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The Problem of Declining Enrollment in the Elementary Schools of Codington County

W. F. Kumlien
Howard M. Sauer
C. Scandrette

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THE PROBLEM OF DECLINING EnROLLMENT
in
The Elementary Schools
of
Cодington County

W. F. Kumlien
Howard M. Sauer
C. Scandrette

In 1904, 1,470 pupils were enrolled in the rural schools of Cодington county

but in 1940 the total enrollment was only 687

Each figure represents 100 pupils

Department of Rural Sociology
Agricultural Experiment Station of the South Dakota State College of
Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, Brookings, South Dakota
EXPLANATORY NOTE

During recent years, enrollments in most South Dakota elementary schools have declined at a very rapid rate. The prevailing type of rural school district organization in most counties has proved rather ineffective in coping with dwindling enrollments and with the consequent high costs per pupil.

It is the purpose of this pamphlet to assist educators, school board members and other Codington county leaders, by analyzing the nature of the problem and by presenting suggestions for its solution as they have grown out of the experiences of other South Dakota communities.

* * * * * * *

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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This study was made possible through the cooperation of the State and Federal Work Projects Administration and the South Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station. The project is officially designated as W. P. A. Project No. 6.65-74-3-143. The authors gratefully acknowledge the cooperation of Miss Agnes Kieley, the Codington County Superintendent of Schools, from whose office most of the data used in this study was secured; and of high school superintendents who supplied lists of their tuition students.

* * * * * * *

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The Problem of Declining Enrollments in the Elementary Schools of Codington County

Population experts have been predicting for a number of years, that the downward trend of the birth rate will cause a serious decline in the elementary school enrollment. This prediction has been fulfilled in Codington county as is shown in Figure 1. From the enrollment of 1,747 in 1890, the total elementary enrollment climbed to a peak of 3,708 pupils in 1922, the county's highest enrollment. From 1922 the enrollment declined, with a period of fluctuation preceding a rapid drop to the 1940 enrollment of 2,634 pupils. Rural schools trace a very gradual but steady decline from the 1904 enrollment of 1,470 pupils to the 1940 enrollment of 687 pupils, which is far below the original 1890 enrollment of 1,747. Independent school enrollment reached its peak in 1922 with an enrollment of 2,392 pupils, and decreased to 1,499 pupils in 1940.

The corresponding decline in the Codington county birth rate is also indicated in Figure 1. From a high average of 27.6 births per 1000 of the population in 1920, the birth rate shows a fluctuating but consistent decline, finally reaching an average of 21.3 in 1940. The result of this downward trend in the birth rate has been a steady decline in the number of children who arrive at school age.

Figure 1. Elementary Enrollment Trends in Codington County, 1890-1940, and the Birth Rate Trend, 1920-1940

Source: Biennial Reports of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction and Reports of the State Board of Health
Figure 2. Population Gains and Losses in Codington County, 1930 - 1940

Legend:

- Gained
- Lost 10.0 - 19.9%
- Lost 0.0 - 9.9%
- Lost 20% or more

Source: Sixteenth U.S. Census, 1940.

Another basic factor in the elementary enrollment decline, the loss of population through outward migration, is illustrated by Figure 2. Between 1930 and 1940 the population loss in Codington County was only 2.5 percent. However, since the county seat, Watertown, showed a population increase of 3.9 percent, and the combined population of the incorporated towns increased 2.6 percent, it is evident that the population loss was suffered almost entirely by the rural areas. This fact is reflected in the relatively greater decline in rural enrollment.

In Codington County every township, with the exception of Lake township, lost in population during the 1930-40 period. The losses ranged from 2.3 percent in Leola township to 24.0 percent in Richland township. That a direct relationship exists between population decrease and enrollment decline is indicated in the fact that, usually, the townships which have the greatest loss in population (see Figures 2 and 3) have the greatest percent of decline in elementary school enrollments.
Figure 3. Elementary Enrollments in Codington County School Districts, 1920, 1930, and 1940

Legend: Top figure 1920 enrollment Middle figure 1930 enrollment Lower figure 1940 enrollment

* To Watertown
( ) Indicates District Number

Source: Records of Codington County Superintendent of Schools

In 1940, 56 elementary schools were in operation in Codington county, in addition to the five independent districts of Watertown, Henry, Florence, Wallace, and South Shore, and the consolidated district of Waverly.

