A Sociological Analysis of the Roles and Value Orientation of an Occupation: Vocational Agriculture Teaching.

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A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE ROLES AND VALUE ORIENTATION
OF AN OCCUPATION: VOCATIONAL AGRICULTURE TEACHING

A Dissertation
Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in
The Department of Sociology

by
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January, 1960
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The author expresses his sincere appreciation to Dr. Frederick L. Bates, his faculty advisor, for helpful advice and professional guidance throughout this study.

The author also expresses special appreciation to Dr. Alvin L. Bertrand, member of the Rural Sociology Faculty, for his friendly counsel and assistance in making the field work of this study possible and to Dr. Roland J. Pellegrin, Chairman of the Department of Sociology and Head of the Department of Rural Sociology, for his contribution to the author's interest in the sociology of occupations.

The author is grateful to all of the following for their considerable contributions to his understanding of the fields they represent: Dr. Homer L. Hitt, formerly Associate Dean of the Graduate School and Head of the Departments of Sociology and Rural Sociology at Louisiana State University and presently Vice-President of Louisiana State University in New Orleans; Doctors Vernon J. Parenton, Rudolf Heberle, Walfrid J. Jokinen and the late Dr. Paul H. Price of the Sociology Faculty; Dr. John C. Floyd, Director of the School of Vocational Education and Head of the Department of Vocational Agricultural Education and Dr. Malcolm C. Gaar of the Vocational Agricultural Education Faculty; and Dr. B. O. Williams, former Head of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, at the University of Georgia.
The author is greatly indebted to his wife, Ruth Nix, who typed the original manuscript and helped proofread the final copy.

Finally, the author expresses his thanks to the twenty-seven teachers of vocational agriculture whose friendly interest and cooperation were basic to this study.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

ACKNOWLEDGMENT .............................................. ii
LIST OF TABLES .............................................. x
LIST OF FIGURES .......................................... xi
ABSTRACT ........................................... xii

CHAPTER

I. INTRODUCTION ........................................ 1
   The problem ........................................ 4
   Statement of the problem ....................... 4
   Significance of the study ...................... 6
   Methodology of the study ..................... 9
   Sociological approach ....................... 9
   Discussion and definition of terms .......... 17

II. THE OPERATIONAL APPROACH INCLUDING THE SOURCES AND
    ORGANIZATION OF DATA ............................ 48
    Operational approach to the data .......... 48
    Sources of data ................................ 50
       Published sources of data ................ 51
       Personal experience ..................... 59
       Personal interviews ..................... 63
    Organization of the study ................ 67
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>III. THE DEFINITION AND HISTORY OF THE OCCUPATION</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definition of the occupation</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical development of vocational agriculture</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in the United States</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early interest in improved agriculture</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The rise of agricultural schools</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Smith-Hughes National Vocational Education Act</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The present scope of the vocational agricultural program</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. THE FORMAL STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF THE VOCATIONAL</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGRICULTURE PROGRAM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Vocational Education Acts</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General conditions of the Acts as they relate to</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agricultural education</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funds provided for agricultural education</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The administration and supervision of vocational</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>education in agriculture</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The basic split in the administration of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vocational education</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The present administration of vocational</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>education at the federal level</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administration and supervision at the state</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>level</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER</td>
<td>PAGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remuneration of teachers of vocational agriculture</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualification and training for the position of vocational agriculture teacher</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The state board's responsibility</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualification of trainees</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The functions of the teacher-training program</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The pre-employment training</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In-service training and improvement</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The vocational agricultural instructional program</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All-day classes</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day-unit classes</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young farmer classes</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult farmer classes</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The summer instructional program and other activities of the &quot;Vo-Ag&quot; teacher</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special instructors in vocational agriculture</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

V. THE FORMAL NORMS AND ROLES OF THE POSITION:

"VO-AG" TEACHER | 137
---|---
General norms of the position | 138
The norms of the roles | 142
Role of member of the high school faculty | 143
Role of teacher of all-day students of "Vo-Ag" | 145
Role of teacher of young farmers and adult farmers ........................................ 155
Role of agricultural technician ........................................ 159
Role of group organizer and sustainer ...................................... 161
Role of rural and agricultural leader ...................................... 175
Role of maintenance man ........................................ 178
Role of public relations man ........................................ 179
Role of administrator and supervisor of the local vocational agriculture department .................. 180
Role of member of the vocational agriculture organization ........................................ 182
Role of student of vocational agriculture ........................................ 184
Summary ................................................................. 185

VI. THE WORK PRACTITIONER, HIS CAREER PATTERN, AND HIS WORK SITUATION ........................................ 189
The work practitioner and his career pattern ........................................ 189
Recruitment ................................................................. 190
Training and its evaluation ........................................ 192
Placement ................................................................. 195
Characteristics .............................................................. 197
Attitudes and personal qualities ........................................ 201
Economic remuneration ........................................ 203
Social participation and leadership activities ........................................ 204
Occupational stratification and prestige ........................................ 210
Career patterns .............................................................. 227

vii
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The work situation</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The national agricultural and economic setting</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The local setting: schools, wards, and parishes</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The vocational agriculture departments</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF THE OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IN TERMS OF PATTERN VARIABLES OF VALUE ORIENTATION</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General value orientation</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affectivity versus affective neutrality</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Particularism versus universalism</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ascription versus achievement</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collectivity-orientation versus self-orientation</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diffuseness versus specificity</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational orientation versus service</td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary of the value orientation of the &quot;Vo-Ag&quot; teacher</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. STRUCTURAL STRESSES AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structural stresses</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role conflict</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role frustration</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role inadequacy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER</td>
<td>PAGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role superfluity</td>
<td>329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consequences of structural stresses</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role fulfillment</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role satisfaction</td>
<td>334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other problems</td>
<td>336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanisms of adjustment and occupational change</td>
<td>344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociological approach</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sources of data</td>
<td>361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Findings</td>
<td>362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusions</td>
<td>381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX</td>
<td>395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VITA</td>
<td>415</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Enrollment in Vocational Agriculture Classes by Year, 1918-1957</td>
<td>93-94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Characteristics of Reimbursable Vocational Education Programs in Agriculture Conducted by State and Local School Boards in Accordance with the Provisions of the Federal Vocational Education Acts</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. The Mean Rank Order of Selected School and Agricultural Positions or Occupations as Teachers of Vocational Agriculture Perceive that they are Rated by the General Public in their School Communities</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. The Classification of the Occupations of the Better Friends of Twenty-Seven Teachers of Vocational Agriculture</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. The Aspirations of Twenty-Seven Teachers of Vocational Agriculture by Choice and by Total Score of Aspirations</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. How &quot;Vo-Ag&quot; Teachers Rated Farming and Country Life in Comparison to Non-Farming and City Life</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. The General Value Orientation of Four Groups of Positions and Roles</td>
<td>312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIGURE</td>
<td>PAGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Model of Behavioral Causation</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Organization Chart for Public Reimbursable Vocational Education</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This dissertation describes and analyzes the social relationships of an occupational position, that of the teacher of vocational agriculture in high school. The description and analysis include the general value orientation and structural stresses which are involved within and among the roles the vocational agriculture teacher performs.

Based on data derived from a review of appropriate literature and from twenty-seven four-hour interviews with vocational agriculture teachers in three selected parishes in Louisiana, the study uses a basically structural-functional approach in describing and analyzing the occupation. The study organizes the data by a model of behavioral causation in which social organization (modal behavior) and social disorganization are conceived of as functions of three basic groups of factors: (1) socio-cultural structure, (2) situational factors, and (3) personality factors. At the socio-cultural level, the study determines the general role definitions as well as general role or value conflicts of the vocational agriculture occupation by examining certain norms (and their associated goals, attitudes, and values) in the light of role theory in connection with Parsonian pattern variables.

At the social organization level, the study focuses upon role stresses (role conflict, role frustration, role inadequacy, and role
superfluity) and certain other consequences of the interaction process (role fulfillment, role satisfaction, occupational problems, and occupational change).

The study finds the value orientation of the vocational agriculture teacher to be unusual for a member of a professional occupation. The conditions of the teacher's employment prescribe a basically achievement, universalistic, and collectivity-orientation; but these conditions combined with economic necessity require him to maintain a position of affective neutrality toward methods of farming. On the other hand, in the teacher's orientation the structural elements of Gemeinschaft appear to be associated with a positive affectivity toward rural people and toward farming as a way of life, with a collective rather than self-interest, and with a strongly diffuse orientation which prescribes a "community of fate" in which the teacher feels he should share the hardships and sorrows, joys and satisfactions of the rural people he serves.

The result of the unusual value orientation is that the most characteristic strain found within the "Vo-Ag" teacher roles is role superfluity. The modal actor's perception of the rapidly changing agricultural situation and the consequent decline in farm population create an unusual amount of role frustration. The membership of the "Vo-Ag" profession in two bureaucratic organizations and the resulting dual functions of the teacher's position give rise to role conflict. The most common role inadequacy is the teacher's lack of certain technical skills.
In spite of the structural maladjustments which give rise to these stresses, the modal respondent enjoys above average role satisfaction. This fact indicates the presence of compensating rewards and mechanisms for the amelioration of stresses. The "Vo-Ag" teacher's greatest rewards appear to be a "sense of public service" and "recognition." The mechanisms for alleviating structural strains seem to be (1) the isolation of role performance, (2) the formation of a semi-official organization, the advisory council, as a buffer between the two bureaucratic structures, (3) the formation of a hierarchy of role importance, and (4) a teaching philosophy which shifts the responsibility for decision making and synthesizes many aspects of vocational and general education.

The stresses in combination with the mechanisms cited are considered as primary factors leading to the following changes within the occupational structure of the "Vo-Ag" teaching profession: (1) an increasing educational orientation and a rejection of the "service" role, (2) a shift toward a more "localistic" orientation, (3) a tendency for "Vo-Ag" teachers to broaden the objectives of their profession to fit their accomplishments while holding on to the institutionalized means of accomplishing the former narrower cultural goals, (4) a growing dominance of the in-school roles at the informal but not at the formal level, and (5) an increasing integration of the position and roles of the "Vo-Ag" teacher into the public school system.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In his classic work, The Division of Labor in Society, Emile Durkheim\(^1\) said that early societies were held together by similarity, custom, and the authority of elders; whereas later, more complex societies were held together by interdependence and dissimilarity growing out of the division of labor. Further, he saw a progression in this differentiation of function which he considered the most significant collective process in the history of human societies. This progression does not belie the fact that work pursuits were important in the early societies in determining the members' total way of life, for it was out of the relatively homogeneous occupational endeavors and the lack of mobility that many of these similarities and common customs grew. However, the significance of work to the total social life has been increasingly forced upon the attention of students of human behavior by this progressive division of labor and by the wave after wave of social readjustments necessitated in all areas of life following these divisions.

As the division of functions increases with its accompanying accumulation of culture and the increasing complexities of social life, it becomes obvious that an individual participates in the proportionately smaller segment of the total social system within which he is integrated. Hence, it becomes increasingly important for the social scientist to study and understand these smaller segments or sub-systems to which so much of human behavior is related. In other words, for the sociologist to understand a total society he must also understand these functional sub-systems or occupational groups and their interrelationships. This necessity was recognized by Hollingshead in 1939 when he pointed out that the progressive division of labor and the increasing complexities in social life make studies increasingly unreliable scientifically which treat social or individual behavior in generalized terms only or in reference only to the totality of the culture. He further indicated that, of all the factors and forces which influence the various general and specific "reaction systems" of a particular society, the occupational activities are the most important ones. Additional testimony regarding the importance of work is offered by Dublin and Lotka when they state that "the work a man does, the conditions under which his work is

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done, and the wage he receives for doing it determine in great measure the circumstances of his life. . . .”

Studies of occupational groups have a practical as well as a theoretical importance. A large segment of any society engages itself constantly in work-roles of varying natures. The different jobs members of these segments perform yield not only sustenance for themselves and their dependents but also give them, as Whiting Williams has said, "social handles on the pay cup." Occupational roles increasingly assign to the occupant and his family a certain place or reference point in the strata of his society. As Caplow has stated:

Occupational position is an important factor in the determination of individual prestige and in the allocation of social privileges. There appears to be a consistent tendency for occupational identification to displace such other status-fixing attributes as ancestry, religious office, political affiliation, and personal character. Each of the three general trends which can be discerned in modern industrial society (aggregation, differentiation, rationalization) seems to lead toward increasing emphasis on the importance of the occupational label.

The stresses and strains placed on individuals, both within and outside the work situation, are often to be traced directly to the degree of integration and congruency among and within work roles

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as well as among the work roles and other roles in society. The degree of social adjustment achieved by the worker is of vital concern not only to himself but also to his family, associates, and employer, as well as to his society.

Although the sociologist hopes that others will use his findings in solving everyday problems of social adjustment, he is primarily a scientist interested in understanding and predicting social behavior rather than in problem-solving itself. As a representative of a generalizing discipline, the sociologist approaches concrete social behavior as it exists within and grows out of the work situation by abstracting from it its structure, organization, and function.

In his efforts to understand the nature of occupational behavior, the sociologist approaches work relationships from several points of view. One approach is to view limited aspects of occupational behavior such as occupational mobility, occupational satisfaction, occupational prestige, or occupational choices. A second approach is to focus upon a specific type of work, that is, a specific occupation. Still a third is to study whole classes of workers such as "the professions" or "white collar workers." Finally, the sociologist may focus upon the manner in which different occupations relate to each other in a specific work organization.

I. THE PROBLEM

Statement of the Problem

This study focuses upon a specific occupation—the profession
of vocational agriculture teaching. Before entering into the problem, it is however first necessary to give a brief definition and description of the profession to supply the necessary background for the discussion.

The members of the occupation to be studied are known as teachers of vocational agriculture or, in their own terminology, "Vo-Ag" teachers. They are required to have farm backgrounds and to have completed a prescribed four-year college training program. They are members of high school teaching staffs and are charged with the responsibility of providing a systematic program of instruction for prospective and established farmers, a program organized for the purpose of improving farm methods and rural living. The program of instruction they conduct officially provides for three types of classes: (1) in-school classes, (2) adult-farmer classes, and (3) young farmer classes. The instructional program calls for both organized classroom instruction and on-the-farm instruction and supervision. The teachers further serve as advisors to the local chapter of Future Farmers of America, a national organization of boys enrolled in high school vocational agriculture classes.7

Vocational agriculture teachers are connected not only with the regular high school program and its administration but also with an administrative and supervisory staff of vocational agriculture at the district, state, and national levels. In addition,  

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7Negro students are members of the New Farmers of America (NFA).
there are staffs of teacher-trainers of vocational agricultural education in prescribed state colleges and universities. This study, however, focuses only on the roles of the high school vocational agriculture teacher and treats the "Vo-Ag supervisor and the teacher-trainer only in so far as they relate to the teacher.

The theoretical approach will be described in detail in a later section. At present, it is necessary only to offer the following overview: The problem of this study is that of describing and analyzing within a sociological frame-of-reference the social relationships which are in and associated with the roles of the high school vocational agriculture teacher.

**Significance of the Study**

The "Vo-Ag" teaching profession is relatively young. Although in 1916 there were 3,675 secondary schools offering some type of instruction in agriculture, it was the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 which officially launched the vocational agriculture education program. For several reasons this profession, now forty-two years old, merits study by students of human behavior. Vocational agriculture is one of the major rural life education programs in the United States. The "Vo-Ag" teachers make up a relatively large occupational group since their programs are found in the majority of the rural communities of the nation. In 1955 there were 10,989 "Vo-Ag"
teachers in our secondary schools. This number may be compared to
6,238 county agricultural agents and their assistants. In 1955,
these teachers taught 776,138 high school students, young farmers,
and adult farmers.

From a practical point of view, an understanding of the
social relationships involved in the profession should be of value
to the members of the profession itself in making their social
adjustments and improving the effectiveness of their school and
community programs. An understanding of the social relationships
should also aid the administrators of the two beaureaucracies to
which the vocational agriculture teacher belongs better to appreciate
and cope with the stresses involved in the occupation, and this
understanding should also aid in the integration of the teachers'
roles in both organizations through the intelligent amelioration of
such stresses. Certainly, the clients (students) of this professional group would stand to profit by any improvement which might evolve in the social organization of the work situation. In addition, it would be well for prospective members of this as well as of any occupation to have some understanding of the social roles involved before taking intensive training and entering into the
occupation.

Aside from the practical aspects, the "Vo-Ag" profession

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8 United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census,
Statistical Abstract of the United States (Washington: Government
provides an especially fruitful case through which to study human relations for their theoretical significance. First, as a young profession which can be studied from the memory of one generation, it provides the opportunity to view the process of professionalization, the striving for status, and the efforts toward integration within the work situation. Second, as a profession, it is a marginal one in that its members have obligations to two bureaucracies. This duality provides an opportunity to investigate factors and principles which lead to the balance or dominance of power. Third, it is a profession which seems to be characterized by a very diffuse orientation in an age of ever increasing specialization. Fourth, the community orientation of this group provides a setting which is large enough to see the focal actor in a relatively complete social setting; yet the setting is not so large as to be incomprehensible. Fifth, the "Vo-Ag" teacher is caught between various expectations and situations which tend to prevent their fulfillment; and thus, the occupation provides an opportunity to study role conflict and other manifestations of stress in an occupation. Finally, it is believed that the "Vo-Ag" teacher, as he is subjected to the various stresses cited above, provides a good model for the study of various social processes, social relationships, and value orientations.

Beyond all of the foregoing considerations, the profession provides an opportunity to test empirically the practical utility of certain sociological concepts, especially those involving role theory and value orientations. It is hoped that some theoretical
contributions may be made in the refinement of concepts and in the recombination of conceptual tools into useful theoretical frameworks.

A final aim is to add to the body of knowledge of occupations and to the understanding of rural life, of which this group is an integral part. In keeping with the point made in the introduction, that for the understanding of human behavior in complex societies one should view the individual in relation to his significant functional sub-system, it is felt that this study will fill a gap in the understanding of our total society and most especially the rural segment of that society.

II. METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

Sociological Approach

As stated before, the sociologist is primarily concerned with patterns of social behavior. In order to understand patterns of real social behavior he is concerned also with the components or causative factors which structure social behavior, the manner of their coalescence, the patterns and processes which evolve, and finally in the consequences or functions of specific patterns of interaction in specified situations. With these general considerations in mind, let us develop an approach suited specifically to the study of the "Vo-Ag" teaching profession.

Fitting the theory to the subject. From the outset of this study, it has been clear that the particular type of actor involved,
the "Vo-Ag" teacher, is subject to certain disorganizing stresses in his work situation and that value orientation in vocational agriculture is somewhat unique for professionals in a complex modern society. These conditions pointed to the need of a theoretical model by which these and other characteristics could be viewed. General role theory seemed to be well adapted for organizing the data concerning the social behavior of a single type of actor and for determining the degrees and sources of role conflict or other stresses within the occupational structure. There was a need, however, to find a tool or technique which could be used in conjunction with role theory for determining the general value orientation of the members of the profession. Parsonsian pattern variables seemed well suited to this purpose for they are, according to Parsons, conceptions on a very abstract level of role definition. In order to use the role concepts and pattern variables together, it was necessary to devise a more general framework which would lend itself not only to describing both the "real" and "ideal" structure of the "Vo-Ag" teachers' roles but to explaining their differences and the consequences of these differences.

Overview of the chosen method. This sociological study of the vocational agriculture teaching profession will be both descriptive and analytical. The study will give a general description of the occupation including (1) its definition, (2) its historical development, (3) its formal structure and function, (4) its scope,
(5) a general description of a sample of the occupational members, and (6) a description of the work situation. This background information is necessary for the understanding of the description and analysis of certain selected occupational interaction patterns (socio-cultural structure and social organization).

The analysis will be made at both the cultural level (socio-cultural structure) and at the behavioral level (social organization). At the cultural level certain selected (1) norms, (2) goals, and (3) attitudes and values will be examined using role theory in conjunction with Parsonian and other pattern variables to determine value orientations or general role definitions. At the level of pattern variables, focus will be brought to bear upon (1) role consensus, (2) role integration, and (3) role conflict.

Since this is an interview type study, it will not be possible to observe and describe adequately the actual behavior patterns of vocational agriculture teachers. Therefore, at the social organization level the primary emphasis will be upon certain role stresses involved in the interaction process and the consequences of these stresses, including that of occupational change. Actual role behavior is considered a process and it is during this process that actors make choices and take action, not only in light of the cultural prescriptions, but also in terms of situations and their own personalities. It is also during this process that the "Vo-Ag" 

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9The value orientation of the occupation will be defined by the pattern variables as they apply to the contents of roles.
teacher feels certain role stresses and assesses his role satisfaction, his role fulfillment, and the problems of his work. Moreover, it is here that variation takes place between real and ideal behavior patterns as well as between formal and informal social structures which result in occupational change. Therefore, in considering organized occupational behavior this study will focus upon the following:

1. Role stresses (role conflict, role frustration, role inadequacy, and role superfluity).

2. Role fulfillment.

3. Role satisfaction.


5. Occupational change.

For methodological reasons to be explained later, no attempt will be made to describe in detail the actual observed behavior of "Vo-Ag" teachers. Instead, as shown above, only the felt consequences of such role behavior will be considered in any detail.

The model of behavioral causation. This study will employ a model of behavioral causation by which we may analyze not only the

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The basic components of this model except for the pattern variables were derived from Frederick L. Bates, "The Nature of Social Structure and Social Organization" (unpublished manuscript, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, 1959), p. 6. The reader will note the essential similarity of this model to the basic approaches used by Sorokin, Parsons, and others.
similarities in human behavior but also the differences between the expected and real behavior and their consequences. The following diagram shows the major elements in our model and the relationships conceived to exist among them.\textsuperscript{11} 

\textbf{FIGURE 1}  
\textbf{MODEL OF BEHAVIORAL CAUSATION}  

We have attempted to show schematically in Figure 1 that \textbf{social organization} (modal behavior) emerges from the interaction of three broad groups of factors which operate within a broad cultural context. All of these are themselves structured in varying

\textsuperscript{11} The terms used in this model will be defined and discussed in detail in the following section.
degrees. These groups of factors are: (1) socio-cultural structure (ideal behavior patterns or norms), (2) situational factors, and (3) personality factors. The intervening concept between these three groups of factors and concrete organized behavior (social organization) is conceived of in terms of Parsonian and other pattern-variables. According to Parsons and Shils, each actor in a social situation is faced with five basic choices or dilemmas before a situation has determinate meaning for him and before he goes into action. These alternatives of selection or pattern variables are:

   a. Affectivity ........ Affective Neutrality
   b. Particularism ......... Universalism
   c. Ascription .......... Achievement
   d. Diffuseness .......... Specificity
   e. Collectivity-Orientation . Self-Orientation

Although Parsons and Shils relate these pattern variables to personality systems, social systems, and cultural systems, they nevertheless, in their analysis of "action," view these pattern variables in terms of alternative "choices" which actors must make in combining normative expectations with their personal needs in situations before the situations have determinate meaning for them. This study will not focus on the idea of choice among alternatives but rather, on one hand, it will use the pattern variables as a

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means of classifying the contents of socio-cultural structure and, on the other, to a limited extent, social organization. In addition to providing a convenient means for classifying and summarizing the content of roles and role behavior in terms of general value orientation, these pattern variables will be utilized as a means of identifying role conflict and other role stresses at the most abstract level of analysis.

In identifying role conflict we will follow the Parsonian lead in assuming the alternatives to be mutually exclusive and hence incompatible. Thus, if a person's role requires him to be both affective and affectively neutral toward the same actor in the same situation, it can be said that role conflict is present.

Social organization and social disorganization. It was stated earlier that three groups of factors (socio-cultural structure, personality factors, and situational factors) in interaction are to be considered causal in determining social organization. From the point of view of social organization as opposed to social disorganization, these factors produce uniformities in real behavior. Since all three have varying degrees of internal structure and since they are combined in interaction in a patterned way, the behavior which flows from them is also structured. Individual personalities have structure or regularity, and individuals occupying similar social positions will have personality traits in common. Therefore, individually and collectively, these traits account, at
least partially, for regularity in real behavior. In varying de­
grees, situations contain organized elements and hence exert a
patterning influence on behavior. Of special interest to the
sociologist, however, is the third factor—expected behavior or
socio-cultural structure, which is basic in creating the uniformi­
ties in social action which we term social organization. The
subject of this study, the "Vo-Ag" teacher, is illustrative of this
point.

The means of social selection of recruits in the profession
are such that they usually have certain characteristics in common.
For example, they are males from rural farm backgrounds who have
proven themselves in their high school vocational agriculture
classes. "Vo-Ag" teachers operate within situations which have
common elements. Their departments are located in relatively
rural high schools and contain roughly similar equipment and
facilities. Most of them are faced with the situation of declining
farm population in their communities. Any group which aspires to
professional status must develop a system of normative or expected
behavior. There are formal norms and goals prescribed for the
"Vo-Ag" teacher by law, administrative edict, and required training.
In addition to the formal structure, teachers with similar person­
ality traits working under similar situations and exposed to the
similar formal expectations develop a pattern of "informal" or real
expectations which give structure to social organization.

From the point of view of social disorganization, we may also
use these three factors in explaining the presence of stress between and within the elements which structure human behavior. For example, there may be stresses within the socio-cultural structure or between this structure and either or both situational factors and personality factors. These stresses are classified into four basic types—role conflict, role frustration, role inadequacy, and role superfluity. These types will be defined in the following section on definitions of terms.

Discussion and Definition of Terms

The model of behavioral causation around which the data of this study will be organized and analyzed has been briefly presented. We now turn to definitions of concepts used in the model including their relationships to each other as well as to selected usages of these concepts by various writers. Because the model has been set up only in skeleton form, other concepts basic to its utilization will also be defined and related to it.

The three basic sets of concepts used in or in relation to the model are: (1) socio-cultural structure and social organization, (2) role concepts, and (3) pattern variables.

Socio-cultural structure and social organization. We have said that we are interested in social behavior; however, since sociology is a generalizing rather than particularizing science, the primary concern is with the uniformities or structure of social behavior. Structure in general is defined here as "an orderly
arrangement of parts in time and space." Williams offers a similar definition when he states:

Structure is a relatively fixed relationship between elements, parts, or entities, as, for example, the structure of a house, an animal, or a plant, containing gross, observable 'parts that maintain a fixed relationship' to one another for an 'appreciable time. . . .' To demonstrate structure one need only to show a recurrence of elements related in definite ways. In the interest of realism it is best to speak of the structure of social phenomena only where there is an important degree of continuity—where human activities are so patterned (recurrent) that we can observe a group standardization persisting, although changing over a considerable time.14

The two basic concepts used in this study to refer to structure or uniformity in relation to social behavior are "social organization" and "socio-cultural structure." The differentiation between these concepts is in terms of "real" and "ideal" behavior; however, before coming to a definition of these concepts, it should be noted that there has been no uniformity either in the definition or the terminology of the concepts. Vernon J. Parenton notes that social organization has been used to denote a variety of concepts such as groups with specific purposes, ideal patterns of behavior, and statistical probability. The fourth usage he refers to is that

of Merton and Parsons in which the term "social structure" includes both "cultural structure" (goals and institutionalized means of attaining these goals) and "social organization" which is defined as the activities and the relationships by which these goals are to be sought.

Social organization, as used in this study, refers to the regularity of concrete human behavior. It consists of modal behavior abstracted from real behavior. According to Williams:

There is organization precisely to the degree that the actions of individuals toward each other are recurrent and co-ordinated by the orientation of the acts of each to those of others.19

To arrive at a conception of the social organization of a specific social system one must "observe" people actually in action and derive from observation a notion of pattern and regularity.

As used here, organization is not to be confused with particular social groupings, special interest associations, or to highly formalized relationships.

Social organization has been defined as the organization of real behavior. Three groups of causal factors lead to this patterning or organization of human behavior: (1) socio-cultural


19 Williams, op. cit., pp. 33-34.
factors, (2) situational factors, and (3) personality factors. The first of these will be referred to as "socio-cultural structure." Others have used the term "cultural structure" to refer to basically the same concept as is used in this study. For example, after Williams defines culture as,

... the total legacy of past human behavior effective in the present, representing the accumulation through generations of the artifacts, knowledge, beliefs, and values by which men deal with the world. ..."20

he then indicates that culture may be used in a more "restricted" sense. That is, it may be used to indicate "normative structure," or in Linton's terminology, "designs for living."21 He further describes this aspect of culture as follows:

In this sense, culture is the 'blueprint for behavior'—relatively standardized prescriptions as to what must be done, ought to be done, should be done, may be done, and must not be done. We face every day an elaborate network of 'rules' saying that some behaviors are obligatory, some approved or permitted, and some disapproved or positively forbidden. 'Rules' is in quotation marks because it includes not only the how of behavior but also the what; that is, culture includes a system of 'goals and values.'22

It is obvious that Williams has limited what he calls "cultural structure" to that aspect of culture relating to social

20Ibid., p. 22.


22Williams, op. cit., pp. 22-23; We might add that the artifacts necessary to carrying out the behavior are included in the cultural structure when they are the subject of "expected behavior."
behavior (including the norms, goals, and values). There are other aspects of culture which also are structured; therefore, the term socio-cultural structure has been chosen to indicate the concern here with this limited aspect of culture.

As used in this study, socio-cultural structure means the expected, normative, or idealized patterns of behavior along with the associated system of goals, values, and attitudes associated with these norms. Socio-cultural structure is not concrete behavior itself but only one factor which leads to behavior and which must be abstracted from it. One approach to studying this type of structure is to ask people how ideally they "should behave." This socio-cultural structuring may also be deduced by surveying various types of literature or by observing what people do in situations in which they are expected to behave in their best manner or by observing verbal behavior in which expressions of how one ought to act occur.

It was indicated earlier that structure implies parts which are arranged in an orderly manner. The basic parts to socio-cultural structure are norms which may be conceptualized as being patterned or structured at various levels. These levels will be discussed and defined later under the second set of basic concepts (role concepts). Now, however, we turn to the second component or group of factors which are instrumental in the structuring of real behavior, that is, situational factors.

Parsons and Shils define a situation of action as follows:

It is that part of the external world which means something to the actor whose behavior is being analyzed.
It is only part of the whole realm of objects that might be seen. Specifically, it is that part to which the actor is oriented and in which the actor acts. The situation thus consists of objects of orientation.\textsuperscript{23}

Further, these authors\textsuperscript{24} divide situational components into two major classes. The first class consists of "social objects" (individuals or collectives) including the actor himself when he uses himself as an object of orientation. The second class of situational objects are referred to as "non-social objects" or any objects which are not actors and do not "interact." They further classify the "non-social" into "physical objects" and "cultural objects." These physical objects can constitute means, conditions, goal objects, obstacles, or significant symbols. The cultural objects are considered as elements of the cultural tradition or heritage (laws, ideas, recipes) when these are taken as objects of orientation. They may serve as normative rules, means, conditions, obstacles or symbols; but to be situational objects they must be considered as the actor-subject sees them existing outside of himself.

This study considers situational factors as any object (social, physical or cultural) which has significance for the actor-subject in the acting situation, which exists outside of the actor, and over which he has no control in the short run.

\textsuperscript{23}Parsons and Shils, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 56.

\textsuperscript{24}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 57.
The third or last group of factors relating to social organization is personality factors. The concern here is not with individual personalities for their own sake; rather, the concern is to abstract from a number of personalities of a particular class of actors that which is recurrent. The class of actors studied ("Vo-Ag" teachers) have certain backgrounds and experiences in common and the evolving personalities are integrated into systems of values, ends, and attitudes. These personalities exhibit similarities in need-disposition which tend to structure the actual behavior of this class of actors. Parsons and Shils characterize a personality system as an organized system of need-dispositions or "tendencies to orient and act with respect to objects in certain manners and to expect certain consequences." Orientation is of two types—motivational orientation (gratification—deprivation) and value orientation which evolve from internalized value standards. This study will examine the various backgrounds, experiences, and characteristics of a selected group of "Vo-Ag" teachers in order to determine the modal type of "personality" and its consequences in interaction with socio-cultural factors and situational factors.

We conclude our present remarks concerning socio-cultural structure and social organization by considering the levels and dimensions by which these uniformities have been viewed.

It was indicated earlier that any structure implies "parts".

25 Ibid., p. 114.
arranged in an orderly manner. Various students of human behavior
have studied its structure (both real behavior and ideal expecta-
tions) from many levels of generality as well as from different
dimensions. Bates has summarized these levels and dimensions as
follows:

We could list, then, in order of size, the units
visualized as being parts of social structure. In doing
this we will have to distinguish between two kinds of
units: (1) Human groupings or their parts—horizontal
units and (2) Human categories—vertical units.

1. Human groupings as units consist of:
a) Society
b) Community
c) Associations
d) Groups
e) Positions, statuses, and roles
f) Social norms

2. Human categories as units consist of:
a) Social institutions
b) Social strata

This study is primarily concerned with a class of occupa-
tional positions or an occupational category but at the same time
it is also interested in the relations of these positions to each
other as parts of a common administrative hierarchy and of a pro-
fessional organization. Of interest also is their relation to schools,
to communities, and to the vertical dimensions of social rank (strat-
ification) and social function (institutions). In order to carry
on analysis on these various levels, there is need for lower level

26 Frederick L. Bates, "The Nature of Social Structure and
Social Organization" (unpublished manuscript, Louisiana State
University, Baton Rouge, 1959), p. 10.
concepts of structural units which are basic at all levels of social groupings or categories. Regarding these basic units Bates concludes:

Regardless of the fact that the structure of society may be viewed on different levels almost all scholars agree that among the basic units in social structure are the 'social status' or position and the associated phenomenon of the 'social role.'

This statement leads to a consideration of our second set of basic concepts—role concepts.

Role Concepts. Because of limitations in time and space, the writer cannot review thoroughly all of the sociological literature concerning occupations in general, the specific occupation under study, or all of the concepts woven into the theoretical model. Students of role theory, however, fortunately have available two thorough surveys of the sociological literature on role theory as well as one on the psychological literature relating to the same subject. We will review briefly the two sociological surveys.

In 1951, Neiman and Hughes systematically surveyed the literature with reference to the concept "role." They reviewed eighty sources covering the period from 1900 to 1950 and classified

27 Ibid., p. 11.


(1) various definitions used in the literature, (2) the methodologies employed in role research, and (3) the fields of research in which the concept has been used. The basic classifications of role definitions made by these authors are definitions of role in terms of the dynamics of personality development, functional definitions in terms of society as a whole, and functional definitions in terms of specific groups. Neiman and Hughes offered these among other conclusions:

The concept role is at present still rather vague, nebulous, and non-definitive. Frequently in the literature, the concept is used without any attempt on the part of the writer to define or delimit the concept, the assumption being that both writer and reader will achieve an immediate compatible concensus. Hypotheses involving the concept role are extremely rare in the literature. This raises the question of the utility of the concept. There are few, if any, predictive studies of behavior involving the concept role.

The authors concluded further that the concept role as used could be an "ad hoc" explanation of human behavior and that the concept may be reified.

Gross, Mason, and McEachern testify to the importance of the concept role in the book cited below. According to them:

The concept role has assumed a key position in the fields of sociology, social psychology, and cultural anthropology. Students of the social sciences frequently make use of it as a central term in conceptual schemes for the analysis of the structure and functioning of social systems and for the explanation of individual behavior.

30 Ibid., p. 149.
In their book which "is an attempt to forge a closer link between theoretical and empirical analyses concerned with the study of roles," they give a review of the various ways in which "role" has been conceptualized. They categorize the various definitions into three major classes. They are definitions in which role is conceptualized as: (1) normative culture patterns, (2) an individual's definition of his situation with reference to his and others' social positions, and (3) the behavior of actors occupying social positions. They place two sub-types of formulations in this third behavioral category. One emphasizes the functional implications of behaviors, either in terms of group process or the attainment of group ends. The other sub-category linking role and behavior emphasizes the "self-other" context in which the behavior occurs, thus focusing on interaction or the reciprocal nature of behavior. These authors conclude that within these various formulations concern is generally with the same phenomena and that "the three basic ideas which appear in most of these conceptualizations considered, if not in the definitions of role themselves, are that individuals: (1) in social locations, (2) behave, (3) with reference to expectations." From these basic concepts they develop their "language for role analysis." To the first of these concepts, that is, location in social space they apply the term position; to the idea of expectations

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32 Ibid.  
33 Ibid., pp. 11-18.  
34 Ibid., pp. 48-67.
they apply the term **role**; and to the concept of actual behavior, they apply the term **role behavior**. Built upon this foundation are the other definitions and terms which are empirically tested for their utility in the study by Gross and others of the school superintendent’s role.

Frederick L. Bates\(^3\) has taken a similar approach in reformulating a series of basic structural concepts upon which he has built a general theory of complex structures. The basic difference between Bates’ structural concepts and the "language for role analysis" of Gross et al. is that they use dual concepts to indicate location in social space and its accompanying expected behavior; whereas Bates has simplified and reduced the number of concepts necessary by using one term at each of the various structural levels to indicate both location and expectations. To indicate real behavior both Bates and Gross would simply add the term "behavior" to their structural term, role.

Bates begins with **norm** as a patterned or commonly held behavior expectation and gradually expands this basic structural concept into increasingly complex structural units—norms, role, status, position,

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situs, and station. These are then related to a general theory of complex structures.

It is felt for studies of a more limited or specific nature the finer gradations in role concepts as offered by Bates and Gross et al. would be necessary for scientific precision. This study, however, is aimed at a relatively high level of generalization and the use of too fine distinctions between levels of structural concepts would tend to complicate unnecessarily the aim of determining the "general" role definition (value orientation) and the more general areas of role conflict (value conflict).

Four terms used by Bates to define increasing levels of sociocultural structure as related to a focal actor have been selected for use in categorizing and analyzing the expected behavior of the "Vo-Ag" teacher (norm, role, position, and station). These terms are redefined in order to adjust for the levels omitted from Bates' set of concepts. These will be defined below along with other role theory concepts which will be used in this study. The pattern used in this presentation will be to offer the definition of the term as used in this study and then follow the definition by any remarks or discussion necessary for clarification.

1. **Norm** refers to a commonly held behavior expectation or a learned response held in common by members of a group\(^{36}\) (the

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rights and duties, privileges and obligations associated with a social role or position).

Implied in norms or expected behavior is an associated system of goals and attitudes. In determining the general role definition or value orientation of the vocational agriculture teacher, we will examine selected norms, goals, and attitudes in terms of the pattern variable scheme laid out by Parsons and Shils.

2. **Roles** consist of a set of behavior expectations (norms) which apply to the behavior of a particular actor toward another actor or class of actors in a particular situation or type of situation.

3. **Position** is a location in a group structure which contains one or more roles with the associated norms.

   In this study we are primarily concerned with the occupational position—"Vo-Ag" teacher.

4. **Station** refers to the location of an actor in the total structure of a community or society consisting of all of his positions and roles.  

5. **Role consensus** refers to the degree of agreement in the definition of a specific role.

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Gross, Mason, and McEachern\textsuperscript{38} have pointed out that many definitions and analyses of roles have been based upon the assumption that consensus exists as to the expectations applied to incumbents of particular social positions. These authors,\textsuperscript{39} as well as others, have shown that this assumption is fallacious and that we may investigate the degrees of consensus (1) among certain groups or classes of role definers, (2) on certain aspects or segments of a role, (3) at various levels of generality, and (4) under given relational and situational specifications of the position or role. All four of these aspects of role consensus are given consideration in this study along with conditions leading to the lack of consensus (anomie).

6. Role fulfillment\textsuperscript{40} refers to the degree to which an actor believes that he accomplishes what he feels he "ought to do" in the "manner that it should be done"—that is, it is the extent to which he satisfies his perceived role definition.

It was indicated in the preceding section (socio-cultural structure and social organization) that social disorganization and the differences between expected and real behavior have their origins in the same three groups of factors which give

\textsuperscript{38}Gross, et al., op. cit., p. 21. \textsuperscript{39}Ibid., p. 74. \textsuperscript{40}Eugene A. Wilkening, The County Extension Agent in Wisconsin: Perceptions of Role Definitions as Viewed by Agents, Michigan A E S Research Bulletin 203, 1957, p. 3.
organization to social action. These disorganizing influences and obstacles to the fulfillment of the role expectations as perceived by the actor are here conceived of as recurrent strains and inconsistencies within and among the three groups of factors: (1) socio-cultural structure; (2) situational factors; and (3) personality factors. We describe four basic types as follows:

a) Role conflict is a condition in which the occupant of a focal role or roles (position or positions) perceives that he is confronted with incompatible expectations (strains and inconsistencies within the socio-cultural structure). Bates describes role conflict as follows:

Whatever the type of role conflict, it arises out of an inconsistency in the "patterned expectations" or "norms" which form the contents of roles. As a conception it excludes conflict arising from personality differences between actors, conflict due to imperfect or faulty learning of norms which compromise roles, and conflict which is situationally induced amounting to a mal-adjustment between the contents of a role and the situation in which it is functioning as a behavior expectation.

Role conflict, then is a structural concept which depends on an idea about how behavior and structure impinge on each other. The conflict is felt by the individual actor but is seen as residing in the structure of the group in which it takes place.41

41 Frederick L. Bates, "Role Types and Role Conflict" (unpublished manuscript, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, 1957), p. 12.
We follow Bates, Gross, et al., and Parsons in requiring that for role conflict to exist that it be perceived by the actor. Furthermore, role conflict may arise from what the actor perceives as "legitimate" expectations (perceived obligations) or from "illegitimate" expectations (perceived pressures). Role conflict is considered as arising from incompatible expectations resulting from an actor's occupancy of "single" as well as "multiple" roles or positions (intra-role and inter-role conflicts). The lack of role conflict will be referred to as role integration and is here defined as a situation in which the incumbent of a focal role or position perceives that his "significant others" hold the same or highly similar expectations of him, and that these expectations are compatible with each other.

b) Role frustration is defined as the inability of an actor or class of actors to fulfill the perceived role because of situational factors (strains and inconsis- tencies between the socio-cultural structure and recurrent situational factors). For example, "Vo-Ag" teachers may perceive certain obligations or pressures

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42 Ibid., p. 13.  
43 Gross et al., op. cit., p. 248.  
to perform certain tasks which are incompatible with the resources at their disposal. They could also be expected to accomplish certain objectives which are incompatible with the changing agricultural conditions or changing rural population trends. The situation involved in the scheduling of high school classes could be in conflict with the expectations placed upon the "Vo-Ag" teacher in regard to his work away from school in the community itself.

c) **Role inadequacy** is defined here as the inability of an actor or class of actors to fulfill the perceived role due to recurrent personal inadequacies (strain or inconsistencies between the socio-cultural structure and recurrent personality factors).

   If the modal type of "Vo-Ag" teacher cannot fulfill his perceived expectations because of a particular type of background, lack of training, trained incapacity, or selection of personality types, the resulting stress would be an example of role inadequacy.

d) **Role superfluity** is a situation in which an actor as incumbent of a position or positions perceives that he is faced with greater expectations than he or his type of actor can fulfill. This obstacle to role fulfillment derives from inconsistencies between role expectation (socio-cultural structure) and the other two groups of
factors (situational factors and personality factors) simultaneously.

For example, the expectations perceived by a class of actors, though the expectations by nature were not conflicting, could be greater than the modal actor could perform because of his biological and psychological characteristics and of the conjunction of these characteristics with recurrent situational factors.

We must note at this point that the four types of role stresses defined above may apply to a single actor as well as to a majority of a class of actors. It is when a majority of the cases are subjected to a specific stress that the stress becomes sociologically significant. It is these stresses which account for differences between "ideal" and "real" patterns of behavior, and it is our way of dealing with change taking place within the occupational behavior patterns of the vocational agriculture teaching profession.

Pattern variables. The third major set of concepts to be discussed and defined for use in this study are what Parsons has developed and called pattern variables of action orientation, or as it is sometimes called, role definition or value orientation. This is one of many efforts scholars have made to describe the general nature of social systems. Several scholars have employed various dichotomous concepts as polar extremes or reference points by which to draw distinctions between various societies or
sub-systems. Henry Maine\textsuperscript{45} contrasted societies in which the social relationships were based on status to those in which they were based on contract. Toennies\textsuperscript{46} drew the distinction between the types of relationships growing out of natural will and those growing out of rational will. On this basis he developed his highly complex ideal types—Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft. With the increasing division of labor, Durkheim\textsuperscript{47} saw a shift from mechanical solidarity to organic solidarity. Redfield\textsuperscript{48} developed his contrast around the folk-urban continuum. Sorokin\textsuperscript{49} has described familialistic, contractual, and compulsory interaction as well as ideational, mixed and sensate cultural systems. Becker\textsuperscript{50} developed a continuum from sacred to secular with intervening subtypes based on the degree of accessibility. Numerous authors have contrasted the rural and urban types of social systems. Usually these dichotomies have as their base


\textsuperscript{46}Ferdinand Toennies, *Community and Society* (Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft), trans., C. P. Loomis (East Lansing: The Michigan State University Press, 1957).


one basic factor of differentiation such as kinds of legal relations, types of social bonds, nature of institutional dominance, degree of accessibility, or kinds of evaluation by individuals of each other. According to Loomis and Martindale, Parsons seems to have taken as his starting point the old dichotomous classification of societies developed by the founders of sociology. Martindale has listed Parsons' pattern variables in a table by the side of ideas taken from Toennies' writings, "to reveal their origin." Concerning these variables Loomis states that,

"... in view of their history, derivation, and content, it seems justifiable to conclude that the pattern-variables represent a further and more elaborate specification of the aspects of society dealt with by Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft."

Regardless of their origin, Parsons has given abstract formulation to five sets of dichotomies which he calls pattern variables. These are developed in terms of what Parsons calls the determinate range of generalized choices for social action. Parsons defines these pattern variables as follows:

A pattern variable is a dichotomy, one side of which must be chosen by an actor before the meaning of a

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52 Don Martindale, "Talcott Parsons' Theoretical Metamorphosis From Social Behaviorism to Macrofunctionism," Alpha Kappa Delta, XXIX (Winter, 1958), 44.

53 Ibid., p. 43.  
54 Loomis, loc. cit.
situation is determinate for him, and thus before he can act with respect to that situation. We maintain that there are only five basic pattern variables (i.e., pattern variables deriving directly from the frame of reference of the theory of action) and that, in the sense that they are all of the pattern variables which so derive, they constitute a system. Let us list them and give them names and numbers so that we can more easily refer to them in the future. They are:

1. Affectivity... Affective Neutrality
2. Self-Orientation... Collectivity-Orientation
3. Universalism... Particularism
4. Ascription... Achievement
5. Specificity... Diffuseness

Actors do not orient randomly, according to Parsons, but in some patterned way to these alternatives. It is from this patterning that the general "role definition" or "value orientation" can be determined. Parsons designs this system to be applied to personality systems, social systems, and cultural systems (in our terminology, personality factors, social organization, and socio-cultural structure).

By working out the various combinations of these pattern variables Parsons has provided a scheme or theoretical formulation not for two, but for thirty-two possible types of social relationships. When trying to visualize these various types of relationships one realizes the barrenness of social reality since only a

few of the logically possible alternatives are ever observed in real situations. Martindale makes the following statement regarding this barrenness:

One immediate value of discovering the barrenness of social life is that it justifies the sociologist in 'short-cutting' investigation of the whole range of structural possibilities and concentrating on only a fraction of them.56

Although Parsons has set up tables describing in rather abstract terms these various crosses or combinations, he has selected in his own usage of this conceptual tool only those combinations which seem pertinent to the subject under discussion such as the medical and legal professions.57 He has not described any systematic operational techniques for abstracting from empirical reality value orientation by means of this conceptual device. Some writers, however, are beginning to use Parsonian and other pattern variables in empirical research.

Loomis and Beegle58 in their Rural Social Systems set up on a ten-point continuum what they call components of the more general polar types, familistic Gemeinschaft and contractural Gesellschaft. Persons familiar with five different social systems were asked to rate each of the social systems (Amish family, ditch association,

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56 Martindale, op. cit., p. 44.


government bureau, students' military unit, and students' family) on each component of the major polar type along the ten-point scale. From these individual ratings a general numerical rating was given to each of the social systems.

Loomis and McKinney use a similar approach to determine the general value orientation of two Latin-American communities through what they call, "the application of Toennies' concepts, Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft, and pertinent concepts as used by other theorists." Here they set up six components of the more general concepts on a ten point continuum. This time four of the components are in the terminology of Parsons' pattern variables (affectivity—affective neutrality, particularism—universalism, ascription—achievement, and diffuseness—specificity). The remaining two components are derived from Weber's and Sorokin's conceptual schemes. They are traditional—rational and familistic—contractual. The left components of each of these paired variables are considered by the authors as components of Gemeinschaft, and the right components are considered as components of Gesellschaft. Social scientists familiar with the two communities were asked to rate the likely orientation of specific and comparable actors in a hypothetical action situation along the six continua. From these numerical ratings a profile was then constructed which showed the interaction in the "family farm"

community as oriented to the Gemeinschaft side while the orientation in the "large estate" community was toward the Gesellschaft side.

Stouffer and Toby\textsuperscript{60} have set up and tested a technique for determining role conflict between one's institutionalized obligations of friendship and one's institutionalized obligations to society. This technique is essentially a means of showing conflict in value orientation in terms of particularistic versus universalistic orientation. The technique involves setting up hypothetical situations and asking respondents to answer questions designed to show their orientation or conflicting orientations in terms of particularistic or universalistic orientations.

This study does not focus on the idea of choice among alternatives but merely uses pattern variables as a convenient means of classifying and abstracting role content to a more general level of socio-cultural structure and to a limited extent the contents of role behavior to a more general level of social organization. This abstraction, as stated before, is in terms of general value orientation including "general" role conflict and other general role stresses.

The technique in the utilization of pattern variables used in this study is that of setting up Parsonian and other pattern

\textsuperscript{60}Samuel A. Stouffer, "An Analysis of Conflicting Social Norms," \textit{American Sociological Review}, XIV (December, 1949), 707-17.
variables and sub-variables. Then by asking specific questions relating to selected occupational (1) norms, (2) goals, and (3) attitudes and values, the general value orientation is assessed by noting the patterning of interviewees' specific responses and classifying these responses in terms of pattern variables. No attempt is made to quantify the orientations of either individuals or of the group of "Vo-Ag" teachers. At best it can be said only that the modal teacher tends in orientation toward one or the other of the paired orientations, more or less than other familiar groups. From these patterns we determine the general integration of roles (consistency in value orientation pattern) or, on the other hand, general role or value conflict. In addition to establishing the structural pattern, the degree of consensus among the occupational members or other role definers may also be determined.

The pattern variable scheme, then, affords us a convenient way of summarizing the contents of roles in an abstract fashion. It also provides a much needed technique for identifying and classifying role conflicts. This latter use of pattern variables stems from the fact that each variable represents "paired opposites" in value orientation. Thus, role conflict may be said to exist when both of the opposite orientations are present in a role.

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61 These "other" pattern variables and "sub-variables" are adaptations to the specific role contents of the specific group under study. There are very significant orientations of any group which are less general than orientations classified by the five Parsonian pattern variables. (According to Parsons these may be considered accidents of content rather than genuine alternatives intrinsic to the structure of all action.)
Below are listed and defined the pattern variables and subvariables which will be used in this study to classify and summarize the content of the occupational roles of the "Vo-Ag" teacher in terms of his general value orientation (or role definition) and to identify and analyze role conflict. 62

A. AFFECTIVITY-----------------------------AFFECTIVE NEUTRALITY

Affectivity:

The role-expectation which permits the role-incumbent to seek immediate gratification without regard to evaluative considerations. At the polar extreme, action is governed entirely by emotions such as hate, love, or fear. Examples which fall near the polar extreme are a mother loving her child for her own gratification without thought as to its consequences or a person shooting his best friend in a fit of anger.

Affective Neutrality:

The role-expectation which prescribes for actors the renunciation, in specified situations, of immediate gratification for which opportunity exists, in the interest of evaluative considerations regardless of the content of the latter.

B. PARTICULARISM-----------------------------UNIVERSALISM

Particularism:

The role-expectation which prescribes that the actor treat a social object in terms of some particular relationship to him rather than in terms of a generalized frame of reference. Examples tending toward this type would be parents shielding a son who has committed a crime or an elected official appointing his supporters or relatives to public positions.

62 In varying degrees these definitions approximate those given by Parsons and Shils, op. cit., pp. 80-84; Loomis and McKinney, op. cit., pp. 410-11; and Loomis and Beegle, op. cit., pp. 5-36.
Universalism:

The role-expectation which prescribes that the actor treat a social object as a member of some universally defined class of objects. An example of this type of orientation would be the case in which a teacher who is teaching his own son makes no distinction between his son as a student and other students in his class. Employment based strictly upon civil service examination rather than friendship or kinship would be a universalistic type of orientation.

C. **ASCRIPITION-------------------------------ACHIEVEMENT**

Ascription:

The role-expectation which prescribes that the role-incumbent should orient to a social object on the basis of the latter's attributes or qualities such as age, sex, race, membership, or possessions. This applies both to the role-incumbents selection and differential treatment of social objects. Examples approaching this type are the hiring of employees because of their "social" position, the paying of women employees less than men for the same amount and quality of work, or the exclusion of a person from a country club because of his religion.

Achievement:

The role-expectation that the role-incumbent orient in his selection and differential treatment of social objects on the basis of their specific performances (past, present, or prospective) rather than on the basis of their given attributes or qualities (age, sex, race, memberships or possessions), insofar as the latter are not significant as direct conditions of the relevant performances. An example of this type of orientation would be the hiring and promotion of employees strictly on the basis of their ability to perform the duties of the job or office.

D. **COLLECTIVITY-ORIENTATION------------------SELF-ORIENTATION**

Collectivity-Orientaton:

The role-expectation requiring the actor to take into account the interests and values of the group in which, in this role, he is associated. In cases of conflicts of interest, he is expected to give priority to the collective interest. An example approaching this type would be a
situation where a soldier risks almost certain death covering the escape of his unit.

Self-Orientation:

The role-expectation which prescribes or permits an actor in a given type of situation to give priority to his own private interests. This type of orientation is more closely approached in the market place where the merchant is permitted and expected to concern himself in his relations with others with making maximum profits.

