Approved: March 18, 2003_

MINUTES OF THE COMMITTEE ON HIGHER EDUCATION.

The meeting was called to order by Chairperson Tom Sloan at 3:30 p.m. on March 12, 2003 in Room 231-N of the Capitol.

All members were present except: Representative Krehbiel, Excused

Representative Kuether, Excused Representative Neighbor, Excused Representative Winn, Excused

Committee staff present: Mona Gambone, Committee Secretary

Conferees appearing before the committee: Dr. Ed Hammond, President, Fort Hays State University

Dr. Phil Halstead, Executive Director, Business & Technology Institute, Pittsburg State University

Others attending: See attached list

Chairman Sloan called the members' attention to the minutes of the March 10 meeting and asked them to call the Committee Secretary with any changes by 5:00 the next day or they will be considered approved as printed.

Chairman Sloan told the Committee that the Senate had debated SB 7 today, it will go on Final Action tomorrow where it will likely pass and our Committee will hold the hearing on SB 7 next Wednesday (March 19).

Chairman Sloan introduced Dr. Ed Hammond (<u>Attachment 1</u>). After his presentation, he responded to questions from the Committee.

Chairman Sloan introduced Dr. Phil Halstead (<u>Attachment 2</u>). After his presentation, he responded to questions from the Committee.

Chairman Sloan thanked both conferees for appearing before the Committee.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned at 4:30 p.m..

The next meeting is scheduled for March 17, a Joint Committee meeting with the House Committee on Agriculture, in Room 519-S.

HOUSE HIGHER EDUCATION COMMITTEE GUEST LIST

DATE March 12, 2003

NAME	REPRESENTING		
CHRIS STEROMAN	INTERN		
MCGomatto	PSU		
Phil Halstead	Pitt- State Univ		
Kevin Belt	KNEA		
Jackie Scott	Esu		
DICK CANTON	KBM		
Slebra Frideaux	FHSU		
Daron Jamisan	FHSU		

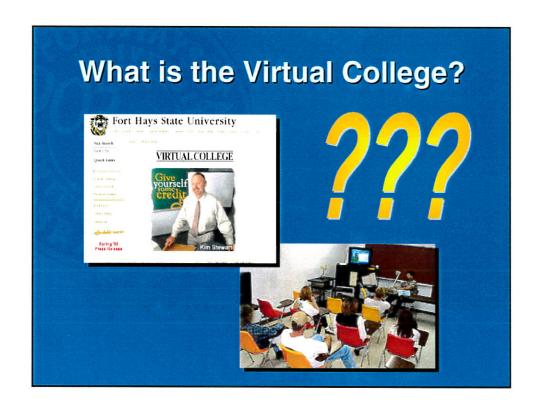
Fort Hays State University Virtual College

Dr. Edward Hammond President of FHSU

Mission of FHSU

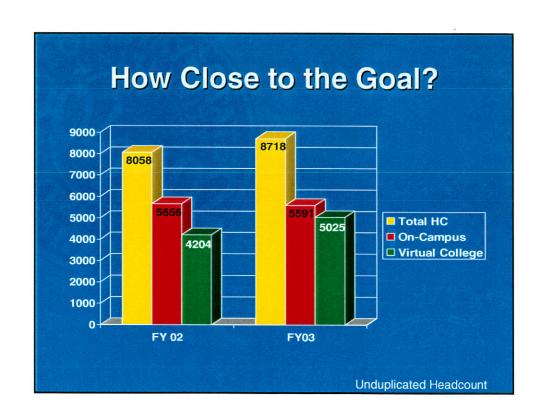
"Fort Hays State University, a regional university principally serving western Kansas, is dedicated to providing instruction within a computerized environment in the arts and sciences, business, education, the health and life sciences, and agriculture A statewide strategic focus of the university is the integration of computer and telecommunications technology with the educational environment and the work place."

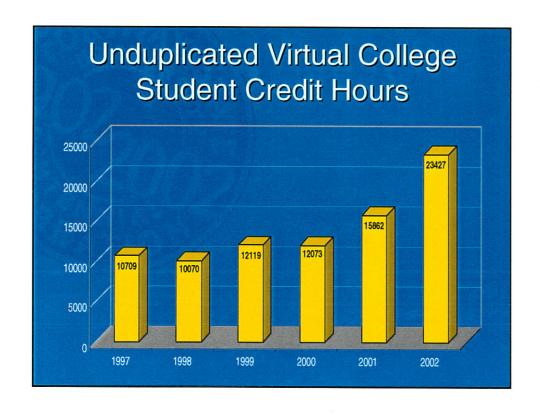
House Higher Education Committee Viceting Date: 3/12/03

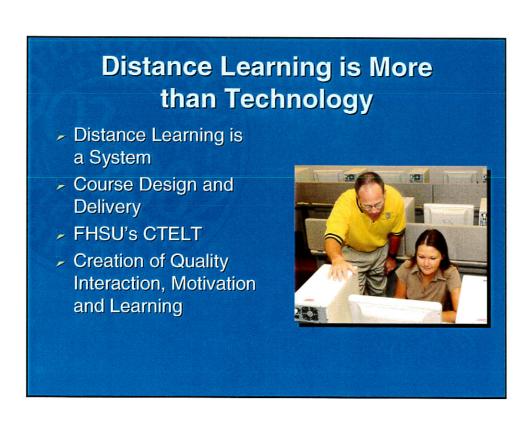




Vision for the Virtual College Solution Goldents Goal of 6,000 students. Goal of 6,000 studen







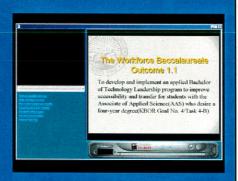
Distance Learning is More than Technology

- Management and Organization Issues
- > Marketing to New Audiences
- Alternative Ways to Respond to Student's Needs



Trends in Distance Learning

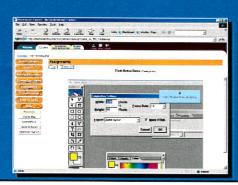
- Trends towards a broad mix of techniques, methodologies and media
- Mix of blended technologies
- No one technology dominates



Trends in Distance Learning

- > Blend of audio, video and computers
- Networking computers enables email, video, CD-Roms, audio, printing, etc.
- Integration of systems for better learning



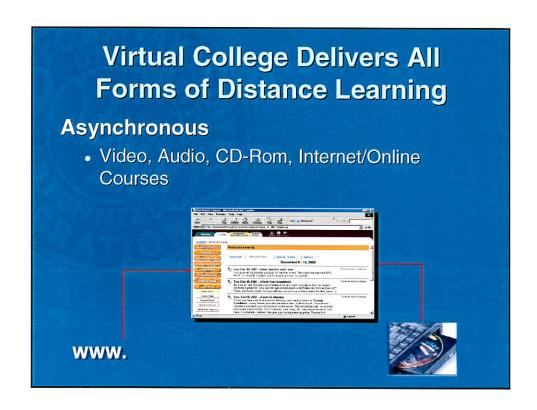


Virtual College Delivers All Forms of Distance Learning

Synchronous

- Interactive Television:
 We utilize the art of
 Internet Protocol
 Interactive Television.
- Connect to six sites in Western Kansas.





