A REPORT TO THE GOVERNOR AND THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

OF

THE COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA RURAL AFFAIRS STUDY COMMISSION



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LYMAN CHRISTIAN HARRELL, JR.

The interest and efforts of Lyman Christian Harrell, Jr., more than those of any other individual, made this report possible. Between the time this report was written and the time it was printed, Lyman C. Harrell, Jr. suffered a fatal heart attack.

He served as Chairman of the Rural Affairs Study Commission and was vitally interested in producing a report that would strengthen the chances of the rural areas in obtaining a greater portion of Virginia's population and economic growth. Many things could be said of Lyman C. Harrell, Jr., but here let it be said only that he was a man who loved Virginia, was interested in her people, and was a real friend to many of us. To his memory, we dedicate the good that results from the work that went into producing this report.

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To the Governor and the General Assembly

I have the honor and privilege to transmit to you the report of the Rural Affairs Study Commission.

The Virginia General Assembly's concern about the future pattern of development in the Commonwealth is expressed in the Statute establishing the Rural Affairs Study Commission, Chapter 768 of the 1968 session:

Whereas, the rapid shifting of the state's and the nation's population is estimated to mean that by 1985 three-fourths of the Commonwealth's then over six million people will live in urban centers . . . at least one solution to the numerous special problems which afflict our urban areas would be the decentralization of industry and attendant facilities and the better utilization of our rural resources to support this burgeoning population and increasing industrial activity. . . . The Commission shall consider, study and report its recommendations on the ways and means best designed to utilize existing rural resources and to develop facilities in our rural areas to support industry and an expanded share of the Commonwealth's growing population. . . .

This report is directed toward these legislative charges. Underlying all of the Commission's work is the proposition that to the maximum extent possible the future growth of the Commonwealth ought to be directed toward the non-metropolitan areas of the state. We began and finished our work with the belief that the people of Virginia, acting through their state and local governments, are able to influence the future pattern of settlement.

What is Rural?

One early need was to develop a working definition of what "rural" meant for the purposes of this study. Everyone has his own idea about what is rural. It may be the farm he grew up on, a favorite mountain spot, or the small town where his grandfather had a store. Defining rural is more difficult today than it would have been at the turn of the century. Then, sparse population and a way of life tied to the land typified "rural." Today, however, with automobiles, telephones, electricity and television, the ways of life in the city and in the country are not so different. The farm manager operates as complex and highly automated a business as many urban manufacturers. Those who live in rural areas may work, shop, and go to church in town.

In spite of the decreased distinction between urban and rural, we needed a definition so we could gather statistics and talk about different kinds of areas with some consistent meaning.

The need for a definition was solved in two steps:

The primary concern about concentration of Virginia's population, in our view, was not directed to all of the state's cities and towns, but rather toward the few large and officially identified Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas. The concern was even more narrowly focused on the metropolitan areas in the Urban Corridor from Northern Virginia to Richmond and then on to Hampton Roads. Therefore, in the Commission's report that follows, metropolitan and non-metropolitan are often used as the distinction, rather than urban and rural. Metropolitan means the six Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (These are identified and explained in Appendix I of this report).

The second step was to divide all of the cities and counties into four categories representing different urban and rural settings ranging from most rural to central cities. The Commission sought to minimize individual judgments on whether a particular county should be in one category or another by using simple rules uniformly in the classification. Those who conducted studies and prepared statistics

for the Commission were asked to use the system so that there would be comparability in their statistics and the inferences drawn from them. (The system is explained in Appendix I.)

Agriculture

The excellent and intensive study of the Commission of the Industry of Agriculture made it unnecessary for us to devote much of our study to agro-business. We recognize, however, the continuing importance of this industry to rural Virginia and endorse the recommendations of the Commission of the Industry of Agriculture for strengthening agriculture in Virginia.

The Commission Program

At its May 9, 1969 meeting, the Rural Affairs Study Commission adopted a statement of objectives and a program of hearings and staff studies.

—Hearings and Workshops—There were four parts to the hearing and workshop program. The first was a conference and seminar held at the Virginia Polytechnic Institute on June 2, 1969. Experts in the fields of education, health, local government, taxation and community development were invited to lecture and lead discussion sessions of members and staff.

Between June 23 and September 18, seven public hearings were held. The hearing sites (Emporia, Abingdon, Lexington, Accomac, Tappahannock, Lynchburg, and Warrenton) were selected because they would bring the Commission in touch with a variety of regional problems and make it more convenient for the public to attend and to testify if they wished. The response was very gratifying. Not only did more people attend and testify than is usually the case with such study commission hearings, but the variety of views presented met the Commission's objective of hearing a broad cross-section of the Commonwealth's economic, social and industrial groups.

The heads of several state agencies were invited to appear and testify at a hearing on October 22. This permitted the members to discuss some questions raised at the public hearings with the state officials involved.

Two area tours were the final element in the hearing program. The first was to the South Boston-Halifax County area, which was particularly recommended to the Commission for its community development efforts. The Commission also toured the Southwestern part of the state because that area is using a number of innovative approaches to providing education and government services for a group of relatively sparsely settled counties.

—Subject Area Studies—At its May 9 meeting, the Commission identified twelve subject areas it wished to study. These were: job and business opportunities; education; health care; government structure; rural industries; housing; transportation and communications; power and fuel; banking; natural resources; recreation; and cultural opportunities.

These cover almost the entire range of the social and economic concerns of state government and intensive studies of all of them would have been a monumental undertaking requiring at least several years to carry out. In most cases, however, some published research already was available covering part of the Commission's inquiry.

For these reasons, the Commission and its staff agreed upon a two-step research program. The first step would be a very broad, but necessarily limited, study. No more than two man-months of professional time would be available for any subject area. Primary reliance was to be placed on existing studies, reports and statistics as a source of ideas and recommenda-

tions for the Rural Affairs Study Commission. More detailed studies would follow where the survey research indicated a need. These intensive studies would be carried out either by the Commission, or as a part of the state

planning program.

Within these guidelines, studies were commissioned for each of the twelve study subject areas. Each of the consultants worked separately under general guidance. Some subjects were divided and the Commission will have seventeen individual study papers. Seven are the work of consultants, three were prepared by state agencies, and seven were produced by the Appalachian Regional Commission. (Appendix II contains an identification of these consultants.)

In view of the time available to the writers, (it varied from two weeks to two months) they have produced a very respectable body of information and ideas. The study papers have been most useful to the Commission in its deliberations. They should also be very valuable to state and local officials and

researchers. The Commission plans to make them available.

In spite of the dedicated efforts of these study area consultants, we were able only to skim the surface of our twelve broad subject areas. Every one of the reports is prefaced with the warning that they are no more than a quick survey. Nonetheless, we have rapidly gathered a considerable body of information and questions that should provide a base for further research and comprehensive planning.

Staff Assistance

Several agencies contributed the extensive staff services that made it possible for us to conduct the public hearings, to produce the Commission study papers, and even to write this report. The four organizations to which we owe the greatest debt are:

—The Division of State Planning and Community Affairs

—The Division of Statutory Research and Drafting

—The Extension Division of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute

—The Appalachian Regional Commission

Many people in these organizations have helped us outside of or beyond their regular duties. They were interested and challenged by the Commission's task. We do not want to single out any individuals for expressions of appreciation (the list would be too long). But our particular thanks go to the study area consultants. They agreed to accept their tasks with very severe time limitations. Here again, they did it because they were interested in what the Commission is attempting to do.

Findings

In its hearings, tours and study papers, hundreds of valid needs of rural areas were brought to the Commission's attention. These ranged from replanting the eel grass on the Eastern Shore to assisting symphony orchestras; from bank erosion on the Northern Neck to a doctor in Rockbridge County. These were, we repeat, valid and important needs of these areas, but researching them and preparing recommendations on each was simply beyond any single commission's resources in time and money.

Furthermore, the Rural Affairs Study Commission believes that rather than coming up with a long list of needs, the Commission should concentrate on providing a permanent way of meeting the needs of the rural areas through the regular institutions of government.

The report that follows attempts to boil down the mass of information that

the Commission gathered and to address the central premises underlying its work: that continued concentration of the state's population in a few large metropolitan areas would not be good and that the government of the Commonwealth of Virginia can do something to influence the future pattern of settlement for the better.

This report suggests major policy directions needed to achieve the Commission's objectives, several program changes and some additional research. Where the Commission recommends consolidation or regional actions in the pages that follow, it wishes to emphasize that it believes this should come about through voluntary local efforts.

Continuation of the Commission

The Rural Affairs Study Commission is requesting the General Assembly to continue it for an additional two years. Building upon the initial work represented by this report, we believe that the next two years can bring significant additional accomplishments.

LYMAN C. HARRELL, JR. Chairman

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Some Virginians live miles from their nearest neighbor; others are jammed into the fastest growing part of the eastern megalopolis. Both those in the congested cities and those in the depopulating rural areas face severe problems because either too many or too few human beings live together. This paradox led the sponsors of the Rural Affairs Study Commission to ask if Virginia could not have a better balanced and consequently healthier pattern of growth.

The answer is yes, it can: if the people of the Commonwealth are ready to use the resources of their state and local government in a vigorous and coordinated effort to improve the quality of life at both ends of the urban-rural spectrum.

The distribution of population in Virginia among the metropolitan and the non-metropolitan areas ten and twenty years in the future will depend uopn the relative advantages these two kinds of areas offer as places to live and to raise a family. The rural areas have been losing population because of declining economic opportunities. Our research also indicates that on the average they lag in the quality of their education programs, health services, housing, income and community facilities and services:

Some rural communities and small cities are caught in a downward spiral. With declining populations they are also losing their young people, their taxpayers and their skilled labor force. They are less and less able to support the community facilities and services needed to attract industrial plants and to retain their populations.

The proposition that underlies this entire report is that the government of the Commonwealth of Virginia has the means for affecting the distribution of population and economic activity for the better. It can prevent excessive concentration in the metropolitan areas and increase the relative population and economic shares of the non-metropolitan areas.

How? An important determinant of population and economic growth is the quality and level of public services. Industry requires roads, sewers, water supply, health services and a skilled labor force. People, the skilled labor force, want to live where they can obtain a good education for their children, housing, adequate health care, recreation and cultural opportunities and other amenities. All of these are programs either directly administered or highly influenced by state and local government.

Virginia has made great strides in recent years. Elementary and secondary education are much improved. A new community college system is now underway. The state's industrial development program has been very successful. These and many other advances have helped both urban and rural peoples. The Commission is cognizant of the advances Virginia has made. These are a tribute to the hard work and dedication of state and local officials and of private citizens.

The Commission's studies and the testimony it heard, however, left no doubt that there are important needs still unmet. The Rural Affairs Study Commission examined the problems of the rural areas to see what new programs would upgrade the level of public services in the non-metropolitan areas. Some new programs and additional funds are essential, but these are not the most important requirements at this time.

More than new programs and new money, the Commonwealth needs to give special attention to its basic policies and goals for the future to guide and coordinate the administration of the nearly two billion dollars Virginia's state and local government now spend each year. These are a major influence on the patterns of settlement and economic growth.

The second major need is to examine the Commonwealth's state and local government with an eye toward making them more effective instruments for policy implementation.

The policies suggested by the wide-ranging problems and needs brought to the

Commission's attention in the study papers and the public hearings fall into two general categories:

—those concerning people and their opportunity to live meaningful, productive lives; and,

—those influencing communities and their ability to serve as a focus for population and economic growth.

The policy recommendations and program suggestions below are divided into these two categories of human services and community development.

A. HUMAN SERVICES POLICY

Whether or not a child receives the medical services and education he needs will determine in large measure whether he will lead a happy productive life or whether he will lead a marginal existence perhaps as a lifelong burden on society. Some rural areas have fewer doctors, dentists and nurses than their urban counterparts. In some instances they have less adequate schools. The result is that some rural children may be less well equipped to lead productive lives in the modern world.

This loss does not just affect the rural communities; it is a loss to all Virginians.

The Commission recommends that the General Assembly adopt a policy statement that it is the goal of the state government that no child should be disadvantaged by lack of access to quality health care and education merely because of where he was born.

Such a goal would give the state agency heads involved in education and health priorities for the formulation of their programs.

Beyond this very important policy guidance, several additional programmatic actions and inquiries are needed.

