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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ATTACHMENT TO A
VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATION AND CONFORMING BEHAVIOR

by

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INTRODUCTION

Sociology, Merton asserts, has always centered on the idea of behavior being group determined. More recently the idea has gained general acceptance that people frequently orient themselves to groups other than their own in shaping their behavior and evaluations (60, p. 282). This idea of a "reference group," was first used by Hyman a scant two decades ago (79, p. 562).

From a theoretical viewpoint, a question may be raised as to the relative normative influence of the group on its formal members, contrasted to its influence on outsiders, either those who aspire to membership or those who do not aspire to membership.

Closely associated with this question is whether the group affects the behavior of persons who, while not necessarily formal members, interact with members in a group context or setting. This relationship - - which might be termed "attachment" - - is analytically different from the psychological, person-centered aspiring to membership idea subsumed under the term "reference group." Examples would include the Protestant who attends a Catholic school or university and perhaps begins behaving as a Catholic - - or the farmer who buys most of his farm supplies from the local Farm Bureau store and begins acting like a Farm Bureau member even though he has not paid his dues and thus not become a formal member.

Another theoretical issue is whether a voluntary association such as the Farm Bureau or National Rifle Association - - in which rank and file members presumably interact as organizational members to a very limited extent - - significantly influences the behavior of its members and

in what way.¹

This issue becomes important when related to the farm organization, because the solution of rural problems including low farm income problems demands a certain degree of consensus in a representative democracy such as the United States.

Especially since World War II a chronic tendency for U. S. farm output to outrun domestic and foreign export demand has come to light. Farmers have produced an expanding quantity of food and fiber, despite a decline in the quantity of farm labor used and even in the acres of crop land farmed. They have done this by employing an increasing quantity of productive new capital inputs developed through public and private research - - and produced and marketed by the nation's growing postwar industrial complex. Because of favorable cost relationships, these new capital items have substituted for and thus replaced both farm labor and land (38, p. 4).

At the same time, as the nation has become more industrialized, average nonfarm incomes have risen. But the demand for food has become

¹In contrast, it is generally assumed that a primary group such as the family exerts a profound influence on behavior. In this connection, Dotson, in investigating patterns of voluntary association, concluded: "The central fact which emerges . . . is the important role which family and kinship continue to play in providing for the companionship and recreational needs of the persons interviewed. Two-fifths of husbands and wives in the sample had no intimate friends outside the family and kin groups." (22, p. 687)

The limited interactional involvement of rank and file members of a voluntary association contrasts also with complex, Gemeinschaft-type formal organizations such as the "Mormon" church congregation (organized ward of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints), which provides religious, cultural, recreational, economic activities and support - - a total way of life to all of its members who will affiliate.

increasingly inelastic - - unresponsive to changes either in food prices or consumer income. This relatively fixed demand, coupled with an increasing supply of food, has depressed relative farm prices and farm income.

Under these conditions there has been much discussion, debate and controversy among farmers and others acutely affected by agriculture. Congress has adopted varied, changing and sometimes conflicting farm legislative programs. Farm organizations have disagreed over what ought to be done.

Theoretically, rural people have joined farm organizations to seek, through collective means, goals which they could not reach through their own individual efforts. Presumably reflecting the consensus of their members, farm organization leaders have taken stands on various principles related to national farm legislation and on the legislative programs themselves.

Some farm organizations such as the Farm Bureau adopt resolutions at annual state and national conventions assertedly reflecting broad grass roots support of members. The American Farm Bureau Federation claims - - and with good reason - - to be the nation's largest farm organization. It claims to be the voice of agriculture.¹

The implication, of course, is that Farm Bureau is speaking for its 1,600,000 families who have paid their dues. To the extent that the Farm

¹For example, the Jan. 15, 1966, "Special Membership Section" of the Iowa Farm Bureau Spokesman, a monthly publication, carried this headline: "Farm Bureau - - Voice of Agriculture."

Bureau officers, in their official pronouncements and resolutions, actually do represent the opinions and desires of their members, these realistically must be given very serious consideration by those who make decisions affecting rural people - - legislatures, Congress, public officials and others.

Of course, as one Farm Bureau official stated to this author, there is a question whether Farm Bureau members agree with their organization's philosophy and farm policy positions because they joined it already having such views, or because they are conforming to the norms of the organization. He termed this a question like the one, which came first, the chicken or the egg?

However, studies indicate that personal factors are about as important as ideological factors in one's decision to join a farm organization or farm cooperative. As early as 1931, the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. Department of Agriculture, found in a survey that 415 farmers had joined the Ohio Farm Bureau for ideological reasons (to bring about better farm conditions, to help get the farmers organized, or because they believed in cooperation). But nearly as many, 368, had joined for personal reasons (to obtain personal benefits from marketing and purchasing cooperatively, because of the insistence and power of solicitors, because the neighbors had joined, or "just to see what it was all about"). (86, p. 52) It should be noted that these totals included both current members and former members. Current members had joined relatively more often for ideological reasons - - 261 compared with 160; former members had joined relatively more often for personal reasons - - 208 compared with 154.

Similarly, Copp found that one of the perceptual influences on loyalty in a farmer cooperative was a feeling of having been compelled to join the organization (17, p. 180).

Brown and Bealer found that members of purchasing cooperatives value the cooperative organization primarily as an economic institution and minimize the ideological elements (12, p. 58).

These findings, together with the general recognition that a voluntary organization may provide a variety of economic advantages to its members, would lead one to reject the suggestion that persons become members primarily because they hold the same views as officially expressed by the organization and are already necessarily conforming to the organization's norms of behavior when they join.

Rather it may be assumed that those who join may bring to the organization varying views on issues highly important to the organization. Moreover, it may be assumed that as members interact in an organizational setting they may be influenced in varying degrees by the group with respect to matters important to the organization, matters concerning which norms of appropriate and accepted behavior emerge.

More broadly, it can be assumed that the interaction of any persons in the context of a given organization, whether they be formal members of that group or not, may cause them to be influenced by the organization.

Thus, a farmer who does not formally belong to Farm Bureau but buys feed at the Farm Bureau cooperative store and frequently lingers there to converse with members of Farm Bureau, for example about a Farm Bureau-backed proposal to solve farmers' problems, may theoretically and perhaps unwittingly be influenced by the group to moderate his previous views on

government farm programs and his behavior relevant to those views.

The overall problem, then, to which this research is addressed is to determine the nature and extent of influence by a voluntary organization such as Farm Bureau upon the behavior of its formal members and others who come in contact with it in varying degrees.

In this dissertation Farm Bureau has been selected as an object of study because it is the most important farm organization in Iowa, the sample area, both from the standpoint of extensiveness of formal membership and in scope of the organization's economic and other activities.

The specific objectives of this dissertation are:

1. To determine the varying degrees of participation in or attachment to Farm Bureau by a representative sample of Iowa farmers.

2. To identify important norms of Farm Bureau to which those who participate in or are attached to the organization might be expected to conform.

3. To determine the extent to which conformity to the norms of Farm Bureau is related to differential participation in or attachment to the organization.

This dissertation is divided into six divisions or chapters. The introduction, of which the present section is a part, discusses the growth and function of voluntary organizations generally and Farm Bureau specifically.

In the next chapter major concepts are defined and theoretical hypotheses are developed.

In the third chapter, methods and procedures involved in gathering data are presented, measures of major concepts are detailed, and

empirical hypotheses are developed.

Working hypotheses are developed and tested, and findings are presented in the fourth chapter.

The fifth chapter of this dissertation contains certain additional findings. The final chapter contains a general summary and conclusions.

Review of pertinent literature has been integrated in the relevant chapters. Thus literature on previous studies of the voluntary organization as a type of formal organization is reviewed in the first chapter. Literature on the normative influence of organizations generally is reviewed in the second chapter in connection with the development of theoretical hypotheses.

Growth and Function of Voluntary Organizations

Sociologists have not always comprehended adequately the capacity of men in organizations to do things men as individuals cannot do. William Graham Sumner argued that if "we puny men" could change our world at all, our accomplishments would be slight in comparison with the effects of "spontaneous forces." He said that besides such forces, "our efforts are like those of a man trying to deflect a river." (82)

Since Sumner's death, men coordinated in large-scale organizations have built huge dams which have deflected rivers with notable success. They have orbited the earth in space capsules and seriously reached for the moon. Thus the importance of large-scale, formally organized human interhuman behavior now is perhaps easier to see. (56, pp. 367-368)

More generally, people coordinate their efforts in varying sized

organizations to achieve a variety of goals as diverse as winning wars and selling merchandise.

Precisely, a formal organization has been defined as a system of rules and objectives which officially prescribe and allocate tasks, privileges and responsibilities, thereby specifying how the activity of the group is to be carried on. (56, p. 371)

Five main types of formal organizations have been identified:
(9, p. 41)

1. A voluntary association of equals, where members freely join for a specific purpose; examples, sects, clubs and professional associations.

2. The military model, which emphasizes a fixed hierarchy of authority and status.

3. The philanthropic model, consisting of a governing lay board, an itinerant professional staff, and the clients served, as illustrated by hospitals and universities.

4. The corporation model, with its stockholders, board of directors, managers and staff.

5. The family business, in which a group of people related by kin and marriage carry on some enterprise for profit.

Interest in this dissertation is centered on the voluntary organization or association, the influence of which on human behavior has perhaps been less intensively studied than the normative influence of some other types of formal organizations, such as the corporation type.¹

¹For a popular study of the influence on human behavior of the corporation see: Whyte, William Hollingsworth. The organization man. New York, N. Y., Simon & Schuster. 1956. (88b)

Voluntary organizations long have been a feature of American life. Sills (80, p. 7) claims that voluntary associations of all kinds have always flourished in this country. Indeed, Alexis deTocqueville (19, p. 198) more than a century ago, found that "in no country of the world has the principle of association been more successfully used or applied to a greater multitude of objects than in America." Reported deTocqueville after his visit to the United States in 1831:

Americans of all ages, all conditions, and all dispositions constantly form associations. They have not only commercial and manufacturing companies in which all take part, but associations of a thousand other kinds - - religious, moral, serious, futile, general or restricted, enormous or diminutive. The Americans make associations to give entertainments, to found seminaries, to build inns, to construct churches, to diffuse books, to send missionaries to the antipodes; they founded in this manner hospitals, prisons, and schools. If it be proposed to inculcate some truth, or to foster some feeling, by the encouragement of a great example, they form a society. Wherever, at the head of some new undertaking you see the government in France, or a man of rank in England, in the United States you will be sure to find an association . . . Thus the most democratic country on the face of the earth is that in which men have, in our time, carried to the highest perfection the art of pursuing in common the object of their common desires, and have applied this new science to the greatest number of purposes.

Lord Bryce also was impressed by American voluntary associations when he visited this country many years after deTocqueville. Bryce concluded that such organizations are "created, extended and worked in the United States more quickly and effectively than in any other country. In nothing does the executive talent of the people better shine than in the promptitude wherewith the idea of an organization for a common object is taken up." (13, p. 281-2)

In the present era, Fortune magazine has noted the heavy involvement

of middle class Americans in voluntary organizations: (15)

Except for a few intellectuals who don't believe in "joining" and the very, very poor who can't afford to, practically all adult Americans belong to some club or other, and most of them take part in some joint effort to do good. This prodigious army of voluntary citizens, who take time from their jobs and pleasure to work more or less unselfishly for the betterment of the community, is unique in the world. For, whatever the silly rituals and earnest absurdities of some of their organizations, and the self-interest of others, the volunteers are always ready to work and fight for what they think is right.

Voluntary associations appear to have become larger and more important as society has become more complex. Rose (69, p. 53), for example, lists a number of scholars who discuss the paucity of voluntary organizations in preliterate societies. R. T. Anderson and G. Anderson, in a study of a Danish fishing village near Copenhagen covering a half century period, found a "mounting dependency of the community as well as the individuals on voluntary associations." They noted further: (3, p. 273)

Associations multiply as urban life necessarily becomes more complex as their recognized advantage in meeting individual and group needs for self expression and the compounding satisfaction of aesthetic, economic and social interest is exploited.

Boulding (10) has noted a proliferation during recent years of all kinds of formal organizations in the United States. He terms this an "organizational revolution" and advances the thesis that the recent growth of large scale organizations is a direct reflection of changes in the technical ability to organize - - consisting both of material developments and organizing skills.

Fox (69, p. 52) has compiled a list of 5,000 national associations in the United States, but makes no claim that it is complete. The author

of this dissertation counted approximately 1200 associations, mostly national in scope, in the yellow page section of the Washington, D.C. telephone book and approximately the same number in the yellow page section of the Chicago telephone book. Rose, counting voluntary associations in the Twin Cities area (exclusive of governmental, specifically church affiliated or strictly occupational groups), compiled a list of 3,000 organizations (69, p. 55). Of these, about 450 were engaged in an effort to influence or educate the adult population. Some 300 organizations were included in a list compiled in a New England city of 50,000.

It appears self evident that voluntary organizations must serve some purpose, or they would not come into existence in the first place; or, having come into existence by some fortuitous circumstance, would soon cease to exist if they didn't serve some function causing members to want to devote time and effort to their activities.

Several investigators have suggested that there are two main kinds of voluntary organizations - - those which serve as ends in themselves, providing opportunities for members to express themselves, to satisfy their interests in relation to themselves - - and those which serve as instruments to achieve specific goals, to serve as social influence groups such as a labor union bargaining for better wages and working conditions (69, p. 52).

In Merton's terms, voluntary associations may have some latent as well as manifest functions - - that is, they may have unintended consequences.

In this vein, Rose advances the plausible hypothesis that voluntary associations perform three important functions in supporting political

democracy in the United States: (69, pp. 51-52)

1. They distribute power over social life among a very large proportion of the citizenry, instead of allowing it to be concentrated in the elected representatives alone, so that the United States has a little of the character of the ancient Greek democratic city-state as well as of the modern European centralized republic.

2. The voluntary associations provide a sense of satisfaction with modern democratic processes because they help the ordinary citizen to see how the processes function in limited circumstances, of direct interest to himself, rather than as they grind away in a distant, impersonal and incomprehensible fashion.

3. The voluntary associations provide a social mechanism for continually instituting social changes, so that the United States is a society in flux, constantly seeking (not always successfully, but seeking nevertheless) to solve long-standing problems and to satisfy new needs of groups of citizens as these needs arise.

Rose hastens to add that data have not yet been collected to test these hypotheses. Moreover, he notes that other nations such as Switzerland, the Scandinavian countries and Great Britain also have voluntary organizations which perform the same functions. And, finally, he states that the voluntary organization is only one, not the only, mechanism for instituting social changes.

At the same time, the voluntary organization may serve the function of helping the individual achieve his own personal interests.

Merton has noted: (59, pp. 189-190)

. . . local influentials crowd organizations which are largely for making contacts, for establishing personal ties. Thus they are found largely in secret societies (Masons), fraternal organizations (Elks), and local service clubs. Their participation appears to be less a matter of furthering the nominal objectives of these organizations than of using them as contact centers . . . The cosmopolitans, on the other hand, tend to belong to those organizations in which they can exercise their special skills and knowledge. They are found in the professional societies and in hobby groups.

Lindstrom's study (55, p. 265) of members of business and educational associations in Illinois (including farm organizations, 4-H groups and co-operatives) showed that more than one half of the members joined for information, benefits and services provided. Leaders of more than 70% of the groups studied (except farm organizations) said the organization provided an "opportunity to work with people."

At the same time, the pervasiveness of voluntary organizations should not be exaggerated.

In a pioneer study, Komarovsky (52, p. 86) related membership by urban dwellers in voluntary associations (exclusive of church membership) to social class. She found that 60% of working class men and 53% of white collar men had no organized group affiliation - - and that 88% of working class women and 63% of white collar women were unaffiliated. Only in business classes earning \$3,000 and in professional classes was the majority found to be members of a voluntary organization.

Many later studies have shown that persons of higher socio-economic status tend to belong to more associations and to participate more actively in them than persons of lower status. Other studies have shown that males tend to participate more than females, that those in their

middle years participate more than those who are either younger or older, and that those belonging to minority groups participate more than those in the majority (9, p. 46).

In reference to the latter finding, for example, Babchuk and Thompson (4, p. 647) found that Negroes are more likely to be affiliated with formal voluntary organizations than whites, especially at the lower class levels. The voluntary association, they found, may function in much the same way as the Negro church to provide the Negro not only with an opportunity for self expression and status recognition, but also with an avenue to compete for prestige, to hold office, to exercise power and control, and to win applause and acclaim.

According to Hausknecht's (37) secondary analysis of data, one survey has shown 55% of the respondents as belonging to voluntary associations while another has shown 36% of the respondents as joiners. The difference is accounted for by the inclusion of labor unions as voluntary associations in the first survey and their exclusion in the second survey. However, the two surveys show little disagreement in the direction of the results; both indicate that membership in voluntary associations is correlated with class and urbanization. The higher the level of income, education and status of one's occupation, the higher the rate of membership in associations.

Similarly, the rate of membership was found to increase as the size of the community decreases. Membership rates were found to vary also with sex, age, marital status, size of family, religion, church-going, political party identification and whether one is a home owner or renter.

Hausknecht found that individuals join a wide variety of organizations, though some associations are favored over others. For example,

38% of the sample were found to belong to civic and service organizations, 31% to lodge and fraternal associations and 4% to political and pressure groups. But there, also, the type of association people elected to join was found to vary with class, community, sex and age.

However, Dotson found two-fifths of the husbands and wives in his sample had no intimate friends outside the family and kin groups. "In the majority of cases this does not mean social isolation but simply that activities are restricted to the members of the kin group."

Freeman, Novak and Reeder (29, p. 533) found that mobility and community attitude are both significantly associated with membership in voluntary associations. Among several dimensions of community attitude associated with membership were community satisfaction and community optimism (as contrasted to community pessimism).

Wright and Hyman (95, p. 284) found that membership in voluntary associations was more characteristic of urban and rural non-farm than rural farm residents. They concluded that voluntary association membership is not characteristic of the majority of Americans.

Donald's (21) findings indicate that, at least in a voluntary political association, a high degree of communication among rank and file members is associated with member support of the organization but not with organizational effectiveness. Instead, frequent and reciprocal communication among officers and between members and officers is an important correlate of organizational effectiveness.

Among those who claim nominal membership in voluntary associations there is, as is widely recognized, a great variation in participation. As Rose points out, some people have more interest, more time, more drive,

more ability than others, and they tend easily to take over control of voluntary associations.

However, he maintains that any person who wishes can usually join the leadership of most voluntary associations if he is willing to spend the time and assume the responsibilities. He concludes that while only a small proportion of the population are very active in associations, a very large proportion - - at least in the towns and cities - - are members of the associations.

Several studies show, however, that people of middle and higher incomes are more likely to join associations than people of lower incomes. Lower-income people are, however, more likely to be attached to a trade union, to a church and to informal but fairly stable friendship groups (including kin groups) for recreation, and these perform some of the same functions that the more typical voluntary associations perform for the other classes.

Participation normally means attendance at general meetings (perhaps once a month except during the summer), payment of dues, attendance at committee meetings (which convene irregularly depending on the amount of activity), and the performance of the activity prescribed by the association. Membership in a single association can take as little or as much of one's time as one wishes to devote to it (69, p. 57).

Participation in voluntary associations usually is in relation to a very narrow interest. As Rose notes (69, p. 58), the purposes of associations are as diverse as can be imagined. The only thing they have in common is that the purposes are limited, and almost never will an association act for a purpose different from the original one which brought the

members together. The reason is easy to understand. People who have one interest in common will not necessarily have another interest in common, and any effort to act on a second purpose is likely to split the association.

Holden (39, p. 74), similarly, declares that voluntary associations are "special associations with a very narrow purview in their homogeneity and standard making."

He adds:

In associational life every group limits the number of issues it encompasses. One reason for limiting the number of issues is the possibility of disturbing harmony; another is the limit on the number of issues that can be handled at one time. The data show that "birds of a feather do not flock together." They show merely that all you need is one brown feather to belong to the brown feather group, and you can just as easily belong to the green feathers if you have one green one, and so on.

Goldhamer (31, pp. 593-594) has concluded that since members tend to associate with one another or pursue common activities only with respect to relatively narrow segments of their total life activities, there tends to be a lessening of affective or emotional content and social control over the individual by the groups in which he participates.

He notes that many contemporary urban associations, especially those that are not primarily "social" or convivial in nature, are more concerned with controlling behavior of non-members than of controlling the behavior of their own members. This latter type of control, moreover, tends to be confined only to the spheres of behavior which are regarded as instrumental to the association's attaining of its specified goals.

Thus, he concludes, segmental participation is widespread today and gives the individual a multiplicity of possible choices, some of which are

mutually contradictory.

In a similar vein, Sills (80, p. 6) distinguishes between the fund raising organization which depends on wide membership participation and the organization which is supported by membership fees but can be run by a minority, such as the automobile association, medical payment plan, etc.

Scott (71, pp. 325-326) concludes, however, that much of the functioning of voluntary associations is concentrated among relatively few persons, though the goals advocated and methods used by the leaders must be defined by members as being of mutual benefit and interest or the association would no longer be voluntary or would dissolve.

Lindstrom (55, p. 265) notes that some voluntary associations (he calls them "interest groups") provide for effective primary association of their members - - but that some such groups do not. In the latter, he says, policy determination still is carried on in primary groups, but these groups are the boards of directors and executive committees which take over the policy-making function. Lindstrom includes in the latter category farmers organizations and government sponsored systems which operate with the county or some similar unit as the basic unit of organization.

Evan (27, p. 149) concludes that there are three dimensions of participation in a voluntary organization:

1. Decision making - - action by rank-and-file members which affect the formal policy-making process and the operating practices of an organization.

2. Activity - - actions implementing the objectives and decisions of an organization as well as actions oriented to utilizing its facilities

or services, or having ceremonial, sociability or solidarity-producing functions.

3. Value commitment - - an affectively-involved acceptance of the principles, purposes or goals of an organization.

Evan says that in conjunction, these three analytically distinguishable modes or dimensions define participation in voluntary associations.

He concedes that this definition may be viewed with skepticism because it departs somewhat from customary behavioristic usage, according to which participation is taken to mean "doing." He says, however:

That participation should go beyond "doing" is a contention of various social scientists. Allport, for example states that if participation is to tap more than peripheral "motor activity" it must "tap central values," i.e., participants must be "ego-involved." Cantril, likewise, emphasizes the importance of shared purposes and values. He also touches on the significance of decision making in participation in asserting that "standards and goals of a group are most likely to be conscientiously and faithfully followed by an individual member if he himself has played an active part in setting those standards and goals . . ." Selznick similarly refers to the decision-making dimension "in distinguishing between substantive participation, involving an actual role in the determination of policy, and mere administrative involvement."

Were it possible to operationalize Evan's concept of participation in terms of the data utilized in this dissertation, it would have been instructive to test the hypothesis that participation (as defined by Evan) is positively related to conformity to the norms of a voluntary association. However, on an ex post facto basis, no measures were available to index value commitment and decision making. Thus the hypothesis could not be tested.

The Farm Bureau as a Voluntary Organization

Development of the organization

Since the founding of the nation, American farmers discontented with their economic or social situation have worked through groups to better themselves. Sometimes, as in 1892 and the year of the Populists' third party candidate General Weaver, they have supported political parties to try to get what they wanted. In that year farmers were seeking lower tariffs, restrictions on alien land holding, removal of fences from public lands, expansion of the money supply, a graduated income tax, restraints on monopoly and the direct election of senators (58, p. 3, 5).

They also have joined farm organizations, beginning with the Patrons of Husbandry, to press for laws which they thought would help them, such as the statute authorizing rural free mail delivery service.

An important characteristic of these farm organizations is that farmers join them of their own free choice, to achieve a specific purpose. Thus they may be classed as voluntary associations or organizations, along with political parties, fraternal associations, clubs, veteran's organizations, professional associations and other voluntary groups.

Undoubtedly the most important farm organization in the United States in membership and national influence, and perhaps one of the nation's most important voluntary associations of any kind, is the American Farm Bureau Federation.

Thus, in studying voluntary associations, it is appropriate to examine characteristics of this organization, which as of December, 1966,

claimed to represent some 1,600,000 dues-paying families throughout the nation.

The American Farm Bureau Federation, was an outgrowth of the county farm bureau movement to sponsor county agricultural agents. Shortly before World War I, the idea of using county demonstration agents, agricultural experts or extension workers to provide farmers with the results of scientific study was adopted in a number of areas of the country. Often these agents were supported by local groups of farmers, who constituted county committees or "bureaus." (26, p. 749)

The entry of the United States into World War I placed a premium on farm production and speeded the organization of farm bureaus. The number of agents was swiftly increased, and the amount of money available to their activities was greatly expanded by the Emergency Food Production Act of 1917. This was a period of mushroom-like growth in the numbers and membership of county farm bureaus. (58, p. 50)

The American Farm Bureau Federation probably traces its formal beginning to activity of the Binghamton, N. Y., Chamber of Commerce. This chamber, acting under the initiative of George A. Cullen, traffic manager of the Lackawanna Railroad, set up a bureau in its organization in 1911 to sponsor an agricultural agent for Broome County. Quite reasonably, this came to be called the "farm bureau." Then in 1913, both the Broome County Farm Bureau and the Chemung County Farm Bureau Association were formally organized in New York. (25, p. 516)

The Smith-Lever Act of 1914, which set up the Agricultural Extension Service through the land-grant colleges and provided for the hiring of county agricultural agents, gave great impetus to the formation of the

supporting organizations. The Department of Agriculture, for some reason, applied the name Farm Bureau to any cooperating county organization.

As McConnell notes, one of the best documented facts about the Farm Bureau movement is that it was a direct outgrowth of the county agent system. In 1921, for example, C. B. Smith, a department official, stated, "I do not believe it is going too far to say that the United States Department of Agriculture and the office with which I am connected are responsible for the development of Farm Bureaus in this country."

(58, p. 48)

Moreover, in that era, once the county agricultural extension agent was on the job - - perhaps through the financial aid of the local Farm Bureau - - he was expected to organize other Farm Bureaus to help multiply his educational efforts among farmers.

Thus McConnell states, "All the instructions to agents from the department were based on the assumption that the first part of the agent's work would consist in organizing Farm Bureaus." (58, p. 48)

He adds:

Considering that the Department of Agriculture and the colleges were laying great stress on Farm Bureau organization, it was not unreasonable that twelve or more states should have specifically named county bureaus as the legal cooperating agencies in Extension work.

Meanwhile, the formation of state organizations had begun. Missouri formed a state organization in the spring of 1915, and Massachusetts and Illinois quickly followed (58, p. 50). By 1916, the names of most of the local organizations, formed to support extension work, had been changed to, "_____ County Farm Bureau." (25, p. 516)

Shannon (74, p. 87) declares that the Iowa Farm Bureau was organized

in 1918 to prevent the invasion of the Nonpartisan League - - "and largely succeeded in the effort." At any rate, wherever Farm Bureaus were organized concern arose over the need for action in other matters besides education - - business, economic and legislative affairs. This concern led to the federation of the state Farm Bureaus into a national organization.

In 1919, the New York State Farm Bureau Federation invited 12 states to meet and consider forming a national organization. The organizational meeting was held November 12 - 13, 1919, in Chicago. Twenty-eight states with about 400,000 members reported they were ready to approve a national organization. On March 3, 1920, the organizational meeting was held in Chicago, with delegates from 31 states.

A constitution was adopted which stated as the purposes of the federation: "to promote, protect and represent the business, economic, social and educational interests of the farmers of the nation, and to develop agriculture." (26, p. 749)

After some wrangling over regional claims, the organization was completed some months later. Officers were chosen, including a Washington representative, and voted handsome salaries. (58, p. 51)

Although the federation grew out of county and state Farm Bureaus organized to sponsor educational activities, it quickly became active in sponsoring a wide variety of measures to improve farmers' economic welfare.

In the early 1920's it supported legislation to strengthen farmer cooperatives and make additional credit available to farmers. Later the federation supported the McNary-Haugen bill to increase prices of the

major export crops. This bill was passed by Congress both in 1927 and 1928, but vetoed each time by President Calvin Coolidge. (26, p. 749)

With James R. Howard and John W. Cloverdale of Iowa as president and secretary and Gray Silver of West Virginia as head lobbyist in Washington, D.C., the American Farm Bureau in the post-World War I period campaigned against radicalism and worked with local chambers of commerce, banks, railroad officials and other business groups.

Shannon, a University of Illinois history professor, expressing a rather apparent anti-Farm Bureau bias, wrote of the organization as it existed in the early 1920's: (74, p. 86)

. . . Here was an organization that rapidly took on the big-business point of view. Though the Bureau emphasized cooperative marketing and buying, it stressed farming as a business in which the tactics of big business were the best. Tied in with the Department of Agriculture and linked with the state agricultural colleges, the Bureau was concerned mainly with the interests of the greater and more opulent farmers, took the view that there was no place in the economy for the small operator, steadfastly resisted the idea of local farm groups throwing their holdings together for the more economical use of expensive equipment, and looked upon the hired laborer only as a necessity for the further advancement of the employer.

The federation continued to press for legislative action favorable to farmers during the Great Depression, taking a major part in obtaining the passage of the Agricultural Adjustment Acts of 1933 and 1934. (16, p. 188-195; 26, p. 749)

In contrast to the situation that was to exist in later years during the Truman, Kennedy and Johnson administrations, the federation during the early 1930's actually cooperated with and aided Roosevelt's New Deal administration to expand the role of government in agriculture. It even

has been claimed that the Farm Bureau really engineered the appointment of Henry A. Wallace as secretary of agriculture, that AFBF President Edward O'Neal vetoed a plan to name another to the post. (58, p. 70)

Later, however, top Farm Bureau officials rejected the New Deal, and helped to liquidate one of the New Deal farm programs - - the Farm Security Administration program of aid to small farmers.

Wilcox explains the change in Farm Bureau policy this way: (89, pp. 97-99)

Throughout the Farm Bureau's life there has been strong support in the organization for expansion of research and educational programs for farmers and for state and local government programs in preference to centralized national programs.

During the 1930's, however, the serious price declines and droughts caused the American Farm Bureau, as well as other organized farm groups, to turn to the national government for assistance.

In 1947, a change in the presidency of the Farm Bureau occurred. People generally had become irritated with the wartime government controls and developed a strong desire to reduce national governmental activities as soon as possible.