Virtual College is More than Delivery Methods

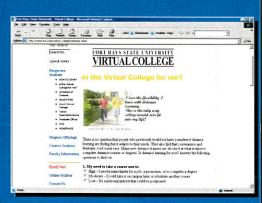
Focus on Quality Customer Service

- Online Textbooks and Study Manuals MBS
- 24 X 7 Information and Technical Hotline Tiger Info
- Online Library Resources 12,500 journals
- Individual Advising Online and Over Phone
- Online Tutoring Smartthinking.com
- Online Posting of Resumes and Other Career Planning

Virtual College is More than Delivery Methods

Focus on Quality Customer Service

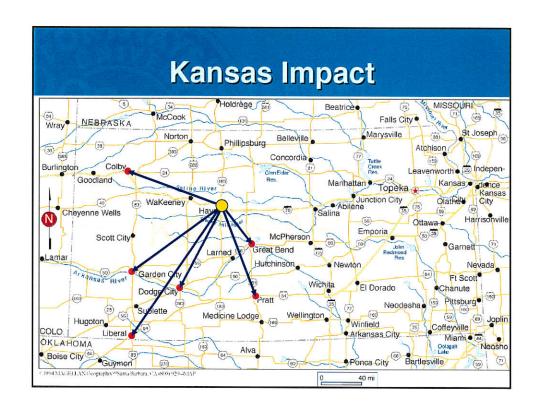
 Online assessment for students to determine if they are likely to succeed in Distance Learning.

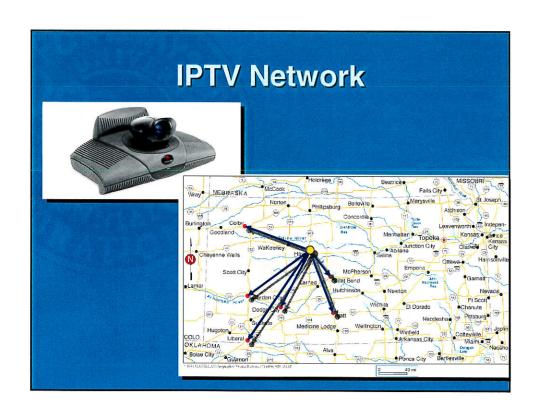


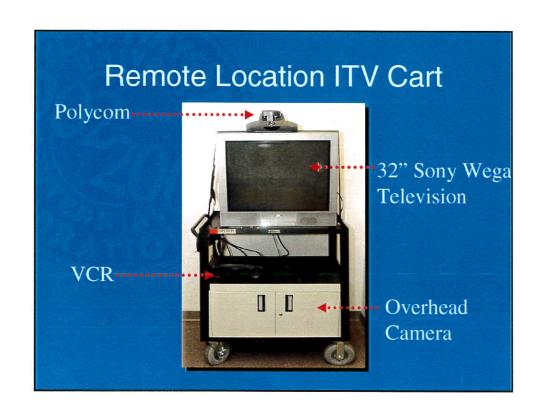
Virtual College Student Services

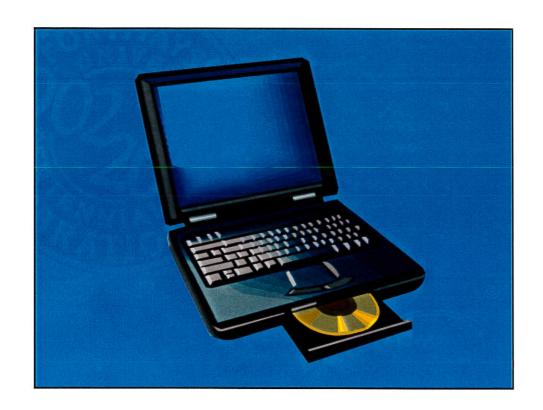
- Online registration and enrollment
- Online or telephonic academic advising
- Online grades
- > Online class schedule
- Online transcript request
- Lifetime email account

- Online or telephonic bookstore
- Online syllabi
- Online financial aid applications
- Discount laptop computers
- TelephonicInformation Hotline -Tiger Info









Virtual College has Reached Beyond Western Kansas

- > Eastern Kansas Regionally
 - Partnerships with Community Colleges and Corporations
- Nationally
 - Navy College Partnership and NCPACE
 - Coast Guard



Virtual College has Reached Beyond Western Kansas

- > Sias University
- > UIBE





FHSU Doesn't Just Offer Courses, But Offers Degrees

- > Bachelors
 - Bachelors of General Studies
 - B.S. in Technology Leadership
 - · B.S. in Nursing
 - B.S. in Justice Studies
 - B.A. in Sociology

Masters

- Master of Liberal Studies
 - Criminal Justice
 - English
 - Gerontology
 - Human Resource Management
 - Information Networking
 - Instructional Technology
 - Mathematics
 - Public Administration



PITTSBURG STATE UNIVERSITY

For Kansas House of Representatives Committee On Higher Education

March 12, 2003

PSU Economic Outreach To Southeast Kansas & Beyond

Need – Most distressed region is Southeast Kansas

Solution - Integrated economic outreach plan by regional state university, PSU

Business & Technology Institute (BTI)

- --Vision, Mission, How We Do It
- -- Results / Accomplishments Summary
- --Funding Sources
- -- County Distribution of Services
- -- Leadership & Outreach
- --Link To Kansas Strategic Plan
- --Small Business Development Center
- -- Grants & Special Projects
- --Kansas Polymer Research Center
- --Mid America Manufacturing Technology Center
- -- Alliance For Technology Commercialization
- -- Certified Development Company
- -- Kansas Department of Commerce & Housing

Kansas Technology Center / College of Technology

--Automotive, Graphics & Imaging, Engineering Tech, Technical Education

Southeast Kansas, Inc.

-- Councils, Funding, Governance

PSU Economic Impact Assessment

- --Direct Impact: \$157 million
- --Value of Degrees: \$609 million
- -- Faculty and Staff Contributions

PSU - SEK Integration / Mobilization of Resources As New State Model

Presented By: Dr. Phil Halstead, Executive Director, Business & Technology Institute (BTI) 620.235.4925, jhalstea@pittstate.edu

Iouse Higher I	Education Committee
Aeeting Date:	3/12/03

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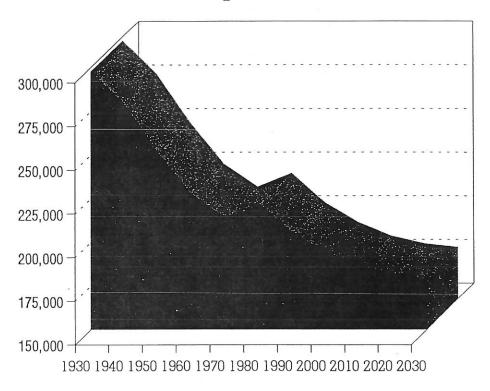
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2

I. Economic Development Review

THE PROBLEM

100 Year Population Profile



County Economic Vitality & Distress

Kansas Regional Data

The Southwest region continued as the least distressed region of the state, although the average ranking of this region has risen slightly since the Vitality and Distress Report was first published in 1989. This region is typified by high per capita incomes, high per capita property valuation, and low welfare populations.

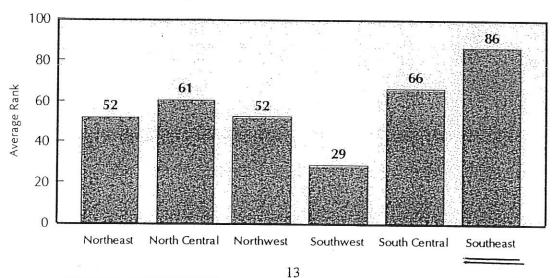
The Southeast has continued as the state's most distressed region, characterized by high levels of population loss, an increasingly aging and dependent population, a declining workforce, and significant employment loss. This region has deteriorated relative to other regions in the state, rising a total of four ranks since 1989.

The Northeast and Northwest regions tied in average regional rankings as the second least distressed regions in Kansas. The Northeast region has also achieved the greatest relative improvement in the average rankings since 1989, improving by a total of seven ranks. The Northwest region has improved by five ranks. Although the Northwest has witnessed more population loss than any other region, this region has increased its employment levels over the past half decade, has relatively high per capita income, and has the lowest welfare population in the state.

