

# **A Historical Review of Urban Cooperative Extension in the United States: Origin, Evolution, and Outlook**

Joshua T. Campbell<sup>1</sup>  
M. Craig Edwards<sup>2</sup>

## **Abstract**

*The United States is increasingly urbanizing, and the communities served by Extension look different today than in 1914 when the nation's Cooperative Extension Service was established. Many communities are generally more diverse than ever before and face complex challenges unique to urban environments. These factors have led to an ongoing discussion among Extension professionals regarding what form Cooperative Extension programs should take in the future and how strategic approaches to Extension may be different in urban contexts. This debate, however, is not a new one; the trend toward urbanization has been an issue since the early years of the Cooperative Extension Service. Using historical research methods, we analyzed the discussions around urban Extension nationwide from 1914 to the present-day and suggested implications about its future.*

## **Introduction**

On its founding through the Smith-Lever Act of 1914, the Cooperative Extension Service (CES) was created with the mission of aiding in the dissemination of useful and practical information (Hildreth & Armbruster, 1981) pertaining largely to agriculture and rural development in the United States. Its purpose was to foster change in American society by helping rural communities thrive. While the founding mission of the CES remains the same today, the populations it serves have changed. In 1914, a majority of the U.S. population resided in rural communities; today however, more than 80% live in urban areas and this trend brought significant and enduring demographic changes to many of the communities served by the CES (Ruefenapp, 2017).

## **Urbanization**

The U.S. and global populations have been climbing and steadily urbanizing since before the creation of the CES (Tiffany, 2017). The U.S. census conducted in 1790 reported that one-in twenty Americans lived in urban areas, and when the first Morrill Act was passed in 1862, one-in-five U.S. residents lived in cities (Tiffany, 2017). The CES is not immune to the impacts of urbanization and must evaluate how it responds by positioning personnel as leaders in addressing the challenges of urban environments (Fox & Garner, 2022; Ruefenapp, 2018). The U.S. Cooperative Extension System, i.e., a national entity with state-facing actors, was established when most Americans still lived in rural areas, but since its beginning the nation's demographic transition from predominantly rural to mostly urban was in motion (Tiffany, 2017). Considering the challenges and opportunities associated with this transition can inform and strengthen the delivery of Extension services in all U.S. communities (Tiffany, 2017), including urban settings.

## **Honoring the Past While Facing the Future – The Challenge**

---

<sup>1</sup> Joshua T. Campbell is a Assistant Extension Program Specialist in the Oklahoma Cooperative Extension Service at Oklahoma State University, 371 Legacy Hall, Stillwater, OK 74078, [Joshua.campbell@okstat.edu](mailto:Joshua.campbell@okstat.edu) ORCID# <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2337-5860>

<sup>2</sup>M. Craig Edwards is a Professor of Agricultural Education in the Department of Agricultural Education, Communications and Leadership at Oklahoma State University, 240 Agricultural Hall, Stillwater, OK 74078, [craig.edwards@okstate.edu](mailto:craig.edwards@okstate.edu). ORCID# <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4436-4450>

Although similarities persist in CES work across all geographic settings, dynamic conditions and increased diversity in cities present unique challenges *and* opportunities. Many land-grant institutions increasingly face calls to evaluate the ways they serve clientele through their CES arms as well as the clientele themselves, including strategies to engage more with urban audiences (Rivera & Sulaiman, 2009). To embrace effective urban Extension approaches, the CES needs not abandon its historic rural foci nor neglect providing strong rural programs, but rather should plan meaningful and efficacious approaches to providing Extension in urban America (Fox et al., 2017; Young & Jones, 2017). While the CES has made efforts to explore ways to best serve urban Americans (Cuite & Erickson, 2022), great demand remains to address the needs of *all* communities, including urban clientele (Burton et al., 2022; Young & Jones, 2017).

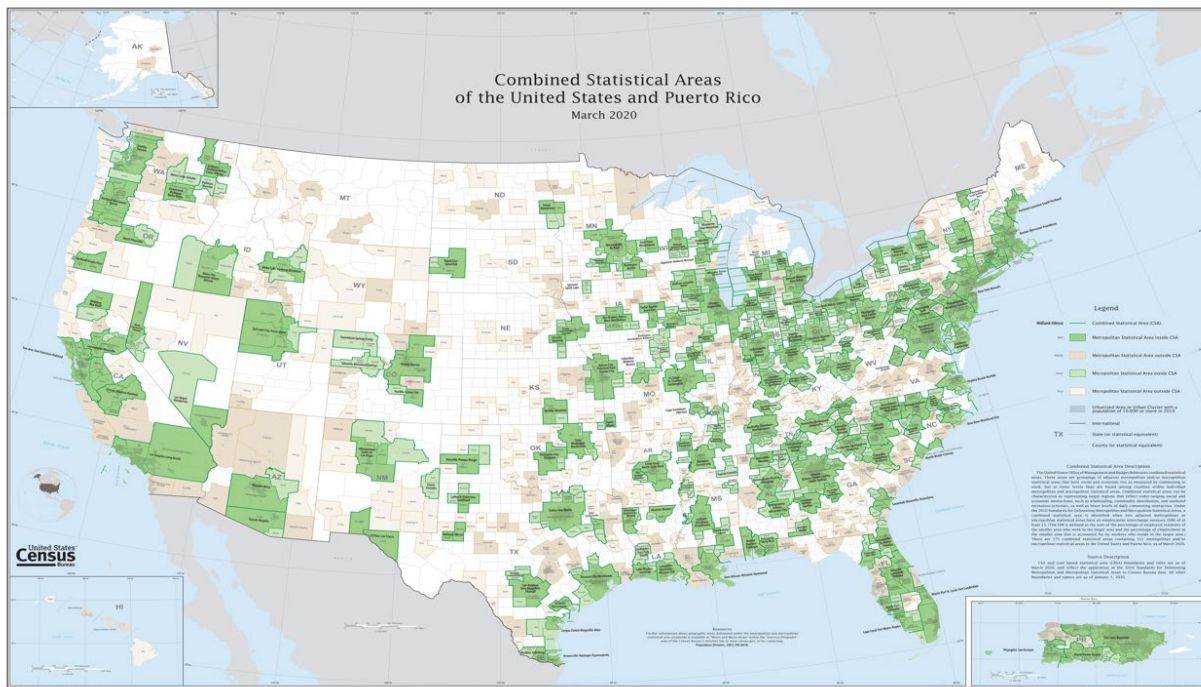
### What is Urban Extension?

