

Explaining Rural Conservatism: Political Consequences of Technological Change in the Great Plains

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Rural areas are conservative electoral strongholds in the United States and other advanced capitalist economies. But this was not always the case. What explains the rise of rural conservatism? This paper argues that technological change transformed not only agriculture but rural political preferences during the twentieth century. It studies a natural experiment: the post-World War II introduction of new irrigation technologies, which enabled farmers to irrigate otherwise arid land in the Great Plains using groundwater. Difference-in-differences analyses exploiting the shock's differential impact on counties overlying the Ogallala Aquifer—a pattern validated with remote-sensing data—show that technological change contributed significantly to the region's long-term conservative electoral transformation. Additional analyses, including comparison of individual policy preferences inside/outside the Ogallala Aquifer boundary, suggest that this was due to the rise of capital-intensive agriculture and the growing power of agribusiness. The findings demonstrate how new technologies made new politics in rural America.

INTRODUCTION

Conservative parties thrive electorally in rural areas in the US and other advanced capitalist economies (Cramer 2016; Rodden 2019). Particularly given the political overrepresentation of rural areas, the countryside is a critical source of electoral support for right-wing political parties. Yet this was not always the case historically (see, e.g., Lipset 1950; Luebert 1987). In the case of the US, rural voters were relatively centrist in their politics and often supported left-wing politicians, like those belonging to the Populist Party, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

What, then, explains the long-term transformation of rural areas into conservative electoral strongholds? In an important debate stoked by Frank's (2007) book—which asked “What’s the Matter with Kansas?”—scholars have puzzled over the growing dominance of the conservative Republican Party in poor and rural states, a phenomenon that appears to contradict canonical class-based theories of voting. Yet, closer inspection of micro-level survey data demonstrates that within these states, it is affluent individuals who are most conservative in their voting patterns (see, e.g., Bartels 2006; Gelman 2009).

Building on these debates, this paper explores the role of technological and economic change in political change in rural areas. Long-term technological change transformed American agriculture in the twentieth century with innovations ranging from the improvement of crop and animal varieties, to the refinement of fertilizers and pesticides, to various forms of mechanization, to the development of new methods for harnessing water for irrigation, especially groundwater (Anderson 2009; Olmstead and Rhode 2001; 2008; Worster 1992). Due to technological change, agricultural output quadrupled over the twentieth century in the US despite an 80% decline in labor usage (Pardey and Alston 2021).

Long-term technological change made agriculture more productive but also more capital-intensive, generating economies of scale that resulted in the winnowing of unproductive and precarious family farms, and their replacement by highly productive, business-like farms as well as the spatial agglomeration of agricultural industries—known jointly as agribusiness—which benefit from conservative economic policies, including limited government regulation and pro-business tax and spending policies. The growing economic and political power of agribusiness interests in rural areas has, this paper argues, played an important role in the long-term conservative transformation of rural political preferences and the growing electoral success of the Republican Party in rural areas.

To test the argument, this paper exploits a historical natural experiment in the American Great Plains: the post-war introduction of new irrigation technologies, which enabled farmers to irrigate otherwise arid land—but only in areas with access to groundwater. Without irrigation, the arid climate of the Great Plains is suitable

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Table of Contents Technological Change And The Rural Enviornment

1. Understanding the eBook Technological Change And The Rural Enviornment
 - The Rise of Digital Reading Technological Change And The Rural Enviornment
 - Advantages of eBooks Over Traditional Books
2. Identifying Technological Change And The Rural Enviornment
 - Exploring Different Genres
 - Considering Fiction vs. Non-Fiction
 - Determining Your Reading Goals
3. Choosing the Right eBook Platform
 - Popular eBook Platforms
 - Features to Look for in an Technological Change And The Rural Enviornment
 - User-Friendly Interface
4. Exploring eBook Recommendations from Technological Change And The Rural Enviornment
 - Personalized Recommendations
 - Technological Change And The Rural Enviornment User Reviews and Ratings

- Technological Change And The Rural Environment and Bestseller Lists
- 5. Accessing Technological Change And The Rural Environment Free and Paid eBooks
 - Technological Change And The Rural Environment Public Domain eBooks
 - Technological Change And The Rural Environment eBook Subscription Services
 - Technological Change And The Rural Environment Budget-Friendly Options
- 6. Navigating Technological Change And The Rural Environment eBook Formats
 - ePub, PDF, MOBI, and More
 - Technological Change And The Rural Environment Compatibility with Devices
 - Technological Change And The Rural Environment Enhanced eBook Features
- 7. Enhancing Your Reading Experience
 - Adjustable Fonts and Text Sizes of Technological Change And The Rural Environment
 - Highlighting and Note-Taking Technological Change And The Rural Environment
 - Interactive Elements Technological Change And The Rural Environment
- 8. Staying Engaged with Technological Change And The Rural Environment
 - Joining Online Reading Communities
 - Participating in Virtual Book Clubs
 - Following Authors and Publishers Technological Change And The Rural Environment
- 9. Balancing eBooks and Physical Books Technological Change And The Rural Environment
 - Benefits of a Digital Library
 - Creating a Diverse Reading Collection Technological Change And The Rural Environment
- 10. Overcoming Reading Challenges
 - Dealing with Digital Eye Strain
 - Minimizing Distractions
 - Managing Screen Time
- 11. Cultivating a Reading Routine Technological Change And The Rural Environment
 - Setting Reading Goals Technological Change And The Rural Environment
 - Carving Out Dedicated Reading Time
- 12. Sourcing Reliable Information of Technological Change And The Rural Environment
 - Fact-Checking eBook Content of Technological Change And The Rural Environment
 - Distinguishing Credible Sources

13. Promoting Lifelong Learning
 - Utilizing eBooks for Skill Development
 - Exploring Educational eBooks
14. Embracing eBook Trends
 - Integration of Multimedia Elements
 - Interactive and Gamified eBooks

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