The South Central region has suffered the greatest declines in the average rankings since 1989, falling by ten ranks. Although this region has experienced considerable population and employment gains, it suffers from low per capita income and property valuation, and a relatively high percentage of population receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children and General Assistance.

Data for each of the eight indicators are provided in Table 1 for both regional and county levels, while average regional rankings are displayed for 1995 in Figure 9.

Figure 9
Average Rank by Region, 1995
County Economic Vitality and Distress



Kansas, Inc.

Vitality & Distress Formula

This analysis combines eight indicators into an overall assessment of economic vitality and distress. These indicators are:

- 1) net population change,
- 2) elderly population,
- 3) labor force,
- 4) long-term employment growth,
- 5) short-term employment growth,
- 6) per capita property valuation,
- 7) per capita income, and
- 8) AFDC/General Assistance participants.

To understand a county's economic strength, one must concentrate on the combined effect of these factors. This is because the economic status and wealth of a county cannot be obtained through a simple linear relationship of one or two economic indicators. Claims of an area's economic status based on unemployment rates or business formations, though undoubtedly providing useful information, cannot reasonably stand apart from other indicators. Economies are multi-dimensional and understanding them depends not only on employment and income, but also on factors such as changes in population and dependency of the area's families on governmental support.

These eight indicators were grouped, for this analysis, into three categories: wealth, growth, and dependent population. The **wealth** category includes per capita income, per capita property valuation, and AFDC/GA indicators. The **growth** category includes long and short-term employment change, and population change indicators. Finally, the **dependent population** category includes both the elderly and labor force indicators. Counties were ranked for each category and assigned a quintile rating with the highest 20 percent receiving a "1" and the lowest 20 percent receiving a "5". Within each of the three categories, individual indicators carried the same weight in producing an average category score. These three scores were then weighted to produce the final score. The corresponding weights for each group were: wealth - 45 percent, growth - 35 percent, and dependent population - 20 percent. The weights assigned are arbitrary, but are intended to indicate their relative importance. The combined score had a minimum of 10 and a maximum of 50. A higher score indicates greater distress.

It is important to note that the total score is relative to the vitality and distress of other counties. As a result, small changes in a particular county's ranking from year to year will likely be as much a result of economic changes in other counties as to conditions in that particular county. Dramatic changes will more likely be the result of real changes in a county's economic condition.

AMERICAN GOTHIC: In Lebanon, Kan., Susan and Paul Coleman (above) dwell in America's depopulated center.

The dwindling heartland. America's new frontier Laurent Belsie f writer of The Christian Science Monitor Fob 11, 2003 Christian Science Monitor

LEBANON, KAN.

ROM the front window of the American Legion hall in Lebanon, Kan., Phyllis Bell can still look across Main Street and pick out where Adams Clothing, Hobbs Variety, and Chadbourne's Shoe Shop used to stand. Right after World War II, farmers could come into town, get a haircut, buy a car, take in a movie, or shop at one of Lebanon's seven grocery stores.

Part 1 of a four-part

series on the

frontier's return.

Now, the commercial district has dwindled to a branch bank, LaDow Market, and a beauty shop, where the hairstyles have evolved from the beehive 1950s - and cost more. With fewer than 300 residents, the town can no longer support a high school Range" - and the reemergence of

the homes sit vacant.

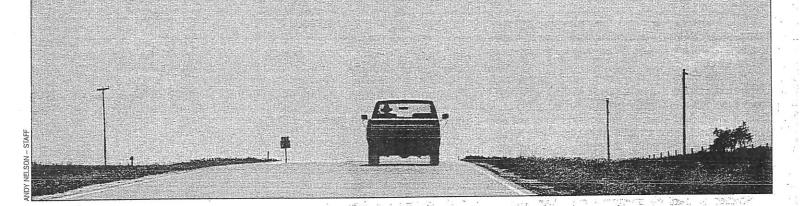
houses, they still find dust from here on the Great Plains. the Dust Bowl" - usually in the

rafters, says Ms. Bell, managing editor for the Lebanon Times, a weekly newspaper.

Welcome to Smith County, home of the geographic center of the contiguous United States, the Kansas state song "Home on the

(closed in 1984) or a grade school America's frontier. As strange as it (shuttered in 1991). Even many of may sound, more than a century after Americans laid to rest the no-When we tear down those tion of a frontier, it's reappearing

See ALONE page 10



The new frontier

he American frontier never really disappeared. It's simply that after 1893, when historian Frederick Jackson Turner made a famous speech declaring it "closed," the frontier notion died. Most people assumed the nation's empty spaces would fill up.

Yet it didn't happen quickly. As late as the mid-20th century, the United States still boasted 403 counties with fewer than six people per square mile (an accepted 19th-century definition for "frontier"). These frontier counties lay as far afield as the Florida Everglades and the Oregon coast, although most were concentrated in the intermountain West and the Plains.

Since then, most of the country has been filling up. Florida no longer has any frontier counties. Arizona has only two (down from nine in 1950). Five frontier counties still lie east of the Mississippi River (one each in Maine, Mississippi, and New York, and two in Michigan).

Only in the Plains has the frontier phenomenon expanded. (Alaska is excluded from this analysis, as its sparsely populated regions were never settled in the first place.) In 1950, you could still drive from Omaha, Neb., to Denver without passing through a frontier county. No longer. This semiarid territory now contains two-thirds of the 377 frontier counties in the contiguous US – up from half in 1950.

The land in this depopulating region is still owned and mostly farmed. But it feels as though it's moving backward in time and space. Its white population is declining, while its native American and buffalo populations are on the upswing.

And the new frontier is pushing eastward, not westward. At midcentury, seven frontier counties in South Dakota lay east of the capital, Pierre. Today, 17 counties do.

Two forces, however, are skewing this change. First, the spread

change. First, the spread of the region's two largest cities.— San Antonio and Denver — as well as others is transforming once-rural counties into growing metropolitan suburbs. The second influence is the growth of the Sun Belt.

Indeed, America's preference for warm climates has muted the population decline in the southern Plains. Texas has added only seven frontier counties since 1950. North Dakota, meanwhile, has added 20, which has pushed two-thirds of its territory into frontier status.

The result is a

jagged, upside-down

triangle of depopulation, showing spottily in south Texas, then gaining a consistent tip on the Mexican border at Terrell County, Texas, and expanding steadily as it moves northward. At its widest extent – on the Canadian border – the frontier stretches 660 miles in a nearly unbroken line from central Montana to the western tip of Minnesota.

Laurent Belsie

WYO.

From Lebanon, Kan., a window into the vanishing heartland

ALONE from page 1

Only this time, it doesn't involve people moving in, and it doesn't carry the sense of hope and progress of a nation expanding. Instead, it involves people moving out and represents a part of a nation contracting.

nation contracting.

The region is losing so many rural people that 261 Plains counties hold fewer than six residents per square mile (an old census yardstick for "frontier"). That represents more than one-eighth of the contiguous US—an area larger than France and Germany, but more sparsely populated than any nation on earth. You'd have to travel to places like the North Pole or Greenland to find fewer people per square mile:

And the nation's frontier midsection is expanding. While frontier counties west of the Rocky Mountains are generally filling up, the rural Plains continue to empty out. Already, the frontier has pushed beyond the traditional eastern boundary of the Plains into eastern Kansas, the eastern edge of the Dakotas, and even into northwest Minnesota.

In many ways, this hollowing out of the heartland is spawning a regional crisis. Hundreds of small towns are disappearing from the map. The lack of local jobs and the allure of cities are sucking young people out like a prairie twister.

Left behind is a population edging toward retirement and businesses coping with the paradox of a dwindling customer base and a shortage of workers. Thinly funded social and government services are straining to keep up, too.