1. Regional Educational Service Units

Rural school districts are frequently too small to afford the specialized educational programs that are so important in determining the difference between a marginal education and a quality education—between a grade school dropout and a college graduate. Today every school district should have specialists available in reading, art, mathematics and guidance. They should have reading laboratories, teacher in-service training programs, and television and computer-assisted teaching. Small school districts simply cannot afford these services on their own. A relatively new technique, however, could put these educational tools within reach of almost every school district in Virginia.

Four counties and a city in Southwest Virginia¹ have banded together to form a regional educational service unit to purchase specialized education services jointly. The Commission visited this agency. It has been successful in its first two years of operation and can serve as a model for other areas in the state. Such a voluntary local agency can make it possible for small districts to afford specialized services, thereby making more efficient use of state and local school funds.

The Commission recommends that the Commonwealth encourage the creation of regional education service units covering the planning districts. Priority attention should be given to the most rural planning districts in attempting to organize these cooperative agencies.

The Commission recommends that the Commonwealth encourage superintendents of schools to cooperate in developing regional education service units in

¹ Dickenson, Lee, Wise and Scott counties and the City of Norton.

each planning district and the Commission encourages the General Assembly to make the activities of any such service units eligible for financial support.

To permit orderly development of these recommendations, the Commission also recommends that the Department of Education be directed to make a study of financial needs for these programs and to recommend to the 1972 General Assembly a state aid program to facilitate their operation. The formation of the regional service units should be begun in 1970, however. Much can be accomplished without additional aid.

2. The Community School Concept

At a conference it conducted at the Virginia Polytechnic Institute, the Commission heard about the community school concept. It is another way of providing for the efficient utilization of school resources enriching the rural community's educational offering. School buildings and buses are an expensive investment for all rural communities. They take a large amount of their local tax resources. And yet, the schools and the buses are used only a few hours a day, nine months a year.

Under the community school concept, the school facilities are used at night, on weekends and in the summer for early childhood and adult education, for recreation and community health programs. These are all things that Virginia's rural communities need but cannot afford. The school buses could be used during their normally idle hours to bring the isolated people, particularly the elderly, to the school or to local health clinics.

The community school programs offer rural areas a way to overcome the paradox of needing community facilities at the same time their existing school facilities are underutilized. It is doubtful if rural schools could afford quality community education without using regional service units and the community school concept.

The community school and regional educational service programs are compatible and can be developed in tandem in each planning district. Some of the same personnel could be used. The director of regional education services could also organize the community school program. In both cases he would be working for local school officials.

The Commission recommends that the Department of Education investigate ways of making more complete use of school facilities, including buildings, athletic areas and buses and that it report to the General Assembly concerning what financial assistance or legislation is required. The aim here is to make better use of facilities and services and not to duplicate any existing programs, particularly those of the community college system. This study should also give attention to the use of the schools on a twelve month basis for regular education.

3. State Aid and Teacher Qualifications

The Commission's education consultants and witnesses at the public hearings have discussed the need to improve the caliber of teachers in the rural areas. High salaries do not necessarily produce good teachers but good teachers could be expected to seek out and get the better paying posts. The relatively low salaries paid by rural districts are, of course, a major reason why they have difficulty attracting and retaining quality teachers. Both the most rural counties and metropolitan cities put about 12% of their per capita incomes into the schools. This produces \$313 per pupil in the cities and only \$181 in the rural counties. Rural areas lack the resources to compete in a teacher salary race.

Some witnesses said that the state should fix a minimum salary to be paid by the state government. Others said that the entire salary schedule should be fixed by the state and teachers should be paid entirely by the state. It was proposed that the state could take over the entire system of elementary and secondary education to promote equalization of educational opportunities. The Commission can propose that the Commonwealth should increase the amount of its support of public education. The state only contributes about 40% of the revenues for public elementary and secondary education. Many states contribute over 50% of public school revenues. The Commission can also say that something should be done to raise teacher salaries, particularly in the rural schools. Beyond this, however, it is impossible now to make intelligent and well-reasoned recommendations. Actions in this field are complex and should be given detailed study by qualified professionals.

One of its principal concerns should be a study of what can be done to equalize educational opportunities among the state's urban and rural schools. Particular attention should be given to teachers salaries. Professionals in the fields of education and public finance should be retained to assist in the study.

4. Early Childhood Education

The Commonwealth of Virginia recognized the importance of early childhood education in launching its kindergarten program in 1966. In 1969-70 it is estimated that only 32% of the districts have kindergarten programs and 33% of the eligible children are currently enrolled.

Kindergarten is an important part of the school program in many districts, particularly in the urban areas. They are difficult to establish in rural areas and the Department of Education should give special attention to ways to fully implement this program in rural as well as urban areas.

5. Special Education

The Commission believes that the state should financially support the work of local governments in providing special education opportunities at both the elementary and secondary level for retarded and disabled children and adults. The state should build more sheltered workshops in the Commonwealth in order to provide employment opportunities for the retarded and disabled.

6. Vocational Emphasis at Community Colleges

The primary purpose of the community college program was to put an educational opportunity within reach of a group of young adults that were not reached by the present system. This required a new approach in geography, entrance requirements and kind of educational program. The new colleges are to be distributed so eventually every young person in the state could commute to one of them. The tuition is lower than that of the state's four year institutions of higher education. Finally, the program was to provide terminal vocational and technical programs in addition to the first two years of college work.

The community college occupational training programs have opened up many new opportunities for Virginia's young people. Vocational and technical education are among the most valuable programs at all levels of education. At the present time, the teachers of vocational agriculture are working with prospective farm operators and doing a very good job in some cases, but this phase of the work needs to be strengthened, for it is an important part of the community college program.

The Rural Affairs Study Commission recommends a continued emphasis on technical education and occupational programs for post high school people in the community college system and vocational training in secondary education as well.

The community college system is vital to the development of the rural areas. The Commission believes that a primary purpose of the system was to be of service to rural people and, therefore, the locations of the college campuses should be consistent with serving this need. Geography, as well as population, should be given consideration in the location criteria.

7. Educational Television

The Commission recommends that the Advisory Council on Educational Television seek to provide the necessary facilities for educational television in the sections of the state not now served. ETV is not available in the Southwest, the Eastern Shore and seven other counties scattered throughout the state.

8. Regional Health Programs

Many witnesses told the Commission of the need for doctors in their communities. When the older doctors retired or died, they were not able to attract a new physician. Some towns built clinics and homes for the doctors and still they could not find one willing to move in. Dr. William Thurman of the University of Virginia Medical School told the Commission many small rural communities were not going to find doctors. The economics of the profession was against them. What was needed, he said, was a regional approach to providing medical services. This would generally be a pattern of service and facilities with the specialized services and teaching hospitals in the major metropolitan areas; large hospitals and specialists in the cities; and teams of physicians and clinics serving the small towns and rural areas. Transportation systems would also have to be developed so that rural people could be taken to the hospitals for emergency care and to the clinics for regular physician care.

The private hospitals and the medical profession are working in these directions, but to bring the regional health care system into being, the state government must play a strong leadership and planning role. A regional health care plan should be developed and the state's programs and facility construction program should be modified to conform to it. Here again, the planning districts should be

the basic building blocks for the plan.

The Commission recommends that the Division of State Planning and Community Affairs and the Department of Health be directed to work with the medical profession and other interested groups to develop a state health services plan using the planning districts as the basic health regions. The planning objective should be to assure that all Virginians, particularly children, have access to the health care they need. It will almost certainly be prohibitively expensive to provide every county with equal facilities, but that should not be the objective. The aim should be to open up access to central facilities through innovative programs. The two agencies should present this plan to the 1972 session of the General Assembly.

This study would do well to look into two other matters. The state has scholarship programs to encourage medical and nursing students to practice in rural areas after they graduate. The effectiveness of this program should be evaluated with an eye toward its expansion and extension to paramedical professions (laboratory technicians, dental hygienists and sub-professionals such as Army medics are included in the term paramedical). The paramedical professions may help rural areas extend the ability of the few regular health professionals they have.

The second section of this report will deal with the organization of state government, but it should be noted here that the state's health and education programs are divided among a number of separate agencies, boards and commissions. There seems to be a need for a central policy focus. Perhaps it would be useful to combine all of them into a single department of human services.

Cultural Opportunities

The Commission recognizes the need for continued enrichment of cultural

opportunities available to rural people.

The Commission recommends that the Commission on the Arts and Humanities give particular attention to the needs of the Commonwealth's rural areas. There is a need to study ways of providing maximum information and publicity

concerning educational and cultural offerings on a local and state wide basis. A special need is to coordinate the work of the Virginia State Symphony Orchestra and the Old Dominion Symphony.

B. STATE GENERAL DEVELOPMENT POLICY

The previous section dealt with a human resources goal as a way of directing the activities of state and local government toward equipping people, particularly young people, to lead productive lives. The programs that flow out of it are directed to all people, urban and rural, though the specific needs may vary from community to community. Virginia needs a second goal, one directed toward the quality of community life and the distribution of population in the state. The General Assembly should adopt a statement of what it wants the future pattern of settlement to be.

It would not be merely a hollow exercise for a state to adopt such a policy; state and local governments have the ability to carry it out. It is, of course, neither possible nor acceptable for a state to attempt to impose direct controls on migration and settlement. It would be offensive and almost certainly ineffective for the Commonwealth or any government to say where Mr. Jones should live or where XYZ Corporation should locate its plants. Nonetheless, the way state and local government programs are operated has great bearing on where industries will choose to locate and where people will want to live. The location of highways and vocational schools, the caliber of local government, the quality of housing and building code enforcement, the kind and skill of local land use planning are a few of the things state and local governments do that affect how Virginia develops.

There are limits on what the state government can do. Its policies and programs can augment natural movements, but they cannot and should not run counter to them. For this reason some limitations on what can be achieved should be set forth here before dealing with the general development policy in more specific terms.

It is possible to forecast an end to the migration off of the farms. Farm population and employment opportunities may be in balance within the next ten years. A return of low-wage and unskilled labor to the farms is unlikely.

Rural people of all skill and economic levels will become more and more oriented to the urban centers for employment and services. Fortunately and very happily, not all people are alike. Some prefer to live in Times Square; others are most uncomfortable if someone lives within two miles. Most people are in between these two extremes.

Business and industry have a similar pattern. Some must be in a center city location. Others must be in the country. Industry seems more and more oriented to the suburbs and the medium-sized cities as a place to locate. Furthermore, a large number of industries have a wide choice of where they can locate economically.

Virginia should, therefore, plan for a future pattern of settlement that offers a range of choices to both people and businesses. It will need some large cities, suburbs, medium-sized cities, towns and rural areas. The purpose of the development policy is to enable people to make a choice. It is impossible for many people to choose to stay in the rural areas today. They cannot find houses, jobs or roads to jobs, decent schools for their children or doctors.

Concerted planning and action by the Commonwealth and local governments could expand their choices so they could stay where they live and commute to jobs in a nearby town. In its travel around the state, the Commission has seen where this has happened.

There are two basic elements involved in expanding the opportunities for Virginians on where they want to live:

—Adopting a state wide general development policy to make explicit what future distribution of population and economic activity Virginians want.

—A general upgrading of state and local governments so they are able to use their resources to carry out the policy in an efficient and coordinated manner.

As part of its new responsibility under the planning district program and its more general state wide planning responsibility, the Division of State Planning and Community Affairs is putting together the information and analysis needed for development policy.

The general development policy should not be irrevocably fixed. It must be refined, developed and made more specific as additional analysis becomes available. But Virginians should have a general development policy now, based on the knowledge we now have on what future pattern of development would be best for Virginia.

The Rural Affairs Study Commission recommends the Governor and the General Assembly adopt as an interim general development policy that state programs will be operated in such a way as to encourage orderly population growth in the non-metropolitan areas. Such a policy would provide needed guidance to state agencies.

This is proposed only as the first statement of the policy. A more detailed set of development goals must be drafted. These policy recommendations should be based on projections of state growth and the consequences of various settlement patterns. Goals for development at some time ought to be set on a planning district by planning district basis. State and local programs should be examined to determine the impact they have on future settlement patterns. These general development policy studies ought to be carried out under the direction of the Division of State Planning and Community Affairs.

The state and local governments must strive to stimulate the improvement of health opportunities, for example, regardless of where people live. Program priorities on the general development policy on the other hand, should follow the policy's constraints on where growth should be stimulated and where it should be discouraged. The two policies are compatible for Virginia because both can result in developing a complex of economic opportunities and vital services using the small and medium-sized cities as centers. Rural people must be given access to these centers. In some cases the services can go to them (mobile dental offices), in others they will need transportation to get them to the service centers (night vocational schools).

