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Social and Ecological Patterns in the Farm Leadership of Four Iowa Townships

BY BRYCE RYAN

AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION
IOWA STATE COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE AND
MECHANIC ARTS

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PURPOSE

During the past decade farmers have been organizing for action on a variety of issues probably as never before. The problem of obtaining effective leadership has arisen time and again in this emergence of organizations and programs. The present study was initiated in response to this situation as an effort to learn more about the relationships between farmers and the persons in whom they repose confidence for leadership. Some of the more specific questions which underlie this inquiry are: The extent to which farmers can visualize and agree upon specific individuals as effective leaders; the geographic patterning of agreement; the roles of specialists and non-specialists in different leadership situations; the specific bonds or relationships existing between farmers and their leaders, and the functional or official capacities of the selected leaders in established programs and organizations.

These queries do not stand as isolated problems in rural social organization and social psychology. Together they form a small wedge into the broader and more basic question of translating the common man's thinking into formal expression and group action. Social action in a democratic society is not divorced from the sentiments and will of the people. By the same token leadership involves more than administrative ability and judgement; it demands certain reciprocal relationships with "the following." Just as "leading" presupposes confidence by a "following," "following" presupposes an articulation by the leader, of sentiments

¹This study was conducted under a cooperative agreement between the Iowa Agricultural Experiment Station (project 689) and the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, U.S.D.A. Prof. C. A. Anderson of Iowa State College has offered many helpful suggestions throughout the development of the study. Prof. R. E. Wakeley, of Iowa State College; Prof. Kimball Young, now of Queens College; Dr. J. Edwin Losey of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, U.S.D.A.; and Mr. Robt. Buck, now of the Farm Security Administration, have also collaborated with the writer at a number of points in the inquiry. Field workers were furnished by the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare.

and judgments consistent with the group's will or welfare. Hence an inquiry into rural leader-follower relationships is more than an academic excursion; it is a probe into the bases upon which farmers construct their confidence in leadership for group action.

Democratic planning and action necessitate concern over the ability of farmers to conceptualize leadership on potential issues, and also the conditions under which they agree in their allocation of leadership responsibility. Further, the criteria upon which leaders are selected are significant for action since effective leading involves not only expression of folk sentiment, but also specific abilities and judgment in part dependent upon the sphere in which leadership is exercised. As an objective means of evaluating the criteria of selection, social relationships or ties between farmers and their designated leaders have been studied.²

Since most practical rural programs are organized in terms of some ecological unit of action, we may extend this analysis into the spatial plane. This is essentially a means of locating "natural areas" of leadership, if indeed they exist. Are there in addition to the sociological criteria of leadership, spatial ones as well? Are these ecological and sociological factors related, and how do they vary for different types of leadership situations? Obviously this problem has intrinsic importance to those who would see farmers effectively organized for action upon any type of territorial or ecological basis.³

THE LOCALITY STUDIED

The study was limited to four townships in a southwestern Iowa county. This county, Adair, was selected because

²Admittedly this is an indirect approach, but it avoids the possibility of accepting the farmer's rationalization of his leader as a fact. We would not assume that the analysis of leader-follower bonds is an exhaustive treatment of selection criteria. Mainly it is useful for setting sociological limits within which more definitive criteria operate.

³It seems unfortunate that so much sociological work done in connection with the Agricultural Planning movement has rested upon an *assumption* that the effective schema of planning and action is the community-neighborhood axis. The theoretical delineation of this position by Loomis, Ensminger and Wooley (as a note in *J. of Rural Sociology*, Dec. 1941) might be analytically sound, yet have little or no conformity to reality. There are in fact two different types of defects in their position. The first is the implication that communities are, for action on rural problems, more critically segmented by neighborhoods than by intra-community special interest associations and bonds. This includes unwillingness to recognize that such special interests frequently cut across neighborhood alignments. The second fallacy occurs in an explicit failure to recognize that rural society itself may be segmented by significant factors operating wholly outside the community-neighborhood construct, i. e., factors which differentiate in such a way as to cut across both neighborhood and community lines. Such unwarranted extensions and misuses of sound *theoretic* constructs in Agricultural Planning have been pointed out by my colleague, Professor Ray E. Wakeley, in his paper "Rural Planning: Its Social and Community Organization Aspects," presented at the third annual meeting of the Rural Sociological Society, Chicago, Dec. 28, 1940 (Abstracted in the *J. of Rural Sociology*, March, 1941, pp. 63-67).

it has been relatively active in agricultural planning, being Iowa's unified county in the Agricultural Planning Program. The four townships chosen for study, Summerset, Jackson, Eureka and Prussia, include all of the trade and community

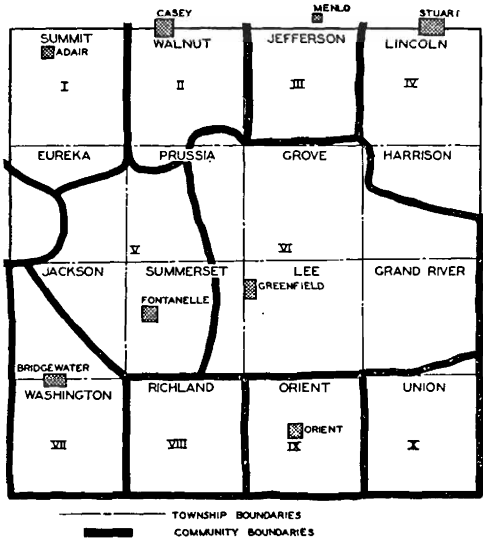


Figure 1. Community areas in Adair County. (Based on an unpublished study of community areas in Adair County conducted by the writer in 1939.)

area surrounding the town of Fontanelle as well as areas peripheral to and outside that community. (See fig. 1.) By the selection of this area it was possible to analyze the data on a community as well as a township basis and to compare the two types of areas as locales of leadership.

the data were gained mainly through extended discussion and indirect questioning. The results of these discussions were then scheduled by the interviewer,* only the more detailed data being transcribed during the interview. Thus most of the items analyzed represent, not responses to single questions, but the result of discussion, the hypothesizing of situations and the probing into previous leadership relations. In some instances the problems presented to the farmers were grasped quickly and response was easy; at other times carefully varied approaches were necessary and concrete examples called for, in order to permit the farmer's visualization of the problem. The basic effort was to gain knowledge of leaders and leadership relationships in hypothetical situations with the maximum assurance that these responses would indeed apply in concrete circumstances.

A sample of 141 farm operators was drawn from the

*The two field interviewers, Charles Mantle and Wayne Leffler, were both experienced investigators and sociologists.

METHOD

Although a schedule was devised and used in interviewing,

1940 AAA records, listing all operators. This represented a 25 percent sample of all operators residing in each of the four townships. Names were selected by including every fourth name on the alphabetical list of farmers for each of these townships.

TYPES OF LEADERSHIP STUDIED

It has already been noted that one purpose of the investigation was to ascertain the names of "real" leaders, as opposed to nominal leaders or functionaries, and to ascertain something of the relationships between them and their followers. A primary purpose has been to locate leaders in terms of influence, not office. This does not imply that elected and appointed officers in existing organizations are or are not leaders in this sense. Our purpose was not to show relationship to existing organizational officers but to persons in whom farmers, as individuals, would repose primary confidence for guidance on specific issues, regardless of formal capacities or affiliations.

Without operating on the assumption that farmers generally recognize, and isolate in their own thinking, the varied aspects of leadership, an attempt was made to distinguish between three of the important elements in leadership. The three elements, which were believed to be of immediate importance were: 1. Leadership as an advisory function. 2. Leadership in the sense of organizational ability and willingness of farmers to pursue a course promoted by such a leader. 3. Leadership as formal representation of local interests on county or statewide committees to deal with the problem at hand. It is to be recognized that these three analytical elements may or may not find expression in a single leader. Our effort was to determine first of all what person the farmer would rely upon most heavily in each of these three types of leader-follower situations. For practical purposes, **advisors, organizers and representatives** have been treated as different types of leaders. As will be observed many of the same individuals were designated as leaders in two or more of these respects.⁵

Although it was essential to maintain throughout the interview the understanding that the problems posed were not being discussed from an individualized standpoint, there was insistence upon the respondent's personal attitude toward possible leaders rather than the determination of individuals he believed other farmers would likely follow. Thus, for example, questioning was to lead not to the discovery

⁵In actual fact on most problems over one-half of the operators selected the same individual for all these leadership roles. (See table 7.)

of the man best suited to give advice on the farmer's personal land use problems, but to the person to whom he would go for advice on proposed joint action toward the solution of the problem. This was an express effort to secure the names of leaders whose technical advice would be trusted and whose sentiments would either harmonize with, or be accepted by the farmer.

Even in the selection of an organizer or promoter of action toward the solution of a problem, an attempt was made to couch leadership questions in terms of the farmer's individual responsiveness to specific individuals. This is somewhat different from the selection of an individual believed by the farmer to have great promotional ability, since it again assumes harmonious sentiments, or the probability of them between the farmer and the leader. Obviously this condition applied to the selection of a representative, or delegate, by which was meant the person best capable, *in the farmer's eyes*, of serving local interests on a county or statewide committee set up to approach the issue.

THE PROBLEMS

In order that the inquiry might have some tangible bases with significance to rural planners, leadership was studied in terms of problems serious to Adair County farmers. Six problems were listed on the field schedule, each of which was believed to be significant locally by members of the Adair County Agricultural Planning Committee. The operators were requested to add any other issues if they believed that the three most serious in their community were not listed. (Only 6 percent availed themselves of this opportunity.) In order to keep the discussion on a level which was of concern to the farmer, the three problems which to him appeared to be most serious were checked, and leadership data were secured for these three only.

The problems presented for the operators' consideration were as follows:

1. The maintenance of rural schools with present small enrollments.
2. Insufficient differences in taxes on good land and poor land.
3. The scarcity of farms for tenants.
4. Bad land use practices; soil depletion and erosion.
5. The need for improvement in farm to market roads.
6. The loss of local youth by migration.^a

^aSo few operators selected this as a problem that no analysis of leadership has been presented.

TABLE 1. NUMBER AND PERCENT OF CASES IN VARIOUS TENURE CLASSES SELECTING SPECIFIED PROBLEMS AS AMONG THE THREE MOST SERIOUS IN THEIR COMMUNITY.

Problem	Owners				Tenants				Total	
	Unencumbered		Encumbered		Related		Unrelated			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Rural schools	12	55	18	33	6	35	10	21	46	33
Farm taxes	8	36	30	54	11	65	21	44	70	49
Scarcity of farms	10	46	31	58	10	59	39	81	90	64
Land use	13	59	31	58	8	47	31	65	83	59
Local roads	15	68	34	63	11	65	29	60	89	63
Youth	6	27	10	19	1	6	6	13	23	16
Others	2	9	5	9	0	0	1	2	8	6

As may be observed in table 1, larger percentages of farmers selected problems 3 and 5 than other problems. Of least importance, in terms of the percentage of farmers checking as "serious," was "the loss of local youth" and the school situation. The majority of the operators were concerned over improper land use, the undersupply of farms for available tenants and the poor road conditions.⁷

Several interesting differences appear between tenure groups in their tendency to select certain problems. As might be expected more than 80 percent of the unrelated tenants were concerned over the scarcity of farms. More surprising is the fact that unrelated tenants, more frequently than any other group, selected "bad land use practices" as a serious problem in the community. Owner operators were more generally concerned over the road situation than any other problem, although nearly 60 percent believed "bad land use practices" to be one of the three most serious issues. Related tenants and encumbered owners gave greater heed to the scarcity of farms than did the unencumbered owners. Comparatively few in each group expressed concern over the "youth situation," and the unencumbered owners were the only ones selecting the rural school problem with high frequency.⁸

⁷Interviews took place during the season in which local roads were almost impassable and while a highway beautification project was going on. It is quite possible that these circumstances, and the irritation they aroused among farmers, are partially responsible for the heavy vote on the road issue.

⁸It should be explained that the majority of these selecting the school problem expressed alarm lest the rural one-room schools be closed or substituted for by consolidation or transportation to distant institutions. Generally the high cost of maintaining schools with only a few pupils was of little concern.