In this downward demographic spiral, poverty often spreads: Some economists believe the frontier Plains will become the next Appalachia.

Even more broadly, the spreading frontier is challenging America's sense of itself. After all, this is the place wherethe local barbershop and corner drugstore still exist, where neighbors really do look out for one another, and people cling to small-town values of hard work and keeping one's word. While it's easy to romanticize these places, they nonetheless represent a bedrock of American character — a bedrock that's eroding away.

"This is a region full of mainstream white Americans who played by the rules," says Frank Popper, a land-use planner at Rutgers University, who has publicized the frontier's reappearance. "If that region declines, it makes you wonder about the moral validity of the American success, drive."

Yet some theorists argue that America's forgotten crisis isn't really a crisis at all. They argue that the semiarid Plains were never meant to hold large populations. Perhaps it should let its people go, they say, and cradle instead ribbons of interstate highways, big windmills, and ever fewer megafarms. Or maybe it will revert to a kind of huge outdoor zoo of the early 1800s, when settlers were few and buffalo

roamed freely.

Others say the region's deeply rooted resourcefulness and entrepreneurial spirit will lead to new models of growth. Either way, the heartland frontier holds lessons for other parts of rural America. Many counties face the same pressures of decline; others grow, suddenly, into suburbs and lose their rural character.

"We need a new vision for rural America," says Chuck Hassebrook, director-of the-Center-for-Rural Affairs in Walthill, Neb. But "so many people have gotten so discouraged about what's going on here that they've given up.... The biggest risk we face is resignation."

Here on the heartland frontier, resignation and innovation, decline and entrepreneurial drive are engaged in epic battle. They're already leaving their mark on places like Smith County.

Even though they tore down the big

sign by the highway years ago, you can still find the geographic center of the lower 48 on a rise of land between a field and a dairy farm. Flags flap above the 62-year-old stone monument. Years ago, a local man donated a miniature chapel (seating four) for the site, where visitors still leave messages on scrap paper:

"We finally got to visit this spot!"
"Would like to visit here again." "I want
to thank everyone for being so nice."

But the place exudes benign neglect. Across the road, a motel that once catered to tourists sits shuttered. The dairy farm – famous in its time because it was built in a day by hundreds of volunteers – no longer milks cows. Just as the center of the US moved north and west when the nation added Alaska and Hawaii, so America seems to have moved on and forgotten about this patch of heartland.

Even the local residents are leaving. In 1950, Smith County boasted 9.9 people per square mile – which was 50 percent denser than Clark County, Nev. (home of then modestly sized Las Vegas). By 1990, Smith County had lost nearly half its population and fallen into frontier status. Today, it retains only 5.1 people per square mile – on a par with Namibia, the largely desert nation in southern-Africa.

Southern Africa. Smith County's decline stems from the same factors that have depopulated the rest of the heartland frontier. Better technologies have made it possible for fewer people to do the existing work, and few new industries have moved in.

For example: Smith Center, the county seat, is nearly holding its own, thanks to a handful of manufacturers and a steady base of government and other service jobs. But farm consolidation cleared out the countryside decades ago and keeps emptying out larger and larger satellite towns.

"Even as early as the turn of the century, people questioned what happened in the Great Plains," asys. Dan Licht; author of "Ecology & Economics of the Great Plains," a 1997 book about the grasslands. "The response has gone through phases; at first, anger. Then it was denial. Now, it's getting to despair or maybe almost an acceptance."

The strange thing is: Decline doesn't feel like despair out here. Aside from traumatic moments – the bankruptcy of a farm or the closing of a school – depopulation-happens so slowly it's barely noticeable.

In fact, step across the thresholds of any of Lebanon's still-functioning buildings, and it comes alive. On a Saturday morning in December, for example, Bell is helping her daughter, Gloria Snow, run a fundraiser in the Legion hall. Mrs. Snow, now of suburban Kansas City, wants to open a history and genealogy museum in the boarded-up high school to attract tourists. The town donated the building, but the structure needs work. Snow's husband has spent hours fixing a skylight that was broken into.



ON THE FRONTIER: An abandoned farmstead (above) near Lebanon, Kan., is reflected in the mirror of a truck. Although many businesses in the town and its surrounding area have shut down, LaDow Market still draws a lunch crowd. At left, Kenneth Ingram (I.) and Theron Haresnape discuss the farm economy.

NEBRASK			Smith	US
	Geographic center of contiguous US		County	overall
8	*•!Lebanon	Population Median age.		281 million
COLORA	Smith County O Topeka	Median househol income Median value sin family home	\$28,694	\$41,994 \$119,600
TEXAS	OKLAHOMA	Households below poverty line		11.8%

"We're trying to get some federal int money," Mrs. Snow says. "But it's etty tough when you are a handful of ople and [the volunteers are] all busy. Indeed, no self-respecting suburbanwould call the pace of life here slow. ll, who lays out the paper and writes st of the stories, leaves soon after ich for an appointment. Her hus-nd, Joe Cheesman, trundles off to the prisingly modern library across the eet to play Santa to more than 20 ldren. Gladys Kennedy, one of panon's oldest residents, has made y and a quilt for the fundraiser. She ins the cash box and tomorrow night, spite her long affiliation with the panon Christian Church, she's joining the local Methodists for caroling around town in a hay wagon. She's also led a Girl Scout troop for six decades.

In all that period, when was Lebanon's best time? "Right now," Mrs. Kennedy says, emphatically. "People think they need to be in a bigger place. [But] how long does it take to get to the steakhouse? Or the doctor's?... I think we've got everything we need."

Next door, a crowd is gathering at LaDow's, purveyors of everything from deli ham to Christmas cards, for the \$4 lunch special. There, Paul and Susan Coleman - Lebanon's newest residents get to know their neighbors. (Actually,

it's hard not to get to know them because LaDow's can only fit three tables. So diners slip into any available chair, no matter who's sitting next to them.) The couple, married this summer, retired early and moved from suburban Denver this fall to soak up the quiet and fresh air of the Kansas prairie.

"It's a beautiful small town;" says Mrs. Coleman. "Everybody knows each other. Everybody cares.".

Mr. Coleman putters around in his giant workshop behind his house and goes hunting at sunset almost every day in season. His only regret: The nearest McDonald's is 60 miles away.

"People are getting fed up with cities," he says. Right before he moved here,

"people came up to me at work and would say: 'What's it like?' I would say: 'It's quiet. There's no traffic. You don't hear rock music.' They would say: 'I would really like something like that.' I would say: 'It's there for the taking. You don't have to prequalify.'

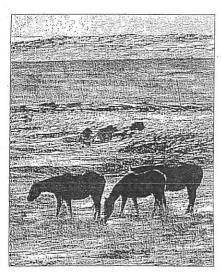
Yet so far, no one has taken him up on the offer. "I don't want to romanti-cize it," says Calvin Beale, a US government demographer who has visited two-thirds of the nation's 3,100 counties. "No country can afford to let an area become semi-depopulated because of economic problems without understanding why it's happening and what may be some of the alternatives that would address some of these problems.

The Plains frontier is with shrinking populations and mounting poverty, making government services difficult to deliver.

To cope, it's trying everything from virtual schools to mobile 'hospitals.'

ALONE *ON THE * RANGE

Part 3-of four



JUST OUTSIDE TOWN: Horses nose through grasses on snowy plains near Hettinger, N.D.

CANADA Population 2,593 281 million people 79.6 NORTH DAKOTA 35.3 Median age Median hou \$29,079 \$41.994 Median value single family home \$37,500 \$119,600 Households be poverty line OUTHEDAKOT ncome and poverty data from 1999

If vn government ... when there's

By Laurent Belsie Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

HE county sheriff doubles as unofficial police chief for Hettinger and Reeder, N.D. The county recorder spends most of her time clerking for the district court. Then there's Betty Svihovec. She's city auditor, county auditor, city treasurer, superintendent of schools, and something called the county risk manager.