Developing the non-metropolitan areas of the state depends in part on a reorientation of existing state and local government activities. In part it also depends upon general improvements in state and local government and some new program thrusts.

1. Housing

Substandard housing is both a rural and urban problem. There is a critical need for better housing for low income people and the state government should put forth every effort to encourage the construction of a sufficient supply of adequate housing.

The entire state of Virginia is lacking in mortgage funds. At most of its public hearings, the Rural Affairs Study Commission heard that decent housing is not available to many lower income families.

The quality of the housing stock is deteriorating in some rural areas. Obviously, something must be done to improve the quality of housing in Virginia. But this action should be based on analysis, statistics and program studies that are not now available.

Other states have undertaken programs that may be useful in Virginia. The Commission heard a presentation on the new state housing development corpora-

tion in North Carolina; this approach may also be suitable here.

The Commission recommends that the Division of State Planning and Community Affairs be directed to investigate the housing situation in Virginia and to develop a plan for consideration by the General Assembly to stimulate the improvement of the quality and availability of Virginia's housing. The Commission does not imply that the Commonwealth should embark on a direct construction program, but a study should be made to determine the capability of private enterprise to satisfy the state's housing needs.

2. Local Development Tools

Among the traditional powers of local government is the authority to regulate development. Zoning, subdivision regulations, housing codes and building codes give cities and counties the power to insure orderly development and the best use of the land.

Virginia's local governments have not made use of these tools as extensively as they should. Only 34% of the counties and 30% of the towns have adopted any zoning ordinances. All the cities have adopted zoning ordinances. Similarly only 66% of the counties and 22% of the towns have established subdivision regulations. All but one of the cities have subdivision regulations. Some rural areas of the state, for example the Eastern Shore, are on the verge of rapid development. They need foresighted subdivision regulations and zoning to assure that when this development comes it will be carried out in a way that will protect the people and the character of the area. Zoning and subdivision regulations do not prevent development; they encourage orderly and economically sound development.

Building codes set standards for quality to promote safe and reasonably attractive construction. Housing and other structures built without the protection of such codes are a blight on many rural areas. The absence of codes has resulted in construction that is neither safe, nor attractive, nor particularly low cost.

Housing codes protect the usage of houses and prevent over-crowding and

the occupancy of unsafe houses.

To facilitate more extensive use of these vital development tools, particularly in the developing rural counties, the Commission recommends that the Division of State Planning and Community Affairs develop model building and housing codes that cities and counties can adopt by reference.

Adopting such codes and keeping them up to date is a complicated and time consuming exercise. The availability of codes that could be adopted by reference would make it practical for many rural counties to use these development tools. The greater uniformity that standard codes would promote would also be helpful to the building industry, which must now pattern its activities to many different local codes.

The Rural Affairs Study Commission encourages all counties to adopt subdivision regulations and a zoning ordinance. These protect the county's right to control the pattern and quality of its own development.

3. Highway and Road Construction Priorities

Improved secondary roads are one of the most important needs of rural areas. A change in the allocation formulae will be required. The Commission heard from county officials who said that roads were so poor in some areas that it was impossible to get the children out to school in the winter.

The state's secondary road improvement program is now geared to present highway use. This means that rural areas get less money, so the roads get worse, and so they are used less, and so on. Rural areas are in a downward spiral. Cur-

rent demand and use criteria would be incompatible with a development policy that says growth should be encouraged in the non-metropolitan areas. If the state adopts the general development policy, the Highway Commission necessarily would be required to develop its long range highway building program and secondary road improvement program in conformity with that policy. The answer here is not to rob the urban areas; they need roads too. Virginia must spend more than it has spent on highways, including secondary roads, to accelerate the rate of road improvement. Roads are an investment in the future development of some communities and money should be borrowed and invested on that expectation.

The equity of present formulae for distribution of funds and the standards and specifications ought to be examined. The Commissios recommends that the Highway Commission be directed to study road needs and to recommend the policies and programs that would meet these needs in ways that are consistent with the general development policy set forth earlier. Highway needs should be given intensive study. Technical assistance from the Highway Department or consultants should be made available to the Rural Affairs Study Commission in order to provide the necessary professional resources for this study.

4. Community Facilities and Services

Developing communities need extensive community facilities ranging from adequate power to sewers. The Commission did not have the time or the resources to determine what communities need what kind of facilities and how much they would cost. Nevertheless, such a study is necessary as an input to a more refined development policy. An inventory of existing facilities and facility needs would permit planners to explore the cost consequences of various settlement patterns.

Such a study may also indicate the need for a state-sponsored financing mechanism to enable developing communities to finance the facilities they must have for future growth. One possible financing mechanism would be a state-

sponsored revolving fund.

Here too a reality must be faced. Not every community can grow. Every community will not grow in population. There is not enough industry or people to go around. It would be a mistake to build a full panoply of development facilities in those communities that have only dim hope for population growth. A refined state general development policy can provide state and local officials with the guidance they need to prevent this kind of error. The choice will often be difficult to make and harder still to sustain in the face of community opposition, but if Virginia wants to achieve a better pattern of settlement at reasonable cost, this kind of decision will have to be made.

The Commission recommends that a community facilities plan be developed by the Division of State Planning and Community Affairs. The plan should rec-

ommend priorities for location of facilities and for a financing mechanism.

Public libraries are among the important community facilities. However, forty-five counties in Virginia did not have a public library on July 1, 1969, and those counties did not have access to a public library. According to the Virginia State Library, a population of 554,047 or 14 per cent of the total population of the state is not served by a public library.

This Commission recommends that the Commonwealth continue to support the development of local public libraries by revising the existing laws, and encouraging the development of library services in circumstances where local public

libraries cannot be feasibly developed.

The Rural Affairs Study Commission has identified two other community

service needs that deserve specific mention:

The Commission recognized the need for an adequate and dependable source of power at reasonable rates and recommends that the Commonwealth give continuing attention to the state's future power needs. Intra-state parcel service is

important to small rural communities and the Commission recommends that legislation be considered whereby additional service can be provided to facilitate the delivery of parcels within the Commonwealth that qualify under postal regulations as to size and weight.

5. Strengthening Local Government

A major determinant of whether small cities and rural areas will be able to hold their own will be how well their local governments are able to perform. Do they have the capacity and the inclination to provide the required services to retain their populations and attract new people? In no small way this will depend upon the quality of local leadership, as the Commission has seen in its tours of rural communities. Nonetheless, some improvements are needed in local government laws and practices to make it possible for local leaders to be effective.

(a) Further fractionalization of local government should be discouraged. There has been criticism that Virginia has too many small counties, but the more recent problem is the incorporation of small cities. While Virginia has relatively few local governments it should not lose this advantage by permitting easy incorporation of cities at the same time it is encouraging area-wide action through the new planning district program.

Under the present Constitutional provision, a town may become a second class city by an enumeration directed by the appropriate court and by the determination that there are at least 5,000 residents. An order is then entered creating the second class city. Also under the present Constitution, a city of the first class can be created by similar procedures where there are 10,000 residents.

Article VII of the proposed Constitution provides for only one type of city, being an incorporated community of 5,000 residents or more. However, the General Assembly may increase the population requirement by general law.

It is the considered judgment of this Commission that if Article VII is approved in the manner prescribed by law, the General Assembly should require more than 5,000 residents for incorporating a city. Such a change ought to be made to prevent fragmentation where unity is needed most, in the urbanizing areas. It is the Rural Affairs Study Commission's feeling that 5,000 residents are not sufficient to be economically feasible to operate as a city. This change should be examined at the earliest time practical after the adoption of the new Constitution.

In order to minimize government fragmentation the Commission, believes that the interests of the entire Commonwealth would be best served by abandoning the system of making a city entirely separate from the county in which it is located. Cities should remain an integral part of the county.

The Rural Affairs Study Commission also encourages smaller cities and counties to investigate the feasibility of consolidation. Consolidation should also be part of the state

Furthermore, if county government were given broader powers and if it were made more responsive, consolidation would be encouraged and fragmentation discouraged. Several actions could be taken to achieve this end. Counties do have the optional forms of government available to them, but few have used them. The Division of State Planning and Community Affairs should determine why more counties have not used this form and recommend any needed changes to the General Assembly.

Consideration should also be given to electing a chairman of the board of supervisors at large, to give the county an official with a county-wide focus and constituency.

Attention should be given to Virginia county government and what might be done to strengthen it and make it more effective.

(b) The Commission strongly recommends that every county, singly or in conjunction with one or more other counties, should hire at least a general administrative officer to perform such duties as may be prescribed by the governing body, exclusive of the duties of Constitutional officers that are set by law. Most counties do not have any type of full-time administrators. It was suggested to the Commission that the state ought to require a professional executive. A legislative requirement to this effect would probably not work well even if it were passed. It would be more effective if the state encouraged counties to hire qualified administrators. The state's role in grant-in-aid programs and in providing many kinds of technical assistance gives it significant influence. Encouraging counties to hire an administrator is, furthermore, a legitimate thing for the state to do.

The caliber of local government would also be improved by continued emphasis on in-service training for local government personnel. Access to these courses is very important. Although many part-time officials could not get away for a two-day or one-week session, they would be willing to take a course at night. State-sponsored training programs, therefore, ought to emphasize evening courses spread over a period of several weeks. Such courses should be strategically located around the Commonwealth in order to assure that most officials have easy access to them.

Residents of rural areas face a difficult task in assembling information about local, state and Federal programs that are actually in effect. Often agencies cannot have offices that are easily accessible to residents of rural areas. Since accurate and timely information is essential in assisting both private individuals and public bodies to reach decisions that can contribute to their community's development, the Commission recommends that major efforts be made by the state to provide a center of information readily accessible to the rural people that can provide current information relating to local, state and Federal programs designed to assist individuals and community development.

6. Fiscal Resources of State and Local Government

We have previously mentioned the need for additional programs and improvements in aid to rural schools and community facilities. Obviously this raises the question—where is the money coming from? Virginia's local government relies very heavily on the real property tax. This source has very severe limits in equity and revenue producing ability. The real property tax has been stretched to near its limit as a local tax base.

The Commission believes that the Commonwealth of Virginia needs a comprehensive analysis of its tax structure and future revenue needs. Some of the elements of such a study are described in a Commission study paper prepared by Dr. W. L. Gibson of Virginia Polytechnic Institute.

The Revenue Resources Study Commission is now preparing its report on tax structure. The exact requirements for legislation or further studies must, of course, await an examination of this report.

7. Strengthening State Government

Virginia needs to give continuing study to the organization and procedures of its state government with particular attention to its ability to carry out the policies previously recommended.

The legislation establishing the Division of State Planning and Community Affairs gives that agency the responsibility for conducting organizational studies of the state government. The Commission recommends that the Division of State Planning and Community Affairs be authorized to make a study aimed at strengthening the organization of state government and that such additional funds for staff or consultants to carry it out be appropriated to the Division.

Strengthening the Planning and Service District Programs

The planning and service district programs enacted as a result of the work of the Metropolitan Areas Study Commission are equally as important to the rural areas as they are to the metropolitan areas. Rural areas need multi-county planning as a basis for intelligent future development. Indeed, it is possible that the service districts will be used more extensively in rural areas because they offer one way for a locality to cooperate and overcome the problem of being too small to act separately. What one rural county cannot afford to do separately—such as hire a building inspector or build a vocational school—can be done by several counties acting together. The multi-county industrial development, education and health vocational programs in the Southwest counties give ample evidence of the strength of a cooperative approach. These counties have very severe economic and planning problems, but they are attacking them successfully through voluntary, cooperative efforts.

The Commission encourages rural counties to participate in the planning and service district programs.

Interstate development planning is important in the Bristol and the Bluefield areas. The Commission recommends that the law be amended to permit the dele-

gations of planning district functions to an interstate body.

The Urban Assistance Incentive Fund at least should have a rural counterpart. A better approach would be to create a single and much larger fund to provide state incentive grants for innovative projects in community development and local government. Examples of the kinds of project that might be underwritten on a demonstration basis are:

—developing and implementing a rural housing and building code program.

—using school buses to take the elderly to local health clinics.

—a rural county public affairs program that would disseminate information on state and local government programs.

The present Urban Assistance Incentive Fund of \$100,000 for two years is too small. Preparing proposals and pursuing grants is expensive and time-consuming. It is likely that many municipalities are discouraged from applying because of the limited assistance available.

The Commission recommends that the Urban Assistance Incentive Fund be renamed the Community Development Incentive Fund and that the level of annual appropriations be immediately increased to at least \$1,000,000.

