farmer again
 2 = would not become a farmer again
 3 = dubious / only upon certain conditions etc.
 4 = other answers
 11 = no answer / no opinion
- 67 opinion about the desired size of the farm; question 70
 0 = up to 4 ha
 1 = up to 6 ha
 2 = up to 8 ha
 3 = up to 10 ha
 4 = up to 12 ha
 5 = up to 14 ha
 6 = up to 16 ha
 7 = up to 20 ha
 8 = up to 25 ha
 9 = 25 ha and more
 11 = no answer / no opinion
 12 = not classified
- 68 opinion about farm youths migration out of agriculture; question 71
 0 = not classified
 1 = "of course they have to," without further clarifications
 2 = present migration rate is enough
 3 = - - - is too high
 4 = - - - is too low
 11 = no answer / no opinion
- 69 homemaker's satisfaction with the amount of schooling received; question 6
 0 = not classified
 1 = satisfied
 2 = not satisfied
 11 = no answer / no opinion
- 70 homemaker's satisfaction with her situation at home; question 33
 0 = not classified
 1 = "life in town is not more beautiful but easier"
 2 = does not think town life is better
 3 = thinks town life is better but should not like to change
 4 = thinks town life is better and should like to change
 5 = other answers
 11 = no answer / no opinion

71

modernity of household equipment

- 0 = keeps a recording book for household expenditures
 I. there is electricity and running water *a.* more than 5 facilities present
- 1 = keeps a recording book for household expenditures
 I. there is electricity and running water *b.* 5 and less facilities present
- 2 = keeps a recording book for household expenditures
 II. there is no electricity or running water *a.* more than 3 facilities present
- 3 = keeps a recording book for household expenditures
 II. there is no electricity or running water *b.* 3 and less facilities present
- 4 = keeps a recording book for household expenditures
 III. there is no electricity and no running water *a.* uses mineral gas water
- 5 = keeps a recording book for household expenditures
 III. there is no electricity and no running water *b.* uses no mineral gas water
- 6 = does not keep a recording book for household expenditures I *a*
- 7 = - - - - - - - - - - I *b*
- 8 = - - - - - - - - - - II *a*
- 9 = - - - - - - - - - - II *b*
- 11 = - - - - - - - - - - III *a*
- 12 = - - - - - - - - - - III *b*

72

reading habits

- 0 = resp. is not accustomed to read
- 1 = resp. does not read technical literature *a.* reads only a local newspaper
- 2 = - - - - - - - - - - *b.* reads more local papers reads a national newspaper, reads also weeklies
- 3 = resp. reads 1/2 technical papers I. reads only technical papers
- 4 = - - - - - - - - - - 2. + a local general newspaper
- 5 = - - - - - - - - - - 3. + more general newspapers
- 6 = resp. reads more than 2 technical papers I.
- 7 = - - - - - - - - - - 2.
- 8 = - - - - - - - - - - 3.
- 11 = not classified

Short scale for socio-economic status

points:

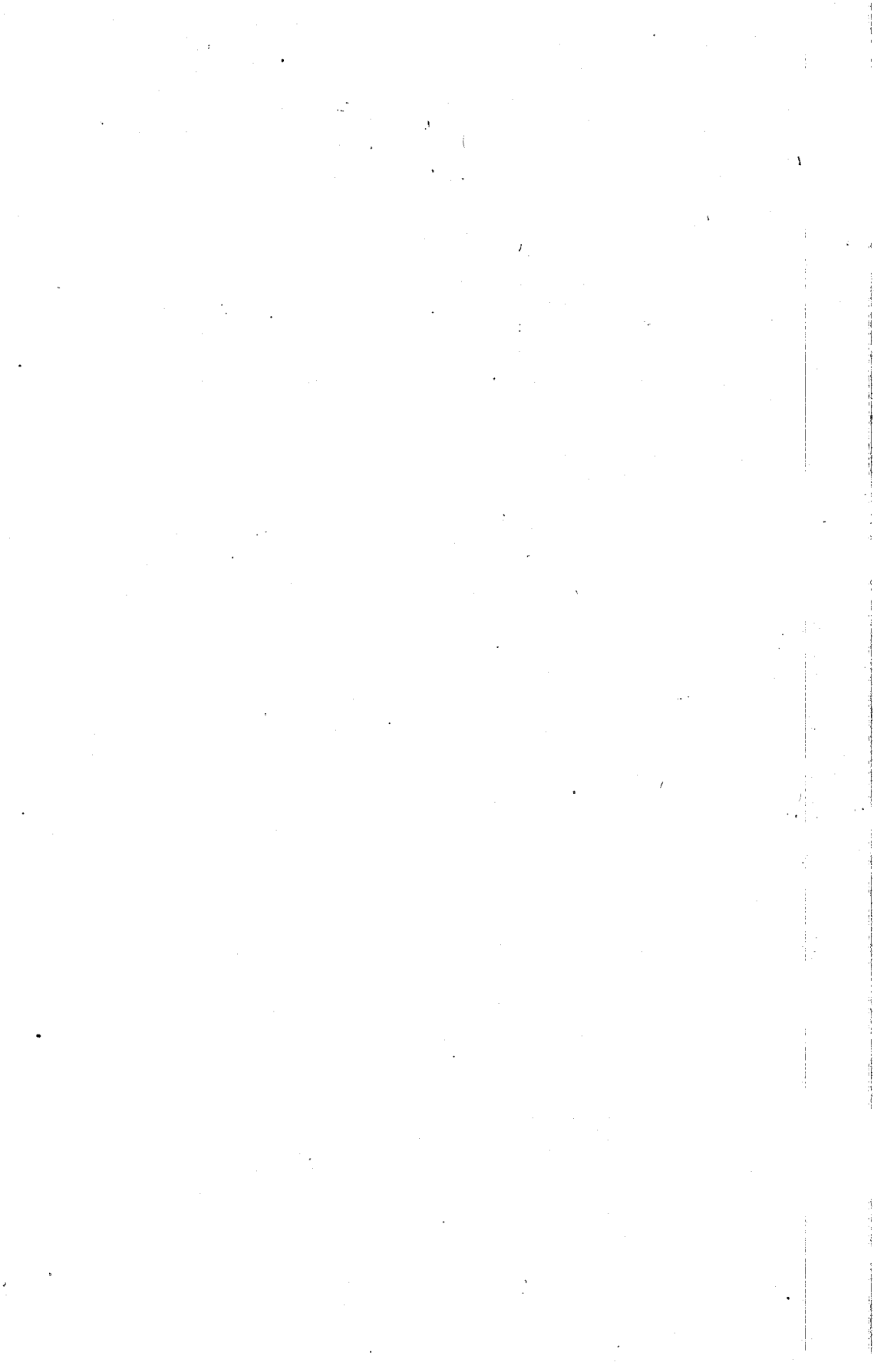
Farm operator

- 1 = possesses auto
- 1 = - telephone
- 1 = - transfer account
- 1 = - motorbicycle
- 1 = visited E 55, (one or more; once or more)
 - horse show (concours hippique)
 - agricultural yearly exhibition
- 1 = visited theatre (one or more; once or more)
 - open-air theatre
 - museum
- 1 = reads local newspapers (daily)
- 2 = - national newspapers (daily)
- 1 = - weeklies of the type of Panorama, Spiegel etc.
- 2 = - - - - De Groene Amsterdammer, Elsevier
 - De Haagse Post etc.
- 1 = - technical papers, 1-2
- 2 = - - - , more
- 1 = membership of political parties
- 1 = has life insurance

Homemaker

- 1 = electricity or mineral gas is used for cooking
- 1 = possesses a washing machine
- 1 = - an electric sewing machine
- 1 = - an electric vacuum cleaner
- 1 = - an electric centrifugal machine
- 1 = shower and/or bath tub; modern W.C.
- 1 = visited agricultural show (one or more; once or more)
 - home economics exhibition
 - cattle breeder's day
 - a horse-testing day
 - a horse show
 - agricultural yearly exhibition
 - E 55
 - cinema
- 2 = visited open-air theatre (one or more; once or more)
 - theatre
 - museum
- 1 = visited more than one province
- 2 = has been abroad (for more than just a small trip beyond the boundaries)
- 1 = reads newspaper(s)
- 2 = reads also books
- 1 = the family possesses more than 50 books
- 1 = dresses are bought in cities (Zutphen, Arnhem, Amsterdam etc.)
- 1 = a recording book is kept for the household expenditures

total score = 30



Short scale for measuring modernity of farm management. (Winterswijk, summer 1955)

points

- 1 = potato silo
- 1 = green-fodder silo
- 1 = concreted manure-yard
- 1 = wagon on tires
- 1 = uses the hayrake (owned or borrowed)
- 1 = uses the mowing machine (owned or borrowed)
- 1 = uses the sowing machine (owned or borrowed)
- 1 = liquid-manure tank
- 1 = soil sample taken after 1950
- 2 = nutritional balance for the cattle established by the Agr. Ext. Service
- 1 = membership of the cattle herdbook
- 1 = membership of the horse herdbook
- 1 = membership of the pigs herdbook
- 1 = membership of the milk-testing association
- 1 = membership of the association for artificial insemination