If all this sounds like rural cronyism, think again. This is Adams County's bid for survival.

With a dwindling population and tax base, this expanse of rolling farmland and brick storefronts is straining to maintain services for 2,600 residents spread over nearly 1,000 square miles. Never mind that median household income falls \$600 below that of the poorest state in the Union. Or that the typical resident here has edged a decade closer to retirement than the national norm:

Somehow, the innovators of Adams – and other Great Plains counties, like it – are finding ways to keep things running. That's one of the ironies of the reemergence of America's frontier (counties with fewer than six people per square mile). The new pioneers aren't those who move; they're the ones who stay and try something different.

Unfortunately, even the innovators are caught in the region's vicious demographic cycle. Two-thirds of the Plains' frontier is losing population.

As jobs dwindle, young people flee to the cities. Fewer young families means fewer children, which leads to a smaller pool of families in the next generation. As its tax base shrinks, the frontier's remaining residents are edging toward the stage in life where they're likely to demand more services. Already, a third of the region's households receive Social Security. At some point, economists and demographers say, the system simply breaks down.

"It's the phenomenon of a slowly sinking middle," says Lester Thurow, a native of Montana and now professor of economics and management at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Cambridge. By the time he retires, he predicts, "this will be the poorest part of America".

Can the region avoid that fate? Some frontier communities are experimenting vigorously—particularly in the public sector—to neutralize the effects of depopulation and wider open spaces. No one knows if they'll succeed in the long run.



On a snowy morning at the high school here in Hettinger, Bonnie Smith greets her English composition class in 21st-century fashion: by interactive TV. Altitough three students are sitting in her classroom, another dozen follow the proceedings from Scranton, 30 miles away, or Bowman, 40 miles away. Fax machines, microphones, and banks of monitors and cameras keep all three classrooms connected.

Mrs. Smith and the students manipulate the technology with ease. "I love this camera," Smith says of an overhead lens that broadcasts to the students what she writes on a pad. With it, she goes over a student's paper with the entire class — something that would be much harder in a conventional classroom.

The ·two-year-old system represents the school's latest step in a decade of experimenting with long-distance learning. It has allowed the school to continue offering German, entrepreneurship, even art – often crossing county lines and jurisdictions to do so.

risdictions to do so.

"It's more fun" than a conventional class, says senior Leigh Johnson. "You see [these same] people sitting at basketball games" in the away bleachers.

But students and teachers agree the system doesn't quite live up to the live interaction of a traditional classroom. And, so far, the technology works best for highly motivated students, Smith additional students and students are students.

Jim Long, chief executive of West River Health Services, knows all about crossing county and even state lines. He pulls out a map of his service area, which he calls his "huge potato" – a sprawling oval the size of West Virginia that spills over into South Dakota and Montana.

To reduce travel times for patients, the nonprofit center's 15 physicians and lonurse practitioners and physicians assistants staff 11 part-time satellite loations outside Hettinger. And when critically ill patients face a two-hour ride long the hettinger in, say, a South Dakota annual lance service; the hospital on occasion sends its own ambulance to meet the halfway. Then, patients can get attention from a more highly trained parameters before they reach the emergency room.

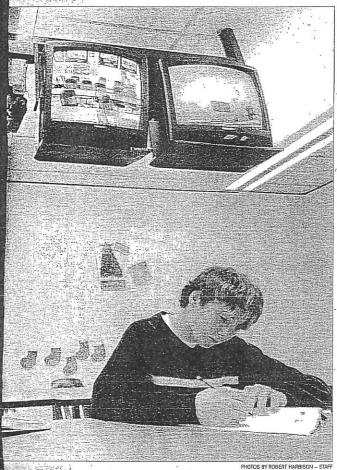
before they reach the emergency room.

"We have always prided ourselves, in being innovative and aggressive."

Long says. But he is butting up against the same economic and demographs forces the rest of the Plains frontler face. To keep a certain volume of business has to continue expanding his servarea. Even then, its population is sail delining. At its peak, West River defined 300 babies a year. The current was

Besides economic and dem

not much town to govern



orces, there's another problem. The federal government reimburses rural hospitals less generously for Medicare patients han it does urban hospitals. Two federal nitiatives should reduce the difference. Still, the disparity crystallizes a widepread feeling among frontier communi-es that state and federal government haven't been of much help.

Why make it more difficult to maintain the services in the rural areas, which only serves to depopulate them?" Long asks, "Rural America should not be forgotten and disposed of because it doesn't fit into the New York way of things."

* * * *

Consider the plight of Bridgeport, Neb. At middecade, federal clean-water standards will force its 1,600 residents to. lean up the naturally occurring uranium in its municipal water. Their choices: build a treatment plant or hope to find cleaner water by digging new wells. Even with state or federal help to build a plant, residents would have to pay roughly six times their current monthly water bill simply to run it, estimates city administrator Finley deGraffenried.

In more densely populated areas, neighboring towns might share the cost. Out here, the nearest city is 15 miles away, and the pipeline needed to connect it would cost at least \$1.5 million.

"I don't want to boohoo this deal. Some of these communities are dying and, frankly, maybe we ought to put a fork in them," Mr. deGraffenried says. But "let me tell you, there's a hole in the Midwest. [And] who gets the time; the money, the political pull?"

Indeed, the political clout of frontier

counties was long ago eroded by depopulation. Of Nebraska's 49 state senators, for instance, only 10 represent the nearly two-thirds of the state west of Grand Island. In the US Congress, Rep. Tom Osborne alone represents the same territory and then some.

Instead, frontier counties innovate locally. When the local cafe closed down in Gove, Kan., in the early 1990s, the county court had to cater meals from out of town for juries, and some officials threatened to leave. So the local community improvement group (which had already reopened the grocery in town) raised funds, as well as a new building, for the County

Or consider Loving County in the Texas oil patch, which has fewer people per square mile than any county in the contiguous US (or any part of Greenland, for that matter). Yet its 67 people still find ways to maintain all the traditional functions: a local court, a sheriff and deputy, FAR-FLUNG LEARNING: At left, Leigh Johnson and Micah Wilson use closedcircuit television to take an entrepreneurship class from a teacher at another high school in western North Dakota. Above, Main Street in Hettinger, N.D., is seen through the window of a local gift shop and coffee shop. The town has consolidated some services with the county - an arrangement that saves it an estimated

an auditor, a treasurer, and so on.

\$100,000 a year.

"You-just think smaller," explains County Judge Donald Creager, who can't remember the last time a felony was committed in Loving. The biggest challenge is getting reelected, he adds. "It doesn't take too many people upset at you to lose a majority.

One of the enduring mysteries of the Plains frontier is that it has so far avoided widespread poverty. Although its median household income - \$30,079 - rank nearly as low as West Virginia, the poor-est state in 1999, its share of poor households looked significantly smaller (15.8 percent versus West Virginia's 17.9 percent). One explanation: The frontier may spread incomes more evenly than Appalachia does, and its household income actually grew faster than the national average during the 1990s.

But demographers warn that many frontier households remain uncomfortably close to poverty. "It's one of those untold stories," says Richard Rathge, director of the North Dakota State Data Center on the campus of North Dakota State University in Fargo. "If you drop below the poverty line, you're on the radar screen. But if you're marginally above the poverty line, you're not."

That describes Adams County, N.D., to a T. Its median household earned \$650

less a year than the comparable West Virginia household in 1999, yet its poverty rate remained a dramatic 5.7 percentage points below West Virginia's.