C. NATURAL RESOURCES POLICY

One of the Commission's charges was to make recommendations on policy for the development of the state's natural resources. Particular concerns were water supply, air and water pollution and soil and mineral resources.

It did undertake a brief survey of the soil, water and air resources with the assistance of the Virginia Soil and Water Conservation Commission. Many state and local agencies are active in this field and extensive programs are underway

that will influence the development and conservation of these resources.

Some overall state policies are needed to guide program implementation, but the Commission's study is far too preliminary to suggest a natural resources policy. This should be a part of the Rural Affairs Study Commission's continuing study. As the Virginia Soil and Water Conservation Commission observed in its report, a further assessment of the Commonwealth's needs and problems should be made. This ought to be coordinated with the work on the state wide development policy to assure that natural resource planning is consistent with economic and population projections.

This Commission views with concern the apparent conflict which is devel-

oping between those interested in preserving our natural estate and those who would develop our resources. The Commission calls upon the General Assembly and the responsible agencies of the state to guide the multi-purpose development of our resources for the social and economic benefit of all citizens of the Commonwealth, taking into consideration the advisability of preserving its natural beauty where possible.

In addition to the need for further study, the Commission has identified, as a result of the hearings and the survey, several needs that should receive priority attention:

1. Water Resource Development

Virginia has a program of small watershed development. The current construction of these projects is financed largely by Federal Funds. This program is administered at the state level by the Virginia Soil and Water Conservation Commission and carried out at the local level through the Soil and Water Conservation Districts in cooperation with the U. S. Department of Agriculture Soil Conservation Service. Whenever feasible, water impoundment structures should be built for multipurpose uses. Many times water for industry, public consumption, recreation and flood control can be accomplished by the same structure. Seven of Virginia's watershed developments have included municipal storage for various local units of government. The municipal storage is financed by the locality. There are other localities which need water, but they realized the need for municipal water storage too late for inclusion in a watershed development plan. To help meet this need the Commission recommends the establishment of a special revolving fund to develop small watershed projects in Virginia. This fund could be established by an amendment to the Soil and Water Conservation Districts Law.

In order to preserve dam sites needed for watershed development, the Commission recommends that an inventory be made of available dam sites. Much of this work has been completed and the Virginia Soil and Water Conservation Commission has requested \$10,000 a year to compile the available information and complete a state wide inventory.

Since the availability of a water supply of adequate quality and quantity is important to the future well-being of Virginia, the Commission recommends full support for the current river basin studies underway, and encourages the establishment of an appropriate river basin policy, based on information available at the completion of the river basin studies now in progress.

Virginia's laws regarding the use of water have developed over the century through common and statute law. This kind of historical and fragmented development creates the danger of omission and inconsistency. There is an inadequate legal base covering ground and surface water rights. Present day community and individual pollution problems make it necessary to rethink traditional notions of water rights. There is a need for a complete study of the Commonwealth's water laws. The Commission recommends that the Virginia Code Commission be directed to codify the water laws of Virginia.

2. Soil Survey and Mapping Program

The present soil survey and mapping program is progressing more slowly than the needs for modern soils information. The Commission of the Industry of Agriculture recommended that Federal, state and local government agencies support the detailed soil surveys to assure that the work will be accelerated with a goal of completion by 1990.

The Commission recommends that the Commonwealth develop a master plan for completing the soil survey and mapping program by 1990.

The master plan would establish geographic area priorities for surveying and mapping. The Commission recommends an additional appropriation of

\$250,000 a year to be used on a matching fund basis with localities to encourage completion by 1990.

To accelerate the program will require more soil scientists and technicians than are presently available. Soil studies are vital to many kinds of development planning. Therefore, the Commission recommends the establishment of a scholar-ship program to encourage young people to enter this field.

3. River Bank and Shoreline Erosion

At the Accomac and Tappahannock hearings, the Commission learned that stream bank and shoreline erosion are very serious problems in Eastern Virginia. Farms, homes and historic properties simply are being washed away. The Virginia Soil and Water Conservation Commission should be directed to investigate this problem further and make program recommendations to the General Assembly. An additional budget of \$19,000 a year for the initial research is recommended.

4. Agriculture and Forestry

One of the greatest challenges is to promote an understanding of the industrial nature of agriculture. Today its economic structure extends throughout our economy and our society. Collectively, its economic contributions approach \$3.0 billion. It is an industry having approximately \$11.5 billion of capital invested and provides employment for approximately 340,000 people.

Agriculture, including forestry, is especially significant to rural Virginia because it is in these areas that it continues to provide a large share of the econom base. In 1964, Virginia farmers produced from the land \$663 million crops and livestock products, including \$95 million worth of trees harvested from

Virginia's timberlands.

By almost any measure the industry of agriculture is a major business in Virginia and has the potential for growing larger. It needs to be strengthened and improved wherever possible, particularly as it relates to the vitality of our rural areas.

The Commission was repeatedly told during its public hearings about the critical situation facing the forest industry because the annual cutting of soft woods exceeds the annual growth by 15 per cent. The pulp-wood industry in 1967 used 460,000 cords of chips to reduce wood waste. The Commission learned that the 10 per cent of the timberlands owned by the commercial timber holders are being managed at a fairly high level of productivity; while the 75 per cent owned by non-industry private owners could be managed to produce at a much higher level. Of the land owned by non-industry private land owners, 44 per cent is in small tracts and the farmers are unable to get the reforestation accomplished either because they are not financially able to do so, or are unable to secure services of competent persons with the proper equipment.

The Division of Forestry is doing a magnificent job in bringing these facts to the attention of the land owners. However, only a small percentage of the

cutover land is being reforested under the present Seed Tree Law.

It is thought by many that the only solution to the problem is through cooperative efforts by the public, by industry and the non-industrial timberland owner. The pine-using forest industry has agreed voluntarily to request the 1970 General Assembly that the present manufacturer's tax on wood products be increased by 20 cents per cord of pulpwood and by 50 cents per cutover land for reforesting and for planting tree seedlings. This additional Forest Products Tax is estimated to yield about \$535,000 per year and when matched by an appropriation from the General Fund would total approximately \$1,070,000 per year for use in carrying out intensified reforestation practices.

The Commission is not in possession of detailed provisions of the proposed legislation. However, we are in agreement that necessary action must be taken to

preserve this vast industry, which is of such vital importance to the economy of rural Virginia, by reason of the thousands of jobs it provides and the millions of dollars in income to rural people. We recommend and support the concept of such proposals to the General Assembly.

5. Solid Waste Disposal and the Environment

The Commission recognizes the need for strenuous efforts to protect the rural environment. We encourage the General Assembly, in its study on solid waste disposal, to give particular attention to the problems of litter and solid waste disposal in rural areas. There is a need for waste disposal systems and sanitary landfill operations. The Commission further urges close coordination of all efforts concerned with water and air pollution and solid waste disposal.

D. CONTINUATION OF THE COMMISSION

The Commission's final recommendation is a request to the General Assembly that the Rural Affairs Study Commission be continued as presently constituted for an additional two years. In this report, the need for additional research and study has been identified many times. It is our belief that with the work we have already done the Commission can carry out many of these studies, with the assistance of state agencies.

The recommendations in this report may not conform to the usual product of study commissions. They do not rely heavily on legislation or new program money. Some of both will be required. But, the Rural Affairs Study Commission believes the basic legal authority and the financial resources needed to solve the problem of population imbalance between metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas already can be found within existing programs of state and local government. The primary need is to mobilize these resources and to turn these present activities to the task of improving the quality of life in the non-metropolitan areas. If the rural areas offer relatively equal advantages in housing, education, health and employment, they will grow.

E. TRENDS IN RURAL AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Achieving a better balance between rural and urban areas is a national concern. Since the industrial revolution, cities have been growing and country people have supplied the growth. Migration, from abroad and from the farms, worked to the advantage of both the migrant and the cities. Migrants left the farm in search of economic opportunity and found it in the cities with their vast demands for labor in the factories and the offices.

In Virginia and elsewhere, the first half of this century saw the development of farming methods and equipment that greatly increased the farmer's productivity and consequently reduced the demand for farm labor. Mining and forestry faced similar changes. Ghost towns and deserted farms were the result. For a while the increasing mechanization of both farm and city life created a countervailing demand for labor in the state's cities—Richmond, Roanoke, Norfolk and others. There were more factories to man. Increasing demands for services of all kinds meant jobs and work for more plumbers, secretaries, orthodontists and insurance brokers.

But somewhere along the way things got out of balance. The depression, the Second World War and the continuing technical revolution in agriculture increased the rate of country to city migration. There were few jobs anywhere during the depression. With the coming of the Second World War, both farm and factory consumed all the available labor. But the cities and the factories were changing too. After the war a new pattern began to emerge. Changes as far-ranging as computer-controlled assembly lines, automatic elevators and dishwashers spelled fewer and fewer jobs for the unskilled.

Now those who could not find work on Virginia's farms came to the cities in search of opportunities that were no longer there. The unskilled faced a grim choice. The rural areas offered no employment or seasonal and low-wage employment. The cities offered more of the same, but with the marginal compensation of higher and more accessible welfare payments. This was the setting, but the results do not lend themselves to any simple description of what happened. Many poor and unskilled people, both black and white, did move to the cities. Many stayed behind. Furthermore, the skilled, talented and highly employable also joined the migration stream. With the bulk of their college and high school graduates going to the big cities, the rural counties have a critically unbalanced population. Their populations are older, less skilled and poorer than those of the Commonwealth's metropolitan areas.

What happened in Virginia happened nation-wide. However, Virginia industrialized and urbanized later than many of the Eastern Seaboard states. (The comparative rates of growth and urbanization are shown in Table 1.) Consequently, its former role in the migration stream was that of a source of agricultural and rural migrants to other states. Now Virginia is growing rapidly and becoming increasingly an urban, industrial state. Hundreds of thousands of people are moving to Virginia's cities from rural areas and small towns within the Commonwealth and from outside.

TABLE 1

	TOTAL PO	PULATION	% Growth From Previous Decade			
	U. S.	Virginia	U.S.	Virginia	U.S.	Virginia
1969 estimates201	1 921 000	4,669,000	12.6	17.7 .		
1960179		3,954,429	18.5	19.2	63.1 (69.9) ^b	48.9 (55.8) ^b
1950151	,325,798	3,318,680	14.5	23.9	59.6 (64.0) b	41·4 (47.0) ^b
1940132	2,164,566	2,677,773	7.3	10.6	56.5	35.3
1930123	3,202,624	2,421,851	16.2	4.9	56.2	32.4
1920106	,021,537	2,309,187	15.0	12.0	51.2	29,2
1910 92		2,061,612	21.0	11.2	45.7	23.1

^aU. S. Census Definition of Urban.

 $^b\mathrm{In}$ 1950 the U. S. Census revised its definition of urban. The % figures in parentheses represent the current census definition.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Census of Population, 1960

From the middle of the 17th century until 1940, Virginia's rate of growth was slower than that of the nation. Since that time it has been growing at a faster rate, 17.7% since 1960, compared with the national rate of 12.6%.

Up until the 1960's this new growth was largely concentrated in the urban corridor stretching from Washington, D. C., to Richmond, then on to Hampton Roads. More recently, the smaller cities and metropolitan areas in the Great Valley and Southside have begun to grow rapidly. Nearly 60% of Virginia's new manufacturing jobs since 1960 have been located outside Virginia's metropolitan areas.

With these brightening prospects why should a study commission be concerned about migration to the cities, rural ghost towns or rural-urban balance? Quite simply, the new trends in Virginia are evidence of opportunity, evidence that the problems can be solved. They do not signal that the state's problems have been solved or that they will solve themselves. Virginia lags behind the nation in personal income, educational achievement, life expectancy at birth and quality

of housing to name a few of the indices of well-being. Where Virginia lags behind the nation, the state's rural areas lag behind the cities. Many of these lags are the result of the imbalance of population.

Virginians need to be concerned about the patterns of growth and migration because past and continuing concentration in a few large metropolitan centers work to the disadvantage of both urban and rural residents.

The tenant farmer moves from the Northern Neck to Richmond in search of work, a better house and a better school for his children, and finds poor housing, crowded schools and no work.

A recent VPI engineering graduate, born and raised on a Southside farm, moves to Alexandria to his new job in a research and development firm but also finds it hard to locate housing at a reasonable price. He also faces a three-quarters of an hour trip to and from his place of work, six miles from his home.

A dairy farmer cannot find reliable help at a price he can afford to pay.