The CES is well-positioned to address the diverse needs of urban communities (Cuite & Erickson, 2022). However, disagreement often emerges regarding what *urban* means in the context of Extension programming. Researchers and policymakers often use one of two federal systems to define urban and rural (Isserman, 2005). The U.S. Census Bureau separates the United States with the intent of differentiating between the two (see Figure 1). Whereas the federal government's Office of Management and Budget (OMB) focuses on the integration of *urban* and *rural* within *metropolitan* and *micropolitan areas* for the purpose of allocating resources (Isserman, 2005). The U.S. Census Bureau's definitions are based precisely on population ranges and densities. This approach results in urban-defined areas varying from large populations such as the New York–Newark metro with its 18 million residents and a density of 5,300 persons per square mile to small urban areas, for instance, George West, Texas with a population of 2,500, less than three square miles in size, and a density around 850 individuals per square mile (Isserman, 2005).

On the other hand, the OMB Rural-Urban Continuum Codes is a classification scheme distinguishing metropolitan counties by the population size of their respective metro areas, and nonmetropolitan counties by adjacency to metro areas (USDA-ERS, 2020). Counties are listed as *metro* or *non-metro* along a population gradient with a corresponding number code. For these reasons, the definition of *urban* for the sake of CES programming is complex and differs from state to state. Nonetheless, the reality of urbanization is becoming an increasingly important issue due to one-half of the U.S. population living in urban settings of 500,000 or more persons (Isserman, 2005), and serving this portion of the nation is an important priority for the CES. For this study, no rigid definition of *urban* was adopted for analyzing Extension programs, rather urban Extension was understood as specific activities and initiatives intended to strategically reach cities and other densely populated areas served by CES. This approach also increased the likelihood of avoiding *presentism* (Johnson & Christensen, 2012) that may have augmented our overlooking important and relevant sources from earlier eras.

**Figure 1**

Map of 2020 U.S. Census Bureau Metropolitan Statistical Areas of the United States



Note. Sourced from the U.S. Census Bureau website at <https://www.census.gov/data.html>

### Urban Extension Clientele

Urban areas have unique needs sometimes overlooked by traditional CES programs, necessitating modifications to how such operates in these venues (Ruemenapp, 2017). A primary difference between rural and urban audiences is that CES professionals serving urban communities work with larger and generally more diverse populations who may not be aware of the organization's role. This creates unique challenges less likely to be experienced in rural settings that have been served by the CES for long periods of time (Paulsen, 1973). Fehlis (1992) suggested that urban and rural communities face similar challenges, however, the underlying causes of these issues likely differed within each context, resulting in unique needs for divergent approaches to CES programming.

Even though more focus has been placed on the unique needs of urban populations and how to better serve this audience through the work of the CES (Fox et al., 2019), Warner et al. (2017) noted that urban populations remain a largely untapped, diverse, and important sector of potential clientele, and a greater understanding of the population was needed. For this reason, investigating the approaches to urban Extension over time may provide important insights into exemplary approaches in urban settings as well as the future of such programming while illuminating gaps or deficiencies that urban Extension programs should seek to address in the future.

### Purpose and Research Questions

This historical research study's purpose was to analyze the emergence of and events surrounding urban Extension in the United States over time. Two research questions guided this study:

1. How did the discussion of CES programming in urban settings evolve over time?
2. What key events and initiatives augmented the emergence and delivery of urban Extension over time?

### Methods and Data Analysis

The study's research questions were addressed by using historical research methods (McDowell, 2002). According to McDowell (2002), this research process involves evaluating and interpreting historical evidence and communicating these findings through a coherent and consistent account that enhances understanding of the phenomenon. As such, primary and secondary sources were retrieved by searching database subscriptions and through internet search engine queries. Key search terms for the study included city Extension, metropolitan Extension, urban Extension, urban land-grant, and urban Cooperative Extension. Primary sources included CES committee reports accessed through online searches, and hard copies of USDA Extension reports accessed through Oklahoma State University's library, browsing institutional websites, and online archives including the Ohio State University Urban Extension digital library. Secondary sources were peer-refereed journal articles and books on the CES, including references describing the work of significant historical actors in the history of CES (see Table 1).