These two factors help to explain the emphasis in the American Farm Bureau in recent years on shifting to lower guaranteed price supports for farm products, on returning national governmental functions to the states and counties, and on increased research and education in lieu of direct-action programs.

Whereas in the early war years the American Farm Bureau took the leadership in pushing for higher government price supports, in the postwar-years it has consistently advocated moderate reductions in price support levels in opposition to other political groups and farmers' organizations. In these more recent postwar years, the American Farm Bureau has continued to increase its membership each year, yet has consistently opposed government farm price supports at the levels urged by many Congressmen.

It has also opposed payments to farmers on the scale voted by Congress for the performance of soil conservation practices on the ground that many payments were being made for temporary practices and for practices that had little conservation value. In this postwar period the American Farm Bureau has maintained a unique position for a special interest group. In an overall sense, its program has been one of asking government for less rather than more in the way of special economic assistance. It has adopted this program because its officers, backed up by a substantial majority of its members, believe that the farmers' incomes in the long run will be improved and the interests of equity better served if price support levels and conservation payments are lower with greater emphasis on educational procedures to help farmers increase their productive skills and managerial ability and on increased efforts in voluntary cooperative action.

McConnell, on the other hand, argues rather cynically that the overriding objective of the American Farm Bureau always has been to exercise power. He asserts that Farm Bureau's objective in opposing the Farm Security Administration program was to preserve its power position: (58, p. 125)

The Farm Bureau sought at every point to maintain its own power, which in turn was based upon its influence over the Extension Service. Farm Bureau power was expanded by using the Extension Service to control other more vital parts of the departmental¹ program. Where such control could not be extended, what remained uncontrolled had to be destroyed. In all this, perhaps the most striking feature is Farm Bureau consistency.

By contrast, Kile, the Farm Bureau historian, terms the Farm Security program "a good idea that went wild." He states: (50, p. 264)

What started out during the depression years as meritorious rural relief undertakings, or at least as interesting experiments, developed into one of the weirdest, most fantastic examples of government bureaucracy gone mad. What might have been justified to some extent in the depression days of 1933-35, was continued and expanded - - even in defiance of

¹U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Congressional advices - - in the prosperous days of 1939-40 and on into the war years 1941-42-43, on one pretext or another and with the aid of misrepresentation and organized bureaucratic propaganda.

The AFBF received much credit for stepping out boldly and scotching this bureaucratic machine which in its post-depression years was apparently doing its best to give a government-controlled socialistic, if not collectivist, trend to American agriculture . . .

Later, in 1947, the American Farm Bureau Federation objected to the rapid growth of another "straight-line" government agency, the Soil Conservation Service.

Kile, reflecting the organization's official position, said Farm Bureau disapproved both of the way in which the SCS was duplicating and overlapping the work of the state Extension Services and the Production and Marketing Administration, and the straight-line type of management and administration "whereby everything and everybody is largely managed and directed from Washington." (50, p. 336)

AFBF believes strongly in decentralization of federal programs and a high degree of local and state autonomy in their administration. They hold up the Extension Service as a model in this respect. While large federal appropriations are made from year to year for agricultural extension, the funds are apportioned to each state according to a fixed formula. And Washington headquarters of the Extension Service has only general supervision over the use of these funds by the several states. So long as certain broad standards are met, the states can spend this money for whatever kinds of agricultural Extension projects they will carry out and have what amounts to a veto power in selecting the county agent and his assistants.

AFBF President Allan B. Kline, appearing before the U. S. House Committee on Agriculture, called for a decentralization of the Soil Conservation Service. Eventually, under the administration of Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson, regional SCS offices were abolished.

However, the Farm Bureau's plan to give the state Extension Services all of the educational, demonstrational and technical phases of the work and the state experiment stations the research work was never adopted.

Thus, whether in the pursuit of power, as alleged by McConnell, or in a reasoned defense of farmers' best interests, as maintained by Kile, the American Farm Bureau quite consistently during the post World War II period has generally called for less direct government action in agriculture. This, of course, is Wilcox's point as noted earlier.

Throughout the 1950's the AFBF advocated measures to reduce government farm price supports and move the farm economy in the direction of the commercial market (26, pp. 749-750). In the 1960's, it has stoutly opposed mandatory supply control programs, under which the government would set marketing quotas for individual farmers on the basis of so many bushels, pounds, etc.; direct payment schemes to aid farmers and other proposals which Farm Bureau feared would reduce farmers' independence of Washington.

On the other hand, the Farm Bureau has favored the expansion of public research and educational activities, and the development of foreign and domestic markets. It has promoted voluntary land retirement programs such as the Soil Bank to shift excess productive resources out of agriculture and improve farm income.

However, it would be a mistake to assume from the foregoing discussion that the policies adopted by the national organization have won unanimous approval of members or that powerful dissent has not been expressed on occasion.

A good example is the debate that erupted in the national convention over price support policy in 1947. Recounts Kile: (50, pp. 331-332)

One group felt that the Farm Bureau should insist that the government continue to guarantee a high percentage of parity price. Another group emphasized the need for less dependence on government and more on the operation of the free market. This latter group proposed that a relatively low percentage of parity be guaranteed as a floor and that an effort be made to keep prices above that floor through the stimulation of exports and secondary domestic uses of farm products, as well as by some curtailment of acreage should that prove necessary.

The result in December, 1947, was a compromise resolution mentioning a flexible range of support prices (from 60 to 90 percent of parity depending upon supply-demand relationship).

McConnell, a rather severe critic of Farm Bureau, chronicles this debate a little less kindly: (58, p. 175)

The leadership of the Farm Bureau is able to direct the force of organization with ease. The mechanics of decentralization make this possible. The only problem is that the leaders shall agree among themselves. Such agreement need not involve a large number of leaders. Nothing is more revealing about the operation than the action of the national convention in delegating the making of the decision on flexible price supports to the board of directors in 1948. This was an open confession that resolution of major conflicts within the organization can be achieved by a process of bargaining among a few leaders.

Yet, and this is the point of most significance in considering the possible normative influence of the organization on its members, McConnell does admit that Farm Bureau is a real live organization of farmers: (58, p. 175)

Nothing is more illusory, however, than the impression that the Farm Bureau is not an organization of actual farmers. It is a great deal more than a group of farm leaders. The national influence of the leadership would be trifling without the firm foundation of a large membership and the presumption that beyond this membership lies an even larger constituency of potential members.

Structure of the organization

The basic but not necessarily the smallest unit of Farm Bureau organization is the county Farm Bureau. However, a well-organized county Farm Bureau likely has subordinate local units; in Iowa these are township groups.

Where they are organized, township Farm Bureaus in Iowa customarily hold at least an annual meeting, usually in the home of an active member. (Township organizations may meet oftener.) At this annual meeting, a slate of officers is elected, and other business transacted. Often a faithful minority of the members in a given township actually turn out for the meeting, though other members of record may be involved in formal and informal Farm Bureau activities at other times, such as visiting about Farm Bureau and other matters at the local Farm Bureau cooperative store, making farm-to-farm calls to solicit new members as part of a membership committee, or taking part in local Farm Bureau social events or the annual county Farm Bureau meeting.

Officers elected at the township meeting include a president, township director to serve on the county Farm Bureau board of directors, and a secretary-treasurer. Clearly, on the township level, the director is the most prestigious office.

Business transacted at the annual township meeting may include the giving of reports on Farm Bureau organizational, legislative and service activities. Also, plans may be discussed and perhaps implemented for the annual membership drive, for a township social, and perhaps for getting wide participation in the annual Farm Bureau "opinionnaire."

In Story County, Iowa, for example, eight of the 16 townships have

township Farm Bureau organizations and these hold annual meetings. There are some differences among counties on the relative intensity of township Farm Bureau township activity, on how membership drives are conducted and other organizational characteristics.

However, farm families are formally members of the county Farm Bureau, not of a township Farm Bureau.

McConnell notes that in spite of the increasing size of the Farm Bureau, the county unit remains the basic one because it is the smallest unit of rural government and that the Farm Bureau has consciously made its organization parallel that of the formal government. (58, p. 152)

Typically in Iowa, the county Farm Bureau owns its own building and has full-time personnel. Farm Bureau auto and casualty insurance is written through the county Farm Bureau office. Farm inputs and supplies such as fuels, motor oil, grease, filters, tires, batteries, antifreeze, chemicals, paint, plant food, feed, seed, twine and animal health products are sold through the Farm Bureau cooperative stores. These stores are operated on a county or perhaps multi-county basis by the Farm Bureau subsidiary, FS Services, Inc., which sells to the public but remits patronage dividends only to Farm Bureau members.

The county Farm Bureau arranges social events and meetings and prepares articles for publication in the Farm Bureau Spokesman, a statewide monthly newspaper.

The county organization's quasi-public activities include helping to form cooperatives, influencing the county government to provide good roads, working for property tax relief through reduced land valuations, working with county Extension agents in education efforts and other

related activities.

The county Farm Bureau holds an annual meeting, often a dinner meeting, at which an executive board - - president, vice president, treasurer, secretary and voting delegate - - is elected. The executive board appoints standing committees of three to seven members to provide leadership in various areas. Committees thus appointed may include a resolutions committee, national farm policy committee, legislative committee, membership committee, local affairs committee, commodity committees and women's committee - - though there may be variation among counties depending upon local interests and situations.

Among the most important county Farm Bureau committees is the legislative committee, which meets with newly-elected legislators and discusses issues (50, p. 382). The county resolutions committee gathers the recommendations of township and neighborhood discussion groups and determines the majority decisions expressed. This committee formulates suggested resolutions which are offered the members at the county annual meeting.

Perhaps the most prestigious positions in the county organization are those of county president and voting delegate. The president has a more demanding responsibility in terms of work. But because the voting delegate represents the county organization on the state Farm Bureau resolutions committee and traditionally is a member of wide experience, often being a past county president, he perhaps is accorded slightly more "status" than the president.¹

¹Judgment of Iowa Farm Bureau officials with whom author discussed this matter.

Though the report of the nominating committee often is accepted without contest, in the election of county Farm Bureau officers, a race does occasionally develop, as in the instance several years ago when three men vied for the position of voting delegate in Marshall County, Iowa.¹

Farm Bureau presidents usually serve two one-year terms, occasionally longer. The voting delegate serves a three-year term.

Beginning in 1947, Farm Bureau field men in Iowa have been employed on a full-time basis to direct and supervise membership drives, organize and make effective the Farm Bureau's legislative program, promote activities to maintain membership interest, and assist in expanding the business of Farm Bureau cooperatives in the county. (50, p. 381)

The Iowa Farm Bureau Federation, organized in December, 1918, is housed in its own rather imposing building in Des Moines.

According to McConnell, the most consistent activity of the state organization is legislative - - lobbying for laws favorable to farmers - - though it is involved in many educational and service activities. (58, p. 153)

The Iowa state organization, like most other state organizations, is a federation of county Farm Bureaus. An exception is the Illinois Agricultural Association, which is an association of county farm bureaus with direct individual membership. (54, p. 184)

The Iowa Farm Bureau Federation has its own casualty and life insurance companies. Together with the Illinois Agricultural Association, it

¹Reports of various Farm Bureau officials to the author.

operates FS Services, Inc., in Iowa and Illinois - - an input manufacturing and supplying concern which reportedly ranks among the top 400 corporations in the nation. On the manufacturing side, FS has two large feed mills, three fertilizer mixing plants and a chemical plant, and interests in a refinery, a nitrogen plant, a fertilizer company and an Ohio cooperative. It also has eight livestock marketing facilities in Iowa, two river terminals, and a large fleet of petroleum and dry cargo transport trucks, garages and maintenance facilities.

The Iowa Farm Bureau Federation maintains a farm record service. It has a radio service including studio and recording facilities and sends a 15-minute program weekly to 40 radio stations.

A major activity in both the county and state Farm Bureau organizations is the development of Farm Bureau policy on public matters including national agricultural policy, foreign policy, tax matters and other local concerns.

Questionnaires - - or as the Farm Bureau calls them - - "opinionnaires" - - covering these issues are prepared by the county farm bureaus and circulated to members.

A high percentage of members complete the questionnaires - - for example, approximately 900 out of 1100 members in Story County, and 1800 out of 2000 in Marshall County in 1965.

The county resolutions committee, taking note of the opinionnaires and the recommendations of township and neighborhood discussion groups, formulates suggested resolutions for the annual county Farm Bureau meeting.

The final county resolutions, as adopted at the county annual meeting, are forwarded to the state resolutions committee. These are condensed

into a set of proposed resolutions for consideration of the state voting delegate body. The House of Delegates, at the annual Iowa Farm Bureau Federation meeting, amends, revises or rejects these and finally determines what becomes state Farm Bureau policy. Recommendations on national issues are forwarded to the American Farm Bureau Federation where official delegates similarly determine the policy of the national organization.

(47, p. 7)

Prior to the election of members of the state legislature, the Farm Bureau's views on pertinent questions are made known to candidates and the voting records of candidates who have served previously are circulated. After a general election, a five-member county legislative committee is appointed, composed of five influential members, and the committee meets with newly elected legislators and frankly discusses issues.

(50, p. 382)

Shortly after the legislature opens, the Iowa Farm Bureau Federation stages a dinner for the governor and members of the legislature. The state Farm Bureau president addresses the group and sets forth the organization's desires. Thereafter the county committees keep in touch with their legislators.

A scoreboard is kept on the legislature's activities and the county committees are advised of progress. If a certain member does not see eye to eye with the Farm Bureau's legislative program, the county committee likely will make a special trip to the state capitol or arrange to see the member in his home county.

State aspects of national legislation are handled in a similar manner. Congressional district committees keep in touch with their

congressmen; usually a meeting with Iowa members of Congress is arranged before the congressmen leave later for Washington, but additional meetings sometimes are held in Washington. (50, pp. 382-383)

At the national level, the Farm Bureau takes on some of the character of a holding company. Structurally, it is a federation of federations, thus far removed from the grass roots. However, its staff is not impressively large, considering the size of its membership.

The American Farm Bureau Federation had a staff of 53 professional employees and 33 secretarial and clerical employees as of March 1, 1966. Including the staff of its closely related affiliates, it had 69 professional and 50 secretarial and clerical workers.

Of the 53 professional workers employed directly by AFBF, 30 were in Chicago, 14 in Washington, D. C. and nine in other locations, including seven field directors and two members of the staff of the Nation's Agriculture.¹

Activities of the national organization compare to those on the state and local scene. A high proportion of the time of professional workers is devoted to maintaining and promoting membership. Activities of the national staff are carried out in eight departments: legislative, publicity and information, organization, research, legal, international affairs, rural youth and commodity (the latter including committees on livestock, fruits and vegetables, poultry, dairy and field crops).

Although the president of the national federation is the most

¹Telephone conversation with W. E. Hamilton, director of research, American Farm Bureau Federation, February 20, 1967.

conspicuous figure in the Farm Bureau organization, he is subject to control by the board of directors, an elective body chosen in the convention on the basis of regional representation. The board meets four times a year, the most important meeting being that which follows the annual convention, when resolutions passed by the convention are elaborated in specific terms.

When the board is not in session, an executive committee, consisting of four or five board members, has authority. McConnell believes that this executive committee is the actual controlling body of the entire organization.

In theory, the national convention is the body which determines policy for the forthcoming year. However, McConnell asserts that the federation convention is in no way different from large conventions of other organizations, that it is a mass meeting to generate enthusiasm, not a deliberative body.

In McConnell's rather critical view, (58, p. 156)

A small number of voting delegates are present to pass the official resolutions and to elect officers, but these are generally lost among the thousands who come for the excitement of the convention atmosphere. Speeches are delivered by well-known national figures, usually chosen for their friendliness to the organization. Community singing ("old-time religion"), a "parade of the states," memorial services, presentation of awards - - all provide the show which is expected of a large convention.

However, as McConnell concedes, this is not to say that nothing of importance happens during a convention. (58, pp. 156-157)

The regions caucus at an early stage and elect their own directors; the commodity groups get together and reach decisions on their own problems. Most important, the leaders of the various regions and interests meet in hotel

rooms and decide the vital questions before the organization. The comparison with party conventions has some merit. The principal difference seems to be that an American Farm Bureau Federation convention is more sedate and less susceptible to stampeding by dissident groups on the floor. It is likely to be a very well-run affair, with decisions prepared away from the public eye. Officers tend to be elected - - and in recent years, reelected - - unanimously.

State Farm Bureau conventions including Iowa's are held in a similar manner, though on a smaller scale, usually just prior to the national convention. And at all of the conventions, the resolutions adopted and public statements of the organization leaders are widely publicized in farming areas through newspapers, farm magazines and radio farm shows as well as through the Farm Bureau's own periodicals, brochures and sponsored radio programs.

Thus in theory, at least, the official position of the state and national organizations on important public issues should be quite apparent to farmers concerned about these issues.

THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

Normative and Non-Normative Factors of Behavior

There is broad general agreement that human behavior is complex and many faceted. Biological and psychological factors are related to behavior no less than social factors.

Thus, quite understandably, some students of behavior object to the extreme sociological position that human conduct is "totally shaped by common norms or institutionalized patterns."

Wrong (96), for example, charges that sociologists rely heavily on the proposition that people are so profoundly sensitive to the expectations of others that all action is inevitably guided by these expectations. He complains that though sociologists have criticized past efforts to single out one fundamental motive in human conduct, the desire to achieve a favorable self-image by winning approval from others frequently occupies such a position in their own thinking.

That material interests, sexual drives and the quest for power have often been over-estimated as human motives is no reason to deny their reality. To do so is to suppress one term of the dialectic between conformity and rebellion, social norms and their violation, man and the social order, as completely as the other term is suppressed by those who deny the reality of man's "normative orientations" or reduce it to the effect of coercion, rational calculation, or mechanical conditioning.

A comprehensive or grand theory of behavior would perhaps take into account all possible factors influencing human action. In this vein, Maslow has formulated a hierarchical theory of human motivation which recognizes biological as well as social factors in behavior. He holds that five basic needs develop as the individual grows and matures.

In terms of strength, each one emerges only when the one above it on the list is satisfied. Thus, physiological needs are followed, in turn, by safety needs, belongingness and love needs, esteem needs and finally, self-actualization needs, a uniquely human need referring to one's desire for self-realization or fulfillment. (70, p. 188)

However, in the present state of the research, to attempt to operationalize a grand theory of behavior would appear to be a forbidding task. A feasible alternative, such as suggested by Merton (61, p. 9), is to seek to flesh out middle range theories of behavior with empirical findings.

Thus, even acknowledging that human behavior is influenced by non-social factors, one still can hope to explain much by concentrating on the social factors. One view, for example, is that as powerful as the hunger and sex drives are, they are profoundly modified by social factors, as in the social definition of what is edible food or a suitable marital partner.

Kluckhohn noted that each culture defines the approved ways of satisfying human wants: (51, p. 171)

Some of each child's wants are those common to all human animals. But each culture has its own scheme for the most desirable and the most approved ways of satisfying these wants. Every distinct society communicates to the new generation very early in life a standard picture of valued ends and sanctioned means, of behavior appropriate for men and women, young and old, priests and farmers. In one culture, the prized type is the sophisticated matron, in another the young warrior, in still another the elderly scholar.

Cooley argued that a person's behavior is controlled for the most part by the development of conscience (the "voice" of the group) as a

consequence of association, although the process is withal unconscious and unplanned. Control, in the Cooley system, according to Hollingshead (41, p. 218), was implicit in society, and as such it was transmitted to the individual by association. Hollingshead himself has declared that "social organization is the compulsive or control factor in behavior."

Similarly, Proshansky and Seidenberg have asserted the strong conformity pressure exerted in organized groups: (66, p. 101)

Because the norms of a group reflect its essential values, there are strong pressures on group members to conform to them. Not only do the group members act in appropriate ways, but conformity to the norms of the group requires that they think, feel and believe in certain ways about relevant objects and events, which, in effect, means the formation of appropriate attitudes. Having the "right" attitudes brings rewards in the form of support and acceptance by the other members of the group; the wrong attitudes bring pressures to conform or even punishment.

Sargent and Stafford (70, pp. 298-299) say that most persons conform to some degree to norms, partly to save time and effort and to avoid disapproval. Thus, Allport observed 1,000 pedestrians at a traffic light guarded by a policeman. Almost 90% waited obediently at the curb until the green light appeared, 8% waited just off the curb, and 2% ventured to the middle of the intersection and waited. Only a negligible 0.3% walked right on across the street, defying the light altogether.

Similarly, Allport and his students found in other studies that while a few departed slightly from the norms, no one proved completely nonconformist. These studies involved employees' punctuality in arriving at work, Catholics taking part in Holy Water ceremony, and workers' promptness in registering for employment.

Finally, Newcomb's famous study of Bennington College girls has

demonstrated the "decisive effect" of group membership and identification with the group and its norms and values on the process of attitude change. (76, p. 240)

Normative Behavior

Among major potential research areas of normative behavior are:
(8, p. 178; 68, p. 332)

1. the kinds of behavior and attitudes that are normatively regulated;
2. intergroup variations in conformity (e.g., higher conformity in some religious groups than in others);
3. varying conformity among members of a single group;
4. and the external constraints of a social organization - - the normative effect - - vs. the influence of the individual's internalized values.

In reference to this latter area, Blau (8, p. 180) sought to separate out the structural or external conformity effects in a study of a public assistance agency. He found that regardless of their own attitudes, members of groups in which pro-client values prevailed were more likely to be oriented toward casework service than members of groups with other values. Thus he answered in the affirmative a question he had posed, "Can the prevalence of social values in a community also exert social constraints upon patterns of conduct that are independent of the influences exerted by the internalized orientations?"

A survey of the literature indicates that considerable research has been done on conformity to group norms, though little of it involves large

voluntary organizations. Writing from the perspective of social psychology and small group research, Bass examined a large number of propositions relating to conformity.

He found experimental support for these: (7, pp. 41-89)

1. There are consistent individual differences in conformity, regardless of the situation facing the subjects. Women conform much more than men. Those who are more conventional, authoritarian or dogmatic are more conforming.

2. There are conformity effects due to the situation, regardless of the persons involved. Thus, conformity is positively related to the difficulty of the problem facing the group - - also to public, as compared with private, responses by group members.

3. Individual conformity is related to group effectiveness. Conformity to the group's aims and standards is much greater where members have an opportunity as a group to select those aims and standards.

4. Members will conform to each other rather than disagree, in the expectation of maintaining secure, harmonious and satisfying relationships.

5. Conformity is greater in more attractive groups.

6. The greater the group's control, the more conformity is likely to occur.

7. The clearer its goals, the more attractive will be the group; hence the clearer its goals the more members will conform to the group.

8. The more members share the same goals obtainable through cooperation, the more likely they are to conform to each other in their behavior.

9. The greater the rewards and expectancies of reward for membership, the more likely the conformity to group demands.

10. Conformity currently is likely to be greater in a group that earlier experienced effectiveness; more dissention and deviation is likely to occur in a group with a preceding history of failure.

11. Conformity to the demands of others is more likely to occur faster when interaction is possible.

12. As problems of a group become more difficult or as members become less able, conformity is likely to increase in that group.

13. The interaction-oriented member will attempt to conform to avoid disrupting current patterns of interaction or to avoid risking mistakes while interacting with others.

14. One member will conform to the suggestions of another if the other has demonstrated his ability to solve the first member's problems.

15. In a wide variety of situations, the less fluent, less intelligent, less original and less adaptable member is more likely to conform to the suggestions of others.

16. Conformity to others will be maximum in a new situation the more the new situation resembles an earlier one in which conformity occurred in the same way for the same reasons.

17. Conformists are more likely to have been the oldest child in their family; had domineering, inconsistent, rejecting parents; and come from discordant, unfriendly, intolerant family atmospheres.

18. Conformity to group standards and decisions is greater among more influential members and those closer initially to the majority or group decision.

19. The lower one's status the more likely he is to conform to those of higher status.

20. The less esteem a member has, the more likely he is to conform to suggestions of others.

21. A member is more likely to be persuaded, conforming both publicly and privately, if his lack of esteem is due to lack of ability; he is more likely to be coerced, conforming publicly but not privately, if his lack of esteem is due to his lack of personal power.

22. Conformity to group decisions, modal opinion or norms of behavior should be greater among groups where mutual esteem is high.

23. The person with high self-esteem appears more likely to change others, to lead others, rather than to be changed or to conform readily.

24. Events preceding the conforming behavior or taking place concurrently may result in the failure of what would have been conforming behavior.

25. Conformity is likely to be greater in situations of crisis or emergency.

In another social psychological study, Goldberg concluded that there are at least three situational determinants of conformity to social norms: (30, p. 325)

1. Knowledge of a group norm results in increased conformity to that norm.
2. Conformity is a function of the initial disparity with that norm (the initial deviance or distance of the person from the group norm).
3. Conformity occurs, if at all, with the first few exposures to the group norm.

The implication of his findings, Goldberg concluded, is that personality determinants were minimally involved in norm conformity.

On the other hand, Sargent and Stafford (70), report that conformity has been related to these psychological variables:

1. the individual's certainty about his judgment, and
2. personality differences in tendency to yield or conform.

Matthews related the conformity of U. S. senators to their group norms to their legislative effectiveness: (57, p. 1064)

Unwritten but generally accepted and informally enforced norms of conduct exist in the United States Senate. These folkways hold that new members ought to serve an unobtrusive apprenticeship, that all members should devote a major share of their time and energy to the strictly legislative aspect of their jobs, that Senators should specialize in a few areas of policy, that Senators should be emotionally devoted to the Senate and its ways. The Senate could not operate with its present organization and rules without these folkways. However, not all Senators adhere to them. A distinguished pre-Senate career, higher political ambitions, constituency

problems and a "liberal" political ideology all encourage nonconformity. Senators who conform to the folkways are rewarded by high peer group esteem and tend to be more "effective" legislators than nonconformists.

Dittes and Kelley (20, pp. 100-107), in a study of 103 freshmen, related perception of acceptance and norm conformity. They found that among individuals who equally value their membership in a group, those who feel least accepted and are aware of the possibility of rejection from the group conform most to its norm.

Closely related to this idea is the question of how status within a social group is related to norm conformity.

Homans (42, pp. 140-144) has concluded that there is a direct relationship between informal status and conformity, because popularity and prestige are rewards for conformity to group norms, and, conversely, low status is the penalty paid for deviancy.

However, Blau and Scott (9, p. 104), citing data from a study of a city agency, find support for the opposite hypothesis, that social acceptance among peers seems to not promote conformity, but to increase resistance against group pressure.

However, they reconcile their conclusions with those of Homans. They state that norms that pertain to basic values of a group, such as output standards or the taboo on "squealing" are too significant to permit any member to violate them; hence, only outcasts are likely to do so.

But Blau and Scott conclude some group norms are not this salient for the membership: (9, pp. 106-107)

The prevailing climates of opinion we have just analyzed are less important for group members and exert less severe restrains

on them. So far as these group pressures, as distinct from the group's most salient values, are concerned, it appears that integrated members, who have already proved their acceptability, are permitted greater freedom to differ from the majority than unintegrated ones, who have yet to prove it.

As noted earlier, a search of the literature discloses that not much research has been done on conformity within a larger social group, such as a voluntary organization.

A notable exception is Holden's study of associations as reference groups. He found that the referent function of associations is limited, that referring to them as reference groups suggests that they have a greater effect on their membership than is the case, that they have no referent value beyond their narrow common interests.

Holden declares: (39, p. 73)

The implication of the findings is that the organizational life of the community is so highly compartmentalized that the referent function of the church will be missed if agreement is asked upon more than the dicta found in St. Paul. Similarly, the same should hold for civic associations, unless by chance this year's hobby is tapped in the questioning. People, however, may not join groups because they accept the central set of meanings-norms-values, but because belonging fills other needs they might have. For example, some people join groups not knowing the central sets of meanings-norms-values, but because they have a need for interaction with a congenial group that would not be available to them without membership.

Holden (39, p. 68) also concludes that for most issues not immediately connected with farming, the farm-connected groupings did not serve as reference groups for their members.

Apparently the reference value of a given association diminishes in roughly the degree to which the issues involved depart from the central associational purpose and purview, that is, from its central set of meanings-norms-values.

Another study involving a voluntary association should also be mentioned. Gouldner (33, p. 468), in a study of the League of Women Voters, a large and nationally organized women's voluntary association, found that commitment to the specific values of an organization is distinct from commitment to the organization as a whole.

Her findings also raise some questions regarding Homans' hypothesis that the higher an individual's rank in a group, the more nearly his activities conform to the norms of that group. Gouldner concluded: (33, p. 487)

The elaboration of this hypothesis requires knowledge of the kinds of norms and values to which an organizational elite conform and those from which they may deviate. The data here indicate that commitment to some organizational values may be distinct from participation, office holding, and integration - - all of which have been used, in addition to sociometric choice, as measures of rank in testing Homans' hypothesis. The data suggest, further, that it is among the organizational elite that some values, generally taken for granted, are discussed and may become new issues.

Finally, in reviewing studies of conformity within voluntary organizations, attention is directed to Copp's research on loyalty, a concept undoubtedly related to conformity. He found within farmer cooperatives that what members believed, i.e., social reality to them, was more importantly related to loyalty to the organization than objective facts. (17, p. 180)

He found:

1. Belief that the member could get a better market for his product outside the cooperative was more closely related to loyalty than the actual price received.
2. The amount of influence a member felt he had over the organization

was more closely related to loyalty than the member's relative participation in the organization.

3. Acceptance of cooperative doctrine was more related to loyalty than factual knowledge of the organization.

4. Satisfaction with performance of the organization was more closely related to loyalty than experience with the organization.

5. Perception of compulsion in the membership recruiting situation was more closely related to loyalty than the reason given for joining.

Basic Assumptions

1. Behavior is assumed to be goal oriented - - to be motivated toward achieving goals relating to basic wants and needs, such as those posited by Maslow (70, p. 188). Goals are seen as specific ends or objectives selected to satisfy such needs.

2. It is assumed that the culture or the total way of life of a people defines the goals which ought to be sought after in that cultural area.

3. It is further assumed that people organize themselves into groups to achieve goals which appear to be unreachable through uncoordinated individual human action (53, p. 410).

4. Finally, it is assumed that socially-developed norms or behavior standards of the relevant social groups - - to which actors may formally belong or with which they may identify - - define acceptable behavior in the pursuit of those goals.