To cope with its stagnant tax base, the. county has consolidated Hettinger, the county seat, folded its police force into the county sheriff's office in 1984, merged its street and public-works departments with the county's a year later, and now works closely with the county on various projects.

The arrangement means Hettinger devotes two-thirds of its \$260,000 budget to pay for county services. In return, it saves easily \$100,000 a year, estimates Mrs. Svihovec, who's credited with pushing the consolidation plan.

Police protection, for example, costs almost the same today as it did when Hettinger ran its own police force - despite 20 years of inflation. And county help has allowed the city to get federal money to repave the highway down the center of the well-kept and still-vibrant town.

Not everyone's happy. "I'm getting tired of working 250 hours a month," says County Sheriff Gene Molbert. "It has not gotten péople coming back."

Some observers argue that the whole county structure - a British import from colonial days - doesn't make sense for the frontier, anyway. James Satterlee, a retired sociologist from South Dakota State University, has suggested countles join forces to create what he calls a "New Community." One government center and a handful of well-located schools could serve a half-dozen counties or "neighborhoods," as they would be called

For now, what's the key to begin reversing the decline?

"Cooperation," says Svihovec. Al-though people don't want to hear the problems associated with depopulation, "you have got to get beyond that. You have got to break down those walls and start communicating."

This would be a good time for Adams County to ratchet up that cooperation: Svihovec plans to retire next month.

In the search for a new vision for vanishing heartland, rural towns consider digital hubs, wind farms, and a 'buffalo commons.'

Un-plain ways to reinvent the Plains

By Laurent Belsie Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

EVEN years ago; this isolated oil and ranching community staked a claim to the digital frontier. It wired itself with advanced telecommunications, advertised on the internet, and waited for droves of info-entrepreneurs to come and set up shop:

But a funny thing happened on the way to the future. The droves never came. And this hard-working community on the edge of the Badlands in Theodore Roosevelt National Park learned an important lesson.

Technology alone can't save the heartland. What it needs is a new vision, a new way of defining itself that can rally its residents, corral their energies, and appeal to the rest of America.

While even Watford City's most ardent promoters don't claim victory yet, the city is well on its way to diversifying

into 21st-century industries: Its entrepreneurial residents can already boast of two high-speed internet providers, four video-conference facilities, a cutting edge Internet-savvy bank, several information-dependent service companies, and

an e-pharmacist.
An e-pharmacist? More about him in a moment.

Part 4 of four

a monent.

That's impressive for any town of 1,400 people, doubly so for an outpost three hours from the nearest city of 50,000 or more. And if Watford City can reinvent itself, then perhaps other towns in the reemerging frontier from North Dakota to Texas can find ways to transform themselves. Sparsely populated (fewer than six residents per square mile) and losing more people every year, this frontier is struggling to hold together its economy, its government services, and its social cohesiveness.

Admittedly, the few visionary ideas for its future sound a little grandiose:

• Incubator for advanced cyber-society.

The Saudi Arabia of wind power.
 Safari capital of North America.
 Many of these moves would require

a cultural shift: away from bootstrap individualism and more toward regional
cooperation. "The' whole philosophy
[isj: 'You've got to do it yourself,' " says
Richard Rathge of the North Dakota
State Data Center at North Dakota State
University in Fargo. But "if we could develop a national or state policy that
would facilitate interdependence, I
think we'd see a great change."

Sometimes big change starts with the smallest push, as Watford City has discovered. When Gene Veeder returned here in the mid-1990s, he didn't know a T1 line from a T-bone steak. He'd only heard the term from a telemarketing firm that was considering relocating to



'There isn't any single thing that can save the heartland, but the Internet can sure make [life] easier.'

Gene Veeder, McKenzie
 County employee

CANADA Population 5,737 281 million 2.1 people pe 79.6 square mile NORTH Median age 39.5 35.3 Watford Median hous DAKOTA City \$29,342 \$41,994 Bismarck Median value single family home \$51,100 \$119,600 SOUTH DAKOTA 15 7% Source: Census 2000; income and poverty data from 1999

the area. But since Mr. Veeder was the job-development guru for McKenzie County, whose mainstay oil and ranching industries had fallen on hard times, he decided to get informed.

The search led him to Ray Hintz, a local high school math teacher with a crazy idea. If he pirated some bandwidth from the school's T1 (a high-speed phone line), he could rig rooftop antennas to bring high-speed Internet service to local government offices at a fraction of the usual cost.

The school agreed to share its TI line, hired Mr. Hintz to coordinate the project, and eventually hosted computer and Internet training courses for the community. The county commissioners came up with \$20,000 for computer servers.

For a few years, the city ran its own. Internet service for residents until private companies moved in to take over the job. By the time state economic-development officials came to town to push their own rural Internet strategy,

they found Watford City was already gigabits ahead.

But the community quickly learned that most telecommuting professionals, who can live and work anywhere, preferred mountains or an ocean in their backyards. Fortunately, Watford City has charms of its own that keep current residents here—easy access to Roosevelt National Park and fine fishing and boating at Lake Sakakawea. And local entrepreneurs were eager to experiment with the new technology. The result is a town that has defied the rural stereotypes and become one of the most wired small towns in rural America.

Even before the city embarked on its digital, adventure. First, International, Bank and Trust was pushing the envelope: It moved to in-house check processing, took over six offices of a failed savings and-loan, and bought two Arizona banks. To manage its far-flung empire, the bank invested heavily in infor-

mation technology, including video-conferencing to conduct all-employee meetings and remote job interviews.

"It has allowed our business to grow despite the distances," says Stephen Stenehjem, president of the bank and grandson of the founder. Now, the company is upgrading its Web banking service to allow customers to view their checks online, front and back – a cutting-edge technology that few banks offer anywhere in the country.

Or consider Larry Larsen, local drugstore owner and soon to be the state's fifth e-pharmacist. Sure, he sells prescriptions over the Internet. But what really sets him apart is his use of Internet video. By placing a special camera in his second pharmacy, 50 miles away, he'll be able to monitor each step remotely as his employees fill out prescriptions. Then he and the customer can step into private rooms where they converse e-face to e-face, so to speak.

The system not only saves him from Continued on next page Continued from previous page

raveling back and forth, but it alsoneans he can hire a less expensive tharmacy technician rather than having o recruit a full-time pharmacist, which is in short supply these days.

"The one thing that saved Watford lity is that the people who came back zere forward-thinking," he says. "It's hat kind of 'we-can-do-it-ourselves." "titude.

Even outsiders have picked up on he mood. "What's going to save the leartland is the attitude of the people," ays Marc Dansereall, project manager of CrossUSA, a software developer and ne of the handful of outside concerns hat have moved into the area.

The hardships of the heartland fronier breed entrepreneurs. In fact, a juarter of the region's households inlude someone who's self-employed. hat's double the national average, and a substantial part of that entrepreneurhip flows from nonfarm activities.

Take Janet Sanford. As business nanager of the local school in Watford Dity, she learned how to run the lunch eccounting program and struck up a reactionship with the Minnesota-based developer of the software. The company offered her contract work, which she accepted. "I finally decided to go out of my comfort zone a little bit," she says.

Now, she works from home as a fullime employee, helping schools downoad the program via telephone and proiding technical support. "I have a iream job," she says.

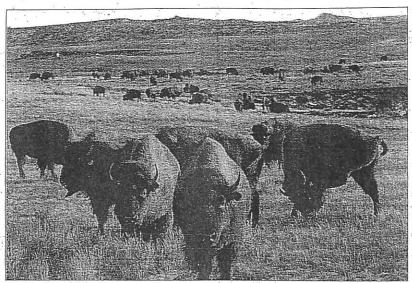
Still, initial hopes that information echnology could reverse the frontier's lecline have faded. For all of Watford lity's forward momentum, the county till lost 10 percent of its population in he 1990s.