A small businessman in town in the Southwest with a shrinking population faces the dual dilemma of a shrinking number of customers at his store and a rising local tax bill to pay for needed improvements to his local schools, sewerage system and water supply.

A businessman in the center city finds vandalism and traffic congestion in his present location, plus the lack of land for expansion. He moves his plant to a suburban site. Some of his employees who live in the city must quit because they are unable to obtain transportation they can afford.

An unemployed miner gets government help to learn welding, moves to Norfolk and a new job. He soon becomes discouraged, far from family and familiar surroundings, quits and goes back home.

A man born and raised in Northern Virginia finds life increasingly unpleasant in a rapidly growing and more crowded metropolis.

A widow in a Southwest Virginia mountain cabin finds her family and friends have all died or moved away. She is cut off, without resources, and does not know where to turn.

These are not separate problems. They are all part of the same problem, a problem of population imbalance—too few people to build a proper school in one place; too many to school properly in another. It is a problem of want in the face of plenty; of people with marginal diets in a rich agricultural state; of jobs going begging and people without jobs because they lack the skills, are in the wrong place or lack the inclination because of years of frustration.

Congestion on one hand and depopulation on the other create city and rural problems. People are concerned about the continuing concentration of population in a few large metropolitan areas in Virginia and nationally. The Rural Affairs Study Commission's concerns extend, therefore, not only to the rural people, but to those of the urban and metropolitan areas as well. The search is for a more pleasing, efficient and a healthier pattern of population distribution.

Only recently have we been able to talk about what kind of settlement pattern we would prefer. People had to live where they could find a livelihood even if this meant living in a teeming urban slum or in the middle of a desert. There was little choice. In Virginia, the nation and in the world, the dispersal and concentration of people was really the story of economic changes. People moved to mines, to factory jobs and to new tillable lands. Both rural and urban industry had a very narrow choice of location dictated by economic and natural laws. A vegetable farmer had to be within a day's carting distance of a city. A mine was where the good coal seam was found. Factories were located near raw materials and power.

Life was not easy in the city or the country. If one wants to feel a sense of relief about our present problems, one should read about life in the 1800's in

the mining towns, in the industrial cities of England or in the teeming port of New York. Dickens, Zola and Stephen Crane have all written vividly about how ugly and unpleasant life could be in the cities as people crowded in from the rural areas.

But today industry, like people, is much more mobile. It is not bound to a few locations where it can operate economically. Some industries, such as button wholesaling, are closely bound to a three or four block area in a single city, New York. But many industries could, with nearly equal advantage, pick a site in any hundreds of small or large cities.

Like previous decades and centuries, both urban and rural living have their advantages and disadvantages, but businesses, communities and individuals have more choices than they did in the past. Businesses can move to small towns; people can move to the city or commute from their rural home to a job in town; communities can take action and improve their future prospects.

Congestion in the big cities and population loss in the country both cause major problems. But we are not stuck with them. Virginia, like the rest of the

United States, can achieve a healthier pattern of growth.

F. WHAT IS GROWTH?

In the United States we have often equated population growth with "good" and population loss with "bad." Community leaders do tend to equate their well-being with the numbers in the U. S. Census of Population. During the Rural Affairs Study Commission's hearings we heard some of them speak with concern about population loss, while others expressed optimism about population gains. Community leaders should not measure their success in development by population growth, but rather by increases in standard of living of the people in the community.

There is nothing basically good or bad about how many people live on a square mile of land. The important test is how well they live. The only valid reason for concern about shifts in population is that either the people who move

or the people left behind are less well off than before.

The idea that population growth *per se* is a good and necessary thing has been a major force in misdirecting area development efforts. Federal and state programs were aimed at helping communities that chronically lost population. There are sound reasons for the urbanization and movement of people. Not every town can grow. The economic prospects for some communities have changed so drastically that there can be little hope for population growth and an economic revival.

The basic concern of the Rural Affairs Study Commission has not been where people live, but how well they live. This, of course, is related to patterns of settlement. Both overcrowding and overdispersion can lead to reduced standards of living.

If people move to the large cities and thereby improve their lot, that is good. If a town loses population but the standard of living of those left behind improves,

that is also good.

The goal of the Rural Affairs Study Commission is not only population growth in non-metropolitan areas, but also improvement of the standard of living of the people of Virginia, no matter where they choose to live.

G. A BETTER WAY OF LIFE—THE KEY TO MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

People move in search of better lives for themselves and their families. Their search explains the settlement at Jamestown in 1607 and the movement today of Negroes out of rural areas and into the cities.

Moves and migrations have not always worked out well, of course. While

the search is for a better life, chance and imperfect information play roles in frustrating hopes. Some of those who moved west were motivated by stories of gold in the hills and ended up dying of disease or a more violent end. Nonetheless, they were looking for something better.

More recently, people have been moving to the cities for the same reasons. They were looking for jobs or better jobs, a better school or even a more hospitable welfare climate. Quite often the cities fulfilled these hopes; often, too, they have frustrated them. The schools were no better; the job was not there;

the city proved inhospitable and alien.

While people move about in search of a better life and businesses seek more profitable locations, neither is perfectly mobile, especially over the short run. A business cannot move about in search of lower labor costs if it has a major capital investment in plant and machinery in its present location. Family ties, lack of money, ignorance of opportunities elsewhere, and fear of change can keep people from moving even if it appears to an outsider that it would be logical for them to do so.

The movement of people and businesses are of course tied together. People have trekked across oceans and across this country in search of jobs. As we noted earlier, another kind of movement can now be seen. Industries are less tied to a specific piece of geography. Businesses now move in search of workers. A computer software company moves to a location where its highly skilled professional employees want to live. A garment factory moves to a small town location where labor costs and transportation costs are lower.

Within the limitation cited above, the future growth of Virginia's most metropolitan areas and most rural areas will depend largely on their relative advantages

as places to live, to work and to raise a family.

It is to the present distinctions between metropolitan and rural areas that we now turn our attention.

H. THE CITY AND THE COUNTRY AS PLACES TO LIVE AND TO WORK

Any attempt to cite the advantages and disadvantages of the city and the rural areas must certainly be prefaced with the warning that they are generalizations and averages. Some people live in splendor in Virginia's largest cities and in its more remote areas. At both ends of the settlement spectrum we also can find

squalor. Millions live in between, in income and in degree of rurality.

This said, however, a quick look at the statistics indicates that the people living in the more rural areas lag behind the cities and the suburbs in many important ways. Rural areas lag in the caliber of their schools and the educational attainment of their people. They lack doctors and hospitals. Rural housing and rural income are, in the aggregate, much lower. These give some indication of why so many people would leave the rural areas and move to the cities. The education and health care statistics provide a chilling warning that unless special attention is given to these needs in rural areas, in generation after generation a portion of the Commonwealth's rural people will be ill-equipped physically and intellectually to compete in the modern world.

Statistics by themselves can, of course, be very misleading. They can provide verification of other information or useful clues for study. In the material that follows, the statistics confirm the statements of witnesses at the public hearings

and the professional judgments of the Commission's consultants.

1. EDUCATION

There are few people left, we suppose, who need to be sold on the virtues of education. An individual's happiness, independence, his wealth and productivity depend to an increasing degree upon the amount and the quality of the education he receives.

The 1960 Census showed that while the most rural counties had 15% of the Virginians 25 and older, they had 25% of those in that age group who had not completed five years of school. In contrast, the suburban metropolitan counties had 23% of the population 25 and over, but only 11% of those with less than a 5th grade education.

It is not surprising that rural people show a lower level of educational

achievement.

There are several reasons for these historical differences:

1) Formerly, most of the jobs in rural areas were for the unskilled.

2) The educated migrated to the cities.

3) The uneducated stayed behind.

The more significant problem is that poor performance with present and future school children will produce a generation of people ill-equipped to earn a living in the working world they will enter. Failure here produces individuals who are a drain on society rather than producers and taxpayers.

Good measures of the quality of educational systems are lacking. We must rely on secondary measures in most cases. These are measures of what is put in, not what comes out in student achievement at the other end. Studies elsewhere have indicated a high correlation between achievement and inputs. Standard test results give tentative evidence of such a correlation in Virginia.

TABLE 2

Average Per School District	Most	Lesser Influ		Metropolitan Counties	Metropolitan	
	Rural	Counties	Cities	(Suburban)	Cities	
% of instructional staff with degree	82.5	85.8	93.5	90.7	96.0	
% of instructional staff with regular certificates	81.0	85.0	94.0	95.0	95.0	
# of high school courses offered	49.7	61.3	67.9	76.4	85.0	
Local expenditure per pupil	\$181	\$170	\$270	\$266	\$313	
% dropouts	5.1	5.5	5.1	3.6	6.0	
Graduates as a % of first grade enroll- ment 12 yrs. earlier*	30.0	44.7	56.0	94.3	56.0	

^{*}These figures may be distorted because of rural-to-urban and city-to-suburb migration. Source: RASC Study Paper "Status of Education in Rural Virginia," Dr. Eugene Hoyt.

We do not have any good direct measure of the quality of rural and urban schools, but both the public hearings and the statistics offer the following:

—Rural schools are less successful in attracting and retaining teachers because of salary, working conditions and professional advancement.

—Rural schools lack vital specialists in such fields as reading and guidance (Early reading problems compound their detrimental effects and fre-

quently lead to dropouts; prompt attention by a qualified specialist could mean the difference between a dropout and a graduate). Occupational guidance is vital; it can acquaint the rural student with the wide variety of growing employment fields and keep him away from training for obsolete occupations.

- —Rural people put 12% of their per capita income into their schools, the same percentage as the metropolitan cities, but this produces only \$181 per pupil in the most rural areas, as compared to \$313 in the metropolitan
- —Rural schools send a lower percentage of their graduates on to college and vocational schools. It should be noted that there has been a significant improvement in both metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas over the past ten years. Nonetheless, in the non-metropolitan areas only half of the students go on to post high school education. There is still significant room for improvement so all Virginia's young people have either a vocational or college opportunity. The rural and small-town youth without a college or vocational school nearby is less likely to go to school than the city youth, family incomes being equal. He would have to face either expensive commuting or boarding.

pensive commuting or boarding.

Educational television is still lacking in several rural areas of the state, including the Southwest and the Eastern Shore.

TABLE 3.

Subject	Most Rural	Lesser Urban Influence	Metropolitan Counties	Metropolitan Cities
% going on to college 1958-59	21.12	29.19	48.52	47.77
% going on to college 1968	32.38	43.63	63.68	54.26
% going on to other post high school study 1958-1959	7.65	6.34	5.37	4.56
% going on to other post high school study 1968	14.22	11.83	7.50	8.22
1968 September 4th grade scholastic aptitude index	91.3	96.8	103.3	95.9
1967 March 4th grade scholastic achievement scores	4 yrs. 6 mos.	4 yrs. 8 mos.	5 yrs. 3 mos.	4 yrs. 8 mos.

Source: RASC Study Paper, "Status of Education in Rural Virginia," Dr. Eugene Hoyt.

2. Health

The rural areas lag behind the urban areas in available medical facilities and personnel.

The statistics below bear witness to this statement, but far more significant are the statements the Commission heard at the Blacksburg Conference on June 2nd. Dr. William Thurman of the University of Virginia Medical School took issue with the statement that the distinctions between urban and rural areas were disappearing. Rural was easy to define from the point of view of his profession. Rural areas, he said, are where there are no doctors.

At Tappahannock, Mr. Charles J. Sedivy said, "We have no doctor and those of you who live somewhere near where you can get to a doctor don't realize how

TABLE 4

FACILITIES AND PERSONNEL PER 100,000 PEOPLE	Most Rural	Lesser Urban Influence Counties and Cities	Metropolitan Counties (Suburban)	Metropolitan Cities	U.S.
Active physicians (1968):	41.3	117.0	137.5	98.3	135.1
Active registered nurses—(1968)	75.7	240.0	310.2	168.0	
General hospital beds (1968)	119.1	430.6	57.5	640.4	399.0
Bassinets	10.4	58.1	6.0	63.2	
Nursing Convalescent Homes	84.3	157.7	62.7	249.5	

Source: RASC Study Paper "Health Care in Virginia," by Richard Powers, Ph.D., and Michael Daugherty.

acute it is until you have lived without one for so many years. When you're sick, then you have to get in your car and drive for so many miles".

At Lynchburg, Warrenton and Accomac, we heard the story of rural areas trying to obtain a physician. Some communities built homes and clinics and still could not retain a doctor.