The general downward trend in elementary enrollments is shown in Figure 3 which lists the enrollment of each district in the county for 1920, 1930, and 1940. A few districts gained in enrollment during the periods 1920-30 and 1930-40, but of the 68 districts in the county 43 or 63.2 percent showed a drop in enrollment for 1940, as compared with 1930 figures. Six rural schools had been closed in 1940, five were operating with five or less pupils, and 13 schools had only six to ten pupils. However the rural enrollment situation of Codington county is considerably better than many other counties, as is indicated by their 21 schools enrolling 11-15 pupils. A comparison of the enrollment figures for 1920 and 1940 rural schools counteracts this favorable outlook, since the 1920 enrollment of 1,209 pupils dropped to the 1940 enrollment of 687 pupils. While there was an average of 13.9 pupils in 1920, there was an average of only 12.3 pupils per school in 1940. Following unforeseen population changes, further enrollment losses may be expected in coming years.
Figure 4. Enrollment and Cost Per Pupil in Schools of Codington County, 1940.

Legend:
- Closed School
- 5 or fewer pupils
- 6 - 10 pupils
- 11 - 15 pupils
- 16 or more pupils

(N.B.) No Buildings, Pupils sent to Watertown.

Figures in circles represent cost per pupil in dollars.
Figures in ( ) represent district numbers.

Source: Records of Codington County Superintendent of Schools, 1940
As illustrated by Figure 4, wide variation is found in the cost per pupil in the schools of Codington county. Schools with the smallest enrollment almost invariably show the greatest per pupil cost. For instance, the cost per pupil of the rural schools of Codington county ranged from $33 per pupil in District 5 where the school enrolled 33 pupils, to $304 in District 43 where there was an enrollment of only three pupils.

Table 1 (below) indicates that the operation of schools for ten or fewer pupils is excessively expensive on a cost per pupil basis. This is particularly true for those schools enrolling only five or fewer pupils. The average cost per pupil for the five schools in this group was $238.83 as compared with the $97.57 average for all the schools of Codington county.

Table 1. Per Pupil Cost of Operating Schools of Various Sizes in Codington County, 1940.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size of School</th>
<th>Number of Schools</th>
<th>Number of Pupils</th>
<th>Total Cost</th>
<th>Average Cost Per Pupil</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>687</td>
<td>$67,041.55</td>
<td>$97.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closed</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 or fewer</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>5,015.63</td>
<td>238.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 10 pupils</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>19,943.71</td>
<td>133.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 - 15 pupils</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>24,538.36</td>
<td>90.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 or more pupils</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>17,543.85</td>
<td>71.60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Records of Codington County Superintendents of Schools
To reduce high per pupil costs, school districts throughout South Dakota have during recent years, closed a large number of schools, particularly those with diminishing enrollments.

During the 1937-38 school term District Number 47 paid a total operating cost of $1325.32. The following year the school was closed and the pupils were sent to another district with the home district paying the tuition and transportation costs. That year it cost the district $905.06, a saving of $420.26. A similar saving was made in District 16 during the school term 1938-39, it cost $632.91 to operate this school, as compared with a transportation and tuition payment of $216.29, the first year after the school was closed.

Since the cost per pupil increases as the number of pupils attending school decreases, and because there is a lack of intellectual stimulation which comes through competition, it seems advisable both from the standpoint of economy and educational efficiency to close a school when the enrollment drops to five or fewer pupils.

It is common knowledge among teachers that where there are only one or two pupils to a grade it usually difficult to get students interest-
Since 1921 it has been compulsory in South Dakota for school districts without high schools of their own to pay tuition costs for their students who attend high school outside the district. Figure 6 shows the areas from which high schools drew their Codington county tuition students, numbering approximately 204 in 1940. Realizing that the cost of operating their own secondary schools would be prohibitive, the people of the districts of Codington county have adopted the policy of sending their students to high schools already existing in town and village centers. Perhaps a similar plan could be adapted to elementary education. As elementary enrollments continue to shrink and cost per pupil to mount, it would appear to be a practical solution to close the rural schools and send the remaining pupils to village schools. In such a plan the home district would pay tuition and transportation costs. This plan has the advantage of economy, and of extending to farm children the superior facilities and techniques of the town school.