**Table 1**

*Primary and Secondary Sources*

Type	Sources
Primary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Committee reports</li> <li>• USDA reports</li> <li>• State Extension service reports</li> <li>• Conference proceedings</li> <li>• Institutional websites</li> <li>• Ohio State University Urban Extension library resources</li> </ul>
Secondary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Peer-refereed journal articles</li> <li>• Books about Extension and its history</li> <li>• Biographies of important figures in Extension's history</li> </ul>

The authenticity and accuracy of findings were examined by applying external and internal criticism, respectively (Johnson & Christensen, 2012). Multiple sources were examined to verify and corroborate the accuracy of our findings (Johnson & Christensen, 2012). Wineburg's heuristic of *contextualization* regarding the evolution of historical documents and the key events revealed by such, especially the issue of *when*, was addressed by establishing a chronological order or timeline of major urban Extension events in the United States (Johnson & Christensen, 2012). Wineburg's attention to *where* was acknowledged by noting the urban or metropolitan setting in which significant meetings and conferences occurred regarding the topic of urban Extension (Johnson & Christensen, 2012). As noted above, an effort to avoid *presentism* (Johnson & Christensen, 2012), especially regarding operationalization of the term *urban*, was followed.

## Findings

### **Preparing the Ground: Before Enactment of the Smith-Lever Act**

The period leading up to formation of a national CES in the United States was marked by changes in American society, including the aftermath of the American Civil War, the Gilded Age, and the onset of World War I, among other major historical events. By 1907, many land-grant institutions were already engaged in some activities that could be described as Extension (Grattan, 1955). The Country Life Commission appointed by President Theodore Roosevelt and led by Liberty Hyde Bailey, dean of the Cornell University College of Agriculture, released a 1909 report detailing the need for increasing investment in rural America and is thought to have influenced formation of the U.S. CES (Ellsworth, 1960). Understanding the perspective of Liberty Hyde Bailey aids critical reflection about the historical purpose of land-grant universities and the CES because he viewed the two as not simply mechanisms for transferring technical information, but rather awakening communities to new ways of life in a democracy (Peters, 2006). Bailey saw the work of the CES as playing a vital role in the future welfare and harmonious existence of Americans in ways not entirely foreseeable or understood at the time of its formation (Shaffer et al., 2022). This vision positioned the organization's mission as service to people and its expertise as focused on any topics people needed or wanted to know and understand (Gordon & Schultz, 2020).

Carlson (1970) concluded that the U.S. Congress wanted a CES to increase agricultural production so the nation could spend less on the importation of food for a burgeoning population. Congress also wanted the CES to help maintain rural ways of life but, instead, according to Carlson (1970), due to the organization's efforts to improve farming efficiency, it paradoxically contributed to increasing urbanization with many Americans abandoning the rural lives and livelihoods that the CES had been established to strengthen and sustain.

### **1914 to 1945: Founding of the Cooperative Extension Service (CES) through the Great Depression and World War II Era**

Shortly after enactment of the Smith-Lever Act of 1914 formally establishing the U.S. CES, questions emerged as to what its role would be in cities. Leading up to formation of the CES, youth agricultural clubs gained popularity and support from the United States Department of Agriculture [USDA] (Uricchio et al., 2013) and these clubs spread rapidly through support from local community leaders (Graham, 1941). By 1919 the structure of 4-H was largely established (Fuller, 1985; Gordon & Schultz, 2020). One of the early leaders in youth development was Albert Belmont (A. B.) Graham of Ohio who is credited with establishing the state's first 4-H program in 1902 (Sundgren, 2021). Graham recognized the importance of youth programs in rural and urban communities alike and advocated for 4-H clubs to be adopted as a nationwide model (Fuller, 1985; Gordon & Schultz, 2020; Pangburn, 2012). As such, Graham was reported to have traveled to Washington, D.C. in 1930 to lobby for the development of urban 4-H programs (McCormick, 1984). The leadership of individuals such as A.B. Graham was foundational to the success of 4-H as a nationwide organization and enabled urban, small town, and rural youth alike to develop skills and stay connected to the rich agricultural traditions of the nation (Pangburn, 2012).

In 1937, the Extension Director of Washington State University stated that despite the negative effects of the Great Depression on urban areas, "[t]he movement of population from the farm to the city indicates the decreasing attractiveness of farm life. In the past twenty-five years, while the nation's population grew nearly 40 percent . . . the farm population declined" (Balmer, 1937, p. 14). A 1937 survey of rural trends during the Great Depression suggested that the years 1932 to 1936 would be remembered as perhaps the most significant period in development of the CES, largely because the emergency demands of the period forced it to shift into new territories, which required engaging more broadly with communities beyond agricultural production, including efforts in urban areas (Brunner & Lorge, 1937). Moreover, a 1939 report on the impact of land-grant universities recognized that the industrial revolution's advances in

manufacturing had tipped the balance of the U.S. population from rural to urban, diminishing the need of agricultural labor in many rural communities (Works & Morgan, 1939).