In facilities—hospital beds, infant care and convalescent homes—the rurality is an index of care available. The metropolitan and non-metropolitan cities are where the hospitals are located. This is obvious. The urban centers can support a hospital. The most desirable kind of situation from the point of view of health professionals and economics is a clustering of health facilities of all kinds in an urban center. The answer is not to put small hospitals in small towns. A 25 or 50 bed hospital cannot offer comprehensive hospital services. It would be better to build upon the base the state has in its present urban hospitals and concentrate on the provision of health services to rural areas through clinics and improved transportation.

Like education, we have far better information on health inputs (doctors

and hospital beds) than outputs (how healthy are rural people?).

One of the most significant measures we now have that seems reliable (not distorted because of the different age distributions of rural and urban populations) is infant deaths per 1,000 live births. These figures, shown in Table 5 below, indicate an infant death rate in rural areas half again as high as the suburbs.

TABLE 5

	Most Rural	Lesser Urban Influence Counties and Cities	Metropolitan Counties (Suburban)	Metropolitan Cities
Infant deaths per 1,000 live births, 1967	30.2	24.3	20.2	25.4

Source: RASC Study Paper "Health Care in Virginia," by Richard Powers, Ph.D., and Michael Daugherty.

Better data is needed on the health characteristics of Virginians, rural and urban. The Department of Health is currently conducting a survey in Loudoun

County that will produce a scientific health profile of the people of that county. It will be possible to correlate their health problems with their economic and social characteristics. The Department is also considering similar surveys in several Southwestern Virginia counties. These surveys in the Southwest and in Loudoun County will also produce data on dietary deficiencies in the population. Although questions have frequently been raised about malnutrition in rural areas, we have not addressed that problem because no information is available on which to base program recommendations. The Department of Health is now gathering this data.

3. Housing

The third disadvantage of rural areas is the quality of the housing supply. The most reliable information available, the 1960 Census of Housing, revealed that in some rural counties as many as 7 out of 10 houses were in need of replacement or repair. The same figures show 330,000 or 28 per cent of Virginia's families living in substandard houses. Here again the higher concentrations of substandard housing are in the rural areas.

TABLE 6

	Most Rural	Lesser Urban Influence Counties and Cities	Metropolitan Counties (Suburban)	Metropolitan Cities
1960, % of Housing that is sound and has plumbing	39.5	45.9 70.9	85.0	78.8

Source: 1960 Census of Housing.

Of course, a large number of new homes have been added to the housing stock since 1960. An estimated 400,000 new houses have been built since 1960; add to this mobile home sales of 55,000 units. But the dramatic growth in the Commonwealth's population—700,000 more people since 1960—plus continuing deterioration of the housing stock, almost certainly means that several hundred thousand families still do not have adequate housing.

Francis Moravitz, our housing consultant, estimates the 1970 Census will show 300,000 Virginia families living in substandard homes with 100,000 of these in the "most rural" counties.

Obviously most of the families in unsound deteriorating houses are either poor or have incomes bordering on poverty. There are several programs aimed at providing low- or moderate-income housing, but the rural counties have not participated in them.

- —Not one of the 49 most rural counties has had a public housing project in the 32-year history of the program.
- —Not one has had a rental assistance project.

On the other side of the ledger, 2,203 of the 5,232 Virginia families aided by the Farmers Home Administration direct loan program lived in the most rural counties.

Rising costs are making it more difficult for everyone to find housing. The problem is especially severe for low-income families. Mr. Moravitz also estimates that the 300,000 housing units needed to replace the sub-standard homes represent an investment demand of \$4.5 billion. The investment capital required is beyond the present capacity of the private market to handle.

One way to provide more low- and moderate-income housing is a state

housing corporation, such as the one recently established in North Carolina. The basic function of the North Carolina Corporation is to use the state's tax exempt borrowing power to obtain funds to loan mortgage capital through private lending institutions for lower-income housing. Essentially, the Corporation provides capital so private lenders can make home building and some mortgage loans they can not now afford to make. The specific functions of the Corporations are:

- To purchase Federally-insured mortgages.
- To make or participate in the making of Federally-insured construction
- To provide technical advisory services to builders and developers, including market information.
- To provide advisory services to families, both with respect to the achievement of new or improved housing and the proper maintenance of such
- To promote research and development in scientific methods of constructing low-cost residential housing of high durability. The mortgages would be guaranteed by regular VA and FHA programs.

The Corporation in North Carolina is expected to be self-sustaining and its borrowing is not backed by the full faith and credit of the State. Its money comes from the bonds issued and from gifts, grants and borrowing secured only by the Corporation itself. Fees and repayments of the loans are used to retire the obligations.

The Corporation serves not only as a financing source to supplement the private market, but also as a catalyst for developing of local housing programs and as a source of technical assistance. A very important feature of the financing program is that it covers the preconstruction and land development and construction phases as well as permanent financing. Without this feature a development could fail because it could not get the essential temporary financing or vica versa.

Further details on this Corporation are set forth in Mr. Moravitz's study paper on housing.

4. TRANSPORTATION

Our analysis of the transportation field was necessarily brief. A study of facility and service needs would take time and funds beyond what we had available. From our survey research and the hearings, the following impressions emerge:

- -Virginia has a valuable economic resource in its extensive rail network. It can offer freight service at a wide variety of sites to industrial prospects. However, passenger service for intercity travel and family commuting is almost non-existent.
- —The Commonwealth has a good system of airports, but facilities and commercial service need to be expanded to serve some parts of the state.
- -Hampton Roads and other deep water ports continue to provide Virginia with a major asset for industrial development.
- —The Interstate Highway System and the Arterial System (including Appalachian Development Highways) are opening up many areas of the state to high speed automobile and truck travel. This is an important asset in industrial development, tourism and in daily commuting from rural areas to urban jobs. Buses provide intercity transportation, but daily commuting service is limited.

On the problem side, we must place the following:

- —The Commission heard considerable testimony about the poor quality of rural roads. Many people in rural areas are served only by unpaved roads that are impassable during some months of the year. School buses cannot get through. People cannot drive to work.
 - We do not have statistics on how many are served only by unpaved roads, but the situation described by local officials and rural residents at the hearings seems the natural outcome of a highway improvement program geared to current highway use in rural counties. The allocation formulae and construction rules implicitly give lower priorities to rural areas and sometimes make it impossible to get a road. These formulae were developed in 1932.
- —Access to an automobile is a necessity for rural people. They are not served by public transportation. Everyone must be able to get to town to shop or to see a doctor. The need to own an automobile to obtain the basic necessities of life is particularly hard on poor people. In a letter to the Commission, the Reverend R. Baldwin Lloyd of Appalachia South said,

"As for transportation, the poor are caught in a double bind. Especially in areas such as Blacksburg where there is much construction and growth going on, poor families in communities are pushed out as new housing for the middle class moves in. So the poor find themselves further away from their work and dependent on transportation in order to go to their jobs. However, in rural areas there is virtually no public transportation available. Therefore, it is almost imperative that they own a car themselves. But they cannot afford a good car and are constantly accruing costs trying to keep their four wheels going."

The junk car in the front yard, in the stream and on the road, is all too common a sight in the country.

There is a heavier concentration of older people with low incomes in the rural areas. They either pay a very high price for a trip to town or do without medical care (or even food).

Special attention must be given to the transportation problem of rural areas. By definition they are distant from vital services and from many nonfarm jobs. Here is one area where new approaches and new concepts certainly are needed.

- —In his testimony at the Warrenton hearing, Mr. Rosser Payne said the system for assigning carload lots for rail shipment isolates some communities. The rail siding terminals are assigned by franchise agreements. Carload lots cannot be delivered to some towns by rail, even though they are on the rail line and have a siding. This practice probably developed for historical reasons and should be re-examined.
- —At the Lynchburg public hearing, Mr. Robert E. Johnson told the Commission that the Commonwealth lacks the necessary enabling legislation for interstate parcel service.

Virginia's small- and medium-sized towns have major assets and serious liabilities in transportation. New high speed roads link many of the states, towns and cities, but can people get to work or to a doctor? Can the children get to school? Innovative public transportation systems could free the rural family from the necessity of owning a car they cannot afford and open up access to vital services. Developing these innovative systems should receive high priority for funding from the Community Development Incentive Fund previously recommended.

5. ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

The economy of rural areas is undergoing great changes. The traditional jobs in the agricultural, forestry and mining industries are on the decline for the unskilled. On the other hand, demand exceeds supply for many technical and professional occupations in agriculture.

New opportunities are opening up for rural people. Nearly 60 per cent of the new industrial jobs that have been brought into Virginia since 1960 were located outside the metropolitan areas. Rural people with the requisite skills often can improve their income by switching from farm to factory employment. They can either move to town or commute from their rural residence. Part-time farming is on the increase for this reason.

These new jobs and new income can mean expanded sales for local businesses. Rural areas get less of a multiplier effect from new industrial jobs because people must leave the area to purchase goods and services. That is, in Virginia, generally there are seven people employed in services for every three in agriculture, mining and manufacturing. In the non-metropolitan areas, however, the ratio is approximately one to one. This means that non-metropolitan areas "export" earnings to "import" services. If this money were spent at home, it would increase their neighbor's income. With the Interstate Highway System and other modern highways, people will travel considerable distances to work and to shop. It would not be unusual for people in Wytheville to go to Roanoke to shop. Marion is an hour or less from Bristol.

TABLE 7

	Virginia	Most Rural	Lesser Urban Counties	Influence Cities	Metropolitan Counties (Suburban)	Metropolitan Cities
% of state population 25 and older	100	14.9	23.8	8.9	23.4	29.1
Number of persons 25 and older with less than 5 years of school, as % of state total	100	25.0	34.9	8.5	11.0	20.4
Number of family units as a % of state total.	100	14.4	23.1	8.6	21.9	32.0
Number of families earning less than \$3,000 per yr., as % of state total	100	25.1	32.5	7.4	8.8	26.1
% of family units with less than \$3,000 income	27.8	48.7	39.1	23.9	11.2	22.9
1964 public assistance recipients as a % of 1960 population	1.76	3.32	1.6	6	0.57	2.40

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, City and County Data Book, 1967. All data except the last item are for 1960.

Local businessmen have a larger market area, with more dollars in it than before, but they must also compete with stores many miles away from customers and help.

While opportunities are within reach in the small- and medium-sized cities, the picture has its dark clouds.

There is a heavier concentration of poor and unskilled workers in the rural areas. Here again we must turn to the 1960 Census for comparative facts.

These statistics indicate that nearly half of the families in the most rural areas were poor. While 14 per cent of the state's families were in the most rural areas, 25 per cent of the Commonwealth's poor families were in these 49 counties.

Most of the statistics are for 1960; there has been a major improvement in

Most of the statistics are for 1960; there has been a major improvement in the national and state economies since that time. We must make a mental adjustment for those changes, but two warnings need to be made against too optimistic an adjustment.

- 1) The relative standing of urban and rural areas has not changed very much.
- 2) Today's labor-scarce, inflated economy is no more reliable a planning base than 1960's labor surplus, depressed economy.

The economic lot of hundreds of thousands of Virginians has improved over the past 10 years, but there are estimated to be over one million poor people in the state today. Over half of the poor are in the rural areas.

6. RECREATION AND CULTURAL OPPORTUNITY

Recreation and cultural opportunities available to a family are an important determinant of the richness of their lives. Culture and recreation also are industries that can bring tourists and vacationers. In this section, the concern is what access do rural people have to a wide range of cultural opportunities, including the arts, museums, public libraries and even educational television.

In conventional wisdom we assume that rural areas are rich in recreation opportunities—fishing, hunting, hiking, swimming and camping—and that urban areas are relatively poorer. Symphonies, museums and stage companies require a rather large population to support them. Therefore, we would expect the cities to be the centers for these activities.

A simple locating of recreational and cultural facilities would tend to confirm this horseback judgment. But a change in frame of reference should be made here. All Virginians, urban and rural, share the same recreational resources. A resident of Alexandria or Orange County may camp along the Blue Ridge Parkway. Richmond and Tappahannock sailing buffs go to Reedville. These resources may be potentially available. Of course there is the critical problem, can people get to them? Time, distance and the availability of transportation determine this.

Just as people go to the recreation sites, cultural opportunity can go to the people. Stage companies and symphonies can tour rural schools. Educational television can bring city and farm children a wealth of experiences.

For cultural opportunity and recreation it would seem more useful to talk in terms of the state's assets and then deal with problems of urban and rural access.