However, until such time as concentration of education services in town centers become more general, districts may well continue their policy of closing those schools in which enrollments fall below a minimum and sending their pupils to the nearest rural school still operating.
As may be seen in Figure 7, improved roads are found in most portions of the county. Good roads, together with the automobile, have placed the towns of the county within easy reach of a vast majority of farm families, revolutionizing many aspects of rural life. A number of services formerly performed by open-country institutions on a neighborhood basis have been shifted to town and village centers. Cases in point are the crossroads general store, and the open-country church. The farmer finds it increasingly convenient to go to the village center to buy groceries, clothing, and other necessities; to sell his produce; to attend church; and to engage in various forms of recreation. In addition, the farmer finds it increasingly convenient to send his sons and daughters to the village high schools.

In view of the trend toward concentration of service it would be a natural occurrence for many of the younger children to be taken into the village to attend elementary schools. Since village enrollments have also declined, the pupils from farming areas could probably be absorbed into the village and city schools without any great expansion of existing school plants.
How Certain South Dakota Rural Communities Are Successfully Solving the Declining Enrollment Problem

School boards confronted with the problem of declining enrollments should study their local situation carefully before taking action. The four plans listed below have all been tested by different South Dakota communities and have been found practical. One or the other of the first two alternatives has frequently been used as a temporary measure until further action was necessary. The last two plans are in the nature of a more or less permanent reorganization of the present rural district system.

**Cooperating with nearby rural schools**

When enrollment has dropped to five or fewer pupils certain districts have kept their district organization intact but have closed one or more schools. In cases where all schools of the district have been closed, the remaining pupils have been sent to the nearest adjoining rural school where satisfactory arrangements for tuition and transportation could be made.

**Tuition pupils to town schools**

Where satisfactory arrangements could not be made with nearby rural schools, the remaining pupils have been sent as tuition students to the nearest independent school in village or town. This plan is frequently no more expensive than the first, but has the further advantage of better educational experience than is usually possible in the one room school. In effect, it is essentially the same method which has been successfully used in sending farm children as tuition pupils to high school.

**Consolidation**

Where the second plan has been in operation for a number of years, town and nearby country districts have frequently consolidated into a single district. Such a plan has many advantages, but should first be tried out informally as a centralized school system before determining the details of consolidation.

**County-wide district plan**

In at least one west river county a county-wide district plan is now in operation. Under such a plan one county school board determines the location of rural schools and can regulate the number of such schools to fit in with the enrollment trend.
In 1920 there was an average of 22 pupils per rural school but by 1940 the average enrollment had shrunk to 12 pupils.
EXPLANATORY NOTE

During recent years, enrollments in most South Dakota elementary schools have declined at a very rapid rate. The prevailing type of rural school district organization in most counties has proved rather ineffective in coping with dwindling enrollments and with the consequent high costs per pupil.

It is the purpose of this pamphlet to assist educators, school board members and other Hamlin county leaders, by analyzing the nature of the problem and by presenting suggestions for its solution as they have grown out of the experiences of other South Dakota communities.

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Population experts have been predicting for a number of years, that the downward trend of the birth rate will cause a serious decline in the elementary school enrollment. The fulfillment of this prediction in Hamlin county is indicated by Figure 1. Since 1905 the Hamlin county enrollment has steadily declined, with the exception of a short period of gain climaxed in 1928 by an enrollment of 1,933 pupils. The decline which followed left the 1940 enrollment at 1,225, retreating toward the 1890 enrollment mark. Rural school enrollments show a sharper decline than either the independent or consolidated schools, with a drop from 1,185 pupils in 1928 to 651 pupils in 1940. Independent schools suffered a drop only from 450 to 329 in the same period.

The Hamlin county birth rate traces graphically a sharp decline, a gain, and from there a gradual loss, as does the total enrollment. From a peak of 27.8 births per 1000 of the population in 1920, the birth rate has dropped to the 1940 average of 15.9 per 1000 of the population. The decrease in birth rate has resulted in a steady decrease of children who reach the elementary school age.