### 1945 to 1989: Post World War II through the Cold War Era

While the Country Life Commission identified the shortcomings of rural areas decades earlier (Ellsworth, 1960), scant research had focused directly on the needs of urban areas until 1954 when the American Association of Land-Grant Colleges and State Universities (AALGCSU) Committee on Problems of Urban Educational Extension reported the shift in population from rural to urban areas (AALGCSU, 1954). This committee surveyed Extension professionals to determine what services were offered to urban communities. It found that in most states the CES was serving urban clients but lacked the financial resources necessary to target specific urban issues and frequently struggled to adapt traditional, rural-focused programs to meet the needs of urban populations (AALGCSU, 1954). A lack of training for Extension staff serving urban populations was also identified as a challenge. Moreover, the committee reported that only a few states had designated personnel to serve urban populations. This report was one of the earliest efforts to show that unique needs existed between rural and urban clientele and specific approaches were needed to appropriately serve each population (AALGCSU, 1954).

In 1965, Emory J. Brown, a professor of rural sociology and Extension at Pennsylvania State University, published one of the earliest articles on urban issues in the *Journal of Extension* which suggested a need for new methods of providing Extension services to urban audiences (Brown, 1965). Brown (1965) argued that no other organization existed in rural areas to specifically serve their populations, but because many groups worked in urban settings the CES must identify its unique value and service purpose in urban America.

In 1966, the Ford Foundation published a report on urban Extension activities that suggested traditional Extension approaches would not be sufficient for serving the rapidly urbanizing population of the United States (Ford Foundation, 1966). The report identified many issues, including economic challenges, declining levels of education, poor housing conditions, and environmental concerns (Ford Foundation, 1966).

A report from the USDA and National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges (NASULGC) Extension Committee in 1968 recommended that the CES increase commitments to urban areas and diversify the training offered to its personnel to more effectively prepare them to address problems in urban areas (USDA-NASULGC, 1968). In 1969, the Expanded Food and Nutrition Education Program (EFNEP) was launched with a primary emphasis on large urban audiences and providing information to improve health and food safety in communities (National Institute of Food and Agriculture, 2020).

The Urban Growth and New Community Development Act of 1970 outlined a federal policy that emphasized the needs of urban areas (Paulson, 1973). However, a survey of state CES administrators conducted in 1973 identified barriers to the implementation of Extension in urban communities. As such, it listed personnel poorly equipped to address urban problems, difficulty adapting to meet urban needs, a limited research base for urban issues, the extreme diversity of urban populations, a public image of the CES as rural and agricultural, and the overwhelming number of people and needs of urban audiences, as fundamental challenges (Paulson, 1973). During this period, nationwide membership in 4-H peaked at approximately 7.5 million youth in 1974, however, 4-H clubs were racially segregated for many decades and did not fully integrate until 1975 (Howard & Wahle, 2022). 4-H expanded its programming in urban settings during the 1970s to combat the stereotype of being a rural, white, youth organization and began offering programs in collaboration with schools and after-school initiatives through partnerships with community organizations (Howard & Wahle, 2022).

Miller (1973) suggested that new models for the CES in urban settings should be considered and called for a “whole new methodology” (p. 58) of program delivery in urban areas. The model put forth suggested reclassifying county offices as either rural, urban, or metro. CES professionals in rural offices would continue to provide programs using traditional delivery methods. Whereas the urban offices would be expected to address the calls for traditional programming when asked, but also take on more diverse roles consistent with meeting the needs of urban clientele. These agents would not deal with a specific subject but rather a broad range of urban needs and coordinate with on-campus subject matter experts when needed (Miller, 1973). In contrast, the metro model would be an office focused on strategic initiatives and partnerships, the identification of emerging urban needs, and staffed with specialists educated in a variety of disciplines (Miller, 1973).

In 1981, a report on Extension programs in nine metropolitan areas, including Buffalo, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus, Indianapolis, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Seattle, and St. Louis, found key similarities regarding program areas but many differences in funding for such programming (Steele, 1981). In 1988, the first Big Cities Extension Conference was held in Minneapolis (North Central Region Urban Conference, 1988). This event was the first annual urban Extension conference and the precursor of today’s National Urban Extension Conference (Fox, 2024).

### 1990s to the Present Day

A USDA Extension task force formed in 1995 produced a report in 1996 that outlined a national agenda for urban Extension (CSREES, 1996; Fox, 2024). In 2002, the Extension Committee on Organization and Policy (ECOP) published a report titled, *The Extension System: A Vision for the 21st Century*, which proposed greater emphasis on addressing contemporary issues of relevance to constituents beyond traditional, rural settings and called on CES leadership to respond to changing societal needs (Bull et al., 2004).

In 2006, the Western Extension Directors Association (WEDA) tasked the Western Regional Program Leadership Committee to identify the characteristics of western U.S. urban areas and explore conceptual models for metropolitan CES work (Western Center for Metropolitan Extension & Research, n.d.). The committee produced an *Urban Task Force* report in 2010 which recommended ways urban Extension personnel could better collaborate in their work (Western Extension Directors Association Urban Task Force, 2010). In 2011, the North Central Cooperative Extension Association facilitated an urban food system symposium to plan for strategic approaches regarding urban food system issues. The report developed from this event identified a list of issues related to metropolitan food systems the CES was uniquely positioned to address, including opportunities for collaboration on metropolitan food system issues and programs among the institutional participants (Taylor, 2011).