DIVERSITY AND AGREEMENT IN THE SELECTION OF LEADERS

ABILITY TO SELECT LEADERS

The majority of the farmers were able to name leaders on the problems which they believed to be serious. Except in regard to farm scarcity, more than 80 percent, on each problem, specified advisors, organizers and representatives.⁹ The most general response was in respect to leadership on the road question where 98 percent of the operators named an advisor, 92 percent an organizer and 93 percent a representative.

There is no consistent tendency evidencing greater ease on the part of the farmers in naming persons for any particular category of leadership. Thus on the problem of roads we find more operators who were able to suggest advisors than were able to suggest organizers and representatives, while on the problems of farm scarcity and land use the situation is reversed.

Slight basis exists for the belief that the inarticulateness of some farmers is the result of including operators who are on the periphery of the Fontanelle community.¹⁰ On some problems the farmers having Fontanelle as their community center indicate less ability to visualize leaders, on other problems, more. On the agricultural issues community operators found it easier to select advisors, but in other leadership categories differences are quite small. The inclusion of farmers not belonging to the Fontanelle com-

⁹ For definition of leadership categories see pp. 148-9.

¹⁰ For purposes of the present study all individuals specifying Fontanelle as their usual center for social participation were considered members of the Fontanelle community. Slightly over one-half of the sample indicated that Fontanelle was their community center.

TABLE 2. PERCENT OF ALL FARMERS SELECTING EACH PROBLEM NAMING AN ADVISOR, ORGANIZER AND REPRESENTATIVE.
(Four Townships Combined.)

	Problems				
	Rural schools	Farm taxes	Farm scarcity	Land use	Local roads
Number selecting problem	46	70	90	83	89
Percent naming advisor	93	86	76	84	98
Percent naming organizer	89	86	81	92	92
Percent naming representative	93	87	81	89	93

TABLE 3. PERCENT OF ALL FARMERS SELECTING EACH PROBLEM NAMING AN ADVISOR, ORGANIZER AND REPRESENTATIVE.
(Fontanelle Community Only.)

	Problems				
	Rural schools	Farm taxes	Farm scarcity	Land use	Local roads
Number selecting problem	28	36	47	41	42
Percent naming advisor	93	94	89	90	98
Percent naming organizer	79	86	81	95	90
Percent naming representative	82	86	83	93	93

munity, and dependent upon diverse community centers, increased the ranks of the inarticulate very little except in reference to advisory selections on problems of taxes, land use and farm scarcity.

Certainly the most outstanding feature of these data, both for the total area and for the Fontanelle community, is the fact that most farmers could designate specific individuals as leaders on specific problems. There is no evidence that many of the operators felt cut off from channels of advice or of expression.

DIVERSITY AND AGREEMENT IN THE SELECTION OF SPECIFIC LEADERS

Two methods have been followed in analyzing the agreement of farmers upon their leaders. On the one hand we have presented a measure of dispersion or variety in choice, and on the other a measure of agreement upon the outstanding leaders for each problem. The variety or dispersion of leadership selections has been presented in the form of a ratio, i. e., the ratio of the number of farmers selecting leaders of a particular category, to the number of different persons named as leaders in that category. Thus a ratio of 1.0 would be indicative of a situation in which no agreement on leaders is evident, i. e., each farmer replying selected a different individual as his leader. A ratio of 2.0 would indicate that there was one leader specified to every two responses. It is recognized that this measure offers only slight indication of the degree to which the operators agreed upon specific individuals. That is, even with a leadership ratio of 2.0 we might still find that one-half of the operators plus one have agreed upon the same individual. The ratio is thus an expression of the degree of diffuseness in selec-

tion. For practical purposes the study of concentrations in the selection of a few individuals probably is of more importance than the degree to which diverse names were suggested. While evaluation of such concentrations is difficult due to the absence of standards of judgment, degrees of agreement upon specific individuals can be demonstrated and evaluations made by comparisons within the data themselves.

TABLE 4. NUMBER AND PERCENT OF LEADERS SPECIFIED BY VARIOUS NUMBERS OF FARMERS, REGARDLESS OF PROBLEM OR CATEGORY OF LEADERSHIP.

(Four Townships Combined and Fontanelle Community.)

Number of times leader specified	Leaders			
	Four townships		Fontanelle community	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Once	71	53	50	56
Twice	20	15	16	18
Three	11	8	11	12
Four	8	6	2	2
Five	5	4	2	2
Six—ten	10	7	8	9
Eleven—fifteen	7	5	0	0
Sixteen and over	3	2	1	1
Total	135	100	90	100

Through these measurements we may gain some insight into the types of problems which may bring or have already brought out "strong" leaders in the area and those which have not. Of perhaps greater significance is the location of areas within which agreements appear greatest. The latter involves a first step in the determination of "natural areas" of planning and action for various problems.

THE FOUR TOWNSHIPS COMBINED

A total of 135 different leaders was specified by the farmers on all phases of leadership in all problems studied.¹¹ Table 4 indicates that the majority of these leaders were named by one farmer each. (This, of course, does not preclude the possibility of each of these leaders having been

¹¹The term "leader" as used in this context has been given the purely functional connotation ascribed to it earlier. It does not imply leadership in the sense of unanimous or even general acceptance as a leader.

named several times by the same farmer.) At the other extreme we find an exceedingly small percentage of the leaders named by more than five operators. Only 14 percent were selected by more than 5 operators and 7 percent by more than 10. Thus, in actual numbers only 10 individuals were named as leaders by as many as 11 different farmers, regardless of problem and type of leadership.

The diversity in names suggested is more accurately demonstrated in the consideration of the individual problems and categories of leadership. (See table 5.) In general, the highest ratios (the most responses per leader) appear on the problem of roads where we find 3.0 respondents to each advisor, and 2.3 for organizers and representatives, respectively. The lowest number of farmers per leader appears on the problem of rural schools where the ratio 1.6 occurs for representatives and 1.5 for each of the other categories (e. g., 43 farmers named 29 different advisors). Ratios for the remaining problems lie between these two extremes. Differences between the categories of leadership on the same issue are very slight, except for local roads and to some extent land use. In the latter cases fewer advisors were named than were other types of leaders.

It should be recalled that the farmers were given complete freedom in their choices of leaders. We have no way of knowing how many farmers would be favorably impressed by the selections of others even though they themselves did not immediately associate those persons with given problems. The great number of different leaders selected does not, in any case, demonstrate that agreement is altogether lacking. Generally speaking, among the farmers who did not name isolated individuals as leaders there was not a random distribution among the various leaders named. Upon most problems some degree of concentration upon one or two individuals is evident even in the consideration of the four townships as a whole.

Not only is the diversity in selections least on the problem of local roads, the greatest concentration upon a single leader appears here.¹² One individual was selected by 62 percent as an advisor, by 43 percent as an organizer and by 40 percent as a representative. This leader, a farmer and member of the County Board of Supervisors, exerts wider influence as an advisor than as a more active leader, but his recognition as an organizer and representative is far

¹²For concentrations in the selections of specific individuals see Appendix, tables I A, B, C, D, E. The overlapping of leaders on different problems is treated separately. (See p. 158 to 162.) All names of leaders are fictitious.

TABLE 5. NUMBER OF FARMERS SELECTING ADVISORS, ORGANIZERS AND REPRESENTATIVES ON VARIOUS PROBLEMS AND THE NUMBER OF DIFFERENT LEADERS SELECTED.

(ACTUAL NUMBERS AND RATIO OF RESPONDING FARMERS TO LEADERS OF EACH TYPE.)

(Four Townships Combined.)

	Rural schools	Farm taxes	Farm scarcity	Land use	Local roads
Advisors					
No. of responses	43	60	68	70	87
No. of leaders	29	31	36	28	29
Ratio resp. to leaders	1.5	1.9	1.9	2.5	3.0
Organizers					
No. of responses	40	60	73	76	82
No. of leaders	26	33	45	39	36
Ratio resp. to leaders	1.5	1.8	1.6	1.9	2.3
Representatives					
No. of responses	43	61	73	74	83
No. of leaders	27	29	42	37	36
Ratio resp. to leaders	1.6	2.1	1.7	2.0	2.3

greater than that accorded any other individual. It should be noted, however, that while his importance diminished in the more active phases of leadership, another individual had increasing prestige in these leadership functions.

Leadership concentrations are much less pronounced on all other problems and are practically lacking on the farm scarcity issue. For the latter problem the maximum agreement was upon an advisor with 10 percent of the operators selecting a member of the state legislature. Seventeen percent of the 46 farmers who responded on the school issue agreed that they would seek advice from the county school superintendent, and 11 percent agreed upon an organizer or representative. Maximum agreements are similar on the problems of land use and farm taxes.

THE FONTANELLE COMMUNITY

If the community concept has bearing upon the locale of leadership, it might be expected that the diversity of leaders' names would be less, and concentrations greater, when only those farmers looking upon Fontanelle as their community center are studied. This is, however, only partially

TABLE 6. NUMBER OF FARMERS SELECTING ADVISORS, ORGANIZERS AND REPRESENTATIVES ON VARIOUS PROBLEMS AND THE NUMBER OF DIFFERENT LEADERS SELECTED.

(ACTUAL NUMBERS AND RATIO OF RESPONDING FARMERS TO LEADERS OF EACH TYPE.)

(Fontanelle Community Only.)

	Rural schools	Farm taxes	Farm scarcity	Land use	Local roads
Advisors					
No. of responses	26	34	42	37	41
No. of leaders	19	20	24	19	16
Ratio resp. to leaders	1.4	1.7	1.8	1.9	2.6
Organizers					
No. of responses	22	31	39	39	38
No. of leaders	18	21	30	22	16
Ratio resp. to leaders	1.2	1.5	1.3	1.8	2.4
Representatives					
No. of responses	23	31	39	38	39
No. of leaders	19	19	26	22	19
Ratio resp. to leaders	1.2	1.6	1.5	1.7	2.1

the case. It is evident from table 4 that just as many of the community leaders were named by only a single farmer as was true in the entire area studied.

As in the total sample the least diversity in leadership selections is evidenced on the problem of local roads. (See table 6.) The ratios of respondents to leaders on this issue are similar in the two areas except that in the choice of advisors the total sample showed somewhat less diversity than the community. On each of the problems, differences between the community and the total area are generally unimpressive. But in each case there is a tendency for leadership to be more diverse in the community area.

This tendency does not imply that strong leaders are more lacking among Fontanelle operators than among the more heterogeneous total. Concentration in the selection of single individuals is slightly higher on most problems than for the entire area. Usually, the individuals cited with comparatively high frequency in the entire area are also the outstanding leaders in the community alone. (See Appendix, tables II A, B, C, D, E.)

Like the four townships as a whole, agreement is greatest in the selection of a leader on the problem of local roads. However, the percentages of farmers uniting on the outstanding individual were almost identical in the two groups. On all other issues agreement in the community is similar in degree to that for the entire sample, except that in every problem there is a slight tendency for community concentrations to exceed. Thus we find 19 percent of the community farmers agreeing upon a single person for all phases of leadership on farm taxes, whereas in the entire area about 16 percent agreed on an advisor and 13 percent on an organizer and a representative. On the remaining problems the greater agreement within the community was even less pronounced. There was in fact no greater unanimity whatever in the selection of organizers and representatives on the rural school problem.

These comparisons indicate that on most problems a few more members of the single community agreed upon outstanding leaders than was true for the total sample. However, it is evident that in neither group did outstanding leaders draw mention from even a fourth of the operators, except in reference to local roads.

THE INDIVIDUAL TOWNSHIPS¹³

While the diversity in leadership choices is frequently greater within individual townships than in the entire area as a whole, there is a tendency for leadership to be less diverse than in the Fontanelle community (Appendix, table III). This is true mainly for the problems of farm taxes, land use, and to a lesser extent, rural schools; on the farm scarcity and local roads issues township diversity was about equal to that in the community.