Virginia is rich in natural beauty; it offers seashores, mountains, lakes and forests and it is rich in publically-held land for recreation. In 1969, 3,587 square miles of land were potentially available for some kind of outdoor recreation. This is 9 per cent of the total land area of the state. The Federal government holds 80 per cent of these public lands, the state another 10 per cent, with only 1.5 per cent in the hands of local governments. A little over 7 per cent is private land.

The number of acres and square miles of recreation land only tells part of the story. Very little of this land is developed or even accessible to the average person. Most of the Federal lands are concentrated in the western mountains area and are not developed for use by travelers and family campers.

The Virginia Outdoor Recreation Plan uses a standard criterion of acres per unit of population to evaluate the adequacy of recreation resources. Most parts of the Commonwealth make a poor showing. Those that show up well have major but undiversified recreation sites.

Virginia has great natural and historic resources. The historic sites have been developed as a rule, but the natural sites have not been developed by either private business or government agencies for use by vacationers and family campers. Testimony at Accomac and Warrenton bore this out.

An impressive array of cultural opportunities is available in Virginia. The Commonwealth has 61 performing groups, some of which do limited road tours. The Virginia Museum of Fine Arts has a varied program offered through 28 local chapters and a headquarters in Richmond. At the Emporia hearing, Mrs. Miles Hench discussed the work of the Old Dominion Symphony. At Lynchburg, Mr. Nicholas Wreden described the work of another organization—the Virginia State Symphony Orchestra. The great drawing power of the Shenandoah Valley Music Festival was related to the Commission by Mr. David J. Hatmaker at the Warrenton hearing.

These witnesses told us of impressive beginnings, but all of them said that much more needs to be done to put cultural opportunities within the reach of every child and adult in the Commonwealth.

- —There is a shortage of about 1,000 music teachers.
- —Only 11 school districts have strong art programs.
- —Many areas of the state are not now reached by art-mobiles and touring music and theatrical groups.

Two other areas of cultural opportunity are especially important because of their impact on children—educational television and libraries.

Educational television is an important teaching resource for both the home and the classroom. Many more teachers, courses and educational experiences can be brought to the child than could ever be possible in direct face to face teaching. Both rural and urban students could benefit from having, for example, a mathematics professor from the University of Virginia offer a course. But rural students attending schools that have a less extensive curriculum would stand to benefit more.

Two areas in Virginia—the Southwest counties and the Eastern Shore—do not have educational television. In addition, some eight rural counties scattered through the state are not reached.

Libraries are another vital community educational resource. Forty-five Virginia counties lack public libraries. Thirty-two (65 per cent) of the most rural counties have no library. There has been some improvement since the Virginia Library Development Study Commission report in 1967. Then one out of five persons were without a library, now the ratio is one out of six. Public library services lend themselves to area-wide planning. The planning districts could each serve as a focus for public library centers with bookmobiles and inter-library book transfer services. School buildings and school libraries should be used. The community school program, suggested in the recommendations, could bring about a more effective use of existing resources to serve rural people.

7. COMMUNITY SERVICES AND FACILITIES

Towns and cities require many public services. Cities provide them, either because people want them or because they are a necessity when people live close together, or because businesses need them to operate successfully. Some of these have been mentioned, other necessary community facilities include:

SOURCE: RASC Study Paper, "Communication Patterns and Practices in the Commonwealth of Virginia," Harry T. Kolendrianos and G. Brooks Powell, Jr.

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-paved local streets, curbs and sidewalks,
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-street lights,

-sanitary sewers and treatment works,

-storm sewers,

—water works and distribution systems,

-electric power and distribution systems,

-public parking,

—gas distribution systems,

—jails

—fire stations,

—court houses and office buildings.

These represent a massive investment. How much, it is impossible to say with any accuracy, but for each urban resident it is several thousand dollars. We attempted to determine what the capital overhead is for a person living in a large city as opposed to a rural county. This kind of evaluation has not been done anywhere in the United States. Nonetheless, it would seem to be a basic piece of information needed to determine whether it is more economical for people to crowd into a few cities or to disperse into small towns.

Rural areas want paved local service roads and sanitary water and sewerage systems and the other community services and facilities provided in suburban counties and the major cities.

What will it cost to provide these for cities and rural areas:

—at adequate levels for the present population?

—at adequate levels for 1975 or 1980?

(By 1980, Virginia's population is expected to be between 5,785,200 and 6,-036,000 people.)

The Rural Affairs Study Commission cannot answer this public facilities needs question. Nonetheless, an answer is needed so that state and local governments might be equipped with authority and financial resources to build the facilities and provide the services.

Comparative cost figures for capital investments and annual operating costs, using alternate approaches to providing community services in urban and rural settings, are basic to state development planning. This information is not available in Virginia or anywhere else. The extensive research required has not been done. Therefore, we can allege that population concentrated in a few large cities is uneconomical and inefficient; but we cannot prove it; we cannot demonstrate it statistically.

A comprehensive study of public service requirements should be undertaken here in Virginia. Alternative assumptions on degree of metropolitization can be set forth to test how these will affect costs. This study should also explore the effect of public preferences on costs. How much pollution control do the people of Virginia want? What are they willing to pay for?

It would have been desirable for the Rural Affairs Study Commission to provide this information or to have had it to analyze. But a public facility needs study is a major undertaking and one that should be carried out for all areas of the state—rural, urban and metropolitan.

Our brief study of energy by Dr. Richard Powers did reveal a possible difference in projected energy supply and demand. His research should be followed up carefully by power companies and state agencies to assure that Virginia cities and rural areas will have adequate power in the future.

8. STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Finally, we want to examine the institutions of state and local government. They provide most of the education, most of the public facilities, some of the

health care and some of the recreation resources. They can improve the quality of housing. They can and do encourage economic development. In short, the state and local governments play a key role in the quality of urban and rural life.

Here again, rural local governments provide the most rudimentary services through part-time, lay officials. Urban areas have more extensive service programs

with full-time and professional personnel.

Today, rural people are asking local and state governments for the type of services found in cities. Both urban and rural residents want improved services and honest and efficient use of their tax dollars.

How well equipped are the local governments and the Commonwealth government to play the role that Virginians will ask of them in the future?

Do they have the right structure? Do they have the necessary powers? Do they have the financial resources?

a. Local Government

As Mr. Page L. Ingraham observes in his report to the Commission, Virginia's system of local government has several major strengths.

—It has fewer units of local government than many states and the largest population per unit of any mainland state. This is a strength because small

units of local government cannot operate efficiently and effectively.

—It has avoided the overlapping confusion seen in many states by not using many special districts and independent school districts. City-county separation also limits overlap, but it may be a mixed blessing by placing a limit on area-wide programs (for example, a small county school system and a small city system instead of a single large one).

—Virginia cities were the first to use the manager plan to provide professional administration. A number of counties also have professional ex-

ecutives.

Against these strengths we must place the following weaknesses:

—In spite of the basic structure, Virginia has units of local government that are too small to provide comprehensive services. In a business, you have to operate at a certain level before you make a profit. In government, equipment and personnel make the first few units very costly. A county of 10,000 probably cannot support a full-time building inspector or a vocational school or many other vital services. Virginia has 31 counties and cities with populations less than 10,000.

—Sixty-one counties lack any kind of professional executives. This was a

frequently cited problem at the public hearings.

—Local governments rely heavily on the real property tax (over 50 per cent of Virginia's locally raised revenues come from these property taxes). The weaknesses of the real property tax have been extensively reported. It is difficult to assess property equitably, especially in rural areas lacking professional assessors. Furthermore, real property is no longer a good exclusive index of wealth or income. Realistically, the real property tax will be a major source of local revenue, for as far as we can see into the future, but it should be supplemented by other approaches that equitably tax other forms of wealth and income.

—Virginia's independent city system, annexation procedures and low population requirements for incorporation as a city, promote city-county conflicts. Both compete for the high value urban property on the fringe. Going their separate ways, neither a small city nor its adjacent county may have the population or the resources to provide the services their urbanized residents demand. Cooperatively they could. A typical example of the conflict is the case in which a city incorporates out of a county, then asks the county to accept city school children for a tuition payment that

brings the county less than it formerly received in tax revenues from the city area. These problems frequently can mean that small units of govern-

ment provide low levels of service for a relatively high price.

The weaknesses of Virginia's rural county governments can be summarized in two points—a general lack of home rule powers and dispersion of administrative authority and a resulting lack of focus. Home rule means that a locality has the legal authority to determine the organization and the scope of its own local government activity without seeking the approval of the state legislature. In practice, Virginia's local governments fall short of this, although they, in all honesty, have more authority to guide the development of their communities than they have generally used.

b. State Government

The structure of state government was not a matter into which we planned to inquire. An adequate study was simply far beyond our already overtaxed resources.

But in our research in health, education, transportation, recreation and economic development, it was impossible to avoid seeing the need for such a study. In almost every field of inquiry there is a welter of state agencies, commissions and boards that share overlapping or incomplete authority.

There are instances where more than one agency seem to be covering the same subject. There are others where no agency seems to have responsibility. It is difficult and was difficult in the course of our study, to determine what state official is responsible in a given area for formulating policies to present to the Governor and the General Assembly. How are the policies affecting rural areas formulated? How are they carried out?

In education and health alone, we find no state agency with comprehensive authority. It is split among boards, commissions and departments. As usually understood, there is no organization chart. Around 80

boards, agencies and commissions report to the Governor.

If the Governor and the General Assembly adopted a policy on state growth and development, as we have proposed, it would be difficult to implement under the present framework of state government. The executive branch of government of Virginia marches to too many different drums.

I. WHY BOTHER WITH RURAL AREAS?

With these preceding descriptions of the shortcomings of rural areas—lower levels of income, lower quality education, poorer health care and unpaved roads—one runs the danger of concluding that the movement to the cities is a good thing and that the natural movements from rural areas to the metropolitan areas ought to be left unchecked or even encouraged.

There are three reasons at least to reject this notion:

—First, the natural movements may no longer be in that direction. There have been significant changes in growth rates since 1960.

—Second, things are not all that good in the cities, as everyone knows.

Crowding is taking its toll on people and businesses.

—Third, quite a few people do not want to live in the large cities. Forcing them to, even through inaction, would not be in their best interest or the Commonwealth's.

These three reasons for encouraging population growth in the non-metro-

politan areas deserve a few words of elaboration. They provide the setting for the recommendations on state action by this Commission.

1. Changes in Migration Patterns

a. Population

The decade of the 1960's may have witnessed a change in migration. If we could grossly oversimplify the pattern of the previous decade by saying that some people moved out of the rural areas and into the center cities and other people moved out of the center cities and into the suburbs, it will give us a point of departure for looking at these changes. They are changes in the magnitude of the movement and in the kind of movement; they are changes in both, where people live and where industry locates.

The massive migrations caused by the technological advances in agriculture and the displacement of unskilled agricultural workers may be nearing an end in Virginia and in the United States.

As the report of the Commission of the Industry of Agriculture, Opportunities for Virginia Agriculture, observed, the number of farm operators in Virginia has declined by about 150,000 since 1950. It is now estimated that something over 300,000 Virginians live on farms and by 1980, this number will decline to 180,000. This would seem to be about the limit of technological displacement from the farms and from then on out, the competitive position of Virginia farming and Virginia farming products may bring about slight declines or perhaps even increases in farm populations.

During the decade of the 1950's, most of Virginia's population growth took place in the urban corridor that stretches from metropolitan Washington to Richmond and over to Hampton Roads. According to the Bureau of Population and Economic Research at the University of Virginia, the regions along this urban corridor were the only ones to grow in the decade of the 1950's.

Over 90 per cent of the state's growth from 1950 to 1960 was in the corridor. In the 1960's, most of the state reversed the pattern of population decline and is either now static or gaining population.

The state-wide growth during this period was 18.6 per cent. Virginia's population has grown from just under four million at the time of the 1960 Census of population to very nearly 4.7 million. Virginia is growing faster than the United States as a whole. Only two areas of the state, the far southwest and the Eastern Shore, continue to lose population. Nonetheless, the corridor is still the most rapidly growing area. It has had a population increase of nearly 30 per cent since 1960. The northwestern Piedmont, including the area around Charlottesville, the upper Shenandoah area, which includes Harrisonburg, Staunton, Waynesboro and Roanoke and Radford, have also grown by more than 15 per cent since 1960.