As a result of the *Urban Task Force* report (Western Extension Directors Association Urban Task Force, 2010), the Western Center for Metropolitan Extension and Research (WCMER) was established in 2014 by the WEDA with financial support from the association (Western Center for Metropolitan Extension & Research, n.d.). In 2016, the Western Center model was expanded to recognize the need to foster collaboration and support for urban Extension nationwide. This initiative ultimately led to the WCMER transitioning to the National Urban Research and Extension Center (NUREC) in 2021, expanding its focus to become a nationwide membership-based organization for land-grant universities that facilitates collaborative research and application of science-based results to improve the health and wellbeing, economic growth, and natural environments of urban areas (Western Center for Metropolitan Extension & Research, 2024).

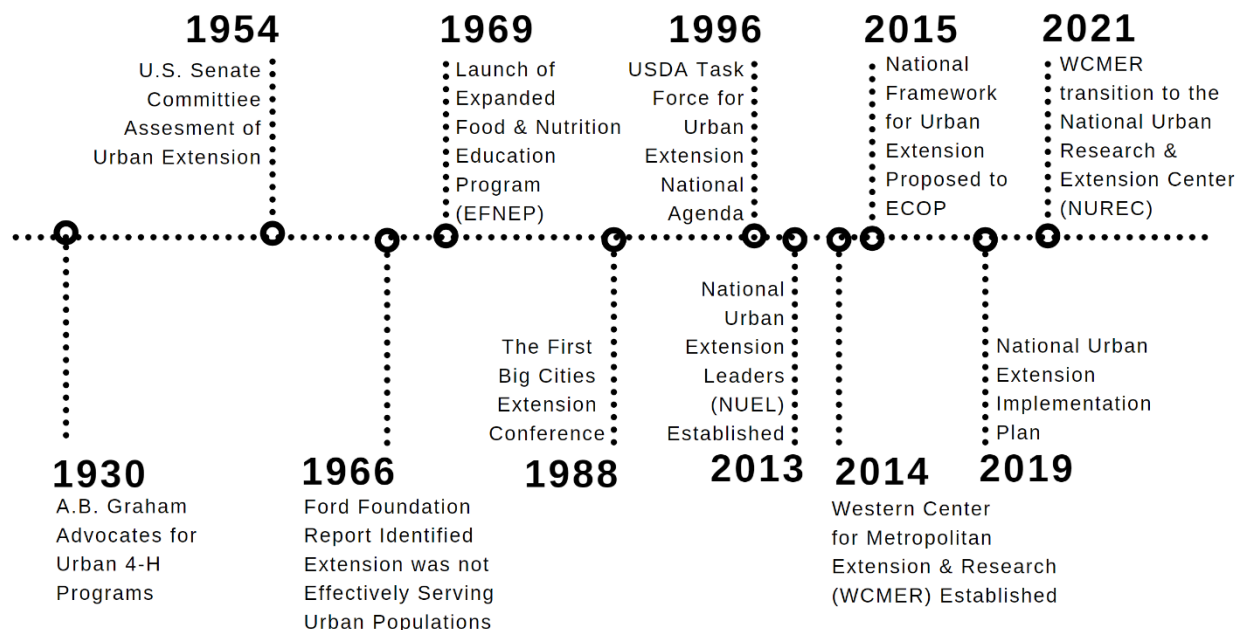
The National Urban Extension Leaders (NUEL) network was created in 2014 (Fox, 2024) and in 2015 this group proposed a new framework for urban Extension (NUEL, 2015) that was approved by ECOP. It was formally set in motion as an implementation plan in 2019 (NUEL, 2019). As such, advancing

urban Extension is now one of ECOP’s top priorities (Fox et al., 2017). The National Framework for Urban Extension (NFUE) was adopted to fortify the relevance and long-term success of the CES in urban settings (NUEL, 2015). The NFUE offers strategic analysis of urban Extension opportunities through four key considerations identified as 1) Positioning: How the CES is positioned at community, regional, state, and national levels; 2) Programs: How the CES addresses the multitude of issues and priorities in cities; 3) Personnel: How the CES attracts, develops, retains, and structures competent talent; and 4) Partnerships: How the CES collaborates to leverage resources for collective impact (Fox et al., 2017).

In 2024, the NUREC began an initiative to explore research, partnership, and collaboration opportunities among professionals at land-grant institutions and the National League of Cities (NUREC, 2024). Figure 2 summarizes many of the major urban Extension events occurring in the United States over time.

Figure 2

Timeline of Major CES Events Supporting the Expansion of Urban Extension in the United States, 1930 to 2021



### Conclusions, Implications, Challenges, and Opportunities

Although mainly established for the purpose of supporting rural, agricultural communities, the U.S. CES has considered the need for programs in urban settings for as long as it has been in existence (Brown, 1965; Fox, 2024). Most of the early efforts to develop Extension programs with urban audiences in mind emerged in the Rust Belt region of the north central and northeastern parts of the nation and in the west, though examples from across the United States can be found. Throughout its history, the CES and its workforce sought to respond to changing societal and community needs, including to help the nation recover from the effects and aftermaths of World War I, the Great Depression, and World War II, among other seminal events in our national life (Elliott-Engel et al., 2022).

The mission of the CES expanded over time to incorporate areas of health and wellbeing, community development and resilience, business and entrepreneurship development, and from largely rural

in its service orientation to serving communities across the nation's population continuum (Elliott-Engel et al., 2022). The rapid urbanization that marked the nation's 20th century gave rise to discussions of new models of CES programs that gained momentum in the 1960s (see Figure 2). These discussions led to the development of national frameworks and models for urban Extension in the late 20th century and, ultimately, to a unified national framework for urban Extension that emerged in the 2010s. This national focus furthered the creation of urban Extension strategic priorities, programs, and personnel in many states to address the needs of urban clientele.