Not only does the variety of names suggested for leadership tend to be less in the townships than in the community, but agreement upon specific outstanding individuals is usually greater in the smaller unit (see Appendix tables IV A, B, C, D). This is especially true in regard to leadership on the problems of land use, farm scarcity and

¹³It should be recognized that the numbers of cases involved on the different questions are exceedingly small when divided into township units. In spite of this fact a true picture of leadership cannot be gained without such treatment. It does not seem unreasonable to attach some importance to leadership concentrations involving only four or five respondents when it is remembered that the names of leaders were obtained by what was practically a "free association" process. Hence we could scarcely attribute the agreement of perhaps 4 out of 10 operators to "accident." This is, of course, not an assurance that the farmers selecting the problem are a reliable sample of the entire township, to the contrary, they are not necessarily intended to be. They are a sample of the operators in each township *concerned over* the problem at hand, which might be quite different from township representativeness. Thus we may infer that except for the range of sampling error, we have included in this study one-fourth of the operators seriously interested in each issue.

rural schools. However, in more than two-thirds of all leadership situations studied, township concentrations are greater than those of the community.

Frequently the agreements within townships far exceed those in the community. Thus in Eureka township, 9 of the 27 respondents on the land-use question agree upon an advisor and 10 on an organizer and representative. In Jackson township we find 5 of the 15 operators on the school problem selecting the same individual for advice, organization and representation. Eleven of the 17 Prussia township operators interested in the tax problem named a single individual as advisor while 8 and 5, respectively, named him as an organizer and representative. Another individual was selected by 4 of the 18 operators interested in land use as an advisor and as an organizer and by 6 as a representative. While these are, of course, selected instances they indicate degrees of concentration quite lacking in the community except on the road issue.

Certainly it is evident that the lack of agreement upon leaders in the four townships combined and in the community is partially due to exaggerated expectations as to the scope of farm leadership. While these data do not demonstrate that the township itself is a "natural area" of leadership, they indicate that much leadership agreement is upon a smaller scale than that of the community. A more precise picture of leader-follower ecology will be presented in a subsequent section on the "Spatial Patterns in Leadership."

THE VERSATILITY OF LEADERS

Observation of Appendix, tables I A, B, C, D, E, has revealed that some leaders were named solely in reference to given problems while others have been cited on several problems. It is also evident that in many instances there has been a tendency to select the same leader for different leadership functions within the same problem. At least brief consideration should be given these two aspects of leadership patterning.

Table 7 indicates that more than one-half of the respondents on each problem, except that of farm scarcity, named the same individual as advisor, organizer and representative. This consistency within each problem is especially apparent on the road issue where 61 percent of the farmers named one individual as an advisor, an organizer and a representative. On the problem of farm scarcity only 40 percent were so consistent in their selections.

TABLE 7. NUMBER AND PERCENT OF FARMERS NAMING THE SAME PERSON FOR MORE THAN ONE CATEGORY OF LEADERSHIP ON THE SAME PROBLEM.

(Four Townships Combined.)

Problem	Advisor, org., and repre. identical		Advisor and org. only identical		Advisor and repre. only identical		Org. and repre. only identical	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Rural schools	25	54	2	4	2	4	12	26
Farm taxes	37	53	4	6	3	4	9	13
Farm scarcity	36	40	2	2	1	1	34	38
Land use	46	55	5	6	1	1	20	24
Local roads	54	61	7	8	4	4	19	21

In addition to these large groups of farmers making no distinction by type of leadership within the context of each problem, or who believed their leader suited each type, many additional operators named a single person as an organizer and as a representative but not as an advisor. The farmers were much less inclined to select the same person as an advisor and also as an organizer or representative; this was especially true for the farm scarcity issue. About 80 percent of the respondents on each problem except farm taxes named the same individual as a representative whom they had named as an organizer. Considerably smaller percentages showed consistency in their choices of advisor and organizer or advisor and representative.

It should not be assumed that the farmers all had perfect understanding of the meaning of the different leadership categories. Lack of comprehension may have operated in some instances toward greater consistency in selection. This cannot be precisely determined. However, such an explanation cannot account for all duplications since in the naming of some specific individuals many of the operators showed a fine discrimination between the different leadership functions. (This was especially true in reference to Hart, Rankin and Smart. See Appendix, tables I A, B, C, D, E.) Many of these duplications probably arise through the tendency to ascribe various types of leadership ability to a person who is currently demonstrating his capability in one phase of leadership, i. e. the halo effect. This would not imply lack of understanding of the different leadership phases by the farmers. It would mean, for example, that

TABLE 8. NUMBER AND PERCENT OF FARM OPERATORS NAMING LEADERS WHO NAMED THE SAME PERSON FOR THE SAME TYPE OF LEADERSHIP ON DIFFERENT PROBLEMS.
(Four Townships Combined.)

	Operators naming three leaders		Operators naming two leaders	
	No.	%	No.	%
Three advisors, identical	0	0.0	—	—
Two advisors, identical	23	30.1	3	8.1
Each advisor, different	53	69.9	34	91.9
Number of operators	76	100.0	37	100.0
Three organizers, identical	1	1.2	—	—
Two organizers, identical	19	22.2	6	16.2
Each organizer, different	65	76.6	31	83.8
Number of operators	85	100.0	37	100.0
Three representatives, identical	4	4.4	—	—
Two representatives, identical	28	30.7	2	6.7
Each representative, different	59	64.9	28	93.3
Number of operators	91	100.0	30	100.0

if a leader is actually an officer in a formal program he is probably the person to whom farmers actually look for various forms of guidance.

It should be carefully recognized that while many farmers did not distinguish between individuals as advisors, organizers and representatives on the same problem, they did distinguish clearly between leaders on different problems. Table 8 indicates that few farmers named the same person for identical leadership capacities on more than one problem. The greatest overlapping is evidenced among representatives, but even here nearly two-thirds of the operators naming three such leaders, selected different individuals for each problem. Only 4.4 percent named one person as a representative on each of the three problems. The same discriminatory tendency is strongly borne out by those farmers naming only two leaders.

Taking only the most outstanding leaders in each township for each category of leadership on each problem, i. e., the most outstanding advisors, organizers and representatives, very few are widely recognized on more than the one problem in which they are outstanding. Of these 17 different leaders listed in table 9 only Rankin and Barton were

outstanding upon as many as two problems in any township. Several of the outstanding leaders on specific problems while not outstanding on any other issue were named by at least 10 percent of the operators, but 12 of these 17 leaders had importance only for a single problem.

It may be concluded that leadership has been conceptualized in specialized terms, but the specialization has been mainly by content of program rather than by phase of leadership. Only in respect to advice has the presence of unique

TABLE 9. FREQUENCY WITH WHICH OUTSTANDING LEADERS ON ONE PROBLEM ARE CITED AS LEADERS ON OTHER PROBLEMS, BY TOWNSHIPS.*

Name	Township	Rural schools	Farm taxes	Farm scarcity	Land use	Local roads
Rankin	Sum.	--	V	--	--	V
Smart†	"	--	--	V	--	--
Burke	"	--	--	V	--	X
Fitch†	"	--	--	--	V	--
Weller†	"	--	--	--	V	--
House†	Eur.	V	--	--	--	--
Rankin	"	--	V	--	--	V
Barton	"	--	V	X	V	--
James	"	--	--	V	X	--
Peters	Jack.	V	--	--	--	--
Rankin	"	--	V	--	X	V
Gardener	"	--	V	--	X	--
Hart†	"	--	--	V	--	--
Daniels	"	--	--	V	--	--
Fall	"	--	--	--	V	--
Scott	Prus.	V	--	--	--	--
Wise	"	--	V	X	--	--
Snider	"	--	--	V	--	--
Rankin	"	--	--	--	--	V
Henderson	"	--	--	--	V	--

*Including the outstanding advisor, organizer and representative on each problem in each township.

V indicates the most outstanding leader in this problem.

X indicates a leader but not an outstanding one. (Selected by at least 10 percent provided that was by three or more individuals.)

-- Selected by none or by less than three operators (or less than 10 percent).

† indicates that leader is not a farmer.

capability been given much importance. Even so, the tendency toward discrimination of advisors from other types of leaders has not meant the presence of "over-all" advisory leadership. Not one farmer named the same person as an advisor on three different problems.

SPATIAL PATTERNS IN LEADERSHIP

Thus far it has been evident that leadership on the various problems studied is not dominated by a few individuals in the entire area or in the Fontanelle community. Since most programs have been anchored to some territorial unit, the question of leadership areas has considerable pertinence. While it would not be valid to assume that leadership operates upon a spatial plane, as opposed to an organizational one, it is well to test the adequacy of several hypotheses on the territorial level. Is leadership largely a community area phenomenon? Is it circumscribed spatially by township boundaries? Is it dependent upon neighborhood groupings? Is reliance placed upon farmers rather than town dwellers? Clearly the assumptions underlying each of these queries are at least partially conflicting insofar as they are applied to a single program. While the conclusions reached in the present appraisal may have no general validity for other districts, they hold, at least, some indicative importance.

LEADERS RESIDING IN TOWNS AND IN OPEN COUNTRY

The vast majority of the operators sought open country residents, farmers, as their leaders. (See Appendix, table V.) This was especially true in the selection of organizers and representatives, i. e., less than 10 percent of the respondents on each problem named townsmen for these leadership functions. In fact on the problems of rural schools and land use not one farmer named a townspeople as a representative. The situation is somewhat different in respect to advisors. Only for local roads is leadership in all of its phases recruited almost completely from the open country. For advice on rural schools, farm taxes and farm scarcity about a fifth of the operators named townspeople, while on the land use question one-fourth would seek town leadership.

It is evident that the towns did not furnish outstanding individuals as organizers or as representatives. It should be noted also that only two of the individual townspeople named for advice were as outstanding as open country advisors on the same issue. (See Appendix, tables I A, B, C, D, E.) Only on the rural school and farm scarcity issues were townspeople the most outstanding advisors over the

four townships as a whole. The importance of these town leaders is, of course, greatly minimized if we compare their followings *in each township* with those of farmer-leaders in the same township. (See Appendix, table IV A, B, C, D.)

A very small proportion of the farmers selecting townspersons as leaders named individuals living in Fontanelle. (Appendix, table V.) This is worth noting since slightly over one-half of the sample look upon Fontanelle as their community center, the remainder being split between various towns. Greenfield is a much more important center on every issue involving town leadership except farm scarcity. Even when we consider only those operators having Fontanelle as their community center, Greenfield residents are cited more frequently than Fontanelle on every problem except farm scarcity, and here the outstanding townsman resides in Bridgewater. (See Appendix, table II A, B, C, D., Smart is the only Fontanelle resident listed. Hart resides in Bridgewater, and all other townsmen in Greenfield.)

This situation arises mainly because when the farmers have named townspersons as advisors, they have usually selected individuals holding some position in county government or a salaried post in an agricultural organization. Greenfield being the county seat is the logical place of residence for most of these individuals. Thus Fontanelle leaders are "normal" members of the local community, while most of the Greenfield leaders are salaried functionaries "arbitrarily" brought to that center.

LEADERSHIP AREAS

With the exception of the problem of local roads, there is a pronounced tendency for operators to select leaders from their own respective townships. (See Appendix, table VI.) (On the road issue the situation is so dominated by one individual that this tendency does not appear.) As might be expected from the townward selection of advisors, larger proportions of the farmers leave their home township for advice than for other types of leadership. However, even for this leadership function, nearly two-thirds or more of the farmers remained in the home township for every problem except local roads. In the selection of organizers and representatives on these problems at least 80 percent named leaders from within the township. The road issue is apparently the only one in which the township area has no bearing upon selection. Except for Summerset, the home township of Rankin and Burke, two-thirds or more of the operators left their home townships on each phase of road leadership.