Burchinal notes the significant relationship between goals and acceptable means of achieving them: (14, p. 9)

Almost all activities vitally related to our existence in this incredibly complex society result from our participation in groups. Order in these activities is maintained by striving for socially approved ends (goals) by means of socially approved means. For instance, we want many things: a good level of living for our families and ourselves, success, comfort, to name just a few things. And we attempt to attain these ends by means of work, perhaps supplemented by careful investment of part of the results of our labor.

The agreement upon goals sought and the means used to attain them shows remarkable persistence and wide acceptance in our society. The persistence and generality of goals are due in large part to their intimate associations with values we have learned to accept. Values give rise to the ranking of the importance of goals. They define the approved and disapproved means of attaining goals. Values are ideas, and can be inferred from the choices we make among alternative courses of action. When people choose to remain in farming, despite lower incomes in many cases and less ready access to medical, religious, social and recreational facilities, it must be because they value certain satisfactions derived from farming over those that could be derived from a higher paying nonfarm job. (Emphasis added.)

Merton, similarly, spells out the relation between group valued goals and permissible behavior in pursuing those goals: (61, pp. 132-133)

Among the several elements of social and cultural structures, two are of immediate importance. These are analytically separable although they merge in concrete situations. The first consists of culturally defined goals, purposes and interests, held out as legitimate objectives for all or for diversely located members of the society. The goals are more or less integrated - - the degree is a question of empirical fact - - and roughly ordered in some hierarchy of value. Involving various degrees of sentiment and significance, the prevailing goals comprise a frame of aspirational reference. They are the things "worth striving for." They are a basic, though not the exclusive, component of what Linton has called "designs for group living." And although some, not all, of these cultural goals are directly related to the biological drives of man, they are not determined by them.

A second element of the cultural structure defines, regulates and controls the acceptable modes of reaching out for these goals. Every social group invariably couples its cultural objectives with regulations, rooted in the mores or institutions, of allowable procedure for moving toward these

objectives. These regulatory norms are not necessarily identical with technical or efficiency norms. Many procedures which from the standpoint of particular individuals would be most efficient in securing desired values - - the exercise of force, fraud, power - - are ruled out of the institutional area of permitted conduct. At times, the disallowed procedures include some which would be efficient for the group itself - - e.g., historic taboos on vivisection, on medical experimentation, on the sociological analysis of "sacred" norms - - since the criterion of acceptability is not technical efficiency but value-laden sentiments (supported by most members of the group or by those able to promote these sentiments through the composite use of power and propaganda). In all instances, the choice of expedients for striving toward cultural goals is limited by institutionalized norms.

Definition of Major Concepts

Voluntary organization

The terms "voluntary organization and voluntary association" are used interchangeably, at least by some writers, for example Sills in a study of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis. (80, pp. vii, 1, 2, 5)

Thus in defining the concept, "voluntary organization," it is instructive to examine, first, standard dictionary definitions of the key words involved. Webster provides the following definitions:

Voluntary - - brought about by one's own free choice; given or done of one's own free will.

Organization - - a body of persons organized for some specific purpose, such as a club, union or society.

Association - - a society formed for transmitting or carrying on some business or pursuit for mutual advantage.

Emerging from the foregoing definitions are the following key characteristics of voluntary organizations:

1. Members join and participate on a free choice basis.

2. The organization has specific objectives or purposes.

3. The organization is formed for the mutual advantage of its members.¹

Thus it is not surprising that Lundberg et al. (56, p. 303) define the "voluntary association" as a "relatively lasting collectivity, somewhat formally organized, whose members belong by their own choice." Later, they specify that such an organization has an objective or purpose. But more on that later herein.

Blau and Scott (9, p. 41) define a voluntary organization as a "voluntary association of equals where members freely join for a specific purpose" such as a religious sect, club or professional association.

Similarly, Rose (69, p. 52), noting the need for "a more careful definition of voluntary associations," states:

A small group of people, finding they have a certain interest (or purpose) in common, agree to meet and to act together in order to try to satisfy that interest or achieve that purpose.

However, other writers apparently do not specify small numbers of members as a characteristic of a voluntary organization.

Several analysts have pointed out other distinct features of voluntary organizations. Rose notes that as "social structures, voluntary associations involve formal leadership, specialized activity, rules for operating, time and place of meeting and so on."

He and others distinguish between voluntary associations which act only to express or satisfy the interest of their members in relation to

¹Blau and Scott (9, p. 43) term "mutual benefit associations" those voluntary organizations where the prime beneficiary is the membership.

themselves, such as with recreational and sports associations - - and associations directed outward to achieve some condition or change in some limited segment of the society as a whole. (69, p. 52)

Lundberg et al. (56, p. 306) note that given voluntary associations differ in the proportion of their activity which is consummatory - - engaged in for its own sake, for pleasure - - and the proportion that is instrumental - - engaged in as a means to a more ultimate goal.

But regardless of purpose, the voluntary association is by implication defined as one with a relatively undifferentiated and weak social structure. Though there is probably considerable variation among associations, commonly the association has relatively few social positions or statuses with their associated expectancies as to appropriate roles - - and relatively few social relationships among position incumbents.

Thus Selznick has described the typical voluntary organization in these terms: (73, p. 96)

Most voluntary associations are skeletal in the sense that they are manned by a small core of individuals - - the administration, the local sub-leaders, a few faithful meeting-goers - - around whom there fluctuates a loosely bound mass of dues-payers. This type of membership has, on the whole, only a very limited relation to the organization; its agreement with it may be of the vaguest sort; it may give little or no time to the organization nor be guided by its pronouncements save, as in unions and professional groups, on very narrow issues; in short, the power implications of membership are minimal.

Norm

A key concept in this thesis and indeed in sociology generally is that of norm, which like many other terms in social science is defined in various ways.

Queen indicates the variety of ideas that are subsumed under the term concept: (67, p. 175)

. . . the identification of norms is not a simple task, for it is possible to conceive of norms in terms of 1) formal laws, rules, regulations; 2) modal behavior - - what people usually do; 3) off-the-cuff remarks indicative of attitudes; 4) sanctions - - rewards and penalties attached to various types of behavior.

However, the two most important connotations of this term appear to be the following:

1. Average or modal, i.e., most typical behavior, attitude, opinion or perception found in a social group.
2. A standard shared by the members of a social group to which the members are expected to conform, and conformity to which is enforced by positive and negative sanctions.

With reference to the first meaning, Sherif, in an early work, found that when groups of people face an ambiguous perceptual situation their initial interpretations of the event may be widely divergent - - but then gradually converge. A norm finally arises because of the process of convergence. Thus, Sherif seemed to mean by a norm, simply this modal perception. (32, p. 472)

Cited as an example of how group norms emerge is Sherif's famous study of the autokinetic phenomenon. A stationary pinpoint of light, observed in 100 consecutive exposures of two seconds each, was perceived as moving. When each subject in the presence of the other, announced his judgment on how far the light had moved, group norms emerged on this movement.

Secord and Backman, similarly have related norm formation to the need

for interpreting the environment where physical clues are lacking:

(72, p. 331)

Particularly in situations where he is uncertain or confused - - where he does not know how to react - - a person can turn to the behavior of other persons to observe a stable world. This social reality provides him with a reference point for his own behavior. The more ambiguous the nonsocial stimulus situation, the more likely he is to depend on social reality for orientation.

Sherif (78, p. 472), in a later work, has suggested that there is an element of social constraint in a norm. Thus, applied to the clustering of group perceptions, the norm ceases to be purely a statistical concept and begins to take on the characteristics of an enforced standard.

Secord and Backman (72, p. 323), similarly, have combined under norm both perceptual guide or frame of reference and behavior standard; they define a norm as a "standard or behavioral expectation shared by group members against which the appropriateness of feelings and behavior is evaluated." (Emphasis added.) As will be noted, the behavioral standard idea is introduced with the word "appropriateness."

However, Newcomb (64, p. 265) restricts the term norm to "shared frames of reference," and uses the term "behavior standard" to refer to that which most other writers term norm.

In contrast to the social psychologists just cited, sociologists generally define norms as behavior standards.

Examples of definitions of a norm follow:

1. "Widely shared standards for behavior"--Wilson (92, pp. 62-63)
2. "Standards of behavior and thought"--Proshansky and Seidenburg (66, p. 101)
3. "Pre-established courses (patterns) of action to be followed--

Timasheff, Facey and Schlereth (84, p. 48)

4. "Rules that govern the activities of group members"--Lundberg, Schrag and Larsen (56, p. 11)

5. "Generally accepted, sanctioned prescriptions for, or prohibitions against, others' behavior, belief, or feeling, i.e., what others ought to do, believe, feel - - or else"--Morris (63, p. 610)

6. "An idea in the minds of members of a group, an idea that can be put in the form of a statement specifying what the members or other men should do, ought to do, are expected to do, under given circumstances"--Homans (42, p. 123)

7. "Regulations, rooted in the mores or institutions, of allowable procedure for moving toward these (culturally defined) objectives"--Merton (61, p. 133)

It will be noted that common to the above definitions is the idea that norms 1) specify appropriate behavior 2) for members of the group.

Some, such as Lundberg et al., specify further that a norm defines the appropriate or expected behavior of persons in social positions. They imply that a norm does not exist alone, as a thing in of itself, but only with reference to an actor occupying a social position or status in a network of social relations.

Thus the norm does not necessarily apply indiscriminately to all members of the social group, for "the social structure is based on norms that spell out the roles required of given persons depending upon their social positions."

Zelditch (97, p. 455) specifies that a norm that has sociological meaning involves two parts: 1) prescription, and 2) a pair of statuses

(who must do what in relation to whom). Thus, he observes, norms differ essentially according to the statuses to which they are applied rather than in the actions they regulate.

Lundberg et al. (56, p. 147) speak of a "normative system" including both role prescriptions and role expectations. They include under the former, formal laws, rules and regulations, which usually are written and are enforced by official rewards and penalties. They include under role expectations, informal codes of etiquette or propriety, which often are unwritten and are enforced by such unofficial means as ostracism, ridicule, respect, prestige, etc.

Similarly, Williams (90, pp. 26-27) points out that norms always carry some prescriptive or proscriptive quality. Proscriptive norms direct participants to act in a particular way, spelling out the forms of behavior to which group members must conform, such as directives requiring periodical church confession among Roman Catholics, etc. Proscriptive norms are those such as the Ten Commandments which direct group members to abstain from specified acts.

Though norms include an element of "ought," they are not to be confused with values. As Morris (63, pp. 610-611) points out, values are individual, or commonly shared conceptions of the desirable. That is, they involve what I and/or others feel we justifiably want - - what it is felt proper to want.

On the other hand, norms concern what others ought to do, believe, feel or else.

Values can be held by a single individual; norms cannot. Norms must be shared prescriptions and apply to others, by definition. Values have

only a subject - - the believer. Norms have both subjects and objects - - those who set the prescription and those to whom it applies.

Norms always include sanctions; values never do. It is true that commonly held values often result in the formation of norms that insure the maintenance of the values; yet this is not always the case. Nor does it follow that every norm, where it applies, involves a presently held value, even though most norms are based upon established values.

For example, there may be a widely-held value placed on baseball skills in a society - - but no norm which states that baseball ought to be played by the individuals in that society, or they will suffer the consequences. On the other hand, there may be a norm that recommends stopping at a red light even when there is no traffic, without value attached to the instances.

In this dissertation a norm is defined, after Lundberg et al., as a behavior standard defining appropriate behavior of a person in a given social position.

Conforming behavior

It should be emphasized that in focussing upon behavior as a dependent variable, this writer does not rule out or discount the potential importance of nonbehavioral variables, e.g., dispositions to act, intentions, preferences, etc. Indeed, Carnap has expressly included in his definition of behavior, disposition to behavior which may not be manifest in a given special case. (28, p. 99)

However, behavior in its most general sense denotes the change, movement or response of any entity or system in relation to its

environment or situation. (32, p. 53)

And, according to R. E. Park, "the fact is that every science is everywhere seeking to describe and explain the movements, changes and reactions, that is to say, the behavior, of some portion of the world about us." (Emphasis added.) (32, p. 53)

However, E. C. Tolman asserts that behavior or action can be fully identified in terms only of the organism-environment rearrangement which it produces. A mere movement or response can be identified in purely intraorganism terms, e.g., as consisting of such-and-such muscle contractions or glandular secretions. (32, p. 53)

That is, behavior in this sense is action or response to the environment not intraorganic changes or responses.

Beginning with J. B. Watson, there has been a tradition in psychology that the phenomena of human behavior must be directly observable and measurable in some fashion. This position thus rules out of the field, subjective states and introspection. (32, p. 53)

Minimizing of the importance of concepts which refer to mental or subjective processes and emphasizing of operational definitions of concepts have become part of the so-called behaviorism view of science. This view also expresses a preference for research through laboratory experimentation and use of the word behavior to refer to speech and inner processes such as thinking as well as to overt acts. (32, p. 53)

However, it is not necessary to accept and defend all of the ideas of behaviorism in order to utilize the concept of behavior in a sociological setting.

Fortunately, as Spence notes the relationship of immediate experience

(consciousness) to the data and constructs of science has been considerably clarified in recent years by the writings of several different groups of thinkers: (81, p. 572)

The philosophers of science, particularly the logical positivists, philosophically-minded scientists such as Bridgman and, within psychology, such writers as Boring, Pratt and Stevens have succeeded, I believe, in making the point that the data of all sciences have the same origin - - namely, the immediate experience of an observing person, the scientist himself. That is to say, immediate experience, the initial matrix out of which all sciences develop, is no longer considered a matter of concern for the scientist qua scientist. He simply takes it for granted and then proceeds to his task of describing the events occurring in it and discovering and formulating the nature of the relationships holding among them.

But what about verbal responses of people? Do these constitute behavior? And what do they tell us? On these points Spence says: (81, p. 574)

The introspectionist, it should be recalled, assumed a strict one-to-one relationship between verbal responses of his subjects and the inner mental processes. Accordingly, he accepted these introspective reports as facts or data about the inner mental events which they represented.

The behavior scientist takes a very different position. He accepts verbal response as just one more form of behavior and he proposes to use this type of data in exactly the same manner as he does other types of behavior variables. Thus he attempts to discover laws relating verbal responses to environmental events of the past or present, and he seeks to find what relations they have to other types of response variables. He also makes use of them as a basis for making inferences as to certain hypothetical or theoretical constructs which he employs. In contrast, then, to the introspectionist's conception of these verbal reports as mirroring directly inner mental events, i.e., facts, the behaviorist uses them either as data in their own right to be related to other data, or as a base from which to infer theoretical constructs which presumably represent internal or covert activities of their subjects.

Morris makes the significant point, from the author's view, that behavior is purposive, goal seeking activity. He defines behavior as follows: (62, p. 346)

Roughly speaking behavior consists of the sequences of responses (actions of muscles and glands) by which an organism seeks goal-objects that satisfy its needs. Behavior is therefore "purposive" and is to be distinguished from response as such and from the even wider class of reactions. Behavior is individual or social, and when social may be cooperative, competitive or symbiotic.

This is an important distinction, for it permits the analyst to exclude from consideration random, irrational actions which, in a study such as the author is making of a voluntary organization, could only complicate the analysis.

In this dissertation, the writer will define behavior - - following Park, Morris and others - - as purposive movement, change, reaction or other activity of the human organism in relation to environmental events.

Next, considered is the term conformity behavior. Sherif (75, p. 159) notes that an item of behavior, taken in and by itself, cannot be labeled either conformity or deviation, that there is no such thing as conforming or deviating behavior in the abstract.

Always, conformity is conformity to something. Deviation is departure from something, whether the referent of that "something" is made explicit or not.

What is that "something"? The referents may be the prevailing, the usual, or expected ways of doing things in the individual's surroundings. This is the normative basis of the problem. (75, p. 160)

As Sherif points out, a set of values or norms of a group, variously referred to as its code, standards, or rules, has direct bearing on the problem of conformity.

There would be no persistent problem of conformity or deviation if there were no norms to conform to or deviate from . . . As long as there are values or norms shared, upheld and cherished by group members, compliance to and deviation from them are ever present concerns. (75, pp. 177-178)

However, norms are not rules or standards of behavior devoid of motivational and emotional warmth, Sherif claims. Take the case of labor unions. As the history of labor organizations demonstrates, it was the common urge for mutual protection and improvement of working and wage conditions that prompted the banding together of laborers in the latter half of the 19th Century, at first secretly and then in public forms which foreshadowed the modern labor unions.

The norms cherished as almost sacred and upheld most tenaciously in word and deed by labor organizations to this very day are those related to the motivational issues that brought the early workers together - - collective bargaining, the right to strike, seniority rights, the closed shop, minimum wage, and so on.

The motivational bases of such norms are readily seen when one of the members deviates from the hard-won standards. Not just a few administrators, but the rank and file have coined labels and developed corrective measures for deviations they consider as selling out their interests. A similar analysis of motivational bases in the rise and functioning of norms can be applied to management and business organizations.
(75, p. 179)

In other words, norms arise and are stabilized relative to motivationally important relationships and activities. Serious issues of conforming and nonconforming behavior arise relative to matters of consequence to the group, its existence, its perpetuation, its solidarity and its effective functioning toward central interests and goals.

As Sherif (75, p. 179) maintains, it is somewhat unrealistic to dwell upon cases of conformity or nonconformity in matters considered peripheral to the scheme of things by the group in question, such as the hobbies engaged in by members privately.

Behavior is defined herein as purposive movement, change, reaction or other activity of people in relation to things outside them, as contrasted

with internal reactions.

Thus in this dissertation, conforming behavior is defined as movement, change, reaction or other activity which is appropriate or normative in matters of importance to the group.

More simply, Bass (5, p. 38) defines conforming behavior as behavior reflecting the successful influence of other persons. However, this is unsatisfactory for the present purposes, as it does not take into consideration the concept of norm, or behavior standard from which deviancy may be noted.

Merton (60, p. 179) has drawn a distinction between behavioral conformity (a term this writer will take as being synonymous with conforming behavior) and attitudinal conformity. He speaks of attitudinal conformity when individuals grant legitimacy to designated institutional values and norms; behavioral conformity when, whatever their attitudinal position, they act in accord with values and norms. According to this, we may analytically differentiate between one's commitment to a norm or alienation from it - - and his actual behavior. From this distinction, Dubin (23, p. 149) has developed typologies of conformity, including that of "normative optimist," i.e., one who rejects the norm, attitudinally, but conforms to it in practice.

As useful as this distinction may be for some purposes, it does not serve this author's purpose. Herein, the objective is not in comparing overt behavior and underlying attitudes toward the norm relating to that behavior. Rather, the concern in this dissertation is with the relation of organizational attachment (as indexed by participation in organizational activities) to overt conforming behavior. In this context, human

responses to value statements are considered as just another example of behavior. This, of course, is in harmony with the position of the behavior scientist, as earlier noted by Spence (81, p. 572) in his reference to verbal behavior.

Organizational attachment

Social organizations are a fact of modern life. But it is apparent that humans are differentially related to given organizations. This relationship could be considered in psychological terms, i.e., how an individual regards himself in relation to a given organization. From this perspective, one would expect that some individuals would highly identify with the organization or feel a strong emotional attachment to it, that others would not identify with the organization at all, and still others would feel an attachment somewhere in between these two extremes.

"Loyalty" is one term that might be used to express the relation of man and organization. Loyalty may be defined as faithfulness or faithful adherence to a person, government, cause, duty, etc. The term, quite logically could be extended to apply to adherence to an organization.

Similarly, the term "identification" has been used to relate man and organization or man and social group. But again, this implies a psychological relationship, or ego's perception of his relation to the group.

Freud said that identification is the "original form of emotional tie with an object." More recently, Allport has noted that the term "serves to convey the sense of emotional merging of oneself with others.

(32, p. 314)

Day (18) defines identification as:

An emotional relationship with an object characterized as a feeling of "oneness" with the object. It results in 1) attempts by the subject to be like the object, 2) the arousal in the subject of social feelings toward the object, 3) vicarious experience in the subject, and 4) the tendency in the subject to presume the object is similar to himself.

Sherif (76, p. 113) uses the term "belongingness" to express the relation between man and organization. He cites the case of Sue, who acquired a feeling of belongingness to a group as a result of interaction with its members and identification with its activities and products (norms, values).

Beal (6, p. 208) notes that much has been written about "we feeling" as it relates to identity and participation in group activity. This "we feeling" is often expressed as "we believe," "we feel," "we stand for," "we do," and "we want."

Merton (61, p. 282), in discussing the concept of reference group, speaks of people orienting themselves to groups - - not only to membership groups but to groups to which they aspire to belong. (Emphasis added.)

Gouldner (33, p. 468) has used the term organizational commitment to conceptualize at least some dimensions of the relation between man and organization. She has studied such forms of organizational commitment as cosmopolitan integration - - the degree to which the individual is active in and feels himself a part of the varying levels of a particular organization, and is active as well in other organizations; and organizational introjection - - the degree to which the individual's "ideal" self image includes a number of organizationally approved qualities and values.

These are all psychological perspectives - - involving man's perception of organization. Such terms as loyalty, identification, belonging-

ness, orientation and commitment - - while potentially useful and insightful are inappropriate in the present study. They refer to phenomena which undoubtedly exist in the real world but have not been empirically measured in this study.

However, there is another important phenomenon of organizations for which the author believes he does have a valid empirical measure. This is the differential interactional involvement of individuals in an organization, in the varying levels of interaction of individuals in an organizational setting. Thus some individuals do not interact at all with others in the programs and activities of a given organization - - for example, a person who is not a member of the organization, has heard nothing of the organization, has no interest or concern about it either pro or con. At the other extreme, others interact frequently in the context of a given organization. For example, officers, who participate intensively in organizational decisions, planning, and programs.

In this study the term organizational attachment is used to refer to this interactional involvement of individuals in an organization. While perhaps not an ideal term, attachment has the merit of being a more neutral term than identification, loyalty, orientation, belongingness and commitment, which as earlier noted suggest in the individual an emotional tie to the organization.

Actually, attachment is defined in both emotional and non-emotional terms, though the relative emphasis on the emotional connotation varies from writer to writer.

Webster gives five meanings to the term attachment:

1. The act of attaching or the state of being attached.

That by which one thing or person is attached to another;
as, to cut the attachments of a muscle.

2. Close affection, devotion, regard, as, an attachment to a friend or to a party.
3. Anything added or attached.
4. Some accessory for an instrument, machine, or other object; as attachments for a vacuum cleaner.
5. In law, (a) the taking of a person, goods or estate into custody; (b) the writ directing such action.

Webster lists as synonyms for attachment, adherence, fondness, affection, inclination, bond, tie, adjunct, appendage.

The Oxford dictionary similarly defines the term, and lists such synonyms as fastening, tie or bond. In the emotional sense, the Oxford dictionary defines attachment as "the fact or condition of being attached by sympathy, affection, devotion, fidelity."

Warren (88a), a psychologist, lists three meanings:

1. The connection or bond between stimulus and response.
2. A mild form of emotion or love, accompanying the attitude of attraction.
3. That by which one part is bound to another, e.g., attachment of muscles.

While attachment is thus defined in both emotional and non-emotional terms, the author believes that the emotional connotations are not usually called to mind in ordinary discourse. One reason is that the term has a number of important non-emotional connotations, as indicated by the foregoing definitions. At least the author would argue that the term is less objectionable than other terms which come to mind.

Organizational attachment, as earlier indicated, is viewed in this

thesis from an objective rather than a subjective (psychological) perspective. It is taken to mean the interactional involvement of individuals in an organization - - the relative amount of their interaction in a setting where the organization is salient, such as during one of the organization's meetings or other activities.

Value

The term value has been employed to refer to many different phenomena. However, from a sociological perspective, it can be a useful concept when defined as a normative standard or normative criterion. Thus defined, value becomes more of a generic concept than when it is equated either to means or ends. However, value should not be defined as an influential or directive force which guides behavior. Defining it in this way interjects into the definition an unconfirmed hypothesis. (1)

Also, value is a more useful concept when it is not equated with impulses, preferences or cathexis. Differentiated from these concepts, value can retain its normative context and be viewed as broad and long range in nature.

In this thesis, value is defined as an abstract latent normative standard and represents an individual's concept of what man ought to desire and the relationships which ought to exist between phenomena. (87)

Seven major properties associated with values make it possible to distinguish values from other like concepts: (49, pp. 15-16)

1. Values possess the property of selectivity, i.e., the quality of ordering the options available in terms which those who have had to make the choices will accept as decisive.

2. Values do not have the property of universality. Variability in values is evident from individual to individual. But from a sociological viewpoint this variability is more meaningful from social group to social group or from culture to culture.

3. Values have the property of continuity from generation to generation. This continuity is derived primarily through the socialization process which generally employs symbols to represent the values communicated.

4. Values can and do change, though they are a relatively stable component of the personality and have a strong influence upon most human beings.

5. Values are associated with the roles which human beings fulfill in society, or which they aspire to fulfill. In this connection, values have the property of imposing obligations or defining what is socially expected of a person in a certain role.

6. Values have the property of inducing self-evaluation - - the capacity of a person to judge the propriety of his own conduct in reference to standards he has learned to apply to himself. A value conveys to the particular person holding it a sense of personal imperative which makes him feel personally subject to its direction.

7. Values have the property of self-inhibition, i.e., the restraint of action considered improper by the process of internalized control, rather than by external coercive sanctions.

The values discussed in this thesis are considered to belong to the following categories:

1. Group values - - these refer to values which can be clearly distinguished among a plurality of individuals or within a given

subculture. In this study the rural population is considered as a subculture. It is recognized that values are never shared exactly by the same two individuals, so that the category, group values, is considered as an abstraction, i.e., statements of central tendencies rather than absolute distribution statements.

2. Explicit values - - these are values which are stated verbally by the actors rather than inferred from recurrent trends in behavior.

3. Integrated values - - it is anticipated that the values examined in this dissertation form an interlocking network or configuration.

4. Moral values - - the content of the values which are examined herein generally fit into the moral mode of value-orientation as outlined by Parsons and Shils (65, p. 6). This mode involves "the various commitments to standards by which certain consequences or particular actions and types of action may be assessed with respect to their effect upon the system of action. These standards define the actor's choice with a view of how the consequences of the choice will effect 1) the integration of the personality system and 2) the social system of which he is a participant."

Development of Theoretical Hypotheses

A basic assumption of this thesis is that human beings have many wants, some of which they try to satisfy through individual activities and some of which they seek to satisfy by participating in groups.

It is assumed that the attachment to or interactional involvement in a given group will vary among persons. Such variance could be related to differing priorities which people put on satisfying the wants

which the given organization is seeking to meet. For example, consider a hypothetical organization formed to protect children at school crossings. Some persons, e.g., those with young children, may rate school crossing safety higher on their scale of wants than other persons.

Varying attachment of members to a group could also be related to rewards differentially perceived to be flowing from such attachment. It could also be related to varying time and energy available for such attachment, a healthy, well-to-do retired man, for example, having more opportunity for attachment to a political party than, say, a young graduate student, a housewife with seven children, or an ailing old woman.

That even formal members of a group differ in their attachment to the group not only is intuitively apparent, but is indicated by empirical studies. For example, Jackson (48, p. 327) found in a study of staff members of a child welfare agency that attraction to membership was directly related "to the volume of interaction" the person had with other members.

It is further assumed that to achieve socially approved objectives, groups develop norms or behavior standards defining appropriate behavior for group members. (58, pp. 132-133)

Lundberg et al. (56, p. 146) state:

In order to achieve certain objectives, all groups and societies organize their activities into a social structure. Components of any given structure include: 1) a normative system, 2) a position network, 3) a sanction system, 4) a set of anticipated responses, and 5) a system of action.

Finally, it is assumed that people will be more aware of norms and that the norms will be more salient to them and have more effect on them,

the more attached they are to the relevant group.

Hence it is hypothesized that the more people are attached to a social group, the more they will behave in conformity to group norms.

Thus, since the focus of interest in this dissertation is on the voluntary organization, a particular kind of social group, the most general theoretical hypothesis becomes:

The more people are attached to a voluntary organization,
the more they will behave in conformity to the norms of
the organization.

In terms of the data available in this study, six modes of behavior relevant to a voluntary organization may be identified:

1. rating programs
2. rating causes of problems
3. rating solutions to problems
4. rating public figures
5. participating in programs
6. accepting values

These six types of behavior can be incorporated into 12 general sub-hypotheses - - six positively oriented and six negatively oriented.

For the sake of simplicity in stating these sub-hypotheses, the term "relevant" is used to designate programs, causes of problems, solutions to problems, public figures and values deemed to be important to the realization of the organization's goals. For example, a relevant program would be one which would appear to work for or against the realization of the organization's goals; an irrelevant program, by contrast, would be one which would appear to have little or no effect and hence of little

importance to the organization.

Similarly, a relevant cause of a problem would be one which would appear to significantly limit the realization of the organization's goals. A relevant public figure would be one whose actions would appear to importantly affect the realization of the organization's goals. A relevant value would appear to be one which was definitely consonant or dissonant with the organization's goals (as contrasted with a value which appeared to have no relation to such goals).

With this distinction, the 12 general hypotheses are:

Compared with persons with a low degree of attachment to an organization,

- 1A. Those highly attached will more strongly favor relevant programs supported by the organization.
- 1B. Those highly attached will more strongly disfavor relevant programs rejected by the organization.
- 2A. Those highly attached will more highly rate relevant causes of a problem those highly rated by the organization.
- 2B. Those highly attached will less highly rate relevant causes of a problem those rated low by the organization.
- 3A. Those highly attached will more highly rate relevant solutions of a problem those highly rated by the organization.
- 3B. Those highly attached will less highly rate relevant solutions of a problem those rated low by the organization.
- 4A. Those highly attached will more highly rate a relevant public figure favored by the organization.
- 4B. Those highly attached will less highly rate a relevant public figure disfavored by the organization.
- 5A. Those highly attached will participate more in relevant programs favored by the organization.
- 5B. Those highly attached will participate less in relevant programs disfavored by the organization.

- 6A. Those highly attached will more often accept relevant values approved by the organization.
- 6B. Those highly attached will less often accept relevant values disapproved by the organization.

METHODOLOGY

The first section of this chapter is concerned with the procedures used in collecting the data involved in this thesis, the second section with the development of empirical measures to operationalize the theoretical concepts, and the third with the development of empirical hypotheses.