Nevertheless, despite its ability to weather many changes and upheavals in American society over time, the CES still faces numerous challenges, particularly regarding engagement in urban settings. For instance, the CES continues to be thought of in many urban contexts as exclusively rural and white (Shaffer & Fields, 2022). Although today's 4-H is committed to serving all youth, in all communities, the stereotype of it being an organization for rural, white youth has been difficult to overcome and still persists (Howard & Wahle, 2022). Many youth in urban settings often feel that the organization has little to offer them (Howard & Wahle, 2022). This and other contemporary challenges of the 21st century demand that we consider how and to what extent the CES will play a role in addressing current and future social, economic, and environmental challenges unique to urban settings and their citizens (Shaffer & Fields, 2022).

Even though disparate and differently organized, and administered, urban approaches to Extension increased during the last few decades and will likely experience further development in the years ahead, as urban populations expand and diversify even more. The recognition of changes and challenges in the nation's communities has positioned urban Extension programming as a priority at the national level (Fox et al., 2017). As the CES seeks to better engage with urban clientele, it must adapt to meet the shifting needs of their communities. Our understanding of this phenomenon through a historical lens should better prepare CES professionals to meet these needs and those that have yet to arise. This understanding may also assist other actors in learning how they can better collaborate with the CES to meet the needs of urban communities, not only now but in the decades ahead.

Over the last century, the CES has proven to be adaptable to change and now engages across the rural-urban continuum by providing support to an array of communities (Shaffer & Fields, 2022). Today, urban Extension programs are taking place in many states and concerted research efforts are underway to solidify the CES as an important resource in urban settings. Examples can be found of current efforts to engage urban communities with Extension programs. For instance, Fox (2024) highlighted case studies of successful urban programs that included Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM) related programming in New Jersey, as offered by Rutgers University 4-H faculty; innovative food and Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) programming, as provided by community nutrition Extension professionals at The Ohio State University in Cleveland, Ohio; diabetes prevention programming, as offered by Extension personnel at the University of Idaho; environmental stewardship programs, as facilitated by Agricultural and Natural Resources staff at University of Florida/IFAS in the Tampa Bay area; and career readiness and job searching programming, as made available by Family and Consumer Sciences (FCS) staff in Kentucky to name a few. As long as the CES continues to evolve in concert with our nation's needs and aspirations, including an ever-swelling, diverse, and dynamic urban populace, the organization's footprint in and relevance to urban areas is likely to grow while helping that clientele to prosper.

## References

American Association of Land-Grant Colleges and State Universities Committee on Problems of Urban Educational Extension. (1954). *A study of problems and practices of Cooperative and general Extension services in land-grant colleges and universities and non-land-grant state universities: Senate committee on problems of urban educational Extension for the Association of Land-Grant*

- Colleges and Universities*. <https://urban-extension.cfaes.ohio-state.edu/sites/urban/files/imce/1954.pdf>
- Balmer, B. E. (1937). *Cooperative extension work in agriculture and home economics*. State College of Washington and U.S. Department of Agriculture Cooperating. Retrieved from [file:///C:/Users/User/Downloads/cewahe\\_1937\\_04\\_19\\_n81%20\(1\).pdf](file:///C:/Users/User/Downloads/cewahe_1937_04_19_n81%20(1).pdf)
- Brown, E. J. (1965). Adapting Extension to urban environment. *Journal of Extension* [On-line], 3(1), 11-18. <https://archives.joe.org/joe/1965spring/1965-1-a2.pdf>
- Bull, N. H., Cote, L. S., Warner, P. D., & McKinnie, M. (2004). Is extension relevant for the 21st century? *Journal of Extension*, 42(6), Article 3. <https://tigerprints.clemson.edu/joe/vol42/iss6/3>
- Brunner, E. & Lorge, I. (1937). *Rural trends in Depression years: A survey of village-centered agricultural communities 1930–1936*. Columbia University Press. <https://doi.org/10.7312/brun92684>
- Burton, D., O’Neil, L., Yelland, E., Stluka, S., & Rennekamp, R. (2022). Cooperative Extension in urban America: Place-based approaches for improving health. *Journal of Human Sciences and Extension*, 10(2), 6. doi:<https://doi.org/10.54718/GBSM8564>
- Carlson, R. A. (1970). Cooperative Extension: A historical assessment. *Journal of Extension*, 8(3), 10-15. <https://archives.joe.org/joe/1970fall/1970-3-a2.pdf>
- Cooperative State Research, Education, & Extension Service [CSREES] (1996). *Urban Extension: A national agenda – A report of the National Extension Urban Task Force*. <https://books.google.com/books?id=1Hq9HAAACAAJ>
- Cuite, C. L., & Errickson, L. B. (2022). Strengthening urban food systems through Extension programming and community engagement: A case study of New Brunswick, New Jersey. *Journal of Human Sciences and Extension*, 10(2) 26-43. <https://doi.org/10.54718/INUX6753>
- Elliott-Engel, J., Crist, C., & James, G. (2022). The power of Extension: Research, teaching, and outreach for broader impacts. In D. Westfall-Rudd, C. Vengrin, & J. Elliott-Engel (Eds.), *Teaching in the university: Learning from graduate students and early-career faculty* (pp. 1-20). Virginia Tech College of Agriculture and Life Sciences. <https://doi.org/10.21061/universityteaching>
- Ellsworth, C. (1960). Theodore Roosevelt’s country life commission. *Agricultural History*. 34(4), 155-172. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3741109>
- Fehlis, C. P. (1992). Urban extension programs. *Journal of Extension*, 30(2), 2FEA3. <https://archives.joe.org/joe/1992summer/a3.php>
- Ford Foundation. (1966). *Urban Extension: A report on experimental programs assisted by the Ford Foundation*. <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED011095.pdf>
- Fox, J. (2024). Extension programming to enhance urban well-being. In M. Rosario, T. de Guzman, & H. Hatton (Eds.), *Extension education and the social sciences: Uplifting children, youth, families and communities* (pp. 64-93). Cambridge University.
- Fox, J., & Garner, S. (2022). Futuring perspectives and practices for urban extension. *Journal of Human Sciences and Extension*, 10(2), 184-207. <https://doi.org/10.54718/MBKE5194>