It would be unwise to interpret these observations as demonstrating either that most leadership in this area is nicely arranged upon a minor civil division pattern, or even that the township area itself is necessarily related to the leadership patterns noted. In dealing with percentages of all respondents it should be borne in mind that we are studying "leadership patterns," thus including "leaders" specified by only a single farmer. It is quite conceivable that the patterning upon a township basis could be clearly evident, while the followings of a few "outstanding leaders" might have no bearing upon township lines. Upon most problems there is a sufficiently large minority, leaving at least three townships to provide for strong "community" leadership, *if there were inter-township convergences.*

The most apparent evidence favoring the community concept in leadership is that provided by the widespread selection of Rankin on the road problem and to some extent the farm tax. Rankin is a member of the County Board of Supervisors, which is among other duties responsible for the maintenance of the county roads and taxes.¹⁴ The fact, however, remains that this widespread agreement does not necessarily substantiate the conclusion that *the community* is a unit of action on the road problem. It is true that Rankin was designated with comparatively high frequency by the operators having Fontanelle as their community center, but he was named with about the same frequency by operators *not* citing Fontanelle as their center. Also Rankin's popularity as an organizer and representative is least in Summerset, the township most completely dominated by Fontanelle. Rather than substantiating the community concept in leadership, these observations indicate that if community delineation were relied upon to achieve a unit of action upon this problem, the agreement would be fortuitous. It would be more accurate to infer that the road issue is a technical one which has become institutionalized upon a county basis. Leadership selection has apparently been guided by existing formal arrangements which are clearly not upon neighborhood, township or community lines.¹⁵

In the advisory aspects of leadership, generally, *the com-*

¹⁴ It is possible that the operators named Rankin on the road and tax issues so frequently simply because of his functional capacity. This type of response was especially guarded against in the interviewing, however, and the fact that so many individuals selected him as an advisor but not for other phases of leadership would indicate that more rational standards were used.

¹⁵ Although Rankin is a county officer, it is customary for members of the Board of Supervisors to represent the part of the county from which they come. Thus Rankin informally represents the interests of this part of Adair County on the Board.

munity has considerably greater prominence than for organization or representation. Among the 17 most outstanding leaders in the entire area studied (as of table 9), 3 are of importance to Fontanelle community operators almost exclusively. (See Appendix tables I and II A, B, C, D.) Miss House, the county superintendent of schools, was named by seven operators, six of whom lived in the community; Hart, a state representative, by nine operators, eight of whom lived in the community; and Smart, a Fontanelle banker, was named only by community members. Not one of these individuals, however, was cited by a single operator as an organizer or representative, and none is a farmer.

It is true that in a number of cases, outstanding farmer-leaders in a given township are selected by a few operators from without, but these are the exception rather than the rule. Among the 12 outstanding *farmer-leaders*, listed in table 9, six are limited to their home townships. (See Appendix table IV A, B, C, D.) Of the remaining six, Rankin is the only one named in each of the four townships. Except for Rankin, not one outstanding farmer-leader was named by more than three individuals residing outside his home township.

Although there is no gainsaying the strong tendency among the farmers to pick fellow township residents as leaders, this might be due to the presence of strong neighborhood units. The fact of common township residence might be coincidental, i. e., dependent upon extraneous factors which give false importance to the seemingly arbitrary township lines. However, figs. 2 and 3 indicate that spatial patterns in intra-township followings are practically lacking.¹⁰ While the distribution of cases is too scattered to make a conclusive judgment regarding neighborhood unity in leadership selection, the evidence points toward the belief that at least the more outstanding leaders usually gain their position by appeal to farmers scattered at random throughout the township. In view of the scattering of cases, had selections actually been mainly on a neighborhood basis we might have expected far less agreement upon a few major leaders than that which appears. Although neighborhood unity might be evidenced in some of the selections it is certain that factors outside the framework of neighborhood relations are at work or that "the neighborhood" has lost much of its spatial connotation in this area. The

¹⁰ These graphic illustrations are typical of all problems (not graphically portrayed) in that neighborhood clusterings appear negligible. It would, of course, have been highly desirable had it been possible to delineate actual neighborhood groupings for comparison, but this task was too great to be undertaken as part of this inquiry.

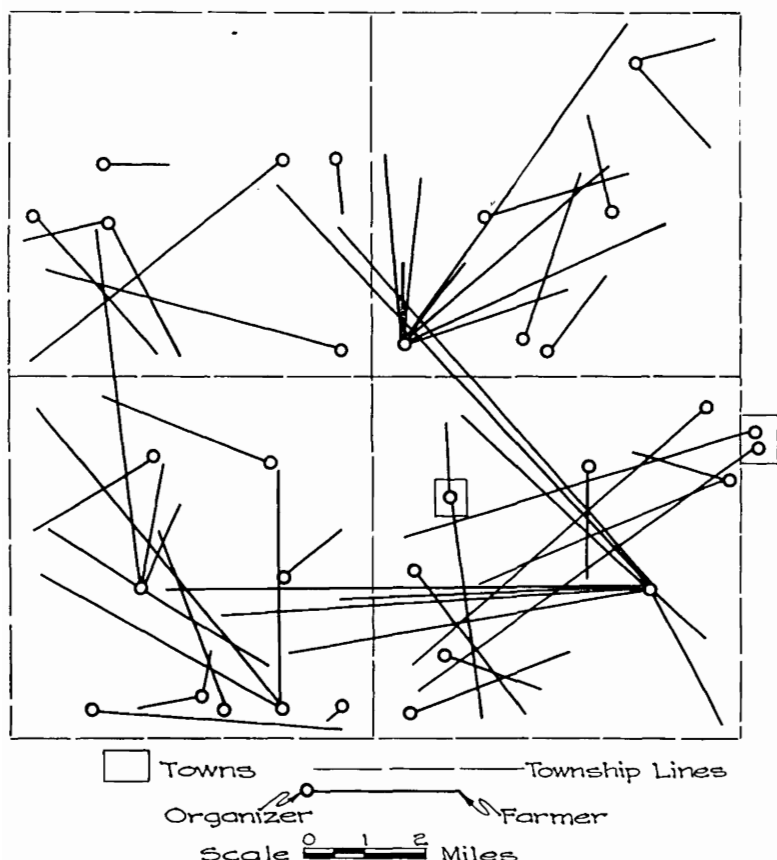


Fig. 2 Residences of farmers and their selected organizers on the problem of farm taxes.

solution to this problem lies not in the field of ecology but rather in the analysis of the relationships and bonds uniting followers with their leaders.

THE SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN FOLLOWERS AND LEADERS

INTIMACY ¹⁷

¹⁷ Intimacy was measured by inquiring into the degree of friendship or personal acquaintance with the specified leader. Responses were rated on a four-point scale. If it appeared that the leader was among the respondent's circle of intimate friends and that personal visiting between them was frequent, a rating of A was given. If relationships were friendly but involved infrequent personal visiting and contacts, the rating was B. If the relationship was largely that of "acquaintanceship" without personal visiting and contacts, a rating of C was given. The rating of D was to designate complete lack of direct contact between respondent and leader; this rating, however, was not used since all of the farmers professed at least a speaking acquaintance with their leaders.

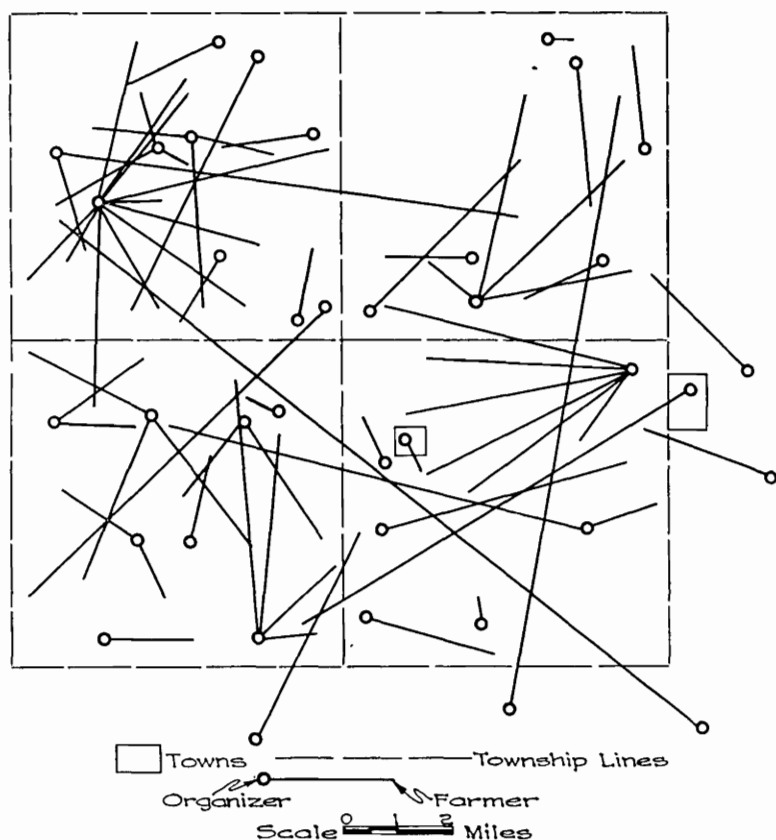


Fig. 3. Residences of farmers and their selected organizers on the problem of land use.

Not one of the farmers suggested as a leader someone with whom he had no direct acquaintance whatsoever, and the great majority named leaders with whom they had truly personal contacts (rating A and B). The high degree of intimacy between the respondents and farmer-leaders was especially pronounced. More than a fourth of these selections for each category of leadership were for persons held in the closest degree of intimacy. Far more of the farmer-leaders were held in this close personal friendship than were held simply in the role of acquaintance. On the other hand when the respondents named townsmen as leaders the degree of intimacy was much lower. Less than 6 percent of these non-farmers were close personal friends while nearly

TABLE 10. PERCENTAGES OF FARMER AND TOWN-RESIDENT LEADERS HELD IN DIFFERENT DEGREES OF INTIMACY BY THE FOLLOWERS.*

	Farmer leaders				Town-resident leaders			
	Percent intimacy rating			No. of selections	Percent intimacy rating			No. of selections
	A	B	C		A	B	C	
Advisors	25.4	64.0	10.6	245	5.8	46.1	48.1	52
Organizers	27.8	66.2	6.0	299		66.7	33.3	9
Representatives	30.5	64.0	5.5	297		50.0	50.0	4

* When the same individual was specified twice or three times in the same category of leadership by a single farmer, he was tabulated only once; e. g., once as advisor even though named as advisor on more than one problem.

a half were merely acquaintances. (This of course refers to advisors since few townsmen were named for other leadership categories.)¹⁸

Certainly it must be concluded that whatever the specific content of the relationships between farmers and their leaders, the ties of the follower to his leader are quite highly personalized. Even when non-farm advisors are named, these persons are somewhat more than "names" and "offices." On the other hand, the bulk of selections have not been within the closest range of intimacy, indicating that criteria other than trust built upon primary group contacts have been operative.

TYPES OF RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN FOLLOWERS AND LEADERS

The type of relationship most frequently cited by the operators as existing between them and the leaders they specified, was that of "neighbor."¹⁹ Only in the selection of advisors does any other type of relationship appear more frequently; for advisors we find more operators selecting persons with whom they were in a governmental relationship.

¹⁸ There is some indication that intimacy was closest with the farmers named as representatives and least for those cited as advisors. Although the differences shown in table 10 are exceedingly small, it should be recalled (see table 7) that very few leaders were named as representatives who were not also named as organizers. Thus if the names unique to each category of leadership were compared, differences in intimacy would be much larger. This would, however, be characteristic of relatively few cases.

¹⁹ Relationships or ties considered here are those cited by the respondent himself. They were not elicited, however, by a simple question but were developed through discussion of "where he knows this man?" "where he sees this man?," etc. From these discussions the interviewers drew the significant bases of relationship which were subsequently classified. It should be specifically noted that the term "neighbor" has here been used in the functional sense and refers to the fact of "neighboring," i. e., inter-family visiting and close friendship.

The neighboring relationship far exceeds any other in the organizational and representative aspects of leadership. This is especially noteworthy since one element of neighborliness, "exchange of work" has been treated as a separate tie.

It is evident from table 11 that while "neighbors" are very frequently selected as leaders, the majority of such leaders are also related to their followers by additional bonds as well, especially formal ties. Thus, we find 28 percent of the responses indicating neighbors as advisors but only 7.4 percent named persons who were neighbors and nothing more. Similarly we find less than one-half of the neighbors specified as organizers and as representatives related to their respondents by the sole bond of neighborliness. The most important additional bond was that of governmental relationship, although many of them also exchanged work or were involved in agricultural programs in which the respondents participated.

A more important single type of leader-follower relationship is that pertaining to purely governmental bonds.²⁰ Thirty percent of the respondents selected advisors with whom they had only governmental connections. Only about 17 percent of the operators held such a relationship to their organizers and 19 percent to their representatives. In addition to these about 9 percent of the operators indicated both governmental and neighboring relationships with their leaders.