E. DIFFUSENESS---------------------------SPECIFICITY

Diffuseness:

The role-expectation requiring or permitting the actor to become involved in a wide range of expectations, rights, and duties of the other. An example of a diffuse orientation would be a mother's wide range of interests and expectations concerning her child.

Specificity:

The role-expectation requiring or permitting only a limited or specified range of interests in the other. Examples approaching this type of orientation would be where the doctor-patient relationship is limited in interest to the patient's health, or the relationship between the tax collector and the tax-payer whose concern with each other is limited to the payment and collection of taxes.

All action or expected action cannot be neatly classified by the five Parsonian pattern variables. As indicated before, an actor may act out of force of habit. Another problem of classification is that if choices are made in terms of the five pattern variables they are not always made at or near the polar extremes and this makes it difficult to classify the orientation. In addition, in concrete action an actor may be orienting to more than one group or situation simultaneously. Still another problem is that, as Parsons and Shils indicate, "other choices are often
necessary to determine the meaning of a situation, but these may be considered accidents of content, rather than genuine alternatives intrinsic to the structure of all action." However, some of these "accidents of content" as they have been called are quite significant in understanding the behavior of specific groups. One pattern variable of this type helpful in describing and understanding the behavior and attributes of vocational agriculture teachers is as follows:

F. EDUCATIONAL ORIENTATION----------------SERVICE ORIENTATION

Educational Orientation:

The role-expectation which prescribes that an actor's relationship to the other be aimed exclusively at accomplishing an educational objective.

Service Orientation:

The role-expectation which prescribes or permits an actor's relationship to another to be aimed at performing a personal service for the other without any consideration as to whether the service has an educational value. The doctor's prescription to his patient is typically of this nature.

The foregoing discussion has stated the problem, described the methodological approach to it, and defined and explained the more important sociological concepts which are to be used. The problem is that of describing and analyzing the profession of vocational agriculture within a sociological frame of reference. The method is basically a structural-functional analysis organized

63Parsons and Shils, op. cit., p. 88.
around a model of behavioral causation as illustrated by Figure 1 on page 13. With regard to the structure, the three general groups of factors—socio-cultural structure, situational factors, and personality factors—which contribute to the structuring of real behavior (social organization) have been described; and it has been explained that these factors, individually or in inter-relationships, may produce stress in actors acting out their roles. A means has been provided by which the contents of the roles and patterns of real behavior may be classified. Finally, provisions have been made for the analysis of the functions or consequences of these three groups of factors, individually and in inter-relationship, in terms of stresses, role fulfillment, role satisfaction, occupational problems, and occupational change.
CHAPTER II
THE OPERATIONAL APPROACH INCLUDING THE SOURCES
AND ORGANIZATION OF DATA

I. OPERATIONAL APPROACH TO THE DATA

We have earlier indicated that the sociologist's primary consideration centers on the patterning of human behavior (social organization) but that he is also interested in explaining the sources of these uniformities and their consequences. The concern in this chapter is to explain how we have gone about obtaining data on these interrelated aspects of occupational behavior from a selected group of "Vo-Ag" teachers.

Bates has indicated that there are two basic modes of determining the nature of the uniformities of social behavior. They are:

1. We can abstract from behavior itself—we can observe people actually in action and derive a notion of pattern and regularity from it. This we call modal behavior (real structure or social organization).

2. The second way we can proceed is to ask people how ideally they should behave and thus derive ideal structure (normative expected behavior or socio-cultural structure).  

This study will give primary attention to the latter method (determining socio-cultural structure), although some attention will be given to the actual behavior—especially to the consequences of this behavior as expressed by the teachers themselves.

It will be noted by referring to Figure 1 that expected behavior (socio-cultural structure) may be sub-divided into formal structure and informal structure. The formal or official structure of the vocational agriculture teacher's position has been determined for this research largely through analyzing various types of literature such as laws and administrative publications and by studying the duties and responsibilities of the "Vo-Ag" teacher as taught in official training programs. The informal structure has been studied by interviewing a number of teachers who were asked how they "should act" in various selected situations. In addition, they were asked how they thought other various significant group members felt they should act.

In order to study the second set of factors which structure real behavior—namely, personality factors—the same teachers were asked questions pertaining to their personal characteristics such as family background, training, work experience, attitudes, and recruitment into the profession. Certain official criteria for entrance into the profession were also considered as factors influencing the "personality" in the occupation.

The situational factors entering into the structuring of the sample "Vo-Ag" teachers' behaviors were studied by collecting
selected information regarding their departments, schools, communities, parishes, and general economic setting as it relates to agriculture and to their teaching program. These data were obtained mainly by interviews and by reference to various sources of statistical data.

Concerning social organization or the patterning of actual behavior, this study makes no claim of having observed a significant range of the sample "Vo-Ag" teachers' behavior. Certain questions in the interviews relating to expected behavior were followed, however, by the question, "how do you actually act in these situations?" This kind of question obviously has its weaknesses in that there may be a tendency for the actor to say that he does what he has said that he should do; on the other hand, he may answer questions pertaining to what he should do in terms of what he does.

In regard to social organization, the main focus of this study is not upon actual observed behavior itself but rather upon the felt consequences of "acting out the roles." Each respondent was asked various questions involving the stresses in his roles, his role fulfillment, his job and career satisfaction, and the resulting occupational problems and changes. While the answers to these questions did not reveal the detailed content of actual behavior, they did reveal some of the behavioral consequences of the ideal occupational structure as it is interpreted by real personalities in real situations.

II. SOURCES OF DATA

In the preceding discussion of the operational techniques,
three basic categories of data have been mentioned. They are: (1) published sources of data, (2) personal experiences, and (3) personal interviews. These sources of "data" and "understanding" will be discussed next.

Published Sources of Data

The several types of literature surveyed may be categorized as (1) historical, (2) laws and administrative publications, (3) official reports, (4) textbooks, (5) professional and ideological writings, and (6) sociological research concerning the profession. The following discussion will briefly review some of the more important source materials belonging in the various categories.

The historical development of vocational agricultural education is naturally closely associated with the development of both agriculture and of education in the United States. Two basic treatises which merge these two streams of development are Alfred C. True's Agricultural Education in the United States: 1785-1925 (Washington: United States Printing Office, 1929), and Charles W. Dabney's Agricultural Education (Albany, New York: J. B. Lyon Co., 1904). Of these two, only True's work goes beyond the beginning of the coordinated national program of vocational agricultural education. However, both give insight into the conditions and pressures which finally brought about federal legislation for agricultural instruction at the secondary school level. A later publication compiled and edited by Simpson and Lathrop, History of Agricultural
Education of Less than College Grade in the United States, was published in 1954. This publication, a Vocational Division Bulletin, briefly summarizes the development of agricultural education in the United States and contains histories of agricultural education by states including Hawaii and Puerto Rico. In The Country-life Movement in the United States (1911), Liberty Hyde Bailey focuses upon the general pressures forcing the federal government to become involved in the problems of rural life and upon the recommendations of the "Country-life Commission" which was appointed by President Theodore Roosevelt in 1908. John T. Wheeler's Two Hundred Years of Agricultural Education in Georgia (Danville: The Interstate, 1948) is one of the most thorough treatments of the development of the "Vo-Ag" program at a state level. John H. Mitchell has just completed a dissertation entitled "The Development of Vocational Agricultural Education in Louisiana," which traces the historical development of vocational agriculture in Louisiana, the setting of this study.

The most basic official administrative publication is the Vocational Education Bulletin 1, Administration of Vocational

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Education. This bulletin contains the basic laws, administrative channels, basic aims, and general nature and content of the instructional program of the different fields of vocational education. A series of Vocational Division bulletins and monographs give in greater detail the organization, objectives, and official nature of the vocational agriculture program. Each state has a state plan for vocational education which includes agricultural education. Because the Future Farmers of America (FFA) is widely considered an integral part of the instructional program in vocational agriculture, the Official Manual for Future Farmers of America is an important source of information for understanding the roles of the "Vo-Ag" teacher.

There are various reports made at the school, state, and national levels by teachers of vocational agriculture. These are summarized in the Digest of Annual Reports of State Boards of Vocational Education to the Office of Education, Division of Vocational Education.

The teachers of vocational agriculture are exposed to a college training program. In addition to broad general training in the various phases of agriculture, they are given professional


5Louisiana State Department of Education, Vocational Education Division, "State Plan for Vocational Education for 1947-52." (Mimeographed.)
training in the philosophy, methods, and techniques of teaching. The textbooks used in the courses they take give in great detail both the general and specific duties and responsibilities of the "Vo-Ag" teacher. The norms prescribed by official "Vo-Ag" training programs are very important to the understanding of the social behavior of the group. Probably the textbook most widely used in training "Vo-Ag" teachers is the late Glen C. Cook's Handbook on Teaching Vocational Agriculture, now in its sixth edition under the joint authorship of Lloyd J. Phipps. In his Teaching Vocational Agriculture (1954), E. W. Garris gives a good overview of the duties, responsibilities, and qualities of the "Vo-Ag" teacher. H. M. Hamlin in The Community Program of Agricultural Education (1943) shows the relationship of the vocational agriculture teachers roles to the total community.

In addition to textbooks on teaching vocational agriculture, there are other sources of professional literature. The official professional journal of vocational agriculture is The Agricultural Education Magazine. The Research Committee of the Agricultural Education Section, American Vocational Association, publishes annually a supplement to Summaries of Studies in Agricultural Education.

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This summary includes theses, dissertations, and non-thesis research findings, studies largely concerned with technical and professional problems with the field. However, some of these studies provide sociologically relevant data. The many occupational follow-up studies which have been performed in recent years in various states are of special interest to the student of occupational sociology.

From the viewpoint of the present investigation, the most important research done by the vocational agricultural education profession itself is a study made by the Research Committee of the Southern Region and reported under the title, *What Constitutes an Effective Program of Vocational Agriculture in a Community* (1956). In this study, 1,244 individuals from twelve Southern states were interviewed, including superintendents, principals, teachers of vocational agriculture, and all three types of class members (in-school students, young farmers, and adult farmers). The report is a summary of the opinions of these significant groups concerning many aspects of the vocational agriculture program such as the (1) controlling purposes, (2) scope, (3) qualifications of teachers, (4) groups to be enrolled, (5) duties and responsibilities of the teacher, and (6) responsibilities of others connected with the program. This study reveals interesting divergences of opinion from the formal structure of the program.

The last general category of literature to be considered here is sociological writing and research. Selz C. Mayo points to the neglect of the vocational agriculture field by sociological
researchers and stresses the need for sociological research in this area when he states:

Vocational agriculture is now one of the major rural life educational programs in America. Measured in terms of space given to this program in the introductory rural sociology texts and by research articles in the official journal, one would not reach such a conclusion. The rural texts devote very little attention to the vo-ag program—the variation is from failure to mention the program at all to giving only a paragraph or two; and, as an aside, it might be pointed up that some of the statements made reveal only a superficial understanding of the program. A causal survey of Rural Sociology failed to reveal a single major research article devoted to the vo-ag program.

Compare this emphasis, on the other hand, with the rather sizable emphasis given to the Agricultural Extension Service program both in the texts as well as in major research articles in the journal. Yet, the vo-ag program is almost entirely community-oriented or at least not nearly to the same degree. These statements are not made by way of criticizing either the authors of texts or research workers—the statements are made to point up an area in which rural sociologists can make substantial contributions.\(^7\)

This article and another one\(^8\) by the same author appeared in the "Applied Sociology Notes" in Rural Sociology. These articles reported on methods of teaching community research to vocational agriculture majors.

The earlier rural sociology textbook writers showed more

\(^7\) Selz C. Mayo, "Teaching Methods of Community Research to Nonsociology Majors," Rural Sociology, XXIII (March, 1958), 73.

concern with the "Vo-Ag" program than later writers. Charles J. Galpin in his *Rural Social Problems* (1924) devoted an entire chapter to the program in which he indicated his recognition of certain stresses under which the roles of the "Vo-Ag" teacher must be played, as the following quotation shows:

> The Smith-Hughes teachers of agriculture, so called, while occupying strategic places in the nation for assisting agriculture and farm life, have a by no means rosy path of duty. They need to be specially fortified with wisdom and common sense and human understanding, over and above their technical training. To teach in high school sons of farmers how to farm, when the sons go home every night where the struggle to farm is the bread-and-butter struggle of life, is a very ticklish procedure. It is teaching on the front line under fire. It is far easier to teach in the agricultural college, a hundred miles away from the farm. It is easier by far to make a one-night stand of teaching in a farm-extension school, and then beat a retreat to the college of agriculture or go on to another community. The Smith-Hughes teacher must face every day those whose farm practices he is trying to improve and must live with them day by day. He has fewer means of escape, even, than the county agricultural agent. The hardness of the task is mentioned, not to frighten the teacher or even cause him to watch his step, but rather as an introduction to a method of solving his problem and making him happy through success.\(^9\)

R. H. Holmes, another early rural sociologist, considered the social significance of the vocational agriculture program in rural life to be important enough to write a chapter on the program in his *Rural Sociology* (1932). However, these early writings were rather impressionistic and problem-oriented. As Mayo has

pointed out, later textbooks show a decreasing concern with the sociological significance of the profession.

At the beginning of this research, a survey of the literature revealed no research within a sociological frame-of-reference on the occupation of vocational agriculture teaching. Since that time, however, a dissertation study of the occupation has become available, that by F. A. Burtner, entitled "The 'Vo-Ag' Teacher: An Inquiry Into the Status and Role of an Emergent Profession." Burtner focused his main interest on the system of norms and expectations included in the role of "Vo-Ag" teacher. In addition to describing the formal structure of the occupation, he set up an "ideal-type" teacher by means of a panel interview with five vocational agriculture teachers. His analysis revealed that the "Vo-Ag" teacher is a member of two bureaucracies—that of the public schools and that of the state, and that his role is not fully integrated into either. He describes the resulting status dilemma as follows:

In sum, the confused status of the 'Vo-Ag' teacher is apparent from almost any point of view: as a teacher, he is a male in a field dominated by females; as a technical advisor, he is a general practitioner in a field dominated by specialists; as a community leader, his position is neutral and he is followed only by children and the less successful farmers; as a permanent member of a community, he tends to live between rather than within a single, unified territorial group, and his

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participation in organized community groups progressively decreases; as a professional man, his techniques are generalized and the tradition which he represents appears to be waning.11

This brief review of the sources of published data on the "Vo-Ag" profession reveals little information which has been derived within a sociological frame of reference. For this reason no thorough review of the content of the various writings on the subject is necessary for this study. The various historical, administrative, statistical, and professional data will be used at appropriate stages of the investigation when they can be fitted into some sociological context. For example, historical data will be used in showing the development of the social roles and functions of the profession, and legal, administrative, and textbook data will be used in developing the "formal" socio-cultural structure. When they appear sociologically revelant, various research discoveries of members of the vocational agriculture profession will be taken from their professional or technical context and applied in this study.

Personal Experience

Although as a source of understanding the personal experience of the researcher as a "Vo-Ag" teacher has been drawn upon constantly, this study has no intention of using these experiences as data to support or nullify any implied hypotheses. It is obvious,

11 Ibid., pp. 159-60.
however, that if the experience serves in aiding understanding it will not only influence the approach to the study but it will also influence the final interpretations.

The researcher grew up on a 160 acre farm in the Piedmont area of Georgia. After finishing junior high school in a rural community, he attended a consolidated high school in the county seat where he enrolled in vocational agriculture. During these two years he was a member and officer of the newly organized local chapter of the Future Farmers of America (FFA). Away from the familiar haunts and primary relationships of the rural home, school and community, he found himself in a large secondary grouping (the consolidated high school) which was dominated by urban middle class values and standards. Quite naturally he turned to this organization of farm boys for fellowship, sympathy, and understanding and to the "Vo-Ag" teacher who could understand the plight of a farm boy transplanted into this situation.

The researcher made his decision to become a "Vo-Ag" teacher in this setting under the influence of a friendly teacher who visited the family farm, talked his language, took an interest in his farm projects, concerned himself with the family welfare, and appreciated the things the family appreciated. He formed this specific vocational decision upon the attitude, instilled in him in the home long before, that a college education is the road to success, but it took him eight years to reach the goal because of the intervention of World War II. In 1947, he took his first job
in a county high school located in a small Georgia town, a county seat with a population of one thousand. After teaching three years in this location, he returned to the university for a Master's degree. Before returning to the original job, he spent one year establishing a new "Vo-Ag" department in a high school located in a city of approximately 10,000 population. After this year, he returned to his original job and remained there for four more years before deciding to return to college to work toward a degree in sociology.

This background and experience has both advantages and disadvantages so far as the study underway is concerned. The knowledge of the nature of the occupation and its unique characteristics which the researcher gained from experience was an aid to determining the theoretical frame-of-reference. He knew in advance that he needed a way to locate and show the nature of role stresses and that he needed a convenient method for determining the unique orientation of this profession. Certainly, any occupational group has special terms, and some commonly used words have special connotations within the membership of the occupation. The person who knows and speaks a group's "special language" logically should understand it better. One may more easily understand at the "second level of meaning" (which Weber emphasized) if he has had experiences similar to those of the individuals studied. That is,
through the operation "verstehen,"\textsuperscript{12} "sympathetic introspection,"\textsuperscript{13} or "imaginative reconstruction,"\textsuperscript{14} one can understand the motives behind various actions, attitudes, and rationalizations.

On the other hand, these common experiences can be misleading. The researcher who has internalized many of the norms and attitudes of the group being studied can read too much between the lines. He must be ever alert to distinguish between his own feelings and those of the individuals he is studying. Also under such research conditions, it may be that the blind spots of the occupational members may be the blind spots of the researcher. If, however, the researcher has a genuine desire to know the "truth" and realizes the dangers of studying a group of which he has been a part and to whom he feels a loyalty, he has gone a long way toward overcoming the hazard. Another check for bias the researcher has made in conducting this study has been that of discussing with other students certain responses made by the group studied in order to get their interpretations of those responses. As a whole, it is believed that the advantages of studying a group well known to the researcher far outweigh the disadvantages.


Personal Interviews

The third source of data was personal interviews. During the 1958 summer term at the Louisiana State University, the researcher constructed a preliminary interview guide and used it in interviewing six teachers of vocational agriculture who were in residence at the University at that time. He also used it in interviewing two teacher-trainers at the same institution. These loosely structured interviews aided in developing another interview guide consisting of one hundred major questions of varying degrees of structure. The questions range from the open-ended to pre-coded types. As a second pretest, the researcher administered the interview guide to two "Vo-Ag" teachers outside of the sample area. With minor modifications this schedule was then mimeographed and administered to twenty-seven vocational agriculture teachers in three selected parishes of Louisiana.

Limiting the number of interviewees was justifiable on the basis that the study was exploratory and qualitative in nature. The decision made was that of sacrificing extensiveness in number for depth in interview material utilizing only a few well chosen subjects. In keeping with this plan, the further decision was to interview all of the teachers in a limited number of parishes rather than

\[15\] See Appendix.
to make a sampling of those in many different parishes. Although this approach of selecting teachers by parishes rather than randomly over the state would have the disadvantage of limiting the generalizations which might be made, it nevertheless would provide more insight into differences in role definition resulting from variations in "types of farming areas" and differences in culture areas, and this fuller insight, it was felt, would be an advantage.

Three parishes were selected on the basis of the following criteria: (1) they should represent a French-Catholic, an Anglo-Saxon-Protestant, and a mixed culture area; (2) they should represent different types of farming areas with varying degrees of prosperity; and (3) two parishes should represent relatively rural areas with the third being nearer to the influence of larger towns or cities. With these general criteria in mind the final selections were based on information from the following sources: (1) The Many Louisianas, Rural Social Areas and Cultural Islands by Alvin L. Bertrand, (2) population and agricultural census data, (3) listings of vocational agriculture departments by parishes, and (4) conferences with teacher-trainers in the Vocational Agricultural Department.

The three parishes selected contained twenty-seven departments

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16 Parishes in Louisiana are political subdivisions which are equivalent to counties in other states.

of vocational agriculture and twenty-eight "Vo-Ag" teachers. One department was operated with two teachers. All but one teacher in the selected parishes were interviewed, and that teacher was willing to be interviewed but personal circumstances made it unreasonable to ask him to give his time for this purpose.

The interviews ranged in length from two hours to seven hours with the majority lasting approximately four hours. About half were administered in split sessions in order to accommodate the schedule of the teacher. The majority of the interviews were held in the teachers' classrooms in the afternoons or evenings. Several were held in the homes of the interviewees, some after the interviewer had enjoyed the hospitality of an evening meal. In the home interviews, the wife would appear periodically with the traditional pot of Louisiana coffee. In all but one case, there was opportunity to observe various interactions of the "Vo-Ag" teachers within the school setting as well as to see the facilities, awards, emblems, and other occupational symbols. An opportunity to visit in their homes provided insight into standards of living and involvement of the total family in the father's occupation.

A legitimate question at this point is, "Why would these teachers submit to such lengthy interviews when they seemingly were already over-obligated?" Apparently, several factors operated in this case. First, the interviewer identified himself as a former
member of the occupation who had gone into a study of sociology because he had felt that there was a need within the vocational agriculture profession for a better understanding of social behavior and that he hoped that this study from a sociological point of view would be of help to their profession as well as a contribution to sociology. It was then emphasized that the interviewer was not there to evaluate their teaching program but to get their opinions and evaluations of various social aspects of their work. They usually were concerned about the amount of time the interview would take. The usual answer was that we could finish in two hours unless they preferred to discuss certain areas in more detail. Only one preferred to stay within the minimum time. Second, it became apparent as the interviews continued that the teachers were very much interested and concerned about the various social aspects of their work upon which the questions were focused. Apparently the interviews touched on many of their real problems. Third, it is believed that the rural backgrounds and Gemeinschaft orientations of the "Vo-Ag" teachers were basic to their tendency to treat the interviewer,

\footnote{In the preliminary interviewing, two teachers were interviewed without knowledge of the interviewer's former association. In these interviews it was felt that the teachers considered the interviewer an outsider who was entitled to know only limited aspects of their occupation, largely the formal or official structure. They also took time to define terms in order not to be misunderstood or else evaded the issue, perhaps because they felt it was too involved to explain in terms an outsider could understand or that the outsider just would not understand anyway.}
a stranger, as though he were a personal friend.¹⁹

III. ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

The preceding sections of this study have attempted to show that the methodology chosen grew out of the special characteristics of the "social subjects" to be studied—a group of vocational agriculture teachers. This methodology has been generally described and summarized in what we call a "model of behavioral causation." The sources of data have been described and related to this model. The next step is to show the organization of the remainder of the study which, again, will be in terms of our "model" (see Figure 1, page 13).

A general definition of the vocational agriculture occupation and its historical development will be given in Chapter III as a background and setting for the remainder of the study. Subsequent chapters will be developed around the three factors influencing social organization which are shown in Figure 1. Chapters IV and V will be devoted to the first aspect of "socio-cultural structure" which has been called formal or official structure. The sixth chapter will describe the second group of factors which have been called "personality factors." Here will appear a description of how "Vo-Ag" teachers are recruited as well as a description of their

general characteristics and training. In the same chapter the third group—that is, "situational factors"—will be presented. This presentation will include a general description of the "Vo-Ag" teachers' work situation, their departments, schools, communities, parishes, and economic setting.

The second aspect of the socio-cultural structure, the informal structure or the "expected patterns of behavior" from the point of view of the "Vo-Ag" teachers, will be described and analyzed in Chapter VII. This chapter will also deal with the deviations of the informal structure from the formal structure. The description and analysis will then be summarized in terms of the pattern variables in order to outline general value orientation of the occupation along with the more general patterns of role conflict or integration. As stated before, only very limited aspects of the actual work behavior of the sample population were observed; therefore, the emphasis in this study is not upon part five of our model (social organization or real behavior) but upon the consequences of "Vo-Ag" teachers' acting out their roles in light of the situations, their personalities, and the varying expectations of others. In Chapter VIII, these felt consequences will be presented in terms of role stresses, role satisfaction, degrees of role fulfillment, and the resulting changes in occupational behavior. The ninth and final chapter of this study will be devoted to a summary and conclusions.
CHAPTER III

THE DEFINITION AND HISTORY OF THE OCCUPATION

I. DEFINITION OF THE OCCUPATION

In the process of stating the problem in Chapter I, a brief description of the vocational agriculture teaching occupation was given, but it is now necessary to present a more detailed description and definition of the occupation before proceeding to trace its historical development.

The official title of the occupational group is "teacher of vocational agriculture," often shortened to "Vo-Ag" teacher. These teachers, along with certain other vocational teachers, occupy an unusual position in the public high schools of the nation. As is true of other teachers they are under the administration, supervision, and control of the local school system. In addition, they also belong to a state-federal organization for the administration and supervision of the program of vocational education. The criteria for admittance into the profession are a farm background and a prescribed four-year college training program including general agriculture and teaching methods. The basic occupational function as prescribed by the National Vocational Education Act is that of training present and prospective farmers over fourteen years of age for proficiency in farming.
The objective calls for a systematic program of instruction for both prospective and established farmers, organized for the purpose of improving farm methods and rural living. The organized classes prescribed are of three types: (1) day classes for in-school youths who are preparing to farm, (2) young farmer classes for out-of-school youths who are establishing themselves in farming, and (3) adult farmer classes for those who are improving their proficiency in farming. Usually the teacher will have three to five in-school classes which he meets each day for one hour. In some cases the classes may be up to two hours in length. The organized young farmer classes usually are met at least fifteen times per year for a minimum of thirty hours of instruction. The minimum for the adult-farmer classes is ten meetings of twenty or more hours of instruction. Follow-up work or on-the-farm supervision and instruction is provided for all types of students.

"Vo-Ag" teachers are found in the majority of the rural high schools of the nation and in many consolidated schools which train rural students. Most often their department is a building separated from the main high school building. The department usually consists of a classroom, a farm-mechanic shop, storage rooms, and a washroom. Depending upon the region and local conditions, the teacher may also operate a school-community freezer locker plant, post treating plant, cannery, potato curing plant, feed mixing plant, or poultry incubator as part of the instructional program.
Some departments operate school farms or forestry demonstrations as aids to the instructional program. In addition to aiding the organized class members, the "Vo-Ag" teacher is expected to help others in the community who may need help in agricultural problems and to give support to various community projects such as fairs, livestock shows, and other campaigns or programs for the improvement of agriculture and rural living.

The vocational agriculture teacher also sponsors the FFA or Future Farmers of America. This is a national organization of farm boys enrolled in high school vocational agriculture classes. The basic aims of this organization are the promotion of leadership, character, love of country life, cooperation, service, thrift, scholarship, establishment in farming, improved agriculture, organized recreation, citizenship, and patriotism. This organization is generally considered an integral part of the instructional program. A teacher usually spends a considerable amount of time each year sponsoring FFA activities and contests for the promotion of the aims listed above.

In addition to carrying out the regular vocational agriculture program, the "Vo-Ag" teachers are usually considered to have the same responsibilities that all other high school faculty members have, such as hall duty, taking up tickets at ball games, and keeping a home room. Sometimes they are called upon to keep study halls and to teach other courses such as general science or biology.

Unlike most high school teachers, the agriculture teacher is
employed on a twelve months basis. The summer program usually involves on-the-farm supervision and instruction, FFA and teacher conferences, adult and young farmer class instruction, record keeping, shop maintenance, and in some cases the operation or supervision of canneries, school farms, or freezer locker plants.

II. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF VOCATIONAL AGRICULTURE IN THE UNITED STATES

Introduction

Although the profession of vocational agriculture teaching grew out of a legislative act forty-two years ago (1917), the forces which created it had long been in motion. From the time of the Renaissance and the beginnings of modern science there had been a growing tendency to use new scientific knowledge in education and to relate education to the practical affairs of life. These tendencies in some ways were accentuated by the conditions in the new colonies in America. Many settlers came to this new land looking for political, religious, and economic freedom. Their break with traditions, the desire for equality, and the frontier conditions faced along with the growing complexity of society and the increasing division of labor were factors in the revolution in education out of which this new profession was born.

Early Interest in Improved Agriculture

The earliest farmers in America were faced with difficult
odds. In a strange wilderness with few tools, seed, and livestock, they faced unfamiliar climates, preying animals, and hostile Indians. Early, they faced the need of practical training in methods of farming. The friendlier Indians were among the first agriculture teachers in America. According to Simpson and Lathrop, an Indian by the name of Squanto taught the first agricultural lesson in Massachusetts.

In 1621 the Plymouth settlers needed a good corn crop, but they knew neither the Plymouth soils nor Indian corn. Squanto knew both, and came to their aid by teaching them to plant their corn with a fish in each hill. He warned that, 'in these old grounds corne sic without fish¹ would 'come to nothing.' He also taught them when, where, and how, to get the fish.¹

According to Wheeler, one of the most thorough planned programs of agricultural education for the early colonies was that made by James E. Oglethorpe and the trustees of the Georgia Colony which was founded in 1733. Wheeler states that:

Oglethorpe...planned, more than a year previous to sailing for America, for a definite system of agricultural education among the colonists.

Oglethorpe's plans for agricultural education provided for three things: (1) to make immediate use of the agricultural practices of the Indians who inhabited the coast of Georgia; (2) to establish an experimental farm for trying out new crops and finding effective cultural methods of producing all enterprises to be undertaken by colonists; and (3) to provide special instructors and training in

agriculture for all of the colonists. Historians tell us that these three preconceived and well formulated ideas had a large bearing upon the immediate success of the Georgia Colony.2

Regarding the first point of the plan, Oglethorpe preceded the colonists to the abode of ninety-year old Indian philosopher, Tomochichi Mico (King). The friendly Indian's efforts as agriculture instructor were apparently successful since the first harvest of maize yielded 1,000 bushels extra for export.

The records show that as early as 1732 the "Trustees" selected and employed three Italians who went with the colonist to instruct the people in producing raw silk. These first special teachers of agriculture utilized the apprentice training technique on the 450 acre farms given to them for this purpose. The trustees also employed a skilled botanist the year before sailing to collect seeds from other countries to be planted in the "experimental garden" established in Savannah, Georgia, in 1733.

Here is seen early recognition of the "survival values" of local agriculture, the "experimental approach" to the improvement of agriculture, teaching based upon survival values and experimentation, and the teaching technique of "learning by doing." It is understandable that Georgians later sponsored the legislation which provided for a nation-wide vocational education program including agricultural education.

2 John T. Wheeler, Two Hundred Years of Agricultural Education in Georgia (Danville, Illinois: The Interstate, 1948), p. 3.
Although early interest was shown in agricultural instruction, the typical settler went his way as soon as enough was learned for survival. Due to the abundance of land, the usual procedure was that the settler cultivated carelessly a field until it was worn out and then moved on to clear another. According to Dabney, this abundance of fertile land explains the slow progress made in agriculture during the first century after the settlement of America. He wrote:

It was not until the close of the eighteenth century that the attention of practical men commenced to be directed to the discoveries of science, and hopes were excited that immediate benefits would accrue from them to agriculture as they had to the other arts. 3

This newly-awakened interest in and hope for applying science to agriculture took shape through the statements of leaders and the formation of agricultural societies.

Interest expressed by the first president. In his first message to Congress on January 8, 1790, George Washington expressed the hope that

The advancement of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, by all proper means, will not, I trust, need recommendations...Nor am I less persuaded that there is nothing which can better deserve your patronage than the promotion of science and literature...whether this desirable object will be best promoted by affording aids to seminaries already established or by the institution of a national university, or by any other expedients, will

be well worthy of a place of the deliberations of the legislature.\textsuperscript{4}

Washington continued his efforts toward the promotion of improving agriculture, and in his eighth annual message he stated:

It will not be doubted that with reference either to individual or national welfare agriculture is of primary importance. In proportion as nations advance in population and other circumstances of maturity, this truth becomes more apparent, and renders the cultivation of the soil more and more an object of public patronage. Institutions for promoting it grow up, supported by the public purse.\textsuperscript{5}

Early agricultural societies. In the United States the first society promoting agriculture was organized in Philadelphia on March 1, 1785. During the same year a similar society was formed in South Carolina, and soon afterward other agricultural societies were established in New York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut. Soon, agricultural societies everywhere began sponsoring fairs and livestock shows as a means of improving agriculture.

The Rise of Agricultural Schools

Dabney states that "the origin and development of agricultural schools in America was a part of a general education movement against the old classical college and in favor of scientific and technical education."\textsuperscript{6} As stated earlier, the movement had its beginnings in Europe but this new and rapidly developing country populated by people who had broken with many of the traditions of

\textsuperscript{4}Ibid., p. 596. \textsuperscript{5}Ibid. \textsuperscript{6}Ibid., p. 600.
the past and faced new and trying problems proved to be a more fertile arena for this movement to grow and develop into the stage of institutionalization.

The early schools and colleges of America were, as many of the educational institutions of Europe, "children of the church." These schools, largely staffed with preachers or other church officials, were geared to training preachers, teachers, lawyers, and statesmen. However, in America there was a great demand for miners, engineers, chemists, agriculturists, and others trained in the technical and scientific fields. From many sources there was recognition of the need to apply science through education to the problems of the day.

The first agricultural school we found a record of was one established by Reverend John M. Bolzius, leader of the Salzburgers, soon after the Salzburgers' arrival at Ebenezer, Georgia, in 1734. Bolzius utilized much of Oglethorpe's system of agricultural education in teaching orphan children how to farm successfully. In 1740, Reverend George Whitefield established a similar school at Bethesda, Georgia, where he obtained agricultural information from Tomochichi, taught the results of the "Experimental Gardens," and developed an apprenticeship system of farm placement. The boys were then placed on farms of their own at the age of sixteen.

In 1794, the first American Agricultural Society, the

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Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture, made the first attempt, according to Dabney, to induce a legislature in this country to incorporate agriculture in the common schools. During this period agriculture began to appear in the curriculum of many schools. An expression of this growing demand was a petition bearing six thousand names which was presented to the New York legislature demanding state aid in behalf of agricultural schools.

Growing partially out of the influence of the work of Fellenberg in his schools at Hofwyl, Switzerland, several manual-labor schools sprang up in the United States during the eighteen hundreds along with an increasing number of secondary agricultural schools and academies. However, according to True:

... their agricultural instruction was superficial and temporary. They were premature developments, because there was not yet a body of knowledge relating to agriculture which could be successfully used in secondary schools.®

Along with the demand for agricultural instruction at the secondary level was a demand at the college level. The first response was the addition of agriculture and other technical subjects to the curriculum of established colleges. The first agricultural college to be put into operation was the Michigan Agricultural College in 1857. Maryland and other states soon followed this lead.

establishing other agriculture colleges. Agitation for state aid for agricultural schools, colleges, and services soon spread to the national level; and on May 2, 1862, President Lincoln approved a bill providing for the establishment of the United States Department of Agriculture and two months later signed the Morrill Act which bestowed 30,000 acres of land for each member of Congress upon the several states for the establishment of what are now called the "Land-Grant Colleges." The significance and nature of this grant was described by Dabney as follows:

This great grant, the greatest ever made to education, which was the foundation of industrial education in America, and of a great revolution in the system of higher instruction in this country, demands careful study. . . . The object of the grant is expressed in remarkably broad terms, as follows: "The endowment, support, and maintenance of at least one college where the leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanical arts, in such manner as the legislatures of the states may respectively prescribe, in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life." 9

The decline of secondary agricultural education and the laying of the foundation for a new movement. This study has traced the early interest in agricultural education as expressed by the development of agricultural societies, statements of political leaders, and various attempts at establishing agricultural instruction at the secondary and college levels. The gains made at the

9Dabney, op. cit., p. 612.
college level, climaxed with the passage of the Land-Grant Act of 1862, were steady and firm. However, the same was not true of agricultural education below the college level. According to True, agricultural instruction had almost disappeared from secondary schools by 1862. This decline may be attributed to the lack of a proper foundation upon which to establish a satisfactory program of agricultural education for the masses rather than to a decline in need. The foundation needed included (1) a sizable body of agricultural knowledge, (2) a sufficient supply of agriculturally trained teachers, and (3) a well developed technique of instruction or means of diffusing agricultural knowledge and practices at the lower levels. As Dabney said, "the whole system of education had to be revolutionized to prepare the way for the study of agriculture in the schools." As faith in the secondary agricultural schools faded, temporary reliance was placed upon the land-grant colleges. True stated:

When the land-grant colleges were established it was very generally supposed that they would meet the need for agricultural education. However it was soon apparent that of the masses of farm children only a small number would go to these colleges at all and that very few of those who did go would receive any considerable amount of agricultural instruction. The colleges might do much for agriculture by training experts and leaders and through their research and extension work, but they would have to be supplemented by lower schools in which

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10 True, op. cit., p. 322.
11 Dabney, op. cit., p. 633.
agriculture was taught if ever the real need for agricultural education was to be supplied in any real measure.\footnote{12}

Although certain leaders were quick to recognize the inability of the agricultural colleges to bring improved agriculture to the farmer level, little progress was made in bringing agricultural education to the masses of farm people for two decades following the establishment of the land-grant colleges. The time was not yet ripe and the educational foundation was not secure. Beyond these facts, economic conditions in the second half of the nineteenth century were unfavorable to the development of interest in agriculture. Over-production of agricultural products and rapid industrial development were not conducive to great concern with efficiency of agriculture.

This discussion has traced the wave of development in agricultural education from the first instruction of the early settlers by Indians through the beginnings in secondary training to the firm establishment of agricultural and other vocational training in the land-grant colleges. As these waves spread upward to the higher levels they faded at the lower levels. It is now time to trace the reverberating wave of interest and development as it struck the highest educational level and returned to the lower levels.

With agricultural colleges well established and instructional programs proceeding, an increasing need was felt for departments of

\footnote{12}True, \textit{loc. cit.}}
research to provide a scientifically established body of agricultural knowledge. Beginning with Maryland Agricultural College, various agricultural colleges established experimental departments. Seventeen were in existence when the Hatch Act of 1887 was passed, an act which provided funds for the establishment of an agricultural experiment station as a department of each of the land-grant colleges. In the meantime agricultural extension programs were developed in an effort to carry agricultural knowledge to its end receiver, the farmer; for it was recognized that only in his hands could the "pay-off" be made. These efforts on the part of college faculty members to reach the farmer culminated in the creation of the Agricultural Extension Service by the Smith-Lever Act of 1914.

While this groundwork was being laid another development was taking place which, when coupled with a body of agricultural knowledge and a system for training teachers in this knowledge, would be conducive to the establishment and growth of a national program of agricultural education in the common schools. This development was a better technique for the dissemination of agricultural skills and knowledge at the secondary and farmer levels, a development now commonly referred to as the "project method."

Although this method of "learning by doing" is as old as "society" itself, it has taken many forms. Since the establishment of the earliest colonies, it had been advocated by Oglethorpe and others as the method most adapted to the agricultural and educational conditions of the day. The philosophy of this method was
most clearly expressed in 1908 by Rufus W. Smith of Smith's Agricultural School at Northampton, Massachusetts. Concerning the aims of his school Smith stated:

It will provide training in agriculture with a view to practical and profitable farming. . . . Students will be taught to do things by actually doing them. Exercises will be given which train to accuracy first, then to speed. This will apply no less to such things as the computing of rations, than to such as the making of mortices. . . . Every effort will be made to relate the training of the school intimately and at once to practical affairs off the school premises. . . .

Students preparing for farming will best serve their own ends and the ends of the school by living at home. While the freshman is studying the elements of soils and plant life, he will . . . apply his knowledge under the direction of his instructor . . . at home . . . on soil he may some day own. There his method may be compared with his father's, and those of his neighbors'. He will be keen to learn from them, perhaps now and then his people may learn something from him. Every farm represented by a student will thus become an essential part of the working outfit of the school. There will be no sundering of the ties of home when school ties are formed; on the contrary, a good home farm should become dearer to the boy's heart, more enjoyable and more profitable every day. Each farm will contribute of its best to the training of the school; it is hoped that the school will prove to be a help to every farm from which a student is sent.13

This trend in agricultural education was not unique in the educational world. John Dewey had published The School and Society14 at the turn of the century. The central theme of Dewey's educational philosophy, which so widely affected the educational world,


especially agricultural education, was the organic connection between "education" and "personal experience." According to Dewey, intellectual activity reaches its fullest realization when learning is associated with doing, when theory and practice are seen to be interrelated through an ever greater utilization of the scientific method in the development of the potentialities of growing, expanding experience. The same culture and historic influence which produced the pragmatic philosophies of John Dewey and Rufus Smith had been at work throughout the Western World for some time. However, the timing of their writings and teachings was such as to affect vitally the vocational agriculture teaching profession which was soon to be institutionalized at the national level. Whereas, the regular school programs with their established methods and traditions had to undergo slow, tortuous revolution, the vocational agriculture program which was just getting underway without established ways of doing things could and did adopt this emerging philosophy. From the beginning the leaders of the vocational agriculture program under the Smith-Hughes Act have advocated what Dewey called a break with the dualism of theory and practice.

The "project method" proved so successful in Massachusetts that it soon spread to other states. The "wave" had now returned, leaving in its wake a clear path for the establishment, growth, and institutionalization of a vocational agricultural education program in the public secondary schools of the United States. This study will now trace this second wave of interest and growth.
The new rise in secondary agricultural education. By the early 1880's, the foundations for developing a program of agricultural education at the secondary level had been partially laid and various states began the establishment of agricultural training at various levels. Connecticut, with the aid of a gift from Augustus and Charles Storrs, established a state secondary agricultural school in 1881. Others were soon established at the state level in Rhode Island, Minnesota, and California, and early in the twentieth century, a number were also established within the normal schools of several states. In 1907, 64 of the 182 normal schools in the United States were teaching secondary agriculture.

Alabama, Georgia, and Virginia took the lead in establishing state agricultural and mechanical schools in the congressional districts of their respective states. Oklahoma established similar schools but on a judicial district basis.

Beginning with Wisconsin in 1901, state legislatures began to authorize support of county agricultural schools. The Minnesota legislature in 1905 gave the counties local option to establish county schools of agriculture and domestic economy. Similar schools were established in Michigan in 1907.

In addition to state appropriations for state, district, and county agricultural schools, some states began to provide support for departments of agriculture in local high schools. Virginia started this trend in 1906 and Texas, Louisiana, and other states soon followed. This growth in secondary education in
agriculture during the period from 1880's to 1916 may be summarized by the following:

When the United States Bureau of Education make a survey of the status of this movement for the school year 1915-16 it found that secondary instruction in agriculture was given in the following classes of institutions:

1. Secondary schools of agriculture at State Agricultural colleges ................. 28
2. Public normal schools (not including 27 county teacher-training schools in Wisconsin) .......................... 124
3. Special agricultural schools receiving State aid .......................... 74
4. Vocational agricultural departments in public high schools under State supervision .... 421
5. Public high schools not State aided .................. 2,760
6. Private agricultural secondary schools .............. 12
7. Private secondary schools (not special) .............. 149
8. Secondary and higher schools for negroes sic .................. 107

Total ........................................ 3,675

The report further indicated that more than 73,000 students in secondary schools in the United States received some instruction in agriculture during the 1915-16 school year.

The Smith-Hughes National Vocational Education Act

The growth of secondary education in agriculture under private, local, and state sponsorship apparently was proof that a secure foundation had been established and that there was a need or function to be served. Around the beginning of the twentieth century a concentrated and sustained effort was made by various

15 True, op. cit., p. 355.
educational, industrial, agricultural, and political leaders for vocational education below the college level. In addition to the advocation by various state agencies and groups of national legislation for the promotion of vocational education, various national organizations became active in the same cause.

Among the more active promoting groups was the Association of Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations. Around the turn of the century, the United States Bureau of Education began to promote the teaching of agricultural education in the secondary schools by the collection and publication of statistics and educational information regarding this work in the United States and abroad. The first bulletin published by this bureau was "The Training of Persons to Teach Agriculture," by Liberty Hyde Bailey. The National Education Association with its associated National Society for the Scientific Study of Education took an active part in promoting and influencing later legislation. Organizations such as the National Association of Manufacturers, the Patrons of Husbandry (Grange), and the American Federation of Labor adopted resolutions, or supported in other ways, national legislation for vocational education.

In 1905, the Massachusetts legislature created a commission on industrial and technical education. The first report of this commission "created widespread interest on the subject"\(^{16}\) and led various leaders to the conclusion that "the time had come to secure

\(^{16}\) True, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 358.
on November 16, 1906, the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education was formed. The bulletins and reports issued by this organization soon gained the attention of President Theodore Roosevelt, who forwarded to Doctor Henry S. Prichett, president of the organization, the following extract of a speech he was soon to make:

For at least a generation we have been waking to the knowledge that there must be additional education beyond that provided in the public school as it is managed today. Our school system has hitherto been well-nigh wholly lacking on the side of industrial training, of the training that fits a man for the shop and the farm. This is a most serious lack, for no one can look at the peoples of mankind as they stand at present without realizing that industrial training is one of the most potent factors in national development. We of the United States must develop a system under which each individual citizen shall be trained so as to be effective individually as an economic unit, and fit to be organized with his fellows so that he and they can work in efficient fashion together. This question is vital to our future progress and public attention should be focused upon it. Surely it is eminently in accord with the principles of our democratic life that we should furnish the highest average industrial training for the ordinary skilled workman. Surely this means that there must be some systematic method provided for training young men in the trades, and that this must be coordinated with our public school system.

In the meantime, under the influence of Ireland's agrarian leader, Sir Horace Pluckett, President Roosevelt had become concerned with the broader aspects of rural life. Consequently, he appointed, in 1908, the Country Life Commission under the chairmanship of Liberty Hyde Bailey. This commission made three basic recommendations: (1) to make studies and surveys to take stock of country

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17 Ibid.  18 Ibid., p. 359.
life, (2) to nationalize the agricultural extension service, and (3) to wage local, state, and national campaigns for rural progress.

Following Roosevelt's speech regarding vocational education in 1907, attempts were made at almost every session of Congress to pass various measures of support for vocational training below the college level. After several attempts in both Houses, Senator Hoke Smith of Georgia introduced a joint resolution for the appointment of a commission to study and make recommendations for national aid for vocational education. The resolution passed and was approved by President Wilson on January 20, 1914. This commission included Senators Hoke Smith of Georgia and Carroll S. Page of Vermont; Representatives Dudley M. Hughes of Georgia and S. D. Fess of Ohio. The commission, with Senator Smith as chairman, reported in favor of national aid to vocational education. Their recommendations embodied in the bill passed later were summarized by True as follows:

1. That national grants be given to the States for the purpose of stimulating vocational education in agriculture and in the trades and industries.

2. That grants be given in two forms: (a) for the training of teachers of agricultural, trade, and industrial and home economics subjects, and (b) for the paying of part of the salaries of teachers, supervisors, and directors of agricultural subjects and of teachers of trade and industrial subjects.

3. That appropriations be made to a Federal board for

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19In the meanwhile, the recommendation of the Country Life Commission to nationalize the agricultural extension services was passed as the Smith-Lever Agricultural Extension Act of May 2, 1914.
making studies and investigations which shall be of use in vocational schools.²⁰

In his message to Congress on December 7, 1915, President Wilson strongly favored Federal aid to industrial and vocational education as a means of making "the industries and resources of the country available and ready for mobilization."²¹ This message was followed by the introduction of the commission's bill by Hoke Smith in the Senate and Dudley Hughes in the House of Representatives.

An interesting development occurred when the bills were reported out of committees favorably in 1916. According to True:

There was also strong opposition to a board of which the Commissioner of Education would be the executive officer, for it was feared that this would result in defeating the distinct development of a system of real vocational education. On the other hand there were many people, including a large number of educators, who did not favor an organization of vocational education entirely separate from the general public-school system. For a long time the problem of unified or separate control of vocational education had been debated in the National Education Association, the National Society for Industrial Education, and elsewhere.²²

Here is evident a conflict of interest and a struggle for control which has vitally affected the roles of the "Vo-Ag" teachers as well as other vocational teachers during the intervening years. One might say that the revolution in education of which Dabney spoke was not yet complete. The representatives of "general" education and the proponents of the new "education for life," or vocational

²⁰Ibid., p. 367.  
²¹Ibid., p. 368.  
²²Ibid., p. 369.
education, had not yet synthesized their views and interests. The results of this divergence of opinion is described by Alfred True as follows:

The final result was a compromise by which the Federal Board was made to consist of the secretaries of Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor, the Commissioner of Education, and representatives of manufacturing and commerce, agriculture, and labor. This board, therefore, was put in control of representatives of the industries, including agriculture, but the public-school system was represented by the Commissioner of Education as a member of the board. In the States under this act the control of the funds for vocational education might be in a separate board of vocational education or in the general board or department of education as each State might determine.

With this and other minor compromises the National Vocational Education Act, commonly called the Smith-Hughes Act, passed both houses and was approved by President Wilson on February 23, 1917. Its basic provision was to aid public schools in which the instruction was less than college grade to prepare boys and girls over 14 years of age for useful or profitable employment in agriculture and in the trades and industries. Thus, did the Federal government finally give official sanction to and provide support for a function which had been emerging in America since colonial days.

The Present Scope of the Vocational Agriculture Program

Following the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917, which included a $3,000,000 annual appropriation for vocational education in agriculture, a series of acts were passed which supplemented and extended the Smith-Hughes Act. These acts included the George-Reed Act (1929), George-Ellzey Act (1934), George-Deen Act (1936), a series
of national defense or war training acts, and the George-Barden Act (1946). This last act authorized an additional $10,000,000 annually for vocational agricultural education.

Since its inception, the program has been extended to the forty-eight states, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands. The Digest of Annual Reports of State Boards of Vocational Education for the fiscal year 1957 reported 11,085 teachers of vocational agriculture teaching in-school students. A total of 6,824 of these teachers were teaching adult and young farmer classes, while 2,944 were teaching part-time classes. These teachers enrolled and taught 774,850 students in 1957. Of this number 458,242 were in-school students, 270,130 were adult and young farmer-students, and 46,478 were part-time students. The total expenditures on vocational agricultural education for the fiscal year 1957 was $59,915,144.72. Of this amount, the federal expenditure amounted to 23 per cent, the states' expenditures came to 36 per cent, and the local support made up the remaining 41 per cent. The following table indicates the growth of the vocational agriculture program since 1918 in terms of total enrollment.

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23 The late Walter F. George of Georgia has co-sponsored all the major legislation affecting vocational education since two Georgians, Senator Hoke Smith and Representative Dudley Hughes, co-sponsored the original National Vocational Education Act.

Table I

Enrollment in Vocational Agriculture Classes by Year, 1918-1957

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Enrollment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>774,850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>785,599</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>776,138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>737,502</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>755,293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>746,402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>771,028</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>764,975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>651,604</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>640,791</td>
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<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>584,533</td>
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<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>510,331</td>
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<tr>
<td>1945</td>
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<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>605,099</td>
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<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>596,033</td>
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<tr>
<td>1940</td>
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<td>1939</td>
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<td>1938</td>
<td>460,976</td>
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<td>386,302</td>
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<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>343,809</td>
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<td>1935</td>
<td>325,685</td>
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<td>1934</td>
<td>286,150</td>
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<td>264,131</td>
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<td>1932</td>
<td>252,199</td>
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<td>1931</td>
<td>235,153</td>
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<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>188,311</td>
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<td>1929</td>
<td>168,444</td>
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<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>144,901</td>
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<td>1927</td>
<td>124,937</td>
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<td>1926</td>
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<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>85,984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>71,298</td>
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</table>
During the first year of operation under the Smith-Hughes Act in 1918, there was an enrollment of 15,453. From that year until 1943, there was a rapid and constant increase in enrollment. After a decline for the war years of 1943, 1944, and 1945, the enrollment again began to climb. However, decreases were registered for the years 1952, 1954, and 1957. The peak enrollment, thus far, was 785,599 in 1956. Concerning the distribution of enrollment, the eight states which ranked highest in total enrollment were all found in the Southern region of the United States. The first three of these were Georgia, Texas, and North Carolina with total enrollments of 76,255, 63,324, and 48,861 respectively. The North Central Region represented the next largest enrollment. Rhode Island recorded the lowest enrollment of the forty-eight states. This

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Enrollment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>60,236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>43,352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>31,301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>19,933</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>15,453</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

state's enrollment in 1957 was 435 students.

Another way to view the scope of the "Vo-Ag" teaching profession is to compare the 11,085 teachers of vocational agriculture to the number of members of certain other professional occupations. The 1950 Census of Population listed 13,489 veterinarians, 35,893 social scientists, 14,711 optometrists, 192,317 physicians and surgeons, and 168,419 clergymen. In 1955, 10,989 "Vo-Ag" teachers of in-school students were reported as compared to 6,238 county agricultural agents and assistant agents.

The scope of the vocational agriculture program in Louisiana, 1957. In order to provide additional background data, this study will now briefly summarize the scope of the vocational agricultural program in Louisiana, the state in which this study was conducted. During the 1956-57 school year there were 313 "Vo-Ag" teachers teaching 26,536 students in 319 departments of vocational agriculture in the state. Of these 26,536 students, 16,259 were in-school students, 7,615 were adult farmers, and 2,664 were young farmers. The state ranked twelfth among the states in total enrollment and averaged almost five departments to each parish. The total expenditure for the Louisiana vocational agriculture program was


$5,487,077.87. Of this total, the federal government provided 14 per cent, the State contributed 11 per cent, and local sources provided 76 per cent. This 76 per cent from local sources indicates much stronger local support than the 41 per cent provided by local sources in the nation as a whole.

This study will include twenty-seven of twenty-eight teachers in three parishes of Louisiana, these teachers representing twenty-six of the state's 310 departments in 1959.

Summary

As indicated earlier in this chapter the final institutionalization of the vocational agricultural profession was not an isolated event but a part of a broader revolution. The revolt from intellectualism and the swing to science as a new basis for understanding, with its associated rise in pragmatic philosophy, focused interest upon the "practical" affairs of life. This led to an increasing concern over applying science through education to the vocational problems of life. The time and conditions under which this nation developed were generally conducive to this trend in education.

Although there was early concern among the settlers and their leaders for improving agriculture through education, the abundance of fertile land was a factor in slowing the progress in agriculture education during the first century after the settlement of America. Toward the close of the eighteenth century, interest in applying
science to agriculture was expressed in the official statements of leaders and through the formation of agricultural societies. The persistent efforts of the members of these societies resulted in the establishment of various agricultural and manual-labor schools at the secondary level. This interest spread to the college level and reached a climax in the Morrill Act in 1862, which provided for the "land-grant" colleges.