- Fox, J. M., Ruemenapp, M. A., Proden, P., & Gaolach, B. (2017). A national framework for urban Extension. *Journal of Extension*, 55(5), Article 21. <https://tigerprints.clemson.edu/joe/vol55/iss5/21>
- Fuller, W. E. (1985). A. B. Graham: Country schoolmaster and Extension pioneer [Review of *A. B. Graham: Country Schoolmaster and Extension Pioneer*]. *Agricultural History*, 59(4), 615–617. University of California Press. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3743778>
- Gordon, H. R. D., & Schultz, D. (2020) *The history and growth of career and technical education in America* (5th ed.) Waveland Press, Inc.
- Graham, A. B. (1941). Boys' and girls' agricultural clubs. *Agricultural History*, 15(2), 65–68. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3739651>
- Hildreth, R. J., & Armbruster, W. J. (1981). Extension program delivery: Past, present, and future: An overview. *American Journal of Agricultural Economics*, 63(5), 853-858. [doi.org/10.2307/1241257](https://doi.org/10.2307/1241257)
- Howard, J., & Wahle, A. (2022). Reaching marginalized audiences through positive youth development programming: Challenges when influencing constituents do not agree that 4-H should be open to all. In N. I. Fields & T. J. Shaffer (Eds.), *Grassroots engagement and social justice through Cooperative Extension* (pp. 97-108). Michigan State University.
- Isserman, A. M. (2005). In the national interest: Defining rural and urban correctly in research and public policy. *International Regional Science Review*, 28(4), 465–499. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0160017605279000>
- Johnson, B., & Christensen, L. (2012). *Educational research: Quantitative, qualitative, and mixed approaches* (4th edition). SAGE.
- McCormick, V. E., & McCormick, R. W. (1984). *A. B. Graham country schoolmaster and Extension pioneer*. Cottonwood Publications.
- McDowell, W. H. (2002). *Historical research: A guide*. Longman.
- Miller, J. R. (1973). Are new models for local Extension organization needed? *Journal of Extension*, 11(1), 57-66. <https://archives.joe.org/joe/1973spring/1973-1-a6.pdf>
- National Institute of Food and Agriculture (NIFA). (2020) *About EFNEP*. <https://www.nifa.usda.gov/grants/programs/about-efnep>
- National Urban Extension Leaders. (2015). *A national framework for urban extension: A report from the National Urban Extension Leaders: De Ciantis, D., Fox, J., Gaolach, B., Jacobsen, J., Obropta, C., Proden, P., Young, J.* Author. [https://urban-extension.cfaes.ohiostate.edu/sites/urban/files/imce/NUELUrbanInitiativeFramework\\_032716FINAL.pdf](https://urban-extension.cfaes.ohiostate.edu/sites/urban/files/imce/NUELUrbanInitiativeFramework_032716FINAL.pdf)
- National Urban Extension Leaders. (2019). *National urban Extension initiative: Implementation plan. A report from the National Extension Leaders: Brown, M., Debose, N., Edgars, C., Gromko, A., Henderson, J., Holmes, K., Miller, J., Parker, C., Riggins, T., Rogers, B., Stovall, C., & York, D.*