The data used to test the hypotheses were collected largely under Project 1493 of the Iowa Agriculture and Home Economics Experiment Station, entitled "The Relationship between Values and Attitudes and Positions Taken by Farm People Regarding Agricultural Adjustment and Policy." The project leaders were Drs. George M. Beal and Joe M. Bohlen of the Department of Sociology, Iowa State University. The general objective of the project was to " . . . determine the value and attitude complexes, and their inter-relationship that will predict the positions or actions of individuals in relation to agricultural adjustment and policy."¹

Data Collection

Most of the data used in this study were obtained from a sample of farmers by means of a schedule containing questions on farm program preferences and participation and a questionnaire relating to the respondents' values and beliefs. In addition, certain other information about the respondents was obtained by this author directly from county and state Farm Bureau offices.

¹This statement is from the project proposal submitted to the Agriculture and Home Economics Experiment Station at Iowa State University for the grant of funds to enable research to be conducted.

The questionnaire used in this study was developed primarily by the project leaders, Drs. George M. Beal and Joe M. Bohlen, and the former project co-ordinator, Charles Elder.

The final interview schedule was developed primarily by Rex Warland and the project leaders, Drs. George M. Beal and Joe M. Bohlen, with the assistance of Charles Elder. Prior to its use in the field the interview was pre-tested by Rex Warland and Charles Elder on ten randomly selected Story County farm operators.

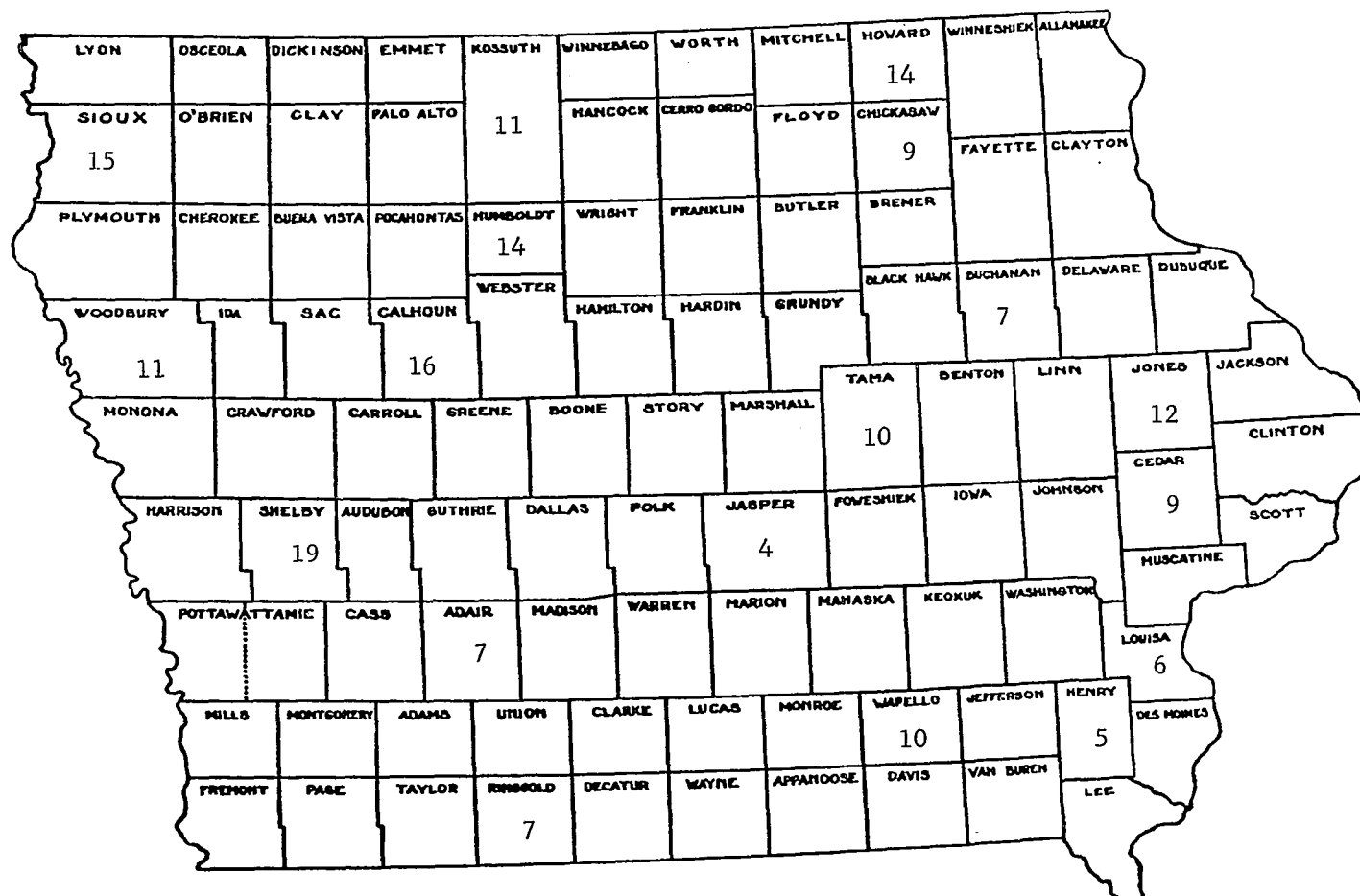
Sample and field procedure

The subjects of this study are Iowa farm operators who at the time they were contacted were farming 100 or more acres of land and making the major management decisions for their farms. These criteria were used to insure that the farmers interviewed were mostly full-time farmers. This selection procedure was relatively effective, for 90% of the sample can be considered full-time farmers.

The Iowa State University Statistical Laboratory used a stratified sampling technique in selecting the respondents. Within each of six major economic areas of the state, three counties and three segments within each of these counties were selected at random. Figure 1 indicates the location of these six economic areas, and the 18 counties included in the sample, also the number of farmers interviewed in each county.

It was expected that the sample selected would yield approximately 225 qualified respondents, and interviewers contacted 207 respondents who met the criteria stated above. However, nearly 8% (16 farmers) of these 207 respondents refused to be interviewed or could not for various reasons

Figure 1. Number of interviews taken in indicated counties



be interviewed. Of the remaining 191 respondents, five failed to complete the schedule and/or the questionnaire. In addition, in the analysis one set of IBM punch cards representing one respondent was unexplainably lost. Thus 185 respondents are included in this study.

The discrepancy between the actual (207) and expected (225) number of respondents contacted was due mainly to changes in the rural population which had occurred since the census information upon which the sample was based had been gathered.

The questionnaires and schedules were administered during March and April of 1964. The questionnaire, containing 127 value and belief statements, were left with the respondent to complete at his convenience. The interviewer was instructed to explain the procedure for responding to the statements, leave the questionnaire with the respondent, and return and pick up the completed copy at an appointed time. When the interviewer returned, the schedule (relating to farm program preferences and participation, and certain situational and personal characteristics) was administered. At the same time, the questionnaire which sample members had filled out relating to their values and beliefs was picked up.

In August and September, 1966, through the cooperation of Mr. Ken Thatcher, executive secretary of the Iowa Farm Bureau Federation, the author secured additional information on the respondents - - specifically, on their participation in Farm Bureau activities during 1964:

1. Checking against a list of names of all of the respondents, Farm Bureau officials provided information as to whether each respondent had been insured for auto, fire or hail insurance in 1964.

2. Questionnaires were sent to Farm Bureau office managers in the

counties covered by the study 1) to determine whether or not the respondents had held a Farm Bureau office during 1964 and 2) to verify from local records the actual Farm Bureau membership status of respondents during 1964 (as a check against what they told interviewers).

3. Questionnaires were sent to managers of Farm Bureau cooperative farm stores (local outlets of FS Services, Inc.) serving the counties represented in the sample in order to solicit information on the actual dollar amount of purchases by each respondent in the various counties, regardless of whether they had told interviewers they were Farm Bureau members or not.

Characteristics of the sample

A summary of some selected characteristics of the sample farmers is shown in Table 1. Unless otherwise noted, all characteristics of the sample farmers are for the year 1963. A comparison of the characteristics of these farmers and the characteristics of all farmers in the counties included in the study also is presented.

In terms of the amount of land farmed and the number of acres of corn planted, the farms surveyed were above the average. However, this was to be expected, for according to the criteria for selecting farmers to be interviewed, those farming less than 100 acres were eliminated. However, the farmers surveyed were below the average on number of acres planted into soybeans. The sample farmers also were renting more land and owning less land than the average farm resident in their areas. They were feeding more hogs but less cattle - - and they were younger than the average farm operator.

Table 1. Characteristics of the sample

Characteristics	Sample			Census Average
	Range	Average	S ^a	
Farm size (no. of acres)	110-926	270.6	135.5	220.6 ^b
Percent of acres owned		42.8		52.4 ^{c,d}
Percent of acres rented		57.2		47.6 ^{c,d}
Corn acres	0-345	91.5	56.6	77.0 ^b
Soybean	0-250	36.6	49.6	44.8 ^b
Number of cattle fed	0-500	37.6	60.8	42.2 ^b
Number of hogs fed	0-1600	162.1	154.9	134.0 ^b
Operator age 1964	21-74	44.4	11.3	48.3 ^b
Operator education	6-19	10.5	2.2	
Net income-3 yr. avg.	\$ 500-13,500	\$ 4,300	\$2,272	
Gross income-3 yr. avg.	\$2500-67,000	\$12,100	\$3,375	

^aStandard deviation.

^bSource: (85).

^cSource: (45).

^dCommercial farms only.

The range of variation among sample farmers was quite wide for most of the characteristics. The standard deviations of many of the characteristics also was relatively large. These parameters suggest that the members in the sample are relatively heterogeneous and thus represent a cross section of full-time Iowa farmers in 1964. An examination of the distributions of these characteristics substantiates this contention.

Development of Empirical Hypotheses

General level Farm Bureau goals and norms

As earlier noted, Merton (61, pp. 132-133) distinguishes between socially approved goals and socially approved norms or allowable procedures for moving to achieve these goals.

It thus becomes pertinent to seek to define both the goals and the norms of the Farm Bureau, the voluntary organization under study herein.

The purpose of the Farm Bureau has been officially defined as follows: (36, p. 65)

Farm Bureau is a free, independent, non-governmental, voluntary organization of farm and ranch families united for the purpose of analyzing their problems and formulating action to achieve educational improvement, economic opportunity and social advancement, thereby promoting the national welfare. Farm Bureau is local, statewide, national and international in its scope and influence and is non-partisan, non-sectarian and non-secret in character.

From this it will be seen that Farm Bureau's goals include "educational improvement, economic opportunity and social advancement."

W. E. Hamilton, research director for the American Farm Bureau Federation, elaborates these goals: (36, p. 65)

Farm Bureau owes its existence to the desire of farm people for educational improvement. It originated as part of the educational movement which led to the establishment of Co-operative Agricultural Extension work. Its policies have always reflected a high regard for the contribution research and education can make to the solution of farm problems.

The reference to "economic opportunity" is significant because it suggests that Farm Bureau members are seeking conditions that will permit the individual farmer "to earn" a claim on society for services rendered by the productive use of his abilities and resources.

The phrase "social advancement" indicates Farm Bureau's awareness of the importance of spiritual and cultural values.

On a slightly lower level of abstraction, let us see how Farm Bureau has more specifically defined the goal of "economic opportunity."

A Farm Bureau resolution on support and adjustment programs states:
(36, p. 70)

A major objective of Farm Bureau policy is to create conditions whereby farmers may earn and get high per-family real income in a manner which will preserve freedom and opportunity. We firmly believe that this objective can best be accomplished by preserving the market price system as the principal influence in allocating the use of farm resources and in distributing farm production.

From the above, one may note that according to Farm Bureau doctrine, preserving the market price system is a means of achieving the more ultimate goal. That more ultimate goal is to create conditions for farmers to earn and get high per family real income in a manner preserving freedom and opportunity.

In turn, it is implied that preserving the market price system becomes an intermediate goal, achieved by specific policies advocated by Farm Bureau.

Thus, the same section cited above states as a yardstick for measuring policies for agriculture the following "guidelines": (36, p. 70)

Policies affecting agriculture should - -

- Increase economic opportunity for farm people
- Promote efficiency in the farm business
- Protect the competitive principle
- Be consistent with the law of supply and demand
- Strengthen the market system
- Stimulate market expansion
- Encourage soil and water conservation

Policies affecting agriculture should not - -

- Open the way to price fixing
- Stimulate excessive production

- Permit development of monopolies
- Erode individual freedom
- Freeze historical production patterns
- Encourage the use of synthetics or other substitutes
- Shift adjustment burdens from one producer group to another
- Increase farm production costs
- Make farmers dependent on government payments

Further, Hamilton has spelled out the kinds of government farm programs which Farm Bureau believes preserve the market, and the kinds which impair it: (36, p. 75)

Farm Bureau believes that a market system can and does contribute to individual freedom and well-being by providing a mechanism for the exercise of individual choice. If this assumption is correct, it follows that the effect on individual freedom of government intervention in the market will depend on whether the intervention improves or impairs the ability of the market to provide for the exercise of individual choice.

The functioning of the market is improved by improving public information and by assuring the public that the information available in the market is dependable. But the function of the market is impaired or destroyed when the government fixes prices or allocates production rights.

Farm Bureau's emphasis on the desirability of returning to the market system does not rule out all agricultural adjustment programs. It does, however, mean that the functions of the market system should be recognized in the development of such programs.

Thus, in theory, to preserve the market price system, the Farm Bureau has promoted and endorsed certain specific farm programs and opposed and worked against other ones.

It can be assumed, after Merton, that the Farm Bureau norm or allowable procedure for achieving the intermediate goal of preserving the market price system is for members to support programs favored by Farm Bureau, to reject programs disfavored by Farm Bureau. Such would be conforming behavior as earlier defined - - appropriate or normative activity in matters of importance to the group.

Practically, while the various state Farm Bureaus have largely been in step with officers of the American Farm Bureau Federation and the resolutions adopted at the national conventions on various farm program issues, some state Farm Bureaus have at times differed with the majority position in the national organization. A recent example was during the 1966 national convention in Las Vegas, Nevada, when an attempt to adopt a resolution against the current cotton allotment program was defeated after a spirited battle that saw the Iowa delegates supporting those from the Dixie cotton states.

Thus if one is to try to identify the prevailing or "official" position of a complex organization like Farm Bureau he must specify precisely which issue and which segment of the organization he is referring to - - the American Farm Bureau Federation as a whole, a given state organization or a given county organization.

Because of this and the important fact that a random sample of Iowa farmers provides the data in this study, interest is focussed herein on the Iowa Farm Bureau.

In this connection it is assumed that the Iowa Farm Bureau as an organization has taken an official position on a number of issues highly relevant to the general Farm Bureau goal of "economic opportunity" through "preserving the market price system."

It is assumed also that because of the way in which such positions are reached - - involving a resolutions process of grass roots discussion, the filling out of "opinionnaires" and the adoption of resolutions by members on both a county and state level - - that the membership is generally informed as to these positions. And, with published reports on these

positions rather widely circulated it can be assumed that at least some non-members are also generally informed.

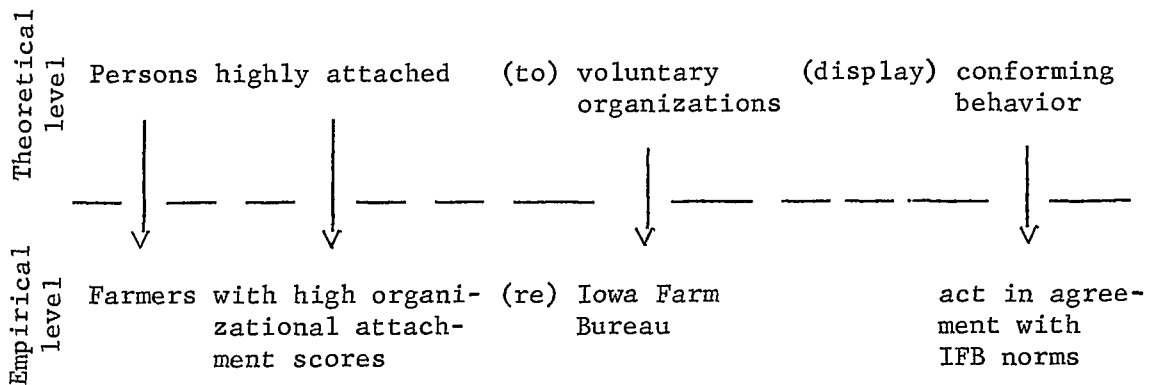
It is further assumed that because of this common knowledge, that the expected behavior of Iowa Farm Bureau members or norm is to support those programs strongly favored by Iowa Farm Bureau, to oppose those programs strongly disfavored by the Iowa Farm Bureau.

That is, returning to Merton's distinction between socially approved goals and socially approved norms or allowable procedures for moving to achieve these goals, one may say that the appropriate behavior of an Iowa Farm Bureau member, in helping Farm Bureau to achieve the goal of "economic opportunity" through "preserving the market price system," theoretically would be to act in all pertinent matters in harmony with the Iowa Farm Bureau position.

Empirical hypotheses

Next, the general theoretical hypotheses can be stated on an empirical level. At this level, it is hypothesized that farmers will act on farm programs and issues more in agreement with the Iowa Farm Bureau norms the higher their IFB organizational attachment score.

The relation of the general theoretical and empirical hypotheses is shown below:



At a lower level, the 12 hypotheses are:

Compared with farmers with a low organizational attachment relative to Iowa Farm Bureau,

- 1A. Those with a high attachment will more strongly favor relevant farm programs supported by IFB.
- 1B. Those with a high attachment will more strongly disfavor relevant farm programs rejected by IFB.
- 2A. Those with a high attachment will more highly rate relevant causes of the farm problem those highly rated by IFB.
- 2B. Those with a high attachment will less highly rate relevant causes of the farm problem those rated low by IFB.
- 3A. Those with a high attachment will more highly rate relevant solutions to the farm problem those highly rated by IFB.
- 3B. Those with a high attachment will less highly rate relevant solutions to the farm problem those rated low by IFB.
- 4A. Those with a high attachment will more highly rate a relevant public figure favored by IFB.
- 4B. Those with a high attachment will less highly rate a relevant public figure disfavored by IFB.

- 5A. Those with a high attachment will participate more in relevant farm programs favored by IFB.
- 5B. Those with a high attachment will participate less in relevant farm programs disfavored by IFB.
- 6A. Those with a high attachment will more often accept relevant values approved by IFB.
- 6B. Those with a high attachment will less often accept relevant values disfavored by IFB.

Measurement of Concepts

Organizational attachment

Organizational attachment is not measured directly in this dissertation; participation is measured instead. It is reasoned that the more people participate in an organization the more they will interact with others in a setting where the organization is salient and the more they will become involved in and attached to the organization.

An index of attachment to Iowa Farm Bureau was constructed based on these types of participation data:

1. Farm Bureau membership or non-membership
2. Attendance at Farm Bureau meetings during previous year
3. Ranking of Farm Bureau publications as important sources of information in evaluating a farm program
4. Participation in Farm Bureau economic activities (insurance and/or purchases at Farm Bureau cooperative)
5. Office holding in Farm Bureau

Farm Bureau membership A question on the interview schedule asked the sample members if they were a Farm Bureau member, also if they had been a member in the past. From these answers the sample members were divided

initially into three mutually exclusive groups - - never a member (42), past member only (51) and present member (93).

Attendance A question on the interview schedule asked the sample members how many meetings of specified organizations they had attended "last year." The Farm Bureau was one of the specified organizations.

Ranking of Farm Bureau publications A question on the interview schedule asked sample members to indicate from a list of 25 information sources the "three most important to you when you are making up your mind about a farm program." The 25 sources enumerated covered these categories - - magazines, newspapers, farm organization publications, radio or television, personal sources (for example relatives, farm manager, etc.), and farm organization meetings. Of the 185 sample members, 30 listed "Farm Bureau magazines and papers" as among the three most important sources.

Participation in Farm Bureau economic activities This was indicated by two measures, data for which were obtained through state and county Farm Bureau offices.

At the author's request, Mr. Fred Swinton, Vice President, Farm Bureau Mutual Insurance Co., Des Moines, had employees in his office check their records to determine which of the sample members were participating in Farm Bureau insurance in 1964. A score of one was recorded for each sample member found to be insured with Farm Bureau Mutual for auto, farm or hail insurance during 1964; a score of zero was recorded for those non-insured. (See Table 2.)

Secondly, data were obtained on purchases by sample members at Farm Bureau-affiliated cooperative stores during 1964. After an initial contact with Mr. Don Marcoot, Regional Manager of FS Services, Inc., Des Moines,

Table 2. Insurance participation by Farm Bureau members

Type of insurance	Frequency
Auto only	22
Farm only	4
Hail only	1
Auto and farm	19
None	46
Total	92

this information was solicited by means of a questionnaire directed to 14 local county or two-county FS outlets. The managers of these co-operatives were asked to check their records and report for each of the sample members living in their area the total dollar volume of purchases during 1964 (including petroleum products, plant foods, feed, seed, animal health items, etc.).

Any person may buy from such cooperatives, but patronage refunds are made only to Farm Bureau members. Thus as expected, Farm Bureau members were found to comprise most of the customers, though purchases by such members varied considerably in total amount. Many members had purchased nothing from the local cooperative.

It is recognized that these data have some shortcomings as a measure of organizational attachment. First, they are not complete: two of the counties involved in this study - - Ringgold and Henry - - have no Farm

Bureau cooperative stores and thus no figures on purchases from Farm Bureau cooperatives could be obtained for sample members residing in those counties (7 in Ringgold and 5 in Henry). Secondly, conversations with various Farm Bureau officials indicate that farmers may be motivated at least in part to purchase or not purchase from the local cooperative by reasons of convenient or inconvenient location of the cooperative or the sample members' feelings toward the cooperative manager or toward a competing non-cooperative dealer.

Nevertheless, other things being equal, it is probably true that the more highly attached a farmer is to an organization, the more he will participate in its economic activities. And since they are but one measure of economic participation, the data on purchases are used in this dissertation.

The raw figures, the dollar volume of purchases, were deflated by an index of the sample member's gross farm income, the latter being used in the coding of the original data. Consider, for example, respondent No. 15, whose coded gross income was 13 (actual, \$14,000 to \$15,999). This respondent purchased \$1,036 from his local Farm Bureau cooperative. His deflated score, then, is \$1036 divided by 13 or 79.7. In turn the deflated scores were coded as shown in Table 3.

The raw scores were deflated to reflect the sample members' relative intensity of purchasing from Farm Bureau-affiliated stores. This procedure was designed to give proper weight to the purchases in view of the fact that the same absolute amounts, a \$1000 purchase for example, would theoretically represent varying portions of total input purchases, depending on the size of the operation and thus the total input purchases

Table 3. Purchases from Farm Bureau-affiliated cooperatives

Deflated score	Coded score	Frequency
0	0	108
More than zero to 24.9	1	9
25.0 to 49.9	2	12
50.0 to 99.9	3	12
100.0 to 149.9	4	4
150.0 to 199.9	5	4
200 and over	6	2

by the operator.

However, because 108 of the 185 sample members had purchased nothing from Farm Bureau cooperatives and had a score of zero, it was decided that the distribution was too skewed to permit use of coded scores. Thus in constructing the index of attachment, a distinction was made only between those who had purchased nothing (coded score of zero) and those who had purchased something (coded score of 1 or more).

Office holding This is indicated from data obtained through a questionnaire mailed to county Farm Bureau office managers in October, 1966.

The questionnaire was designed not only to learn which of the sample members had held offices in Farm Bureau in 1964, the year of the study, but to learn which offices they held. The office managers were asked to

check their local records and report for each sample member in their county whether they had held any of these offices: county voting delegate, county president, other county Farm Bureau offices (vice president, secretary-treasurer, etc.), county committee chairman, county committee member, township director, other township officer, township committee member.

From this information, officership scores were calculated, with the higher scores reflecting the holding of more prestigious offices (such as voting delegate or county president), or the holding of several offices simultaneously by the same person.

However, it was found that only 12 of the 92 Farm Bureau members represented in the sample actually held any Farm Bureau office in 1964. Because of this, when the attachment code was constructed no distinction was made in the degree of office holding.

Office holding among Farm Bureau members in the sample was distributed as shown in Table 4.

In constructing an index of attachment, the sample members were divided into five mutually exclusive "attachment" groups, as follows:

Group 1, never member - - never member of Farm Bureau. (N = 42)

Group 2, past member - - past member of Farm Bureau but not present member (at time of survey in 1964). (N = 51)

Group 3, low attached member - - present member of Farm Bureau who met all of the following qualifications: (a) attended no Farm Bureau meetings during the previous year; (b) did not rate Farm Bureau publications as important source of information in evaluating a farm program; (c) did not participate in Farm Bureau economic activities (insurance

Table 4. Office holding among Farm Bureau members in sample

Officership score ^a	Frequency
0	80
1	5
2	2
3	1
4	2
5	0
6	1
7	0
8	1

^aOfficership was scored as follows: voting delegate or county president, 4; county vice president, secretary or treasurer, 3; county committee chairman, 3; township director, 2; county resolutions committee member, 2; member of other county committee, 1; membership worker, 1. Scores were aggregated where a member held more than one office. The highest score registered was 8, by a Chickasaw County member who was a voting delegate, chairman of one county committee and member of another.

participation score of zero and coded cooperative purchase score of zero);

(d) held no office in Farm Bureau (officership score of zero). (N = 36)

Group 4, medium attached member - - present member of Farm Bureau who met one or more of the following qualifications: (a) attended one, two or three meetings but did not rank Farm Bureau publications as important sources of information in evaluating a farm program; (b) attended no meetings or only one meeting - - but did so rank Farm Bureau publications; (c) participated in Farm Bureau economic activities or held a Farm Bureau

office, but not both. (N = 29)

Group 5, high attached member - - present member of Farm Bureau who met one or more of the following qualifications: (a) attended two or more meetings and ranked Farm Bureau publications; (b) attended four or more meetings and did not rank Farm Bureau publications; (c) both held an office in Farm Bureau and participated in Farm Bureau economic activities. (N = 27)

The above index assumes that the groups are ordinally ranked in attachment as one progresses from groups 1 to 5 - - that is, that group 1 represents the lowest attachment, group 2 higher attachment, group 3 still higher attachment and so on.

This assumption might be questioned. For example, it might be assumed that one who held membership in Farm Bureau in the past but not at the time of the survey might be more negative toward the organization (because of past unfavorable experiences in the organization) and thus less attached than one who had never been affiliated. However, there are several bits of evidence that the original assumption cited above may actually be valid. Preliminary analysis of data from the study shows increasing agreement with Farm Bureau farm policy positions as one moves from attachment group 1 to attachment group 5. Sample members were asked, with respect to Farm Bureau, "How strongly do you agree with the position taken by this group on farm issues?" The answers were recorded as follows: strongly disagree, 1; disagree, 3; undecided, 4; agree, 5; strongly agree, 7.

Unfortunately, only a few (seven) in group 1, never member, responded to this question. Nevertheless, the means of this group and the

other four groups were compared.¹ The means for these five groups are presented in Table 5.

As indicated in Table 6, these means were found to be significantly different beyond the .0005 level of probability.

The differences in means are even greater when group 1 is disregarded (in consideration of the small number of sample members in this category who replied to the question) and the revised attachment code, used in the main analysis section of this dissertation, is employed in determining the makeup of attachment groups 3, 4 and 5. As indicated earlier, this revised attachment code reflects information gathered on the sample members' officership in Farm Bureau and participation in Farm Bureau economic activities, as well as the data used in the original attachment code.

In setting up the groups, an original attachment code was used which considered three factors - - membership, attendance at Farm Bureau meetings and rating of Farm Bureau publications as important in evaluating farm programs. In the revised attachment code, two sample members were shifted from group 3 to group 5, and three from group 4 to group 5, each of them having been found to have both positive officership and economic participation scores.

The means for the four groups - - attachment groups 2, 3, 4 and 5 - - are shown in Table 7.

¹In this comparison, groups 3, 4 and 5, the three Farm Bureau groups, were differentiated by the original attachment code, which did not take into consideration the data later obtained on Farm Bureau officership and participation in Farm Bureau economic activities. This comparison was made before the later data were collected. However, it is believed that the later grouping, based on the revised attachment code, would not significantly alter this finding.

Table 5. Relative agreement with positions taken on farm issues by Farm Bureau

Attachment groups	1 Never member	2 Past member	3 Low attached member	4 Medium attached member	5 High attached member
Frequency	7 ^a	51	38	33	22
Means	2.714	2.784	3.816	4.727	5.363

^aIncomplete. There are 42 in this group, but the other 35 did not respond to the question or for other reasons the data are incomplete.

Table 6. Analysis of variance in agreement with positions taken on farm issues by Farm Bureau

Source	Degrees of freedom	Sum of squares	Mean square	F ratio
Mean	1	2227.8		
Between groups	4	142.9	35.73	21.27
Error	146	245.3	1.68	
Total	151	2616.0		

Table 7. Relative agreement with positions taken on farm issues by Farm Bureau

Attachment groups	2 Past member	3 Low attached member	4 Medium attached member	5 High attached member
Frequency	51	36	29	27
Means	2.784	3.694	4.700	5.370

As indicated in Table 8, these means were found to be significantly different beyond the .0005 level of probability.

Table 8. Analysis of variance in agreement with positions taken on farm issues by Farm Bureau

Source	D.F.	S.S.	M.S.	F ratio
Mean	1	2185.6		
Between groups	3	142.6	47.53	28.29
Error	139	232.8	1.68	
Total	143	2561.0		

Additional evidence that those in group 2, past members, are more attached to Farm Bureau than those in group 1, never members, also is available. But it is relatively weak. Though few of either group bought from Farm Bureau cooperatives in 1964, of those who had, more were past members than never members. Table 9 summarizes the data on this.

Table 9. Intensity of purchases from Farm Bureau cooperatives

Attachment group	Frequency	Mean coded purchase score
Group 1, never member	4	1.75
Group 2, past member	7	2.00

Though the mean coded purchase score for the past members was higher than for the never members, an analysis of variance shows that this difference is not significant. With a relatively large mean square error, the calculated F ratio was less than 1.

However, it should be noted that the sample was very small; the 11 sample members represented above accounted for only about one-eighth of the aggregate in the two groups.