We have seen, however, that the early instructional programs in agriculture at the secondary level were unsatisfactory because of the lack of a sizable body of relevant agricultural knowledge, an insufficient supply of agriculturally trained teachers, and the absence of a well developed technique of teaching effectively at the lower grade levels. The establishment of agricultural experiment stations associated with the land-grant colleges, the agricultural training of teachers in these colleges, and the adaption of the "project method" of teaching remedied these conditions.

With this foundation and with realization by many that the land-grant colleges would have to be supplemented by the lower schools if basic improvement in our agricultural system was to be achieved, a new growth in secondary agricultural education programs took place under private, local, and state sponsorship. This cause gained increasing public support for federal aid through local, state, and national groups. Added to this concern for agricultural education in the public schools was a widespread public concern for rural conditions in general, which was climaxed by the Country Life
Movement. A decade of concerted effort on the part of representatives of education, industry, agriculture, labor, and other interests, finally led to the institutionalization of the roles of the vocational agriculture teacher through the National Vocational Education Act of 1917. With a beginning of 15,453 students in 1918, this program has grown until in 1957 it became a sixty million dollar program with 11,085 teachers of vocational agriculture teaching over three-quarters of a million farmers and farm boys.
CHAPTER IV

THE FORMAL STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF THE
VOCATIONAL AGRICULTURE PROGRAM

In Chapter I, which discussed the methodological approach of this study, it was indicated that formal structure along with informal structure, situational factors, and personality factors are causative in the patterning of real behavior. The purpose of this chapter is to describe certain aspects of the formal structure of the various hierarchical levels of the vocational education program, including the vocational agriculture program, in order that the formal and informal structure of the roles and the position of the vocational agriculture teacher may be better understood.

More specifically, this chapter will summarize (1) the legislation which structures the occupation, (2) the hierarchical structure of positions which is provided in order to administer and supervise the vocational agriculture program, (3) the contractual arrangement for federal, state, and local cooperation in providing for the basic functions, (4) the qualification and the formal training required for the performance of the roles of the "Vo-Ag" teacher position, and (5) the general features of the vocational agriculture instructional program.

The sources from which the formal structure of the vocational agriculture program derive are: (1) the Federal laws pertaining
to the program, (2) the official rules and regulations growing out of these laws and the interpretation of them by administrative and supervisory personnel, and (3) the training programs for vocational agriculture teachers, especially the prescriptions offered by authors of leading textbooks in the field.

I. NATIONAL VOCATIONAL EDUCATION ACTS

The first national vocational education act, commonly known as the Smith-Hughes Act, was approved February 23, 1917. This basic legislation, which is still in effect, contains many provisions which have been made to apply to the later vocational education acts. In support of the generalized goal of promoting the national welfare, the purposes of the Smith-Hughes Act as stated in the title are:

To provide for the promotion of vocational education; to provide for cooperation with the States in the promotion of such education in agriculture and the trades and industries; to provide for cooperation with the States in the preparation of teachers of vocational subjects; and to appropriate money and regulate its expenditures.¹

The various national vocational education acts passed since the Smith-Hughes Act have in general extended, supplemented, and enlarged the program. Though a few modifications have been made, subsequent acts have not changed the basic pattern set by the

original legislation. The more important later supplementary acts are the George-Reed Act (1929), the George Ellzey Act (1934), the George-Deen Act (1936), and the George-Barden Act (1946). This latest legislation, the George-Barden Act, is permanent legislation and is supplementary to the Smith-Hughes Act. It increased the amount of annual appropriations authorized under preceding acts and authorized expenditures for a number of new phases of work.

The vocational agriculture program, then, is presently operating under the basic provisions of the Smith-Hughes Act supplemented by the George-Barden Act.

General Conditions of the Acts as They Relate to Agricultural Education

The provisions of the Federal acts are in the nature of broad general policies governing the development of vocational education. They function as guides for the states and territories in the preparation of their specific plans for the development of vocational education. In general, the vocational educational acts provide for the following conditions as they relate to agricultural education:

1. All agricultural schools or classes receiving Federal Aid must be under public supervision or control.

2. The controlling purpose of vocational education in agriculture must be to fit for useful employment.

3. Agricultural education shall be of less-than-college grade and shall be designed to meet the needs of persons over 14 years of age who have entered upon or who are preparing to enter upon the work of the farm or farm home.
4. States must match or partially match every federal dollar expended for salaries of teachers, supervisors, and directors of agricultural subjects.\textsuperscript{2}

Thus, it is seen that the various federal vocational educational acts define vocational agriculture as strictly vocational in nature. The basic aim is "to train present and prospective farmers for proficiency in farming."\textsuperscript{3}

\textbf{Funds Provided for Agricultural Education}

The Smith-Hughes Act provides three million dollars annually for vocational agriculture. This sum is apportioned to the states on the basis of their rural population as compared to the total rural population of the United States. The minimum amount a qualified state can receive is $10,000. This money can be expended only for the reimbursement of the salaries of teachers and supervisors. This Act also provides one million dollars for the various states for the preparation of teachers, supervisors, and directors for the vocational education programs of agriculture, home economics, and trade and industry.

The George-Barden Act of 1946 supplements the Smith-Hughes appropriation by providing an additional annual authorization of ten million dollars for vocational agriculture. These funds are

\textsuperscript{2}Ibid., p. 27.

disbursed to the states and territories on the basis of the farm population with no state or territory receiving less than $40,000. These funds may be expended for the following purposes: (1) supervision, (2) training teachers, (3) approved travel, (4) equipment and supplies, (5) salaries of regular and special teachers, and (6) administration.

II. THE ADMINISTRATION AND SUPERVISION OF VOCATIONAL EDUCATION IN AGRICULTURE

The Basic Split in the Administration of Vocational Education

During the early part of the twentieth century there were four parallel movements for Federal aid to various aspects of vocational education. These movements were for federal aid for (1) agricultural education in the public secondary schools, (2) training teachers in the field of vocational education, (3) industrial education, and (4) agricultural education of less than college grade through the land-grant colleges. For a time the forces interested in these various phases of vocational education tended to merge in a united front. The Page Bill (1911-14) would have placed all four phases under the administration of the Secretary of Interior with assistance from the Secretaries of Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor. Despite efforts to avoid conflict and warnings of disastrous

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results if competing programs were set up under the administration of different governmental agencies, the agricultural colleges pulled away to support only the agricultural extension phases of the Page Bill. Eventually, separate legislative measures were enacted. The Smith-Lever, or Agricultural Extension Service Act, was passed in 1914 and was placed under the administration of the United States Department of Agriculture in cooperation with the land-grant colleges. The other three aspects of vocational education were combined and enacted in the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917. This program, which included vocational agriculture, was placed originally under the administration of the Federal Board for Vocational Education in cooperation with state boards for vocational education. This basic split in the administration of somewhat similar programs of agricultural education for essentially the same group of rural people has never been eliminated, and an awareness of its existence is essential to the understanding of the occupational roles of the "Vo-Ag" teacher.

After the passage of the Smith-Lever Act and while efforts were being made to pass the Smith-Hughes Bill, another conflict arose. Although there was general agreement that the basic function (training for specific occupations) should be performed in the public schools, there was disagreement concerning administration of vocational education at the federal level. There were those who wanted to place the program directly under the administration of the Commissioner of Education. Others feared that
administration within the Office of Education would lead to the domination of vocational education by academic educators. A compromise was made in the Smith-Hughes Act in which the Commissioner of Education was to be one of the seven-member Federal Board for Vocational Education. The board membership included the following personnel: (1) Secretary of Agriculture, (2) Secretary of Labor, (3) Secretary of Commerce, (4) United States Commissioner of Education, and (5) three members appointed by the President, one representing agriculture; another, labor; and the third, manufacturing and commerce. Thus, the "Vo-Ag" teachers' roles must not only be performed in competition with a similar actor (the county agent) who is attached to a different bureaucratic structure, but also he must perform it in the public school system with obligations to an independent federal administrative board to which other public school teachers are not related.

The Present Administration of Vocational Education at the Federal Level

There has been a gradual shift in the administration of vocational education (including vocational agriculture) at the federal level. In 1933 the President was given authority by Congress to consolidate various independent agencies, and by executive order all functions of the Federal Board for Vocational Education were

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transferred to the Department of Interior on August 10, 1933. The Secretary of Interior assigned the administrative functions of the Board to the United States Office of Education through the United States Commissioner of Education. At present, the responsibility for the administration of the federal vocational education acts rests with the Commissioner of Education, United States Office of Education. The Commissioner has delegated certain responsibilities and functions to the Division of Vocational Education under an Assistant Commissioner of Education. Under him are chiefs of the various branches of vocational education including the Agricultural Education Branch. Within each branch is a staff of specialists. As will be seen later this shift of the administration of vocational education at the federal level to the Office of Education is in keeping with a trend toward the integration of the vocational agriculture program into the public school system. Despite this, however, the "Vo-Ag" teacher is still essentially a member of two bureaucratic structures, that of the local-state school organization and that of the state-Federal organization for the administration and supervision of the program of vocational agriculture.

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Administration and Supervision at the State Level

State boards for vocational education. In order to participate in the benefits of the funds appropriated by the Smith-Hughes and subsequent national vocational education acts, a state, through its legislative authority, must have (1) accepted the provisions of the acts, (2) appointed its state treasurer as custodian of the funds for vocational education allotted to the state, and (3) designated or created a state board for vocational education of not less than three members having all the necessary power to cooperate with the Office of Education in the administration of the federal acts. This board, as is the case in Louisiana, may be the regular State Board of Education. In some states special boards are created.

Through its executive officer and staff the state board has the following duties:

1. Prepare plans giving information about the kinds of vocational education for which the State expects to use Federal funds and submit these plans to the Office of Education for approval.

2. Maintain State programs of administration, supervision, and teacher training.

3. Provide for the promotion and development of vocational education and use of Federal funds.

4. Make annual reports to the Office of Education on the work done and the receipts and expenditures of Federal funds.8

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7Vocational Division Bulletin 1, 1948, op. cit., p. 6.

8Ibid.
State plan for vocational education. As indicated in the duties of the state boards for vocational education, each state must submit a state plan which essentially becomes a working contract between the federal and state governments after its approval by the United States Commissioner of Education. The state plans submitted must show the following:

1. The kind of vocational education for which it is proposed that the money shall be used.
2. The kinds of schools and the types of equipment.
3. The course of study to be followed.
4. The qualifications of teachers.
5. The methods of instruction to be used.
6. The qualification of supervisors and teacher-trainers.
7. The plan for training teachers.
8. The plan for supervising teachers.
9. The plan for paying the salaries of vocational teachers.9

State administrative staff for vocational education. The state board for vocational education is at the policy making level. Each state must have an administrative staff to carry out the policies established by the board. This staff usually consists of "an executive officer, a state director, and such other persons as are needed for the promotion, organization, coordination, and direction of the total vocational education program and of the

several fields of vocational education in the state.\textsuperscript{10}

The usual practice is for the executive officer of the state board for vocational education to be designated as the state official directly responsible to the board for the administration of the policies determined by the board.\textsuperscript{11} In Louisiana, as in many other states, the executive officer is the State Superintendent of Education.

Usually there is a state director of vocational education responsible to the state executive officer charged with the administration of the total vocational education program including the agricultural education program. However, as the program has expanded and grown in complexity more and more of the administrative tasks have been passed on to the supervisory staff below him.

\textbf{Supervision of vocational education in agriculture.} The state supervisory\textsuperscript{12} staff customarily includes the state supervisor of agricultural education, assistant or area supervisors, specialists in various phases of the instructional program, clerical workers, and others engaged in work essential to supervision. The

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{10} United States Federal Security Agency, Vocational Education Bulletin 1, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 12.
\item\textsuperscript{11} \textit{Ibid.}
\item\textsuperscript{12} The term "supervision," as used in the official vocational education administrative publications, includes activities carried on for the promotion, development, maintenance, and improvement of instruction.
\end{itemize}
duties of the supervisory staff usually include the following: (1) assisting in the planning of state and local programs, (2) assisting teachers in improving methods of instruction, (3) helping in the planning and preparation of instructional material, (4) securing facilities and conditions which are conducive to effective training, (5) evaluating the results of the instruction given, (6) passing on the qualifications of teachers and assisting local board in securing qualified teachers, (7) promoting state and sectional conferences or meetings of educational value, (8) promoting and developing the FFA program, (9) organizing a program which provides for agricultural students' participation in state and county contests, and (10) promoting and assisting in organizing a comprehensive program of adult agricultural education. We may add to this list the growing administrative responsibilities such as the processing of various records and reports, coordinating the state, area, and local programs, and so forth.

Local administration of vocational education in agriculture. The Smith-Hughes Act requires that vocational training involving the use of funds appropriated by the national vocational education acts except those for teacher-training be under public supervision and control. This requirement has meant the placing of the vocational training including vocational agriculture in the public school system at the secondary level. The local boards of education working through their local superintendents are the administrative
organs of the public schools, and the state boards for vocational education work with the local boards but in turn through their designated officials.

A contract is drawn between the state board and the local board setting forth the conditions that must be met in order for the local board to receive federal vocational education funds. The principal items in a local program of vocational agriculture upon which the state and local boards must agree are the following:

1. The methods to be followed in employing a local teacher of agriculture.

2. The means by which rooms and equipment will be provided.

3. The type and scope of instructional program to be offered.

4. The time schedule for students and the work schedule for the local teacher.

5. The plan for following up former vocational agriculture students.

At the local level various administrative and supervisory responsibilities are delegated by the local school boards and superintendents to individual school principals who are in direct charge of the operation of the total high school program.

Local teacher of vocational agriculture. All of the bureaucratic structure described in the preceding sections has been designed so that the duties and responsibilities of one key position may be adequately performed—that is, those of the vocational teacher in the local secondary public school. The concern here,
of course, is with one type of vocational teacher, the vocational agriculture teacher. This teacher is an employee of the local board or boards of education with which he has a contract or contracts and he is usually under the direct supervision of the local school principal. The official administrative publications of vocational agriculture state that the "Vo-Ag" teacher is subject to the same regulations and is under the same supervisory and administrative jurisdiction as any other teacher in the local school system. These publications also indicate that state or district agricultural education supervisors may deal with the local vocational agriculture teacher only with the approval of the local superintendent and/or school principal.

Although the above viewpoint appears to minimize or even deny the duality of the role, the vocational agriculture teacher in actual fact is in the unusual position of being a member of two bureaucratic organizations. He is, as are other teachers, a member of the local-state public school system; as such, he is under the control and supervision of the officials of this structure. He is faced with their expectations and is repeatedly told by all

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13 In some large consolidated schools, a vocational education director or head of a local vocational agriculture department may intervene between a regular teacher of vocational agriculture and the principal.

concerned that he is subject to the rules of this group and that he should assume his share of any common duties assigned to the teachers. On the other hand, the teacher of vocational agriculture is a functioning member of a federal-state organization for the administration of vocational education including agricultural education, and the other teachers are not expected to share this function with him.

It could be argued that this federal-state organization for the administration of vocational education is a part of the public school system since its functions are housed at the federal level within the Office of Education and since the vocational education programs are often administered at the state and local levels by the regular state and local boards of education. However, if it is a part of the public school system it appears in a real "social sense" to be an appendage to rather than a fully integrated part of this system. This situation probably arises largely from historical and structural circumstances. First, it will be recalled that the supporters of the Smith-Hughes Act placed the administration of vocational education in the hands of an independent board of which the United States Commissioner of Education was only one of seven members. This was done because of the fear that the academic forces might prevent the proper development of this phase of education. Second, the fact that federal support necessitated making this federal-state vocational administrative organization also a "control agency" of just one phase of public education has served to prevent full acceptance of the vocational education by many members.
of the state-local public school system.

The two groups to which the "Vo-Ag" teacher belongs, the local-state school system and the federal-state vocational educational organization, do not necessarily set for the teacher the same goals or expectations; yet both are in a position to exercise control over the teacher through utilizing both rewards and sanctions for meeting or not meeting their expectations. Whenever a situation occurs in which the expectations of these two significant groups are different one can expect the teachers as actors to feel stress in acting out their roles.

It is axiomatic that "he who pays the fiddler calls the tune." The sources of funds and the manner in which the vocational agriculture teacher is paid, partly from federal and partly from state and local funds, are further indications of the vulnerability of the position to conflicting expectations.

Remuneration of Teachers of Vocational Agriculture

The salary of the teacher of vocational agriculture derives from two or three sources. Since the Smith-Hughes and George-Barden Acts provide matching funds to states for the salaries of vocational teachers, the basic salary of the "Vo-Ag" teacher comes from both federal and state funds. In many cases local supplements are added. The total salary, regardless of its source, is paid by the employing agent, the county board of education. As an illustration, in Louisiana during the 1958-9 school year, the basic pay scale both
for regular teachers and vocational agriculture teachers with four years of college and no previous experience was $3,100 for teaching the nine month term. Since the "Vo-Ag" teacher is required as a result of his follow-up program to work twelve months per year, he receives pay at the same monthly rate for the three additional months. The beginning "Vo-Ag" teacher thus would receive a base annual salary of $4,133.28. By the same formula a regular teacher with a Master's degree and nineteen years of experience would receive $5,600 base pay for nine months' work while a "Vo-Ag" teacher with the same amount of training and experience would receive $7,466.64 for twelve months' work. Both may receive additional pay through local supplements.

Another Southern state operates on a similar formula for a minimum vocational agriculture program which calls for eight hours of work daily as is expected of a regular teacher. However, in this state it is recognized that an extensive vocational program with a complete program for in-school, young farmer, and adult farmer groups would call for effort beyond the eight-hour day. There, provisions are made for paying vocational agriculture teachers for up to two additional hours per day and for three extra months per year.

Since the "Vo-Ag" teaching program involves supervising the farming programs of the in-school group and an adult instructional program, provisions are made for travel funds. At present, a usual rate of seven cents per mile is paid for travel connected
with the conduct of the program including FFA activities, with the monthly maximum usually being fifty dollars.

It has been noted from several sources that this differential in salary, though based upon the same monthly or hourly rates, is a source of friction between vocational agriculture teachers and regular teachers as well as between "Vo-Ag" teachers and principals. The finding of this study seems to support the belief that the two fundamental causes of this friction are: (1) the lack of communication and understanding between regular teachers and "Vo-Ag" teachers and (2) the conviction of the principals that they should receive a higher salary than anyone under their supervision regardless of seniority or training. This latter belief has been supported in the second state mentioned above by law. There the principal must be the highest paid member of the high school staff. This situation seems to have functioned to raise principals' salaries rather than lower agriculture teachers' salaries and, at the same time, improve relations between the two groups.

Summary

As has been seen, the functions or goals set up by the Smith-Hughes Act for promoting the national welfare through training present and prospective farmers for proficiency in farming necessitated a bureaucratic structure for its administration. The structure is stratified at the federal, state, and local levels in terms of policy making, administration, and supervision. On the federal
level, policy making was first vested in a federal board but presently resides in the Office of Education of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. On the state and local level, policy is determined by the state boards for vocational education and the local boards of education respectively. The administrative functions are performed at the federal level primarily within the Division of Vocational Education. On the state level the state superintendents of education with the assistance of the directors of vocational education are the chief administrative officials. The local school superintendents perform this function on the local level. Although the Agricultural Education Branch at the federal level performs some supervisory duties, the major supervisory functions pertaining to vocational agricultural instruction are performed at the state level by state and district supervisors of agricultural education.

The crucial role in the bureaucratic structure described is that of the vocational teacher. He operates within the local school as an employee of the local board of education under the administration of the superintendent and supervision of the principal. While legally under contract to the local-state school organization which is charged with administering and supervising the national program of vocational education according to the federal vocational education acts. In a real sense the "Vo-Ag" teacher, then, is a member of two related bureaucratic systems, both of which have administrative and supervisory control over his behavior.
The following chart summarizes the bureaucratic structure of the vocational education program.

FIGURE 2

ORGANIZATION CHART FOR PUBLIC REIMBURSABLE VOCATIONAL EDUCATION
(FROM UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE, PUBLIC VOCATIONAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS, OFFICE OF EDUCATION PAMPHLET 117)
III. QUALIFICATIONS AND TRAINING FOR THE POSITION
OF VOCATIONAL AGRICULTURE TEACHER

It can be remembered from the historical chapter that the first rise in agricultural instruction had failed because of the lack of a sufficient body of agricultural knowledge, the lack of a well adapted technique of instruction at the lower educational levels, and the lack of properly trained teachers of agricultural subjects. The establishment of the land-grant colleges and agricultural experiment stations combined with the development of the "project method" of teaching, prepared the way for the preparation of teachers who could perform the functions prescribed by the Smith-Hughes Act. In order to assure an adequate performance of the basic function of training present and prospective farmers for proficiency in farming, the Act provided specific funds for the training of teachers and required that, in order to use the funds provided for the salaries of vocational agriculture teachers, a state must expend at least a specified minimum amount for the training of these teachers.

It is within this training program that the prospective "Vo-Ag" teacher learns the formal expectations of the roles which play a vital part in determining his later behavior.

The State Board's Responsibility

Although there are minimum specifications prescribed at the federal administrative level concerning the qualifications and
training of teachers of vocational agriculture, the Smith-Hughes Act places the responsibility for the training upon the state boards for vocational education. In its "state plan" the board designates the institutions in which the training shall take place,\textsuperscript{15} prescribes the type of training, sets up qualifications for both teacher-trainers and trainees, and prescribes other general conditions of the training program.

Qualification of Trainees

Administrative bulletins and state plans indicate that training for vocational agriculture teaching should be given only to persons who have the qualifications which fit them for leadership in rural communities, and who have been farm reared with at least two years of practical farm experience since reaching the age of fourteen. There is no reference as to which sex they shall be. Various references are made to the recruitment of well qualified trainees but just whose responsibility it is or how it should be accomplished is not clearly specified.

The Functions of the Teacher-Training Program

According to the administrative manual for vocational education, a complete program for training vocational teachers should include administrative arrangements for six functions, namely:

\textsuperscript{15} The land-grant colleges are usually designated as institutions for the training of vocational agriculture teachers.
1. Provide facilities for the recruitment, counseling, selection, and pre-employment training of vocational teachers.

2. Develop instructional aids for teachers in service.

3. Provide continuing educational opportunities for teachers in service.

4. Follow up resident teacher training through field contacts for the purpose of checking the effectiveness of all units of instruction, thus leading to improvement of the teacher-training program.

5. Improve college teaching (professional and technical) based upon the objectives for vocational education in the State and upon the abilities needed by teachers of vocational courses.

6. Conduct research and studies making direct contributions to the development of the program of vocational education in the State.  

In addition to this rather complete program, it is further stated that "an adequate teacher-training program should also include plans for placing prospective vocational agriculture teachers upon the completion of their training, under circumstances affording opportunity for advancement." At this point, it is necessary to elaborate on one of the functions listed above, the pre-employment training of teachers of vocational agriculture.

The Pre-Employment Training

The specifications provided in the "Louisiana State


plan"\(^{18}\) will serve to illustrate the general content and types of training provided by designated institutions for vocational agriculture teacher-training. This plan requires that each trainee before qualification shall take a minimum of sixty semester hours of credit in technical courses from four areas of agriculture: (1) animal studies, (2) plant studies, (3) agricultural engineering and farm shop, and (4) agricultural economics and farm management. The distribution of these hours among the four areas is determined by the teacher training institution subject to the approval of the state supervisor of vocational agriculture.

In addition to technical training in agriculture each prospective vocational agriculture teacher must complete a minimum of eighteen semester hours in professional education courses. These courses are divided as follows:

1. At least three semester hours in the history of education, introduction to education, foundations of education, and/or philosophy of education.
2. At least three semester hours in educational psychology and/or principles of teaching.
3. At least four semester hours of student teaching.
4. An additional eight semester hours in professional education.

The four semester hour requirement in student teaching is further elaborated on in the "Louisiana State Plan." Each trainee must spend not less than six weeks in the field at an approved department of vocational agriculture in the state in order to secure the required experience. These approved departments are selected on the basis of the completeness of their program by the teacher training institutions and approved by the state supervisor of agricultural education. The participating experiences required in the student teaching program are as follows:

1. Observation and teaching of all-day, young farmer, and adult farmer classes in vocational agriculture.
2. Observation of academic classes.
4. Visiting farm homes.
5. Serving as FFA or NFA advisor.
6. Preparing study guides.
7. Supervising the farmer training programs of students.
8. Meeting with local advisory committees.
9. Preparing required reports.
10. Visiting other agriculture departments.
11. Contacting other agricultural agency representatives and assisting with activities normally carried on and scheduled by the local teacher of agriculture.\textsuperscript{19}

The regular vocational agriculture teacher at each directed teaching center acts as a critic or supervisory teacher for the

\textsuperscript{19}\textit{Ibid.}
apprenticeship period. At the same time, certain members of the teacher training staff spend the apprenticeship period in the field with the trainees supervising the apprentice teaching.

After the trainee has properly qualified and is ready for employment the "Louisiana State Plan" further provides that employment recommendations be made cooperatively by the state supervisor of agricultural education and the teacher training department to interested parish boards of education.

In-Service Training and Improvement

In order to keep the teachers of vocational agriculture abreast of changing developments in agriculture and to develop further their teaching techniques, the state plans provide for additional professional training after graduation and employment in the field.

Provisions for in-service training in the "Louisiana State Plan for Vocational Education" are as follows:

1. Provisions for continuing training for teachers in service.
   a. Teacher training departments shall provide professional and technical follow-up instructions of employed teachers during the first year on the job.
   b. Designated colleges of agriculture and teacher training departments shall offer graduate courses in technical and professional work for persons meeting the graduate school requirements.
   c. The teacher training institutions shall arrange for special short courses from time to time as the need arises. These courses may be held in the institutions or at centers convenient to the teachers.
d. Individual in-service training shall be provided when needed by the teacher training institutions.

2. Provisions for conducting, disseminating, and utilizing results of research and studies in agricultural education.
   a. The members of the teacher training staff shall devote a portion of their time to conducting, disseminating, and preparing plans for utilizing results of research and studies in agricultural education.

   a. Subject-matter materials and teaching aids shall be developed cooperatively by the supervisory and teacher training staffs. The office of the subject-matter specialist shall serve as a clearing house for distributing visual aids, bulletins, and conference materials.
   b. Teachers shall be instructed in the use of prepared subject matter and teaching aids by the supervisory and teacher training staffs in both group and individual conferences.20

Thus, the vocational agriculture program as administered under the federal vocational education acts not only provides for the selection of trainees on the basis of a farm background and a four-year training program in technical and professional phases of both agriculture and education, but also provides for placement and a continuing program of in-service training.

IV. THE VOCATIONAL AGRICULTURAL INSTRUCTIONAL PROGRAM

In the preceding sections of this chapter we have described the various federal vocational education acts, how the program is

administered, and the nature of program for training the key actor, the "Vo-Ag" teacher, for the performance of his occupational roles. According to official documents, his basic function is to provide an instructional program in the public secondary schools for the training of present and prospective farmers for proficiency in farming. The official literature of the "Vo-Ag" profession states seven major objectives which contribute to the accomplishment of this basic aim or function. These objectives are to develop effective ability to:

1. Make a beginning and advance in farming.
2. Produce farm commodities efficiently.
3. Market farm products advantageously.
4. Conserve soil and other natural resources.
5. Manage a farm business effectively.
6. Maintain a favorable environment.
7. Participate in rural leadership activities.\footnote{United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Vocational Division Monograph 21, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 4.}

These seven major objectives are further broken into 121 more specific objectives too detailed for discussion here.

The basic function of the vocational agriculture teacher is performed through an instructional program which consists of: (1) classes for in-school youth (all-day and day-unit) who are preparing for farming, (2) classes for out-of-school young farmers who
are becoming established in farming, and (3) classes for adult
farmers who are seeking to improve themselves in specific farming
occupations. A complete program consists of all three types of
classes.

The teacher of vocational agriculture thus is expected to
provide an uninterrupted program of instruction covering the whole
career of the farmer: he helps the in-school youth lay a founda-
tion for a farming career, he aids young farmers to become estab-
lished in farming, and he continues by aiding the adult farmer to
keep abreast of improved practices.

There are two mandatory provisions in the federal vocational
education acts which are peculiar to instruction in vocational
agriculture. These are that (1) the instruction must be designed
to meet the needs of persons over fourteen years of age who are
preparing for farming or who are engaged in farming, and that (2)
provisions must be made for at least six months of supervised
practice in agriculture each year. These conditions apply to all
four types of classes, the all-day, day unit, young farmer, and
adult farmer classes.

All-Day Classes

All-day classes in vocational agriculture are organized

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22 United States Federal Security Agency, Vocational Educa-
tion Bulletin 1, 1948, op. cit., p. 38.

23 Ibid., p. 39.
within the secondary school for regularly enrolled full-time students. The time of the class period varies with schools, depending upon which of the various time plans is chosen. The Agricultural Education Branch recommends that state plans provide for the following minimum time schedules:

Plan A

Two consecutive 60-minute periods of instruction, 5 days per week, for 1 year; and one 60-minute period of instruction, 5 days per week, for the other years.

Plan B

Two consecutive 60-minute periods of instruction, 2 days per week, and one 60-minute period, 3 days per week, for each class each year.

Plan C

Two consecutive 45-minute periods of instruction per day, 5 days per week.

Plan D

Sixty minutes of instruction per day, 5 days per week, for each class each year, provided that there is in operation a program of systematic group instruction for out-of-school young farmers and for adult farmers of not less than a total of 72 clock-hours during the year.

Plan E

Thirty clock-hours of scheduled class instruction in agriculture during each school month for each class.\(^{24}\)

Usually a boy may take one unit in vocational agriculture each year in high school and thus earn up to four units.

The characteristics of the training program intended by the federal acts include the following:

\(^{24}\)Ibid.
1. The instruction deals with practical farm problems.

2. Instructors are qualified in agriculture by both special training and practical experience.

3. Sufficient school time is provided to allow for
   a. Class, laboratory, and farm-shop instruction,
   b. Studies and observations in the field.25

The Future Farmers of America in white departments and the New Farmers of America in Negro departments are considered integral parts of the instructional programs for all-day and day-unit class members.

Day-Unit Classes

This type of class is usually organized in schools where a regular all-day department of vocational agriculture has not been established. When a teacher does not have a full teaching load in his own high school he may extend his program to other near-by schools by organizing day-unit classes. These classes must contain a minimum of ten members per class. As in all-day classes, the members must be at least fourteen years of age and should be established in farming or preparing to farm. If the class meets only one time per week it must be a minimum of ninety minutes or if it meets twice weekly the minimum must be sixty minutes.

Young Farmer Classes

This type of class is provided to assist young men not enrolled in high school to become satisfactorily established in

25Ibid.
farming. The number of these class periods usually vary from fifteen to thirty per year and in length from ninety to one hundred and twenty minutes. The minimum is fifteen meetings or thirty hours of instruction. The Agricultural Education Branch considers the following conditions as essential for the successful operation of such classes:

1. The instruction is designed to meet the needs of young men 16 years of age or older who are not yet definitely established in farming.

2. The instruction deals with problems of individuals in becoming established in farming.

3. Related instruction is provided for individuals when they need it to make progress in their training programs.

4. Systematic instruction is provided on a seasonal basis during each year and planned for a period of years.  

A relatively new and growing organization called "Young Farmers of America" is officially encouraged and considered a part of the instructional program. After becoming established in farming, young farmer class members are encouraged to continue their education in agriculture through adult farmer classes.

Adult Farmer Classes

Adult farmer classes, often referred to as "evening classes," are provided for adult farmers already established in farming. There are planned to help farmers develop the ability to solve their specific farm problems. The Agricultural Education Branch specifies
that the instruction for these classes should be:

1. Planned to assist established farmers in solving their farming problems.

2. Flexible enough so that it may be adjusted to meet emergency farm problems.

3. So organized that the work of each meeting of the class will have definite relationship to the course as a whole.

4. Organized on a seasonal basis.²⁷

For classes to be considered as organized adult farmer classes they must meet not less than ten times annually for at least twenty hours of instruction.

The "Louisiana State Plan" specifies that the teacher of vocational agriculture be allowed the last period of each day for field supervision and follow-up instructions for all types of class members including the adult members. Some states and schools provide for field supervision and individual conferences during all afternoon periods.

The Summer Instructional Program and Other Activities of the "Vo-Ag" Teacher

Since the Smith-Hughes Act specifically provides for supervised practice in agriculture for a minimum of six months each year and since farming is a year-round activity, a school normally must provide for supervision by a qualified vocational teacher on a

²⁷Ibid., p. 41.
12-months basis. An exception to this requirement is permissible only when the state board can show that there is a specified period of time within which students of vocational agriculture have no farming activities to be supervised. In addition to supervising the students' farm projects during the summer, numerous other activities are expected of the "Vo-Ag" teacher, such as:

1. Attending conferences.
2. Making tours or camping trips with students.
3. Teaching classes.
4. Supervising the farming programs of students.
5. Visiting prospective students.
6. Checking equipment and supplies.
7. Revising the reference-library, classroom, and shop.
8. Revising the teaching program.
9. Preparing teaching plans.
10. Preparing visual aids.
11. Supervising the FFA or NFA chapters.
12. Maintaining publicity.
13. Supervising the land laboratory.
14. Supervising the school cannery or freezer locker.
15. Making reports to the state office.
16. Revising the office files.
17. Attending summer school. 28

28 Carris, op. cit., pp. 36-37.
Special Instructors in Vocational Agriculture

Special instructors in the area of farm mechanics and other technical areas have been increasingly utilized for young farmer and adult farmer classes. Though these instructors do not have the general professional qualifications regular teachers of vocational agriculture have, they do have certain special technical qualifications not normally possessed by regular teachers. Federal funds are increasingly available for special instructors who can meet and be employed under the following conditions:

1. Their experience should cover enough time beyond the learning period to demonstrate outstanding ability. This experience should be recent and continuous in nature, and should have been in the specific activity of the particular unit course to be taught.

2. They should have had pre-employment professional training followed by in-service professional training. This professional training should include instruction in the following points:
   a. Analysis of jobs and job break-downs necessary to systematic instruction.
   b. The development of a unit course for young farmer or adult farmer groups.
   c. Methods of instruction which include at least the minimum elements for vocational teaching.
   d. Pertinent school regulations.
   e. Preparation of necessary records and reports.  

These provisions for specialized instructors in various technical phases of the instructional program are apparently due to technological developments and to the increasing complexities of modern scientific farming which call for a greater division of

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labor in instructional programs related to agriculture.

**Summary**

The whole bureaucratic structure for the administration, supervision, and training of the "Vo-Ag" teacher which has been described was developed in order that the crucial actor at the base of this hierarchial structure could perform the function of executing an instructional program for training present and prospective farmers for proficiency in farming. In order to perform this function the vocational agriculture teacher is expected to organize his clients in such a manner as to give uninterrupted instructional service from the time they are fourteen years of age until they retire, die, or otherwise leave the occupation of farming. The teacher performs this service through the organization of four types of vocational agriculture classes: (1) all-day classes, (2) day-unit classes, (3) young farmer classes, and (4) adult farmer classes. The requirement by law that theory shall not be separated from practice dictates that the "Vo-Ag" teacher be on duty twelve months a year to aid members of his classes to put theory into practice.

The major responsibility for this instructional program rests upon the "regular" teacher of vocational agriculture; however, technological developments and the increasing complexities of modern scientific farming are beginning to create a division of labor within the instructional program. This division is evidenced by the increasing use of "special" instructors for young farmers and adult farmers. A second trend toward the division of instruction, the
development of multiple departments, parallels the consolidation of rural schools. When more than one teacher is hired for a department, there is a tendency to specialize the duties of each.

The basic characteristics of the vocational agriculture program under the Smith-Hughes and George-Barden Acts are further summarized in Table II, page 136.

The foregoing discussion has reviewed the basic aspects of the formal structure of the vocational agriculture program in terms of (1) the basic provisions of the National Vocational Education Acts, (2) the administration and supervision of the vocational agriculture program, (3) the teacher-training program designed to facilitate the provisions of the acts, and (4) the outline of the instructional program for the fulfillment of the basic function. In the following chapter the concern will be with the occupational roles which have emerged for the fulfillment of this basic function.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of programs</th>
<th>Purposes (all programs)</th>
<th>For whom intended</th>
<th>By whom taught</th>
<th>By whom instructor is employed (all programs)</th>
<th>How courses are initiated (all programs)</th>
<th>Advisory committees (all programs)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adult farmer classes—(Meeting at least 10 times per year)</td>
<td>Make a beginning and advance in farming. Produce farm commodities efficiently. Market farm products advantageously. Conserve soil and other natural resources. Manage a farm business. Maintain a favorable environment. Participate in rural leadership activities.</td>
<td>Adult farmers enroll to improve themselves in specific farming occupations.</td>
<td>All types of classes are taught by a qualified teacher who is farm reared. A graduate of an agricultural college or institution which has been approved by the State Board for Vocational Education to train teachers of vocational agriculture. In special cases instructors other than the above may be employed to teach young farmer and adult farmer classes. They must have had recent and successful experience in the particular jobs or work in which they are to instruct.</td>
<td>The teacher of vocational agriculture is employed by the local school board. Teachers must meet qualification standards outlined in the State Plan for agricultural education.</td>
<td>Courses are initiated by the teacher of agriculture with recommendations from (1) local school officials and (2) local advisory councils or committees, when they exist. Course content is based upon problems in producing and marketing various livestock and crop enterprises and other farm problems of students enrolled in various types of classes. Problems are taught on a seasonal basis. Each student enrolled must conduct a supervised farming program in agriculture for at least six months each year.</td>
<td>A. Composition—Usually composed of from five to nine farmers and business men who represent the agricultural interests in the community. B. Selection—The teacher of vocational agriculture along with the principal and/or superintendent of schools nominate committees of members for approval by the board of education. C. Function—To serve in an advisory capacity in planning a program designed to further develop and promote agriculture in the community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young farmer classes—(Meeting not less than 10 times per year)</td>
<td>Same as above.......</td>
<td>Young men who are out of school enroll to develop ability to establish themselves and improve their proficiency in farming.</td>
<td>Same as above.......</td>
<td>Same as above.......</td>
<td>Same as above.......</td>
<td>Same as above.......</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day classes—(Organized in public secondary schools, meeting each school day)</td>
<td>Same as above.......</td>
<td>Students who are over 16 years of age and are preparing for farming.</td>
<td>Same as above.......</td>
<td>Same as above.......</td>
<td>Same as above.......</td>
<td>Same as above.......</td>
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CHAPTER V

THE FORMAL NORMS AND ROLES OF THE POSITION:

"VO-AG" TEACHER

Certain formal norms derive from the various national vocational acts, from the administration and supervision of the provisions of these acts, and from the required training program for the teachers of vocational agriculture. Some of these official norms are of a general nature and apply to the entire position of "Vo-Ag" teacher. This study considers these general norms as the more basic goals together with the associated attitudes and qualities expected of the "Vo-Ag" teacher. Other more specific official expectations or norms which derive from the same sources tend to be organized around various functions associated with certain groups or classes of actors. This study considers these organized clusters of norms as roles. All of these occupational roles in turn are organized or integrated into the total occupational position of the "Vo-Ag" teacher. On the level of specific expectations, this study will now attempt to classify the norms of the occupation (along with the associated aims, attitudes, and qualities) into a limited number of roles.

Formal norms are here considered as official behavior expectations of those occupying the position and roles of "Vo-Ag" teacher, that is, the expectations deriving from law, administrative and supervisory structures, and the official training program for "Vo-Ag" teachers.
I. GENERAL NORMS OF THE POSITION

The various federal acts supporting vocational education in agriculture are designed to promote the national welfare through training present and prospective farmers for proficiency in farming. The Smith-Hughes Act states that

... the controlling purpose of such education shall be to fit for useful employment; that such education shall be of less than college grade and be designed to meet the needs of persons over fourteen years of age who have entered upon or who are preparing to enter upon the work of the farm or of the farm home.2

Although the general function prescribed by law is to provide for "vocational" training, one should carefully note that the law states that the purpose is to meet the needs of persons who are in, or preparing to enter, the work of the farm or farm home. The law does not state that these needs or problems must all be of a vocational nature. In keeping with the traditional view of farming as a way of life, the administrators, teacher-trainers and others in the vocational agricultural program have interpreted the law not only to mean training in the technical aspects of farming but also for rural leadership and the general improvement of rural life. A committee of administrators and teacher-trainers developed seven major objectives which apply to the basic function of the "Vo-Ag" teacher and overlap the various roles of his total position. These

are as follows:

1. Make a beginning and advance in farming.
2. Produce farm commodities efficiently.
3. Market farm products advantageously.
4. Conserve soil and other natural resources.
5. Manage a farm business effectively.
6. Maintain a favorable environment.
7. Participate in rural leadership activities.  

It will be noted that objectives six and seven give official sanction to the expectation that the teacher of vocational agriculture should be concerned with developing complete rural citizenship, as well as being concerned with training for proficiency in farming.

In addition to basic goals and objectives, members of an occupational group are expected to possess certain associated attitudes, values, and qualities. In the "Vo-Ag" profession, some of these attitudes, values, and qualities are assured by the official dictum that the "Vo-Ag" teacher must have a farm background, a requirement which in effect prescribes that the general attitudes, values, and qualities associated with farm life are regarded as official expectations applying to "Vo-Ag" teachers.

Any occupational group which is striving to establish or maintain professional status and uniformity of goals will subject its trainees to a relatively long period of training in which attempts are made to indoctrinate them in the attitudes and values which are considered by the officials and trainers in the field to

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be important for the accomplishment of the objectives of the organization, as well as to the integration and success of the group as an end in itself. Phipps and Cook and Garris specify that the aspirant to the "Vo-Ag" occupation must have or must develop the following characteristics:

1. Farm background.
2. Unquestionable character and a pleasing personality.
3. Rural mindness (sympathy for and love of country life).
4. Belief in and dedication to his job.
5. Willingness to cooperate with others (principal, other teachers, etc.).
7. Willingness to work.
8. Good tact and judgment.
9. Neatness in dress at all times.
10. Willingness to follow the professional ethics of the teaching profession.
11. Emotional maturity.
12. Broad interest and willingness to study continuously in order to grow both technically and professionally.
13. Confidence in his ability to do the job.
14. Patience, courage, and enthusiasm.
15. Leadership ability. 4

The last named characteristic is considered among the most important. As an agricultural leader, the "Vo-Ag" teacher should have, according to Alfred Vivan, the following twelve attributes:

Abounding Faith in the importance of the work.
Infinite Tact in meeting trying situations.
Unlimited Patience in overcoming community inertia.
Endless Good Nature in face of all trials.
A saving Sense of Humor when nothing else will meet the situation.
A large Vision of the work to be done.

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Ability to Lose Gracefully and to Rebound after each defeat. Indomitable Courage in standing for the right. A grim Determination to see the work put through to its completion. A contagious Enthusiasm that inspires local leadership. Unquenchable Optimism in spite of all discouragements. Unreserved Belief in the Importance of the Farm Family to the commonwealth.5

These expectations are quite grand in their scope; but the faith, dedication, courage, enthusiasm, and vision they exhort are necessary concomitants of the diffuse roles the "Vo-Ag" teacher is expected to play.

An often quoted unknown author has described the characteristics of a good vocational agriculture teacher as follows:

The strength of an ox, the tenacity of a bulldog, the daring of a lion; the industry of a beaver, the vision of an eagle, the disposition of an angel, the loyalty of an apostle, the heroism of a martyr, the faithfulness of a prophet, the tenderness of a shepherd, the fervency of an evangelist, and the devotion of a mother.6

An examination of the generalized norms, including the prescribed qualities of the vocational agriculture teacher in the three quotations above, give insight into the basic values underlying the occupation. It is these generalized norms with their associated values which set the tone and determine the themes running through the specific expectations of the occupational roles. The qualities and values cited above prescribe a diffuse and affective

5Phipps and Cook, op. cit., p. 38.
6Author unknown, Agricultural Education Magazine, VIII (July, 1935), 5.
or missionary-like orientation in which the evolving roles are more than an occupation or a means of making a living: they tend to become a way of life.

As will be shown in the following description, the same affective and diffuse orientation evident in the more general norms and values are evident also at the more specific level of the norms of the roles.

II. THE NORMS OF THE ROLES

The federal vocational education acts and the official administrative publications deal largely with the more general norms applying to the entire position of the teacher of vocational agriculture. It is within the teacher training department that the more specific norms of the roles are prescribed and learned as part of a socialization process. This study attempts to view the organization of various norms around certain functions as these functions relate to certain groups or classes of actors. At this stage of research on the occupation of "Vo-Ag" teaching, any classification made is likely to overlap some other classification at many points. The classification made here follows in part the classification of roles of the "Vo-Ag" teacher Mayo developed.7

Role of Member of the High School Faculty

It has been pointed out in preceding sections that the "Vo-Ag" teacher is an employee of the local board of education and subject to the same regulations, supervision, and administrative jurisdiction as any other teacher. Almost all of the literature deals with the importance of his bearing a full share of the general school duties. Phipps and Cook state that the "Vo-Ag" teacher should:

1. Consider himself a member of the school system the same as any other teacher.
2. Be friendly with all staff members.
3. Adhere to all school rules and regulations.
4. Participate in staff functions.
5. Cooperate with all school activities and offer his services when needed.
6. Accept his share of school responsibilities.
7. Cooperate with all teachers and solicit their cooperation.

Some of the more specific expectations prescribed for the "Vo-Ag" teacher as a member of the high school faculty are to (1) attend staff meetings, (2) attend and help with P.T.A. meetings, (3) assist in preparing the high school schedule and general curriculum, (4) landscape school grounds, (5) assume full share of hall, school ground, and bus duties, and (6) assist in afternoon or night school programs by chaperoning, selling tickets, and so forth.

According to Carris, the "Vo-Ag" teacher may also improve his work relations by lending technical assistance to other staff members or by engaging in such activities as producing vegetables

8Phipps and Cook, op. cit., p. 93.
9Carris, op. cit., p. 28.
for the school lunch program or growing cut flowers for the principal’s office and for special occasions.

It would be legitimate to ask why so much attention is given in the literature to emphasizing that the "Vo-Ag" teacher is a "regular" member of the faculty. If he were a "regular" member of the staff, perhaps it would be unnecessary to state the fact so often. Hamlin gives insight in the following statement into some of the structural strains which deny the statement that the "Vo-Ag" teacher is a "regular" teacher:

There are difficulties in the relationship of a teacher of agriculture to his school system which result from a number of other causes. His salary is typically higher than the salary of other teachers, sometimes as high as the salary of the administrative head of the school. He is on the job during the summer when the other teachers are gone. He has extensive community contacts which most of the other teachers lack and which can be used to his own advantage. He teaches adults, while most of the other teachers teach only children. He uses the community as a laboratory, hence he takes his pupils away from the school more frequently than other teachers. His classes are usually smaller than other classes. His total enrollment of high-school pupils may be only a third or a half the total enrollment of some other teachers. He is often allowed mileage, while other teachers may be required to use their cars in their work without pay. If he teaches evening classes, he may be paid separately, while other teachers coach plays, prepare programs, grade papers, and otherwise use their evenings for school work without additional pay. He is visited individually by a state supervisor and the impression is sometimes gained that he takes his orders from him, or at least that he tries harder to please the state supervisor than he does to please the local school officials. He belongs to a strong and aggressive professional organization which holds its meetings separately from those of other teachers and often he attends the meetings of his own group and neglects to attend the general meetings for teachers.10

These statements indicate that even though the "Vo-Ag" teacher is under the same administration and subject to the same rules, he certainly is not a "regular" teacher in the sense of bearing the same social relationships to various members of the school and community as the average high school faculty member bears. He is a "special kind" of teacher. The same bureaucratic structure which demands that he be a "regular" teacher and share a full load of regular duties also holds various other expectations with regard to his special duties, a fact which places him in a relationship different from that of other teachers.

The great significance of the above expectations is that they prescribe for the "Vo-Ag" teacher all of the roles normally expected of regular high school teachers. These "regular teacher" expectations, however, form only one set of expectations for the "Vo-Ag" teacher who has expectations over and above those applying to the average high school faculty member.

Role of Teacher of All-Day Students of "Vo-Ag" ¹¹

Although there are various expectations of the "Vo-Ag" teacher as a "regular" member of the faculty, his basic role involves the instructional program in vocational agriculture. The federal vocational education acts do not provide reimbursement funds for paying

¹¹ Most of the norms applying to the role of teacher of all-day boys apply also to day-unit classes of in-school students, and many would also apply to adult and young farmer classes.
vocational teachers for teaching non-vocational courses. If the local school officials, as is often the case, require a "Vo-Ag" teacher to devote part of his time to teaching non-agriculture courses, no federal funds are permitted for that part of the teacher's time.

The most important type of vocational agriculture class from the point of view of number of classes and amount of time usually involved is the all-day class which was defined in the preceding section. Ordinarily a teacher, in cooperation with the principal, would schedule three or four all-day "Vo-Ag" classes, each of which would meet daily for sixty to ninety minutes. These classes are usually designated as: (1) first year agriculture, usually for ninth graders, (2) second year agriculture, usually for tenth graders, (3) third and fourth year agriculture for eleventh and twelfth graders, which may be combined in small schools where the enrollment is low.

The first duty involved in these three types of classes is the enrollment of the students. This involves locating and selecting prospective students for beginning classes. According to official prescriptions, this duty should be performed during the summer before fall enrollment. The teacher visits prospective students and their parents to explain the vocational agriculture program. The purpose of this early contact is to explain the program and give prospective students a better basis for deciding if they want, need, and can profit by taking the course. Since the course requires a supervised
project program, the teacher must consult the parents in order to
gain their cooperation.

The course of study for "Vo-Ag" classes is not simply a matter
of selecting a textbook as it is in most of the other high school
classes. It involves elaborate preparations. Garris outlines some
of these activities as follows:

B. Preparing the course of study
   1. By obtaining local farming information from:
      a. Census reports,
      b. Farm surveys,
      c. Land-use surveys,
      d. Records of supervised farming kept by
         students in former years,
      e. Conferences with representatives of agri-
         cultural agencies that keep desirable
         facts,
      f. Conferences with farmers, businessmen, and
         advisory council.
   2. By summarizing local farming facts.
   3. By visiting students and prospective students of
      vocational agriculture.
   4. By analyzing locally important agricultural
      enterprises into jobs for teaching.
   5. By arranging the jobs to be taught into years,
      months, and periods.12

Not all of these responsibilities are performed at the time
of the organization of each new class, for some are a more or less
continuing operation which apply to adult classes as well. The
last duty listed above, that of arranging for each class the jobs
to be taught on a seasonal basis, must be faced anew each fall with
each class. This obligation is further complicated, especially in

small schools, by scheduling difficulties and the necessity of combining third and fourth year agriculture. It is officially expected that the course of study finally arrived at represent joint student-teacher thinking based upon both community and individual needs.

After the classes are organized and the course calendar or course of study developed for each class there are various preparations for the teaching of the jobs decided upon. Garris lists the following preparations:

C. Getting ready for teaching

1. By securing needed equipment.
2. By securing necessary supplies.
3. By securing reference books and bulletins.
4. By filing bulletins and books.
5. By subscribing for agricultural periodicals.
7. By preparing illustrative materials.
8. By providing a magazine rack, bulletin boards, and bulletin cases for the classroom and for the farm shop.
9. By checking the list of prospective students and visiting them before school opens in the fall.
10. By assisting the high school principal in preparing the teaching schedule.
11. By assisting with the registration of pupils.
12. By preparing teaching plans for each job to be taught.
13. By securing an automobile for necessary travel if not provided by the school.
14. By setting up an annual and a long-time plan of instruction.¹³

Though some of the duties in this list may be placed in another category in the classification of roles, still the list is illustrative of the norms concerning preparation for teaching which are

¹³Ibid., pp. 24-25.
taught to trainees. Just which supplies, equipment, books, bulletins, and other teaching aids the teacher would be concerned with securing at this point is based upon which jobs and farm enterprises were included in the course calendars for the various classes.

In tracing the history of vocational education in agriculture, it was indicated that the project method was one of the basic foundations to the new rise in agricultural training in secondary schools in this country. It was also pointed out that the writings of John Dewey had begun to appear just a few years before the enactment of the Smith-Hughes Act and that these writings made a great impact upon the early leaders and teacher-trainers in the field of vocational agriculture. Dewey's emphasis upon problem solving within a democratic framework and his belief that intellectual activity reaches its fullest realization when "learning" is associated with "doing" had its influence upon establishing the norms of teaching vocational agriculture. It is no accident that the FFA motto is:

Learning to do,
Doing to learn;
Earning to live,
Living to serve.

The teaching of vocational agriculture involves the usual roll keeping and evaluation of student work for report cards, but the technique of imparting agricultural knowledge and skills is quite unique within the typical high school. Within the classroom itself, group and individual solution of real problems are expected to be the center of interest. The "Vo-Ag" teacher is trained to become largely a discussion leader or moderator and to attempt to
help the class members determine and solve their various individual and group problems which grow out of the students' projects and the agricultural and living conditions within the school and community. After the broader problems have been determined, the "Vo-Ag" teacher is expected to utilize various modifications of the scientific or reflective thought processes in the solution of the problems. One modification of this process is as follows:

1. Developing the interest of the student (mental set).
2. Assisting students in analyzing the broader problem or enterprise into decisions to be made and skills to be developed (in some cases attitudes to be developed).
3. Leading pupils to make guesses or form hypotheses as to the answer or solution.
4. Getting students to state reasons for the guesses which serve as factors in the testing stage.
5. Leading students through the testing stage. (Data for testing may come from experience of students, successful farmers, specialists or experiment station findings.)
6. Leading students to reach conclusions. (Each student is asked to state his own conclusions in light of the data available and his own farm situation.)
7. Assisting the students in putting the conclusions reached into practice on his farm or in his projects. (All conclusions are tentative in that the actual practice is a further testing process.)

In the testing stage the instruction may involve individual, small group, or class instruction both within and outside of the classroom. The testing may take many forms such as (1) group discussions, (2) library research, (3) guided readings, (4) visual aids, (5) lecture by teacher, (6) field trips to farms, experiment stations, and so forth, (7) the use of various types of laboratories such as school farms, canning plants, and so forth, (8) demonstrations, and (9) student reports.
Significant aspects of the whole instructional process are supposed to be kept in students' notebooks. These usually contain the analysis of the problem, significant testing data, and conclusions reached. In addition, each boy is supposed to keep financial and operational record books on each project.