About as frequent as the governmental relationship to organizers and representatives is that of relationship through agricultural activities.²¹ In most such cases the leaders specified were farmer-officers in the AAA or members of the Agricultural Planning Committee. In selecting advisors the agricultural tie was of much less importance than the governmental.

Although the vast majority of the operators named leaders bearing the above relationships, or combinations of them, some of the less important types of bonds hold considerable interest. It is especially noteworthy that church, lodge and other social organizations have almost no importance. In fact, religious ties are less frequently cited than those of

²⁰ Governmental relationships indicate that the respondent is acquainted with the leader by virtue of the latter's governmental office either in the past or currently. While it is recognized that the Soil Conservation Service, AAA, Farm Security Administration, etc., are "governmental" they have been classified as agricultural programs.

²¹ Excluding salaried specialists such as county agent, F.S.A. supervisor, etc. It should be noted that the Farm Bureau leaders exclusive of the county agent, were either very infrequently named or their Farm Bureau leadership was overlooked by the respondents. See Appendix tables VII A, B, C, D, E.

TABLE 11. TYPES OF RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN FARMERS AND THEIR SELECTED LEADERS ON ALL PROBLEMS.

(Four Townships Combined.)

Relationship	Advisors		Organizers		Representatives	
	No. of selections	Percent	No. of selections	Percent	No. of selections	Percent
Neighbor only *	22	7.4	47	15.3	47	15.6
Neighbor and governmental	27	9.1	30	9.7	27	9.0
Neighbor and agricultural **	13	4.4	25	8.1	18	6.0
Neighbor, governmental and agricultural	3	1.0	3	1.0	5	1.7
Neighbor and exchange work	16	5.4	21	6.8	22	7.3
Neighbor and church	2	0.7	9	2.9	8	2.7
Church only	0	0.0	1	0.3	1	0.3
Church and agricultural	3	1.0	2	0.6	1	0.3
Exchange work only	7	2.4	12	3.9	12	4.0
Agricultural only	49	16.5	53	17.3	56	18.6
Governmental only	89	30.0	52	16.9	58	19.3
Agricultural and governmental	3	1.0	9	2.9	7	2.3
Agricultural specialist †	23	7.7	4	1.3	4	1.3
Commercial	15	5.0	7	2.3	4	1.3
Kinship	15	5.0	17	5.5	18	6.0
Other	10	3.4	16	5.2	13	4.3
Total responses ††	297	100.0	308	100.0	301	100.0

* For definition of neighbor, see p. 168, fn.

** "Agricultural" relationship indicates that leader is a farmer associated with an agricultural program or organization, e. g., Township AAA committeemen.

† Salaried specialists, e. g., County Agent and F.S.A. Supervisor.

†† When the same individual was specified twice or three times in the same category of leadership by a single farmer he was tabulated only once, i. e., once as advisor even though named as advisor on more than one problem.

blood relationship, exchange of work and purely commercial or business relationships. None of these is of great importance, but church ties are among the least important bonds of those attaining any mention whatsoever.

Aside from the general patterns of relationship between followers and their leaders, several differences should be noted in relationships between followers and their advisors, organizers and representatives. Generally speaking, the similarity between organizers and representatives, in their relationship patterns, is greater than that between advisors and other types of leaders. That is, advisors were apparently selected upon somewhat different bases than were the other categories of leaders. Two tendencies in this connection are particularly important. Much greater reliance was placed upon advisors held in a purely governmental relationship, than upon organizers and representatives. Many more operators would select advisors in a governmental relationship than would select organizers or representatives holding such relationship to them. Interestingly enough when these "governmental" leaders are also neighbors, they are sought for other leadership functions just as frequently as they are for advice.

The second outstanding tendency to be noted is the high proportion of organizers and representatives held only in the neighboring relationship. Whereas only 7.4 percent of the advisors were simply neighbors, 15.3 percent of the organizers, and 15.6 percent of the representatives were so related to their respondents. This same tendency to select neighbors for the more active phases of leadership is to be observed also when the bond of neighborliness is supplemented by leadership in agricultural activities, exchange of work and even common church membership.

Several other types of relationships seem to hold modified importance in the advisory aspect of leadership. Most notable is the tendency to procure advice from salaried agricultural specialists of various types. Although 7.7 percent would seek advice from such officials, less than 2 percent consider them important as organizers or representatives. Another evidence of the more personal bonds between organizers and representatives and their followers, is to be seen in the increased number of operators specifying relatives in these categories of leadership. Kinship ties were of no great importance generally, but they were of greater moment in the selection of organizers and representatives than advisors.

These relationships necessarily cover a wide range of activities on differing levels of formality and personalization. It is accordingly worth while to study them as grouped in reference to their typological character. Several approxi-

TABLE 12. TYPES OF RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN FARMERS AND THEIR SELECTED MAJOR LEADERS AND MINOR LEADERS*
ON ALL PROBLEMS.
(Four Townships Combined.)

Relationship	Major leaders						Minor leaders					
	Advisor		Organizer		Representative		Advisor		Organizer		Representative	
	No. of se- lections	%	No. of se- lections	%	No. of se- lections	%	No. of se- lections	%	No. of se- lections	%	No. of se- lections	%
Neighbor only	7	3.5	14	7.9	16	9.2	15	15.1	33	25.4	31	24.6
Neighbor and governmental	16	8.1	18	10.1	14	8.0	11	11.1	12	9.2	13	10.3
Neighbor and agricultural	11	5.6	16	9.0	12	6.9	2	2.0	9	6.9	6	4.8
Neighbor, governmental and agri- cultural	3	1.5	3	1.7	3	1.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	1.6
Neighbor and exchange work	8	4.0	5	2.8	5	2.9	8	8.1	16	12.4	17	13.5
Neighbor and church	0	0.0	6	3.4	5	2.9	2	2.0	3	2.3	3	2.4
Church only	0	0.0	1	0.6	1	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Church and agricultural	3	1.5	2	1.1	1	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Exchange work only	0	0.0	5	2.8	5	2.9	7	7.1	7	5.4	7	5.6
Agricultural only	34	17.2	44	24.7	46	26.2	15	15.1	9	6.9	10	7.9
Governmental only	81	41.0	43	24.1	51	29.1	8	8.1	9	6.9	7	5.6
Agricultural and governmental	3	1.5	3	1.7	3	1.7	0	0.0	6	4.6	4	3.2
Agricultural specialist	17	8.6	3	1.7	2	1.1	6	6.1	1	0.8	2	1.6
Commercial	7	3.5	5	2.8	2	1.1	8	8.1	2	1.5	2	1.6
Kinship	5	2.5	6	3.4	6	3.4	10	10.1	11	8.5	12	9.4
Other	3	1.5	4	2.2	3	1.7	7	7.1	12	9.2	10	7.9
Total responses**	193	100.0	178	100.0	175	100.0	99	100.0	130	100.0	126	100.0

* Major leaders are those named by three or more farmers for any single category of leadership on at least one problem. Minor leaders are those named by fewer than three farmers.

** When the same individual was specified twice or three times in the same category of leadership, he was tabulated only once, i. e., once as advisor even though named as advisor on more than one problem.

mate the bonds characteristic of primary groups, while others are clearly of a functional or contractual nature.²² Many, are of course, mixed and are to be treated separately.

Two facts stand out in the comparison of these relationship categories. The most salient point is the predominance of relatively pure functional relationships over *Gemeinschaft* in each sphere of leadership, i. e., advice, organization and representation. The second point is the much greater importance of functionally related leaders as advisors than as organizers or as representatives. Relationships involving mixtures of the two types are somewhat more frequent among the organizers and representatives than among advisors. These observations do not mean that primary relationships were unimportant, but they do indicate that such relationships *alone* were less important than basically functional ones. Also for many of the operators the recognition of leadership status in the outer world was evidently an important basis for selection *within the Gemeinschaft circle*.

RELATIONSHIPS TO MAJOR AND MINOR LEADERS

In order to ascertain the differences in the ties between farmers and the more and less frequently named leaders, responses were classified into two groups. The first group, major leaders, includes relationships to persons who were specified by three or more different farmers upon the same problem; the second group includes the minor leaders, those specified by less than three different farmers.

It is evident in table 12 that the selection of persons who bear only a neighboring relationship to the respondent is largely characteristic of minor leaders. The same tendency is strongly evident in respect to the selection of relatives and persons with whom work is exchanged. These simple personal bonds, when unaccompanied by additional relationships, are not of great importance in linking the more important leaders to their followers.

Interestingly enough, neighborliness accompanied by secondary relationships was as powerful a factor in the selection of major leaders as in the selection of minor ones. The combination of governmental and of agricultural bonds with neighborliness is quite important for the major leaders.

Even more striking than the dearth of major leaders se-

²² This basis of classification corresponds as nearly as possible to Tonnies analytical dichotomy of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*. In the first category we shall include "neighbor," "neighbor and exchange of work," "exchange of work" and "kinship"; in the latter "governmental," "agricultural," "agricultural specialists," "agricultural and governmental" and "commercial." ("Church" has been excluded from each since in this area it could fall into either category.)

lected on the basis of purely personal ties, is the general importance of governmental and agricultural relationships. Together these two types of relationships existed between the farmers and one-half or more of the major leaders. Forty-one percent of the farmers picking major leaders indicated simply a governmental relationship with their advisors; 17.2 percent indicated ties only through agricultural organizations. In other leadership categories these two types of bonds were of about equal importance, agricultural relationships becoming more important and governmental much less. The general importance of these functional bonds between followers and major leaders is in contrast to their very slight importance in the selection of the less prominent.

It is evident from these data that the more important leaders in this area do not gain their positions of importance simply through the development of primary group activities and ties. The informal, neighborly bases of trust are not absent but usually they are insufficient in themselves. Even though the spreading of influence might tend to increase impersonalization, the tendency toward more formal relationships between major leaders and their followers can scarcely be termed tautological. It should be recalled that leadership takes place in a localized area. Further, the degree of intimacy found between operators and their leaders would indicate no tendency to select them simply on the basis of office without personal knowledge of their work and capabilities. The more reasonable inference is that recognition as a leader by several operators usually necessitates not only some personal knowledge and friendship but also objective evidence of ability and experience. Neither of these elements is sufficient, except perhaps in obtaining advice from specialists. Primary group bases of trust have not been sufficient for many leaders to extend their influence beyond a very few individuals except when these bonds were reinforced by more objective evidences of leadership ability. The conventional view of rural society with its overpowering familistic tendencies finds little substantiation here. Most leadership selections were made upon a surprisingly rational level, not upon the level of kinship, common participation in religious activities, or other grounds commonly believed to be of peculiar significance to farmers.

THE OFFICIAL CAPACITIES OF LEADERS²³

It has been evident from the foregoing discussion that the farmers relied heavily upon leaders already having some governmental or agricultural office. Often these officials held posts in programs related to the specific problem under consideration. However, even where formal organization for meeting a specific problem was lacking, as in the case of farm scarcity, the farmers frequently ascribed leadership to officers in existing programs.

This tendency to conceive of leadership within existing organizational frameworks is especially evident in meeting the rural school problem. (See Appendix table VII A.) One-half of the farmers indicated that they would seek advice and representation from members of their township school board and nearly as many would seek organizational leadership there as well. Fifteen percent would look to the County School Superintendent for advice, but none selected her for other phases of leadership. Around one-fifth of the farmers selected persons currently holding no office for advice or representation, while slightly over one-fourth selected such persons for organizational leadership. It should be recognized that a large proportion of these non-officials had held office in the past.

Except for local roads, there was less agreement upon the types of officials sought for leadership on the remaining problems. (Appendix tables VII B, C, D, E.) In all cases, however, the majority of the operators named leaders who held some official capacity. Township AAA committeemen were named for all phases of land-use leadership by 20 to 30 percent of the operators and by few less on the problem of farm scarcity. Members of the County Agricultural Planning Committee were named less often than the AAA men on the land use problem, but this was the only issue on which they were frequently mentioned. For leadership on the problem of farm taxes, township assessors and the local member of the County Board of Supervisors were cited more frequently than others. The road problem is, of course, dominated by the widespread selection of the same County Supervisor.