- <https://nuel.extension.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/NUEL-Implementation-Plan-Final-April-2019.pdf>
- National Urban Research & Extension Center. (2024). *What is NUREC?* National Urban Research & Extension Center. <https://nurec.extension.org/>
- North Central Region Urban Conference (NCRUC). (1988). *Extension in big cities: Increasing values for urban residents*. St. Paul, Minnesota. <https://urban-extension.cfaes.ohio-state.edu/sites/urban/files/imce/Big%20cities%20St%20Paul%201988.pdf>
- Pangburn, B. N. (2012). 4-H and civic engagement: The evolution of 4-H in the United States, 1980-present [Master's thesis, Ohio University]. *OhioLINK Electronic Theses and Dissertations Center*. [http://rave.ohiolink.edu/etdc/view?acc\\_num=ohiou1331256156](http://rave.ohiolink.edu/etdc/view?acc_num=ohiou1331256156)
- Paulson, B. (1973). Status of Extension's urban programming. *Journal of Extension*, 11(1) 23-34. <https://archives.joe.org/joe/1973spring/1973-1-a2.pdf>
- Rivera, W. M., & Sulaiman, V. R. (2009). Extension: Object of reform, engine for innovation. *Outlook on Agriculture*, 38(3), 267-273.
- Ruemenapp, M. A. (2017). America's changing urban landscape: Positioning Extension for success. *Journal of Human Sciences and Extension*, 5(2), 6-21. <https://www.jhseonline.com/article/view/706>
- Ruemenapp, M. A. (2018). Factors influencing delivery of Cooperative Extension Service programs to urban audiences [Doctoral dissertation]. *Michigan State University*.
- Shaffer, T. J., & Fields, N. I. (2022). Introduction. In N. I. Fields & T. J. Shaffer (Eds.), *Grassroots engagement and social justice through Cooperative Extension*. Michigan State University (pp. ix-xvii).
- Shaffer, T. J., Peters, S. J., & Smith Jr., M. D. (2022). Early chapters of Extension: Land grants, segregation, and the development of democratic programming. In N. I. Fields & T. J. Shaffer (Eds.), *Grassroots engagement and social justice through Cooperative Extension*. Michigan State University (pp. 3-30).
- Steele, S. M. (1981). *Cooperative Extension programming in 9 metropolitan counties 1980-81*. University of Wisconsin-Extension. <https://urban-extension.cfaes.ohio-state.edu/sites/urban/files/imce/correct%20through%2073.pdf>
- Sundgren, K. (2021). Food goes to war: 4-H and Extension during World War II (Master's thesis). *Kansas State University*. <https://hdl.handle.net/2097/41732>
- Taylor, G., Shepard, R., & Vandehaar, A. (2011). *Report of the North Central Cooperative Extension Association Metropolitan Food Systems Symposium*. North Central Cooperative Extension Association. <https://urban-extension.cfaes.ohio-state.edu/sites/urban/files/imce/FoodSystemsReport.pdf>
- Tiffany, J. S. (2017). Extension in the City: Meeting the challenges of scale. *Journal of Human Sciences and Extension*, 5(2), 5. doi:<https://doi.org/10.54718/GOBB7339>

- Uricchio, C., Moore, G., & Coley, M. (2013). Corn clubs: Building the foundation for agricultural and Extension education. *Journal of Agricultural Education*, 54(3), 224-237. doi:10.5032/jae.2013.03224
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2022). *Notice 87 FR 16706*. U.S. Department of Commerce, 16706–16715. <https://www.federalregister.gov/d/2022-06180>
- U.S. Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service (USDA-ERS). (2020). *Urban influence codes*. Author. <https://www.ers.usda.gov/data-products/urban-influence-codes.aspx#.U3E1alfJVfo>
- USDA-NASULGC. (1968). *A People and a spirit: A report of the Joint USDA-NASULGC Study Committee on Cooperative Extension*. Colorado State University, Cooperative Extension Service. <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED029195>
- Warner, L. A., Vavrina, C. S., Campbell, M. L., Elliott, M. L., Northrop, R. J., & Place, N. T. (2017). A strategic plan for introducing, implementing, managing, and monitoring an Urban Extension platform. *Journal of Extension*, 55(3), Article 22. <https://tigerprints.clemson.edu/joe/vol55/iss3/2>
- Western Center for Metropolitan Extension & Research. (2024.). *Wester Center for Metropolitan Extension & Research: Partnering opportunities with cities*. <https://metroextension.wsu.edu/2024/03/22/partnering-opportunities-with-cities/>
- Western Extension Directors Association Urban Task Force. (2010). *Final report. Extension in the urban West*. Western Region Program Leaders Committee. [https://view.officeapps.live.com/op/view.aspx?src=https%3A%2F%2Fweda.extension.org%2Fwp-content%2Fuploads%2F2021%2F05%2Ffinal\\_report\\_of\\_the\\_urban\\_task\\_force-april\\_2010.docx](https://view.officeapps.live.com/op/view.aspx?src=https%3A%2F%2Fweda.extension.org%2Fwp-content%2Fuploads%2F2021%2F05%2Ffinal_report_of_the_urban_task_force-april_2010.docx)
- Works, G. A., & Morgan, B. (1939). *The land-grant colleges* (Vol. 10). US Government Printing Office. [https://books.google.com/books?id=6TERzYBH8lsC&ots=GfhY56vJFH&dq=Works%2C%20G.%20A.%2C%20%26%20Morgan%2C%20B.%20\(1939\).%20The%20land-grant%20colleges&lr&pg=PR1#v=onepage&q=Works,%20G.%20A.,%20%20Morgan,%20B.%20\(1939\).%20The%20land-grant%20colleges&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=6TERzYBH8lsC&ots=GfhY56vJFH&dq=Works%2C%20G.%20A.%2C%20%26%20Morgan%2C%20B.%20(1939).%20The%20land-grant%20colleges&lr&pg=PR1#v=onepage&q=Works,%20G.%20A.,%20%20Morgan,%20B.%20(1939).%20The%20land-grant%20colleges&f=false)
- Young, J. A., & Jones, K. (2017). Urban Extension—Reflections on the past—A look to the future. *Journal of Human Sciences and Extension*, 5(2), 11. <https://doi.org/10.54718/YQOW1592>