We have seen that at the managerial or decision making level, the formal norms place emphasis upon the teacher leading others to recognize and solve their own problems. According to the official doctrine of vocational agriculture, the "Vo-Ag" teacher is not supposed to go about advising, recommending, and telling others what they should or should not do, but instead his function is to lead others to make their own decisions. In doing this he may bring out the experiences of the group and lead them to view various data which should aid them in making a decision. This stress upon leading others to make decisions has important implications upon the "Vo-Ag" teacher's role as agricultural "technician." This is especially true when "technician" is defined in the usual sense of technical advisor, that is, as one who makes recommendations or applies his skill directly without teaching the client the skill. It also has important implications for the teacher's role as rural "leader." If he is to be a leader at all, he must exercise a

14 Here again we see the influence of John Dewey who said in his Democracy and Education that, "democracy will be a farce unless individuals are trained to think for themselves, to judge independently, to be critical, to be able to detect subtle propaganda and the motives which inspire it."
special type of leadership—that is, he must lead others to be leaders.

We have described one of the distinguishing characteristics of the official teaching role of the "Vo-Ag" teacher—that is, leading others to make decisions. The other trade-mark of the "Vo-Ag" teaching role is that he is expected to go beyond the classroom or "theory" level to the "practice" or "doing" level. We have already explained that the subjects dealt with in the classroom are supposed to grow out of the students' individual and group problems. To make the linkage between theory and practice complete, the students must go back to the farm, the farm shop, and other "laboratories" (including the school and community) to put the various decisions into practice and to develop the skills decided upon. We shall now follow this linkage by considering some of the teacher's instructional activities outside of the classroom.

Since the beginning of the federal program of vocational agriculture, the "project program" has been considered the primary link between theory and practice. Much of the teacher's time and interest is involved with these projects. Before or soon after a student enrolls in a class, the teacher is expected to survey the family farm. In conference with the student and his parents, he must lead them to decide upon the boy's beginning projects.\footnote{Projects are usually classified as follows: (1) \textbf{Productive projects} in which the boy has full responsibility, complete or part ownership, and expects to make a profit (corn, dairy cow); (2) \textbf{Improvement projects} which lead to increased income for the farm,}
Thereafter, he is supposed to make periodic visits to the farm (1) to provide individual instructions at both managerial and operational levels, (2) to inspect the carrying out of the decisions made in class, (3) to help with record keeping, and (4) to evaluate for grading. There is also the matter of encouraging the expansion of projects and soliciting the cooperation of parents when needed.

It is officially expected that the "Vo-Ag" teacher have at least one or more periods to supervise the projects of all-day students and to carry out the duties of his adult and community program. This has significance for his relationships with other teachers who may or may not understand his exact duties and who may or may not agree with the importance of these duties.

Other phases of the instructional program also occur outside the classroom and usually take the form of actual "doing" or at least of the observation of actual "doing." Especially, because of the increasing mechanization of farming, the "Vo-Ag" teacher is expected to spend more time teaching boys certain skills in the farm shop, such as carpentry, welding, maintenance and repair of farm machinery, and many other skills which ideally should derive from the boys' project programs. These activities call for quite

increase the value of the farm, or make the farm a more enjoyable place on which to live (improving the home orchard); (3) Supplementary farm practices for providing learning experiences in a wide variety of farm jobs in addition to those included in productive and improvement projects (castrating pigs); (4) Placement for farm experience for providing learning experiences for boys with inadequate facilities for supervised farming.
a diversity of skills, various types of equipment, a considerable amount of time for maintenance and preparation, and often a mode of dress somewhat different from the usual dress of a high school teacher.

Other instructional activities and duties which compete for the "Vo-Ag" teacher's time are school-community instructional and service programs such as canning plants, freezer lockers, meat curing plants, post treating plants, and feed mixing plants. These are supposed to be used as laboratories for instructing both in-school and out-of-school groups.

Field trips are another form of instructional activity which vocational teachers utilize more than many other types of teachers. Community contacts made on such trips have a bearing on the "Vo-Ag" teacher's relationship both to the community members and to the other members of the faculty. This is especially true of his relationship with other teachers if boys are kept from attending other classes by trips off the campus.

In summary, the formal norms prescribe that the "Vo-Ag" teacher as an instructor is expected to concern himself basically with leading others to make their own decisions through reflective thinking and to concern himself with connecting theory with practice by emphasizing actual "doing." These emphases may have important implications not only upon the learning of the student but also upon the "Vo-Ag" teacher's relations with other teachers and members of the community. Depending upon its degree of dominance, the "teacher role" may have
great implications for the "Vo-Ag" teacher's other roles, especially those of "agricultural technician" and of "rural leader."

Role of the Teacher of Young Farmers and Adult Farmers

As stated earlier, the vocational agriculture program is designed to provide an uninterrupted instructional program from the time the person is fourteen years of age until he is no longer associated with farming. Therefore, the role of teacher of young and adult farmers is more or less an extension of the role of teacher of all-day students. The same general philosophy and many of the specific norms apply to both roles. If anything, the emphasis is even greater upon real problem solving and learning by "doing," for here the audience is not a "captive" one. The membership and attendance is completely voluntary, and any time the teacher departs from the "real" interests and problems of the members, a decrease in attendance is likely to occur.\[16\]

It is not necessary to spell out in as great detail the norms for the teacher of young farmers and adult farmers since many of the norms are the same as those for the teacher of all-day students. Instead this study will group the norms in classes and concentrate

\[16\] There are other implications which we cannot solve but only pose for later consideration: that is, do farmers actually want to think through their problems or do they want someone to tell them what to do? This is connected also with the question of whether competing agricultural agencies hold the same philosophy as the "Vo-Ag" teacher. We could also ask if the farmer is concerned with or conscious of the implications John Dewey poses concerning the effect of teaching methods upon the future of democracy.
on differences between the roles of teacher of farmers and of all-day students.

The teacher is expected to carry out similar duties in regard to locating and enrolling young and adult farmer class members as with in-school students. Also farm and community surveys are the bases for leading students to agree upon problems for study and getting ready to teach involves performing similar tasks. With the young farmers, Garris states that the content of the instructional program should aim at two basic objectives: (1) to assist young men with their educational and production problems in becoming established in farming and (2) to increase the vocational, civic, and social intelligence of members of the class. In addition to dealing with various problems of an agricultural nature, Garris suggests that the "Vo-Ag" teacher instruct young farmers on various problems involving writing, speaking, reading, farm arithmetic, citizenship, social customs, health, science, and recreation. These problems include everything from selecting livestock to planning for marriage. This instruction is in keeping with the diffuse nature of the "Vo-Ag" occupation and with the traditional consideration of farming as a "way of life."

The content of the instructional program for established adult farmers is usually concerned with, though not restricted to, agricultural problems in that they are dealt with in other respects

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17 Garris, op. cit., p. 240. 18 Ibid., pp. 241-46.
through farmer organizations and various other community programs. In both types of classes the teacher is supposed to utilize basically the same teaching techniques as are used in all-day classes. However, here he is expected to be even less of a lecturer and more of a moderator, and to emphasize "doing" more and "theory" less. Any evaluation involved with adult classes is supposed to be self-evaluation and not teacher evaluation as is usually the case with all-day classes since no formal grading system exists. The various school-community service programs such as canning plants, freezer lockers, and post-treating plants are expected to play a prominent part in the out-of-school instructional program.

It is in connection with these out-of-school groups that "special" teachers most often are called in. Once can easily visualize the difficult position of a "Vo-Ag" teacher who is supposed to deal with the wide range of agricultural, individual, and rural community problems encountered in attempting to assist modern specialized farmers of a specific type. Increasingly, various "special" teachers are brought in to deal with special technical problems. When this is done, the regular "Vo-Ag" teacher is expected to play the role of organizer. This role often involves teaching the specialist how to teach, briefing him on the peculiar situation in the community, and familiarizing him with local problems and the idiosyncrasies of individuals.

By now it is clear that the "Vo-Ag" teacher is expected to aid farmers and prospective farmers in any agricultural problems
they may have, and since farming has been considered a "way of life," the "Vo-Ag" teacher is expected to go beyond the mere occupational or productive aspects of farming. He must, according to the norms of his profession, be concerned with the "total" development of rural citizens. As commonly recognized, agriculture is a very broad field—too broad to be within the scope of understanding possessed by any one individual. So what are the expectations of the "Vo-Ag" teacher who must deal with dairy farmers, beef cattle farmers, cotton farmers, general farmers, or any other types of farmers in his community? The technique he has been taught is first to lead members through discussion to throw as much light on the problems from their own personal experiences as possible. One teacher-trainer remarked that the solution of seventy-five per cent of a group's problems lay within the experiences of the individual members, the trick being that of bringing out these experiences. If this discussion method fails to bring out the solution to the problem and the teacher does not have data available which will solve it, he has been taught to say "I don't know, but I can find out or find an expert who knows." Thus, the "Vo-Ag" teacher role becomes that of the generalist who views the total situation and uses the class members themselves, various sources of data, and specialists, if need be, to solve the problems. It must be remembered also that the "generalist" must, in a sense, operate from a "back seat" position in that he leads others to make decisions and brings in experts to answer questions with which he is not equipped to deal.
Role of Agricultural Technician

A technician is commonly defined as one who has great technical skill or knowledge. There is also the matter of how a technician applies his skill or knowledge. Does he apply his skills and knowledge directly by actually performing skilled services or giving explicit recommendations each time skilled services or advice is needed by the client? Or does he, on the other hand, teach the skills to the client and provide data to lead the client to make his own decisions? Doctors, lawyers, and engineers, experts in their fields, apply their skills directly and make explicit recommendations. In fact, they zealously guard many of their skills and knowledge from their clients. The norms applying to the role of a regular teacher definitely prescribe that he teach his skills and knowledge to his clients. The line is not quite so clear for some other occupations. For example, does the county agricultural agent apply his skill or does he teach it? Perhaps he does some of both.

Returning to the primary concern, that of the formal role of the "Vo-Ag" teacher as "technician," can it be said that an expectation exists that he be highly skilled and in possession of great knowledge? One would believe from the duties set forth by the various authors that the "Vo-Ag" teacher should have exceptional skills. However, the same authors doubt that the normal four-year training program provides adequate training for the duties they prescribe. After outlining numerous responsibilities of the "Vo-Ag" teacher, Garris states, "It will be observed that the program demands
more complete training than can be given in four years of college. In their textbook on teaching vocational agriculture, Phipps and Cook utilize over one thousand pages to describe the profession and its many duties. In this same book they state the following:

It is impossible for a student to become adequately proficient in performing all the diverse duties of a teacher of vocational agriculture through pre-service training alone. A teacher of vocational agriculture must complete his preparation for his job and keep abreast of the changes in his work through professional improvement activities.

How expert the "Vo-Ag" teacher is at the end of his four-year pre-service training and how expert he can become in the various fields with which he is expected to deal are questions this study has no hope of answering. It is known that agriculture is a broad complex field. It is known also that the "Vo-Ag" teacher is expected to deal with many phases of rural living beyond the agricultural aspects. As shown in the discussion of his teaching role, he has developed a technique for meeting the situation where neither he nor his students have the knowledge or skill needed for solving a particular problem.

Assuming that the "Vo-Ag" teacher does have sufficient skills and knowledge to be classed a technician, how does he utilize these skills and knowledge? Is he expected to apply them directly as a doctor or should he teach them to others? Formally, the dominate role is that of teacher, not that of "service man" or "applied technician." The "Vo-Ag" teacher is reminded often that he is a

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19 Carris, op. cit., p. 30.
20 Phipps and Cook, op. cit., pp. 46-47.
"teacher" and that his work should be directed toward this end.

Phipps and Cook make the following comments regarding this:

Vocational education in agriculture for adults is designed to provide systematic instruction carried on in schools or classes. Part of this systematic instruction must be the supervision of practice farming activities for which instruction is being offered in a school or class. An agriculture teacher may receive an occasional call for individual help from farmers in his patronage area who are not enrolled in a course, but this type of activity is not systematic instruction and, therefore, should not be considered a part of the vocational agriculture program.\textsuperscript{21}

These authors say that most of the individual aid to farmers not enrolled in a systematic "Vo-Ag" program should be left to the Extension Service. However, Garris\textsuperscript{22} would permit services by the "Vo-Ag" teacher to those not enrolled in his classes if these services do not interfere with his organized instructional program.

In summary of the discussion of the role of technician, it can be stated that teacher-trainers doubt that the "beginning" teacher has the breadth and depth of technical training desirable and that if the "Vo-Ag" teacher is expected to be a technician, it is primarily in the sense of "teaching" knowledge and skills. Certainly his supervisors and teacher-trainers do not expect him to perform services and make recommendations without reference to their educational implications.

\textbf{Role of Group Organizer and Sustainer}

The role of group organizer and sustainer could be treated

\textsuperscript{21}Ibid., pp. 501-502. \textsuperscript{22}Garris, op. cit., p. 314.
as a series of roles or as one major role with sub-roles or variations of this major role. The latter classification has been chosen, and this study will consider as variations of the major role the following:

1. FFA advisor.
2. Young farmer advisor.
3. Organizer and sustainer of other farm organizations.
4. Organizer and sustainer of the advisory council.

Role of FFA advisor. A description of the FFA organization will provide a background for understanding the "Vo-Ag" teacher's role as FFA advisor. The official FFA manual describes the organization as follows:

The Future Farmers of America, or 'FFA' as it is commonly known, is the national organization of, by, and for boys studying vocational agriculture in public secondary schools under the provisions of the National Vocational Education Acts.

As an integral part of the program of vocational education in agriculture in the public school system of America, the FFA has become well known in recent years. No national student organization enjoys greater freedom of self-government under adult counsel and guidance, than the Future Farmers of America. Organized in November, 1928, it has served to motivate and vitalize, the systematic instruction offered to students of vocational agriculture, and to provide further training in farmer-citizenship.

The FFA is an intra-curricular activity having its origin and root in a definite part of the school curriculum—vocational agriculture. Among other things, members learn through active participation how to conduct and take part in a public meeting; to speak in public; to buy and sell cooperatively; to solve their own problems; to finance themselves; and to assume civic responsibility. The foundation upon which the Future Farmers of America organization is
The Future Farmers of America exists today because of a cooperative spirit and a desire on the part of farm boys, 14 to about 21 years of age, preparing for farming through vocational agriculture, to have a national organization of their own in which they may secure practical business experience, act as their own instructors, and enjoy the fellowship of one another. It is organized vocational education on a farm youth level. Improved agriculture, better local communities, a more satisfying farm home life, and more efficient farmer-citizens are emerging as a result of the boys' experiences.23

The aims and purposes of the FFA which are, in part, the duties and responsibilities of the "Vo-Ag" teacher are as follows:

1. To develop competent, aggressive, rural and agricultural leadership.
2. To create and nurture a love of country life.
3. To strengthen the confidence of farm boys and young men in themselves and their work.
4. To create more interest in the intelligent choice of farming occupations.
5. To encourage members in the development of individual farming programs and establishment in farming.
6. To encourage members to improve the farm home and its surroundings.
7. To participate in worthy undertakings for the improvement of agriculture.
8. To develop character, train for useful citizenship, and foster patriotism.
9. To participate in cooperative effort.
10. To encourage and practice thrift.
11. To encourage improvement in scholarship.
12. To provide and encourage the development of organized rural recreational activities.24

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24 Ibid., p. 10.
In these aims and objectives are those which support the basic vocational aim of vocational agriculture plus a range of objectives which almost add up to the total development of the democratic citizen. This broad, diffuse orientation is well suited to the "parent organization" since a liberal interpretation of objectives number six and seven of the seven major objectives of vocational agriculture listed earlier in this chapter holds the "Vo-Ag" teacher responsible for a broad range of development of vocational agriculture students.

All regularly enrolled in-school vocational agriculture students are eligible for membership in the FFA and most chapters report 100 per cent membership. Each fall the new members are duly initiated into the approximately 9,000 local high school chapters located throughout the states and territories. In many of these schools, newly enrolled "Vo-Ag" students go trooping on the high school campus one day in the early fall dressed in patched "overalls," plow shoes, and tattered straw hats. Sometimes the youthful imaginations require additional adornments such as corn stalk walking canes, red bandanas, or perhaps a string of onions, potatoes, or "nubbins" around the neck. One might observe some of these strangely dressed "critters" from the "hinterlands" out on the school yards under the supervision of older students who would probably be wearing jackets of national blue and corn gold with an emblem on the back made up of five symbols—the owl, symbolic of wisdom and knowledge; the plow, representing labor and tillage of the soil;
the rising sun, emblematic of progress and a new day that will dawn when all farmers are trained and have learned to cooperate; the cross section of an ear of corn, which represents common agricultural interests since corn is native to America and is grown in every state; and the eagle, indicative of the national scope and interests of the organization. The young initiates in the strange rural garb under the supervision of the boys wearing official jackets of the FFA may be repeating in unison:

I believe in the future of farming, with a faith born not of words but of deeds—achievements won by the present and past generations of farmers; in the promise of better days through better ways, even as the better things we now enjoy have come up to us from the struggles of former years.

I believe that to live and work on a good farm is pleasant as well as challenging; for I know the joys and discomforts of farm life and hold an inborn fondness for those associations which, even in hours of discouragement, I cannot deny.

I believe in leadership from ourselves and respect from others. I believe in my own ability to work efficiently and think clearly, with such knowledge and skill as I can secure, and in the ability of organized farmers to serve our own and the public interest in marketing the product of our toil. I believe we can safeguard those rights against practices and policies that are unfair.

I believe in less dependence on begging and more power in bargaining; in the life abundant and enough honest wealth to help make it so—for others as well as myself; in less need for charity and more of it when needed; in being happy myself and playing square with those whose happiness depends upon me.

I believe that rural America can and will hold true to the best traditions in our national life and that I can exert an influence in my home and community which will stand solid for my part in that inspiring task.25

25Ibid., p. 11.
This is part of the "rite of passage" which usually ends with a formal initiation program which would do honor to the Masonic order. The next day the relationships are quite different. The initiates are accepted brothers and are given a committee assignment with definite responsibilities. They are now a part of an organization whose motto is well suited to the philosophy of the vocational agriculture program—

Learning to do,
Doing to learn;
Earning to live,
Living to serve.\(^6\)

The **Official FFA Manual** lists some of the duties and responsibilities of the "Vo-Ag" teacher as FFA advisor as follows:

1. Assume the initiative for getting a chapter established in the school.
2. Become familiar with the history, principles, constitutional provisions, ceremonies, typical activities, parliamentary procedure, and other essentials of the organization.
3. Assist with plans for securing an efficient set of officers.
4. Instruct newly-elected officers in their duties and provide leadership training for all members.
5. Assist members in setting up practical and worthwhile programs of work and guide to completion.
6. See that programs are adequately financed and chapter funds properly protected.
7. See that chapter meetings are held regularly throughout the year and conducted in a business-like manner.
8. Help new members to get into the 'swing' of things.
9. See that every boy has a part in chapter work—something definite to do—and that he accepts the responsibility.
10. Prevent secrecy and rough play, especially in connection with initiations.
11. Encourage members to strive for the higher membership degrees.

\(^{26}\)Ibid., p. 12.
12. Check member qualifications for Degree advancement and recommend only full qualified candidates for advancement.

13. See that standard chapter equipment and supplies are secured, used and properly protected.

14. Help set up a system of adequate chapter records and accounts.

15. See that a chapter library is developed and used.

16. Counsel individual members and committees on problems.

17. See that all ceremonies, initiations, public performances, and displays are carefully planned and creditably carried out.

18. Keep school authorities and the public in touch with activities and developments.

19. Keep informed on new developments in the FFA and call them to the attention of members.

20. Impress members with the fact that the FFA is their organization.27

In addition to these duties, the teacher has a primary duty of getting the boys to work through their various committees. The Official FFA Manual gives the following list of standard committees along with what is described as typical goals or activities for each:

A. Supervised Farming
   Establish a loan fund for members.
   Assist members in locating desirable animals, seeds and supplies.
   Increase ownership of productive projects.
   Assist members to start continuation projects the first year.
   Assist members to develop agricultural libraries.
   Encourage home improvement projects.
   Encourage the use of certified seed and pure-bred sires.
   Provide for treating and testing project before planting.
   Conduct project tours.
   Conduct a project contest and offer suitable awards for outstanding accomplishments in farming.

27 Ibid., p. 33.
B. Cooperative Activities
Buy animals and feed cooperatively.
Buy seed cooperatively.
Hold pure-bred sale for project animals.
Operate a 'For Sale' and 'Wanted' bulletin service.
Organize a livestock improvement subsidiary.
Organize a crop improvement subsidiary.
Operate a chapter-owned incubator.
Purchase tools for home farm shops.
Provide for group membership in leading farm organizations.

C. Community Service
Improve poultry by culling.
Sponsor a community fair.
Test seed corn for farmers.
Test milk for farmers.
Test soil for farmers.
Erect bird-feeding stations.
Assist in making farm surveys.
Beautify school grounds.
Contribute food and clothing to the needy.
Assist with community Christmas.
Conduct a farm fire hazard survey.
Conduct safety and health campaigns.

D. Leadership Activities
Provide a chapter leadership training school.
Send members to State and district conventions and leadership schools.
Assist members to prepare for the higher degrees.
Enter the State chapter contest.
Hold chapter public speaking contest.
Prepare and put on radio programs.
Print and distribute a chapter news letter.
Provide committee experience for all members.
Contact eighth grade pupils in rural schools.
Improve the chapter library.

E. Earnings and Savings
Prepare a budget of chapter funds.
Develop a plan for raising chapter funds.
Establish a thrift bank.
Maintain chapter account in a local bank.
Provide personal account books for members.
Increase chapter investments.
Set up a permanent system of chapter accounts.
Encourage members to invest savings in land, livestock, and farm equipment.
Help members to set up financial goals.
Increase the average member earnings.

F. Conduct of Meetings
Set up definite schedule for regular meetings.
Provide special training for newly elected officers.
Secure needed official equipment and supplies.
Develop a series of program features for meetings.
Hold joint meetings with nearby chapters.
Plan special meetings for summer months.
Provide recreation and refreshments for meetings.
Hold scheduled initiation meetings.
Provide a chapter room and equip it.

G. Scholarship
Provide 'big brothers' for new members.
Provide recognition for outstanding members with high grades.
Assist members whose scholarship is low to improve it.
Encourage members to try for the National Honor Society.
Use scholastic standing as one determining factor in electing members to positions of honor.
Devote meetings to methods of improving scholarship—how to study.

H. Recreation
Hold parent and son banquet.
Send members to the State camp.
Provide games for the chapter room.
Chapter take charge of noon recreation program at school.
Help to provide local playgrounds.
Stage a community sing.
Sponsor recreation programs in isolated areas.
Organize a string band or quartet.
Entertain associate and honorary members.
Sponsor a community picnic.

Although the exceedingly complex and diffuse committee activities listed above are supposed to be carried out largely by the boys themselves, anyone who has worked with trying to lead and supervise others in working through committees knows that the prime

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virtue of this approach is not that of saving the time and energy of the leader or supervisor. Despite the fact that no one person could ever adequately perform all of the cited activities, they are listed in the Official FFA Manual and serve as an ever present reminder of the broad official expectations placed upon the "Vo-Ag" advisor and the FFA members.

The teacher usually meets with the various committees during the planning stages. The formal role is to be on hand, to offer information when needed, to advise when called upon, and to veto, if necessary, when the boys propose activities in conflict with the policies of the school or the principles of their own organization. However, the "good" advisor is expected not to have to veto but only call attention to the violation and its consequences. The planning is a considerable task, and the consummation of the plan is an even greater one. However, many of the goals set up are in reality goals for the instructional program and can be dealt with in part during class time.

Other activities which usually operate through the FFA are numerous local, state, and national contests such as:

1. FFA Public Speaking Contest.
2. Best Chapter Contest.
4. Chapter, State, Area, and American Farmer Awards.
5. Farm Mechanics Award.
6. Farm and Home Electrification Awards.
7. Soil and Water Management Awards.
8. Farm Home Improvement Awards.

To these contests which operate usually at the local, state,
and national levels, could be added many others at the local, county, or state level such as corn, cotton or other crop production contests, various livestock contests and shows, quartet contests, string band contests, and so on. Of course, no one teacher could become involved in all of these contests despite the fact that they are designed primarily to promote the instructional program, but he is encouraged to enter as many of the contests which apply to his local situation as he can.

Most FFA chapters meet once or twice per month, at which time the students carry on the business and program while the "Vo-Ag" teacher sits at his advisory station by the owl, symbol of wisdom and knowledge. From this vantage point he assumes his normal role of "backseat driver" in the educational process.

As can be observed, the role of FFA advisor overlaps and is exceedingly compatible with the diffuse role of teacher of all-day boys. It is understandable that teachers of vocational agriculture would conceive of a student organization as an integral part of the instructional program. This is in keeping with their basic philosophy of shifting the responsibility for decision making, of learning by doing, and of their feeling of responsibility for the total development of their clients. In FFA, teachers have an organized body through which group decisions may be made. Since the teacher is expected to feel responsible for the total development of the boy as a democratic citizen he has the working machinery or laboratory in which to develop the skills of democratic group
solution to problems. Through this means, citizenship is learned as Dewey would have it learned—that is, by "doing." In addition to all of this, the teacher has his boys setting up and feeling responsible for goals he would like to teach.

Role of young farmer advisor. Another duty of the "Vo-Ag" teacher within the broader role of "group organizer and sustainer" is that of organizer and advisor of local Young Farmer of America chapters. This type of organization is promoted by "Vo-Ag" teachers to complement their instructional program for their young farmer classes. It is considered an integral part of the instructional program and is an organized way of getting young farmers to accept the responsibility of defining their problems and making group decisions. As with FFA, it is the machinery through which to broaden the instructional program to include civic responsibilities. It also carries these civic duties to the point of "doing."

Phipps and Cook advise the teacher to take the initiative in presenting to young farmer classes the possibilities of a young farmer association, and to aid in developing the constitution for its operation. Other than this, they define the role of a "Vo-Ag" teacher as an advisor only, who stands aside to let the young farmers learn by performing the duties. A Utah State Department of Public Education bulletin describes the teacher's role in this respect as follows:

29Phipps and Cook, op. cit., p. 577.
The agricultural instructor—is the catalytic agent that makes the organization click. He is enough of a leader of men to make the organization function successfully without the young farmers themselves always being consciously aware of his contributions. He is constantly on the alert to give the credit for the organization's success to the young farmer leaders and the other members of the organization. He is aware that nothing succeeds like success and makes certain that his organization is a success.—The advisor is instrumental in aiding chapter officers to develop a yearly program of activities. This is done with the officers of the chapter carrying the ball and the advisor calling the signals only when the young men themselves run out of ideas. An active chapter always has a program filled with meritorious activities that are interesting and worthwhile in the opinion of the young men themselves.30

This passage clearly shows the usual philosophy of the "backseat" or "behind the scenes" type of leadership which is designed to make leaders of others by shifting responsibility and by providing opportunities to actually lead. He is the catalytic agent who is on hand at all times to act as a "special type" of advisor. An advisor, in this sense, does not mean one who tells others what they should do but one who leads others to make their own decisions. This might mean providing data, suggesting alternative means, or relating the alternative means to their expected consequences. The focus here, as in his other roles, is primarily upon reflective thinking within a democratic framework and upon learning by doing.

Role of organizer and sustainer of the advisory council.

Another organization which the "Vo-Ag" teacher is expected to

30Utah State Department of Public Education, Suggestions for Conducting the Young Farmer Programs in Utah, Division of Vocational Education (Salt Lake City, Utah: 1949), pp. 21-22.
organize and sustain is referred to as the vocational agriculture "advisory council" or "advisory committee." Administrators, supervisors, and teacher-trainers in vocational agriculture all insist that each vocational agriculture department have an advisory council. In fact, most state plans require the signatures of advisory council members on the teacher's annual program of work.

It is the expected duty of the vocational agriculture teacher to gain the approval of the principal, superintendent, and local board members to organize an advisory council and to gain their acceptance of a constitution under which it shall operate. It is also recommended that the teacher secure nominations for council membership from a large number of community representatives. The persons most often nominated by community representatives, after adjustments for location, age, tenure, and so forth, should be presented to the board of education for approval or revision. After approval, it is the "Vo-Ag" teacher's job to organize them, educate them as to their duties under the constitution, and secure their assistance in (1) planning, (2) implementing, and (3) evaluating the local vocational agriculture program. This whole plan for advisory councils is in keeping with the democratic expectations built into the roles of the "Vo-Ag" teacher. They are expected to let the people involved decide what their problems are and to lead them to make their own decisions regarding the solutions of these problems.
Role of organizer and sustainer of other farm organizations.

Generally the role of organizer and sustainer for adult farmers is expected to take a different turn from that of the roles of organizer and sustainer of all-day and young farmer groups. The emphasis is not upon organizing the adult farmer into a special class organization of the nature of FFA or Young Farmer organizations but rather on assisting in the organization and support of general farm organizations, farmer cooperatives, and special interest farmer organizations such as cattleman's associations or vegetable growers associations. Sometimes movements to organize such farmer associations begin within the adult farmer classes and may remain under the sponsorship of the vocational agriculture department; however, movements to organize are frequently of a more general nature, involving several agricultural agencies and farmers from more than one school patronage area. This study considers the "Vo-Ag" teacher's participation in these broader groups as a part of his role as rural or agricultural leader.

Role of Rural and Agricultural Leader

As indicated earlier, the role of agricultural leader is broader than and includes the more specific role of organizer and sustainer of special groups within the vocational agriculture department.

The "Vo-Ag" teacher is told that he should affiliate himself with social, civic, agricultural, fraternal, and religious organizations immediately upon going into a new community. Garris states
that the "Vo-Ag" teacher is expected "to accept places of leadership in many community movements for social, educational, and recreational improvement." The exact nature of this leadership is not made clear. He further recommends that the "Vo-Ag" teacher promote community improvement in the following manner:

1. By assisting farmers and other rural patrons in groups or individually.
2. By teaching the principles of agricultural cooperative organization.
3. By cooperating with agricultural organizations in their programs.
4. By helping in educational campaigns of an agricultural nature.
5. By making the facilities of the farm-mechanic shop and canning plant available to farm families.

Another aspect of the leader role is that of interpreter of community change. Often the school area or vocational agriculture patronage area does not coincide with governmental or census divisions. Also, other agricultural agencies work on a county level; hence, the community surveys made by the "Vo-Ag" teacher may be the only authentic data on the conditions and trends in agriculture for his community.

The teacher of vocational agriculture is expected, with the aid of his advisory council or in cooperation with representatives of other agricultural agencies and farm groups, to work toward developing a comprehensive agricultural and community development

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31 Ibid., p. 23.  
32 Ibid., pp. 26-27.  
33 Mayo, op. cit., p. 70.
program. In counties where agricultural workers are organized into councils for rural planning and development, the agriculture teacher is expected to contribute to the work of this group.

This study has considered some of the groups and leadership activities with which the "Vo-Ag" teacher is supposed to be involved. He is in reality expected not only to affiliate with and take part in agricultural groups and movements but also to affiliate with and participate in civic, religious, recreational, or other groups or movements concerned with "total" community development. The concern in the discussion of the leadership role is with the type of leadership expected of the "Vo-Ag" teacher more than in the specific groups where this role is played. It has already been indicated that one aspect of the basic educational philosophy, that of shifting responsibility and leading others to make decisions, would have important implications for the leadership role.

The literature is not usually explicit on the exact nature of the "Vo-Ag" teacher's role in farm organizations other than those organized within the department such as FFA or Young Farmer Associations. There is little indication as to whether or not the teacher should accept officer positions in farm organizations. The acceptance of such positions would appear out of keeping with the basic philosophy of developing rural leadership and reflective thinking by letting the farm people "do" their own leading and decision making under guidance. By implication the "Vo-Ag" teacher is expected to take a "backseat" and, when needed, give information or suggest
alternative means of problem solving to aid in decision making. As with the FFA and Young Farmer organizations he should be a "special" type of advisor—one who provides data, not advice.

This "behind the scenes" type of leadership will be discussed further in the following chapter under the section on the social participation and leadership activities of the responding "Vo-Ag" teachers.

**Role of the Maintenance Man**

As a background for understanding our consideration of this role it should be understood that the "Vo-Ag" teacher is usually the only staff member in a rural school who has the equipment and skills for general maintenance of school buildings and equipment. Also, janitorial services are usually limited in the smaller rural schools.

The "Vo-Ag" teacher is usually expected to maintain, or supervise the maintenance of, the equipment and sometimes even of the buildings of his department; however, the maintenance role outside of the department is not formally recognized, at least in such unprofessional terminology, by the vocational agriculture hierarchy. Yet, there is ample reason to believe that in many schools other members of the school staff expect the "Vo-Ag" teacher to perform such functions. One can readily visualize the reaction of those responsible for maintaining the professional status of this group to this expectation. While the formal expectation is that the "Vo-Ag" teacher should be cooperative with the principal and other staff members it is also expected that the "Vo-Ag" teacher be a "teacher"
and that any services he performs should contribute to the educa-
tional program.

Role of Public Relations Man

It is usually stated officially that a job well done is the
best publicity, but that the "Vo-Ag" teacher must go further and
publicize the local program by a variety of means. The usual reasons
given for such publicity are that (1) the program is tax supported
and the public has a right to know, (2) the public cannot intelli-
gently participate in the program or offer suggestions for improve-
ment unless they know what is going on, and (3) good public relations
are basic to enlisting aid in developing the program.

Various means of publicity are advocated such as newspaper
and journal articles, pictures, exhibits, demonstrations, radio and
television programs, project tours, speeches by students and teacher,
fairs, livestock shows, project markers for student work, FFA signs
on roads leading into the community, and various others.

Regarding the general nature of this publicity, Phipps and
Cook remark that "a publicity program designed to deceive the public
or enhance the prestige or ego of the teacher may be very dangerous."34
Garris states that "the teacher should keep in the background but
liberally use the names of students and patrons in all articles pre-
pared."35 Whenever possible, the "Vo-Ag" teacher is expected to

34Phipps and Cook, op. cit., p. 94.
35Garris, op. cit., p. 330.
train an FFA speaker or a student demonstration team rather than make an address himself. These traits of remaining in the background, giving credit to the clients, shifting of responsibility, and getting others to learn by doing in the publicity program are highly compatible with the other roles of the "Vo-Ag" position.

The reader will realize that regular school teachers are not exposed to expectations to perform a publicity role to the same degree as the "Vo-Ag" teacher is. This fact may lead to some invidious comparisons on the part of the regular teachers.

Role of Administrator and Supervisor of the Local Vocational Agriculture Department

The teacher of vocational agriculture is expected to supervise and administer his own department under the supervision of his principal and under the administration of the county school superintendent. A brief view of some of the buildings and equipment used and maintained by the "Vo-Ag" teacher will give some indication of the breadth of this role.

There is always a classroom, and usually associated with it, an office-conference room, washroom, laboratory, and storage room. Associated with this space are a variety of equipment and teaching aids. The laboratory may contain many items such as soil testing kits, milk testing equipment, vaccinating syringes, grafting equipment, germinators, surveying equipment, dehorners, fencing equipment, castrators, and similar items. The "Vo-Ag" teacher is expected to maintain and administer an agriculture library with textbooks,
reference books, bulletin files, and other materials. Most of the
departments have movie projectors, opaque projectors, film strip
and slide projectors, cameras, charts, flannel boards and a file of
slides and film strips.

Nearly all departments have a farm-mechanic shop located in
the vicinity of the classroom. These shops may be equipped with a
large number of items pertaining to each of the following areas:
(1) woodworking, (2) metalworking, including forge work, arc welding,
oxyacetylene welding, sheetmetal, and soldering, (3) masonry and
concrete work, (4) maintenance and repair of farm machinery, (5)
electricity, (6) painting and glazing, and (7) leather working. The
equipment in these areas often includes some power machinery as well
as hand tools.

For those departments maintaining canning plants still further
equipment is involved: a building with a steam plant, retorts,
electrical sealers, exhaust boxes, coolers, and many other items.
Some departments may maintain one or more of the following: (1)
freezer lockers, meat curing plants, post treating plants, feed
mixing plants, or school farms. All of these units include a large
amount of equipment and machinery.

All of these various aspects of a vocational agriculture
department involve records, inventories, receipts and disbursements,
supplies, and reports. In some cases they also involve part-time
or full-time employees who are under the supervision of the "Vo-Ag"
teacher. In many cases, much of the actual labor of maintenance
and operation falls upon the teacher himself.

Besides being a teacher, leader, organizer, technician, maintenance man, and so forth, the "Vo-Ag" teacher has many administrative duties connected with the various services of the "Vo-Ag" department. These administrative duties are somewhat complicated by the fact that he is a member of two bureaucracies, the local school and the federally aided state "Vo-Ag" organization, both of which require records and reports.

**Role of Member of the Vocational Agriculture Organization**

"Vo-Ag" teachers are encouraged to organize on a county level in order to plan and coordinate the total vocational agriculture program for the county. Special emphasis is usually given to the planning of various FFA contests, programs, fairs, and to special problems the teachers face. Dinner meetings are usually held monthly with informal discussions following. This same sort of arrangement is sometimes found on an area basis, where teachers from four or five counties may meet monthly.

Most of the vocational agriculture teacher's contact with the federal-state organization occurs through his district supervisor with some occurring through the state supervisor and specialists from the state or district offices.

In some states, the district supervisor is the man through whom the beginning teacher makes his first contact with a local board of education. He is also one of the persons who visits the teacher, especially during the first year or two after he begins
teaching, to provide help in any way he can in improving the instructional program. Teachers and superintendents or principals must reckon with the supervisor when minimum standards are not met. It is through this district office that various reports are made including the annual program of work, monthly mileage and activity reports, annual reports on the supervised farming program of each all-day or day-unit student, reports on adult and young farmer work, and the FFA chapter reports. Reports for various state contests are also processed through the district supervisor's office. When federal funds for equipment or special instructors are needed the district supervisor is the person to contact.

The district supervisors usually call several meetings annually. These meetings might be called for a combination of reasons such as to provide and explain instructional materials, explain changes in report forms, urge promptness in making reports, coordinate plans for FFA contests or livestock shows, or plan special programs. Attendance at these meetings is considered mandatory.

In some states, the "Vo-Ag" teachers usually meet on a state level at least twice each year, once during the state educational association meeting and once for a summer conference. The summer conference usually involves about a week of informational and inspirational meetings. Teachers may meet also at various fairs and FFA contests during the year. On these occasions the supervisors may call the teachers together for a short conference.
In recent years there has been a trend toward adding technical specialists to the supervisory staffs. These specialists may be called upon by the local teacher when he has need for them in improving his instructional program. Most states have an executive secretary of FFA at the state level through whom the local teacher may work on certain aspects of the FFA program. As technical specialists and FFA personnel are added, the relationships between the local teachers and the supervisors tend to become more administrative in nature.

Role of Student of Vocational Agriculture

We noted earlier that the vocational agriculture teacher-training department was designed to provide continuous service from the time the teacher is recruited until he leaves the program. Various authorities in the field have stated that the beginning "Vo-Ag" teacher is not adequately trained for his broad field of duties and that he must constantly strive for technical and professional improvement. It has also been indicated that vocational agriculture supervisors are responsible for improving the instructional programs of the teacher.

Some of the expectations held for the "Vo-Ag" teacher with respect to continuing his technical and professional advancement will now be examined. Phipps and Cook recommend the following methods of improving professionally:

1. Participate in in-service training courses, workshops, and meetings.
2. Develop and make use of a library of good books, bulletins, magazines, and newspapers.
3. Do graduate work.
4. Participate in professional organizations.
5. Listen to agricultural radio programs.
6. Attend district, state, and regional conferences for teachers of vocational agriculture.
7. Visit other departments of vocational agriculture.
8. Attend state and national conventions, and meetings.
9. Attend leadership training meetings.
11. Travel widely.
12. Work on committees preparing instructional materials.\(^{36}\)

The "Vo-Ag" teachers are strongly encouraged to belong to the following professional organizations: (1) the state and national agricultural teachers associations, (2) state vocational and American vocational associations, and (3) the local, state and national educational associations.

All teachers of vocational agriculture are expected to subscribe to the official vocational agriculture journal, The Agricultural Education Magazine, the American Vocational Journal, and to other journals on technical agriculture.

**III. SUMMARY**

The legal (official) controlling purpose of vocational education in agriculture is to promote the national welfare through training present and prospective farmers for proficiency in farming; however, the Smith-Hughes Act also states that the program is designed to meet the needs of those who have entered or are preparing

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\(^{36}\)Phipps and Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 47.
to enter the work of the farm or farm home. Obviously farm people have needs other than those of a strictly occupational nature. Hence, the interpretation of the law has been such as to expect the "Vo-Ag" teacher not only to concern himself with promoting proficiency in farming but also with developing the total personalities of his clients and with improving rural life in general. The diffuseness of the general expectations is matched by calling upon the "Vo-Ag" teacher to exhibit in his work the faith, dedication, courage, enthusiasm, and vision of a hardy missionary.

In addition to these more general norms, there are many specific norms which tend to be organized around various functions associated with various groups or classes of actors. An attempt has been made to classify these organized clusters of norms into eleven roles of the "Vo-Ag" teacher position. In the discussion which follows, an attempt will be made to summarize some of the more general characteristics of the formal norms of these roles as well as the general norms of the total position.

In regard to the "Vo-Ag" teacher's teaching philosophy which vitally affects all of his social relations with the significant groups he works with the dominant themes which appear in practically all of his roles involve leading others through the scientific thought processes within a democratic setting and to learn by doing. Throughout this process the "Vo-Ag" teacher tends to take a "back-seat driver" position as he attempts to shift the responsibility of decision making and to get the student into the "act" in order that
the student may learn both decision making (reflective or scientific thinking) and skills by doing. Of all of the roles, the "teacher role" appears dominant, for it has been seen that in all the roles there is the expectation of an educational orientation rather than a service or applied technician orientation.

Let us now attempt to describe the value orientation implied by the formal norms and roles of the "Vo-Ag" teaching position in terms of the pattern variables defined in Chapter I.

The "Vo-Ag" teaching position itself is partially ascribed and partially achieved in that one first must have a farm background and second must achieve the status through technical and professional training in state agricultural colleges. Since the position is a public one oriented to the national welfare and to the improvement of farming and rural life in general, it is universalistically oriented. The concern with the total community and the welfare of rural people in general as well as the democratic orientation including the "backseat driver" position indicates a collective rather than a self-orientation. Whereas the textbook authors prescribe that the "Vo-Ag" teacher should have a sympathy for and love of rural people and country life, they are also called upon to remain affectively neutral when it comes to aiding the client in methods of farming.

The most outstanding characteristic of the formal expectations of the roles of the "Vo-Ag" teaching position is the diffuseness or broadness of the expectations. This diffuseness in
orientation is consistent in that it applies to all of the "Vo-Ag" teachers' roles as well as to the "Vo-Ag" position as a whole. The "Vo-Ag" teacher is expected to aid farmers throughout their farming careers in all areas of agriculture applicable in the school community. In addition, he is expected to concern himself with the total development of democratic rural citizens, as well as with the improvement of the rural home and community.

Later, in Chapter VII, further analysis of the value orientation of the "Vo-Ag" teaching occupation will be made in connection with a discussion of the actual orientations of a sample of "Vo-Ag" teachers. Meanwhile, let us turn to the task of outlining the major characteristics of the "Vo-Ag" practitioner and his work situation.
CHAPTER VI

THE WORK PRACTITIONER, HIS CAREER PATTERN
AND HIS WORK SITUATION

As was indicated in the model of behavioral causation, three basic groups of factors enter into the patterning of real behavior. Up to this point this study has described part of only one of these groups of factors—that is, the formal socio-cultural structure. There are yet to be described the informal socio-cultural structure, the personality factors or the personal traits of the actors involved, and the situational factors associated with the work environment. This chapter will deal with the last two of these—the actor or work practitioners and their work situation. The discussion of these will involve a discussion of the "Vo-Ag" teachers' career patterns.

I. THE WORK PRACTITIONER AND HIS CAREER PATTERN

In regard to the work practitioner the concern is not with analyzing and understanding the organization of each personality involved in the sample population used but only with whatever is recurrent in this class of actors which may be expected to influence the structuring of expected and real behavior. Here this study will examine the various backgrounds, experiences, and characteristics of the twenty-seven teachers of vocational agriculture.
from the three Louisiana parishes which have been selected as the basis for this study.

**Recruitment**

Although the official administrative bulletins prescribe that one of the functions of the teacher-training program shall be to provide facilities for selection and recruitment of trainees, there seems to be no formal structure for executing this function. The teachers interviewed were almost unanimous in the opinion that most boys who enter the "Vo-Ag" teacher-training program make their decision to do so while they are enrolled in high school vocational agriculture and participating in FFA activities. Most of these teachers felt that high school "Vo-Ag" teachers were a strong influence in determining the occupational choices of their students but that few teachers actually proselytized for their profession. Only one teacher stated that he strongly recommended to his students that they take the "Vo-Ag" training course in college. Twelve boys had followed his advice.

When the teachers were asked what influenced them to enter the profession, fifteen of the twenty-seven indicated that they were influenced to do so by their "Vo-Ag" teacher and/or the "Vo-Ag" program. One teacher typically stated, "I was raised on a farm and respected my 'Ag' teacher. He didn't try to talk me into it but he was an influence." Another respondent said, "I liked farming so I made up my mind in high school." Three of the teachers indicated that their general interest in agriculture led them into the
profession. Eight of the total number made their decisions in college. Four of these, more or less, drifted into the field early in their college careers because of the influence of friends and their general interest in agriculture or their interest in rural people. The remaining four switched from other majors. Two of these switched from general agriculture, one from general education, and one from veterinary science. Only two of the group indicated that "Vo-Ag" was their second choice in occupations.

Since the "Vo-Ag" teacher must meet the criterion of having a farm background and since vocational choices are made largely while students are enrolled in the high school "Vo-Ag" program under the influence of the key practitioner, one can expect a certain amount of selection to take place. The boys who admire the "Vo-Ag" teacher and want to follow in his footsteps would logically be those who succeed in the "Vo-Ag" program: that is, they would be those students who fulfill the expectations of the teacher. Those students are likely to be the ones who respond to the occupational norms of decision-making in a democratic setting and to the translation of these decisions into practice by "doing."

Interestingly enough, none of the teachers interviewed were sons of "Vo-Ag" teachers or of other types of teachers. None seemed ambitious for their own sons to follow their profession, and none reported that their sons were interested in their occupation. When asked if he would like to see his son enter his own profession, a respondent replied, "I wouldn't discourage him if that was what he
wanted but I would prefer to see him enter one of the professions that would be easier on him. You can do a lot of good in "Vo-Ag" but it is a hard life."

Training and Its Evaluation

The "Vo-Ag" teachers interviewed were almost equally divided between those who held Bachelor of Science degrees and those who held Master of Arts or Master of Science degrees. Thirteen held the four-year degree and fourteen held Masters' degrees. Of the thirteen with Bachelors' degrees, seven were working toward the higher degree and one was planning to start soon. Of the fourteen with Masters' degrees, six were planning to continue their education but none had actually started at the time. Since then, one has begun training for his Ph.D. in Vocational Agricultural Education.

Majors in vocational education in agriculture are not required to have minors since their agricultural training corresponds to the "general agriculture" curriculum, but several teachers did report minors. Of the minors reported, eight were in science, six in agronomy, four in general education, three in animal industry, and two in dairying.

When asked to evaluate the adequacy of the regular four-year training program for teachers of vocational agriculture, nineteen of the twenty-seven reported it to be inadequate. Some of the eight who said that the training program was adequate qualified their evaluation in one or another way. For example, one respondent said,
"Yes, it is as adequate as can be expected for the time allowed."

This informal evaluation is in keeping with the formal evaluations noted in the last chapter. Teacher-trainers and authors of textbooks in the field frankly state that the duties and responsibilities of the "Vo-Ag" teachers are so broad that the teachers cannot be trained adequately in all necessary areas during the four-year program. Consequently, provisions are made at the teacher-training level and the supervisory level for continuing in-service training. This breadth of responsibilities also appears to be the basic factor in causing the teacher-training departments to place emphasis upon methods of solving problems rather than upon the data necessary for the solutions. Probably no average human mind can retain the content or the technical knowledge necessary for the solution of the many problems in the various areas of agriculture and rural life. Hence, the "Vo-Ag" teacher must be skilled in "methods" of solving problems and in knowing where to find data as the need arises.

In viewing the reported educational weaknesses of the "Vo-Ag" teachers, it should be remembered, as several teachers explained, that times have changed since their farm and college days. One teacher aptly put it as follows: "For a boy who grew up on a mule farm without electricity, there is a big gap which is hard to fill by any training program. In a period of rapid change, it can be expected that many occupational groups will report feelings of inadequacies concerning their background and training, but this cast of mind could especially be expected to prevail among the members
of an occupation where the orientation is as diffuse as it is and the expectations are as great as they are in the vocational agriculture teaching profession.

The reported weaknesses of the four-year "Vo-Ag" teacher-training program fall into three categories: (1) brevity of the program, (2) technical content, and (3) methods of teaching. Five teachers stated directly and others stated by implication that the four-year training program was too short. As one teacher said, "It is impossible to include enough training in four years to fit one for this broad field." Another teacher made the following statement:

It would take ten years training to do the job we are supposed to do. Why, when I first came here people would come to the school and ask for the state veterinarian. I have done about everything you can imagine, except deliver babies and I have come close to that carrying farmers' wives to the hospital while in labor. The teacher-trainers could not possibly do the job in four years. However, they did teach me to say, 'I don't know, but I can find out.'

Some teachers who felt that the training program was too short gave no specific indication of how they thought the program should be revised, but seventeen or approximately two-thirds of the interviewees felt that there should be more technical training in various areas of agriculture. The most commonly mentioned area was farm mechanics.

The teacher-trainers apparently have succeeded in instilling within the trainees the belief in one of the basic tenets of their educational philosophy—that is, that learning is best accomplished by "doing." An indication of this success is the common complaint
that there was not enough emphasis on the practical or applied aspects of farming in their own training program compared to the time spent on theory or book learning. Fourteen, or just over one-half, registered this criticism. One teacher said, "They should get the 'Vo-Ag' majors out on farms and into farm shops more to actually 'do' what they have to teach others to do later." Three teachers felt that a longer apprentice teaching period than the present six weeks period would partially solve this problem. Although two teachers stated that the theory of how to teach was overdone, most of the criticism of the lack of emphasis on "doing" was apparently directed at the teachers of the technical courses in agriculture rather than at the teacher-trainers of vocational education in agriculture.

Placement

Other than the provisions in the "State Plan" for joint recommendations by the State Supervisor of Agricultural Education and the Teacher-Training Department to interested parish boards of education, there appears to be no formal pattern for the placement of vocational agriculture teachers in Louisiana. An attempt was made to determine the informal patterns of placement by asking the twenty-seven respondents what they considered the usual procedures for beginners and for experienced teachers to be in obtaining employment as "Vo-Ag" teachers. From the responses, there does not appear to be a set procedure through which beginning or experienced teachers make contacts leading to employment. About fourteen, or
approximately one-half, indicated that a beginner might hear of a job through nearly any source such as friends, relatives, classmates, teacher-trainers, or supervisors. When he heard of a job he would then usually go to the parish school superintendent or perhaps to the principal or a board member, eventually applying to the board of education through the superintendent. Thirteen respondents believed most beginners would be referred to a job by teacher-trainers, supervisors or both. The responses indicated that experienced teachers would be more likely to hear of jobs through a variety of sources and go directly to local school officials than would beginners. This tendency was more pronounced in the French-Catholic culture area than in the Protestant-Anglo-Saxon and mixed culture areas. In the French-Catholic culture area there was also a greater tendency for the teachers to be teaching in their home communities or home parish.

In discussing the placement procedures, the respondents appeared to have no strong feeling about whom the teacher should see first. The responsibility for finding employment appeared to rest mainly with the teacher, although there seemed to be the feeling that the teacher could expect help and cooperation from teacher-trainers and supervisors if the teachers called upon them for help. The one norm which appeared to be held quite strongly was that one should not attempt to get a particular job until the position was clearly vacant.
Characteristics

Although the formal structure does not specify the sex of the incumbents of the position of teacher of vocational agriculture, a survey of the literature reveals no record of any females having entered or having prepared to enter the occupation. This is in contrast to secondary education in general which is numerically dominated by women. The only other positions in secondary education predominately filled by males are those of superintendent, principal, and coach, and to some extent, females have invaded these. According to Burtner:

Scarcity of one's own sex kind within the framework of the school does not place one in a preferential position; on the contrary, it tends to isolate in the sense that it prevents informal relationships with one's colleagues. In the case of the teacher of vocational agriculture, the situation is that of a man in a world populated almost entirely by women. The other males in the situation, either because of their hierarchial position within the school bureaucracy or because of the focus of their duties and interest, remain apart.¹

The respondents ranged in age from thirty to fifty-eight. Both the median and mean ages were between forty and forty-one. Only one was above fifty years of age. With respect to the cultural areas there was an increase in mean age from the Protestant-Anglo-Saxon area through the mixed area to the Catholic-French area. All of the respondents were married except one. The range in number of

of children was from zero to six. Both the median and modal numbers of children were three.

All but one of the twenty-seven "Vo-Ag" teachers interviewed owned homes, of which thirteen were classified as rural farm, ten as rural non-farm, and four as urban. Of those classified as rural non-farm, six lived in the small towns or villages where they taught, three lived in the open country, and one lived in a small town a few miles from the open country high school where he taught. All of the teachers with urban residences lived in the towns where they taught.

Of the thirteen "Vo-Ag" teachers who owned and lived on farms, eleven stated that they either supervised a tenant or laborer (usually part-time) on their farm or else farmed a little as a hobby or as an aid to keeping up with changes in agriculture. Only two reported cash income from their farming ventures. When asked if a "Vo-Ag" teacher should operate a farm, three stated yes, eight stated no, and the remainder gave qualified answers. The qualifications were generally to the effect that the operation of a farm was all right if it were done on a small scale or was only of a supervisory nature. All seemed to agree that the occupation of "Vo-Ag" teaching was a full time job and that full time should be devoted to it. Many agreed that if a teacher wanted to farm as a hobby or to increase his practical knowledge and skills on his own time beyond a normal week's work that he had the right to do so. Those who objected to the teacher's participation in farming did
so on the grounds that the "Vo-Ag" teacher had no time for it, that the public might resent his engaging in farming, that the public would carefully note his failures, and that a professional educator should not pursue any other money-making enterprises.