²³ "Official" in this sense refers to governmental and organizational posts including all elected or appointed officers in agricultural organizations and programs, school administration, etc. The offices cited are not intended to form a logical classification but are so specified for practical purposes. Church, lodge and similar offices of these leaders have not been included since not one respondent cited such a capacity held by his leader. The offices listed represent those given by the farmers in response to questioning.

It is evident in each problem that farmers were more apt to select county officers and specialists for advice than for active organizing or representation. However, except for the road issue, local townships officers were actually named more frequently even for the advisory phase of leadership.²⁴

In general these observations substantiate the earlier evidences that leadership is more evident upon a township than upon a neighborhood, community or a county basis. Not only, on most problems, do the majority of operators look to officers for leadership, they usually look to township officers, not functionaries in community or county organizations. Thus leadership is visualized by many of the operators not only in very local terms but also in highly institutionalized terms. This is certainly not surprising in respect to such problems as schools which have long been the surrogate of the township in Iowa. However, the degree to which this "formalism" and "localism" is true on such problems as farm scarcity is more surprising. Unquestionably the majority of farmers have thought of active leadership in terms of institutionalized attacks upon problems and except for roads and to a less extent farm taxes, such an institutionalized conception is mainly upon the township level.

CONCLUSIONS

It is evident that the number of different persons specified as leaders in the entire area studied is not small. Equally apparent is the fact that upon most issues no individual was named as leader by more than one-fifth of all farmers. Inasmuch as this area is not homogeneous either as a governmental or community unit, this lack of outstanding leadership is not surprising. It is more notable, however, when we find that even among those operators who are dependent upon the same community center, outstanding leaders are but slightly more evident. In most instances persons named frequently in the entire area are also the outstanding leaders in the community. Only in the selection of advisors do we find evidence of outstanding leaders who are unique to the community. While it cannot be concluded, upon the strength of these data, that community leadership is non-existent, it has appeared that upon most problems, the community is not a "natural area" of leader-

²⁴ On the land use issue 23 percent sought advice from salaried specialists and 14 percent from members of the Agricultural Planning Committee. If membership on the latter is considered a "county office" then this problem also should be excepted. The planning committee is a county-wide organization composed of township representatives. References to planning committeemen were in practically all cases to the township representatives of the respective farmers.

ship. This is especially true for the non-advisory aspects of leadership.

In general, there is no doubt that the farmers sought their leaders from within their respective township boundaries. This is not only true for all leadership selections, except on one problem, but also in the selection of outstanding leaders, who were usually important only within a single township. While these conditions might reflect a simple neighborhood basis for leadership selection, the high frequency with which persons holding township offices were cited tends to dispel this belief, as does the geographic distribution of farmers agreeing upon their leaders. It is true, however, that among those farmers not selecting the more outstanding leaders the tie of neighborliness alone was an important factor.

One cannot state unequivocally that our observations demonstrate the general validity of the "township hypothesis" of leadership and action. In the first place no problems have been studied which involve current organizations centering in the single community center included. Also, it is quite evident that some farmers are prone to leave the township for advice upon problems even when they would insist upon local persons for other phases of leadership. It is also true that outstanding leadership in some townships was at times as lacking as in the community. On the problem of local roads and in part on farm taxes still another situation arises where we find outstanding leadership to be even more inclusive than the community, let alone the township.

Not only have we found a tendency for different individuals to be specified as leaders in the respective townships, we have also noted a strong inclination to confine the activities of leaders to a single problem. Only in the case of one man, Rankin, do these tendencies strikingly break down. This leader, a member of the County Board of Supervisors, was the most outstanding leader in each township on the road issue, and in all but one township on the farm tax problem. Even so, his selection is part of the more important tendency to name leaders who are already functioning in agricultural or civic affairs. These persons, like Rankin, were usually connected with formal programs either already dealing with the problem in some of its aspects or with problems probably demanding a type of understanding similar to that needed for the problem posed.

While a majority of the operators usually sought leadership from experienced persons, in a formal sense at least,

they did not rely heavily upon non-farm salaried specialists. Only in the selection of advisors do we find specialists, and non-farmers generally, cited with much frequency. Thus 18 operators would consult with paid agricultural specialists for advice on the land use problem, but only one operator cited such an individual as an organizer and none as a representative. Very clearly the operators wanted farmer leaders, especially in the more active phases of leadership, and the persons named were usually at least moderately intimate friends.

In view of the tendency to name township officials of agricultural or governmental capacity, one cannot but wonder if the farmers have responded with the names of appropriate functionaries rather than selecting persons on the basis of actual influence. While it is of course true that local farmer officers have been cited frequently, there is no *a priori* basis for assuming that these persons do not hold positions of trust and influence among farmers. Further, when we find officers cited frequently upon such problems as farm scarcity it can scarcely be concluded that the respondents have named AAA committeemen or township trustees simply because "it is their job." Rather than interpreting this tendency as simply a recognition of formal responsibility on the local level, it seems more reasonable to view this as an expression of the strong tendency to translate new problems into institutionalized frameworks already existing.

This formalistic conception of leadership is not surprising in view of the growing secularization of rural Iowa. And from the standpoint of historical precedent it is understandable that the township itself has become a significant unit in the institutionalized attack upon many problems. In many past programs the township has provided a unit of organization; a unit which in any given instance was perhaps arbitrary, but in their accumulation have rendered the township something of a functional "program unit." Specific reference might be made to the early "good roads movement"; the unification of rural school systems upon a township basis; the organization of the Farm Bureau in township units, and, of unquestionable importance, the present AAA organization plan. This does not mean that the township is in a true sense a community, but it may mean that the township is a functional unit for leadership in many phases of planning and action; a unit which has the precedent of united following, in addition to greater primary relationships than would be found in the community as a whole.

And personal relations, as well as formal evidence of ability were required by most of the farmers.

Thus the failure of the township unit to attain any significance on the road issue is not fundamentally inconsistent with the township localization on other issues. Here is one problem which is far from new, and which has now become highly formalized not on the township level but on the county. The farmers merely selected the local individual whom they knew and trusted, functioning within the framework of the program. This was also evident on the tax issue but in less complete form.

In large measure this conception of planning and action accounts for the tendency to select different individuals as leaders on different problems. Leadership in actual programs is in fact based more upon type of problem than upon category of leadership, and this is reflected in the farmers choices.²⁵

Several implications may be drawn from this which have significance for planning and action programs. Perhaps the most serious is the comparatively slight importance of community and neighborhood leaders. Insofar as these results may have general validity it appears that community leaders and salaried specialists are not the first choice for active promulgation of programs. While it is true that we made no specific effort to ascertain the presence of over-all community leaders, few of them were spontaneously cited by the farmers. On the other hand, although "neighbors" have been cited as leaders, the geographic unity in such neighboring is dubious, and functional bonds have been even more strongly emphasized. Thus it seems that the major territorial link in the chain between most state or national programs of the type studied and these farmers, would be the township rather than the community, and that an effective organization plan would probably proceed upon that basis. Within the township both affectional and functional bonds must be accorded complementary importance as bases of confidence. This condition is, of course, more accurately described in non-territorial terms. The importance of the township is mainly a reflection of the specialized types of bonds between followers and leaders, and its unity breaks down where those special bonds have been constructed on different spatial levels.

There is also some reason for doubting the advisability of rural planning on a variety of problems by the same

²⁵ Theoretically this is not true of the Agricultural Planning Committee which is concerned with a variety of problems, but as a matter of fact most of its work has been in the field of land utilization.

committee, even if the representatives are truly spokesmen for their area on some specific issue. We have seen that when farmers choices are uncontrolled they tend toward specialization in leadership by problem to be attacked. They are less interested in differentiating between "planners" and "actors" in leadership than they are in distinguishing between the contextual backgrounds of leaders. Surely this does not mean that general planning on a variety of topics is impossible by a single committee, but it suggests that if such planning is going to have a maximum effect upon the rank and file of farm operators the different aspects of such a program should be promulgated by men having specialized problem experience in their backgrounds. The fact that agreement upon specific persons was no greater is not surprising in view of the methods of inquiry applied. Nor is it indicated that unification in action would be difficult to achieve. It does show that leadership is not generally a phenomenon of community or other "bosses"; degrees of potential unification for action, beyond those evidenced in agreement upon certain individual leaders, cannot be ascertained from the data.

In summary, it has appeared that the farmers have exercised considerably greater objectivity in their selections than that imputed to them in a simple neighborhood-community hypothesis of leadership. Traditional and non-rational bases of confidence have been strongly reinforced by the recognition of manifestations of ability, while purely specialized, technical bases of trust have been relegated to their proper democratic spheres, i. e., advisory.²⁶ There is no evidence that these farmers would escape from a democratic conception of planning and action through reliance upon bureaucratic stimulation and direction. Nor would they submerge their objectivity by the subsidization of leadership ability to faith based merely on personal contiguity.

²⁶ For an analysis of the role of the expert in agricultural planning see the writer's "Democratic Telesis and County Agricultural Planning," *J. of Farm Econ.* Vol. XXII, Nov. 1940, p. 691 to 700.

APPENDIX TABLES

TABLE I A.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS SELECTING SPECIFIED LEADERS ON THE PROBLEM OF RURAL SCHOOLS. FOUR TOWNSHIPS COMBINED.*

Name	As advisors		As organizers		As representatives	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Rankin			4	9	3	7
Barton	1	2	1	2	1	2
Reck	3	7	3	7	4	9
Wise	1	2	—	—	—	—
Peters	5	11	5	11	5	11
House †	8	17	—	—	—	—
Grey	1	2	—	—	1	2
Burke	1	2	1	2	1	2
Towne	—	—	1	2	1	2
Scott	—	—	5	11	4	9
Ross	—	—	—	—	1	2
Number of respondents	46	100	46	100	46	100

* Including only advisors, organizers and representatives specified by at least three respondents on any problem, and named by at least one on this problem.

† Not a farmer.

TABLE 1 B.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS SELECTING SPECIFIED LEADERS ON THE PROBLEM OF FARM TAXES.
FOUR TOWNSHIPS COMBINED.*

Name	As advisors		As organizers		As representatives	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Rankin	10	14	9	13	9	13
Hart †	1	1	—	—	—	—
Barton	3	4	2	3	3	4
Smart †	2	3	—	—	—	—
Groves †	3	4	—	—	—	—
Ross	3	4	3	4	3	4
Daniels	1	1	—	—	1	1
Gardener	3	4	4	6	4	6
Wise	11	16	8	11	5	7
Grey	—	—	1	1	1	1
Snider	—	—	1	1	3	4
Towne	—	—	1	1	1	1
Reck	—	—	1	1	—	—
Scott	—	—	1	1	—	—
Karl	—	—	—	—	3	4
Weller †	1	1	—	—	—	—
Number of respondents	70	100	70	100	70	100

* Including only advisors, organizers and representatives specified by at least three respondents on any problem, and named by at least one on this problem.

† Not a farmer.

TABLE I C.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS SELECTING SPECIFIED LEADERS ON THE PROBLEM OF FARM SCARCITY. FOUR TOWNSHIPS COMBINED.*

Name	As advisors		As organizers		As representatives	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Rankin	4	4	1	1	2	2
Hart †	9	10	—	—	—	—
Barton	4	4	4	4	4	4
Smart †	5	6	—	—	—	—
Fall	1	1	—	—	—	—
Daniels	3	3	3	3	3	3
Wise	2	2	3	3	2	2
James	6	7	5	6	5	6
Grey	3	3	3	3	5	6
Weller †	1	1	—	—	—	—
Burke	—	—	3	3	5	6
Ross	—	—	1	1	2	2
Henderson	—	—	4	4	5	6
Gardener	—	—	4	4	4	4
Peters	—	—	1	1	1	1
Snider	—	—	2	2	2	2
Queen	—	—	4	4	—	—
Reck	—	—	—	—	1	1
Scott	—	—	—	—	1	1
Number of respondents	90	100	90	100	90	100

* Including only advisors, organizers and representatives specified by at least three respondents on any problem, and named by at least one on this problem.

† Not a farmer.