Conforming behavior

How empirical measures were chosen The abstract concept, conforming behavior, was measured on the empirical level by observing how closely the sample members acted in agreement with specified norms of the Iowa Farm Bureau. These norms were inferred after the author had examined recent history and resolutions of the national and state Farm Bureau organizations and conferred with a knowledgeable Iowa Farm Bureau official.

By way of background, it is instructive to recall that beginning in the 1950's, as noted earlier in this dissertation, Farm Bureau has officially favored moving U. S. agriculture away from government controls and toward the free market. Numerous resolutions have been adopted by Farm Bureau delegates at national conventions. The last two AFBF presidents - - Allen Kline and more recently, Charles B. Shuman - - have exerted a powerful influence in moving Farm Bureau's official policy in this direction.

Shuman, whose vigorous opposition to the agricultural bureaucracy in Washington and government "handouts" to farmers has won for him the

title of "Farming's Freedom fighter," gives credit to his predecessor, Mr. Kline, for the shift in policy in favor of a freer agriculture.

Says Shuman: (44, p. 24)

Kline brought us to look at the economic issues in agriculture. His administration said, "We want less government, not more." It was a simple change, but pretty fundamental. I can't claim credit for that. If I can claim any credit, it is that I stuck with it.

Typical of recent official convention resolutions was one adopted at the December, 1962, convention. It stated that the organization "believes that the market power of farmers can be achieved by use of the market price system with supply and demand the primary factors" (34, pp. 15-16)

The following year a resolution was adopted which stated that "if farm people are to enjoy freedom, we must accept the discipline of competition. We reaffirm our desire to move as rapidly as possible to the market price system."

In terms of the theoretical framework earlier set forth in this dissertation, what specific programs, problems, public figures and values, then are relevant or important to the achievement of this Farm Bureau goal?

Some of the relevant programs have been set out in specific resolutions such as those adopted at the 1963 national convention, a few months before the interviewing was done from which most of the data of this dissertation were obtained.

The delegates:

1. strongly opposed any form of government supply-management,
2. opposed government controls on the production and marketing of dairy products,

3. vigorously opposed any system of compensatory payments
for agriculture,
4. reaffirmed their belief in a practical land retirement
program.

The Farm Bureau has always opposed the so-called "emergency" feed grain program. Delegates recommended that direct efforts to control feed grain acreage be terminated and that support prices for feed grains be set at the higher of 90% of the average price received by farmers during the immediately preceding three years or 50% of parity. (35, pp. 10-11)

If one were starting to design a study on the normative influence of an organization such as the Farm Bureau, he ideally would note the most central concerns of the organization and the positions taken officially by that organization on such concerns - - such as those listed above - - then set about to gather data on the relative conformity of sample members to such positions.

However, the original study from which most of the data for this dissertation has been obtained was not set up to research the normative influence of the Farm Bureau, such as being attempted herein. Rather it was to measure farmers' participation in various farm programs, to analyze farmers' opinions of the "farm problem" and the various ideas for solving it, and to relate farmers' attitudes to farm policy positions and farm policy actions.

Thus this author has had to proceed somewhat differently than would have been the case had the study originally been designed to research organizational conformity. The procedure followed herein has been to identify those organizationally relevant (goal facilitating) programs, problem causes, public figures and values concerning which sample

members had already expressed an opinion in responding to the schedule administered in the original study. Then the most salient of these have been selected for testing hypotheses relating organizational attachment to corresponding modes of conforming behavior - - i.e., rating programs, rating problem causes, rating problem solutions, rating public figures, participating in programs and accepting values relevant to the organization's goals.

By means of the schedule administered in 1964, data were collected on farmers' opinions on 27 specific government farm programs which have been proposed at times, on four farm program packages (differing from the 27 mainly in that they are more comprehensive and addressed to meeting the whole "farm problem" rather than some single facet of it), on 12 causes "of the present farm situation" and seven different solutions which have been proposed.

Sample members were asked, also, to rate Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman in relation to former Agriculture Secretary Ezra Taft Benson, and to indicate the extent of their actual participation in the past in such on-going farm programs as the feed grain program, the soil bank program and the commodity credit corn and soybean programs.

Also, by means of a self-completed questionnaire, data were obtained on sample members' values.¹ These included such values as the following:

Belief that farmers should make their own personal and farming decisions without any outside interference (independent action)

¹Warland (87), in his study of the relationship between rural value-orientations and farm policy positions, has detailed an attitude-scaling method of identifying values of farmers.

Belief that farmers should cooperate with other farmers when solving farm problems and making management decisions even if it involves loss of some individual freedom (collective action)

Belief that a farmer should be self-sufficient and individually responsible for his actions and that he will be professionally and financially successful if he is (individualism)

Belief that man's successes, failures and all events which happen to him are controlled by forces over which he has no control (fatalism)

Belief that farmers should use scientific methods and findings in selecting alternative sources of action (scientific orientation)

Belief that decisions should be based on older, proven practices and methods rather than upon science and scientific innovations (traditionism)

Belief that farming should be viewed primarily as a business and thus as a means to economic ends (maximization of income)

Belief that the farm is an ideal place to raise a family and a good place to live and that these are reasons enough to stay in farming (farming as a way of life)

Willingness to take chances and use practices which involve unpredictable for social and economic gain (risk orientation)

Belief that farmers should diversify their operations and save money to reduce risk and uncertainty (risk aversion)

Belief that one should accumulate rather than borrow capital before purchasing production and consumer goods even though this action may mean some temporary discomfort (debt avoidance)

Belief that the government should guarantee the farmer a fair return (commutative justice)

Belief that government should equalize opportunity, income, security and common welfare between the agricultural and non-agricultural sectors of the economy (distributive justice)

Belief that government programs and controls associated with them are placing restrictions on farmers' efficiency, earning possibilities and freedom to manage their farming operations (government dominance)

In this study, after noting the kinds of data available from the 1964 study as discussed above, steps next were taken to determine how the Iowa Farm Bureau stood on each item - - for example, whether it was for or against various suggested government farm programs, whether it rated the various listed farm problem causes as unimportant or important, and so forth.

Then items of high relevance to Farm Bureau goals were selected as the basis of inferring norms of conforming behavior in order to permit a test of the experimental hypotheses of this study.

In proceeding to do this, the author personally contacted Mr. Ken Thatcher, secretary of the Iowa Farm Bureau and reportedly one of the most knowledgeable persons in that organization, and secured his assistance. Upon request, Mr. Thatcher completed a questionnaire covering farm programs, farm problem causes, farm problem solutions and participation in on-going farm program. He was asked to complete the questionnaire reflecting the Farm Bureau norm on each item.

More specifically, Mr. Thatcher was asked to indicate how an "ideal Iowa Farm Bureau member, one who strongly supports Farm Bureau and its farm policy positions," would have voted in 1964 on a list of 27 farm programs which have been proposed at various times. Similarly, he was asked to rank from the viewpoint of an "ideal Iowa Farm Bureau member in 1964" four comprehensive farm programs, a list of 12 causes of the farm problem, and a list of seven solutions proposed to the farm problem. He was asked to indicate how an "ideal Iowa Farm Bureau member" in 1964 would have rated Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman in comparison with former Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson in terms of job

performance. Finally, he was asked to indicate whether an "ideal Farm Bureau member" in 1964 would have participated in four specified on-going farm programs which were listed.

Selection of the items considered to be most salient to the Iowa Farm Bureau as an organization was made in consultation with Dr. George M. Beal, professor of sociology at Iowa State University, after a study of resolutions adopted at state and national Farm Bureau conventions and of discussions of farm policy proposals in Farm Bureau publications.

The form of available data Before listing the items selected to index conforming behavior, it is appropriate to indicate the form in which data relevant to the present study and available from the 1964 schedule and questionnaire have been recorded.

Data on 27 farm programs In the 1964 interviewing, as noted earlier, the sample members were asked to respond to each of a series of 27 suggested farm programs. The following instructions were given:

Through the years there have been a number of government farm programs, and many other farm programs have been proposed. We have a list of government farm programs which have been proposed at various times. We want you to indicate how you would vote on each of the programs if you had to vote today.

Please respond by answering yes if you would vote for the program, and no if you would not vote for the program.

After you have voted either yes or no, we would like to have you indicate how certain you are of this choice. On Card 1 you will see numbers from 1 to 5. We wish to have you use these numbers to indicate the degree of certainty which you feel about your vote on the issue. Indicate number 1 if you are quite uncertain or have strong reservations about your choice. Indicate number 5 if you feel quite certain or have no reservations about your vote. In some cases, numbers 2, 3 or 4 may best describe how certain you are of your vote.

Each item was presented to the respondent in the following form:

A voluntary program in which	Y					
the farmer agrees to cut back		1	2	3	4	5
the number of his crop acres	N					

It will be noted that the sample members were given five categories (1, 2, 3, 4, 5) to indicate the intensity of their agreement or disagreement with each program. Categories one, two and three were assigned their face numerical value. Category four was assigned a score of five, and category five was assigned a score of eight. This scoring method is patterned after Wolins et al. (94). The scoring was done so that agreement with positive items (those regarded by the judges as indicating a positive position with respect to the defined dimension) were scored positively and disagreement with a positive item was scored negatively. The scoring procedure was reversed for negative items. Thus the range of responses was from +8 to -8. This scoring procedure for a positive item is shown below:

Responses	N-5	N-4	N-3	N-2	N-1	N/Y	Y-1	Y-2	Y-3	Y-4	Y-5
Numerical values	-8	-5	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	5	8
Transformed values	0	3	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	13	16

Each respondent could make one of 11 different responses. The scores were transformed to a positive scale by adding eight to each value so that the possible range of responses on any given item was from 0 to 16.

The foregoing procedure was followed in recording the responses of the sample members to 27 different farm programs which have been proposed at various times. (The complete list of those programs are found in the Appendix.)

Data on four farm programs Also in the 1964 interviewing the sample members were asked to rank four different farm program packages (differing from the 27 mainly in that they were more comprehensive and addressed to meeting the whole "farm problem" rather than a single facet of it).

The instructions were as follows:

Card 1A contains a list of four government farm programs which have been proposed. Would you please indicate 1) which program you like most, 2) which program you like next best, and 3) which program you like least.

The interviewer recorded "1" for the program liked best, "2" for the program liked next best and "4" for the program liked least. This left "3" for the remaining program. With this procedure the lower the score, the higher the liking for the program, and vice versa.

Data on causes of farm situation In the 1964 interviewing, sample members were asked to rank a list of 12 possible causes of the "farm situation." For each respondent, the interviewer recorded "1" for the cause ranked first, "2" for the cause ranked second and "3" for the cause ranked third.

Data on solutions to farm situation In the 1964 interviewing sample members were asked to rank a list of seven possible solutions given by farmers to the "farm situation." For each respondent, interviewers recorded "1" for the solution ranked first and "2" for the solution ranked second.

Data on ranking of secretary of agriculture In the 1964 interviewing the sample members were asked to indicate whether, in their judgment, "Secretary of Agriculture Freeman is doing a better job, about

the same job or a poorer job than Secretary of Agriculture Benson did." Interviewers recorded a "1" where the respondent felt Secretary Freeman was doing a better job, a "2" where he felt Freeman was doing "about the same job," and "3" where the respondent felt Freeman was doing a poorer job than Benson.

Data on farm program participation In the 1964 interviewing sample members were asked to indicate "those programs in which you have participated or are now participating." The programs listed included the feed grain program, acreage reserve program (soil bank), conservation reserve (soil bank), commodity credit program for corn, commodity credit program for soybeans, and agricultural conservation programs (tile, contouring, terracing, ponds, anti-erosion dams, lime and fertilizer). Interviewers recorded for all of these programs whether the respondent had participated. They recorded the number of years in the program for the feed grain, soil bank and commodity credit programs. They recorded acres of participation for the feed grain and two soil bank programs, and bushels of participation for the two commodity credit programs.

Data on values As noted earlier herein, by means of a self-completed questionnaire, data were obtained in 1964 on 14 different values expected to be held in varying degrees by the sample members.

The questionnaire employed a scaling technique. In constructing the scales of the various values under consideration, 461 statements first were prepared to reflect those values, following the criteria suggested by Edwards (24, pp. 13-14). This initial set was derived from previous research, inferences from the literature, personality profiles and suggestions of project leaders. The number of items or statements developed

for each value scale depended primarily upon the scope of the general value or belief involved. The range of statements in the scales was from 19 to 131.

Next, the statements were submitted to a panel of 15 judges following the basic procedure of Thurstone's equal appearing interval technique (24, pp. 83-88). Each judge was asked to judge the degree of favorableness or unfavorableness toward the value under consideration in terms of 11 intervals or categories. Category 1 was defined as the extreme negative position, category 11 as the extreme positive position, category 6 as the neutral point.

Standard deviations were calculated for each statement to determine the degree of agreement among judges on the relative favorableness or unfavorableness of the statement with respect to the value under consideration. Statements with relatively large standard deviations were deemed to be ambiguous or irrelevant and were discarded. Also items which were judged to fall in the neutral category were discarded because it was expected that such statements would not discriminate between individuals holding opposing values and beliefs. This judgment process reduced the original 461 items to 204 items.

The remaining items were administered to a sample of 102 Iowa farmers who attended four separate vocational agriculture night classes. Of the 102 farmers interviewed, the data from 10 were discarded because of incomplete information. Thus, 92 farmers were included in the final pre-test analysis.

The objectives of this pre-test were to eliminate all items which had a low discriminating power with reference to the values under

consideration - - and to obtain basic data from which the final dimensions could be formed. To accomplish these objectives, the farmers were asked to respond to each of the 204 statements by indicating if they agreed or disagreed. The following instructions were given to these respondents:

Attached is a relatively large number of statements that are designed to determine the opinions of farm people about certain aspects of farming. Many of the statements apply only to farming but there are also many statements that could apply to other occupations and other people as well.

These statements are to be answered by circling either "A" if you agree with the statement or "D" if you disagree with the statement.

After you have reached this decision, please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with this statement. Please circle one of the numbers from 1 to 5 based on how strongly you agree or disagree with the statement. Circle number 1 if it really didn't make much difference to you whether you agreed or disagreed with the statement. Circle number 5 if you feel very strongly about the statement. That is, if it is very important to you. For some of the statements the numbers 2, 3 or 4 may better describe how strongly you agree or disagree with the statement.

Please be sure to include both parts of your response, i.e., whether you agree or disagree and how strongly you do. If you are completely undecided, circle both "A" and "D" indicating you neither agree nor disagree with the statement. There is no need to indicate how strongly you feel in this case.

This is not a test. There are no right or wrong answers to the statements. Just indicate your honest feelings about each statement.

Each statement was presented to the respondent in the following form:

	A	
1. I admire the person who stands alone	1 2 3 4 5	
	D	

Thus the farmers were given five categories (1, 2, 3, 4, 5) to indicate the intensity of their agreement or disagreement with each item. Categories 1, 2, and 3 were assigned their face numerical value;

category 4 was assigned a score of 5, category 5 was assigned a score of 8. The scoring was done in such a manner that agreement with positive items (those regarded by judges as indicating a positive position with respect to the defined value) was scored positively - - and disagreement with a positive statement was scored negatively. The scoring procedure was reversed for negative items. Thus the range of responses was from +8 to -8.

The scores were transformed to a positive scale by adding eight to each score. Thus the possible range of the responses of a given item was from 0 to 16, as indicated above.

Responses	D-5	D-4	D-3	D-2	D-1	A/D	A-1	A-2	A-3	A-4	A-5
Numerical scores	-8	-5	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	5	8
Transformed scores	0	3	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	13	16

Next, the 204 items were grouped into 25 logical value clusters and correlations were run on each of the clusters. In addition, each item was correlated with the total of every other cluster. A statistical modification was used to eliminate the built-in correlation between item and the cluster total of which it was a part. This procedure resulted in reducing the number of value clusters from 25 to 19 and the number of items or statements from 204 to 107. (93)

But in some cases a group of items was found to correlate not only with one cluster but other clusters as well. This commonality factor suggested that certain of the 19 clusters could be grouped together without affecting the unidimensional nature of the specific scales. This

grouping reduced the number of value scales or dimensions to 14.

Finally, the 107 selected statements or items were presented to the 196 sample members of this study in the form of a self-administered questionnaire. The sample members were asked to respond in the same way as the pre-test farmer group. That is, they circled "A" or "D" to indicate if they agreed or disagreed with the various statements, then they indicated on a 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 scale how strongly they agreed or disagreed with the statement.

These scores were transformed to a 0 to 16 scale, as in recording the pre-test scores.

Finally, to obtain an individual respondent's score on one of the 14 value dimensions or scales, his scores on each of the separate items or statements comprising that scale were aggregated and the aggregate score recorded.

For example, consider the value dimension "government dominance," belief that government programs and the controls associated with them are placing restrictions on farmers' efficiency, earning possibilities and freedom to manage their farming operations.

This scale, like the scale "maximization of income," was constructed with only three items or statements. To get a respondent's government dominance score involved aggregating his score on each of these three items and recording that aggregate score.

In this particular case, a respondent could theoretically have a government dominance score of 0 (the aggregate of three zeros), 48 (the aggregate of three 16's) or some score in between.

The other value scales were comprised of more than three items or

statements. The one with the most items was "individualism," made up of 17 different items or statements. In this instance, a given respondent theoretically could have an individualism score ranging from 0 to 272 (17 items times 16 maximum score on each).

The specific items chosen From the foregoing items, on which data were collected, specific ones were next selected to index the modes of conforming behavior previously listed. These are: rating relevant programs, rating relevant problem causes, rating relevant problem solutions, rating relevant public figures, participating in relevant programs, and accepting relevant values (where relevant means relevant to the organization's goals).

The items selected were as follows:

Rating programs Three suggested farm programs were selected as measures of the concept, Organizationally Favored Programs. Three suggested farm programs were selected as measures of the concept, Organizationally Disfavored Programs.

Organizationally favored programs:

- 1a. A modified free market program in which the government would maintain support prices slightly above the competitive price level and require no production controls.

(Possible scores were 0 to 16, with 0 indicating lowest rating, and 16 the highest rating)

- 2a. A voluntary program in which the government would pay farmers for retiring their whole farms from production on a year to year basis.

(Possible scores were 0 to 16, with 0 indicating lowest rating and 16 the highest rating)

- 3a. A return to free markets for farm products within five years and elimination of all production control and price support programs thereafter.

(Possible scores were 1 to 4, with 1 indicating highest rating, and 4 the lowest rating)

Organizational disfavored programs:

- 1b. A compulsory program in which the government would set acreage allotments for each farm.

(Possible scores were 0 to 16, with 0 indicating lowest rating and 16 the highest rating)

- 2b. A compulsory bushel allotment program in which the government would set bushel allotments for each farm in an attempt to control surplus and raise farm prices.

(Possible scores were 0 to 16, with 0 indicating lowest rating and 16 the highest rating)

- 3b. A set of policies involving (a) price supports at present levels, (b) mandatory controls on the amount of farm products produced and marketed by individual farmers based on past production and marketings, (c) additional restrictions on entering farming.

(Possible scores were 1 to 4, with 1 indicating highest rating and 4 the lowest rating)

It should be emphasized that the programs rated by the sample members in the study are not necessarily identical with those formally endorsed or rejected by Farm Bureau. Rather they are programs which have been discussed at various times by individuals and groups interested in agriculture and its problems. Thus the match between what has been formally endorsed or rejected by Farm Bureau and the programs included in the survey is not a perfect one, only an approximate and inferred one.

Certainly, however, it is reasonable to conclude that the Iowa Farm Bureau as an organization highly favors program 1a above. This program was favorably checked by Mr. Thatcher. Moreover, as early as 1948, Allan B. Kline, Iowa corn-hog farmer who had become AFBF president the previous year, called for flexible price supports, urging farmers not to

rely too heavily on government supports if they wanted to stay free enterprisers (43, p. 51). And as noted earlier in this dissertation, beginning with the 1950's the Farm Bureau nationally has favored moving U. S. agriculture away from government controls and toward the free market.

Actually, as Mr. Thatcher and others have pointed out to the author, the Iowa Farm Bureau has tended to take a more "liberal" or positive view toward government intervention in the free market than the national organization in recent years. Mr. Thatcher, in completing the questionnaire to which reference was made earlier, actually indicated that an "ideal Iowa Farm Bureau member" would be opposed to program 3a, which would involve a course of action which some economists have indicated would cause a drastic drop in farm income and at least temporary hardship to farm families.

Yet, as one reads the speeches of Charles B. Shuman, current president of the AFBF, and other national officers, and studies the national resolutions, he is impressed by the continuing strong sentiment expressed by Farm Bureau for the free market, sentiment approximating a norm of what "ought" to be. If certain Iowa Farm Bureau leaders have privately been concerned over the practical problems of returning to the free market, such concern apparently has not been widely disseminated. Indeed, the House of Delegates of the Iowa Farm Bureau, at the 45th annual state convention of the organization in November, 1963, officially stated that resolutions adopted at the national conventions shall be the policy of the Iowa Farm Bureau "on national issues for 1964" (46, p. 3). And at the national convention which followed the IFB convention by less than one month, the delegates reaffirmed their "desire to move as rapidly as possible to the market price system" (2, p. 7).

Moreover, at the state convention, the resolutions adopted by the delegates contained such statements as "Farm Bureau's long insistence that the market must be permitted to serve its function has proven to be sound," and "management decisions can be made more effectively by individual farmers than by a government agency." In view of these considerations, it was decided to include this program as a measure of an organizationally favored program.

The land retirement program, 2a, included as another measure of an organizationally favored program, not only was checked favorably by Mr. Thatcher, but was fairly close to the land retirement program officially endorsed both by the IFB and AFBF conventions in late 1963. The AFBF resolution, which was almost identical in content to the less formally stated IFBF resolution, read: (2)

We reaffirm our belief that a practical land retirement program would facilitate the adjustment of agricultural production to effective market demand. Such a program should be temporary and voluntary, provide for competitive bids, take cropland out of production for three to five years, permit the retirement of whole farms, use payments-in-kind where practical, and prohibit the grazing of retired acres. (Emphasis added.)

The main discrepancy between the AFBF-endorsed program above and the program included in the schedule, 2a, is that the former calls for taking cropland out of production for three to five years while the latter calls for retiring land on a year to year basis. However, the Farm Bureau resolution does call for a temporary program; thus the discrepancy is not judged as very significant.

The main elements of the programs selected as measures of the concept, Organizationally Disfavored Programs - - 1b, 2b and 3b - - have been formally rejected by both the state and national Farm Bureau organizations.

For example, the resolutions of the 1963 Iowa Farm Bureau included the statement that "the mandatory approach to farm programs is inconsistent with our free enterprise system and consequently, is unacceptable to a majority of American farmers" (46, p. 5). Both state and national organizations have condemned acreage and bushelage allotment programs.

Thus, as might have been anticipated, Mr. Thatcher voted against the three programs selected for testing in this study, indicating Iowa Farm Bureau opposition to them.

Rating problem causes Four suggested causes of the farm problem were selected as measures of the concept, Organizationally High Rated Problem Causes; four suggested causes of the farm problem were selected as measures of the concept, Organizationally Low Rated Problem Causes. (Possible scores were from 1 to 7, with 7 indicating the highest rating, 1 the lowest rating.)

Organizationally high rated problem causes:

- 1c. Too much land in crop production
- 2c. High cost of farm production inputs such as feed, fertilizer and machinery
- 3c. Surplus production due to the application of too much new technology
- 4c. Surplus production due to high price supports

Organizationally low rated problem causes:

- 1d. Decline in foreign purchases of agricultural products
- 2d. High profits taken by processors and distributors of farm products
- 3d. Lack of demand for farm products
- 4d. Poor management ability of some farmers

While Farm Bureau has taken some rather definite positions on desirable and undesirable (from its standpoint) farm programs through its resolutions and the utterances of its leaders, it apparently has not formally presented to its members an economic analysis of the farm problem and listed or rated the underlying causes.

The author examined resolutions and reports of Farm Bureau conventions over a 30-year period extending to 1966 and studied recent statements by Farm Bureau leaders. He was unable to find any statement on the causes of the farm problem and certainly no rating of causes.

To be sure, Farm Bureau's top leaders are economically sophisticated and informed on the nature and causes of the problem. They understand, perhaps more so than the leaders of other farm organizations, that productive new capital inputs produced by the team work of science and industry have substituted for farm land and farm labor, increasing food output against a relatively inelastic demand, driving down farm prices and stranding surplus, immobile farm labor in rural America, to receive relatively low returns (38, p. 4).

As Boulding (11, p. 162) has noted, Farm Bureau is "almost the only farm organization which is not fundamentalist and which recognizes that if agriculture is going to prosper it has got to be small and people must get out of it."

But the author's survey indicates that Farm Bureau leaders' perception and understanding of the root economic causes and principles relevant to the farm problem have not been widely disseminated to rank and file members. Rather, it appears that Farm Bureau publications and meetings have been preoccupied, quite understandably, with other

matters - - organizational recruitment, service to members (insurance, cooperative purchasing, farm management services, etc.), local matters such as roads, highway safety and schools, specific farm program proposals, problems of specific commodities, and general political matters such as legislative reapportionment, right-to-work laws, and medicare.

However, there perhaps has been some diffusion to the general membership of the Farm Bureau leaders' understanding of and views on the causes of the farm problem - - a phrase here and there in speeches, for example.

In this dissertation, it is assumed that such has been the case, though it has not been possible to document it. At any rate, Mr. Kenneth Thatcher quite willingly and promptly rated from the perspective of an "ideal Iowa Farm Bureau member" the 12 causes of the farm problem listed on the schedule previously administered to the sample members of this study.

The four most highly rated by Mr. Thatcher (1c, 2c, 3c, 4c) and the four least highly rated by him (1d, 2d, 3d, 4d) have been retained as measures of the conforming behavior variable, Rating Problem Causes. With no other data to indicate relevance or salience of the various listed causes in terms of Farm Bureau goals, this procedure appeared a reasonable one.

Rating problem solutions Two suggested solutions to the farm problem were selected as measures of the concept, Organizationally High Rated Problem Solutions, and two suggested solutions to the farm problem were selected as measures of the concept, Organizationally Low Rated Problem Solutions. (Possible scores were 1 to 7, with 7 indicating

the highest rating, 1 the lowest rating.)

Organizationally high rated problem solutions:

- 1e. Voluntary land retirement
- 2e. Allow prices to fall to market price to bring supply into line with demand without government interference

Organizationally low rated problem solutions:

- 1f. More emphasis on production controls with enforced penalties for over production
- 2f. Direct payments to farmers to make up difference between a fair price and the market price.

The schedule contained seven suggested solutions to the farm problem. Of these, Mr. Thatcher rated as most important, "Increasing both foreign and domestic demand for agricultural products." This suggested solution has not been retained as a measure of an organizationally high rated problem solution because it is too overwhelmingly accepted by farmers to be discriminate in this study. In the total sample, only five rated this as not very important as a solution to the farm problem. Thus, this item could not be expected to measure distinctive conforming behavior within an organization such as Farm Bureau

Otherwise, Mr. Thatcher's ratings were followed in the choice of farm problem solutions to index organizationally high rated problem solutions and organizationally low rated problem solutions. He rated voluntary land retirement (1e above) as the second most important solution to the farm problem; he rated as third most important, "Allow prices to fall to market price to bring supply into line with demand without government interference," (2e above).

Mr. Thatcher rated as the least important solution, direct payments

(2f above) and as the next least important, more emphasis on production controls (1f above).

Certainly voluntary land retirement and a return to a free market are highly relevant solutions to the farm problem in terms of the Farm Bureau goal of achieving "economic opportunity" through "preserving the market price system." And as noted before, these are "solutions" highly favored by Farm Bureau nationally.

Conversely, Farm Bureau is firmly opposed to direct payments and more emphasis on production controls. For example, the AFBF convention held in December, 1963, adopted the following resolution: (2, p. 8)

Compensatory payments are proposed in a variety of forms. Regardless of form, this approach is unsound and dangerous to our economic and political system. It would stimulate production, increase units costs, depress market prices, necessitate tight production controls and make farmers dependent on Congressional appropriations for much of their total income. It also would be extremely costly.

Increasing costs would invite limits on payments to individuals and this would place a ceiling on opportunity.

Payment programs mislead the buying public with respect to the value of farm products, as a part of the real cost is paid through taxes rather than at the store. This is a trap for producers and ultimately would be a trap for consumers since it would encourage inefficiency.

We vigorously oppose any system of compensatory payments for agriculture.

During the same convention the AFBF adopted a resolution stating that "it is our desire to move in the direction of eliminating government regulation of the right to produce agricultural commodities. In some cases, however, allotments and quotas will have to be maintained for a transitional period. Where this is the case, care must be exercised to protect the rights of individual producers. We oppose minimum farm allotments and

also quantitative limitations, such as poundage or bushelage quotas."

Similarly, Farm Bureau officials have spoken out against direct controls on many occasions within the last few years.

Rating public figures These items were selected:

- lg. Organizationally high-rated public figure: Ezra Taft Benson, who was Secretary of Agriculture from 1952 to 1960.
- lh. Organizationally low-rated public figure: Orville Freeman, who has been Secretary of Agriculture since 1960.

A single question was asked in the interviewing: sample members were asked whether, in their judgment, Secretary Freeman was doing a better job, about the same job, or a poorer job than Secretary Benson had done. (Possible range of scores was 1 to 3; 1 indicated Freeman was doing better; 2, about the same; 3, poorer than Benson.)

Mr. Kenneth Thatcher, again reflecting an "ideal Iowa Farm Bureau member as of 1964" marked the questionnaire given him to indicate that Secretary Freeman was doing a poorer job than Secretary Benson.

It is generally recognized that despite criticism of Secretary Benson during the latter years of his term, the Farm Bureau as an organization remained generally sympathetic to him and his attempts to reduce government farm price supports and move toward a freer farm market.

As late as December, 1959, the AFBF unanimously adopted a pro-Benson wheat plan calling for a lowering of support prices from \$1.77 a bushel under acreage controls to about \$1.30 with no controls (68, p. 11).

(An indication of Benson's unpopularity in Iowa and the Midwest at this time is the fact that Republican John Kyle won a special Congressional election in the Iowa fourth district by carefully dissociating himself from Benson, despite slogans of his Democratic opponent,

G. Edwin Gilmour, that "a vote for my opponent is a vote for Benson.")

By contrast, the Farm Bureau has been generally critical of Secretary Freeman and his feed grain program and supply control proposals.¹

Participating in programs Two items were selected to index participation in programs.