Various justifications were given for the "Vo-Ag" teacher's limited participation in farming. These involved "learning by doing," keeping up with new developments, demonstrating to farmers, gaining farmers' confidence, and helping to understand farmers' problems. One teacher remarked, "Farmers will listen to you better if they know you have dirt in your shoes and sweat on your brow. You will be more respected, but it should not be overdone. There just isn't much time available." Seen here is a conflict between the fear of being regarded only as "book farmer" and the demanding expectations of the "Vo-Ag" professional role which are too broad to permit the teacher adequate time for actual farming. Another respondent stated that he would not recommend anything he would not do himself and that he felt that as long as he taught others to farm he should like it and be associated with it. There is the hint here of a guilt complex. Here is a person teaching farming as "the life," yet he is a teacher not a farmer. Perhaps, to salve his conscience, he feels obligated to like it and to participate in it in a token fashion.

At the supervisory and teacher-training levels the expectation is that the "Vo-Ag" teacher should teach in the same or similar agricultural and cultural area as the area in which he was reared, but not in his home community, at least not until he has secured
several years of experience elsewhere. In actual practice it was found that eight of the twenty-seven teachers interviewed were teaching in their home communities and that twelve were teaching in their home parishes. Only eleven were teaching more than fifty miles from where they were reared. Of these, the one farthest away from his home community was only 230 miles from it. Of the twelve teaching in their home parish, seven were from the Catholic-French cultural area. There, seven of the ten teachers interviewed were teaching in their home parishes. Only one interviewee from the Protestant-Anglo-Saxon cultural area was teaching in his home parish and community. One-half or four of the eight interviewees from the mixed cultural area were natives of the parish in which they were teaching. Only one "Vo-Ag" teacher interviewed had left a distinctive cultural area to teach in another, and he had accepted the customs and the dominant religion of the area. However, three teachers in the mixed cultural area were teaching in cultural areas slightly different from those in which they had been reared. The wives exhibited only a slightly smaller tendency than their husbands to be from the same parish or cultural area.

When asked if a "Vo-Ag" teacher should teach in his home community, the teachers had a greater tendency to agree with the formal norms than to disagree. Only five answered "yes"; ten emphatically said "no"; and eleven gave qualified answers. These qualifications bore upon experience outside of the home community, age, personality, and ability. A few of the respondents pointed
out certain advantages arising from teaching in the home community such as knowing the agricultural problems and the people of that community. However, almost every respondent, including those teaching in their own home communities, pointed out certain disadvantages of teaching there. Over and over, they brought out the point that the role of the "stranger" is the role of the "expert." As one teacher said, "There is an air of greatness about the stranger. As you know, the prophet is without honor only in his own country." Other more commonly mentioned disadvantages of teaching "Vo-Ag" in one's home community were: (1) the people know you too well, (2) over-familiarity of students results in disciplinary problems, (3) there is difficulty in remaining impartial because of kinship, friendship, and political entanglements (4) older people will regard you as a boy, and (5) friends and relatives may call upon you for service rather than education.

In the two distinctive cultural areas, all the respondents held the same religion as that dominant in the area. In the mixed cultural area there was a tendency for Protestant teachers to be teaching in areas in which the Catholic religion was slightly pre­dominate. In only one case was the religion of the wife different from that of the husband and of the culture area.

Attitudes and Personal Qualities

The twenty-seven "Vo-Ag" teachers interviewed gave one hundred and eighteen responses to the question regarding the attitudes and qualities most important for success in their occupation. These
responses varied in levels of generality and in terminology, variations which make it difficult to classify the responses accurately.

In varying ways practically all of the teachers expressed the belief that underlying success in their field must be an interest in, an appreciation for, and an understanding of rural people, along with the sincere desire to help them. Only two specifically mentioned a needed interest in agriculture while twenty-six respondents referred to needed interest in rural people. Three other teachers mentioned an interest in rural life which included both people and farming. Although the respondents emphasized the needed interest of the teacher in rural people rather than interest in the technical aspects of their work, twenty stated that sound knowledge of and skills in agriculture was necessary for success. In referring to technical competency, they usually meant having a farm background, technical training, and willingness to keep up with developments in the field. The teachers were much more prone to emphasize the need of technical training than the ability to teach or transmit these skills and knowledge. Only four mentioned training in teaching and the need of teaching ability, though two others stressed the importance of the ability to discipline students. This lack of emphasis on teaching methods may be interpreted in either of two ways: first, that the respondents did not feel that it was important; second, that they felt that they had had sufficient training in this area so that it was no longer a problem to them.

At least twelve of the respondents emphasized that their work called for persons with congenial personalities or exceptional
ability to get along with people, especially rural people. Eight teachers emphasized the importance of impartiality or fairness, six stressed good moral character, six stressed dedication to the work, and five mentioned the significance of patience in their work. It is interesting, in view of the discussion of the formal role of leadership, that so many mentioned getting along with people while only two stressed ability to lead. One of these mentioned the ability to follow as well as lead. Other attitudes or qualities mentioned once or twice as important for success were open-mindedness, industriousness, practicality, cooperativeness, conservatism, health, sincerity, optimism, and adaptability.

Based upon the responses of our sample population of "Vo-Ag" teachers, it appears then that the successful "Vo-Ag" teacher must first have an interest in, an appreciation for, and an understanding of rural people, along with a sincere desire to aid these people in improving their lot in life. This aid, they stated, is dependent primarily upon the teacher's technical skills and knowledge in agriculture and his ability to get along with rural people. If a "Vo-Ag" teacher has these, plus high moral character, impartiality or fairness in his dealings, and a dedication to his work, he should, according to the respondents, reach a measure of success in his work.

Economic Remuneration

The years of work experience of the teachers interviewed ranged from six to twenty-six years and the income they received
for their teaching services ranged from $4,800 to $8,048 on a twelve months basis. The mean income was $6,513. All of these teachers were permitted reimbursement for mileage and for certain other official travel expenses usually up to a maximum of fifty dollars per month. Two of the teachers were receiving veterans' pensions and two reported additional income from farming. No income from any other source was reported.

Social Participation and Leadership Activities

In describing the formal roles of the teacher of vocational agriculture it was pointed out that in addition to his sponsorship of "Vo-Ag" organizations, groups, and services he is expected to affiliate with the farm, civic, social, religious, and fraternal organizations of the community. He is further advised to assist in the movements of these groups for agricultural, social, educational, recreational, and other community improvements. However, what type of assistance he is to render or what kind of leadership he is to give to groups outside of those his department officially sanctions is not made clear.

This section will view the reported extent of the social participation of the sample population with regard to the extent of membership, number of leadership positions, and type of leadership exercised in organizations beyond those sponsored by their own departments.

It was found that all twenty-seven "Vo-Ag" teachers interviewed
belonged to what some of them referred to as "the works" so far as professional organizations are concerned. That is to say, all respondents belonged to all of the local, state, and national organizations for regular teachers, vocational teachers, and vocational agriculture teachers which were available. The fact on one hand that they all belong to the regular teacher associations and, on the other hand to their "special teacher" associations in a solid front seems to indicate a paradox. They appeared to be trying very hard to prove that they were regular teachers—the same as any other type of teacher; yet their solid front in their vocational agriculture teacher organization appeared to be proof that they were very conscious that they were a special group with special interests, aims, and expectations.

The twenty-seven respondents held a total of ninety-four separate memberships in non-professional organizations. The average number of memberships was three and one-half. These memberships included forty-two in various farm organizations, twenty-seven in churches, fourteen in fraternal organizations, seven in civic organizations, two in veteran groups, and two in political offices. Of these ninety-four memberships, forty-one were positions of leadership and were held by twenty-one "Vo-Ag" teachers. Six teachers held no positions of leadership outside of their departments and professional organizations. The remaining twenty-one teachers held an average of about two leadership positions each. The discussion which follows will review the "Vo-Ag" teacher participation by types of organizations.
Twenty-two "Vo-Ag" teachers held the forty-two memberships in farm organizations. The five who did not belong to formal farm organizations outside of their department were from the more remote areas where few local farm organizations were found besides those sponsored by vocational agriculture. They were also in areas which were characterized by stronger informal organization and stronger adult programs in "Vo-Ag". The forty-two memberships were distributed as follows: Farm Bureau, seventeen; cattlemen's associations, nine; vegetable growers associations, five; artificial breeders associations, three; livestock festival associations, three; sheep growers association, one; fair association, one; brucellosis eradication organization, one; parish agricultural council, one; and dairy festival association, one. At the time of the interviews only seven "Vo-Ag" teachers held leadership positions in these various farm organizations and those reported tended to be of the less active type such as membership on boards of directors.

The respondents were questioned regarding what role they thought the "Vo-Ag" teacher should play in farm organizations. One typical response was: "The 'Vo-Ag' teacher should push but let the farmers be the leaders. That makes them feel that it is their organization and their responsibility. We should advise and supervise but not hold office." Another teacher said, "We should take a backseat to steer and guide in an advisory capacity. The active leadership should be reserved for those engaged in farming. After all, it is their living which is at stake and they need the
leadership training." Several teachers felt that too active leadership might prove dysfunctional for their positions. One respondent stated, "No, we should not hold office. We should remain neutral on controversial or political issues." He then related how a fellow teacher had "gotten his tail in a crack" by taking an active leadership position and strongly advocating one side of a controversial agricultural problem in the community.

The time element was brought forth by several teachers. One respondent said, "The 'Vo-Ag' teacher should definitely be a member, but not an officer for he doesn't have the time, and it opens him up for undue criticism." Only two of the respondents said that the "Vo-Ag" teacher should hold office and only five felt that he should influence action as any other member might do. The remainder, variously described the "Vo-Ag" teacher's role as advisor, educator, resource person, ex-officio member, pusher, and trainer of farm leaders. It was indicated in describing the formal roles of the "Vo-Ag" teacher that his "teacher role" with its particular educational philosophy and the "group organizer and sustainer role" of leading others to be leaders would have important implications for the rural leader role. Informally, the "Vo-Ag" teacher in this group appeared to adhere to the dominant roles of "teacher" and of "FFA advisor." He avoided direct leadership positions and controversial issues since he felt these endangered his neutral "teacher-advisor" role of providing facts, shifting responsibility of decision making, and developing democratic rural leadership in others. The limited
participation of "Vo-Ag" teachers in officer-leadership in farm organizations is further supported by the diffuseness of their other roles and the limitations of time. It must be remembered that in addition to their in-school classes and other regular school duties, all of these teachers were FFA advisors and all but five reported having adult or young farmer classes. They also offered various services to their communities such as community-school shops and food preservation plants.

This "behind the scenes" type of leadership has consequences which cannot be accurately determined here: it appears to be a fruitful area for further research. Aside from the relative merits of this type of leadership for the clients involved, this lack of display may be both functional and dysfunctional for the career of the agent. It may not bring him excessive admiration or prestige, but neither is it likely to bring him undue envy or criticism. The "Vo-Ag" teacher, in effect, does not get out on a limb and, consequently, does not run the risk of having the limb cut off behind him. This fact is not disassociated from the length of tenure of the "Vo-Ag" teachers or from the prestige and esteem accorded them. The net results of the functions and dysfunctions of this type of leadership are only a matter of conjuncture at this point. However, before leaving the subject it is pertinent to pose several additional questions: Do farmers in a specific type of community want this or some other type of agricultural leadership? What types of communities will respond best to this type of leadership? What type of
personality adjusts best to this type of leadership? How can one best educate farmers to accept this type of leadership?

All twenty-seven reported active membership in churches. Seventeen were Protestant and ten were Catholic. The Baptist "Vo-Ag" teachers reported a high degree of leadership in their churches. Of the eleven members of this denomination, nine reported holding fourteen positions of leadership. Fourteen teachers reported membership in fraternal organizations, but none were officers in these organizations at the time they were interviewed. Only seven "Vo-Ag" teachers were, at the time, members of civic organizations. Four of these were members of the local Lions Clubs. The other three were distributed one each among the following organizations: Ruritan, Junior Chamber of Commerce, and Chamber of Commerce. Two of the seven civic organization members were, at the time, in positions of leadership and five reported past offices. Although thirteen of the twenty-seven teachers had performed military service only two reported present membership in veteran organizations and neither was at the time in a position of leadership. Seemingly, out of keeping with the leadership role of the position of "Vo-Ag" teaching, two were found to be holding political office. One was a town alderman and the other was town mayor. However, the mayor considered his office holding a mistake because controversial issues had arisen since his election to office without opposition. He felt that having to take part in these controversies had endangered his normally neutral and impartial roles of "teacher" and of "provider of facts."
There was general agreement among the "Vo-Ag" teachers inter-viewed that outside of the "Vo-Ag" department and farm organizations, the "Vo-Ag" teacher should assume the normal citizen's role. The typical response was:

In those organizations the 'Vo-Ag' teacher is just another citizen. He has a right to hold office and stand up for what he believes, but he shouldn't get tied up with too many organizations for he doesn't have the time.

**Occupational Stratification and Prestige**

The "Vo-Ag" teachers in the sample population were asked certain questions to determine how they viewed selected aspects of their occupational status including both the degree and means of stratification within the occupation and the amount of prestige accorded the occupation by the general public in their own communities.

Before discussing these aspects of occupational prestige, let us first discuss the social origins of the teachers in the sample in terms of their fathers' occupations. As indicated in Chapter IV, persons desiring to train to become "Vo-Ag" teachers are expected to have been farm reared and are required to have had at least two years of practical farm experience since the age of fourteen.

This being true, it is not surprising that the fathers of seventeen of the twenty-seven teachers interviewed were farmers. They were predominately small owner-operators. Eight of the respondents' fathers were part-time farmers. The occupation of farming for these eight were combined with the occupations of carpenter, logger,
blacksmith, railroad section foreman, salesman, postmaster, and accountant. The occupations of the fathers of the remaining two teachers were those of banker and policeman. Although these last two parents were neither farmers nor part-time farmers they were able to provide farming experience for their sons.

On the basis of these backgrounds it can be seen that most of the sample population of "Vo-Ag" teachers were upwardly mobile in occupation in comparison to their fathers' occupations. Generally, they can be considered first generation arrivals in the professional world. As indicated in the section on recruitment, "Vo-Ag" teaching is certainly not an inherited occupation. None of the respondents were found to be sons of "Vo-Ag" teachers and none indicated that their sons were interested in following the "Vo-Ag" teaching profession.

**General conception of occupational prestige.** One way of assessing the general prestige position of an occupation is to determine what class of occupations it is identified with: professional, white collar, blue collar, and so forth. The "Vo-Ag" teachers interviewed were asked whether they considered their occupation to be a trade, a white collar occupation, semi-profession, or a profession. With the exception of two respondents, the teachers considered the teaching of vocational agriculture a profession. The most often cited justifications for calling the occupation a profession were that they were teachers, that their work required long training, and that they adhered as a group to
certain ideals and a code of ethics. Two respondents considered the occupation a semi-profession. One teacher's justification for this rating was based upon the generality and lack of specialization of the occupation. The other respondent's justification was based on the amount of labor of a non-professional nature that a "Vo-Ag" teacher is required to do.

Another question was asked to gain insight into how the "Vo-Ag" teachers perceive their occupation in relation to other closely related occupations. Since the teacher of vocational agriculture not only teaches in-school students but also works with adult farmers and provides various community services, the respondents were asked if they considered their occupation more closely related to such agricultural occupations as soil conservation technician work and county agent work or to school teaching. Fifteen respondents stated that their work corresponded more nearly to regular school teaching, while five indicated that it was more like the agricultural occupations. Seven of the teachers declined to say that vocational agriculture was more like regular teaching or the agricultural occupations on the basis that it includes aspects of both.

The teacher of vocational agriculture differs from the usual high school teacher in that he often performs tasks which require exertion, get him dirty, or cause him to dress informally on occasions. The respondents were asked if this working with their hands and getting dirty at times raised, lowered, or had no
effect upon their prestige in the eyes of certain significant groups. In general, the reaction was that the laboring aspect of their job tended to raise their prestige in the eyes of farm people and in those of their agriculture students. Only one felt that this type of work lowered his prestige with these two groups. There was an approximately even three-way division of the respondents who felt that getting dirty or laboring raised their prestige, lowered their prestige, or had no effect on their prestige in the eyes of other high school teachers, the local townspeople, and the general public. Probably several factors account for the fact that only one respondent felt that manual labor lowered the "Vo-Ag" teacher's prestige in the eyes of farm people and only one-third of the respondents felt that their prestige was lowered for this reason in the eyes of the three non-farming groups. In the first place, the most significant groups for the sample population are their in-school students and the farm people. The "Vo-Ag" teacher with a rural background and

2When the teachers were asked whose respect they were most concerned with obtaining, their in-school students, farm people, high school teachers, townspeople, or general public, twenty teachers stated that their first concern was with their in-school agriculture students and their second concern was with farm people. These same teachers felt that the groups whose respect they wanted most actually did respect them most. The remaining seven respondents stated that they were most concerned with obtaining the respect of the farm people and second, their in-school agriculture students. Four of these teachers felt that they received respect in the order desired while one felt that the students respected him most and the high school teachers second. The other teacher said that he believed the students respected him most and the townspeople second.
whose "significant others" are the rural people is likely to internalize the rural attitudes and values which stress the honor of manual work. Various remarks made by the respondents indicated these values. For example, one teacher stated proudly, "I never ask a student or a farmer to do anything I won't tackle myself. In fact, I usually lead off." Another said,

If I visit a farmer or his boy and find them cleaning our a cow stall, I join in while we talk. It doesn't hurt you at the next farmer's house to have a little manure on your shoes and some honest sweat on your brow.

Probably the ever present threat of being accused of being a "book farmer" accentuates this type of behavior on the part of the "Vo-Ag" teacher. There may also be some rationalization for the necessity of performing a certain amount of manual work. It should also be kept in mind that the townspeople and high school teachers in many of these small towns or villages have attitudes and values similar to those of the farm people. In fact, one teacher stated, "Doing a little work around here won't hurt you. These teachers and townspeople are just country folks like the rest of us."

An indication of the institutionalized honor placed upon labor in the vocational agriculture program is the plow on the FFA emblem which symbolizes labor and tillage of the soil. Labor is also paid honor in the FFA initiation ceremonies. In the formal initiation of Green Hands (first of four degrees in the organization), the vice-president makes the following statement to the initiates:
The plow is the emblem of labor and tillage of the soil. Although it appears simple, the plow is a very intricate piece of machinery. It has been the forerunner of civilization. . . without hard labor we can accomplish little and unless our labor is directed by intelligent thinking we accomplish nothing. Work hard, but plan before you work. Pass on!3

**Teachers' perceptions of the public's view of their occupation.** In an attempt to determine the "Vo-Ag" teachers' perception of how the general public rates their occupation in comparison to certain others, the names of ten occupational groups, including vocational agriculture, were typed on separate cards and handed to each respondent with the following instructions: "Would you please rate the following positions or occupations as to the amount of prestige or respect the general public in your community accords them. Keep in mind that you are rating positions or occupations and not any particular individuals who might occupy them." After each respondent had placed the positions or occupations in rank order, the ranks were recorded by giving the highest ranking occupation a weight of one, the second highest a weight of two, and so forth. After all responses were made, a mean rank order was determined. The results of this ranking is given in Table III.

As indicated in the table, the "Vo-Ag" teachers perceived that the general public in their communities ranked their own occupation third among the positions and occupations listed. Within

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TABLE III

THE MEAN RANK ORDER OF SELECTED SCHOOL AND AGRICULTURAL POSITIONS OR OCCUPATIONS AS TEACHERS OF VOCATIONAL AGRICULTURE PERCEIVE THAT THEY ARE RATED BY THE GENERAL PUBLIC IN THEIR SCHOOL COMMUNITIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position or Occupation</th>
<th>Mean Rank Order</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parish School Superintendent</td>
<td>1.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School Principal</td>
<td>2.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational Agriculture Teacher</td>
<td>3.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County Agricultural Agent</td>
<td>4.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School Coach</td>
<td>4.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regular High School Classroom Teacher</td>
<td>5.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary School Teacher</td>
<td>6.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer's Home Administrator</td>
<td>7.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Manager</td>
<td>8.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soil Conservation Service Technician</td>
<td>8.37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

the school system they felt that "Vo-Ag" teaching ranked above all positions except those of an administrative and supervisory nature. Among the agricultural occupations they felt that they rated first, being followed by the county agricultural agent. In fact, the respondents felt that the public rated all of the agricultural occupations except the county agent below the lowest rated school position (elementary teacher). The range of the ratings perceived by the "Vo-Ag" teachers for their own occupation was from first to sixth. However, the median rating was third, with twenty-one respondents giving their own occupation a rating of either third or fourth.
In interpreting this table it must be remembered that people, in general, tend to rank their own and closely related occupations higher than others would rate them. It will be recalled that the majority of the "Vo-Ag" teachers interviewed stated that their occupation was more closely related to school teaching than to agricultural occupations. In addition to the tendency to raise one's own rank, there appear to be other factors which may have influenced the "Vo-Ag" teachers to perceive their own occupation above all other school positions except those of superintendent and principal. In the first place, the "Vo-Ag" teacher is a male in a field dominated numerically by women. Second, he usually receives a larger annual salary since he is paid for twelve months' work. Third, he teaches adults as well as children and provides various services for the community. Fourth, he is a part of a federal program and this fact may raise his estimation of his own prestige. Fifth, since his program requires that he supervise farming programs, he usually becomes acquainted with a much larger number of people in the community than the average teacher does. Sixth, the tenure of the "Vo-Ag" teacher is usually longer than that of regular teachers and, consequently, part of his prestige derives from seniority and from being an established home or land owner. Seventh, the "Vo-Ag" teacher may feel that his status is greater due to his connection with a vital economic function of the community. Last, the fact that one's attitudes, values, and behavior enter more strongly into the prestige ratings in small rural communities than in larger ones.
may have an effect upon the relative status of the "Vo-Ag" teacher.

The "Vo-Ag" teachers perceptions of their own occupational rank in comparison with that of the county agricultural agent presents some interesting implications. It was noted in Chapter IV how the various groups working toward various aspects of vocational education split and two bills passed Congress setting up, on one hand, the Agricultural Extension Service administered by the United States Department of Agriculture through the land grant colleges and, on the other hand, the Vocational Education Program administered at first by the Federal Board for Vocational Education and later by the Office of Education. Members of Congress, as early as 1911, before the passage of either bill, pointed out that the establishment of competing programs would have serious consequences if they were administered by separate agencies of the government. Without becoming entangled in the merits of either program, one should realize that knowledge of this basic split in the administration of somewhat similar programs is essential to the understanding of the behavior and attitudes of both the vocational agriculture teacher and the county agricultural extension agent who represents these two agencies at the county level. This basic split and the resulting competition has its effect upon the responses of the "Vo-Ag" teachers as to their perceptions of how the general public of their communities ranks the two occupations. Table III indicates that the mean prestige rank of the "Vo-Ag" teaching occupation as perceived by the respondents was 3.26 and that of the county agent was 4.63.
The variability of the "Vo-Ag" teachers' responses seems to indicate the difficulty of remaining objective and of separating prestige from esteem or lack of esteem. The ratings for the county agent ranged the whole length of the scale from one to ten, whereas, the "Vo-Ag" teachers' ratings clustered around three and four with only one rating below four. Of the seventeen teachers who perceived their own occupational prestige rank as above the county agent in rank, the majority placed their own more than one position above the county agent; whereas nine of the ten teachers who believed the county agent rated above their own occupation, placed that occupation only one position above their own. Some of the comments of justification on the part of the teachers shed some light on the objective situation. Some of those who placed the county agent rating above their own made such justifications as "Well, there is only one county agent here, and there are several of us," and "He covers the whole parish and we work only in our community." A teacher who felt that the county agent's position ranked in prestige below his own said, "He hardly ever comes out here. If the people need help they call on me." Over and over "Vo-Ag" teachers stressed the point that they worked with the "little farmer" as well as the "big farmer." Ironically, one teacher rated the county agent's occupation below his own on the basis that the county agent was not too well liked in his community of small farmers because he only

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4Assistant county agents or club agents were not included in the rating.
worked with the "big shots." This in itself is apparently an indication of prestige if not of esteem.

The "Vo-Ag" teacher's own rating of his occupation. A further test of the "Vo-Ag" teacher's perception of his occupational prestige was made by selecting eight well known occupations from the list of occupations which were rated in the National Opinion Research Center's occupational prestige study under North and Hatt. These occupations were arrayed in order of descending prestige as follows: physician, minister, lawyer, accountant for a large business, building contractor, public school teacher, county agricultural agent, railroad engineer, farm-owner operator, electrician, tenant farmer, carpenter, truck driver, farm hand, and street sweeper. The respondents were given this list of occupations with the following instructions: Below is a selected list of occupations taken from a national occupational rating study. They are listed in the order of their prestige ratings from high to low. Will you please indicate how far up or down this scale the occupation of the vocational agriculture teacher would fall. (It may be even with another occupation or between two occupations.)

The mean rating fell between the accountant for a large business and the building contractor. The modal rating was between the lawyer and accountant. Seven rated the "Vo-Ag" profession at this

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level. The highest rating was just under the minister with five respondents rating their occupation at that level. There was some confusion in rating by this scale since the three "Vo-Ag" teachers who rated their occupation even with or below the county agent said that both the county agent and the "Vo-Ag" teacher should be rated above the public school teacher. There were three other teachers who placed their own occupation at various levels above the public school teacher but insisted that the county agent be placed above their own occupation. It is significant that all "Vo-Ag" teachers interviewed placed their own occupation above the occupational group that they primarily work with, the farmers.

In interpreting these ratings, it should be recalled that North and Hatt found that lawyers rated lower in the South than in other sections. It would also be logical to presume that the larger or more prominent lawyers, accountants and building contractors were not as likely to be found in the rural areas where this study was conducted as they would be in urban areas.

The occupations of the "Vo-Ag" teachers' better friends. In an attempt to see how realistic the perceptions of the "Vo-Ag" teachers were regarding their occupational prestige, they were asked to name the occupations of their closest friends. This question appeared to be difficult, if not downright preposterous, to some of the respondents. One teacher looked surprised and hesitatingly

\[\text{6Tbid., p. 415.}\]
said, "Well now, that would take some thinking. I have lots of friends but I just don't think of them in terms of who are my best friends." It appeared to the observer that their occupational orientation almost denied some "Vo-Ag" teachers the luxury of "very close" or "best" friends. They appear to feel that they must be friends to all of their people and that admitting best friends should make them guilty of partiality. However, with some urging the average respondent named the occupations of three of his better, if not best, friends. The eighty-four occupations named are classified in the following table:

**TABLE IV**

THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE OCCUPATIONS OF THE BETTER FRIENDS OF TWENTY-SEVEN TEACHERS OF VOCATIONAL AGRICULTURE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classification of Occupations</th>
<th>Number of Friends</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional workers</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers, officials, and proprietors</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical and kindred workers</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales workers</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsmen</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service workers</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Although the respondents ranked themselves above farmers in occupational prestige, the above table shows that they felt that they have more close friends from this occupational group than any other. A total of seventy-two or eighty-five per cent of their reported closer friends were in the (1) farmer, (2) professional, and (3) manager, official, and proprietor classes.

**Occupational stratification.** The foregoing discussion has considered the "Vo-Ag" teachers' perception of their occupational prestige in comparison with other occupations. This study will now consider briefly their conception of stratification within their own occupation. There are, presently, 240 white teachers of vocational agriculture in the state of Louisiana teaching in 233 departments. Of these departments only seven have two teachers. Consequently, there is very little stratification within departments. The vocational agriculture positions above the positions of these 240 teachers within the State Department of Education include one director, four area supervisors, two specialists, and an executive secretary for the FFA. In the two teacher-training departments for white "Vo-Ag" teachers in the state of Louisiana, there are five teacher-trainers of vocational education in agriculture and one material specialist. This small number of higher positions provides little opportunity for advancement of teachers in the field. When the teachers were asked what the chances were for advancement within their own field all stated that they were limited or very limited. Although the respondents were not questioned directly about how
they felt about promotions to higher levels, several stated that they would not consider work at the higher levels as a promotion. Two teachers said that they had turned down offers because the increase in salary would not compensate for the added expenses and the necessity of traveling away from home a large part of the time. Another teacher said, "Few teachers want to be supervisor for when you get it you don't advance much." This attitude appears to be associated not only with the lack of opportunity and rationalization about the lack of it but also with the formal and informal expectations that when a young teacher goes into a community as a "Vo-Ag" teacher he should make himself a part of the community and should expect to live out his life there. Follow-up studies of graduates in vocational agricultural education support this view held by teachers in the field concerning the limitations for advancement. The author of this study found in a follow-up study that of 215 men who were graduated in vocational agricultural education from the University of Georgia between 1935 and 1940, only three or 1.4 per cent had advanced beyond the regular "Vo-Ag" teacher level by 1950 which was ten to fifteen years after graduation.7

In an effort to determine if there were a significant degree of stratification of teachers in different departments and to

7Harold L. Nix, "An Occupational Follow-up Study of the Agricultural Education Majors who Graduated from the University of Georgia from 1935 to 1940 Inclusive" (unpublished Master's problem, University of Georgia, Athens, 1951), p. 22.
ascertain the means by which they rated each other, the teachers were asked the means by which they rated their fellow "Vo-Ag" teachers. This question, as the one concerning the teacher's best friends, appeared to provoke some feeling among the respondents. It was almost as though it were disloyal to consider that there was a difference. Their responses, however, indicated that they had two different systems for judging each other. One applied to teachers in the same parish or nearby parishes and the other to more distant teachers. The parish "Vo-Ag" teachers held monthly meetings in each other's departments and these meetings gave them the opportunity to make some observations. As one teacher stated, "If you are familiar with the work you can just walk through a man's department and see lots of signs of what is going on." Another teacher said, "I talk to lots of farmers and boys as I go about the parish. Also my students know 'Ag' students in other schools, and you know how it is, the word just gets around." The responses of the teachers indicated that they had little difficulty in knowing generally what was going on in each other's departments within the parish. On the state level, a system of awards and contests appears for the "Vo-Ag" teachers to be what research publications are to the college professor--an inadequate means but about the only way they have of rating each other. Practically every

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8 This appears to be associated with the unwritten rule that no "Vo-Ag" teacher should show any interest in any "Vo-Ag" department until it is considered vacant by all interested parties.
respondent, regardless of whether or not he had done well in contests, criticized contests as a poor means for measuring a teacher's real worth but concluded that it was the primary method used. Eight teachers said that leadership in professional organizations was another way they rated other teachers. Four teachers mentioned that they obtained some idea of each other's professional standards by their behavior and participation at vocational agriculture teachers' conventions and FFA conventions. Three other teachers spoke of the "grapevine" which operated among the FFA boys at FFA conventions and other meetings. One teacher said, "A good teacher is usually known and liked by boys from other schools." Only two respondents mentioned seniority or experience as a criterion of rating.

The things not mentioned are just as interesting as the things mentioned by "Vo-Ag" teachers in rating fellow teachers. Although specifically asked in some cases, no teacher said that he felt that higher degrees enhanced a "Vo-Ag" teacher's prestige among his fellow workers. This viewpoint is not unrelated to comments by some teachers that their graduate work had not really helped them to become better "Vo-Ag" teachers. It is also interesting that no one suggested that the size or type of school was significant in rating teachers.

Since there is little hierarchy or stratification within departments, between departments, or in the bureaucratic structure, the "Vo-Ag" teacher is almost forced to consider success or promotion as one "Vo-Ag" teacher considered it, a matter of a better "Vo-Ag"
program, improvement of the community, and the increasing love and respect of those who are served.

**Career Patterns**

It was indicated in the preceding section that approximately two-thirds of the sample population of "Vo-Ag" teachers were sons of small farm operators. The remainder were largely sons of part-time farmers. From an intergenerational point of view, possibly all but three were upwardly mobile in occupation. It was also shown that there appears to be very little tendency for the profession to be inherited or to run in families. A teacher-trainer stated that he knew of only one case in Louisiana where a son of a "Vo-Ag" teacher had trained for his father's profession, and that this person had taken employment in a related field rather than in "Vo-Ag."

However, there has been an abundant supply of aspirants from among sons of small farmers and part-time farm families, young men who have little opportunity to become established in farming but who have developed an appreciation for farming and country life, and who have been favorably influenced by their "Vo-Ag" teachers in high school.

**Work experiences.** In order to determine the stability within the occupation and to gain further insight into the career patterns of the active members of the profession, the interviewer asked the respondents about their work experiences. The median number of years of experience for the respondents in the field of vocational
agriculture was seventeen years, and the range was from five to thirty-two years. The median number of years at their present jobs was thirteen and the range was five to twenty-six years. Sixteen or approximately sixty per cent of the respondents had been teaching vocational agriculture in the same positions for over ten years. This experience may be compared to thirty-eight per cent of rural secondary teachers in the United States during the 1951-52 school year who had had more than ten years of experience. 9

Another way to view the stability of this occupational group is in terms of numbers of different vocational agriculture teaching jobs held by the respondents and the number of other types of jobs they had held. Nineteen of the respondents had held only one "Vo-Ag" teaching job; six had held two; one had held three; and one senior teacher had held five. Aside from the fact that thirteen respondents had served at various times in the armed forces, only four had held jobs outside of the vocational agriculture field since training for the position. In comparison with the length of service of the regular faculty members in the schools where the respondents taught, fourteen "Vo-Ag" teachers said they had been in their schools longer than the average, ten stated about average, and three said less than average.

This stability is in keeping with the responses of twenty-three

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of the interviewees, who stated that they entered vocational agriculture teaching considering it as a career rather than a means to something else. At the time of the interviews, twenty-five indicated that they probably would finish their productive careers in the field. One was planning to go into general education, and one was undecided as to whether he would stay in the field or not.

**Occupational opportunities in other fields.** The occupational stability of the sample population who were engaged in teaching at the time of the interviews should not leave the impression that all who train for the profession of vocational agriculture teaching actually enter the field or remain in it. In fact, there was a general consensus among the "Vo-Ag" teachers interviewed that the chances for young "Vo-Ag" teachers to advance in other fields were good. Twenty teachers supported this view, while five felt that the chances were only fair, and two said the chances were very limited. When asked what fields offered opportunities for "Vo-Ag" teachers, the three fields mentioned most frequently were as follows: (1) general education, (2) agricultural industries, and (3) other professional agricultural occupations.

Various occupational follow-up studies made over the nation indicate that many "Vo-Ag" teachers do find employment in other fields. Chapman\(^{10}\) made a follow-up study in 1949 of the 741 men

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\(^{10}\) John C. Chapman, "Occupational Status of Men who Qualified at Louisiana State University Since 1919 to Teach Vocational Agriculture" (unpublished Master's thesis, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, 1949).
who had qualified to teach vocational agriculture at the Louisiana State University from 1919 to the time of the study. He received replies from 631 or 85.2 per cent of this group. Of those responding, 297 or 47.1 per cent were still engaged in teaching vocational agriculture. One hundred fifty or 23.8 per cent were engaged in other agricultural occupational positions such as those of county agent, farmer, entomologist, and Soil Conservation Service technician. Forty-five or 7.1 per cent of the respondents were in educational activities of a non-agricultural nature; thirty-seven or 5.7 per cent were engaged in occupations related to agriculture; seven or 1.1 per cent were engaged in graduate work. Only 14.1 per cent were in fields unrelated to agriculture, and only 7.0 per cent were in fields unrelated to both agriculture or education. The same study revealed that the average tenure for all qualifiers was 5.9 years. However, it must be kept in mind that Chapman's study included each year's graduates up to the time of the study, and it did not reveal the tenure merely for the ones who were remaining in the field.

In the occupational follow-up study of vocational agricultural education majors from the University of Georgia mentioned earlier, the writer obtained findings similar to those of Chapman. Of the 166 respondents (77.2 per cent of the 215 men who graduated with majors in vocational agricultural education from

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11Nix, op. cit., pp. 22-35.
the University of Georgia from 1935 through 1940), it was found that 95.8 per cent had actually entered the field of vocational agriculture teaching. At the time of the study in the spring of 1951, which was ten to fifteen years after the respondents had graduated, they were found in the following classes of occupations in the percentages indicated: (1) vocational education in agriculture, 48.8 per cent; (2) other professional agricultural occupations, 16.3 per cent; (3) agricultural businesses and industries, 13.85 per cent; (4) farming, 7.83 per cent; (5) general educational (non-agricultural) occupations, 5.4 per cent; and (6) miscellaneous (non-agricultural and non-educational occupations), 7.8 per cent.

The specific occupations other than vocational education in agriculture they had entered most frequently were, in the order of frequency: (1) farming, 7.8 per cent; (2) agricultural extension service, 6.0 per cent; (3) farm supply business, 4.0 per cent; (4) Veteran Administration training program, 3.6 per cent; and (5) sales promotion and management, 3.0 per cent. Ninety-two per cent of the respondents were engaged in agricultural work, educational work, or both.

A review of eleven occupational follow-up studies made in

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12Vocational education in agriculture is used here to include not only regular teachers of vocational agriculture of all-day boys but also teachers of vocational agriculture for veteran farm trainees.

13For a review of these eleven studies, see Nix, op. cit., pp. 7-16.
seven states indicate that about one-half of the graduates in vocational agricultural education usually remain in the field. Those who leave usually appear to do so early in their careers, and those among the fifty per cent who stay exhibit relatively little horizontal or vertical mobility.

Reasons for leaving the "Vo-Ag" program. The respondents in the present study were questioned as to their opinions as to why some of their fellow "Vo-Ag" teachers leave the field. The most frequently mentioned reasons were classified into the following three categories: (1) financial reason (low salaries, offered more money, and so forth); (2) excessive or conflicting expectations (too long hours, expectations too great, too many bosses, too much pressure or frustrations, and so forth); and (3) lack of opportunity for advancement in vocational agriculture or better opportunities in other fields.

Stringfield,\(^4\) in a follow-up study of 237 former teachers of vocational agriculture in Louisiana in 1949, summarized the reasons given by former teachers for leaving the field. The reasons given are, in the order of the frequency mentioned, as follows: (1) income too low; (2) offered more money for other work; (3) limited chance for promotion; (4) preferred other work; (5) felt that there was no future in the profession; (6) too much politics; (7) lack of

security; and (8) school community demanded too much of teachers. In the Georgia study referred to above, similar reasons were given by former "Vo-Ag" teachers for going into other work. The reasons given by 119 respondents, classified into seven general categories, are listed as follows in the order of frequency mentioned: (1) financial reasons (income too low, offered more money, and so forth); (2) nature of work (too long hours, too many records, too many activities, and so forth); (3) desire for professional advancement or lack of opportunity in own field; (4) preferred other work; (5) undesirable relations with others; (6) lack of security; and (7) miscellaneous reasons.

A study by Gerhardt involving 513 present and former teachers of vocational agriculture summarizes the most frequently mentioned desirable and undesirable features of teaching of vocational agriculture as follows:

**Desirable Features of Teaching Agriculture**

2. Opportunity for working with young people.
3. Opportunity for service to the community.
4. Wide variety of duties, which extend over a 12-month period.

**Undesirable Features of Teaching Agriculture**

1. Inadequate salaries.
2. Limited opportunities for advancement.
3. Too much responsibility, excess demands on time.
4. Overload of evening work.  

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15 Nix, op. cit., p. 35.

16 Irving Gerhardt, "What Ag Teachers Say," American Vocational Journal, XXIV (September, 1949), 17.
This last work is quoted since it seems to summarize four objections which appear over and over again in the eleven studies reviewed.

**The occupational aspirations of respondents.** The discussion of the career patterns of the "Vo-Ag" teacher will be concluded with a summary of the aspirations of the twenty-seven teachers interviewed in this study. In order to view the aspirations of the sample population, ten selected occupational goals were listed on the interview schedule, and the respondents were asked to check the goals which they were desirous of achieving and to add any others not listed. They were then asked to rank their first three goals in the order of importance. A total score was then given to each goal by weighing each first choice three, each second choice two, and each third choice one. The various goals chosen and their total weights in terms of choices are given in the following table, page 235.

The interpretation of the aspirations listed in Table V presents some difficulties in that certain of these goals no doubt have been achieved already by part of the respondents and are no longer forces of motivation. One must also face the realization that he does not really know which of these are real motivational forces for this class of actors and which are verbalizations of the expected aspirations of teachers of vocational agriculture.

As indicated by a total score of forty-nine, the greatest concern expressed by the respondents was, "Chance to help boys and
TABLE V

THE ASPIRATIONS OF TWENTY-SEVEN TEACHERS OF VOCATIONAL AGRICULTURE BY CHOICE AND BY TOTAL SCORE OF ASPIRATIONS

| Aspirations or Goals                                      | Choices |               |               | Total Score of Each Aspiration
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>First</td>
<td>Second</td>
<td>Third</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chance to help boys and farmers in my community succeed</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chance to help my own children succeed</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recognition and respect from citizens of my community</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm of my own</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher salary at present job</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business of my own</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher position in general education</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher position in &quot;Vo-Ag&quot;</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Vo-Ag&quot; teaching job in better school</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher position in other agricultural occupations</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first, second, and third choices are given weights of three, two, and one, respectively.

farmers in my community succeed." These expressions exhibit at the informal level the same collectivity-orientation that characterized the occupation at the formal structural level. Closely associated with this concern is that of the desire for "Recognition and respect from the citizens of my community." This goal which received a weighted score of twenty-one is indicative also of a
collectivity-orientation in that it expresses the desire of the "Vo-Ag" teacher to be an integrated part of the community. The second highest scoring goal was that of the "Chance to help my own children succeed." Even some who did not list this as one of their first three goals stated that a man's first responsibility is to his family, but went on to say that they believed they had already succeeded in this direction as well as they could expect. The three aspirations, (1) farm of my own, (2) business of my own, and (3) higher salary at present job, appear to this writer to represent a degree of self-orientation. Perhaps the desire for a farm also is indicative of the traditional expectations that the "Vo-Ag" teacher be imbued with and teach the love of country life. It should be remembered that twelve of the interviewees had already accomplished this goal.

As might have been expected, the aspirations scoring lowest were those involving vertical and horizontal occupational mobility. In keeping with the observations made earlier of the relatively little opportunity and desire for promotion in the field of vocational agriculture, only two teachers out of the twenty-seven expressed a desire in that direction. The slight degree of stratification among "Vo-Ag" teachers and departments has also been pointed out. The aspirations of the teachers appear to be compatible with this situation in that only three teachers expressed a desire for a better school and with these three teachers the better schools were second choices.
Although the orientation toward higher general education positions appeared slight, the expressed aspirations in this direction were greater than in the direction of higher positions in other agricultural occupations.

In sum, the expressed aspirations of the sample of "Vo-Ag" teachers, aside from their desires to help their own families, seem to indicate a great tendency toward a collectivity-orientation and only a slight tendency toward a career-orientation or a self-orientation. Apparently, the majority of those who remained in this relatively unstratified field redefine getting ahead in terms of improved services to, and greater respect from, their rural clients, and they focus their ambitions upon their students and their children. This sample of practitioners expressed little concern about low income and lack of opportunities for advancement—two of the reasons commonly reported in follow-up studies as causing teachers to leave the "Vo-Ag" profession. This fact probably indicates that a selective process has been in operation and that those who have remained in the field are largely those whose personalities and backgrounds are compatible enough to make the adjustments to the diffuse expectations and the collectivity-orientation of the various "Vo-Ag" teacher roles.

Summary

The trainees for the profession of vocational agriculture teaching are recruited generally from the sons of small and part-time farm families. The decisions to enter the occupation are made in high school under the influence of the "Vo-Ag" teacher but are
not usually a result of his urging. The trainees are exposed to a
four-year college training program which includes a large breath
if not a great depth of technical training in agriculture. To this
is added approximately twenty semester hours of professional teacher
training which emphasizes the techniques of leading others to "think"
and to "learn by doing." The channels by which the "Vo-Ag" teacher
is placed after training appear not to have become firmly established,
either formally or informally.

Concerning the general characteristics of the sample popu-
lation, the "Vo-Ag" teacher was in all cases male. The median age
was forty, and the mean salary was $6,513 annually. All were
married except one, and the median number of children was three.
All were home owners except one, and almost one-half owned farms.
The residences of all except four were rural farm or rural non-farm
and all except one resided in the community of his school. The
respondents as well as their wives exhibited a remarkable degree of
cultural and religious homogeneity with the residents of their
school communities. Only one was teaching in a cultural area which
was not the same or very similar to the one in which he was reared.

The successful "Vo-Ag" teacher, according to the respond-
ents, must have an interest in, appreciation for, and an under-
standing of rural people, along with a sincere desire to aid these
people in improving their lot in life. They further prescribe
that in order to aid rural people, the teacher must be well trained
in the technical skills and knowledge in agriculture and in the
ability to get along with rural people. To this foundation they feel must be added high moral character, impartiality, and a dedication to the work.

In addition to a solid front in membership in professional organizations, the mean number of memberships held in other community organizations was 3.5 per teacher. In agricultural organizations, the respondents appeared to avoid direct leadership positions and controversial issues on the basis that these endanger their neutral "teacher-advisor" role of providing facts, shifting the responsibility of decision making, and developing democratic rural leadership. In non-farm organizations, the teacher appeared to assume the more normal "citizen's role" with the admonition that the "Vo-Ag" teacher did not have time to get too involved in non-professional activities.

The "Vo-Ag" teachers in the sample perceived that the general public in their respective school communities awarded their occupation greater prestige than the occupation of farming and the other teaching positions in high school as well as the other agricultural occupations found in their communities. Within the vocational agriculture teaching profession, there appeared to be a very low degree of stratification. There was little stratification within departments among different teachers and departments, and within the total occupational structure.

In viewing the career patterns of the sample population of "Vo-Ag" teachers, it was observed that occupation was not passed on from father to son but that each generation of teachers sprang up
anew, generally from sons of small and part-time farmers. It appeared that about one-half of those trained for the position of "Vo-Ag" teaching leave the field usually relatively early in their careers and generally because of low salaries, excessive expectations, and lack of opportunity for advancement. Those left in the occupation were characterized by both horizontal and vertical occupational stability. This was due in part to the lack of stratification within the occupation and in part to the community-orientation or the collectivity-orientation of the members of the profession. The aspirations expressed by the practitioners were generally congruent with career patterns described, in that they showed only slight interest in goals indicative of career mobility or self-orientation, and expressed greater concern for the collective goal of promoting the welfare of rural people.

II. THE WORK SITUATION

The discussion now focuses on the last of the three general groups of factors which influence the patterning of real behavior (social organization). Already, the socio-cultural structure of the vocational agricultural teaching occupation and certain characteristics of a sample population of actors or personalities who act out the "Vo-Ag" occupational roles have been described. Some of the significant aspects of the setting or situation in which the actors described act out their roles will now be examined. The situational factors to be described involve certain aspects of the following:
The National Agricultural and Economic Setting

The discussion begins with the broader situation within which the focal actor, the "Vo-Ag" teacher, must operate. It is well known to the reader that many technological and scientific advances have been made in the field of agriculture in this country during the first half of the twentieth century. One indication of these advances is the rapid trend toward mechanization which may be illustrated by the increasing displacement of work stock by tractors. There were only one-quarter of a million tractors on farms in the United States in 1920. The number increased to one and one-half million by 1940 and to over four and one-half million by 1954. A host of other complex farm machines has accompanied the tractor. This mechanization plus many other scientific advances such as improved varieties of plants, better adapted breeds of livestock, and improved types and usages of chemicals and fertilizers have all greatly affected the social relationships of the farmers to each other, to the remainder of society, and to the teachers of vocational agriculture. These many technological and scientific advances have combined to bring about an increase in output per man hour of over 280 per cent.

since 1920.\textsuperscript{18} Whereas, one farm worker's productivity could support only about eight other persons in 1920, the average farm worker in this country could support over twenty-three persons in 1957.\textsuperscript{19} The increasing productive capacity has a different effect upon farming from what it has upon the manufacturing industry. When old needs and desires for manufactured goods are met, the consumer develops new desires, or perhaps they are developed from him by the growing sales force. The manufacturer can then turn the productive capacity toward the production of new items or to the restyling of old items. Apparently, there is no known limit to the possible demand for certain types of consumer goods. However, there is a physiological limit to the capacity to eat. Consequently, the demand for products of the farm is relatively inflexible. Thus, the increasing productivity of the American farmer, without a corresponding increase in consumption, has resulted in overproduction and relatively depressed farm prices in spite of the various production control and price support programs of the Federal government. At the same time, the machines, supplies, and increased acreage needed in modern competitive farming have greatly increased the investment capital needed for successful commercial farming. For example, the average value per farm of assets used in production in the United States


\textsuperscript{19}Ibid., p. 66.
increased from $6,094 in 1940 to $22,042 in 1958. Just as earlier the industrial revolution had resulted in decreasing the proportion of small businessmen and manufacturers, so has the somewhat delayed revolution on the American farms resulted in a great decline in the rural farm population. From 1940 to 1957 the rural farm population of the United States declined by one-third in absolute numbers. The decline in relation to the total population for the same period was from 23.2 per cent to 12.0 per cent. During the period from 1940 to 1958, the percentage of agricultural workers of the total employed civilian labor force dropped from 20.0 per cent to 8.1 per cent. C. Wright Mills has described the process in these words: "The industrial revolution tends to draw the family farm into its orbit, or leave it stranded in an archaic subsistence economy." Many farmers have been unable to expand and modernize their farms and at the same time have been unwilling to exist on a subsistence economy. Still more of their children have viewed the "agricultural ladder" as a treadmill with little opportunity to climb to the level of farm ownership and a satisfactory level of living. These are the people who have joined the exodus from the farms and from the occupation of farming. With some local variations and somewhat

20 Ibid., p. 64.
22 Ibid., p. 203.
more slowly in beginning, the national agricultural trends have set the pattern for the trends in the state of Louisiana.

These various changes in the farm situation not only affect the behavior and social relationships of the farmer; they also have an impact upon the patterns of behavior of the teachers of vocational agriculture. How do the occupants of this functionally diffuse and collectivity-oriented position respond to the declining numbers of farmers, to the increasing complexities of the occupation of farming, and to the tendency for farming to become a commercial enterprise rather than a way of life? What has been the effect upon the ideal and real behavior patterns, and what structural stresses have been involved in acting out the roles involved in the position of "Vo-Ag" teacher? An attempt will be made to answer these questions in part in the following chapters.

The Local Setting: Schools, Wards, and Parishes

As indicated earlier, the sample population of vocational agriculture teachers used was located in three selected parishes in Louisiana. The organization of the high schools in these parishes was generally on a ward basis. Twenty-five of the twenty-seven wards in the three parishes served as locations for twenty-seven high schools. Our twenty-seven respondents were teaching in twenty-six of these schools. Since consolidation had not taken place in these parishes, the enrollment of the high schools was found to be relatively small except in the larger towns. The median high school
enrollment\textsuperscript{24} was 113, and the range was from 59 to 600 students. Eleven schools had high school enrollments of from 59 through 100. Eight others had enrollments from 101 to 200. Only seven high schools had enrollments from 201 to 600.

Of the twenty-six high schools in which the interviewees were located, eight were in the open country, nine were in small towns or villages below 1,000 in population, four were in towns of 2,500 to 4,999 population, and one was in a town between 8,000 and 9,000 population.

In keeping with recent national and state trends for the more rural areas to decrease in population while the more urban and industrial areas increase, the two more rural parishes showed a decrease in total population from 1940 to 1950. Sixteen of the more rural wards also registered a total decrease in population. All three parishes decreased relatively in rural farm population from 1930 to 1940. From 1940 to 1950 all three parishes showed absolute as well as relative decreases in farm population. The percentage decreases in farm population for the three parishes were: 64 to 46 per cent, 84 to 75 per cent, and 56 to 39 per cent. This may be compared to the state decrease from 36.5 to 21.2 per cent. Everyone who commented on the situation in the three parishes felt that the decline in the rural farm population was continuing, probably at an increasing rate.

\textsuperscript{24}High school grades are here considered as grades nine through twelve.
The three parishes in which our study was conducted are considered as relatively agricultural. In 1954, they ranked second, third, and fourth among the sixty-four parishes of the state in farm population and in numbers of farms. In terms of farm products sold, they ranked sixth, eighth, and tenth. All three ranked near the median in terms of per capita farm income for the farm population. The mean sizes of farms for the three parishes were 50, 54, and 79 acres. This is well below the state average of 103 acres. However, the size of farms has been increasing in all three parishes since 1930.

The first parish, designated for the present as parish "A," is located in the Mississippi Delta area, which is within the Protestant Anglo-Saxon cultural area. In every school community in this parish, cotton and beef cattle were reported as the first and second most important farm enterprises respectively. Small grains, soybeans, dairying, corn, and swine were the most often mentioned supplementary enterprises in the various school communities. In 1954, cotton was planted on 52.8 per cent of the harvested cropland, and 82.5 per cent of the farm income was derived from crops. Only 17.3 per cent of the farm income came from livestock and livestock products. As could be expected in an area where cotton is still the major cash crop, tenancy was found to be rather widespread. Only

42.2 per cent of the farms were operated by owners.

The second parish, designated as parish "B," is located in what Alvin L. Bertrand has called the South Central Louisiana Mixed Farming Area. Most of this parish lies within the northern edge of the French-Catholic culture area. This diversified agricultural area has been described by Bertrand as follows:

Area VII possibly owes its homogeneity more to its numerous small farms (the smallest average size of any of the areas) and its French culture than to anything else. It also stands out because its rural population has the highest density per square mile, and its agricultural productivity is the highest of all areas.

In general, Area VII is one of mixed farming, family farms, and high production, populated by a hard-working class of Yeoman farmers, who are French and Catholic for the most part. In some ways its people have been conservative, clinging to many of their old customs. In other ways they have been progressive and have adapted well to the changing times. The traveler through the area senses that the people of the area enjoy their life and lot to a greater extent than is usual for a rural people.

Crops, which are highly diversified in the parish, were reported by the 1954 agricultural census to have provided 83 per cent of the farm income. There was great variation among the school communities as to which farm enterprises were most important. Among the more important farm enterprises reported were cotton, sweet potatoes, beef cattle, onions, corn, soybeans, and swine. Seventy per cent of the farms in this parish were operated by their owners in 1954.