Using the four-way categorization of the cities and counties adopted by this Commission, all four classes grew, although at somewhat different rates. The most rural counties have grown by 4.7 per cent since 1960, reversing a previous pattern of decline. The cities and counties of lesser urban influence have grown by 12 per cent, the metropolitan counties by 46 per cent and the metropolitan cities by 15 per cent. These growth rates offer us some good news and some bad news. The good news is that the severe rates of decline seem to have been modified; the bad news is that there is still a very real danger of continued crowding into the urban corridor area.

b. Industry

Businesses also migrate and Virginia has enjoyed a substantial amount of industrial growth during recent years. Jobs increased by approximately 332,000 from 1960 to 1968. The table below shows a breakdown of growth rates by the rural and metropolitan categories

and business categories.

Business has been migrating out of the central cities because of increased labor, transportation and general congestion costs. The predominant movement in the past has been to suburban ring developments, but the Interstate System is opening up many other parts of Virginia and the United States. Industry seems to be seeking locations in the smaller and medium-sized cities. These trends are very encouraging for rural residents because they offer daily commuting possibilities within reach of their present homes.

2. Congestion and Urban Problems

The disadvantages of urban life, which are so much in the news today, are harder to demonstrate statistically than some of the previously cited distinctions between rural and urban areas on income, employment, health care and education. Statistics on noise and congestion just are not collected. Crime statistics certainly show a higher number of crimes for the cities but crime statistics are not collected for all rural areas.

Comparative pollution figures are not available either, but it seems almost certain that urban areas with their higher concentrations of automobiles would be less healthy. However, a few rural towns, of course, have special industries that are heavy polluters of both the water and the air. Statistics are available on the comparative costs of doing business in cities as against rural areas and small towns, but, of course, these must be highly tailored to the individual business.

3. Personal Preferences

Another major reason for being concerned about the movement out of the rural areas and into the cities is that many people would prefer to live in the rural areas if they had an opportunity to do so and if they had access to the jobs and services they require. This life style preference has been a major matter of interest of many of the members during the few

months that we have been working on this study.

There are no specific studies on the preferences of the people of Virginia concerning where they would like to live. The National Electrical Rural Cooperative Association, however, has done such a study for the nation as a whole. This study clearly illustrates the dilemma facing the rural man. He prefers to stay where he is but believes that cities offer him the greatest economic opportunity. For this study a cross-section of one-hundred urban and rural people was interviewed. Only 15 out of the hundred said that they preferred the large cities; 53 preferred the large towns, while 29 spoke in favor of the rural areas. This indicates a general dissatisfaction in the population because over half of the people in the United States live in metropolitan areas and the nation is nearly 70 per cent urban. The study also reported that three out of four of the people living in the rural areas or the small towns were happy where they were while only one out of four people living in the larger cities expressed satisfaction with where they lived.

Of the entire group of interviewees, 62 per cent thought that the cities had higher living costs, 82 per cent thought either the smaller towns or the rural areas were the best place to live, 91 per cent thought the rural

TABLE 8

Distribution of Employment by Industrial Sector

		Мозт % of '60	Most Rural Counties % of Total % Change '60 '68 '60-'68			Cities and Counties of Lesser Urban Influence % of Total % Chr '60 '68 '60-'		METROPOLITAN Co % of Total '60'68		UNTIES % Change '60-'68	METROPOLITAN C % of Total '60'68		Cities % Change '60-'68
35	Agriculture— Mining	32	24	-24	14	9	26	5	2	28	1	1	—22
	Manufacturing	16	21	34	30	33	34	9	11	92	18	18	17
	All other (services)	52	55	10	56	58	26	86	87	61	81	81	20
	Total	100	100	3	100	100	21	100	100	60	100	100	19
	(Amount)	(155,957)	(160,955)	(4,998)	(433,180)	(522,278)	(89,098)	(202,977)	(324,178)	(121,201)	(520,892)	(621,752)	(100,860)

Source: RASC Study Paper, "Job and Business Opportunities," Robert J. Griffis.

areas and small towns were the best place to raise children. On the other hand, 44 per cent thought that the big cities were the best place for a

young man to build a good life for himself.

The import of this seems clear, that if the rural areas were to offer economic, health and education advantages relatively equal to the urban and metropolitan areas, and if rural residents had equality of access to such services, then the rural areas could clearly retain their population. In fact, they could probably attract some of the previous migrants to the larger cities.

4. The Challenge

In the United States today, we face too many problems that are insolvable with our present knowledge and financial resources. This is not the case with the challenge given to the Rural Affairs Study Commission. Virginia can achieve a better economic and population balance between urban and rural areas and, thereby, improve the lot of both city and county dweller.

Some new legislation will be required, but the General Assembly has

already authorized most of the programs and the basic institutions.

More money will be needed, but a more important consideration is

the way present funds are being used.

Continuing research and analysis are needed to investigate more thoroughly many of the problems that we have only superficially examined.

But the basic objective of a more balanced pattern of settlement can be achieved, if Virginians decide that is what they want and turn their state and local governments to the task of achieving it.

J. SIGNATURES OF MEMBERS

Lyman C. Harrell, Jr., Chairman

D. Woodrow Bird Bare A. Abiflet

D. Woodrow Bird, Vice-Chairman

D. Woodrow Bird, Vice-Chairman

Earl J. Shiflet

D. French Slaughter, Jr.

Milliam E. Blalock

Lawrence R. Thompson

Leslie D. Campbell Jr.

Daniel G. Van Clief

Orby L. Cantrell

Mrs. W. E. Warren

Mrs. W. E. Warren

Maurice B. Rowe

J. D. Downing

W. E. Skelton

William H. Groseclose

William H. Groseclose

T. Edward Temple

Mayrief

T. Edward Temple

We concur in the objectives of the report and in the majority of the Commission's recommendations, but reserve the right to depart from the Commission's specific legislative proposals during the session of the General Assembly.

APPENDIX I

COUNTY AND CITY CLASSIFICATIONS

In order to provide a uniform use of the term rural for statistical analysis in the study papers prepared for the Commission, the cities and counties of the Commonwealth have been divided into four classifications.

- A. Most Rural Counties. Those without a city or town of 3,500 within or on their borders. Virginia has 49 such counties.
- B. Cities and Counties of Lesser Urban Influence: Non-metropolitan cities and non-metropolitan counties with a city or town of 3,500 or more within or on their borders. Virginia has 61 cities and counties so classified.
- C. Metropolitan Counties: Those classified as Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (S.M.S.A.'s) by the Bureau of the Budget. Virginia has 12 such counties.
- D. Metropolitan Cities: Those classified as Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (S.M.S.A.'s) by the Bureau of the Budget. Of these, Virginia has 13.

The University of Virginia Bureau of Population Research "Estimates of the Population of Virginia Counties and Cities: July 1, 1968," (November, 1968) were used for the population figures. The Bureau's January 1969 listing of town populations of 3,500 or more was the source of those distinctions. The source for the S.M.S.A. classifications was the official listing prepared by the Executive Office of the President, Bureau of the Budget for 1967.

Certainly the 1970 and 1980 Censuses will bring about the enlargement of many present SMSA's and new areas will surely be added. However, after some thought and discussion with the consultants involved, it was decided that it was better to use the present Bureau of the Budget definitions of SMSA's. In the aggregate, this system provides a sharper "most rural to most urban continuum."

We recognize that this rough classification may prove invalid in the comparison of one county or city with another. No legislative or programmatic action should be based on this somewhat arbitrary classification. Its sole purpose was to provide a quick and uniform distinction between rural and metropolitan areas so that study writers might develop uniform summary statistics. Any system for doing this is arbitrary because the formerly distinct rural and urban ways of life are fast converging.

APPENDIX II

Study Consultants

A significant part of the research and study which underlies the conclusions of the Rural Affairs Study Commission was done by these nineteen consultants.

Job and Business Opportunities

(a) Mr. Robert J. Griffis: Economist for the Research Section of the

Division of State Planning and Community

Affairs

Education .

(a) Dr. Eugene Hoyt: Deputy Director of Education and

Manpower

Division of the Appalachian Regional

Commission

(b) Dr. Harold Morse: Education Specialist for the Appalachian

Regional Commission

(c) Miss Barbara Casey: Education Specialist for the Appalachian

Regional Commission

(d) Dr. Warren Rovetch: President, Education and Economic

Systems, Inc.

(e) Mr. John J. Gaskie: Senior Associate, Education and Economic

Systems, Inc.

Health Care

(a) Dr. Richard Powers: Consultant in Economic Development,

Director of the Center of Technology and Administration of American University

(b) Mr. Michael Daugherty: Medical Student, Stanford University

Government Structure

(a) Mr. Page Ingraham: Director of the State and Local

Administration

Appalachian Regional Commission

(b) Dr. W. L. Gibson: Professor of Agricultural Economics,

Virginia Polytechnic Institute

Rural Industries (Agriculture and Forestry)

(a) Dr. Paul H. Hoepner: Professor of Agricultural Economics,

Virginia Polytechnic Institute

Housing

(a) Francis Moravitz: Director of Housing and Community

Development, Appalachian Regional

Commission

Transportation and Communication

(a) Warren Zitzmann: Director of Transportation, Appalachian

Regional Commission

(b) Harry T. Kolendrianos and G. Brooks Powell, Jr.: Faculty of Danville Community College

Power and Fuel

(a) Dr. Richard Powers: cited above

Banking

(a) Dr. Harmon H. Haymes: Chairman of the Department of

Economics of Virginia Commonwealth

University

Natural Resources

(a) Mason Carbaugh: Director of Rural Resources Services,

Department of Agriculture and Commerce and Soil and Water Conservation Commission

Recreation

(a) Neil Walp: Resource Planning Specialist, Appalachian

Regional Commission

Cultural Opportunities:

(a) Mrs. Julia S. de Coligny: Education Consultant

The Commission has authorized the Chairman to make the reports of the study consultants available for distribution. The Chairman is now making arrangements for this. Inquiries should be addressed to:

The Rural Affairs Study Commission 1010 James Madison Building 109 Governor Street Richmond, Virginia 23219 An Act to create a Rural Affairs Study Commission, provide for its membership, delineate its powers and duties, and appropriate funds.

[H1137]

Approved April 5, 1968

Whereas, the rapid shifting of the State's and nation's population is estimated to mean that by 1985 three-fourths of the Commonwealth's then over six million people will live in urban centers and that by the year 2000 far more than three-fourths of the nation's people will live within only four per cent of the land area of the United States; and

Whereas, this shift, which can in large measure be attributed to the concentration of industrial, economic, transportation and communications facilities within small geographic regions, means intensified problems of air pollution, traffic congestion, crime and delinquency; and

Whereas, at least one solution to the numerous special problems which afflict our urban areas would be the decentralization of industry and attendant facilities and the better utilization of our rural resources to support this burgeoning population and increasing industrial activity; and

Whereas, the vital need for intensive planning and study to discover means and to outline action for the best utilization of our rural spaces, land and human and physical resources, has been recently emphasized by the "Symposium on Communities for Tomorrow—National Growth and Its Distribution" called for by the six Secretaries of Agriculture, Labor, Commerce, Transportation, Health, Education and Welfare and Housing and Urban Development, and merits immediate attention in our State, now, therefore,

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Virginia:

- 1. §1. There is hereby created the Rural Affairs Study Commission which shall consist of fifteen members of whom six shall be appointed by the Governor, three shall be appointed by the President of the Senate from the membership thereof and six shall be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Delegates from the membership thereof. The Commission shall elect its Chairman.
- §2. The Commission shall consider, study and report its recommendations on the ways and means best designed to utilize existing rural resources and to develop facilities in our rural areas to support industry and an expanded share of the Commonwealth's growing population. Resources and facilities to be evaluated should include, without limitation, those related to transportation and airports, communications, economic resources such as power sources and labor, and living and recreational facilities. Changes in relevant State laws and in the operation of local governmental structures and services shall also be deemed pertinent to the Commission's study. The Commission may, also, review the programs of other states relevant to its inquiry.
- §3. Commission members shall be paid their necessary expenses incurred in the performance of their duties but shall receive no other compensation.
- §4. The Commission may employ such professional, technical, legal and financial counsel as it deems necessary to the conduct of its study, and such secretarial, clerical and other assistance as it may require.
- §5. The Commission may accept and expend for the purpose of conducting its study, in addition to sums appropriated to it by law, all gifts, grants and donations from any and all sources.

- §6. All State agencies and the governing bodies and agencies of the political subdivisions shall assist and cooperate with the Commission in its study.
- §7. The Commission shall report its findings and recommendations to the Governor and the General Assembly not later than November one, nineteen hundred sixty-nine.
- 2. There is hereby appropriated from the general fund of the State treasury the sum of fifteen thousand dollars for the purposes of this act.