"There isn't any single thing that can ave the heartland," sums up Veeder, he county job-development expert. But the Internet can sure make it eas-

er to live and work here and tear down some of the barriers."

Instead of importng technology, other rand ideas for the reion's future involve reources it already has. 3reen energy, for exunple. The Plains oast some of the bestquality wind in the vorld to generate elecricity. In theory, North Dakota alone could provide a third of the nation's electric power less, in practice, beause wind offers only ntermittent power unike, say, a coal- or gasired plant).

Yet the state has



ECHO OF EARLIER
TIMES: On Wayne
Buchholz's ranch in
Bowman, N.D., buffalo
now roam again instead
of cattle. With an
estimated 300,000
head, the US now holds
more buffalo than at
any time since the early
1880s. One
controversial proposal
for America's frontier is
to create a 'buffalo'
commons' – a vast
unfenced region.

barely tapped the resource, in part because it can't export the energy. The nation's current transmission lines are operating near capacity, and utilities are reluctant to build new ones.

"If we had transmission, that would solve a lot of it," says Brian Parsons, program manager for wind applications at the federal National Renewable Energy Laboratory in Golden, Colo.

Last month, the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission proposed new incentives: for utilities to pool their regional transmission lines and build new ones. But even if the incentives work, building new lines will likely take six years or more, Mr. Parsons says.

Another frontier proposal is federal grassland reserves, which would restore the ecosystem while attracting tourists: Dan Licht, chief proponent of the plan and author of "Ecology and Economics of the Great Plains," estimates taxpayers would spend less money buying the land for the reserves than they currently do when the US Agriculture Department pays farmers to take their land out of production for 10 years. And the Plains, unlike almost anywhere else in the United States, retain enough wide open space to re-create complete ecosystems.

Here in western North Dakota, for

example, the federal government already owns more than enough land – but in piecemeal parcels – to create North America's Serengeti, where 25,000 buffalo could reestablish their old roaming patterns, Dr. Licht argues. It's "a site that would rival anything found in Africa." So far, however, the idea has few takers.

Ironically, the frontier vision that has garnered the most publicity – dubbed the "buffalo commons" – has also generated the most disgust among residents. Sixteen years ago, Frank and Deborah Popper proposed that since people were leaving the region anyway, the federal government should buy them out. With that land, the government could then create a vast unfenced region where buffalo would roam, prairie dogs and other wildlife would return, and the ecosystem would slowly revert to the condition that white set-

tlers originally encountered.
But the Poppers' plan came under heavy fire from many frontier communities, which resented the idea that their homes should disappear to make way for buffalo. Since then, the couple has given up on the federal government as a prime mover. Instead, they argue, the

commons is coming piecemeal as private ranchers; public parks, and Indian reservations boost the number of buffalo. With an estimated 300,000 head, the US now holds more buffalo than at any time since the early 1880s, says Andrew Isenberg, author of "The Destruction of the Bison."

And it's not just buffalo. Mountain lions are beginning to move back to the Plains from the Rocky Mountains after an 80-year absence: Elk are returning to places where they haven't been seen for 100 years.

If wildlife is making a comeback and humanity is leaving, then perhaps nature and economics are imposing their own eco-vision of the rural Plains, some environmentalists argue. Maybe the rural Plains can't cannot support large-scale settlement, they add.

At least, white settlement. The decline of the frontier Plains, after all, really represents the retreat of the white man. American Indian populations, by contrast, are growing.

Perhaps, just as suburban sprawl is forcing many communities to consider "smart growth" initiatives, the frontier is a lesson about smart decline.

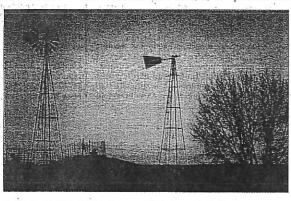
"It can be very difficult in many situations to come out for 'smart decline'; it seems un-American," says Mr. Popper, a land-use planner at Rutgers University in New Jersey. "We like to think every place will keep growing. But all these places that have traditional agricultural economies have fallen farther and farther behind. And we've got to find something to do with these places."

Of course, the Plains remain unpredictable. They've repeatedly confounded the optimists: historian Frederick Jackson Turner, who thought settlement would conquer the frontier; Thomas Jefferson, who believed small farms were the bulwark and future of America; even the railroad barons; who believed – or pretended to believe – their new transportation technology would bring prosperity to all those new boomtowns springing up beside the track every 10 miles or so.

Maybe the frontier's resilient and innovative people will confound the pessimists, too.

Perhaps the last word belongs to Teddy Roosevelt, who experienced first-hand the joys and isolation and struggle that the Plains frontier has always doled out to its residents. At his Elkhorn Ranch, some 40 miles southwest of Watford City, Roosevelt learned to love the outdoor life, and then lost half his fortune after a blizzard decimated his cattle. He drew from those events, not defeat, but a challenge.

"I never would have been President," he later wrote, "if it had not been for my experiences in North Dakota."



BLOWING IN THE WIND: In Bowman, N.D., farm windmills offer one vision of the future. In theory, North Dakota has the potential to suppply one-third of US electricity.

THE NEW CONTINENTAL DIVIDE

Overcrowded cities on the coasts. Dying rural communities in the interior. The way to save both may be to create a post-agrarian heartland

BY MICHAEL LIND

wo of our country's most cherished dreams are at risk. One is the American dream of upward mobility. The other is the romantic dream of settling the American heartland. These two dreams cannot be separated in the information age any more than they could be in the frontier past. Indeed, for many Americans in this century moving up may mean moving inland.

Today much of the Great Plains is undergoing a catastrophic demographic collapse. Stretching 1,600 miles from central Texas to the Canadian border and 750 miles across at its widest point, and containing all or most of ten states, this region accounts for a fifth of the land area of the United States, but only four percent of the population—about 12 million people. To put this in perspective, the population of the Los Angeles region is now greater than that of the Great Plains, an area five times the size of California.

Sixty percent of the counties in the Great Plains declined in population in the past decade. In 2001, ninetynine U.S. counties had populations in which four percent or more of residents were eighty-five or older; most of these counties were in rural areas in the Great Plains. Many heartland communities face the prospect of becoming ghost towns, as older inhabitants die and younger residents move away. Already more and more of what early Americans called "the Great American Desert" fits the nineteenth-century definition of frontier territory: an area with no more than six inhabitants per square mile.

Meanwhile, the coasts are rapidly filling up. Although coastal counties occupy only about 17 percent of the territory of the contiguous United States, they contain about 53 percent of the nation's population. By 2015 the coastal population will have increased by the equivalent of two Californias—71 million newcomers—since 1960. In the same period the Pacific Coast alone, adding more than 28 million people, will have undergone a 158 percent increase in population.

The percentage of the U.S. population living in coastal counties has remained relatively constant since the 1960s. But the increase in absolute numbers means that the coasts are getting crowded. The official population density of the United States is only seventy-six people per square mile—compared with 134 in Europe and 203 in Asia. Density on the coasts, however, is much greater (and in the interior is much less) than the average suggests. By 2010, when Cali-

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nia has 50 million people, it will have a coastal population density of 1,050 per square mile—considerably greater than the average in Europe or Asia. The Northeast currently has twice the population density of any other U.S. region; with 654 people per square mile, it is as crowded as Germany.

The crowding is intensified by immigrants, who are concentrated in a small number of "gateway" cities and states that are generally on the coasts. Owing to a high rate of immigration, which accounts for 70 percent of U.S. population growth today, the United States is experiencing a population increase just as other democratic nations are watching their populations decline.