26Ibid., p. 17.
The third parish included in this study, or parish "C," is located in the Florida Parishes Area. Although this parish is within the Protestant Anglo-Saxon culture area, it is atypical in that it contains cultural islands within its borders. Similar to parish "B," this parish contains a large number of small owner operated farms. The mean acreage per farm was approximately 54 acres in 1954, and 86 per cent of these small farms were operated by the owners. The most basic agricultural difference between this parish and the other two is the predominance of dairying in the area. Seventy-one per cent of the farm income reported in this parish in 1954 came from livestock or livestock products, mainly dairying. In six of the eight school communities included in this study, dairying was reported by far to be the most important enterprise. Truck farming, including strawberries, was the main source of farm income in the other two school communities of the parish.

While conducting this study, the researcher had the opportunity to talk with many farmers and citizens in each of the parishes in addition to the teachers of vocational agriculture. Among these people, there appeared to be general agreement that the decline in the number of people engaged in farming has continued at an increasing rate since the last census. These various conversations revealed a rather pessimistic picture for the small family farms in all areas except the dairying area. There appeared to be almost unanimous agreement in the areas where row crops predominate that the last two years have brought almost complete financial failure for the
small farmers. The impression was gained that the old statement, "hope springs eternal in the farmer's breast," did not apply there. It appeared that most of the tenants and small owners had faced the realization that theirs was a changing world and that the day was past when they could provide from their small farming enterprises a satisfactory level of living for their families. They also doubted that young men could ever again start out on a "shoestring" and climb the agricultural ladder to the ownership of a modern, satisfactorily profitable farm. As one farmer stated, "If you are not born with it or you don't make it somewhere else, you will never make it. You sure can't dig it out of the soil." There appeared to be little hope that the situation would ever improve.

The Vocational Agriculture Departments

The twenty-seven "Vo-Ag" teachers interviewed were found to be teaching 124 high school classes or a mean number of 4.6 classes per teacher. Of the total number of classes, 99 were classes in vocational agriculture. The mean number of vocational agriculture classes was 3.7 per teacher, and the range was 2 to 6 classes per teacher. In addition to teaching classes in vocational agriculture, fourteen of the teachers were teaching 24 other classes to in-school groups. The other subjects taught, in the order of frequency, were science, pre-agriculture,27 biology, physical education, general

27Pre-agriculture was taught by five teachers to eighth grade boys. The course was described by the respondents as general agriculture and guidance rather than vocational agriculture.
shop, and occupational guidance. Including only the in-school vocational agriculture students, the mean enrollment for the teachers interviewed was 41.5 students. Ninety-nine per cent of these vocational agriculture students were reported to be members of the FFA.

In addition to the in-school program, each "Vo-Ag" teacher in our study conducted an out-of-school or adult program. Twenty-two teachers reported 56 organized adult and young farmer\(^{28}\) classes. This is a mean number of 2.5 organized classes per teacher. Only five teachers reported no organized adult or young farmer classes. These five were all from one parish. This parish happened to be the one which was still largely following a traditional pattern of cotton farming with a high percentage of tenancy. The range in the number of adult or young farmer classes enrolled was from 0 to 6 classes. The mean enrollment of adult or young farmer members for the twenty-two teachers was 35.

All of the teachers reported serving farmers individually in various ways regardless of whether they taught organized classes or not. The mean number of farmers reported served by the respondents during a year's time was 184. The range reported was from 20 to 600 farmers. Some of these services included assistance with

\(^{28}\)An adult farmer class was earlier defined as a minimum of ten instructional meetings or a minimum of twenty hours of instructions for a specified group of farmers. The young farmer classes are those designed for out-of-school young men (usually ages 16 to 25 or 30) who are not yet fully established in farming. The minimum number of meetings for this type of class is 15.
the farmers' food preservation program through the school-community freezer lockers and meat curing plants, vaccination and castration of livestock, aid in making various managerial decisions in farming, and assistance or instruction in the school-community farm shops.

In general, there was insistence that these services were supposed to be of an instructional nature. However, some indicated that some of these programs such as the freezer locker plant had evolved in time largely into services rather than programs of education. Several teachers said that it was becoming increasingly difficult to get farmers out in organized groups for a series of ten or more instructional meetings. They felt that the present farmer wanted individual help on his farm with specific problems when they occurred rather than securing aid on problems by attending a specified number of classroom meetings. In fact, only one of the twenty-seven respondents agreed with the present specifications that adult instructions be provided primarily by organizing farmers into classes for ten or more instructional meetings. The remaining twenty-six teachers stressed individual and small group instructions based upon the needs and the interest of the farmers. They usually felt that an occasional organized group meeting would be in order, but that the "Vo-Ag" teacher should not be required to try to hold a specified number of meetings. Some teachers were very frank in admitting that they were already practicing a less formal instructional program for adults even if their reports indicated otherwise.

Although the respondents were not asked specifically, several
indicated their beliefs as to why it was getting more difficult to get farmers out to an organized series of ten or more meetings. Television was often mentioned as a competitor for their adult classes as well as for many other school, church, and community activities. Some attributed poor attendance to the general lack of interest in farming as many farmers have been forced out of the business and others see no future in the occupation for themselves. One teacher said that the farmers in his community were increasingly becoming part-time farmers, and that these farmers had little time to spare for meetings between their two occupations. He also felt that the part-time farmer's interests were concentrated more on the non-farming occupation since few realize much return from the farm. One "old timer" who appeared to have considerable insight into the situation said, "they either come to get the answer to something that is bothering them or they come to have a good time." He related how farmers of his community had once grown about the same crops and had about the same interests and problems. He said that during the winter or after "lay-by" time, they just like to get together to discuss their interests and problems. Now, he felt that people had less in common, that they were busier, and that they had television and many other activities for entertainment. He concluded that if a new development or a crisis situation arose in relation to a particular farm enterprise, he could still get the farmers producing that particular crop or livestock to attend—that is, if he had the answer or could get someone who did.
Here are seen important implications of a shift from a Gemeinschaft type of society toward a Gesellschaft society. Among a homogeneous group with mutual interests, meeting in fellowship was an end in itself, regardless of the educational outcome. Where farming is considered as a way of life and neighbors more or less form a "community of fate," the educational techniques of the "Vo-Ag" teacher were more likely to make an appeal. In the first place, this type of group was more likely to have "group" problems or "common" problems to think through reflectively. Second, the technique of getting each class member, especially those who have dealt successfully with the problem at hand, to contribute to the solution of the problem will more likely work with this type of group than with competitive, specialized, commercial farmers. One may ask the question, "Would a group of modern competitive manufacturers who make the same products generally meet to solve their problems of production unless it involved monopolistic efforts?" It may be that in a Gesellschaft society, the commercial farmer is more concerned with a quick, convenient, expert answer to his specific problems than in the reflective thought process or the perpetration of the democratic way of life.

It is the general observation of this researcher that there were two situations in which the "Vo-Ag" teachers reported the largest participation and the most interest on the part of farmers. One situation appeared generally to be where a "Vo-Ag" teacher was teaching in his home community which was a specialized farming
area and very homogeneous in cultural background. There appeared
to be all three of the structural elements which Heberle has indi­
cated are essentials of a village Gemeinschaft—that is, the ties
of kinship, of neighborliness, and of a unity of mind and spirit.29

The other situation in which teachers reported good participation
was one in which the teacher, usually not in his home community,
had organized his classes on a special interest basis rather than
on a community basis. This usually occurred in the larger school
communities in which there were sufficient numbers of farmers
interested in various farm enterprises to organize special interest
groups. In this situation, there appeared to be a greater tendency
to call upon specialist in the various fields. This placed the
"Vo-Ag" teacher in a more general role of organizer of the educa­
tional program for adult farmers.

Typically, the vocational agriculture departments of the
respondents were isolated from the main school buildings. Usually,
there were a classroom, storage room, farm shop, rest room and
sometimes an office. In eleven departments there were food preser­
vation plants which usually consisted of meat curing and freezing
facilities. There appeared to be some canning equipment which had
fallen into disuse. All of these freezer plants except one were
in one parish. Incubators were found in two departments. The

29 Rudolf Heberle, "The Application of Fundamental Concepts
in Rural Community Studies, Rural Sociology, VI (September, 1941),
203-15.
teachers generally felt that their shops were small and often not too well equipped. In spite of the fact that most teachers indicated that farm mechanics were becoming increasingly more important in this age of mechanized farming, almost all indicated that there were no funds available for supplies for their shops.

**Summary**

The "Vo-Ag" teacher is caught in a somewhat precarious situation as the scientific revolution in farming progresses and as the farming economy becomes increasingly more interdependent with the general economy. On one hand, his basic formal aim is, "to train present and prospective farmers for proficiency in farming," at a time when many farmers are leaving the occupation of farming and when fewer replacements are needed. This situation is demoralizing not only to the small farmers, but to the "Vo-Ag" teacher as well. On the other hand, the "Vo-Ag" teacher feels a rather broad or diffuse responsibility toward the rural people of his community and he tends to treat farming as a way of life rather than as a means for making a living. This broad responsibility is increasingly harder to consummate as farming becomes more scientific and complex and as the farmers increasingly take on the values of a Gesellschaft society. In other words, the "Vo-Ag" teacher's position is essentially that of a generalist in a situation which increasingly appears to call for the services of specialists or for the services of a generalist in combination with a staff of
specialists. These trends place various stresses upon the roles of the "Vo-Ag" teacher as well as on the roles of other agricultural service workers. The following chapters will view some of these stresses and their consequences.
CHAPTER VII

DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF THE OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE IN TERMS OF PATTERN VARIABLES OF VALUE ORIENTATION

Although some analysis of interview findings has been made up to this point, the concern has been primarily with the descriptive aspects of the occupation of vocational agriculture teaching. This general description has been given as a background to aid in understanding the description and analysis of selected occupational interaction patterns (socio-cultural structure and social organization) in this and the following chapter. In this chapter, selected pattern variables will be used as a means for classifying interview data and of abstracting from such data more general ideas about the structural contents of roles (socio-cultural structure) and, to a limited extent, conclusions about the contents of role behavior (social organization). These abstractions will summarize interview results in terms of the general occupational value orientation or general role definitions and will prepare the way for consideration of general role conflict and other role stresses.

At the cultural level certain selected (1) norms, (2) goals, and (3) attitudes and values will be examined and the general value orientation will be assessed by noting the patterning of the respondents' specific responses abstracted to the level of pattern variables. As indicated in Chapter I, no attempt will be made to
quantify the orientation of either individuals or of the group of respondents. It can only be said that the modal "Vo-Ag" teacher tends to orient toward one or the other of the paired orientations more or less than other familiar occupational groups. From the patterns observed, an attempt will be made to determine the general integration of roles (consistency in value orientation) or, on the other hand, general role or value conflict. In addition to establishing the structural pattern, the degree of concensus among the sample of occupational members will be examined.

I. GENERAL VALUE ORIENTATION

The Parsonian and other pattern variables and sub-variables defined in Chapter I will be used along with various role concepts in determining the general value orientation. It must be emphasized, however, that each of these pattern variables or dichotomies is a constructed type, and only theoretically can one expect role expectations to approximate the polar extremes. They are heuristic devices, theoretical standards, or models by which we may compare and measure empirical reality.

Before this study applies each pattern variable to the occupational group under examination, it will be well for the reader to direct his attention to Parson's description of the orientational

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1 The value orientation of the occupation will be defined by the pattern variables as they apply to the contents of roles.
pattern of the professions in general. He states that the pattern variables and the particular combination of their values which characterizes the professional pattern in our society are achievement, universalism, functional specificity, affective neutrality, and collectivity-orientation. This description of the professions in general can serve as a reference point or as a model for comparison as this study describes the general value orientation of the "Vo-Ag" teaching profession.

Affectivity Versus Affective Neutrality

It is necessary to note that the problem is not as easy as merely saying the "Vo-Ag" teacher is affective or affectively neutral in his orientation to his various roles. He may be oriented differently in different roles and toward different significant groups. Also, he may be oriented differently toward social objects and toward cultural objects which affect his social relationships. Another complication not treated by Parsons is that the affective side of this dichotomy may be considered as a double edged or a single edged sword; that is, in addition to being permitted emotional freedom in a situation, an actor may be expected to feel only positive emotions as the preacher is expected to feel for his flock, or he may be expected to display only negative emotions as a combat soldier does for the enemy.

In our modern scientific society there is a tendency for professionals, applied scientists, teachers of sciences or applied sciences, and business men to develop various orientations and mechanisms to prevent the clouding of their judgments by emotional factors or, in some cases, to insure equal distribution of emotions which may be permitted or expected. In the case of the physician, the orientation toward his clients appears to be in the direction of affective neutrality. This orientation is generally supported by functional specificity and the segregation of professional from non-professional relationships. This segregation is noted by Parsons in the tendency of doctors to avoid professional duties with personal intimates, relatives, or enemies. He also points out the tendency of physicians to separate "social" and professional duties.  

In contrast to the physician, the "Vo-Ag" teacher appears to have an affective orientation toward his clients. However, the emotion prescribed is a positive one, and since he is a public servant, universalistic standards are applied which result in the expectation that he distribute his affection equally to all of his clients. Just as the preacher is expected to love all of his flock, to hate none, and to offer his services to all, so is the "Vo-Ag" teacher expected to love the rural people of his community and to help all of them in any way possible.

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3Ibid., pp. 457-61.
Whereas the physician attempts to segregate his professional relationships with his clients from his "social," recreational, and other activities, the "Vo-Ag" teacher appears to merge them. Just as in the traditional rural way of life there has been an indistinct line between occupational activities and other activities, so it is with the activities of the "Vo-Ag" teacher whose sentiments appear to support the traditional rural way of life. As will be seen later, this type of orientation is further supported by a functionally diffuse orientation on the part of the "Vo-Ag" teaching roles just as the physician's affectively neutral roles are supported by a functionally specific orientation.

Evidence of the affective relationships of "Vo-Ag" teachers with their clients is found in the responses to a number of interview questions. For example, in response to the question, "How intimately should a 'Vo-Ag' teacher get to know his students?" practically all of the teachers in one way or the other said that they should know the boys and their families very well. As one teacher commented, "You can't know them too well. You should visit, camp, and play with them but at the same time you must be the teacher." The majority of the respondents brought out this point that one should be close, but close in a superior-subordinate relationship. This seems to be somewhat of a paternalistic attitude comparable to the attitude of the fair and impartial love of a firm father. Another teacher said,
As a teacher, friend, and counselor, you can't get too close, but as for joking and foolishness you must not go too far. If you are very close you have a tendency to help pull them over when the grading is close; however, they will try harder if they like you. You have to be fair and give them all the same chance.

The feeling here in evidence is that one should be close yet fair and impartial. This teacher's statement and those made by several others indicate a danger of an emotional bias. It appears that this conflict between a positively affective orientation and universalistic standards occurs only in the high school teaching role where the "red pencil" (negative grading) is involved.

In contrast to the physician who tends to segregate his social and professional life in order to maintain affective neutrality, all of our respondents indicated that they should and did visit in their students' homes as well as on their farms in order to know them and their families better. They also felt that the farm people should be free to visit in their homes as well. All but one teacher indicated that the farm families did visit their homes. Apparently, much of the "social" life of the "Vo-Ag" teacher is combined with promoting directly or indirectly his educational and community program. For example, a Sunday afternoon visit is often combined with gaining a farmer's cooperation in improving his son's project program or gaining the interest of a farmer in some improved farming practice.

A further indication of the affective orientation of the "Vo-Ag" teachers' roles as well as their functional diffuseness was the interviewees' responses to a question concerning their obligation to go to the aid and comfort of the farm people of their community when
involved in sickness, sorrow, or hardship. All agree that this was their duty, and a large majority felt that it was more their duty than the duty of the other teachers or the "average" community member. All respondents said that they did go to the aid and comfort of the farm people of their community when these people were involved in sickness, hardship and sorrow. There was agreement also that the farm families should share—and did share—the "Vo-Ag" teacher's troubles as well. Numerous examples were given by the respondents of mutual aid and comfort involving sickness, death, and misfortune. Almost all of the teachers made comments which indicated that they were usually on hand to help others in misfortune. However, many of the teachers said that they had never had serious illnesses, deaths, or hardships in their family which would test the response of the farm families; but those who had, seemed still amazed at the responses of the people of their communities. In fact, they appeared to have been very humbled by the experiences. One teacher told about the time his small son had been near death from an accident. He said that hundreds of people came by to visit, to see if they could help, or just to sympathize. He said that the people completely took over his household, his farm, and his other children. The teacher appeared almost to have a guilt complex over receiving more attention than was customary on such occasions in his community. This and other similar experiences along with many actions which build the foundation for such expressions of sympathy and friendship may be considered as indices of the affective and Gemeinschaft relationships
which appear to bind the farm people to a "Vo-Ag" teacher who has lived and worked in their community for a considerable length of time.

The positive sentiments between the "Vo-Ag" teachers and the rural people of their communities appeared to be reinforced on joyous and happy occasions as well as on sorrowful occasions. All respondents agreed that they and the farm people they worked with should share each other's joys and satisfactions. In the French culture area they attended "boucheries" and weddings or went "La Veille" or fishing together. In the other areas they were likely to attend family reunions, family barbecues, and church homecomings or go fishing and hunting with the boys or farmers.

Although the primary concern here is with the "Vo-Ag" teacher's emotional orientation to a class of social objects—his clients, attention is called also to his emotional orientation toward certain cultural objects which affect his social relationships.

The respondents appeared to be affectively neutral in their orientation toward techniques or methods of farming. This affective neutrality toward the various techniques involved in farming, when

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4 Boucheries in the French culture area of this study usually refers to a gathering of friends or neighbors to butcher a large hog. The men and boys slaughter and dress the hog, and the women and girls prepare a meal including certain special parts of the hog (blood pudding, and so forth).

5 The respondents often referred to the old custom of visiting neighbors in the evening as going "La Veille." Many indicated that this form of entertainment was decreasing in their communities.
coupled with universalistic standards, predisposes the "Vo-Ag" teacher to a rationalistic orientation, especially toward agriculture. An indication of this orientation is found in the "Vo-Ag" teachers' method of classroom teaching. The general educational philosophy of vocational agriculture, described earlier, focuses primarily upon the solution of real problems by the "scientific" thought process. Typically, this "scientific" or "reflective" thought process of solving farm problems concerns itself with determining the most efficient means of performing farm tasks. For example, in teaching students how to fertilize corn, the teacher presents data on the subject to the students or he leads the students to discover such data for themselves. These data in turn lead the students to make decisions regarding the kind and amount of fertilizer to use as well as the proper method and time for applying it to secure the maximum yields for the effort, time, and money invested. In other words, the most scientifically reliable data are applied to a specific situation in order to determine the methods for producing maximum profits. In Weberian terms, the student is led rationally to take into account and weigh the ends, the means, and the secondary results.  

In contrast to the "Vo-Ag" teachers' orientation of affective-neutrality toward specific farming techniques, there were several indications that the respondents were oriented affectively

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toward the traditional patterns of country life in general. This affective orientation toward country life was in a positive direction just as it was in their relationships to their clients.

Only the last seventeen respondents were asked how they felt about the future of the traditional family farm. Of these, sixteen expressed a positive attitude toward the family sized unit. Only one very rationally oriented teacher expressed no positive sentiments toward either the family farm or the old rural patterns of living. Of the sixteen who prized the family farm, one-half felt that it would have to stand or fall on its own merits and that the government should stay out of the picture. The other half felt that their own or other agricultural agencies and various governmental control programs should promote and protect the family farm.

An effort was made to determine the comparative attitudes of the responding "Vo-Ag" teachers toward farming as a means of making a living and other aspects of country life. They were asked to rate the economic aspects of farming and certain aspects of country life as being better, the same, or worse than the average non-farming occupation and city life. The responses are presented in Table VI.7

The ratings of the "Vo-Ag" teachers interviewed indicated, at least on a verbal level, a positive evaluation of country life.

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7The items rated in Table VI are a modification of the rural living opinion scale developed in W. A. Anderson, A Study of the Values in Rural Living: Part IV Rural Living Opinion Scale (Short Form), New York: AES Rural Sociology Publication 22, 1949.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items Rated</th>
<th>Number of Teachers Rating Farming &amp; Country Life as Better, Same, or Worse than Non-Farming &amp; City Life</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Better</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farming VS Non-farming Occupations (Economic Aspects Only)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country VS City as a place to:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. have a home</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. educate children</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. rear children</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. enjoy wholesome recreation</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. enjoy &quot;social&quot; life</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. keep healthy</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. develop character</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. develop well-rounded personality</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall Country VS City Rating</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Only with respect to being a better place to educate children was the city rated as superior to the country. Twenty or more of the twenty-seven respondents considered the country as the best place (1) to have a home, (2) rear children, (3) develop character, (4) keep healthy, and (5) enjoy wholesome recreation.

Ten respondents believed farming as an economic enterprise to be better than the average non-farming occupation; ten considered farming to be about the same; and seven said farming was worse. The superior ratings given to farming, however, were often qualified with such statements as, "Farming is better if you have the land to start with and if you apply the latest farming methods."

After the teachers has rated the economic aspects of farming and eight aspects of rural life, they were asked to give an overall country versus city rating. Twenty-three rated farming and country life as better than non-farming occupations and city life, while four gave them an equal rating. One cannot be sure whether these ratings reflect how the "Vo-Ag" teachers think they "should rate" farming and country life because of their occupational position or reflect how they actually feel. The nature of their work presupposes a certain degree of bias and certainly there is a vested interest involved.

Twenty teachers were asked how they felt their students would rate farming and country life as compared to non-farming occupations and city life. Fourteen teachers said that their average student would rate the economic aspects of farming as
worse; four felt that their students would rate farming the same; and two said students would rate farming as better. Concerning the other aspects of country life, the teachers felt that their students would rate most of the items in Table VI favorably but not as favorably as themselves. However, when 142 junior and senior "Vo-Ag" students in two of the parishes where this study was conducted were asked to rate the same items, there was a striking correspondence between the ratings of the teachers and those of the students in the non-economic aspects of country life. Concerning farming as a means of making a living, the students' ratings were slightly unfavorable for farming but not as unfavorable as the teachers had presumed. Thirty-six per cent of the students rated farming worse; thirty-six per cent rated it the same; and twenty-eight per cent rated it as better than city occupations.

The respondents were asked if it was their responsibility as teachers to create and nurture a love of country life in the students. All of the respondents indicated that this was their duty and all named various methods by which this was accomplished. They were also asked if it was their duty to promote neighborliness, mutual aid, and other aspects of the old rural way of life. (Admittedly, this was a "loaded" question, but the responses to the question appeared to be supported by various comments throughout the interviews.) Twenty-six teachers expressed positive sentiments
toward these patterns of rural life, while one teacher denied feeling any special obligation to them.

Although all of the respondents except one expressed positive sentiments toward the traditional patterns of rural life, twenty-two expressed the opinion that scientific commercial farming was helping to bring about a decrease in these patterns. Of these twenty-two respondents, sixteen felt that this decrease was undesirable. Five others appeared more affectively neutral in that they considered the decrease to be merely a reflection of less need for mutual aid or neighborliness. One felt that the decrease was good.

Other than the twenty-two teachers who thought that scientific farming was causing a decrease in the traditional patterns of neighborliness, two teachers expressed the belief that there was a change only in the type of neighborliness rather than in the amount. Their comments were interpreted to indicate, in MacIver's terminology, a shift from community to associational patterns of relationships. Two other respondents stated that modern methods of farming had had little affect upon the traditional patterns of neighborliness and another indicated a positive effect in his community. The latter stated:


9All three of these last mentioned teachers were located in an area of small family dairy farms. It appears from the comments of the respondents that in specialized farming areas where the majority of the people are on relatively small farms, do the same things, have similar interests and problems, have
Scientific farming has a positive effect in this community. Here, when a farmer wants to plant, neighbors gather in with tractors and finish the job. All of our people have telephones; they sell milk cooperatively; and they have an artificial breeders association. They have to pull together in this area of small family dairy farms.

Although the majority of the responding "Vo-Ag" teachers appeared to view modern scientific commercial farming and the old traditional patterns of neighborliness and mutual aid as antithetical, all but one expressed an obligation to promote both. However, all but two of the respondents felt that, of necessity, scientific farming was their first responsibility. One teacher expressed the typical sentiments as follows:

I would like to see the old patterns of neighborliness and rural life continue but cooperation of the future will be strictly upon a business basis. I try to promote both but realize that if a man stays in farming he will have to be scientific, and I help him to do this in every way I can.

Another teacher expressed this conflict of values when he stated:

Scientific farming puts too much emphasis on the dollar and too little on the pleasures of rural living. However, we are forced, because of competition, to promote scientific farming. It is that or get out for both the farmers and the teachers.

In summary, there appeared to be a high degree of concensus among the respondents that the "Vo-Ag" teacher should be positively affective in his orientation to his students and the rural people the same religion, have relatively homogeneous cultural and racial background, and are bound by the ties of kinship, they may shift to scientific, mechanized, commercial farming without losing their orientation toward mutual aid and neighborliness.
of his community. Since the "Vo-Ag" teaching position is located in a public institution and characterized by positive sentiments toward the clients, the affective orientation is associated with universalistic standards. This combination of value orientations (positive affectivity and universalism) appears conflicting when the teacher must, according to universalistic standards, grade negatively his students with whom he feels a close attachment.

The majority of the responding "Vo-Ag" teachers appeared to be in a dilemma when their responses indicated them to be "positively affective" in their orientation to both their clients and to the "traditional rural way of life," on one hand, and affectively neutral toward farming methods, on the other. This is especially true when they consider modern scientific commercial farming as antithetical to the "traditional rural way of life," and must decide which of the two is in the best interest of their clients.

**Particularism Versus Universalism**

With the affective orientation of the "Vo-Ag" teacher, one would expect a tendency toward a particularistic orientation because friendships and love relations are usually particularistic. However, as noted in the previous section, the "Vo-Ag" teacher holds a public position which, ideally, prescribes the rendering of services to all within a specified class of actors. In addition, his affective orientation is one-sided in that he is expected,
as the preacher is, to love all. These two factors, combined with
the fact that the "Vo-Ag" teacher's basic roles are those of the
applied scientist and with the further one that the principles of
science are basically universalistic, produce a situation which
accounts for the generally universalistic orientation of the "Vo-
Ag" teacher. That is, he is expected to treat a social object as
a member of some universally defined class of objects. This ori­
entation may be illustrated by the teachers' responses to an inquiry
as to whether or not they should teach their own sons. Eight said
that the "Vo-Ag" teacher definitely should not teach his own son
because of the conflicting situation (presumably between particu­
laristic and universalistic orientations). The majority of the
remaining teachers qualified their answers in various ways. They
were in agreement that in such a situation the teacher must show
no partiality unless it was in favor of the other students. Several
teachers felt that if a teacher's son were a good student, the
father would have to grade him harder to prevent the accusation
of favoritism.

In answer to the question regarding how intimate a "Vo-Ag"
teacher should get with his students, the majority of respondents
cautionsed that one must maintain a superordinate-subordinate rela­
tionship, while getting to know the student very well and beware

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10. This one-way affective prescription is, no doubt, asso­
associated with the "Vo-Ag" teachers' avoidance of controversial issues
or his tendency to remain neutral.
of getting too involved because of the tendency toward favoritism (particularism).

At various times in the interviews many teachers made it clear that they worked with everyone regardless of his socio-economic standing. This declaration was often coupled with the charge that county agents did not so orient themselves to the farm people of their area but instead tended toward favoring clients of high socio-economic standing or those who were important to the power structure of the community. This charge was never made by the respondents against the representatives of any other agricultural agency.

When a positively affective orientation is coupled with universalistic standards, the outcome would appear to be a somewhat moralistic orientation. This reasoning is supported by the expectations expressed by the respondents as to the part the "Vo-Ag" teacher and the FFA should play in the religious life of the students. Eighteen of the teachers stated that a special FFA church day was observed in their local chapters. In addition, there was general agreement that the teacher should, by example and by word, develop high moral and ethical standards within his students and encourage active participation in the churches of their choices. A further indication of a moralistic orientation of the "Vo-Ag" teachers in the sample is found in the fact that the respondents reported a 100 per cent active church membership.

As indicated in the preceding chapter, the respondents
expressed surprise when they were asked to name their best friends. It appeared that their universalistic orientation denied them the luxury of having "best" friends. The prescription to love everybody equally appeared to compel them to spread their affection somewhat thinly. One teacher in the Protestant area expressed his situation in the following manner: "I consider practically all of these people my friends but I don't really have a single close friend in the community which I can really express my true feelings to." The willingness of this respondent to submit to a five-hour interview at one sitting appeared to be an indication of his feeling of social isolation in a situation where he was supposed to divide his friendship equally.

There appeared to be general agreement that the "Vo-Ag" teacher in the performance of the roles of his occupational position should be ideally guided by universalistic standards. There appeared to be a stronger universalistic orientation in the Protestant Anglo-Saxon area than in the mixed or the French-Catholic culture areas. This is in keeping with the more Gemeinschaft like relationships normally found in this French culture area and the fact that the majority of the teachers in this area were teaching in their home parish and community.

The many references to the need for remaining impartial in one's treatment of in-school students may indicate a degree of conflict between the universalistic orientation and the particularistic tendencies which grow out of the positively affective
orientations mentioned earlier. As indicated above, this conflict appeared primarily in the matter of negative sanctions or unfavorable grading in the classroom.

Ascription Versus Achievement

The ascription versus achievement pattern variable will be applied to three different aspects of the occupational structure of the vocational agriculture teaching profession. The dichotomy will be applied in describing (1) the manner in which the "Vo-Ag" teacher comes to occupy his occupational position, (2) the way the "Vo-Ag" teacher orients in the selection of clients or students, and (3) the way the "Vo-Ag" teacher orients in his differential treatment of clients or students.

In the discussion of the qualifications and career patterns of the "Vo-Ag" teacher, certain aspects of the manner in which the "Vo-Ag" teacher comes to occupy his occupational position have been mentioned. Here it will be necessary only to recall certain aspects of the previous discussion and summarize them in terms of the pattern variable. The occupational position is largely an achieved one, but it is based upon the ascribed male sex status. As indicated earlier, the researcher knows of no instance in which a female ever entered or attempted to enter the profession, though there are no formal prescriptions against females' entering the profession.\footnote{This may in part be explained by the existence of the companion program of vocational education in home economics.}
There are both formal and informal prescriptions that a "Vo-Ag" teacher must have a background of farm experience. This requirement certainly excludes some individuals from the profession but in the sense that the requirement has relevance for the performance of the roles of the position it cannot be characterized as an ascription orientation.\(^{12}\)

The position of "Vo-Ag" teacher must be achieved by completing a prescribed four-year technical and professional training program at an approved agricultural college. The upward inter-generational mobility of the respondents is a further indication of the achievement orientation of the occupation. It will be recalled that a large majority of the "Vo-Ag" teachers came from the families of small farm operators or part-time farmers. It can be said then that the occupational position of the "Vo-Ag" teacher is achieved but that it is open only to males with farm backgrounds.

With regard to the manner of selection of recipients of the services of the "Vo-Ag" teacher, there are found no specifications within the law or in the official structure which limit the eligibility for participation in the high school "Vo-Ag" program to males; however, this researcher knows of no instances in which girls have been enrolled in regular high school vocational agriculture courses. The same is not true of the adult enrollment: "Vo-Ag" teachers often enroll the farmers' wives in their adult programs,

\(^{12}\)See the definition of the ascription versus achievement pattern variable in Chapter I.
especially when dealing with such subjects as food preservation, landscaping, or home improvement.

Aside from the unwritten prescription as to sex, the teachers of the sample were found to be largely achievement oriented in the selection of recipients of their services; that is, the teachers selected their adults and in-school students on the basis of their part, present, or prospective performance.  

The general response to a question concerning who should be permitted to enroll in high school vocational agriculture courses was that the enrollment should include all those students who are interested in agriculture and who "can" and "will" carry out a satisfactory supervised farming program. The respondents' definitions of a satisfactory farming or project program were usually flexible enough to make many rural non-farm and town boys eligible for their program when they were sufficiently interested. It is worth noting that no respondent indicated that he would limit enrollment to those classes of students specifically mentioned in the Smith-Hughes Law. This law states that the vocational agriculture program is provided for those "who have entered upon or who are preparing to enter upon the work of the farm or the farm home."

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13 All the respondents were teaching in racially segregated schools and naturally the "Vo-Ag" programs were operated within this context. No questions were asked concerning the respondents' attitudes on racial segregation. Since we have no data on this subject it is ignored in the above discussion.

Although almost all teachers reported that the majority of their students were sons of land owners, they indicated that the sons of tenant farmers, share croppers, farm laborers, or even non-farm boys were also welcomed so long as they were interested and made an effort to have a project program of some kind. As stated earlier, the respondents took pride in pointing out that their program was open to the "little man" as well as the "big man."

This general achievement orientation of providing "Vo-Ag" training and services to all who desire to partake of them and meet minimum standards applies both to the in-school and adult groups.

In addition to the selection of clients on the basis of achievement, the respondents were also in agreement that they should orient to farmers and students as participating members of their programs on the basis of performance rather than any ascribed characteristics. However, they were fully aware that the ownership of land was highly revelant to performance. As indicated above in discussing the selection of students, the respondents stressed their concern for helping the less privileged. This no doubt is related to their own achievement in moving up from their small farm and part-time farming backgrounds to the professional level of the "Vo-Ag" teacher.

There appeared to be general consensus and consistency among the sample population concerning the bases for occupying their

occupational role, the selection of their students, and differential
treatment of students. Aside from the selection both of the teachers
and the in-school students on the basis of the ascribed male status,
the occupational structure is characterized by a strong achievement
orientation.

Collectivity-Orientation Versus Self-Orientation

In the modern scientific, capitalistic society the businessman has often been viewed typically as "egoistic" in his motivation while the professional man has been viewed typically as "altrustic" in his motivation. In this regard Parsons states:

Indeed, there is little basis for maintaining that there are any important differences of typical motivation in the two cases, or at least any of sufficient importance to account for the broad differences in socially expected behavior. On the other hand, there is a clear-cut and definite difference on the institutional level. The institutional patterns governing the two fields of action are radically different in this respect.¹⁵

This difference at the institutional level may be viewed in terms of the distribution between private permissiveness and collective obligation, or as a self-orientation versus a collectivity-orientation.

Whereas the businessman is expected to look primarily to his self-interest in the marketplace, the "Vo-Ag" teacher, as a teacher and a public "servant," is expected to be concerned with the welfare of those whom he is employed to help. In the first

place, his position was created in order to promote the generalized
goal of national welfare. In the second place, a collectivity-
orientation is supported by the placing of the occupational position
in the public school system under public control.

Some indication of the collectivity-orientation of the
sample population of "Vo-Ag" teachers was found in their response
to the question as to what goals they were most anxious to achieve
(see Table V, Chapter VI). More teachers indicated that they were
more anxious for a chance to help farmers and farm boys to succeed
than in any other aspiration or goal.

Although twenty-five of the twenty-seven respondents said
they planned to finish their working careers as "Vo-Ag" teachers,
all but seven said at the time of the interview that they then
could obtain, or that they could have obtained at some time before
the interview, positions paying better salaries or offering better
opportunities for advancement than the "Vo-Ag" positions they held.

There are various types of collectivities to which an indi-
vidual or group of individuals may be oriented. An effort was
made to determine which of the significant groups the "Vo-Ag"
teachers in this study were more strongly oriented toward. They
were asked to indicate to which of the following groups or organi-
zations they felt the greatest loyalty--their high school, the
"Vo-Ag" profession, or their "Vo-Ag" department. Fifteen stated
that they owed their deepest loyalty to their "Vo-Ag" departments.
Six indicated their first loyalty lay with their high schools.
Four reported that they felt more loyalty to their "Vo-Ag" profession. The remaining two stated that loyalty to one meant loyalty to the others and that they could not be separated.

When the respondents were asked which they considered themselves to be primarily, a "Vo-Ag" teacher or a high school teacher, twenty-three indicated the former.

Another indication of the "Vo-Ag" teachers' level of collectivity-orientation was their responses to an inquiry as to whose respect they were most concerned with obtaining. Twenty expressed the greatest concern for the respect of their in-school vocational agriculture students and their second greatest concern for the respect of the other farm people of their community. The first concern for the remaining seven was the other farm people. Perhaps it is significant that none named other high school or "Vo-Ag" teachers as being the persons whose respect they most desired.

The propensity of the respondents to feel that it was their duty—more so than that of other teachers or of other average members of the community—to share the hardships and sorrows as well as the joys of the rural people of their community has been discussed. This is a further indication of a collectivity-orientation.

In view of the "Vo-Ag" teacher's public and professional position as well as his positive affective and universalistic orientation, one can safely state that the normative patterns are collectivity-oriented. In terms of significant reference groups to which they are oriented, it can be said that their strongest
orientations appeared to be in the following order: (1) the high school vocational agriculture students in their department, (2) the other farm people in their community, (3) the remainder of the high school apart from their own students, and (4) their professional group.

There appeared to be a relatively high degree of consensus regarding these collective obligations, and there appears to be very little structural conflict involved. Their collectivity-orientation might be termed "localistic." This "localistic" orientation is consistent with the official prescriptions and the "Vo-Ag" educational philosophy. The "Vo-Ag" teacher has been instilled with the philosophy that he should meet the needs of his in-school students and the farm people of his community and that the final authority on just what these needs and problems are rests with the farmers and the students themselves. When it comes to decision making in solving the students' and farmers' problems, the responsibility is again shifted down to the grass-roots level. In view of this, it is little wonder that the "Vo-Ag" teachers did not rate the supervisors and teacher-trainers or other "Vo-Ag" teachers more prominently among their significant reference groups.

Diffuseness Versus Specificity

The diffuseness versus specificity dichotomy may be considered as the dilemma of the scope of significance of the object. For example, the roles associated with a bureaucratic office are functionally specific and are governed by role-expectations which
prescribe a specific sphere of interest. On the other hand, certain other roles such as those of a mother, a close friend, or a good neighbor require or permit the role incumbent to become involved in a wide range of expectations, rights, and duties.

Generally, professional and commercial relations in modern society are characterized by functional specificity. The professional claim is partially based upon technical competence, and this competence is limited to a particular field of skill and knowledge. However, some occupational groups which lay claim to professional status are more diffusely oriented. The minister, in ministering to his flock, for example, often shows a wide range of interest in his members. Also, the "Vo-Ag" teacher in the rural setting with positive sentiments toward his clients and the more traditional and diffuse patterns of rural life appears to have a functionally diffuse orientation toward the rural people he works with.

In a previous description of the formal roles of the "Vo-Ag" teacher, attention has been called to the breadth if not depth of training required as well as to the broad expectations outlined in administrative publications and vocational agricultural education textbooks. Interviews with our sample population of "Vo-Ag" teachers indicated that the diffuse expectations held at the official or formal level are supported by informal expectations.

Seven sub-variables associated with the diffuseness versus specificity orientation are used below in describing how the "Vo-Ag" teacher orients in terms of this dichotomy.
Community of fate versus limited responsibility. Some role relationships involve a "community of fate" in that the sorrows and hardships are borne by all, and the joys and satisfactions are shared by all. On the other hand, some role relationships involve only a specified and limited responsibility. Loomis and Beegle describe the roles of the members of an Amish family as falling toward the first polar extreme and the roles of the members of a governmental bureau as falling toward the other extreme.

In the earlier discussion of the affectivity versus affective neutrality orientation, it was indicated that all of the respondents felt that it was their duty to go to the aid and comfort of the farm families they work with whenever they are involved in sickness, sorrow, or hardship. The majority felt that this was more their duty than it was of other teachers or the average community member. This was justified on the basis that "Vo-Ag" teachers know community members much better and are closer to them. One teacher stated, "I go, three to one, more than other teachers or farmers in our community to visit the sick and show respect in case of death. I feel as a preacher would toward his flock." Numerous examples were given of aid to rural families such as visiting the sick, helping raise funds in cases of disaster, taking rural people to the hospital, attending funerals, and acting as pallbearer.

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As indicated in an earlier section, the majority of the teachers also expected the people of their community to share their troubles. An example was given of their responses in the case of a serious accident to a member of a "Vo-Ag" teacher's family. Only one respondent was found who had had a home burned. The interview with this teacher was held in his new home after the interviewer had enjoyed the hospitality of an evening meal. When the teacher was asked if the farm people had ever had an opportunity to share his troubles, he replied:

Yes, our home burned before dawn one morning. Of course we hated it, but it had its reward. We found out just where we stood in the community. Every stick of furniture in this house was paid for in cash with money which my friends laid out there on the ground the morning our home burned. They helped with cash, credit, clothes, and moral support.

I told a gymnasium full of people who had come to bring us gifts that all I could do to repay their kindness was to stay in their community, work for them the rest of my life, and live in such a way as always to reflect credit upon them.

This and other examples illustrate the diffuse expectations and the "community of fate" which appear to exist between many "Vo-Ag" teachers and the people they serve.

It was shown earlier in this chapter that the respondents felt that they and the farm families they work with should share each others joys and satisfactions as well as their hardships and sorrows.

Required integration of roles in and out of the system versus roles outside of the system are irrelevant. The preacher is expected
to act in all of his various positions and roles in a manner consistent with his ministerial roles; by contrast, the railroad section hand is not. What he does after working hours usually is not too relevant to his occupational roles.

In the case of the diffusely oriented "Vo-Ag" teacher, there was found a tendency toward the integration of all of his positions and roles. The moralistic orientation which appears to grow out of the combined "positive affective" and "universalistic" orientation appears in all of his roles. All of the respondents indicated that they had a great responsibility both on the job and off the job toward developing high moral character. The majority said that their duty in this direction was greater than that of other teachers or other members of the community. Their active membership and participation in church activities are further indications of this moral integration of roles. This same pattern is observed in other teachers' roles but it appeared to be accentuated in the case of the "Vo-Ag" teachers' roles.

A further indication of the integration of the "Vo-Ag" teachers' occupational roles with his non-occupational roles is found in their tendency to merge their occupational duties with their social, recreational, and other activities.

Involvement of actor's family versus no involvement of actor's family. Another indication of a diffuse orientation or of broad expectations within roles is the degree to which the focal actor's family becomes involved in his roles. It is well
known that the wife and children play a very important part in the occupational roles of the farmer. The readers who are familiar with rural communities may recall the large share of church duties often performed by the minister's wife.

The diffuse expectations and the positively affective orientation of the "Vo-Ag" teaching position appear to be closely associated with the broad participation of the teacher's wife. All of the teachers except four expressed the opinion that the "Vo-Ag" teacher's wife should, more than the average wife, accompany her husband to social functions associated with his work. Of the four who disagreed, one's wife was a Catholic in a Protestant area, another's wife was from the city, and another was mobile downward in socio-economic status. There were indications of wide attendance of wives at FFA banquets, FFA parties, community meetings, and fairs. Some teachers said that their wives often went with them when they were supervising students' project programs.

Twenty of the twenty-seven respondents said that the "Vo-Ag" teacher's wife should, more than the average wife, assist him in certain aspects of his work. The help involved among other activities such as typing records or reports, preparing for FFA banquets and parties, taking boys to contests, chaperoning FFA socials, running errands, and entertaining advisory council members, FFA officers, and parish "Vo-Ag" teachers.

These many activities appear to make wives, at least informally, a part of the "Vo-Ag" department. Twenty-two teachers stated
that their wives had earned a place and should feel as though they were a part of the department. The same teachers expressed the opinion that their wives were so considered by the farm families of their communities. Not only from the responses of the teachers but also from conversations with their wives, there was ample evidence that the typical "Vo-Ag" teacher's wife was well acquainted with and interested in her husband's work. Some wives expressed attachment to their husbands' "Vo-Ag" students and spoke of them as "our boys."

Twenty-two of the interviewees said that their duties probably interfered with their private home and family life more than those of almost all other occupations. In one parish, it was found that the "Vo-Ag" teachers' wives jokingly called themselves the "Vo-Ag" widows. Yet, this interference did not appear to be resented by the "Vo-Ag" teachers or their wives.

Two-way invasion of privacy versus one-way invasion of privacy. The frequency with which "Vo-Ag" teachers and the farm families visit in each other's homes has already been discussed. This pattern of mutual hospitality has the effect of permitting both the "Vo-Ag" teacher and his client intimate access to the private lives of the other. Typical professional roles, however, are characterized by functional specificity and a one-way invasion of privacy. The doctor, for example, may invade the privacy of the patient as long as the invasion has relevance to the health of the patient. However, with the tendency toward segregation of professional duties
from other activities, the patient of any but a small town doctor usually has little opportunity to delve into the private life of the doctor.

Two-way invasion of privacy appears to be a structural characteristic of the more diffusely oriented and the more affectively oriented roles. The diffuse roles of the "Vo-Ag" teacher provide a great opportunity for two-way invasion. This tendency is supported by the primary groupings in which the roles are acted out and by the tendency for the "Vo-Ag" teacher to merge his occupational and non-occupational activities.

**Farming as a way of life versus farming as a means of making a living.** At the beginning of this chapter the respondents' positive sentiments toward the "family farm" and toward the traditional patterns of rural life were discussed. It was also shown that the basic teaching technique of the "Vo-Ag" teacher involves the rational solution of problems. In relation to farm production problems, the emphasis is upon efficiency and maximum profits. Since the responding "Vo-Ag" teachers appeared concerned with farming both as a way of life and as a means of making a living, one can expect them to orient diffusely in their relationships to their students and to the farmers of their communities. There was also role conflict involved in that the majority of the teachers felt that scientifically efficient commercial farming was detrimental to farming as a way of life.
General educationalist versus vocationalist. A general educationalist is defined for our present purposes as a teacher who is concerned with developing those ideals, attitudes, understandings, and skills which every student should possess if he is to plan, work, and act in concert with his fellowman. At the other extreme is the opposite type of teacher who limits his concern to a phase of special-interest education provided to meet special interests and needs which are not necessarily shared by the whole student body. For the purposes of this study, this polar type of teacher is considered a vocationalist, one who limits his interest to training his students for proficiency in a specified occupational area—in this case, to farming. Obviously, no teacher can orient completely to either extreme. This point was made by one of the first respondents when he was asked whether or not a "Vo-Ag" teacher should incorporate aspects of general education such as mathematics, English, and science in his agriculture courses. The teacher replied, "Yes, we have to. We couldn't avoid it if we wished." Certainly, vocational training provides for the practical application of general education and in turn general training contributes to the vocational development of the student. However, a teacher may orient more in one direction than the other in his relationship to his students.

The primary aim of vocational education in agriculture, according to the Smith-Hughes Act, is "to train present and
prospective farmers for proficiency in farming." The basic aim by law then is clearly vocational. Administrative interpretation has provided under the primary aim, seven major objectives. The first five objectives pertain to various aspects of the vocation of farming. They include (1) production, (2) marketing, (3) conservation, (4) management, and (5) making a beginning and advancing in farming. The last two objectives are (6) maintaining a favorable environment and (7) participating in rural leadership activities. A liberal interpretation of these last two objectives provides the justification for the inclusion of many learning activities which may be considered as more in the nature of general education than in vocational training.

When the respondents were asked if they agreed with the basic objective of the Smith-Hughes Act, nine agreed while eighteen disagreed on the basis that it was not broad enough. The usual


18 Ibid., p. 4.

19 These findings are in general agreement with the findings of a Southern region study in vocational agriculture. In this study only 23 per cent of a sample of 224 teachers of vocational agriculture from twelve Southern states agreed that the controlling purpose of their program should be to train students for useful employment and proficiency in farming. Approximately 50 per cent of the sample felt that the objective should be broadened to include related occupations. Twenty-six per cent indicated a desire to broaden the objectives still further to include the training of good citizens, intelligent consumers, and efficient producers. The 218 "Vo-Ag" students, 195 young farmers, and 202 adult farmers
response from those disagreeing, was that the law should include training for related agricultural occupations and part-time farming which they felt they were actually accomplishing. Those who agreed with the law appeared to be accomplishing similar results but generally felt that a liberal interpretation of the seven objectives listed above was ample justification for the way they conducted their programs.

Although eighteen disagreed with the stated aim of the law, only nine said that they did not operate their programs according to it. This reversal may, in part, be explained by the tendency of the teachers to distinguish between the expressed aim (manifest function) and the actual results (latent function). Several teachers expressed the view that the operation of their programs on the assumption that the students would all become farmers, with emphasis upon project programs and the development of skills in the solution of problems growing out of these projects, would result in a better quality of general education than if they "watered" down their program to the academic level of textbook assignments and rote memory. This mode of adaptation is similar to what Merton included in the study were in close agreement with the "Vo-Ag" teachers. Approximately 50 per cent of the 203 principals and the 202 superintendents were in favor of the broader objective; approximately 40 per cent the general vocational objectives; and approximately 10 per cent the specific vocational objective (farming). See: The Research Committee of the Southern Region, What Constitutes an Effective Program of Vocational Agriculture in a Community, 1956, p. 13.

describes as "ritualism" or the mode in which the actor rejects the cultural goals but retains the institutionalized means of accomplishing them.21

All respondents strongly voiced the opinion that "Vo-Ag" teachers should make every effort to promote the general education of their students through their vocational agriculture courses. Generally, they did not consider the two polar types (general educationalist versus vocationalist) as mutually exclusive. One teacher expressed the common opinion as follows:

Vocational agriculture training including project programs is one of the best places to use one's general educational training. It is an applied area—an area where more skill and insight can be gained in phases of general education such as science or math.

The teachers were asked to name some of the things they taught their "Vo-Ag" students other than aspects of agriculture which should be good training for all of the high school students. The following were some of the more commonly mentioned subjects taught formally or informally: public speaking, parliamentary law, citizenship, etiquette, home improvement, landscaping, character development, proper dress, repair of home appliances, family relations, and several aspects of shop work which might or might not have more application on the farm than in industry. When the respondents were asked what was the general purpose for teaching these things, the usual reply was "to develop better citizens" or

21Ibid., pp. 139-60.
"to develop total well-rounded personalities regardless of future occupation."

This tendency to dwell upon developing the total personality and citizenship has several implications. In the first place, the rural backgrounds of the teachers, their close association with farm people, and their tendency to view farming as a way of life rather than strictly as a means of making a living, tend to orient them in this broad and diffuse manner. Second, their teaching philosophy, appearing to be grounded in the philosophy of John Dewey and focusing upon scientific problem solving in a democratic framework, is consistent with, if not partially causal in, their concern with citizenship. Third, the "Vo-Ag" teacher's philosophy involves meeting the real needs of rural people. Increasingly, it is becoming more difficult for farm boys to become successfully established as full-time farmers, and for many the real problems are the successful transition to part-time farming, related agricultural occupations, or non-agricultural occupations. The respondents appeared to be keenly aware of this necessary transition and expressed their feeling of responsibility for aiding in the process. For example, one respondent stated that he had aided in gaining employment for twenty-one of his students as welders with one company after he had trained them in the fundamentals of welding in his farm shop. Fourth, as the training period for the general population increases, there is a tendency for vocational decisions and training to be delayed. Last, there are the dual effects of the vested interests of the
"Vo-Ag" teachers in their jobs, on one hand, and the feeling on the part of some school administrators, on the other, that training in vocational agriculture is no longer needed or that it should be modified and broadened.

The respondents were asked to indicate which of four stated objectives should be included in their program and then to rank them in terms of the emphasis given each in their program. These objectives in the order of emphasis given were (1) specific vocational training for the kind of farming students expect to do, (2) general vocational training not especially directed toward particular kinds of farming or related agricultural occupations, (3) general education particularly built around the needs of rural people, and (4) the understanding of agriculture and rural life, but not necessarily to prepare students to be farmers.

Although the vocational objectives were reported to receive the greatest emphasis, it was interesting that many of the teachers would include all of the objectives listed in their programs. All twenty-seven respondents indicated that they would include the general vocational objective; twenty-two, the general education objective; and twenty-two, the understanding of agriculture and rural life.

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22 In one of the three parishes, the parish school superintendent reportedly favored ending the "Vo-Ag" program on the basis that too few students were becoming farmers. There were indications in one of the other two parishes that the superintendent was not a strong supporter of the "Vo-Ag" program.

23 The Research Committee of the Southern Region, op. cit., p. 13.
objective; and thirteen, the understanding of agriculture and rural life objective.

Over-simplified, the general idea appears to be that the "Vo-Ag" program should be what each student needs it to be. If each boy has a satisfactory project program, the boy who would be a farmer will get specific farm training. For the boy who may go into any of a number of types of farming or related occupations, it will serve as general vocational training. For those who will not farm, it will provide training in citizenship, problem solving, the application of general education, and an understanding of and an appreciation for agriculture and rural life.

Although the respondents were oriented more toward the "vocationalist" end of the continuum than otherwise, the majority expressed an obligation toward the whole length of the continuum. They also expressed the opinion that different significant groups expected them to emphasize different ones of the four objectives discussed above. They generally felt that the in-school students were about equally divided in expecting them to provide specific farm training and general vocational training. They believed that the farmers, supervisors, and teacher-trainers expected their main aim to be specific vocational (farm) training. On the other hand, they expressed the belief that the local school administrators preferred to see them emphasize general vocational and general educational objectives.

This orientation of "Vo-Ag" teachers toward both ends and
the middle of the "general education" versus "vocationalist" continuum and their belief that they are expected by different significant groups to emphasize different objectives along the continuum appear to give rise to a type of stress which grows out of excessive expectations rather than out of contradictory expectations. Since the teachers do not perceive the two polar extremes as antithetical but as complimentary, one cannot view the respondents' orientation as role conflict. However, this situation does appear to be conducive to another structural stress which has been defined in Chapter I as role superfluity: that is, excessive expectations in view of the modal attributes of the actors and the situation in which they operate. It seems unlikely that the average actor in the average situation could possibly fulfill all of the roles expected of the "Vo-Ag" teacher.

General agriculturalist versus agricultural specialist. As an agriculturist, the "Vo-Ag" teacher also faces the problem of selection, which in this case is that of defining the scope of his agricultural interests with respect to the students and farmers involved. Will he concern himself with the whole range of agricultural problems his students have or will he specialize in a narrow range of problems and become more expert in these few? Or will he attempt to reach a compromise between the two approaches?