- li. Participation in organizationally favored programs: The acreage reserve section of the soil bank program was selected to index this concept.
- lj. Participation in organizationally disfavored programs: The feed grain program was selected to index this concept.

Mr. Thatcher, in marking the questionnaire to which reference was made earlier, actually showed the "ideal Iowa Farm Bureau member" as having participated in both the acreage reserve program and the feed grain program. He explained that though the Farm Bureau opposes some programs in principle, it leaves the individual member to decide, on the basis of his own particular farming situation and his own best financial interest, whether to participate or not participate once the program is in effect.

However, this author reasoned that notwithstanding this policy, the more attached a farmer is to Farm Bureau the more he will participate in the Farm Bureau-approved acreage reserve program and the less he will participate in the Farm Bureau disapproved feed grain program.

The Farm Bureau as an organization early endorsed the soil bank idea,

¹For example, Time (44, p. 22) quotes Charles B. Shuman, AFBF president, as exclaiming, "Why don't they leave us alone? Why don't they get out and let the farmers run their own business?" Time added: "by 'they' he means Congress, the army of Government farm experts commanded by Secretary Orville Freeman and what Shuman calls the 'crazy-quilt patchwork' of stopgap farm programs - - all hopelessly complex, all composited of political expediency, and all, in Shuman's view, a complete failure."

suggesting modifications and improvements in it from year to year. At the same time, it has consistently criticized and opposed in principle the more recent farm program innovation, the feed grain program.

From the beginning the AFBF has opposed the emergency feed grain and wheat programs of the early 1960's "because they would prove ineffective and far too expensive" (34, p. 15).

Significantly, at the 1962 convention, AFBF delegates "recommended termination of these 'emergency' programs (feed grain and wheat programs) at the end of 1963" and supported instead, "a practical cropland retirement program which, if coupled with Farm Bureau support ideas, would bring the needed adjustment in agriculture" (34, p. 15).

The resolutions adopted by the Iowa Farm Bureau in December, 1963, included the statement that "attempts to deal with regional commodity problems through 'emergency' programs have been unsatisfactory and frequently have shifted the problem to other commodities." This was an apparent negative reference to the feed grain program.

Accepting values Two values, as defined by Warland, were selected as measures of the concept, Organizationally Favored Values, and two of the concept, Organizationally Disfavored Values. (The possible range of scores is 0 to 16, with 16 indicating the highest score and zero the lowest score.)

Organizationally favored values:

- 1k. Independent action orientation - - belief that farmers should make their own personal and farming decisions without any outside interference.

- 2k. Government dominance orientation - - belief that government programs and the controls associated with them are placing restrictions on farmers' efficiency, earning possibilities and freedom to manage their farming operations.

Organizationally disfavored values:

- 1ℓ. Commutative justice orientation - - belief that the government should guarantee the farmer a fair return.
- 2ℓ. Distributive justice orientation - - belief that the government should equalize opportunity, income, security and common welfare between the agricultural and non-agricultural sectors of the economy.

There is abundant evidence that Farm Bureau as an organization believes strongly that farmers should make their own personal and farming decisions without outside interference. An often-repeated statement of Farm Bureau philosophy is as follows: (2, pp. 3-4)

America's unparalleled progress is based on freedom and dignity of the individual, sustained by basic moral and religious concepts.

Freedom of the individual versus concentration of power which would destroy freedom is the central issue in all societies.

Economic progress, cultural advancement, and ethical and religious principles flourish best where men are free, responsible individuals.

. . . .
We believe in the American capitalistic, private competitive enterprise system in which property is privately owned, privately managed and operated for profit and individual satisfaction. We believe in a competitive business environment in which supply and demand are the primary determinants of market prices, the use of productive resources, and the distribution of output.

We believe in the right of every man to choose his own occupation; to be rewarded according to his contribution to society; and to save, invest, spend, or convey to his heirs his earnings as he chooses.

Efficiency of production and per capita output are the primary elements in determining standards of living.

Hamilton (36, p. 69), commenting upon this statement, notes that "Farm Bureau quite obviously believes that freedom and individual responsibility are basic to economic, cultural and spiritual advancement . . ."

Similarly, it is quite apparent that Farm Bureau as an organization views government programs and the controls associated with them as restricting farmers' efficiency, earning possibilities and freedom to manage their farming operations.

As early as 1949, Allan B. Kline, AFBF president, rejected the Brannan plan (high prices to farmers, low prices to consumers and government subsidies to pay the difference) - - declaring it was the "road to tyranny" and would work to the disadvantage of the efficient farmer.

Later, Kline told an AFBF convention: (83, p. 5)

The worst thing we could do would be to step in with vastly extended political controls in the economic field. Of these no other is so far reaching as price control. Price control substitutes coupons, licenses, permits, quotas for a free-choice economy of money. It substitutes government decision for individual decision. It puts a clumsy and inefficient system in place of the American way. (Emphasis added.)

More recently, Hamilton (36, p. 73) has declared that it is well known that the benefits of restrictive programs tend to be capitalized into the cost of acquiring production rights. He cites a 1960 study which found that "the approximate market values of an acre of flue-cured tobacco allotment (without any associated land or buildings)" was \$2,500 in three North Carolina counties in 1957. Hamilton says this type of "compensation" for production restrictions creates a windfall for landowners who receive production rights on the basis of past history - - but that it becomes a cost of doing business for anyone who subsequently buys or leases land to which allotments have been attached.

Moreover, AFBF delegates, in their December, 1963, convention, declared that the "emergency" feed grain program had proved to be costly, ineffective, and destructive of the market system. They said compensatory payments, though proposed in a variety of forms, would be "unsound," increasing unit costs, inviting limits on payments to individuals and thus placing a ceiling on opportunity (2, p. 10).

Statements of Farm Bureau leaders and resolutions adopted by convention delegates make it plain that Farm Bureau as an organization does not subscribe to the belief that the government should either guarantee a farmer a fair return or equalize income, security and common welfare between the agricultural and non-agricultural sectors.

It is true that the Farm Bureau statement of philosophy does declare (2, p. 2): "We believe in self-government; in limitations upon government power; in maintenance of equal opportunity . . ." (Emphasis added.)

But Farm Bureau as an organization does not favor equalizing income, security and common welfare. As noted in that statement of Farm Bureau philosophy, the organization believes " . . . in the right of every man to choose his own occupation; to be rewarded according to his contribution to society . . ." The same statement notes that "efficiency of production and per capita output are the primary elements in determining standards of living." (2, pp. 3-4)

As Hamilton (36, p. 71) noted, "Farm Bureau members want to earn their income rather than to depend on government handouts."

With Kline and, more recently, Shuman, vigorously speaking out against farmers' reliance on government payments, it is quite obvious that the idea of government equalizing income and "common welfare"

between various groups or guaranteeing a farmer a "fair return" is stoutly rejected by Farm Bureau as an organization.

Empirical Hypotheses

The empirical hypotheses are as follows:

- 1A. There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on relevant farm programs favored by Iowa Farm Bureau.
 - A-1. There will be a positive relationship between the sample members attachment score and their score on the program, "A modified free market program in which the government would maintain support prices slightly above the competitive price level and require no production controls."
 - A-2. There will be a positive relationship between the sample members attachment score and their score on the program, "A voluntary program in which the government would pay farmers for retiring their whole farms from production on a year to year basis."
 - A-3. There will be a positive relationship between the sample members attachment score and their score on the program, "A return to free markets for farm products within five years and elimination of all production control and price support programs thereafter."
- 1B. There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on relevant farm programs disfavored by Iowa Farm Bureau.
 - B-1. There will be a negative relationship between the sample members attachment score and their score on the program, "A compulsory program in which the government would set acreage allotments for each farm."
 - B-2. There will be a negative relationship between the sample members attachment score and their score on the program, "A compulsory bushel allotment program in which the government would set bushel allotments for each farm in an attempt to control surplus and raise farm prices."

- B-3. There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on the program, "A set of policies involving (a) price supports at present levels, (b) mandatory controls on the amount of farm products produced and marketed by individual farmers based on past production and marketings, (c) additional restrictions on entering farming."
- 2A. There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on relevant farm problem causes highly rated by Iowa Farm Bureau.
 - A-1. There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on problem cause, "too much land in crop production."
 - A-2. There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on problem cause, "high cost of farm production inputs such as feed, seed, fertilizer and machinery."
 - A-3. There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on problem cause, "surplus production due to the application of too much new technology."
 - A-4. There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on problem cause, "surplus production due to high price supports."
- 2B. There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on relevant farm problem causes rated low by Iowa Farm Bureau.
 - B-1. There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on problem cause, "decline in foreign purchases of agricultural products."
 - B-2. There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on problem cause, "high profits taken by processors and distributors of farm products."
 - B-3. There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on problem cause, "lack of demand for farm products."

- B-4. There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on problem cause, "poor management ability of some farmers."
- 3A. There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on relevant farm problem solutions highly rated by Iowa Farm Bureau.
 - A-1. There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on problem solution, "voluntary land retirement."
 - A-2. There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on problem solution, "allow prices to fall to market price to bring supply into line with demand without government interference."
- 3B. There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on relevant farm problem solutions rated low by Iowa Farm Bureau.
 - B-1. There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on problem solution, "more emphasis on production controls with enforced penalties for over production."
 - B-2. There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on problem solution, "direct payments to farmers to make up difference between a fair price and the market price."
- 4A. There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their rating of a relevant public figure favored by Iowa Farm Bureau.
 - A-1. There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their rating of public figure, Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson.
- 4B. There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their rating of a relevant public figure disfavored by Iowa Farm Bureau.
 - B-1. There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their rating of public figure, Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman.

- 5A. There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their participation score in a relevant farm program favored by Iowa Farm Bureau.
 - A-1. There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and the number of acres they have had in the Acreage Reserve Program.
 - A-2. There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and the number of years they have been in the Acreage Reserve Program.
- 5B. There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their participation score in a relevant farm program disfavored by Iowa Farm Bureau.
 - B-1. There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and the number of acres they had had in the Feed Grain program.
 - B-2. There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and the number of years they have been in the Feed Grain program.
- 6A. There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on values favored by Iowa Farm Bureau.
 - A-1. There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on the value, "Independent action orientation - - belief that farmers should make their own personal and farming decisions without any outside interference."
 - A-2. There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on the value, "Government dominance orientation - - belief that government programs and the controls associated with them are placing restrictions on farmers' efficiency, earning possibilities and freedom to manage their farming operations."
- 6B. There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on values disfavored by Iowa Farm Bureau.

- B-1. There will be a negative relationship between sample members' attachment score and their score on the value, "Commutative justice orientation - - belief that the government should guarantee the farmer a fair return."
- B-2. There will be a negative relationship between sample members' attachment score and their score on the value, "Distributive justice orientation - - belief that the government should equalize opportunity income, security and common welfare between the agricultural and non-agricultural sectors of the economy."

PRINCIPAL FINDINGS

Method of Analysis

The data discussed in this dissertation were analyzed by standard IBM equipment by the Iowa State University Statistical Laboratory.

The empirical hypotheses will be tested by comparing group means and determining through analysis of variance if differences noted are statistically significant. A hypothesis will be considered as supported if a majority of its sub-hypotheses are supported.

Traditionally, the .05 or .01 levels of probability are used as a cut-off point in rejecting or accepting null hypotheses. However, the .10 level will be employed in this study. One reason is that this study is admittedly exploratory in nature and limited by the kinds of data available from research done before the present design was formulated. By using the .10 level one might expect to expose more tendencies or tentative relationships than with a more rigid cut-off point. These relationships might then be tested more rigorously in later research designed expressly to relate organizational attachment to conforming behavior.

However, the actual significance level associated with each research finding is reported in this dissertation. Thus the reader may determine whether for his purposes the finding has any practical significance.

In this chapter, for each variable a comparison will be made between the means of two groups - - the highest attachment group and the lowest attachment group. For clarity these two groups are shown below, along with the original attachment groups of which they are composed:

Highest attachment group (N = 56)

Composed of:

Group 4, medium attached members
Group 5, high attached members

Lowest attachment group (N = 129)

Composed of:

Group 1, never members
Group 2, past members
Group 3, low attached members

The comparison of these two groups is one of a set of four mutually orthogonal comparisons worked out for analysis of variance. The other comparisons, which are deemed to be of less significance in testing the hypotheses of this study, are presented in the next chapter.

The assumptions associated with analysis of variance and the F test are normality, homogeneity of variance, independence, randomness, Chi's fixed and measured without error, and the errors uncorrelated and normally distributed. The sampling procedures followed in this study make it possible to assume independence and randomness. The remaining assumptions are more difficult to meet. Data obtained in behavioral science research does not always conform well to these assumptions. Measurement errors often occur, and these are difficult to estimate. Many phenomena of interest to social science researchers are not normally distributed. Units of measurement often may vary considerably from variable to variable, and thus variances may differ greatly.

However, Warland (87), who used the same data as used in this study, employed the Chi square test for normality (.01 level of probability) and found that many of the variances under study are normally distributed.

All of the value scales but individualism and commutative justice were found to approximate a normal distribution. The voluntary farm programs and the income transfer programs were found to approximate a normal distribution. The mandatory programs were not. However, many of the variances were found to be heterogeneous.

It is noted that the ends of the scales may constitute important restrictions resulting in non-normality and heterogeneity of variance. Variables which have means near one end of the scale may not be normally distributed because of the restriction imposed by the end of the scale. The ends may also influence the degree of variance of a variable which has a mean near one of the ends of the scale. This may result in heterogeneity of variance when variables with more extreme means are compared with variables with less extreme means. The number of items in a scale may also lead to heterogeneity of variance; a scale with only three items has much less potential variance than a scale of 17 items.

Although it is recognized that all of the data do not conform to the assumptions of the statistical tests used in this study, the assumptions necessary to apply these tests will be made. This decision is justified for the following reasons:

1. Many of the variables exhibit the characteristics of normality and homogeneity of variance. In addition, all observations have been drawn at random and are independent of one another.

2. The law of large numbers, the central limit theorem, and the robustness of the statistical test are all applicable and offer evidence for the use of the tests. The law of large numbers states that no matter what the form of the parent population distribution (provided the variance

is finite), the distribution of the sample means becomes more and more concentrated around the population mean as the sample size increases. The central limit theorem states that the distribution of the sample mean approaches a normal distribution as the sample size increases, provided the population distribution sample has a finite variance. These laws suggest that even though a variable may have a non-normal parent distribution, as probably do some of the variables investigated in this study, the assumption of normality can still be met when large samples are drawn. The F test in the analysis of variance has been found to be relatively insensitive to non-normality and heterogeneity of variance.

3. The major objective of this dissertation is to describe what relationships exist between the concepts of interest. The results of these inductive statistical tests will be interpreted more in a descriptive or qualitative manner than in a strict analytical or quantitative sense. Thus emphasis in the interpretation of the analysis of data is more on locating the general relationship between the variables of interest than in precise specification and/or prediction of these relationships. Thus the results of these statistical tests will be interpreted on the basis of what evidence they provide concerning the general relationships between the variables of interest.

Specific Findings

The general format which will be followed in this section will be to:

1. Re-state each empirical hypothesis.
2. Present the means for the two composite groups under consideration herein:

- a. Highest attachment - - combination of attachment groups 4 and 5, or the sample members most highly participating in Iowa Farm Bureau activities
 - b. Lowest attachment - - combination of attachment groups 1, 2 and 3, or the inactive Iowa Farm Bureau members plus those who were members in the past and those who were never members.
3. Report results of the statistical test related to each empirical hypothesis.

The findings follow:

Empirical Hypothesis 1A: There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on relevant farm programs favored by Iowa Farm Bureau.

Sub-Hypothesis A-1: There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on the program "A modified free market program in which the government would maintain support prices slightly above the competitive price level and require no production controls." (Var. 7)

The means are as follows:

Highest attachment group	7.68
Lowest attachment group	6.22

The means vary in the expected direction.

The hypothesis stated in null form is: There will be no positive relationship between the attachment score and the score on the program identified above. The computed F ratio at 1 and 180 degrees

of freedom is 3.56, which is significant at the .065 level of probability. The null hypothesis is refuted. These data support the original proposition.

Sub-Hypothesis A-2: There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on the program, "A voluntary program in which the government would pay farmers for retiring their whole farms from production on a year to year basis." (Var. 17)

The means are as follows:

Highest attachment group	8.20
Lowest attachment group	8.97

The means vary in the opposite direction from that hypothesized. Thus the following test for significance is only of academic interest. The hypothesis stated in null form is: There will be no positive relationship between the attachment score and the score on the program identified above. The computed F ratio, at 1 and 180 degrees of freedom, is .89, which is insignificant. The null hypothesis is not refuted. Moreover, the means vary in the opposite direction from expected. Thus these data do not support the original proposition.

Sub-Hypothesis A-3: There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on the program, "A return to free markets for farm products within five years and elimination of all production controls and price support programs thereafter." (Var. 59)

The means are as follows:

Highest attachment group 2.46¹

Lowest attachment group 3.02¹

The means vary in the expected direction.

The hypothesis stated in null form is: There will be no positive relationship between the attachment score and the score on the program identified above. The computed F ratio at 1 and 180 degrees of freedom is 8.53, which is significant at the .005 level of probability. The null hypothesis is refuted. These data support the original proposition.

Empirical Hypothesis 1A was tested by three sub-hypotheses. Two of the three were supported by the data at the designated significance level. These data are judged to indicate support for the hypothesized relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their scores on relevant farm programs favored by Iowa Farm Bureau.

Empirical Hypothesis 1B: There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on relevant farm programs disfavored by Iowa Farm Bureau.

Sub-Hypothesis B-1: There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on the program, "A compulsory program in which the government would set acreage allotments for each farm." (Var. 3)

The means are as follows:

¹Note that scoring is reversed from that of sub-hypotheses A-1 and A-2; thus, the most favorable score possible was 1; the least favorable score possible was 4.

Highest attachment group 2.36

Lowest attachment group 3.93

The means vary in the expected direction.

The hypothesis stated in null form is: There will be no negative relationship between the attachment score and the score on the program identified above. The computed F ratio at 1 and 180 degrees of freedom is 4.75, which is significant at the .033 level of probability. The null hypothesis is refuted. These data support the original proposition.

Sub-Hypothesis B-2: There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on the program, "A compulsory bushel allotment program in which the government would set bushel allotments for each farm in an attempt to control surplus and raise farm prices." (Var. 6)

The means are as follows:

Highest attachment group 2.59

Lowest attachment group 4.29

The means vary in the expected direction.

The hypothesis stated in null form is: There will be no negative relationship between the attachment score and the score on the program identified above. The computed F ratio at 1 and 180 degrees of freedom is 5.50, which is significant at the .022 level of probability. The null hypothesis is refuted. These data support the original proposition.

Sub-Hypothesis B-3: There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on the program, "A set of policies involving (a) price supports at present levels, (b) mandatory controls on the amount of farm products produced and marketed by individual farmers based on past production and marketings, (c) additional restrictions on entering farming." (Var. 57)

The means are as follows:

Highest attachment group	3.46 ¹
Lowest attachment group	3.09 ¹

The means vary in the expected direction.

The hypothesis stated in null form is: There will be no negative relationship between the attachment score and the score on the program identified above. The computed *F* ratio at 1 and 180 degrees of freedom is 6.11, which is significant at the .017 level of probability. The null hypothesis is refuted. These data support the original proposition.

Empirical Hypothesis 1B was tested by three sub-hypotheses. All three of these were supported by data at the designated significance level. These data are judged to indicate support for the hypothesized relationship between sample members' attachment score and their scores on relevant farm programs disfavored by Iowa Farm Bureau.

¹Note that scoring is reversed from that of sub-hypotheses B-2 and B-3; thus, the most unfavorable or negative score possible was 4; the most favorable or positive score possible was 1.

Empirical Hypothesis 2A: There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on relevant farm problem causes highly rated by Iowa Farm Bureau.

Sub-Hypothesis A-1: There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on the problem cause, "too much land in crop production." (Var. 60)

The means are as follows:

Highest attachment group	4.02
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Lowest attachment group	4.16
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The means vary in the opposite direction from that hypothesized.

Thus the following test for significance is only of academic interest.

The hypothesis stated in null form is: There will be no positive relationship between the attachment score and the score on problem cause identified above. The computed F ratio is 0.73, which is not significant. The null hypothesis is not refuted. Moreover, the means vary in the opposite direction from expected. These data do not support the original proposition.

Sub-Hypothesis A-2: There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on the problem cause, "high cost of farm production inputs such as feed, seed, fertilizer and machinery." (Var. 62)

The means were as follows:

Highest attachment group	5.21
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Lowest attachment group	5.62
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The means vary in the opposite direction from that hypothesized.

Thus the following test for significance is only of academic interest. The hypothesis stated in null form is: There will be no positive relationship between the attachment score and the score on the problem cause identified above. The computed F ratio at 1 and 180 degrees of freedom is 3.17, which is significant at the .082 level of probability. The null hypothesis is refuted. However, because the means vary in the opposite direction from expected, these data do not support the original proposition.

Sub-Hypothesis A-3: There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on the problem cause, "surplus production due to the application of too much new technology." (Var. 67)

The means were as follows:

Highest attachment group	3.63
Lowest attachment group	3.78

The means vary in the opposite direction from that hypothesized. Thus the following test for significance is only of academic interest. The hypothesis stated in null form is: There will be no positive relationship between the attachment score and the score on the problem cause identified above. The computed F ratio at 1 and 180 degrees of freedom is 0.323, which is not significant. The null hypothesis is not refuted. Moreover, the means vary in the opposite direction from expected. Thus these data do not support the original proposition.

Sub-Hypothesis A-4: There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on the problem cause, "surplus production due to high price supports." (Var. 68)

The means were as follows:

Highest attachment group 3.38

Lowest attachment group 2.67

The means vary in the expected direction.

The hypothesis stated in null form is: There will be no positive relationship between the attachment score and the score on problem cause identified above. The computed F ratio at 1 and 180 degrees of freedom is 7.48, which is significant at the .008 level of probability. The null hypothesis is refuted. These data support the original proposition.

Empirical Hypothesis 2A was tested by four sub-hypotheses. Only one of these was supported by the data at the designated significance level. These data are judged as being insufficient to support the hypothesized relationship between sample members' attachment score and their scores on relevant causes of the farm problem highly rated by Iowa Farm Bureau.

Empirical Hypothesis 2B: There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on relevant farm problem causes rated low by Iowa Farm Bureau.

Sub-Hypothesis B-1: There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on the problem cause, "decline in foreign purchases of agricultural products."

(Var. 70)

The means are as follows:

Highest attachment group 4.20

Lowest attachment group 4.09

The means vary in the opposite direction from that hypothesized.

Thus the following test for significance is only of academic interest.

The hypothesis stated in null form is: There will be no negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on farm problem cause identified above. The computed F ratio at 1 and 180 degrees of freedom is 0.176, which is not significant. The null hypothesis is not refuted. Moreover, the means vary in the opposite direction from that expected. Thus these data do not support the original proposition.

Sub-Hypothesis B-2: There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on problem cause "high profits taken by processors and distributors of farm products." (Var. 69)

The means are as follows:

Highest attachment group 5.41

Lowest attachment group 5.86

The means vary in the expected direction.

The hypothesis stated in null form is: There will be no negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on the problem cause identified above. The computed F ratio at 1 and 180 degrees of freedom is 3.62, which is significant at the .063 level of probability. The null hypothesis is refuted. These data support the original proposition.

Sub-Hypothesis B-3: There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on the problem cause, "lack of demand for farm products." (Var. 65)

The means are as follows:

Highest attachment group	3.80
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Lowest attachment group	3.83
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The means vary in the expected direction.

The hypothesis stated in null form is: There will be no negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on the problem cause identified above. The computed F ratio at 1 and 180 degrees of freedom is 0.01, which is not significant. The null hypothesis is not refuted. These data do not support the original proposition.

Sub-Hypothesis B-4: There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on the problem cause, "poor management ability of some farmers." (Var. 63)

The means are as follows:

Highest attachment group	3.96
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Lowest attachment group	3.45
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The means vary in the opposite direction from that hypothesized.

Thus the following test for significance is only of academic interest.

The hypothesis stated in null form is: There will be no negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on farm problem cause identified above. The computed F ratio at 1 and 180 degrees of freedom is 3.57, which is significant at the

.065 level of probability. The null hypothesis is refuted.

However, the means vary in the opposite direction from that expected. Thus these data do not support the original proposition.

Empirical Hypothesis 2B was tested by four sub-hypotheses. Only one of these was supported by the data at the designated significance level. These data are judged as being insufficient to support the hypothesized relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their scores on relevant causes of the farm problem rated low by Iowa Farm Bureau.

Empirical Hypothesis 3A: There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on relevant farm problem solutions highly rated by Iowa Farm Bureau.

Sub-Hypothesis A-1: There will be a positive relationship between sample members' attachment score and their score on the farm problem solution, "voluntary land retirement." (Var. 76)

The means are as follows:

Highest attachment group	4.70
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Lowest attachment group	4.31
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The means vary in the expected direction.

The hypothesis stated in null form is: There will be no positive relationship between the attachment score and the score on the farm problem solution identified above. The computed F ratio at 1 and 180 degrees of freedom is 2.53, which is significant at the .123 level of probability. The null hypothesis is not refuted as the probability level is slightly greater than the .10 level. These

data do not support the original proposition.

Sub-Hypothesis A-2: There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on the problem solution, "allow prices to fall to market price to bring supply into line with demand without government interference." (Var. 77)

The means are as follows:

Highest attachment group	3.48
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Lowest attachment group	2.03
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The means vary in the expected direction.

The hypothesis stated in null form is: There will be no positive relationship between the attachment score and the score on the problem solution identified above. The computed F ratio at 1 and 180 degrees of freedom is 5.74, which is significant at the .020 level of probability. The null hypothesis is refuted. These data support the original hypothesis.

Empirical Hypothesis 3A was tested by two sub-hypotheses. One of the two was supported by the data at the designated significance level and the other was almost supported. These data are judged to indicate tentative support for the hypothesized relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their scores on relevant farm problem solutions highly rated by Iowa Farm Bureau.

Empirical Hypothesis 3B: There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on relevant farm problem solutions rated low by Iowa Farm Bureau.

Sub-Hypothesis B-1: There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on the farm problem solution, "more emphasis on production controls with enforced penalties for overproduction." (Var. 75)

The means are as follows:

Highest attachment group 3.30

Lowest attachment group 3.36

The means vary in the expected direction, though the differences observed are very small.

The hypothesis stated in null form is, There will be no negative relationship between the attachment score and the score on problem solution identified above. The computed F ratio at 1 and 180 degrees of freedom is .04, which is not significant. The null hypothesis is not refuted. These data do not support the original hypothesis.

Sub-Hypothesis B-2: There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on the farm problem solution, "direct payments to farmers to make up the difference between a fair price and the market price." (Var. 74)

The means are as follows:

Highest attachment group 3.13

Lowest attachment group 3.44

The means vary in the expected direction.

The hypothesis stated in null form is: There will be no negative relationship between the attachment score and the score on the problem solution identified above. The computed F ratio at 1 and

180 degrees of freedom is 1.24, which is significant at the .278 level of probability. The null hypothesis is not refuted as the probability level is considerably greater than the .10 level.

These data do not support the original proposition.

Empirical Hypothesis 3B was tested by two sub-hypotheses. Neither was supported by the data at the designated significance level. Thus the data are judged as failing to support the hypothesized relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their scores on relevant farm problem solutions rated low by Iowa Farm Bureau.

Empirical Hypothesis 4A: There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their rating of a relevant public figure favored by Iowa Farm Bureau.

Sub-Hypothesis A-1: There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their rating of public figure, Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson.

(Var. 144)

The means are as follows:

Highest attachment group	1.82 ¹
Lowest attachment group	1.50 ¹

The means vary in the expected direction.

The hypothesis stated in null form is: There will be no positive relationship between the attachment score and the scoring of the relevant public figure identified above. The computed F ratio

¹The higher the score, the more favorable the rating of Secretary Benson.

at 1 and 180 degrees of freedom is 9.83, which is significant at the .003 level of probability. The null hypothesis is rejected. These data support the original proposition.

Empirical Hypothesis 4A was tested by one sub-hypothesis, which as noted above, supported the hypothesized relationship.

Empirical Hypothesis 4B: There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their rating of a relevant public figure disfavored by Iowa Farm Bureau.

Sub-Hypothesis B-1: There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their rating of public figure, Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman. (Var. 144)
(It is not necessary to test this hypothesis as it involves the same data as used in testing Hypothesis 4A above; both are tested by the same data, involving a comparative rating of Mr. Benson and Mr. Freeman. However, for clarity in presentation of the hypotheses of this dissertation, the test is presented below.)

The means are as follows:

Highest attachment group	1.82 ¹
Lowest attachment group	1.50 ¹

The hypothesis stated in null form is: There will be no negative relationship between the attachment score and the scoring of the public figure identified above. The computed F ratio at 1 and 180 degrees of freedom is 9.83, which is significant at the .003 level

¹The higher the score in this context the less favorable the rating of Secretary Freeman.

of probability. The null hypothesis is rejected. These data support the original proposition.

Empirical Hypothesis 4B was tested by one sub-hypothesis, which, as noted above, supported the hypothesized relationship.

However, while Empirical Hypotheses 4A and 4B are analytically distinct, they rely in this dissertation on the same data. Thus they provide not two supports, but one support for the general hypothesis of this dissertation.

Empirical Hypothesis 5A: There will be a positive relationship between the sample members attachment score and their participation score in relevant farm programs favored by Iowa Farm Bureau.

Sub-Hypothesis A-1: There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and the number of acres they have had in the acreage reserve program. (Var. 52)

The means are as follows:

Highest attachment group	2.71 ¹
Lowest attachment group	7.93 ¹

The means vary in the opposite direction from that hypothesized.

Thus the test for significance is only of academic interest.

The hypothesis stated in null form is: There will be no positive relationship between the attachment score and the number of acres in the acreage reserve program. The computed F ratio at 1 and 180 degrees of freedom is 3.89, which is significant at the .051 level

¹Note that these are coded figures, the higher figures indicating more acres, the lower figures indicating fewer acres in the program.

of probability. The null hypothesis is refuted. However, as the means vary in the opposite direction from that expected, these data do not support the original hypothesis.