TABLE I D.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS SELECTING SPECIFIED LEADERS ON THE PROBLEM OF LAND USE. FOUR TOWNSHIPS COMBINED.*

Name	As advisors		As organizers		As representatives	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Rankin	2	2	3	4	4	5
Barton	10	12	12	14	11	13
Fall	5	6	—	—	—	—
Ross	3	4	4	5	3	4
Daniels	2	2	2	2	2	2
Gardener	3	4	4	5	3	4
Wise	2	2	1	1	1	1
James	3	4	4	5	3	4
Fitch †	9	11	—	—	—	—
Queen	2	2	5	6	1	1
Towne	3	4	2	2	3	4
Grey	2	2	3	4	4	5
Weller †	3	4	—	—	—	—
Henderson	—	—	1	1	1	1
Snider	4	5	4	5	6	7
Scott	—	—	1	1	1	1
Estill	—	—	3	4	3	4
Burke	—	—	—	—	2	2
Number of respondents	83	100	83	100	83	100

* Including only advisors, organizers and representatives specified by at least three respondents on any problem, and named by at least one on this problem.

† Not a farmer.

TABLE I E.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS SELECTING SPECIFIED LEADERS ON THE PROBLEM OF LOCAL ROADS, FOUR TOWNSHIPS COMBINED.*

Name	As advisors		As organizers		As representatives	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Rankin	55	62	38	43	36	40
Hart †	1	1	—	—	—	—
Fall	2	2	—	—	—	—
Gardener	2	2	1	1	2	2
James	1	1	—	—	—	—
Grey	1	1	2	2	1	1
Weller †	1	1	—	—	—	—
Burke	3	3	8	9	10	11
Ross	—	—	—	—	1	1
Barton	—	—	—	—	1	1
Karl	—	—	—	—	1	1
Number of respondents	89	100	89	100	89	100

* Including only advisors, organizers and representatives specified by at least three respondents on any problem, and named by at least one on this problem.

† Not a farmer.

TABLE II A.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS SELECTING LEADERS ON THE PROBLEM OF RURAL SCHOOLS. FONTANELLE COMMUNITY ONLY.*

Name	As advisors		As organizers		As representatives	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Reck	1	4	—	—	—	—
Wise	1	4	—	—	—	—
Peters	3	11	3	11	3	11
House †	6	21	—	—	—	—
Grey	1	4	—	—	1	4
Burke	1	4	1	4	1	4
Rankin	—	—	2	7	2	7
Towne	—	—	1	4	—	—
Ross	—	—	—	—	1	4
Number of respondents	28	100	28	100	28	100

* Including only advisors, organizers and representatives specified by at least three respondents on any problem, and named by at least one on this problem.

† Not a farmer.

TABLE II B.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS SELECTING LEADERS ON THE PROBLEM OF FARM TAXES.
FONTANELLE COMMUNITY ONLY.*

Name	As advisors		As organizers		As representatives	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Rankin	7	19	7	19	7	19
Barton	2	6	1	3	2	6
Smart †	2	6	—	—	—	—
Groves †	3	8	—	—	—	—
Ross	2	6	2	6	2	6
Daniels	1	3	—	—	—	—
Gardener	1	3	1	3	1	3
Wise	1	3	—	—	—	—
Weller †	1	3	—	—	—	—
Grey	—	—	1	3	1	3
Karl	—	—	—	—	3	8
Number of responses	36	100	36	100	36	100

* Including only advisors, organizers and representatives specified by at least three respondents on any problem, and named by at least one on this problem.

† Not a farmer.

TABLE II C.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS SELECTING LEADERS ON THE PROBLEM OF FARM SCARCITY. FONTANELLE COMMUNITY ONLY.*

Name	As advisors		As organizers		As representatives	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Rankin	2	4	—	—	—	—
Hart †	8	17	—	—	—	—
Barton	2	4	2	4	2	4
Smart †	5	11	—	—	—	—
Fall	1	2	—	—	—	—
Daniels	2	4	2	4	—	—
James	2	4	—	—	—	—
Grey	3	6	3	6	5	11
Weller †	1	2	—	—	—	—
Burke	—	—	2	4	3	6
Ross	—	—	1	2	2	4
Gardener	—	—	3	6	3	6
Peters	—	—	1	2	1	2
Snider	—	—	1	2	—	—
Queen	—	—	3	6	—	—
Number of respondents	47	100	47	100	47	100

* Including only advisors, organizers and representatives specified by at least three respondents on any problems, and named by at least one on this problem.

† Not a farmer.

TABLE II D.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS SELECTING LEADERS ON THE PROBLEM OF LAND USE. FONTANELLE COMMUNITY ONLY.*

Name	As advisors		As organizers		As representatives	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Rankin	2	5	2	5	4	10
Barton	5	12	7	17	6	15
Fall	4	10	—	—	—	—
Ross	3	7	—	—	3	7
Daniels	2	5	2	5	—	—
Gardener	1	2	1	2	1	2
Wise	2	5	—	—	—	—
James	1	2	—	—	—	—
Fitch †	3	7	—	—	—	—
Queen	2	5	—	—	—	—
Towne	2	5	2	5	—	—
Grey	2	5	3	7	4	10
Weller †	2	5	—	—	—	—
Snider	—	—	4	10	—	—
Burke	—	—	—	—	1	2
Number of respondents	41	100	41	100	41	100

* Including only advisors, organizers and representatives specified by at least three respondents on any problem, and named by at least one on this problem.

† Not a farmer.

TABLE II E.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS SELECTING LEADERS ON THE PROBLEM OF LOCAL ROADS.
FONTANELLE COMMUNITY ONLY.*

Name	As advisors		As organizers		As representatives	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Rankin	25	60	19	45	17	40
North	2	5	—	—	—	—
Gardener	1	2	—	—	1	2
Davis	1	2	—	—	—	—
Grey	1	2	2	5	1	2
Burke	—	—	1	2	4	10
Ross	—	—	3	7	1	2
Barton	—	—	—	—	1	2
Number of responses	42	100	42	100	42	100

* Including only advisors, organizers and representatives specified by at least three respondents on any problem, and named by at least one on this problem.

TABLE III.—NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS SELECTING ADVISORS, ORGANIZERS AND REPRESENTATIVES ON VARIOUS PROBLEMS.
RATIOS OF RESPONDENTS TO LEADERS OF EACH TYPE, BY TOWNSHIPS.

Name	Advisors		Organizers		Representatives	
	No. resp.	Ratio	No. resp.	Ratio	No. resp.	Ratio
Rural schools						
Eureka	8	1.3	8	1.0	8	1.3
Jackson	15	1.9	15	1.5	15	1.5
Prussia	10	1.4	10	2.5	10	2.5
Summerset	10	1.2	7	1.2	10	1.1
Farm taxes						
Eureka	11	1.8	11	1.6	11	1.6
Jackson	18	1.6	19	1.7	19	1.7
Prussia	14	3.5	15	2.1	15	2.2
Summerset	17	1.9	15	1.5	16	1.9
Farm Scarcity						
Eureka	21	1.6	21	1.6	21	1.7
Jackson	18	1.8	18	1.2	18	1.5
Prussia	8	1.1	15	1.9	16	1.5
Summerset	17	1.5	19	1.6	18	1.5
Land use						
Eureka	27	2.1	27	2.1	27	1.9
Jackson	22	2.2	22	1.7	22	2.0
Prussia	11	1.9	14	1.4	15	2.1
Summerset	10	2.2	13	1.4	10	1.4
Local roads						
Eureka	24	3.0	24	2.1	24	2.1
Jackson	26	2.4	26	2.6	26	2.4
Prussia	15	2.1	13	1.3	13	1.2
Summerset	21	4.1	20	2.2	20	2.2

TABLE IV A.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS IN EUREKA TOWNSHIP SELECTING SPECIFIC INDIVIDUALS AS LEADERS ON DIFFERENT PROBLEMS.*

Name	As advisors		As organizers		As representatives	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Rural schools						
House	3	38	—	—	—	—
Rankin	—	—	1	12	—	—
Barton	1	12	1	12	1	12
No. of respondents	8	100	8	100	8	100
Farm taxes						
Rankin	3	27	2	18	2	18
Barton	3	27	2	18	3	27
No. of respondents	11	100	11	100	11	100
Land use						
Barton	9	33	10	37	10	37
Reck	3	11	—	—	—	—
Fall	1	4	—	—	—	—
James	3	11	3	11	3	11
Rankin	—	—	1	4	1	4
Gardener	—	—	1	4	—	—
Estill	—	—	3	11	3	11
Fitch	3	11	—	—	—	—
No. of respondents	27	100	27	100	27	100
Local roads						
Rankin	16	67	13	54	14	58
No. of respondents	24	100	24	100	24	100
Farm scarcity						
Hart	1	5	—	—	—	—
James	5	24	5	24	5	24
Rankin	1	5	—	—	—	—
Grey	1	5	1	5	1	5
Gardener	—	—	2	10	2	10
Barton	4	19	4	19	4	19
No. of respondents	21	100	21	100	21	100

* Including only advisors, organizers and representatives specified by at least three respondents, in the entire sample, on the problem considered. Names omitted if not mentioned in this township.

TABLE IV B.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS IN JACKSON TOWNSHIP SELECTING SPECIFIC INDIVIDUALS AS LEADERS.*

Name	As advisors		As organizers		As representatives	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Rural schools						
House	2	13	—	—	—	—
Peters	5	33	5	33	5	33
Rankin	—	—	1	7	1	7
No. of respondents	15	100	15	100	15	100
Farm taxes						
Rankin	3	14	4	19	4	19
Ross	2	10	3	14	3	14
Gardener	3	14	4	19	4	19
No. of respondents	21	100	21	100	21	100
Land use						
Barton	1	5	1	5	1	5
Fall	4	18	—	—	—	—
Towne	3	14	2	9	3	14
Ross	3	14	4	18	3	14
Gardener	3	14	3	14	3	14
Grey	—	—	3	14	3	14
Rankin	—	—	1	5	3	14
James	—	—	1	5	—	—
Daniels	2	9	2	9	2	9
No. of respondents	22	100	22	100	22	100
Local roads						
Rankin	16	62	15	58	15	58
Burke	1	4	2	8	1	4
No. of respondents	26	100	26	100	26	100
Farm scarcity						
Hart	5	28	—	—	—	—
James	1	6	—	—	—	—
Smart	1	6	—	—	—	—
Daniels	3	17	3	17	3	17
Grey	2	12	2	12	3	17
Gardener	—	—	2	12	2	12
No. of respondents	18	100	18	100	18	100

* Including only advisors, organizers and representatives specified by at least three respondents, in the entire sample, on the problem considered. Names omitted if not mentioned in this township.

TABLE IV C.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS IN PRUSSIA TOWNSHIP SELECTING SPECIFIED INDIVIDUALS AS LEADERS.*

Name	As advisors		As organizers		As representatives	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Rural schools						
House	1	10	—	—	—	—
Reck	3	30	3	30	4	40
Scott	—	—	5	50	4	40
No. of respondents	10	100	10	100	10	100
Farm taxes						
Wise	11	65	8	47	5	29
Snider	—	—	1	6	3	18
No. of respondents	17	100	17	100	17	100
Land use						
Fitch	3	17	—	—	—	—
Snider	4	22	4	22	6	33
Queen	—	—	1	5	—	—
No. of respondents	18	100	18	100	18	100
Local roads						
Rankin	8	53	4	27	3	20
Burke	1	7	1	7	1	7
No. of respondents	15	100	15	100	15	100
Farm scarcity						
Rankin	2	9	—	—	—	—
Henderson	—	—	4	18	5	23
Wise	—	—	3	14	—	—
No. of respondents	22	100	22	100	22	100

* Including only advisors, organizers and representatives specified by at least three respondents, in the entire sample, on the problem considered. Names omitted if not mentioned in this township.