Figure 1. Elementary School Enrollment in Hamlin County 1890-1940, and Birth Rate Trend 1920-1940

Source: Biennial Reports of State Superintendent of Public Instruction and Reports of the State Board of Health.
Population losses through outward migration have as direct an influence on the declining elementary enrollment as does the decreasing birth rate. A population loss of only 8.9 percent was experienced by Hamlin county, between 1930-1940, but this slight decline in population is very closely related to the rural enrollment decline in the district. During the same period, 1930-1940, Hayti, the county seat, showed a 7.6 percent increase in population, and the combined population for the incorporated towns of the district showed a 5.9 percent increase. Thus it is apparent that the bulk of the population losses was suffered by the rural areas, a fact which is reflected in the relatively greater decline in rural enrollments.

With the exception of Castlewood, all of the townships of Hamlin county lost in population during the 1930-1940 period. Losses ranged from 3.4 percent in Estelline township to 32.5 percent loss in Cleveland township. The direct relation of population loss to enrollment decrease may be seen by comparing Figures 2 and 3. The percentage of enrollment decline is usually greatest in counties with the largest percent of population loss. Estelline county in this case suffered a 35.6 percent loss in enrollment from 1930-1940, while Cleveland suffered a 51.75 percent loss.

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**Figure 2. Population Gains or Losses in Hamlin County, 1930 - 1940.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Township</th>
<th>Gained</th>
<th>Lost</th>
<th>Lost 10.0 - 19.9%</th>
<th>Lost 20.0 - 29.9%</th>
<th>Lost 30.0% or more</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brantford</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxford</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castlewood</td>
<td>+5.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamlin</td>
<td>-9.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dixon</td>
<td>-14.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orpahl</td>
<td>-12.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hayti</td>
<td>-5.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florence</td>
<td>-19.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dempster</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garfield</td>
<td>-18.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland</td>
<td>-32.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norden</td>
<td>-21.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estelline</td>
<td>-3.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Legend:
- **Gained**
- **Lost**
- Lost 0.0 - 9.9%
- Lost 10.0 - 19.9%
- Lost 20.0 - 29.9%
- Lost 30.0% or more

Source: Fifteenth U. S. Census, 1930 and Sixteenth U. S. Census, 1940
Figure 3. Elementary School Enrollments in Hamlin County Districts, 1920, 1930, 1940

Legend: Top figure 1920 enrollment  Middle figure 1930 enrollment  Lower figure 1940 enrollment
( ) Indicates District number

Source: Records of Hamlin County Superintendent of Schools

In 1940, 53 elementary schools were in operation in Hamlin county, in addition to the independent schools of Castlewood, Lake Norden, Hazel, and the consolidated schools of Thomas, Bryant, Estelline, and Hayti.

The general downward trend of elementary enrollment is indicated in Figure 3, which lists the enrollment of each county district for 1920, 1930, and 1940. While there were a few districts that gained in enrollment during the periods 1920-1930, and 1930-1940, a large majority showed a loss. In fact, of the 56 districts in the county, 47 showed a loss in enrollment for 1940 as compared with the 1930 figures. In 1940 three schools had been closed, four were operating with five or less pupils and 19 schools had only six to ten pupils.

A comparison of the enrollment figures for 1940 with those of 1920 shows the enrollment decline clearly. In 1920 there were 1,131 rural school pupils enrolled, compared to 651 in 1940. While there was an average of 21.75 pupils per school in 1920, there was an average of only 12.3 pupils in 1940. Barring unforeseen population changes, further enrollment losses may be expected in coming years, although the rate of decline may not be so rapid.
As Figure 4 indicates, a wide variation is found in the cost per pupil in the schools of Hamlin county. In general, the schools with the lowest enrollment, average the greatest per pupil cost. The cost per pupil of operating the rural schools of Hamlin county ranged from $33 in District 4, Dixon township, where the school enrolled 19 pupils, to $270 in District 3, Dempster township, where there was an enrollment of only two pupils.