Sub-Hypothesis A-2: There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and the number of years they have been in the acreage reserve program. (Var. 48)

The means are as follows:

Highest attachment group	.553
Lowest attachment group	.876

The means vary in the opposite direction from that hypothesized.

Thus the following test for significance is only of academic interest.

The hypothesis, stated in null form is: There will be no positive relationship between the attachment score and the number of years in the acreage reserve program. The computed F ratio at 1 and 180 degrees of freedom is 1.44, which is significant at the .244 level of probability. Because this is greater than the .10 level, the null hypothesis is not refuted. Moreover, the means vary in the opposite direction from that expected. Thus these data do not support the original hypothesis.

Empirical Hypothesis 5A was tested by two sub-hypotheses. Neither was supported. Thus the data are judged as failing to support the hypothesized relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their participation score in relevant farm programs favored by Iowa Farm Bureau.

Empirical Hypothesis 5B: There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their participation score in relevant farm programs disfavored by Iowa Farm Bureau.

Sub-Hypothesis B-1: There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and the number of acres they had in the feed grain program. (Var. 51)

The means are as follows:

Highest attachment score	20.55
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Lowest attachment score	22.66
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The means vary in the expected direction.

The hypothesis stated in null form is: There will be no negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and the number of acres in the feed grain program. The computed F ratio at 1 and 180 degrees of freedom is .27, which is not significant. The null hypothesis is not refuted. These data do not support the original hypothesis.

Sub-Hypothesis B-2: There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and the number of years they have been in the feed grain program. (Var. 47)

The means are as follows:

Highest attachment group	1.59
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Lowest attachment group	1.85
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The means vary in the expected direction.

The hypothesis stated in null form is: There will be no negative relationship between the attachment score and the number of years

in the feed grain program. The computed F ratio at 1 and 180 degrees of freedom is 1.63, which is significant at the .223 level of probability. Because this is greater than the specified .10 level the null hypothesis is not refuted. Thus these data do not support the original hypothesis.

Empirical Hypothesis 5B was tested by two sub-hypotheses. Neither was supported at the designated significance level. Thus the data are judged as failing to support the hypothesized relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their participation score in relevant farm programs disfavored by Iowa Farm Bureau.

Empirical Hypothesis 6A: There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on relevant values favored by Iowa Farm Bureau.

Sub-Hypothesis A-1: There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on the value, "Independent action orientation - - belief that farmers should make their own personal and farming decisions without any outside interference." (Var. 29)

The means are as follows:

Highest attachment group	77.89
Lowest attachment group	70.05

The means vary in the expected direction.

The hypothesis stated in null form is: There will be no positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on the value identified above. The computed F ratio at 1 and

180 degrees of freedom is 7.71, which is significant at the .007 level of probability. The null hypothesis is refuted. These data support the original hypothesis.

Sub-Hypothesis A-2: There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on the value, "Government dominance orientation - ~ belief that government programs and the controls associated with them are placing restrictions on farmers' efficiency, earning possibilities and freedom to manage their farming operations." (Var. 41)

The means are as follows:

Highest attachment group	26.70
Lowest attachment group	20.50

The means vary in the expected direction.

The hypothesis stated in null form is: There will be no positive relationship between the attachment score and the score on the value identified above. The computed F ratio at 1 and 180 degrees of freedom is 8.86, which is significant at the .004 level of probability. The null hypothesis is refuted. These data support the original proposition.

Empirical Hypothesis 6A was tested by two sub-hypotheses. Both were supported by the data at the designated significance level. These data are judged to indicate support for the hypothesized relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their scores on relevant values favored by Iowa Farm Bureau.

Empirical Hypothesis 6B: There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on relevant values disfavored by Iowa Farm Bureau.

Sub-Hypothesis B-1: There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on the value, "Commutative justice orientation - - belief that the government should guarantee the farmer a fair return." (Var. 39)

The means are as follows:

Highest attachment group	58.88
Lowest attachment group	75.90

The means vary in the expected direction.

The hypothesis stated in null form is: There will be no negative relationship between the attachment score and the score on the value identified above. The computed F ratio at 1 and 180 degrees of freedom is 13.84, which is significant at the .0005 level of probability. The null hypothesis is refuted. These data support the original proposition.

Sub-Hypothesis B-2: There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on the value, "Distributive justice orientation - - belief that the government should equalize opportunity, income, security and common welfare between the agricultural and non-agricultural sectors of the economy." (Var. 40)

The means are as follows:

Highest attachment group	48.98
Lowest attachment group	55.80

The means vary in the expected direction.

The hypothesis stated in null form is: There will be no negative relationship between the attachment score and the score on the value identified above. The computed F ratio at 1 and 180 degrees of freedom is 3.21, which is significant at the .080 level of probability. The null hypothesis is refuted. These data support the original hypothesis.

Empirical Hypothesis 6B was tested by two sub-hypotheses. Both were supported by data at the designated significance level. These data are judged to indicate support for the hypothesized relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on relevant values disfavored by Iowa Farm Bureau.

In summary, the findings relative to the empirical hypotheses were as follows:

<u>Hypothesis</u>	<u>Sub-Hypotheses</u>	<u>Outcome</u>
1A. Farm programs favored by IFB	2 accepted 1 rejected	Hypothesis accepted
1B. Farm programs disfavored by IFB	3 accepted	Hypothesis accepted
2A. Farm problem causes highly rated by IFB	3 rejected 1 accepted	Hypothesis rejected
2B. Farm problem causes rated low by IFB	3 rejected 1 accepted	Hypothesis rejected
3A. Farm problem solutions highly rated by IFB	1 rejected ¹ 1 accepted	Hypothesis tentatively accepted

¹Significant at .123 level of probability; and thus just barely rejected as being beyond required .10 level.

	<u>Hypothesis</u>	<u>Sub-Hypotheses</u>	<u>Outcome</u>
3B.	Farm problem solutions rated low by IFB	2 rejected	Hypothesis rejected
4A.	Public figure highly rated by IFB	1 accepted	Hypothesis accepted
4B.	Public figure rated low by IFB	(same result as in 4A because same data used)	
5A.	Participation in programs favored by IFB	2 rejected	Hypothesis rejected
5B.	Participation in programs disfavored by IFB	2 rejected	Hypothesis rejected
6A.	Acceptance of values favored by IFB	2 accepted	Hypothesis accepted
6B.	Acceptance of values disfavored by IFB	2 accepted	Hypothesis accepted

Discussion

These data are judged to indicate tentative support for the general theoretical hypothesis of this dissertation, that the more people are attached to a voluntary organization the more they will behave in conformity with its norms.

Counting Hypotheses 4A and 4B as one (because they both rely on the same data), one notes that six of the 11 empirical hypotheses are supported.

Moreover, Hypotheses 2A and 2B on rating of farm problem causes probably should be eliminated as irrelevant. As noted in the section on conforming behavior variables in the foregoing chapter, Methodology, Farm Bureau quite obviously has not presented to its members an economic analysis of the farm problem or listed or rated underlying economic causes.

Thus one may conclude that there is no effective, normative Farm Bureau position on causes of the farm problem - - that is, one that is communicated to members. This is not to say that top officials may not be in general agreement as to these causes. But as noted earlier, Farm Bureau as an organization appears to have been preoccupied in its relations to members by such activities as maintaining membership, service to members, and discussion and action on local matters such as roads, highway safety, schools, specific farm programs and farm commodity problems.

Likewise, in the section on conforming behavior variables it was reported that Mr. Kenneth Thatcher, executive secretary of the Iowa Farm Bureau indicated there were no Farm Bureau norms on participation in farm programs. He stated that while Farm Bureau approves and disapproves farm programs in principle, it leaves to individual members to decide on the basis of their own best interests whether to participate.

In retrospect, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, the author probably should have recognized that Mr. Thatcher was right in holding that there are no program participation norms in the Iowa Farm Bureau. Thus, Hypotheses 5A and 5B can be considered logically irrelevant to conforming behavior.

As a matter of academic interest, a comparison of means shows that the highest attachment group participates less in both favored and disfavored farm programs than the lowest attachment group, though the differences are generally statistically insignificant.

The data fail to support the hypothesis that highly attached farmers would rate lower those farm problem solutions rated low by Iowa Farm Bureau.

The means vary in the expected direction in the case of both sub-hypotheses involved - - one relating to production controls and the other to direct payments to farmers.

The direct payments sub-hypothesis, B-2, has weak support, being supported at the .278 level of probability. This is a solution which Farm Bureau has often publicly opposed. Why these findings are not more conclusive is not known.

The production controls sub-hypothesis, B-1, received no support, the difference in means for the highest and lowest attachment groups being slight and the computed F ratio a highly insignificant .04. One possible explanation is that although Iowa Farm Bureau is opposed to this solution - - "more emphasis on production controls with enforced penalties for over-production" - - sample members are about equally opposed to it regardless of their attachment. That is, it can be reasoned that the solution is not uniquely opposed by Iowa Farm Bureau, that it is generally unacceptable and thus not relevant as an Iowa Farm Bureau norm. It may be noted that it specified penalties for non-compliance, which presumably are objectionable to farmers generally. By contrast, the first two farm programs included under Hypothesis 1B as programs disfavored by Iowa Farm Bureau include elements specifically and formally opposed only by Iowa Farm Bureau (to the author's knowledge), namely, bushel and acreage allotments.

On the positive side, it is noted that the six empirical hypotheses adjudged as having been supported by the data involve an aggregate of 13 sub-hypotheses, 11 of which were supported. Although the .10 level was accepted as tolerable, the computed probability levels were all well below this. Two of these sub-hypotheses were supported at between .05 and .08, four at between .01 and .04 and five at below .01.

ADDITIONAL FINDINGS

A set of four mutually orthogonal comparisons was worked out involving the five attachment groups of this study. The comparison which was expected to yield the most pronounced differences in means was:

Highest attachment group (Groups 4 and 5)

vs.

Lowest attachment group (Groups 1, 2 and 3)

This comparison was employed in the preceding chapter, Principal Findings, in empirically testing the 28 sub-hypotheses of this study.

However, it may be recalled in the discussion of the operationalizing of the concept, organizational attachment, in the Methodology chapter, that an assumption was made that the five original attachment groups were ordinarily ranked. That is, it was assumed that group 1 (never members) was the lowest attachment group, that group 2 (past members) was the next lowest attachment group, and so on.

If this is true and if, as hypothesized, conforming behavior is positively related to organizational attachment, one would expect this relationship to be reflected in other comparisons of the mutually orthogonal set. The other comparisons are as follows:

High attached members (Group 5) vs. medium attached members (Group 4)

Low attached members (Group 3) vs. non-members (Groups 1 and 2)

Past members (Group 2) vs. never members (Group 1)

In this chapter, analysis of variance is employed in making these comparisons. Means of the various groups are noted and the F test employed to note the significance of the differences in means.

In order to account for all of the variance, all four of the mutually orthogonal set of comparisons are presented, including the major comparison (highest attachment group, original groups 5 and 4, vs. lowest attachment group, original groups 1, 2 and 3). As indicated above, this comparison was employed and analyzed in the preceding chapter, Principal Findings.

(The empirical hypotheses and their constituent sub-hypotheses are stated again for clarity in presentation.)

Empirical Hypothesis 1A: There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on relevant farm programs favored by Iowa Farm Bureau.

Sub-Hypothesis A-1: There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on the program, "A modified free market program in which the government would maintain support prices slightly above the competitive price level and require no production controls." (Var. 7)

<u>Comparison</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Sum of squares</u>	<u>F ratio</u>	<u>Comments</u>
High attached members (Group 5)	27	7.56	.79	insig.	means vary in unexpected direction
Medium attached members (Group 4)	29	7.79			
Highest attachment group (Groups 5 and 4)	56	7.68	82.53	3.56	sig. at .065
Lowest attachment group (Groups 1, 2, 3)	129	6.22			
Low attached members (Group 3)	36	6.06	1.43	insig.	means vary in unexpected direction
Non-members (Groups 1, 2)	93	6.29			

<u>Comparison</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Sum of squares</u>	<u>F ratio</u>	<u>Comments</u>
Past members (Group 2)	51	5.84	22.58	insig.	means vary in unexpected direction
Never members (Group 1)	42	6.83			
Overall between groups			107.32	1.16	
Error (mean square)	23.19				

Sub-Hypothesis A-2: There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on the program, "A voluntary program in which the government would pay farmers for retiring their whole farms from production on a year to year basis." (Var. 17)

<u>Comparison</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Sum of squares</u>	<u>F ratio</u>	<u>Comments</u>
High attached members (Group 5)	27	9.70	118.46	3.84	sig. at .053
Medium attached members (Group 4)	29	6.79			
Highest attachment group (Groups 5 and 4)	56	8.20	27.54	insig.	means vary in unexpected direction
Lowest attachment group (Groups 1, 2, 3)	129	8.97			
Low attached members (Group 3)	36	7.78	8.86	insig.	
Non-members (Groups 1, 2)	93	7.19			
Past members (Group 2)	51	7.18	.03	insig.	
Never members (Group 1)	42	7.21			
Overall between groups			154.89	1.26	
Error (mean square)	30.84				

Sub-Hypothesis A-3: There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on the program, "A return to free markets for farm products within five years and elimination of all production controls and price support programs thereafter." (Var. 59)

<u>Comparison</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Mean</u> ¹	<u>Sum of squares</u>	<u>F ratio</u>	<u>Comments</u>
High attached members (Group 5)	27	2.44	.02	insig.	
Medium attached members (Group 4)	29	2.48			
Highest attachment group (Groups 5 and 4)	56	2.46	11.86	8.53	sig. at .005
Lowest attachment group (Groups 1, 2, 3)	129	3.02			
Low attached members (Group 3)	36	3.17	1.14	insig.	means vary in un-expected direction
Non-members (Groups 1, 2)	93	2.96			
Past members (Group 2)	51	3.00	.21	insig.	means vary in un-expected direction
Never members (Group 1)	42	2.90			
Overall between groups			13.23	2.38	sig. at .058
Error (mean square)			1.39		

¹Coded in reverse; thus lower scores indicate higher rating and vice versa.

Empirical Hypothesis 1B: There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on relevant farm programs disfavored by Iowa Farm Bureau.

Sub-Hypothesis B-1: There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on the program, "A compulsory program in which the government would set acreage allotments for each farm." (Var. 3)

<u>Comparison</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Sum of squares</u>	<u>F ratio</u>	<u>Comments</u>
High attached members (Group 5)	27	2.47	.13	insig.	means vary in unexpected direction
Medium attached members (Group 4)	29	2.31			
Highest attachment group (Groups 5 and 4)	56	2.36	96.63	4.75	sig. at .033
Lowest attachment group (Groups 1, 2, 3)	129	3.93			
Low attached members (Group 3)	36	3.72	2.16	insig.	
Non-members (Groups 1, 2)	93	4.01			
Past members (Group 2)	51	4.39	16.43	insig.	means vary in unexpected direction
Never members (Group 1)	42	3.55			
Overall between groups			115.35	1.42	sig. at .238
Error (mean square)			20.35		

Sub-Hypothesis B-2: There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on the program, "A compulsory bushel allotment program in which the government would set bushel allotments for each farm in an attempt to control surplus and raise farm prices." (Var. 6)

<u>Comparison</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Sum of squares</u>	<u>F ratio</u>	<u>Comments</u>
High attached members (Group 5)	27	2.96	7.28	insig.	means vary in unexpected direction
Medium attached members (Group 4)	29	2.24			
Highest attachment group (Groups 4 and 5)	56	2.59	133.55	5.50	sig. at .022
Lowest attachment group (Groups 1, 2, 3)	129	4.29			
Low attached members (Group 3)	36	4.17	.82	insig.	
Non-members (Groups 1, 2)	93	4.34			
Past members (Group 2)	51	3.61	61.21	2.96	sig. at .091
Never members (Group 1)	42	5.24			
Overall between groups			182.86	2.21	sig. at .076
Error (mean square)			20.66		

Sub-Hypothesis B-3: There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on the program, "A set of policies involving (a) price supports at present levels, (b) mandatory controls on the amount of farm products produced and marketed by individual farmers based on past production and marketings, (c) additional restrictions on entering farming." (Var. 57)

<u>Comparison</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Mean</u> ¹	<u>Sum of squares</u>	<u>F ratio</u>	<u>Comments</u>
High attached members (Group 5)	27	3.67	2.14	2.43	sig. at .134
Medium attached members (Group 4)	29	3.28			
Highest attachment group (Groups 4 and 5)	56	3.46	5.38	6.11	sig. at .017
Lowest attachment group (Groups 1, 2, 3)	129	3.09			
Low attached members (Group 3)	36	3.00	.43	insig.	means vary in unexpected direction
Non-members (Groups 1, 2)	93	3.13			
Past members (Group 2)	51	3.10	.11	insig.	means vary in unexpected direction
Never members (Group 1)	42	3.17			
Overall between groups			8.06	2.30	sig. at .067
Error (mean square)					.88

¹Coded in reverse; thus lower scores indicate higher rating and vice versa.

Empirical Hypothesis 2A: There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on relevant farm problem causes highly rated by Iowa Farm Bureau.

Sub-Hypothesis A-1: There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on problem cause, "too much land in crop production." (Var. 60)

<u>Comparison</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Sum of squares</u>	<u>F ratio</u>	<u>Comments</u>
High attached members (Group 5)	27	3.70	5.14	1.72	Sig. at .210; means vary in un- expected direction
Medium attached members (Group 4)	29	4.31			
Highest attachment group (Groups 5 and 4)	56	4.02	.73	insig.	means vary in un- expected direction
Lowest attachment group (Groups 1, 2, 3)	129	4.16			
Low attached members (Group 3)	36	4.19	.07	insig.	
Non-members (Groups 1, 2)	93	4.14			
Past members (Group 2)	51	4.27	2.05	insig.	
Never members (Group 1)	42	3.98			
Overall between groups				insig.	
Error (mean square)					2.98

Sub-Hypothesis A-2: There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on problem cause, "high cost of farm production inputs such as feed, seed, fertilizer and machinery." (Var. 62)

<u>Comparison</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Sum of squares</u>	<u>F ratio</u>	<u>Comments</u>
High attached members (Group 5)	27	5.15	.23	insig.	means vary in unexpected direction
Medium attached members (Group 4)	29	5.67			
Highest attachment group (Groups 5 and 4)	56	5.21	6.43	3.17	sig. at .082; means vary in unexpected direction
Lowest attachment group (Groups 1, 2, 3)	129	5.62			
Low attached members (Group 3)	36	6.06	9.46	4.66	sig. at .025
Non-members (Groups 1, 2)	93	5.45			
Past members (Group 2)	51	4.51	.05	insig.	means vary in unexpected direction
Never members (Group 1)	42	6.60			
Overall between groups			16.17	1.99	sig. at .100

Error (mean square) 2.03

Sub-Hypothesis A-3: There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on problem cause, "surplus production due to the application of too much new technology." (Var. 67)

<u>Comparison</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Sum of squares</u>	<u>F ratio</u>	<u>Comments</u>
High attached member (Group 5)	27	3.78	1.22	insig.	
Medium attached members (Group 4)	29	3.48			
Highest attachment group (Groups 5 and 4)	56	3.63	.97	insig.	means vary in un- expected direction
Lowest attachment group (Groups 1, 2, 3)	129	3.78			
Low attached members (Group 3)	36	3.86	.30	insig.	
Non-members (Groups 1, 2)	93	3.75			
Past members (Group 2)	51	4.04	9.27	3.01	sig. at .089
Never members (Group 1)	42	3.40			
Overall between groups			11.76	insig.	
Error (mean square)					3.08

Sub-Hypothesis A-4: There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on the problem cause, "surplus production due to high price supports."

(Var. 68)

<u>Comparison</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Sum of squares</u>	<u>F ratio</u>	<u>Comments</u>
High attached member (Group 5)	27	3.44	.25	insig.	
Medium attached member (Group 4)	29	3.31			
Highest attachment group (Groups 5 and 4)	56	3.38	19.59	7.48	sig. at .008
Lowest attachment group (Groups 1, 2, 3)	129	2.67			
Low attached members (Group 3)	36	2.58	.35	insig.	means vary in un- expected direction
Non-members (Groups 1, 2)	93	2.70			
Past members (Group 2)	51	2.82	1.75	insig.	
Never members (Group 1)	42	2.55			
Overall between groups			21.94	2.10	sig. at .088
Error (mean square)	262				

Empirical Hypothesis 2B: There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on relevant farm problem causes rated low by Iowa Farm Bureau.

Sub-Hypothesis B-1: There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on problem cause, "decline in foreign purchases of agricultural products."

(Var. 70)

<u>Comparison</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Sum of squares</u>	<u>F ratio</u>	<u>Comments</u>
High attached members (Group 5)	27	3.74	10.82	3.98	sig. at .049
Medium attached members (Group 4)	29	4.62			
Highest attachment group (Groups 5 and 4)	56	4.20	.48	insig.	means vary in un- expected direction
Lowest attachment group (Groups 1, 2, 3)	129	4.09			
Low attached members (Group 3)	36	4.03	.16	insig.	
Non-members (Groups 1, 2)	93	4.11			
Past members (Group 2)	51	4.39	9.15	3.36	sig. at .074; means vary in un- expected direction
Never members (Group 1)	42	3.76			
Overall between groups			20.61	1.89	sig. at .124
Error (mean square)					2.72

Sub-Hypothesis B-2: There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on problem cause, "high profits taken by processors and distributors of farm products." (Var. 69)

<u>Comparison</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Sum of squares</u>	<u>F ratio</u>	<u>Comments</u>
High attached members (Group 5)	27	5.30	.68	insig.	
Medium attached members (Group 4)	29	5.52			
Highest attachment group (Groups 5 and 4)	56	5.41	7.90	3.62	sig. at .063
Lowest attachment group (Groups 1, 2, 3)	129	5.86			
Low attached members (Group 3)	36	5.78	.35	insig.	
Non-members (Groups 1, 2)	93	5.89			
Past members (Group 2)	51	5.80	.88	insig.	
Never members (Group 1)	42	6.00			
Overall between groups			9.81	1.12	
Error (mean square)		2.18			

Sub-Hypothesis B-3: There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on problem cause, "lack of demand for farm products."
(Var. 65)

<u>Comparison</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Sum of squares</u>	<u>F ratio</u>	<u>Comments</u>
High attached members (Group 5)	27	3.30	13.45	4.35	sig. at .041
Medium attached members (Group 4)	29	4.28			
Highest attachment group (Groups 5 and 4)	56	3.80	.03	insig.	
Lowest attachment group (Groups 1, 2, 3)	129	3.83			
Low attached members (Group 3)	36	4.00	1.46	insig.	
Non-members (Groups 1, 2)	93	3.76			
Past members (Group 2)	51	3.88	1.56	insig.	
Never members (Group 1)	42	3.62			
Overall between groups			16.50	1.34	sig. at .250
Error (mean square)			3.09		

Sub-Hypothesis B-4: There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on problem cause, "poor management ability of some farmers." (Var. 63)

<u>Comparison</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Sum of squares</u>	<u>F ratio</u>	<u>Comments</u>
High attached members (Group 5)	27	4.11	1.12	insig.	
Medium attached members (Group 4)	29	3.83			
Highest attachment group (Groups 5 and 4)	56	3.96	10.34	3.57	sig. at .065; means vary in un- expected direction
Lowest attachment group (Groups 1, 2, 3)	129	3.45			
Low attached members (Group 3)	36	4.03	16.69	5.76	sig. at .020; means vary in un- expected direction
Non-members (Groups 1, 2)	93	3.23			
Past members (Group 2)	51	3.35	1.82	insig.	
Never members (Group 1)	42	3.26			
Overall between groups			29.97	2.58	sig. at .043
Error (mean square)			2.90		

Empirical Hypothesis 3A: There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on relevant farm problem solutions highly rated by Iowa Farm Bureau.

Sub-Hypothesis A-1: There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on problem solution, "voluntary land retirement." (Var. 76)

<u>Comparison</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Sum of squares</u>	<u>F ratio</u>	<u>Comments</u>
High attached members (Group 5)	27	4.67	.05	insig.	means vary in unexpected direction
Medium attached members (Group 4)	29	4.72			
Highest attachment group (Groups 5 and 4)	56	4.70	5.82	2.53	sig. at .123
Lowest attachment group (Groups 1, 2, 3)	129	4.31			
Low attached members (Group 3)	36	4.30	0		
Non-members (Groups 1, 2)	93	4.31			
Past members (Group 2)	51	4.27	.16	insig.	
Never members (Group 1)	42	4.36			
Overall between groups			6.03	insig.	
Error (mean square)			2.30		

Sub-Hypothesis A-2: There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on problem solution, "allow prices to fall to market price to bring supply into line with demand without government interference." (Var. 77)

<u>Comparison</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Sum of squares</u>	<u>F ratio</u>	<u>Comments</u>
High attached members (Group 5)	27	3.15	5.82	1.87	sig. at .194; means vary in un- expected direction
Medium attached members (Group 4)	29	3.79			
Highest attachment group (Groups 5 and 4)	56	3.48	17.84	5.74	sig. at .020
Lowest attachment group (Groups 1, 2, 3)	129	2.03			
Low attached members (Group 3)	36	2.61	1.90	insig.	means vary in un- expected direction
Non-members (Groups 1, 2)	93	2.88			
Past members (Group 2)	51	2.69	4.31	1.39	sig. at .245; means vary in un- expected direction
Never members (Group 1)	42	3.12			
Overall between groups			29.87	2.40	sig. at .056
Error (mean square)		3.11			

Empirical Hypothesis 3B: There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on relevant farm problem solutions rated low by Iowa Farm Bureau.

Sub-Hypothesis B-1: There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on problem solution, "More emphasis on production controls with enforced penalties for over production." (Var. 75)

<u>Comparison</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Sum of squares</u>	<u>F ratio</u>	<u>Comments</u>
High attached members (Group 5)	27	2.89	8.96	3.31	sig. at .076
Medium attached members (Group 4)	29	3.69			
Highest attachment group (Groups 5 and 4)	56	3.30	.11	insig.	
Lowest attachment group (Groups 1, 2, 3)	129	3.36			
Low attached members (Group 3)	36	3.31	.13	insig.	
Non-members (Groups 1, 2)	93	3.38			
Past members (Group 2)	51	3.33	.21	insig.	
Never members (Group 1)	42	3.43			
Overall between groups			9.41	insig.	
Error (mean square)			2.71		

Sub-Hypothesis B-2: There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on problem solution, "Direct payments to farmers to make up the difference between a fair price and the market price." (Var. 74)

<u>Comparison</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Sum of squares</u>	<u>F ratio</u>	<u>Comments</u>
High attached members (Group 5)	27	2.56	16.90	5.33	sig. at .025
Medium attached members (Group 4)	29	3.66			
Highest attachment group (Groups 5 and 4)	56	3.13	3.92	1.24	sig. at .278
Lowest attachment group (Groups 1, 2, 3)	129	3.44			
Low attached members (Group 3)	36	3.31	.93	insig.	
Non-members (Groups 1, 2)	93	3.49			
Past members (Group 2)	51	3.73	6.02	1.90	sig. at .191;
Never members (Group 1)	42	3.21			means vary in un- expected direction
Overall between groups			27.77	2.19	sig. at .078
Error (mean square)		3.17			

Empirical Hypothesis 4A: There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their rating of a relevant public figure favored by Iowa Farm Bureau.

Sub-Hypothesis A-1: There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their rating of public figure, Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson. (Var. 144)

<u>Comparison</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Sum of squares</u>	<u>F ratio</u>	<u>Comments</u>
High attached members (Group 5)	27	2.04	2.42	5.76	sig. at .020
Medium attached members (Group 4)	29	1.62			
Highest attachment group (Groups 5 and 4)	56	1.82	4.13	9.83	sig. at .003
Lowest attachment group (Groups 1, 2, 3)	129	1.50			
Low attached members (Group 3)	36	1.63	1.02	2.43	sig. at .134
Non-members (Groups 1,2)	93	1.44			
Past members (Group 2)	51	1.43	.01	insig.	
Never members (Group 1)	42	1.45			
Overall between groups			7.58	4.52	sig. at .005
Error (mean square)			.42		

Empirical Hypothesis 4B: There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their rating of a relevant public figure disfavored by Iowa Farm Bureau.

Sub-Hypothesis B-1: There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their rating of public figure, Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman. (Var. 144)

Note: Data not presented on this sub-hypothesis as it is the same data used to test Sub-Hypothesis A-1 under Empirical Hypothesis 4A.

Empirical Hypothesis 5A: There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their participation score in a relevant farm program favored by Iowa Farm Bureau.

Sub-Hypothesis A-1: There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and the number of acres they have had in the acreage reserve program. (Var. 52)

<u>Comparison</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Sum of squares</u>	<u>F ratio</u>	<u>Comments</u>
High attached members (Group 5)	27	3.00	4.26	insig.	
Medium attached members (Group 4)	29	2.44			
Highest attachment group (Groups 5 and 4)	56	2.71	1062.35	3.89	sig. at .051; means vary in un- expected direction
Lowest attachment group (Groups 1, 2, 3)	129	7.93			
Low attached members (Group 3)	36	9.08	66.40	insig.	
Non-members (Groups 1, 2)	93	7.48			
Past members (Group 2)	51	6.86	43.57	insig.	means vary in un- expected direction
Never members (Group 1)	42	8.24			
Overall between groups			1176.58	1.08	
Error (mean square)			273.05		

Sub-Hypothesis A-2: There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and the number of years they have been in the acreage reserve program. (Var. 48)

<u>Comparison</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Sum of squares</u>	<u>F ratio</u>	<u>comments</u>
High attached members (Group 5)	27	.370	1.74	insig.	means vary in un-expected direction
Medium attached members (Group 4)	29	.724			
Highest attachment group (Groups 5 and 4)	56	.553	4.06	1.44	sig. at .244; means vary in un-expected direction
Lowest attachment group (Groups 1, 2, 3)	129	.876			
Low attached members (Group 3)	36	.806	.25	insig.	means vary in un-expected direction
Non-members (Groups 1, 2)	93	.903			
Past members (Group 2)	51	1.000	1.06	insig.	
Never members (Group 1)	42	.786			
Overall between groups			7.11	insig.	
Error (mean square)			2.82		

Empirical Hypothesis 5B: There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their participation score in a relevant farm program disfavored by Iowa Farm Bureau.