The future demographic pattern of the United States may be a largely empty interior surrounded by a handful of densely populated metropolitan areas: "Bosnywash," the Boston-

HOLLOWING OUT THE HEARTLAND

The Great Plains are being slowly depopulated,

even as coastal congestion grows

New York-Washington corridor; "San-San" (San Diego to San Francisco); a "Texas Triangle" defined by Dallas, Houston, and Austin-San Antonio. The suburbs of expanding cities may fuse together, whereupon a process of inexorable "densification" may begin.

As a result of coastal growth and heartland decline, a new geographic divide is appearing in American society at the beginning of the twenty-first century: not the familiar rivalry between the rugged West and the effete East, or the Yan-

kee North and the Confederate South, but a growing divergence between the coasts and the interior. Beyond the slow death of many of America's small towns, this divide raises a number of serious issues.

High density

population, 1990 to 2000:

The most obvious relates to national politics, as the stark contrast in the 2000 election between densely populated "Gore country" and thinly populated "Bush country" suggests. Al Gore could fly from California to Washington, D.C., without passing over a single state in between that gave him its electoral votes. That power in Washington is only partly related to population density does not clearly benefit any region, but it does undermine the very essence of the democratic process. On the one hand, the Electoral College and the U.S. Senate exaggerate the political power of the prairie, the Great Plains, and the Mountain States. Wyoming's senators represent about half a million people; California's represent 34 million. Yet every state has exactly the same number of Senate votes. On the other hand, many heartland politicians raise much of their money from the wealthy in coastal enclaves, prompting questions about whether they

represent their local conquents or their distant donors.

The geographic divide is also an economic divide. During the past decade seventeen of the twenty fastest-growing counties in the United States were on the coasts, as were eighteen of the twenty counties that lead the nation in per capita income. Many CEOs and Hollywood stars seek a change of scenery at private ranches and resorts in the interior, where the descendants of once proud farming and ranching families wait on their tables or scrub their floors. As ambitious young people move out, entire regions enter an economic death spiral, characterized by an aging population, a shrinking tax base, and contracting public and private investment.

Meanwhile, inequality is growing on the coasts themselves. The 2000 census revealed a startling drop in median income in New York City, the result of depressed wages

> in neighborhoods in Brooklyn, the Bronx, and Queens where the immigrant population has grown the most. The census revealed a similar phenomenon in other northeastern cities and in southern Californiaalso areas of high immigration. Even if wages in densely populated cities and states were not being driven down by mass immigration, crowding would inevitably raise both realestate prices and the cost of living-to the detri-

ment of working-class Americans and the poor.

The nightmarish result might be an America in which the same wealthy elite lords it over both a largely nonwhite proletariat of maids, nannies, gardeners, and janitors in the coastal cities and over a mostly white working class of janitors, dude-ranch employees, and tourist-trap workers in the interior. This, in turn, might produce a hardening economic and racial hierarchy or even a class war. Whatever the outcome, the American dream of a middle-class society might be threatened.

he heartland needs people—and many Americans on the coasts need affordable housing. Why not bring them together?

Imagine a federal program that would help poor and working-class Americans to move not from crowded cities to suburbs in the same general area but from crowded states to low-density states where homes are cheaper and the general cost of living is lower. Compare the proportion of homes that a median-income family can afford in Kansas City (82.1 percent) with the number in Boston (51.3 percent), New

York City (42.1 percent), Los Angues (40.2 percent), and San Francisco (10.3 percent). The people who moved would not be the only ones to benefit financially. If the coastal areas did not replace those lost workers with migrants from elsewhere in the country or the world, wages there might rise as the labor market grew tight; and financial barriers to home ownership would decline even in big coastal cities.

Today only about six percent of America's land is residential (urban, suburban, and rural). About 20 percent is farmland, another 25 percent is rangeland, and the rest is wilderness and woodland. The United States grows far more food today than it did in 1954—on about three quarters the acreage. Since 1950, even as agricultural production has increased by more than 100 percent, land has been taken out of agriculture eight times as fast as it has been consumed by suburban development. Much of that abandoned farmland has gone back to forest, particularly in the Northeast. In the twenty-first century most of the land that is liberated from unnecessary agriculture can continue to be restored to wilderness—prairie, forest, or desert—even if a significant portion is reserved for new, low-density housing for migrants from the crowded coastal states.

The federal government subsidizes many farms and ranches that should have been shut down long ago. At best, farm subsidies provide life support for comatose communities. The government is planning to spend at least \$171 billion on direct farm subsidies alone over the coming decade. In much of the continental interior this money would be better used to promote a combination of service and manufacturing industries, as part of an ambitious economic-development program for the region.

Washington should also phase out the roughly \$2 billion in annual irrigation subsidies to western agribusinesses-of which almost half is used for surplus crops. Subsidized irrigation is rapidly depleting the High Plains aquifer under Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Kansas, Colorado, South Dakota, Wyoming, and Nebraska, which now provides about 30 percent of the groundwater used in the United States. The experiment with agriculture in the semi-arid Great Plains from the late nineteenth century onward was a mistake; it produced the Dust Bowl during the Depression and today's regional demographic decline. Cutting off such subsidies would not only end the western water wars but also drive agriculture eastward to states like Illinois and Iowa, where water is abundant and renewable. Within those states market pricing for water would encourage crop diversification and technological innovation in agriculture. Residential and industrial use, not agricultural use, should be the priority of water policy in the Great Plains and the desert and Mountain West, including major portions of California and Texas. And diverting water from agriculture to industry has the potential to generate far more jobs: according to the U.S. Geological Survey, for example, the same amount of water that supports a sixty-acre alfalfa farm with only two workers

could support a semi actor factory with 2,000 worker

The money saved by reducing direct and indirect agricultural subsidies could help to pay for a new high-tech infrastructure in the American heartland. All too many rural areas lack, for example, high-speed broadband access. The federal government, which subsidized the railroad in the nineteenth century and the electric-power grid and interstate highways in the twentieth, needs to build a transcontinental infrastructure once again. A hydrogen-based transportation system might be constructed from nothing in many rural areas, which would be spared the transition costs necessary in developed regions. And the government could encourage an air-taxi system, such as James Fallows has proposed in this magazine (see "Freedom of the Skies," June 2001 Atlantic), in which thousands of small regional airports would supplement our major hubs, potentially turning dying small towns into new centers of commerce and culture. An "interstate-skyway system" might be to America in the twenty-first century what the interstate-highway system was in the twentieth.

Rural Kansas will never be as scenic as San Francisco, or as crowded with libraries as Boston. But a post-agrarian heartland would be a nice place to live for the children and grandchildren of many of today's struggling coastal families. Fortunately, most jobs in the service economy can be performed anywhere. By 1997, 39 percent of Great Plains farm owners were already designating their main job as "other," rather than "farmer," on their tax returns. By the middle of the twenty-first century the archetypal Plains dweller might be a telecommuting professional.

Thomas Jefferson's idea that population dispersal would promote economic and social equality was shared by Abraham Lincoln, who signed the Homestead Act to provide western land to settlers from the East, and by Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who in 1925 expressed admiration for Canada's policy of seeking "distribution of [its] immigrants throughout every portion of Canada." By means of rural electrification, interstate-highway construction, tax benefits for homeowners, and the nationwide distribution of military plants and government contracts, FDR and his successors made it possible for immigrant slum dwellers and poor tenant farmers to become today's home-owning suburban majority.

In a second inland movement, wired professionals and well-paid service workers might make new lives in wide-open spaces that are slowly reverting from monotonous expanses of wheat and corn to wilderness. The first wave of heartland settlement was in the long-term perspective a failure, with consequences that are evident today. The high-tech pioneers of the twenty-first century, unlike their agrarian predecessors, may be able to reconcile the myth of the heartland with the American dream.

Michael Lind, a senior fellow at the New America Foundation, is the author of Made in Texas: George W. Bush and the Southern Takeover of American Politics (2002).