As a background for this discussion, it will be recalled that the broad and diffuse expectations within "Vo-Ag" teaching roles logically tend to make the "Vo-Ag" teacher a general
agriculturalist. However, the roles are played in a situation which places a strain toward the other polar extreme—that of the agricultural specialist. With rapid scientific and technological advances and with the accompanying division of labor, the specialist (or the man who commands a staff of specialists) appears to claim and receive proportionally more prestige. The rising knowledge and skills of the typical American farmer contributes further to the situation. As his skills and knowledge increase, the same must be true of the ones who serve him.

A series of questions were asked of the respondents to ascertain the scope of their felt obligations as these obligations related to their clients' agricultural problems. The respondents were asked whether a "Vo-Ag" teacher should give broad general training in all phases of farming and rural life pertinent to his community or whether he should try to concentrate on a few of the more important phases and offer more specialized training in these few. Fourteen teachers stated that they should be generalists. Twelve felt that they should compromise by dealing with most farm and rural problems and specializing as much as possible in the most important agricultural enterprises in the community. This latter tendency was especially pronounced in a specialized dairy farming area. Only one respondent stated that "Vo-Ag" teachers should specialize. This interviewee was in a two-teacher department.

The potential stress placed on the "Vo-Ag" teacher in
orienting to one or the other of the polar extremes (agricultural
generalist or agricultural specialist) was brought out when the
teachers were asked what other significant groups expected of them.
One-half of the teachers said that they believed their in-school
students expected them to be generalists. The other half expressed
the belief that students expected them to be experts in any given
agricultural problem. This amounts to an expectation that the
teacher should be both a generalist and a specialist. With respect
to what the respondents believed the adult farmers expected them
to be, fourteen answered both, eight answered generalist, and the
remaining five said specialist. Generally, the teachers felt
that the supervisors, teacher-trainers, and local school adminis­
trators expected them to be generalists with some tendency to
expect both. Eight teachers said either that the local adminis­
trators did not know what they should be or else that they did not
know what the administrators expected.

Almost every "Vo-Ag" teacher interviewed made some comment
about the dual expectations of one or more significant groups. A
veteran of over twenty years of teaching said, "We are generalists
and worry constantly because we are not experts in the many things
we deal with." Another teacher remarked, "Farmers want you to be
expert in everything. It can't be done." Another remark which

24 These five were in a specialized dairying area and felt
the farmers expected them to be experts in the problems of dairying.
points up the stress involved is the following: "We can't be both, but we are torn between both now."

When the respondents were asked if they could be both generalist and specialist, twenty said, "No." The remaining seven mentioned various compromises. The danger of taking the compromise approach was pointed out by one respondent when he said, "No, we can't be both, but we can compromise. Even then we will be in an uncomfortable position."

In view of the present trends in agriculture and education, ten respondents said that the future "Vo-Ag" teacher would be a generalist, three indicated he would be a specialist, eleven indicated a compromise would probably emerge, and the remaining three felt that the type of "Vo-Ag" teacher depended upon the agricultural characteristics of the community.

One way to ameliorate the dilemma would be for the "Vo-Ag" teacher, as a generalist, to organize an educational program, teach certain aspects himself, and call upon specialists when needed. Twenty-six respondents expressed the opinion that the "Vo-Ag" teacher should call upon specialists if they were available when dealing with complex problems in adult farmer classes. They were less prone to call on the specialist in connection with in-school classes.

Provisions have been made in recent years to furnish federal funds for the employment of special instructors of farm machinery repair and other technical subjects for young farmer and adult
farmer classes. Several states have added to their supervisory staffs specialists in farm shop and livestock. Some states have employed a few itinerate teachers who have specialized in some phase of agriculture. However, there was little indication from the respondents that these services were widespread.

Since the vocational agriculture program which operates through the public school system does not have a large staff of specialists, the "Vo-Ag" teacher who needs the services of a specialist is often forced to call upon various agencies and programs operating under the United States Department of Agriculture. The respondents appeared to feel free to call upon certain of these more specialized agency representatives such as foresters, experiment station personnel, and Soil Conservation Service technicians. There seemed, nevertheless, to be some feeling of loss of prestige by having to call upon others.

The use of State Agricultural Extension Service specialists, however, was quite another thing. In many ways the county agent, employed by the Agricultural Extension Service at the county level, represents a rival program administered by a different governmental agency. Both "Vo-Ag" teacher and county agent carry on both adult and youth programs, and the positions of both are diffusely oriented to the problems of rural people. Both are general agriculturalists, often with similar training. 25 Whereas the "Vo-Ag" teacher has

25According to a check of the Extension Service personnel by a teacher-trainer in the Vocational Agricultural Education Department
few specialists connected with his program, the county agent has a
large staff of state specialists to assist in his county program.
Some "Vo-Ag" teachers, through the county agent, may occasionally
use the extension specialists. However, the impression was gained
that the "Vo-Ag" teacher carrying on an aggressive program in competi-
tion with the county agent might not secure these services, and
if he did the credit for the program often went to the local county
agent rather than to the "Vo-Ag" teacher.

Another possible solution to the dilemma was suggested by
another teacher. He felt, with school consolidation taking place
in some areas, that multiple-teacher departments might provide
opportunity for some degree of specialization.

In terms of the general agriculturalist versus agricultural
specialist, there appeared to be consensus among the respondents
that they are and should be agricultural generalists with perhaps
some degree of specialization in the most important agricultural
enterprises of their community. However, the teachers obviously
were under the stress of conflicting expectations. On the one hand,
a majority of the respondents stated that they believed their
supervisors, teacher-trainers, and local administrators expected

at the Louisiana State University, slightly over 50 per cent of
county agents, associate agents, and assistant agents in Louisiana
had trained as teachers of vocational agriculture. It was also
noted that twenty-four or 36.9 per cent of the sixty-five male
state staff members were vocational agriculture graduates. This
included all of those in the three top positions and thirteen of
those in the top seventeen male positions.
them to be general agriculturalists; on the other hand, more than half of them believed that the majority of their most significant reference groups (students and adult farmers) needed and expected them to be both generalists and specialists.

Added to the stress growing out of conflicting expectations was the realization that in our present society professional prestige is awarded largely on the basis of expertness or the command of those who have this qualification. The primacy of the diffuse orientation typically does not permit specialization nor does the "Vo-Ag" teacher have a staff of specialists at his command as does his rival, the county agent.

Summary. We have considered seven sub-pattern variables of the more general variable, diffuseness versus specificity. The data indicate a high degree of consensus among the "Vo-Ag" teachers interviewed that their occupational position is highly diffuse in orientation to both in-school students and adult farmers. In terms of the first four sub-variables there was both consensus and integration (lack of role or value conflict). That is, their occupational roles were characterized by (1) a community of fate, (2) required integration of roles in and out of the system, (3) the involvement of their families, and (4) two-way invasion of privacy.

There seemed to be general consensus among the "Vo-Ag" teachers but at the same time considerable stress in the manner
in which the respondents oriented to their clients in terms of the last three sub-variables. The majority of the respondents evidenced some role conflict in feeling an obligation to promote farming both as a "way of life" and as a "means of making a living" while feeling that the promotion of scientific and commercial farming was detrimental to the traditional pattern of farming as a "way of life."

Although the emphasis appeared to be upon the "vocationalist" side of the "vocationalist" versus "general educationalist" sub-variable, the teachers appeared to feel a responsibility to be both. Due to the educational philosophy of the "Vo-Ag" teacher, this did not appear as incompatible and consequently, is not considered as role conflict. However, the excessive and diffuse expectation growing out of the obligation to be both a generalist and a specialist may lead to another type of stress, one defined in Chapter I as role superfluity. Also the stress of role frustration is involved in that the vocational objective of aiding students to become farmers is partially frustrated by the situation of declining farm population.

Probably the most keenly felt role conflict appeared in connection with "general agriculturalist" versus "agricultural specialist" orientation. On one hand, they felt that their superiors expected them to be "general agriculturalist" and, on the other hand, that their most significant "others" (students and adult farmers) needed and expected them to be both "specialist" and "generalist."
Educational Orientation Versus Service Orientation

As indicated in Chapter I, not all action or expected action can be neatly classified by the five Parsonian pattern variables. These, according to Parsons and Shils, are "accidents of content, rather than genuine alternatives intrinsic to the structure of all action."26 One such pattern variable which has significance for the particular class of actors under study is an "educational orientation" versus a "service orientation."27

Certainly one would expect the teacher in the public school system to be educationally oriented in the performance of his classroom teaching role. The "Vo-Ag" teacher, however, has many roles besides that of classroom teaching, and the orientation with respect to these other roles is not usually so clear-cut as it is with his teaching role. It should be remembered, too, that the "Vo-Ag" teacher in a sense competes with the representatives of other agricultural agencies—with the county agent and the Soil Conservation Service Technician, for example; and these representatives appear to be oriented more toward providing direct service than they are to providing indirect service through education.

Especially in connection with adult farmer work, representatives of various agricultural services or educational agencies may

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27 See definition of pattern variables in Chapter I.
be called upon to make a direct application of their knowledge or skills to a farmer's particular problems without an effort to teach the farmer to perform the services for himself. For example, they may be asked to vaccinate cattle, survey terrace lines, or make direct recommendations as to crop varieties or fertilizer practices. Some county agents, as well as a few of the older "Vo-Ag" teachers, have actually received the title "Doc" in recognition for their veterinarian-like services.

As indicated in Chapter V, the formal roles of the "Vo-Ag" teacher specifies an educational orientation both in and out of the classroom. This official expectation was found to be well supported at the informal level. When asked if the "Vo-Ag" teacher should perform such services as castrating, vaccinating, or surveying for farmers (without trying to teach the farmer the knowledge and skills involved), twenty teachers stated that their obligation was only an educational one. The remaining seven respondents said that their primary obligation was to teach others to perform such tasks but that they probably should perform a limited amount of service work.

When asked about the expectations of their significant reference groups, all of the teachers expressed the opinion that the supervisors and teacher-trainers expected them to educate and not perform services for farm people. Two-thirds of the teachers said that the local school administrators also expected an educational orientation. The other third felt that their local administrators either did not know whether education or service should be stressed
or else they did not care. Concerning the farmers' expectations, one-third of the teachers said the farmers now expected mainly education, one-third felt that their farmers expected service mainly, and the remaining one-third indicated that the typical farmer expected some of both.

In view of the various expectations, the majority of the "Vo-Ag" teachers interviewed indicated that in actual practice they primarily try to teach, but that they had to perform a limited amount of "service" for older farmers, widows, or very poorly educated persons. Several indicated that in certain crisis situations, such as outbreaks of certain livestock diseases, they worked long hours performing the service of vaccinating livestock. The majority agreed that they would not continue to perform services for the typical farmer if he showed no inclination to learn the skills and knowledge himself.

Many remarks of the older teachers strongly indicated that there had been an increasing tendency toward an educational orientation in the adult program since the early days of vocational agriculture.

Another indication of this educational orientation was found in the opinion expressed by all but two respondents that the "Vo-Ag" teacher should not be expected to use students and equipment to do maintenance and repair jobs on school buildings and equipment unless these jobs were very limited in scope or could be justified in terms of education. Approximately one-third, however, felt that their
principal and perhaps other teachers as well expected them to perform maintenance or service duties without regard for their educational contribution. The following case is not reported as typical, but while visiting one "Vo-Ag" department the researcher observed several incidents which indicate the service expectations placed upon one "Vo-Ag" teacher. While this researcher was walking to the "Vo-Ag" building with the principal and the "Vo-Ag" teacher, the principal mentioned a repair job he wanted the teacher to do. During the following hour while the students completed a reading assignment, three farmers who were building a truck bed in the farm shop called upon the teacher twice for advice and tools. Also, two grammar school students came to his classroom. One wanted a "little bitsy" nail for "Miss ----," and the other one wanted a screw about "so big" for his teacher. In addition to these calls for help and the supervision of guided reading for his boys, the teacher was being subjected to a barrage of questions from this researcher. The questions regarding the "role of maintenance man" and the "service orientations" brought a hardy chuckle from the respondent.

II. SUMMARY OF THE VALUE ORIENTATION OF THE "VO-AG" TEACHER

In the beginning of this chapter, Parson's description of the value orientation of the professions in general was mentioned as a reference point for the reader to hold in mind while the value orientation or general role definition of the teacher of
vocational agriculture was viewed. One may conclude that the "Vo-Ag teaching profession, like the professions in general (physician, lawyer, and so forth) is characterized by achievement, universalism, and collectivity-orientation. However, the "Vo-Ag" profession differs in orientation in respect to two pattern variables. With regard to one of these, the professions in general are characterized by functional specificity, and the "Vo-Ag" profession is characterized by functional diffuseness. Concerning the last of the Parsonian pattern variables, the professions, in general, are characterized by affective neutrality; whereas, the "Vo-Ag" teaching profession appears to be "positively affective" in orientation toward the clients and the "rural way of life," on one hand, and affectively neutral toward methods of farming, on the other.

Further comparisons and evaluations of the value orientation of the "Vo-Ag" teacher will be made by attempting to categorize on the basis of value orientation four groups of positions and roles on a continuum from those characterized by extreme familistic or Gemeinschaft relationships to those characterized by extreme contractual or Gesellschaft relationships such as may be found in the modern capitalistic society.28

Although the fit is not perfect, these appears to be a general similarity between the Parsonian pattern variables and the components of Toennie's polar ideal types, Gemeinschaft and

and Gesellschaft. Hence, this study is visualizing a particular combination of polar extremes of the Parsonian pattern variables as representing the general value orientation characteristic of a Gemeinschaft relationship. This particular combination of orientations is characteristic of the roles of parent, lover, friend, and neighbor. The value orientation of these roles is generally characterized as ascription, particularism, affectivity, diffuseness and collectivity-orientation. At the other polar extreme or at the other end of the continuum lie the opposing orientations of achievement, universalism, affective neutrality, specificity, and self-orientation. This extreme value orientation is more gesellschaftlich in nature and is most typified in our society by the position and roles of the businessman (see Table VII). One must keep in mind, however, that Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft, as well as the Parsonian pattern variables, are ideal constructs; and no roles or positions will be found which are characterized only by the polar extremes.

For comparative purposes Table VII shows on a continuum the two polar types described above and between these two extreme types, two intermediate groups of occupational positions. The physician, lawyer, and bureaucratic official are placed nearest to the Gesellschaft end of the continuum because these positions are considered to be oriented toward four of the same Parsonian pattern

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29 Ibid.
### TABLE VII

THE GENERAL VALUE ORIENTATION OF FOUR GROUPS OF POSITIONS AND ROLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gemeinschaft Relationships (Familistic)</th>
<th>Gesellschaft Relationships (Contractual)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parent, Lover, Friend, Neighbor</td>
<td>&quot;Vo-Ag&quot; Teacher, Preacher, Missionary, County agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Physician, Lawyer, Bureaucratic official</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ascription</td>
<td>Achievement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Particularism</td>
<td>Universalism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affectivity</td>
<td>Affectivity^2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affective Neutrality</td>
<td>Affective Neutrality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diffuseness</td>
<td>Specificity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collectivity</td>
<td>Collectivity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^The "Vo-Ag" teacher appears to be positively affective toward clients and the traditional patterns of rural life and affectively neutral toward farming methods.

The orientations below and to the left of the inserted line are considered to be conducive to Gemeinschaft relationships, while the orientations above and to the right of the inserted line are considered to be conducive to Gesellschaft relationships.
variable polar extremes as business men are. They differ from the businessman only in terms of the private versus collective-interest dilemma. Their occupational roles are collectivity-oriented while the businessman's roles are self-oriented.

As one moves from the occupations in which the relations are more characteristic of Gesellschaft relationships, he finds other occupations which appear to have more of the elements of Gemeinschaft and which are more familialistic in orientation. Especially within the professional groups, these occupations appear to be those more closely associated with the realm of the sacred and with the more rural and traditional elements of society. It is at this point on the four point continuum that the "Vo-Ag" teacher can be placed. Close to his position on the continuum, or perhaps a little nearer the Gemeinschaft end, are the positions of preacher and missionary. Most of the other professional agricultural occupations including that of the county agent probably fall somewhat nearer the Gesellschaft side because none are so community-oriented as the "Vo-Ag" teacher's occupation is.

While "Vo-Ag" teachers' roles are achievement and universalistically oriented as are the roles of the businessman and the physician, they are, on the other hand, characterized by an affectivity, diffuseness, and collectivity-orientation as are the parent's roles. However, as we pointed out earlier, the affective orientation of the "Vo-Ag" teachers' roles is of a special nature. While he is expected to be positively affective toward his clients and toward farming as a "way of life," he is expected to be
affectively neutral toward farming methods (value rational in Weberian terminology).

The researcher believes that of all the professional positions which are associated with the various fields of science and applied science, the position and roles of the "Vo-Ag" teacher are nearer to the Gemeinschaft end of the continuum than are any others with which he is acquainted.

This study has described many elements which may be considered as indicators of a tendency toward Gemeinschaft relationships in the roles of the sample population of "Vo-Ag" teachers. Like the farm people they work with they have farm backgrounds and tend to support the customs and values of the traditional rural way of life. The lack of both horizontal and vertical mobility of those who remain in the occupation are associated with a familistic orientation. This tendency is reinforced by the strong inclination of the teachers to live on farms among the farm people of their communities; that is, to live among people who have similar cultural backgrounds, religious ideas, and ethical values. A tendency was evident in the French and mixed culture areas for the "Vo-Ag" teacher to be found in his home parish or community. Hence, one sees in varying degrees the three structural elements described by Toennies as fundamental to Gemeinschaft relationships—neighborhood, unity of mind and spirit, and to a lesser extent, kinship relations.30

30Ibid., p. 257.
Growing out of these conditions, there is, as seen, a tendency for the "Vo-Ag" teacher to fuse Gemeinschaft elements with Gesellschaft ones. The conditions of his employment prescribe a basically achievement, universalism, and collective-orientation; while the conditions of his employment and economic necessity require an affective neutrality toward methods of farming. On the other hand, the structural elements of Gemeinschaft (neighborhood, unity of mind and spirit, and, to a limited extent, kinship) appear to be instrumental in the positive affective orientation toward rural people and toward farming as a way of life, a collective rather than a self-interest, and a strongly diffuse orientation which prescribes a "community of fate" in which the "Vo-Ag" teacher feels that he should share not only the hardships and sorrows of the rural people he works with but also their joys and satisfaction.
CHAPTER VIII

STRUCTURAL STRESSES AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES

In the model of behavioral causation and in the methodological chapter, it was indicated that there are three basic groups of factors which give structure to real behavior or social organization. These three basic groups of factors—socio-cultural structure, personality factors, and situational factors—have been described and partially analyzed in the preceding chapters. The interview technique combined with a survey of the literature seems well suited to the description and analysis of these factors. However, in view of the tendency of individuals to hold biased conceptions of their own real activities, conceptions which stem from their desire to appear in a favorable light to others, the interview technique alone does not appear adequate for gathering accurate and comprehensive data on patterns of real behavior.

In view of this fact this study has probed only slightly into how the respondents said they actually behaved and has emphasized instead the stresses or tensions actors reported in attempting to fulfill their roles as "Vo-Ag" teachers. The stresses or tensions arising out of the structure of roles will be treated in this chapter under the headings of role conflict, role frustration, role inadequacies, and role superfluity. In addition, the consequences of these stresses will be examined in terms of the respondents'
perceptions of role fulfillment, role satisfaction, occupational problems, and occupational change.

I. STRUCTURAL STRESSES

It was stated in Chapter I that social disorganization has its origin in the same three groups of factors which give rise to social organization. To the degree that these three factors are internally consistent and consistent with each other, there will be organization and stability in the social system. By contrast, the degree to which there are inconsistencies or maladjustments within and among these basic factors and the degree to which these inconsistencies are perceived by the actors, there will be stress felt by actors in acting out their roles and maladjustments in the social organization of the roles themselves. The basic postulate is that if maladjustments are introduced into any of the three basic parts of a perfectly adjusted social system, stress will be felt by the actors in the interaction process and this will place the social system under strain. ¹ It is further hypothesized that there will be a natural tendency of the system to eliminate stress. This tendency leads to social change by first changing social organization (or organized behavior) and ultimately by changing the sociocultural structure upon which it rests.

¹This theory was stated by Frederick L. Bates in a lecture in Sociology 291 at the Louisiana State University during the Summer of 1959.
The immediate concern in this analysis is to point out the stresses involved in the position and roles of the "Vo-Ag" teacher in terms of (1) role conflict, (2) role frustration, (3) role inadequacy, and (4) role superfluity.

Role Conflict

Role conflict, the first of four types of structural stresses to be discussed here involves inconsistencies or maladjustments within the socio-cultural structure. Earlier role conflict was defined as a condition in which the occupant of a focal role or roles (position or positions) perceives that he is confronted with incompatible expectations. These incompatible expectations may be viewed at two different levels. First, at the socio-cultural level, the role obligations may appear logically or "morally" inconsistent to the actor. For example, he may feel obliged to be both a "generalist" and a "specialist" at the same time, while knowing that he cannot be both. Second, the actor may perceive no contradictions in his perceived obligations at the socio-cultural level but he may, on the level of social organization, perceive that different expectations are held by different actors or groups of actors which prevent the fulfillment of his roles without interpersonal conflict.

Role conflict may also be viewed at different levels of generality. At one extreme, one may focus on general value conflict in terms of pattern variables. At the other extreme, he may focus

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on specific role conflict arising out of the particular expectations associated with roles.

Some types of general role conflict which are present in the "Vo-Ag" occupation have been pointed out in the preceding chapters. These conflicts and others will be listed below.

1. The majority of the responding "Vo-Ag" teachers appeared to be "positively affective" in their orientation toward their clients and the traditional rural way of life, on one hand, and affectively neutral (zweckrational) toward farming methods, on the other. Role conflict exists in this case because the teachers feel that out of economic necessity they must promote scientific, rational farming; and, at the same time, they feel that this type of farming is antithetical to the traditional rural way of life.

2. The combination of positively affective and universalistic orientations appears to produce role conflict since the teacher is expected to know his students very well and associate with them and their families on an intimate basis but at the same time is faced by universalistic standards which require him to grade them objectively on school work.

3. At the social organization level there appears to be role conflict in relation to the sub-variable, "general agriculturalist"

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versus "agricultural specialist." Although there was general consensus among the "Vo-Ag" teachers themselves that they were and should be "generalists," they perceived themselves to be faced with conflicting and incompatible expectations from other significant groups.

The majority of the respondents felt that their "most significant others" (in-school students and adult farmers) expected them to be both "generalists" and "specialists." Concerning the expectations of their superiors, the "Vo-Ag" teachers generally felt that these superiors clearly expected them to deal with a broad range of agricultural and rural problems. However, it was also pointed out by several teachers that while being told he is a generalist, on one hand, he is also told over and over on the other to do a "better job" in many areas of specialization. That is, the "higher ups" send the "Vo-Ag" teacher out to do a "good job" in many specialized areas of agriculture as a "generalist" to people who often expect expert aid in the areas of their specific needs. The "Vo-Ag" teacher is expected to do as good a job or a better one in these many specialized areas than representatives of other agencies, some of whom are more specialized or have better access to trained specialists. Hence, the "Vo-Ag" teacher feels a strain to be generalist, that is, to have a generalized knowledge of the various phases of agriculture and, at the same time, to be a specialist in each phase of agriculture. The average "Vo-Ag" teacher seemed to be acutely aware of the impossibility of being
both a specialist and a generalist; nevertheless, many seemed to feel compelled to attempt the impossible.

4. Three-fourths of the "Vo-Ag" teachers interviewed disagreed with the basic objective set for them by the Smith-Hughes Act. Whereas, this law specifies that the objective of the "Vo-Ag" program is to train those who have entered or are preparing to enter the occupation of farming, the majority of the respondents would broaden its objective to include at least the training for related occupations and part-time farming. It appeared that the respondents would prefer to change the objective of the law to fit the actual accomplishments of their programs. This desire to change the objectives appeared to be the result of a realistic appraisal of the actual situation they faced and not of what they, ideally, would have liked to accomplish.

5. Except under special circumstances, the "Vo-Ag" teacher is supposed to carry on one or more adult or young farmer classes. The classes should, according to federal specifications, consist of ten or more meetings for adult farmers and fifteen or more for young farmers. The majority of the teachers felt that their state superiors in the vocational agriculture program expected them to meet this requirement. However, all but one respondent stated that both they and their farmers would set no requirements as to the number of meetings but would let the needs and interests of the farmers decide the matter. They also indicated that they and the
farmers were in agreement that more emphasis should be placed on individual and small group instructions and that less emphasis should be placed on formally organized class meetings.

In addition to the role conflict of being caught between the conflicting expectations of superiors and farmers there appeared to be conflict at the logical level. This was expressed by one teacher as follows: "On one hand, we are required to organize adult classes on the basis of ten meetings or more, and on the other hand, we are told to base our program on the needs and interests of the people." The point here is that the teacher did not think the farmers always needed or were interested in ten or more meetings.

6. Although there did not seem to be a great amount of stress involved, there appeared to be some degree of role conflict over orienting toward education or service. While the respondents and their vocational agriculture superiors were in solid agreement that the "Vo-Ag" teacher should play the role of educator, ten teachers felt that adult farmers mainly wanted service and eight teachers said their farmers wanted both education and service.

7. Earlier the fact was discussed that the "Vo-Ag" teacher is, in a sense, a member of two bureaucratic structures, both of which have the power to influence his behavior. The representatives of these two structures (the local-state school organization and the federal-state organization for the administration and supervision of the vocational agriculture program) have placed, and
to a certain extent still place, varying expectations upon the "Vo-Ag" teacher. The responses of a slight majority of our interviewees indicated a fairly clear line of authority between the local administrators and the vocational agriculture supervisors. As one teacher stated, "the local principal is our immediate boss. The supervisor goes through channels and his duties are mainly to advise and to uphold minimum standards." There were indications from several teachers that conflicting expectations were diminishing as the "Vo-Ag" superiors increasingly advocated local control and insisted that both they and the "Vo-Ag" teachers consider the local principal as boss of the total local school program.

8. In view of the broad expectations and the statements of the majority of the respondents that the duties of the "Vo-Ag" teachers' roles permitted less time to be devoted exclusively to family life than is possible in nearly all other occupations, one would expect to find a conflict of expectations between occupational roles and family roles. However, the interviews with the "Vo-Ag" teachers and the discussions with the wives of several did not reveal a significant degree of conflict between these two sets of roles. The tendency for the typical "Vo-Ag" teacher to merge his occupational and "social roles," and the broad participation of the "Vo-Ag" teachers' wives in their husbands' work appeared to meliorate any potential conflict and to give the wives an understanding of their husbands' work and a feeling of significance which offset any penalties resulting from the interference with
their private family life. In other words, role conflict seems to be avoided between work and family roles by including the wife and children in the work activities of vocational agriculture.

Role Frustration

Role frustration is defined here as the inability of an actor or class of actors to fulfill perceived role expectations because of recurrent situational factors (strains or inconsistencies between the socio-cultural structure and recurrent situational factors). The following are some of the frustrations found within the roles of the "Vo-Ag" teacher.

1. The greatest role frustration of the modal respondent appeared to grow out of the rapidly changing agricultural situation. One teacher pointed up this frustration with the following statement: "We are supposed to be making farmers and educating for increased agricultural production. Yet, we are faced with overproduction; many farmers are being forced out of the business; and fewer of our students can become farmers." In this case their ideal expectation is the fulfillment of the vocational objective of helping farmers to be more successful in farming and aiding boys in becoming established in farming. However, these objectives are partially frustrated by an economic situation which is causing a decline in farm population. This is not denied by their general educational objectives or the fact that on the basis of the present economic situation they would broaden the Smith-Hughes Act objective.
Growing out of this more general role frustration are more specific frustrations. There were many reports of a decline in the students' interest in farming and vocational agriculture. There were also indications that it was becoming more difficult to lead boys to develop satisfactory project programs which are focal to the vocational agriculture teaching philosophy. In an era of large-scale commercial production of farm products it is difficult for the "Vo-Ag" student, as well as the small farmer, to compete on a commercial basis with the larger producers.

Although this study has already considered the conflicting expectations of the adult class requirements as role conflict, the point of view may be shifted slightly to consider the decreasing attendance of adult farmers in terms of role frustration. The disagreement of "Vo-Ag" teachers about the requirement of ten organized formal meetings appears to be based upon the situation and not upon what the teachers ideally would prefer. The discouragement of many small farmers, the lack of time for part-time farmers to attend classes, the competition with television, the competition with agricultural agency representatives who are freer to give more individual attention, and many other factors apparently frustrate the "Vo-Ag"

4 The typical "Vo-Ag" teacher seemed to feel that his students were still as interested in his subject as they were in their other subjects. The point was that with declining profits in their supervised projects and with a decreasing chance to become established in farming, the interest in "Vo-Ag" had been reduced to the general academic level of interest.
teacher in consummating the requirement of holding an organized series of ten or more adult class meetings with each class or group.

2. The situation involved in the scheduling of high school classes appeared, in part, to frustrate the expectation of carrying out an effective adult program. The average number of in-school classes taught by the respondents was 4.6. This, with about one hour free for individual consultation and upkeep of the department, means that the typical "Vo-Ag" teacher is not free to start his supervision of in-school student projects and adult work until mid-afternoon. In this limited amount of time they are in a sense in competition with other agricultural workers who are not tied to the classroom during the majority of the available time. In addition, over one-third of the respondents had to look after freezer lockers and meat curing plants which appeared to provide more service than education. Also, some time had to be spent in the preparation for teaching and in the evaluation of student work.

3. The majority of the respondents indicated that they were frustrated in the performance of the type of job they felt obliged to perform, especially in the farm shop, by the lack of resources with which to do the job. Over and over, they complained of having no funds for the purchase of shop and other supplies. It was the observation of the researcher that the typical farm shop was small and poorly equipped. Yet, with the increasing mechanization of farming and with the tendency for many of their former students to
take jobs in industry, the teachers felt an obligation to place more emphasis upon shop instruction.

4. From one point of view, the general agriculturalist expectation was frustrated, especially in relation to adult farmers, by the technological advancement on the typical farm which increasingly calls for the services of the specialist or the generalist with a staff of specialists at his command. It is not unusual today for a teacher to be faced with highly specialized farming situations in which the farm operator through specialization has acquired greater knowledge of the technical aspects of his special area of agriculture than the teacher himself possesses. In a community where various specialized farm enterprises are present, the demand is for highly trained specialists rather than a broadly trained generalist. The generalist in effect may be left with little to contribute in such a situation other than coordinating the activities of specialists.

Role Inadequacy

The third type of structural stress, role inadequacy, is defined as the inability of an actor or class of actors to fulfill the perceived role because of recurrent personal inadequacies (strains or inconsistencies between the socio-cultural structure and recurrent personality factors).

1. In a period of rapid change—especially in a diffusely oriented occupation—it is to be expected that there would be
feelings of role inadequacy among the members of the occupation concerning the performance of their roles. Eighteen or two-thirds of the teachers felt that the four-year training program was inadequate for the proper performance of the job. The inadequacy most often expressed was the lack of technical training, especially in the area of farm mechanics.

2. Although the respondents had farm backgrounds and felt a farm background to be essential to success, their particular types of farm backgrounds often provided only part of the experiences needed in their present work. It will be recalled that the respondents typically were from the families of small farmers and part-time farmers. These backgrounds often failed to provide a desirable practical background in the use and maintenance of modern farm machinery.

3. Although no teacher specifically pointed out this particular aspect of his training program, there was indirect evidence that the formal training program, with its emphasis on doing a good job in many areas, fails to guide the prospective teacher in developing a hierarchy for rating the importance of roles and values. The diffuse orientation without a hierarchy for determining the importance of roles and duties seems to play a large part in causing many young teachers to feel inadequate in the "Vo-Ag" teaching position and consequently, to leave the field early in their careers. This belief appears to be supported by
the occupational follow-up studies discussed in Chapter VI. These studies, in general, indicate that over ninety per cent of the graduates in vocational agricultural education enter the occupation of "Vo-Ag" teaching but that between forty and fifty per cent of these leave the field. Those who leave the field usually do so relatively early in their working careers and those who do remain in the occupation typically hold relatively long tenure. It may be that those who remain in the field are predominately those who have been most successful in developing a hierarchy for rating the importance of roles.

One interviewee who appeared happier in his work than the average indicated that he had arrived at a hierarchial evaluation of the importance of his various roles when he said, "My boys come first. Everything else has to fit in the best it can."

Role Superfluity

The last type structural stress to be described is one involving the simultaneous maladjustment among all three groups of factors causal in the patterning of human behavior—socio-cultural structure, situational factors, and personality factors. This type of stress has been named role superfluity and defined as a situation in which an actor as incumbent of a role or roles (position or positions) perceives that he is faced with greater expectations than he or his type of actor can fulfill because of recurrent situational and personality factors. This type of stress appears to be the most characteristic strain found within
the roles of the "Vo-Ag" teacher.

1. The combination of positive affectivity and "universal-istic" orientations of the "Vo-Ag" teachers toward their students and farmers appears to make them quite vulnerable to role superfluity. This combination of orientations is essentially the prescription to love everybody but to share one's affection and services equally and impartially.

Earlier, the orientation of the "Vo-Ag" teacher toward his clients was described as probably the most diffuse of that of any of the professional groups in the fields of science or applied science. When these diffuse or broad expectations are added to the prescription to love and serve all of the rural people equally and impartially, the stage is set perfectly for overwhelming expectations and role superfluity.

The diffuse expectations are placed upon a modal actor who has sprung from a small, usually non-mechanized farm and who has between four and five years of college. There is no evidence to indicate that the typical respondent is significantly above the average college graduate in physical and mental capacity. These actors are expected to carry out a broad range of expectations covering the various areas of agriculture relevant to their communities, various aspects of rural life, and certain aspects of "general education." It is expected that this program will be carried to youth and adults. "Vo-Ag" teachers are further expected to be "regular" faculty members, active churchmen, and civic and
community leaders. These broad roles are expected to be performed in an era of increasing specialization, rising levels of agricultural knowledge and skills, rapidly changing agriculture, and declining farm population. The situation is still further complicated by the membership of "Vo-Ag" teachers in two bureaucratic organizations, the public school system and the federal-state organization for the supervision and administration of the vocational agriculture program, each of which often places different and specialized expectations upon the "Vo-Ag" teacher. In view of his situation, background, training, and circumscription by time and space, the modal actor feels that he cannot fulfill all of the expectations of his roles to his satisfaction; the resulting stress is role superfluity. One respondent expressed this stress as follows:

It is illogical to expect an 'Ag' teacher to be a 'regular' teacher and, at the same time do a good job in FFA work, all-day student work, and adult work. The impossibility bears on one's conscience. Also, we are expected to be leading citizens and take an active part in church, civic, and community work while being a good teacher. But to do this means you do less than expected as a teacher.

3. In relation to the sub-variable, general educationalist versus vocationalist, the "Vo-Ag" teachers in the sample emphasized the vocational expectations. However, the teachers also felt a heavy responsibility regarding the general education of their students without, at the same time, feeling that the general and vocational aims were contradictory. For this reason, the
resulting broad expectations may be called role superfluity rather than role conflict.

4. When the respondents were asked what their major problems were, the majority mentioned in one way or another excessive expectations which they felt were detrimental to the quality of their work.

In response to a question concerning the main disadvantages of their work, over three-fourths of the teachers mentioned among other things too many expectations. The follow-up studies of "Vo-Ag" career patterns also indicate that role superfluity is a major reason for persons leaving the occupation. Many of these studies show as one of the first two or three reasons for changing occupation, "too many expectations."

II. CONSEQUENCES OF STRUCTURAL STRESSES

The structural stresses described above largely determine the degree to which the actors perceive themselves as fulfilling the expectations of their roles, the degree of role satisfaction, the amount of deviation of real behavior from ideal behavior, and finally, the degree and direction of social change.

Role Fulfillment

Throughout the interviews, a majority of the teachers made numerous references to various role stresses and to their inability to do all the many things expected of them by their significant reference groups. On the other hand, the teachers made many
references to close friendly relations with the students and farm people and to various mechanisms of adjustment to role stresses which will be discussed later in this chapter. Obviously, there must be compensations for and means of meliorating stress for a group to register long tenure as did the respondents.

In an effort to determine role fulfillment, the researcher asked the interviewees to rate their job performance in their present position on a Likert-type scale (very well, well, average, poor, and very poor). The usual response was in terms of the type of job which could reasonably be expected of a "Vo-Ag" teacher or in comparison to the average "Vo-Ag" teacher's performance and not in terms of the degree of fulfillment of the ideal expectations. The latter implication should have been stressed for the present analysis, but unfortunately this was overlooked. In response to the question relating to role performance, fourteen teachers indicated that they felt that their performance was average, eleven indicated that they felt that they played their roles well, and two said their performance was very well.

This self-rating is of dubious value. In the first place, a standard for comparison was not clearly indicated and the respondent's tendency was to compare his performance with the performance of other teachers rather than with ideal expectations. Secondly, there appeared to be a tendency for good teachers to underrate their performance and for poor teachers to over-rate their
After the "Vo-Ag" teachers were asked to rate their role performances, they were asked to indicate the conditions which they felt stood in the way of their doing a better job. These obstacles were categorized in terms of which of the four types of structural stresses discussed above they would likely cause. In the order of frequency mentioned, the obstacles to greater role fulfillment in terms of role stresses were: (1) role superfluity, (2) role frustration, (3) role inadequacy, and (4) role conflict. This, however, does not necessarily mean that the intensity with which these stresses were felt are in the same order as the frequency with which the obstacles causing the stresses were mentioned.

Role Satisfaction

The respondents were asked to rate their occupation as excellent, fairly good, average, below average, or very poor. Twelve teachers rated it as excellent, twelve as fairly good, and three as average. Approximately the same general rating was given for their present jobs as for their occupation. The teachers generally felt that their families were as satisfied with their occupations as they were. Several indicated that their wives felt that they were working too hard, but that the wives generally understood and

5In making this statement the researcher is somewhat presumptuous in assuming that he can rate a "Vo-Ag" teacher by talking to him four hours and walking through his department once or twice.
did their part to help.

Apparently, those who make their adjustments during the first few years of teaching tend to remain in the occupation and to feel a fair to high degree of satisfaction in spite of the stresses involved. They further exhibited a strong sense of loyalty to and a feeling of identification with their profession.

Although there are varying types and degrees of stresses involved in acting out roles, there are also "built in" rewards for those who play the roles properly as well as sanctions for those who fail to play them properly. An attempt was made to determine what the respondents of this study considered as their greatest rewards for performing their occupational roles. In order to simplify the problem, especially the problem of motivation, the "generalized goals" described by Parsons were used plus one other as a check list. The generalized goals were: (1) instrumental goals, (2) recognition, (3) security, and (4) response. To these was added "a sense of public service." These rewards were translated into everyday language and listed in the following form:

1. Sense of public service.
2. The feeling of being respected and looked up to (Recognition).
3. A satisfying fellowship (Response).
4. A good salary or a chance to get ahead (Instrumental goal).
5. A sense of security (Security).

The teachers were asked to indicate which of the five listed
items were their greatest reward for teaching vocational agriculture. Several teachers indicated as they discussed their first choice that they received a fair measure of all five. Eleven teachers said that a sense of public service was their greatest reward, ten indicated the recognition reward, five indicated the satisfying fellowship or response reward, one said his salary was his greatest reward, and none named the security reward. When the eleven teachers who felt that a sense of public service was their greatest satisfaction were asked what reward they received from this public service, five indicated respect (recognition) and four said "a satisfying fellowship" (response). If we re-interpret the "sense of public service" reward in terms of the felt rewards for this service, fifteen teachers indicated their greatest reward was respect or recognition and nine indicated the satisfying fellowship or response reward.

Other Problems

Certain problems have grown out of the institutional setting of the occupation roles of the "Vo-Ag" teacher. It was indicated earlier that the "Vo-Ag" teacher is in a sense a member of two bureaucratic organizations. At the inception of the program, the position was placed within and under the partial control of the public school system. At the same time a federal-state organization was set up to supervise, to administer, and to uphold certain standards within the program.

Another condition basic to many problems involved in the "Vo-Ag" teaching roles developed from early vocational legislation. As
was noted in the discussion of legislation, various groups advocating different aspects of vocational education split apart and, consequently, two bills were passed setting up two programs for agricultural training. The Smith-Lever Act of 1914 set up the Agricultural Extension Service and the basic role of the county agent which is administered through the United States Department of Agriculture. The Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 set up the vocational agriculture program giving the central role to the teacher of vocational agriculture and with the program to be administered through the Federal Board for Vocational Education. However, the program was to be located within the public school system. The results of legislating into being two related occupational positions administered by separate agencies and charged with roughly similar responsibilities toward the same people were predicted as early as 1911.6

In order to view some of the resulting problems evolving from the situation described above, the respondents were asked the following question: In general, is there conflict of interest, aims, values, or expectations between the positions of the "Vo-Ag" teacher and the positions of (1) regular high school teachers, (2) high school principals, and (3) county agents?

Bases of conflict with regular high school teachers and principals. Although the majority of the "Vo-Ag" teachers

6 John T. Wheeler, Two Hundred Years of Agricultural Education in Georgia (Danville, Illinois: The Interstate, 1948), p. 185.
interviewed indicated a fair to good relationship with the remainder of the high school faculty, twenty-five of the twenty-seven respondents indicated that there are various differential expectations, rewards, privileges, understanding, and prestige which have produced a tendency toward strained relations between "Vo-Ag" teachers and regular teachers. The fact that the typical "Vo-Ag" teacher felt that he, personally, was better liked by the regular high school teachers that the program he represented is an indication that the strains are at the institutionalized level rather than at an interpersonal conflict level.

The respondents mentioned the following conditions as basic to a tendency toward strained relations between the "Vo-Ag" teacher and the remainder of the regular high school teachers.

1. Regular teachers' resentment of the "Vo-Ag" teachers' twelve months salary, greater personal contacts, greater prestige, smaller number of students, field trips, publicity, and greater freedom to leave the high school campus.

2. Regular teachers do not understand the vocational agriculture program as well as the "Vo-Ag" teacher understands theirs.

3. Regular teachers expect one-way cooperation; that is, they want the "Vo-Ag" teacher to help them in many ways but they make little effort to help the "Vo-Ag" teacher.

The two most commonly mentioned conditions which tend to produce strained relations between the "Vo-Ag" teacher and high school principal were: (1) the small salary differential resulting
from the "Vo-Ag" teachers' twelve months employment and (2) the principals' resentment of the "Vo-Ag" teachers' close personal contacts and their consequent popularity and prestige with the school patrons.

Up to this point this study has dealt only with structural maladjustments in the behavioral or normative aspects of roles and positions (role conflict, role frustration, role inadequacy, and role superfluity). These, however, do not explain the majority of the structural stresses involved between the position of the "Vo-Ag" teacher and the position of regular high school teacher, or between the position and that of the high school principal.

Pellegrin and Bates\textsuperscript{7} have described an analytically different type of structural maladjustment which they have called incongruity of status attributes. This type of stress appears to explain a large part of the recurrent strains in the relations between "Vo-Ag" teachers and the remainder of the high school faculties. According to these authors, incongruity involves inconsistencies in the non-behavioral status attributes of a position—that is, inconsistencies between and within the following status attributes: rewards, prestige, authority, and functional importance.

It appears from the respondents' comments bearing on conditions leading to strained relations between the "Vo-Ag" teacher

and the remaining members of the high school faculty that from the point of view of the regular teachers and principal, role incongruity exists within the roles of the "Vo-Ag" teaching position. The vast majority of the responses cited above refer to the resentment of regular teachers and principals toward the "Vo-Ag" teacher's rewards for his services and toward his greater prestige. The assumption is that from the viewpoint of the remainder of the high school staff the rewards and prestige of the "Vo-Ag" teacher are excessive as compared to the functional importance of his job.

There were also direct and indirect references made to incongruity between the "Vo-Ag" teacher's authority or his power to influence the actions of others and his functional importance from the point of view of the regular staff. It was suggested by some "Vo-Ag" teachers that through their adult program, community services, and greater personal contacts that they could, when they wished, have a greater influence on school board members and on the general public in their community than regular teachers and often more even than the principal. It appeared to the researcher that the "Vo-Ag" teacher who had been in his community for some time and had been performing a creditable job possessed a considerable amount of latent power which he attempted to disguise in the interest of better relations with his principal who often viewed the "Vo-Ag" teacher as a threat to his leadership position and in some cases perhaps a threat to his job.

The incongruities in the status attributes of the "Vo-Ag"
teacher position appear to arise from several factors. First, the position was legislated into existence by the United States Congress and placed in a state-local public school system; but it has remained partially under the control of the federal-state organization for the administration and supervision of vocational education, but other phases of the public school system have remained completely under state-local control. Second, the resentment of many regular teachers and state-local school officials toward this federal financing and control has produced strong cohesion among the "Vo-Ag" teachers who have, consequently, formed a strong occupational association which on many occasions has arisen to protect the interests of the "Vo-Ag" program in state and federal legislatures. This writer observed in another Southern state that academic forces made almost annual attempts to influence the state board of education and the state legislature to curb the vocational agriculture program in some way. The outcome of these efforts showed that the small group of "Vo-Ag" teachers had power or influence far out of proportion to their numbers. Third, the strength of "Vo-Ag" teachers to influence local boards of education as well as state and federal legislation results from more than a strong aggressive occupational association. These "Vo-Ag" teachers operate beyond the high school campus. They offer various services to the community and make many adult contacts through the supervision of project programs, adult instruction, and community services. These contacts have functioned to increase the "Vo-Ag" teacher's prestige among the school patrons who are
voters. This in turn has served to protect the teacher's salary differential and to increase his power and influence. Fourth, the attitudes and values of the "Vo-Ag" teacher in a rural or small town community may often be more compatible with the general attitudes and values accepted by the community than the urban middle class attitudes and values often held by regular academic teachers. Fifth, the resentment of the academic staff members toward the "Vo-Ag" teachers' rewards, prestige, and influence imply an incongruity with the functional importance of the "Vo-Ag" teaching position. In the long run, this feeling among academic teachers that the "Vo-Ag" teacher is less important functionally than his rewards and prestige probably derives from the general tendency of academic teachers to consider the vocational phases of education as less prestigious than the academic phases. This tendency has been strengthened in recent years by the charge that fewer vocational agriculture students are being established in farming.

Bases of conflict with county agents. Although the educational philosophies and techniques of the "Vo-Ag" teacher and the county agent differ, both are diffusely oriented to roughly the same people in terms of similar problems. As the representatives of the two organizations at the higher levels vie for federal appropriations and as the teachers and agents vie for personal and organizational prestige or influence at the local level, there appears to have developed a tradition of competition and conflict which has become institutionalized. Just as in the case of the
"Vo-Ag" teachers' relations with "regular" teachers and principals, there appeared to be more resentment in general than toward specific county agents.

Although this discussion can present only one side of the picture, this one side should shed some light on the structure of the situation. Twenty teachers felt that county agents were prone to claim credit for the "Vo-Ag" teachers' work or for any agricultural progress occurring in their parishes. Several said that county agents had entered their "Vo-Ag" trained boys or FFA projects in 4-H contests or shows, thus taking credit for work done by the "Vo-Ag" teachers. Eleven teachers said that one source of resentment involved the county agent's desire for publicity and his use of state or federal funds for this purpose. Almost one-half of the teachers said that the duplication of services was in itself the source of the antagonism between the two groups. Other resentments, all mentioned by four or five teachers, were: (1) agents work only with the "upper crust," or the "big farmers," (2) they have the advantage of having more opportunity to get out on the farms, and (3) they have a staff of specialists to do their work.

The respondents, however, felt that they had the advantage in working with farm boys. One teacher said, "If we can't do a better job meeting the boys twenty times or more per month, while the county agents meet them once, then we should quit."

By contrast to the attitudes they displayed toward the Agricultural Extension Service, the teachers made no reference to
antagonism with the other, more specialized agricultural agencies such as the Soil Conservation Service. The majority of the teachers said that they cooperated with these agencies without friction.

**Mechanisms of Adjustment and Occupational Change**

It was indicated earlier in this chapter that changes in social organization and socio-cultural structure are viewed here largely as responses to four types of structural stresses (role conflict, role frustration, role inadequacy, and role superfluity). In other words, it is assumed that a state of equilibrium exists within the structural-functional model and that when stress exists there will be a tendency to eliminate it or restore the equilibrium. In the present section the concern is with the mechanisms of adjustment to these stresses as well as certain resulting changes. These mechanisms may forestall basic structural changes or they may lead directly to changes in the social organization and in turn to changes in socio-cultural structure. Here we consider socio-cultural change to have resulted "when a certain type of organized behavior, which is different from ideal behavior, persists over a period of time and becomes the norm for behavioral expectations."\(^8\)

Chapters IV and V are essentially a description of the formal or official socio-cultural structure of the vocational agriculture teaching profession; whereas, Chapter VII is a description and analysis of the informal socio-cultural structure of the occupation.

\(^8\)Ibid.
In the following sections we will be concerned primarily with the mechanisms of adjustment and resulting changes in the informal structure away from the formal structure as well as the changes within the informal structure.

Different social systems, whether they are occupational complexes, communities, societies, or other types, vary in their resistance to or permissiveness of change. They also vary in the mechanisms by which they adjust to structural stresses as well as by which they change or resist change. For example, scientific methods in some social systems are institutionalized mechanisms for change. In some countries, certain types of social change occur through institutionalized democratic process; whereas in others, revolution may be a means of change.

Mechanisms for adjusting to role stresses. The mechanisms for adjusting to role stresses are of two basic types—those which forestall change and those which direct or promote change. The following discussion will deal with both.

Attention several times has been brought to the fact that the "Vo-Ag" teacher is, essentially, a member of two bureaucracies. More so in the past than at the present, this double membership has exposed the "Vo-Ag" teacher to conflicting expectations. A means of extricating the teacher from the pressures of the often opposing expectations of the representatives of vocational agriculture and of the local administrators has evolved from the teaching philosophy of the profession. The philosophy of leading others to recognize
their own problems and to make their own decisions in a democratic setting has lead to a tendency of giving primacy in some areas of decision making to those being taught. This idea has been formalized in the form of "advisory councils," and has been strongly promoted by "Vo-Ag" supervisors and teacher-trainers in recent years. The results are that the "Vo-Ag" teacher is subject to the official and to the semi-official expectations of three basic groups. While the expectations may or may not conflict, there is a compensating advantage. In so far as each of these groups feels that the other groups have a right to hold differing expectations as to the behavior of the teacher, there is the opportunity to "pass the buck" or to play the groups consciously or unconsciously against each other while carrying on in the usual manner. This statement does not imply that the modal "Vo-Ag" teacher uses this situation for self-interest but illustrates the compensating mechanism which can be used to forestall or promote change, as desired by the teacher.

A second means of decreasing the stress of conflicting expectations has been to work out a division of authority and responsibility.

Another means of controlling role stresses as well as forestalling or promoting change is the isolation or insulation of the various roles reciprocal to the various alter positions. The scattered locations in which many of the "Vo-Ag" teachers

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roles are played often provide for the insulation against being observed by more than one significant group at once. After the first year of teaching, the behavior of the successful teacher is most often observed by the "Vo-Ag" supervisor in the form of monthly and annual reports or by the performance of his students at contests and fairs. The principal and regular teachers usually observe only his in-school behavior and this is partially insulated by the isolation of his department from the remainder of the school buildings. Principals have been known to accompany "Vo-Ag" teachers when they are carrying out farm supervision duties or teaching adult classes, but this appears to be the exception rather than the rule. This isolation\(^\text{10}\) of role performances, on one hand, may serve as insulation against conflicting expectations; but, on the other hand, it is not conducive to the development of consensus and empathy. That is, it is more likely to forestall change than to produce an integration of the conflicting expectations.

A basic means by which the stresses of role superfluity are meliorated is by the establishment of a hierarchy of role importance. The responses of our interviewees, as well as the findings of follow-up studies, appear to support the belief that the teachers who remain in the field with a reasonable degree of satisfaction usually develop such a hierarchy for determining the importance of roles early in

\(^{10}\) We do not imply that this isolation is needed by the modal "Vo-Ag" teacher, but only use the example to illustrate a mechanism which can operate to meliorate conflicting expectations if they exist.
their careers.

The need to be both a "general agriculturalist" and an "agricultural specialist" may be partially solved in the less specialized farming areas by the teacher's assuming the role of organizer, especially in connection with adult work. Apparently, the vocational agriculture teacher's teaching techniques lend themselves to leading discussions and focusing upon the problems of the group. He may deal with some of these problems himself, but in dealing with others he may call on specialists from the state vocational agriculture office or from the more specialized agencies. With high school consolidation, the development of multiple-teacher departments permits a certain degree of specialization. In highly specialized farming areas, the teachers may specialize in the major enterprise of the community while maintaining an interest in the other agricultural and rural problems.

The "reporting device" is well known in governmental circles. When employees are legally required to perform certain duties which, in their situation, they feel are virtually impossible to accomplish, there may be a "slight stretching of the truth" in reporting the performance of the duty. This "stretching" may be well understood by the superiors. For example, the "Vo-Ag" teacher is normally required to hold one or more adult or young farmer classes. These classes must be a series of ten or more meetings with the same group. However, all but one respondent in our study felt that this requirement was unrealistic and that adult education should be based
strictly on needs. The respondents further felt that "small group" and individual instruction should be counted as adult instruction. Several teachers were quite frank in stating that their individual and small group instruction was reported as formally organized adult classes. This device of meeting conflicting expectations "on paper" is known to exist among many other occupational groups.

The most effective mechanism the "Vo-Ag" teacher has at his disposal for the amelioration of role stresses as well as for the promotion of change is his philosophy and techniques of teaching which, on one hand, focus upon leading others to make decisions by scientific or rational thinking within a democratic setting and, on the other hand, attempt to synthesize many aspects of vocational and general education.

It was indicated earlier that the vocational agriculture teacher oriented more toward the specific vocationalist side of the general educationalist versus vocationalist continuum, but that he also felt a strong obligation toward general vocational and general educational aims. Since the respondents did not consider these polar orientations as contradictory it was said that this orientation did not lead to role conflict, but that because of the broadness of the expectations, it was conducive to role superfluity. However, the stress resulting from excessive expectations was diminished, though not completely eradicated, by the philosophy that if the teacher conducts the instruction as though it were definite that all the boys are headed for farming careers the teaching will result
in vocational and general educational training of good quality.\textsuperscript{11}

In addition to whatever merits the "Vo-Ag" teachers' methods may have in developing problem solving, democratic citizens, these methods also partially relieve the teacher of the stresses of role frustration. There are emotional strains involved in the job of attempting to aid farmers and agriculture students to succeed in farming at a time when many small farmers are being forced out of the business and when many of the in-school students may lose money on their supervised farming projects. However, the emotional stress is somewhat lessened by the knowledge that the farmers and students make the decisions, not the teacher.