Table 1 (below) is another numerical indication that the operation of schools for 10 or fewer pupils is excessively expensive on a cost per pupil basis. This fact is particularly true for schools enrolling only five or fewer pupils. The average cost per pupil for the four schools of this latter group was $135, as compared to $51.80, the average for all schools.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size of School</th>
<th>Number of Schools</th>
<th>Number of Pupils</th>
<th>Total Cost</th>
<th>Average Cost Per Pupil</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>651</td>
<td>$33,773.00</td>
<td>$51.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closed Schools</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 or fewer pupils</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2,295.00</td>
<td>135.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 10 pupils</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>11,574.00</td>
<td>75.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 - 15 pupils</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>10,184.00</td>
<td>47.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 or more pupils</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>9,720.00</td>
<td>36.68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Based on teacher's salaries only.

Source: Records of the Hamlin County Superintendent of Schools.
As a means of reducing high per pupil costs, school districts throughout South Dakota have, during recent years, closed a large number of schools, particularly those with diminishing enrollments.

During the 1936-37 school term, school operation costs for District 1, Dempster township, totaled $910.59. The following year the school was closed and the pupils were sent to another district with the home district paying the tuition and transportation bills. That year it cost District 1, Dempster, $392.70, a saving of $517.89.

Since the cost per pupil increases as the number of pupils attending school decreases, and because there is a lack of intellectual stimulation which comes through competition,* it seems advisable both from the standpoint of economy and educational efficiency to close a school when the enrollment drops to five or fewer pupils.

* It is common knowledge among teachers that where there are only one or two pupils to a grade it is usually difficult to get students interested.
Since 1921 it has been compulsory in South Dakota for school districts without high schools of their own to pay tuition costs for their students who attend high school outside the district. Figure 6 shows the areas from which high schools drew their Hamlin county tuition students, numbering 219 in 1940. Realizing that the cost of operating their own secondary school would be prohibitive, the people of the districts of Hamlin county adopted the policy of sending their students to high schools already existing in town and village centers. Perhaps a similar plan could be adapted to elementary education. As elementary enrollments continue to shrink and cost per pupil mount, it would appear to be a practical solution to close the rural schools and send the remaining pupils to village schools. In such a plan the home district would pay tuition and transportation costs. This plan has the advantage of economy, and of extending to farm children the superior facilities and techniques of the town school.
As may be seen in Figure 7, improved roads are found in most portions of the county. Good roads, together with the automobile, have placed the towns of the county within easy reach of a vast majority of farm families, revolutionizing many aspects of rural life. A number of services formerly performed by open-country institutions on a neighborhood basis have been shifted to town and village centers. Cases in point are the crossroads general store and the open-country church. The farmer finds it increasingly convenient to go to the village center to buy groceries, clothing, and other necessities; to sell his produce; to attend church; and to engage in various forms of recreation. In addition, the farmer finds it increasingly convenient to send his sons and daughters to the village high school.

In view of the trend toward concentration of service it would be a natural occurrence for many of the younger children to be taken into the village to attend elementary schools. Since village enrollments have also declined, the pupils from farming areas could probably be absorbed into the village and city schools without any great expansion of existing schools.
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School boards confronted with the problem of declining enrollments should study their local situation carefully before taking action. The four plans listed below have all been tested by different South Dakota communities and have been found practical. One or the other of the first two alternatives has frequently been used as a temporary measure until further action was necessary. The last two plans are in the nature of a more or less permanent reorganization of the present rural district system.

**Cooperating with nearby rural schools**

When enrollment has dropped to five or fewer pupils certain districts have kept their district organization intact but have closed one or more schools. In cases where all schools of the district have been closed, the remaining pupils have been sent to the nearest adjoining rural school where satisfactory arrangements for tuition and transportation could be made.

**Tuition pupils to town schools**

Where satisfactory arrangements could not be made with nearby rural schools, the remaining pupils have been sent as tuition students to the nearest independent school in village or town. This plan is frequently no more expensive than the first, but has the further advantage of better educational experience than is usually possible in the one room school. In effect, it is essentially the same method which has been successfully used in sending farm children as tuition pupils to high school.

**Consolidation**

Where the second plan has been in operation for a number of years, town and nearby country districts have frequently consolidated into a single district. Such a plan has many advantages, but should first be tried out informally as a centralized school system before determining the details of consolidation.

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In at least one west river county a county-wide district plan is now in operation. Under such a plan one county school board determines the location of rural schools and can regulate the number of such schools to fit in with the enrollment trend.