TABLE IV D.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS IN SUMMER-SET TOWNSHIP SELECTING SPECIFIC INDIVIDUALS AS LEADERS.*

Name	As advisors		As organizers		As representatives	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Rural schools						
House	2	15	—	—	—	—
Rankin	—	—	2	15	2	15
No. of respondents	13	100	13	100	13	100
Farm taxes						
Rankin	4	19	3	14	3	14
Groves	3	14	—	—	—	—
Ross	1	5	—	—	—	—
Karl	—	—	—	—	3	14
No. of respondents	21	100	21	100	21	100
Land use						
Fitch	3	19	—	—	—	—
Queen	2	13	5	31	1	6
Weller	3	19	—	—	—	—
Rankin	—	—	1	6	—	—
Grey	—	—	—	—	1	6
No. of respondents	16	100	16	100	16	100
Local roads						
Rankin	15	63	6	25	4	17
Burke	1	4	5	21	8	33
No. of respondents	24	100	24	100	24	100
Farm scarcity						
Hart	3	10	—	—	—	—
Smart	4	14	—	—	—	—
Rankin	1	3	—	—	—	—
Burke	—	—	3	10	5	17
Queen	—	—	4	14	—	—
Grey	—	—	—	—	1	3
No. of respondents	29	100	29	100	29	100

* Including only advisors, organizers and representatives specified by at least three respondents, in the entire sample, on the problem considered. Names omitted if not mentioned in this township.

TABLE V.—NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS SELECTING ADVISORS, ORGANIZERS AND REPRESENTATIVES IN GREENFIELD, FONTANELLE, BRIDGEWATER AND IN THE OPEN COUNTRY, BY TOWNSHIPS.*

	Advisors					Organizers					Representatives				
	Number re- spondents	Number Greenfield	Number Fontanelle	Number Bridgewater	Number Open Country	Number re- spondents	Number Greenfield	Number Fontanelle	Number Bridgewater	Number Open Country	Number re- spondents	Number Greenfield	Number Fontanelle	Number Bridgewater	Number Open Country
Rural schools															
Eureka	7	3	—	—	4	6	—	—	—	6	7	—	—	—	7
Jackson	12	2	—	—	10	12	—	—	—	12	14	—	—	—	14
Prussia	10	1	—	—	9	10	—	—	—	10	10	—	—	—	10
Summerset	9	1	—	—	8	7	—	—	—	7	38	—	—	—	7
Total	38	7	—	—	31	35	—	—	—	35	100	—	—	—	38
Percent	100	18.4	—	—	81.6	100	—	—	—	100	100	—	—	—	100
Farm tax															
Eureka	11	—	—	—	11	10	—	—	—	10	11	—	—	—	11
Jackson	19	2	—	2	15	18	—	—	—	18	19	—	—	—	17
Prussia	15	5	—	—	16	15	—	—	—	15	13	—	—	—	13
Summerset	15	5	4	—	15	14	—	—	—	15	13	—	—	—	9
Total	60	7	4	2	47	57	2	2	2	53	55	2	3	—	50
Percent	100	11.7	6.7	3.3	78.3	100	3.5	3.5	3.5	93.0	100	3.6	5.5	—	90.9
Farm Scarcity															
Eureka	20	—	—	1	19	21	—	—	—	21	21	—	—	—	21
Jackson	18	2	1	3	12	17	1	—	—	16	18	1	—	—	17
Prussia	9	1	—	—	8	14	—	—	—	14	16	—	—	—	16
Summerset	16	3	3	3	10	19	1	—	—	17	17	1	—	—	16
Total	63	6	4	7	49	71	2	1	1	68	72	2	—	—	70
Percent	100	4.8	6.3	11.1	77.8	100	2.8	1.4	1.4	95.8	100	2.8	—	—	97.2
Land use															
Eureka	26	5	—	—	21	27	—	—	—	27	26	—	—	—	26
Jackson	21	3	—	1	17	20	1	—	—	19	21	—	—	—	21
Prussia	12	3	—	—	9	14	—	—	—	14	15	—	—	—	15
Summerset	9	5	—	—	4	13	—	—	—	12	10	—	—	—	10
Total	68	16	—	1	51	74	1	1	1	72	72	—	—	—	72
Percent	100	23.5	—	1.5	75.0	100	1.4	1.4	1.4	97.2	100	—	—	—	100
Local roads															
Eureka	23	—	—	—	23	21	—	—	—	21	20	—	—	—	20
Jackson	26	—	—	1	25	26	—	—	—	26	26	—	—	—	26
Prussia	16	—	—	—	16	11	—	—	—	11	11	—	—	—	11
Summerset	20	—	—	—	20	19	—	—	—	18	20	1	—	—	19
Total	85	—	—	1	84	77	—	—	—	76	77	1	—	—	76
Percent	100	—	—	1.2	98.8	100	—	1.3	1.3	98.7	100	1.3	—	—	98.7

* Excluding cases where leaders current residence was unknown as to this factor.

TABLE VI.—NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS SEEKING LEADERSHIP IN AND OUTSIDE THEIR OWN TOWNSHIP ON FIVE PROBLEMS, BY TOWNSHIPS.*

	Advisors			Organizers			Representatives		
	Number respondents	Number in township	Number out of township	Number respondents	Number in township	Number out of township	Number respondents	Number in township	Number out of township
Rural schools									
Eureka	8	4	4	8	6	2	8	8	0
Jackson	15	10	5	15	12	3	14	13	1
Prussia	10	9	1	10	10	0	10	10	0
Summerset	8	7	1	8	8	0	7	7	0
Total	41	30	11	41	36	5	39	38	1
Percent	100.0	73.2	26.8	100.0	87.8	12.2	100.0	97.4	2.6
Farm tax									
Eureka	11	8	3	10	7	3	11	8	3
Jackson	17	13	4	18	14	4	19	14	5
Prussia	14	13	1	15	15	0	13	13	0
Summerset	11	5	6	14	12	2	13	10	3
Total	53	39	14	57	48	9	56	45	11
Percent	100.0	73.6	26.4	100.0	84.2	15.8	100.0	80.4	19.6
Farm scarcity									
Eureka	21	15	6	21	21	0	21	19	2
Jackson	17	13	4	18	16	2	18	16	2
Prussia	9	6	3	15	14	1	16	15	1
Summerset	17	6	11	19	13	6	17	9	8
Total	64	40	24	73	64	9	72	59	13
Percent	100.0	62.5	37.5	100.0	87.7	12.3	100.0	81.9	18.1
Land use									
Eureka	25	19	6	25	24	1	26	24	2
Jackson	21	14	7	21	17	4	21	18	3
Prussia	12	7	5	16	12	4	15	13	2
Summerset	9	6	3	13	12	1	10	7	3
Total	67	46	21	75	65	10	72	62	10
Percent	100.0	68.7	31.3	100.0	86.7	13.3	100.0	86.1	13.9
Local roads									
Eureka	24	6	18	22	7	15	24	8	16
Jackson	26	7	19	26	6	20	26	8	18
Prussia	15	3	12	12	4	8	11	4	7
Summerset	21	19	2	20	16	4	22	16	6
Total	86	35	51	80	33	47	83	36	47
Percent	100.0	40.7	59.3	100.0	41.2	58.8	100.0	43.4	56.6

* Excluding cases where leaders' township could not be ascertained.

TABLE VII A.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS ON THE
RURAL SCHOOL PROBLEMS SELECTING ADVISORS, ORGANIZERS AND REP-
RESENTATIVES WITH VARIOUS TYPES OF OFFICIAL CAPACITY.
FOUR TOWNSHIPS COMBINED.

	Advisor		Organizer		Representative	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
County supervisor	1	2	4	9	3	7
Co. supt. of schools	7	15	—	—	—	—
Township school board	23	50	20	43	23	50
Township AAA	4	9	3	7	3	7
Planning committee	—	—	1	2	2	4
Farm Bureau officer	—	—	—	—	2	4
Farmers with former office record	4	9	5	11	2	4
Farmers with no office record	4	9	8	17	7	15
Non-farmers with no office record	—	—	—	—	1	2
No leader selected	3	7	5	11	3	7
Total number of respondents	46	100	46	100	46	100

TABLE VII B.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS ON THE FARM TAX PROBLEM SELECTING ADVISORS, ORGANIZERS AND REPRESENTATIVES WITH VARIOUS TYPES OF OFFICIAL CAPACITY.
FOUR TOWNSHIPS COMBINED.

	Advisor		Organizer		Representative	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
County supervisor	10	14	9	13	9	13
County AAA	1	1	1	1	1	1
Other county offices (Governmental)	2	3	—	—	—	—
Township trustee	7	10	5	7	7	10
Township school board	—	—	5	7	4	6
Township AAA	—	—	5	7	4	6
Township assessor	12	18	8	12	5	7
Agricultural specialist	2	3	3	4	—	—
Planning committee	4	6	4	6	5	7
Banker	4	6	4	6	3	4
State representative	1	1	1	1	—	—
Farm Bureau officer	—	—	—	—	1	1
Several offices	—	—	3	4	4	6
Farmer with former office record	4	6	—	—	—	—
Non-farmer with no office record	1	1	2	3	4	6
Farmer with no office record	12	17	10	14	14	20
No leader selected	10	14	10	14	9	13
Total number of respondents	70	100	70	100	70	100

TABLE VII C.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS ON THE PROBLEM OF FARM SCARCITY SELECTING ADVISORS, ORGANIZERS AND REPRESENTATIVES WITH VARIOUS TYPES OF OFFICIAL CAPACITY. FOUR TOWNSHIPS COMBINED.

	Advisor		Organizer		Representative	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
County supervisor	4	4	1	1	2	2
Other county officers	—	—	—	—	1	1
Township trustee	1	1	5	6	10	11
Township AAA	15	18	21	24	19	22
Township school board	2	2	10	11	5	6
Township assessor	2	2	3	3	2	2
F.S.A. committee	1	1	—	—	—	—
Agricultural specialist	4	4	2	2	1	1
Planning committee	9	10	10	11	8	9
State representative	9	10	—	—	—	—
Banker	6	7	2	2	3	3
Several offices	1	1	3	3	2	2
Farmer with former office record	1	1	3	3	8	9
Non-farmer with no office record	1	1	—	—	—	—
Farmer with no office record	11	12	13	15	12	13
No leader selected	22	25	17	19	17	19
Unclassified	1	1	—	—	—	—
Total number of respondents	90	100	90	100	90	100

TABLE VII D.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS ON THE LAND-USE PROBLEM SELECTING ADVISORS, ORGANIZERS AND REPRESENTATIVES WITH VARIOUS TYPES OF OFFICIAL CAPACITY. FOUR TOWNSHIPS COMBINED.

	Advisor		Organizer		Representative	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
County supervisor	2	2	3	4	4	5
Township school board	—	—	1	1	1	1
Township trustee	3	4	9	11	8	10
County AAA	—	—	—	—	3	4
Township AAA	16	20	25	30	18	22
Township assessor	2	2	1	1	1	1
S. C. S. committee	1	1	—	—	1	1
Agricultural specialist	18	22	1	1	—	—
Planning committee	12	14	16	20	16	20
Farm Bureau Officer	—	—	1	1	—	—
Banker	—	—	1	1	1	1
Several offices	—	—	5	6	7	8
Farmer with former office record	3	4	—	—	—	—
Non-farmer with no office record	1	1	—	—	—	—
Farmer with no office record	12	14	13	16	14	16
No leader selected	13	16	7	8	9	11
Total number of respondents	83	100	83	100	83	100

TABLE VII E.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS ON THE PROBLEM OF LOCAL ROADS SELECTING ADVISORS, ORGANIZERS AND REPRESENTATIVES WITH VARIOUS TYPES OF OFFICIAL CAPACITY. FOUR TOWNSHIPS COMBINED.

	Advisor		Organizer		Representative	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
County supervisor	55	63	38	43	36	41
County engineer	1	1	—	—	2	2
Other county officers	—	—	—	—	1	1
Township trustee	3	3	3	3	5	6
Township AAA	4	4	5	6	3	3
Township assessor	—	—	1	1	—	—
Agricultural specialist	—	—	—	—	1	1
Planning committee	—	—	—	—	1	1
State representative	1	1	—	—	—	—
Banker	—	—	—	—	1	1
Several offices	—	—	1	1	—	—
Farmer with former office record	7	8	10	11	10	11
Non-farmer with no office record	—	—	3	3	—	—
Farmer with no office record	16	18	21	24	23	26
No leader selected	2	2	7	8	6	7
Number of responses	89	100	89	100	89	100