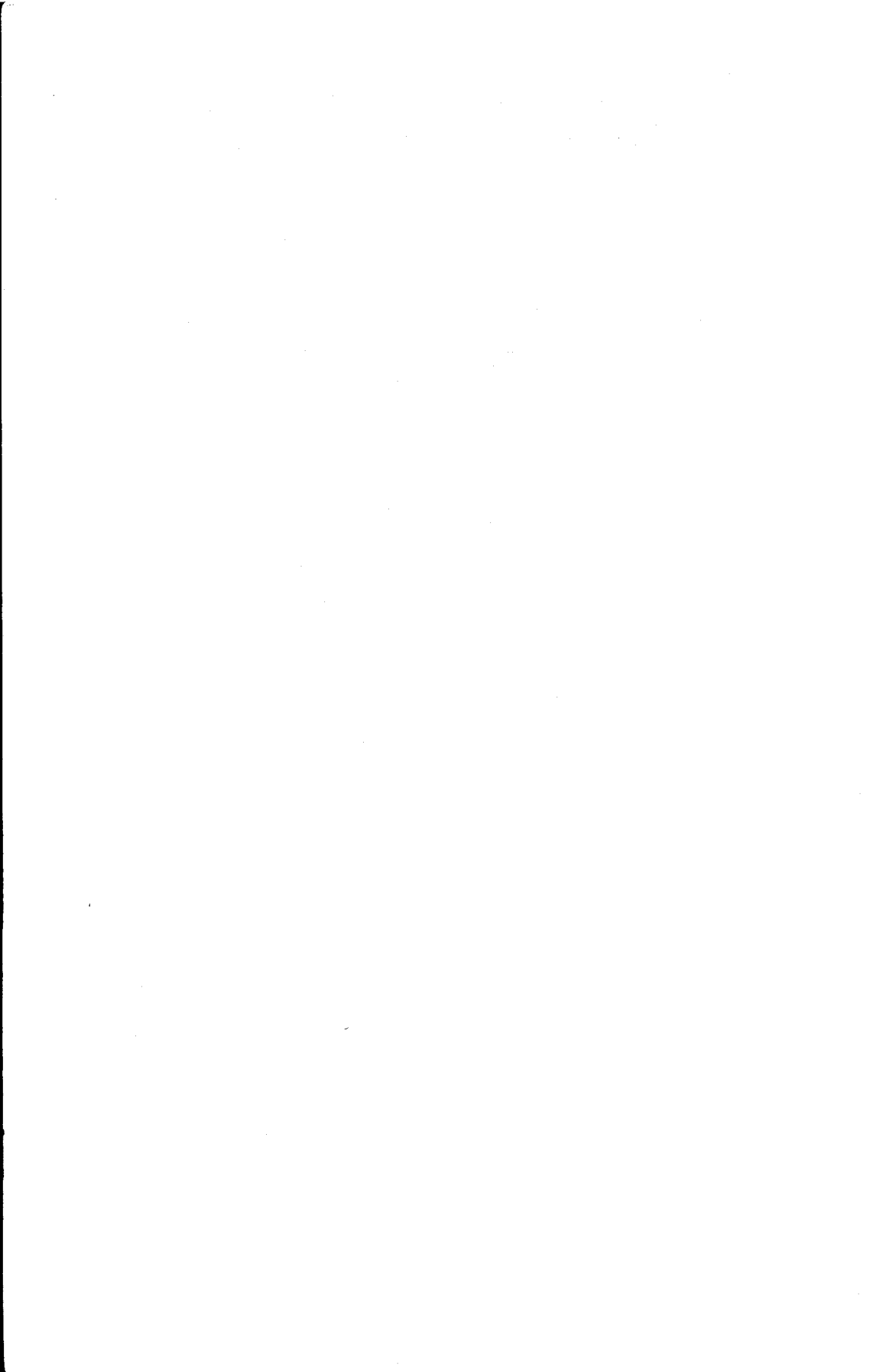
nitrogenous fertilization of grasslands

- 0 = 0-250 kg/ha nitrate of lime or 0-50 kg N (other fertilizers)
- 1 = 251-500 kg/ha - - - - 51-100 kg N - - -
- 2 = 501-750 kg/ha - - - - 101-150 kg N - - -
- 3 = 751 and more kg/ha nitrate of lime or 151 kg N and more

cattle-grazing schedule

- 0 = cattle stay more than 3 weeks on the same grass
- 1 = - - from 8 days to 3 weeks on the same grass
- 2 = - - from 2 to 7 days on the same grass
- 3 = - - 1/2 to 1 day on the same grass (strip-grazing)

Total score = 22



Four items of the farm management of Winterswijk farmers examined separately per neighbourhood and per farm size

Neighbourhood	Miste	Corle	Meddo	Ratum	Huppel	Henxel	Kotten	Brink.	Woold	Dorps- buurt
% grains of cultivated arable land	Farm size 2-6 ha	66	63	53	66	70	68	70	68	66
	- 7-9 ha	67	68	66	62	73	71,5	72,5	75	73
	- ≥ 10 ha	60	70	63	69	72	74	75,5	78	76
Average number of cows per ha. grassland	Farm size 2-6 ha	1.5	1.5	1.3	1.6	1.-	1.5	1.6	1.5	1.2
	- 7-9 ha	1.4	1.4	1.3	1.3	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.2
	- ≥ 10 ha	1.3	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.4	1.1	1.5	1.3	1.2
Number of Kgs. nitrogenous fertilizer per ha. grassland	Farm size 2-6 ha	393	304	300	339	375	439	292	373	275
	- 7-9 ha	397	380	300	331	360	444	405	305	293
	- ≥ 10 ha	296	394	286	333	345	305	300	328	357
Percent of the farmers in the neighbourhood who graze their cows: Farm size 2-6 ha A. up to 7 days, B. up to 1.4 days on the same parcel	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
	30	38*	27	72*	20	0*	46	27*	68	39
	73	56*	24	62	25*	44*	47	55	60	33
	42	65*	37*	57*	33*	50*	53	0*	50	67

* statistically unreliable.