Sub-Hypothesis B-1: There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and the number of acres they had in the feed grain program. (Var. 51)

<u>Comparison</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Sum of squares</u>	<u>F ratio</u>	<u>Comments</u>
High attached members (Group 5)	27	25.37	1209.67	1.91	sig. at .189; means vary in un- expected direction
Medium attached members (Group 4)	29	16.07			
Highest attachment group -- (Groups 5 and 4)	56	20.55	173.08	insig.	
Lowest attachment group (Groups 1, 2, 3)	129	22.66			
Low attached members (Group 3)	36	25.67	451.74	insig.	means vary in un- expected direction
Non-members (Groups 1, 2)	93	21.49			
Past members (Group 2)	51	25.04	1418.84	2.24	sig. at .156; means vary in un- expected direction
Never members (Group 1)	42	17.19			
Overall between groups			3253.33	1.28	
Error (mean square)			634.19		

Sub-Hypothesis B-2: There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and the number of years they have been in the feed grain program.

(Var. 47)

<u>Comparison</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Sum of squares</u>	<u>F ratio</u>	<u>Comments</u>
High attached members (Group 5)	27	1.74	1.19	insig.	means vary in unexpected direction
Medium attached members (Group 4)	29	1.45			
Highest attachment group (Groups 5 and 4)	56	1.59	2.71	1.63	sig. at .223
Lowest attachment group (Groups 1, 2, 3)	129	1.85			
Low attached members (Group 3)	36	1.94	.42	insig.	means vary in unexpected direction
Non-members (Groups 1, 2)	93	1.82			
Past members (Group 2)	51	.82	.23	insig.	
Never members (Group 1)	42	1.12			
Overall between groups			4.55	insig.	
Error (mean square)		1.66			

Empirical Hypothesis 6A: There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on values favored by Iowa Farm Bureau.

Sub-Hypothesis A-1: There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on the value, "Independent action orientation - - belief that farmers should make their own personal and farming decision without any outside interference." (Var. 29)

<u>Comparison</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Sum of squares</u>	<u>F ratio</u>	<u>Comments</u>
High attached members (Group 5)	27	75.81	225.14	insig.	means vary in un-expected direction
Medium attached members (Group 4)	29	79.83			
Highest attachment group (Groups 5 and 4)	56	77.89	2404.03	7.71	sig. at .007
Lowest attachment group (Groups 1, 2, 3)	129	70.05			
Low attached members (Group 3)	36	69.61	9.46	insig.	means vary in un-expected direction
Non-members (Groups 1, 2)	93	70.22			
Past members (Group 2)	51	68.90	194.71	insig.	means vary in un-expected direction
Never members (Group 1)	42	71.81			
Overall between groups			2833.34	2.27	sig. at .070
Error (mean square)			311.64		

Sub-Hypothesis A-2: There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on the value, "Government dominance orientation - - belief that government programs and the controls associated with them are placing restrictions on farmers' efficiency, earning possibilities and freedom to manage their farming operations." (Var. 41)

<u>Comparison</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Sum of squares</u>	<u>F ratio</u>	<u>Comments</u>
High attached members (Group 5)	27	27.93	78.81	insig.	
Medium attached members (Group 4)	29	25.56			
Highest attachment group (Groups 5 and 4)	56	26.70	1501.17	8.86	sig. at .004
Lowest attachment group (Groups 1, 2, 3)	129	20.50			
Low attached members (Group 3)	36	22.06	121.42	insig.	
Non-members (Groups 1, 2)	93	19.89			
Past members (Group 2)	51	18.37	260.87	insig.	
Never members (Group 1)	42	21.74			
Overall between groups			1962.27	2.89	sig. at .025
Error (mean square)			169.49		

Empirical Hypothesis 6B: There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on values disfavored by Iowa Farm Bureau.

Sub-Hypothesis B-1: There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on the value, "Commutative justice orientation - - belief that the government should guarantee the farmer a fair return." (Var. 39)

<u>Comparison</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Sum of squares</u>	<u>F ratio</u>	<u>Comments</u>
High attached members (Group 5)	27	53.33	1,601.16	1.96	sig. at .184
Medium attached members (Group 4)	29	64.03			
Highest attachment group (Groups 5 and 4)	56	58.88	11,317.23	13.84	sig. at .0005
Lowest attachment group (Groups 1, 2, 3)	129	75.90			
Low attached members (Group 3)	36	76.61	25.31	insig.	means vary in un-expected direction
Non-members (Groups 1, 2)	93	75.62			
Past members (Group 2)	51	77.92	596.31	insig.	means vary in un-expected direction
Never members (Group 1)	42	72.83			
Overall between groups			13,540.01	4.14	sig. at .005
Error (mean square)		817.91			

Sub-Hypothesis B-2: There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on the value, "Distributive justice orientation - - belief that the government should equalize opportunity, income, security and common welfare between the agricultural and non-agricultural sectors of the economy." (Var. 40)

<u>Comparison</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Sum of squares</u>	<u>F ratio</u>	<u>Comments</u>
High attached members (Group 5)	27	48.22	30.11	insig.	
Medium attached members (Group 4)	29	49.69			
Highest attachment group (Groups 5 and 4)	56	48.98	1814.27	3.21	sig. at .080
Lowest attachment group (Groups 1, 2, 3)	129	55.80			
Low attached members (Group 3)	36	57.44	135.30	insig.	means vary in un-expected direction
Non-members (Groups 1, 2)	93	55.16			
Past members (Group 2)	51	58.35	1150.35	2.04	sig. at .173; means vary in un-expected direction
Never members (Group 1)	42	51.29			
Overall between groups			3130.03	1.38	
Error (mean square)			565.39		

It will be noted that in many cases the means vary in the unexpected direction. In such cases, even though the variance is significant, the difference in means is not considered as being significant.

In summary of the foregoing analysis, the following is presented:

1. High attached members (Group 5) vs. medium attached members (Group 4). Only six sub-hypotheses are supported at the designated significance level:

Empirical Hypothesis 1A: One of three sub-hypotheses supported (A-2, .053)

Empirical Hypothesis 2B: Two of four sub-hypotheses supported (B-1, .049; B-3, .041)

Empirical Hypothesis 3B: Both of the two sub-hypotheses supported (B-1, .076; B-2, .025)

Empirical Hypothesis 4A: Sub-hypothesis supported (A-1, .020)

Empirical Hypothesis 4B: Same result as Empirical Hypothesis 4A, because same data used, and not counted as separate empirical test.

The foregoing data are judged as failing to support the assumption that high attached members (Group 5) exhibit more conforming behavior as defined in this dissertation than medium attached members (Group 4).

2. Low attached members (Group 3) vs. non-members (Groups 1 and 2). Only one sub-hypothesis is supported at the designated significance level - - A-2 of Empirical Hypothesis 2A - - at .025. These data are judged as failing to support the assumption that low attached members (Group 3) exhibit more conforming behavior as defined herein than non-members (Groups 1 and 2).

3. Past members (Group 2) vs. never members (Group 1). Only two sub-hypotheses are supported at the designated significance levels:

Empirical Hypothesis 1B: One of three sub-hypotheses supported
(B-2, .091)

Empirical Hypothesis 2A: One of four sub-hypotheses supported
(A-3, .089)

These data are judged as failing to support the assumption that
past members (Group 2) exhibit more conforming behavior as defined
herein than never members (Group 1).

GENERAL SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation has sought to broaden understanding of the presumed normative influence of a voluntary organization as mediated by varying attachment to that organization - - that is, varying interactional involvement in the organization in a setting where the organization is salient.

More specifically, this dissertation has attempted to:

1. Determine the varying degrees of attachment to Farm Bureau of a representative sample of Iowa farmers.
2. Identify important norms of Farm Bureau to which those who are attached to the organization might be expected to conform.
3. Determine the extent to which conformity to the norms of Farm Bureau is related to differential attachment to the organization.

A theoretical rationale for this study was developed based on these major assumptions:

1. Behavior is goal-oriented, motivated toward achieving goals relating to basic wants and needs.
2. The culture or total way of life of a people defines the goals which ought to be sought after.
3. People organize themselves into groups to achieve goals which appear to be unreachable through uncoordinated individual efforts.
4. Socially developed norms or behavior standards define acceptable behavior in the pursuit of those goals.
5. Attachment to a group or organization, i.e., interactional involvement, will vary among persons depending on a number of factors.

Such variance may be related to differing priorities people put on satisfying the wants which the group seeks to meet. It may be related to differential rewards perceived to be flowing from such attachment. It may be related to differing time and energy available for such attachment, or to other factors.

From these assumptions, the general theoretical hypothesis of this dissertation was developed:

The more people are attached to a voluntary organization the more they will behave in conformity to the norms of the organization.

Six analytically distinct types of behavior were identified for which the norms of the voluntary organization under study, the Iowa Farm Bureau, hopefully could be inferred. The term "relevant" was used to designate those items deemed to be important to the realization of the goals of the organization.

The types of behavior identified were:

1. Rating programs
2. Rating causes of problems
3. Rating solutions to problems
4. Rating public figures
5. Participating in programs
6. Accepting values

These six types yielded 12 sub-general theoretical hypotheses, six positively oriented and six negatively oriented.

These were:

Compared with persons with a low degree of attachment to a voluntary organization,

- 1A. Those highly attached will more strongly favor relevant programs supported by the organization.
- 1B. Those highly attached will more strongly disfavor relevant programs rejected by the organization.
- 2A. Those highly attached will more highly rate relevant causes of a problem those highly rated by the organization.
- 2B. Those highly attached will less highly rate relevant causes of a problem those rated low by the organization.
- 3A. Those highly attached will more highly rate relevant solutions of a problem those highly rated by the organization.
- 3B. Those highly attached will less highly rate relevant solutions of a problem those rated low by the organization.
- 4A. Those highly attached will more highly rate a relevant public figure favored by the organization.
- 4B. Those highly attached will less highly rate a relevant public figure disfavored by the organization.
- 5A. Those highly attached will participate more in relevant programs favored by the organization.
- 5B. Those highly attached will participate less in relevant programs disfavored by the organization.
- 6A. Those highly attached will more often accept relevant values approved by the organization.
- 6B. Those highly attached will less often accept relevant values disapproved by the organization.

Data used in this study were obtained from a random sample of 185 Iowa farmers who were operating 100 acres or more of land and making major management decisions for their farms in 1964. The data were obtained by means of a schedule covering farm program preferences and participation and certain other matters, a questionnaire relating to the respondents' values and beliefs, and direct contact with county and state Farm Bureau offices.

The 12 sub-general theoretical hypotheses listed above were stated in empirical form, and measures were developed to test them.

Organizational attachment was measured by constructing an index of attachment based on five types of participation data:

1. Farm Bureau membership or non-membership
2. Attendance at Farm Bureau meetings during previous year
3. Ranking of Farm Bureau publications as important sources of information in evaluating a farm program
4. Participation in Farm Bureau economic activities (insurance and/or purchases at Farm Bureau cooperative)
5. Office holding in Farm Bureau

General level Farm Bureau goals and norms were identified, and empirical measures of these norms or conforming behavior variables were developed. It was noted that to achieve more ultimate goals, the Farm Bureau formally has specified as an intermediate goal, preserving the market price system.

Twenty-eight items which had appeared either on the schedule or questionnaire administered to the sample members were chosen to index the Farm Bureau norms. These were selected with cognizance of the general Farm Bureau goal of preserving the market price system, and in recognition of formal statements of the organization and its officials. Also the judgment of a key figure in Iowa Farm Bureau, Mr. Kenneth Thatcher, Iowa Farm Bureau secretary, was taken into consideration in this selection process.

These 28 items provided the basis for developing 28 empirical sub-hypotheses under the 12 major empirical hypotheses of this study.

In the Principal Findings chapter, what was believed to be the most significant of a set of four mutually orthogonal comparisons was employed in testing these 12 major empirical hypotheses by analysis of variance.

In this test, the means of two groups were compared:

The 56 sample members comprising the highest attachment group
(Farm Bureau members who were active or very active in the
organization)

versus

The 129 sample members comprising the lowest attachment group
(inactive Farm Bureau members, farmers who had never belonged
to Farm Bureau and farmers who had belonged in the past but
were not presently members)

Seven of the empirical hypotheses were supported by tests of differences of means in this comparison. These were:

- 1A. There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on relevant farm programs favored by Iowa Farm Bureau.
- 1B. There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on relevant farm programs disfavored by Iowa Farm Bureau.
- 3A. There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on relevant farm problem solutions highly rated by Iowa Farm Bureau.
- 4A. There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their rating of a relevant public figure favored by Iowa Farm Bureau.
- 4B. There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their rating of a relevant public figure disfavored by Iowa Farm Bureau.
- 6A. There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on values favored by Iowa Farm Bureau.
- 6B. There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on values disfavored by Iowa Farm Bureau.

(In reality, six empirical hypotheses were supported by the data, as both Empirical Hypotheses 4A and 4B above were tested by the same data.)

Five of the empirical hypotheses were rejected. However, four of these - - 2A, 2B, 5A and 5B - - probably should be eliminated from the study because of strong evidence that there are no effective Farm Bureau norms operating in these areas (as explained in the discussion of the Principal Findings chapter).

The rejected hypotheses were:

- 2A. There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on relevant farm problem causes highly rated by Iowa Farm Bureau.
- 2B. There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on relevant farm problem causes rated low by Iowa Farm Bureau.
- 3B. There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their score on relevant farm problem solutions rated low by Iowa Farm Bureau.
- 5A. There will be a positive relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their participation score in a relevant farm program favored by Iowa Farm Bureau.
- 5B. There will be a negative relationship between the sample members' attachment score and their participation score in a relevant farm program disfavored by Iowa Farm Bureau.

These data are judged to indicate support for the general hypothesis that the more people are attached to a voluntary organization the more they will behave in conformity to the norms of the organization.

However, limitations in these findings are noted. To a certain extent this research is an ex post facto study. The research design for this analysis was formulated after most of the data were collected and

it was limited by the availability of data. While an effort was made to select concepts from which data were available to objectively test the theoretical hypotheses, it is recognized that some selectivity was exercised by the author and that it was possible unwittingly to select variables which best supported the hypotheses.

An implication of the findings is that farmers become attached to Farm Bureau in varying degrees - - through participation in its activities and/or membership - - and then are influenced to conform to the organization's norms. However, a cause and effect relationship cannot be asserted from the findings. For example, an alternative interpretation of the findings might be that sample members whose behavior more closely conforms to Farm Bureau norms (e.g., they express similar opinions and choices) are attracted more to the organization and thus become more attached to it. (This idea was tentatively rejected in the discussion in the Introduction chapter which cited evidence that many farmers join Farm Bureau for economic advantages or because of yielding to the persuasion of Farm Bureau membership workers rather than for ideological reasons.)

Moreover, while a comparison of the highest attachment group with the lowest attachment group yielded significant findings, as noted above, the other comparisons of the mutually orthogonal sets did not in general yield significant findings. These additional findings, presented in the preceding chapter, do not support the assumption that conforming behavior is ordinally related to attachment as defined - - that, for example, where the sample is divided into the five original, ordinally ranked attachment groups of this study, that members of Group 5 will conform

more than members of Group 4, and so on.

One may conclude, therefore, that:

1. organizational attachment is not a continuous variable, that there are not varying degrees of attachment, only high and low attachment, for example, or
2. the index of attachment constructed in this study fails to operationalize organizational attachment as a continuous variable, or
3. the conforming behavior variables have not been adequately operationalized to permit the exposure of organizational attachment as a continuous variable.

It is quite possible to devise more sophisticated, discriminating measures of the major variables of this dissertation - - organizational attachment and conforming behavior. Evan (27, p. 149) for example, has included as dimensions of participation in a voluntary organization:

1. action by rank-and-file members which affects the formal policy making process and operating practices of an organization;
2. actions implementing the objectives and decisions of an organization as well as actions oriented to utilizing its facilities or services, or having ceremonial, sociability or solidarity-producing functions; and,
3. affectively-involved acceptance of the principles, purposes or goals of an organization.

An index of attachment could be constructed measuring such dimensions as well as other relevant ones that might be suggested.

Similarly, if one were to design and implement a study expressly for testing the general hypothesis of this dissertation, norms of high relevance to the organization's goals probably could be more objectively and

accurately identified than could be done in this study. For example, a schedule might be administered to a sample of prestigious members of the organization, an open ended interview might be employed or other devices used to elicit norms of high relevance to the organization's goals.

With more definitive measures of organizational attachment and conforming behavior, not only could a more conclusive test theoretically be made of the general hypothesis, but a more definitive test could be made of the assumption that there are varying degrees of attachment and that the higher the attachment the greater the conforming behavior, that for example, Group 5 will conform more than Group 4, Group 4 more than Group 3 and so on.

Finally, in principle it would be possible to design a longitudinal study to seek to determine the cause and effect relationships of organizational attachment. For example, persons who changed from low to high attachment by becoming very active in an organization might be studied on a before and after basis to determine if this increased attachment resulted in significantly increased conformity to organizational norms; persons who changed from high to low attachment by dropping out of an organization might be studied on a before and after basis to determine if this decreased attachment resulted in significantly decreased conformity to organizational norms.

In summary, it is the opinion of the author that the research reported in this dissertation demonstrates limited support for the hypothesis that attachment to a voluntary organization is related to conforming behavior. However, the direction and extent of this relationship cannot be fully understood until research is done employing more discriminating measures of the variables involved.

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APPENDIX

Questionnaire

(Questionnaire submitted to Kenneth Thatcher, secretary of the Iowa Farm Bureau, to elicit the norms of the organization, with Mr. Thatcher's response indicated.)

In 1964 Dr. George M. Beal and Dr. Joe M. Bohlen of Iowa State University conducted a study of Iowa farmers' opinions of the "farm problem" and various ideas for solving it.

We now are analyzing these data to see how members of farm organizations including Farm Bureau view the problem and the various farm policy alternatives which have been proposed.

You can greatly aid this research effort if you will take a few minutes to complete this questionnaire.

Think of an ideal Iowa Farm Bureau member, one who strongly supports Farm Bureau and its farm policy positions. Then ask yourself how such an ideal member would have responded to these items in the spring of 1964. Please circle "yes" or "no" where these answers are appropriate. If Farm Bureau had no position on this item, circle "F.B. had no position."

A. Assume you are an ideal Iowa Farm Bureau member and circle the appropriate answer as of 1964:

"We have a list of government farm programs which have been proposed at various times. Please indicate how you would vote on each of these programs if you had to vote . . ."

- | | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| 1. A program to distribute excess farm products to needy families in this country | yes <u>no</u> F.B. had no position |
|---|------------------------------------|

- | | | | | |
|-----|---|------------|-----------|-----------------------------|
| 2. | A voluntary program in which the farmer agrees to cut back the number of his crop acres. | <u>yes</u> | no | F.B. had no position |
| 3. | A compulsory program in which the government would set acreage allotments for each farm. | yes | <u>no</u> | F.B. had no position |
| 4. | A program in which the government would set acreage allotments for each farm. Only those who signed up would receive price supports. | <u>yes</u> | no | F.B. had no position |
| 5. | A voluntary bushel allotment program in which the farmer who signs up would receive price supports for only those bushels within his allotment. | <u>yes</u> | no | F.B. had no position |
| 6. | A compulsory bushel allotment program in which the government would set bushel allotments for each farm in an attempt to control surplus and raise farm prices. | yes | <u>no</u> | F.B. had no position |
| 7. | A modified free market program in which the government would maintain support prices slightly above the competitive price level and require no production controls. | <u>yes</u> | no | F.B. had no position |
| 8. | The government would abolish all farm support programs. There would be no production controls and no price supports. | yes | <u>no</u> | F.B. had no position |
| 9. | A government program to improve education opportunities in rural areas. | <u>yes</u> | no | F.B. had no position |
| 10. | A government program to re-train farm people who wish to leave agriculture for non-farm employment. | yes | <u>no</u> | F.B. had no position |
| 11. | A government program to provide education which would help farm young people to adjust to urban life. | yes | no | <u>F.B. had no position</u> |
| 12. | A government program which would provide information to farm young people about urban job opportunities. | <u>yes</u> | no | F.B. had no position |
| 13. | A program in which the government would make payments to farm families to encourage them to relocate in urban jobs. | yes | <u>no</u> | F.B. had no position |

14. A government program in which price supports would apply only to farmers who operate small farms. yes no F.B. had no position

15. A program in which the government would support prices at parity levels with no production controls. yes no F.B. had no position

15. A government program to cut back support for Experiment Station research and Agricultural Extension in order to slow down the rapid development and acceptance of new ideas and practices in agriculture. yes no F.B. had no position

16. A voluntary program in which the government would pay farmers for retiring their whole farms from production on a year to year basis. yes no F.B. had no position

17. A voluntary program in which the government would pay farmers to permanently retire part or all of their farm land from production. yes no F.B. had no position

18. A voluntary program in which farmers could sell their cropland to the government for additions to national recreational areas. yes no F.B. had no position

19. A program in which the government would select farms that should be withdrawn from production. These farms would be purchased by the government at a fair price. yes no F.B. had no position

20. A program in which the government would restrict the amount of meat imported from foreign countries. yes no F.B. had no position

21. A government program which attempts to increase foreign markets for farm products. yes no F.B. had no position

22. A program which would enable Communist countries to buy American surplus farm products. yes no F.B. had no position

23. A government "food stamp" plan to improve nutrition and expand food consumption of low income people. yes no F.B. had no position

24. A government program of extensive advertising and sales promotion to increase the consumption of agricultural products in the United States. yes no F.B. had no position

25. A government program in which there are yes no F.B. had no
 no price supports or production controls, position
 but each farmer would receive a cash
 payment to raise farm income.
26. A government program to control the yes no F.B. had no
 production of agricultural products position
 by taxing the use of fertilizer and
 large equipment.

B. Here is a list of four government farm programs which have been proposed. Would you please indicate (1) which program you like most, (2) which program you like next best, (3) which program you like third best, and (4) which program you like least."

(Assume you are an ideal Iowa Farm Bureau member in 1964 and answer accordingly.)

- 1 A gradual transition (over a 5-year period) from present price support and production control programs to a set of policies involving (a) price supports at levels equal to market prices during the preceding 5 years, (b) an ever normal granary program implemented by commodity loans and purchase agreements.
- 4 A set of policies involving (a) price supports at present levels, (b) mandatory controls on the amount of farm products produced and marketed by individual farmers based on past production and marketings, (c) additional restrictions on entering farming.
- 2 A set of policies involving (a) price supports at present levels, (b) a voluntary land retirement program made attractive to farmers by governmental rental payments, (c) continuation of commodity loans and purchase agreements.
- 3 A return to free markets for farm products within five years and elimination of all production control and price support programs thereafter.

C. Here is a list of causes of the present farm situation as suggested by some farmers. Please rank in 1, 2, 3 order the three causes you think are most important.

Please list also the causes you think are least important.

Rank these 10, 11 and 12, where 12 is the least important of all.

(Again reflect the view of the ideal Iowa Farm Bureau member in 1964.)

- 1 Too much land in crop production
- 8 Too many farmers
- 2 High cost of farm production inputs such as feed, seed, fertilizer and machinery
- 9 Poor management ability of some farmers
- 6 Union practices in industry which are continually raising wages which are in turn reflected in rising costs of agricultural inputs
- 10 Lack of demand for farm products
- 7 Inefficiencies in the marketing process
- 3 Surplus production due to the application of too much new technology
- 4 Surplus production due to high price supports
- 11 High profits taken by processors and distributors of farm products
- 12 Decline in foreign purchases of agricultural products
- 5 Competition from low cost foreign agricultural imports

- D. Here is a list of possible solutions to the farm problem. Please rank in 1, 2 order the two most important solutions.

(Reflect the view of an ideal Iowa Farm Bureau member in 1964.)

- 1 Increasing both foreign and domestic demand for agricultural products
- 5 Increase rate of movement of people out of agriculture into industry
- 7 Direct payments to farmers to make up difference between a fair price and the market price

- 6 More emphasis on production controls with enforced penalties for over production
- 2 Voluntary land retirement
- 3 Allow prices to fall to market price to bring supply into line with demand without government interference
- 4 Contracts between farmers and producers for fair prices and controlled supply

E. Would you say that Secretary of Agriculture Freeman is doing a better job, about the same job, or a poorer job than Secretary of Agriculture Benson?

(Again, reflect the view of an ideal Iowa Farm Bureau member in 1964.)

- A better job
- About the same job
- X A poorer job

F. Would you indicate those programs in which you have participated or are now participating.

(Assume you are an ideal Iowa Farm Bureau member in 1964 and circle the appropriate answer.)

<u>Program</u>	<u>Have you participated?</u>		
1. Feed grain	<u>yes</u>	no	F.B. had no position
2. Soil bank:			
(a) acreage reserve	<u>yes</u>	no	F.B. had no position
(b) conservation reserve	<u>yes</u>	no	F.B. had no position
3. Commodity credit:			
(a) corn	<u>yes</u>	no	F.B. had no position
(b) beans	yes	<u>no</u>	F.B. had no position

Farm Programs

List of the 27 farm programs on which sample members' opinions were solicited in the 1964 interviewing. Numbers 7 and 17 were selected as two of the examples of programs favored by Iowa Farm Bureau. Programs 3 and 6 were selected as two of the examples of programs disfavored by Iowa Farm Bureau.

The programs follow:

1. A program to distribute excess farm products to needy families in this country.
2. A voluntary program in which the farmer agrees to cut back the number of his crop acres.
3. A compulsory program in which the government would set acreage allotments for each farm.
4. A program in which the government would set acreage allotments for each farm. Only those who sign up will receive price supports.
5. A voluntary bushel allotment program in which the farmers who sign up would receive price supports for only those bushels within his allotment.
6. A compulsory bushel allotment program in which the government would set bushel allotments for each farm in an attempt to control surplus and raise farm prices.
7. A modified free market program in which the government would maintain support prices slightly above the competitive price level and require no production controls.
8. The government would abolish all farm supports programs. There would be no production controls and no price support.
9. A program in which the government would support prices at parity levels with no production controls.
10. A government program to improve education opportunities in rural areas.
11. A government program to retrain farm people who wish to leave agriculture for non-farm employment.

12. A government program to provide education which would help farm young people to adjust to urban life.
13. A government program which would provide information to farm young people about urban job opportunities.
14. A program in which the government would make payments to farm families to encourage them to relocate in urban jobs.
15. A government program in which price supports would apply only to farmers who operate small farms.
16. A government program to cut back support for Experiment Station research and Agricultural Extension in order to slow down the rapid development and acceptance of new ideas and practices in agriculture.
17. A voluntary program in which the government would pay farmers for retiring their whole farms from production on a year to year basis.
18. A voluntary program in which the government would pay farmers to permanently retire part or all of their farm land from production.
19. A voluntary program in which farmers could sell their cropland to the government for additions to national recreational areas.
20. A program in which the government would select farms that should be withdrawn from production. (These farms would be purchased by the government at a fair price.)
21. A program in which the government would restrict the amount of meat imported from foreign countries.
22. A government program which attempts to increase foreign markets for farm products.
23. A program which would enable Communist countries to buy American surplus farm products.
24. A government "food stamp" plan to improve nutrition and expand food consumption of low income people.
25. A government program of extensive advertising and sales promotion to increase the consumption of agricultural products in the United States.
26. A government program in which there are no price supports or production controls, but each farmer would receive a cash payment to raise farm income.
27. A government program to control the production of agricultural products by taxing the use of fertilizer and large equipment.

Farm Program "Packages"

List of the four farm program "packages" on which sample members' opinions were solicited in the 1964 interviewing. Number 4 was selected as an example of a program favored by Iowa Farm Bureau; number 2 as an example of a program disfavored by Iowa Farm Bureau.

The programs follow:

1. A gradual transition (over a 5-year period) from present price support and production control programs to a set of policies involving (a) price supports at levels equal to market prices during the preceding 5 years, (b) an ever normal granary program implemented by commodity loans and purchase agreements.
2. A set of policies involving (a) price supports at present levels, (b) mandatory controls on the amount of farm products produced and marketed by individual farmers based on past production and marketings, (c) additional restrictions on entering farming.
3. A set of policies involving (a) price supports at present levels, (b) a voluntary land retirement program made attractive to farmers by government rental payments, (c) continuation of commodity loans and purchase agreements.
4. A return to free markets for farm products within five years and elimination of all production control and price support programs thereafter.

VALUE SCALES

List of the items included for each of the value dimensions involved in this dissertation:

Independent Action Items

1. Farmers should remain independent even if it means a loss of income to them.
2. People in our society have become so concerned with conforming to the actions of others that they have lost a part of the independent thinking that made this country great.
3. A farmer can no longer afford to make his decisions independently.
4. One of the worst things about some of the government programs is that they tend to destroy the freedom to make your own decisions.
5. Every person should find a way to help himself and not expect help from others.
6. I don't like to feel obligated to other people.
7. A man in business for himself should be free to make his own decisions without any outside interference.

Government Dominance Items

1. Production controls place too many restrictions on the efficient farmer.
2. Government farm programs tend to be too restrictive in that these programs limit farmers' operations and income earning possibilities.
3. The present government farm programs place a severe limitation on a farmer's freedom to manage his own farming operation.

Commutative Justice Items

1. The government should subsidize agriculture and keep the agricultural sector of the economy healthy.
2. The government should have a farm program that assures the farmer an adequate income.

3. The government should stay out of many facets of our economy since it only complicates matters.
4. We need strong governmental controls to improve our country.
5. The government should establish long-range supports to help farmers make long-range plans about their farming operations.
6. The government should not assume the responsibility of guaranteeing the income level of any group of people in our country.
7. Farmers have the responsibility of solving the farm problem and the government should stay out of the picture.
8. The government should not be involved in regulating agricultural production or setting guaranteed price levels.
9. The government has no responsibility to guarantee the farmer a fair return for his products.

Distributive Justice Items

1. The government should establish price and production controls in any industry in which the return to investment is lower than the average of the economy as a whole.
2. It is up to the government to see that everyone has a secure job and a good standard of living.
3. Any facility that provides for the common welfare should be government controlled.
4. The government should provide education and job retraining for those small businessmen not making a fair return on their investment.
5. The government should establish compulsory education programs in all rural high schools to provide training for non-farm jobs for those young people who may be leaving the farm.
6. The government should place price controls on farm inputs such as machinery, fertilizer, and seed to assure fair prices.
7. The government should assume the responsibility of equalizing opportunity of those starting out in an occupation.
8. The government has the responsibility of equalizing opportunity and income.