The reader is no doubt familiar with the typology of modes of individual adaptation constructed by Merton\textsuperscript{12} in terms of the rejection or acceptance of cultural goals and institutionalized means. The five basic modes described are: conformity, innovation, ritualism, retreatism, and rebellion. The following section will discuss the characteristic mode of adaption of the respondents of this study in terms of this scheme.

**Occupational change.** Since this study is limited to a survey

\textsuperscript{11}This philosophy appears to be generally consistent with the methods of integrated learning through resource units advocated by Harold Alberty and others. See Harold Alberty, *Reorganizing the High School Curriculum* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1953), pp. 159-199, 421.

of the literature and to interviews at one point in time, it is somewhat limited in dealing with occupational change. However, the literature gives some indication of the changes in the formal socio-cultural structure, and the respondents gave some indication of the changes in the expected patterns of behavior in the informal structure. Perhaps even greater change has taken place in the social organization than in the socio-cultural structure, but because of the limited observation of the actual behavior patterns, it is not possible to describe these changes adequately.

As indicated earlier, this study views socio-cultural change (occupational change) as primarily the resultant of role stresses, and considers it to have occurred when a certain type of organized behavior, which is different from ideal behavior, persists over a period of time and becomes the norm for behavior expectations. One also realizes that just as role stresses introduce change in the behavior system, the change in turn may alleviate the stress but also may cause other stresses. For example, broadening one's objectives to alleviate role frustration or role conflict may lead to role superfluity.

Concerning changes in social control, there appears to be a definite shift toward local control as both "Vo-Ag" teachers and "Vo-Ag" supervisors increasingly look to the principal as the primary administrative authority. The supervisors now appear to work through the local principal in a strictly advisory capacity and in upholding the minimum state and federal requirements. The
requirement that each department have a local advisory council is a further indication of the shifting of responsibility to the local level and one in keeping with the vocational agriculture philosophy. This and other trends, according to the majority of our respondents, have led to a better relationship between the "Vo-Ag" teacher and the remainder of the high school staff.

Apparently in the early years of the vocational agriculture program, the "Vo-Ag" teacher was called upon to perform many services for farmers such as vaccinating, castrating, or surveying. Often these, as well as services around the school, were performed without a conscious effort to teach the skills or knowledge involved. At both the formal and informal levels, there is presently a strong insistence that in all his roles, the "Vo-Ag" teacher must be an educator and not a service man.

Since the majority of the respondents felt that they were faced with greater expectations than they could fulfill, they have naturally resorted to the formation of a hierarchy of roles. The teachers were unanimous in declaring that their most important role was that of "teacher of in-school boys." Next to this role, they ranked the "FFA advisor" role, which was usually considered an integral part of the first role. The roles which were ranked third and fourth in importance were those of "teacher of adult farmers" and "member of the high school faculty." There were many indications from the respondents of a growing dominance of the in-school roles and a corresponding de-emphasis upon the out-of-school roles.
Associated with this trend appeared to be the shift from specific vocational objectives in teaching to more emphasis upon general vocational and general educational objectives. However, these trends at the informal level appeared to be in contrast to formal or official expectations. A review of The Agricultural Education Magazine and the reported topics discussed at the "Vo-Ag" teachers' meetings seemed to indicate that the majority of the teacher-trainers and supervisors feel that the specific vocational nature of the program must be maintained and that to do this more emphasis must be placed upon the adult and young farmer phases of the program. This was believed necessary because fewer in-school vocational agriculture students were becoming farmers and because there was a tendency to delay vocational decisions.

In recent years, the greatest controversy in vocational agriculture has revolved around the basic aims of vocational agriculture. There appeared to be three general reactions to the basic aim of the program as set forth by the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917. There were those who felt that the aim to train present and prospective farmers for proficiency in farming was satisfactory. There were others who, in light of the declining numbers of full-time farmers and the increasing numbers engaged in part-time farming and related occupations, would revise the aim to fit the actual present accomplishment of the program. Another group seemed to think that it was not a matter of changing the law but a matter of interpreting it.
The controlling aim of the Smith-Hughes Act cited above will be considered as the "cultural goal" in that it was prescribed by law and accepted for many years at the formal and informal levels. The long accepted "institutionalized means" of accomplishing this goal were built around the students' supervised project programs with emphasis upon the identification and solution of individual and group problems within a democratic framework. In view of this cultural goal and of these institutionalized means this study will discuss typical modes of adaptation of the respondents and their superiors to the vocational agriculture program. A review of The Agricultural Education Magazine reveals a large number of articles by teacher-trainers and supervisors concerning the aims and means of the "Vo-Ag" program. In terms of Merton's typology of the modes of individual adaption, a large majority of these writers could be classified generally as "conformist" in that they hold to the vocational aim of the Smith-Hughes Act and to the prescribed means of achieving this goal.

Three-fourths, or eighteen of our respondents, in spite of the fact that most of them felt that they were already faced with excessive expectations, disagreed with the basic aim of the Smith-Hughes Act on the basis that it was too narrow. Generally, they recommended including in the basic aim the training for related agricultural occupations and part-time farming. Some also advocated

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13Ibid.
adding citizenship and other general educational objectives which already appear to be included in the seven official objectives cited earlier. The respondents were next asked if they operated their program by the methods long advocated for the attainment of the goal of improvement of and establishment in farming (the use of projects, problem solving, learning by doing, and so forth). Three-fourths of the teachers said that they did. One teacher expressed his opinion this way:

We should have the aim of training for farming, related occupations, and general education for that is what we are accomplishing, but we should operate as though they will be farmers for we would get better results in all of these aims in this way.

It appears that the mode of adaption of the majority of the teachers interviewed, then, is what Merton calls "ritualism." That is, they scale down their cultural goal to the level of their achievement but retain the institutionalized means designed for accomplishing the former cultural goal. This same general pattern was found to be characteristic of a majority of the 1,244 interviewees, including "Vo-Ag" teachers, in-school "Vo-Ag" students, adult farmers, principals, and superintendents who were interviewed in the Southern Regional study mentioned earlier in this report.  

14 Ibid.

15 Research Committee of the Southern Region, What Constitutes an Effective Program of Vocational Agriculture in a Community, 1956.
There appeared to be signs of a small minority who might be classified as "retreatist." This group appeared to reject the cultural goals and were tending to reject, in part, the institutionalized means. That is, they were beginning to retreat into the "Ivory Tower." By this, it is meant that they were withdrawing from the expanded community program into the school and were leaning toward the traditional academic methods of standardized teaching.

The trends toward more local control, toward more emphasis on education and less on service, and toward greater dominance of the in-school roles have, according to several of our respondents, brought about an improvement in the relationship between the "Vo-Ag" teachers and the rest of the high school staffs.

III. SUMMARY

In summary, this study has conceived of four types of structural stresses within and among the three basic groups of factors which give structure to real behavior. The most characteristic structural stress within the roles of the "Vo-Ag" teacher appears to be role superfluity which grows primarily out of the diffuse orientation of the position, especially when coupled with a positive affectivity and universalistic orientation. The next greatest stress seems to be role frustration growing out of the inability to establish boys in farming and to aid small farmers to compete more successfully in commercial agriculture because of the situation of technological and scientific advances in agriculture, over production of farm products, and declining farm population. Since the "Vo-Ag" teacher is subject to the expectations of his clients and is a member of both the
state-local public school system and the federal-state organization for the administration and supervision of vocational education in agriculture, he is, naturally, subject to role conflict. This conflict is complicated but partially meliorated by a third semi-official organization called the "advisory council" for local programs of vocational agriculture. The most often expressed role inadequacy was the lack of certain technical knowledge and skills. Since most of the respondents grew up on small unmechanized farms and since there has been rapid technological advance in recent years, they most often expressed personal inadequacies in the area of farm mechanics. There is also indirect evidence to support the belief that the beginning teacher goes into the field without having formed a clear-cut hierarchy of values for rating the importance of roles.

These structural stresses have their consequences. Although about one-half of the respondents indicated their job performance was average and the remaining half better than average, the majority expressed in many ways that they could not fulfill the many expectations of their roles.

In spite of the role stresses involved and of the fact that a large proportion of the "Vo-Ag" teachers leave the field relatively early in their careers, the majority of the respondents expressed an above average rating of job satisfaction. This appraisal seems to indicate that compensating rewards and mechanisms for the amelioration of stresses exist. A "sense of public service" and "recognition" or "respect" were most often mentioned as the greatest
rewards for the performance of the roles of "Vo-Ag" teaching.

There appeared to be several mechanisms by which the "Vo-Ag" teachers interviewed adjusted to the stresses of their occupational roles. They were partially extricated from conflicting expectations evolving out of their membership in two bureaucratic structures by the third organization, the local "advisory council," to which responsibility for decisions contrary to bureaucratic policies was shifted. The scattered locations in which many of the "Vo-Ag" teachers' roles are played provided for partial insulation against conflicting role expectations. Since the teachers generally felt that they could not perform adequately all of their roles, the formation of a hierarchy of role importance appears to have alleviated some of the stresses involved. Apparently, the most effective mechanisms for the melioration of the role stresses of the "Vo-Ag" teacher were his philosophy and techniques of teaching which focus upon leading others to make decisions and which attempt to synthesize many aspects of vocational and general education. This teaching technique partially relieves the stresses of both role frustration and role superfluity.

The various role stresses discussed in relation to the various mechanisms of change have led to changes in the occupation of "Vo-Ag" teaching. Some of the changes focused upon in this study were: (1) a shift toward more local control or a more "localistic" orientation, (2) an increasing educational orientation and a rejection of the "service" role, (3) a tendency for
the practicing "Vo-Ag" teachers to broaden the objectives of their profession to fit their accomplishments, while holding on to the institutionalized means of accomplishing the former narrower cultural goal (ritualism), (4) a growing dominance of the in-school roles at the informal level, but not at the formal level, and (5) an increasing integration of the position and roles of the "Vo-Ag" teacher into the public school system.

The review of the literature and the interviews with the respondents do not reveal significant changes in the general value orientation (in terms of Parsonian pattern variables) since the establishment and organization of the occupation of vocational agriculture teaching. Probably, however, there has been a slight shift from an affectivity orientation toward an affectively neutral orientation both in regard to clients and to the traditional patterns of rural life.
CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

I. SUMMARY

The purpose of this study has been that of describing and analyzing within a sociological frame-of-reference the social relationships, general value orientation, and structural stresses involved in the roles of an occupational position—the high school vocational agriculture teacher.

Sociological Approach

A basically structural-functional approach was followed to describe and analyze the occupation. Within this frame-of-reference, the data for this study have been organized around a model of behavioral causation in which social organization as well as social disorganization are conceived of as being functions of three basic groups of factors: (1) socio-cultural structure (ideal behavior patterns or norms), (2) situational factors, and (3) personality factors. To the degree that adjustment or consistency within and among these factors exists, the study has postulated the existence of role integration, role consensus, and occupational stability. On the other hand, the degree of maladjustment within and among these factors has been held largely to determine the degree of social disorganization.
At the socio-cultural level selected norms, goals, and attitudes or values have been examined using role theory in connection with Parsonian and other pattern variables to determine the value orientations or the general role definitions of the vocational agriculture occupation. At this level, the study has focused upon role consensus, role integration, and one level of role conflict.

Since this is a study based largely on interview data, it has not been possible to observe and describe adequately the actual behavior patterns of the vocational agriculture teachers. Therefore, at the social organization level, the primary emphasis has been upon the role stresses involved in the interaction process and the consequences of these stresses.

The point of view maintained in the study is that the "Vo-Ag" teachers act out their various occupational roles, they feel the stresses of their roles, make choices, and take action, not only in light of the cultural prescriptions but also in terms of their work situations and their own personalities. It was at this level of real behavior or social organization that the study focused upon structural stresses, role fulfillment, role satisfaction, occupational problems, and occupational change.

Sources of Data

The two basic sources of data for this study were, first, a survey of the literature on the occupation of vocational agriculture teaching and, second, personal interviews with twenty-seven teachers of vocational agriculture.
The published sources of data included the following types: historical writing, laws, administrative publications, official reports, textbooks, professional and ideological writings, and a very limited amount of sociological research concerning the occupation. These published sources of data were utilized to define the occupation, trace its historical development, describe the formal structure, including the hierarchial structure of the program and the formal roles of the position of the "Vo-Ag" teacher, and in part to describe the work situation.

The other primary source of data was twenty-seven personal interviews with all but one "Vo-Ag" teacher in three selected parishes in Louisiana. These interviews averaged approximately four hours in length. The interview schedule was designed to bring our primarily the informal socio-cultural structure of the roles of the "Vo-Ag" teacher including his occupational value orientation and to focus upon structural stresses and their consequences as perceived by the responding "Vo-Ag" teachers. In addition, some data were gathered on the characteristics of the work practitioner, his career pattern, and his work situation.

These data, organized within the theoretical scheme described above, led to the following findings.

Findings

The final institutionalization of the occupational position of the high school vocational agriculture teacher was not an isolated process but a part of a broader revolution. It was a part
of the revolt from intellectualism, and it was associated with the rise of science as a new basis for understanding, together with the corresponding development of a pragmatic philosophy which focused interest upon the "practical" affairs of life. This broader revolution led to an increasing concern over applying science through education to the vocational problems of life. Agitation in America for vocational education for the masses spread from local to state and on to the national level, until in 1917 the National Vocational Education Act was passed. This legislation, passed forty-two years ago, projected the occupational position of high school vocational agriculture teacher upon the already established state-local public school systems. At the same time the act provided for the development of a second bureaucratic organization, a federal-state organization for the administration and supervision of the vocational agricultural program. Although denied by some, the vocational agriculture teacher was made, in a real "social" sense, a member of both bureaucracies and subject to the expectations of both.

In addition to placing the "Vo-Ag" teacher under dual administrative and supervisory structures, the legislation called for what can be considered in terms of the present division of labor as dual functions—that is, he was called upon to be a "regular" high school faculty member and to be an adult educator in that the program was designed to provide uninterrupted training for present and prospective farmers from age fourteen until their exit from the occupation of farming. The act further provided for the extension
of education beyond the classroom to the practice or "doing" stage which meant that a new type of teacher was called for whose program extended beyond the school campus to include the farms of his students and, indeed, the total community.

One other complication arose when different forces working for various aspects of vocational training split and the National Congress provided in 1914 for a similar and competing position—the county agricultural agent, who was given similar diffuse responsibilities to both farm youth and adults. This position, however, was set up under the administration and supervision of another governmental agency, the United States Department of Agriculture through the land grant colleges.

On viewing the sample population, the occupation of "Vo-Ag" teaching appeared not to be passed on from father to son, but rather that each new generation of "Vo-Ag" teachers sprang anew from the sons of small or part-time farmers. In addition to a farm background, the trainee must receive a prescribed four-year college course including technical agriculture and teaching methods. The teaching philosophy evolving from this training vitally affects all of the "Vo-Ag" teacher's social relations with his various clients. The dominant themes of this philosophy which appear in all of his roles involve leading others through the scientific thought process within a democratic setting and to learn by doing. Throughout this process the tendency is for the "Vo-Ag" teacher to take a "backseat driver" role as he attempts to shift the responsibility of decision making
and to get the student and farmer into the "act" in order that they may learn both decision making and skills through actual experience.

Career pattern studies indicate that about one-half of those who complete the prescribed training for the vocational agriculture teaching profession leave the field, usually relatively early in their work careers. They most often indicated low salaries, excessive or conflicting expectations, and lack of opportunity for advancement as their reasons for leaving the field. Those remaining in the occupation are usually found in or near the agricultural and cultural areas where they were reared and living on farms or in rural non-farm residences in their school communities. They are further characterized by both horizontal and vertical occupational stability which is due, in part, to the very low degree of stratification within the occupation and, in part, to the strong community and collectivity-orientations of the members of the profession.

The more general legal norm of the position of the vocational agriculture teacher is the promotion of the national welfare through training present and prospective farmers for proficiency in farming. Growing out of this legal prescription are other general norms as well as more specific norms. These more specific norms tend to be organized around certain functions as these functions relate to certain groups or classes of actors. In this study these norms were classified into eleven roles of the "Vo-Ag" teacher. From the general norms and the norms of the various roles with their associated goals, attitudes, and values this study has described and
analyzed (1) the value orientation of the occupational structure in terms of Parsonian and other pattern variables, (2) stresses within the occupational structure, and (3) the consequences of the structural stresses. These three aspects of the vocational agricultural occupation will be summarized in the order listed.

Value orientation of the occupational structure. In terms of the Parsonian pattern variable, affectivity versus affective neutrality, it appeared that at both the formal and informal levels the vocational agriculture teacher's roles were characterized by a positive affectivity orientation toward both his clients and the traditional patterns of farming as a way of life. On the other hand, because of the nature of his employment, his educational philosophy, and present economic conditions, the "Vo-Ag" teacher was affectively neutral toward farming methods. Whereas the physician's affective neutrality toward his clients is supported by functional specificity and by the tendency to segregate his professional relationships from his "social," recreational, and other activities, the "Vo-Ag" teacher's positive affectivity toward his clients was supported by functional diffuseness and a merging of his professional duties with his non-professional activities. The positive affectivity orientation of the "Vo-Ag" teacher was associated with universalistic standards which prescribe that he distribute equally his affections as well as his services.

Because love and friendship relations are largely particularistic one could logically expect a particularistic rather than a
universalistic orientation on the part of the "Vo-Ag" teacher toward his clients. However, there are other factors which are causal of a universalistic orientation. First, the vocational agriculture teacher holds a public position which, ideally, prescribes the rendering of services to all within a specified class of actors. Second, his affective orientation is only positive, and, like the preacher, he is expected only to love. In addition, the basic roles of the "Vo-Ag" teacher are those of an applied scientist, and the principles of science are basically universalistic. These factors give primacy to a universalistic orientation in which the "Vo-Ag" teacher feels obligated to serve fairly and impartially all who would partake of his services.

There was found to be general consensus and consistency among the responding "Vo-Ag" teachers concerning the bases for occupying their occupational role, the selection of their clients, and the differential treatment of their clients. Except for the informal selection of both the "Vo-Ag" teachers and in-school "Vo-Ag" students on the basis of the ascribed male status, the occupation structure was characterized by a strong achievement orientation.

Whereas the businessman in the modern capitalistic society is expected to be self-oriented in the market place, the "Vo-Ag" teacher is expected to be collectivity-oriented. This collectivity-orientation is supported by the "Vo-Ag" teacher's "public" and "professional" positions as well as his positive affectivity and universalistic orientations. There was a strong tendency of the
respondents to feel that it was their duty, more so than that of other teachers or the average other member of the community, to share the hardships, sorrows, and joys of the rural people of their communities, and this feeling indicated their collectivity-orientation. One may further describe this collectivity-orientation as "localistic" in that the strength of their orientations appeared to be in the following order: (1) to their high school "Vo-Ag" students, (2) to the other farm people in their community, (3) to the remainder of the high school apart from their own students, and (4) to their professional group.

Generally, the professional and commercial relations in our society are characterized by functional specificity; that is, they are governed by role-expectations which prescribe a specific sphere of interest. In fact, the claim for professional status is partially based upon technical competence, and this is limited to a particular field of skill or knowledge. However, there are certain other roles such as those of a mother, a close friend, a good neighbor, a minister, or a "Vo-Ag" teacher, which require or permit the role incumbent to become involved in a wide and undefined range of expectations, rights, and duties. The "Vo-Ag" teacher, in the rural community setting with his positive sentiments toward his clients as well as toward the more traditional and diffuse patterns of rural life, appeared to have a more diffuse orientation toward his rural clients than any professional group associated with the sciences or applied sciences with which the writer is familiar.
Indications of this diffuse orientation of the "Vo-Ag" teaching profession were observed in considering seven sub-variables associated with the diffuseness versus specificity dichotomy. The orientation of the "Vo-Ag" teacher in terms of these seven sub-variables are summarized below.

1. More than in most occupational relationships, the "Vo-Ag" teacher-client relationship involves a community of fate in that there is the expectation on the part of the "Vo-Ag" teacher that he and his clients should share each other's sorrows, hardships, and joys. This is in contrast to most professional and commercial relationships which involve only a specified and limited responsibility.

2. There appears to be a strong tendency toward an integration of occupational with non-occupation roles of the "Vo-Ag" teacher. This appears to grow out of the combination of a positive affectivity and universalistic orientation which gives rise to a "moralistic" orientation. This integration is further supported by the tendency of the "Vo-Ag" teacher to merge his occupational duties with his non-occupational activities and to consider, in the traditional rural way, his occupation as a way of life rather than just as a means of making a living.

3. The broad expectations and the positive affectivity orientations plus the acceptance of many of the traditional rural values appear to be closely associated with the broad participation
of the "Vo-Ag" teacher's wife and children in his occupational duties. Just as farming has been largely a family affair, so is "Vo-Ag" teaching. The majority of the respondents said that they, their students, and the farm families of their communities felt that their wives had earned a place and should feel as though they were a part of their husbands' "Vo-Ag" departments. There was ample evidence to justify the use of the term "our boys" when the wives referred to their husbands' "Vo-Ag" students.

4. A structural characteristic of the more diffusely and affectivity oriented roles appears to be a two-way invasion of privacy. Whereas the typical professional roles are characterized by functional specificity and a one-way invasion of privacy, the diffusely oriented "Vo-Ag" teacher's roles in the rural community setting where there is the tendency to merge occupational and non-occupational activities, are characterized by a two-way invasion of privacy.

5. Farming or any other occupation may be viewed largely as a way of life or as a means of making a living. It has been pointed out that the "Vo-Ag" teacher has positive sentiments toward the "family farm" and toward the traditional patterns of rural life in which farming is viewed as a way of life. On the other hand, the "Vo-Ag" teacher's teaching techniques in relation to farm production problems involve the rational solution of problems with emphasis upon efficiency and maximum profits. Since the respondents were
concerned with farming both as a way of life and as a means of making a living, a diffuse orientation exists in their relationships to their clients. Regardless of whether these different views of two related aspects of farming are objectively incompatible or not, the fact that the majority of the respondents felt them to be antithetical has real consequences which will be discussed under role stresses.

6. In relation to the sub-variable, general educationalist versus vocationalist, the respondents emphasized their vocational responsibilities but showed an unusual concern for general educational responsibilities. Their philosophy emphasizes meeting the real needs of their students, and in view of the present economic conditions, the declining farm population, and the increasing difficulty for farm boys to become successfully established in farming, the real problem for many students is the successful transition from their farm homes to part-time farming, related agricultural occupations, or non-agricultural occupations. This situation, supported by the already diffuse orientation of the "Vo-Ag" teaching profession, and their particular educational philosophy appears, in part, causal to the tendency of the respondents to feel obligated to teach many things not strictly of an agricultural or vocational nature and to express concern for the "total development of well-rounded democratic citizens."

7. In terms of the general agriculturalist versus agricultural specialist, there was consensus among the respondents that
they are and should be agricultural generalists. This orientation is not without stress, as will be made clear in the following section on structural stresses.

In addition to the Parsonian pattern variables, this study has used one other variable which has significance for the characteristics of the occupational behavior of the "Vo-Ag" teacher. The comparison to be made is an educational orientation versus a service orientation. Concerning all of the occupational roles of the vocational agriculture teaching position, there was consensus on a strong educational orientation and a denial of service obligations without regard to their educational significance.

In sum, the "Vo-Ag" teaching profession, like the professions in general, is characterized by achievement, universalism, and collectivity-orientation. The "Vo-Ag" teaching profession differs, however, in respect to two pattern variables. Whereas the professions in general are characterized by functional specificity, the "Vo-Ag" teaching profession is characterized by functional diffuseness. Regarding the last Parsonian pattern variable, the professions in general are characterized by affective neutrality; whereas, the "Vo-Ag" teaching profession is positively affective in orientation toward their clients and toward the rural way of life, on one hand, and affectively neutral toward methods of farming on the other.

As indicated in Chapter VII, there appears to be a general similarity, though not a perfect fit, between the Parsonian pattern variables and the components of Toennies' polar ideal types--
Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft. The particular combination of polar extremes of the Parsonian pattern variables which more closely represents the general value orientation characteristic of a Gemeinschaft relationship is ascription, particularism, affectivity, diffuseness, and collectivity-orientation. This combination of orientations as well as Gemeinschaft relationships is characteristic of the roles of parent, lover, friend, and neighbor. The opposing combination of orientations of achievement, universalism, affective neutrality, specificity, and self-orientation is typical of Gesellschaft relationships and the orientations of the roles of the businessman. As one moves from the Gesellschaft orientation of the businessman toward the polar Gemeinschaft orientation of parents, he finds the member of the traditional professions and the bureaucratic official differing in orientation only in terms of collectivity-orientation rather than self-orientation. There are other occupations in which the occupational relationships are more characteristic of Gemeinschaft relationships. Within the professional groups, these occupations appear to be those more closely associated with the realms of the sacred and with the more rural and traditional elements of society. It is here on the four-point continuum in Table VII, Chapter VII that the researcher places the "Vo-Ag" teacher.

Throughout, this study has observed and described various aspects of the three structural elements cited by Toennies as fundamental to Gemeinschaft relationships—unity of mind and spirit,
neighborhood, and kinship relations. The "Vo-Ag" teachers are required to have a farm background and they are usually found in or near the cultural and agricultural areas in which they were reared and often in their home communities or parishes. These tendencies are further supported by a very low degree of horizontal and vertical mobility for those who remain in the occupation and by the tendency of the "Vo-Ag" teachers to live on farms and in rural non-farm residences among the rural people of their communities who have very similar cultural, religious, and ethical values.

Growing out of an awareness of these structural elements and "the recognition of the mutual rights and duties arising from them"\(^1\) and of the economic situation and the conditions of his employment, one can observe in the "Vo-Ag" teachers' roles a blending of the elements of Gemeinschaft with those of Gesellschaft. The conditions of his employment prescribe a basically achievement, universalism, and collectivity-orientation, while the conditions of his employment combined with economic necessity require an affective neutrality toward methods of farming. On the other hand, the structural elements of Gemeinschaft (neighborhood, unity of mind and spirit, and, to a limited extent, kinship) appear to be instrumental in the positive affectivity orientation toward rural people and toward farming as a way of life, a collective rather than a self-interest,

\(^1\)Rudolf Heberle, "The Application of Fundamental Concepts in Rural Community Studies," *Rural Sociology*, VI (September, 1941), 207.
and a strongly diffuseness orientation which prescribes a "community of fate," one in which the "Vo-Ag" teacher feels that he should share not only the hardships and sorrows of the rural people with whom he works, but also their joys and satisfactions.

Structural stresses. Many writers have over-simplified role stresses by considering many analytically different types of stresses under role conflict. This study has attempted to refine this oversimplification by conceptualizing four analytically separate types of role stresses. These are: (1) role conflict or maladjustments within the socio-cultural structure, (2) role frustration or maladjustments between the socio-cultural structure and the situational factors, (3) role inadequacies or maladjustments between the socio-cultural structure and the modal type of personality, and (4) role superfluity or maladjustments involving simultaneously all three of the basic groups of factors which structure real behavior—socio-cultural structure, situational factors, and personality factors (see definitions and discussion of role stress concepts in Chapter I, pages 32-35 and Chapter VIII).

Here no attempt will be made to itemize each of the structural stresses expressed directly or indirectly by the "Vo-Ag" teachers since these stresses may be referred to in Chapter VIII. Instead some of the broader aspects of these stresses will be summarized.

Role superfluity appears to be the most characteristic strain
found within the roles of the "Vo-Ag" teacher. This stress appears to grow out of a unique combination of orientations. In the first place the "Vo-Ag" teaching profession is believed to be the most diffusely oriented of the professions in the fields of science or applied science. To this diffuseness are added a positive affectivity and a universalistic orientation which prescribes that the "Vo-Ag" teachers love and serve all within a class of actors equally and impartially. The combination of these three orientations set the stage perfectly for overwhelming expectations and role superfluity.

Probably the next greatest structural stress felt by our modal actor is role frustration which involves maladjustments between the socio-cultural structure and the rapidly changing agricultural situation. The ideal expectations of helping the small farmers of their communities to be more successful in farming and of aiding boys and young farmers to become successfully established in farming is frustrated in many cases by the rapid scientific and technological advances in agriculture with the resultant overproduction, "economic squeeze" on the small-scale producers, and declining farm population.

Within the sample population, there was role or value conflict at the socio-cultural level because of the modal respondent's positive affectivity orientation toward his clients and the traditional patterns of rural life, on one hand, and his affective neutrality toward methods of farming, on the other. The stress arises in this
case because the two orientations are perceived to be antithetical.

Since the "Vo-Ag" teacher is subject to the expectations of in-school and out-of-school clients and is a member of both the state-local public school system and the federal-state organization for the administration and supervision of vocational agriculture, he is naturally subject to certain conflicting expectations at the social organizational level. This situation is complicated but partially ameliorated by a third semi-official organization called the "advisory council" for local programs of vocational agriculture.

The most often expressed role inadequacies involved the lack of certain technical knowledge and skills. The majority of the interviewees felt that the four-year college training program was inadequate in this respect. In addition the majority of the respondents were reared on small unmechanized farms which many felt did not provide an adequate background in the area of farm mechanics. There is, also, indirect evidence to support the belief that the beginning teacher goes to his first job with an inadequately developed hierarchy of values for determining the importance of roles and duties.

Consequences of structural stresses. At the level of social organization or as the "Vo-Ag" teachers act out their occupational roles in light of the socio-cultural prescriptions, the perceived situations, and their own personalities, they feel the structural stresses of their roles, make choices, take action, and assess the fulfillment and satisfactions of their roles.
Although the majority of the "Vo-Ag" teachers interviewed stated that they were performing their roles to an average or better degree when compared to the typical "Vo-Ag" teacher, they also made many references to various structural stresses which they felt prevented the fulfillment of their felt obligations and of the many things expected of them by their significant reference groups.

Although the "Vo-Ag" teaching profession appears to have its share of structural stresses, the majority of the respondents expressed an above average rating of job and career satisfaction. This appears to indicate that there are compensating rewards and mechanisms for the amelioration of stresses.

In their own language, "a sense of public service" was most often indicated as the greatest reward for the performance of their occupational roles. In terms of Parsonian "generalized goals" (recognition, response, security, and the instrumental goal), it appeared that the modal respondent felt that he received a fair share of all four. However, the most often mentioned "greatest reward" was recognition or the feeling of being respected and looked up to. The second most frequently mentioned reward was the response goal or a satisfying fellowship.

In addition to these rewards, there appeared to be several mechanisms by which the responding "Vo-Ag" teachers adjusted to the stresses of their occupational roles. The scattered locations in which the various roles are played provide for partial insulation against conflicting expectations in that usually only one significant
class of alters observe the "Vo-Ag" teacher in action at any one time.

The "Vo-Ag" teachers were partially extricated from conflicting expectations evolving from simultaneous membership in two bureaucratic organizations by the formation of a third organization, the local "advisory council." This situation is not only in keeping with the "Vo-Ag" philosophy of passing the responsibility of decision making on down to the people directly concerned and with their highly "localistic" orientation, but it also provides the opportunity to "pass the buck" and to charge any who defy the "voice of the people" with undemocratic tactics.

The "Vo-Ag" teachers interviewed who appeared happiest and best adjusted to their occupational positions seemed to have formed a definite hierarchy of role importance. Such a hierarchy permitted them to live with role superfluity even though they could not eliminate it.

Aside from whatever merits they may have for the clients involved, the teaching philosophy and techniques of the "Vo-Ag" teacher which focus upon leading others to determine their problems and to make their own decisions and which attempt to synthesize many aspects of vocational and general education appear to be the "Vo-Ag" teacher's most effective mechanisms for the alleviation of his occupational role stresses. They permit the "Vo-Ag" teachers, for example, to operate within a rapidly changing agricultural situation without risking undue criticism, which thus enables them
partially to overcome role frustration. The techniques and philosophy also compensate for feelings of role inadequacy since the "Vo-Ag" teacher through them becomes an expert in teaching others how to solve their problems rather than an expert who is called upon himself to solve the problems.

The hypothesis is that the described role stresses in relation to the various mechanisms of adjustment and change have led to changes in both the social organization and socio-cultural structure. No doubt the changes occurring in real behavior patterns have been more numerous than those in ideal behavior patterns; however, due to the inability to observe actual behavior adequately the researcher in this study has focused the interest upon changes in the socio-cultural structure or ideal occupation behavior.

The interview data and the review of the literature reveal little significant change in the general value orientation (in terms of Parsonian pattern variables) within the socio-cultural structure of the vocational agriculture teaching occupation since its first establishment and organization. There appears to be a slight shift from an affective orientation toward a more affectively neutral orientation in regard to both clients and the traditional patterns of rural life as the rural people "Vo-Ag" teachers work with orient more in this direction. At the more specific levels, however, there appear to have been many changes taking place in the occupational structure, some of which are as follows: (1) an increasing educational orientation and a rejection
of the "service" role, (2) a shift toward greater local control or a more "localistic" orientation, (3) a tendency for the practicing "Vo-Ag" teachers to broaden the objectives of their profession to fit their accomplishments while holding on to the institutionalized means of accomplishing the former narrower cultural goals (ritualism), (4) a growing dominance of the in-school roles at the informal or teacher level, but not at the formal level, and (5) an increasing integration of the position and roles of the "Vo-Ag" teacher of the sample population into the public school system.

II. CONCLUSIONS

It is believed that this sociological description and analysis of the vocational agricultural teaching profession makes a threefold contribution. First, it should be of some practical utility to the members of the profession, their administrators and supervisors, and to the recipients of the "Vo-Ag" teachers' services by providing insight into the social relationships involved in the "Vo-Ag" teaching profession. Secondly, as pointed out in Chapter I, with the increasing division of labor in our society, the accompanying accumulation of culture, and the increasing complexities of social life, it has become more and more important to understand the occupational groups and other sub-systems to which the individual relates. In view of this it is felt that the present study, which is one of only two extensive research works on this particular occupational group, makes a substantive contribution to the sociology of occupations. Not only does
it fill a gap by providing sociological knowledge about a little studied occupation of considerable significance in terms of the number of members and the number of persons influenced by their services, but also it provides data on an occupation which is unique in several ways when compared to others claiming professional status in modern society. The "Vo-Ag" teaching occupation is unusual because of its members' relatively diffuse and gemeinschaftlich orientation, the structural stresses involved in the members' roles, their membership in dual bureaucracies, their dual functions, the legislated nature of the occupation, and the unusual "localistic" orientation for a professional group. Third, it is believed that the greatest contribution of this study lies in its theoretical significance, especially in the way it has combined and utilized existing sociological concepts and developed analytically new concepts.

Beginning with the more basic structural concepts of norms, roles, and positions, this study has depended on increasingly more general and abstract structural concepts for summarizing the contents of roles. These concepts were, in the order of increasing generality, (1) specific value orientations which spring from the concrete nature of the occupation such as the "educational versus service orientation," (2) patterned sub-variables of the Parsonian pattern variables, for example, general agriculturist versus agricultural specialist, (3) Parsonian pattern variables, and finally (4) Toennies' complex ideal types—Gemeinschaft and
Gesellschaft. The use of polar types or pattern variables not only provided an excellent means for summarizing the contents of roles, but it also provided a much needed technique for identifying and classifying role conflicts at the more general level. This latter use of pattern variables stems from the fact that each variable represents "paired opposites" in value orientation. Thus, role conflict may be said to exist when both of the opposite orientations are present in a role.

It is believed that the four analytically distinct types of structural stresses and the way these have been related to a model of behavioral causation should aid materially in clearing up the confusion resulting from the various ways different writers have viewed role conflict in the past. The method used makes the task of locating structural stresses within a social system much easier and more distinct. This has practical as well as theoretical significance. In connection with the model of behavioral causation, the tasks of isolating role stresses, determining their causes, and suggesting means of adjustment are simplified. It is suggested, however, that future studies concerned with role stresses include from the beginning not only the four types of structural stresses involved in behavioral structure, but also those described by Pellegrin and Bates as incongruity of status attributes— that is,

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incongruity between the rewards, authority, prestige, and functional importance of work positions.
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BIBLIOGRAPHY

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APPENDIX
APPENDIX

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR A STUDY OF THE VOCATIONAL AGRICULTURE TEACHER

Guide Number ________ Date __________

1. High school enrollment: ______________

2. Size of town in which school is located: ______________

3. Agriculture enrollment by grades: 8th__, 9th__, 10th__, 11th__, 12th__.

4. Classes taught: agriculture ____, shop____, others____

5. Percentage of agriculture students in FFA: ______________

6. Number of adult classes taught: ____ Number of adults enrolled: ____ Number of farmers served: __________

7. Age: ____ Marital Status: ____ Number of children: ____

   Income: ______________

8. Education: Years college ____ Major ____ Minor ____

   Do you feel the regular training for vo-ag teachers is adequate? ____ If not, what is its weaknesses?

   Are you continuing your education? ____ Do you plan to? ____

9. Ownership: Home ____ farm ____ business ______________.

10. Residence: farm ____ rural nonfarm ____ urban ____.

If you live on a farm, do you operate it? ______________
Should a vo-ag teacher operate a farm? ____ Why?

11. Work experience:
a. Years in present position ____. Have you been here longer than the average high school faculty member? ____
b. Total years teaching vocational agriculture _____________
c. Number of vo-ag positions __________
d. Jobs in other fields ____________

12. How are new men recruited into the profession? What influenced you to enter?

13. What is the usual procedure or channels for getting a job as vo-ag teacher?
   Beginners:

   Experienced teachers:

14. Which in your opinion are the most important qualities and attitudes that a vo-ag teacher should have to succeed in his work?
   Qualities:

   Attitudes:

15. What are probably the most common causes of failure for an agriculture teacher?

   ... for leaving the field?

16. Should a vo-ag teacher teach in his home community? ______
    What are the problems involved?

    Are you teaching in your home community? _____ If not how far is it to your home community? _______________________

    Is it in the same culture area? ____ Is your religion the same as the dominant religion of the community? ____________
17. Should vo-ag teacher teach his own son? ____ Have you? ____
What are the problems involved?

18. How intimately should a vo-ag teacher get to know his students?
   . . . Do you keep a certain barrier between you and them?
   . . . Is there a possibility that the teacher might unconsciously become biased in grading, sharing his time with the students, etc., if he becomes too intimate with them?

19. What restrictions, if any, should there be on who can take vocational agriculture?

   Do you impose these restrictions? ____

20. What type of student usually takes your courses? (occupation, tenure, residence, and income of father)

21. What type of student usually reaches the higher FFA degrees in your chapter?

22. What type of boys are usually elected to FFA office? . . . Do you have restrictions on eligibility?

23. Do you feel that you could get a position with higher income and greater possibilities for advancement if you wished? ____
   If yes, why do you continue to teach?

   If no, would you if you could? ____

24. Which do you consider yourself to be primarily "a vo-ag teacher" or "a high school teacher"? ____________

25. Which do you think you hold your strongest loyalty to--your high school ____, the vocational agriculture profession ____, or your vo-ag department? ________________

26. Besides your own students which of the following do you feel that you are making the greatest contribution to in your work? the high school ____________ community ____________
   American Society _____________. Explain:
27. Membership and Leadership in Organizations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Organization</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Present position of leadership</th>
<th>Past position of leadership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farm</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
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<td>Civic</td>
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<td>Fraternal</td>
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<td>Church</td>
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<td>Political office</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Others</td>
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</tbody>
</table>


What should be his role in other types of organizations such as civic, church, etc.?

29. Which of the following tasks should the vo-ag teacher be willing to do in the school when called upon? Teach non-agricultural courses; Keep a homeroom; Keep study hall; Stand bus, hall and ticket duty; Coach; Drive school bus; Build and repair items for other departments; Any other duty which all other high school teachers perform; Others (name) ________________________________.
30. Do you think the agriculture teacher should be considered as a regular member of the faculty with no privileges and no discriminations? ___ Have you noticed any differences? ___

31. Has the vo-ag teacher's place within the total school program changed much during the past few years? ___ If yes, how and why?

32. What part, if any, should the vo-ag teacher and the FFA play in the religious life of the vo-ag students?

33. Should the vo-ag teacher be expected to set an example of good moral and ethical behavior on the job? ___ Off the job? ___

   More so than other teachers? ___ More so than people in most other occupations? ___

34. What part should the vo-ag teacher play in aiding the agriculture student to decide whether or not to become a farmer? .. Should he try to persuade students to become or not become farmers?

35. Should the teacher work toward creating and nurturing a love of country life in the students? ___ If yes, how do you do this?

36. Should the teacher feel responsible for promoting neighborliness, mutual aid, and other aspects of the old rural way of life?

37. Do you feel that modern, scientific, commercial farming affects the love of country life and the old patterns of neighborliness, mutual aid, etc.? ___ If yes, how?

   Which do you feel most obligated to promote?

38. In general, how would you rate the country as compared to towns or cities as a place to:
In general how do you think your average student feels about country life as compared to city life?

39. Is it the duty of the vo-ag teacher to go to the aid and comfort of the farm families he works with when they are involved in sickness, sorrow, and hardship? ____ More so than other teachers? ____ More so than other members of the community? ____ Do you? ____ Should the farm families share the vo-ag
teacher's troubles also? ____ Do they? _____. If yes, give examples:

40. Should the vo-ag teacher and the farm families he works with share each others joys and satisfactions? (births, weddings, parties, family reunions, etc.)? ____ More than other teachers? ____ More than members of most other occupations? ____ If yes, give example:

41. Do you provide services and leadership for many groups other than the high school and adult farmer classes, which is based upon your vocational agriculture training and which you feel is just part of your job as vo-ag teacher? _____ If yes, give example:

42. Should the vo-ag teacher's wife, more than the average wife, be expected to accompany him when possible to social functions associated with the job such as FFA banquets, FFA parties, livestock shows, farm organizations meetings, etc.?

43. When possible should the vo-ag teacher's wife, more than the average wife, assist him in certain aspects of his work? ____ If yes, give example:

44. Should the vo-ag teacher's wife feel as though she is also a member of the department? ____ Do you think that your students and farm families feel as though she is a part of the group? ____

45. Does the duties of the vo-ag teacher interfere with his home and family life more than most other occupations? ______ Explain:
46. Should the agriculture teacher visit in the students' home as well as on their farms in order to learn all he can concerning their family situation? ______

47. Should the rural people the vo-ag teacher works with feel free to visit in his home and get to know his family well? ______ Do they? ______

48. In your opinion, should the vo-ag teacher give broad general training in all phases of farming and rural life pertinent to his community or should he try to concentrate on a few of the more important phases and offer more specialized and expert training in these few? ______ Which do you do? ________
What do others think you should do?

   Students:
   Farmers:
   Local administrators:
   "Higher up" in vo-ag:

49. Should the vo-ag teacher depend on specialist, whenever possible, to aid in teaching his adult classes rather than taking the time to learn everything that needs to be taught himself? ____________ All-day Classes? ________________

50. Which do you think the present trends in agriculture will make of the vo-ag teacher? generalist ____, specialist ____, both ____.
Can he be both?

51. Should the vo-ag teacher incorporate general education into his agriculture courses? (math, science, English, etc.)

52. What are some of the things other than agriculture that you teach your vo-ag students? (Public speaking, citizenship, etiquette, proper dress, cleanliness, character, courtship and marriage, home improvement, landscaping, repair of home appliances, construction of furniture, etc.)
What is the general purpose of teaching these things?

Are they more the responsibility of the vo-ag teacher than other teachers?

Do you actually do more of this than other teachers? 

53. Do you consider vo-ag for your average student to be:
   vocational? ______________
   guidance or exploratory? ______________
   basic general education? ______________

54. In your own words what responsibilities and objectives does the Smith-Hughes Act assign to vo-ag teachers?

Do you agree with its main objective? ______ Why?

Do you operate your program according to its main objective?

55. Which of the following should be included as aims of vo-ag?
(Rank in importance.) Which in actual practice are you doing?
(Rank by emphasis.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Should</th>
<th>Do</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. To provide specific vocational training for the kind of farming students expect to do.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. To provide general vocational training—not especially directed towards particular kinds of farming or related occupations.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. To help the student understand agriculture and rural life, but not necessarily to prepare him to be a farmer.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
d. To provide **general education** particularly built around the needs of rural people.


e. Others.

What do you think others expect the aim of vo-ag to be:

Students:

Farmers:

Local administrators:

"Higher-ups" in vo-ag:

56. Which should the instructional program be mainly based upon:

   ___ a. a standardized body of agricultural subject matter and skills?

   ___ b. a standardized core of agricultural subject matter and skills plus individual and group needs?

   ___ c. individual and group needs?

   ___ d. others?

57. What is your main method of classroom teaching?

Which other methods do you use occasionally?

   a. Lecture

   b. Guided readings

   c. Discussions on general topics

   d. Identification and solution of problems under supervision of teacher

   e. Others

58. Should department facilities be used as a community center or just for teaching purposes?
59. To what extent, if any, should the vo-ag teacher carry on adult education?

How do other groups feel about this?

Farmers:

Local administrators:

"Higher-ups" in vo-ag:

60. Is it the duty of the vo-ag teacher to perform services for farmers such as castrating, vaccinating, surveying, etc.? How far should he go?

How far do you go?

What do other groups expect about this?

Farmers:

Local administrators:

"Higher-ups" in vo-ag:

61. Do you feel that it is part of the vo-ag teacher's job to use students and equipment to do maintenance and repair jobs on school buildings and equipment? Explain:

Is this more a part of the vo-ag teacher's job than of other teachers?

Are you faced with different expectations?

How far do you actually go in this?

62. Which do you consider vocational agriculture to be?

a. A trade

b. A white collar occupation

c. A semi-professional occupation
A profession
Why do you say that it is a __________________________?
As a __________________________ is it more closely related to agricultural occupation such as soil conservation or county agent work, or to school teaching?

63. What is/was your father's occupation?

64. What are the occupations of your closest friends?

65. By what means do vo-ag teachers rate their fellow vo-ag teachers? (Contests, type schools, education, tenure, leadership in vo-ag teachers' organizations, etc.)

By what means do high school teachers in general rate their fellow teachers?

66. Does working with your hands and getting dirty at times tend to raise or lower your prestige in the eyes of:

your students?

farm people?

high school teachers?

townspeople?

general public?

Which group's respect should the vo-ag teacher be most concerned with obtaining? Which groups do you feel actually respect vo-ag teachers most?

67. Would you please rate the following positions or occupations as to the amount of prestige or respect the general public in your community accords them. Keep in mind that you are rating positions or occupations and not any particular individuals who might occupy them. (See cards.)

Parish school superintendent

High school principal
Regular high school classroom teacher

High school coach

Vocational agriculture teacher

Elementary school teacher

Soil Conservation Service technician

County agricultural agent

Farmer's Home Administrator

Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation manager (ASC)

68. Below is a selected list of occupations taken from a national occupational rating study. They are listed in the order of their prestige ratings from high to low. Will you please indicate how far up or down this scale the occupation of the vocational agriculture teacher would fall. (It may be even with another occupation or between two occupations.)

Physician
Minister
Lawyer
Accountant for a large business
Building contractor
Public school teacher
County agricultural agent
Farm owner and operator
Railroad engineer
Electrician
Tenant farmer
Carpenter
Truck driver
Farm hand
Street Sweeper

69. When you first decided to become a vo-ag teacher did you consider it a life career or as a means to something else?

Now do you feel that you will finish your productive career as a vo-ag teacher?

70. What are the chances of advancement for vo-ag teachers:

   a. in your field?
b. in other fields? (name)

71. Is your principal a former vo-ag teacher? ______

72. Which of the following are you most anxious to achieve? Rank the first three in order of importance.
   a. higher position in vocational agriculture
   b. vo-ag teaching job in a more desirable school
   c. higher position in general education
   d. higher position other agricultural occupations
   e. farm of my own
   f. business of my own
   g. higher salary at present job
   h. chance to better help boys and farmers in my community to succeed
   i. recognition and respect from citizens of my community
   j. better chance to help my own children succeed
   k. others (name)

73. How extensively should contest and award be utilized in the vo-ag program?

How much do you?

Are you faced with different expectations?

Do you feel that using contest and other competitive means as teaching tools off-sets your efforts in developing cooperation among the boys?

74. To what extent should the vo-ag teacher cooperate with other agricultural agencies?
To what extent do you?

75. In general, is there conflict of interests, aims, values, and expectations between the position of vo-ag teacher and the following positions or groups: (salary diff., no. students, federal connections, publicity, leaving school for farms supervision, field trips, etc.)

a. regular high school teachers?—What?

b. principals?—What?

c. county agents?—What?

76. Should FFA members be allowed to be 4-H members also? Why?

77. Who exercises the most control over you and your program? (formal or informal)

Who should?

78. Is there a clear cut line of authority between the local school administration and the Vocational Agricultural Education Division as they relate to the vo-ag teacher? Explain:

79. How much direction do you receive from the following? Is this as it should be?

a. local administration

b. vo-ag supervisors

c. Teacher Training Department

d. advisory council

e. farmers

f. others (name)

80. How do you control or maintain discipline with your students?
Is this as it should be?

81. Who participates in the following?
   a. Planning your local program
   b. Determining course content
   c. Planning the FFA program
   d. Evaluating the over-all program

82. Do you feel that vocational agriculture teaching is:
   __a. an excellent occupation
   __b. a fairly good occupation
   __c. only average
   __d. not as good as average
   __e. a very poor one

83. In your present job are you:
   __a. very happy and satisfied
   __b. fairly well satisfied
   __c. neither satisfied nor dissatisfied—just about average
   __d. a little dissatisfied
   __e. very dissatisfied and unhappy

84. What does your wife (and children) think of your occupation?

85. How well do you feel that you are performing your job as vocational agriculture teacher in your present position?
   ____very well, ____well, ____average, ____poor, ____very poor.
86. Which, if any of the following conditions, stand in your way of doing a better job? Rank in order of importance.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>Rank</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>conflicting expectations of others (who)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>too many expectations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lack of resources (finances, land, equipment, buildings)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>lack of cooperation (by whom)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lack of organization</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>lack of the right type of training</td>
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<tr>
<td>lack of interest</td>
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<tr>
<td>attitudes not compatible with job</td>
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<tr>
<td>aspirations in other directions</td>
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<tr>
<td>lack of certain abilities</td>
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<tr>
<td>poor health</td>
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<td>others</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

87. Which of the following roles do you think are (1) most important, (2) least important, (3) strongest in, and (4) weakest in:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Most Imp.</th>
<th>Least Imp.</th>
<th>Strongest in</th>
<th>Weakest in</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Teacher of all-day boys</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Teacher of adults &amp; young farmers</td>
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<tr>
<td>c. FFA advisor</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>d. Member of high school faculty</td>
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<tr>
<td>e. Member of parish agricultural workers council</td>
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<tr>
<td>f. Public relation man</td>
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<tr>
<td>g. Rural or agricultural leader</td>
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<tr>
<td>h. Maintenance man</td>
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<tr>
<td>i. Other</td>
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</table>

88. Which one of the following do you think is the greatest reward for teaching vocational agriculture?
a. The feeling of being respected and looked up to (by whom)
b. A sense of security (economic, social, psychological)
c. A satisfying fellowship (with whom)
d. A good salary or a chance to get ahead
e. Sense of public service (What is your reward for public service?)

89. What are the main disadvantages of teaching vocational agriculture?

90. Other than the different expectations already discussed do you feel that two or more people or groups expect you to act in exactly opposite ways, leaving you in the middle having to choose between whom you should please? If yes, give example.

91. Do some parts of your work conflict with other parts, for example, does performing one duty make it more difficult to do another, or does what you are expected to do at one time seem illogical as compared to what you must do at other times? Give examples.

92. Describe your typical day's work.
93. What are your main duties during the summer months when school is out?

94. What are the topics at your district and state vo-ag teachers' meeting?

95. Looking back over the various problems discussed and possibly others, what are your major problems?

96. What have been the major changes over the years in your profession? (aim, philosophy, duties, importance, type of student, interest, relations with other groups, etc.)

97. Aside from helping particular individuals, your school, and your community, what is vocational agriculture's contribution to American society?

98. What are the major agriculture enterprises in your community?
   1.
   2.
   3.
   4.
   5.

99. Is your wife a native of this community? _____ parish _____ cultural area _____ state _____?
Is your wife's religion the same as yours , same as dominant religion in community ?

100. What is the future of the family farm?

To what extent, if any, should the family farm be protected, promoted, or eliminated?
The author, Harold Lyle Nix, was born September 10, 1920, in Cherokee County, Georgia. He attended elementary school in Big Springs, Georgia, and high school in Canton, Georgia, where he graduated in 1940. In the fall of 1940 he enrolled in West Georgia College, Carrollton, Georgia, and graduated from this junior college in 1942.

In the fall of 1942 he joined the United States Navy to serve during World War II. After the war in January, 1946, he entered the University of Georgia and graduated from this institution in August, 1947, with a Bachelor of Science degree in agriculture. Immediately thereafter he accepted a position as vocational agriculture teacher in the Fayette County High School, Fayetteville, Georgia. He taught there until the fall of 1950, when he returned to the University of Georgia to study for the Master of Education degree, which he received in August, 1951.

After organizing a new vocational agriculture department in Newnan, Georgia, during the 1951-52 school year, he returned to his original position of vocational agriculture teacher in Fayetteville, Georgia, in the fall of 1952, where he remained until May, 1956.
In June, 1956, he enrolled as a graduate student at the Louisiana State University and has been a student at the University continuously since that time where he is now a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in sociology.

In July, 1942, he married Ruth Blaylock of Chickamauga, Georgia, and they are the parents of a daughter, Alice, and a son, Alan.
EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

Candidate: Harold Lyle Nix

Major Field: Sociology

Title of Thesis: A Sociological Analysis of the Roles and Value Orientation of an Occupation: Vocational Agriculture Teaching

Approved:

[Signature]
Major Professor and Chairman

[Signature]
Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

[Signatures]

Date of Examination:

September 11, 1959